

# **The Importance of Being Aeolian: Shaping Aeolian Identity in Ancient Asia Minor**

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the formation of Aeolian collective identity in Asia Minor from the Archaic to the Roman period, and the connection of the predominant foundation myth, the Aeolian migration, to other foundation myths, which mainly involved Amazons. I intend to explore the dynamic interaction between geography and foundation myths of Aeolian *poleis*. When foundation myths are examined in light of the actual conditions on the ground, in a context of territorial conflicts, their function not only as a basis of co-belonging, but also in support of territorial claims against other contesters, becomes apparent.

The thesis also examines both public knowledge and perceptions of Aeolis as a geographical space by ancient authors to determine what authors and political authorities expected their audience to understand by terms such as ‘Aeolian’, ‘Aeolians’, and ‘Aeolis’. I argue that the localisation of Troy on the north-west corner of Asia Minor in the 5<sup>th</sup> century created a focal point for the previously vague Homeric Troy. For this reason, the area and conceptual boundaries of Aeolis expanded onto the southern coast of the Troad, and resulted in different geographical accounts of Aeolis in ancient authors.

In the same way that Aeolis was not the same region throughout antiquity, neither were the Aeolians. The Aeolian migration allegedly brought diverse groups from mainland Greece to Asia Minor. I re-evaluate the myth in its literary context, as a development of the recurring theme of ‘kings from abroad’. From its initial function as means to differentiate elites (‘from abroad’) from non-elites, the myth was diffused and embraced the entire Greek population of the area. The etymology and meaning of the word ‘Aeolians’ (= the diverse, the polyglots), indicates that it was initially an *etic* name given by outsiders, which was internalised at a later stage by communities in Aeolis and was recast as a marker of co-belonging based on diversity in opposition to the ‘homogenous locals’.

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## List of Abbreviations

- Allen A. Allen, *The Fragments of Mimnermus*. Stuttgart, 1993.
- Bernabé A. Bernabé, *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta*. Leipzig, 1987.
- de Boor C. de Boor, *Theopanis Chronographia*. Leipzig, 1885.
- Dindorf W. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Euripidis Tragoedias*. Oxford, 1863.
- Drachmann A.B. Drachmann, *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina*, vol. 3. Amsterdam, 1964.
- FD *Fouilles de Delphes*. Paris, 1908-1987.
- FGrHist F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, vols. I-III. Leiden, 1923-1958.
- GEF M.L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments from the 7th to the 5th Centuries*, Cambridge Mass., 2003.
- GP A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Garland of Philip*. Cambridge, 1968.
- HGK R. Herzog, *Gesetze von Kos*. Berlin, 1928.
- IC M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vols. I-IV. Rome, 1935-1950.
- IEG M.L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati*, vol. 2. Oxford, 1972.
- IErythrae H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, vols. I-II. Bonn, 1972-1973.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1873 - .
- Illion P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. Bonn, 1975.
- IMagnesia O. Kern. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin, 1900.
- INapoli E. Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche d' Italia, Napoli*, vols. I-II. Roma 1990-1995.
- IosPE V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, vols. I-III. St. Petersburg, 1885-1916.
- IPriene F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin, 1906.
- Keil-Premmerstein J. Keil and A. von Premmerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis*. Vienna, 1908.
- L-P E. Lobel and D. L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford, 1955.
- M-W R. Merkelbach and M.L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica*. Oxford, 1967.

<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , vols I-II. Leipzig 1903 -1905
Page	D.L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford, 1962-1967.
Pfeiffer	R. Pfeiffer, <i>Callimachus</i> , vol. 2. Oxford, 1953.
Rose	V. Rose, <i>Aristotelis qui Ferebantur Librorum Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig, 1886.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Leiden, 1923 - .
<i>SGDI</i>	H. Collitz, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> . Göttingen, 1885-1899
<i>TAM</i>	E. Kalika, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> . Vienna, 1901.
<i>TrGF</i>	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , vols. I-VI. Göttingen, 1971–2004.
Wendel	C.T.E. Wendel, <i>Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera</i> . Berlin, 1958.
West	M.L. West, <i>Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer</i> . Cambridge Mass., 2003.

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Σ'ους γονεῖς τ' εμούς και σ'ην γαρήν,  
Και σ'ους παπούδες,  
πε με 'θελσαν εστορεκόν.

# CHAPTER 1

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Outline

#### *Aims and introductory remarks*

The aim of this thesis is to examine Aeolian identity between the Archaic and the Hellenistic periods in Asia Minor. The thesis is organised around three main objectives. First, I will discuss the function and importance of Aeolian identity for the authorities and the Greek-speaking populations of Aeolis in Asia Minor and the adjacent islands of Lesbos and Tenedos. I will relate these to territorial disputes in the area and to foundation myths other than the Aeolian migration. Secondly, I will study the formation and development of Aeolian identity in the same area. I will approach this objective by investigating the agency of the myth of Aeolian migration, relating it to genre rather than perceiving such stories as echoes of an event lost in the mist of time. Thirdly, alongside the identity of people, I will also investigate an identity of place by exploring the perception of Aeolis as a conceptual and geographical space by ancient authors.

This thesis will address a range of fundamental issues relating to the collective identity ascribed to specific population groups in north-west Asia Minor and its offshore islands since the early archaic period. These issues include the origins of Aeolian identity among the Greek-speaking populations of the region; the role of elites in a long and dynamic process of collective self-identification; the emergence of foundation myths grounded in contemporary events independently from the predominant migration story; the connection between geography, territorial disputes, supra-polis relations, and foundation myths.

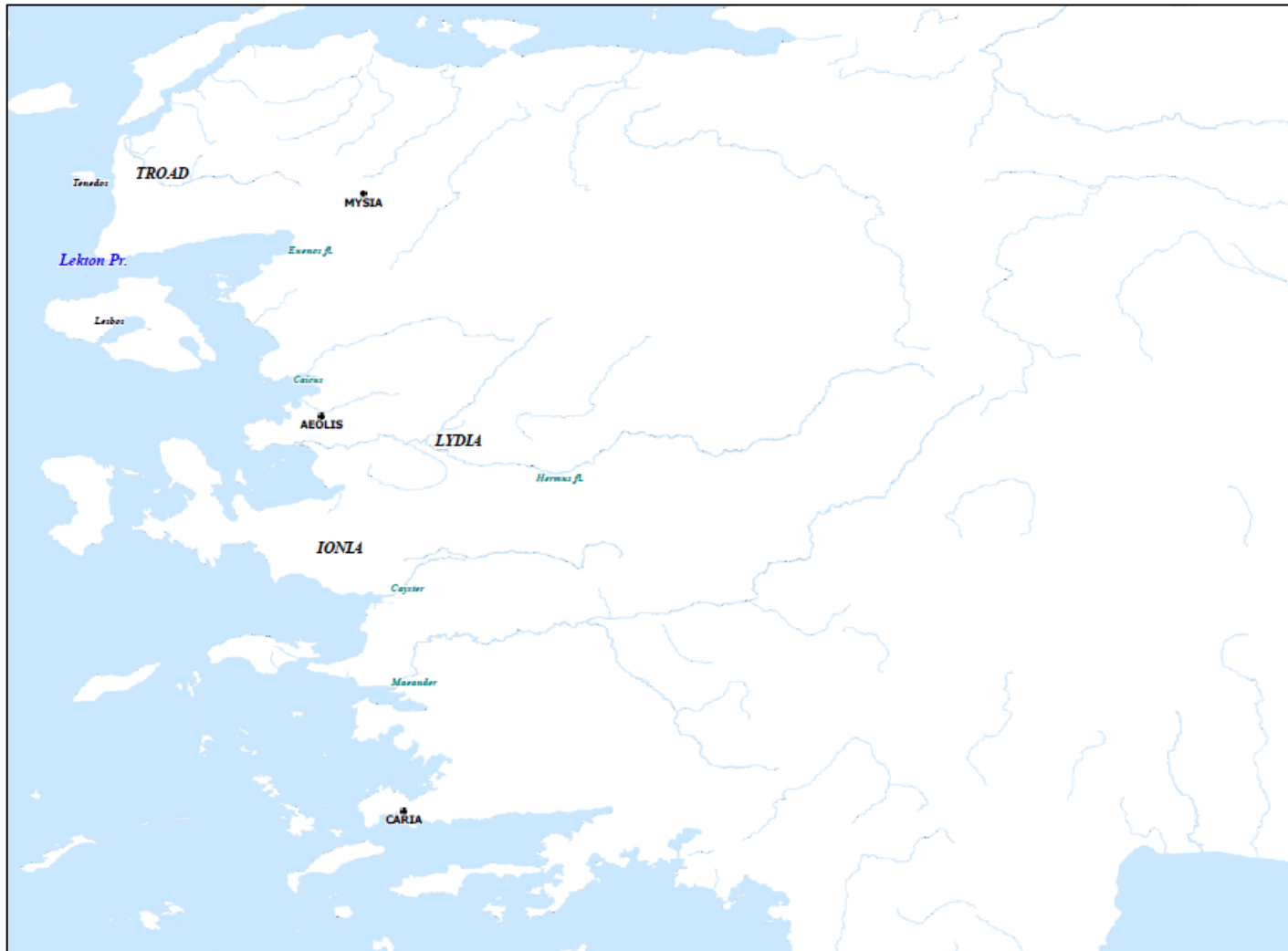


Figure 1: Regions of ancient Asia Minor

Current scholarly understanding of Aeolians, Aeolis, and Aeolian identity can be summarised as follows: ‘sometime’ in the archaic period, Greek *poleis* in the ‘north-west part of Asia Minor’ were already identified as Aeolian; ‘they’ spoke a ‘dialect called Aeolian’; classical authors were familiar with ‘a’ narrative of an ancient ‘migration from mainland Greece’ which placed the ‘origins’ of the Aeolians in mainland Greece.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of issues relating to the Aeolian dialect (for which see pp. 17-18), I intend to treat the issues and key terms placed in scare quotes in this apparently straightforward sentence as open, debatable questions, rather than given facts, as I shall illustrate briefly below

To begin with ‘sometime’, establishing agency and a timeframe for the process of formation of an Aeolian identity will perhaps be the most challenging task. As will become clear in section 1.2, the process of the (trans)formation of collective identities never ends: themes, stories, links, criteria, restrictions, features are re-negotiated and re-shaped according to contemporary needs, making the quest to describe a fixed, stable identity at any given time futile. To determine the locality termed as ‘north-west part of Asia Minor’, the identity of place will be central to my approach. In Chapter 2 I will ask ‘What and where was Aeolis?’, and in Chapter 3 I will examine attestations, omissions and descriptions of Aeolis in chronological order, tracing different conceptualisations of Aeolis in different time periods. The chronological order will provide a better explanation of contradictory ancient accounts of Aeolis, effectively modifying the question to ‘When was Aeolis?’. As I will explain in section 1.3, I will consider geography, both natural and conceptual, as a dynamic element whose study is more a social than a natural science.

Moving to the ‘origins’ of Aeolians and Aeolian identity, I will pose the question: was Aeolian identity transported to Asia Minor by immigrants already defined as Aeolians, as claimed by the Aeolian migration tale; or was it formed in Asia Minor and then extended to population groups in mainland Greece labelled as ‘Aeolian-speaking’ (e.g. Thessalians and Boeotians)? In respect to ‘they’, my research will not seek distinctive Aeolian traits. Instead, I will focus on the process which led to the formation of that specific collective identity. Concerning the foundation myths and ‘a’ ‘narrative of migration’, stories of Greek migration or colonization of Asia Minor were widespread in the ancient Greek world and in modern scholarship until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Recent research has deconstructed this very popular narrative.<sup>2</sup> Still, any study of identities in ancient Asia Minor must address the tales of

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Fowler (2000) II, 597-602; Rubinstein (2004); Vanschoonwinkel (2006a); Heinle (2015).

<sup>2</sup> Among others, Hall (2002) 67–72; Lemos (2007); Rose (2008).

migration, their reception and transformation, keeping in mind that there were more than a handful of divergent accounts available in antiquity, let alone other foundation stories entirely independent from the migration. An alternative approach will be outlined in section 1.4.

Modern scholarship has comprehensively studied other identities of the tripartite system of *phylae* that the Greeks attributed to their collective and distant past.<sup>3</sup> Whereas Dorian and Ionian identities, even Achaean identity, have received great attention in the last two decades, and considerable progress has been achieved on the theme of collective identities in general,<sup>4</sup> the scanty and fragmentary evidence in literary sources and limited archaeological activity in the region have led to little interest in Aeolian identity.<sup>5</sup> Jean Bérard discussed the stories of the Aeolian migration at face value in an influential paper in 1959, whereas more recently Jacques Vanschoonwinkel examined the archaeological record in parallel with textual attestations of the migration.<sup>6</sup> Guy Labarre studied the political and constitutional history of the Lesbian *poleis* as attested in epigraphical corpora.<sup>7</sup> Bulky discussions of different issues regarding Aeolis have been published under the editorship of Alfonso Mele and Giuseppe Ragone, but have received little attention in Anglophone scholarship mainly for reasons of accessibility (size, language, availability).<sup>8</sup> Two recent works and some on-going PhD projects seem to constitute a serious attempt to fill this gap in our body of knowledge.<sup>9</sup> Ellis-Evans' unpublished thesis discusses the interconnectivity between Lesbos and the Troad. Melanie Heinle's historical geography of Aeolis from the archaic to the imperial period applies a cross-disciplinary approach. Her aim is to bring closer the different regional studies from the Troad to Ionia. She discusses foundation myths and their representation in Aeolis and also explores the plausibility of a migration and of Aeolian characteristics (genealogy, language, customs, and calendar).<sup>10</sup> Apart from Ellis-Evans' lengthy discussion of Lesbos and brief discussion of

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<sup>3</sup> E.g. Will (1956); Cobet (2007) and Mac Sweeney (2013) for the Ionians; Malkin (1994), Hall (1997) 56–65 and Hall (2002) 73–89 for the Dorians.

<sup>4</sup> Among numerous modern works, Zacharia (2003); Langdon (2008); Derks and Roymans (2009); Burns (2010); Hales and Hodos (2010); Gruen (2011); Schmitz and Wiater (2011); Cifani and Stoddart (2012); Demetriou (2012).

<sup>5</sup> Scholarly interest in the wider area increases for the Hellenistic age, a period when for the first time a supra-*polis* political authority, the kingdom of the Attalids, emerges in the region: e.g. Koester (1998); De Grummond and Ridgway (2000); Thonemann (2013b); Savalli-Lestrade (2016) discusses Aeolis under the influence of the Attalids. For the excavations in Aeolis, Bouzek (1974); Heinle (2015) 14–15. A recent conference at Çanakkale (*Architecture and Urbanism in Ancient Aeolis*, April 2017) bridged fieldwork on Asiatic Aeolis and the Aeolian islands, and will fill a gap in our knowledge. I am grateful to Yannis Kourtzellis for this important information.

<sup>6</sup> Bérard (1959); Vanschoonwinkel (2006a).

<sup>7</sup> Labarre (1996).

<sup>8</sup> Mele, Napolitano, and Visconti (2005); Ragone (2006).

<sup>9</sup> Pillot (2013) remains unpublished; Savalli-Lestrade (2016) did not become available in time and could not be taken into consideration for the purposes of this thesis.

<sup>10</sup> Ellis-Evans (2013); Heinle (2015), esp. 175ff.

the adjacent mainland, Anglophone scholarship is limited to Jonathan Hall's short piece on Aeolis and Aeolians alongside the Ionians, Robert Fowler's collection of archaic myths regarding the migration and the Aeolian *poleis* in his comprehensive study of archaic mythological texts, and Lene Rubinstein's chapter 'Aeolis' in Hansen and Nielsen's *Inventory of the Archaic and Classical Poleis*.<sup>11</sup>

Although much can be said about Aeolis per se, I intend to focus mostly on identity, in order to understand the mechanics of identity formation in the Greek world. Specifically, I will emphasise the role geography can play in the study of collective identities and offer a different context within which scholars may understand migration tales in antiquity. Nearly two decades after the publication of Horden and Purcell's *Corrupting Sea*,<sup>12</sup> the very function of geography in modern historical works is still often restricted to a description of the area in question and its resources before discussion of the main topic. In this sense, two seminal works, Peter Thonemann's *The Maeander Valley* and Christy Constantakopoulou's *The Dance of the Islands*, set an example for future scholarship, as they both discuss geography and human activity in a unified context that allows for a sound cross-disciplinary approach.<sup>13</sup>

Accordingly, the integration of geography and history will constitute the first methodological axis of my thesis. Instead of beginning with an introductory chapter on the geography of Aeolis before proceeding with the discussion of identities, in Chapter 2 I will combine both geography and foundation myths of the Aeolian *poleis*. Juxtaposed onto their respective *poleis* and contextualized within territorial disputes with neighbouring entities, the (trans)formation of foundation myths, and not foundation myths themselves, can be linked to actual historical events. In this way, we can discern the strategies and aims of political authorities that promoted specific foundation myths, available within the existing body of traditions, to strengthen their case and legitimise their territorial claims. Special focus will be given to the Amazon foundation myths relating to Aeolian *poleis* between the rivers Hermus and Caicus.

In Chapter 3 I will examine Aeolis as a perceptual geographical space. The modern historian can only feel empathy for Strabo's despair at the contradictory reports of ancient accounts regarding a seemingly simple issue, the size and boundaries of Aeolis (Str. 13.1.4). Instead of simply assuming confusion by ancient authors, I will suggest a different context for the apparently fluctuating borders between Aeolis, Mysia, and the Troad. Timeframe is

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<sup>11</sup> Hall (2002) 67-73; Fowler (2000) II, 597-602; Rubinstein (2004).

<sup>12</sup> Horden and Purcell (2000).

<sup>13</sup> Constantakopoulou (2007); Thonemann (2011).

important, as a ‘Small Aeolis’ (coinciding with the twelve Aeolian *poleis* listed in Hdt. 1.151) appears in the classical period, giving way to a ‘Large Aeolis’ in the Hellenistic period, until geographical archaism prevalent after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD returned the issue to its classical-period scheme and a Small Aeolis.

The second methodological axis of my thesis unfolds in Chapter 4 and involves contextualizing the tales of Aeolian migration. Rather than following the traditional path of combining texts with archeological findings in order to reconstruct a supposedly plausible chain of events, my contextualisation of the migration tales will provide an independent evaluation of the textual tradition and pre-existing myths, which should precede any attempt at a cross-disciplinary approach. I will suggest that we should evaluate the migration tales as the outcome of the transformation of an older myth centred on the theme of ‘leaders and kings coming from abroad’ to rule over subjects of different phyletic affiliation – as in the case of the Macedonian kings, the Heracleidae of Sparta, and the Molossians of Epirus. I will trace the stages of the transformation of this myth and its dissemination from royal and leading families to wider population groups.

### *Content and limitations*

At any given point in their lives, people and population groups subscribe to different identities: civic, cultural, social, linguistic, regional, ethnic, phyletic, and so on. Multiple collective identities are mutually inclusive and concurrent, with individuals and groups of people subscribing to more than one identity. My interest lies with a supra-*polis* identity, the Aeolians, an identity I define as *phyletic*, between civic identity (a narrow ethnic affiliation) and Hellenicity (a wider ethnic affiliation). The male, free, Greek-speaking people of Aeolis could be Aeolians, but they were also citizens of their *polis*, Greeks, Greeks of Asia, speakers of Aeolian Greek, wealthy or poor and so on, without compromising any of these identities. The close interaction between Aeolian and Trojan identity of people and place on the southern shore of the Troad after the 4th century B.C. (discussed in Chapter 3) did not undermine the availability of either identity for the *poleis* and people of the sub-region. What I aim to determine is the importance of one particular collective identity: the Aeolian affiliation. How significant was it for the people of the region and for ancient scholars, and in what context?

The standard ancient Greek tripartite phyletic division (Dorians, Ionians, Aeolians) was a way to bring some sense of order into the actual, diverse world. An exegesis was formulated: here be Dorians, the brave, plain-speaking, and austere; here Ionians, eloquent, frail, and innovative;<sup>14</sup> and here Aeolians. Assigning stereotypical ‘ethnic’ behaviour allows the individual or community to develop a stronger feeling of control over their social surroundings; one can conceive and handle what one understands to be logical; one feels safer when one knows what to expect within a familiar, well-understood social environment; in the end, a predictable world is a safer world.<sup>15</sup>

Following this reasoning I argue that, in contrast to Dorians and Ionians, the striking aspect of Aeolian identity in ancient writings is the omission of any characteristic Aeolian traits. An oddity of Aeolian identity rises: it does not provide a stereotypical imagery of an Aeolian. Indeed, until very late in the Roman period, there was no distinctively Aeolian trait that the people of the area, outsiders, or scholars could pinpoint. Even the alleged ‘Aeolian prowess’ mentioned by Menander the Rhetor in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, alongside Dorian manliness and Ionian eloquence, is at best a stereotypical representation of classical antiquity in the late Roman Empire (Menander Rh. *On Epideictic Speeches* 354.10-15): a desperate attempt to find an attribute worthy of praise in case of an Aeolian *polis*, as the rhetor composes a guide for potential encomiasts. As he states, ‘One must declare every Greek *polis* as affiliated to the one of the three stock mentioned above’. Heraclides Ponticus (apud Athen. 14.642e; fl. 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) alludes to a proverbial Aeolian blissfulness, but again this seems strongly reliant on Lesbian lyric poetry (Lesbian blissfulness also features in Longus, see pp. 89-90). In truth, these two attestations are generic features, scholarly attempts to distill Aeolianness from their extensive yet silent material, conjuring blissfulness from common narratives of Lesbian landscape and prowess out of thin air, in the absence of any actual or widely-accepted Aeolian trait.

The absence of a distinct Aeolian characteristic in itself suggests the artificiality of the Aeolian identity. Modern scholarship regards collective identities as social constructs rather than qualities ascribed by nature. However, these constructs nonetheless become real, in the sense that members and outsiders interact with, transmit, transform, conform with, counteract, or dismiss them in everyday life.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, I intend to focus on the mechanics of collective identity creation and transformation through time. In investigating the creation and evolution

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Th. 2.35-46; 5.9; 6.77; 7.5; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.17.

<sup>15</sup> Following Kecmanovic (1996) 4 reasoning on psychological security.

<sup>16</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005) 1-4.



of an Aeolian identity, I will also consider its relation to other identity choices available to the inhabitants of Aeolis.

A crucial point about agency is that phyletic identities are not decided upon freely. People do not convene to deliberate on their collective affiliation. As sociological and anthropological studies have shown, ethnic and phyletic identities are initially ascribed from the top layers of society to the general population (often instigated by outsiders), and various mechanisms ensuring social conformity take over afterwards.<sup>17</sup> Foundation myths organise the past into a single, normative narrative, aiming to instill a sense of co-belonging in its target group. In order to convince their audience, foundation myths need to be strongly based on a pre-existing body of myths, otherwise they regress to meaningless tales or *fabulae*, absurd curiosities (see section 1.4). Collective identities as a product of elite ideology are diffused into society down to the lower strata. Gradually, they become part of the popular self- and group-perception.<sup>18</sup> Hence, I will examine phyletic identities as elite constructs.

The reader may have already detected some purposeful limitations in the scope of my intended coverage. Since I do not intend to determine indicators of an Aeolian population group or investigate indicators of co-belonging (if any), such as common rituals, iconography, representations or settlement patterns relating to Aeolian identity, my thesis does not include discussion of archaeological findings in the region. Scholars have already pinpointed the difficulties in evaluating the archaeological record and the problems arising from divergences between archaeological evidence and textual sources.<sup>19</sup> I will discuss these issues more fully in section 1.4, but one important preliminary point is that one should avoid co-examination of different kinds of evidence without properly defining the context for each kind, and then to ask historically significant questions that our evidence is capable of answering.

The reader may also expect a discussion of linguistics. After all, the Aeolian dialect, and the Ionian and Dorian for that matter, may seem to constitute a solid base for distinct language groups at the very least.<sup>20</sup> This discussion is also omitted. Language groups and collective identities have been linked by earlier scholarship, yet, as recent work has shown, the

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<sup>17</sup> Giddens (1984); Held and Thompson (1989); Diaz-Andreu (2007) 4.

<sup>18</sup> Assman (2011) 17, 38-39, 115-116; Pagkalos (2018), esp. 39-48, 147-149, 201-205; on *habitus* see pp. 21-24.

<sup>19</sup> The discrepancies between theorising migrations as causes of change and archaeological findings were the basis for the challenges posed by New Archaeology since the 1970s. New or Processual Archaeology set out to trace social processes and relations by perceiving culture not as a criterion for identity and descent, but as a system of values and representations in its context (see further pp. 20-21). For a recent application of new methodology to neighbouring Ionia and the 'Ionian migration', Mac Sweeney (2017) 387-394.

<sup>20</sup> Buck (1968) 147-154; García-Ramón (1975); Nagy (2011); Miller (2014).

link remains methodologically precarious.<sup>21</sup> Linguists have long debated the origins of Asiatic Aeolic and Lesbian dialects. The traditional view considers both groups as linguistic innovations by newcomers from mainland Greece under the influence of the neighbouring Ionians.<sup>22</sup> Holt Parker's recent work attempts a significant revision of the entire scholarly framework on Greek dialects, arguing for an independent development of Aeolic and Lesbian dialects directly from early Greek in a lengthy process conducted locally, without need for the migration hypothesis. He even questions the very existence of an Aeolian dialect group.<sup>23</sup> Parker's revisions have met with criticism and the occasional return to the basic assumptions of older scholarship.<sup>24</sup> In short, the subject is currently in a state of considerable flux, making it difficult for a non-specialist to base theories on linguistic evidence. In any case, the omission of linguistics is of marginal significance for my purposes, which are not to seek actual Aeolians based on pre-defined indicators of ethnicity, but rather to trace the formation of that collective identity. One point I should underline is that before Parker's paper, linguists seem to have accepted a migration (sometimes in the form of colonisation) at the very base of their discussions of the origins of Aeolic and Lesbian dialects.<sup>25</sup>

After the subtraction of archeology and linguistics, what remains is a thorough study of the collective identities and foundation myths of the Aeolian *poleis* in Asia Minor. Despite the pressing need for a history of Aeolis, what follows is not a historical narrative, but exclusively an account of the identities of people and place. I do not perceive 'Aeolianness' as an indicator of a bound cultural or linguistic group, but rather as a collective identity on a supra-*polis* level: as a means of forging ties between individuals and *poleis* and of bringing order to the outside world, a pattern to perceive Self and Other by local populations, by outsiders, and by ancient scholars. My aim is to contextualize the formation of collective identities within a literary and geographical framework that creates fewer problems than it resolves, but also raises more questions than it tackles, and invites a wider range of approaches than those it implements. The prospects for further research to tackle those issues and undertake those approaches will be discussed in the Epilogue.

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<sup>21</sup> Smith (1986) 27 (with n. 21, p. 231) presents examples and previous scholarship that disassociates language from ethnicity. In fact, he argues that scholarly persistence in viewing language as a marker of ethnicity is a misconception which fails to acknowledge that language is a secondary cultural component, dependent on the political interplay in an area. Further discussion and bibliography in Bucholtz & Hall (2004); Dyer (2007); Hall (1997) 21-22 for the introduction of new concepts into antiquity studies.

<sup>22</sup> Porzig (1954); García-Ramón (1975) 81 places the point of departure of future Aeolians in Thessaly.

<sup>23</sup> Parker (2008), especially p. 460: '...we are better off avoiding the term 'Aeolic' altogether'.

<sup>24</sup> Finkelberg (2017) 449-454.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Wyatt (1973), who summarises earlier views.

Following these introductory remarks, in the remainder of this chapter I will address theoretical issues and present my methodology. In section 1.2 I will briefly discuss the dynamic nature of collective identities before moving to more specific issues, namely the role of geography (section 1.3) and my approach to migration and colonisation tales (section 1.4).

## 1.2 Collective identities as a dynamic element in human societies

Any study of collective identities must address terminology and define its theoretical framework in relation to ethnicity, the dominant form of collective identity in popular culture and scholarly interest. In this section, I will summarise the bulky and impressive scholarly work of the last few decades on the theme of collective identities, which usually revolves around the notion of ethnicity.

The majority of the free male population of the ancient Greek world was able to subscribe to more than one collective identity. In approximately the same sense that a person living in present-day U.K. can be an East-ender, a Londoner, a Welsh person, a Catholic, a Brit, and a European, a person living in ancient Greece in the classical period could be a member of a *demos* in ancient Athens or a *kome* in Sparta (a local identity), of a civic *phyle* (an administrative identity), an Athenian or a Spartan (a civic identity or a core ethnic identity, for those who choose to see the *polis* as the entity closest to ethnicity in the ancient Greek world), an Ionian or a Dorian (phyletic identity), and a Greek (wide ethnic identity). As I have mentioned earlier and will briefly argue later in this section, the sense of co-belonging is better understood under the perspective of multiple identities, where the same person or group of people can subscribe to more than one identity at the same time, according to context and needs, while the criteria of membership remain flexible and open to constant re-negotiation. Even within this flexible framework, the definition of ethnicity in the ancient world remains as elusive as in the modern world. More specifically, the equivalent of an ethnic identity in the Greek world could stretch from a civic identity within the confines of a *polis*,<sup>26</sup> to an *ethnos* uniting neighbouring settlements on a basis of phyletic affiliation,<sup>27</sup> and finally to a wider ethnic subscription, Hellenes, embracing all Greek communities.<sup>28</sup> My thesis focuses on

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<sup>26</sup> As argued by Konstan (2001) 30.

<sup>27</sup> As in Larson (2007).

<sup>28</sup> As in Hall (2002).

phyletic identity of population groups in Aeolis, between the civic level and the wider ethnic level. Yet, as I will suggest below, the study of ethnicity in the Greek world often provides the tools and mindset with which scholars approach any form of co-belonging in antiquity. Hence, a brief overview of theories of ethnicity and their application to the study of antiquity is not entirely irrelevant at this point.

Although in popular thought the history and culture of population groups and their national characteristics are defined by their ethnicity, assuming that every person bears national characteristics as a cultural mark assigned by birth, very few scholars, if any, view collective identities as a fixed, inherited set of attributes. The former view was developed throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was later termed ‘primordialism’, due to its fundamental principle that ethnicity or nationality was a natural characteristic of humans and population groups, acquired by birth and transmitted by blood.<sup>29</sup> Ethnicity was static, firm, fixed, unaffected by social environment. Accordingly, the world was often portrayed as a mosaic with each piece representing a bounded entity, a distinct civilisation clearly divided from its surroundings with solid boundaries.<sup>30</sup>

‘Instrumentalism’ and New Archaeology developed as responses to primordialism and culture-historical Archaeology in the 1960s. Extensive anthropological surveys in different parts of the world convincingly challenged the alleged link between material culture and ethnic identity. It became understood that material culture can transcend different ethnic groups, and that an ethnic group often does not display a homogenous material culture. In the end, the axiom that groups of people have separate, distinct traits evident in their material culture was effectively challenged.<sup>31</sup> Modern scholars acknowledge the contribution of Frederick Barth’s work as the most influential in changing the paradigm and forming a different anthropological perspective.<sup>32</sup> Barth introduced the term ‘perceived boundaries’, imagined social boundaries paramount in any definition of an ethnic group. Thus, a definition of an ethnic group would be a group of people which uses assumed cultural differences as a perceptual boundary to the Other (even if no cultural differences are traced or cultural trends transcend the perceptual boundaries between population groups). The old view of the world as a jigsaw, with every piece clearly separated by strict, definite boundaries, gave way to a new approach involving

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<sup>29</sup> For a thorough outline of primordialism, Hall (1997) 4-16; Jones (1997) 67-72; Siapkas (2003) 41-46.

<sup>30</sup> It must be stressed that other approaches to antiquity emerged, which kept their intellectual distance from the prevailing model. Vlassopoulos (2007b) 36-39, 47-52 outlines the advanced views of a 19<sup>th</sup>-century school of thought, the Modernists, who challenged the static views of previous researchers and incorporated social and economic aspects of antiquity as subjects worthy of study.

<sup>31</sup> Jones (1997) 72-76; Lucy (2005) 91-92.

<sup>32</sup> Barth (1969), especially his Introduction.

active interaction and permeable, changeable, socially conceived boundaries. Since boundaries are variable and culture is not static, artefacts and material culture cannot always pinpoint, trace or hint at the presence of ethnic groups. However, as in many societies ethnicity is considered a governing factor of self- and group- definition, it significantly affects social behaviour and external relations. Furthermore, because ethnic groups do not evolve in isolation but in interaction, they are inherently dynamic. Ethnicity and identity acquired a degree of relativity.<sup>33</sup>

Ethnicity was now viewed as a process, a social strategy formulated to serve a specific purpose in a specific context: a synchronic social praxis rather than an achronic feature inherent in every ethnic group. As ethnicity (or any other identity for that matter) is formed, affected and modified according to the social environment in question, and since social context constantly changes, then ethnicity too must be a changeable, dynamic aspect of human life, not the ultimate exegesis of human behaviour. Social context was brought to the centre of the analysis, combined with an 'active' view of material culture: i.e. artefacts may have different meanings within different contexts. The specific meaning depends on the *habitus* (discussed below): the social sphere, which confers on symbols their actual symbolic function (as opposed to a 'passive' view, which recognises only one, general, universal meaning for each kind of artefact and aims at expressing equally general, universal rules and interpretations).<sup>34</sup>

Bourdieu defined *habitus* as the outcome of the structures of a living social environment, a range of systems through which attitudes, principles, and practices are regulated without resorting to strict rules, prohibitions, or authoritarian imposition.<sup>35</sup> The aim was to describe the mechanisms through which ideals, ideas, and perceptions are transmitted within a society from generation to generation without applying universal laws or falling into determinism. Bourdieu and Giddens advocated the nowadays widely-accepted view that society cannot be conceived out of context and independently of its members.<sup>36</sup> On the contrary, a society is constantly being (re-)constructed and (re-)modelled through its members' actions and practices. People set themselves within a spectrum of available possibilities and alternatives when acting according or against the *habitus*. Despite its flaws, Bourdieu's

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<sup>33</sup> McInerney (2001) 59; Siapkas (2003) 177–180; Luraghi (2008) 7-8.

<sup>34</sup> Analysis and bibliography in Jones (1997) 76–79; Siapkas (2003) 184–187; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005) 4.

<sup>35</sup> The term is by no means Bourdieu's original conception. He admits that *habitus* also occurs in works of other philosophers, from Hegel to Durkheim. For an overview of *habitus* in its context, Bourdieu's behavioural theory, Jenkins (1992) 74–84. In fact, Bourdieu offered a number of definitions through time, as his understanding of mechanics of social behaviour and its transmission evolved. For a thorough discussion of Bourdieu's concepts and definitions of *habitus*, Olizardo (2004).

<sup>36</sup> Giddens (1984).

approach has deeply influenced scholarly works and aspects of his theory are still present in studies of ethnicity in antiquity.<sup>37</sup>

In a particularly influential contribution to the study of collective identities, Anthony Smith attempted the impossible, the reconciliation of primordialism and instrumentalism. His work, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, was based on a number of ethnic indicators, i.e. features that were deemed to define and describe an ethnic group: a collective name; a common myth of descent; shared history; a distinctive shared culture; specific territory; a sense of solidarity.<sup>38</sup> Smith's theoretical scheme deeply influenced classicists, since it was his arguments that Jonathan Hall adopted in Humanities with his ground-breaking book, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*.

Hall listed Smith's six *indicia* that distinguish ethnic groups and suggested that two of them strongly influence population groups: common myth of descent and connection with a territory (contemporary or primordial motherland).<sup>39</sup> He underlined that oral tradition and myths are not surviving fractions of a lost historical memory, but socially constructed means to address contemporary issues and relations with other groups. Hence, the variety of versions of a given myth does not reflect vague historical memory, but the conflicting or simply different interests of social groups.<sup>40</sup> While the notoriously unhistorical method of sociology was modified carefully by Hall before its application to ancient history (by stressing that it is the historical dimension of ethnicity that distinguishes ethnic groups from cultural, religious, or language groups), the search for general laws with universal application probably lay behind his insistence on *indicia* of ethnicity. His theoretical scheme was followed and revised by historians who delved into an old theme with renewed interest. Scholars explored different aspects of ethnicity;<sup>41</sup> others expanded the concept of *indicia* as factors determining ethnicity,<sup>42</sup> or questioned their explanatory value altogether.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Siapkas (2003) 38 for criticism of Bourdieu's determinism.

<sup>38</sup> Smith (1986) 22–31. The introduction of criteria of ethnicity should perhaps be attributed to Horowitz (1975).

<sup>39</sup> Hall (1997) 25. Despite criticism, Hall insisted on his approach in his more detailed and elaborate work, *Hellenicity* (Hall (2002) 9).

<sup>40</sup> Hall (1997) 2.

<sup>41</sup> E.g., the contributions in Malkin (2001), each focusing on a different aspect of ethnicity in the Greek world, selecting different central points to define ethnicity as a construct, such as language, territory, civic identity, and a common name.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Larson (2007), who applies primary and secondary *indicia* of ethnicity in Boeotia, and Luraghi (2008), who explores the *core theory* articulated by Wenskus, which explains the formation of collective identities on the basis of small elite groups expanding their common identity over larger population groups.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Vlassopoulos (2013), who challenges Hall's evolutionistic model, which draws strict dividing lines on Hellenicity before and after the Persian Wars, when an open approach to non-Greeks shifted to an oppositional model of Us versus Them after 480 B.C. (in Hall (1997) 47, further expanded in Hall (2002)); further criticism in Vlassopoulos (2015), with a response in Hall (2015).

Building on previous scholarship, I will treat collective identities as dynamic processes, social choices and strategies.<sup>44</sup> I will approach Aeolian identity as one among the multiple identities available to population groups and authorities in Aeolis. Subscriptions to multiple identities from a local to a supra-*polis* level can co-exist, because they are not mutually exclusive but are applicable to and effective in different contexts.<sup>45</sup> To an individual, a range of possible responses to multiple identities impressed by social mechanisms are available, from non-acceptance to compartmentalisation, from focusing on one aspect and ignoring all others to actively redefining the contents of an identity. The acceptance of one among the available multiple identities does not erase all others.<sup>46</sup> In this sense, being Aeolian was not exclusive of being anything else.

The specific social function of myths is a case that needs to be argued, and this thesis will attempt to describe the mechanics and transformation of foundation myths and collective identities in Aeolis. Accordingly, I will not seek to trace *indicia* of ethnicity as prerequisites for co-belonging to an Aeolian identity. Instead, I will explore the formation of Aeolian phyletic identity as a social structure above the *polis* level as a means of forging ties with neighbours, forming links with mainland Greece, and differentiating from other groups, which might have been perceived as ‘locals’ (e.g. Mysians or Lydians). I will read tales of migration within a social and literary context in an attempt to investigate the conditions that created narratives of migration, probably at an elite level first. The diffusion of elite foundation myths into large population groups, and their acceptance and incorporation by communities as a whole, echoes Bourdieu’s theory of *habitus* based on Knapp’s definition as:

[The] durable but unconscious dispositions that people hold toward certain common perceptions and practices, which may generate patterned behaviour...subject to change, from generation to generation, when the material and economic conditions of life change.<sup>47</sup>

Invariably, the populations of the area, as well as audiences and people well beyond Asia Minor, were repeatedly told how Aeolians came to dwell in that specific part of the western coast of Asia Minor. Through time, the tale of migration became the predominant explanation

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<sup>44</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005) 1-2.

<sup>45</sup> Morgan (2001) 77; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005) 11; Vlassopoulos (2015) 10-13.

<sup>46</sup> Kecmanovic (1996) 23-24; Guibernau and Rex (2010) 4.

<sup>47</sup> Knapp (2014) 37.

of the presence of Aeolians in Aeolis, with scholars and people acknowledging this interpretation as the undisputed truth. Specific population groups in the area perceived themselves as the descendents of colonists from mainland Greece and lived their lives under this assumption (in Bourdieu's words, repetition generated patterned behaviour). To what extent this popular worldview was actually true remains at least debatable.

### 1.3 Geography

‘*Τί* με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι;’

‘What do people say that I am?’ (after Mark 8.27)

The interaction between conceptual geography and subscription to multiple identities manifests itself in a victor's list from Delphi (*FD* III 3:167) dated between 249 and 239 B.C, where we read (restored with significant certainty) of a ‘Lycon, son of Astyana[x, a Trojan of Alexandriaia o]f Aeolis’ (Λύκων Ἀστυάνακ[τος Τρῶς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς] [ἐ]ξ Αἰολίδος). A person from Alexandriaia Troas could be a Trojan and an Aeolian at the same time, and Alexandriaia Troas could also be an Aeolian *polis*. It was the overlap between Aeolis and the Troad which permitted those kind of hybrid, non-exclusive patterns of self-belonging. In the same way that I will not apply *indicia* of belonging to Aeolian identity, I will not seek to define Aeolis as actual space in time. In this section, I will first examine the concept of region and how one can establish boundaries, conceptual rather than physical. Then, I will outline my methodological approach to the environment as a factor of change, before I conclude with a definition of Aeolis.

#### *What is a region?*

To respond to Strabo's despair at the contradictory accounts of the size and boundaries of Aeolis (13.1.4), it would perhaps be too much to expect from our sources a fixed, stable perception of Aeolis throughout time. After all, what is a region? How can it be defined as a conceptual and analytical term? Tracing and following the fluctuating borders of Aeolis cannot provide an answer to the question ‘What *is* Aeolis’, but can modify the question itself to the more relative ‘What do people *think* Aeolis is?’ or, to adapt the phrase of Mark the Evangelist above, ‘*What* [Τί] do people say that I am?’.



A region is often defined by constructing conceptual borders from above, which equally often coincide with natural landmarks, such as mountains, rivers, and coastlines. While this seems a rather modernistic view,<sup>48</sup> as 19<sup>th</sup>-century nationalism idolised mountains and terrain as Ours, Our sacred motherland, in many ancient Greek sources rivers were often viewed as borders between regions (e.g. Hdt. 7.127 on Macedonia; [Scyl.] 67 on Thrace; Pliny *HN* 5.31.119 on Phrygia). So were mountains (e.g. Paus. 2.25.9 on Epidaurus), the sea, but also valleys, temples, groves or temples of the gods, or sometimes other unlikely landmarks.<sup>49</sup>

A firm, 'objective' definition of any region seems impossible. A certain element of relativity must be taken into account, relating to what one might call 'the magnifying glass regression': a wider region can be continuously segregated into smaller fragments, from a seemingly isolated, large entity to smaller micro-units. The viewpoint of the observer can also be crucial, be (s)he a local or an outsider; moreover, two members of the same community may not, and usually do not, share the same views on the boundaries of their region. For the farmers of a community, a mountain is usually a definite limit, while it is hardly ever considered a marginal location by pastoral groups or traders.<sup>50</sup> Viewed from the outside, a mountain, a river, or the sea can be a frontier or a medium of connectivity, depending on the approach of the observer. Moreover, physical geography and perceptions of a natural environment may change, but quite often not in the same direction, as Thonemann insightfully observes in the case of the Maeander river-system, which is conceptualised not on the basis of sheer presence or proximity, but due to strong connections between a community and a river (livelihood, resources, connectivity, cult, identity). According to his reasoning, not every river signifies a river-system; river-systems are a social phenomenon, not a geophysical necessity.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes, what appears on a map does not necessarily coincide with the perception of the natural landscape by the locals.

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<sup>48</sup> Sporadic, isolated instances of sanctifying 'Our lands' emerge in Greek antiquity. The Athenian Ephebes swore an oath and called upon not only deities as witnesses, but also the boundaries of the land: wheat, barley, vines, olives, figs (*SEG* 21.629; also in *Lyc.* 1.77; for a comprehensive discussion, Kellogg (2008)). In addition, according to Plutarch's citation of Demetrius Phalereus, a fervent Demosthenes once took an oath upon unlikely and unaccustomed landmarks that invited satire: '[we swear] by land, by fountains, by the rivers, by the streams' (*Plut. Dem.* 9.4). Cf. *IPriene* 361-363, where, following an arbitration of Rhodian judges on a dispute between Priene and Samos in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., a list of landmarks defining borders is included; among others, hills, a shrine, an old wall, a garden, a river, a field, a precipice, a temple, a road, a mountain, some private properties, and a village. For the connection between nationalism, geography, and perceptions of space, Hooson (1994); for a historical perspective of how nationalism idolised and sanctified the 'national space', the First Part in Paasi (1996).

<sup>49</sup> Such as a spiral olive tree, allegedly forced into its current form by Hercules, which functioned as a boundary mark between the lands of the Epidaurians and the Asinians, as reported by Paus. 2.28.2.

<sup>50</sup> Horden and Purcell (2000) 80-81; Mack (2015) 65-74.

<sup>51</sup> Thonemann (2011) 21, 29.

Regional geography, perhaps the most suitable discipline to offer insight into the initial question of the nature of ‘region’, defines it as ‘the basis for social action’.<sup>52</sup> While an interactive approach is assumed between landscape and people, the study of any given region is typically conducted in certain stages: a descriptive starting-point; an examination of the organisation of production; class formation and division of labour; and then an analysis of political system and authorities.<sup>53</sup> Increased human mobility after the 19<sup>th</sup> century undermined the traditional methodology of examining the world as a jigsaw of fixed territories. The last two generations of geographers have defined ‘region’ in terms of self-ascribed collective identities with a sense of co-belonging, ‘collective action in relation to the environment’, acknowledging at the same time social dynamics and social differences.<sup>54</sup>

These are points easily missed by scholars of other disciplines. Classics in particular has been strongly influenced by a Braudelian deterministic world-view, where geography was linked to the *longue durée* and politics defined as dynamic, short-term history.<sup>55</sup> Only recently has it been realised that while environmental factors may be inelastic, their relation to the human-made environment, human actions and perceptions of the natural environment is actually dynamic. To offer one example among many, if transport networks relied solely on geomorphology, then those networks would remain for ever unchanged. If geographical factors dictated trade routes, there would be no caravans travelling on the thousand-mile Silk Road. Evidently, social and diplomatic relations hindered or facilitated land transport much more than geophysics.<sup>56</sup>

### *The role of the natural environment: possibilism vs determinism*

With these considerations in mind, I will set out a geographical description of Aeolis at the beginning of Chapter 2, not in order to define its ‘actual space’, but to investigate restrictions posed and opportunities offered by the natural environment, and to achieve a basic

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<sup>52</sup> Peet (1998) 147-150, summarising previous bibliography. For recent, alternative approaches to space, Murdoch (2006) 1-25; Thrift (2008). Post-structuralist geography emphasizes the perceptual space tied to alternative modes of identity. Accordingly, space has no determining structure, but is conceived on the basis of social norms and relations, ‘made not of structures but of relations. Space is not simply a container’ (Murdoch (2006) 23).

<sup>53</sup> Peet (1998) 149-150.

<sup>54</sup> Entrikin (2008) xvii.

<sup>55</sup> Braudelian influences on archaeologists and survey projects are discussed in Lambrianides and Spencer (2007) 1-4. Their study of the area of the river Madra opposite the east coast of Lesbos set out to challenge these influences and enhance the social, dynamic feature of geography.

<sup>56</sup> Horden and Purcell (2000) 41, 63-64, 130-132.

understanding of the setting within which individuals, population groups, scholars, and political authorities interacted in antiquity.

What can be more dramatic for the life and well-being of a community than a drastic change of the environment, such as those experienced by many *poleis* in Asia Minor, where coastal *poleis* turned into mainland settlements as silt brought downstream by rivers gradually expanded the reach of land at the expense of the water, the harbours, the coastal and long distance trade? The phenomenon of river-silt accumulation and its repercussions were well known in antiquity. Herodotus (2.10) deduces that, among others, the entire area between the Troad, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the Maeander plain was once a gulf of the sea; Ephorus, a local, reports that the plain of Larisa in Aeolis had once been under the sea (*FGrHist* 70 F 65f); Pausanias (8.24.11) mentions two instances of new lands created by river silt, namely on the mouths of the Achelous in Thessaly and the Maeander; and the phenomenon is explicitly described by Strabo's citation of Nearchus (Str. 15.1.16, using the Hermus and the Caicus as examples).

However, alluviation does not necessarily bear positive or negative aspect in itself: the way communities respond to the challenge makes alluviation a positive or a negative phenomenon. A better documented occurrence is the siltation of the harbour of Miletus and the creation of new lands by the river Maeander in the Hellenistic period. As Thonemann has shown, the neighbouring settlements of Myous and Miletus struggled against the incoming silt.<sup>57</sup> Micro-environmental change was viewed and tackled very differently by the two *poleis*. A potentially devastating event, the changing of the course of the Maeander and the silting up of harbours, also created new opportunities in the form of alluvial and lagoonal micro-regions open to exploitation. Only the wealthy citizens of Miletus had the necessary resources available and invested their accumulated capital in making this new environment profitable. In this case, the social organisation and the concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a small elite secured the prosperity, if not of Miletus as a whole, at least its leading citizens. In contrast, for Myous, 'an exception, a community...incapable of realising the potential benefits...', the effect of the environmental changes was severe, as the *polis* is absent from the list of contestants for the new lands created by the silt of the Maeander, a clash that lasted for an entire century.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Detailed analysis in Brückner (2003). Evidence of land disputes date to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when judges from other Ionian *poleis* appointed by the satrap of Lydia ruled in favour of Miletus, noting nevertheless that Myous have abandoned its claim before their decision (*IPriene* 458). Lands close to the changing delta of the Maeander caused a series of disputes in later times between Miletus, Priene, Magnesia on the Maeander and Herakleia under Latmus until at least the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. (Thonemann (2011) 28.

<sup>58</sup> Thonemann (2011) 297, 332-338.

Perhaps the most dramatic case of environmental change was the formation of Leucaea, where a reverse phenomenon is observed. Leucaea, a settlement founded close to a steep cliff by the shore in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century by Tachos, an Egyptian naval commander in the service of the Great King. The nearby fertile coastal plains were contested by Cyme and Clazomenae, with the latter eventually gaining control.<sup>59</sup> However, not many centuries before, neither Tachos nor any other founder could have established a settlement on the spot (and no contest could be held in Leucaea), as the location of Leucaea, on a promontory close to the mouth of the Hermus, was once an island.<sup>60</sup>

In this thesis environmental changes, dramatic as they may occasionally be, are not considered an inelastic factor that determines the fate of settlements. On the contrary, the ways societies decide to react to environmental changes are more crucial, and the study of their reactions is more important to our understanding of human agency than establishing a deterministic connection between human and nature. Atarneus, a *polis* on the Chian *peraia* (i.e. overseas territory controlled by a *polis*) directly opposite Mytilene, and Elaea, separated from Atarneus by the Canae peninsula, constitute excellent case-studies for the dynamic relation between societies and the natural environment (the correlation and chronological order between environmental deterioration and settlement relocation is discussed in pp. 100-101 and 81-82 respectively).

In fact, coastal Asia Minor in general constitutes a very good case-study against environmental determinism. Very little has changed in Anatolia, in terms of climate and geophysical conditions between antiquity, the Byzantine, the Ottoman, and present times. Even so, settlement patterns, population density, and size and the use of land have all changed radically during the last two millennia. As observed by Thonemann, the case of Patmos, a small and rocky island opposite Miletus with very limited land available for grazing or cultivation, shows that while environmental factors do pose restrictions, they do not dictate reactions and strategies. Instead, people are the active agents who ultimately leave their mark on the ground and strongly influence the future of their micro-environment. Patmos, wholly abandoned for centuries before the foundation of the monastery of John the Theologian in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD, not only flourished, but the monastery's grip expanded onto other islands and even onto the shores of the adjacent mainland, in an area much similar to that under the control of the

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. Meadows (2009).

<sup>60</sup> Assuming that Plin. *HN*. 5.119 refers to historical and not mythical times. In fact, Rubinstein (2004) 1046 finds Pliny's passage the only basis of the appearance of Leucaea as an island in the Barrington map and 'it must relate to the archaic period or before' (Rubinstein (2004) 1046).

Milesians in antiquity. The monastery, through its exclusive connection with the ruling authorities (the emperor in Constantinople) changed the human geography in the area by shifting the balance of power and land ownership to its benefit. As a result Patmos put its 'interconnective potential' into good use and surpassed by and large what any informed person in the 21<sup>st</sup> century would classify as 'geographical limitations inherent in cases of small and barren islands'.<sup>61</sup> The Ottoman conquest in the 14<sup>th</sup> century put this fine arrangement into danger. Patmos suffered severely from pirate raids and saw its trade revenues diminished as an additional disaster. The despair was so grave that thoughts of abandoning the island altogether were expressed before another favourable arrangement with the new political authorities secured the prosperity of the island.<sup>62</sup>

These examples illustrate the value of a methodological approach based on the concept of environmental 'possibilism' rather than 'determinism.'<sup>63</sup> The latter theorises a linear, exclusive, inescapable relation between environment and human presence. On the contrary, 'possibilism' suggests that people and population groups are not entirely restricted by their natural environment. A spectrum of potential reactions to environmental factors presents itself in any given habitat. Even though the debate between possibilism and determinism has not ended,<sup>64</sup> as a feature of regional geography possibilism facilitates a stronger link to history and is of great value to classicists as well.<sup>65</sup>

Whether environmental factors are the cause of human reaction or merely one of the conditions affecting human action is subject to the methodology and approach applied by any particular scholar.<sup>66</sup> Two options become available: one either ascribes an inelastic role to environmental factors and then seeks to trace general, deterministic reactions to nature or, alternatively, one conceives the environment as a contributing factor to social change and examines the decisions of people and authorities, as well as consequent changes within human societies. It may have been clear to the reader so far that this thesis will not consider the environmental factor as an inelastic element inescapably determining the course of human societies.

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<sup>61</sup> Thonemann (2011) 286-288.

<sup>62</sup> Zachariadou (1966) 190-192, 195-207.

<sup>63</sup> Possibilism was conceived by Vidal de La Blache (1908) building on previous works of German geographers, and then advanced by Febvre (1922), who introduced the actual term.

<sup>64</sup> For a recent summary of the discussion, Fekadu (2014).

<sup>65</sup> Buttner (1971) 44-54. Apparently, more ground needs to be covered regarding the incorporation of 'overdeterminism', meaning linking multiple natural causes to a single event rather than opting for one predominant factor (Peet (1998) 144).

<sup>66</sup> Rigby (1995).

## *A working definition of Aeolis*

Arguably, there is more to the term *region* than geographical space. Besides the natural geographical space, equally visible is the human-made, urban, semi-urban, or rural environment. Settlements, cultivation, land improvements, buildings, roads, all modify the natural environment.<sup>67</sup> More important for the scope of this thesis is the third level of natural geography: after the geographical space per se and the human-made environment, there is the perceived space. Individuals and groups of people use different constructs to perceive their surroundings and the world in general.<sup>68</sup>

Accordingly, in Chapter 3 I will examine how ancient authors applied not only their own ideological conception of Aeolis in their works, but also the concurrent public knowledge on what Aeolis was, as well as the view of political authorities, since both individual and public views tend to reflect and to be influenced by the views of the ruling power in any given time period. It may be reasonably assumed that different accounts of the geographical space of Aeolis are more than errors of ancient authors typically accused for their inability to grasp what is reasonable for the modern scholar.<sup>69</sup> Discrepancies do not necessarily constitute misunderstandings, but rather reveal attempts to construct views of the world in accordance with the interests and goals of certain groups of people.

An issue addressed by all scholars discussing Aeolis is the size of the area in question. Bérard discussed the Aeolian settlements between Cyme and Pitane;<sup>70</sup> Labarre focused on the *poleis* of Lesbos;<sup>71</sup> Ellis-Evans examined the interaction between Lesbos and the Troad and does not concern himself much with the *poleis* on the narrow coastal strip to the south;<sup>72</sup> Heinle studies in detail the area between the Hermus and Canae peninsula (an area she terms as *hendekapolis* following the list provided by Hdt. 1.151 with the exclusion of Smyrna after the

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<sup>67</sup> Heinle (2015) 3-7.

<sup>68</sup> This view has been excellently articulated by Peet (1998) 10: 'So the map may give a 'bird's-eye' view but the bird is an eagle, symbol of the state, and soaring on high, rather than a working sparrow, picking up the crumbs of its localised existence'.

<sup>69</sup> A trend already traced in the beginning of modern research in the area, as early as Leake, the first scholar who organised a systematic classical topography of ancient Asia Minor. In his attempt to identify ancient toponyms in ancient ruins, Leake was confident and indignant enough to accuse ancient scholars of 'demonstrable ignorance' regarding the area in question (Wagstaff (1987) 30). Leaf (1923) xxxviii-xli was equally adamant on his attack against Strabo and the absurdity of his inclusion of the Elaeatic gulf in the Gulf of Adramyttion (a mistake repeated in Str. 13.1.51 and 13.1.68). As I shall argue when examining Adramyttion and the Troad in Chapter Two, when juxtaposed to other passages of Strabo and in the light of his knowledge of the area apparent elsewhere, we are probably facing a copyist's error than a gross geographical mistake.

<sup>70</sup> Bérard (1959).

<sup>71</sup> Labarre (1996).

<sup>72</sup> Ellis-Evans (2013).

*polis* changed its phyletic affiliation), acknowledges the expansion of Aeolian elements outside Asia Minor, but discusses Lesbos and the Troad only occasionally;<sup>73</sup> the expansion of scope outside Asia Minor was picked up by Baralis, who restricts his interest in Aeolians outside Asia Minor, and specifically along the Thracian coast around Ainos.<sup>74</sup> For the purpose of this thesis which approaches collective identities as social constructs, a political division and working definition of Aeolis would be the combined urban and rural area of *poleis* defined or self-identified as Aeolian at any given point in time.<sup>75</sup> This broad frame of reference represents a close-to-maximum extent of areas and settlements labelled as Aeolian (how much of this broad geographical frame of reference was regarded or self-identified as Aeolian varied considerably in time, as discussed in Chapter 3).

In that sense, Lesbos cannot but be a part of my analysis, and so also the nearby island of Tenedos (mod. Bozcaada). Both islands were regarded as Aeolian and were included in Herodotus' list of Aeolian settlements at the time of the 'Ionian' revolt (Hdt. 1.151). The population of both islands interacted with the opposite shore and its settlements for centuries, closely enough to constitute a common phyletic group (Aeolians) according to ancient authors. Their people spoke an Aeolian dialect; their foundation myths relied on the Aeolian migration from mainland Greece; at a certain point in time Mytilene tried to portray itself as the *metropolis* of the Aeolians (Str. 13.2.1; Dio Chrys. 45.13). The exclusion of Lesbos and Tenedos from the examination of the Aeolian identity would unjustifiably exclude an important part of the Aeolian population groups from the scope of this thesis and restrict it to only a part of what was regarded Aeolian in antiquity. With the islands excluded from the geographical scene, their *peraiiai* would be reduced to nothing more than isolated islets on the mainland, abrupt discontinuities in the patterns of land ownership, an invasion from the outside, a view most probably embraced by the mainlanders.<sup>76</sup> Tenedos was not in a position to claim predominance over the Aeolians, yet the inclusion of its sole *polis* in the list of Aeolian *poleis* by Herodotus (1.151) and the early reference to its foundation in the context of the Aeolian expedition (Pin. *Nem.* 33-35) seem enough to justify the inclusion of Tenedos in my research.

For all these reasons, I will follow the categorisation devised or transmitted by Herodotus, (1.149; 1.151). Its categorisation comprised what I term 'Herodotian rule', which all subsequent accounts of the area took into consideration:

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<sup>73</sup> Heinle (2015).

<sup>74</sup> Baralis (2016).

<sup>75</sup> For a full discussion on the size of Aeolis in ancient authors, Ragone (2000).

<sup>76</sup> On the subject of island *peraiiai*, Funke (1999).

These are the Aeolian *poleis*: Cyme (the one called Phrikonis), Lerisae, Neon Teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notion, Aegiroessa, Pitane, Aegae, Myrina, Gryneia. These were the eleven ancient *poleis* of the Aeolians; one of them, Smyrna, was lost to the Ionians; for the mainland *poleis* were twelve... Those are nowadays the Aeolian *poleis* on the mainland, with the exception of those settled around Mt. Ida; for they are separate. Regarding those controlling the islands, five *poleis* exploit Lesbos..., one is located in Tenedos and one more in the so-called Hecatonnesus (= One Hundred Islands, a cluster of small islands very close to the Asiatic shore to the east of Lesbos).

The working definition of Aeolis as the combined urban and rural space occupied by Aeolian settlements is of course a construct, even though one can evoke the boundary stones, *horoi*, of Aeolians and Aeolis mentioned by Strabo (14.1.38) in the area of Phocaea to support a lands-end in the proximity of the much-disputed sub-region of Smyrna. It is much harder to establish a northern boundary. In our sources Aeolis extends onto a very thin coastal strip north of the river Hermus and ends either somewhere south of Adramyttion or further to the west, stretching over the entire southern shore of the Troad up to Cape Lekton (mod. Baba Burnu), an area of ‘Aeolian *poleis* of the highest reputation’ (Str. 13.1.49). To the east, the inclusion of Pergamon in the lands of Mysia by literally every ancient source available to modern scholarship offers a very pressing geographical boundary which actively limits Small Aeolis to a narrow slice of land pressed towards the water by the imposing mountainous areas, the much-contested valleys of the rivers, and a vague hinterland.

In the end, both Herodotus and modern geography allow for an illustration of a complex stage of coastal, inland, riverine, and island settlements in close proximity and constant interaction with one another, thus offering the hard surface upon which collective identities were forged, modified, and contested. In fact, a richly diversified stage is set, including settlements as different as the island settlement of Pordoselene, the mountainous Temnos, the riverine Cyme and Larisa on the plains, the well-harboured Mytilene; also Assos on a steep hill, Arisba in the middle of a contested fertile area in the centre of Lesbos, Antandros commanding the route to mainland Troad, and Tenedos on a small island with a *peraiia* on the opposite coast. Allegedly, these areas were populated by Greeks coming from the mainland sometime in the distant, semi-mythical past, according to the tales linked to these lands.



## 1.4 Migration tales

‘mais on serait mal fondé,  
pour autant, à les regarder comme de pures inventions’<sup>77</sup>

I will begin this section by presenting the problems of the traditional approach to the examination of material evidence and textual sources regarding a migration. Elements of old methodologies still lurk behind scholarly assumptions, such as the perception of the world as a jigsaw of cultures and the consideration of myths as echoes of actual events. I will argue that the old model does not allow us to fully evaluate myths as social constructs and consequently understand the social processes behind their function. Besides earlier scholarship, ancient Greek societies also explained Greek presence on both sides of the Aegean Sea through tales of migration. We need not follow their approach. Instead, by applying more sophisticated tools and asking different questions, we can reach more nuanced conclusions and open new pathways to research. To reverse the words of an old master quoted above, I hope I am not ‘mal fondé’ in regarding tales of migrations as inventions. To that end, I will explore other possibilities and interpretations beyond the concept of migration from mainland Greece to Aeolis.

### *Remains of a migration: myths and archaeology*

The question ‘How did it come that Aeolians lived in a particular area in Asia Minor?’ can be answered by taking the available textual sources at face value, composing a cohesive narrative of the coming of Greeks, and using archaeological evidence as support. Indeed, if one seeks Aeolians, one shall find them. Stories of their migration from Greece to Asia Minor will be examined in the following chapters. In north-west Asia Minor, settlements have yielded ‘Aeolian’ grey-ware, a type of pottery deemed distinctly Aeolian;<sup>78</sup> scholarship has traced Aeolian architecture in the form of an ‘Aeolic’ capital with its characteristic oblong top;<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Bérard (1959) 4: ‘...but it would have been ill-founded to look at [tales of colonisation] as pure inventions’.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. Akurgal (1956), with a revision of his interpretation in Iren (2008); also Bayne (1963). Rose (2008) 421 observes that the current archaeological record cannot support an *en masse* migration.

<sup>79</sup> Betancourt (1977); Wiegartz (1994); Rykwert (1996). For a brief historical discussion, Rose (2008) 416-417. An Aeolian-style masonry has been recently discerned by Saner and Sağ (2012).

Aeolian dialect,<sup>80</sup> Aeolian migration,<sup>81</sup> an Aeolian *Koinon*,<sup>82</sup> even an Aeolian goddess (Alc. fr. 129). The material is at hand.<sup>83</sup> This approach, however, would not fully be considering current theoretical and methodological trends in the study of collective identities of past societies.<sup>84</sup>

In scholarship, legends and myths are frequently considered as evidence supplementing or contradicting archaeological findings.<sup>85</sup> Often, myths are deemed echoes of a distant past, inherently preserving a nucleus of truth, which in turn is projected as support and interpretation of archaeological findings.<sup>86</sup> Arguably, this approach fails to evaluate myths as products of a dynamic process within dynamic societies. Surely, myths are more than echoes of a vague, lost past. Older scholarship examined foundation myths as fossilised specimens tracing the deeds of primordial fore-fathers. It is now increasingly realised that they were constantly renegotiated and transformed by people, elites, and authors of any period according to specific needs.<sup>87</sup>

To read myths as containing historical elements concealed within tales requires a static view of the world. Following this stringent principle, population groups are placed as fixed entities moving around the map like pieces on a chess board. These fixed groups are then

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<sup>80</sup> Buck (1968) 3-15, 147-154; Hodot (1990); Blümel (1996). Gehrke (2001) 305-306 placed language in the centre of his discussion of identity formation as a process relying first on observing actual linguistic differences to other people, thereby establishing boundaries to other 'groups'. These groups were subsequently classified as *Other* on the basis of a range of differences observed and functioned as group separators. Through time, this construct was deemed real and collective identities, such as Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian, were standardised.

<sup>81</sup> Ragone (2006) 176 and Vanschoonwinkel (2006a) have attempted a rough dating of the migrations. Influential early scholarship works: Cassola (1957) 74-83; app. X; Bérard (1959).

<sup>82</sup> Ragone (1990); Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella (2007) 179 offer conjectures of an otherwise unattested Aeolian *Koinon* based on Hdt. 141.1, 150.2, 151.2, 152.1. Rubinstein (2004) 1035 is much more skeptical, but does not dismiss the existence of some kind of 'common political institutions', for which I fail to find any evidence. I argue that there is no evidence to support the existence of an Aeolian *Koinon* in the Archaic or the Classical period. Hdt. 1.151 lists Aeolian *poleis* and, contrary to the Ionian *Koinon*, makes no reference or allusion to an Aeolian counterpart. Parker (2011) 116 examines the members of an Aeolian *Koinon* in the Hellenistic period on very thin evidence, namely a decree from Erythrae (known only from a 1824 transcript) and an inscription AIOAE on coinage unearthed only in the Troad. Robert (1951) 92-97 preferred to conjure an otherwise unattested settlement named Aeolion to explain the coin series; Cook (1973) 248-250 connected the very few AIOAE coins to a short-lived, local currency of Assos (cf. Lazzarini (1983)), which used the pretence of a *Koinon* to justify the incorporation of the neighbouring settlements of Polymedion and Lamponia. Even if we accept that the partial inscription on the coins actually reads '[of the] Aeolians', in itself this in no way suggests the existence of a *Koinon* of that name. Such appellations contribute nothing to our understanding of the issuing authority, as has been convincingly argued in Psoma and Tsangari (2003). Regarding the lost Erythrae degree, in the beginning of a seminal paper Badian (1989) had already warned against the dangers from relying on unedited, lost inscriptions; assumptions often lead to misconceptions as in such cases 'the wish is the father to the thought'.

<sup>83</sup> A full evaluation of the 'Aeolianness' based on the typical indicia of collective identity (language, religion, custom, co-belonging, common descent) has been attempted by Heinle (2015) 181ff.

<sup>84</sup> Surprisingly, such works are still occasionally published, e.g. Demir (2007); Templar (2009).

<sup>85</sup> For the tendency to transfer the literary tradition onto archaeological findings in Aeolis, Heinle (2015) 202.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. Bérard (1957); Vanschoonwinkel (2006a) 131-132; Vanschoonwinkel (2006b) is a typical specimen of this circular approach to the Mycenaean expansion; Lemos (2007); Robu (2014).

<sup>87</sup> Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983); Anderson (1991); Hall (1997) 2; Malkin (1998); Mac Sweeney (2013); Russell (2017).

discernible through the remains of their distinctive material culture. Their course from a motherland to their new homes is traceable via and attested in their myths. Finally, changes in material culture are explained through population movements and vice versa. This is an artificial world functioning in the exact ways that human societies refuse to behave.

1930s Archaeology explained progress, change, and mobility through material culture and the infusion of new populations.<sup>88</sup> However, mass migration as an explanatory factor in social and cultural change has been gradually abandoned by modern scholarship after World War II.<sup>89</sup> Cultural adaptation replaced older methodologies based on the culture-historical doctrines of inter-war archaeology, but Mediterranean studies remained under the influence of the previous approach until the 1990s.<sup>90</sup> The cultural *Koine* in Eastern Mediterranean notwithstanding (see the beginning of Chapter 4), artefacts were discussed as evidence of foreign presence among indigenous populations, and the emphasis was put on the predominant culture, that of the colonists.<sup>91</sup> The very title of the seminal work by Sir John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, reveals the scholarly viewpoint and its foundation upon 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century colonial concepts until recently.<sup>92</sup>

Modern scholarship does not need an influx or change of population to account for cultural change. This is not to deny any population movement or discard all such claims as instruments of elite propaganda.<sup>93</sup> Individuals and groups of people constantly move in spite of geographical or political obstacles. What I wish to question here are the terms in which we discuss human mobility. The evaluation of internal and environmental parameters has led to fuller understanding of ancient societies and human agency, and revealed aspects previously neglected, such as the hybrid formations in ‘middle-ground’ areas (where different cultures interacted, mingled, transformed, and ultimately evolved into cultures different from those of the initial contributors), human reactions to environmental changes, social change as a long,

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<sup>88</sup> Jones (1997) 13-26; Meskell (2002); Lucy (2005) 91-92; Knapp (2014). Further discussion in Hodos (2006) 11-13: from Dunbabin to Boardman, Greeks were deemed a colonising force, without any consideration of the part of the ‘locals’ other than a uniform acceptance of Greekness. New studies focus on the reception of Greek culture by ‘native populations’, e.g. Albanese Procelli (2003) and Lomas (2004). In the past, archaeological findings were evoked to ‘prove’ and date the migrations. The discrepancies and other problems were acknowledged but only as an issue to be resolved through copious work on concordance. E.g. Bérard (1959) 16-21.

<sup>89</sup> For a thorough review on culture-historical archaeology, as well as the alternative approach labelled as ‘diffusionism’ (diffusion of culture from its cradle to neighbouring areas and beyond), presented by Gordon Childe, Jones (1997) 13–26.

<sup>90</sup> Siapkas (2003) 45–46; Jones (1997) 26-39, 68–72; Lucy (2005) 91–92.

<sup>91</sup> Van Dommelen (2012), with bibliography in p. 395 on the debate over the terms of Mycenaean expansion.

<sup>92</sup> Boardman (1999).

<sup>93</sup> E.g. the migration of populations labelled as ‘Sicilian’ before the coming of the Greek in Sicily (Albanese Procelli (2003)). For human mobility in a context of interconnectivity and networks, Vlassopoulos (2007a) 98-100.

internal process and so on.<sup>94</sup> Modern scholarship focuses on the interconnectivity of cultures and people, and their potential to create hybrid societies implementing elements of different cultures in varying degrees.<sup>95</sup> What I would like to add to the relevant scholarship is the possibility of the formation of a middle-ground even in the absence of a key element, the population movement itself: that is, the possibility of a conceptual middle-ground as a social process with actual repercussions, a process which necessitates a conceptual mobility and arrival from abroad, not necessarily an actual migration.<sup>96</sup>

More recent scholarship discusses tales of migration with greater caution, although frequently a nucleus of truth is assumed in terms of ‘cultural memories of actual migrations going back as far as the Middle Bronze Age’, a long-term process of transmission of information.<sup>97</sup> In 2011 a conference held in Istanbul brought together scholars from different disciplines to discuss migration and interaction across the Aegean. In effect, the papers of the *Nostoi* conference, published in 2015, aimed to lay out pathways to new approaches to migration tales and the need to reappraise connections between archaeological findings and textual sources. Among other contributors, Mary Bachvarova postulated a cultural prestige to be gained through stories of immigration into western Asia Minor. From there, the process of constructing a mythological frame to gain prestige or new means of group-identification is only a few steps away. Yet Bachvarova did not cover this short distance, but instead her discussion relies on the assumption of an actual migration. She emphasised the timespan of a long process rather than a single event, and then combined the archaeological record with textual sources to study the reception of the newcomers by the locals of western Asia Minor.<sup>98</sup> In contrast, other papers of the conference built firmly on the discrepancies between textual sources and archaeological findings. The main point is that migration tales were one pattern among many upon which ancient societies in Asia Minor projected their past. Naoise Mac Sweeney deconstructed the narratives of the Ionian migration, arguing for bilateral mobility, observing

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<sup>94</sup> Malkin (2003); Antonaccio (2005); Tsatskhelidze (2006) *Ivi-lix*; Stockhammer (2012); Van Dommelen (2012) 402-403; Mac Sweeney (2017).

<sup>95</sup> For the application of world-systems theory in the Mediterranean world, Sherratt and Sherratt (1993). The middle-ground theory can be defined as a core-periphery based model, with centres of production distributing goods and ideas along an interconnected network of consumers/receivers. Alternatively, it presents a larger region as a combination of different production centres exploiting resources and raw materials coming from a periphery which consequently functions as the receiver. For an overview of the middle-ground theory, as well as ‘the network theory’, which applies a de-centralised approach on distribution of goods and dissemination of ideas, Antonaccio (2013). The network theory, as advanced by Malkin (2011), currently focuses again on actual middle-ground *loci*. For a recent application of this theory on Western Greeks, Donnellan (2016).

<sup>96</sup> For a similar concept of a ‘third space’, both actual and metaphorical middle-ground for the exchange of goods and ideas, Antonaccio (2013) 240.

<sup>97</sup> Bachvarova (2015) 154.

<sup>98</sup> Bachvarova (2015).

that more population groups from different areas are reported to have migrated to Ionia from mainland Greece. She also underlined that the alleged outcome of that migration was not exclusively Greek *poleis*.<sup>99</sup> Florentia Fragkopoulou suspected that the tripartite scheme ‘Aeolians, Dorians, and Ionians’ can neither explain the actual conditions nor describe perceptions and group-definitions in Asia Minor.<sup>100</sup> Nevertheless, this assumption needs to become location- and time-specific, and is a case that needs to be argued. This is what I intend to do in Chapter 4, to substantiate such doubts and questions about migration tales and formulate a new approach. Whereas no evidence for an Ionian migration, or even an Ionian presence, in Asia Minor predates the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, Aeolian *poleis* are unmistakably located in Asia Minor by Hesiod (*Op.* 636) and Mimnermus (fr. 9 Allen) in the 7<sup>th</sup>. These early attestations set a different context, an earlier timeframe, and necessitate a different discussion and explanation.

### *Beyond the theory of migration*

If not via migration, how are we to explain the formation of Aeolian collective identity in Asia Minor? An example outside the Greek world comes to mind, the much-debated exodus of Hebrews and their ‘return’ to Palestine. Objections and criticism of a literary tradition as imposing as the Bible have been expressed for decades, with scholars pointing out the existence of groups called *Hapiru* in the Near East centuries before the alleged migration (which is thinly represented in the archaeological record). Bandits, mercenaries, and outcasts gradually came together and formed a fluid community, with people leaving and entering it at all times. Through time, *Hapiru* settlements subscribed to a common collective identity evolving around a single point in time, the time of the ‘return’.<sup>101</sup> Instead of a tale of continuous habitation, *Hapiru* groups, living in Judaea since the Bronze Age, produced tales of violent migration and conquest, on which Hebrew collective identity strongly relied, excluding rather than embracing Others. The *Hapiru/Hebrews* can be used as an example of a migration tale lying at the heart of group-identification. Could a similar process have taken place in Aeolis among diverse population groups?

The formation of the collective identity of the *Hapiru* shows that migration tales can be used as reference points in a process of identity (trans)formation. Yet, for any individual case,

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<sup>99</sup> Mac Sweeney (2015) 242-248.

<sup>100</sup> Fragkopoulou (2015) 235-236.

<sup>101</sup> Na'aman (1986); Killebrew (2014).

the mechanics are different and a case must be argued as to how migration tales were put to use, by whom, and to what use precisely. The differences from the alleged migrations to Asia Minor are clear. In Chapter 4 I will argue that in the case of Aeolians, the literary motif is based on the theme of kings from abroad, and the agency of the elite is crucial.

With this in mind, I return to the initial question posed at the start of the previous section, which I will now modify to: ‘How did people say that Aeolians came to inhabit that particular area?’ Following recent challenges to the Dorian invasion,<sup>102</sup> the Greek migration to Asia Minor is perhaps the last stronghold of the traditional view, which sees population change as the main cause of cultural change. An Aeolian migration to Aetolia has already been discredited as the mythical/historical background attestation behind ‘Aeolis, which is now named Pleuron and Calydon’ in Thucydides 3.102.<sup>103</sup> In Ionia, the evidence indicates a sense of continuity of settlement and culture. Although differences in the material record were previously interpreted as clear signs of change, with new styles signifying new populations, the traceable changes are not as significant or evident as one might expect from a mass migration. They are better explained as the outcome of social and economic factors, domestic and external.<sup>104</sup>

In Asia Minor, though, a key point in settlement pattern is difficult to ignore. The majority of the settlements regarded as Greek by the time of classical period were located with a coastal perspective in mind: strategic positions defensible by sea, at the end of communication routes into the interior, as if they sought to exploit the mainland from the coast.<sup>105</sup> Is this picture not a reasonable outcome of a colonisation/migration/early settlement? Why were these settlements restricted to the coastal area until the Classical period?

What may be at play here is the effect of trade and network communication in the acculturation of an area.<sup>106</sup> By the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., if not earlier, settlements in the area are

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<sup>102</sup> Cartledge (2002) 65-87 insist on explaining the dearth of archaeological evidence between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the invasion. Luraghi (2008) 45-67 is very skeptical. Mee (2011) 21 swiftly overrules any attempt to link the collapse of the palatial system during the LH IIIB period with an invasion of Dorians. Cavanagh (2017) presents an archaeological account of Sparta and Laconia without the descent and argues that archaeology can show disorder gradually giving way to more complex, interconnected communities.

<sup>103</sup> Bommeljé (1988).

<sup>104</sup> Mac Sweeney (2017) 390-394, who opts for mobility of individuals instead of a migration.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Malkin (1998) 13.

<sup>106</sup> Admittedly, the distinction between traded goods, gift items, and products used in everyday life of alleged colonists can be arbitrary; and so can be the nature of those exchanges, which can be regular or ad hoc, between mercantile networks or elite members. Further discussion in Hodos (2006) 4-5, 18-21, where the difficulties become evident. Archaeological findings cannot offer a definite view of ethnicity, due to the inherent subjectivity of the interpretation of material culture. Nevertheless, Hodos prefers to evaluate archaeological findings over ‘multi-biased textual sources’, which in truth means that she prefers our biases instead of the ancient biases, traced by literature studies and source criticism. Yet, she realises that given the individual qualities of every

Greek, and so was the literature. Was that due to migration or to intense contacts through trade? The tendency to interpret artefacts in early settlements as objects brought by traders instead of colonists or migrants is growing.<sup>107</sup> Although some findings from Late Bronze Age and Geometric Troy may be interpreted as indicators of a migration, recent studies prefer to view them as signs of a bilateral acculturation process.<sup>108</sup> A similar migration case has been argued for Aeolis on the basis of the distribution of Proto-Geometric grey ware in the area, but this view is becoming more and more obsolete; at the very least, the respective grey ware is not labelled ‘Aeolian’ any longer. Brian Rose’s revisionist examination of the archaeological record strongly suggests that scholarship should distance itself from the attempt to prove or disprove the migration, and to refrain from any attempt to reconcile archaeological findings with the literary tradition. For Aeolis, in particular, Rose has convincingly explained the similarities in material culture and language to the mainland on the basis of trans-Aegean contacts since the Bronze Age rather than an alleged migration.<sup>109</sup>

Surely, conceptual constructs such as myths do not change quickly, shortly after trade or contact begins. Instead of examining myths as echoes of historical facts, I propose to examine them for what they were: mediums of interpretation of a long process of social transformation.<sup>110</sup> We should bear in mind the historical period. If the formation of Greek settlements in Asia Minor took place shortly before or after the end of the Bronze Age in the Aegean, we should treat statements and definitions of ‘acculturation’, ‘Hellenicity’, ‘Greek(ness)’ with caution.<sup>111</sup> In all probability, trade, communication and the actual acculturation began centuries before a Greek culture or identity was formed (or represented in a discernible matter in our evidence).<sup>112</sup> Hence, the study of textual sources discussing the migration should be contextualised within a much later stage of a long process of cultural

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archaeological site, it may be impossible to reconcile texts and findings, or to apply a general explanatory model applicable to all ‘overseas’ settlements.

<sup>107</sup> For a short discussion on both sides of the argument, Aslan, Kealhofer, and Grave (2014) 281-283. Reservations over the interpretation of material culture as an ethnicity marker or an indication of cultural borrowings in Tsatskheladze (2006) lv. Burgers and Crielaard (2016) 229-234 discuss objects as markers of identities other than ethnic (e.g. gender or status).

<sup>108</sup> Discussion in Aslan and Hnila (2015) 192-197.

<sup>109</sup> Rose (2008).

<sup>110</sup> Discussion in Malkin (1998) 151; Fragkopoulou (2011) 25-117.

<sup>111</sup> For discussion of trans-Aegean contacts as indicators of Mycenaean colonisation or a cultural common ground, Mac Sweeney (2017) 388.

<sup>112</sup> The *other* part of the acculturation, the identity of the ‘locals’, the ‘previous inhabitants’, in effect the previous affiliation of settlements that appear Greek in historical times, remains obscure. I would not dare to proceed any further than noting that Luwian language-groups dominated Western Asia Minor in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. (Melchert (2003)).

intercommunication, independently of the Mycenaean or post-Mycenaean putative period to which they refer.

Reservations about the Aeolian migration are duly noted by all scholars, as the evidence fails to agree on most details of the migration (time, numbers, area, first encounters and so on). However, the orthodoxy remains basically intact: human mobility of a small or large scale triggered or fuelled significant changes in Asia Minor with the result that settlements emerged through the Dark Ages as Greek communities.<sup>113</sup> Yet, I do not question the historicity of the migration due to contradictory evidence or diverse interpretations; divergence is a scientific desideratum. And so is method.

If we accept the migration hypothesis, the explanatory tool of antiquity, as the core of our research, we risk becoming trapped in a labyrinth of fragmentary narratives based on allegedly long-term collective memory, entangled in attempts to reconstruct a chain of events that was probably only a conception of an elite. A re-evaluation of the questions we pose to the evidence will take us beyond establishing ‘hard facts’ of minimal historical value, such as the origins of population groups, to a fuller understanding of the mechanics of transmission and devolution of information from the upper strata to the general population and also to the scholarly world in antiquity. What I intend to do is to move away from attempts to recreate the migration tale in the fullest possible way as an actual fact, and to modify the focus.

Consequently, instead of determining the specifics of an alleged Aeolian migration, I intend to remove the migration altogether as an historical fact or an echo of time immemorial, and to consider it as a construct, focusing on its function and agency. Still, myths of migration cannot have sprung out of thin air, but their core need not necessarily involve historicity.<sup>114</sup> The hard substance of myth is the pre-existing mythical tradition, closely relying on the *habitus* (see pp. 21-24) of a given society. The ability to assimilate into common beliefs and world-views determines a myth’s course, either as a marginal paradox of old times or as a notion firmly impressed into collective memory.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> E.g. Hodos (2006) 18-21.

<sup>114</sup> Even an advanced modern view, such as that of Mac Sweeney, cannot entirely disengage from the notion of a kernel of a historical truth within foundation myths. Despite her sound criticism of previous scholarship, ultimately she suggests that a kernel of truth can be determined after considering the plurality of ancient myth rather than looking for one main narrative, the Ionian migration (Mac Sweeney (2017) 410-412). Others have seen echoes of military tension in the vicinity of Aeolis behind the Amazon foundation myths and failed to relate those myths to a historical context (e.g. Mele (2005); Ragone (2005)).

<sup>115</sup> Gehrke (2001) 309 argues that the present cannot invent the past out of thin air and a certain link to an accepted body of ‘tradition/memory/history’ is more than advisable (‘there is need for recollection in a socially acceptable way’).



Thomas Russell's recent study of the *polis* of Byzantium showcases the benefits of an approach which keeps its distance from an attempt to reconstruct a single past for any settlement by combining all evidence available. Russell shows how in Byzantium a colonial narrative prevailed and canonised the long, diverse past of the settlement into a single moment in time: the time of the foundation by Greek newcomers. In truth, this sweeping colonial narrative conceals the actual past of a settlement, which is usually a long process of people of diverse origins coming together and forming ties that characterise a community.<sup>116</sup>

To summarise my argument, my approach begins by acknowledging the fact that there are various processes of mobility and exchange involved. A wholesale migration of a large group of people at a specific moment is not the most likely explanation for the emergence of Aeolian communities. Furthermore, the evidence for such a migration is problematic and invite other, fuller interpretations, away from the traditional model of migrations. To that end, foundation myths need to be considered in the context of the purposes they served, whether they relate to real processes or imaginary tales constructed centuries later.

Following this reasoning, instead of transforming literary migrations to actual migrations, I will examine textual attestations of a migration within a context of socio-political practices and strategies. Although a full description of the processes of settlement and community formation is beyond the scope of this thesis, I hope to show how a particular stage of that process took place: namely, the formation and development of Aeolian migration as an explanatory foundation myth for settlements in north-west Asia Minor. First, however, Chapter 2 begins with the hard surface, the region to which Aeolian foundation myths relate.

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<sup>116</sup> Russell (2017), esp. 205-241.

## CHAPTER 2

### AEOLIS: THE LAND, ITS *POLEIS*, AND THEIR STORIES

‘...We conquered Aeolian Smyrna...’<sup>117</sup>

‘...Chedir, the commander of Lydia and the Aeolian cities, the grandson of Sharhan, [came and] surrendered himself [to sultan Yıldırım Bayezid I]’<sup>118</sup>

Michael Ducas’ reference marks the end of a cycle (lasting twenty-two centuries) of referencing Aeolis in scholarly works fashioned in the Eastern Mediterranean. More than two millennia separate the earliest surviving attestation of the region by Mimnermus, which was perhaps a neologism in a 7<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. context, and what was probably the latest reference and a linguistic fossil for more than a thousand years, in the work of Michael Ducas after the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The area of Aeolis stretches and shrinks remarkably in the works of ancient authors with different scopes and understandings of the area. For some, the area was located between the Hellespont and the Troad to the north, Mysia and Lydia to the east and north-east, and Ionia to the south (Paus. 3.2.1). A human-focused perception of Aeolis included Aeolians dwelling on the south coast of the Troad, Lesbos, and Tenedos (as in Hdt. 1.151; 5.122),<sup>119</sup> while Ephorus claimed that Aeolis extended from his home *polis*, Cyme, all the way to Abydos, thus including both the Troad and Mysia, as well as parts of the Hellespont (in what was later called Lesser or Hellespontine Phrygia, as in Str. 2.5.31 and Steph. Byz. s.v. *Φρυγία*).<sup>120</sup>

Keeping close to ancient perceptions of regions as they appear in our sources would make for a useful rule, but only to a certain extent. If we accept the view of Herodotus and concentrate exclusively on his list of *poleis* on the narrow coastal strip between the Hermus and Pitane (1.149), we run the risk of fossilising an ever-changing entity, while at the same

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<sup>117</sup> Mimn. fr. 9 Allen: ‘Σμόρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα’. The choice of Mimnermus instead of Hes *Op.* 636 may seem odd. However, Mimnermus is safely dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, whereas dating Hesiod presents scholars with difficulties comparable to those regarding Homer. For the problems of dating ‘the floating figure of Hesiod’ between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and the recent scholarly tendency to accept dates closer to the later limit, Koiv (2011).

<sup>118</sup> Mich. Duc. *Hist. Turc.* 4.3, narrating the annexation of two emirates to the Ottoman Empire before AD 1390.

<sup>119</sup> ‘All Aeolians who dwell in the Troad’ focuses on people, while in the next section (5.123) Herodotus applies a territory-based approach: ‘in Ionia and adjacent Aeolis’.

<sup>120</sup> Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 163b apud Str. 13.1.39. The issue is examined in Chapter 3.

time other views on the issue are ignored or downplayed. Strabo may offer another pathway, and indeed one of the most important modern works on the region's geography was based on his account. Walter Leaf based his copious endeavour of identifying settlements on Strabo and the quest for traces of Homeric toponyms always lurked in the back of his mind (or more straightforwardly sometimes).<sup>121</sup> Another authority on Asia Minor stated this approach clearly: in his opening lines of *The Troad*, John Cook declared that 'A study of the topography of the Troad must begin with either Homer or Strabo; and the choice will indicate the character of the work'.<sup>122</sup> It is not my intention to follow either (though I hope that my work will retain some character nonetheless).

Limiting Aeolis to mainland modern-day Turkey seems to align with ancient understandings of the region and can be helpful to archaeological research and the identification of settlements in the area (as well as keeping things simple and dealing with only one supervising authority). Yet, in the previous chapter I argued that perceiving the sea and the coast as a borderline to the outside world practically dismembers Aeolis, isolates it from its surroundings, and hampers our comprehension of the region, let alone any chance of contextualising Aeolis in a wider area (see p. 31). Hence, my discussion will include the narrow coastal strip occupied by the eleven *poleis* listed by Herodotus, the southern shore of the Troad, and the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos.

The structure follows a three-fold conception of space as explained in the Introduction. An account of the *geographical* space is followed by a more detailed analysis of the *human-made* space, while the third aspect, the *perceived* space, will be discussed in the next chapter. In the first part of this chapter, a general description of the area acquaints the reader with the area in question and presents the large-scale picture. Then the Aeolian settlements are placed within their natural surroundings, in a section that will embed within the same context both the natural environment and the foundation myths. I will examine in detail the *poleis* of the narrow coastal strip where myths of Amazon foundation circulated, then the island of Lesbos, before I move to the southern coast of the Troad and conclude with Tenedos.

My main aim is first to contextualise interactions between people and the natural environment and then to determine the relative importance of different foundation myths for the Aeolian *poleis*. While their 'Aeolianness' remained an undisputed fact throughout antiquity, reliance on other foundation myths reflects political realities in different periods. As

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<sup>121</sup> Leaf (1923).

<sup>122</sup> Cook (1973) 1.

I noted in Chapter 1, instead of the usual arrangement which entails a chapter on ‘Geography’ followed by an analysis of the area and events, geography and human interactions will be enmeshed into one cohesive narrative, in an attempt to contextualise geography and human affairs, strategies, tactics, and decisions. Consequently, the strong connection between territory and collective identity will become apparent.<sup>123</sup> The working hypothesis is that foundation myths and collective identities, ever-changing and dynamic as they are, are used, formed, transformed, and promoted by communities, groups, elites, authorities to respond to specific issues and ambitions. Besides defining communities and outsiders, setting boundaries and forming ties, foundation myths were most probably used to support claims in cases of land disputes in order to prove rights over contested territories. Therefore, the examination of foundation myths cannot be separated from the lands and territories they are connected with. Aeolians, authorities in Aeolis, and authors discussing the Aeolians could choose from a wide pool of opportunities offered by tradition: some promoted foundation myths linked with the Amazons; others opted for a tight connection to the myth of the Aeolian migration or to a local hero. Interestingly enough, very rarely in our sources does there emerge a positive link to a specific settlement in a vague motherland or to a specific figure from the house of Aeolus. Before we delve into this very exciting field, a preliminary acquaintance with the area is necessary.

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<sup>123</sup> For the connection between territoriality and *political* identity, Mack (2015) 52 with bibliography.



Figure 2: Map of Aeolis, the Aeolian islands, and the Troad

## 2.1 A general description of the region

‘The presence of large alluvial lowlands...the mild winters and the hot summers, combine to make this a region with a high agricultural potential.’<sup>124</sup>

The Anatolian Plateau or Central Massif,<sup>125</sup> rising between 600m and 2,000m, dominates the entire land which now falls under the modern state of Turkey; on its westernmost reach, mountainous masses protrude like fingers reaching towards the sea. Through those grand masses of rock, the large rivers of Western Anatolia, fed by heavy rainfalls, melting snow from the harsh winters on the high mountains, and many tributaries, make their way to the sea. Rivers and mountains of the area generally follow an east-west direction. Over the millennia, the passing water slowly eroded the mountain slopes and created more space for the course of rivers. This very slow process is partly responsible for the formation of the fertile valleys of the Caicus (mod. Bakırçay), the Hermus (mod. Gediz), the Maeander (mod. Büyük Menderes), and other rivers in Asia Minor emptying into the Aegean Sea.<sup>126</sup> Gradually, several mountain masses were isolated from the Anatolian Plateau, such as Mt. Ida (mod. Kazdağ, its highest peak over 1,700m),<sup>127</sup> whose forests provided raw material for the building of several Peloponnesian and Persian fleets at Antandros on the southern shore of the Troad, a safe anchorage often functioning as a base for passing fleets (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.24-25, 2.1.11; 4.8.35). The high range of Mt. Ida protected Antandros from northern winds and offered better climate to the entire coastal area of the southern Troad. The mountain rises alongside other, much earlier volcanic masses overlooking the same shore, separated by rising sea-levels which finally submerged parts of the land that now lies underwater, at the bottom of the narrow passage dividing the mainland from the neighbouring islands of Lesbos and Chios; indeed, the rock masses continue and occupy a great part of these two islands.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Dewdney (1971) 163.

<sup>125</sup> The term *plateau* does no justice to the variety of relief, structure, and condition of the area it usually signifies. Indeed, there is much more variety than the term seems to imply (Dewdney (1971) 15, 20-23; Düring (2008); Okay (2008) for the tectonic position of Anatolia).

<sup>126</sup> Contra Heinle (2015) 17-18, who argues for the opposite development, with the rivers passing through mountains via the only available route.

<sup>127</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 122; Cook (1973) 3.

<sup>128</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 131-132; Lambrianides and Spencer (2007) 9.

Newer volcanic rocks form an upland of 1,300m altitude extending from the north-west shores of Aegean Turkey (Çanakkale) to the valleys of the Bakır and the Gediz. More specifically, to the west of Mt. Ida, and south of Adramyttion (mod. Edremit) rises Madra Dağı (anc. Mt. Pindassus), with an elevation of 1,230m. The area between the two mountains is covered by a series of hills about 500m high. To the south, over the valley of the Bakır, a large plateau of an average altitude of 1,000m extends, known by different names (Çamlıca, Kiliç, Yunt Dağı, Dumanlı Dağı); after a series of smaller valleys, it leads to the elevated valley of Pergamon (mod. Bergama). A higher ridge (anc. Mt. Temnon), sometimes climbing over 2,000m towards the east (thus functioning as a watershed for the Bakır, the Gediz, and other streams), drops significantly to approximately 1,000m when it reaches the area north of Smyrna (mod. Izmir) and forms Mt. Sipylus, before the highly indented peninsula of Erythrae and the land of Ionia.<sup>129</sup> To the west of the ridge and very close to the shore, an isolated elevation, Kara Dağı (anc. Mt. Canae) at a height of 750m inland and falling below 300m as it reaches its rocky end on the sea, overlooks the Cane Peninsula and drops steeply to a very narrow coastal strip.<sup>130</sup>

Despite keeping to a general east–west orientation, the rivers of the area notoriously change their courses from time to time, and in that event settlements either relocate or lose their status as riverine communities.<sup>131</sup> River silt creates new land at the expense of the sea. The accumulating deposition of sediments was the reason for settlements relocating to maintain access to the sea (Smyrna being the most well-known case), and for the remarkable phenomenon of ancient coastal *poleis* now located well inland (see p. 27-29). The importance of the rivers cannot be overstated. Even today they sustain dense populations and offer opportunities for substantial profits. In antiquity all urban settlements listed by Herodotus 1.149 (Cyme, Larisa, Neonteichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notion, Aegiroessa, Pitane, Aegae, Myrina, and Gryneia) and identified so far by modern scholarship fell within the area between the rivers Bakır and Gediz, the ancient Caicus and Hermus.<sup>132</sup> The former collects water from a remote plateau less than 800m high in Mt. Temnon (around modern Kırkağaç) and its meandering course provides a rare luxury for the area: a land passage orientated north-south, other than the coastal route.<sup>133</sup> The latter, the Hermus is the largest river of Aeolis. It stretches for more than

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<sup>129</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 133-137; Dewdney (1971) 21; Schneider (2014) 14-15. The identification of Mt. Sipylus is still contested between two peaks, Yamanlar Dağı and Spil Dağı.

<sup>130</sup> Heinle (2015) 17-18.

<sup>131</sup> A dramatic event took place in 1870, when the course of the Hermus changed overnight: Ramsay (1881) 49.

<sup>132</sup> Heinle (2015) 19-20

<sup>133</sup> Dewdney (1971) 138

400km and empties through a wide delta into the gulf of Izmir. Its route, carrying substantial amounts of sediment downstream, was drastically controlled in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when it threatened once again to block the harbour of Smyrna.<sup>134</sup> Between the Hermus and the Caicus, the waters of the Koca Çay (called Titnaeus and Pythicus in antiquity) flow into the sea. Together with the Hermus and several of its southward tributaries, they constitute a river system with alluvial valleys, marshes and small lakes.<sup>135</sup> Unlike most rivers in Anatolia, which usually have steep gradients, the Hermus, Caicus, and Maeander offer smooth gradients. Yet the large-scale seasonal flow variation hinders access to the hinterland; in fact, waterborne transport was never significant in the area.<sup>136</sup> Arguably, this restriction makes mountain roads and passes even more important and emphasises the function of mountains as mediators and facilitators of communications rather than boundaries. In the geophysical context of Western Asia Minor, the easiest option was the coastal movement of people and goods by sea. Alternatively, people had to rely on a coastal pathway which became a Roman road after the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., follow the course of a river, or cross one of the mountain passes across the immediate hinterland.<sup>137</sup>

The accumulation of river silt over the centuries has significantly modified the coastline of Western Asia Minor since antiquity. Shores indented as harshly as the Erythrae peninsula (mod. Karaburun) in Ionia are not found in Aeolis. Still, that is not the only reason for the scarcity of natural harbours and the development of very few good ports in antiquity and present day. Mountains and hills drop suddenly into the sea and leave little room for a coastal plain; they also hinder access to the mainland, which is a crucial factor for the development or decline of any port. The area they permit is a narrow coastal strip of flatland, sand hills, swamps, and rocks, divided into two parts: the Havran (anc. Euenus) and the Bakır basins (the area of Adramyttion and the Caicus-Hermus river system respectively). To the west of Adramyttion, the southern shores of the Troad are very steep and cliff-lined, with the *polis* of Assos providing the area's best harbour in antiquity.<sup>138</sup> To the south of Adramyttion, narrow shores continue to the mouth of the Havran, and straight, hilly shores follow as the coastline turns to the south-west in the area of Hecatonnesus and its mainland (mod. Ayvalık). As the coastline turns to the south-east, consecutive rocky bays occupy the coast all the way to Aliğa and the gulf of Elaea to the south of the Canae peninsula. There once stood ancient Cyme and

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<sup>134</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 77. For its different course in antiquity, Heinle (2015) 19-20.

<sup>135</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 80, 134; Heinle (2015) 19.

<sup>136</sup> Dewdney (1971) 32-33.

<sup>137</sup> Ramsay (1962) 165-167; Bean (1966) 96; Heinle (2015) 58.

<sup>138</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 77, 125, 132.



Myrina, on the flatlands shaped by the rivers. On the coastline from Adramyttion to the Gulf of Elaea, shallow waters and problematic access to the mainland prohibited the expansion of anything larger than a fringe harbour servicing the needs of local trade and transport. The danger of silt was ever present, as the famous two harbours of Elaea, the port of Pergamon after the late classical period, now lie a good three miles inland. Conversely, other Aeolian *poleis* now lie partly underwater.<sup>139</sup> Data from the Madra area south of Adramyttion supplement our evidence from the area of the Maeander, the Caicus, and the Hermus, and show that settlements now well inland were once closer to the sea. Sea-level has been rising with a reducing pace throughout the last post-glacial period, until coming to a halt around 5,000 B.C. Since then, it rose by only a few metres during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C., and reached its present-day height by the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Silting (caused by the material brought by the rivers) became the dominant factor in directing environmental change in the micro-region.<sup>140</sup> As a result, the coastline advanced towards the sea, closing well-known harbours, such as those of Miletus and Elaea. On the other hand, the long-term effect of the gradual rise of sea-level after the last glacial period (c. 8,000 B.C.) was the separation of Lesbos from the mainland, as the narrow isthmus once connecting them was submerged under the waters of the strait of Mytilene.<sup>141</sup>

With an area of 1,630 km<sup>2</sup>, Lesbos is the third largest Greek island and the eighth largest in the Mediterranean. Geographical accounts usually divide the island by a firm north-south line, separating a barren western region with many rocky hills from a richer environment to the east, with ample fisheries, fertile plains and valleys towards the middle of the island over the gulf of Callone (anc. Gulf of Pyrrha), and forests to the south-east. The limestone (especially to the south-east) and metamorphic rocks, predominant in the eastern part, correspond well with similar types on the mainland opposite.<sup>142</sup> By eastern Greek standards, Lesbos experiences more rainfall but fewer, less severe winter gales and bursts of high winds;<sup>143</sup> the exact amount varies yearly, depending on the eastern winds from the Asiatic coast which push clouds from Asia Minor westwards.<sup>144</sup> Usually, they come after the summer to interrupt the prevailing northern winds from the Troad, which typically disturb sea traffic during the hottest season of the year.<sup>145</sup> They may not disturb local traffic significantly, but may have been critical for the

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<sup>139</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 79, 81, 132; Heinle (2015) 20-22.

<sup>140</sup> Lambrianides and Spencer (2007) 25-27, 31-33.

<sup>141</sup> Lambrianides and Spencer (2007) 4-5, 10, 15, 26; Schneider (2014) 17-19.

<sup>142</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944) 33; Naval Intelligence Division (1944-1945) 493-494.

<sup>143</sup> Though occasional harsh weather and snowfalls are not unknown (Green (2005) 62).

<sup>144</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944-1945) 490; Mason (1995b) 263.

<sup>145</sup> Mason (1979) 162. The same pattern emerges on the opposite shore, where geomorphology allows a north-south passage for air masses. In the Madra area northern winds prevail, but the rare southern winds are stronger. Lambrianides and Spencer (2007) 24, 51.

six victorious Athenian generals found guilty and executed for failing to salvage survivors and corpses after the naval battle at Arginousae in 406 B.C. The fervent preparations of the last large Athenian shipbuilding programme of the 5<sup>th</sup> century must have been concluded by mid-July, therefore placing the battle in the middle of the summer. Even so, a thunderstorm prevented a surprise night attack by the Peloponnesian fleet against Athenian reinforcements to the blockaded force of Conon, while after the battle another gale prevented any salvage operations (according to the indicted generals).<sup>146</sup> A similar sudden spell of harsh weather forced the vessel carrying Herodes and Euxitheus from Mytilene to Aenus to seek refuge in a safe anchorage in Methymnian territory. There, they were transferred to a vessel with a covered deck so as to avoid the heavy rainfall. In this confined environment the murder of Herodes took place, after a spell of heavy drinking (Antiph. 5.21-24, dated around 419 B.C.).

Three mountains dominate the relief of Lesbos: Mt. Olympus to the south-east and Mt. Leptymnus to the north are little short of 1,000m high, whereas to the west rises Mt. Ordymnus at an altitude of 634m (not very impressive, but high enough to generate the alternative name Hypselos, 'High', for the monastery on the summit). The three mountains permit the formation of a semi-circular plain to the south of Leptymnus towards the Gulf of Callone. Towards the east, the land rises slightly and low hills cover the area up to a very narrow coastal plain on the eastern shore of Lesbos. To the west, sharp hills and rocks comprise a rough relief and unwelcoming environment. Many streams flow from Leptymnus towards the gulf to the south, and others from Mt. Ordymnus towards the north-west and south-west shores.<sup>147</sup> In sharp contrast with the opposite shore of Asia Minor, the streams play a far less significant part in the geomorphology and perceived landscape of Lesbos. In fact, they all seem to dry up in the summer, despite some attestations to the contrary.<sup>148</sup>

Once connected to the shores of Asia Minor by mountains now submerged under the thirty-mile-long strait of Mytilene, Lesbos' distance from the mainland varies between eight and eleven nautical miles, nowadays covered by ferries from Mytilene to Ayvalık in just half an hour. The distance to the mainland is actually shorter from the north, where the strait of Muselim puts only five to six nautical miles between Lesbos and the southern coast of the

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<sup>146</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.35; 1.7.3. For the battle of Arginousae, Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.26-34; D.S. 13.97.3-99, with Kagan (1987) 338-353. A severe storm cancelled a surprise night-attack by Callicratidas (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.28) and D.S.13.97.4 transmits the decision of the Athenians to postpone the battle for next day due to strong winds.

<sup>147</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944-1945) 496-497.

<sup>148</sup> Mason (1979) 161 and Green (1982) 212-213 witnessed two different streams with flowing water in different summers. Mason (1995b) 265 mentions more than a few and leaves room for even more by referring to the different landscape and conditions in antiquity.

Troad.<sup>149</sup> The fragmented coastline (370km in total) forms gulfs which offer opportunities for fishing, especially to the south in the enclosed gulfs of Callone and Gera (an ancient settlement of Hieria is attested on the east shore, though the area must have been under Mytilenian control already in the classical period).<sup>150</sup> Apart from Mytilene, Sigrion, and Eresos, the lengthy coastline offers no other safe harbours from all winds, but only temporary anchorages against northern or southern winds, practically useless when winds are blowing from other directions. The south coast is generally cliff-lined and falls steep in the south-west part; to the north, the shores east of the fertile plains of Methymna are mainly steep and cliff-lined, and those to the west around Antissa are gentler.<sup>151</sup> The shoreline remains basically the same since antiquity and the dramatic phenomena observed on the Asiatic shore, such as the silting up of harbours, never occurred on the island.<sup>152</sup> The differentiating factor is the effect of the rivers. In Asia Minor, large rivers spring from the mountains and bring silt downstream. Thus, in the area around the deltas new land is created and settlements once coastal can now be found several kilometres inland. The dominating factor in Asia Minor is the rivers, whereas in Lesbos, where no important perennial streams exist, sea-level has risen slightly due to the gradual global warming in the last two millennia, undeterred by any counter-action of rivers.

Back to the mainland, Aeolis has among the few well-drained areas of alluvial soil in Anatolia. The inhabitants enjoy a temperate, Mediterranean climate of warm summers and mild winters with occasional heavy rains during the winter. Their fertile alluvial soils can provide good yields of dry crops, such as grain, or tree crops like olives.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, the local climate, roughly the same nowadays as in antiquity as all relevant research presumes, tends to be unpredictable and the area's farmers had to struggle between consecutive years of rain followed by a series of droughts which threatened their subsistence.<sup>154</sup> Yet, beside the lowlands favourable to agriculture, rise steep slopes, rough hills and rocky mountains. The uplands are barren, the climate cooler, the vegetation varies from bushes and scrub closer to the sea to evergreens, oaks, and pine trees at higher altitudes; scrublands also cover areas beyond the

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<sup>149</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944-1945) 492.

<sup>150</sup> Hansen, Spencer, and Williams (2004) 1020.

<sup>151</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944-1945) 498-500; Green (1982) 214.

<sup>152</sup> Although some changes in the coastline have occurred at places where streams empty into the Aegean Sea. E.g. the changes in the coastline around Eresos are explained in Schaus and Spencer (1994) 421-424.

<sup>153</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 121; Dewdney (1971) 38, 163-164; Heinle (2015) 23.

<sup>154</sup> The difficulties in the life of local farmers at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are described in Venezis (1943) 72-81, where families and workers pray for either rain or drought, depending on the crops and time of the year. At the same time, the pater-familias, a male of respect and dignity, gazes at the skies and admits that 'whatever evil comes our way, we will endure, as we have done many times in the past'. Still, in his mid-war context, Venezis could not have considered the possibility that a significant cause of any inherent instability in a region lies in human relations rather than environmental aspects (as in Horden and Purcell (2000) 76, 80).

reach of rivers.<sup>155</sup> Between them, they form a varied environment offering alternatives to agriculture (among others arboriculture, beekeeping, forestry, hunting, livestock farming), thus ensuring the subsistence of the large populations of the plains.<sup>156</sup> It is in this varied physical landscape that I turn next.

## 2.2 A slice of coast: the land of the Amazons

‘...while others [say that Ephesus was named after] the yielding of lands between Mycale and Pitane to Hercules by the Amazons’<sup>157</sup>

In this section I examine the area occupied by the Aeolian *poleis* on the coast and the Hermus plain, from Temnos to Pitane. This part of Asia Minor was the geographical entity occupied by the Aeolians and their *poleis*, according to Herodotus, and also the area which the mythical Amazons invaded and where they named or built the settlements already in place by the archaic period. To test the validity of my working hypothesis, which suggests that foundation myths are closely related to geographical space in general and land disputes in particular, I begin my discussion with the foundation myths involving Amazons in Aeolis.

More specifically, my approach requires a distinction between the date of the myths of the Amazons in general and the date of Amazon foundation myths in particular. As Ragone has observed, the myth of the Amazons and their presence in Asia Minor may have been in circulation even before the Homeric epics.<sup>158</sup> While this remains debatable, what is more relevant to this thesis is the transformation of the myth from Amazon warriors and conquerors to Amazon founders of *poleis*. Accordingly, I will try to date the transformation of the myth of the Amazons by examining the geographical extent of their spread (within Small Aeolis), and then the development of the myth (focusing on the Amazons as *poleis*-dwellers and founders, which I will argue did not develop before the Hellenistic period). The question I wish to ask is whether Amazon foundation myths ran in parallel to the predominant foundation myth, the Aeolian migration. Were Amazon foundation myths as old as the tales of migration? Were they a survival of long-term memories of the migration? If so, then the lack of evidence is surprising. As I will show below, there is no archaic evidence of Amazon foundation myths; the

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<sup>155</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 237-240; Dewdney (1971) 54, 154, 164; Schneider (2014) 24-27.

<sup>156</sup> For an account of the many possible uses of the ‘wilderness’, Forbes (1996).

<sup>157</sup> Heracl. Lemb. *Exc. Pol.* 66.

<sup>158</sup> Ragone (2005) 320ff.

development of the myth suggests that Amazons could be perceived as *polis*-dwellers and founders only from the Hellenistic period onwards. Finally, I will suggest that the political conditions in Aeolis after the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the function of the Amazon foundation myths indicate a date in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., at a time when territorial disputes arose and *poleis* needed support for their claims.

### *Development of a myth: Amazons, founders of Greek poleis*

Perhaps in a context of claiming autochthony and closer ties to the land, many *poleis* of Asia Minor embraced foundation myths involving the mythical Amazons.<sup>159</sup> In ancient narratives Amazons may have filled the void of habitation before the Aeolian expedition. Ancient authors resorted to semi-mythical earlier populations to fill the gap: Leleges dwelt in the southern shore of the Troad (Str. 13.1.49); Carians pushed to the mainland from their initial location on the nearby islands, in turn driving away Pelasgians and Leleges who lived on the coast before them (Str. 14.2.27); Pelasgians lived not only on the coast of Asia Minor (Str. 13.3.4), but also in Lesbos, before they were wiped out by the Great Flood, thus facilitating the colonisation of the island by king Macar, grandson of Zeus (D.S. 5.81). In the case of our narrow coastal strip, the mythical, fearsome, warlike females chose wisely; their alleged settlement pattern varied from coastal settlements at the very few natural harbours offered by the shores north of Ionia to strategically-placed communication centres inland. The stretch of their lands roughly coincides with the area occupied by the Aeolian *poleis* listed in Hdt. 1.149, from Smyrna to Pitane. In the area of the Aegean coast no Amazon founders are reported north of Pitane, while Ephesus to the south marks the southern boundary. The settlements on what was previously ‘Amazon land’ could be seen as ‘typical Greek start-ups’,<sup>160</sup> if only we had a clear idea of what the landscape looked like in those early times. For all we know, swamps and wild vegetation may have prevailed, in places where, much later, fertile lands were cultivated by the Greeks, controlled by the coastal *poleis*, and constituted the basis for political communities. An environment unfavourable to agriculture might explain both the scarce references to conflicts between colonists and locals and the successful establishment of the new settlements in more

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<sup>159</sup> Amazonian foundation myths are reported, among others, for Ephesus, Anaea, Myrina, Cyme, Elaea, Thebes, Tralleis, Isocratea, Palla (Arr., *Bithynicorum Fragmenta* 49 apud. Eustath. *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 828), Sinope (Andron *FGrHist* 10 F 2-3).

<sup>160</sup> Heinle (2015) 66.

or less unwanted areas.<sup>161</sup> Yet this reasoning may be too close to a colonial perception of an unwelcoming, empty space waiting to be put to good use.<sup>162</sup>

Keeping close to a colonial perception, ancient sources refer to a habitation of Amazons preceding the Aeolian expedition, a presence attested as early as Ephorus in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (*FGrHist* 70 F 114a *apud* Str. 12.3.21). According to Strabo's citation, Amazons dwelt in Ionia and Aeolis, where *poleis* were named after them (namely Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyme, and Myrina). However, the geographer is careful to distinguish the view of Ephorus, which accounts only for the presence of Amazons in the area of Ionia and Lydia, from the views of other, unnamed sources which link the Amazons to specific settlements as founders ('...others, exactly as Ephorus thinks, placed the Amazons between Mysia, Caria, and Lydia, close to his *polis*, Cyme...some others argue that some *poleis* received their name from Amazons, namely Ephesus and Smyrna and Cyme and Myrina'). Strabo remained sceptical about 'nonsense' (*καταφλυαρία*) of previous authors eager to offer all kinds of information on the Amazons, but in this case he conceded some credibility to them: 'this opinion might not be unreasonable...'. In the work of Heracleides Lembus (dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. and quoted at the beginning of this section), shreds of traditions are preserved, according to which Amazons were still neither linked to any specific *polis* nor identified as founders. Heracleides and his sources restricted the Amazon land between Mycale and Pitane. Although already aware of myths linking Amazons to Aeolis and Ephesus, Heracleides also presented a different view of the name of Ephesus. 'Some others say' that the *polis* was named after the verb *ἐφίημι* (= to yield), alluding to the expulsion of the Amazons by Hercules. Yet, the link between specific *poleis* and Amazon leaders had appeared a century before Heracleides, unless one is willing to date the unnamed sources ('others') of Strabo closer to Ephorus and the 4<sup>th</sup> century rather than to Strabo's time in the 1<sup>st</sup> century.

In a long narrative (D.S. 3.52-55), relying on *Libyan Stories*, a lost work of Dionysius Scytobrachion dated between 270 and 220 B.C., Diodorus follows the Amazons' campaign from North Africa to Asia Minor.<sup>163</sup> Under the leadership of Myrina they marched from Libya through Egypt and Syria to Asia Minor and claimed control of the coastal lands over the Caicus

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<sup>161</sup> E.g. a conflict at the core of the foundation myth of Neonteichos as a base for the invading Greeks (Locrians from Mt. Phricion) against Larisa (Str. 13.3.3).

<sup>162</sup> For a detailed analysis of colonial discourses and choice of words, see the discussion of the foundation myth of Tenedos in the last section of this chapter, apparent in D.S. 5.83.1-6. Violence and conflict were not the inescapable norm and other, more moderate relations between Greeks and indigenous populations emerge in our sources. E.g. the examination of the foundation myths of Miletus in Mac Sweeney (2013) 69-73, where the foundation myths entailing violence are dated to the aftermath of the Ionian revolt, in a context of a more hostile contrast between Greeks and non-Greeks which toned down the expressions of plurality within the population.

<sup>163</sup> For Dionysius, Rusten (1982) 85-92.

by the right of conquest (δορίκτητος χώρα). Myrina chose suitable locations to build many *poleis*, one named after herself, others after the most distinguished leaders: Cyme, Pitane, Priene by the sea, others, regrettably unnamed, inland, and some more on islands; the most important of those was Mytilene in Lesbos, named after Myrina's sister (D.S. 3.55.7). Very conveniently, Amazons evacuate Asia Minor after their defeat by Lycurgus, king of the Thracians, and the death of Myrina. Amazons eventually retreated to their homeland in Africa and Asia Minor remained open for repopulation.

Perhaps drawing from the same body of tradition, Strabo connected only Cyme with an Amazon founder (Str. 13.3.6). Elsewhere, Strabo treats the reports regarding the Amazons very cautiously. The geographer blatantly comments that 'the same allegations are put forth now as in ancient times, outrageous claims far away from the truth' (11.5.3). He then mentions the incredible elements regarding the Amazons, expresses doubts over the credibility of reports of their invasions of Ionia and Attica before he dismisses claims of Amazonian foundation and naming of *poleis* in Asia Minor (11.5.3-4). A wide circulation of relevant myths seems had probably taken place since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., enough to fuel Strabo's indignant discussion.

### *Timeframe and the Amazonian motherland: was Themiscyra a polis?*

In this section I will argue that the geographical extension of the alleged Amazonian foundations in Asia Minor, as well as a detailed examination of the development of the myth of Amazon founders, both indicate an initial date after the 5<sup>th</sup> century for the respective foundation myths. Hence, other possible interpretations of the myth of Amazon founders, relying on a negative reflection of locals by the colonists, a reversed image of the Greek female, or stories reminiscent of a different state of affairs in Asia Minor before the migration, seem less probable.

To begin with, the foundation activity of Amazons in western Asia Minor is restricted between Ephesus and Pitane. The latter, located on the north coast of the Gulf of Elaea, was also the northernmost *polis* of Small Aeolis. I will examine the fluctuating borders of Aeolis in ancient geographical accounts in the next chapter, but in this case the expansion and shrinking of Aeolis in ancient scholarly works becomes relevant. A Small Aeolis, stretching between Cyme and Pitane, appears as early as Herodotus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, in his much-quoted list of Aeolian *poleis*. In scholarly works composed shortly before and after the reign of Augustus, Aeolis had expanded to include an area as far north as Cape Lekton, a nose-shaped promontory

on the westernmost part of the Troad protruding into the Aegean Sea to the north of Lesbos. The identification of ‘Amazon lands’ with the area of Small Aeolis initially indicates a period in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when Aeolis as a geographical entity was restricted to the same area.

The evolution of the myth and perception of the Amazons may offer an additional viewpoint. According to Josine Blok’s insightful discussion, the very notion of Amazons dwelling in civic order in a *polis* must have been uncanny for people in the Archaic period. Even the well-known Amazonian area of habitation, the obscure Themiscyra, was not transformed into a *polis* until much later times, probably in the early Hellenistic period.<sup>164</sup> Blok argues that the concept of a warlike, female band was so unnatural for early archaic audiences that Homeric epic had to rely on a very old word, ἀντιάνειραι (= equal to men), to make clear the feminine nature of the Amazons by juxtaposing them to men in the formula applied in the *Iliad*: Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι (Hom. *Il.* 3.189). Without the adjective, audiences would have presumed that the Ἀμαζ-όνες were men, just like the Μυρμιδ-όνες.

Gradually, the Amazons were incorporated into the Greek cultural sphere. The process necessitated a lineage and location. Initially, the Amazons were vaguely located *away*, close to the Thracians and Scythians, and had Ares as a father.<sup>165</sup> Against an early date for the Amazon *polis*-dwellers motif, it is far from certain that early Homeric audiences actually lived in *poleis* with the late archaic and classical sense we tend to apply to the term.<sup>166</sup> In the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, an Amazonian settlement in Themiscyra by the river Thermodon is implied by Aeschylus in the context of a prophecy given by Prometheus to Io (Aesch. *Pr. B.* 723-5: ‘Amazons...at a time dwelling in Themiscyra on the banks of the Thermodon’; in l. 415 the

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<sup>164</sup> Themiscyra and the Thermodon were typically located by mythographers in the north Black Sea region, perhaps not as an echo of actual female warriors, but as a result of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century Greek perception of the region as tormented by gynaeocracy, already evident in Herodotus’ discussion of the Scythians in Book 4. Evidence and discussion in Braund (2007b) 8.

<sup>165</sup> Blok (1995) 149-152, 210-217, 437. Pausanias mentions a work of Hagias about an unsuccessful siege of Themiscyra by Hercules. The date of Hagias and his authorship have been revised, and it seems that the scholarly work referenced by Pausanias was composed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century or later. An earlier date for the settling of Amazons in Thrace can be argued on the basis of Proclus’ summary of *Aethiopsis*, an epic poem of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Procl. *De Hom.* 175-176 introduces Penthesileia as ‘Amazon...daughter of Ares, of Thracian race’, but we cannot say whether Proclus cites faithfully the original text of Arctinus or inserted his own knowledge on the subject. In another transmission of what seems to be (or be close to) the opening lines of *Aethiopsis*, the Amazon is only referred to as a daughter of Ares (*Aithiopsis* fr. 1 *GEF*). However, in fr. 2 the Amazon is being addressed by an unidentified person with a series of direct questions: ‘Who are you and where do you come from? Whose seed do you say you are?’. The wording suggests that Penthesileia must have duly responded at length to these questions, thus offering a thorough background which included her place of origin, now lost to us. Yet, another plausible response might rely on the juxtaposition between the male enquirer and the Amazon who responds, as presented by Herodotus (4.114): retorting to the young Scythians who refer to their parents and properties, the Amazon presents the negative picture of the *oikos*-system, i.e. horse-riding, shooting arrows and hurling javelins; she did not offer any hints to their descent or location.

<sup>166</sup> Graziosi and Haubold (2005) 97, 110-119. For problems arising from the use of the term *polis* in the Archaic period, Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 12-46.



poet applies a vaguer definition of their location, the obscure Colchis), but there is no hint that Themiscyra is a *polis*; on the contrary, the wording (κατοικιοῦσιν = they dwell) would suggest that a *region* is implied here. The same could be said about Herodotus' brief reference to 'Themiscyra upon the Thermodon' (4.86), without further reference to its status (or to the Amazons for that matter; they appear only in another passing reference (9.27) as 'from the river Thermodon'. Pseudo-Scylax (89) in the 4<sup>th</sup> century lists a Themiscyra upon the Thermodon, a 'Greek *polis*'; if the dating of his work is correct (see pp. 137-140), then this is the earliest attestation of Themiscyra as a *polis*. Still, the previous view of a dispersed Amazonian habitation continues to appear frequently: e.g. for Strabo in the 1<sup>st</sup> century (12.3.14) Themiscyra was merely a 'dwelling place' (οἰκητήριον). Both perceptions, urban and dispersed habitation, appear also in the *Argonautica* (composed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.). Apollonius refers to the 'Themiscyrean Amazons' and then clarifies that 'they did not assemble in a *polis*, but they dwelt scattered across the land separated in three parts' (Ap.Rh. Arg. 2.995-997). In this context of the world of epic narrative constructed by an author who often inserted old-fashioned material into his work to create the necessary epic distancing,<sup>167</sup> the settlement pattern perhaps follows what should be regarded as a conventional epic condition: the Amazons lived outside the civic order that constituted the *polis*. On the other hand, earlier in his poem Apollonius mentions the 'threefold *poleis* of the Amazons' (2.373-374), which are named only by the scholiast: Lycastia, Themiscyra, Chadesia (Schol. vetera p.158 Wendel). Even Diodorus, who summarises Dionysius Scytobrachion, elsewhere speaks of a gathering of Amazons by the Thermodon before their invasion of Greece; after their expulsion they co-dwelt with the Scythians, and not in a *polis* (D.S. 4.28).

Other traditions, as old as the archaic epic circle, placed Amazons in Thrace or in the Troad.<sup>168</sup> In the Hellenistic period, communities and authorities in western Asia Minor were able to build on old traditions and connect to a distant past. Two panels of the Telephus Frieze from the Great Altar of Pergamon (dated after 166 B.C.) are interpreted as the battle of the Caicus and the funeral of Hiera; a figure previously identified as Telephus is now reconstructed as his wife, armed with a battle-axe and depicted according to the Amazonian iconographical conventions of the classical period. Centuries later, Hiera, an Amazon-like fighter of immense

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<sup>167</sup> Blok (1995) 273 n.228; Morris (1986) for epic distancing.

<sup>168</sup> Sources and discussion in Blok (1995) 259-276.

beauty and wife of Telephus, is discussed by Philostratus in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and compared to Helen of Troy.<sup>169</sup>

In the beginning of the Hellenistic period, when the boundaries of the known world were expanded, authors could place the Amazons further away, close to the new eastern extremities. Cleitarchus described an actual encounter between Alexander and the Amazonian queen Thalestris in Hyrcania (*FGrHist* 137 F 16, writing shortly after Alexander's death), while other authors endorsed a new Amazon land beyond the Caspian Sea (compiled in Str. 11.5.1-5). By the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., the contradictory locations of their homeland baffled Strabo and led him to denounce the credibility of ancient myths once more, after a copious examination of different accounts (Str. 12.3.21-24). Ancient authors less preoccupied with geographical accuracy located the country of the Amazons in the most unlikely places; one of the most imaginative is an island beyond an obscure river 'Amazonian', an island so vast that it would take an entire year to complete a journey around its perimeter (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Hist. Alex. Magn.* 3.25, dated between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. and the 3<sup>rd</sup> AD). To conclude, a date sometime in the early Hellenistic period or shortly before for the transformation of the Amazons into *polis*-dwellers and *polis*-founders would be plausible.

### *Implications: evidence of Amazon founders in the Archaic period?*

At first glance, my suggestion seems to ignore three pieces of evidence that may place the Amazons in Asia Minor already related to *poleis* early in the archaic period. The inclusion of Ionian Smyrna in the list of *poleis* founded by Amazons (Str. 14.1.4) may point to an archaic origin of the relevant myths, in times when Smyrna was part of the Aeolian sphere. A passage of Hecataeus may attest to the old name of Cyme, Amazoneion. Finally, an Amazon and a *polis* named Myrina may have been at place since the time of the composition of the Homeric epics.

Smyrna's ancient Aeolian affiliation is attested by Mimnermus in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Mimn. fr. 9 Allen) and preserved in later sources referring or alluding to her distant, semi-mythical past (Callim. *Epigr.* 5; Antip. Thess. 65.5 *GP* (= *A.P.* 7.398.5); Arr. *Anab.* 5.6.4). A conflict which led to her inclusion in the Panionion is discussed in other textual sources (Hdt. 1.149-150; [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 1.40-44; Paus. 7.5.1; see also pp. 131-134). In my view, Smyrna's

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<sup>169</sup> Hieria participated in the battle between the Mysians of Telephus and the Achaeans who confused Teuthrania with Troy (Philostr. *Her.* 691). For the identification of Hieria, Schraudolph (1996) 74. For the development of the myth of Telephus, the local version adopted by the designers and the allusion of the actual battlefield of the Caicus in the fight against the Gauls, Heres (1997) 83-89, 99-100; Stewart (1997) 109-110; Gruen (2000) 22-23.

later inclusion among the *poleis* named after or founded by Amazons is not evidence that can date the Amazonian foundation myths deep into the archaic period, in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>170</sup> More probably, the Amazonian foundation of Smyrna attested in later sources is reminiscent of an *ancient past*, when Smyrna was allegedly Aeolian. Her inclusion among Amazonian foundations by later sources may have taken place in accordance with what perceptions of the ancient past demanded. Smyrna was ascribed with a namesake Amazon founder so that the dramatic time would not be disturbed: in a putative time long before its phyletic affiliation changed, Smyrna was allegedly founded by Amazons, just like many other Aeolian *poleis*, and a plausible past condition was framed accordingly.

It has been argued that the Amazonian foundation myths encapsulated an *emic* capital, an element ‘by the community for the community’, that the Amazon foundation myths functioned as a means to segregate colonists from locals or, conversely, to establish common ground and bring the two groups closer. Heinle discerns echoes of colonisation discourse: the representation of the locals as females and the colonists as the conquering males makes the Amazon foundation myths part of a collective self-perception of the Aeolian *poleis*, ranging between negative representations of the native populations to echoes of a resistance by local women against Greek males.<sup>171</sup> This reasoning requires the assumption that a degree of historicity is hidden in the core of such myths, in the form of a colonisation or migration. Other scholars observe that Amazon founders offered stronger and older ties to the land than reliance on Aeolian colonists. Such myths could also dampen feelings of nostalgia within a community far from the motherland.<sup>172</sup> Again, this reasoning would be plausible only in the case of the first colonists and their immediate offspring who may have suffered a loss of homeland. Instead, Amazon founders appear much later in our sources, and there is no evidence suggesting a date earlier than the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Along the same lines, Blok has argued that Amazon foundation myths not only expressed a feeling of stronger ties to the land, but also conveyed an image of peaceful cohabitation between the colonists and the inhabitants who rushed to embrace the newcomers.

Her interpretation requires an early date for the circulation of Amazon foundation myths and she relies on the passage of Hecataeus attributing ‘Amazoneion’ as an old name for

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<sup>170</sup> Rubinstein and Greaves (2004) 1099 date the expulsion of the previous settlers by Ionians from Colophon before 688 B.C., before the Olympic victory of Onomastus from Smyrna, ‘which was already part of the Ionians’, according to Paus. 5.8.7.

<sup>171</sup> Heinle (2015) 203-208.

<sup>172</sup> Blok (1996) 88; brief discussion in Hornblower (2015) 62.

Cyme as early as the late 6<sup>th</sup>/early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>173</sup> She argues that such myths could relieve the anxiety of the first colonists and later on echoed the initial good relations with the locals.<sup>174</sup> Overall, Amazons represented the locals at a symbolic level, their reduced status as women balanced by their war-like nature, in the end offering a peaceful yet firm arrangement: the locals had accepted the Greeks on equal terms and the newcomers acknowledged the past of the territory they settled on.<sup>175</sup> All's well that ends well; according to Blok, Amazon myths may have even served the purpose of bringing the Greek *poleis* closer to Croesus during the Lydian conquest by alluding to a common mythical past (citing a source as late as *Etymologicum Magnum* where Amazons are named 'Lydian' (s.v. Ephesus)).<sup>176</sup>

This interpretation, reliant on colonial discourse and an actual migration, requires an early date for the Amazon foundation myths. However, the passage of Hecataeus cannot offer this. The reference (*FGrHist* 1 F 226) is actually a passing citation by Stephanus of Byzantium in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD:

Ἀμαζόνειον· τόπος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ... οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ἡ Κύμη, ἐν ἧι αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ὄικουν. Ἑκαταῖος δ' ἐν τοῖς Αἰολικοῖς διὰ τοῦ <ι> γράφει τὸ ὄνομα.

Amazoneion: ...a location in Attica...Cyme was also called thus, where the Amazons lived. **Hecataeus in his *Aeolica* spells the name with a -i.**

Evidently, we cannot be certain what Hecataeus had written regarding an Amazoneion, other than that any information available to Stephanus came from a lost work entitled *Aeolica*, and, less probably, that an Amazonion existed somewhere in Aeolis. Stephanus repeats the same information in his entry for Cyme: '...it was named Amazoneion', without citing his source. Yet, the spelling of the word, -ei instead of -i in Hecataeus, shows that Stephanus here drew on another source.<sup>177</sup> Typically, the inclusion of an author's name as a source reference in the works of later scholiasts indicates that any preceding information does not derive from that author, unless otherwise specified.<sup>178</sup> Hence the only information derived directly from

<sup>173</sup> Also Heinle (2015) 204.

<sup>174</sup> Blok (1996) 83-89.

<sup>175</sup> Greek males dominating local female figures was a common theme in gender relations in foundation myths (Mac Sweeney (2013) 46).

<sup>176</sup> Blok (1996) 96-97.

<sup>177</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Κύμη* 'Κύμη: ...ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀμαζόνειον.'

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Fowler (2000) II, 592, commenting on Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 137. The fragment is a short reference to Hellanicus by the Scholiast of Pindar, when the latter presents the genealogy of Rhodes (*Ol.* 7.132a Drachmann).

Hecateus is the spelling of the word, and also perhaps that an Amazoneion of unknown status and qualities was connected with Aeolis. Any additional information about Amazoneion, and its function as an alternative, otherwise unattested name for Cyme, comes from other, unnamed sources.

Furthermore, the form of the word indicates that a landmark is mentioned; Amazoneion hardly resembles a *polis*-name (especially for a *polis* as important as Cyme), like the Amazoneion previously listed by Stephanus, ‘a place in Attica’ (also in D.S. 4.28; Plut. *Thes.* 27.3-6; a temple in Harp. 25.8, cf. the ‘Athenaion’ in Str. 14.1.21, a temple of Athena). In Aeolis, the Amazoneion was probably one of the Amazonian tombs mentioned in abundance throughout the region (Str. 11.5.4). It should also be noted that no other evidence for an old name of Cyme is available.

If my initial suggestion is plausible, when did the transformation of the Amazon myth take place? A firm dating of the Amazon foundation myths is a challenging task, yet our evidence permits some insight. Later sources claiming to cite ancient authors contribute more details to the Amazon foundation myths. As noted earlier in this section, Arrian, perhaps summarising earlier authors such as Andron (fl. late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), presents an expanded area of Amazon settlement extending into Pontus and inner Asia Minor, adding to the list *poleis* like Thebe, Tralleis and others. In a tradition preserved in the Suda (a 10<sup>th</sup>-century AD lexicon), Homer’s father reached Smyrna at the same time as the Amazons (Sud. s.v. *Ἵμιρος*), which introduces us to the realm of Homeric epic and its implications. Here I must discuss the dating of the transformation of Myrina into an Amazon. Her name is attested only once in the *Iliad*, yet in Diodorus’ narrative of the invasion Myrina is already an Amazon leader.

When did Myrina become an Amazon? Her name is exceptional as it is not a generic name like those usually applied to Amazons (feminine forms of male names or known female names with the prefix and/or suffix of *-andro* (= man), e.g. Iphito or Andromache).<sup>179</sup> In her unique attestation in the *Iliad*, her tomb is a landmark in the plain of Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.811-815). Strabo offers some insight into the process of identification. ‘Some observe that she was one of the Amazons, basing their conclusions on the adjective “πολυσκάρθμοιο” (= swift), an adjective linked to horses; therefore, Strabo explains, Myrina was called *polyskarthmos* on account of the speed of her horses (Str. 12.8.6). Hence ancient literary critique connected the

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Fowler concludes that the reference to Hellanicus relates only to the specific information given on a name and its spelling (‘Hellanicus names her “Rhode”’) not to the entire genealogy of Rhodes (as Jacoby had assumed).

<sup>179</sup> Blok (1995) 218-219. Blok (1996) 98 n. 66 suggested an etymology from *myron* (= perfumed oil) for the name of Myrina, possibly a nymph before she became an Amazon.

Homeric Myrina with the Aeolian *polis*, and transformed Myrina into an Amazon; a task fitting for an Alexandrian grammarian, though this cannot be anything more than speculation. Nevertheless, this dating fits nicely into a timeframe for the Amazonian foundation myths in Hellenistic times. An initial tradition of an Amazonian presence in Asia Minor was transformed into an invasion; this led to the creation of new traditions, traceable back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., involving foundation activity. Over time, specific places were linked to individual Amazons who gave their names to settlements already in place by the archaic period. These specific links are evident in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. in the accounts of Strabo and Diodorus, who are able to comment on them and assume that their audience has sufficient knowledge of the relevant claims and stories. Interestingly, and possibly not by coincidence, almost all our surviving evidence on land disputes in Aeolis are also dated to the Hellenistic period, as we shall see in the next sections.

To conclude so far, the geographical scope and literary development of the Amazon foundation myths indicate that, while the basis of the myth (the presence of Amazons in Asia Minor) may have been as old as the Homeric epics or even older, its transformation into a foundation myth can be dated only after the Classical period. In the following section I will explore the reasons for the transformation and the new function of an old myth.

### *Interpretations*

Various interpretations of the theme of Amazons have been advanced by modern scholarship. They are based on the assumption that Amazons constitute a cultural alternative, an impossible society of confused sexuality and excessively strong anti-marriage sentiments; a cornerstone for men aspiring to acquire heroic status through deeds of valour against worthy adversaries.<sup>180</sup> Amazons approached men from neighbouring areas only for reproductive reasons. They remained strictly unmarried and any attempts to lure or abduct their queens were answered by war. Hercules and Theseus ‘raped’ the ‘virgin’ Amazons who defied marriage; they inspired love in their leaders; they re-instated worldly order.<sup>181</sup> DuBois has suggested that, being seemingly sexless but man-like and war-like creatures nonetheless, Amazons represented an early age before sexual differentiation in a man's life: the age before puberty, when initiations took place.<sup>182</sup> Further down this line of reasoning, Dowden argued that Amazons reflected age-

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<sup>180</sup> Hardwick (1990) 15-20.

<sup>181</sup> DuBois (1982) 34-41.

<sup>182</sup> DuBois (1982) 69.

group transition and rituals in Athens, where girls were taken to the next stage through *rites de passage* into an inverted world, before they prepared for their new role in the actual world as wives.<sup>183</sup>

While these interpretations tackle the issue of Amazons in ritual and visual culture, they hold little explanatory value regarding their function as mythical founders. Dowden suggests that the first Greek colonists encountered local settlements bearing female names, hence they associated them with Amazon mythical figures and the creation of the myth evolved around new figures such as Cyme, Myrina, and Ephesus. To quote Dowden himself, ‘This is not very deep, as explanations go, but it is perhaps not wholly unrealistic either’;<sup>184</sup> I have strong reservations about the last part of his sentence.

As far as feminine toponyms are concerned, even if one overlooks feminine *polis*-names elsewhere in the Greek world, from Zankle to Corcyra, Sicyon, Chalcis, or Athens and Sparta, it would be difficult to overlook that the reverse order than the one assumed by Dowden is far more plausible: centuries after the colonisation, mythographers or state officials invented a mythical founder and named him/her after the *polis*. Mythical tradition preserves at least two instances of name-changing in Aeolis. Larisa and Cyme were given a geographical adjective reminiscent of the remote motherland and became *Larisa Phriconis* and *Cyme Phriconis*, after the expulsion of the Pelasgian population by the invading Locrians in the plains of the Hermus (Str. 13.3.3; see pp. 71-73). At first glance, Dowden may have a point in the sense that, despite the name-changing, the new names incorporated the old in their original feminine forms (a point Dowden himself did not realise). Yet, among other flaws, such an interpretation fails to account for Larisa, a name not attested for an Amazon. Cyme’s link to an Amazon and the absence of this practice in Larisa shows that a feminine *polis*-name was not enough to claim an Amazonian foundation. More importantly, the inclusion of Cyme and the omission of Larisa from the list of Amazon foundations may be a good reason to date the relevant myths in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, after the dispute and annexation of Larisa by Cyme (see p. 74). Cyme’s success is reflected by its inclusion in the settlements founded by the Amazons, and accounts for Larisa’s omission.

The female warriors perhaps filled another void and functioned as a tradition legitimising the right to rule. My interpretation of Amazon foundation myths of *poleis* in the area suggests that we view them first as an indicator of an upside-down world, which at a

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<sup>183</sup> Dowden (1997) 116ff.

<sup>184</sup> Dowden (1997) 120.

second stage is re-instated into its ‘correct’, Greek form. Moreover, besides the ‘correction’ of an obvious ‘anomaly’, an Amazonian founder allowed a *polis* to project its past before the Aeolian expedition,<sup>185</sup> in the way that the Milesians employed foundation myths other than the Ionian migration, which allowed them to trace their presence in the area long before the arrival of the Ionians without challenging or raising doubts over their Ionian affiliation.<sup>186</sup> Accordingly, it was assumed by ancient audiences and suggested by relevant foundation myths that the Aeolians had come to an area of many possibilities, controlled by women warriors. The newcomers put the land to productive use (the implied assumption being that their war-like predecessors lived on spoils of war or in some other way than cultivation) and created a complete community based on agriculture. They also re-instated a worldly order that kept women in the house, the males in charge, and agriculture as the main means of subsistence. Balance was restored and historical evolution fell into place.

Processes in Ephesus possibly shed light on what may have taken place in Aeolis. Ephesus was also allegedly founded by an Amazon bearing that name, a connection which did not undermine its Ionian character. Mac Sweeney associates the Amazon foundation myth with an attempt by the *polis* to acknowledge pre-existing religious practices honouring female figures before the coming of the Greeks.<sup>187</sup> Reacting against Athenian intrusion into the area after the Persian wars, the Ephesians created or adjusted a mythical beginning with strong anti-Athenian overtures. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when Amazons (according to Athenian perspectives) represented everything that was anti-Athenian, the Ephesians promoted a previous, non-Greek, Amazonian habitation and foundation of both the *polis* and the sanctuary of Artemis in particular.<sup>188</sup> Instead of focusing on their Ionian identity, already an instrument of Athenian propaganda and claim to be the *metropolis* of Ionians (and Ephesus in particular through Androclus, son of king Codrus), the Ephesians could choose to put the emphasis on their famous goddess associated with the Amazon namesake of the *polis*.<sup>189</sup> In this way, they could escape the pressure of a strictly Athenian-Ionian past by showing their own ancient ties to the

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<sup>185</sup> Cf. Heinle (2015) 208.

<sup>186</sup> Sources collected and discussed in Mac Sweeney (2013) 70-79. By the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century Herodorus (*FGrHist* 31 F 45) was able to list three different foundation myths for Miletus (by Erginus and Ancaeus, by Miletus, and by Sarpedon), none of which evoked or hinted at Ionian migration.

<sup>187</sup> Mac Sweeney (2013) 138-156. She argues that, if the intention was to formulate a link with Lydia and a general Anatolian cultural background, then other figures would have been more useful than the Amazons. Hence, this choice must have had a significant meaning for the Greeks in the classical period.

<sup>188</sup> Although the bulk of relevant evidence comes from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Ephesus and Cyme represent two rare cases of an earlier circulation of Amazon-related foundation myths (Mac Sweeney (2013) 140-142).

<sup>189</sup> Sources in Mac Sweeney (2013) 143-145.



region. A period close to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century is a plausible context, when Ephesus revolted against Athens after the disaster in Sicily.<sup>190</sup>

Of course, the Amazon foundation myth can be interpreted in the exact opposite way, in a pro-Athenian, pro-Greek, and certainly pro-Ionian manner. The Ephesians could choose to connect with the Athenian hero Theseus,<sup>191</sup> a well-known champion against the Amazons. Ephesians and Athenians fought against the same, non-Greek enemy in mythical times; the same principle could be extended to current times, against another common non-Greek enemy in the East, the Persians. More importantly, these two contrasting interpretations were not mutually exclusive. Depending on current conditions and needs, different aspects, pro-Athenian or anti-Athenian, of the same foundation myth could have been promoted to support an attempt to connect with or disassociate from Athens or from a local, Anatolian context.

In any case, an Amazonian habitation was more typically situated in remote, non-Greek lands,<sup>192</sup> and their alleged presence in Asia Minor before the Greek colonisation suggests a context such as I have proposed above: the setting of a pre-Greek, non-Greek stage. The mythical Greeks achieved a great victory against fierce warriors. These mythical females were the inverted image of ‘real women’: dominant, self-sufficient, independent, their nature concealed under manly virtues to ultimately form a complete opposite image of the ‘real world’, in a cosmos where there was a place for a female society (usually on the fringe of the Greek world). By right of victory and conquest, the colonists’ forefathers restored worldly order; by the right of inheritance their offspring could stress territorial claims over the coastal lands.

Without doubt, it is difficult to account for a *polis*’ choice to subscribe to an evidently non-Greek, mythical past. The Amazons, in particular, are a few steps away from other barbarians: females in control of society, the negative image of the ideal Greek-human-male.<sup>193</sup> Greek *poleis* in Asia Minor were linked to a non-Greek, non-male, mythical past. This choice may be inexplicable if the emphasis is put on the negative aspects of the Amazons: non-Greek and non-male. Instead, I suggest that the key concept was the ‘mythical past’. Despite being overtly a non-Greek mythical past, Amazon foundation myths essentially placed Aeolian *poleis* in Asia Minor before the coming of Greeks, the Mysians, even the Trojans. It is not by

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<sup>190</sup> Mac Sweeney (2013) 154.

<sup>191</sup> A tradition preserved in [Hdt.] *Vit. Hom.* 17-23 West (dated c. AD 50-150), identified Theseus as a founder of Smyrna, named after his wife.

<sup>192</sup> Usually on the south or the north shore of the Black Sea, or even further towards the Caucasus: Dowden (1997) 98-117; also Blok (1995) 83-93, 437: ‘homelands posited on a map which was cultural before it was geographical’.

<sup>193</sup> DuBois (1982) 6-7.

coincidence that the textual evidence for Amazon foundations is dated predominantly in the Augustan period or shortly before, and after the territorial conflicts of the Hellenistic period discussed in the next sections.

Another point of interest relates to the process of *habitus* discussed in Chapter 1. Amazon foundation myths were persuasive because they fitted well into the established corpus of myths: the presence of Amazons in Asia Minor and the Aeolian migration with its colonial connotations. On the same principle, the notion that the newcomers brought order into chaos, Amazon foundation myths were much more than an absurdity: they were plausible, easily incorporated into the mythical traditions of Aeolian *poleis*.

A final question remains: was there any other use or purpose to the Amazon foundation myths? In nearby Ephesus, as Mac Sweeney argues, the link to the Amazons was formed and channelled through the main ritual of the *polis* in the temple of Artemis; thus, the myth strengthened the ties of the Greek population to the local cultural sphere.<sup>194</sup> To the best of my knowledge, nothing as imposing as the case of Ephesus is found in any Aeolian *polis*. Foundation myths evolving around the Amazons were apparently a scholarly discussion emanating from a conscious choice by political communities in the Hellenistic period to support their claims over disputed lands. The Amazons had retreated soon after the foundation of the *poleis* in the coastal strip and beyond, thereby leaving clear and inviting ground for the Greeks. Amazons could be founders, but not ancestors.

To conclude, my suggestion to date the circulation of Amazon foundation myths for the *poleis* on the Aeolian coastal strip to the Hellenistic period relies on three indications. The geographical aspect, apparent in ancient geographical accounts of Aeolis, indicates a date after the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In terms of literature and genre, the development of the notion of Amazons as civic dwellers and founders cannot be dated earlier than the Hellenistic period. Finally, the political aspect: my suggestion for a more precise, later date necessitates a link between foundation myths and land disputes among *poleis* of the area. These disputes did not occur before the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>195</sup> It is to the land and territory that my study turns next.

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<sup>194</sup> Mac Sweeney (2013) 138-156.

<sup>195</sup> Contra Heinle (2015) 206-208, who contextualises the intensive use and representation of the Amazon foundation myths in the imperial period.

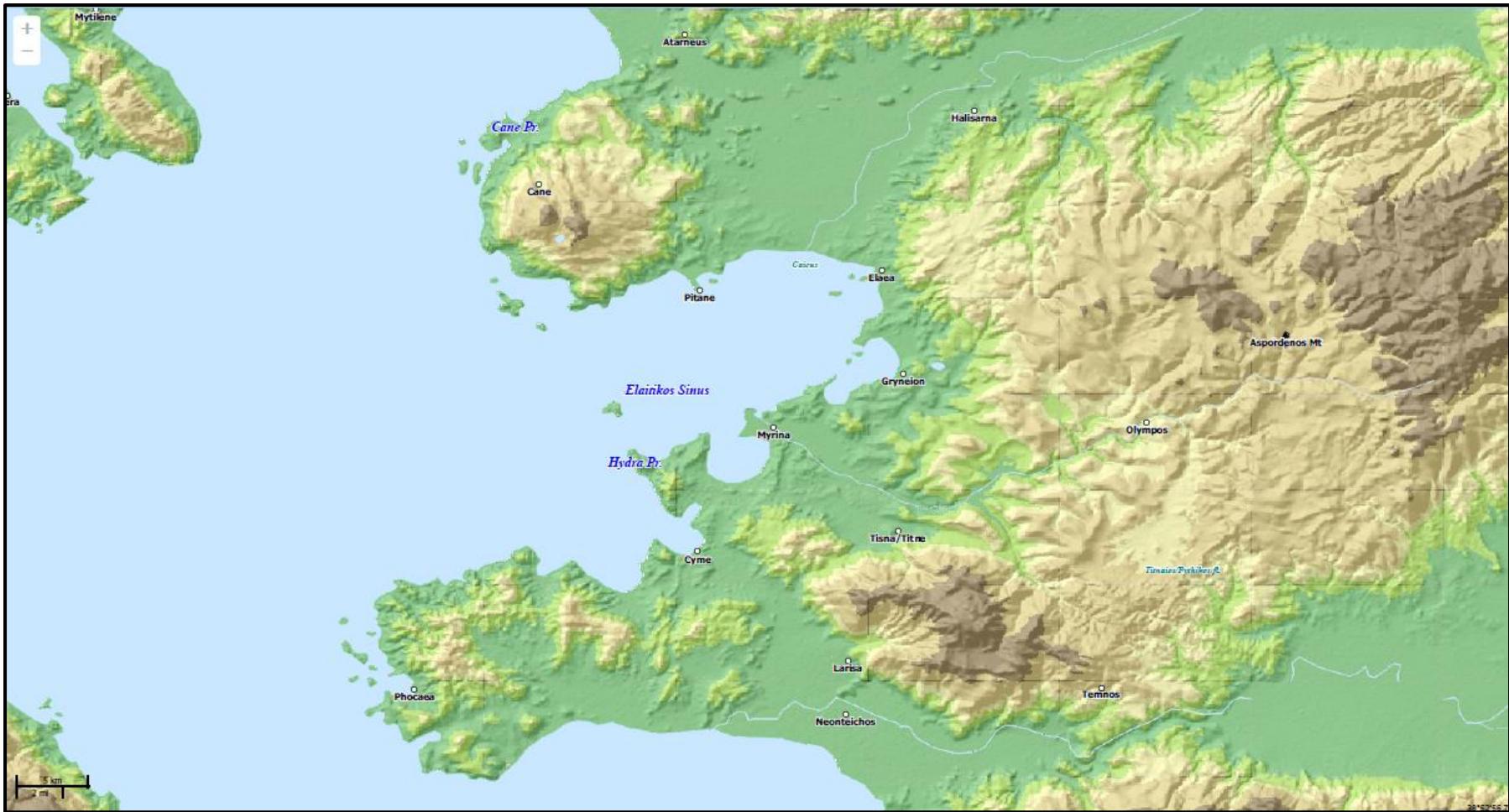


Figure 3: Poleis in the narrow coastal strip and the plains of the Hermsus

## *Aeolian poleis in the plains of the Hermus*

The Hermus was a formidable landmark throughout the millennia (earliest attestation in Hes. *Theog.* 343). Apparently, crossing the rivers of the region was a significant feat, especially the Hermus, according to a 15<sup>th</sup>-century traveller. Cyriac of Ancona makes explicit reference to his crossing alongside the court of Sultan Murad II journeying from Manisa (anc. Magnesia on Sipylus) to Edirne (anc. Adriano(u)polis), answering a call by Çelebi (i.e. the Young Heir, the future Fatih Sultan Mehmet): ‘...completed a journey of such magnitude that involved our crossing of the Hermus and other rivers’.<sup>196</sup> Two millennia earlier, according to Herodotus, the Delphic oracle identified the Hermus as a definite boundary, when advising Croesus, king of Lydia, to withdraw behind the river should a mule ascend to the throne of Media (Hdt. 1.55). The oracle did not suggest a direction for Croesus’ withdrawal, but since his capital lay south of the Hermus, a logical assumption is that he should withdraw north-west, towards the sea, and put the river between himself and the incoming danger. In this case, the Hermus constituted a conceptual rather than an actual border, since Croesus’ realm extended to the Aegean coast and included the Greek *poleis*.

Other crossings of the Hermus were less noteworthy. Aelius Aristides, a local, hurried to cross the river at the end of a hot day in summer AD 165, needing a swift crossing to reduce the distance between his small party and his preceding luggage. He was more concerned with the poor quality of the nearby inn than the flowing water before him and notes it laconically in just three words: ‘crossing the river (‘διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν’; Aristid. *Or.* 51.2-3). The time of year (August) must have made this a less impressive crossing than Cyriac’s (in early May), owing to the river’s reduced flow in late summer. Moreover, travellers from far away tend to be more impressed with landmarks and events than are locals.

The two cases (Herodotus and Aristides) demonstrate the plurality of perceptions of geographical landmarks. For the Lydian king and the 5<sup>th</sup>-century historian, the river was a firm landmark defining a safe area from an advancing danger, away from Lydia, leading to the Greek *poleis* on the shore. For the anxious local on the road, the Hermus was an unnecessary obstacle. A boundary marker and an obstacle, the Hermus, like other water masses, could divide or unite, depending on circumstances. For the invading Alexander it must have been both: a welcome geographic element which provided shelter and easy access to water for his camp, and a divider between the Greek coastal *poleis* and the capital of the satrapy. The king

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<sup>196</sup> Bodnar and Foss (2003) 251.

dispatched a small force to accept the surrender of Sardeis, while he remained on the river's west side with most of his army, before visiting the city himself to arrange its new administration (Arr. *An.* 1.17.2-5).

Along the course of the Hermus, situated at an elevated position (300m) on the south slope of Mt. Aspendus (mod. Yunt Dağı), on the narrow pass of the river valley which then extends impressively into Lydia, **Temnos** was the easternmost Aeolian *polis*, approximately 15km from the ancient shoreline. The *polis* constitutes a good case against bound, fixed geographical entities. Temnos is located at the southern outreach of Mt. Aspendus, a land mass extending from north-east to south-west, effectively separating the valleys of the Caicus and Hermus. Its location does not mark a lands-end, but instead opens up to a wide and fertile plain in the land of Lydia. At the same time, from its position on the mountain slope, Temnos overlooked an important passage to the mainland, the road leading from Smyrna to Magnesia, keeping close to the Hermus.<sup>197</sup> If this settlement was an outpost in terms of conventional geographical thinking, then, quite interestingly, it lay *outside* Aeolis in a geophysical sense, on the westernmost part of the Lydian plain. The 'Aeolianness' of Temnos was not based on geography.

The extent of the Temnians' grip over the fertile lands on the north bank of the Hermus is unclear. Its location probably helped it steer clear of the Delian League in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries and the absence of a rival *polis* to the east perhaps permitted a significant expansion.<sup>198</sup> In contrast, to the west, it faced conflict in the Hellenistic period over fertile and sacred lands with Clazomenae (*IErythrai* 3), the Ionian *polis* on the south shore of the Gulf of the Hermus which in 383 B.C. had already secured a portion of the fertile lands at the mouth of the Hermus at the expense of Cyme (D.S. 15.18).

No surviving source suggests a mythical connection to the Amazons. In fact, all relevant information comes from late authors, the earliest being Pausanias (5.13.7) who records the *polis*' attempt to connect itself to Pelops. His information may be a sign of an attempt by Temnos to connect to a multifold past incorporating an Anatolian and an Achaean aspect: a statue of Aphrodite on the river Hermus close to the *polis* was said to be a dedication of Pelops on his way to Greece:

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<sup>197</sup> Heinle (2015) 58.

<sup>198</sup> As indicated by its prosperity in the Hellenistic period: Rubinstein (2004) 1050.

Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται... διαβάντι δὲ Ἑρμον ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνω πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρελήφαμεν μνήμη...

Indications that Pelops and Tantalus having dwelt in our lands / right of occupation are still left standing to this day... If one crosses the river Hermus, [there remains] a statue of Aphrodite in Temnos, made of a blooming myrtle-tree; tradition holds that Pelops dedicated it...

The aim of the Temnians may have been to establish the primacy of their *polis* by bypassing the expulsion of native populations. The implied claim would be that the Greek colonisation was a return, a re-conquest, not an aggressive expansion but a lawful act of repatriation. Accordingly, the Temnians perhaps implied that Greek colonists did not *settle*, but *returned* to the country of Pelops. Pausanias associates Pelops' dedication with the throne of Pelops on Mt. Sipylus and the tomb of Tantalus.<sup>199</sup> He then presents all three of them as evidence of 'Tantalus and Pelops dwelling in our lands' or 'Tantalus and Pelops right of occupation', depending on the translation of 'ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα'. Hence, the Temnians' right to control their lands became a birthright, a claim of the ancestral inheritance.<sup>200</sup> Is this alleged dedication of Pelops a reflection of a territorial dispute between Temnos and Clazomenae in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. (*SEG* 29, 1130),<sup>201</sup> which may have generated claims to ancestral rights of control by the Temnians?

Other foundation myths are preserved in later sources. They usually narrate a miraculous foundation via oracles implementing the common theme of a chariot that supposedly stopped when it reached the correct point for the new settlement.<sup>202</sup> The charioteer/founder here is named Malaus by Herodian, followed by Stephanus in his entry for Temnos.<sup>203</sup> A certain Malaus also appears in the foundation myths of Cyme. A member of the house of Agamemnon, Malaus and his brother, Cleues, linger in Locris before crossing the

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<sup>199</sup> Both landmarks were incorporated into a sacred landscape evoking and constructing collective memories linking oriental 'Lydia' to the Greek world in different periods, from Classical to Imperial times (Spawforth (2001) 384-385).

<sup>200</sup> Also Ragone (2006) 175.

<sup>201</sup> Discussed in Heinle (2015) 61-62.

<sup>202</sup> Ragone (2006) 173-174 who offers the parallels of Onchestus and Ancara.

<sup>203</sup> Hdn. *De prosodia catholica* 3.1.112; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τήμνος* includes a false etymology from *διατμηθῆ* (=to disunite). Another suggestion derives *Temnos* from an Anatolian language group, dating back to the Sumerian root \*tamn/temn = sacred space (temenos), and then the Ugaritic \*tmn (space, portion of territory) in Ragone (2006) 173-174 n. 147.

Aegean and arrive in Cyme independently of the main Aeolian migration (Str. 13.1.3). Should we read mythical tradition in the making at this point? Did the Temnians connect themselves to the Aeolian migration via Malaus, whose name was incorporated into a common literary *topos* already in place at Temnos?

Below Temnos, in the valley, the river travels between gentle slopes through fertile lands and occasional marshes towards the Gulf of Smyrna. Close to the ancient mouth of the Hermus (before the extensive works diverting the river mouth to the south at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) there stood **Neonteichos**, though its exact location is still contested. A dispute with Cyme over the plains close to the mouth of the Hermus may account for its gradual disappearance from the ancient sources, despite its inclusion in Herodotus' list of Aeolian *poleis*.<sup>204</sup> On the westernmost slope of Mt. Aspordenus, overlooking the western coastal plains from its slightly elevated position (approx. 100m), close to a tributary of the Hermus and not far from Neonteichos, stood **Larisa**. Its exact location is equally problematic and linked with that of Neonteichos; the two ancient *poleis* have been safely identified with two sites on top of two hills, but the exact identification of either *polis* with a specific hill is still contested.<sup>205</sup> Both settlements diverge from the Amazon foundation myth and in the case of Larisa two regional adjectives emerge: 'Phriconis' (Str. 13.3.4), evoking a Locrian element, and 'Egyptian' (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.7), as the *polis* and its lands were awarded by Cyrus the Great to his Egyptian mercenaries after the Persian conquest of Asia Minor (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.45). Besides that, a Pelasgian past was largely accepted for Larisa (Str. 13.3.3-4).

According to Strabo (13.3.3), people from Mt. Phricion in Locris (above Thermopylae) built Neonteichos, Cyme and Larisa. The Locrians, newcomers from Mt. Phricion, had found the Pelasgians in a terrible situation after the Trojan War. In this version of the myth Neonteichos appears to have claimed merit for being the earliest settlement in the area. The Locrians initially landed near the location of Cyme, built Neonteichos, captured Larisa and founded Cyme, where they placed the surviving Pelasgians. Accordingly, they changed the names of the settlements into forms reminiscent of their homeland: Larisa Phriconis and Cyme Phriconis. But in the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* (dated between AD 50 and 150) the chain of events is reversed, as it is explicitly mentioned that Neonteichos was built eight years *after* the foundation of Cyme ([Hdt.] *Vit. Hom.* 95-99). What can we make of these narratives?

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<sup>204</sup> Rubinstein (2004) 1048; for a summary of the relevant discussion, Heinle (2015) 52-54.

<sup>205</sup> Bean (1966) 99-100; for a summary of the debate, Heinle (2015) 51-52.

It is reasonable to read this tradition in a context of a clash between Cyme and Neonteichos.<sup>206</sup> The latter's foundation myth evoked a time immemorial, before the Aeolian expedition, before the addition of Phriconis to the names of Larisa and Cyme, when Pelasgians dwelt in these lands. In fact, Neonteichos provided an explanation for the addition of Phriconis. At the same time, the *polis* extended its presence in the area before the arrival of Locrians, Amazons, and Aeolians, against the opposite tradition of a Locrian (and later) foundation mentioned by Strabo. We cannot know whether this claim functioned as a response to similar attempts by Cyme or Larisa, or if it instigated Cyme's resort to the Amazon foundation myth, deep in mythical times, before the foundation of Neonteichos. In any case, regardless of the outcome of this race towards the past, Neonteichos must have lost other conflicts more crucial to its existence. The *polis* vanishes early from our sources; the lack of any numismatic record from the Hellenistic period indicates that by then it was probably annexed by its close neighbour and rival, Cyme.<sup>207</sup> Strabo's wording, 'the nowadays so-called Neon Teichos' (Str. 13.3.3) suggests that the settlement was deserted and only the name survived. The geographer had nothing more to say, and if there was an important settlement, he would probably have mentioned it. Yet there is no reason to dismiss altogether the existence of a small community bearing the same name at least until the Roman period, when Pliny included Neonteichos in the list of Aeolian *poleis* which still existed in his time (Plin. *HN*. 5.121).

Almost everything else about Neonteichos is at best conjectures from terribly fragmented evidence. To list only a few, shreds of local traditions appear in that same Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*. Homer, upon his return from his travels, walked from Smyrna to Cyme. His itinerary brought him first to Neonteichos. Being already a *rhapsodos* in need of a patron, he could not afford the journey, which was made possible only after the benevolence of a local leather-worker, Tychius ([Hdt.] *Vit. Hom.* 9 West).<sup>208</sup> It has been suggested that we may be faced with shreds of local traditions which held Neonteichians to be benevolent and kind people (or entirely insignificant, as Homer was in such dire straits that he needed help from someone from Neonteichos). What may be more important from our perspective is that through that helpful person the locals found a way to associate themselves with Homeric epic, as a namesake appears in the *Iliad* (7.219-223), the leather-worker who made the shield of

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<sup>206</sup> Ragone (2006) 176.

<sup>207</sup> Rubinstein (2004) 1044-1048; Heinle (2015) 54.

<sup>208</sup> His alleged route from Neonteichos via Larisa to Cyme is still the basis for every attempt to identify the first two *poleis* with traces of settlements on the ground. Ragone (2006) 179; Heinle (2015) 52-55; also Bean (1966) 97-100.



Ajax. Yet according to Strabo, the shield was crafted in Boeotia, not in Asia Minor.<sup>209</sup> The geographer then copiously examines what he thinks was a confusion by previous scholars over the spelling and whereabouts of the place where Ajax procured his shield from Tychios. The confusion swung between ‘Hyle’ (“Υλη”) and ‘Hyde’ (“Υδη”), two different lakes in Boeotia and Lydia respectively. Strabo (9.2.20) undertook a quest to distinguish between a truthful and an erroneous spelling of a Homeric toponym. For our purposes, it is important to note that this apparent confusion could indicate how communities attempted to establish links to any aspect of ancient tradition: even a leather-worker who produced a piece of weaponry for a Homeric hero could be a subject open to exploitation. In this case, Hyle, ‘where Tychius had his home’ was transformed to ‘Hyde, as some write...for Hyde is in Lydia...whereas Hyle is in Boeotia...And certain authors are not correct in writing Hyde; Ajax would not acquire his shield from Lydia’. Strabo here applies common sense, but solid reasoning is not necessary for myth-making.

Larisa is left with a Pelasgian mythical past and a distinctively non-Greek historical one, its Egyptian settlers established by Cyrus II. Contrary to the practice applied by most *poleis* in the region after the Peloponnesian war, the Larisians decided not to join Thibron’s campaign in 400 B.C. Consequently, they were besieged, but defended themselves so well that the ephors urged the commander to retreat and march against Caria. The inhabitants are called Larisians, but twice Xenophon acknowledges the Egyptian element in Larisa, in its name and among the actual inhabitants in his time (*Hell.* 3.1.7; *Cyr.* 7.1.45). However, it was the Pelasgian ruler Piasus who was honoured by the *polis* (Str. 13.3.4), which in Strabo’s time was ‘deserted’ (13.3.3). Pelasgians belong to that group of people who could easily be brushed aside in the event of the coming of Greeks. To that effect, at face value the Pelasgians represent the previous inhabitants of lands conquered or colonised by Greeks. Yet Larisa may be a good case-study to examine the process of myth-making. My point of departure is that the settlement was abandoned by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. While its walls lay in ruins for years thereafter, a sense of a distant past may have led to the notion that Pelasgians lived there. Previous tradition held that Pelasgians dwelt along the western coast of Asia Minor before the coming of the Greeks (e.g. Hdt. 1.57; 6.140; 7.42; 7.95; Str. 5.2.4; 12.8.4; 13.3.2-3). Consequently, Larisa became the seat of a Pelasgian lord, Piasus.<sup>210</sup> Hence, despite involving the Pelasgians who previously lived in Aeolis, this myth is not necessarily about newcomers and indigenous populations. It

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<sup>209</sup> Discussion in Ragone (2006) 169.

<sup>210</sup> Heinle (2015) 213.

may be a construct, a myth explaining the ruins in the territory of Cyme, not an echo of first encounters between locals and colonists, or a reflection of different population groups relying on different pasts. While Larisa still stood, an Egyptian past is the only option for Larisa attested in our sources. After the settlement was abandoned, a Pelasgian past was bestowed upon its ruins.

### *Aeolian poleis in the narrow coastal strip*

Moving northwards and into the coastal plains we come across two riverine settlements. **Cyme** at the mouth of the river Xanthus, the largest *polis* in the region (according to Str. 13.3.6),<sup>211</sup> and **Myrina** on the river Titnaeus or Pythicus proved themselves aggressive players in the power-struggle for the control of the fertile plain. Cyme's expansion southwards perhaps peaked in the appropriation of Larissa and Neonteichos sometime in the 4<sup>th</sup> century before Alexander III's death.<sup>212</sup> This gradual expansion may have instigated Cymaeian claims to be the *metropolis* of the Aeolians (reported by Str. 13.3.6), alongside other factors, such as its size and importance or similar claims coming from the island of Lesbos (Str. 13.2.1). Cyme is the only *polis* in Aeolis to which colonising activity is attributed: Side in Pamphylia (Str. 14.4.2; Arr. An. 1.26.4), Cebrene in the Troad (Harp. s.v. *Κεβρήνα* = Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 10), and Aenus in Thrace (Hdt. 7.58),<sup>213</sup> but surprisingly not its namesake in Italy, which is said to have been colonised by Chalkideans and Aeolians in general ([Scymn.] 236-239).

The urban area of Cyme stretched over two hills close to the modern port of Nemrut and had access to two harbours which provided safe refuge from strong winds.<sup>214</sup> This rare occurrence made Cyme a naval base for large fleets operating in the area, e.g. Xerxes' fleet in 480 (Hdt. 8.130) or that of the Spartan admiral Astyochus in 412/11 (Th. 8.22-31). Apparently, the *polis* did quite well in affairs related to the sea despite its reputation for being ignorant of the revenues related to trade by sea. Cyme was mocked 'by some' (Str. 13.3.6) for remaining negligent of the prospect of profit from its harbours for three centuries. I will argue that this

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<sup>211</sup> For an overview of the archaeological work at Cyme, Lagona (2007); Scatozza Höricht (2007); Miriello, Bloise, Crisci, Apollaro, and La Marca (2011) 794-796. Older bibliography on Cyme collected in Oakley (1982) 2.

<sup>212</sup> Robert (1951) 46; Heinle (2015) 44-45.

<sup>213</sup> Remarkably, Alcaeus (fr. 45 L-P) passed over an opportunity to refer to its past or status and proceeded with his topic, a dance of virgins, while [Scymn.] 697 mentioned Aeolian settlers from Mytilene who dwell in Aenus.

<sup>214</sup> The remains of both harbours nowadays lie underwater (Bean (1966) 105-106).

allegation was probably wrong, and textual evidence indicates that the Cymaeans were not entirely negligent in the affairs of the sea. Strong ties with naval warfare are attested since the archaic period: one of the leaders of Darius' navy in the Scythian expedition was Aristagoras of Cyme (Hdt. 4.138)<sup>215</sup> and another Cymaeian commanded a squadron of fifteen warships in Artemision under Xerxes (Hdt. 7.194).<sup>216</sup> Still, modern scholarship has built on the stereotype of financial negligence and over-emphasizes Cyme's reliance on land exploitation alone.

Heinle contextualises this mockery among other anecdotes related to the stereotypical stupidity of the Cymaeans as a literary *topos*, appearing in Str. 13.3.6 and with glowing colours in the name Blaceia (= stupidity), a settlement in the vicinity of Cyme. Remarkably, Heinle notes, in a collection of puns known as *Philogelos* (dated between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD), the Cymaeans appear thirty-one times, an impressive reversal of Aeolis' casual omission in textual sources (which I will present in Chapter 3). The acute point that Cyme managed to lose both Hesiod and Homer (who both left it to seek better fortune elsewhere) may be indicative of the puns' origin, and Heinle suggests nearby Phocaea.<sup>217</sup> In my view, the entire passage of Strabo seems to function as a *logos*,<sup>218</sup> a small narrative deviating from the main story, with the author signalling to his readers as appropriate (e.g. 'according to such popular repute' or 'And there is another tale...' ('κατὰ τοιαύτην τινά δόξαν' or 'ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος...'), both appearing in Str. 13.3.6).

In Strabo's discussion of Cyme, his methodology becomes relevant. According to his own opening statement, he felt obliged to scrutinise all information available and decide which information to include for every entity. The inclusion or exclusion of specific information depended on the general impression he aimed to present for the entity in question.<sup>219</sup> For Cyme, Strabo deemed noteworthy the alleged stupidity of the Cymaeans; his wording indicates that he relays a popular opinion without necessarily believing it himself.

Arguably, Cyme's expansion over the fertile plains of the Hermus brought great wealth which may account for its substantial contribution to the treasury of the Delian League, higher than that of any other *polis* in Aeolis and Ionia (an initial twelve-talent contribution in *IG I*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> On Aristagoras, Berve (1967) 86-7, 91.

<sup>216</sup> Hdt. 7.194. His name, Sandoces, is clearly Persian, while his father's name, Thamasius, may well be Greek. Sandoces is referred as a commander (ὑπαρχος) and a royal judge, thus he cannot be an Aeolian despite the clear reference that he is from Cyme in Aeolis ('ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος'). Still, the wording above is a peculiar way to define a royal official, and I do not think Herodotus would ever refer to Artaphernes as 'the satrap from Lydia'.

<sup>217</sup> Heinle (2015) 218-211.

<sup>218</sup> Also in Gresens (2009) 274.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. the well-known passage of Str. 1.1.23, which reads as a self-justification for his 'colossal' work emphasising the accuracy of its general impression rather than the accuracy of every individual part, with the discussion in Potheary (2005).

261 col. V.2 1.1 was reduced to nine thenceforth).<sup>220</sup> It has been suggested that both Hermus and Xanthus are depicted on coinage from Cyme as river gods and that his choice illustrates Cyme's dependence on the rivers (as more or less did most *poleis* on the coastal strip).<sup>221</sup> Since Cyme was paying the largest contribution to the Delian League among the *poleis* of Asia Minor, there must have been additional sources of revenue permitting that larger payment. Income from harbour tax and sea-trade would be an option worth exploring, as they could have enhanced Cyme's resources above the level of other *poleis* with less favourable harbours, hence more reliant on land revenues.

Cults of river-gods and personal names deriving from the rivers of the region are abundant in Aeolis, Ionia, and Lydia.<sup>222</sup> The mythical figure of Demodice or Hermodice, queen of Cyme and wife of king Midas, is closely associated with the naming of the rivers Pactolus ([Plut.] *De fluv.* 7.1-15; Pliny *N.H.* 5.110; Schol. Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 4.1300; Hyg. *Fab.* 191) and Scamander ([Plut.] *De fluv.* 13.1) in Lydia and the Troad respectively. In aetiological myths relating to both rivers, a relative of Demodice throws himself in the river, which was subsequently named after him. It should also be noted that the other version of her name, Hermodice, may also be a hydronymic deriving from the Hermus, while the river-anthroponyms are not confined to mainland Aeolis, but are also found in Lesbos and the Troad. A Scamandronymus, father of Sappho and Charaxus, emerges in Mytilene (Hdt. 2.135; *P.Oxy* 1800 fr. 1; cf. Suda s.v. *Σαπφώ*); in the Suda lexicon Pitaccus' father is named Caicus and his mother Lesbia (Suda s.v. *Πιττακός*), thus forming a neat generic couple with names deriving from landmarks; other name-forms originating from rivers in the Troad are abundant in *poleis* on its coasts and also in Athens, probably as a result of the Athenian involvement and presence at Sigeion;<sup>223</sup> claims for a relation (*syngeneia*) between Xanthus and Ilion in the 2nd century B.C. may have been based on the double name of the river (Scamander/Xanthus).<sup>224</sup> All these underline the importance of rivers for the local communities and suggest that the Hermus played a more important role in local perceptions and strategies than is sometimes assumed.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> E.g. Bean (1966) 105; Blok (1996) 93 restricts the focus of Cyme on the interior only to the 'earliest centuries of its existence'; Heinle (2015) 72, 74 follows the logic that the alleged belated imposition of harbour tax and Herodotus' reference of the fertile Aeolis (Hdt. 1.149) indicate a focus on agriculture and then she explains the importance of Cyme as an import centre for cereals.

<sup>221</sup> Heinle (2015) 42-43.

<sup>222</sup> Ragone (2006) 198-203.

<sup>223</sup> For a full list, Ellis-Evans (2013) 143.

<sup>224</sup> Curty (1995) 192.

<sup>225</sup> E.g. Thonemann (2011) 49: 'Hermus and Cayster played a far less significant role in the valley-dweller's sense of local solidarity or organisation of their conceptual space' by comparison to the Maeander, which features on the names of Ionian *poleis*. Macr. Sat. 5.20.16 (= Aesch. *Μυσοί* fr. 143 *TrGF*) cites a verse from a lost play of Aeschylus, a praise to the amplitude of streams in Mysia, with the inclusion of the other important river of the

Surely, other parts of the mythical corpus were important and were linked to the names of *poleis*. Cyme was allegedly named after an Amazon (Str. 13.3.6; Hdn. *De prosodia catholica* 3.1.374.3-5; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀμαζόνειον*). Pomponius Mela acknowledged Cyme as leader of the Amazons and, perhaps in an attempt to reconcile two different foundation myths, he explained that the *polis* was named after an Amazon, but was founded by Pelops upon his return from the Peloponnese (Mel. *De situ orbis* 1.90). A tradition developed by Heracleides Lembus (*Exc. Pol.* 37) and Pollux (9.83) attributed the invention of coinage to Hermodice, daughter of king Agamemnon and wife of Midas, namesakes of the semi-mythical kings.<sup>226</sup> This local Agamemnon connects Cyme to the Aeolian expedition led by members of the house of Agamemnon (Str. 13.1.3). I will examine this aspect in Chapter 4.

On the north shore of the Hydra promontory, which separates Cyme from the Elaeatic Gulf, stood **Myrina**, ‘a city without a history’,<sup>227</sup> a sweeping judgement conferred upon Aeolis and Aeolian *poleis* since antiquity (a point I will expand in Chapter 3, which begins with the diminution of Aeolis and Myrina by ancient sources and modern scholarship). To begin with, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD Agathias unveils his origins with reference to Myrina (Agath. Schol. *Histories* 6.10-15; the close connection between the polis and the local river should not go unnoticed as well):

Μύρινα δὲ πατρίς... ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάλαι ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἀποικισμένην ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πυθικοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς δὴ ῥέων ἐκ Λυδίας τῆς χώρας ἐς τὸν ἔσχατον αὐλῶνα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἐλαίτου ἐμβάλλει.

Myrina is my place of origin... in Asia, founded by Aeolians in the distant past by the mouth of the river Pythicus, which flows from the land of Lydia and empties to the furthest glen of the Elaeatic Gulf.

The French archaeologists who discovered more than five thousand graves and unearthed around two thousand items (mainly terracotta figurines of Eros, Aphrodite, and the Sirens) exposed elements of the life and history of this ‘city without a history’.<sup>228</sup> At the beginning of his study of the coinage of Myrina, Kenneth Sacks cites Bean’s reductionist comment and places Myrina under the shadow of Cyme; in the remainder of his paper, however, he provides enough fragmentary information to compromise his initial statement. He notes how the modest

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region, the Caicus. A cult of Caicus is clearly mentioned in the next fragment (fr. 144): ‘Hail, high priest of the river Caicus’.

<sup>226</sup> For Midas, discussion in Ragone (2006) 188; Asheri et al. (2007) 105. For Agamemnon, Pollux’s wording (‘daughter of Agamemnon, king of the Cymaeans’) clarifies the *locus* of this Agamemnon in Cyme.

<sup>227</sup> Bean (1966) 106.

<sup>228</sup> Pottier and Reinach (1888); Kassab (1988).

tribute Myrina paid to the Delian League (one talent) was higher than most Aeolian *poleis*. He links the development of the settlement to the neighbouring sanctuary of Apollo Gryneios, as the skilful craftsmen of Myrina met the demand for artefacts created by the increased importance of the sanctuary. He ends his introductory discussion of Myrina by concluding that the numismatic record shows that the *polis* remained independent from Attalid control throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>229</sup> Aspects of life and history may not be preserved in our textual sources, but further numismatic evidence compensates and provides fragmentary information. The presence of Apollo on Myrina's coinage shows the close connection to the neighbouring sanctuary and the numismatic record links the *polis* to the Attalids, who used the mint of the free *polis* of Myrina to strike coins other than their restricted cistophorics in order to finance Alexander Balas' campaign against Demetrius I Soter for the Seleucid throne and his short-term rule over the Seleucid kingdom (153-145 B.C.).<sup>230</sup>

Like Cyme, Myrina was named after an Amazon (D.S. 3.54.2).<sup>231</sup> Its urban area was located on the banks of a river's mouth, extended over two low hills overlooking the harbour and the fertile plains to the east and north, and lay on the coastal road connecting Smyrna and Pergamon. The river is usually identified as Titnaeus, but it is unclear whether Pythicus was an adjective for this river, a different name, or a different stream altogether.<sup>232</sup> The low hills extending over Cape Hydra to the south-east effectively separated Myrina from Cyme and the former is closely linked with the fertile lands along the river banks to the east and the settlements on the Gulf of Elaea, namely Achaeōn Limen, Gryneion, and Elaea itself. Still, we cannot be certain about the size of territory controlled by Myrina at its neighbours' expense.<sup>233</sup>

In any case, evidence from nearby **Gryneion** indicates a strong link with Myrina. Gryneion and Myrina were a royal gift to Gongylus of Eretria, a reward for faithful service to King Darius, which resulted in his banishment from his *polis* in the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; both *poleis* remained possessions of his descendants at least until the campaign of Thibron in 400 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6).

Gryneion, included in Herodotus' list of Aeolian *poleis*,<sup>234</sup> was an important cultic centre revolving around Apollo Gryneios. It has been suggested that the sanctuary functioned

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<sup>229</sup> Sacks (1985) 1-6.

<sup>230</sup> Hoover and MacDonald (1999).

<sup>231</sup> Though a conflicting foundation myth emerges in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μύρινα*, where it is said that two *poleis* with the same name (on Aeolis and on Lemnos) were founded by either Myrine the Amazon or Myrinus.

<sup>232</sup> Heinle (2015) 37-39.

<sup>233</sup> Although Heinle (2015) 38 suggests a wide area of control spreading over Achaeōn Limen and Gryneion to the north, thus stretching between Elaea, Aegae, and Tisna/Tisnaea/Tisne, 'a settlement controlled by Cyme'.

<sup>234</sup> In the feminine form *Gryneia*, also cited as such by Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 225 (= Str. 13.3.5).

as the centre of an Aeolian confederation, but without any substantial evidence either for its proposed function, or even for the existence of a League of Aeolians.<sup>235</sup> Strabo (13.3.5) only mentions the existence of the sanctuary; Pausanias (1.21.7) is mostly concerned with the sacred grove of Apollo. Despite the lack of textual evidence, the cult of Apollo Gryneios was substantial enough that Hermeias could write a work *On the Gryneian Apollo* (Athen. 4.32), which comprised at least two volumes.<sup>236</sup> However, as Parke observes, all attestations of an oracle at Gryneion are late Hellenistic or Roman, and there is enough evidence to suggest that the site owed its enhanced importance to the Attalids of Pergamon from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards. Besides stories of a mythical contest of seers taking place at Gryneion (Calchas and Mopsus), the only actual visit to Gryneion is described by Aelius Aristides in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century – and he does not mention an oracle (Aristid. *Or.* 51.7).<sup>237</sup>

Gryneion probably never recovered from the Macedonian conquest in 336 when Parmenion seized Gryneion and sold its citizens as slaves (D.S. 17.7.9). The settlement became probably a dependency of Myrina in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., and was a small town by the time of Strabo.<sup>238</sup> Its protected harbour functioned as a naval base which fell under the control of Eumenes I after his victory over Antiochus I in Sardeis in 262.<sup>239</sup> Gryneion was still an important religious site in the time of Aelius Aristides, who took the time and effort to sacrifice to the god ‘as it was my custom’, on his journey from Smyrna to Pergamon in AD 165 (Aristid. *Or.* 51.7).

An eponymous founder, Grynus, grandson of Telephus, is deduced from the inclusion of his statue among those of other local heroic figures (alongside Teuthras, Midios, and Halisarne) erected by the Attalids at Delos in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>240</sup> Could this be an indication that the authorities in Pergamon proclaimed their *polis* the *metropolis* of obscure entities, such as the declining Gryneion and the small settlement of Halisarne? Can we know whether Pergamon created the connections *ex nihilo* or exploited existing myths linking the *polis* to local myths?

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<sup>235</sup> Rose (2008) 416 attributes a central position to the unexcavated site among the Aeolian *poleis* and perceives it as the first attempt to form a loose union among the ‘twelve members of the *dodekapolis*’ of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; he even postulates a war between the Aeolian and the Ionian *Koina* over Smyrna, the Lydian danger being a major factor for the formation of both supra-*polis* organisations. For the unattested Aeolian *Koinon* see p. 34 n. 82 above.

<sup>236</sup> For a detailed discussion, Ragone (1990); Hansen (2006) 15 n.72; for archaeological research on the site, Mitchell (1999) 143.

<sup>237</sup> Parke (1985) 172-175.

<sup>238</sup> Str. 13.3.5, citing probably Demetrius of Scepsis and surely Artemidorus: ‘πολίχτιον Μυρτιναίων’. Bean (1966) 111; Heinle (2015) 36.

<sup>239</sup> Cohen (1995) 171. The rich woodland of the area enhanced its value as a naval base (Sapph. fr. 99b L-P, [Γρυ]νήα υλώδης, poorly preserved words in a terribly fragmented poem).

<sup>240</sup> Heinle (2015) 200.

To return to the close relation to Myrina, it would not be unreasonable to place her claims to be the earliest Aeolian polis<sup>241</sup> in a context of expansion northwards at the expense of the small but important cultic centre of Gryneion; a date around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century would fit well with the numismatic and textual evidence suggesting an incorporation of the settlement and sanctuary into Myrina.<sup>242</sup> Accordingly, mythical tradition treated the matter efficiently and Gryne became an Amazon and a companion of Myrina (Serv. *Schol. Verg. Aen.* 4.345).

While Myrina lay on the mouth of the river Titnaeus, **Aegae** overlooked the river valley from its position on a plateau 360m high on the slope of Mt. Aspordenus, over the meeting point of Titnaeus and another stream (unnamed in ancient sources, modern Setlik). Its territory bordered that of Myrina, Cyme, and Temnos, but we do not know of any land disputes involving Aegae and its Aeolian neighbours. Instead, the only evidence of a gradual expansion over its mountainous surroundings, which ultimately offered a way into the fertile valley of the Hermus, relates to the opposite side, to the north-east, in the area of the Olympenes.<sup>243</sup> Still, the dispute, regulated in the relevant inscription (*Keil-Premmerstein* 97, dated in the early Hellenistic period), involved not territory but issues regarding land usage and trade rights.<sup>244</sup> In the Roman period, Aegae's territory bordered that of Magnesia on Sipylus, and again we are not informed of any dispute over lands in the fertile valley.<sup>245</sup> In light of the land dispute between Pitane, Mytilene, and Elaea (discussed below) as the instigating factor for foundation myths claiming territorial rights based on descent and the mythical past, is it a coincidence that no foundation myths of Aegae are attested in our sources?

On top of a low hill (250m) overlooking the valley and mouth of the Caicus, in the middle of the Elaeatic Gulf, where the northbound coastline abruptly turns west and forms the Canae peninsula, stood **Elaea**, a symbol of power, since it is mostly known as the port of Pergamon and a naval base of the Attalids (Liv. 35.13; App. *Syr.* 26; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἐλαία*), despite evidence of its existence in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>246</sup> Elaea is not included in Herodotus' list, and its omission has raised some speculation over its status as a polis or a dependency,<sup>247</sup> as

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<sup>241</sup> Attested only by Pomponius Mela in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Mel. *De situ orbis* 1.90). In D.S. 3.54-55 Myrina is an Amazon queen who set out on an expedition from Libya to Mt. Sipylus, where she met her death.

<sup>242</sup> Apollo Gryneios appears on the coinage of Myrina in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. (Hoover and MacDonald (1999); Heinle (2015) 36, 185).

<sup>243</sup> For numismatic evidence (Zeus appearing on the coinage of Aegae from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards), indicating an incorporation of the Olympene territory and its rituals and deities by Aegae, Boulay (2016).

<sup>244</sup> Robert (1970) 75; Heinle (2015) 49-50, who also questions the chances any settlement between Aegae and Pergamon had to maintain its independence. Even the division between royal lands and lands of Aegae probably was not a result of a dispute, but rather an attempt of Antiochus II to define his lands.

<sup>245</sup> *Horoi* inscriptions in *Keil-Premmerstein* 204 and 205.

<sup>246</sup> Collected in Rubinstein (2004) 1041; also Pirson (2004); Seeliger (2013) 71-72.

<sup>247</sup> Heinle (2015) 34.



well as suggestions that it should be identified with Aegiroessa, included in Herodotus' list but still unidentified.<sup>248</sup>

Amazons play no part in its foundation myths; instead, Athens enters the stage, as Elaea was a foundation of Menestheus (Str. 13.3.5), the mythical king and leader of the Athenian contingent in the Trojan War (Hom. *Il.* 2.552).<sup>249</sup> Furthermore, Pausanias in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD reports a tradition claiming that the Elaeans were 'the first to come down from the plain of the Caicus to the sea, thus becoming the first inhabitants of Aeolis' (Paus. 5.24.6). Nevertheless, ancient authors had no doubts about its Aeolian credentials and Elaea made it into a very small list of Aeolian *poleis* compiled by Pomponius Mela in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Mel. *De situ orbis* 90, the other two being Myrina and Cyme).

Elaea's two surviving foundation myths reflect its two strongest links, to Athens (as a member of the Delian League) and to Pergamon.<sup>250</sup> Elaea's claim, preserved by Pausanias, to be the first of all the Aeolians to descend to the shore, placed the Elaeans on the shore before all other Aeolians. It also links them to Pergamon, whose location lay in the plain of the Caicus. There lay Elaea's strongest tie after the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. As a reflection of this relationship and its benefits, during the Hellenistic period the urban settlement expanded beyond its initial position on the hill-top and covered the slopes. In all probability, a minor hill-top settlement acquired greater significance as a stronghold defending the passage to the sea and as the harbour of the Attalid kingdom (construction began in the early Hellenistic period on terrain recently formed by river silt).<sup>251</sup> Naturally, a good road connected Elaea with Pergamon, expanded by the Romans and probably followed by Aelius Aristides in AD 165.<sup>252</sup>

Elaea functioned as the entrance point to the Attalid capital for centuries; it flourished and declined alongside Pergamon. Elaea's harbour silted up in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, but recent research has established that siltation was not the cause of its decline. Instead, Elaea lost its significance after Pergamon itself declined into oblivion; the funds, purpose, and human-power necessary to check the silting action of the Caicus were not available after the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Consequently, Elaea declined before the siltation of its harbour, as an outcome of the changing political situation in Asia Minor. Following the harbour's siltation, the urban area shrunk back within the Hellenistic fortifications on the hill-top and its continuous habitation since the

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<sup>248</sup> Rubinstein (2004) 1041.

<sup>249</sup> Bean (1966) 112 puts the blame for its omission from Herodotus' list on this Athenocentric tradition.

<sup>250</sup> Both foundation myths are represented in Elaea's late Hellenistic coinage in the form of Athena Promachos, alluding to Athens and Pergamon. Discussion in Heinle (2015) 215-216.

<sup>251</sup> The source of the funding for the construction of the new harbour must have been Pergamon (Seeliger (2013) 73).

<sup>252</sup> Heinle (2015) 35.

Bronze Age probably came to an end by the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, when the remaining population migrated inland to avoid pirate attacks.<sup>253</sup>

Built on a promontory on the north coast of the Gulf of Elaea, **Pitane**, named after an Amazon leader (D.S. 3.55.7), is the northernmost *polis* in Herodotus' list. The *polis* was in so much distress throughout the ages than it acquired a proverbial aspect: 'Πιτάνη εἰμί' (= I am [like] Pitane) signified suffering from a succession of good fortune and misfortune. According to Photius' reading of Hellanicus, the misfortunes of Pitane began in mythical times, when the Pelasgians enslaved the population; the city was later liberated by Erythrae (Phot. *Lex.* Pi 431 = Hellanic. *FGrHist* 4 F 93; also in Plut. *Prov.* I 55). In contrast, Pitane was more fortunate than its neighbours in historical times, as it was defended by Memnon himself against Parmenion in 336 and escaped the terrible fate of neighbouring Gryneion, whose population was sold into slavery (D.S. 17.7.9). We are informed of troubles again in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, when Pergamon acted as an arbitrator in a land dispute between Pitane and the Mytilenians (*IG* XII Suppl. 142).<sup>254</sup> The location of the contested lands is unclear, despite the inscription's partly preserved definition of the area: the Astyrene (fr. C I, ll. 24-25) remains elusive and the reference to the 'mountain towards Atarneus' (l. 26) vaguely hints at an area north of Pitane. The 'plain of the Caicus' is also mentioned (l. 29), an addition perhaps indicating a location to the north-east of Pitane, where Mytilenian land-owners are mentioned in an inscription from Mytilene dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. (*IG* XII 2, 74).<sup>255</sup> Curty suggests that the Pergamenes claimed to have judged fairly, on the equal basis of the common descent of the three parties, not promoting one or the other as a closer relative of them. Hence, the argument goes, Aeolian lineage of the two contesters was brushed aside, and the Pergamenes could refer to a common descent for all parties via the Amazons in order to establish their neutrality, before they ruled in favour of Pitane. The politics of *syngeneia* are on full display here. Common ground could be established via a foundation myth of Pergamon entailing either Telephus and his Amazon wife Hiera, or Neoptolemos and Andromache the Amazon (mother of the eponymus hero Pergamus).<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Seeliger (2013) 72, 79-80.

<sup>254</sup> Robert (1970) 114-115.

<sup>255</sup> Heinle (2015) 31-33, who remains sceptical about the location of the disputed lands.

<sup>256</sup> Curty (1995) 84-85.

Very few traces remain of Pitane's two harbours<sup>257</sup> and, despite some epigraphic evidence reporting land disputes discussed above, the size of its territory is uncertain.<sup>258</sup> It has been suggested that the dispute with Mytilene indicates that during the Hellenistic period Pitane had acquired control of lands in the Cane peninsula to the west. Pitane must have been the expansionist party, as epigraphic evidence from the area of Atarneus presented above indicates that the two *poleis* shared a border in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. It seems reasonable to assume an extended territory for Pitane well into the plains to the west of Cane peninsula towards the Chian *peraia* to the north. Yet, a previous attempt by Mytilene to control fertile lands close to the mouth of the Caicus, which resulted in the Pergamenes' arbitration, cannot be excluded.<sup>259</sup> Another contestant is implied on the same inscription, the Elaeans,<sup>260</sup> and a reasonable question arises: would any of this be the context for the foundation myths of all these parties? The Mytilenians claim to be the *metropolis* of the Aeolians, Pitane's claim to be the leader of the Amazons, and Elaea's claim to be the first dwellers of the valley of the Caicus may all revolve around the disputed lands on the river plains.

Pitane is the limit between the Aeolian *poleis* of the river valleys and the Chian *peraia* to the north-west, around Atarneus.<sup>261</sup> The territory of the Chians on the mainland separated the Mytilenian *peraia* on the west coast of the Cane peninsula, to the north of the Elaeatic Gulf, from the other Aeolian settlements to the south. Before we continue with the *peraias* to the north, our view turns west, across the narrow strait to the island of Lesbos.

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<sup>257</sup> Str. 13.1.67; Bean (1966) 116.

<sup>258</sup> Bean (1966) 115-116 opts for an extensive territory since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, based on the acquisition of lands belonging to Antiochos I (*IG* XII suppl. 142); Rubinstein (2004) 1049 advises caution and suggests a limited expansion in archaic and classical times.

<sup>259</sup> Heinle (2015) 31-32, who draws attention to Mytilenian presence in the area, according to the text of the aforementioned inscription (ll. 117-121).

<sup>260</sup> With reference to a previous dispute resolved around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Savalli-Lestrade (1992) 226.

<sup>261</sup> Rubinstein (2004) 1033.

## 2.3 Aeolians on the islands (1)

‘...for these [islands] are Aeolian, and I might almost say that Lesbos is the metropolis of the Aeolian poleis.’<sup>262</sup>

In this section I examine the island of Lesbos and the *peraiiai* of its two most powerful *poleis*, Mytilene and Methymna, i.e. their territory on the mainland over the narrow straits to the east and north. A large part of those lands was controlled by Mytilene from a very early period. Mytilenian territorial control can be ascribed with some certainty to the west and south coast of the Troad in the 7<sup>th</sup> century; the *peraiia* must have reached its maximum size in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. After that, the clash over Sigeion in the 6<sup>th</sup> century may have cost the Mytilenians their lands on the west coast of the Troad to the benefit of the Athenians and Tenedians. An independent Assos emerged immediately after the Persian wars as a *polis* paying tribute to the Delian League. Still, the severest attenuation of the *peraiia* took place after the Mytilenian revolt in 428/7 B.C., when many settlements in the Troad and on the coastal strip of the mainland to the east acquired *polis* status, arguably at the expense of the previous political authority, Mytilene. Only a small portion of the *peraiia* remained under Mytilenian control in the plain of the Caicus during the Hellenistic period, and its exact size from that period onwards remains elusive. I will also examine the Chian *peraiia*, squeezed between the Mytilenian *peraiia* and the territory of Pitane, awarded to the Chians by the Great King at the beginning of the Classical period.

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<sup>262</sup> Str. 13.2.1.



Figure 4: Lesbos and the Troad

## *An Aeolian metropolis on an island and the other Lesbian poleis*

Until recently, the topography of ancient Lesbos has attracted more interest from philologists than archaeologists.<sup>263</sup> The island perhaps has Longus and Anacreon (fr. 13 Page) to thank for this interest (Longus, in particular, set idyllic scenes in the serene landscapes of mountainous Lesbos, untouched by the civilisation of the *polis*; the issue is discussed below). The limited and occasional archaeological activity up until the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>264</sup> mainly salvage operations, was disproportionate to the island's importance throughout antiquity. Since the 1980s, the works of Lambrianides and Spencer, as well as the research of the Canadian Archaeological School, with the cooperation of the local ephorate, have improved scholarly knowledge of the island. Mytilene has been the predominant settlement since antiquity, as is evident in Thucydides' account of the revolt of Mytilene, when the *polis* apparently attempted to synoecise the entire island into one *polis*, itself.<sup>265</sup> In modern Greece the name of the island is often confused with the name of its capital, a confusion which began in the Byzantine era.<sup>266</sup>

The island enjoys more fertile lands and larger plains than most other Greek islands. Lands around the banks of streams offer better opportunities for agriculture and the soil becomes more favourable as the streams approach the sea.<sup>267</sup> Still, either because grain production could not suffice for the subsistence of the island's large population or from a conscious choice to devote land to producing commercially exchangeable products (such as through vines and olive trees), we often read in our sources of grain imports to Mytilene at least. Whether these occasions were ordinary annual arrangements or responses to extraordinary needs is debatable. Scholars have examined this issue in relation to the grain trade from the Black Sea. Views differ as to the plausibility of a large-scale export trade in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and it seems that there are enough reasons to be sceptical about the previous scholarly consensus dating the grain exports from the Black Sea region after the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Mason (1979); Philippides (1981); Green (1982); Bowie (1985); Davidson (1987); Newlands (1987); Mason (1995b).

<sup>264</sup> Collected in Spencer (1995a) 269-270.

<sup>265</sup> Th. 3.36-49 with Gomme (1956) 252-278, 287-291, 297-333; Andrewes (1962); Meiggs (1972) 311-317; Kagan (1974) 124-146; Hornblower (1991-2008) 382-441. Mytilenian aspirations of predominance over the island's other *poleis* after the revolt were perhaps open to exploitation even by the Athenians who in other times were swift in suppressing similar claims. In the campaign of 390. Thrasybulus gathered his forces (Athenians, Mytilenians, and Lesbian exiles) in Mytilene, promised the Mytilenians some kind of sovereignty over the other *poleis*, and then marched against Methymna. The Athenian general looted the lands of the *poleis* he could not draw onto the Athenian side and eventually set sail for Rhodes, having done little, if anything, to fulfil his promise (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28-30).

<sup>266</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944) 33.

<sup>267</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944-1945) 497.

century.<sup>268</sup> With reference to Mytilene and Lesbos, a passage of Thucydides at the beginning of his narrative of the Mytilenian revolt is central:

τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν καὶ νεῶν ποίησιν ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε καὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἅ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Τενέδιοι... μηνυταὶ γίνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βία καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν συγγενῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγονται.

For [the Lesbians] were waiting for the blocking of the harbours, the building of walls and the construction of ships to be completed, and for all those due to arrive from the Pontus region, archers and grain, and those things which they had asked to be dispatched. The Tenedians... informed the Athenians that the Lesbians were uniting around Mytilene by force, and that they were hurrying to complete their preparations with the help of the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians, their kinsmen.

The gathering of resources from within the island and elsewhere in Mytilene in 428/7 was either an extraordinary measure in anticipation of a prolonged Athenian siege or a regular import due to arrive in Mytilene (Th. 3.2.2). Garnsey regards the Mytilenians' anxiety as a definite sign that the Athenian ships guarding the Hellespont would never allow (or were not generally expected to allow) such a large, extraordinary shipment to a *polis* other than Athens.<sup>269</sup> Braund dismisses the case for Mytilene relying on grain imported regularly from the Black sea on the basis that, pending their revolt, it would have been impossible to rely on large shipments of grain passing unnoticed by the Athenian ships in the Hellespont.<sup>270</sup>

According to my reading, Thucydides' wording implies that resources were being imported regularly from the Pontus region, and the Mytilenians were duly awaiting their usual supply of archers and grain: '...they were waiting for those due to arrive from Pontus, archers and grain, *and those things which they had asked to be dispatched*': regular transports were expected, plus some extraordinary requests not including grain. A few lines below in the text, some Tenedians inform the Athenians of the planned revolt with the cooperation of the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians alone; the Pontus region is not named. I suggest that this would not have been the case if the Mytilenians had had *extraordinary* help from the Pontus region. All extraordinary help is mentioned by name separately (Lacedaemonians and Boeotians), while the regular imports are specified, followed by unspecified extraordinary

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<sup>268</sup> Discussion in Noonan (1973); Tsetschladze (1998).

<sup>269</sup> Garnsey (1988) 121-123.

<sup>270</sup> Braund (2007a) 50-51.

supplies. Hence Garnsey's suggestion seems unlikely. His point that all imports were subjected to custom dues is accurate, and I would suggest that the cause of anxiety in Mytilene was the successful arrival of the imports, before news of the imminent revolt reached the Athenians in the Hellespont and their precious grain was seized. To respond to Braund's claim that it would be impossible for grain imports to reach Mytilene, it is evident in Thucydides' text that not only did the Mytilenians rely on those imports, they were also correct in their planning. The imported grain probably passed by the Athenian ships without raising too many eyebrows precisely because it was not an extraordinary cargo size for Mytilene. Furthermore, an inscription from Mytilene dated to the middle of the 4th century, attesting the *ateleia* (= tax exemption) bestowed by the ruler of the kingdom of Bosphorus and his sons upon Mytilenians importing grain, implies a more permanent arrangement and some degree of reliance on external resources.<sup>271</sup> While I fully understand Braund's reservations regarding the possibly unsubstantiated scholarly assumption of large grain exports from the north Black Sea region in the 5th century,<sup>272</sup> Th. 3.2.2 is probably one of the stronger indications for the existence of an export grain trade in that period.

The east-west division of the island (between a fertile and welcoming eastern part and a hostile, barren western part) is not absolute, and there are fertile areas to the west, apparently capable of supporting the ancient settlements of Sigrion, Antissa, and Eresos.<sup>273</sup> With the addition of favourable soils to the south-east, some more around the area of Methymna to the north, and along the shores of the two gulfs in the south, they are the exceptions to what could be described in Thucydidean terms as 'thin soils' (Th. 1.2: *λεπτόγεων*). The contrasting image of the Great Divide between East and West, fertile and barren, idyllic and harsh, inviting and hostile environment, emerges in sources from the Roman period.<sup>274</sup> In complete disagreement with Strabo (13.2.2), who praises well-built Mytilene, Vitruvius (1.6.1) in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. disparaged the *polis* for its poor location, which exposed it to hard winter winds, while Cicero adopted a more neutral appraisal of its fertile land, favourable location and impressive buildings (*De Leg. Agr.* 2.16.40). The island was occasionally a place of exile between the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Cic. *Brut.* 85; Dio Cass. 58.18.4). It remained an unusual

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<sup>271</sup> *IG* XII.2 3 mentions a large amount of grain imported annually: 100,000 *medimnoi*. Discussion in Heisserer (1984) 121-122.

<sup>272</sup> Braund (2007b) 1.

<sup>273</sup> Green (2005) 65 allows for a tree-covered country in the west and limits the barren lands to the south-west. According to Green, relevant descriptions of early travellers to the island largely correspond to the ancient landscape on this point. He advises caution since travellers often reproduced ancient narratives and perceptions of the Lesbian landscape, offering a generic account rather than a description of the landscape they actually witnessed.

<sup>274</sup> Collected in Green (2005) 62.



place of exile throughout the Byzantine period, but the empress Irene was transported from the Princess Islands to Lesbos in AD 803, and died there the next year. Irene spent ten difficult months on the island; the inhumane decision to exile her there, despite the harsh winter already settling in the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in November, presented a welcome opportunity for Theophanes to dispatch another attack against the merciless usurpers.<sup>275</sup> In the Ottoman period the marginal character of the island becomes evident, as Lesbos was entangled with piratical activity from hideouts on the shores of the Adramyttian Gulf in Asia Minor.<sup>276</sup> The Christian world was in a constant state of war with the new Turkish emirates of Mendeşe and Aydın in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and with the Ottoman Empire after the annexation of the emirates in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>277</sup> While Turkish fleets raided the shores controlled by Christian rulers in the area, the Gattiluzi, the Genoese family ruling Lesbos, were forced by the Turks to sign a treaty ordering them to guarantee safe passage through the straits of Mytilene and general security from pirates in the area between Assos and Pergamon. After all, the most infamous pirate of the era and admiral of the Ottoman fleet, Hayredin Barbarossa, was born in Mytilene.<sup>278</sup>

Scholars have relied on Longus' novel *Daphnis and Chloe* (composed in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) for insight into Lesbos' rural environment. The novel begins in a beautiful farm ideally located within a diverse environment: plains, hills, mountains, grazing lands, and the coast (1.1ff). Scholarly research on the whereabouts of this area and questions over its actual existence have flourished (some recent works are cited in p. 86 n. 263). This rather fruitless discussion spanned several publications, before reaching a practical outcome articulated by Mason.<sup>279</sup> Descriptions of landscapes in works of fiction rely on public knowledge and the ability to fit well into the conceptual framework of their readers. Hence Longus constructs a plausible Lesbian landscape, based on his audience's perceptions of a Lesbian environment.<sup>280</sup> Apparently, the whole discussion returned to what had already been said by Hunter and Bowie four decades ago: '...modern scholarship is too concerned to label...' a landscape as realistic or idyllic, but there may be no clear division after all, only '...many different shades of

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<sup>275</sup> Theoph. *Chronographia* p. 479-480 de Boor.

<sup>276</sup> This menace for merchant communities and established political authorities was active since antiquity; Cicero informs us (*Flac.* 31) of the killing of Athamas, a victor of boxing games in Olympia, by pirates in the Gulf of Adramyttion. Julius Caesar was probably the most prominent victim of pirates (Plut. *Caes.* 2.1-7) before Pompey finally crushed them (App. *Mithr.* 96).

<sup>277</sup> Zachariadou (1962) 263-265.

<sup>278</sup> Zachariadou (1966) 185-192.

<sup>279</sup> Mason (2006) 188.

<sup>280</sup> The issue is summarily discussed by Morgan (2004) 4-5, 148, 150-151, who emphasises a literary aspect: Longus' departure from the usual setting of novels in palaces and *poleis* in favour of a pastoral environment inspired by Theocritus' works.

reality'.<sup>281</sup> The specific landscape in Longus may be idyllic in the sense that he draws only a partial, incomplete, and therefore generic, view for the readers. Hunter's example of the descriptions of seasons in Lesbos by Longus exhibits his point: a 'harsh winter' can be realistic, but also tailored to fit general expectations and perceptions; the author did not have a specific winter in mind. Perhaps modern scholarship expects too much geographical accuracy from a novelist who removed not only all Roman elements in Lesbos, but also the entire world outside the island from his work.<sup>282</sup>

To conclude, pastoral landscapes were constructed with the intention of evoking nostalgia for a paradise lost; they are not descriptions of actual places.<sup>283</sup> Furthermore, if the landscapes in *Daphnis and Chloe* were allusions to real places, then their function as pastoral landscapes would have been reduced to mere lyric exercises venturing into the realm of pompous narrative. The perennial stream flowing in the summer (3.24) seems not to be a fact (and certainly need not have instigated a scholarly discussion and quest to pinpoint its exact location).<sup>284</sup> Instead, it seems to be a natural feature intending to mark an antithesis between the hardships of the *polis* life and the blissful countryside.

Five *poleis* dominated the land and coast of the island in ancient times: Mytilene, Pyrrha, Eresos, Antissa, and Methymna. A sixth *polis* is attested, Arisba, between Methymna and Pyrrha, close to the road from Mytilene to Methymna. Its favourable location facilitated control over the central plains and inland communications, but it also made the *polis* a target for ambitious, more powerful neighbours. In the archaic period, Arisba was overrun by Methymnians from the north (Hdt. 1.151), who gained access to more fertile lands and acquired a border with Mytilene. In turn, **Mytilene** expanded northwards from its initial position in the south-east of the island, perhaps as far as Makris Yalos, far enough to border with Methymna. To the south, what was once considered thick woods and mountain wilderness separating its territory from that of Pyrrha, has now been shown by archaeological research to be an area that attracted farmers ready to exploit the rich and well-drained soils sheltered by nearby pine forests.<sup>285</sup> In historical times, the urban area of Mytilene stretched from the classical acropolis to an island (perhaps the initial settlement of the Mytilenians, according to D.S. 13.79.6) separated only by a very narrow strait from the mainland, a passage which silted up gradually

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<sup>281</sup> Hunter (1983) 21-22 with Bowie (1977); Morgan (2003) 174-175 underlines the distinction between 'plausible fiction and fiction nonetheless'.

<sup>282</sup> Ellis-Evans (2013) 268.

<sup>283</sup> Morgan (2004) 13.

<sup>284</sup> Green (1982) 212-213.

<sup>285</sup> Hansen et al. (2004) 1026; for the forest of Pyrrha, Spencer (1996), esp. 256-259 for the opportunities offered by geophysical factors and 259-262 for inscriptional evidence showing the actual exploitation of the area.

during the Middle Ages and nowadays forms an isthmus and a peninsula.<sup>286</sup> Two harbours (Str. 13.2.2) provided safe anchorage for merchant vessels and warships respectively, the latter being the theatre of the blockade and the defeat of the Athenian fleet by Callicratidas (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.16ff).

Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. *Μυτιλήνη*) preserves four different foundation myths for Mytilene: two involve the female figure of Mytilene, daughter of Macar or Pelops, a third implicates Mytilene only as a mistress of Poseidon who gave birth to Myton, the founder of the *polis*, while according to the fourth, a certain Mytiles was the founder of Mytilene.<sup>287</sup> Surprisingly, Stephanus omits the Aeolian expedition, perhaps the most widespread foundation myth of Mytilene. At this point it should be underlined that in late sources Macar (already attested in Hom. *Il.* 24.544) becomes the predominant mythical founder of the other *poleis* of the island. Antissa, Eresos, and Methymna were the daughters of Macar, while Pyrrha had to resort to an alternative name of a nearby area called Agamede, after a daughter of Macar (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀγαμήδη; Ἄντισσα; Ἐρεσος; Μήθυμνα*). This forefather was also evoked regarding Arisba centuries after its annexation to Methymna, and for smaller settlements like Issa (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀρίσβη; Ἴσσα*, also attesting a Pelasgian past for both settlements). Diodorus (5.81) preserves the narrative of king Macar; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rom. Ant.* 1.17-18) offers a brief account, but the king is rarely attested in pre-Hellenistic sources ([Hom] *Hymn to Apollo* 37; possibly Alc. fr. 34b L-P, and some fragmentary information dubiously attributed to Hellanicus).<sup>288</sup> Finally, in his unique attestation in the *Iliad*, king Macar was not a founder or a forefather. When did he become a founder?

In an influential paper, Nigel Spencer argued for two different bodies of tradition representing different groups of people on the island, the Greeks and the pre- or non-Greeks.<sup>289</sup> From this oppositional viewpoint, the population is viewed as remaining separated centuries after ‘the coming of the Greeks’. Each group derived its descent from different origins, with the Greeks focusing on the Aeolian migration and the non-Greeks emphasising the indigenous king Macar. Spencer’s oppositional view splits the community according to ethnic differences and requires a colonisation as its basis. Instead, I would view the different foundation myths of Mytilene as conscious strategies of the Mytilenian authorities in response to specific needs. The Amazon foundation myth (Mytilene the Amazon in D.S. 3.55.7) could

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<sup>286</sup> Spencer (1995a) 277-279; Green (2005) 63.

<sup>287</sup> The author provides references only for the third alternative (Callimachus and Parthenius).

<sup>288</sup> Fowler (2000) II, 515-517.

<sup>289</sup> Spencer (1995a); a similarly oppositional view in Jackson (1995), esp. 61-65.

be utilised when the aim was to foster connections to Aeolian *poleis* on the mainland or Pergamon in the Hellenistic period. The Amazon foundation myths could also project the Mytilenian past before the Aeolian migration. Reliance on other myths could project Mytilenian presence even further back in the past, with king Macar arriving soon after Deucalion's flood to claim uninhabited lands, from which, curiously, he expelled the previous inhabitants, according to Diodorus' narrative, which glows with colonial lustre.

A tentative time-frame of foundation myths would be as follows. The Aeolian migration appeared in or before the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Aeolians dwell in Lesbos according to Hdt. 1.151). The use of the Aeolian migration was probably the basis of Mytilenian claims to control Sigeion against the Athenians in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century or earlier (Hdt. 5.94-95). The Athenians swiftly dismissed such claims and stressed that these lands were open to exploitation by whichever party could show its participation in the Trojan War. Amazon foundation myths appear after the 4<sup>th</sup> century (used in the Pergamenes' arbitration of the territorial dispute with Pitane). The appearance of the indigenous king Macar can be placed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, at a time when Mytilene stressed claims to being a *metropolis* of the Aeolians, as a response to the practice of the Aeolian *poleis* to extend their presence before the migration, probably in a context of territorial disputes.

On a low hill, with its slopes close to the seafront, stood the acropolis, cemetery and urban area of **Pyrrha**, on the east coast of the Gulf of Callone, close to the road between Mytilene and Arisba. The classical settlement remains partly underwater and the ancient harbour is now silted up by sediments brought down by the river Aphrodisius, which transformed an enclosed cove into a trivial river mouth.<sup>290</sup> The size of its territory is uncertain and there is no way to determine whether or not the Pyrrhaeans benefited from the collapse of Arisba to the north. The location of a pan-Lesbian sanctuary at Messon seems to have limited any ambition to expand towards the central plains in the classical period.<sup>291</sup> Returning to the shore, the alluvial soils around the gulf provided a favourable base of subsistence and inscriptional evidence from the late Roman period shows the expansion of agriculture and land exploitation to the hills and highlands to the east; yet, the paucity of our sources does not eliminate the possibility of much earlier exploitation of these lands, and it has been suggested that they had been extensively exploited since the classical period.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Green (1982) 213; Spencer (1995a) 281-283; Hansen et al. (2004) 1031.

<sup>291</sup> For the sanctuary, Pfrommer (1989); Labarre (1994); Spencer (1995b) 29; Ellis-Evans (2013) 209.

<sup>292</sup> Spencer (1996) 255-262.

**Eresos** was the only settlement of considerable size in the south-western part of the island, and it is reasonable to assume that the *polis* dominated the area. From its slightly elevated position (60m) on a coastal hill, close to a stream emptying in the sea (Str. 13.2.4), Eresos controlled a large coastal plain and a pass which leads into the mountainous area. In addition, it exploited a territory which perhaps included the harbour of Sigrion to the north-west, and it bordered the territory of Antissa to the north-east on a boundary marked by a line of fortified positions on the uplands of Mt. Ordymnus, probably stretching over its northern slope facing Antissa. Eresos' grip over nearby lands peaked in late antiquity, when evidence discloses extensive land use in upland areas.<sup>293</sup> To the east, the location of Issa constituted the furthest the Eresians could expand before reaching the territory of Methymna.<sup>294</sup>

The other important settlement of western Lesbos lies on the north shore facing the open sea. **Antissa** occupied a strong natural position on a hill more than 50m high on a north-facing promontory which was probably an island before the Late Bronze Age. The shallow coastal waters and northern winds necessitated a strong interest and focus on opportunities offered inland.<sup>295</sup> Antissa's territory to the east included the coastal plains up to approximately halfway towards Methymna, the border being defined by fortified positions on the northern reach of the highlands of Mt. Ordymnus close to the north shore of Lesbos. To the south, the terrain is mostly defined by a deep valley penetrating into the highlands of Ordymnus, where the fortifications at Kourouklos marked the border with Eresos.<sup>296</sup>

Rare references by ancient authors, combined with a lack of inscriptions, render Antissa a rather obscure entity. Ancient sources are not in agreement even regarding its existence in the Roman period, but a unique reference in Livy includes Antissa among the *poleis* ordered to be destroyed by the Romans after their victory against Perseus at Pydna in 167 B.C (Liv. 45.31.13-14). The fate of the people and the new land-ownership organisation is elusive. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Pliny included in his list of *poleis* on the island the comment 'Antissam Methymna traxit in se', absorbed by Methymna rather than destroyed by the Romans (Plin. *HN* 5.39.139).<sup>297</sup> Centuries before its unfortunate ending, Antissa experienced civil strife. Sometime before the 4<sup>th</sup> century the Antissians had accepted Chian refugees, but later they cast them out of the *polis*. Aristotle used this incident to support his view that most of the *poleis*

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<sup>293</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1944-1945) 492; Schaus and Spencer (1994) 424-430; Spencer (1995a) 288.

<sup>294</sup> Labarre (1996) 199-200.

<sup>295</sup> Lamb (1930/1931) 166; Mason (1995a) 399-400; Spencer (1995a) 285.

<sup>296</sup> Hansen et al. (2004) 1021-1022.

<sup>297</sup> Plin. *HN* 5.39.139. However, Str. 13.1.19 presents Antissa still standing in a very straight-forward way: '...it is now a *polis* of Lesbos'.

which had accepted settlers as co-dwellers experienced *stasis* later because of their choice (Arist. *Pol.* 1303a 28-35).

**Methymna** was also located on a promontory jutting into the sea towards the north-west, with the urban area surrounding the *acropolis* in all directions. In its proximity the coastal plains extended to the border with Antissa to the south-west and occupied the north and north-east coast of Lesbos as far as the Gulf of Makris Yalos and ancient Aegeiros, where the territory of Mytilene began. From there, after the incorporation of Arisba and the central plain, a vague borderline continued south-westwards through the lowlands as far as the common sanctuary at Messon and the lands of Pyrrha to the south.<sup>298</sup>

### *The 'lands opposite' (peraiiai); Mytilenian, Chian, independent*

The open gulf of Makris Yalos on the east coast of Lesbos leads to the Gulf of Adramyttion and the islands just offshore the Asiatic coast, ancient **Hecatonnesus** (mod. Cunda Adası or Alibey Adası). In modern Greek these small islands are known as Moschonesia, often perceived as the entrance to the mainland.<sup>299</sup> Their ancient name alludes to their number ('One hundred islands'), in all probability a generic number (cf. 'one hundred-gated Thebes' in Hom. *Il.* 9.383), as neither Strabo nor his sources were able to agree on a conclusive number. The geographer gives two figures, twenty and forty, but then prefers to avoid the problem by relying on a false etymology from Apollo Hecatus (Str. 13.2.5). Like most issues concerning geography, the actual number is a matter of perception: nowadays twenty-one islands are visible, but the different coastline and sea level in antiquity may have allowed for more.

According to Herodotus, only one *polis* was located in these islands and he fails to report its name, perhaps intentionally, as through the centuries prudery demanded a name change from the initial **Pordoselene**<sup>300</sup> (= flatulent Moon) to the harmless Nesus or Poroselene,<sup>301</sup> so as to exclude any hints of indecency, e.g. to the 5<sup>th</sup>-century bishops of

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<sup>298</sup> Lamb (1930/1931) 166; N. Spencer (1995a) 283; Hansen et al. (2004) 1024-1025.

<sup>299</sup> In Moschonesia the pursuit of a runaway bride ended in Venezis' *Αιολική Γή*. The chase started from Mytilene, from where the father fled with his daughter so as not to give her away to her suitor, continued through the Cyclades but came to an end at Moschonesia, the 'entrance of the mainland', where the father finally succumbed and presented the bride. Venezis (1943) 156.

<sup>300</sup> [Scyl.] 97.

<sup>301</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Πορδοσελίγη*, probably relying on Str. 13.2.6, where other examples of sanitization of names are listed (Mt. Aspendenus, Perdiccas, and Simonides).

‘Tenedos, Lesbos, Poroselene and the shores’.<sup>302</sup> In fact, scholarly consensus held that there were two different political entities on Hecatonnesus until a survey produced no significant findings anywhere except on the largest island, Alibey Adası.<sup>303</sup> This does not prove Herodotus right; indeed, caution is advised, as traces of a classical settlement were found on another island of the ancient Hecatonnesus, on modern Çıplak Ada, and 4<sup>th</sup>-century coinage has been attributed to the island settlement of Chalkis.<sup>304</sup> Poroselene was controlled by the Mytilenians until 427, as its inclusion in the assessment list of the Delian League under ‘Coastal Poleis’ (Ἀκταῖαι Πόλεις) indicates,<sup>305</sup> while epigraphic and numismatic evidence point to an independent authority from at least the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>306</sup> Between the fall of Methymna and the blockade of Mytilene in 406, the outnumbered Athenian fleet under Conon anchored in Hecatonnesus before its final push towards the harbour of Mytilene. By itself, this itinerary suggests that some kind of a protected harbour, large enough to host Conon’s seventy triremes, was available on the islands. An open gulf would not be adequate, given the hard weather the Athenians would reasonably have anticipated, being familiar with the region (D.S. 13.77.1-2).

While Poroselene remained an independent *polis*, the Mytilenians’ grip extended to the south of Hecatonnesus, over the famous islets of Arginousae, close to the Canae peninsula on the mainland.<sup>307</sup> There, territorial rights become more complex. The land dispute with Pitane in the Hellenistic period (see p. 82) indicates that in that period the Mytilenian *peraiā* extended to the mainland to its south-east. In addition, a Chian *peraiā* is attested to the north of the Mytilenian *peraiā* at least since the archaic period, around Atarneus (Hdt. 1.155-1.161). Pitane’s territory to the north bordered the territory of the Chians in Atarneus<sup>308</sup> and must have bordered the lands of Teuthrania, a *polis* in Mysia, to the north-east.<sup>309</sup> Finally, the settlement of **Cane** or Autocane<sup>310</sup> on a low hill protecting a harbour now underwater, was squeezed onto the north shore of the peninsula, and concluded this complex territorial arrangement.<sup>311</sup> The

<sup>302</sup> Acts of the Oecumenical Council in Chalcedon, AD 451 (ACO Tomēvolumēpart 2,1,2, p. 40, l. 14).

<sup>303</sup> Stauber (1996) 198-208.

<sup>304</sup> Rubinstein (2004) 1040, perhaps the ‘πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἄλλη νῆσος, πόλις μείζων αὐτῆς, καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος ἔρημος’ mentioned in Str. 13.2.5.

<sup>305</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 77.IV 1. 17* with Ellis-Evans (2013) 146-148.

<sup>306</sup> Collected in Rubinstein (2004) 1047.

<sup>307</sup> For close links between Lesbos, Cunda Adası and Arginousai, Ellis-Evans (2013) 127 n.8.

<sup>308</sup> Not to be confused with the obscure Atarneus sub Pitane, a settlement which appears on Barrington Atlas only because of a reference in Str. 13.1.67. Heinle (2015) 27 explains this reference in connection with the territory allocation in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and shows that after the expansion of Pitane the struggling settlement of Atarneus could be defined as ‘below Pitane’, hence there is no need to assume the existence of two Atarnei.

<sup>309</sup> Rubinstein (2004) 1049.

<sup>310</sup> Discussed in Heinle (2015) 26-27.

<sup>311</sup> Which may have been even more cramped if the existence of an Atarneus-under-Pitane is to be accepted based on Str. 13.1.67, perhaps on the southern shore of the peninsula.

inscriptions regulating the land dispute between Mytilene and Pitane bear witness to the area's complex situation, but perhaps some burden was relieved after the destruction of Cane before the Roman period (Plin. *HN*. 5.32.122).

Cane's foundation myth at first glance relies on outsiders, in particular colonists leaving from Dion, close to Histiaea in Euboea (Str. 10.1.5). In an unrelated context, Plutarch reports the presence of Aeolians in Euboea in mythical times (Plut. *Aet. Rom. & Gr.* 296D 5-7), whereas in later periods Euboeans claimed that the Homeric Oechalia was located on their island, close to Eretria (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Οἰχαλία*; also Paus. 4.2.3), thus linking the island to the mythical king Perieres, son of Aeolus, in Oechalia. It was a difficult and disputed connection, as two conflicting views on Perieres and his realm circulated and led later authors to problematic interpretations. Perieres 'the high-spirited' ([Hes.] fr. 10 M-W) was also placed in the Peloponnese, as father of the founder of Pissa (Paus. 6.22.2), or of more eminent mythical figures, like Aphareus, Leucippus, Tyndareus and Icarius, by Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus ([Apollod]. 1.87). This female figure was incorporated into public life and knowledge, if one can trust Pausanias' claim that in his time the Argives showed visitors the tomb of Gorgophone, wife of Perieres, son of Aeolus; according to myth, she was the first widow who re-married after the demise of her husband (Paus. 2.21.7). In any case, it is a very complex connection, perhaps indicative of the ability and intention of communities to exploit every path and opportunity offered by the existing body of myths. Cane's somewhat desperate effort to connect to an Aeolian past may echo a claim to ancestral lands through a parallel branch of the Aeolian expedition. In this case, perhaps the adversary was not Aeolian; claims may have been made against the Ionian Chians based on the widely-accepted precedence of the Aeolian expedition to the Ionian colonisation (Str. 14.1.3; Paus. 3.2.1).

A large part of the Mytilenian *peraia* is not located where the etymology of the word suggests, on the land opposite. A significant area directly opposite Lesbos to the south-east belonged to the Chians (see pp. 98-102). The Mytilenian *peraia* extended also to the north and north-east of the island, along the southern and the western shores of the Troad, opposite its Lesbian adversary (Methymna) and a fellow Aeolian *polis* and island (Tenedos), well out of line of sight from Mytilene. The foundation of the settlements in the *peraia* does not seem to precede the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and by the 6<sup>th</sup> the northern part of the Mytilenian *peraia* was contested by an external power, Athens. The struggle for Sigeion offered a field of glory for Mytilenian elites and a context for ancient scholars to expound stories about justice and bravery involving Pittacus and Alcaeus (Alc. fr. 428a+b L-P = Strabo 13.1.38 and Hdt. 5.94-95; Val. Max. 6.5 ext.1; Plut. *Mor.* 858a-b; Polyain. *Strat.* 1.25.1; Suda s.v. *Πιττακός*).



Mytilene lost the bulk of its mainland possessions in the aftermath of the revolt in 428/7 (Th. 3.50). The *peraiā* acquired a new collective name, again bestowed by an external agent: it was known and inscribed as the *Coastal Poleis* in the Athenian tribute lists of 425/4 onwards (e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 71* col. III.61 l. 124; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 77* col. IV l. 14; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 285* col. II fr. 2 l. 89).<sup>312</sup> These inscriptions, combined and restored, provide enough evidence to create a list of Mytilenian dependencies on the mainland before the revolt. The settlements mentioned or restored are spread across a large coastal area around the bay of Adramyttion and on the west coast of the Troad: Pordoselene, Antandros, Ophryneion, Polymedeion, Hamaxitus, Larisa, Colonae, Achilleion, Rhoition, Ilion, Petra, Thymbra.<sup>313</sup> The extent and length of Athenian control over the former Mytilenian *peraiā* remains debatable. An Athenian decree, regulating a new status for Mytilene and the Athenian cleruchy established after the revolt, suggests an early autonomy for Mytilene (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 66*). However, its traditional dating between 427 and 425 requires first that spirits calmed swiftly after the quelling of the revolt and also that the Athenians were magnanimous in their forgiveness. A dating after the disaster in Sicily is equally possible.<sup>314</sup> The key is the interpretation of ll. 5-8 referring to the goodwill and discipline of the Mytilenian *demos*. If viewed as a sign of benevolence, it suggests a date closer to the revolt. If seen as a sign of need to secure alliances, the aftermath of the catastrophe in Sicily seems more appropriate.<sup>315</sup>

Mytilene suffered a siege by Memnon's forces in 332 after the battle of Granicus, but was compensated for its losses with a reimbursement of war expenses by Alexander, who magnanimously added extensive lands (*magnam regionem*) to its territory (Curt. 4.8.13). Curtius could not have been vaguer, and he is our only source. This may be an instance of a spontaneous royal gift, since in Curtius' account the Mytilenians are not previously included in the envoys of Greek *poleis* visiting and petitioning Alexander, but are treated separately. If Curtius is to be trusted, the royal gift may shed some light on the land dispute between Pitane and Mytilene: the size of the territory in question may have been extensive.

After being a dependency of the Ptolemies for some time during the Hellenistic period,<sup>316</sup> the Mytilenians again chose sides wisely in the war between Rome and Antiochus III. While they temporarily suffered raids from the king, they were recompensed (Liv. 37.21.4-

<sup>312</sup> Cf. Gomme (1956) 328.

<sup>313</sup> Discussion and revision of some restorations in Ellis-Evans (2013) 146-154; also Funke (1999) 61-62; Constantakopoulou (2007) 240-241.

<sup>314</sup> Fornara (2010) challenged the previous orthodoxy on psychological grounds and textual evidence,

<sup>315</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 66.5-8*: 'ἐπειδὲ καλὸς πειθαρχεῖ [Μυτιλεναίων ἡ δέμος καὶ φίλος ἐστὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖ πρόσθεν χρόνοι Ἀθηναίων τῆ βολῆ κα]τὰ τοῖ δέμοι'.

<sup>316</sup> Jackson (1995) 61.

6). However, they did not choose equally wisely in the Mithridatic wars and, were it not for Rome's intention to emerge as the mighty yet forgiving force in the East, they would perhaps have lost their lands on the mainland.<sup>317</sup> After its extreme hostility to Rome, Mytilene did not have much to hope for, and it took two decades for tempers to calm down and the tide to turn when Theophanes, a close friend and advisor of Pompey, persuaded the Roman general to bestow the status of a free *polis* back upon Mytilene and remove its *peraia* from the tax lists.<sup>318</sup>

One would be tempted to conclude that there is more to the process of acquiring a *peraia* than simply ferrying across a narrow sea and occupying visible lands ashore.<sup>319</sup> The land opposite, on the mainland to the east, was controlled by a settlement of islanders from the south. The area around **Atarneus** was awarded to the Chians as a gift for their good services to the Great King c. 546, viz. the deliverance of the fugitive Pactyes, placed under their protection by the unsuspecting Cymaeans (Hdt. 1.155-161). The foundation of Atarneus relied on an actual, continuous act of sacrilege. It took a blunt insult by the oracle of Branchidae for the Cymaeans to accept Pactyes as a suppliant, but apparently his immunity (*asylia*) was not respected by any other party involved in his story. The Mytilenians were considering delivering him to Cyrus, hence the Cymaeans felt obligated to request the return of Pactyes and then entrusted him to the Chians. The latter proved no better than the Mytilenians, as they removed the suppliant from the temple of Athena and surrendered him to the Persians.

At face value, the adventures of Pactyes between Cyme, Mytilene, and Chios, assume that the Cymaeans could influence internal affairs in neighbouring settlements – or at least held the right to recall the suppliant they initially dispatched to Mytilene.<sup>320</sup> In addition, the story of Pactyes may be a trace of Cymaeon traditions portraying their new neighbours, the Chians in Atarneus, as intruders whose presence in the area began with sacrilege, the surrender of a fugitive. Sadly, we have no evidence as to how the residents of Atarneus presented their story; but Herodotus informs us that the Chians, long after the acquisition of Atarneus, did not include products coming from their *peraia* in their annual offerings to the gods (Hdt. 1.160). Note that there must have been at least two different versions of the incident. The narrative of Charon

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<sup>317</sup> Ellis-Evans (2013) 269. In fact, Mithridates came to the island twice, once as a victor, once as a refugee from Roman pursuit; App. *Mith.* 21; 52.

<sup>318</sup> Kajava (2002) 89; Ellis-Evans (2013) 243. *Contra* Anastasiadis (1997), who argues against a critical influence of Theophanes. For full discussion of the problems and implications, Buraselis (2001) 61-67.

<sup>319</sup> Argued in Ellis-Evans (2013) 129, who suggests that putting too much emphasis on the etymology of *peraia* leads to its definition as mere 'lands opposite', despite ancient evidence suggesting otherwise (in addition to Mytilene, he discusses the well-known cases of Rhodes and Chios). Alternative wordings were also used, e.g. 'τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῷ πολίσματα' in Th. 3.50.

<sup>320</sup> For a quick overview of the consequences of Pactyes' rebellion against Cyrus in Sardeis and regional administration, Dusinberre (2003) 35-36.

(5<sup>th</sup> century) describes a more normal itinerary for Pactyes. Cyme and the Branchidae are not included in his discussion; Pactyes flees straight to Mytilene, then to Chios (*FGrHist* 262 F 9).

The inclusion of Cyme in the adventures of Pactyes indicates that Herodotus may in fact have transmitted an anti-Cymaeian, pro-Milesian tradition.<sup>321</sup> The putative time may have been the Persian conquest of Asia Minor. The adventures of Pactyes may be representative of an anti-Cymaeian discourse blaming Cyme for inviting Persian retaliation which saw the Greek *poleis* subjected to the Persian Great King. The narrative of Herodotus seems to indicate such a chain of events. In his account the conquest of Lydia (1.75-91) is followed, after several digressions, by the revolt of Pactyes (1.153-156), who then seeks refuge in Cyme (1.157). While the Chians, Cymaeans and Mytilenians discussed the fate of Pactyes, the Persian commander Mazares advanced from Sardeis to the coast (1.157-161); Mazares' death did not end Persian involvement in Ionia, and Cyrus II sent Harpagus to subdue all Greek *poleis* in Asia Minor (1.162ff).

Built on top of a steep hill between the foothills of Mt. Pindassus and the sea, Atarneus was a natural stronghold. Indeed, it was used as such by Chian refugees, six hundred in number, stationed there by the Spartan admiral Cratesippedas, as a base for their raids against their island in 409 (D.S. 13.65.4). Other Chian exiles after the Peloponnesian War unleashed raids against Ionia from Atarneus; Dercylidas blockaded them for eight months during his campaign in 399 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11; D.S. 13.65.4). Atarneus emerges again in the textual sources as a possession of Hermeias, tyrant of Assos, in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, His rise to power is vague, usually linked to Eubulus, his predecessor and master, although a late source generates a very interesting scenario, involving a joint decision (and sovereignty?) by Chians and Mytilenians to appoint him overlord of the entire area.<sup>322</sup> Implausible or not, this passage takes into account the connectivity of the region, which dictated that without the cooperation of Mytilene, Atarneus would be unreachable from Assos, at the other end of the strait of Mytilene. Theopompus' reference to the 'territory' (χώρα) of Atarneus in the 4<sup>th</sup> century highlights a different aspect. Other than being a strong military outpost, the *polis* must have offered more useful services to the Chians, namely a strategic hold over the area's coastal plains; their revenues must have been the object of the royal award rather than Atarneus's function as a

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<sup>321</sup> Brown (1978) 68-72. Cyme was perhaps a stereotypical place of refuge. Besides a short stay of Themistocles (Plut. *Them.* 26.1-2; 29.11), Ardys, the deposed king of Lydia, lived in Cyme for two years before his return to the throne (Nic. Damas. *FGrH* 90 F 44). Hdt. 1.20 shows that Herodotus had access to Milesian informers and may have received this tradition from them.

<sup>322</sup> Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 291: 'ἔλαβεν [.....Ἄσ]σὸν / τὸν ἐκεῖν[ου πύργον καὶ] Ἄταρνέα καὶ τὸ χωρίον τὸ πλησίον ἅπαν...', '...τ(ῆς) χώρ(ας), ἧς Χῖοι καὶ Μιτυληνα[ῖοι ἐπίσκοπον αὐτ]ὸν καθίστασαν...'

military base.<sup>323</sup> After all, why would the Persian King reward the Chians with a territory of military importance which could ultimately have been utilised only against him?

A report on the death of Histiaeus of Miletus offers an indication about the extent of Atarneus' territory. In 493 he crossed from Lesbos to the mainland, leading a small force to pillage the grain of Atarneus and the nearby plains of the Caicus. After an advance by the Persian cavalry, Histiaeus was taken alive in the plain of Malene within the area of Atarneus (Hdt. 6.28-29), on the coast approximately 5km north-west of the *polis*. This is a fair indication that the Chian *peraia* had extended far to the north from an early era. If a report of another capture is accurate, that of Hermeias in 341, at Carene to the north-east of Malene, closer to the slopes of Pindassus, then we may have at least a vague idea of the area of Atarneus to the north.<sup>324</sup> Mentor, a commander in the service of the Persian king, lured Hermeias to a meeting, but broke his promise of safe conduct and arrested him. It seems more probable that Carene was not under Hermeias' control. If Carene was a part of Atarneus' territory, the capture of a tyrant within his area of control would be more difficult to explain than a meeting on neutral ground agreed by both sides (Str. 13.1.57).

When all the information is combined, the significance of Atarneus for the control of a fertile area is readily illustrated, and one needs to acknowledge that Chian services were handsomely rewarded by the Great King. Yet, despite its significance, Atarneus was reduced to a village. Pausanias, our only source, gives no further details other than that its inhabitants suffered the fate of the people of Myous, who abandoned their *polis* after the river silt transformed it into an inland settlement (Paus. 7.2.11). It has been suggested that the silting-up of the harbour of Atarneus caused a relocation of incoming and outgoing traffic and rendered the settlement unfavourable to trade (a view which presupposes an increased significance of trade, rather than land-based income, for Atarneus).<sup>325</sup> Alternatively, Attaea, a settlement to the north-west halfway towards Hecatonnesus, perhaps replaced Atarneus as the region's dominant settlement in imperial times.<sup>326</sup>

Yet environmental deterioration was not as dramatic as Pausanias believed. The traveller or his source witnessed Atarneus' decline and connected it to the environmental

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<sup>323</sup> Still, the Chians, aware that their conduct might have offended Greek customs relating to suppliants, refused to use products of their newly-acquired *peraia* as offerings in their rituals, as observed by Hdt. 1.160. I suspect the Chian elite may have had fewer objections to appropriating actual wealth from the area. Cf. Harrison (2000) 103 n.5.

<sup>324</sup> P. *Berol.* 9780, col.6 ln. 57-59: 'οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι Κατάνηι φα[σί]ν αὐτὸν συλληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' ἐτέρωθι'. Ancient authors could agree neither on Hermeias' death nor on his apprehension, as is evident in the same papyrus where different views are listed.

<sup>325</sup> Ellis-Evans (2013) 242.

<sup>326</sup> Leaf (1923) 328-329.

decline evident in the surrounding area. However, the decline of the natural environment can be instigated, and its pace reduced or increased, by human activity or inactivity. In fact, recent geological and paleogeographical research in the area has shown that environmental changes did not determine Atarneus' fate. In addition, environmental deterioration actually post-dates the relocation by at least a century. Consequently, it has been suggested that socio-economic factors were the main factors for Atarneus' collapse: under Roman rule, the need to occupy a strong defensive position became obsolete and the inhabitants relocated to more favourable environments downhill.<sup>327</sup> The profits of the narrow coastal strip could be reaped from a better position, closer to the sea, and further from the potentially devastating river Caicus. To the north, Attaia thrived after the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD while Atarneus declined to oblivion. Evidently, environmental deterioration did not cause the relocation, but was its direct outcome. Without human agency, the land was left unattended, and gradually deteriorated.

Surprisingly, according to Herodotus, Atarneus was located on 'Mysian' land (1.160; 8.106), either because Herodotus follows the Persian division of satrapies, or due to a specific pattern of naming a region after the people who cultivated the land.<sup>328</sup> Stephanus is more careful or more confused and applies three points of definition: 'Atarna' (sic) is located between 'Mysia' and 'Lydia', 'close to Lesbos'.<sup>329</sup> A 'Mysian plain' must have lain in the proximity, since Draco of Pallene, a commander serving under Thibron in 400, raided it from his base in Atarneus (Isoc. 4.144).<sup>330</sup> Still, with one foot on the shore, Atarneus was closely linked to the sea.<sup>331</sup> Besides the obvious and necessary seaward line of communication to Chios, small- or

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<sup>327</sup> Schneider, Matthaei, Bebermeier, and Schütt (2014).

<sup>328</sup> While Pomponius Mela is not the most trustworthy or thorough ancient geographer, perhaps he discloses a narrative *topos* when he refers to Aeolis, which 'became Aeolis as soon as its lands (previously known as Mysia) were cultivated by Aeolians' (Mel.1.90).

<sup>329</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Άταρνα*: 'πόλις μεταξύ Μυσίας και Λυδίας πλησίον Λέσβου'. The wording is strange, as one might have expected a form of *έναντι* (=opposite) instead of *πλησίον* for places separated by sea. Perhaps a linguistic indication of the sea as a medium of unity instead of separation?

<sup>330</sup> Isoc. 4.144. Isocrates is probably erroneous regarding the identity of the Spartan commander, as Xenophon, better informed on the Spartan campaigns in Asia Minor, has Dercylidas capturing Atarneus, not Thibron (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11).

<sup>331</sup> Constantakopoulou (2007) 251-253 discusses Atarneus as a twofold community, at the same time part of the *polis* of Chios and a marginal territory. Hornblower (2003) describes Atarneus as a marginal entity and he discusses the vengeance of Hermotimus against Panionios, the person who castrated him (Hdt. 8.105), in relation to Atarneus' marginality at a geographical (i.e. territory away from the island of Chios) and perceptual level (a meeting place of contrasting divergencies). Hornblower sees a conscious choice of Herodotus to locate the story to Atarneus on account of the marginality of the *peiraia*, which would allude to the marginal position of eunuchs, between male and female. A relocation of place, from elsewhere to Atarneus, may be intriguing, but also far-fetched. It requires us to accept that Herodotus intentionally places in Atarneus the terrible vengeance of Hermotimus. A symbolic placement of this story in the narrative of Herodotus may stand, yet an intentional insertion of this story in its specific position in Herodotus' history may be due to other reasons. E.g. Gray (2002) 309 emphasises context and the main story of Herodotus, yet another terrible deed of vengeance, the destruction of Athens by Xerxes, and his subsequent care for the safety of his children, which introduces Herodotus' digression. Braund (2007b) 16 observes that the ambiguity of Greek allows for two locations of the castration,

large-scale local trade with the island opposite was easy and promising, as in the case of Persinus, described by Callisthenes after the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (*FGrHist* 124 F 4). Persinus, a Milesian poet residing in Atarneus in the court of Eubulus before the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, wrote that he achieved better terms for exchanging his Phocaic staters at Mytilene. While this may have been a pun against his previous patron in Atarneus, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that others may have exploited similar opportunities.<sup>332</sup>

The fragmented Mytilenian *peraiia*, separated by the Chian territory around Atarneus, resumed in the vicinity of Adramyttion with Coryphantis and Heraclea close to Hecatonnesus (Str. 13.1.51), and then to the southern shore of Troad with Antandros, perhaps Assos (see next section), and its secondary nearby foundations of Lamboneia and Gargara, before it advanced further to the west shore after Cape Lekton, from Polymedeion to Ilion itself. The Assians were the northernmost Aeolians on the mainland attested in our textual sources and my focus now turns to Adramyttion and the southern coast of the Troad.

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Atarneus or Sardeis; if location was of primary importance, Herodotus would have been more precise. In the case of Hermotimus, Atarneus' marginality relies on a stark dichotomy of viewpoint between the islandic Chios and the territory of Atarneus on the mainland opposite (a location in a perpetual state of marginality and pollution, as in Hornblower (2003) 40-41, 44, 54). Such a dichotomy is not supported by our evidence, and views on marginality require a strong opposition between islands and *peraiiai*. It would be simpler to suggest that the retribution of the eunuch actually took place in Atarneus and Herodotus merely reported the story without emphasising the symbolic marginality of Atarneus.

<sup>332</sup> Bresson (2009)

## 2.4 Fragmented, straight shores

‘the poleis termed “Coastal”, which were previously controlled by the Mytilenians’<sup>333</sup>

In this section I discuss the area to the north of Hecatonnesus, namely Adramyttion and the southern coast of the Troad up to Cape Lekton. Former Mytilenian dependencies, settlements of the area, emerge as independent *poleis* during the later 5<sup>th</sup> century, but links to Mytilene and Methymna are abundant in our textual sources.

### *Adramyttion: Lydian, Lesbian, Mysian, Asiatic, Aeolian*

The Troad, a nose-shaped peninsula embracing Lesbos from the north, thrusts out from north-west Asia Minor into the Aegean Sea towards the west; thus, two shores are formed, straight, hilly, steep, shallow, and rocky. This unwelcoming environment is framed by the lack of natural harbours offered by the relief, cliff-lined shores, imposing mountains, marshlands in river deltas, and segregated valleys barely connected to one another, with the imposing mass of Mt. Ida always dominant both geographically and historically.<sup>334</sup> Mountain slopes fall steeply onto the southern shore, allowing only very narrow coastal strips of land and very limited points of access to the interior. Despite the hardships, the challenge was answered by Greeks and non-Greeks, political authorities local and remote, as the prize was considerable. The forests of Mt. Ida were well known for their prime naval timber and much-needed pitch, raw materials crucial for building fleets and maintaining naval superiority.

To the east, the relief becomes smoother and the river Havran, the ancient Euenus, waters the flat plains around Adramyttion (mod. Edremit) and facilitates agriculture in the area before the steep slopes of Madra Dağı (anc. Pindassus) to the north-west begin to rise in every direction. Edremit constitutes a separate vegetation zone, similar to the northern Troad (modern districts of Balıkesir and Kuzey Ege). Mediterranean maquis in the south gives way to evergreens as the altitude rises inland. On the Troad’s southern coast scrubs and bushes prevail along the way from Cape Lekton to Adramyttion, adding to the harshness of the local environment and rendering the two significant coastal plains, one narrow and long from Assos

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<sup>333</sup> Th. 4.52.

<sup>334</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 79, 125

to Antandros, and the plain of Thebe between Antandros and Adramyttion, even more important.<sup>335</sup> Again, the gifts of the river should not be taken for granted. While today the fertile lowlands around Edremit are a production centre for olives, olive oil, and cotton, not many years ago it was a severely eroded land which required large investment in funds and human effort to yield profit. It would still command a significant financial risk were it not for the development of urban centres which propelled the return and triumph of agriculture.<sup>336</sup>

Ancient **Adramyttion** was located 10km south of modern Edremit in Burhaniye İlçesi, conveniently located on the road from Ephesus and Pergamon to the Troad via Atarneus.<sup>337</sup> It must have been an important settlement from the archaic period, when Croesus was stationed there as viceroy for Alyattes (c. 570 B.C.; Nic. Dam. fr. 65).<sup>338</sup> Adramyttion was part of the Great King's realm for most of the classical period, as two Persian overlords are mentioned by Thucydides (5.1; 5.31). Still, we cannot be certain about the extent and continuity of Persian control throughout three centuries. A comment of Pseudo-Scylax for the area around Adramyttion, 'Lesbian territory' ([Scyl.] 98), suggests at least a brief period of Lesbian control; a period between 404 and 386 has been suggested, before the lands were returned to Persian control according to the terms of the King's Peace.<sup>339</sup> At a conceptual level, its importance is highlighted by its use as a point of reference, a landmark to distinguish and define geographical entities: the name of the gulf was Adramyddenos in antiquity and Edremit in present times. Furthermore, Strabo applies the term 'Adramyttion' to define Mysia as the area surrounding it (Str. 13.1.65), a piece of information which should be treated with caution. Strabo's account of the coastline of Troad, Mysia, and Aeolis remains loose and reliant on the work of others, although a notorious confusion between the Gulf of Elaea and Adramyttion, already traced by early scholarship, instigated harsh and unnecessary criticism.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 125, 237-240.

<sup>336</sup> Dewdney (1971) 154. A dam was built in 1997 in order to control the floods and resolve the very limited water flow of the river Madra during the summer months, to the south of Adramyttion, close to Hecatonnesus. The dam may have provided a temporary solution, but apparently it makes things worse: fewer sediments now permit quicker erosion, a phenomenon enhanced by the sea which now acts without the counterbalance of the river silt (Lambrianides and Spencer (2007) 19-21).

<sup>337</sup> Traces of the Roman road and mile indicators have been unearthed in the area; Ramsay (1881) 47 for an early account of the findings. For the multiple spellings of the name, Tucker (1892) 132; Leaf (1923) 320-321; the issue is only briefly addressed in Rubinstein (2004) 1038. Stephanus was already aware of the problem and attempted to list and organise the multiple spelling combinations in his entry. I follow the most common form of the word in modern scholarship.

<sup>338</sup> Kaletsch (1958) 38.

<sup>339</sup> [Scyl.] 98: '... Ἀδραμύττιον. Ἡ δὲ χώρα Λεσβία' with Rubinstein (2004) 1038.

<sup>340</sup> Observed in Leaf (1923) xxxix-xliv. On more than one occasion, Strabo appears confused and refers to the Elaeatic Gulf as a part of Adramyddenos (Str. 13.1.51: 'Ἀδραμυττηνὸν καλούμενον κόλπον. λέγεται γὰρ καὶ πᾶσα ἢ ἀπὸ Λεκτοῦ μέχρι Κανῶν παραλία τῶ αὐτῶ τούτῳ ὀνόματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ Ἐλαϊτικὸς περιλαμβάνεται'; Str. 13.1.68: '... τὸν Ἀδραμυττηνὸν κόλπον, οὗ μέρος καὶ ὁ Ἐλαϊτικὸς ἐστὶ'). Curiously, after his confusion, Strabo clarifies that the name Adramyddenos specifically defines the bay between Cape Pyrrha and Gargara (Str. 13.1.51: 'ἰδίως



Adramyttion is termed Aeolian by Diodorus alone, and even then indirectly. He briefly narrates the actions of Prepelaus in 302, a commander dispatched by Lysimachus to march against Ionia and Aeolis in the war against Antigonos the One-eyed: only Adramyttion and Ephesus are mentioned, respectively, when ‘the general dispatched by Lysimachus to Aeolis and Ionia conquered Adramyttion on his way and besieged Ephesus...’ (D.S. 20.107).

Its strong ties with the Lydians can be dated in ancient scholarship at least as early as Aristotle, if one gives credit to the claim of Stephanus that he relies on Aristotle ‘and others’ when he refers to the etymology of the name from its founder, Adramytus, son of Alyattes and brother of Croesus. He quickly rejects (based on grammar and word formation) similar accounts of a Hermon, king of Lydians, ‘called by Lydians Adramys in Phrygian’ (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀδραμύτειον*). Strabo’s sources seem to point in the same direction: the neighbouring Mysia was once under Lydian control, hence the existence of ‘Lydian gates in Adramyttion, a *polis* founded by Lydians’ (Str. 13.1.65). The geographer reports more views on Adramyttion’s mythical past. Cilices dwelt in the entire area of Adramyttion and the Caicus (13.1.60), before Adramyttion was founded as an Athenian colony (Str. 13.1.51). Herodotus (7.42) traces the route of Xerxes towards Europe through ‘Mysian’ lands and places, ‘Atramyttion’ among them; he offers a different cultural affiliation only for Antandros, the ‘Pelasgian’. Thucydides (5.1) swiftly refers to an undefined area around Adramyttion where the Delians settled as ‘Asia’, while Pseudo-Scylax defines it as ‘Lesbian’ (98).

Interestingly, the variety of foundation myths and attestations of a Greek or non-Greek mythical and historical past coincide with a significant land dispute over the fertile plain of Thebe, the first territory promising extensive agricultural revenues in the southern Troad (or the last as one leaves Aeolis behind). During the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. at least, the Adramyttians controlled the plain of Thebe, but Strabo also transmits a contest dated to the distant past, when the territory was initially contested between Lydians and Mysians, and later among Greeks settling from Aeolis and Lesbos (Str. 13.1.61). Strabo mentions other, deserted settlements in the plain and defines the territory as ‘Adramyttian’, covering a large area along the course of

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μέντοι τοῦτον φασὶν Ἀδραμυττηνόν, τὸν κλειόμενον ὑπὸ ταύτης τε τῆς ἄκρας ἐφ’ ἣ τὰ Γάργαρα, καὶ τῆς Πυρρᾶς ἄκρας προσαγορευομένης; ‘ταῦτα δ’ ἤδη τοῦ Ἐλαϊτῶν κόλπου· καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ ἢ Ἐλαία καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς μέχρι Κανῶν κόλπος’). He then lists coastal and inland settlements around the gulf of Adramyttion before he moves on to the Mytilenian *peraiā*, explicitly placed in the gulf of Elaea. In the initial summary of his account of the entire region, Strabo clearly places the Elaeatic gulf to the south of Pitane without connecting it to the Adramyttenos in any way (Str. 13.1.2: ‘ἀπὸ Λεκτοῦ δὲ μέχρι Καϊκοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν Κανῶν λεγομένων ἔστι τὰ περὶ Ἄσσον καὶ Ἀδραμύττιον καὶ Ἄταρνεά καὶ Πιτάνην καὶ τὸν Ἐλαϊτικὸν κόλπον). Elsewhere, the extent of the Elaeatic Gulf is defined by two capes, Hydra and Harmatounda, enclosing Myrina, Achaeōn Limen, Gryneion, up to Pitane (Str. 13.3.5: “Υδραν, ἢ ποιοῦσα τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἐλαϊτικὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀπεναντίον ἄκραν Ἀρματοῦντα’). I would suggest that the specific mistake between the two gulfs can be attributed rather to a copyist’s error than to a geographer’s.

the Euenus towards the mountainous inferior, extending towards Antandros to the west well into the plain of Thebes, where only a shrine of Apollo Cillaeus is attested (Str. 13.1.61); toponyms were not much more than mere names with an alleged past lost in the mist of legends (Str. 13.1.65). Nevertheless, they were not denied their symbolic significance. Strabo preserves traces of an alternative tradition concerning the earliest temple of Apollo Cillaeus built elsewhere in the Troad, in Colonae. In fact, according to a local author, Daes of Colonae, it was the first temple consecrated by the Aeolians when they reached these lands, although Strabo does not share his certainty (Str. 13.1.62). The attempt to claim proximity to the first shrine of the Aeolian ancestors shows that the struggle of communities to date their presence long before everyone else arrived in the area was still active.

Adramyttion did not rely on an Aeolian past, but applied a different strategy incorporating claims of territorial rights based on a plausible royal allotment dating back as early as Croesus. That strategic choice would fit more easily with a 4<sup>th</sup>-century context and an unattested contest with a Lesbian *polis*, since evoking the Aeolian expedition would be to no avail for Adramyttion. Alternatively, a potential contestant was Antandros to the west. Again, the Adramyttians may have claimed that they controlled their territory due to an allotment of nearby lands by the Lydian kings, and subsequently promoted the legitimacy of their claims by pledging their indigenous status against these alleged newcomers. Unfortunately, all these interpretations are conjectural. We cannot be certain whether the fragments of foundation myths presented above are linked to one or more land disputes involving Adramyttion.

What seems even more conjectural is the unlikely interpretation of the Lydian element as an indicator of mixed population in Adramyttion, suggested on the basis of foundation myths linking the *polis* to Lydia.<sup>341</sup> This reasoning necessitates a significant degree of compartmentalisation of a community, with different, segregated population groups subscribing to different identities. In addition, the implied working hypothesis is that collective identities are based on true events lost in the mist of time; hence, different layers of population can be distinguished through their different foundation myths, a methodology which effectively negates every shred of progress in the field since the 1960s.

Strabo mentions ‘the Lydian Gates’ and uses this as supporting evidence for a Lydian foundation of the *polis* (13.1.65). There is no compelling reason to question the existence of a Lydian gate in Adramyttion *per se*; but it is equally unconvincing to accept Strabo’s perception and explanation of its name. Instead of ascribing such a symbolic weight to the gate, the

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<sup>341</sup> As in Rubinstein (2004) 1038.

obvious alternative suggests a more practical aspect, namely the orientation of the gates towards the east, on the road leading from the Hellespont to Sardeis. The comparison to the ‘Piraeen Gates’ (Πειραιϊκὰς πύλας) mentioned by Plutarch is telling, as by no means did they allude to a Piraeen past of Athens (Pl. *Thes.* 27.4). Adramyttion did not need to have been Lydian in order to allude to a Lydian link in the past.

### *The southern coast of the Troad*

Moving on to the southern shores of the Troad, **Antandros**, a natural stronghold nearly 200m high, stood on a steep hillslope jutting towards the sea at the foot of Mt. Alexandria.<sup>342</sup> The *polis* was strategically located close to an invaluable access route to the mountains. The resources of Mt. Ida yielded large revenues for the authority controlling the area down to the sea. Antandros was under Mytilenian control until the revolt of 428/7, after which it was listed as a *Coastal polis* in the Athenian tribute lists. Thucydides (4.52) regarded Antandros as an important asset for timber and shipbuilding, important enough for the Mytilenian exiles to set it on the top of their list of targets. However, the *polis* was under Persian control during the Ionian war (412-404), since Pharnabazus was able to reassure the Peloponnesians that the naval timber from the king’s lands was at their disposal, and then called all generals and trierarchs to build new ships at Antandros (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.24-25).<sup>343</sup> In 407 Lysander built a new fleet in Antandros, while his existing ships were under repair in Ephesus (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.10). Under the Attalids in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the *polis* was a naval base as well as a centre for the production and distribution of timber and pitch.<sup>344</sup> By the Roman period, the naval base had become a proverbial location for ship-building. Mythical fleets were built in Antandros, such as the one that carried Aeneas to the west, while Paris’ fleet was built in the vicinity, with timber from Gargara and Ida (Ver. *Aen.* 3.5-6; 9.81-1; Ov. *Met.* 13.627-8; Ov. *Her.* 16.105-8). The famous forests of Antandros lay perhaps around modern Avcılar, to the north-east of the *polis*.<sup>345</sup> It has been argued that the *polis* was privileged owing to its unique location on the land routes leading from the east and the south to the north: Antandros is regarded as an excellent case of ‘a city

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<sup>342</sup> Str. 13.1.51; Cook (1973) 268-269.

<sup>343</sup> In the previous year, a Persian garrison under Pharnaces was removed by the Antandrians in the event that concludes the eighth book of Thucydides (8.108-109), and not long after a Peloponnesian guard ship was stationed in Antandros (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.17). Spartan control was re-introduced in 389, when Anaxibius sailed from Abydos to Antandros to draw the *poleis* to his side and reinstate a Spartan garrison (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.35).

<sup>344</sup> Ma (2013) 53-62.

<sup>345</sup> Leaf (1923) 265, followed by Cook (1973) 267.

profiting from the dynamics of the coastal interface'.<sup>346</sup> A contribution of eight talents to the Delian League (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 77* col. IV 1.15) indicates its economic prosperity alongside its strategic importance.<sup>347</sup>

Antandros shares more with Adramyttion than a border somewhere west of the plain of Thebes and the settlement of Astyra; namely, a variety of foundation myths indicating a non-Greek past, accompanied in the case of Antandros by an Aeolian phyletic affiliation. Alcaeus (fr. 337 L-P = Str. 13.1.51) refers to Antandros as a *polis* of Leleges; Herodotus (7.42) knew of a Pelasgian past of Antandros; Aristotle (apud Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἄντανδρος* discussed below) speaks of a Thracian element. Yet in Thucydides (8.108) the inhabitants are clearly Aeolians. Surprisingly, in a 5<sup>th</sup>-century AD list of Aeolian people, Antandrians are the only Aeolians of the mainland mentioned (Eustath. *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 820). Furthermore, since Eustathius lists the Aeolians that once lived in Thessaly, this may well be one of the very few connections in our sources between Aeolis in Asia Minor and a remotely specific motherland in Greece.

At the same time, Eustathius ignores the pressing issue of the etymology of the name Antandros, which attracted the interest of ancient authors. Two explanations of the word circulated widely in antiquity. First, a *polis* was exchanged for a man (*ἀντί ἀνδρός*), as a ransom paid to the Pelasgians by Aeneas to free his son, Ascanius. Alternatively, colonists from Andros escaped civil war on their island and settled in the area of Ant-andros (Mel. *De situ orbis* 1.92; Hdn. *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.205.10-13; the same false etymologies appear in the *Diegesis* of Conon, composed in the era of Augustus, summarised by Phot. *Bibl.* 186.139a 12-25). Surprisingly, one of these sources, Herodian in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, includes another explanation, claiming that it was named after an Aeolian general.<sup>348</sup> This may be the only case of an Aeolian *polis* owing its name to an Aeolian general, or any Aeolian person, for that matter.

Besides this unique reference, Herodian's passage also exhibits the complicated geographical perceptions and definitions of the area. The location of Antandros is given by using three defining points, one landmark and two regions: 'under Ida towards Mysia of Aeolis' (*Ἄντανδρος. πόλις ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰδὴν πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῆς Αἰολίδος*). Other authors offered equally contradictory descriptions. Herodotus (5.26) placed Antandros in the Troad; Demetrius of Scepsis, a local author cited by Strabo (13.1.51), located the *polis* in the lands of the Cilicians; Pseudo-Scylax (98) included Antandros in Aeolis, but his Aeolis was restricted to the southern

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<sup>346</sup> Ellis-Evans (2013) 69-76.

<sup>347</sup> Cook (1973) 270.

<sup>348</sup> Herodian lists two views, one implicating an Aeolian general and another involving Ascanius, son of Aeneas, who gave up his territory to free himself. Stephanus lists only the former view.

shore of the Troad and Antandros was the last Greek *polis* on Aeolian soil, before Mysia began with Astyra and extended south to Caria (his account will be discussed in the next chapter); Pliny (*HN*. 5.123) added the previous names of the *polis*, Edonis and Cimmeris, alluding to Thracian origins. With the exception of Lydia, Antandros was linked to all other regions of the area. If Adramyttion constitutes a fine case of a multi-layered mythical past, then Antandros is a characteristic case of a geographical ‘Game of Regions’ (discussed in the next chapter) performed by ancient authors, beyond the interchangeability of region-names or adherence to administration divisions. At the end of Chapter 3, after examining the geographical accounts in chronological order, I will return to ask not ‘where’, but ‘when’ was Antandros.

Further to the west and close to the shore, **Gargara** also attracted the interest of authors indulging in false etymologies. Eustathius explains that it was named after the sound of many streams; in poetic metaphor the word could denote ‘plenty’ (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.525), and this is how and why Aristophanes puts the word ψαμμακοσιο-γάργαρα into Dicaeopolis’ mouth (*Ar. Ach.* 3) to give an estimate of his innumerable sufferings. The settlement was relocated close to the sea from its initial position in the mountains, yet the date of this relocation remains elusive.<sup>349</sup> The abandoned mountain site was subsequently known as Old Gargara, and was on the highest western peak of Mt. Ida (mod. Koca Kaya).<sup>350</sup> A gentle rise eases towards the Gulf of Adramyttion from the main mountainous mass of modern Kozlu Dağı. Three kilometres from the sea and ten east of Assos, it forms a plateau on the highest summit, spacious enough to host a walled urban area, and traces of a fortified acropolis have been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>351</sup>

The new position of Gargara on the coast remains unidentified.<sup>352</sup> According to Strabo (13.1.51), it was founded on a cape on the westernmost extension of the gulf of Adramyttion, but it takes much effort and goodwill to locate a substantial wrinkle on this mostly straight shore. Stephanus (s.v. *Γάργαρα*) again follows Herodian, but seems uncertain of the wording already used by Strabo, for his *akra* (ἄκρα = any highest or farthest point) denotes another geographical extremity, a summit instead of a cape, in his relevant entry: ‘Gargara, a *polis* on the top of Ida’. Fortunately, there appears to be less room for misreading Greek when Stephanus cites Strabo and Hecataeus on the Aeolian phyletic affiliation of Gargara: according to

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<sup>349</sup> Mitchell (2004) 1007 presents the range of a plausible dates of the relocation, spanning the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods.

<sup>350</sup> Cook (1973) 257.

<sup>351</sup> Clarke (1888) 298-299; Cook (1973) 258-259; Mitchell (2004) 1007

<sup>352</sup> Cook (1973) 256 on the misleading identification in Leaf (1923) 258-261. Clarke (1888) identified some ruins under the modern Sazly, close to the sea, as Gargara. For a more recent discussion, Cohen (1995) 151-152.

Stephanus, they both regarded Gargara as Aeolian.<sup>353</sup> Strabo (13.1.58) mentions Assos as the *metropolis* of Gargara and, while he appears certain of the *polis*' Aeolian character, he transmits information deriving directly from his source, Demetrius of Scepsis, on a repopulation of Gargara 'under the kings' with people from Miletropolis in Bithynia, which 'reduced the *polis* to a semi-barbaric status'. In his entry, Stephanus also presents a questionable yet extremely rare connection to mainland Greece and a motherland based on Gargarus, son of Zeus and an inhabitant of Larissa in Thessaly. The territory of the *polis* was known as Gargaris and in Latin sources it acquired a proverbial reputation for its fertility, with Virgil and Ovid setting Gargara as a comparative marker of effective cultivation and sheer amplitude.<sup>354</sup>

Moving deeper into the lands sung by Homer, **Assos** is situated on the flat top of a low hill (234m) close to the sea. Strabo (13.1.51) places Assos at sea level; but he apparently has only its harbour in mind, as elsewhere he mentions the proverbially steep ascent to the urban area and acropolis on the hill (Str. 13.1.57). The once fair harbour was found abandoned by Cook in 1959 close to modern Behram Kale; he confirmed the proverbially demanding ascent on a very steep slope as he had to carry his luggage uphill and sympathised with Richter's similar pains on the site.<sup>355</sup> According to Strabo, the proverb alludes to a Homeric verse (Hom. *Il.* 6.143), with the original 'asson' (= near) replaced by 'Asson', so that the meaning conveyed would be 'come to Assos, so that you may swiftly meet your doom'.<sup>356</sup>

Assos is exempted from ancient accounts of etymologies, yet authors were concerned with the possibility that it was the site of Homeric Pedassus.<sup>357</sup> It was a Methymnian foundation according to Myrsilus of Methymna (*FGrHist* 477 F 13 apud Str. 13.1.58) and an independent *polis* paying tribute to the Delian League at least by 454 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 259 col. IV.5 1.9).<sup>358</sup> It is fair to say that in the brief citation of Myrsilus (active around 300 B.C.) there is no allusion to Methymnian control over Assos or Gargara, but only a short reference to a Methymnian foundation of Assos. For Hellenicus the Mytilenian, an attribution of a more general, 'Aeolian'

<sup>353</sup> Hdn. *De prosodia catholica* 3.1.385.21-25; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Γάργαρα*.

<sup>354</sup> Str. 13.1.58; Verg. *G.* 1.100-104; Sen. *Phoen.* 608; Macrob. *Sat.* v.20.15-16. Cf. Clarke (1888) 302; Mitchell (2004) 1007. Contra Cook (1973) 259, for whom a contribution of 3/4 of a talent is enough to classify it as 'entirely insignificant'.

<sup>355</sup> Cook (1973) 240-241, 247; Leaf (1923) 291-294.

<sup>356</sup> Str. 13.1.57: '... ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἰκείως εἰρηῆσθαι δοκεῖ τὸ τοῦ Στρατονίκου τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ Ἄσσον ἴθ', ὃς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἵκηαι'.

<sup>357</sup> Str. 13.1.59 lists other possible identifications. Early 20<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship was not indifferent to the issue; some early views are cited in Leaf (1923) 250-253 and a critical view in Cook (1973) 245-246.

<sup>358</sup> Its contribution of one talent was indicative of the 'modest importance' of a settlement which flourished in Hellenistic and Roman periods, according to Cook (1973) 246.

character to Assos was deemed appropriate, according to another short citation by Strabo immediately after his citation of Myrsilus (Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 160). Assos was deemed Aeolian by Pomponius Mela, who mentions the ‘Aeolian colonies’ of Assos and Gargara on the coast after the plain of Thebe and Adramyttion (Mel. *De situ orbis* 1.93). Yet a passage of Polybius includes a Methymnian territory among the areas raided by Prusias II in his war against Attalus II and bound for compensation by the king in 154, according to the terms of the peace treaty (Pol. 33.13.88). The inclusion of a ‘Methymnian *chora*’ alongside the ‘*chora* of the Aegaeans, the Cymaeans, and the Heracleotae’, all mainland settlements, implies that some territory on the mainland must have been under Methymnian control. In addition, a Methymnian *chora* may be inferred from two passages on the burial place of Palamedes, the skilful mythical figure killed by Achilles and Ajax during the Trojan war. Lycophron placed his resting place in ‘Methymnian territory’ (Lyc. *Al.* 1098), while Philostratus in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD defined the area where the sanctuary of Palamedes was founded as ‘the Aeolian mainland bordering Troy’ (Philostr. *Her.* 716) and mentions a temple, a statue, and a cult of Palamedes organised by the ‘people of the coastal *poleis*’.<sup>359</sup> Stephanus (s.v. *Ἀσσός*) transmits the Aeolian affiliation of the *polis* and cites a work of Alexander Cornelius on Alcman’s local histories, which mentioned that Assos is a ‘Mytilenian colony in Mysia’ (*FGrHist* 273 F 96).

Either at least one of these authors is wrong in his definition of Assos’ origins and location, or they are reporting different stories. The second option implies that Hellanicus was unaware of a ‘Mytilenian’ foundation of Assos, therefore the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. is a *terminus post quem* for a possible Mytilenian claim against Methymna’s allegations. Moreover, a rather unexpected wording preserved by Stephanus, ‘*polis* in Aeolis’ (πόλις Αἰολίδος κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον) is indicative of the confusion of later authors. Curiously, Stephanus did not firmly decide between ‘on the Troad’, ‘on the Hellespont’, ‘in Mysia’, and ‘in Aeolis’. He may have been unsure of Assos’ location and cited two contradictory sources, one placing the *polis* in the Hellespont and another in Mysia, offering the authorities of Alexander and Alcman as supporting evidence. But then one wonders why Stephanus was not convinced by his sources to decide in favour of Assos’ Aeolian whereabouts and accordingly remove his initial entry placing it on the Hellespont. Stephanus’ entry *Ἀσσός* includes two settlements, one in ‘Lydia’ in the proximity of Atarne (on a steep elevation of proverbially painstaking ascent, thereby generating the pun mentioned before), and another in ‘Aeolis towards the Hellespont’. Stephanus mentions Cleanthes as a famous Assian, but refrains from adding Hermeias or

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<sup>359</sup> Discussion in Hornblower (2015) 392 n. 1098.

Aristotle, arguably more famous residents already listed by Strabo (13.1.57), who in other instances Stephanus used extensively as a source. This omission suggests that Stephanus was not entirely certain which Assos was related to Hermeias and Aristotle. To further complicate the task of locating settlements and modes of identification, Pausanias (6.4.9) preserves the name of a victor in the youth Olympic Games stadium race as follows: ‘Sodamas from Assos in the Troad under Ida, first Aeolian to win’. The issue can be swiftly dismissed as a confusion of ancient authors. However, the consideration of geographical trends offers a plausible explanation. At the end of Chapter 3 I will again modify the question from ‘where’ to ‘when’ was Assos.

Another aspect, perhaps from a Persian standpoint, arises from a passage of Strabo where he explains how the Great Kings degenerated from prudence into luxuriousness. An indication of the gravity of their decline is the procurement of exotic products from across their empire. Among them features Assos ‘in Aeolis’, from where the kings import their grain (Str. 15.3.22). The *polis* is portrayed as a marginal community on the outskirts of the empire, an exotic and remote place of luxuries and wealth. Perhaps this is how Assos was seen from a Persian viewpoint, although the reason why Strabo transmits a Persian perspective here is unclear; reliance on his unnamed source may be a plausible explanation.

It is uncertain how far Assos’ territory extended towards both the barren plains and pine forests to the west and the harsh terrains to the east, where rough, steep cliffs and ravines dominate the landscape close to the sea. The mere existence of a coastal road is doubtful, and travellers always found it better to follow alternative routes.<sup>360</sup> The remaining coast to the west up to Cape Lekton and its subsequent northern course towards the Hellespont was again largely known as the ‘Mytilenian *peraia*’. Curiously, none of the area’s settlements, from Polymedeion to Alexandria Troas, was ever considered Aeolian, even though Mytilene’s grip extended as far north as Sigeion at the entrance of the straits. Between Alexandria and Sigeion stretched the Tenedian *peraia*, which later proved a unique case of the mainland actually changing the usual balance of power and exerting domination over an adjacent island (Paus. 10.14.4).<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>360</sup> Chandler (1825/1971) 44; Chandler’s company did not attempt a land journey to the south. Instead, they embarked at Abydos and set sail directly for Smyrna, bypassing the hard terrain and difficult journeys inland. For the difficulties of a coastal route and the tiny likelihood of the existence of a coastal road in antiquity, Cook (1973) 252-253; a late imperial milestone discovered by Cook over the hills offers additional support for a Roman road bypassing the coast and heading north through the mountainous area.

<sup>361</sup> Cf. Constantakopoulou (2007) 115, 253.



## 2.5 Aeolians on the islands (2)

The small island of **Tenedos** (modern Bozcaada, ‘Greyish Island’, with an area of 39km<sup>2</sup>) is strategically located close to the outlet of the Hellespont, approximately 3nm off the west coast of the Troad.<sup>362</sup> Maritime travel through the narrow strait and the subsequent route to the north has suffered through the ages from the annual northern winds which blow more severely in the summer, the season most favourable for trade in the pre-modern world.<sup>363</sup> Conveniently located on the trade route, Tenedos provided safe anchorage for vessels bound north or south, and was a very important communication link throughout history. It is a rocky, mostly flat island with rather limited fertile areas inadequately watered by only a few streams.<sup>364</sup> A divide similar to that of Lesbos can be traced, as the terrain is dominated by low hills to the north (Göz Tepe is the highest, rising to 190m in the north-east part of Tenedos), whereas the southern part of the island is mostly flat. The Aeolian *polis* listed by Herodotus lies underneath the modern settlement of Bozcaada, and grey-ware found in the necropolis to the south of the modern town dates back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Traces of a second settlement have been discovered on the west coast of the island, close to Hagiasma/Sulubahçe.<sup>365</sup>

Tenedos constitutes a telling example of how communities could adapt to their environment and prosper even under unwelcoming circumstances. Very early in historical times, Tenedos turned to the mainland opposite and established a *peraia* alongside the dependencies of the Mytilenians. Its size is debatable and relies upon possible restorations of a corrupted passage of Strabo which may place Larisa and Colonae either within the Tenedian *peraia* (which then extended further to the south) or the Mytilenian (thus restricting the Tenedian *peraia* to a small area between Alexandria Troas and Sigeion).<sup>366</sup> Notwithstanding its small size, the *peraia* contributed much more than the compelling view of the ‘...uneven summits of Mt. Ida covered with trees’ in the background, as described by Chandler when his company reached the Troad from Tenedos.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Although Eust. *ad Il.* 1.54 offers an etymology of the previous name of the island based on the white shores of the island.

<sup>363</sup> Barnes (2006) 170.

<sup>364</sup> Chandler (1825/1971) 21; Naval Intelligence Division (1942) 62; Özkan (2006) 57.

<sup>365</sup> Matsas (2005).

<sup>366</sup> Str. 13.1.47: ‘Ἦν δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συνεχῆς ἢ τε Λάρισα καὶ Κολωναί, τῆς [Τενεδίων περ]αίας οὔσαι πρότερον’ or ‘...τῆς [Λεσβιακῆς περ]αίας...’; by the time of Strabo, the area was controlled by Alexandria Troas. Elsewhere, (13.1.32; 13.1.46) Strabo mentions only Achaeon. Cook (1973) 180-183, 189-298 has revised earlier views and argued convincingly for a smaller Tenedian *peraia*, which has become the scholarly consensus (cf. Mitchell (2004) 1016; Barnes (2006) 173; Ellis-Evans (2013) 151 n.9).

<sup>367</sup> Chandler (1825/1971) 24.

In his discussion of subdivisions of the *demos*, Aristotle (*Pol.* 1291b 25) uses the ferries and ferrymen of Tenedos as an example of a specific kind of *demos*: ‘a ferrying crowd in Tenedos’.<sup>368</sup> These ferries transported commodities and people to and from the mainland. Hence, the island’s subsistence was ensured and its trading capabilities enhanced, but perhaps there was more to it. Tenedos has been hailed as a timeless and priceless safe anchorage for vessels sailing towards the Hellespont. To avoid long delays due to the etesian northern winds, merchant ships unloaded their cargo at the port of Tenedos and then other, probably local and smaller ships, completed the journey northwards when the winds changed.<sup>369</sup> In summer AD 110 the etesian winds first obliged Pliny to continue his journey to Bithynia by land; then, upon his return to the sea, winds took their toll again: the journey from Ephesus to Bithynia onboard ferries lasted longer than the trip from Rome to Ephesus.<sup>370</sup>

A clear reference regarding trade and merchant ships can be found only as late as Procopius in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, who describes the entire process as follows. Merchant ships hauled grain from Alexandria to Tenedos and then returned to Egypt, leaving other, smaller vessels to complete the journey to the capital. To facilitate this complex network of transportation, a large granary was built to store the grain in anticipation of southern winds. If this practice can be extended back to the classical period, then the Tenedians could have benefited from a variety of potential revenues from harbour tax, storage fees, market dues, and import tax (Procop. *Aed.* 5.1.15-16).<sup>371</sup> Intriguing as this may be, caution is advised because the word *πορθμός* is used to denote narrow straits and not routes as long as the journey through the Hellespont and Propontis.<sup>372</sup>

In truth, we cannot be certain of the extent of profit gained by these ferrymen, but we may have a clearer view of the proportion of the population employed in this business. It must have been substantial and renowned enough to allow Aristotle to use Tenedos as an example of a ‘ferrying crowd’ (*πορθμικόν πλῆθος*) and the preceding explanation that ‘in many places

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<sup>368</sup> One large category is ‘τὸ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν’, which is then subdivided into ‘καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν τὸ δὲ χρηματιστικὸν τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικὸν τὸ δ’ ἀλιευτικόν’; examples for each subdivision follow next.

<sup>369</sup> Disruptions to sea voyages due to northern winds were commonplace in later times and had to be anticipated. On occasion, prolonged delays in Tenedos offered European travellers an opportunity to visit the ruins of Troy on the opposite coast (Spencer (1952) 333).

<sup>370</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 10.15-18. The heat and the etesian winds (usually blowing from late July for at least one month), alongside internal evidence in the letter and the declaration of his arrival in Bithynia on September 17<sup>th</sup> (*Ep.* 10.17B), date his arrival at Ephesus in late August (Williams (1990) 87).

<sup>371</sup> Barnes (2006) 170-175.

<sup>372</sup> An incomplete list of ancient references is offered by Barnes (2006) 168 n. 5. The passages refer to Smyrna, Cimmeria, Salamis, Aegina, and Messina, all admittedly entailing short distances. To remedy this, Barnes proposed a short voyage to Abydos, but by this amendment he renders the entire line of reasoning more complex and less sound financially.

each of these [different categories of population groups involved in sea-related employment] are very prolific' points in the same direction (Arist. *Pol.* 1291b 22-23). In any case, Tenedos has been hailed as a convenient anchorage for millennia, even in mythical times, when Nestor's squadron met unfavourable winds and remained on the island, having covered only fifteen miles after a day's sailing (Hom. *Od.* 3.159). Ovid (*Am.* 1.15.9-10) used the island as a fixed landmark to impress stability: Homer's name shall live on 'as long as Tenedos shall stand, and Ida, as long as Simois shall roll his waters rushing to the sea'.

The *polis* of Tenedos is the only settlement on the island attested by Herodotus (1.151), who swiftly labels it Aeolian. Strabo (13.1.46), probably following Herodotus, mentions one Aeolian *polis*, and then adds two harbours and a temple of Apollo Smintheus. In contrast, Pseudo-Scylax (95), despite mentioning Tenedos as lying opposite the Troad, makes no reference to its Aeolian affiliation; neither does Stephanus, who cites a source as old as Hecataeus.<sup>373</sup> Its Aeolian affiliation is reaffirmed by another branch of traditions regarding the Aeolian expedition. Pindar composed a poem in honour of Aristagoras of Tenedos, who claimed descent from Peisander, a Spartan companion of Orestes who followed him to Asia and 'dwelt in' (or 'colonised', depending on the translation of κατόκησε) a *polis* on Tenedos, as we are informed by the scholiast.<sup>374</sup> The poet (*Pin. Nem.* 11.33-37) presents both lineages of Aristagoras from Sparta and Thebes and stresses his house's glorious past down to the Aeolian expedition and the deeds of Melanippus as follows:

συμβαλεῖν μὰν εὐμαρὲς ἦν τό τε Πεισάνδρου πάλαι  
αἶμ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτας, – Ἀμύκ' λαθεν γὰρ ἔβα σὺν Ὀρέστα,  
Αἰολέων στρατιὰν χαλκεντέα δεῦρ' ἀνάγων, –  
καὶ παρ' Ἴσμηνοῦ ῥοᾶν κεκραμένον  
ἐκ Μελανίπποιο μάτρωος.

It was easy to infer the bloodline of ancient Peisander from Sparta – for he departed from Amyclae with Orestes, leading the army of the bronze-clad Aeolians here – and from the stream of the Ismenus [the bloodline] joining to Melanippus through his mother's side.

*Nemean* 11 is a unique poem; it is not a victory ode and modern scholarship regards it an *epinikion* only in a broader sense, after taking into account the flexible criteria of classification applied by Alexandrian compilers aware of the 'artificial compromise' of this genre. *Nemean*

<sup>373</sup> Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 139 apud. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τένεδος*: 'νήσος τῶν Σποράδων, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος, ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ'.

<sup>374</sup> Schol. *Pind. Nem.* 11.43 (p.380.6 Drachmann).

11 does not celebrate a victory, but the election of Aristagoras to public office, most probably as *πρύτανης*. The mythical context provided is very restricted for Pindar's standards and no internal elements even hint at a possible date. The brief reference to the new official's bloodline seems to function as a glorious background to support his position not as a magistrate or athlete, but as an aristocrat, a member of the elite. His aristocratic ties extend from mythical times to the present day and the poem marks Aristagoras' civic identity on many levels. First as an athlete who won many local games and a potential Olympic and Pythian victor, had his family allowed him to compete. Pindar also exploits the conceptual link between fine athletes and worthy magistrates.<sup>375</sup> Finally, the reader may have noticed that local audiences attending the poem's performance did not only hear that they were Aeolians. Additionally, they witnessed the presentation of a state of affairs which distinguishes between leaders, such as the house of Peisander represented now by Aristagoras, and followers, the bronze-armoured Aeolians. The audience heard very little about themselves. In fact, they were reduced to mere followers, as their ancestors were followers of the leaders of the expedition. *Emic* elements of a collective identity may be present. An elite perspective of Aeolian identity emerges and the past is used to portray a natural array of affairs, 'now as then, we lead'.

The most well-known foundation myth of Tenedos does not relate to this alleged Aeolian past. Its foundation by Tennes, son of Cycnus, was largely accepted by ancient scholars and the myth is preserved in many ancient accounts, which may have varied, but all included the basic themes of betrayal, anger, exposure, miraculous salvage, and repentance. King Cycnus of the Troad falsely put faith in his second wife's allegations that his son, Tennes, attempted to rape her. He locked Tennes and his sister, Hemithea, in a chest and threw it in the sea. The chest did not journey far and the two siblings were salvaged in Tenedos, where Tennes became king. His legacy survived not only through the island's new name, but also in various proverbs relating to harsh legislation and punishment in Tenedos. Some form of the myth was known as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century, but we know only the titles of the lost plays *Tennes* by Euripides (or Critias) and Aeschylus.<sup>376</sup> Aristotle narrates the exposure of Tennes alone in the chest after the false testimony of his step-mother and a flute-player, the latter detail being an

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<sup>375</sup> Lefkowitz (1979) 50-54; Fearn (2009) 26, 29-33.

<sup>376</sup> A few papyrological documents may be interpreted as summaries of a tragic play titled *Tennes* (attributed to Euripides by Stob. 3.2.15 and to Critias according to a fragmentary hypothesis of *Tennes* in Critias fr. 20 *TrGF*), but any attribution to Euripides or Critias is rather conjectural (Luppe (1984); Huys (2005) 203-205).

aetiological myth to explain the prohibitions of flute-players from the temple of Tennes or Apollo.<sup>377</sup>

The story is much more than a foundation myth. First, it is a variation on the motif known as the *Potiphar's Wife* tale in the Old Testament, with a lustful wife of the patron or the hero's father or patron avenging her rejection by accusing the protégé or son of rape.<sup>378</sup> The floating chest is a theme already in use in Indian and Egyptian mythology, but in Greek contexts it is usually reserved for females seduced by gods and consequently suffering from their fathers' fury.<sup>379</sup> A male of divine nature (Apollo is usually mentioned as the real father of Tennes) locked up in a chest was perhaps an element of an initiation myth, where a young boy was taken from his mother, isolated from the outside world and through miraculous contact with the gods acquired the necessary qualities to enter a restricted group or take up a new role such as a priesthood.<sup>380</sup> In any case, we are faced with a multi-layered myth, addressing several aspects of the relationship between the perceived world and the divine realm. The foundation of Tenedos by Tennes may have only resided in the background, in the pool of tradition from which *poleis*, individuals, or scholars subsequently felt free to derive and expand.

The straightforward connection of the island with the Troad since mythical times circulated alongside Tenedos' Aeolian affiliation; can we assume that the myth of Tennes had earned more *gravitas* in the Hellenistic period, when Alexandria Troas took control of the island? Most probably, it was put to better use in the Roman period as a solid base for a claim to a *syngeneia* between the Tenedians and the people of Rome through their common mythical origins in the Troad.<sup>381</sup> In later sources we read of a temple of Tennes and a cultic statue of the heroicised founder seized by the notorious Verres, according to Cicero (*Ver.* 2.1.49). Plutarch (*Aet. Rom. & Gr.* 297 D-F) also mentions a temple, when he addresses the question of the prohibition of flute-players and the uttering of the name of Achilles in his sanctuary.

In his *Diegesis* composed in the time of Augustus, Conon advanced the storyline with a narrative of repentance. Cynus attempted to reconcile with his son, but Tennes cut the mooring lines of his father's ship to prevent him disembarking. Hence, for any abrupt action people used to say 'The Axe of Tennes' (Conon *Narr.* 28 apud Photius *Bibl.* 186.135b 19-33).

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<sup>377</sup> Arist. fr. 611.143 Rose; Her. Lemb. *Exc. Pol.* 22. Additional information in [Apoll.] *Ep.* 3.23-25; Plut. *Aet. Rom. & Gr.* 297D 10; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τένεδος*; Tzetz. *Schol. ad Lycophr.* 232-234 Scheer.

<sup>378</sup> Halliday (1927) 41.

<sup>379</sup> Tammuz, Sargon, Osiris, Adonis are locked in chests or coffins, and the myth of Moses in a cradle does not lie too far from this motif, yet they lack the stereotypically furious father figure. Analysis in Holley (1949) 40-43, who also lists all occurrences in Greek myth.

<sup>380</sup> Holley (1949) 45-46.

<sup>381</sup> Str. 8.6.22.40-44 speaks of a *syngeneia* judging from the myth narrated by Aristotle and the special honours both people make to Apollo.

In fragments of the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Tenedians* (Arist. fr. 611.144-151 Rose) a similar proverb, ‘Tenedian Axe’, is invested with a legislative feature and a literary *topos* of the lawgiver who values his laws more than his family. When his son commits the very crime he made a law against, the lawgiver insists that the law should be upheld (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τένεδος*).<sup>382</sup> Tennes not only decided on full punishment, but executed the penalty himself and took his son’s life with an axe. Other proverbs associating Tenedos to harsh punishment are preserved in later authors, all alluding to the mythical founder Tennes (Zenobius *Epit.* Centuria 6.9; Eustath. *Comm. In Dion. Per. Orbis Descriptionem* 536.34-37; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τένεδος*; Suda s.v. *Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος*).

A proverbial place of harshness – but what was Tenedos before Tennes? According to the scholarly version of the myth, apparently nothing at all. Certain colonial discourses are preserved by Diodorus (5.83.1-3). Tennes, son of Cycnus, king of Coloniae, led colonists from the Troad to a desolate island (ἔρημον). The founder ‘gathered dwellers’ and the island once known as Leucophrys, a generic name, was settled and its land was allotted to the newcomers. What was once named after its shores is now named after an invader; what was once empty and meaningless became inhabited and settled. Immediately, Diodorus presents the Tenedians’ version of the myth (5.83.4): Tennes is saved by providence, not by human agency, and somehow becomes king of the island. Again, no indigenous population is mentioned. Both narratives reflect colonial reasoning and offer insight into the wording of colonial discourse: ‘ἔρημον’, ‘ἐγχωρίους’, and ‘κατακληρουχίσας’ (= divided the land into lots, a word always used for an initial allotment).

In the section before his discussion of Tenedos, Diodorus (5.81.1-3) describes the population of Lesbos. The island is presented as devoid of people (ἔρημον) on two separate occasions: first before the arrival of Pelasgians from Lycia, then once more before Macar came from Olenus, bringing in Ionians and others to repopulate the ‘deserted’ island. The previous inhabitants are literally swept away. A similar fate awaited those who did (not) dwell in the nearby islands, after the benevolent king Macar extended his grip to other vacant islands. The wording is the same: ‘deserted’ (ἔρημον), with the putative time conveniently placed right after the Great Flood. A similar chain of events is reported for Chios (Paus. 7.4.8-10) which was also ‘deserted’, devoid of people until Poseidon undertook the task of repopulating the island with the assistance of an unnamed nymph. In this case, Carians and Abantes were said to have

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<sup>382</sup> Cf. Zaleucus punishing his son in Val. Max. 6.5. ext 3. This story earned him posthumous fame for being harsh and the ‘Law of Zaleucus’ had the same proverbial meaning as the ‘Tenedian Axe’ for swift, ruthless justice, according to Apostolius 8.27.2.

reached the island only after divine intervention; perhaps the previous population was reduced to *outsiders* doomed to either die or evacuate after the coming of the Greeks. The attempt to eradicate the previous populations of Tenedos from scholarly works was so effective that Hesychius in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD resorted to a generic name for the previous inhabitants: Asterioi.<sup>383</sup> Homer (*Od.* 4.484-487) places an island named Asteria between Ithaca and Cephalonia. Its description (small, two harbours, Achaeans anchoring in anticipation) closely resembled Tenedos, and this resemblance indicates that the name is a literary *topos*, a means of filling gaps in antiquity.<sup>384</sup>

Tenedos and Lesbos, the two Aeolian islands opposite the west coast of Asia Minor, share a marginal location on the brink of the *Other*, whether seen from the west or the east. An early non-Greek character of Lesbos in the Bronze Age until the dawn of the historical period has been argued extensively by Spencer. According to his view, the island was closely connected to Anatolia and beyond, but only loosely to mainland Greece. A ‘coming of the Greeks’, if it ever took place to the extent and number suggested by this wording, cannot be dated before the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C. At the same time, the Phrygian kingdom may have opened a Great Anatolian Pass (Spencer labelled it ‘a permanent corridor’) for people, goods, and perceptions from the river Halys to the Middle East. For Spencer, Anatolian elements preserved in the Geometric period (such as pottery and cultic architecture) indicate a persistent, conservative group in Lesbos, whereas other practices closer to early Greek culture (such as burial customs and cultic elements) hint at the impact of newcomers.<sup>385</sup> Still, Spencer’s view has strong primordialist foundations. He considers different deities as indications of different population groups; changes in pottery and architectural style suggest newcomers; the foundation myths of Macar and the Aeolian expedition are seen as evidence of two competing ethnic groups (non-Greek locals and Greek new-comers) going back to early times. Although he correctly underlines the Anatolian connection regarding paths of communication, impact, influence, trade, and mobility, it should be stressed (more firmly than Spencer’s brief note of ‘a network’) that this phenomenon was a two-way process. Besides being on the receiving side of Anatolian exports, products, and ideas, Lesbos sent settlers, founded settlements, and claimed territories beyond the narrow strait. A Hellenisation of the island, if it ever took place,

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<sup>383</sup> Hsch. A 7838: ‘Ἀστέριοι· οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν Τένεδον κατοικήσαντες’. Huys (2005) 206 considers Asteria a non-Greek element and an alternative, ancient name of Tennes according to what he admits to be an unlikely conjecture.

<sup>384</sup> For other occurrences of the name, Fowler (2000) 579.

<sup>385</sup> Spencer (1995) 273-277, 288-303. Efe (2007) argues for a ‘Cilician Caravan Pass’ as early as the EB age. Greaves (2007) applies a more cautious approach.

did not necessarily break connections to Anatolia or reverse the direction of items, people, and ideas on the move.

The appearance of Lesbos in Hittite documents as *Lazpa* is the earliest textual indication of a strong connection between Lesbos and Anatolia, a connection abruptly severed in 1922.<sup>386</sup> Lesbos and Tenedos had been used as places of exile throughout the ages up to modern times, when Tenedos' annexation to the new Turkish Republic and the large population of locals and refugees in the prosperous island of Lesbos led to the creation of a new place of exile, the notorious Ae Strates, the small island between Lemnos and Lesbos which 'hosted' and 'reformed' thousands of political exiles between 1947 and 1962.<sup>387</sup> In more recent and troubled times, Syrian refugees crossed daily from the coast of Aeolis to Lesbos on their way to Europe and salvation. The invisible Great Anatolian Pass was again operational, until the recent agreement between the EU and the Turkish Republic to 'host' the refugees of war on Turkish soil. This unfortunate occurrence makes clear one of the basic tenets of my approach: politics, not geography, places restrictions on human mobility.

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<sup>386</sup> Spencer (1995) 275; Hawkins (1998) 23 and Lambrianides and Spencer (2007) 83 for further bibliography. Mason (2008) speculates on close relations between Lesbos and the Hittite empire, with the island fully incorporated into the cultural sphere of Hattousa despite its distant and marginal location. For a more cautious approach, Dimopoulou-Piliouni (2015) 31-33. While modern scholarship has presented some evidence to identify Lesbos with Lazpa, I note the retort of Faraone (1988) 34 n.77: '[the identification of Lazpa and Lesbos] ...rests solely on the very close linguistic similarity'.

<sup>387</sup> In the same period that Greek governments dispatched political opponents, dissidents, members of the communist party, followers, and sympathisers to remote islands of the Aegean, the Turkish Republic also kept its political adversaries in marginal locations. With the exception of Erzerum to the east, all other places are coastal (Halicarnassus / Bodrum, Princess Islands, Antalya). This may be a hint of a blunt geographical segregation, with political authorities breaking up connections and imposing new perceptions of marginality where connectivity once thrived.



## 2.6 Discussion

*'This new pride in a past more ancient than the Trojan War'*<sup>388</sup>

In this chapter I have examined the Aeolian coast, islands, and southern shore of the Troad as a unified geographical space within which communities identified as Aeolian lived and interacted with one another and their environment. The inclusion of Lesbos and Tenedos in the discussion of Aeolis offers a comprehensive insight into the relations between the *poleis* of the region and their perception by scholarly tradition in antiquity. My basic hypothesis entails a dynamic interaction between human activity and natural environment; the latter is examined as a factor affecting collective decisions and group actions, by no means dictating a uniform, inevitable, unique course of action in a deterministic world. In the on-going debate between a strict *determinism* and a pluralistic *possibilism* offering various opportunities for different strategies, this thesis takes a firm stance and applies the latter as a flexible instrument which advances our knowledge of and insight into human activities. My simple definition of Aeolis as the territory occupied by *poleis* self-identified or identified by others as Aeolian, inevitably renders my study of the natural environment incomplete, in that it does not include obscure smaller settlements, such as Tisna on the valley of the Titnaeus, the mountainous community of the Olympenes on Mt. Aspordenus, Cisthene and Attaea opposite Lesbos, and others. A thorough account of the countryside has also not been attempted, as my aim is to trace the formation of different collective identities in the *poleis* for which evidence is available; a full account of the lands of Aeolis is a task well outside the scope of this thesis.

The working hypothesis tested in this chapter is that foundation myths do not echo old traditions lost in the mist of time, but are rather contemporary constructs serving specific purposes at a given time. Their purposes were mainly related to land disputes and the need to support rights to territorial control by exhibiting earlier presence in the area. My initial proposal was to understand the different foundation myths, not as indications of different population groups in a vague time in the past, but as reflections of strategic choices by Aeolian communities in a specific period addressing specific targets. In turn, their target was not to formulate a basis for solidarity and a sense of co-belonging; if that was indeed the purpose, the lack of supporting evidence is overwhelming. Instead, I have tried to discuss the foundation

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<sup>388</sup> Malkin (1998) 218.

myths in the context of land disputes between the region's *poleis*. In this context, *poleis* disputing over contested territories could claim territorial rights based on their presence in the area before their adversaries. In this pursuit, a common Aeolian identity, homogenous and equal for all communities, offered no advantage whatsoever. Instead, in the struggle towards the past, other myths projected the existence of settlements long before the Aeolian expedition. I suggest that the purpose of Amazon foundation myths was not to form stronger ties to local elements and population groups in an attempt to assimilate different population groups into a community embracing all members and non-members, Greeks and non-Greeks. On the contrary, their target was at a supra-*polis* level, where each community projected a notion of itself as an Aeolian polis earlier than the Aeolian migration itself, thereby acquiring a moral advantage over other contestants for disputed lands. The quantitative fact that most of our relevant evidence comes from *poleis* with known land disputes may be more than mere coincidence. *Poleis* entangled in land disputes, located on the coastal region I define as Small Aeolis, tended to resort to Amazon foundation myths, their Aeolian affiliation notwithstanding.

At this point I should emphasise that I do not dismiss other functions of the Amazon myths in different contexts, such as the allusion to defeated barbarians in 5<sup>th</sup>-century Athens or elements denoting strong links to local rituals in a religious context in Ephesus. I argue that in the particular case of Amazon foundation myths in the Aeolian *poleis*, relevant myths served other purposes. Despite their apparent primordial elements alluding to matriarchal communities of remote times, evidence of Amazon foundation myths emerges late in our sources. In any case, the use of the Amazon myths as foundation myths does not seem to predate the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It effectively coincides with significant political changes in the region and the occurrence of the first land disputes, in the aftermath of the Athenian retreat in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the King's Peace which returned the control of Asia Minor back to the Great King after 387, the subsequent collapse of the Persian empire in the 330s, and the emergence of the Hellenistic kingdoms in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In light of these changes, territorial rights became negotiable again. A Persian allotment of Atarneus and its area to the Chians or a bestowal of the plain of Thebe to Adramyttians by the Lydian king Croesus may have lost some of their validity in the new political environment after the Macedonian conquest. In particular, in the case of the Attalids, who claimed indigenous descent and early presence in the area before the Aeolians via Telephus, the mythical king of Mysia, a possible reaction of the nearby Aeolian *poleis* would have been to project their presence before the Aeolians and Telephus entered the area, at a time long before the Aeolian migration and the Homeric world.

However, there is no need to perceive this reaction exclusively in terms of competitive strategies. The arbitration of Pergamon in the dispute between Mytilene and Pitane reveals another possibility (*IG XII Suppl.* 142; see p. 82). The Pergamenes were invited as impartial arbitrators on the basis of their *syngeneia* to both parties. In this instance, the two Aeolian *poleis* opted for their Amazon foundation myths in order to establish links and common ground to Pergamon. Common ground and impartiality were introduced at the very beginning of the inscription through a *syngeneia*. Although the basis of the *syngeneia* remains unspecified, I must agree with Curty's view that the link must have been the Amazons.<sup>389</sup> As I have suggested, the Amazon foundation myths were the only available common link effectively bypassing their respective Aeolian and Mysian pasts, focusing on their common origins as Amazonian foundations.<sup>390</sup> In addition, after the treaty of Apamea the Attalids were not aggressive expansionists, but rather co-operated with *poleis* and local populations to consolidate their control over the large territory bestowed on them by Rome.<sup>391</sup> This allows us to envisage the full picture as a dynamic process. I suggest that the focus of the Amazon foundation myths shifted from a) being supporting evidence to claims of superiority and legitimacy of territorial disputes between Aeolian *poleis* in the 4<sup>th</sup> century to b) evidence for the earlier presence of Aeolian *poleis* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and finally to c) a means to establish common ground between the Aeolian *poleis* and Pergamon after the treaty of Apamea.

The development of the Amazon motif does not allow a date before the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. A geographical element, the overlap between the area of the alleged Amazon foundations and the coastal strip I define as Small Aeolis, may provide a definite *terminus post quem*: the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when Aeolis seems to coincide with this coastal land-strip and extend no further to the north. Land disputes beginning in the 4<sup>th</sup> century fix a firmer date for the wider circulation of Amazon foundation myths. Internal, literary indications also suggest a later date for the Amazon foundation myths and the notion of warlike females giving names to ancient *poleis* fits better within a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century context.

To the north, the relationship of the settlements previously known as *Coastal Poleis* with Mytilene, the political authority controlling the shores of the Troad until the 5<sup>th</sup> century, affected foundation myths and scholarly interpretations in antiquity. Only marginal ties to the

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<sup>389</sup> Curty (1995) 84-85.

<sup>390</sup> An opportunity passed over by the Pergamenes and the Temnians at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century during their negotiations for *isopoliteia*: on stone they are linked as favourably disposed, but not as *syngeneis* (*OGIS* 265). *Poleis* could resort to *syngeneia*, but they could also opt out. The fact that a connection via a *syngeneia* network was not universal makes the decision to do so even more interesting.

<sup>391</sup> Thonemann (2013a); Dmitriev (1999) 405-411 for a discussion of Attalid policy regarding the foundation of settlements after Apamea.

Aeolian migration are attested for the *poleis* of the southern coast of the Troad. The connection between Antandros and the Aeolian general of the same name is a rare direct link between an Aeolian *polis* on the mainland and a specific mythical figure involved in the Aeolian expedition. Before this unique and late connection (Eustathius in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD), other elements appeared, whose purpose was to tie the *polis* to local traditions, such as the myth of Aeneas and his son Ascanius in the case of Antandros and Gargara.

More direct links to individuals associated with the Aeolian migration come from the *poleis* on the two islands opposite Asia Minor, Lesbos and Tenedos. The control of the most powerful Lesbian *polis*, Mytilene, over a large territory on the mainland perhaps paved the way for action and interaction in the field of mythical traditions. Two foundation myths appear to predominate on Lesbos: the Aeolian migration under Orestes and his descendants, and the Homeric king Macar. Instead of interpreting these conflicting myths as evidence for two distinct groups on the island, Greeks and pre-Greeks, I suggest a more inclusive approach which views them as conscious choices of the leaders of Lesbian communities to promote ties either to an Aeolian past (when a stronger link to other Aeolian communities needed to be shown) or to a pre-Aeolian past (in case of a contest with Aeolian *poleis*). The two different branches were not mutually exclusive, as any community could claim links to different origins and affiliation at the same time, without risking undermining any of those claims.

In this chapter I have divided the lands occupied by Aeolian settlements into three groups: the coastal strip around the rivers Hermus and Caicus, the southern shore of the Troad to the north, and the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos opposite the mainland (keeping close to the initial arrangement of Herodotus). The aim was to build a framework within which communities acted and interacted with others and their environment. This categorisation is based on a human-focused approach, already attested in Herodotus' discussion of the Aeolian *poleis* in terms of human habitation (where the unit of reference is the Aeolians, not Aeolis). Ancient authors with different perceptions of Aeolis, different understandings of geography and ethnology, and different aims, experiences, and biases, presented a variety of accounts and references to Aeolis within different contexts. In the next chapter I will examine the variety of ancient perceptions and understandings of Aeolis as a geographical space, a field that in modern terms is defined as *the conceptual, perceived space*. At the same time, the examination of the blurred boundaries between the regions of Asia Minor (mainly Aeolis, Mysia, and the Troad) through time may shed light on political strategies implicating powerful newcomers in the area, the 'Mysian' Attalids and the 'Trojan' Romans.

# CHAPTER 3

## HISTORY OF A NAME:

### AEOLIS IN THE ACCOUNTS OF ANCIENT AUTHORS

*Introduction: Omissions of Aeoli(an)s and outline of the chapter*

In this chapter I will discuss the perception of Aeolis as a geographical entity in ancient textual sources. My aim is to discern patterns and offer explanations for the use of the term ‘Aeolis’ to signify an area of different sizes and foci in Asia Minor.

Ancient references to Aeolis are scarce, often vaguely subsumed into ‘Ionia’ or ‘Asia’. The term is extremely rare in archaic sources and I discuss the very few occurrences in section 3.1. In the works of Herodotus and Thucydides we can observe the emergence of a phenomenon which thereafter became commonplace in ancient texts: the term Ionia is usually applied in a broader sense to include other areas in Asia Minor. Other general descriptive formulas, such as Asia or ‘Greeks of Asia’, are abundant and used in parallel with Ionia, either in order to avoid dull repetition of the same wording or as a quick catch-all to refer to a much more complex region and its population groups. The predominance of the term Ionia perhaps reflects the political and cultural realities in Asia Minor as seen both from the outside and from the elites and population groups in question. The fact that a powerful political authority was never formed in Aeolis is in sharp contrast with the developments in neighbouring Ionia and explains well the preference for the term ‘Ionia’ among ancient authors.

In Herodotus, the predominance of Ionia is apparent from the very early stages of his narrative. In 1.141 Cyrus receives ‘Ionian and Aeolian’ delegates but addresses only the ‘Ionians’. Herodotus mentions only the actions of ‘Ionians’ to strengthen their walls and arrange a council at the Panionion (Hdt. 1.141). After a long digression discussing the Ionians (1.142-143, 145-148), he turned only briefly to the Aeolian *poleis* (1.149), with a special focus on Smyrna (1.150), a *polis* once Aeolian, but in his time (and long before; see section 3.1) firmly Ionian. In sharp contrast to his discussion of the Ionians, Herodotus offers no information whatsoever on the pre-history of the Aeolian *apoikia*, the origins of the migrants or the differences observed within a phyletic group. Returning to the narrative of the Persian conquest, Aeolians are dispensed with in a quick retort: ‘The other *poleis* jointly decided to follow the Ionians wherever they would lead them’ (1.151). Hence, a regional issue became

strictly Ionian. Every other group was reduced to a vague collective entity behind the term ‘the rest’ (λοιποί). This tendency to omit Aeolis persists throughout Herodotus’ work. The use of the term ‘Ionians’ alone as active agents conceals more complex conditions (e.g. 1.152; 1.162; 3.39; 5.37-38; an Ionian *koinon* and Ionian revolt in 5-98-117) and only at 5.123 does Cyme in ‘nearby Aeolis’ appear, the only Aeolian *polis* mentioned by Herodotus in his account of a strictly ‘Ionian’ revolt. In Herodotus’ defence, judging from the formation before the battle of Lade in 6.8 and 6.13, Aeolian participation was restricted to Lesbos, before Artaphernes brought the gifts of ‘the King’s peace’ (land measurement and the consequent imposition of taxation) only to ‘Ionia’; it is only in ‘Ionia’ that Mardonius abolished tyrannies and introduced democratic governments (6.31; 6.42-43). The Aeolians are occasionally retrieved from oblivion (2.1, 3.1, 4.89, 5.94, 6.28-29; 6.98; 7.9-10; 7.95 Aeolians in Xerxes’ army, but only Ionians at 7.97 and 8.19; 8.109; at 8.130-8.132 the royal navy guarded ‘Ionia’ alone). A probable reason behind these omissions and selective references is that while Herodotus could discern a beneficial role of the Ionians for the Greek cause, he could not do so for the Aeolians. They were absent from Lade (6.8; 6.13, with the exception of Lesbian *poleis*), they defended Sestos against the besieging Greeks (9.115). This observation comes as an addition to other possible reasons explaining the predominance of ‘Ionia’ in his account, such as the close relation between Athens and Ionia, or the organisation of the tribute paid into the treasury of the Delian League according to geographical regions, as we shall see below.

In a similar way, Aeolis and Aeolians are mostly absent from the account of Thucydides, who uses ‘Ionia’ and ‘the Hellespont’ instead (e.g. 1.89; 1.95). Aeolis and Aeolian *poleis* are absent from the catalogue of the allies of the two adversaries in the Peloponnesian war. The Athenian allies in Asia Minor were the *poleis* of coastal Caria, the Dorian *poleis* close to Caria, and *poleis* in Ionia and the Hellespont (2.9).<sup>392</sup> With the exception of 7.57 (discussed further below), Aeolis remains in oblivion throughout the last stage of the Peloponnesian war, commonly referred to as ‘the Ionian War’ (e.g. 8.6, 8.96, among many other omissions).

Xenophon often applied a short-hand term to refer to Aeolis, Ionia, and the Hellespont: *Asia* (e.g. *Hell.* 2.1.18; 3.1.5; 3.2.6; 3.2.21; 4.3.15). The full formula is expanded occasionally: ‘Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines’ (*Hell.* 3.4.11; 4.3.17; *Ages.* 1.14; also *Cyrop.* 6.2.10), but often nearby areas are reduced to ‘Ionia’ (e.g. *Anab.* 1.1.6-9 and 1.4.13; 2.1.3 denoting the entire region up to the Hellespont; *Hell.* 3.2.11 for Atarneus).

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<sup>392</sup> Gomme (1956) 11.

Alongside the geographical accounts I discuss in detail in section 3.2, the tendency to omit Aeolis and Aeolians transcends time-periods in antiquity. Aeolis appears very rarely in the *Histories* of Polybius (e.g. 21.13-14; 5.77.1-7, a rare occasion where the Ionians are omitted). By Diodorus' time in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. the term 'Greeks of Asia' had been generally accepted as a way to define Greeks of that area as an entity (e.g. 16.44.4).<sup>393</sup> Aeolians appear only in relation to events before the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (11.3.8; at 11.37.1-2 and 13.100.7 Aeolians and Ionians meet; 11.36.5) and are omitted thenceforth (e.g. not mentioned in the satraps' revolt at 15.90.3). At 20.107.2 Lysimachus dispatched a force under Prepelaus against the *poleis* of 'Aeolis and Ionia' in 302; the general sacked Adramyttion on its way to the south, and then fell upon 'Ionia'. Writing in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., Dionysius of Halicarnassus described the formation of common institutions among Dorians and Ionians of Asia Minor, centred around the Triopion and the temple of Artemis in Ephesus respectively; not a word on Aeolians or Aeolis (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25.4).

After the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Plutarch seems to have adhered to contemporary terminology, although occasionally he followed the terminology of sources he consulted. Hence, a range of variations appear in his *Lives*. A Greek standpoint ('the Greeks of Asia' in *Artax.* 20.2-3; 21.5) is replaced with a Persian view of the western extremities of the vast empire, focused on the concept of *the sea*, in the same *Life* (*Artax.* 2.2; 8.4, in 2.5 perhaps the official title of Cyrus, 'satrap of Lydia and commander of the coastal regions'). All these may have been based on Persian official terminology as transmitted by Plutarch's Greek sources, in this case probably Ctesias and Xenophon (e.g. *Hell.* 1.4.3), though his trust in the physician's report was not unequivocal.<sup>394</sup> Elsewhere Plutarch follows the Roman administration patterns when he simply writes 'Asia' as a region in question most probably having the Roman province of Asia in mind (*Luc.* 33.5; *Them.* 8.5, *Sul.* 11.2; 22.5; *Ages.* 6.1-2; 7.2; 14.2; 15.1). Aeolis is absent from his surviving works and Aeolians appear exclusively within a mythical (*Mor.* 296D-E, 984E) or linguistic context (*Caes.* 31.1; *Mor.* 22C, 292B, 412A, 694A), except one occurrence where Aegae is a 'minor Aeolian settlement' (*Them.* 26.1).

Modern scholarship often reduces the importance of Aeolis. Even Cyme was reduced by Gomme to 'a city of some fame, but with little history. It plays some part in the Ionian war';

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<sup>393</sup> For the long history of that term in ancient sources, Seager and Tuplin (1980).

<sup>394</sup> Plut. *Artax.* 1.2-4 shows some trust in Ctesias regarding the names of the sons of Darius II; in 6.9 Plutarch is sceptical of the fabulous stories of Ctesias and his selective use of this source on affairs that Ctesias could not have understood wrongly; Plutarch's scepticism frequently developed to outright dismissal (e.g. *Artax.* 9.6; 13.3-7; 18.3-5).

but he then observes its high tribute to the Delian League.<sup>395</sup> Erkem Akurgal's notion of a 'Golden Age of Ionia' left very little room for other areas.<sup>396</sup> In an often-quoted retort, Bean labelled Myrina as 'a city without a history' and I will use precisely this case as an opportunity to expose a problematic viewpoint.<sup>397</sup>

Indeed, denying Aeolian *poleis* their history or any significance whatsoever may lead to an approach that sets the *region* as the basic unit of any analysis, effectively downgrading all settlements and populations to vague, insignificant entities located in an equally insignificant region. Aeolis and Aeolians are usually afforded only a marginal position on the periphery of the Dorian-Ionian division, evident already in Meyer's discussion in 1893,<sup>398</sup> and followed more recently by Parker: according to this logic, ancient authors often bestowed anything not Ionian or Dorian with a vague Aeolian phyletic identity and descent. Aeolus, son of Hellen, supposedly functioned as 'a forefather of convenience' to many who were neither Dorians nor Ionians. Thus, the Aeolians represent a kind of dustbin which contained the remains of those who fell outside Dorian or Ionian affiliation.<sup>399</sup> Despite its deniers, much more remains to be said, not only for Myrina, but for Aeolis and Aeolians.

One might expect a strong impact of contemporary administration patterns on the application of geographical terms by ancient authors. However, a thorough scrutiny of ancient geographical accounts, presented in section 3.2, reveals other aspects that influenced the way each author chose to term the regions of Asia Minor. Evidently, the area termed 'Aeolis' varies significantly among ancient scholarly works, from a small coastal strip between the Hermus and Pitane to wider perceptions that stretch Aeolis all the way to Cape Lekton, including the southern coast of the Troad. Contradictory ancient accounts brought Strabo to the brink of despair (13.1.4):<sup>400</sup>

τῶν Αἰολέων τοίνυν καθ' ὅλην σκεδασθέντων τὴν χώραν, ἦν ἔφαμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λέγεσθαι **Τρωικήν**, οἱ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν πᾶσαν **Αἰολίδα** προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ δὲ μέρος, καὶ Τροίαν οἱ μὲν ὅλην οἱ δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς, οὐδὲν ὅλως ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογοῦντες.

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<sup>395</sup> Gomme (1956) 293.

<sup>396</sup> Akurgal (1962).

<sup>397</sup> Bean (1966) 106.

<sup>398</sup> *RE* I, 1893, col. 1031, s.v. *Aioles*.

<sup>399</sup> Asheri et al. (2007) 179; Parker (2008) 433.

<sup>400</sup> Note that Strabo was not alone in his despair. Cicero considered composing a geographical treatise, but his will waned in anticipation of severe criticism, as geographers and geographical sources could not agree with one another. Cic. *Ad. Att.* 2.6.1.



As the Aeolians had scattered within the area, for which we said that it is named ‘**the Troad**’ by the poet [Homer], but some later authors name *the entire land* ‘**Aeolis**’ and others *only a part of it*, while others name *the entire area* ‘the Troad’ and others *only a part of it*, by no means agreeing with one another in the very least.

The passage exhibits the problem but also sets the context for a plausible explanation based on a chronological arrangement of available sources. Accordingly, the geographical entity of ‘Aeolis’ will be examined alongside its neighbouring areas, Ionia, Mysia, and the Troad. The combined examination of the geographical entities around Aeolis shows that factors other than administration patterns were at play during different periods. Wider perceptions of ‘Aeolis’ appear in the last years of the Republic and the early imperial period. I shall argue that the variation in the size of ‘Aeolis’ is an effect of the consolidation of Ilion in the north-west corner of Asia Minor after the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and of early imperial propaganda which endorsed the Trojan foundation of Rome by Aeneas, fore-father of the Iulii. When the propaganda of the family of the Iulii subsided, geographical archaism returned the relative sizes and boundaries of the regions back to ‘normal’, i.e. their size and location before the Roman period.

### **3.1 The beginnings: all things Aeolian**

Our knowledge of historical events in the area during the archaic period, however limited, seems overwhelming when compared to the scant evidence provided by textual sources of the same period regarding Aeolis as a geographical entity. The bulk of our evidence for the history and geography of the region comes from later sources extending from the classical period to late antiquity. While references to Aeolians and ‘things Aeolian’ emerge in early textual sources, references to Aeolis as a geographical space are extremely rare.

In Hittite documents, western Asia Minor was named Arzawa, divided into four regions. One of them, the Seha River Land, from Adramyttion to Smyrna, alongside Lazpa (possibly Lesbos), coincided with Aeolis (the use of the rivers as the defining landmarks of the region should not go unnoticed).<sup>401</sup> In the Homeric epics, before the putative date of the Aeolian

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<sup>401</sup> Hawkins (1998); Rose (2008) 407; Hawkins (2015). A more sceptical view of modern scholarship eager to identify Luwian and Hittite toponyms with locations known from Greek sources in Gander (2010). The entire topography of Western Anatolia seems to rely on a series of plausible conjectures evolving around Millawanda (Miletus), Wilusa (Ilion), and Lazpa (Lesbos). A recent clay analysis of the *Tawagalawa Letter*, which lies at the basis of all identification of regions, showed that the tablet was made in Asia Minor (Goren, Momsen, and Klinger (2011)).

colonisation, a member of the house of Aeolus appears in both epics: Sisyphus ‘the Aeolid’ (*Il.* 6.153-4; *Od.* 11.593-600). The appellation was acquired through his mythical father, Aeolus, and signified his descent ‘from the house of Aeolus’, without any associations with an Aeolian identity. In the *Catalogue of Women* he is ‘Σίσυφος αιολομήτης’ ([Hes.] 10a 26 M-W), an adjective also alluding to his father but mainly hinting at Sisyphus’ most famous trait, cunning intelligence. An ‘Aeolian Goddess’ appears in a fragment of Alcaeus and has been identified as Hera by scholars on the basis of two other fragments of Lesbian poetry alluding to cults on the island and a 4<sup>th</sup>-century inscription linking Hera to Zeus in Mytilene.<sup>402</sup> In this section the discussion will focus on geographical entities that were Aeolian in the archaic period: two *poleis* close to the river Hermus.

### *Poleis that were Aeolian: Cyme and Ionian Smyrna*

In this section I will examine the attestations of two *poleis* that were labelled as Aeolian in archaic and later sources. I will focus on indications of colonial discourse masked behind the wording of those attestations and I will examine how an early presence of Aeolians in Asia Minor, who were subsequently brushed aside, was a literary *topos*.

In general, Aeolis and Aeolians are elusive in archaic textual sources, but on two occasions a reference is made to an ‘Aeolian polis’. The two passing references, each one confined to a single verse, to an Aeolian Cyme and an Aeolian Smyrna have attracted scholarly attention and instigated discussion over several themes. Regarding the first, it is interesting to observe that Hesiod’s father relocated to an area of the same phyletic affiliation, in Boeotian Ascra, after he had left behind ‘Aeolian Cyme’ (*Op.* 636: ‘Κύμην Αιολίδα προλιπὼν’). Despite this clear definition of Cyme as Aeolian, nowhere in the surviving works attributed to Hesiod is there a reference to the *region* of Aeolis.

The reference to the conquest of ‘Aeolian Smyrna’ by the Colophonians in a 7<sup>th</sup>-century poem by Mimnermus the Colophonian (apud Strabo 14.1.4) is a similar case. Scholars have

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<sup>402</sup> Alc. fr 129 L-P (text and translation as in Boedeker (2016) 196-197). Combined with Sappho’s recently discovered *The Brothers Poem* (published in Obbink (2014)) and Sappho fr. 17 L-P, all three fragments present a *Lesbian Triad* comprised of Zeus, Dionysus, and Hera (full argumentation presented in Nagy (2016) 458-460, 476-478 and Kurke (2016) 239-245), worshipped at the common Lesbian sanctuary at Messon (Gallavoti (1956)). A strong connection between Zeus and Hera, attested in an inscription from Mytilene (*SEG* 36.750, dated in 332 B.C.) where a ‘Zeus Heraios’ follows the ‘Twelve Gods’, has been used to show the close link between the divine couple, and that the Aeolian goddess of Alc. fr. 129 L-P can only be Hera. Discussion in Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2014).

examined the fragment from different standpoints,<sup>403</sup> yet I will focus on aspects of colonial discourse. A suggested translation of Mimnermus fr. 9 Allen (with amendments) is as follows:<sup>404</sup>

Αἶψα < > τε Πύλον Νηλήϊον ἄστῳ λιπόντες / **ἰμερτήν** Ἀσίην νηυσὶν  
ἀφικόμεθα, / ἐς δ' **ἐρατὴν** Κολοφῶνα **βίην ὑπέροπλον** ἔχοντες / **ἐζόμεθ'**,  
**ἀργαλέης ὕβριος** ἡγεμόνες; / κεῖθεν ἴδιασθέντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο  
/ θ<εῶ>ν βουλῆι Σμύρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα

After we left Pylos, the *polis* of Neleus, / we came by ship to **longed-for**  
Asia. / We imposed ourselves upon desirable Colophon by **insolent**  
**violence**, / instigators of **harsh hubris**; / From there after we advanced  
over the river..., / we conquered Aeolian Smyrna by the will of the gods.

The passage does not mention Aeolis directly, but only a *polis* that was Aeolian in the past, whose subsequent Ionian affiliation was universally accepted by later authors. Mimnermus' fragment narrates the events that led to a change of phyletic affiliation in Smyrna due to a population change after the Colophonian conquest. The conflict dates back to a vague past, when Ionians from Colophon supposedly razed 'Aeolian Smyrna'. Herodotus (1.150) presented its long-term effects: the Colophonians expelled its population and changed its phyletic character from Aeolian to Ionian. His account presents a different chain of events from those in Mimnermus. The newcomers did not sail from Pylos driven by desire, but were refugees defeated in a civil war. Furthermore, the unspecified Aeolian aggression is omitted. His narrative masks the colonists as refugees from a civil war in Colophon.

This act of aggression may have been masked behind a narrative of *Reconquista*, as presented by Strabo's contextualisation of the fragment many centuries after the fact. Smyrna, initially a settlement of Leleges, was conquered by Smyrnians from Ephesus, who subsequently built Old Smyrna; the conquerors in turn became victims of an unspecified Aeolian assault and retreated to Colophon, from where they campaigned and re-conquered Smyrna (Str. 14.1.4). In Mimnermus' fragment preserved by Strabo the conquest was deemed an act of justice under the auspices of divine will, even though a sense of arrogance and restlessness is traced in the wording of the brief stanza describing the long course of the Colophonians from mainland to

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<sup>403</sup> E.g. Ulf (1996) 251; Hall (2002) 73; Mac Sweeney (2013) 121-122, 169-170.

<sup>404</sup> I generally followed the text of West (1999) 29 and amended the translation with the aim of conveying with more accuracy the tension of specific words. I followed Allen (1993) 74 in his reading 'Αἶψα' in the opening line of the fragment and Gerber (1999) 29 in his cautious non-restoration of a river-name in l. 5.

Asia Minor in just four verses.<sup>405</sup> The newcomers from Pylos conquered Colophon by force, yet that ‘desirable’ (ἐρατὴν) location was not enough to quench their desire for more (a desire expressed with a very powerful word: ἰμερτήν (= longed-for)). They finally razed nearby Aeolian Smyrna by the will of the gods. Perhaps an oracle is implied here, a divine order that demanded fulfilment, a theme familiar and widespread among colonial discourse in attempts to justify aggression, to calm feelings of guilt or respond to accusations of aggression. Mimnermus admits that the first settlers brought with them gifts other than hopes and benevolence. An array of harsh words (‘violence’ and ‘hubris’) reveals the tone of such first encounters in literary tradition and collective memory. The language of the entire fragment is gender-related: newly-arrived men seize lands described with feminine connotations, and the wording of erotic conquest is implied; male Colophonians are unstoppable. Furthermore, a sense of physical pain is detected in their ‘hubris’, which was ἀργαλέη (= harsh, painful). Violent terminology cannot be easily missed, but quite often modern scholars fail to take it into account.<sup>406</sup>

The initial Aeolian affiliation of Smyrna was widely accepted in antiquity. A ‘sea-neighbouring [to Cyme] Aeolian Smyrna (Αἰολίδα Σμύρνην ἀλιγείτονα)’ appears in a Homeric epigram (in [Hdt.] *Vit. Hom.* 14 West, dated between AD 50 and 150). Also, an Aeolian Smyrna is attested by Callimachus before the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. (Callim. *Epigr* 5 Pfeiffer), probably intending to create poetic distance, engendering nostalgia for a distant past by applying geographical archaism. The theme of an Aeolian Smyrna appears also in later sources (Arr. *Anab.* 5.6.4; Paus. 7.5.1). The change of Smyrna’s phyletic identity must have affected the circulating myths and their perception in antiquity. Yet, despite this abundance of information on Smyrna’s Aeolian origins, not a single trace of any specific mythical tradition that links Smyrna to an Aeolian past is preserved. Ancient sources acknowledged Smyrna’s Aeolian past, yet had nothing to offer other than the Colophonian conquest which brought it to an end. To the best of my knowledge, the only relevant attestation is the foundation of Smyrna by the Cymaeans, discussed in the Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*. The new settlement took its name from the wife of one of the founders of Cyme. Despite his Thessalian descent from the house of Admetus, his name bears unmistakable Attic/Ionian connotations: Theseus ([Hdt.] *Vit. Homeri* 2 West).

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<sup>405</sup> Allen (1993) 11-14.

<sup>406</sup> E.g. Allen (1993) 77, who reconstructs a peaceful integration with ‘minimal bloodshed’.

I can discern three possible interpretations of the loss of Aeolian affiliation. First, taking our sources at face value, we could presume that a phyletic competition or a long dispute vested with phyletic connotations had actually taken place at the dawn of historical time and memory. The origin of the invaders, Pylos, would link this enterprise to the Ionian colonisation, when the Ionians sailed from the Peloponnese to Asia Minor. Secondly, instead of taking evidence at face value, I note that the tradition of the Ionian-Aeolian people in Smyrna exhibits a hierarchy among the three Greek *phylae*. Similar to the expulsion of the Ionians from the Peloponnese, the Ionians in this case are portrayed as warlike conquerors and aggressive invaders. Thus, a hierarchy of military prowess is established: Dorians prevailed over the Ionians and the Ionians prevailed over the Aeolians, an inversion of the mythical chronological order that placed the Aeolians first in Asia Minor, followed by the Ionians and lastly the Dorians (Str. 13.1.3).

Thirdly, one could argue that the tradition of the once-Aeolian Smyrna introduces the concept of an early Aeolian presence in Asia Minor, but a presence that conveniently makes way for new arrangements. Is it an echo of earlier traditions that held Aeolians to be either non-Greeks or on the edges of ‘Hellenicity’? Or were these traditions constructs of the time shortly before the introduction of Smyrna into the Panionion, expressed by those who opposed its inclusion and answered effectively by the Smyrnians? Combined with the meaning of the stem *Αἰολ-* as ‘diversified’,<sup>407</sup> the theme of the once-Aeolian *poleis* in Asia Minor hinted at an Ionian conquest of local nearby settlements of mixed populations, not a clash between members of different Greek *phylae*. According to Pausanias (7.3.1-3), the Ionians under the leadership of two sons of Codrus encountered Thebans in Colophon and were accepted in a joint community. Then the Theban (Aeolian) element of Colophon is brushed aside without any further explanation. Almost a millennium before Pausanias, Mimnermus termed Colophon ‘desirable’ and only Smyrna as ‘Aeolian’. Apparently, in literature Aeolians are casually brushed aside, leaving behind nothing but non-narratives, a mere presence before the coming of the descendants of the current inhabitants, Ionians. The area, termed in archaic poetry as ‘Asia’, was ‘ἰμερτή’ (longed-for, contested), a word used for another contested territory in archaic Greece, Salamis (Solon fr. 1,1.1 *IEG*). For Mimnermus, in the distant past ‘Asia’ was contested, open for the taking, and the previous inhabitants were probably consoled with a possible admission of guilt (‘hubris’), which by the imperial period regressed to a peaceful integration.

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<sup>407</sup> As early as Aesch. *Supp.* 1036; Aesch. *PV.* 661; Epimenides *FGrHist* 457 F 7, 19; also in Pl. *Cra.* 409a 5. Other meanings: ‘glancing’ in Hom. *Il.* 4.489 and Pind. *Ol.* 9.42; ‘swift’ in Hom. *Il.* 19.404; *Od.* 20.27; [Hes.] *Sc.* 399; Hes. *Th.* 511; ‘bright’ in Hom. *Il.* 5.707.

It should be noted that elsewhere Smyrna, alongside Colophon, is also said to have fallen due to *hubris* (Theognis l. 1103).

In the vicinity, Phocaea too underwent a kind of phyletic transformation, which materialised only at the highest level of social hierarchy. To be admitted into the Panionion, Phocaea, founded by colonists from Athens on land bestowed by the kings of Aeolian Cyme, had to abolish its ancestral kingship and appoint kings from the house of Codrus (Nic. Damas. *FGrHist* 136 F 53; Paus. 7.3.10).<sup>408</sup> Similar to Smyrna, and despite the multitude of references, almost nothing remains from Phocaea's early history, except the final part of the story. In this case, instead of expulsion of population, a constitutional change was necessary. Still, a wide range of modes of becoming Ionian, and modes of interaction between Ionians and previous inhabitants, is exhibited in all three cases: an act of hubris for Colophon (presumably an unjust conflict); an invasion followed by an expulsion of the previous population for Smyrna; and for Phocaea a formal agreement with the Cymaeon kings to settle in a previously uninhabited area, much later the introduction of a more appropriate royal dynasty, the Ionian Codridae. The Aeolians were unanimously regarded as the first wave of colonists by ancient sources, although in literature Aeolians are shown to be easily absorbed into the powerful, intrusive Ionian element, leaving a barely discernible mark (as in Colophon), expelled (as in Smyrna), or completely assimilated into what had to become a fully Ionian *polis* and member of the *Panionion* (as in Phocaea). In each case they could be easily swept aside, in a way similar to the Pelasgians, whose presence was acknowledged, but about whom very few actual information or facts could be established with relative accuracy in antiquity.

### 3.2 Diluted borders: Small and Large Aeolis

In this section I will examine in detail the thorough ancient geographical accounts of Aeolis available to modern scholarship, namely the relevant discussions in the works of Herodotus (to whom I return with a specific focus, his account of Aeolis in 1.149-151), Xenophon, Pseudo-Scylax, Ephorus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Pliny the Elder. The issue and its parameters are vast, ranging from genre, purpose of the author, his predisposition, approach, influence, context, and audience; I will mainly focus on the issue of the size and boundaries of Aeolis.

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<sup>408</sup> A previous Aeolian affiliation can only be insecurely inferred through a much later claim of *syngeneia* between an unnamed Aeolian *polis* (judging from the aeolisms on the inscription) and Lampsacus, a colony of Phocaea (Curty (1995) 77).

Each author presents a different account of Aeolis, yet a pattern seems to emerge: as a rule, scholarly works dated between the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD describe an Aeolis much larger than the area occupied by the eleven Aeolian *poleis* listed in Hdt. 1.149. I will use a simple terminology to distinguish between a Small Aeolis, coinciding with the coastal strip between the Hermus and Pitane (defined in Chapter 2 based on Herodotus), and a Large Aeolis, occupying a larger area including the southern coast of the Troad. Then, I will contextualise the size of Aeolis within its surrounding areas, Mysia and the Troad. Subsequently, the discussion of the relative perceptions of those entities in ancient geographical accounts will provide valuable insight, not only into geographical methodology in antiquity, but also towards providing possible answers as to how the size of Aeolis expanded and shrunk in ancient scholarly works. After the problem and the issue are explained, I will attempt to interpret the variation of later sources as an indirect influence of imperial propaganda during the earliest years of the Imperial period.

### *The 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century: a Small Aeolis*

I begin by examining Herodotus' description of the Greek settlements in Asia from a different angle. In his discussion of the Aeolians, Herodotus applied a human-focused, civic approach (Hdt. 1.149-151). His basic entity was not region, but people. As a consequence, firm or general boundaries are lacking and only by inference did 'Aeolis' emerge in his *Histories*. Herodotus did not discuss Aeolis *per se*, but the population group under the name 'Aeolians' dwelling in *poleis* arranged in three sub-categories. Herodotus distinguishes firmly between what in his view was the core of Aeolian habitation, the narrow coastal strip, and other areas with Aeolian populations. A hierarchy appears in his text, with the coastal strip in the predominant position, followed by the Aeolians on the islands, whose *poleis* were numbered but also separated from the core, even though their Aeolian affiliation was regarded on equal terms with that of the *poleis* on the mainland. The Aeolians on the southern coast of the Troad appear last and their *poleis* remain unnamed, although contemporary audiences must have had a good working knowledge of what exactly was implied by Herodotus' sweeping and brief statement '...except for those living in the Troad; for they are separate' (1.151). His Small Aeolis allowed for a clearly distinguished 'Mysian land', which extended along the coast from Atarneus (Hdt.

8.106) to Antandros and to the Troad to the north, on the left-hand side of Xerxes' course through Mt. Ida towards Ilion (Hdt. 7.42; Mysians in the plains of the Caicus at 6.28).

Turning to Thucydides, it seems that he applied a regional criterion in his terminology regarding Ionia and Aeolis. This criterion was defined by the administration patterns of the Delian League (reflected in Th. 2.9). Allied *poleis* were allocated among different regional categories. While the categories differed over time, as is evident in the Athenian tribute lists, the Hellespontine *poleis* formed a distinct group and all Aeolian *poleis* of the narrow coastal strip were typically listed under the 'Ionian tax', together with Carian *poleis* and some islands. It should be underlined that in Thucydides' account it is not only Aeolis as a geographical entity that is substantially absent, but also the Aeolian character of known Aeolian *poleis*, especially those of Lesbos.

Xenophon refers to Aeolis only in his discussion of the campaign of Dercylidas in 399 against Pharnabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, which took place in 'Pharnabazus' Aeolis'. Dercylidas was warmly received by Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Coloniae on the western coast of the Troad (*Hell.* 3.1.10-16). At this point Xenophon complicated the geographical order by saying that Dercylidas 'also sent word to the Aeolian *poleis*' (3.1.16: πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις). The text is as follows:

καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἄμαξιτον καὶ Κολωνὰς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἐκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἠξίου ... οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἴλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλίται ἐπέειθοντο·

...and straightaway in a single day he took control of the coastal *poleis* (Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Coloniae) with their own volition; then he also sent word to the **Aeolian *poleis*** requesting... The **Nenandrians, Ilians, and Cocylitae** obeyed.

His wording shows that he does not regard the three settlements, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Coloniae, formerly Lesbian dependencies on the west coast of the Troad, as 'Aeolian'. Instead, his 'Aeolian' *poleis* which accepted Dercylidas' proposals ('Neandris, Ilians, and Cocylitae') were all settlements well outside any previous conceptions of Aeolis: Neandria was located on a hill to the south of the Scamandrian plain in the Troad, Ilion to the north-west edge of the plain of the Simoeis and the Scamander close to Sigeion, and Cocylion remains elusive, probably somewhere to the south of the Scamandrian plain. The Spartan commander encountered difficulties at Cebren and was duly agitated as he intended to place 'the whole of



Aeolis' under his control before the satrap could react (3.1.17). Cebren is an equally unlikely settlement to fall within Aeolis, as it lay on the north slope of Mt. Ida overlooking the Scamandrian plain.<sup>409</sup> Dercylidas eventually secured Cebren, Skepsis, and Gergis (3.1.18ff); Pharnabazus requested a truce, seeing that 'Aeolis' had become a stronghold against him (3.2.1).<sup>410</sup> After the explicit references to Pharnabazus' Aeolis, Xenophon returned to more general terms: Dercylidas dispatched Chersonesian envoys to Ephesus via 'the Greek *poleis*' (3.2.9). Here the reference must be to the *poleis* in Mysia, the Troad, and Aeolis, since Dercylidas had camped at Lampsacus on the northern entrance to the Hellespont. Still, that mountainous, inland 'Aeolis' on Mt. Ida is mentioned once again: its loss was a bone of contention for Pharnabazus during his negotiations with the neighbouring satrap Tissaphernes (3.2.13).

Xenophon's Aeolis in the Troad seems to align with the account of Aeolis in the work of Pseudo-Scylax, composed around 338 B.C. in Athens.<sup>411</sup> To explain the discrepancy with all other perceptions of Aeolis, scholars have argued for the existence of two Aeoliae, a division they trace back to Herodotus and his description of Aeolian *poleis*. I will argue that Herodotus knew of only one Aeolis, and that other factors may have affected the odd location of Aeolis by Xenophon and Pseudo-Scylax.

According to Graham Shipley's study of the text, the *Periplus* was not the work of Scylax, but of a person viewing the world from an Athenian standpoint. The author was probably not a keen traveller himself; nevertheless, he seems to be guiding his readers through the known scholarship of his time. Shipley observes that while Pseudo-Scylax's work was definitely 'not a seafarer's guide', a bulk of oral tradition transmitted by sailors and merchants is embedded in the text. Another part of the material consulted by the composer would not be first-hand information, but accounts already included in scholarly works and merchant archives. Be it as it may, the *Periplus* is the earliest surviving Greek work dedicated to geography as a genre.<sup>412</sup> Interestingly, the author does not seem to take into account earlier

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<sup>409</sup> Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 10) labels Cebren as a colony of the Cymaeans. The information is transmitted by Harpocration, who references Ephorus Book 1. Fragments linked to that book discuss the prehistory/mythical age of Greece, such as Carian settlements in the Aegean islands, the fifty daughters of Thespius mating with Hercules, the Dorian invasion, and so on. I think that Ephorus had a mythical context in mind, similar to his Large Aeolis, which I discuss below.

<sup>410</sup> More in Krentz (1995) 167.

<sup>411</sup> Shipley (2012), who links the work to philosophical trends in 4<sup>th</sup>-century Athens and suggests a date around 338 B.C. Other datings of the *Periplus* still have some followers and span up to the Byzantine area, conceiving the text as a compilation of earlier accounts available to the late compiler (Peretti (1979); Garzón Díaz (1998-1999)).

<sup>412</sup> Shipley (2011) 4-14.

scholarly works known to modern scholarship, such as Hecataeus, Herodotus, Theopompus, or Ephorus; he probably relied on scholarly traditions lost to us.<sup>413</sup>

In the account of Pseudo-Scylax, Aeolis coincides with the southern coast of the Troad. Aeolis began in Hamaxitus and extended as far as Antandros (96). The author must probably have listed some coastal *poleis*, as in the manuscript tradition an introductory clause, ‘Those are the Aeolian *poleis* by this sea’, is followed only by inland settlements: Cebren, Skepsis, Neandreaia, and Pityeia (the latter being the only settlement of this group not located by Xenophon within ‘Pharnabazus’ Aeolis’). After a brief list of the Lesbian *poleis* and Pordoselene (97), the author proceeds with ‘the area south of Aeolis, once called Mysia...now Lydia’ (98). In the entry for this large ‘Lydia’ all the Aeolian and some Ionian *poleis* are listed, as far south as Miletus, where Caria began.

This oddly-placed Aeolis, included within a large ‘Lydia’ which contains both Aeolis and Ionia, allows not for one, but for two regions with the name ‘Mysia’, to the north and south of the Troad, which in turn is placed between Sestos and Hamaxitus. The first Mysia is located on the Hellespont, after Thrace (93), the second to the south-east of Antandros, where Herodotus had placed Aeolis. This provided two boundaries for Aeolis: Antandros and some point to the south of Hamaxitus, probably Cape Lekton. A certain historical aspect appears here, as it is stated that ‘the land was previously called Mysia, but now Lydia’ (98). At this point there appear the Aeolian *poleis* and the *peraiiai* of the Lesbians and the Chians, followed by some Ionian *poleis*. None is specifically defined by a phyletic affiliation, but they are described as *poleis* on the coast of Lydia or on the nearby islands.

It has been suggested that the geographer followed the pattern of Xenophon and Herodotus, who knew two regions called Aeolis; in his entry Pseudo-Scylax described the northern part.<sup>414</sup> The southern part is omitted, supposedly due to the author’s reliance on patterns of Persian administration, evident in his definition of Lydia, which included the Herodotean list of *poleis* on the narrow coastal strip, as well as the northern part of Ionia. Shipley adopted the usual boundary of Aeolis: ‘With Pitane we enter southern Aeolis, which is not named, perhaps because PS respects satrapal boundaries’.<sup>415</sup> Yet the omission of Aeolis and Aeolians is much more important. Achaeans are mentioned in relation to Achaeon Limen and the very few *poleis* that are actually given a descriptive adjective are defined as ‘Greek’. Aeolis is not merely ‘not named’, it has been removed from the text and relocated to the north.

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<sup>413</sup> Shipley (2012) 124.

<sup>414</sup> Rubinstein (2004); Shipley (2011) 163; Heinle (2015) 173-174.

<sup>415</sup> Shipley (2011) 165, probably based on Rubinstein (2004).

This is not the only problem with the modern conception of two *Aeoliae*. Herodotus did not know of two different *Aeoliae*, but simply presented a list of *poleis* on the narrow coastal strip, briefly noted the presence of Aeolians in the Troad (whose area may or may not coincided with what Pseudo-Scylax had in mind) and on the islands. This makes for three *Aeoliae*, not just two, if one follows the divisive reading suggested by modern scholarship. According to my reading, Herodotus arranged the Aeolian *poleis* in three clusters but knew of only one Aeolis. The wording at 5.26 seems to refute the conception of two *Aeoliae*: '[Otanes] razed Antandros in the land of the Troad'. The southern coast of the Troad was not Aeolis.

Moreover, from the very beginning of his narrative of the campaign of Dercylidas, Xenophon clarified his term 'Pharnabazus' Aeolis' as '**this** Aeolis belonged to Pharnabazus' (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10: μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος... Ἡ δὲ Αἰολίς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου). This division is unprecedented in ancient sources and in no apparent way is it based on Herodotus' description of the lands of Aeolians. Xenophon, like Herodotus, wrote of one Aeolis, since there is no reference to an Aeolis other than the mountainous area disputed in 399. In Xen. *An.* 5.6.24, Timasion, one of the leaders of the Ten Thousand elected after the battle of Cunaxa, claims that he is experienced in the matters of 'Aeolis, Phrygia, the Troad, and all the lands of Pharnabazus': Aeolis is contextualised with the other regions of the north-west Asia Minor, not with Ionia or Lydia, as one might expect if Xenophon knew of two *Aeoliae*. Although Xenophon's wording allows for both interpretations, his 'Pharnabazus' Aeolis' does not necessarily indicate that he divided Aeolis into two. It might appear reasonable to assume that he may have had a Large Aeolis in mind and applied the formulas 'Pharnabazus' Aeolis' and 'this Aeolis' only in the narrative of events taking place around Mt. Ida, not too close to the sea. However, throughout Xenophon's works, there is no allusion to the Aeolian *poleis* of the coastal strip to the north of Ionia. Moreover, if Xenophon or Pseudo-Scylax followed Persian administration patterns of the classical period in their definition of Aeolis, I cannot see how this practice would not have included at any point the term Phrygia, the satrapy of Pharnabazus, who controlled the area of Mt. Ida through local overlords.

Furthermore, although an Athenian viewpoint has been argued for by Shipley, the over-reliance of Pseudo-Scylax on Persian patterns when describing the west coast of Asia Minor necessitates a change of balance, as at that point the view is strictly Asiatic. Even if we accept Shipley's view and attribute a strong reliance on Persian administration patterns to the composer of this work only in this instance,<sup>416</sup> then the outcome of his reliance is truly

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<sup>416</sup> Also suggested by Debord (1999) 74.

remarkable: Pseudo-Scylax managed to completely miss the universally accepted Aeolian character of what he termed ‘Lydia’, as well as the Aeolian affiliation of Tenedos (and all that was Ionian for that matter). Most impressively, if Pseudo-Scylax did indeed follow Persian administration patterns, then as a result he carelessly incorporated Samos and Chios into the satrapy of Lydia.

A demanding question arises: how useful or appealing could an account such as this have been to contemporary Greeks? If a practical value is ascribed to the text of the *Periplus*, then the obvious contradiction with common knowledge would make it less appealing and informative to the general public, for whom a lesser degree of familiarity with Persian administration must be presumed. The inclusion of Samos and Chios under Lydia either indicates a much later date of composition of the *Periplus* (when political divisions did not matter and the compiler could easily resort to archaisms and incorporate the terminology of his various sources) than argued by Shipley, or, at the very least, dissociates Pseudo-Scylax from Persian administration patterns, and interestingly links him to Attalid administration patterns (a *strategos* of ‘Caria and Lydia around Ephesus’ in *SEG* 46.1434).<sup>417</sup> There seem to be enough reasons to question the dating of the text to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. However, to revisit that discussion, which so far has provided dates spanning from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the Byzantine period, appears fruitless. It is best to acknowledge our inability to offer a conclusive answer.

To return to Xenophon, instead of presuming a serious geographical confusion, I would suggest that Xenophon was unwilling to define that mountainous area as ‘the Troad’ because the growth of Ilion after the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century had gradually led to a fixed location for Troy and the Troad to the north-west (discussion in section 3.3), close to the Hellespont. Only on the largest perception of Aeolis in antiquity, that of Ephorus in a mythical context (*FGrHist* 70 F 163b), could ‘Pharnabazus’ Aeolis’ fall within ‘Aeolis’ as an entity known through ancient material. It is unlikely that Xenophon had a mythical context in mind when narrating the campaign of Dercylidas. It is equally unlikely that he applied *Aeolis* as a cultural term to distinguish between Greeks and non-Greeks: the exclusion of the three coastal settlements, as well as the appearance of Greeks and non-Greeks in ‘Pharnabazus’ Aeolis’ is sufficient testimony. If Xenophon intended to be vague, then he had a usual term in reserve: ‘Asia’. Perhaps some new geographical, political, and perceptual conditions in the making lie behind Xenophon’s wording (‘Pharnabazus’ Aeolis’) and for the first time a Large Aeolis was

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<sup>417</sup> Discussion and other readings of the line in Thonemann (2013a) 10. The district does not seem to rely on previous, Seleucid arrangements.

conceived, as a consequence of the consolidation of Troy/Ilion to the north. This possibility is discussed at length in the second part of this chapter.

The examination of two different accounts of an incident in the Troad before the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century will reveal how treatment and perceptions of Aeolis changed over time. Aeneas Tacticus (24.3-13), writing in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, narrates an episode from the eventful life of Charidemus, a mercenary commander born in Oreus, Euboea, in the service of the Athenians.<sup>418</sup> While ‘stationed in *Aeolis* it so happened that he took Ilion...’. The same event, with minor differences, is described by Polyaeus (*Strat.* 3.14). It has been suggested that Aeneas placed Ilion within Aeolis, thus applying a size for ‘a broader Aeolis’ significantly larger than the Herodotean coastal strip, in agreement with Xenophon and Ephorus.<sup>419</sup> However, Xenophon locates Ilion in ‘Pharnabazus’ Aeolis’ only in passing, when listing the inland ‘Aeolian *poleis*’ who responded positively to Dercylidas’ proposals, while Ephorus is cited by Strabo in a strictly mythical context, as I will discuss shortly. Furthermore, according to my reading of the text (Χαριδήμῳ Ὠρεΐτῃ περὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα συνέβη, καταλαβόντι Ἴλιον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε), Aeneas aims to locate *Charidemus* in Aeolis, but not *Ilion*. Elsewhere ([Arist.] *Oec.* 1351b 19), Charidemus appears to have controlled some territory and villages ‘in Aeolis’; Artabazus attacked him and his reaction found a place within the Aristotelian compilation of financial marvels labelled *Oeconomica*, dated to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. In the account of Polyaeus ‘Aeolis’ is not mentioned and the sack of Troy occurred as a reaction against the aggression of the Ilians, who frequently raided the unnamed ‘*polis*’ of Charidemus. Developments in geographical thought offer an explanation. Polyaeus was writing after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. As I will argue in the next section, in those times a Small Aeolis had once more become prevalent in scholarly works. Polyaeus spoke of an Ilian plundering operation and, unless we are willing to assume that the Ilians accessed the territory of Charidemus by boat, then his ‘Aeolian villages’, as defined by Pseudo-Aristotle, lay in the Troad. This must have made very little sense to Polyaeus, who was likely to discard the geographical information as erroneous and not include it in his account of the event. In his time, Aeolis could not extend so far to the north.

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<sup>418</sup> Davies (1971) 570-572; Heckel (2006) 84.

<sup>419</sup> Rubinstein (2004) 1034.

## *The 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. – 1<sup>st</sup> AD: a Large Aeolis*

### *Ephorus and Strabo*

Ephorus of Cyme, as cited by Strabo, offers the widest perception of Aeolis in antiquity (*FGrHist* 70 F 163b = Str. 13.1.39):

τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν ἦν τὰ πλεῖστα, ὥστε Ἐφορος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ  
πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Κύμης καλεῖν Αἰολίδα.

In the old days most of the lands were controlled by the Aeolians, thus Ephorus hurries to name Aeolis the entire area from Abydos to Cyme.

What is at play here is not a historically or geographically sound account. The context is rather mythical, an aspect abundant in the work of Strabo in general and particularly in his discussion of north-west Asia Minor, the land of the Trojans. The author presents territorial claims over Sigeion on the Hellespont, proceeds with Achilleion, resorts to his favourite authority, Homer (13.1.40ff), and summarily lists previous occupants of the land.<sup>420</sup> The context resembles his comment (13.1.3) that in the distant past the situation was clear, as the entire area was under the control of the Trojans and could easily be defined as ‘the Troad’. It was the Greek colonisation that complicated the issue and produced the multitude of names abundant in later authors. More specifically, the Aeolian colonisation caused the greatest damage to this nice, homogenous picture, as according to the same passage, the Troad had once stretched from Cyzicus to the river Caicus.

Strabo himself described a Large Aeolis, from Cape Lekton (where the two coasts of the Troad converge) to Phocaea and the Hermus (13.1.4-8). In his general overview of Asia Minor at the beginning of Book 13, Strabo was cautious. He placed a boundary at Cape Lekton, yet the area between this cape and Abydos is defined with a periphrasis (13.1.2: ‘...the areas around Ilios, Tenedos, and Alexandria Troas’). All coastal areas between Lekton and the Elaeatic Gulf are defined similarly (13.1.3: ‘from Lekton to the Caicus and Canae...the areas around Assos, Adramyttion, Atarneus, Pitane, and the Gulf of Elaea...Lesbos...then Cyme, down to the Hermus and Phocaea’). The reader has to wait until the end of this procession to be informed that the last two landmarks signify ‘the beginning of Ionia and the end of Aeolis’.

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<sup>420</sup> Patterson (2013) 212-214 on Strabo’s views on Homer, which take up a considerable part of Books I and II.

Strabo was not entirely specific about the northern boundary of Aeolis either. His apparent boundary, Cape Lekton, did not exclude the coastal area to the north, which remained unnamed at this point, thus allowing the geographer to examine different views on the size of Aeolis. Strabo explained the origins of this problem: his sources disagreed about the size and extent of regions. He despaired: Aeolians were dispersed all over the area Homer defined as ‘Trojan’; some authors called the entire area ‘Aeolis’, others only a part of it; some called the area ‘Troy’, others only a part of it. (13.1.4). To resolve the problem, Strabo admits that he applied an opportunistic approach, using blurred regions in one cohesive narrative, dividing and uniting as he deemed appropriate.<sup>421</sup> In his discussion of Ionia, in contrast, he seems certain of Aeolis’ southern limit, confident enough to report even boundary markers of the Aeolians around Phocaea (14.1.38).

Strabo appears equally sceptical and cautious regarding the Troad, whose boundaries and size also seem to fluctuate in the accounts he consulted. The geographer was keen to observe that Charon of Lampsacus (5<sup>th</sup> century) included Adramyttion in the Troad; Scylax set its northern border at Abydos, which was the starting point of Aeolis according to Ephorus, while Homer, Damastes (5<sup>th</sup> century), and Eudoxus (4<sup>th</sup> century), also included different parts of the Troad in Aeolis (Str. 13.1.4). In his detailed description of the region, Strabo acknowledged the Aeolian phyletic affiliation of Tenedos (13.1.46) and Lesbos (13.2.1).<sup>422</sup> Nevertheless, the dependencies of the islanders on the western coast of the Troad are not defined as Aeolian. Despite the initial statement that ‘after Cape Lekton [there lay] the most noteworthy *poleis* of the Aeolians’ (13.1.49), some settlements on the southern coast were set on Mysian soil (13.1.66: ‘Noteworthy *poleis* [in Mysia] are Assos and Adramyttion’; note the omission of Antandros). The Aeolian character of Assos was discussed at length in its appropriate place (13.1.58), although an Aeolian affiliation or location was not considered for Adramyttion (13.1.65). The inland settlements, such as Cebren and Neandreia under the control of the Assians (13.1.33; 13.1.51), were not considered Aeolian, contrary to Xenophon. Apparently, Strabo applied the term ‘Aeolian’ only to coastal settlements once under the control of the Mytilenians. In addition, he did not fail to include in his account the grave population change in Gargara, where an infusion of people from Miletropolis corroded the Aeolian character of the *poleis*, ultimately rendering it ‘half-barbaric’ (13.1.58), according to

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<sup>421</sup> Str. 13.1.8; blurred regions also at 13.4.12.

<sup>422</sup> As Strabo never visited the area and was heavily relying on his textual sources, he may have followed Herodotus or Demetirus of Skepsis on this point. Alternatively, he may have projected common knowledge regarding Lesbos, Tenedos, and their *peraiiai*.

a local author, Demetrius of Skepsis, always eager to promote the glory and rights of his *polis* against all nearby areas.

Demetrius challenged the claim of the inhabitants of Ilion in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. and placed the seat of Aeneas at Skepsis after the fall of Troy. It has been argued that his standpoint, a sheer dismissal of the foundation myth of both Ilion and Rome (in Str. 13.1.53), seems more locally-focused, anti-Ilion rather than anti-Roman.<sup>423</sup> Strabo probably realised that he was over-reliant on Demetrius and tried to keep a critical stance when discussing Skepsis (13.1.52). He preserved a story of its mythical relocation instructed by Scamandrios, son of Hector, and Ascanius, son of Aeneas. To that he added a concise constitutional history, beginning with the early kingship of the two glorious Trojan families, then continuing with the switch to oligarchy, and finally to democracy before the interference of the Hellenistic kings. Antigonus the One-Eyed synoecised the Skepsians to Alexandria, but later Lysimachus allowed them to return to their land. Strabo observed that Demetrius' claims regarding the predominance of Skepsis did not hold water when compared to the account of the size of its territory that he had just offered. Consequently, Strabo plunged into an analysis of Homeric verse to prove his point (13.1.53).

It would be unfair to condemn Strabo's account of Asia Minor as worthless and inaccurate on the basis that he copied from previous authors. This practice, wholly acceptable by ancient scholarly standards, did not leave Strabo at the mercy of his sources. His treatment of Skepsis and Demetrius shows that he was willing to put his sources to the test. The final outcome of his geographical layout entails a Large Aeolis and a wholly insignificant Mysia restricted to a small portion of the Troad's southern coast. Strabo found room to insert Mysia into the area around Adramyttion (13.1.65), but his view of the region is fragmented, scattered throughout Books 12 and 13. Nevertheless, a more or less clear idea is evident: Mysians dwell inland.<sup>424</sup>

An examination of Mysia is included in Book 12, where contradictory reports brought Strabo again to the brink of despair. His account of Mysia and Phrygia reveals his methodology and offers insight into the close connection between vanishing Mysia and expanding Aeolis in geographical accounts of the period. Strabo was able to establish a twofold Mysia, one around Mt. Olympus, the other alongside the Caicus valley down to the coast (Str. 12.4.1-10). In

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<sup>423</sup> Erskine (2001) 106 with bibliography; Gruen (1992) 40 -42.

<sup>424</sup> Mysia in the valley of Caicus (13.4.2); north of Pergamon (13.4.4); in a more human-based approach, Strabo mentioned Mysians dwelling around Mt. Tmolus (13.4.5, among other populations), in the upper Hermus (13.4.5), after Lydia around Philadelphia (13.4.10), and on the brink of the barren Anatolian plateau (13.4.11).



addition, he listed the old location of the Mysians in Bithynia, thereby extending his view to incorporate a mythical/historical approach, and his Mysia stretches to the west of the Troad on the Sea of Marmara (12.4.5-8). Strabo noted that it was impossible to discern boundaries between the regions of the area, and he even cited a proverb on the notorious difficulty of separating Mysia from Phrygia (12.4.4).

In fact, Phrygia Epictetos provides a good example of how Strabo composed his account of north-west Asia Minor. Essentially, he piled up toponyms from different sources and different times. He also acknowledged the duality of both Phrygia and Mysia, in the sense that they were known by two different names and split in two parts (12.8.1-2). While Strabo notes that the Attalids changed the name of Phrygia from 'Hellespontine' to 'Epictetos' (= acquired), he fails to proceed with the obvious solution to his problem of defining the regions: to take into account the dates of the authors he consulted. Authors writing before the treaty of Apamea, which put Phrygia under Attalid control and permitted the name Epictetos, could use only 'Hellespontine'; those after 188 B.C. could use both. Instead, at this point Strabo was unusually at the mercy of his sources, trying to interpret different accounts that included Mt. Sipylus in 'Phrygia', called Tantalus and Pelops 'Phrygians', and so on (12.8.2).

I suggest that Strabo applied the same reasoning to Mysia. Accordingly, he listed views he read in literature, from Homer to Scylax; inevitably, they contradicted one another (12.4.5-10). He then placed his twofold Mysia around Olympus and the Caicus, and resorted to early myth to sketch the history of the habitation of Mysians in the area (12.8.1-6). As a result, he admitted that obscurity had risen due to the movement of populations and discrepancies of ancient authors. On a very rare occasion where his text is not dominated by old myths and Homeric geography, he places Mysians around Mt. Olympus, between the Troad and Bithynia (12.8.8). His coastal Mysia is probably based on the locality of Telephus in Teuthrania (13.1.69), combined with Telephus' identification as Mysian (12.8.12). Strabo concludes his discussion with another incident of compiling information, indicative of his method: 'some call the area *Mysia*, others *Maeonia*' (contra 13.3.2, where Maeones are a synonym for Lydians). Strabo's problematic approach resulted in Book 13's confusing account of the Troad's southern coast and opportunistic application of geographical terms. At 13.1.65 Mysia is located around Adramyttion, contrary to Strabo's previous location of Mysia on the Caicus; in fact, the latter is not included in Mysia, and only a river Mysius appears in his discussion of Teuthrania (13.1.69-70). Mysia is absent from the list of regions to the east of Cape Lekton (13.1.49-51) and Mysians are not included in a short list of mythical people living on the coast (13.1.60). Mysia appears again in passing at the valley of the Caicus west of Pergamon (13.4.2).

To conclude, Strabo admittedly appears confused. His Mysia is divided into several parts, connected only through a mythical, obscure past. However, Strabo's discussion reveals current trends regarding geographical terminology, which in turn permits my interpretation of terminology and fluctuating boundaries laid out in detail in section 3.3 below.

### *The Roman view. A Large Aeolis in Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder*

The work of Pomponius Mela (fl. before the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD) is deemed a popular edition which relied upon and summarised previous geographical works, a collection aspiring to appeal to the general public and an upper-class audience rather than being a solid scientific work.<sup>425</sup> Indeed, very little, if any, theoretical discussion is found within his *de Chorographia* and modern scholarship regards it a poor attempt in theoretical terms, although its importance for modern scholarship is far from negligible.<sup>426</sup> As a product of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, *de Chorographia* is considered a reflection of the lower quality of Latin geographical works.<sup>427</sup> Based on this low quality and lack of theoretical considerations, Shcheglov includes *de Chorographia* among the descriptive geographical works aimed at larger audiences.<sup>428</sup> Scholars see *de Chorographia* as a typical product of its place and time, 'a description of the known world' (Mel. 1.1) with negligible impact on later geographers.<sup>429</sup> The treatise offered a mass of descriptive information, contained no maps and can be safely included among descriptive geographical works with a clear tendency to record *fabulae*, geographical and mythical marvels.<sup>430</sup> Nevertheless, it remains the earliest surviving geographical work in Latin literature.<sup>431</sup>

Mela's entry on 'Aeolis' incorporates an historical approach to looking at regions and includes Aeolis and the Troad as a unified region. In a spirit reminiscent of Pseudo-Scylax's 'Lydia' ('once called Mysia'), he reports that Aeolis received its name after the Aeolians had

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<sup>425</sup> Romer (1998) 18-22. Mela's account of Britain in all likelihood antedates the reign of Claudius. Batty (2000) 71 agrees with Silberman (1988) xi-xiii and Romer (1998) 2-4 on a date for the final edit around AD 44. Batty's suggested life span for Mela, between AD 20 and 100, makes the Roman author a youth prodigy who was able to complete and publish his work at the age of twenty-four; Romer (1998) 23 interprets the erroneous work of Mela as a sign of the author's early age.

<sup>426</sup> Shcheglov (2014) 81; Batty (2000) 70 sets out to defend Pomponius Mela from his modern critics.

<sup>427</sup> Engels (2007) 549-551; Dilke (1987) 234.

<sup>428</sup> Shcheglov (2014) 81-82. Contra Batty (2000) 75-79, 89-92.

<sup>429</sup> Romer (1998) 27-28, who notes the remarkable exception of Pedro Cabral, the self-proclaimed discoverer of Brazil in 1500 and owner of a copy of *de Chorographia*.

<sup>430</sup> Dilke (1987) 242.

<sup>431</sup> Romer (1998) 5.

cultivated the land of the region previously known as ‘Mysia’, and he terms its northern part ‘the Troad’ (1.90). His entry offers information on two foundation myths from Myrina and Cyme. The only other settlements mentioned are Elaea and Pitane located on the banks of the Caicus. Mela continued with the geographical setting towards Mt. Ida and the small settlements in its proximity. He then turned to the plain of Thebes, where he mentions Adramyttion, Astyra, Chrysa, and Antandros. To the west, on the Troad’s southern coast, he mentioned Gargara and Assos, both ‘Aeolian colonies’ (1.93), a reference which concludes Mela’s description of Aeolis. But the geographer also included in his entry Sigeion, the Scamander and Simoeis, Mt. Ida, Rhoetium, and Dardania, as he kept faithful to his initial statement and definition of Aeolis as covering the regions of Mysia and the Troad. Hence, he described a Large Aeolis, covering an area defined by two *poleis*, Phocaea (89) and Assos (93). As a consequence of this choice, Aeolis coincided heavily with the Troad to an extent that a single entry for the two regions was composed. That left absolutely no room for Mysia in his account.

A thorough account of Aeolis is included in Pliny the Elder’s *Naturalis Historia*, composed in the early Flavian period. His *Naturalis Historia* was a compilation of previous works of authors he considered authorities, a result of scholarly synthesis of earlier authors whom Pliny often cites, with Varro being the strongest influence.<sup>432</sup>

Pliny appears to have followed the administrative pattern of the early empire when he listed the Aeolian islands separately from Aeolis (Plin. *HN*. 5.39.139-140).<sup>433</sup> However, he was obliged to deviate from this pattern, since at least one of the Lesbian *poleis* fell under the jurisdiction of a *conventus*, a kind of a local court, in Adramyttion on the mainland (Eresos, according to 5.32.123).<sup>434</sup> An important division was signposted by Pliny himself: coastal settlements as opposed to inland. In his description of Caria, before proceeding with the coastal *conventi* and particularly with Halicarnassus, Pliny noted that he ought to list first the *poleis* of the interior; accordingly, he listed Cybaritis in Phrygia, Synna, Apamea (5.29.105). In general, Lesbos and Tenedos are presented in a section on ‘Islands off the Asiatic coast’, from Cyprus to Pontus. It appears that the division between mainland and islands cannot be attributed to

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<sup>432</sup> Dilke (1987) 242-243; Whittaker (2002) 89 (Pliny’s account resembles coastal journeys by ship, either deriving from personal experience or from earlier *Periploi*); Engels (2007) 551. Pliny referenced his sources in several instances where he felt the discrepancies among them might undermine the accuracy and quality of his work (e.g. *HN*. 4.12.77-78 on the circumference of the Black Sea).

<sup>433</sup> Also evident in his definition of Greece, as the region to the north of the Isthmus, where ‘Achaëa’ ended and ‘Hellas’ began (4.5.12; 4.7.23).

<sup>434</sup> Ellis-Evans (2013) 262-263 with bibliography and discussion of other views. Pliny’s inclination towards political administration is stronger when discussing Italy, following the new region-scheme put forth by Augustus. Dilke (1987) 242 and Bispham (2007) 44-50 both consider the possibility of Pliny having at hand several official documents issued during the reign of Augustus.

Pliny's adherence to administration patterns. The separate treatment of islands may have been influenced by a firm contrast between land and sea. In the geographical part of *Naturalis Historia* (Books III-VI) islands are always described separately, regardless of the administrative pattern (3.1.18; 3.5.76-3.8.94; 3.26.151-152; 4.12.52-4.12.74; 5.7.41-42).

Moreover, the division between islands and mainland may have occurred due to the basic principles of the genre of geography. Beyond the common distinction between descriptive and scientific geography, the accounts of some geographers such as Strabo, Mela, and Pliny perhaps incorporate some aspects of itinerary maps.<sup>435</sup> A genre defined by Roman perceptions of space, itinerary maps displayed not actual geographical space but the relative position of settlements and landmarks.<sup>436</sup> A specific mental conception of the world influenced geographical works and was influenced by them: the Romans perceived the natural world as a linear space, not by the mental application of shapes on a two-dimensional Cartesian system.<sup>437</sup> Accordingly, works in the form of itineraries circulated widely after the late republican period. In such geographical works, it was important for readers to know and for authors to exhibit which gulf followed which, where this river lay in relation to another, which settlement came after another and so on. Nonetheless, the information presented by itineraries could not have functioned efficiently as a reliable guide for travellers or armies moving from one place to another, 'any more than one can use an underground map of London to walk around the city.'<sup>438</sup> On the other hand, we sometimes forget how big a step is the projection of the natural world onto a two-dimensional object such as a map, with the application of successive mental triangles connecting three different locations on a modern map.<sup>439</sup> The process entails a significant degree of abstraction to which the Roman populace was not accustomed. Although the circulation, awareness, and application of maps among the general populace have been contested by modern research and restricted to scholarly works appealing to an upper-class audience,<sup>440</sup> a certain degree of practical usefulness for itineraries has to be allowed. Ultimately, the difference between world perceptions has to be acknowledged, if not tackled, before examining the usefulness of a scholarly work composed within a conceptual context

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<sup>435</sup> A now lost 'periplous-source' was suggested as Pliny's source for the chorography of Italy by Bispham (2007) 51. Its discrepancies with the material derived from official documents available to Pliny perhaps explain the inaccuracies and subsequent discrepancies in his work, as Pliny tried to reconcile a historical/descriptive-based source with several administrative documents serving entirely different purposes (Bispham (2007) 53-54).

<sup>436</sup> Bekker-Nielsen (1988) 153-154; Dilke (1987) for the Imperial period.

<sup>437</sup> Whittaker (2002) 102.

<sup>438</sup> Whittaker (2002) 103, who nevertheless considers the extensive use of itineraries by pilgrims after the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

<sup>439</sup> For the psychological process behind cognitive maps and interaction with the environment, Kitchin (1994).

<sup>440</sup> Dueck (2012) 118-121.

unfamiliar to the modern researcher. In a world without accurate technological means to measure distances, the quality of ancient geographical works emerges as surprisingly noteworthy. The use and popularity of itineraries in the Roman world can be a point of departure from the abrupt segregation between descriptive and scientific geography and, while credit should be given to Ptolemy's calculations, other ancient geographic attempts should not be disparaged. They served another purpose.<sup>441</sup> To return to Pliny, the division between islands and mainland may result from contemporary perceptions of the world. Pliny seems to follow an itinerary-based course, first on land (hence the description of mainland settlements and their relative locations) and then by sea (hence the accounts of the islands of each region in a processional order). In this respect, Pliny, though almost certainly unaware of Strabo's work,<sup>442</sup> seems to follow the same pattern as Strabo, who also applied an itinerary-based structure, beginning with Iberia and ending with West Africa.

Pliny's Aeolis began at Cape Lekton, the southern boundary of the Troad, and continued along a coastal strip throughout the southern shore of the Troad, with Mt. Ida in the background (Pliny *HN* 5.32.122-123). The southern border of Aeolis was defined by Phocaea, with Ionia extending from Phocaea to the gulf of Iasus (5.31.112; 5.31.119). Pliny did not place the plains of the Hermus within Aeolis, but treated them separately, perhaps considering the fertile valley as a remote area of Ionia. Occasionally, his account is erroneous, evident in his location of Temnos 'on the mouth of the Hermus' (5.31.119). His Troad stretched from Hamaxitus up to 'Rhoeteo', including 'Cebrenia' and 'Troas', a Roman colony (5.33.124). The river Phryx, a tributary of the Hermus, is the boundary between Lydia and Caria (5.31.119). Lydia is placed 'over' (*super*) Ionia, with Phrygia to its east, Caria to the south, and Mysia to the north (5.30.110).

Note that this is the sole appearance of Mysia as a geographical entity still in existence in Pliny's account. On occasion, it appears as a vague territory of unspecified location. At 5.30.110 it is located on the north border of Lydia, while at 5.32.121 the river Caicus enters Aeolis 'from Mysia'. Elsewhere, the river Echelus is said to separate the Troad from 'Mysia', and the latter is bestowed with a historical aspect: 'In early times this was the frontier of the Troad, at which Mysia began' (5.40.143, translated by Rackham (1942)). Despite ascribing some historical value to Mysia and Mysians, Pliny was not entirely certain whether the Mysians were an indigenous population before the Greek colonisation or had migrated from Europe at

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<sup>441</sup> Cf. Bekker-Nielsen (1988) 155.

<sup>442</sup> Diller (1975) 7-8.

a later period (5.41.145). Tellingly, in his list (which included information from Eratosthenes and Isidore) of previous Asiatic populations extinct by his time, no previous inhabitants for Ionia or Mysia are mentioned (5.33.127). The name ‘Teuthrania’ was applied instead of ‘Mysia’ to define inland territories north of Aeolis and a part of the Troad, Mysians were the ancient dwellers and ‘Mysia’ was the old name of the area specified as ‘Teuthrania’; nevertheless, Teuthrania is not a neologism, as Pliny rushes to assure his readers that ‘Teuthrania has been in use even when the entire area was named Mysia’ (5.33.125).<sup>443</sup> Occasionally, Pliny could be blunt: people and islands were sometimes considered negligible, defined as ‘ignobilis’ (e.g. the ‘insignificant’ people concluding a list of population groups in Caria in 5.29.105) or ‘inhorore’ (e.g. in 5.33.126, when referring to some ‘worthless *poleis*’ within the *conventus* of Pergamon). Arguably, he treated Mysia and Mysians in the same way: evident at 5.32.123, where the Mysians are reduced from a distinct, independent entity of past time to a contemporary population group containing sub-groups, such as the Abretenni, the Hellespontines, and other, wholly unimportant people (‘alii ignobiles’). In consequence, no description of Mysia is presented by Pliny in his description of the known world. One might reasonably expect a description of Mysia either alongside his description of Lydia, Ionia, and Aeolis, or after the Troad (i.e. 5.39.140). There, Pliny describes *poleis*, mountains, promontories, rivers and so on, yet the region remains unnamed. 5.41.145 opens with a clear localisation (‘Phrygia Troadi superiecta’), similar to most, if not all, other descriptions of regions by Pliny.

To conclude, Pliny described a Large Aeolis, occupying an area defined by Phocaea, a *polis*, and Cape Lekton, a geographical landmark. His Aeolis included lands and *poleis* that other authors had defined as Mysian or Trojan: Atarneus, Carene, Astyra, and the inland settlements of Palaeskepsis, Gergitha, and Neandreia, all abandoned by his time (5.31.120-32.123). Temnos, by then in ruins, is vaguely placed somewhere between Ionia, Mysia, and Lydia, but definitely outside Aeolis. His adherence to the divisions of Roman administration was not firm and he informed his readers that most Aeolian cities were included in the administrative sector of Smyrna, in Ionia, but that they would nonetheless be included in his account of Aeolis (5.31.120). His Aeolis extended more towards the inland and included Teuthrania, once in Mysia. In turn, there is no Mysia in his account and a region with this name

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<sup>443</sup> The actual wording is *gens ampla per se, etiam cum totum Mysia appellaretur*, which would signify the otherwise unattested Teuthranians. However, I have chosen to translate it as ‘Teuthrania’, a toponym, based not only on context, but also on the loose application of the terms *gentes* and *urbes* as the basic entities constituting the world, as listed at *HN*. 7.1.1 and observed by Beagon apud Bispham (2007) 47.

is treated as a historical relic, an entity lost in the ancient past, the previous name of a region that by his time fell within Aeolis. The discussion of Lesbos and Tenedos offers no indication that they were regarded as Aeolian or a part of Aeolis. World perception has played its part at this point, effectively separating the mainland from the neighbouring islands, not allowing even for a general topographic placement, such as those offered for Samos and the nearby islets (5.37.135: ‘Ioniae ora’), Chios (5.37.136: ‘adverso maxime Erythrarum’), Cyprus (5.35.129: ‘...ad ortum occasumque Ciliciae ac Syriae obiectam’), or Rhodes (its location measured by the application of its distance from Cyprus and Alexandria as fixed points in 5.36.132). In terms of literary structure and composition, Lesbos and Tenedos are left hanging.

### *Innovating archaism: Claudius Ptolemy*

In the seminal work of Claudius Ptolemy (dated in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), coordinates were calculated so that regions, landmarks, and *poleis* could be placed on a map.<sup>444</sup> It is debatable whether an actual map accompanied the books of Ptolemy, yet it seems reasonable to assume that a skilled and determined map-maker must have been able to produce a map based on the calculations offered in Book VIII of his *Geographia*.<sup>445</sup> However, the demand for such elaborate artefacts was perhaps limited to scholarly circles, while seafarers relied on other instruments, such as portolans of specific regions or orally transmitted information, rather than a general map of the known world. In any case, in the fifth book of his *Geographica* Ptolemy examined the positions of places in ‘Greater Asia’, divided into four tables or catalogues (*pinakes*), listing nineteen provinces in total, distributed among four sub-regions (Ptol. *Geog.* 5.1): (i) modern Asia Minor and Anatolia (from Pontus to Bithynia, the ‘so-called Asia-Phrygia’, Lycia, Galatia / Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Armenia, and Cilicia; Ptolemy’s ‘so-called Asia’ coincided with the Roman province of Asia, from the Hellespont to Lycia); (ii) Sarmatia; (iii) Colchis, Iberia, Albania, and Greater Armenia; and (iv) Syria, Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Cyprus.

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<sup>444</sup> Berggren and Jones (2000) 31-41.

<sup>445</sup> Whittaker (2002) 86; Brodersen (1995) 275-278; contra Dueck (2012) 98, who argues that the information and coordinates offered in *Geographia* were projected onto a map at the end of Book 8. The entire Book 8 is probably an addendum to a map that was to follow. For every *pinax* a short description was offered, then details on the parallel and meridian lines, a description of the areas mentioned and the boundaries of the map, before the bulk of information on the relative position of every location compared to Alexandria. Berggren and Jones (2000) 47 observe that size limitations suggest that regional maps might have fitted into a 2<sup>nd</sup>-century publication, but there was no room for a world map.

His first *pinax* commences with the province of Bosphorus and Propontis, before our area of interest, the province of ‘so-called Asia, Phrygia, and Lycia’. ‘Small Mysia’ is located in the north-western corner of Asia Minor around Cyzicus and Lampsacus (5.2.2); a ‘Small Phrygia or Troad’ follows to the south down to Assos (5.2.4), and then ‘Greater Mysia’ extends from Gargara to the mouth of the Caicus (5.2.5). Aeolis is restricted to the coastal strip between Pitane and the Hermus (5.2.6). After describing the coastal regions, Ptolemy continues with the inland regions, listing and locating *poleis* in Small Mysia, Phrygia: ‘i.e. the Troad’ (5.2.14: ‘Φρυγίας δὲ ἦτοι Τρωάδος’), Greater Mysia (which ends with Pergamon), Lydia, Caria, Greater Phrygia, and Lycia. Regarding our region of interest, Ptolemy offers coordinates for Lekton and Assos ‘in the Troad’; Antandros, Adramyttion, Palaeskepsis, the mouth of the Caicus, and Poroselene in ‘Greater Mysia’; then a Small Aeolis between Pitane and Phocaea; Pergamon is located in ‘Greater Mysia’; Lesbos with its five *poleis* is defined as ‘Aeolian’, yet it is listed separately as in ‘the Aegean Sea’ (5.2.29).

After nearly a century of Iulian propaganda (see next section), and another century since its influence began to wane, a regression is apparent. Mysia reappears on the map, the Troad is confined to the north-west corner of Asia Minor strongly associated with Phrygia, Aeolis is restricted to the Herodotean narrow coastal strip, and Lydia is placed inland. Interestingly, if the authorship of Ptolemy for the part examining Asia Minor had been replaced by the name of Herodotus, the differences between their accounts might have gone largely unnoticed. The two authors, separated by seven centuries of scholarship, discoveries, propaganda, and changing world-perceptions, present very similar pictures of the regions in Asia Minor. This remarkable similarity derives from a combination of geographical archaism applied by Ptolemy, his reliance on well-respected sources,<sup>446</sup> and the incorporation of contemporary world-views.

Ptolemy’s work marked the end of an era, a period of growing interest in the geography and shape of the world. Standing on the shoulders of previous scholars, he provided posterity with a perception of the world that would last for more than a millennium.<sup>447</sup> Instead of advancing the knowledge achieved by Ptolemy and other geographers, an epoch of geographical archaism continued for centuries. Admiration for previous work effectively discouraged new approaches and scholarship revolved around mimicking classical works of

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<sup>446</sup> Despite its importance, Ptolemy’s work did not offer any new geographical information, but systematically organised previously established knowledge, and provided and checked coordinates for locations placed on a conceptual map by previous scholars (Riley (1995) 233-236; Dueck (2012) 76).

<sup>447</sup> In contrast, Whittaker (2002) 86 argues that his influence on contemporary geographical works was rather insignificant.



the past.<sup>448</sup> In these times of unconstructive reproduction, Aeolis and its surrounding regions became fossilised. The terminology was fastened to a world long gone: Aeolis, Mysia, Lydia continued to appear in scholarly works long after their cultural meaning (and people named after those regions as Aeolians, Mysians, Lydians) had vanished from the new world of the Eastern Roman Empire.

### 3.3 An explanation of the fluctuating boundaries and size of Aeolis

The world of knowledge...is never neutral, detached, objective. The assumption that the textual compilation of knowledge is a practice distinct from political power will not stand.<sup>449</sup>

Let me summarise the facts and problems rising from the sources.

- A) Ancient accounts fix a southern boundary of Aeolis: the Hermus and Phocaea, where Ionia began. The problem lay to the north.
- B) Cape Lekton typically constituted a limit for Aeolis' northern boundary. Despite the existence of the Mytilenian and Tenedian *peraiiai*, no one ever considered the west coast of the Troad as a part of Aeolis, except Ephorus in a mythical context. The northern boundary of Aeolis fluctuated between Cape Lekton and the area between Pitane and Adramyttion; but how, why, and when?
- C) Mysia vanishes from the geographical accounts of the Augustan period and Aeolis grows in size.
- D) As I will demonstrate below, Mysia resurfaces in mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD and geographical conservatism preserves it well into the Byzantine period, alongside a Small Aeolis.<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> Dilke (1987) 234; Engels (2007) 551.

<sup>449</sup> König and Whitmarsh (2007) 7.

<sup>450</sup> Claudius Ptolemy put down coordinates for locations in the two Mysiae keeping close to the description of Ps.-Scylax (Ptol. *Geog.* 5.2.4-29). Ptolemy's Aeolis was small but included Phocaea and the springs of the rivers Pactolus and Hermus, placed in Mysia or Lydia by all other ancient authors.



*Figure 5: The gulf of Methymna and Cape Lekton/Baba Burnu in the background, the westernmost part of Asia.*

To begin with, is the size and location of Aeolis a problem demanding explanation? After all, names might have been interchangeable in antiquity. The distinction between regional entities such as Ionia and Aeolis may have been a cultural and phyletic convention, hence the resistance of these entities to strict geographical definition based on firm borders.<sup>451</sup> Especially in the case of Strabo, casual omissions of Aeolis or Mysia might be explained by his aim and scope, as described at the beginning of Book I (1.1.23): his work should be judged as a *colossourgia*, not on the basis of every detail, but as a whole. Accordingly, Strabo admits, some details are inevitably omitted.<sup>452</sup> As for the arbitrary interchangeability of regional names, even if this were the case for regions in Asia Minor, this interchangeability itself would still reveal notions, worldviews, and attitudes towards regions throughout antiquity. However, a short overview of ancient geographical science can reveal aspects other than arbitrary interchangeability of terms.

In antiquity geography was not a science firmly separated from history, mathematics, or astronomy; it was closely tied to all those sciences and to others, such as philosophy and cosmology.<sup>453</sup> Modern scholars work with a typology that distinguishes descriptive geographical works (travel stories, *periploi*) from scientific geography (aiming to measure the circumference and determine the shape of the inhabited world and beyond). The first category developed from oral tradition and personal experience. It thrived after the conquests of Alexander, in the form of *chorographiae*, detailed accounts of specific lands rather than general views of the newly discovered lands. On the other hand, scientific geography made use of logic and calculations in an attempt to comprehend the visible world and form cohesive theories based on previous approaches.<sup>454</sup> In reality, however, there were no strict separators between the two branches of geography, with Strabo's work being the best example of a treatise employing theoretical tools, drawing from oral tradition and *periploi*, attempting to describe the *oikoumene* as a whole in a philosophical manner, and yet exhibiting all the characteristics of descriptive geography. Perhaps Strabo relied on *periploi* for the general structure and the narrative/diegetic aspect of his *Geography*, and then added material he deemed appropriate among a wide range of sources available to him, in order to present a general impression of the unit in question (a *polis*, a landmark, a person and so on). In fact, Strabo's enhanced detail

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<sup>451</sup> Damigos (2011) 14.

<sup>452</sup> On Strabo's work as a *colossourgia*, Potheary (2005).

<sup>453</sup> Expressed explicitly in Str. 1.1.9-18; distinctions between the task of the geographer and those of other scientists in 2.5.2-5; 2.5.13; 2.5.18; Engels (2007) 541-542.

<sup>454</sup> Whittaker (2002) 82; Gresens (2009) 39-53; Dueck (2012) 35-59.

when describing coastal areas may be an indication of the strong influence of *periploi* on geographical treatises.<sup>455</sup>

The Imperial period was a time of geographical archaism in the Latin world. Admiration for the work of previous authors hindered the composition of original works of significant magnitude. The quality of geographical accounts peaked between Eratosthenes and Strabo and its mathematical aspect reached its zenith with Ptolemy in the second century AD.<sup>456</sup> Since earlier works were ascribed great value, reproduction took over from original synthesis. The educational value of and respect for established accounts hindered any attempt to compose works worthy to rank alongside the older specimens of geographical thinking. Citing earlier works and improving their details was deemed more appropriate than fieldwork and first-hand knowledge.<sup>457</sup> As a rule, geography remained a Greek discipline.<sup>458</sup> Latin works could not compete and lagged so much behind that Strabo was able to note his disdain (Str. 3.4.19).<sup>459</sup> However, geographical archaism and a tendency to rely on ancient authorities appeared earlier: for example, Strabo and Polybius fashioned their geographical accounts on Homer's Catalogue of Ships; Ptolemy himself relied on Marinus of Tyre, who collected and organised large amounts of geographical data. Ptolemy's aims were to revise and improve previous work, and there is no evidence indicating that he saw his work as innovative.<sup>460</sup> By Late Antiquity geographical archaism had restricted scholarly production to mere compilations and summaries of previous works.<sup>461</sup>

A thorough examination and contextualisation of available geographical accounts allows an inquisitive look into perceptions which probably influenced the choice of terms and conceptual sizes and boundaries of regions. This is an opportunity not to be missed by assuming randomness, indifference, negligence, inaccuracy, inconsistency or other flaws typically ascribed to ancient authors. Language is never innocent, and neither is geography.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>455</sup> Berggren and Jones (2000) 26-27; Pretzler (2005) 153; Dueck (2010).

<sup>456</sup> Rawson (1985) 250-266.

<sup>457</sup> A tendency to rely on established authorities instead of empirical data can be observed in Strabo, especially in areas where he could have benefitted from direct evidence, e.g. the western Roman provinces. See Horst Roseman (2005) 34, with the remark that Strabo's reluctance resided not in a tendency to archaism, but from his scepticism about the reliability of land measurements available to him. For the Second Sophistic and the innovation through imitation tendency, Webb (2006).

<sup>458</sup> Engels (2007) 544, 549-550.

<sup>459</sup> Braund (2005) 221-225; Potheary (2005) 24. Gresens (2009) 32 observes that Strabo names only two Latin sources, Agrippa and Piso.

<sup>460</sup> Walbank (1979) 563-588; Riley (1995) 233-236; Berggren and Jones (2000) 23-25; Dueck (2012) 21-22.

<sup>461</sup> Sundwall (1996) 622-627; Engels (2007) 551; reservations in König and Whitmarsh (2007) 9, 27-35, who emphasise the opportunities arising from a practice admittedly non-innovatory, but much closer to editing, which in turn offered opportunities to vary and criticise, but not expand, on previous themes.

<sup>462</sup> For scholarly geographical constructs, Pliny's Italy (Bispham (2007)), perceptions and allusions to the Athenian Empire in Aeschylus' *Eumenidae* (Futo Kennedy (2006)), and Caesar's Germania (Krebs (2006)).

Ultimately, what we read in our geographical sources may well be a ‘cultural vision’ of the world and its individual components; as Sarah Potheary shows in the case of Strabo, it may be impossible to discern whether any given discussion of a geographical entity is the outcome of personal experience or extensive reading. Strabo’s omissions, as observed by modern scholars, should not be taken as indication of ignorance or limited, second-hand knowledge. On the contrary, omissions were a personal choice and on occasion Strabo decided on a more detached, impersonal presentation bypassing his own experience of the entity in question.<sup>463</sup>

Its multi-disciplinary character probably rendered geography even more susceptible to propaganda. Strong influences from other disciplines and genres inevitably led to the inclusion of doctrines, notions, and principles formed in public and scholarly spheres, all affected by elite propaganda and concepts.<sup>464</sup> Strong political connotations (expressed directly in Str. 1.1.16: ‘the greatest purpose of geography is to serve political needs’) and influences were bilateral.<sup>465</sup> Officials, aristocrats, and students of politics were strongly encouraged to read geographical accounts to expand their understanding of the world.<sup>466</sup> Consequently, geographical works were not only affected by political thought, but in a circular way affected political thought and, through their transmission, the perceptions of future generations. Occasionally this cycle becomes manifest, in cases of direct royal patronage of geographical accounts, such as Ptolemy I’s support for Hecataeus of Abdera during the composition of his *Aegyptiaca* (c. 300 B.C.), or the royal sponsorship of *periploi*.<sup>467</sup> But even before the age of kings and emperors, from its very beginnings as an aspect inherent in other genres, geography was neither innocent nor free of political influence. In the 5th century B.C., it was intertwined with politics and current perceptions: racially biased worldviews were confirmed on the basis of geographical location. The world was organised, with climatic zones, continents, boundaries; yet Greece’s central position was unquestionable and reassured by natural science: being in the middle, the ideal location, gave its people an ideal mixture of virtues and benefits that justifiably put Greeks in the predominant position in a hierarchy of peoples (Orientals being too obsequious and lustful,

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<sup>463</sup> Potheary (2005) 16-18 for a case study based on Strabo’s wording when he described colossal statues he may or may not have seen himself.

<sup>464</sup> König and Whitmarsh (2007) 6-8.

<sup>465</sup> E.g. Horst Roseman (2005) 40 argues that Strabo’s treatise reflects the *habitus* of his status and era, as well as his affinity to the circle of scholars close to Cicero and Caesar; Braund (2005) 216 qualifies Strabo’s work as typical of the imperial period.

<sup>466</sup> Engels (2007) 544.

<sup>467</sup> Discussion in Dueck (2012) 40, 53 and König and Whitmarsh (2007) 20-27 for the imperial period. Euhemerus also undertook great journeys for Cassander around 300 B.C. (D.S. 6.1, with the reservations of Winiarczyk (2002) 1-2).

Westerners too strong and feeble-minded).<sup>468</sup> Roman conquests opened vast new regions to the Roman public and scholars, and created a strong geographical interest for the new provinces in the process, as new regions were brought within reach and the administration of newly-acquired territories necessitated documentation. A race towards the edges of the world, a discourse of world domination under the assumption that the *oikoumene* was small enough to be solely commanded by one authority, Rome (Str. 2.5.26).<sup>469</sup> All in all, the problem we need to address is illustrated in Figure 6 below.

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<sup>468</sup> Golden (2015) 199-202 with bibliography.

<sup>469</sup> Moynihan (1985); Dueck (2000) 122-125; Whittaker (2002) 104-105; Biraschi (2005) 82.

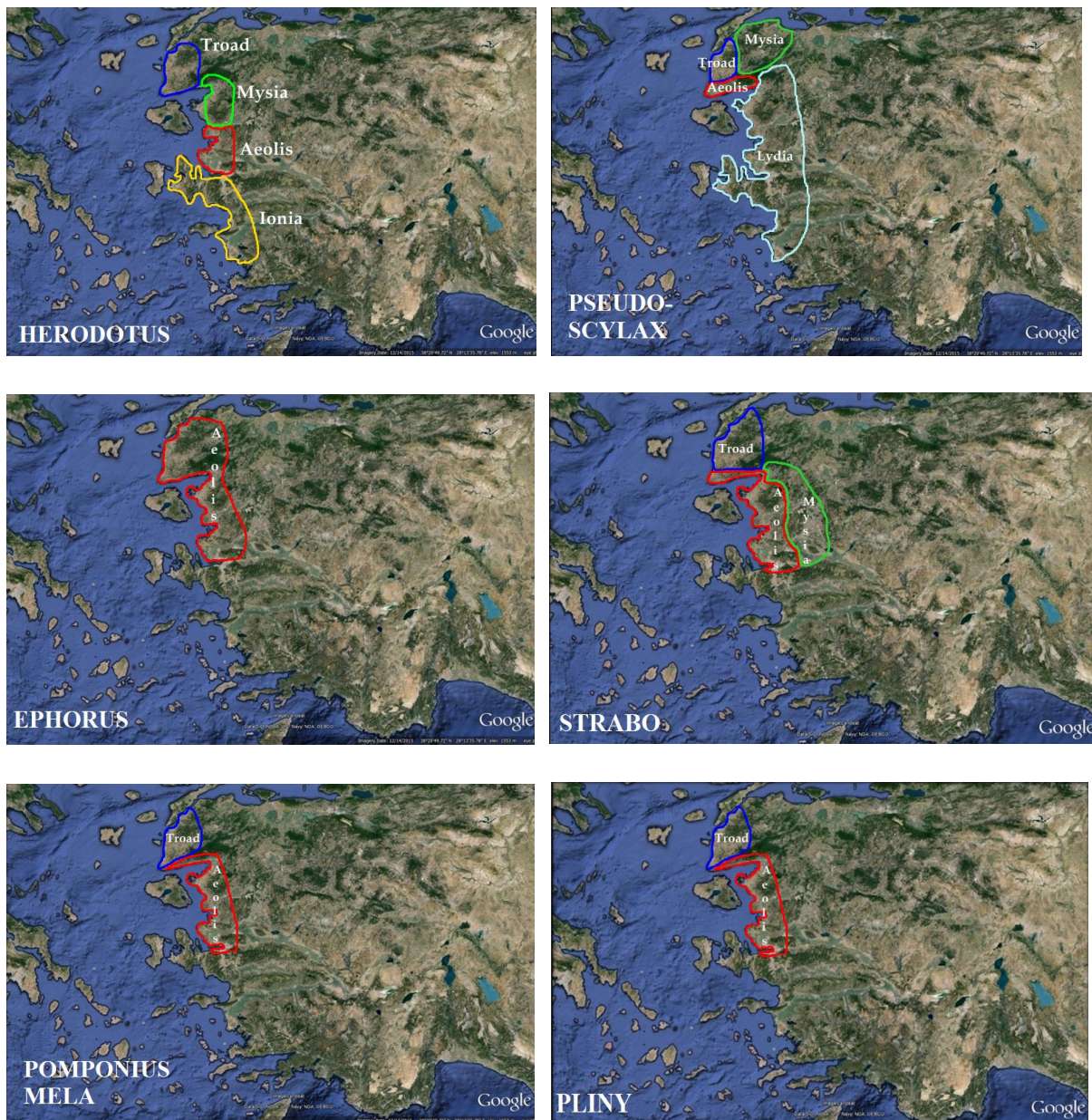


Figure 6: Ionia, Aeolis, Mysia, Lydia, and the Troad in ancient geographical accounts

A Small Aeolis appeared in Herodotus, the earliest surviving geographical account of the region. With the exception of Ephorus, who discusses mythical times, a pattern subsequently arises: the size of Aeolis is significantly larger in all later geographical accounts discussing the region. Strabo, Mela, and Pliny discussed an Aeolis stretching from Cape Lekton to Phocaea and the Hermus. Those works were composed between late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, at a time when the effects of Augustan propaganda were still quite strong.

I will argue that the appearance of a Large Aeolis in the geographical accounts of that period is not coincidental, but was influenced by the effects of imperial propaganda during the early imperial period. The expansion of Aeolis in 1<sup>st</sup>-century geographical accounts was not an abrupt transformation. Xenophon's reluctance to term the inland area around Cebren as the Troad, alongside his 'Pharnabazus' Aeolis', may be an early indication of a shift from Small to Large Aeolis. Also, Strabo, Mela, and Pliny consulted, cited, or summarised earlier sources. Perhaps more importantly, political conditions in the area had changed. The gradual consolidation of Troy to the north-west corner of the peninsula suggests a prolonged, dynamic process of geographical adjustment. I will suggest that the formation of a *Koinon* around Ilion (c. 310 B.C.) provided a fixed location for Troy and the Troad in public knowledge and international politics. Ilion and Troy became actual, defined entities with a specific locus: the plain of the Scamander to the north. This new centrality meant in practice that everything in the southern part of the Troad was now open to negotiation.<sup>470</sup>

### *Consolidation in the north-west: Ilion*

The identification of classical Ilion with mythical Troy does not seem to precede the 5<sup>th</sup> century: the extravagant sacrifices of Xerxes on the site mentioned by Herodotus are the earliest attestation of this identification (Hdt. 7.43).<sup>471</sup> Still, it did not do much for the local community, which lived in relative austerity until the visit of Alexander, who performed his famous pilgrimage to the site (Plut. *Alex.* 15.7; Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.5-7). Before Alexander's theatrical performance in Troy, the site was largely deserted, yet probably not to the exaggerated extent stated by Lycurgus in a speech delivered in 330 B.C.: '...once destroyed by the Greeks and uninhabited ever since' (Lyc. *Leocr.* 62).<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>470</sup> A trend traced already in the account of the campaign of Dercylidas in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.16-20.

<sup>471</sup> Perhaps an apotropaic sacrifice with the imminent crossing to Europe in mind (Borgeaud (2010) 340-342).

<sup>472</sup> Cohen (1995) 152; Engels (2014). Lycurgus contrasted Athenian perseverance and consequent rise to power after incidents of severe destructions with the permanent downfall of Troy. A rhetorical exaggeration is at play here. Between Xerxes and Alexander, the only visit we know of is a casual, pre-battle sacrifice to the local deity by Mindarus (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.4), the Spartan naval commander, after the Peloponnesian defeat at Cynos Sema in 411. Mindarus probably had broken camp from Abydos (the base of the Peloponnesian fleet after Cynos Sema according to Th. 8.103 and 8.107) and moved closer to the Athenian fleet, perhaps with the intention of attacking. The arrival of Alcibiades and the subsequent defeat in a skirmish that interrupted his sacrifice obliged him to retreat.



The local community of Ilion had a foot in both camps and could claim inclusion in collective identities as different as Trojan/local/non-Greek and Achaean/colonial/Greek.<sup>473</sup> Alexander, Troy's first recorded benefactor, claimed both pasts at play. His actions intended to signal a reconciliation of Europe and Asia under one ruler. He also acknowledged both affiliations of his contemporary Ilians, Trojan and Greek.<sup>474</sup> The foundation of Alexandria Troas and the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias (a union of several *poleis* in the proximity of Ilion) followed promptly, either by the agency of Antigonos the One-eyed, of Lysimachus, or even earlier.<sup>475</sup> Two 'Aeolian' *poleis*, Assos and Gargara, joined the *Koinon*, either by their own volition or after 'advice' from Antigonos or Lysimachus. In fact, the earliest evidence for the *Koinon*'s existence is the honorific decree for Malousios of Gargara (*Ilion* 1). There followed a building frenzy during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The Attalids provided significant financial support and this relationship served both parties well, as they exchanged financial resources for a chance to connect to a mythical past. Accordingly, Ilion adapted to its fame and replaced the traditional deity of the *polis* (Apollo Pasparius) with the expected Athena Ilias.<sup>476</sup> According to Erskine's analysis, the Hellenistic kings respected and invested in Ilion for many reasons: to follow Alexander's example and legitimise their authority; to exhibit their respect for the traditions of this important region, the crossing point between two continents; to 'associate themselves with heroes'; and to win the favour of the local goddess.<sup>477</sup> The same objectives drove the Romans' actions in the area, with the crucial addition of the assumed relation between *metropolis* and *apoikia*.

The first recorded visit of Roman officials to Troy is that of C. Livius Salinator in 190 B.C. (Liv. 37.9.7), whence the Romans were added to a long line of rulers, from Xerxes to Antiochus III, who had performed some kind of pilgrimage to the site (Salinator also sacrificed to Athena Ilias), with Antiochus' visit dating only a few years before 190 (Liv. 35.43.3).<sup>478</sup> In 190, Publius Scipio ascended the citadel of Ilion and sacrificed to Minerva (Liv. 37.37.3). In 188 Ilion was exempted from tribute and its territory expanded with the annexation of Rhoiteion and Gergis. This decision was made both for reasons of rewarding past services to Rome and on account of the *syngeneia* between the Romans and Ilians, according to Liv.

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<sup>473</sup> Erskine (2001) 111, 205, who notes that the abundance of tombs of Achaean heroes on the western shore of the Troad shows that communities had the opportunity to subscribe to more than one identity.

<sup>474</sup> Erskine (2001) 228-231.

<sup>475</sup> Cohen (1995) 154 n.4; Pillot (2016).

<sup>476</sup> Rose (1998) 407-408; Kosmetatou (2001) 107-110, 117-122, 125-128. In truth, all temples of Athena Ilias attested in textual sources from Homer onwards remain untraced archaeologically and the earliest temple unearthed is dated in the Hellenistic period (Morris (2007) 61).

<sup>477</sup> Erskine (2001) 233-234.

<sup>478</sup> For visits of rulers to Troy, Vidal-Naquet (1990) 35-62.

38.39.10, who may have derived material from Polyb. 22.5. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. Strabo informs us about Caesar's benefaction to Ilion, comprising the annexation of new territories (perhaps the annexation of Dardanos, as in Str. 13.1.39 it is included in the Ilian territory) and the granting of freedom and exemption from tax (Str. 13.1.27, still valid by the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD according to Plin. *HN*. 5.33.124). These may well have been confirmations of previously-bestowed privileges, and Caesar's intention may have been the articulation of his personal kinship to the Ilians (through Iulus from the house of Aeneas, in addition to the already established kinship between Romans and Ilians through Aeneas) and an attempt to imitate Alexander (Str. 13.1.27).<sup>479</sup> Augustus spent a great part of 20 B.C. in Asia Minor (Dio Cass. 54.7) and invested greatly in a building programme, including the temple of Athena, the *bouleuterion*, and the theatre. During his rule, for the first time the authorities of Ilion stressed and celebrated the kinship of their *polis* not only to Rome (see below), but also to members of the imperial family.<sup>480</sup> Claudius continued Ilion's favourable treatment by the Iulii and confirmed its exemption from tribute.<sup>481</sup> Ilion fell slightly out of favour with the Flavii. The myth of Aeneas was not emphasised with the same intensity during that period, yet the *polis* enjoyed the privileges of occasional imperial sponsorship, often focusing more on the Greek aspects linked to Troy (such as Achilles or Ajax).<sup>482</sup> Turbulent times had passed, peace was consolidated and with it Asia Minor as a Roman province. Henceforth there was no need to pay heed to Ilion in any way other than as an interesting, antique site.<sup>483</sup>

The development of the symbolic value of the actual location of Ilion, in all probability not predating Herodotus, was manifested by the sequence of rulers honouring the local goddess and tapping into the inherent symbolic capital of the location. Their actions at Ilion revolved around three axes. First, there was a response to local custom, the purpose being restricted to the strategic importance of the site. A second, wider scope addressed western Asia Minor as an entity. Troy provided an element of unity among otherwise diverse population groups, a consideration perhaps as early as Xerxes, the first recorded ruler to sacrifice at Ilion.<sup>484</sup> Finally, with the Romans in the area, the value of the myth of the Trojan foundation of Rome was utilised by both parties, *metropolis* and *apoikia*. Under the Iulii, mainly from Caesar to

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<sup>479</sup> Cf. Erskine (2001) 247.

<sup>480</sup> Erskine (2001) 250-251, who follows the publications of the excavations by Rose; Mac Sweeney (2018) 98-99.

<sup>481</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25.3; Erskine (2001) 172-173.

<sup>482</sup> Mac Sweeney (2018) 100-107.

<sup>483</sup> Caracalla visited Ilion in AD 214 (Hdn. 4.8.3-5), young Julian in AD 354/5 (Julian *Ep.* 79), Fatih Sultan Mehmet in 1463 (Critobulus 4.11.5-6).

<sup>484</sup> Cf. Haubold (2007).

Augustus, the foundation myth of Rome intertwined with the lineage of the ruling family, who also claimed descent from Aeneas, Rome's mythical founder. The function and exploitation of this myth will be discussed in the following section to supplement the consolidation of Troy in the north as an explanatory factor of the Large Aeolis in ancient geographical accounts.

To continue my first argument involving the impact of the consolidation of Ilion on geographical perceptions of the area, after the time of Herodotus more scholarly works discussed, mentioned, or even briefly referenced the Aeolian cities 'in the Troad'. The Aeolian origins of settlements on the southern coast of the Troad became well-known, commonplace, if not prevalent in public discourse. The formation of the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias to the north offered a fixed location for the vague entity of mythical Troy. While the Trojan affiliation of Mt. Ida and its surrounding area was never really questioned by ancient authors, a new 'centrality' was formed, with Ilion in the north-west occupying the central position around which the Troad evolved as a concept and reality. Troy and the Troad had acquired a new focus, Ilion instead of Mt. Ida. 'Trojan' signified the north-western part of the region and the coastal settlements on the southern coast of the Troad became remote, off-centred, and marginal.

The position of Ilion in the north-west of the peninsula created opportunities for the mountainous *poleis* on the slopes of Mt. Ida and the coastal *poleis* below. Gargara and Assos joined the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias from its very beginning, yet their Aeolian affiliation remained generally undisputed. The narrow coastal strip I term Small Aeolis acquired a northern counterpart, the coastal *poleis* of the southern Troad, with ample sources testifying to their Aeolian affiliation. Their Aeolian identity perhaps originated in their previous political status as dependencies of the Mytilenians, and as such they were attested in Herodotus' account of the Aeolian *poleis*. The Mytilenian dependencies probably gained independence after Herodotus had completed his *Histories* and narratives of their foundation myths and phyletic affiliation circulated thereafter, unanimously supporting their inclusion in Aeolian collective identity. By the 4<sup>th</sup> century, *poleis* such as Assos, Gargara, Neandreaia, and others around Mt. Ida, could lay solid claims to both identities, Trojan or Aeolian, both well supported by the corpus of myths and the locations of their settlements. If we reasonably assume that the 'Herodotean rule' still applied, according to which Aeolis was perceived as the accumulation of territories controlled by Aeolians, then the southern coast of the Troad, populated by Aeolians, may easily have become more frequently defined as Aeolis. In sum, the location of Troy in the north-west corner of the peninsula shifted the centrality of 'Troad' and 'Trojan' to the plain of the Scamander, leaving room for the 'intrusion' of Aeolis in the south.

It must be emphasised that actual conditions on the spot played an important part in the process of defining a region, but not always conclusively.<sup>485</sup> For example, the mountain settlement of Skepsis found itself surrounded by *poleis* defined or self-identified as Aeolian. While the surrounding area became known as a part of Aeolis in the wider sense of the term after the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Skepsis never attempted to associate itself with an Aeolian past, as far as we can tell from the surviving evidence. At the same time, the inclusion of Assos and Gargara in the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias did not encourage scholars to define the nearby area as ‘the Troad’. Throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, that particular coast was part of ‘Aeolis’, under the impact of political conditions in Asia Minor and the prevailing pattern of naming a region after its inhabitants. An additional factor in the expansion of Aeolis in geographical accounts was Augustan propaganda and the exploitation of the foundation myth of Rome which involved Aeneas and his flight to the west.

*Aeneas, founder of Rome, fore-father of the Iulii, and the extinction of Mysia*

According to legend, after the sack of Troy Aeneas led a band of Trojan refugees to the West. Their adventures ended in Italy, where they finally settled in their newly-founded settlement of Rome. This brief statement does little justice to the long process of the development of the myth of Aeneas and his settlement in Italy, as well as the incorporation of the foundation by Aeneas into Rome’s mythical corpus. Rome’s most prevalent foundation myth focused on the twins Romulus and Remus, with the former founding a settlement named after his deceased brother. It has been convincingly argued that the myth of the twins must have been the foundation tale most commonly narrated within Rome and acknowledged by the general populace, while the intended use of the myth of Aeneas was in a context of interaction with the Greeks, first in the west and, after the age of conquests, in the eastern provinces.<sup>486</sup> With the myth of Aeneas, Rome could establish a common ground, a common frame of reference with the Greeks, while keeping itself outside the Greek world, by subscribing to an identity well

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<sup>485</sup> Back in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when fewer options were available to the *poleis* of the area, the Gergithes who dwelled in Mt. Ida were regarded as the descendants of colonists from Cyprus, led by the mythical Teucer, after whom they were named Teucrians (Hdt. 5.122).

<sup>486</sup> The earliest attestation of the myth of the twins is set in a 4<sup>th</sup>-century context by Liv. 10.23.5, according to Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010) 91-92, who also notes that judging from the lack of any references to an alternative myth, all other traditions that may have existed previously must have been forgotten by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

known to all Greeks, implemented in Greek myth and culture for centuries, yet lying just outside the Greek world.<sup>487</sup>

The main surviving sources for the myth of Aeneas are dated either shortly before or after the Augustan period, or are heavily influenced by ‘Augustan priorities’ (Str. 5.3.2; D.S. 7.4-6; Ov. *Met.* 13.623-14.608; Just. *Epit.* 43.1-3; and of course Vergil’s *Aeneid*). The origins of the myth could be traced back to Sicilian authors after the 4th century.<sup>488</sup> In the early days of ancient scholarship on the issue, most elements of the myth remained incomplete. Pieces of different traditions were gradually glued together and a cohesive narrative was constructed. Migrations, wanderings, obscure journeys to the West were substantiated and defined, eventually forming a branch of cohesive foundation myths, whose earliest preserved specimen is Lycophron (*Alex.* 1226-1235).<sup>489</sup> Either through Sicily, Etruria, or Latium, the myth of Aeneas entered the Roman cultural sphere by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, having already become commonplace among Greek scholars.<sup>490</sup> Despite the wide circulation of the myth in visual culture in Rome before the imperial period, there are no traces of any cult of Trojan founders before Augustus’ reign.<sup>491</sup> This absence reveals the role of Augustan propaganda in the development and upgrading of the Trojan foundation myth and its influence on contemporary scholarly works.

In the republican period, Rome had been adjusting and reacting to Greek overtures about its Trojan past.<sup>492</sup> As I will argue below, the myth of the Trojan foundation of Rome developed under the patronage of Augustus and gained eminent status via authorities such as Livy and Vergil in the Augustan period, under the influence of the persistent promotion of Troy and Aeneas as the ancestors of the Romans. The agency of imperial propaganda is easily discerned.

Until the last years of the Republic, Rome’s prevalent foundation myth remained the story of Romulus and Remus. The notion of Troy as the Romans’ motherland did not gain much support in scholarly works and public knowledge in the Republican period. In contrast,

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<sup>487</sup> Gruen (1992) 27-31; Erskine (2001) 133-147.

<sup>488</sup> Erskine (2001) 26-29, 148 -152; early Greek sources are collected in Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010) 106-108.

<sup>489</sup> Hornblower (2015) 436-437 n. 1229. In Lycophron’s epic, Cassandra prophesied about her descendants’ gaining world domination and thus saving the currently devastated Troy from oblivion. The obvious reference is to the Romans as the descendants of Aeneas and this passage contradicts the traditional dating of the *Alexandra* and strongly suggests a date in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.

<sup>490</sup> Gruen (1992) 15-17, 27-29; Erskine (2001) 151-152.

<sup>491</sup> Erskine (2001) 103, 206; Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010) 98-105. According to Erskine (2001) 198-222, even the arrival of Magna Mater *Idaea* in Rome after 217 B.C. probably lacked any Trojan inferences at that time, as only Ovid, Livy, and Virgil associated her with Troy centuries after the fact. For the survival and flight of Aeneas in visual culture throughout Italy, Brown (2002) 313-314 with bibliography.

<sup>492</sup> Rodriguez-Mayorgas (2010) 94-95.

the prevalent myth of Romulus meant very little to the Greeks, hence imperial propaganda chose to exploit the alternative myth.<sup>493</sup> The family of the Iulii traced its lineage to Aeneas and Troy; two prominent members, Julius Caesar and Augustus, put Troy in a central position in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and they invested in a flamboyant building programme there.<sup>494</sup> The Trojan origins of Rome were hailed and sung by artists, scholars, and poets, Vergil and Livy being the most well-known individuals working under imperial patronage. Interestingly, it seems that Lucius Iulius Caesar, consul of 64 B.C. and a historian, was the first to attribute to Aeneas a son named Iulius.<sup>495</sup> Later sources presented him not as a son of Aeneas, but vaguely as a descendant of his (Str. 13.1.27, and then established by Verg. *Aen.* 789-790 as an ancestor of Julius Caesar). Augustus promoted the myth of Trojan ancestry and the foundation of Aeneas as the principal foundation myth of both Rome and the imperial family, two institutions increasingly intertwined. Representations and scenes from the myth spread throughout the Sebasteia of the empire, from Spain to Asia Minor.<sup>496</sup> Sacrifices of Roman officials at Ilium before Caesar were in complete accord with standards set by tradition and previous rulers visiting the area. After the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., this special relationship was projected into the past. The accounts of Livy and Justin, heavily affected by and reflective of Augustan propaganda, associated even the first recorded official sacrifice by a Roman at Ilium in 190 (by C. Livius Salinator, commander of the fleet) to a Trojan past.<sup>497</sup> Conversely, the Iulii were involved in Troy not only with the Trojan origins of state and family in mind, but also to emulate the performance of other rulers before them in Ilium.<sup>498</sup> Only, this time, state *syngeneia* and individual *syngeneia* were intertwined.

The idea promoted by imperial propaganda presented a natural state of affairs. Trojans, led by Aeneas, were guided to safety, away from troubles and the devastation of a long war. Their descendants, now settled in Rome, were again led to safety by a descendant of Aeneas,

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<sup>493</sup> Already in the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century Titus Flamininus styled himself as a descendant of Aeneas (Αἰνεάδαζ Τίτροζ) in a Pan-Hellenic context, his dedication of shield and crest to Delphi (Plut. *Flam.* 12.6). The dedicatory inscription of his golden wreath to Apollo embraced all Romans as descendants of Aeneas, labelling Flamininus not only as a leader, but also as a god-like figure.

<sup>494</sup> Rose (2014) 217-237.

<sup>495</sup> Erskine (2001) 246.

<sup>496</sup> Erskine (2001) 255.

<sup>497</sup> Liv. 37.9.7; Just. *Epit.* 31.8.1-3, discussed in Erskine (2001) 234-235 who observes the intrusion of Augustan-period taste and style into these accounts. In the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Lucan (*Phars.* 9-964-979) went as far as staging a visit to Troy that never took place, that of Julius Caesar. His deceptively aloof Caesar may nearly have walked over the tomb of Hector but very selectively traced only elements related to Aeneas and missed all landmarks related to other prominent Trojan families. As a result, Lucan constructed a distinctively Julian conception of Troy, perhaps with the intention to underline the Iulian character of the newly re-founded Rome: Rossi (2001); Spencer (2005) 48-56; Borgeaud (2010) 344-346.

<sup>498</sup> Erskine (2001) 233-234.

after a prolonged series of wars and civil strife, into an era of Pax Deorum under the auspices of the gods and the agency of the emperor.<sup>499</sup> In this new cultural environment, the *poleis* of western and north-western Asia Minor were presented with the opportunity to establish relationships with Rome and the emperor. By claiming Trojan descent, local authorities could bring their people closer to the Roman people, and their affairs closer to the interests of the Roman people and the Senate. Ilium could claim both identities, Greek and Trojan, and evidence shows that its authorities put the alleged *syngeneia* with Rome to good use when mediating on behalf of other *poleis* of the area to their ‘colony’ (for Lampsacus in *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 591 (196/5 B.C.); for Lycians in *Pol.* 22.5 (189 B.C.)).<sup>500</sup> The other *poleis* of the wider area could imitate this practice to a different extent, moving closer to a Trojan past and present by circulating foundation myths and claims to phyletic affiliation. Aeolian *poleis* on the southern coast could become members of the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias without abandoning their Aeolian identity.

What seemed increasingly pointless was the ascription to a Mysian collective identity. By the turn of the millennium, the persisting imperial propaganda had literally removed Mysia from the map. The most renowned *polis* of Mysia was another outsider which attempted to associate with Troy. In Pergamon, the eponymous hero, son of the Greek Neoptolemus and the Trojan Andromache (*Paus.* 1.11.2), incorporated both a Greek and a Trojan past. Eurypylos, Telephus' son by a sister or daughter of Priam, linked Troy to the Attalids.<sup>501</sup> As a result, Telephus could become the forefather of Romans (Rome as a daughter of Telephus in *Plut. Rom.* 2.1 and *Suda* s.v. *Λατίνοι*).<sup>502</sup> The non-Greek populations of northern Asia Minor also stressed their *syngeneia* with Troy,<sup>503</sup> leaving even less room for Mysia or Mysians.

In consequence, scholarly works of the Augustan period had little motivation to refer to Mysia or Mysians. In public knowledge and scholarly works Mysians were the non-Greek locals. Often, Mysia was represented as a marginal territory of the *Other*: rural, dispersed settlements; a land of bandits; a forest land; an insubordinate region.<sup>504</sup> Mysia and Mysians

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<sup>499</sup> Court poets went to great lengths to present this timeless connection between the people and their rightful leaders. Kondratieff (2012) argues that the scene in Virgil where Aeneas reunites with Anchises during the former's descent into the Underworld is strongly reminiscent of the census of 28 B.C. When Aeneas reaches him, Anchises was presiding over a procedure of vetting the souls of his descendants, literally performing a census in the underworld. See *Verg. Aen.* 6.679-683; the scene provided an excellent opportunity to incorporate some prominent figures of Roman history into the family of Aeneas and Augustus (*Verg. Aen.* 6.760-859).

<sup>500</sup> Curty (1995) 78-82; Erskine (2001) 169-172, 176-178; Adak (2007).

<sup>501</sup> Sources collected in Erskine (2001) 220 n. 89 and 90.

<sup>502</sup> For the attempt of Pergamos to link to the Trojan myth, Erskine (2001) 219-222.

<sup>503</sup> Curty (1995) 192-193; sources and discussion in Erskine (2001) 196-197.

<sup>504</sup> For a description of the natural environment and the importance of forests for the history of the region, still regarded as backward by 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century travellers, Robert (1978) 442-452. In the *Hellenica* (of unknown authorship, dated between 386 B.C. and 346 B.C.) from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri the Mysoi are ‘independent’ (*P.Oxy* V 0842 D 21 (651): ‘εἰσι γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ [τῶν] Μυσῶν αὐτόνομοι καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ὑπακούουσιν [τῆς].’).

appeared regularly in Herodotus, closely related to Lydia both in terms of territory and culture.<sup>505</sup> In 5<sup>th</sup>-century tragedy the land of Mysia was exalted for its natural resources, the Caicus and the forests inland, while in a mythical context it remained barbaric even after the arrival of Telephus from Arcadia.<sup>506</sup> Mysians were portrayed with the typical barbarian characteristic of extreme mourning. The proverbial essence of the ‘Mysian lamentation’ is exhibited by the choice of ethnicity for the mourning sailor soon to meet his death in Salamis (a Mysian in Timoth. *Persae* 105ff; cf. Aesch. *Persae* 1054). Mysia also appeared regularly in the works of Xenophon, and Pseudo-Scylax listed the Greek *poleis* in the area.<sup>507</sup> Recently, a scene on a sarcophagus dated to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from the Granicus valley has been interpreted as a fight between some members of the Achaemenid elite and Mysian light soldiers. The scene is portrayed as a hunting expedition and the *Other* is de-humanised, with the Mysian enemy being assimilated to a boar.<sup>508</sup> After the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, the Attalid kings and their realm were largely defined as ‘Mysian(s)’.<sup>509</sup> Following the death of Attalus III in 133 and his bequest of the kingdom to Rome, by the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD probably no-one had used the name Mysia in everyday affairs for at least a century and a half, as the kingdom based on *Mysian* land and tradition was now integrated into Roman territory. In Asia Minor the term re-appears only after the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>510</sup> Similarly, in the works of Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, Mysia is regarded as a historical, not a contemporary entity, a relic of the past. Accordingly, Mysia disappears from geographical accounts composed in the

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This does not necessarily mean absolute independence from the Great King (some Greek *poleis* were left ‘independent’ but continued to pay tribute to the local satrap, as in Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.25; contra Bruce (1967) 135–136, who accepts Mysian independence and presents supporting passages of Xenophon). However, the wording of the second sentence (‘and they do not heed to the King’) suggests that some Mysians were independent and manifests the different patterns of control the Persian Empire applied over its peoples (cf. McKechnie and Kern (1988) 179).

<sup>505</sup> Mysians in the satrapy of Lydia (3.90); as colonists of the Lydians who march alongside them in the lines of Xerxes (7.74); closely related to Carians and Lydians (1.171); cultivating the land in the Caicus valley (6.28); their land was adjacent to Lydia in the itinerary of Xerxes (7.42), including Atarneus (8.106); their *ethnos* remained among the select forces of Mardonius for a second attempt to subdue the Greek *poleis* in 479 (9.32).

<sup>506</sup> Aesch. (*Mysoi*). fr. 143-145 *TrGF*; Timoth. *Persae* 105-106; Eur. *Telephus* fr. 696.9-16 *TrGF*.

<sup>507</sup> Hordern (2002) 185. On Mysia: inland to the borders of Phrygia (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.8-10, 18); Mysians looting the king's lands and regularly attacked by Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.13); Mysians in the front line of Pharnabazus are slain by the forces of the Spartan commander Herippidas in the area of Daskyleion in 395 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.24). List of Greek *poleis* in Mysia in [Scyl.] 93; in 98 a Mysian migration inland is mentioned.

<sup>508</sup> Ma (2008) 251-253. The iconography of the fighting scene strongly resembles to the hunt scene on the other side of the sarcophagus, with the light-armoured warrior and the boar as victims of the Achaemenid elites.

<sup>509</sup> Sources collected in Pretzler (1999) 91- 92.

<sup>510</sup> The paucity of inscriptions is remarkable. Very few occurrences appear: in Pergamon (*OGIS* 338 shortly after 133 B.C.); in eastern Lydia (a group of settlers in *SEG* 40.1062 around 163/2 B.C. and a military unit during the reign of Eumenes II in *TAM* V, I, 690). After a dearth between the annexation of Pergamon to Rome and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (with very few exceptions in the proximity of Mysia, i.e. *IG* XII Suppl. 9 (early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD in Mytilene) and *SEG* 41.1037 (133-100 B.C. in Lydia)), the terms resurface on inscriptions from around the empire in the Flavian and Antonine periods (e.g. *IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> 420 from Chersonesos in AD 70).



Augustan period and its rare appearances occur almost always in mythical or historical contexts. Occasionally, Mysia was restricted to an undefined area south of Cyzicus and its southern appendix, bordering Aeolis, vanishes entirely. The Troad was fixed to the north, and Aeolis stretched all across the southern shore of the Troad.

Mysia and Mysians, terms unattested in non-Greek sources, in fact must have been a Greek construct to define rural, indigenous, non-Greek populations in the area just beyond the coastal zone of western Asia Minor.<sup>511</sup> The alleged name of the land in mythical times may have provided classical and later authors with a name for the locals. Deriving from the pool of Greek myth, one may define ‘Mysia’ as an arbitrary name for an area largely regarded as backward by people living in a *polis*-scheme world. Perhaps this backwardness was not entirely unjustifiable, since the urbanisation of Mysia did not begin until well into the Roman period, although a character of backwardness could not be applied to the entire region. A great divide has been noted between a flat West Mysia and the East, hilly, forested Mysia, a marginal, unsubdued realm of bandits depicted in the sarcophagus of the Granicus valley.<sup>512</sup> When this construct of ‘Mysia’ lost its meaning and context, it first disappeared from public discourse and then from scholarly discussion. After the intensity of Augustan propaganda subsided, Mysia re-emerged in the era of the Flavian and Antonine emperors, at a time close to the beginning of geographical archaism. Alongside the reappearance of Mysia, a Small Aeolis resurfaced in scholarly works.

Writing in the times of Marcus Aurelius, Pausanias positioned Aeolis, ‘as we now call it’, between Ionia and an undefined land of the Mysians (Paus. 3.2.1: ‘...τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ Μυσῶν [ἀποικίαν], καλουμένην δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ’ ἡμῶν’). The sub-regions of Asia Minor appear frequently in his work, but Pausanias still felt it was necessary to clarify for his readers that Sardeis was located in Lydia, ‘as it was known at that time [of Agesilaus in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century] the largest part of southern *Asia*’. In his narrative, Pausanias followed the Persian administrative patterns and the term, familiar from Plutarch, ‘satrap of the coastal regions’ is applied in the same passage (3.9.5).

In the writings of Cassius Dio (early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) Mysia resurfaces, always with a necessary addition to distinguish Mysia of ‘Asia’ or ‘Lower Mysia’ from Mysia on the Danube, sometimes referred to as ‘Upper Mysia’, ‘Mysia in Europe’ or simply ‘Mysia’ (e.g. *HR* 38.10.3;

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<sup>511</sup> Ma (2008) 250.

<sup>512</sup> Ma (2008) 248-249 with bibliography; Ma (2013) 62-75 presents a process of gradual urbanisation built on Attalid practices of military colonisation of what became a frontier zone where Iranian, Hellenistic, and local elements fused.

49.36.2; 51.2.3; 51.23-26; 55.23-24). Before the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, Philostratus resorted to a complex definition of the burial place of Palamedes, a mythical figure linked to the Homeric epic. Achilles and Ajax buried Palamedes in ‘the land of Aeolians adjacent to Troy’ (*Her.* 716). Philostratus was concerned that his readers would require further clarification on the location of the tomb of Palamedes, since by ‘Aeolis’ on its own his audience would have associated the location with the coastal strip between the Hermus and Pitane. However, when Philostratus categorised Aeolian population groups, his criterion was a distinction between mainland and islands, hence ‘Lesbians and all other Aeolians’ (among the local people frequenting in the oracle of Orpheus in Lesbos in *Her.* 668-669). Well into the Byzantine era, geographical toponyms became fossilised, used by scholars adhering to classical terminology. Mysia, Aeolis, and the Troad appear typically in the division of lands among Noah’s offspring after the Great Flood, a tradition building on Josephus in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, who was keen to define the Aeolians as descendants of Alisa, son of Japheth (*Joseph., Ant. Jud.* 1.127).

### **3.4 Summary: a history of a term, place, and name**

*When is Antandros? When is Assos?*

Establishing a location for *poleis* such as Antandros might have caused Strabo additional despair. Antandros was located in the Troad (Hdt. 5.26), in Lydia ([Scyl.] 98), in Aeolis (Pliny *HN* 5.123, ‘once called Mysia’; Mel. 1.90-91), in Mysia (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀντανδρος*), on Mt. Ida (Conon 41 apud Phot. *Bibl.* 186.139a 12-24), sometimes in perplexed combinations involving more than one entity, as ‘under Ida towards Mysia of Aeolis’ (Hdn. *de Prosodia Catholica* 3.1.205). Assos is a similar case. Its initial phyletic characterisation (‘Aeolian’ in Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 160) was taken to signify its location within a Large Aeolis (Mel. 1.93). For others it was a colony of the Methymnians (Myrsilus *FGrHist* 477 F 13) or the Mytilenians in Mysia or in the Hellespont (Stephanus s.v. *Ἀσσός*), with Pausanias preserving an all-encompassing form of self-identification: ‘Sodamas from Assos in the Troad under Ida, the first Aeolian...’ (6.4.9).

Instead of assuming confusion and inviting despair, I hope I have been able to demonstrate the new possibilities that arise when the question is redirected from actual space to timeframe. A geographical toponym is not a fixed entity inextricably bound to a strictly defined area. Instead, terminology varies, or the same terms come to signify different meanings

over time. The locations of Antandros and Assos remained fixed. What shifted were the perceptions of individuals and communities across time, as well as regional political conditions. As a result, Antandros and Assos could be in the Troad in times of a Small Aeolis, in Aeolis in times of a Large Aeolis, and in Mysia in times of geographical archaism.

Our textual sources from the archaic period mention mythical figures from the house of Aeolus, and very few 'Aeolian' *poleis*, of which at least one changed phyletic affiliation early in the period. Aeolis as a region appeared first in textual sources of the classical period and the discernible trend thereafter was to diminish Aeolis and Aeolians to the point of insignificance. Under the shadow of the giant, Ionia, Aeolis was rarely mentioned as a region, usually reduced to a periphrasis or omitted altogether in favour of 'Ionia' or 'the Greeks of Asia'. Herodotus listed and briefly discussed the twelve Aeolian *poleis* on the coastal strip between the Hermus and Pitane, then numbered the Aeolian *poleis* on the islands and swiftly referred to Aeolians settled in the Troad. Henceforth, the area and boundaries of Aeolis fluctuated through time under the influence of political conditions and changing world-views. The consolidation of Troy on the north-western corner of Asia Minor presented the *poleis* of the Troad with a spectrum of alternatives in shaping a collective identity and connecting to other people and political authorities via a mythical/historical relationship. It is the growing awareness and acknowledgement that Troy and Trojan territory lay to the north-west that rendered Xenophon unwilling to define the area around Mt. Ida as Trojan. At the same time, he applied general terms, such as 'Asia' or 'the Greeks of Asia' to refer to the coastal region; together with the predominance of the term 'Ionia'. Uniquely, his Aeolis was restricted to the area around Mt. Ida. I suggest that Xenophon's reluctance to term the mountainous area around Cebren as 'the Troad' (*Hell.* 3.1.16) indicates that a shift was already in progress away from Small Aeolis, and towards a localisation of Troy to the north-west corner of Asia Minor.

The conceptual size of Aeolis grew significantly during the late Hellenistic period, when the southern coast of the Troad increasingly became 'Aeolian' in our sources. This expansion is clearly exhibited in the geographical works between the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. In the accounts of Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, a Large Aeolis is described, stretching from the Hermus and Phocaea all the way through the southern shore of the Troad up to Cape Lekton. During that period, imperial propaganda promoted the myth of the Trojan foundation of Rome in an attempt to display and justify the prominent position of the Iulii, both in the distant past and in contemporary times. The predominance of conceptual Troy established the locality of actual Troy to the north-west and allowed for the inclusion of the southern shore of the Troad within a Large Aeolis. In turn, when the influence of imperial propaganda waned, conceptual

Aeolis shrunk into its former dimensions during the classical period, enclosed within the Herodotean coastal strip. Thereafter, the term, and the region of Aeolis as a concept, followed the course of geography as a genre: geographical archaism produced a fossilised entity still mentioned in sources of much later periods, long after the collective identity it signified had ceased to exist as a concept.

## CHAPTER 4

### AEOLIS WITHOUT THE MIGRATION

‘...a result of migration, diffusion, and acculturation...’<sup>513</sup>

Modern historians of ancient Greece apply the term ‘migration’ instead of ‘colonisation’ to denote the difference between a large-scale population movement and an organised, *polis*-orientated enterprise that resulted in the foundation of a settlement and the creation of a strong *metropolis*-colony relationship between the two. The two definitions differ in timeframe. Implicitly, ‘migrations’ are placed shortly after the Mycenaean period, while ‘colonisation’ came to signify the more historical endeavours after the Dark Ages. At a conceptual level, too, migration alludes to a distant past before the emergence of *poleis* in Asia Minor as civic societies. Despite the differences, aspects of colonisation have infiltrated discussions of migrations, as quite often, especially in earlier scholarship, the result of a migration was considered to be a colony with strong ties to a *metropolis* in mainland Greece.<sup>514</sup> Interestingly, the ambivalence in terminology is attested in ancient authors, from Thucydides to Strabo, where the same word, *apoikia* was used interchangeably to describe both phenomena.<sup>515</sup> As a consequence, a *polis* in Asia Minor could subscribe to different foundation myths, involving Carians, Leleges, Pelasgians, Amazons, before its conceptual beginning as a Greek civic community.

There are good reasons to dismiss many assumed similarities to early-modern European colonisation. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, European colonists had to endure long journeys overseas, through different longitudes and latitudes, through uncharted waters and territories conceptually filled with fabulous curiosities, fighting against exotic diseases and introducing equally exotic diseases that decimated native populations in the New World. Colonising expeditions struggled with unfamiliar territory, climate, fauna, and flora, and months or years away from their motherland. Their Greek counterparts could sail to their destinations in full sight of land through a familiar sea to a similar micro-climate, in our case to reach a destination that was part of a cultural *Koine* in an Eastern Mediterranean interconnected through trade

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<sup>513</sup> Malkin (1998) 145.

<sup>514</sup> E.g. Cassola (1957); Sakellariou (1958); Bérard (1959).

<sup>515</sup> Also observed by Heinle (2015) 201 and discussed in Malkin (2016) 36-39.

networks since the Early Bronze Age.<sup>516</sup> However, modern scholarship has until recently struggled to disentangle itself from traditional perceptions of ‘Greek colonisation’ as an organised mobilisation of people and resources prepared for an overseas exploration and settlement. In my view, the modern concept of colony/colonisation can offer little to our comprehension of *apoikiai* (= homes away from home) in antiquity.<sup>517</sup>

In light of post-colonial scholarship, besides terminology, the mere division between newcomers and ‘indigenous’ or ‘local’ populations can be equally problematic. The assumed implication of the wording is that pre-colonial populations had dwelt in the area under scrutiny since the beginning of time, thereby articulating the assumption that ‘natives’ are themselves autochthonous.<sup>518</sup> In this thesis, I use the term ‘local’ or ‘indigenous’ to signify the previous or concurrent inhabitants of areas influencing and influenced by Greek culture. To be more precise, I use the terms to refer to populations which were regarded as non-Greek or marginally Greek by Greeks and by Greek texts. I should also note that ‘Hellenisation’ is not a unilateral process, as our sources often portray it. Greek culture inevitably transformed pre-existing cultures in Asia Minor, but was also transformed by them in time. However, instead of devising an unappealing neologism, for reasons of clarity I will continue to use the term ‘Hellenisation’.

In this chapter I examine the myths of the Aeolian migration in order to challenge the orthodoxy on the issue. Our sources are clear: the Hellenisation of Asia Minor was a matter of conquest in the distant past. Accordingly, Greek males drew the right to control territory and society by the spear. Several pathways to Hellenicity can be traced in ancient sources. A population group could adapt to the affiliation of its leader (e.g. Ionians through Ion in Hdt. 8.44). Obscure pre-Greekness could be transformed to Hellenicity by conquest (e.g. Str. 7.7.2, where a list of all previous barbaric populations of the Greek world is followed by a list of their

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<sup>516</sup> For discussion of the analogies and differences between Greek *apoikiai* and the European colonisation, Malkin (1998) 16-20; Vanschoonwinkel (2006b) 90-104 for the cultural *Koine*; Mac Sweeney (2017) 382-389.

<sup>517</sup> A dismissal of the term colony as a term to describe the phenomenon in Greek antiquity already in Osborne (1998). Contra Gosden (2004) 33, who chooses to emphasise the social manifestations of power vested in colonial discourses. Consequently, he opts to retain colonialism as an extremity within a spectrum of potential interactions between previous inhabitants and newcomers. For a balanced discussion focused on the distorting impact of modern terminology on the actual phenomenon in the ancient Greek world, Vlassopoulos (2013) 102-105. For the application of post-colonial perception and an overview of previous scholarship, Van Dommelen (2012).

<sup>518</sup> E.g. Burgers and Crielaard (2016). For different approaches and definitions of ‘colonisation’ and ‘local/indigenous’, Hodos (2006) 14-18 with bibliography. For discussions on various aspects of terminology, Goff (2005); Tsetschladze (2006) xxv-xxviii, li-lix. Provocatively, De Angelis (2010) 19 argues that the old terminology still prevails so that classics can remain relevant to cross-disciplinary, wider discussions. I will avoid the neologisms coined by De Angelis (such as ‘apoikism’ or ‘clerouchism’), and I am inclined to agree with the application of ‘cultural contact’ instead of ‘colonisation’; for a recent example of this new terminology, Yntema (2016). An overly critical review of the discussion on terminology in Tsetschladze and Hargrave (2011), in contrast to the moderate approach in Malkin (2016) 28-31, which tends to become a revision of a revisionist discussion, as Malkin is not eager to depart from the term ‘colonisation’.

expulsion by the spears of the newcomers, the Greeks). Lastly, non-Greek populations could wither away or be assimilated into Hellenicity by acculturation (e.g. Pelasgians in Hdt. 1.56-57; the inhabitants of Argos Amphiloichicon, who became Greeks after adopting the language of the Ambraciotae whom they invited to live with them in Th. 2.68; a combination of language and conquest as the reason for the Hellenicity of Hellas in Th. 1.3). Evidently, for Asia Minor ancient scholars accepted the first two options. In contrast, I will argue that acculturation was at play, and my discussion of the myths of migration will revolve around this viewpoint.

Apparently, a widely-accepted, uniform narrative of the Aeolian migration was never reached in antiquity,<sup>519</sup> and modern scholars have worked stenuously to piece together a full account of the migration (see section 1.4). In Chapter 1 I argued against the tendency of modern scholarship to base itself on ancient and modern assumptions that see a historical kernel in foundation myths and regard population movement as the main factor of cultural change. In this chapter, I will not attempt to articulate an all-encompassing narrative of a series of episodes where Greek newcomers occupied deserted or hostile ground. After a brief discussion of the house of Aeolus, I will examine at length the few details about the Aeolian migration in our sources. Then I will proceed with the main aim of the chapter, the removal of an actual migration as an explanatory model for the presence of Greeks and Greek culture in Asia Minor, and in Aeolis in particular.

First, I intend to contextualise the myths of migration not within an alleged population movement of unspecified scale and duration, but within literature and elite discourse and ideology (especially in Cyme and Mytilene). As discussed in Chapter 1, specific ties between a *polis* and an Aeolian founder are extremely rare and equally uncertain. This absence is worth exploring. Attestations of Aeolian *poleis* in Asia Minor appear very early in ancient scholarship, with Smyrna and Cyme firmly located in Asia Minor and defined as Aeolian. In this chapter, I will first argue that an early stage in the creation of the narrative of the migration may have been the theme of ‘kings coming from abroad’ and rule over subjects of different, local phyletic affiliation (cf. Macedonia, Epirus, Sparta). As my second argument, I will suggest that a diffusion of elite ideology opened the scope of ‘coming from abroad’ to embrace a larger group of people. I will draw parallels to similar processes in Sparta, Epirus, and Macedonia.<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> Fowler (2000) II, 601.

<sup>520</sup> Also, the citizen body of Pergamon in the 2nd century B.C. could be referred to as ‘the Telephidae’, deriving their descent to the mythical king of Mysia: Robert (1984); Jones (2010) 112.

Then I will proceed with my third argument, to connect the missing dots and construct a full picture of myth-making and the formation of group identities in Aeolis. Traces of early ‘Aeolianness’ emerge in archaic poetry, where Cyme and Smyrna appear as Aeolian, in times when the stem *Αἰολ-* often denoted the ‘diverse’. I will then argue that the term ‘diverse’ was internalised by elites and communities in Aeolis. Afterwards, I will investigate the reasons for and mechanics of this process through comparison with other *etic* names, such as the Epirotae and the Pamphyloi. I will conclude by discussing the internalisation of an externally-ascribed name by new communities self-defined as Aeolians, and the diffusion of elite ideology that facilitated the expansion of ‘diversity’, of foreign descent, to large population groups, a diffusion which nurtured the myth of the Aeolian migration.

#### 4.1 Textual sources for the Aeolian migration

##### *The house of Aeolus*

A thorough account and examination of the descendants of Aeolus, son of Deucalion, is beyond the scope of this thesis, and so is the scrutiny of sources as diverse as the *Catalogue of Women*, Hyginus’ *Fabulae*, and Pseudo-Apollodorus’ *Bibliotheca*, let alone all kinds of additions and parallel or contradictory traditions preserved by ancient authors.<sup>521</sup> The putative timeframe of the genealogy does not allow for Aeolians in Asia Minor before the Trojan War. The demanding question of the origins of the Aeolian identity remains unanswered, with scholars suggesting either Asia Minor or mainland Greece.<sup>522</sup> In fact, the extensive detail with which the house of Aeolus is covered in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* may indicate the poet’s Aeolian descent.<sup>523</sup> In this section, I will focus on the origins of the migration tales and the

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<sup>521</sup> A stemma of the Aeolids is presented in West (1985) 175-176.

<sup>522</sup> E.g. Hall (2002) 72-73 who argues from an oppositional viewpoint that the creation of Aeolian identity took place in Asia Minor as a response to the formation of an Ionian collective identity to the immediate south of the Hermus. On the contrary, close ties between the Aeolids and Thessaly are often considered a firm basis to presume that the Aeolian phyletic identity first appeared in mainland Greece and then transported to Asia Minor (Fowler (2000) II, 154). Hdt. 7.176 and D.S. 4.67.2 name the land of the Thessalians ‘Aeolis’; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 212 specifies population groups in Boeotia as Aeolians fighting against the Chalcidians. Ulf (1996) 267-271 discusses the evidence above from a different viewpoint and argues for the exact opposite direction for the Aeolians, from Asia Minor to mainland Greece. Heinle (2015) 179-180 acknowledges that the first attestations of Aeolians emerge in Asia Minor but interprets these instances as concepts brought by the migrating Aeolians from mainland Greece.

<sup>523</sup> Fowler (1998) 8-9.



absence of any connections between Aeolian *poleis* and mainland Greece via mythical genealogies.

Individuals of the house of Aeolus are placed in mainland Greece in mythical times, whereas Aeolians and Aeolian *poleis* appear early in our sources in Asia Minor. The crucial details about the migration from the mythical motherland to the land that bore their name remain elusive until the late Hellenistic period onwards (discussed below). Even if Hellanicus had offered any information in his *Aeolica* (also discussed below), later authors exhibited remarkable indifference and did not include anything relevant in their works. I am inclined to argue that, at the least, *the origins* of the tales of migration can be more safely located in Asia Minor. That is not only due to the appearance of references to Aeolian *poleis* in Asia Minor early in our sources and their absence from mainland Greece. It is also because the connection to the Aeolian branch through myths of migration was of importance to and in the interest of population groups and settlements in Asia Minor alone. In all probability, such tales were first constructed ‘in the colonies’, while areas of the mainland could connect to the Aeolian lineage through the sons and daughters of Aeolus.

To the best of my knowledge, no Greek *poleis* on the mainland ever claimed to be the *metropolis* of an Aeolian *polis*. Even in the context of *syngeneia* networks in the Hellenistic period, the wording very carefully refers to an unspecified ‘relationship’ (e.g. *OGIS* 335) without any allusions to a colonisation or *metropolis-apoikia* relationship; in fact, the aspect of blood relationship between Thessaly and Aeolian *poleis* or individuals is omitted from relevant inscriptions (e.g. *IG XII Suppl.* 3; *BCH* 59 (1935) 55; *SEG* 55.605).<sup>524</sup> The closest suggestion to relevant allegations is implied in *Th.* 7.57, in a passage exhibiting the extraordinary nature of the Peloponnesian War. In Sicily, the Athenian invasion brought population groups related by blood against one another, as the Athenians drew on Dorian allies and deployed them against the Syracusans. The Athenians also deployed Aeolians, who are consequently led against the Boeotians. The latter are collectively labelled *κτίσαντες*, founders of all Aeolians. Other, less likely places of origin for the Aeolians are attested in other sources, such as Mt Phricion in Locris for the colonists of Cyme, Neonteichos and Larisa (*Str.* 13.3.3); or Aeolians coming ‘from Greece’ (as opposed to Aeolians from ‘Lesbos’ or ‘Mytilene’?) and founding the temple of Apollo Cillaeus (*Str.* 13.1.62).

While no specific connection between Aeolian *poleis* and a putative motherland across the Aegean exists, a few mythical Aeolians were linked to Asia Minor, yet not to Aeolis itself.

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<sup>524</sup> Parker (2011) discusses those inscriptions assuming that blood relations, unattested on stone, are in place.

Returning to the genealogy of Aeolus, the second tier of the family tree stretches extensively in a horizontal dimension. Six or seven sons, ‘the Aeolids, the law-giving kings’ (‘Αἰολίδαι δ’ ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλῆες’ in [Hes.] fr. 10a.25 M-W), and at least five daughters, ‘lovely-haired maidens’ ([Hes.] fr. 10a.32 M-W), gave birth to numerous offspring spreading from Thessaly to many parts of mainland Greece, from Phthiotis and Boeotia to Aetolia and Macedonia.<sup>525</sup> Among the multitude of Aeolids connected to different regions, I will focus on two sons (Athamas and Magnes) and one grandson (Cephalus) of Aeolus who are linked to Asia Minor.

Athamas and his offspring ruled in Boeotia or Thebes (Schol. Plato. *Min.* 315c; [Apoll.] 1.80; Hyg. 1). Since Boeotia is linked with the Aeolians and partakes in Aeolian identity in historical times, it may not come as a surprise that a certain Athamas is the only Aeolid found in Asia Minor. What is actually surprising is that this Athamas, a descendant of the son of Aeolus, does not settle in Aeolis, but instead is the founder of Ionian Teos (Strabo 14.1.3 = Anacr. fr. 118 Page; more details in Paus. 7.3.6 and Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τέως*). Strabo drew this information from Anacreon, and perhaps so did the Teians when they stressed claims of *syngeneia* to the Thessalians in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>526</sup> What is more intriguing is the apparent failure of any Aeolian *polis* to connect to the family tree of Aeolus.<sup>527</sup> Unless this is due to the nature of our scanty evidence, the reason may be found in one of the tales of the Aeolian migration (briefly presented below and discussed in the next section). As early as Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 32) another viewpoint emerges. The Aeolians were not the descendants of Aeolus. Instead, they acquired their name from Orestes, owing to the multitude of languages spoken by his followers. A firm link is formed between people and language; or in this case languages, since Hellanicus explains the name of the people (*Aeolians*) on the basis of their *polyglossia* that in his mind was inevitable, given the multitude of *ethne* under Orestes (‘...after he assembled from various races three hundred groups of people, whom he named Aeolians on account of their diverse descent, he came to Lesbos’).<sup>528</sup>

The mechanics and complexity of *syngeneia* networks are illustrated in the epigraphical record of Magnesia on the Maeander. A certain Cephalus, son of Deion, son of Aeolus ([Hes.] fr. 10a.28 M-W), is evoked to construct a *syngeneia* between Magnesia and Same in

<sup>525</sup> For a reconstruction of the fragments attributed to the *Catalogue of Women*, West (1985), esp. 60-69 for the lineage of Aeolus. [Apoll.] 1.80ff presents enhanced material in a different order. For the offspring of Aeolus, Fowler (2000) II, 162-185.

<sup>526</sup> Curty (1995) 37.

<sup>527</sup> In contrast, the Athamanians did not pass up this opportunity to support their claim to *syngeneia* with all Greeks through Athamas (Curty (1995) 89, dated between 205 and 200 B.C.). Also Oost (1957) 3, n.9.

<sup>528</sup> For the attribution of this passage to Hellanicus, Fowler (2000) II, p. 598-599.

Cephalonia in the late 3rd century B.C. This is an extremely rare case where the nature of the *syngeneia* is explained on stone: Cephalus, after whom the island of Cephalonia was allegedly named, was the nephew of Magnes, after whom Magnesia was allegedly named (*IMagnesia* 35, ll. 13-15; textual sources connecting Cephalus, Deion, and Cephalonia: Paus. 1.37.6-7; Phot. *Lexicon*, s.v. *Τευμησία*, citing a poem of the Theban Circle, *Thebais* or *Epigonoï*). Again, a non-Aeolian *polis* uses links provided by the house of Aeolus to connect with another non-Aeolian *polis*. Among the complex *syngeneia* networks set up by Magnesia at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., links to Mytilene (*IG XII Suppl.* 138) and Macedonia (*IMagnesia* 47) may be explained by their common connection to the house of Aeolus between Magnes, Macar, and Macedon, son of Aeolus (already in Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 74, although in [Hes.] fr. 7 M-W Macedon is a son of Zeus).<sup>529</sup> Furthermore, in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., two non-Aeolian *poleis*, Magnesia and Teos, claimed to be connected by *syngeneia* ‘through our ancestors’ (*IMagnesia* 97, ll. 12-13), arguably Magnes and Athamas.<sup>530</sup>

Back in mainland Greece, the offspring of Aeolus were expelled from their seats in cases where another phyletic affiliation needed to be explained. For example, the Sisyphids were banished by the Dorian Hippotes who re-founded Corinth (Conon apud Phot. *Bibl.* 186.135a ll. 31-32); the offspring of Perieres were driven away from Sparta (D.S. 4.33); the house of Salmoneus, ruler of Elis, was assimilated into the house of Cretheus in Iolcos ([Hes.] fr. 30 M-W). The path was clear for the Dorian phyletic identity to claim the greater part of the Peloponnese. The Aeolian identity afterwards appears in Asia Minor in historical times; a gap in need of a bridge, and in antiquity the migration tale explained why Aeolians resided in Asia Minor in historical times.

### *The classical sources for the Aeolian migration*

Our archaic textual sources appear to be unanimous on the issue: Aeolians were settled in north-west Asia Minor, hence the emergence of Aeolian *poleis* (Cyme and Smyrna). However, a cohesive narrative of the actual process of migration is lacking. A similar dearth is observed in classical sources, which place Aeolians in Asia Minor but make only passing allusions to an Aeolian migration. At best, our thin evidence preserves very sketchy and contradictory pictures

<sup>529</sup> The *syngeneia* network of Magnesia is laid out in Curty (1995) 108-124.

<sup>530</sup> Curty (1995) 125-126.

of the Aeolian migration. In Pindar *Nem.* 11.33-35 Orestes is said to have led Aeolians from Amyclae to Asia Minor; in Th. 7.57 the Boeotians are the *ktisantes* of Aeolis. Herodotus (1.145), contrary to his discussion of the Ionian *dodekapolis* in Achaëa, does not offer a similar list of Aeolian *poleis* in the Peloponnese or elsewhere. Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 32) places Orestes in Aeolis. Pindar *Nem.* 11 remains the most direct link between motherland and colony. Yet in his ode the founder of Tenedos, Peisander, begins his journey from Sparta under the leadership of the Achaean Orestes. Detailed, though far from complete, narratives still available to modern scholarship date to the first century B.C. onwards.

More detailed descriptions may possibly have been presented by authors now lost to us. Hellanicus' *Lesbiaca* comprised at least two books, yet only a handful of fragments are preserved by Stephanus (s.v. *Μαλόεις; Τράγασαι; Νάπη*). From a later scholiast we are informed that Hellanicus had also composed a work titled *Aeolica*, also comprising at least two books, since we read that 'Hellanicus gives an account of the *apoikia* of Orestes in Aeolis in the first book of his *Aeolica*' (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 11.43b with Schol. ad Lycophr. *Alex.* 1374). Judging from the contents of other works of Hellanicus bearing similar titles, e.g. *Argolica*, *Boeotica*, *Thessalica* and so on, one might expect to read genealogies and foundation myths (e.g. *FGrH* 4 F 36 on Iasus, Pelasgos, the genealogy of Triops and the foundation of Larisa), tales of migration (e.g. F 31 on the flight of Aeneas to the west), as well as some basic geographical information (e.g. F 52 on the four districts comprising Thessaly). At least, those were the themes that interested later scholars. Similarly, from Damastes' *Περί Εθνών* in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, only the boundaries of Aeolis survive in Str. 13.1.4.

Before I proceed to examine the Hellenistic sources, our thin evidence permits only a short discussion of the followers of Orestes. Unfortunately, they remained obscure throughout antiquity, and most sources focus on the leaders. In the classical period, Thucydides and Pindar perceive Aeolians as a fixed group already in place in mainland Greece and Asia Minor. Hence, Aeolians and Boeotians are relatives (Th. 7.57) and Peisander followed Orestes and his army of Aeolians from Amyclae to Tenedos (Pind. *Nem.* 9.33-35). In contrast, Hellanicus linked the formation of Aeolians with the gathering under Orestes, since the leader first named his army 'Aeolians' due to their diverse origins. Only leaders are defined precisely, mostly as the descendants of Orestes. Later sources appear mainly interested in leaders, with Strabo and Pausanias aiming to provide a concise reconstruction of the migration by combining and evaluating different sources.

*The journey unfolds: Hellenistic and later sources on the Aeolian migration*

Details of the journey become available in sources after the Hellenistic period, with Demon, Strabo, and Pausanias presenting different accounts and emphasising different aspects of the migration. In this section I will discuss the implications of the contradictory accounts that allow us to trace the formation of a migration myth based on the theme of kings from abroad in Cyme and Lesbos. The main foci will be the contradictory reports on the role of Orestes and the migration's itinerary, before I examine the process of identity construction by the Lesbian elite family of the Penthelidae.

Demon (*FGrHist* 327 F 17; fl. around 300 B.C.) places members of the house of Agamemnon in Asia Minor. The author paints a colourful picture, with 'all Greece' enquiring at Delphi about salvation from a great plague, and receiving the same answer: the house of Agamemnon must remedy the destruction of the Trojan hinterland during the siege by returning to Asia Minor and rebuilding settlements after '[sailing] to the furthest of Mysians'. The Agamemnonids, beginning with Orestes, ignored the oracle until the fourth generation, when Penthilus raised an 'army' and crossed to Asia Minor. The entire story is presented as the origin of an ancient proverb, 'sailing to the furthest of Mysians'.

A more detailed account is presented by Strabo (13.1.3); in fact, at least two different narratives are incorporated into Strabo's account, one with Lesbos as a final destination and another with Cyme. In his account, the journey spans four generations. Orestes dies in the very early stages in Arcadia and his offspring lead the expedition: his son, Penthilus, reaches as far as Thrace; his grandson, Archelaus, leads the passage to Asia Minor; and Gras, a great-grandson, concludes the expedition. But at 9.2.3, when describing Boeotia, Strabo probably follows a different, Boeotian-centred tradition, and places the beginning of the expedition in Aulis under the leadership of Orestes' sons.

Finally, the account of Pausanias focuses exclusively on the Lacedaemonian contribution to the *apoikia* in Aeolis, with Gras, great-grandson of Orestes, leading Dorians to Asia Minor. Penthilus, his grandfather and Orestes' son, had already settled in Lesbos (Paus. 3.2.1), contrary to Strabo's account of Orestes' successors (which placed Penthilus in Thrace).

The peculiarities of these short descriptions of the Aeolian migration are apparent, especially regarding the journey's starting and the finishing points, and the role of Orestes.

Some versions of the myth reserve a role for Orestes but fail to agree on its exact content. Orestes dies somewhere along the way (in Arcadia, according to Strabo), or survives a journey to Lesbos (according to Tzetzes *Schol. ad Lycophr. Al.* 1374 and his reading of Hellanicus' *Aeolica* Book I), or does not participate at all, as the expedition was led by his offspring long after his death (Demon and Pausanias). Sources also disagree on the migration's itinerary. Demon's wording, 'στρατιά', hints at a land army, but that force could have been transported by ships. The oracle had specifically dictated that the descendants of Agamemnon should 'sail' (πλεύσαντες) to 'Troy'; and the context of Demon's narrative, the explanation of the proverb 'sail to the furthest of the Mysians', strongly suggests some kind of sea travel. In Strabo, Aeolians under the leadership of non-Aeolians are assembled either by Orestes in the Peloponnese or by his sons in Aulis, but their fleet does not sail directly to Asia Minor, a journey that could not have lasted more than a few days. Instead, tradition put them onto a long, painstaking coastal route through northern Greece, following a course similar to that of the Argonauts (Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 1.580-608). It took the Argonauts a day and a half to reach Lemnos, and then less than a day to reach the entrance of the Hellespont. In contrast, the Aeolians lingered or encountered difficulties before crossing to Asia, then remained in Mysia under Archelaus, before Gras led the Aeolians across the narrow straits to Lesbos (according to Strabo) or Aeolis (according to Pausanias). Tradition has created a safe distance between the putative periods of migration and settlement, a point I shall return to when discussing the theme of kings from abroad).

Strabo does not reveal his sources, but apparently draws material from conflicting traditions of different periods. In particular, the beginning of the journey as stated in 13.1.3 agrees with a tradition as respectable as Pindar's hymn to Aristagoras (*Nem.* 9.33-35), in which Orestes' expedition begins from Amyclae. The addition of Aulis as the mustering-point of Aeolians in 9.2.3 may be reliant on a Boeotian-centred tradition, and is in accord with the linguistic proximity between the Aeolic and Boeotian dialects. Furthermore, it is reminiscent of Thucydides' short reference to the *metropolis-apoikia* relation of Boeotians and Aeolians, and of the Homeric precedent of the Achaean fleet setting sail from Aulis.

How did Boeotia become the mustering point for the migrating Aeolians under Dorian leadership? The attempt of pro-Spartan, eminent Boeotian families to connect to the lineage of Agamemnon has been already observed by modern scholarship.<sup>531</sup> I would like to draw attention to the possible links established via Tisamenus, son of Orestes. A historical

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<sup>531</sup> Bernardini (1997).

Tisamenus from Orchomenus was present at the dinner of Boeotian and Persian aristocrats in 479 according to Hdt. 9.16. A mythical Tisamenus, son of Thersander, son of Polyneices, appears in the Theban epic circle (*Cypria* fr. 1 Bernabé; also in Hdt. 4.147). Elsewhere, Tisamenus was known as the son and successor of Orestes (Str. 8.7.1; Paus. 2.18.6-9; Schol. vetera in Eur. *Rh.* 251.13 Dindorf). Paus. 9.15.4 preserves a rationalisation of the conflicting traditions (in 3.15.6 he reports on Tisamenus, son of Thersandrus) with the use of an oracle instructing Tisamenus to abandon Thebes and live with the Dorians. This or a similar rationalisation was known to Herodotus (6.52), who traces the lineage of the wife of Aristodemus to Tisamenus, son of Thersander, from Argos. Perhaps the mechanics of myth transformation are revealed at this point: certainty is far from possible, but Theban families may have inserted themselves into the lineage of Orestes through Tisamenus. Subsequently, Boeotia could become the mustering point where the migrating Aeolians were assembled under Orestes.

The destination of the migration and its leaders perplexed ancient authors. In Strabo (13.1.3), the final stage of the migration under Gras is followed by an obviously incompatible comment, which credits Penthilus with the crossing to Asia (if not the assembling of the Aeolians itself), instead of Archelaus, as stated a few lines before. The comment relates to the time when a second group under the leadership of other descendants of Agamemnon (Cleues and Malaus) is said to have lingered around Mt Phricion in Locris, from where they crossed the Aegean Sea and founded Cyme Phriconis ('...Cleues and Malaus, being also descendants of Agamemnon, assembled their forces at the same time as Penthilus, but when Penthilus' expedition passed across from Thrace to Asia, these two lingered for quite a while in Locris...'). The two stories reported by Strabo seem to have originated from the foundation of different *poleis*, the Lesbian *poleis* and Cyme respectively. Interestingly, Strabo does not include any migration tales for Tenedos, either in his account of the Aeolian expedition or in his brief description of the island (13.1.46). While he explicitly refers to an Aeolian *polis* on the island (following Herodotus?), the only foundation story he mentions relates to Cycnus and Tennes. No other Aeolian settlement in Asia Minor is mentioned in these brief narratives of the migration.

It is now time to turn to the identity of the person who led the Aeolians to Lesbos, in an attempt to shed light on the process of the creation of a mythical founder and forefather to a prominent elite family in Mytilene, the Penthilidae (Sappho fr. 71 L-P; Alc. fr. 75 L-P; Arist. *Pol.* 1311b 26-30). Strabo attributed to Gras the passage to Lesbos and placed Penthilus no further than Thrace (Str. 13.1.3), whereas Pausanias (3.2.1) places Gras in Aeolis and Penthilus

in Lesbos. Both authors attempt to reconcile and rationalise contradictory traditions revolving around Penthilus. How could Penthilus have reached Lesbos when another tradition placed his death in Thrace and the Aeolians were led by Gras, his grandson?

This game of names and contradictory traditions reveals aspects of myth-making and the process of identity formation at the hands of the Lesbian elites. Penthilus<sup>532</sup> is attested in a 6<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. epic (Cinaethon fr. 4 Bernabé apud Paus. 2.18.6) as an illegitimate son of Orestes, outside a lineage considered canonical in Sparta, the one through Tisamenus. Hall has argued for Lesbos as the birthplace of Aeolian identity based exactly on this early attestation of Penthilus, from whom a powerful family in Lesbos derived their descent and legitimacy to rule.<sup>533</sup> Did this Lesbian subscription to Penthilus necessitate the existence of traditions describing the Aeolian migration to Asia Minor? On the contrary, if the migration is to be removed from the equation, then perhaps we are offered a glimpse into the mechanics of myth (trans)formation. The subscription to Penthilus is a construct of local elites, and so probably was the migration itself.

I suggest that the Penthilidae were able to construct links to the Peloponnese via a mythical ancestor. They perhaps included him in the traditions of the Aeolian migration to Asia Minor and Lesbos. Alternatively, if tales of migration were not already in place, a migration from the mainland across the Aegean could be formulated to explain how the house of Agamemnon relocated to Asia Minor and Lesbos. A Penthilus is listed among the house of Salmoneus, son of Aeolus, in Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 125). This Penthilus is the great-grandfather of the last mythical Athenian king, Codrus, whose sons led the Ionian migration in Asia Minor. At the very least, Penthilus may have been a generic name to whom different mythical narratives could be attributed, providing links to Athens or the Peloponnese.

The illegitimacy of Penthilus as a son of Tisamenus would not necessarily have troubled the Penthilidae or hinted at an anti-Penthilidean version of the foundation of Lesbos preserved by Cinaethon (as Fowler suggests).<sup>534</sup> Despite the evident animosity of Alcaeus, the Penthilidae were never accused of lowly descent. In the account of Demon, Penthilus is rather positively highlighted as the leader who fulfilled the Delphic oracle. What is interesting is that Demon includes Penthilus in the ‘canonical’ lineage of Orestes, after Tisamenus and Cometes. Before

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<sup>532</sup> Possibly portrayed as an infant in his mother’s hands on an Attic vase dated in the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century according to Shapiro (2004).

<sup>533</sup> Hall (2002) 72.

<sup>534</sup> Fowler (2000) II, 600-601. The views of N. Spencer (1995c) from an extremely oppositional viewpoint are not convincing, raising an uncrossable line between a native identity through Macar and a Greek identity via the migration and Orestes.



one speculates on pro- and anti-Lesbian/Mytilenian versions of the myth, one needs first to contemplate the reasons Cinaethon may have had to formulate an anti-Mytilenian version by making Penthilus an illegitimate son of Orestes. The notion that of Cinaethon's version was a competing genealogy aiming, for reasons unknown, to undermine the nobility of the Penthilidae and the lofty position of the *polis* and island, seems implausible. Even if a lost poem of Alcaeus was the primary source for the illegitimacy of Orestes, then, besides bypassing the absence of any relevant reference in the surviving fragments, one needs to show that the Lesbian poet was active earlier than Cinaethon, let alone how and why Cinaethon the Lacedaemonian would derive material from a Lesbian poet to write a Dorian genealogy. Undoubtedly, the case for Cinaethon's anti-Mytilenian stance is impossible to argue. Pausanias evidently knew of two parallel branches of the family tree of Orestes, through Tisamenus and Penthilus. In his work, Penthilus' offspring is linked to and located in the Peloponnese on all occasions (5.4.3; 7.6.2), always unrelated to the Aeolians or to Lesbos.

In my view, the citation of archaic epic in the list of Argive genealogies by Pausanias (2.18.6) allows us to sketch the process of myth-making and transforming elements of tradition to fit individual or family needs. The Penthilidae could select from the pool of traditions a person from the house of Agamemnon and bestow upon him the honour of being founder of their *polis*, island, and family. The genealogical detail preserved by Pausanias in a completely unrelated context offers testimony to the initial status of Penthilus.

On the other hand, the strategy of the Penthilidae to establish links and descent from abroad may be an occurrence of the literary *topos* of kings from abroad, a working hypothesis of this chapter. Accordingly, the Penthilidae constructed a mythical forefather who came from abroad and founded the settlement his family now controlled. In time, this foundation myth devolved and incorporated the entire population of Mytilene, if not all Lesbos, as descendants of Penthilus and his Aeolian followers (e.g. Aeolians in Lesbos in Hdt. 1.151). Perhaps a similar chain of events took place on the mainland opposite, as I shall discuss in section 4.2. For the moment, I would suggest that the myth of Penthilus is indicative of the process of constructing the myth of migration. I discern five steps: (i) a ruling family exploits a similarity to an established genealogy in order to (ii) connect itself with a location well outside the borders of the community in question, and also to (iii) enhance its status by claiming a primordial arrangement that put the family in power; then (iv) that same family proclaimed its uncontested right to lead in the present, as back in the days of migration ('Our family led you all here from elsewhere'); in due course, (v) the community internalised this myth ('We all come from elsewhere').

The account of Demon (around 300 B.C) also provides insight into the mechanics of myth transformation. The author specifically links the story of Penthilus to Mysia, in contrast to Strabo's version, which places Penthilus' son, Gras, in the area. Furthermore, Demon disassociates Penthilus from Lesbos entirely, similarly to Strabo's account. Usually, ancient sources relate the predominant origin of the proverb to Telephus, a mythical figure strongly connected to Mysia (Suda s.v. *Ἐσχατος Μυσῶν πλεῖν*).<sup>535</sup> Demon's sketchy reference to an expedition led by Penthilus leaves no room for details, and the great-grandson of Agamemnon assembles an 'army' of unspecified qualities. Despite some similarities with other versions (such as the four-generation lapse between Orestes and the end of migration, or the positioning of Penthilus as the last of the expedition's leaders), Demon's account creates more problems than those it does not quite help to resolve. Penthilus' chain of actions entails first the assembling of an army and consultation of the oracle. One need not press the authenticity of the origins of the proverb explained by Demon, yet at a conceptual level it may be interesting to know how the Aeolian (?) migration was perceived around 300 B.C., along the lines of the actual, historical 'colonisation mirage' during the Archaic period. An *apoikia* in historical times (i.e. a *colonising* expedition) necessitated a Delphic oracle, according to literature.<sup>536</sup> This aspect was then projected onto the mythical past, when another *apoikia* (i.e. a *migration*) of unspecified beginnings, destination, itinerary, and population synthesis was in question. The use of the same word, *apoikia*, to signify two phenomena as diverse as migration and colonisation, led to a confusion between those two notions in ancient literature. Hence, a reader would not be unreasonable to expect founders of settlements mentioned in narratives of the migrations. At the same time, a *polis* could have had both a mythical founder and a historical founder. Sometimes a cult of the mythical founder emerged without shedding any doubt or contradiction over the past of the *polis*. In fact, by implementing a mythical figure in its foundation myths, the *polis* projected itself into a far more distant past than its historical beginnings.<sup>537</sup> Again, nothing of this kind is attested in Aeolis.

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<sup>535</sup> Sources collected and discussed in Huxley (1981) 337-338. For a discussion of the proverb in relation to Mysians in Euripides' *Rhesus*, Liapes (2012) 133-134.

<sup>536</sup> In reality, very rarely (if ever) did any oracle offer elaborate responses. In literature, responses tended to take the form of conundrums (e.g. 'sail to Mysia and correct the mistakes of your ancestors or the plague will never subside') instead of a plain 'Yes' or 'No' (better attested in archaeological findings), probably for the petitioner to have solid supporting evidence in the event of a failure: one could stress that 'the Oracle told me so'. Discussion in Morgan (1990) 155-156; Maurizio (1995) 84. I owe this point to Charlotte Round.

<sup>537</sup> Malkin (1998) 211-217 for the cases of Metapontium and Abdera. In Miletus, the cult for Neleus did not weaken other foundation stories, as in Mac Sweeney (2013) 44-53, 69-75. In Byzantium, a cult of Pausanias the Spartan regent could co-exist with Byzas the Megarian, both honoured as founders of the *polis*; discussion of evidence and scholarship in Russell (2017) 217-221. In contrast, certain other cults were incompatible in extreme circumstances, e.g. the violent replacement of Hagnon with Brasidas by the Amphipoliteans in 422 (Th. 5.11).

## 4.2 Aeoli(an)s without the migration

Arguably, a cultural change had taken place in Asia Minor after the end of the Bronze Age. From some point onwards, communities in western Asia Minor were acknowledged and proclaimed themselves as Greek. At the same time, and time again, local populations and the entire Greek world were invariably told the myth of migration to Asia Minor. Over time the migration of Greeks to Asia Minor became an undisputed fact in antiquity, and subsequently in modern scholarship.

In textual sources, the Aeolian settlements appear as the outcome of a *migration* from mainland Greece, similar to the Ionian and Dorian migrations to Asia Minor, although an Aeolian motherland remains unattested and newcomers begin their journey from various locations. The absence of a specific link between any Aeolian *polis* and a potential *metropolis* in mainland Greece is perhaps more than a consequence of our fragmentary evidence. In fact, it is the contrast with the direct link between Ionia and Athens that makes this absence astonishing, given that the Ionia-Athens link was probably forged in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when *poleis* of both Ionia and Aeolis joined the Delian League, or shortly before. The ‘modesty of the Aeolian settlements’ has been a popular scholarly explanation.<sup>538</sup> However, several facts weaken this argument. Cyme was a substantial, sometimes the highest, contributor to the Athenian empire. Elaea, the port and symbol of power of the Attalids, hardly qualifies as unimportant. The same could be said for Gryneion with its sanctuary of Apollo, Adramyttion, Antandros or Assos. There is no reason to suspect that Athenian influence in the area was weaker than in Ionia, or to classify Aeolis as an altogether unimportant area.

In cases of migration, one might argue that it would be reasonable not to find specific links between the two coasts of the Aegean; after all, this migration was not very similar to the more systematic process termed ‘Greek colonisation’ recorded somewhat better in our evidence. In contrast, at the beginning of this chapter I argued that the application of the same term, *apoikia*, to describe both migration and colonisation, has caused confusion between the two processes in ancient and modern accounts. Moreover, legends of Dorian and Ionian migrations are infested with names of individuals and different origins of the settlers.<sup>539</sup> The Aeolian migration is only roughly sketched in textual sources, and this exceptional status of Aeolis is a promising starting-point for analysis. Before I start my discussion, an overview of

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<sup>538</sup> E.g. Vanschoonwinkel (2006a) 132.

<sup>539</sup> Sources collected in Vanschoonwinkel (2006a) 118 and Mac Sweeney (2017) respectively.

the poorly-attested mythical founders of Aeolian *poleis* is necessary. I will then proceed to contextualise migration tales within the literary *topos* of kings from abroad and discuss parallels between the story of Penthilus and the stories of the royal families in Sparta, Macedonia, and Epirus. I will continue by discussing the process whereby elite ideology was diffused to larger parts of the population and conclude by offering an explanation as to how these Aeolians, the ‘diverse’, came into being.

### *In the beginning lay obscurity*

Our scanty evidence mostly mentions leaders of migrations or mythical founders of Cyme, Temnos, and several Lesbian *poleis*. It is true that a *polis* can have both mythical and historical founders. Yet, in the absence of any other information about actual founders, one needs to focus on the mythical ones in textual sources, with the reservation that prominent families in Mytilene and Cyme may have had claims to more than one founder via sources now lost to us.

The earliest reference to a founder appears in late sources summarising classical authors. A Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD claims to cite information from Ephorus regarding the founder of Cyme: ‘Ephorus derives Homer’s lineage from Chariphemus; this Chariphemus settled/colonised/inhabited (in) Cyme’ (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 99).<sup>540</sup> This is by no means the only Cymaeian lineage of Homer presented in late sources, and one should treat with great caution genealogies of this kind. Proclus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD presents material already one millennium old regarding the lineage of Homer through Chariphemus. According to his readings, classical authors such as Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 167), Damastes (*FGrHist* 5 F 11), and Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 5b) traced the poet’s (and Hesiod’s) lineage to Orpheus; Chariphemus is placed right in the middle of a ten-generation thread from Orpheus to Homer (Procl. *Chrest. Epit.* 5.2.19-23).

It is difficult to conceive any historicity at the core of such claims. The mere inclusion of Hesiod in the same lineage, thereby making Hesiod and Homer cousins, discourages any such thoughts. However, these kinds of references are indicative of the connections a *polis*, Cyme in this instance, could advocate to enhance its status by claiming to be the birthplace of Homer. Cyme could build on the well-known statement of Hesiod that his father left Aeolian Cyme to connect Homer and Hesiod, claiming both poets as her own. In turn, such claims could raise counter-claims from competitors such as Neonteichos, Larissa or Phocaea. It is responses

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<sup>540</sup> Translation of *ὠίκησεν* depends on context and the translator’s predisposition.

of this kind, aiming to dismiss Cymaeian claims, which we probably read in [Hdt.] *Vit. Homeri* 9-11 West, where the poet suffers a disrespectful exodus from Cyme and finds refuge in other *poleis* in the vicinity. All in all, to ascribe Chariphemus as a possible founder of Cyme based on the *Lives* and lineages of Homer is precarious. All one may say with some degree of certainty is that in a given context Cyme could foster her claim as Homer's birthplace by crediting an obscure individual, already present yet unclaimed in the lineages of Homer, as a mythical founder.<sup>541</sup> If this is the case, an important aspect is the absence of another founder indisputably connected to Cyme; eponymous founders could be freely inserted without raising significant suspicions.

Another improbable founder of Cyme is preserved in the same context, the *Lives of Homer*, this time not evoking the lineage of the poet. Instead, the passing character of the reference to Theseus and Thessalian founders indicates that the context of this tradition is different, more relevant to the foundation of Cyme than to the birthplace of Homer. In [Hdt.] *Vit. Hom.* 2 West we read about 'Theseus, prominent among those Thessalians who built Cyme, [from the lineage] of Eumelus and Admetus'. Neither of his attested ancestors were strangers to the Thessalian cultural sphere. Eumelus in particular was a leader of the contingent of Thessalian Pherae in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Hom. *Il.* 2.711-715; for connections to the Italian Cyme see *INapoli* I 52; Ps-Skymnus 236-239; Strabo 5.4.4; Statius, *Silv.* 4.8.47-49).

Elsewhere, an immigrant from Magnesia is highlighted among other newcomers in Cyme: Melanopus, a person stricken by poverty, but of no lowly birth. He is included in a lineage of Homer fully expanded in Suda (s.v. *Ὀμηρος*), based on the genealogy compiled by Charax in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Melanopus is included in a long line of family members from Linus and Orpheus to Homer in Smyrna. I read those different lineages as shreds of contradictory traditions serving different needs. The issue relates more to the Homeric problem than to my discussion of founders and should be put to rest.

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<sup>541</sup> Communities exploited even the slimmest of opportunities to create relationships with the Homeric world. Strabo 13.1.70 mentions a small stream in the area of the Elaeans by the name of Ceteius. In truth, it was a tributary of a tributary of the Caicus, yet its name (it is surprising that such an insignificant stream even had a name) was enough to support a connection to the lands of the Ceteioi mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 11.521.

## *Kings from abroad*

In the case of the Ionians we have at hand direct links to Athens and the Codridae, among many other contributors to the populations of the west coast of Asia Minor in mythical times, whereas Aeolian kings are attested in Cyme.<sup>542</sup> I will try to show how, from this initial form (explanatory myths justifying the right to rule), narratives of a coming of Greeks *en-masse* alongside their leaders may have developed in full in the archaic period. As we have seen, for the Aeolians, the equivalent of the Codridae is the Achaean house of Agamemnon and Orestes. *Poleis* on the Aeolian islands also appear to have had claims to Achaean founders either from the house of Agamemnon (Lesbian *poleis*) or through a close companion of Orestes (Tenedos). More specifically, the elites of Mytilene chose a collateral line of the house of Orestes through Penthilus, instead of the better-attested lineage through Tisamenus. Perhaps prominent Lesbian families were compelled to seek alternative branches of the family tree of Orestes, since the line of Tisamenus was firmly established in the Peloponnese. If this is so, then it constitutes a strong indication that the Aeolian migration appeared relatively later than the Achaean lineage and the descent of the Dorians, and it required as a pre-requisite the formation of the Dorian family tree. Accordingly, the myths about the Aeolian migration under Penthilus are not echoes of a primordial migration. They are better understood as later constructs that established connections to the house of Agamemnon through an alternative lineage of Orestes. In this section I will discuss foundation myths of royal and elite families, and attempt to draw a parallel between the strategies of prominent Aeolian families and those of elite families elsewhere, better attested in our textual sources: the royal families of Sparta, Epirus, and Macedonia.

References to a King Agamemnon of Cyme and other individuals connected to his house have given reason to suggest the existence of a family by the name of Agamemnonidae in Cyme.<sup>543</sup> The Cymeian Agamemnon, mentioned in passing by Pollux (9.83), evokes links to the house of Agamemnon in mainland Greece and the migration of the Aeolians under Orestes, son of the Mycenaean Agamemnon. According to Pollux, the daughter of the Cymaeian Agamemnon, Demodice, is recorded in the fragments of the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Cymaeans* (Heracl. Lemb. *Exc. Pol.* 37) as married to king Midas. An ‘Aristagoras, son of

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<sup>542</sup> For a collection of references to the Ionian migration, Mac Sweeney (2017) 402-405. According to her lists, the migration appears in more than two-thirds of the preserved references to foundations of Ionian *poleis*; more than half of those refer to the Codridae and Attica, while the remaining references speak of *oikists* and settlers from the Peloponnese and central Greece. Remarkably, one-third of the total number of references relates to Anatolian foundations by Carians, Leleges et al. Despite these numbers, Mac Sweeney does not regard the migration tale as the predominant foundation myth, as the standard story about Ionia.

<sup>543</sup> Ragone (2006) 191-198.

Heraclides from Cyme', possibly a tyrant, was among the favourites of Darius who were apprehended by Aristagoras of Miletus during the Ionian revolt (Hdt. 5.37-38).<sup>544</sup> A noble 'Aristodicus, son of Heraclides' convinced the Cymaeans not to accept the response of the oracle of Didyma to surrender the suppliant Pactyes to the Great King Cyrus (Hdt. 1.158). Perhaps a reconstruction of the family tree of the Agamemnonidae after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. is plausible: Heraclides I – Aristodicus – Heraclides II – Aristagoras; afterwards the lineage falls into obscurity along with the fate of Aristagoras. The persisting patronymic is an indication of a family that may have claimed descent from the house of Agamemnon and the Heracleidae.<sup>545</sup> Their ties to Orestes via a Heraclid appellation may reveal the mechanics of myth-making and *syngeneia*. In this instance, the insistence on 'Heraclid' would enhance the subtle allusions to an aspect of conquest.<sup>546</sup> By keeping close to their Agamemnonid descent, the family could allude to Hercules as the distant founder of the Heraclid kingship in Lacedaemon, effectively tying the Cymaeon Agamemnonids strongly to the Peloponnese.

Other mythical figures associated with Cyme are loosely connected to the Agamemnonid lineage. We read in Nicolaus of Damascus (fl. 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.) of two mythical kings of Cyme at the time of the Ionian colonisation of Phocaea. The Ionians were obstructed by king Mennes but found an unlikely ally in his brother, Ouatias. Their agreement to exchange lands for assistance in overthrowing Mennes was crowned with success and shortly afterwards Ouatias gave the newcomers permission to build Phocaea (Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 53; Paus. 7.3.10). Ragone whole-heartedly classifies the two brothers as offspring of Agamemnon, despite the lack of evidence except a very weak linguistic link.<sup>547</sup> Others extend Agamemnonid rule as far as Temnos through the mythical founder Malaus (Hdn. *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.112.17; 3.1.174.21), one of the Agamemnonid leaders of the Aeolian migration, according to Strabo (13.1.3).<sup>548</sup>

The 'vain Penthilidae' (Sappho fr. 71 L-P), historical figures deriving their descent from the mythical Penthilus, are better attested, already found in the fragments of Lesbian lyric

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<sup>544</sup> Asheri et al. (2007) 182.

<sup>545</sup> Ragone (2006) 195 n. 244 collects all individuals by the name of Heraclides in Cyme. It may seem hazardous to attempt to construct a family tree from this scattered information, as the key connecting link, Heracleides, is by no means a rare name. However, the name appears very rarely in Aeolis: the inscriptional record shows nine attestations, the earliest of which is dated to mid-3rd B.C.

<sup>546</sup> For the diffusion of Heraclid and Dorian lineages in archaic Sparta, Malkin (1994) 19-45.

<sup>547</sup> For Ragone (2006) 206-209, the double nu in Μένης is definitely an Aeolian root, stemming from IE \*men = mind (cf. μμνήσκω, μαινώ, but also Aga-memn-on, Men-elaos). Contra earlier scholarship, e.g. Cassola (1957) 106 and Sakellariou (1958) 488, who read the names as non-Greek or pre-Greek.

<sup>548</sup> Silvestri (2005) attribution of a proto-indoeuropean root to Malaus (\*mal = mountain or cape) is refuted by Ragone (2006) 204, who prefers to maintain the identity of Malaus as obscure.

poetry. Possibly they were referred as ‘Atreids’ in Alcaeus fr. 70 L-P, a family which hosted the poet at a young age, who in his maturity witnessed their deposition by the house of Cleanactidae and the tyrant Myrsilus (*FGrHist* 477 F 75, 306a; Str. 12.3.3). Sometime during this turbulent period, the Penthilidae roamed around Mytilene and battered citizens. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1311b 23-30), Smerdis killed a certain Penthilus and settled an issue portrayed as a personal affair. Then the trail of the Penthilidae disappears, only to be revived ambitiously by Potamon, son of Lesbos, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., a person of some influence with powerful Romans after the Mithridatic wars. His connections are confirmed by his appointment as head-priest of the newly-established cult of Rome and Augustus in Mytilene, but mostly by the monument and honours bestowed upon him, ‘the descendant of Penthilus the king’ (*IG XII Suppl.* 17; possibly also in *IG XII,2* 240, for Nichomachis the ‘βα[σιλειδα]’).<sup>549</sup> His descendants enjoyed privileges in Mytilene explicitly connected to their lineage until at least the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>550</sup>

It is this reference to Penthilus as ‘king’ that may shed light on the origins of the tales of the Aeolian migration. Several other names of prominent families appear with the suffix *-anax*, (= king, genitive *anaktos*): **Cleanaktidae** (Sappho fr 98 L-P), **Polyanaktidae** (Sappho fr 99, 155 L-P), **Archaeanaktidae** (Alcaeus fr. 444 L-P; an Archaeanax from Mytilene appears in Str. 13.1.38 as the person who built the walls of Sigeion); also, Potamon’s father was **Lesbosanax**. It is important to note that the Penthilidae were the only prominent Lesbian family which did not add an *-anax* suffix to their name. We know the names of very few archaic Lesbian families; all except the Penthilidae seem generic compounds, formed by an adjective (*kleos*, *archaeos* etc.) and the suffix *-anakt*. Probably, the family did not need any additions: the name itself signified royalty. A direct link to the mythical founder was instantly established without any further reminders. They were the descendants of Penthilus, a royal family by all standards, the descendants of Penthilus the king. That king came from abroad and led an *apoikia*. It is here that a familiar literary *topos* arises. In contrast to the Archaeanaktidae (= ancient kings), who alluded to an ancient, indigenous king Macar, their forefather Penthilus belonged to the house of Orestes in the Peloponnese. Essentially, Penthilus was a king from abroad. Through him, the Mytilenians or the Lesbians could tie themselves to the tale of the Aeolian migration.

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<sup>549</sup> For the restoration, Jones (2010) 114.

<sup>550</sup> On Potamon, Parker (1991).



The theme of group migration from abroad is commonplace in Greek literature and beyond.<sup>551</sup> The theme of kings coming from abroad and rule over subjects of different phyletic affiliation is also abundant in our textual sources. Many well-known royal dynasties claimed descent from elsewhere. This claim in no way inhibited rulers from stressing their ties to the land they came to rule. The outcome reflected in our sources is a spectrum of identities, a range of possibilities to claim a past and an affiliation according to specific needs and aims. In what follows, I shall present examples of royal lineages and diffusion of elite descent to a wider population group. I argue that this is the context in which the myths of migration should be projected and understood.

Sparta constitutes a good example as to how multiple identities function and interact. According to myth, the royal family of the Heracleidae resided for three generations in Doris, from where they campaigned alongside Dorians against the Peloponnese; they prevailed (Th. 1.12) and henceforth won the right to rule by the spear. Already in the archaic period Tyrtaeus (*Eunomia* = fr. 2 *IEG* 1.13: ‘Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις ἄστυ δέδωκε τόδε’) could refer to the ‘Heracleidae’ (the royal families). By no means was this an exclusive or uncontested approach to the multiplicity of Spartan identity.<sup>552</sup> In different contexts, Tyrtaeus could encourage all Spartans by referring to their common descent from the invincible Hercules (fr. 11 *IEG*: ‘Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνικῆτου γένος ἐστέ’). As Romney argues, because *Eunomia* was performed for larger audiences, it reserved a higher position for the kings, without severely separating them from the citizen body. In contrast, behind closed doors, in a sympotic or common-mess environment, songs like the partially preserved elegy (fr. 11 *IEG*) fostered a unity through the descent from Hercules.<sup>553</sup> Far from being exclusive, the diffusion of the royal lineage to a larger group of people could be tenable, at least in poetic terms, or within an elite group (e.g. Hetoimaridas, ‘a Heraclid’ in the 470s in D.S. 11.50.6).<sup>554</sup> By the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a poet could refer to all Spartans as Heracleidae (Isyllus, l.66). In other contexts, the division between Dorians and the Heracleidae prevailed, especially in instances where the royal families was the focal point of the narrative (e.g. Delphi’s call to reinstate King Pleistoanax at Th. 5.16 or the

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<sup>551</sup> Malkin (2014) 21.

<sup>552</sup> One important distinction is between the invading Dorians and the returning Heracleidae. The regression of Spartan policies between those two extremities is a significant reason for the wide range of identity markers and affiliations in the textual sources (Malkin (2014) 23-24).

<sup>553</sup> A political division juxtaposed to the unity anticipated by a martial group according to Romney (2017) 14-17. Malkin (1994) 38-39 suggests a slightly different contextualisation. In a context of a rallying cry, Tyrtaeus (fr. 11 *IEG*) could include all Spartans in the lineage of Hercules and insist on a patriotic unity under a single symbol, which happened to be the royal progenitor. Elsewhere (fr. 2 *IEG*), the separate attestations of two distinctive groups, Dorians and the Heracleidae as their leaders, ought to be preserved.

<sup>554</sup> For the process of the diffusion of Heracleidae in Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, Patterson (2010) 36-38.

royal genealogies at Hdt. 7.204 and 8.131). Instead of arguing for or against diffusion as a firm and clear elite strategy in Sparta, I would underline the range of opportunities that multiple identities presented to the Spartan royal families and presumably also to the Spartans in general.<sup>555</sup>

King Cleomenes I, the Heraclid, could also claim that he was an Achaean depending on context (Hdt. 5.72). Exploiting ties to a mythical past earlier than the Dorian invasion, the Spartan kings were unambiguously Heracleidae, returning to Laconice as rightful rulers. Our sources present the population of classical Sparta as a mixture of the descendants of Dorians and the Heracleidae (mostly the lineage of the royal families), as in Plut. *Lys.* 24.3 (where it is stressed that from the mixture of Dorians and Heracleidae a great stock blossomed, yet the kingship was restricted to the members of two families).<sup>556</sup> In contrast, when needed, a strict dividing line between Dorians and Heracleidae could be drawn, as Plutarch transmits in the next sections of the same *Life* (*Lys.* 24.4-5, where Lysander plans to open the kingship to all Spartans, not only to the Heracleidae). The context here relates to early 4<sup>th</sup>-century Sparta and contemporary views of Lysander shortly after his death, with his enemies presenting ‘evidence’ to show the seriousness of the danger which his intended radical reforms posed to the Spartan constitution after the Peloponnesian War. Among other accusations, Lysander supposedly ‘conspired to remove kingship from the two royal houses and extend that right **to all Spartans**’ (Plut. *Ages.* 8.3, *Lys.* 30.3), a wording which reflects D.S. 14.13.2 (‘Lysander had in mind to abolish Heraclid kingship make the office available to all Spartans’) and which Plutarch attributes to Ephorus. In contrast, in Plut. *Mor* 229F, Lysander is said to have planned to award the right to kingship to the ἄριστοι (= the best of citizens), and the reader acquires a sense that some form of discussion regarding virtue and descent was on-going in 4<sup>th</sup>-century Sparta.

In the north, the royal house of Macedonia claimed descent from Dorian Argos, a claim manifested already by Herodotus in his famous passage narrating Alexander I’s participation in the Olympic Games. The king presented his lineage from Temenus, the first Dorian king of Argos, and was granted permission to compete in the games as ‘an Argive’ (Hdt. 5.22; the foundation myth in 8.137-138). Evidently, blood relations outclassed all other *indicia* of Hellenicity as listed by Herodotus (8.144), with language, religion, and customs playing no part in the process.<sup>557</sup> Other foundation myths linking the Argeads to the Peloponnesians are

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<sup>555</sup> Relevant literature in Hall (1997) 56-65.

<sup>556</sup> Luraghi (2008) 46-67.

<sup>557</sup> Hornblower (2008) 55.

preserved elsewhere.<sup>558</sup> In specific contexts a firm line was drawn, dividing royalty from its subjects, sometimes too strictly, as in Isocr. 5.107 (where a firm division between the Hellenicity of the royal family which rules over barbarians is stated).<sup>559</sup> In different contexts, when connection rather than separation needed to be established, the descent from the Peloponnese (or elsewhere, e.g. from central Greece in Hdt. 1.56 and 8.43) could expand and embrace the general populace (e.g. in Pol. 9.37.7, where Achaeans and Macedonians appear ‘of the same race’).<sup>560</sup> More importantly, the kings were not the only rightful participants in Pan-Hellenic games, as Macedonian ‘commoners’ are attested in epigraphical records from Delphi since the late 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>561</sup>

The entire discussion of the Hellenicity of the Macedonians in antiquity probably derived from the fundamental division between king and subjects, a division which did not divert Attic orators from labelling the Macedonian kings as barbarians. In any case, doubts over the Hellenicity of the Macedonians seem to be a relatively late development. They are first attested for Archelaus at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, then flourished in the polemic atmosphere after the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, thereafter fuelling recurring calls to arms ‘against the barbarians’ through anti-Macedonian alliances.<sup>562</sup> Before Macedonia’s rise as a powerful player, the evidence suggesting that Macedonians were not Greeks is very slim.<sup>563</sup> Among language, religion, and customs, the descent of the rulers played some part in this, probably in the least well-attested region, within Macedonia itself. In general, the focal point of Macedonian identity seems to have been constantly shifting between division and unity of subjects and rulers, according to different contexts and needs.<sup>564</sup> All Macedonians could be the descendants of Zeus ([Hes.] fr. 7 M-W) or of Hellen through Aeolus (Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 74) through Macednos. The kings alone drew their descent from Argos. The clear separation between kings and subjects, built on a division between Greeks and non-Greeks, could have developed from a southern Greek view which was internalised by the Macedonian elite and put to good use. While the theme of kings from abroad is manifest in Macedonia, the diffusion of this specific element of elite ideology, the Argive origins of the Temenids, seems the least

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<sup>558</sup> Through Caranus as the fore-father (D.S. 7.17; Plut. *Alex.* 2.1). For the revision of the foundation myth and the inclusion of Archelaus and Caranus, Greenwalt (1985).

<sup>559</sup> Borza (1982); Engels (2010).

<sup>560</sup> Pagkalos (2015) 149 with ample bibliography.

<sup>561</sup> Hatzopoulos (2011) 54, 58, 72.

<sup>562</sup> E.g. the decree of Chremonides which united Athens, Sparta, other Greek *poleis*, and the Ptolemies against those who attempted to enslave the Greeks, in 266/5 B.C.

<sup>563</sup> Hatzopoulos (2011) 67-74.

<sup>564</sup> Engels (2010) 89-97; Sprawski (2010) 127-131.

plausible of the three case studies I present. To the best of my knowledge, the Macedonians were never perceived or defined as Argives or Peloponnesians.

A stronger case for the diffusion of elite ideology can be argued for Epirus. Circulation of myths about the descent of ruling families in the region began earlier than the consolidation of political authorities. Tales of Odysseus coming from over the sea and of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, marching from Thessaly spread during the archaic period and are traceable from the classical period onwards, when the Molossian kings claimed descent from Neoptolemus and Andromache, an Achaean and a Trojan.<sup>565</sup> The development and application of the Molossian foundation myths constitute an informative case study for understanding the legends of kings from abroad.

Following Malkin's discussion of Epirus, two aspects of the implementation and diffusion of relevant foundation myths should be noted. First, the origins and function of those myths, *eticly* ascribed by Greek outsiders seeking to incorporate unfamiliar settings into their conceptual world. Initially the myths were restricted to leaders, and afterwards internalised by local elite families. At this stage, the process of Hellenisation was external, as Greeks sought to conceptually hellenise unfamiliar people and territories. Then, the prospect of Hellenisation came to appeal to local elite families and was internalised, before becoming diffused among the general populace. To begin with, one must note that a foundation myth can have different applications at different times and among different population groups. In the case of kings from abroad, the aims of the instigators of myths may have differed from the aims of those on the receiving end. If the myths of kings from abroad travelled from the south to Epirus via the Ionian islands and the first colonies on the coast and on Corcyra,<sup>566</sup> those myths would serve different aims for the Greeks/colonists/*apoikoi*/traders and the local rulers. For the former, it facilitated a Hellenisation of some kind, a process of familiarisation to a new environment by constructing ties to the land that would ease Epirus into the conceptual sphere of the outsiders. For the *local* rulers, a heroisation of their lineage would confirm and enhance their right to rule, or put them in a superior position over other rulers. It is exactly this duality that may eventually have led to the acceptance of the myth by the local rulers, as opposed to, say, by the Persians, who would have had no use for their foundation myth through Perseus, as presented in Greek

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<sup>565</sup> E.g. Pind. *Nem.* 4.51-53; Paus. 1.11.1; sources collected and discussed in Malkin (1998) 126-140. Contra Davies (2000) 237-238, 241, who discusses the same sources but presumes Molossian agency behind the creation and circulation of foundation myths. He contextualises the attempt of the Molossian rulers to include themselves in the Greek world within a similar practice of the Argead dynasty in Macedonia. While it may be impossible to establish with absolute certainty the origins of the foundation myths, I think they are much better contextualised within a pre-existing Greek mythological context rather than *ad hoc* creations in northern Greece.

<sup>566</sup> Malkin (1998) 62-93; 120-155.

sources.<sup>567</sup> The benefits for the Molossian kings become apparent as they were supplied with a distinct advantage over other population groups in the area (Athamanes, Aethikes, Tymphaeans, Orestae, Atintanae): ‘The Epirotae are ruled by the Molossians of the line of Pyrrhus, son of Neoptolemus son of Achilles, and his descendants, the Thessalians; the others were ruled by indigenous rulers’ (Str. 7.7.8) At the next level, the prospect of Hellenisation would also appeal to the rulers in supporting their attempt to promote links to the Greek world in the south. In this way, a suggested Hellenisation from the part of the outsiders would be accepted by local rulers as confirmation of their superior, heroic status; finally, it would be promoted not only for the rulers, the Molossian kings, but for the entire, or (at least) a large part of, the general populace.<sup>568</sup> The recipients of the foundation myth became its subsequent advocates: in this case, the Molossians promoted foundation myths based on Odysseus and Neoptolemus.<sup>569</sup>

This brings me to the second aspect mentioned above, the diffusion of this particular element of elite ideology to encompass the royal subjects, who were now included in the myth of the kings from abroad. Already in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, Pindar (*Nem.* 7.63-67) could address an actual or imagined audience of Epirotes watching the performance of his ode to the youth Sogenes of Aegina as ‘Achaeans’. The poet expressed his concern that his ode might disturb some ‘Achaeans who lived over the Ionian Sea’. The size of the audience depends on how large a crowd one is willing to allow for such performances or post-factual readings of the ode. However, the implied connection between elite families perceiving themselves as Aeacids, descendants of Aeacus and Peleus, in Aegina and Epirus should not go unnoticed. A geographical viewpoint from the angle of Thebes or Aegina is evident and the location of those Achaeans has been firmly located in Epirus of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>570</sup>

Thus far two stages of processing a myth relating to kings from abroad can be traced: first, myths were externally ascribed and internalised by elites, then diffused and further internalised by local populations. As a third stage of the transformation of foundation myths and elite ideology, such myths appear to have been exported and accepted back at an *etic* level. The colonists of Apollonia considered the foundation myth of the Molossians as encompassing the entire population; by focusing on the Trojan side of the Molossian lineage, the Apollonians

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<sup>567</sup> Malkin (1998) 134-136; Antonaccio (2013) 244.

<sup>568</sup> Allan (2000) 152-155.

<sup>569</sup> Malkin (1998) 135-136. A similar strategy could be argued for Alexander I at Olympia: from receiver he switched to instigator and supported his claim based on a foundation story, whose origins though remain uncertain.

<sup>570</sup> Most (1985) 315-321. For an extensive discussion and contextualisation of Pindar’s *Nem.* 7 into a broad group of *epinicia*, Rutherford (2001) 298-338.

portrayed the Epirotae as barbarians in their dedication to Olympia (early 5<sup>th</sup> century; described by Paus. 5.22.2-3).<sup>571</sup> In the end, according to Meyer's recent study, the boundaries between different wordings, the Molossian kings and the Epirotae subjects, could merge, as is evident in textual sources (such as the references in Diodorus, 'Μολοττων' in 18.11.1, 'Ηπειρωτων' in 19.51.6, without any hint of a constitutional change which might have explained the different wording) and in the epigraphical record, which may deserve more attention at this point.

In addition to the interchangeability of the terms *Epirotae* and *Molossoi*, traced from the end of the fourth century onwards, especially in *SGDI* 1336, perhaps the most striking instance is the content and allusions on an inscribed bronze plaque dedicated to Dodona by a Zakynthian named Agathon, dated to the beginning of the third century (*IG IX.1<sup>2</sup> 4.1750*; *SEG* 50.543).<sup>572</sup> Agathon extends an initial *syngeneia* between his family and the Molossian royal family onto a wider context, embracing the *Zakynthians* and *the Molossians and their allies* over thirty generations, beginning from Troy and Cassandra. Moreover, from a different angle the text implies that a valuable prestige is to be gained through foreign, yet illustrious descent. Agathon stresses his long lineage from Troy, and that his family is naturally entitled to maintain priesthood thereafter, following a privileged relationship with Cassandra.<sup>573</sup>

To return to Epirus, the last act of the play of diffusion saw the abolition of the Aeacidae in the 230s by a new community which first became self-conscious as people ruled by the descendants of Neoptolemus (the Molossians under the kings), but by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. had grown as an entity separated from the king (Epirotae first, the *Koinon of the Epirotae* after the abolition of kingship). As Meyer put it, 'The mythological genealogies of kings, people, and oracle [e.g. Dodona] are all made to align in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century'.<sup>574</sup>

Is the diffusion of elite ideology an indicator of community awareness? I argue that certain societies chose to embrace the foundation myths of leading families as their primary pattern of group-identification.<sup>575</sup> In particular, the mythical theme of kings from abroad developed into the tales of migration that quite often marked a beginning in a society's civic history. After the abolition of kingship in Epirus in the 230s, a sense of community arose in the

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<sup>571</sup> Malkin (1998) 138-139.

<sup>572</sup> Sources collected in Davies (2000) 244 and Meyer (2013) 70-79; for the bronze plaque, Fraser (2003).

<sup>573</sup> The iconographical articulation of the connection between the barren Cassandra and the family of Agathon is the work of a master. As Fraser (2003) 38-40 expertly explains, the male genitalia on the plaque, known as *twins* in 4<sup>th</sup>-century scientific discourse, allude to the twin brothers and seers, Cassandra and Helenus. Hence, Agathon is able to acquire a lineage through the childless Cassandra via Helenus, then to masterfully exhibit it and link it to the Molossians and their allies. A unique instance of the mechanics of *syngeneia* and diffusion of descent.

<sup>574</sup> Meyer (2013) 123-127.

<sup>575</sup> By no means do I imply that this was a universal practice. Societies followed different options, as I noted in Chapter 1 in the case of the Hapiru.

absence of the very kings who had forged its foundation myths.<sup>576</sup> In fact, the foundation myths of the royal family outlived the kings. A new community replaced the old, but retained elements of the previous entity, namely the foundation myth of the Molossian kings as a mode of group-identification after the abolition of kingship.

To link this aspect to Asia Minor and the migration, I would begin by observing that a migration marks a new beginning, *the* beginning of a community's existence in time. The current community, more specifically its elite, pinpoints a unique moment in the past, defines a singularity onto which the elite and the general population can project their very beginning.<sup>577</sup> A singularity cannot have a duration or acquire duration by being transformed into a long process. This is why our textual sources always narrate a single act of migration. Even when ancient authors present successive waves of colonists from abroad, their understanding is that those waves do not constitute a long process. Instead, they become a series of singularities, with new peoples making their way into a settlement. Some groups caused dramatic changes, such as the Ionians in Aeolian Smyrna (Mimn. fr. 9 Allen). Other groups, like the Carians or the Leleges in Asia Minor, either withered away or assimilated into the predominant population group that the contemporary society needed to link itself to. Even when authors transmitted different stories and waves of migrations, Greek societies could put their finger on a single moment in their past and define themselves accordingly.<sup>578</sup> Of course, this was not univocal or unchanging. A society or specific groups in a society could put their finger on different points in the past, in order to adjust group-definition according to contemporary needs. This is what often puzzled ancient authors who copiously listed all versions and sought to discern the real one and discard absurdities. This process should also concern modern scholarship, but from a different angle. Rather than following the footsteps of ancient and early modern scholarship into the realm of historical positivism to reconstruct one coherent explanation combining all sources available into a single interpretation, scholars can now investigate the social process of inventing and transforming tradition. A historical migration is not always needed. Certain civic societies looked back to their actual or imagined past in order to select the moment of their creation.<sup>579</sup> A long process of people coming together and living together in a settlement was replaced by a conceptual creation.<sup>580</sup> The actual process of settlement foundation was

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<sup>576</sup> Meyer (2013) 114.

<sup>577</sup> Cf. Malkin (2014) 24.

<sup>578</sup> Russell (2017) 211 draws similarities between a single event of migration creating a new community and the Greek tendency to seek pioneers to attribute innovations, laws, and so on.

<sup>579</sup> Cf. Fuks (1953) and Anderson (2003) for Athens; Russell (2017) for Byzantium; Greaves (2002) for Miletus.

<sup>580</sup> For the distinction between actual urbanisation and conceived urbanism, Purcell (2005).

overshadowed by the final singularity, the coming of the Greeks. Harmless additions, such as the Pelasgians, Carians, Cretans, or Leleges, could be easily pushed aside so that the Greek foundation of the community could be set.

I conclude my first argument with an attempt to answer a question posed earlier (p.182): why did the Aeolians need four generations for a day's journey? As Malkin notes, 'The idea of foundation expresses a perception of an event punctuating time'; putting some distance between present and the past is important for a new beginning.<sup>581</sup> By inserting four generations between Orestes and the actual settlement in Aeolis, Aeolian communities marked a new beginning, a new time. Connections to other, indigenous traditions are generally useful, but if too close, those connections annul the concept of a new beginning. Aeolian communities kept their distance from the Achaean leaders of the ancestral migration. A gap was created, which was necessary to distinguish the populations defined as Aeolian from their distinctively Achaean leaders in mythical times. In the case of the Dorians, three generations between Hyllus and Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus formed a time distance sufficient to separate the Dorian forefathers from the historical population of the Peloponnese. In balance, the aspect of a *return* of the Heracleidae to their ancestral home, as opposed to outright conquest, maintained the requisite connections between the 'newcomers' and the land. So too in Aeolis, four generations were deemed appropriate. All four appear as successive singularities in space and time: Orestes vanishes along the way, Penthilus or Gras in Thrace, Archelaus or Echelas in Mysia, Gras or Penthilus in Lesbos (Str. 13.1.3; Paus. 3.2.1).

In sharp contrast, authors who did not need to consider this elaborate requirement tended to rationalise or canonise tradition. This is the case with Velleius Paterculus, a contemporary of Strabo. He offers a very brief account of the Aeolian migration within a series of migrations in what seems to be a 'pre-history' of the world before the Greeks and Romans. He not only reverses the sequence of colonisation (the Ionian precedes the Aeolian in Vell. 1.2-4), but also diminished the time distance. Velleius, or the tradition preserved by him, was not concerned with the needs of communities to put distance between their Achaean leaders and the settlement of the newcomers in Aeolis.<sup>582</sup> Hence he prolongs the reign of Orestes for seventy years in the Peloponnese, and the expedition of his descendants is not a migration. Instead, Velleius reports that Penthilus and Tisamenus were banished by the Dorians, wandered for fifteen years before finally settling in Lesbos (1.1.3-1.2.4). The Aeolian colonisation comes

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<sup>581</sup> Malkin (2014) 24-29, with quotation on p. 35.

<sup>582</sup> For the scope of Velleius' work, Strarr (1981).



later (1.4.4, after the Ionian colonisation), severed from its familiar context, Penthilus and the migration. This rationalisation did not allow any connection to Orestes.

To summarise, I regard our fragmentary evidence about the Aeolian migration as parts of a long tradition, as variations on the theme of kings from abroad in the absence of kings. With the rulers gone, communities which previously embraced and were invited to participate in a common identity through descent rose to claim that descent from mainland Greece as their own. In the process, they also embraced the name that in all probability was ascribed to them by outsiders. In Aeolis, community members were ‘the diverse’.

### *The ‘diverse’*

In this section I will discuss the implications of the collective name ‘Aeolians’ and try to illuminate some aspects of the process of ascribing that name to a population group in Asia Minor. I will begin with a linguistic aspect, the meaning of the word *Aeolians* and then trace a process of internalisation of an *etic* name first by elites and afterwards by communities; the parallels of Epirus and the Pamphylians will set the framework of my examination.

In section 3.1 I referred to the initial meaning of the stem *Aiol-* in Homer: it is used almost exclusively as the first component of compound adjectives and conveys the sense of ‘diverse’, ‘mixed’, or ‘swift’.<sup>583</sup> While our sources never attempt to connect the Aeolians with any sense of swiftness, as early as Hellanicus the collective name ‘Aeolians’ was interpreted on the basis of linguistic and phyletic divergence among the followers of Orestes from mainland Greece to Asia Minor. To mention only a few more examples, this connection is reflected in [Hdt.] *Vit. Homeri* 1 West (‘when Aeolian Cyme was being built, there gathered Greek *ethne* of every origin, mostly from Magnesia’). It appears also in Meneclis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. (*FGrHist* 270 F 10: ‘they were named Aeolians because they descended from many *ethne*’) and in a later scholiast (Tz. *ad. Lyc.* 1374 p. 379, 28–380, 6 Sheer: ‘Orestes named them Aeolians because they came from many different places’).

Admittedly, the possibility of the Ionians naming the Aeolians as such is tempting. However, there are difficulties with this assumption: namely, the issue of the relative dates for the formation of Ionian and Aeolian collective identities (discussed below). The precedence of the well-attested Ionian identity is an assertion that needs to be argued, not a certainty. It is

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<sup>583</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 1036; Aesch. *PV.* 661; Epimenides *FGrHist* 457 F 7, 19; Pl. *Cra.* 409a 5. Other meanings: ‘glancing’ in Hom. *Il.* 4.489 and Pind. *Ol.* 9.42; ‘swift’ in Hom. *Il.* 19.404; *Od.* 20.27; [Hes.] *Sc.* 399; Hes. *Th.* 511; ‘bright’ in Hom. *Il.* 5.707.

quite possible that there may be no way to determine exactly when, how and by whom a specific area in Asia Minor was named Aeolis and its inhabitants Aeolians (or which came first, for that matter). Two options, however, should be considered. A group either names itself (sometimes in contrast to another) or it internalises a name that another group has ascribed to it. At first glance, the likelihood of a population group deciding to self-identify itself as ‘the diverse’ seems very slim. Hence I am inclined to view this process first in oppositional terms. However, I do not think that this is a case of one group (let us call them ‘colonists’) being able to convince another group (‘the locals’) that the latter’s past should conform to the past of the former.<sup>584</sup> This contrast need not be restricted to a context of two population groups competing for superiority or territorial rights. I will argue that in Aeolis an externally-ascribed name was internalised by local elites and over time it was diffused to a greater part of the population.

Before I discuss the identity of the name-givers, the process of the internalisation of an externally-ascribed name should be presented. In Chapter 1 I referred to the case of the *Hapiru/Hebrews*, but the process is not alien to the Greek world. To describe it, I will briefly discuss two relevant instances: first Epirus and the Epirotae, then the Dorian *phyle* of the Pamphyloi.

Since early in the Archaic period, Epirus, literally ‘the mainland’, emerges in our sources as a name ascribed by outsiders to a land unknown to them. Gradually, the name was transformed to a phyletic adjective and included population groups dwelling in the area, the Epirotae (= the mainlanders). Tellingly, the name did not include all population groups (Thesprotians, Selloi, and so on). This indicates that the internalisation process is not a deterministic necessity, but a potential strategy. For specific reasons a certain population group may choose to accept the *etic* name ascribed to it by outsiders, in order to differentiate itself from other competing groups in the area. In Epirus, the potential gains were the heroisation of the ruling family and the Hellenisation of the general populace. The circulation of other foundation myths in the area, such as Odysseus fathering children and founding settlements or the flight of Jason in Corcyra, offered different pathways towards similar goals for other groups, such as the Thesprotians or the Selloi.<sup>585</sup>

In order to signify in simple terms a complex political condition inland, outsiders reaching or passing through the area could refer to it as ‘the mainland’.<sup>586</sup> A periphrasis used in the very first attestation of ‘Epirus’ reveals the possible beginnings of ascribing names to

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<sup>584</sup> Malkin (1998) 29.

<sup>585</sup> Malkin (1998) 120-155.

<sup>586</sup> Meyer (2013) 64-67.

territories: ‘...the hinterland/Epirus around Ambracia and the Amphilochians’ (Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 26: τῆς Ἠπειροῦ τῆς περὶ Ἀμπρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους). Outsiders described an unfamiliar region in vague, basic terms, as a ‘mainland’. A seaward perception is inevitably required, either as a point of entry in the case of travellers, or as a permanent settlement in the case of powerful neighbours. In Epirus both perhaps apply. First, travellers from the south reached the region at the beginning of the Iron Age. Then, the foundation of Corcyra by the Eretrians and then the Corinthians enhanced the presence of southern Greeks in the north Ionian Sea.<sup>587</sup> The settlers of Corcyra, a Greek presence across the straits, perhaps conjured up a name for the entire region across the sea for exactly what it was to them: the mainland, ‘Epirus’.

The connection between the Aeolians and the Asiatic Pamphylians (= of all *phylae*) is at least as old as Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* 1.30), who alluded to a vague resemblance of an Aeolian and Pamphylian musical *nomos*. Others thought they could trace linguistic similarities between the two dialects (Herennius Philo *FGrHist* 790 F 47, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). For my part, I hope I can base a conceptual link between the Dorian phyle of the Pamphylians and the Aeolians on more solid grounds.

A forefather of the Dorians, Pamphylus, son of Aegimius, appeared as early as [Hes.] 10a, M-W, 1.7. In Tyrtaeus the three Dorian *phylae*, Hylleis, Dymanes, Pamphyloi, appeared together for the first time as ‘killers of men’ (fr 19 *IEG*, 1.8). Pindar separated the descendants of Pamphylus from the Heracleidae in Sparta (*Pyth.* 1.62-68). Pamphyloi are better attested outside Sparta, in the Peloponnese and elsewhere.<sup>588</sup> The origins and function of the phyletic name remains obscure, but it is reasonable to suggest that the Pamphyloi constituted a category to include ‘all *phylae*’, the Other, allowing a firm incorporation of non-Dorian groups into the entity self-endorsed as Dorians.<sup>589</sup> Similarly to the Epirotae, a group name ascribed by outsiders was gradually internalised and through the centuries acquired a significant religious capital.

From the transformation of Pamphyloi from a blanket-term to an organic, uncontestedly Dorian *phyle*, I proceed with the discussion of Pamphylia’s path to Hellenicity.<sup>590</sup> Pamphylia,

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<sup>587</sup> Malkin (1998) 75-77.

<sup>588</sup> Archaic Sicyon and Argos (Hdt. 5.68); 4<sup>th</sup>-century Cos (*HGK* 1, 3); mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century Epidaurus (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 71); 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Cnosos (*IC* I viii 14), Olous (*IC* I xxii 8) and Olerus (*IC* III v 1); Roman Argos (*IG* 4 598); the earliest attestation in the epigraphic record is a casualty list from Megara, dated between 425 and 400 B.C. (*SEG* 39.411).

<sup>589</sup> Although in the genealogy of Aegimius, Hyllus is the odd one out, as an adopted son of Aegimius added to his other male offspring, Dymas and Pamphylus (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 15 = Steph. Byz s.v. *Δυμάνεες*). The division between the sons of Aegimius (the Dorians), and Hyllus (the Heracleidae), is clearer in [Apoll.] 2.8.3, where Pamphylus and Dymas, ‘the allies of Dorians’, are killed during the invasion. For the possibility that the Pamphyloi functioned as priests within a tripartite phyletic division between warriors, farmers, and priests, Hinge (2003) 60-68. For an overview, Grote (2016) 23-179.

<sup>590</sup> Cf. Lane Fox (2009) 221-239.

a region in southern Asia Minor, appears possibly as early as Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F 258). A process of inclusion of the inhabitants of Pamphylia, the ‘people from all *ethne*’, into the Greek world emerges in Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 103). According to Photius’ summary of Theopompus’ Twelfth Book of *Philippica*, the Pamphyloi were the descendants of Teiresias’ great grand-daughter, Pamphylia. In Strabo (14.4.3) we read details of a tradition involving the competition of the two seers, Calchas and Mopsus (the father of Pamphylia), which supposedly took place in Asia Minor after the fall of Troy. The tradition is briefly mentioned at Hdt. 7.91, who is referenced by Strabo. Yet Herodotus does not include Mopsus, only Calchas and Amphilocheus; he is also careful to clarify that the Pamphyloi were equipped in the Greek way. Strabo’s account focuses on Mopsus, who remained in Asia Minor and settled in the area where in historical times the *polis* of Mopsouestia (= the hearth of Mopsus) established a convenient link to a prominent mythical hero. In this way, Strabo felt that the absence of the Pamphyloi from the Homeric epics was sufficiently explained: they were omitted because they were not in the area yet (Str. 14.5.23). This absence may have functioned to the advantage of the Pamphyloi, who were subsequently linked by tradition to the Greek world, despite their ‘mixed origins’ (μυγάδων). By the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD Pausanias (7.3.7) could comfortably state that the Pamphyloi ‘were part of the Hellenic race’.

Perhaps there is something more to the name than mere indigeneity. The ‘people of all *ethne*’, the phyletic left-overs if I may, were not the inferior locals. Far from being a generic name for obscure locals any longer, tradition presents them as descendants of Greeks. Although their collective name seems to suggest that they were the old, native inhabitants of the land, they could in fact have come from abroad, led by Greek forefathers into a new territory inhabited by non-Greeks. The latter were ‘homogenous’, the new-comers were ‘a conglomeration of all races’. ‘Pamphyloi’, ‘of all *ethne*’, seems to be more than a generic name. Moreover, in the case of Pamphylia, diversity was not a disparaging trait.<sup>591</sup> With this important point in mind, let us return to the initial historical question.

Who named the Aeolians ‘diverse’? Again in oppositional terms, such a definition requires a second group which forcefully self-identified as homogenous. Yet in all probability this group was not the Ionians, for the simple reason that, as the paucity of available evidence indicates, Ionian collective identity formed after the time when epic poets referred to Aeolians and Aeolians. Ionians appear once in the epics, dwelling in central Greece (Hom. *Il.* 13.685); the complete absence of any hint to the lineage of Ion in the *Catalogue of Women* is remarkable.

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<sup>591</sup> Contra Pollux 9.21, where it is a derogatory feature for a *polis*.

Modern scholarship dates the formation of the Ionian identity after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, if not in the early 5<sup>th</sup>, shortly before or after the Persian wars.<sup>592</sup> Tempting and inviting as it may be, it is unlikely that the Ionians named their northern neighbours ‘diverse’ to form a negative image of their ‘homogenous’ community.<sup>593</sup>

I suggest that the common name was internalised first by the elites and then by larger parts of the population. This specific case involves a group which attempted to differentiate themselves from all other adjacent groups. In the previous section I tried to explain how elite ideology could diffuse among the general populace over time, when conditions changed. I suggested that local elites in what was later to become Aeolis projected their families into a distant past and a different place. The application of the legends of kings from abroad served as an identity marker separating the descendants of leaders from the descendants of followers. A small elite justified its privileged status via descent and conquest, able to trace its genealogy back to the first man, Deucalion himself. The diffusion of this foundation myth to a larger part of the Greek-speaking populace indeed opened up the prevalent, privileged identity to more people, but it was by no means all-inclusive. There remained population groups that were still excluded as inferior, different. In this case, the inferior was the local. By advocating a coming from elsewhere, the newly-arisen community stressed its superiority over the *other* on the basis not only of its remote descent from abroad, but also of its diversity. In this way, the ‘diverse’ could juxtapose themselves against what was ‘homogenous’ and ‘indigenous’, firmly tied to the land of Asia Minor.<sup>594</sup> As the motif of kings from abroad extended over a large part of the population group, the ‘diverse’ could only come from elsewhere, from mainland Greece in this case, firmly separated from the remaining populace, the *outsider*, in terms of descent. Stories continued to circulate within a larger audience. ‘Diverse’ and ‘non-diverse’ listened to tales of a mass migration in the distant past, when the ‘diverse’ prevailed over ‘the locals’, i.e. those excluded from the community or people of lesser status. The new community was presented as

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<sup>592</sup> Fowler (2000) II, p. 569-576; Kuciak (2013) 9-10; Mac Sweeney (2017) 383-387.

<sup>593</sup> The homogeneity of the Ionians was rebuffed already by Herodotus on the basis of diversity in language, descent, ritual, and customs (Hdt. 1.142-148); remarkably, the Ionians failed to fulfil any of Herodotus’ *indicia* of co-belonging: Fowler (2000) II, 572-576, 599; Mac Sweeney (2017) 396.

<sup>594</sup> In Apoll. Arg. 936-1077., the crossing of the Argonauts to Asia is painted in distinctly colonial colours. The *Locals* (Γηγενέες) are savages, and their six hands deny them of human form. In sharp contrast to the inhabitants to the west, who offered hospitality to the Argonauts, the *Locals* attacked and were killed by Hercules and his companions. Even in death they are deformed, dehumanised; their corpses ‘lay next to one another as they fell, like tree trunks cut down by woodcutters’ and remain unburied, like beasts, an accumulation of inseparable corpses. Other *locals*, who cooperated with the Greeks and were linked to Greeks via mythical lineages, are credited with much more. Instead of forming a vague mass of impersonalised flesh, the Doliones who welcomed the Argonauts but engaged in battle with them by mistake, are offered a pitched battle bringing honour in death, their prominent dead are named, buried, and honoured, and there were survivors; all clear signs of individuality.

a continuation of an ancient condition. The land was conquered by the spear and was rightfully owned by the members of the new community. Imaginary blood relations, the strongest kind of inner-group relations, united all members and excluded all others as lesser men, defeated, rightfully debased. In Orwellian terms, some locals were more local than others; only this time, not to their benefit.

In short, I would suggest a change of viewpoint. A community was formed in opposition to the external environment. Outsiders were invested as the homogenous locals and the superior community as the offspring of the glorious forefathers, the 'diverse', powerful newcomers to the land. The foundation myth was already available. From its initial focus on a small elite, the myth of migration, a variation of the theme of kings from abroad, expanded to embrace a larger community, which now separated itself from other population groups on the basis of diverse origins from mainland Greece. As in any hierarchical community, a new elite was formed, and social stratification was forged by the application of the same foundation myth, retold with different scope. This time it was the entire community, all the 'diverse', who had migrated from mainland Greece to Asia Minor, some as leaders, some as followers. A natural state of affairs, in the ancestral motherland and the new homeland, was sung in Aeolis, on the islands and on the land opposite, where the 'diverse' were living. 'Leaders and followers, we come from abroad'.

### 4.3 Discussion

#### *A polyglot Smyrna?*

In her concluding remarks, Heinle perceives the foundation myths of the Aeolian *poleis* as generic, stereotypical repetitions of patterns popular with scholars, attached to commonplace literary *topoi* and narratives, in no way representative of any specific *polis*.<sup>595</sup> I am equally inclined to evaluate quite a few ancient accounts of foundation myths as *etic*, not *emic* constructs. The foundation myths as we read them in texts may be *etic*, but nevertheless they derived from previous constructs, probably *emic* in character, revolving around themes such as the migration and kings from abroad.

A new definition of colonisation emphasises the social aspect of group-identification as follows: ‘colonisation...is not an institutional or political manifestation, but a movement of people or individuals who collectively identify themselves with a certain *social coherence* (my emphasis).<sup>596</sup> This last element, the social aspect of colonisation, is central to my understanding of colonial discourses and foundation myths involving a migration painted in the colours of colonisation in the ancient sources. In the end, literature may not have been in need of an actual migration. To adapt Voltaire, if the migration did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it. I would define the outcome of my discussion in the words of Chris Gosden as ‘colonialism without colonies’.<sup>597</sup>

The hypothesis tested in this chapter was the contextualisation of the myths of migration not as bearers of historical events, but as a case closely resembling the common theme of kings from abroad, known from the cases of royal families in Sparta, Epirus, and Macedonia. New communities emerging in Aeolis embraced the foundation myth of elite families and subscribed to a new collective name, the ‘diverse’. Even though it is difficult to determine the identity of the external agent who ascribed the common name to the Aeolians, *etic* name-giving is not unprecedented in the Greek world, as evident in the name of the third Dorian tribe, the Pamphyloi (= of all *phylae*), or the Epirotes (= the people of the mainland across the waters). In the end, these ‘diverse’ forged a sense of co-belonging as newcomers from abroad, based on pre-existing myths of kings from abroad. To reconstruct a chain of events in a long process of group-identification, the name ‘Aeolians’ was internalised first by an elite in the area of Asia

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<sup>595</sup> Heinle (2015) 222.

<sup>596</sup> Hodos (2006) 22.

<sup>597</sup> Gosden (2004) 41.

Minor that later would take its name from its ‘diverse’ dwellers. The elite justified its predominant position in social hierarchy on the basis of its different descent, as the descendants of colonists from mainland Greece. A second phase of the internalisation of the collective name would entail the diffusion of elite ideology to a larger part of the general population. In this phase, the tales of migration would refer not only to the ruling elite, but to all members of a new community. Hence, a myth of migration came into being.

I believe that this line of reasoning explains well the foundation myths revolving around the Aeolian migration and successfully contextualises those stories within patterns of myth (trans)formation known from elsewhere rather than attempting to discuss an actual migration as the reason for cultural change in early 1<sup>st</sup>-millennium Asia Minor. This viewpoint suggests some significant implications of the etymology of the ethnic name ‘Aeolians’. It explains the absence of Aeolians in mainland Greece, the absence of any fixed links between Aeolian *poleis* and an Aeolian motherland, as well as the disassociation of the Aeolians from the house of Aeolus, which appears fully developed in mainland Greece. I have argued that the migration myths were a development of the theme of kings from abroad. Hence, there was initially no need for a specific motherland, only a starting-point for the leaders of the migration, Amyclae. This is the context in which we should understand the creation of the myth of Penthilus. I have also tried to explain the four-generation gap between the beginning and the end of the Aeolian migration, not only on the basis of adaptation to the Dorian migration, but also in terms of a social strategy aiming to distance an emerging community from its surroundings, whilst also keeping ties to the land. Finally, I have tried to put the myths of migration into perspective. Those myths do not echo an actual migration or conceal aspects of first encounters. Instead, they echo conceptual first encounters within a perceived middle-ground between new communities, defined as Greek colonies of diverse origins, and their surroundings, defined as local, homogenous people. In all probability, they were all locals, before certain people living in the narrow coastal strip (as defined in Chapter 2 and by Herodotus, as the main core of Aeolian habitation) began to think otherwise and internalised narratives discussing ‘elites from abroad’.

My first observations in this chapter were (i) the very early attestations of Aeolis in our sources, which (ii) located Aeolian *poleis* exclusively in Asia Minor, in sharp contrast to the family tree of Aeolus, combined with (iii) the absence of any references to an Aeolian motherland in mainland Greece. Long before anything Ionian or Dorian appeared in Asia Minor, Aeolian *poleis* were firmly set in the area by authors native to Asia Minor. Aeolic Smyrna and Cyme, homelands of Mimnermus and Hesiod’s father, emerge in epic poetry in



no uncertain way.<sup>598</sup> If an *etic* name was given to the Aeolians, could it have been originated in the Ionian or Dorian south? An integral point under consideration in this chapter has been the logical assumption that the name ‘diverse’ was bestowed by outsiders, perhaps indicative of a negative predisposition on the part of the name-givers. While this is true to a certain extent, at an initial stage of first encounters or cultural interchange, who could have been the ‘homogenous’ *other*? Could it have been the Ionians?

Many scholars accept an early date for the appearance of the term ‘Ionian(s)’ in Anatolia and beyond, a term which later came to signify all Greeks in Anatolian contexts. Apparently, the argument goes, the Ionians were the first Greeks that the Anatolian states encountered, and their collective name was ascribed to all Greeks thereafter. However, the identification of the *Iamanaja/Iaunaya* in Assyrian tablets dated to the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., is somewhat problematic. The resemblance of the word form to ‘Ionians’ is the best argument for the identification of the people from the *Iamanaja land*, ‘the raiders who came from (beyond?) the sea’ as the Ionian Greeks. In contrast to comparative evidence from the Hittite empire (where the apparent similarities between word forms can be further cemented by other geographical indications), no other supporting evidence to suggest a positive identification is available in Assyrian tablets.<sup>599</sup> My complete ignorance on Assyrian language, terminology, and world-perceptions notwithstanding, I tend to agree with the first publisher of the relevant Assyrian inscriptions who desperately noted, after evaluating all options, that the Assyrians themselves probably had no idea who the *Iamanaja* were and where they came from.<sup>600</sup> Possibly it was in the Middle East and the Levant that the term \**Iaun-* became significant and specific. Initially, in the Late Bronze Age ‘ethnic’ terms and toponyms were loosely applied to peoples sailing from across the waters into lands under the influence of the kingdoms of Egypt (*Ijaunia*) and Ugarit (*Yaman*). They probably signified different peoples and locations in each case. After the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the term was applied with more accuracy to signify a new, better-known entity on the edge of Asia Minor, the Ionians, for example in Babylonia (*Yamanaya* craftsmen settled in Babylon in the seventh century).<sup>601</sup> Regrettably, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide an answer to an intriguing question: could it be that the Ionians had also internalised an *etic* ethnic name? Is *Ionia(n)(s)* a Greek or an Anatolian word?

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<sup>598</sup> Discussion and testimonia for Mimnermus in Allen (1993) 1-8, 13-14.

<sup>599</sup> Discussion of the sources in Mac Sweeney (2017) 383-385.

<sup>600</sup> Saggs (1963) 77-78.

<sup>601</sup> Evidence and discussion in Mac Sweeney (2017) 384. Discussion in Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2001), esp. p. 325, where the author suggests that to the Persian administration all the people living in the western edge of the empire (Carians, Lydians, Ionians) appeared more or less homogenous.

I return once more to Mimnermus fr 9 Allen, which contains the earliest attestation of an Aeolian *polis* conquered by migrants from Pylos campaigning from Colophon (the identity of the people remained unspecified).

After we left Pylos, the *polis* of Neleus, / we came by ship to longed-for Asia.  
We imposed ourselves upon desirable Colophon by insolent violence, / instigators  
of harsh hubris; / From there after we advanced over the river..., / we conquered  
Aeolian Smyrna by the will of the gods.

In Chapter 2 I focused on the significant indication it offers about the presence of Aeolians in Asia Minor. In Chapter 3 I emphasised the qualities of colonial discourse emanating from the intense wording of the verses. At this point, I think of Mimnermus' verses as contemporary reflections of a rationalisation, an explanation of how an Aeolian *polis* could enter the Panionion.<sup>602</sup> In the case of Phocaea (see section 3.1), a change of kings was sufficient, thus following a principal pathway to Hellenicity, via a leader. For Smyrna the choice was the change of population, from the previous 'diverse' to 'Ionian' (Hdt. 1.150). Although tempted, I hesitate to suggest a possible amendment to Mimnermus' text, from 'Αἰολίδα' (Aeolian) to 'αἰολίδα' (diverse). However, I think contemporary audiences would have been able to make the connection between 'Aeolians' and 'diverse' in the same word.

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<sup>602</sup> For the dispute over the identification of the Panionion, Mac Sweeney (2017) 395.

## CHAPTER 5

### EPILOGUE

‘[sources] threaten to mislead us into simplification; into making confident assumptions about ‘events’ which were much more complex processes.’<sup>603</sup>

‘Who am I?’ and ‘Where do I come from?’ are universal questions set by individuals and groups of people. They address fundamental issues of existence and origin, and they bring order and meaning to the perceptible world. Responses to these questions are frequently attested in textual sources produced by communities of different eras, and the quest for origins continues to preoccupy modernity. The universality of those questions notwithstanding, scholars should probably not ask their evidence the same questions. The responses one receives will bear only a base historical value (the alleged origins and course of population groups), if one chooses to examine differences in material culture in oppositional terms and regard foundation myths as bearers of collective memories or echoes of past events.

Against this restricted logic, I have modified the research question to ‘Where did the Aeolians think they came from?’, and in my thesis I have tried to explain how, when, and why they reached the responses recorded in the sources, as well as considering which groups were identified and self-identified as Aeolians. The question of origins can only be answered in conceptual terms, as communities ascribe to multiple identities, host distinct sub-group collective identities, and inevitably renegotiate and transform foundation myths according to different needs. Actual blood relations among the community and descent from mythical ancestors, although probably the most important *indicia* of ethnicity in a wider sense, have absolutely nothing to do with the sense of co-belonging, except for their conceptual aspect: it suffices that community members *believe* that they share descent and origins. To the best of my knowledge, most, if not all, condensed accounts of foundation myths fail to pass the challenge of historicity. Their importance lies not in their historicity, but in their immense historical significance, as they reveal world-perceptions, strategies, goals, and the agency of human societies. It is this aspect that I have discussed in my thesis.

Perhaps the tendency of foundation myths to compress time, to reduce the long process of settlement formation, via different elements in different periods, to a singularity, a unique

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<sup>603</sup> Russell (2017) 241.

moment in time, is not irrelevant here. Foundation myths ignore the entire process and focus on the outcome with retrospective hindsight, aiming at defining a community not at its beginning, but in its current existence.<sup>604</sup> Indeed, myths do not echo actual events, but cause the actual historical process to disappear by compressing the complex formation of a settlement and a community down to a long-scale migration, or a single colonising expedition from a single *polis* to a specific location overseas. Foundation myths aim to crystallise the past into a single, convenient event; but, as the variety of foundation myths for any given *polis* shows, they evidently fail. Ultimately, old foundation myths are supplemented by more popular or useful tales, and the final outcome is a number of myths baffling ancient authors and modern scholars who seek to produce a single, inclusive narrative of the early beginnings of settlements. We are left with contradictory narratives concealing a process behind a singularity, with textual evidence aiming to provide simple responses to a phenomenon so complex and diverse that it cannot possibly function as a factor of unity among community members. Such responses were useful within different contexts in antiquity, but cannot provide historical information about a settlement's foundation.

To return to Aeolis and the migration from mainland Greece, reading sources at face value entails a great risk of distorting reality in the same way that those tales of foundation did in antiquity. In effect, we run the risk of thinking exactly as the creators of tales of migration intended their audiences to think. Foundation myths do not narrate *the* history and beginning of a settlement. Long after the putative fact, they tell *a* story of beginnings from a specific viewpoint. So whose stories are we reading? I have argued that in the accounts of ancient authors we are reading the stories of elites, stories that built on non-indigenous descent and were later diffused to larger parts of the populace (in a way similar to processes traced in Epirus, Macedonia, Sparta).

I have tried to describe, contextualise, and explain Aeolian collective identity, as traced in our thin evidence, in a context of multiple identities whose implications are revealed when geography and foundation myths are co-examined. In Chapter 2 I argued that the myth of Amazon founders of Aeolian *poleis* is not reminiscent of obscure ancient conditions in Asia Minor (an echo of a matriarchical past or an attempt to forge connections in oppositional terms with feminised locals), but a new strategy offering support to territorial claims of *poleis* wishing to project their presence in Asia Minor earlier than the Aeolian migration. The circulation of Amazon foundation myths coincides with territorial disputes after the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. They

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<sup>604</sup> Russell (2017) 233-241.

may have functioned in the same way when the Attalid kingdom began to dominate the wider area. Yet gradually, the function of the myth altered to bridge the gap between the Attalid kings and the Aeolian *poleis* by creating a common ideological ground, a shared past.

In Chapter 3 I explored ancient perceptions of the size of Aeolis and showed how a chronological examination of ancient accounts of Aeolis can bring order to the chaos which brought Strabo to the brink of despair. The alternation between a Small and a Large Aeolis is time-specific. The former appears in the classical period. The latter formed in the Hellenistic period onwards, when the localisation of Troy to the north-west corner of Asia Minor created new possibilities for the *poleis* of the southern coast of the Troad, and was enhanced under the influence of Roman imperial propaganda. Afterwards, geographical archaism lasting well into the Imperial period returned Aeolis to its classical boundaries. Unlike Strabo, modern scholars should not despair over the fluctuating borders of the regions of Asia Minor. Perceptions and definitions change through time; while Strabo was able to discern and appreciate change, this aspect evidently eluded him.

Just as Aeolis was not the same region throughout antiquity, so the Aeolians also differed over time. In Chapter 4 I examined *the tale of migration* within a different, literary context. Stories of migration were a well-known theme in antiquity and I attempted to connect them with elite ideology. Elites could justify their predominant position on the basis of their foreign descent, of their coming from abroad to rule over subjects of different affiliation. As is evident in Sparta, Epirus, and Macedonia, the diffusion of royal or elite ideology to a greater section of the populace had the effect of including the members of new communities in a new identity based on foreign descent. In the case of Aeolis, this new community was ‘the diverse’, as the appellation ‘Aeolians’ signifies: newcomers from abroad as opposed to the homogenous ‘locals’. The Aeolian *apoikia* allegedly brought diverse groups from mainland Greece to Asia Minor under the leadership of members of the house of the Achaean Agamemnon.

How should we include the *migration* in our future studies? How should scholars write the early history of Greek settlements in Asia Minor? Should one include an account of Mycenaean expansion? What about the formation of settlements and *poleis* in Iron Age Asia Minor? Should scholars persist with the migration tale and describe how Greeks/Aeolians/Ionians/Dorians arrived in the ‘colonies’? How should we account for linguistic similarities observed on both sides of the Aegean? Reaching a holistic account of group formation in Asia Minor will surely be a challenging task for historians, archaeologists, and linguists. In particular, modern discussions of migration of language and population groups across the Aegean Sea requires the notion of a homogenous group of people with a fixed

identity leaving their motherland to live at another location. This approach bypasses a long process of group formation and punctuates time in the same way that ancient migration and colonisation tales did. I hope that my thesis will help move discussions in the opposite direction, towards the study and presentation of more dynamic processes. The past is more diverse and complex than intentional history and foundation myths attempt to portray.

I have chosen to discuss a large geographical area from the Hermus to Tenedos, yet I did not include mainland Greece (Boeotia and Thessaly) or the ‘colonies’, in the same way that a study of the Dorians in the Peloponnese would not extend to the Dorian Hexapolis in Asia Minor or Doris, the motherland in central Greece. However, my choice has been determined partly by my word limit. Perceived motherlands and ‘settlements away from home’ are important in our understanding of ‘home’, in a way similar to the importance of *apoikiai* to the understanding of Greek (*metro-*)*poleis*. My study has been confined to Asia Minor, but future studies could focus on relations between Aeolic-speaking entities across the Aegean or examine ‘Aeolianness’ in the small number of ‘colonies’ of Aeolian *poleis*. Future research could focus on performances and representations of ‘Aeolianness’ to detect degrees of conformity and the mechanics of their implementation, and also the ways in which individuals and population groups perceived their phyletic identity.<sup>605</sup> Such studies would advance our understanding not only of Aeolian identity and collective identities in general, but would also shed light on patterns of human mobility and group formation in Eastern Mediterranean during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C.

To that end, I hope I have been able to contribute a different viewpoint from the sweeping mirage of migration. The two coasts of the Aegean were linked in many ways. Migration may be one way, but accepting it as the crucial explanatory factor in change restricts our understanding of human mobility, integration, group and settlement formation. Traces of contacts between mainland Greece and Asia Minor in material culture can be interpreted in many ways. Within an interconnected Eastern Mediterranean, communication and mobility should be more or less expected. What requires explanation is not just the existence of artefacts from abroad, but also their occasional absence.

I suggest that the migration as it appears in the literary sources was a construct, a choice, a strategy of Aeolian communities to define themselves and position themselves within a network of blood relations. This new approach permits more nuanced discussions and a

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<sup>605</sup> For example, performances commemorating the conquest of Pelasgian Thebes by the Aeolians from Arne in Proclus *Christom.* apud Photius *Bibliotheca* 239.321a 33 - 321b 32; a cult of ‘Thea Aeolis Karpophoros’ (‘Aeolian goddess, the fruit-bearing’ attested in *IG XII,2* 208, 210, 212 from Mytilene, dated to the years of Caligula).

modification of the historical question from ‘Where do I/we/they come from?’ to ‘How did we/they become one group?’. This modified question, in turn, challenges self- and group-perceptions, ancient and modern, as well as scholarly assumptions. It alters the focus from the quest for origins and starting-points of human mobility towards an attempt to understand the transformation of history and myth to serve different needs in different times, as history is re-told and re-written in a multitude of ways over time.

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