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XI

# Studi su Kyme eolica VI

a cura di Antonio La Marca



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*In copertina*: Kyme, particolare della carta di Copeland-Beacon-Spratt. Gulf of Sandarli or Chandarli (Antient Cumaeus Sinus). HMS (1834).

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## First observations regarding the establishment of Aigai (Aeolis)

Ersin Doğer

#### Abstract

Although ancient writers, including Eratosthenes, Eusebios and Pseudo-Herodotos report rather early dates about the output of the Aeolians to the Northwest coasts of Anatolia, archaeological evidence found in excavations in coastal Aeolian cities such as Kyme, Gryneion, Elaia and Pitane do not verify the dates in question. The earliest evidence from surveys and excavations, carried out in recent years in cities far from the coast, such as Aigai and Temnos, have a Late Geometric character. This study presents some considerations about the establishment of Aigai based especially on evidence of ceramic finds.

My purpose in initiating the excavations in Aigai after observations and surveys in Aeolis<sup>1</sup>, beginning from the Eighties when I was working in the Archaeological Museum of İzmir, was my belief that excavations held in ancient cities, positioned especially in the hinterland like Temnos, Neonteichos and Aigai, would contribute to the solution of the problems regarding the colonization movements of the Aiolians.

#### 1. Assessment of the Aeolian Colonization

Ancient writers, including Eratosthenes, Eusebios and Pseudo-Herodotos, reported rather early dates about the output of the Aiolians to the Northwest coasts of Anatolia<sup>2</sup>. These writers didn't only provide early dates; at the same time they referred to the legendary city founders, beginning with Orestes and continuing with Gras, Kleus, Malaos and Theseus, who reached Troas, Lesbos, Tenedos and the northwest coasts of Anatolia<sup>3</sup>, departing from Greece. Particularly Cyme played an important role

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Doğer 1995; 1998; 2001; 2006; Doğer-Gezgin 1996; 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A writer wrongly assumed as Herodotos and later named 'Pseudo-Herodotos' asserts that the colonization of Lesbos began 130 years after the Troian War. According to his chronology the Troian war took place in 1270. Accordingly Lesbos was established in 1140 B.C., Cyme in 1220 B.C., Neonteichos in 1112 B.C. and Smyrna in 1102 B.C. See Ps.-Hdt., *Vit.Hom.*, 9; 38. The chronology of Eratosthenes mentioned by Eusebios provides later dates. According to him the date of the Troian War was 1183 B.C. Cyme was established in 1051 B.C. and Myrina in 1049 B.C. See Eus., *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, p. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For Gras see Paus. III, 2, 1; for Kleus and Malaos see Strab. XIII, 1, 3; 3, 3; for Theseus of the Thessalian Admetos family see Ps.-Hdt., *Vit.Hom.*, 2.

in this wave of colonization, as a strategic coastal settlement and bridge founded at the point where colonists from Locris of Boiotia disembarked<sup>4</sup>. Some settlers, setting out from here, established Smyrna under the leadership of Theseus, Temnos under the leadership of Malaos and after the foundation of Neonteichos under an unknown commander they set out to conquer Larissa<sup>5</sup>.

Nevertheless evidence found in excavations even in coastal Aiolian cities such as Cyme, Gryneion, Elaia and Pitane were far from verifying the aforementioned dates<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand surveys carried out in the hinterland provided finds of later dates compared to the ones found in the coastal cities. In short, there was an unbridgeable gap between the traditional chronology and the dates of the finds in Aeolis. This may have been the starting point for some researchers who in the recent years are claiming that there was no mass migration from Greece and that the cultural unity, occurred in both coasts of the Aegean during the Hellenistic period, was the result of the Hellenisation of the local people under the Athens intensive propaganda during the Greco-Persian wars of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.<sup>7</sup>.

#### 2. Questions and problems about the establishment of Aigai: there is not even a Malaos!

The Aigai excavations have left behind 11 years of work<sup>8</sup>. Along with plenty of questions which resulted in the starting of the excavations, our consciousness about the problematique of the question: 'When was Aigai founded?', has been carefully sustained up to the present. Our knowledge about the earliest pottery found in drillings at several spots of the city, all of which reached the bedrock, has increased and we have satisfactory – for the time being – evidence for the assumptions we will put forward regarding the establishment of the city.

The earliest finds from Aigai up to the present are of Late Geometric character<sup>9</sup>. This early find group is represented by a bird *kotyle* known as the 'North Ionic' type, some fragments of a bird *oinochoe* and one of a crater. It is possible to suggest a date between 725 and 680 B.C. for the aforementioned finds (*fig.* 1)<sup>10</sup>. Find groups which could provide a more exact dating have not yet been identified.

<sup>10</sup> It has not been possible to work in the Geometric and Archaic layers of Aigai so far. The finds dated to the mentioned periods are limited to later filling materials. The fact that possible finds from excavations in earlier layers could change the discussed dates should not be overlooked. The largest group among the dateable finds of the Late Geometric period consists of bird *kotylai*. This pottery group is generally dated between the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. N. Coldstream suggests that the *kotylai* with four panels are earlier and that the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. examples don't show bird figures yet (Coldstream 2008, pp. 278-279). The infamous 'Nestor *Kotyle'* found in the Pithekoussai grave no. 168A (former 282) is an example of this early type and is dated to 720-710 B.C. (NIZZO 2008, pp. 33-34 and related figure). J. Boardman draws attention to an example from the destruction layer of Asine which is dated to ca. 700 B.C. and dates the examples of the 'Harbour Sanctuary Period I' finds prior to 690 B.C. (BOARDMAN 1967, p. 132, note 3). A similar bird *kotyle* from Ialysos Marmaro, grave no. 51, has been found together with Late Geometric pottery which could be dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (JAKOBI 1936, fig. 161). Bird *kotylai* of a similar type

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Strab. IX, 2, 3, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For three important articles about the total of the ancient writers who cite the Aiolian migration to the coasts of West Anatolia, see Bérard 1959; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1991; RAGONE 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For pottery found during italian excavations in Cyme, see FRASCA 1998a; 1998b; 2005; COLELLI 2012; 2015. For the recent researches see the articles by Colelli and Camera in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rose 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For the excavation reports of Aigai since 2004 see Doğer *et alii* 2008; Doğer-Sezgin-Gürbüzer 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The Geometric and Archaic pottery of Aigai are prepared for publishing by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nezih Aytaçlar and Ass. Prof. Dr. Yusuf Sezgin. All the pottery analyses and datings mentioned at this section have been conducted by N. Aytaçlar.

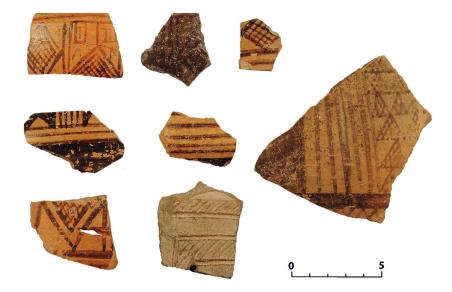


Fig. 1. Late Geometric pottery examples from Aigai.

Therefore until earlier finds are gathered, the date of city establishment must be placed between the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C and the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The broad timespan of 45 years considered about the establishment of the city and the sharp political changes that occurred during this span make it harder to respond to the question: "Why was

are also found in Klazomenai, sector FGT under the Building J., in the layer dated to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (ERSOY 2004, p. 49, figs. 6 c, f). It is observed that bird kotyle examples from Aigai also do not include a bird figure. Although the state of preservation of the *kotylai* does not allow a precise judgment, they can be accepted within the 'Early Stage' of Coldstream. Decorative motifs like 'N' and 'Z' are commonly preferred on both sides of the tree meander decorations on the *kotylai*.  $\Lambda$  motifs traced on one of the Aigai examples can be seen on the one from Samos, possibly dated to the beginning of the 7th century B.C. (WALTER 1968, Taf. 84, no. 471). As a result of clay analysis conducted on these *kotylai*, which are extremely common during the Late Geometric period in the Eastern Greek world (for examples see WALTER 1968, Taff. 42-44, nos. 240-263; Laurenzi 1936, grave 57, ve 62, figs. 92, 99; Dugas-Rōmaios 1934, pls. 46, 4-9; 47, 10-15; Walter-Karydi 1982, Taf. 1, nos. 2-3; BOARDMAN 1967, pl. 42, nos 437-443; BAÇ 1987, Lev. 9, no. 33, ve 36; ROBERTSON 1940, fig. 8 f; Özgünel 2003, Taf. 16, Abb. 7-10; Lagona-Frasca 2009, fig. 8), it is accepted that they are a product of North Ionia (Kerschner 2002, pp. 63-92). Local productions on other regions (Aeolis?) are controversial. However an example of a rough drawing from a possibly bigger *kotyle* from Aigai suggests a local production. Bird oinochoe produced in the same workshop as the bird kotylai are also represented in Aigai. A Late Geometric date can likewise be suggested for this form which has a sharp transition from below the shoulder to the body (for similar examples, see Нанғманн 1963, fig. 98, nos. 1445-1446; Dugas-Rōмаıos 1934, pl. 46, 2; Walter-Karydi 1968, Taf. 272, no. 455; Boardman 1967, pl. 48, no. 547, pl. 49, no. 551; Johansen 1958, Abb. 209 a-b; ROBERTSON 1940, fig. 7 c). The decoration on the body of a sherd of a big crater has been preserved. It consists of a metope with cross-hatched triangle series and a different cross-hatched motiv further below. The use of this kind of horizontal and vertical decorative strips, side by side, is quite common in Eastern Greek Late Geometric craters (for comparison see OZGÜNEL 2003, Taf. 13, Abb. 3; Taf. 20, Abb. 1-2; EILMANN 1933, Abb. 27 b and Beil. 24, 4.). It seems unlikely to make a dinstinction in the grey pottery of the period based on our current knowledge. However it must be pointed out that there are grey imitations of the bird kotylai with deeply notched mouth rims. An incised and cross-hatched meander motif on another grey pot (amphora) is of Late Geometric character. The tradition of incised decoration on monochrome pottery is also known from other centers (for an example from Troia see HERTEL 2003, Abb. 8; for examples from Cyme see LAGONA-FRASCA 2009, fig. 6; for earlier examples from Asine see WELLS 1983, fig. 161 b., pp. 412-413).



Fig. 2. Inner-Western Anatolian/Phrygian type pottery from Aigai.

Aigai established?", but allows making assumptions. Does the establishment of Aigai in the hinterland, 15 km away from the coastline and on the hard terrain of the Yund mountains have a strategic purpose for the coastal Aiolian cities? Or else, may the expansion of the coastal Aiolian cities to the hinterland be an answer to the colonization movement started from the cities of the west coast of the Aegean in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Eretria, Chalkis, Megara, Corinthos etc.) and continued by the cities of the East coast (Miletos, Phokaia etc.) towards the Mediterranean, the Marmara and the Black Sea coasts? It would be appropriate to assess the city founder (*metropolis*) feature of Cyme which is emphasized by Strabo from this point of view<sup>11</sup>. We should note that during the surveys carried out on the Yund (Aspordene), Dumanlı (Sardene) and Yamanlar (Sipylos) mountains, which form the inner hinterland on the east of the Aiolian coast, numerous settlements providing Archaic and Classical pottery finds have indeed been found<sup>12</sup>.

If we accept that the establishment of Aigai took place on the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. according to a chronology created based on pottery finds, it would be a logical assumption that the coastal Aeolian cities must have preferred to direct their excess population formed in a timespan of approximately 200 years towards the inner regions rather than transfering it overseas, as a less problematic and efficient solution. In this case Aigai must have been established at the time when Cyme was ruled by king Agamemnon<sup>13</sup>, who gave his daughter Demodike/Hermodike as a wife to the king of Phrygia Midas and the title of 'city founder Cyme' mentioned by Strabo must have been gained during the time of this king (fig. 2)<sup>14</sup>.

In the case that a later chronology is adopted regarding the establishment of the city (700-680 B.C.), the serious changes in the political and military conditions of this period, compared to 25 years

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For an excerpt about Cyme being the establisher of 30 cities along with Lesbos see Strab. XIII, 3, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Doğer 1998, pp. 271-289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Poll., *Onom.*, IX, 83; Heraclid.Lemb., *Politeiai*, XI, 3 (Müller, *FHG*, II, 1848, p. 216). Arist., fr. 611, 37; Rose 2008, p. 399, apud *IvKyme* 165, Tab. 68-69; RAGONE 2006, pp. 203-212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In this respect a polychrome pottery from Aigai of a style known from Inner Anatolia and which can particularly be associated with the region of Phrygia is worth mentioning.

before, must be taken into account<sup>15</sup>. A change of power had taken place in Lydia, the close eastern neighbour of Aeolis, and the first king of the new Mermnad dynasty Gyges (680-644 B.C.) had begun practicing an aggressive policy towards the west. On the other hand, it took time to remove the danger of the Kimmerians who reached Anatolia from Caucasus after the time of Gyges<sup>16</sup>. It would be appropriate to bring forward the opinion that among the external reasons for the establishment of Aigai – and maybe of Temnos<sup>17</sup> at the same time – were the threats of the Lydian Kingdom and the aim of preventing the Kimmerian danger in the inner areas – or at least spying on them. It is indeed known that the policy of the Lydian Kingdom towards opening and, in case this is not possible, forcing to open gates to the west, to the trade routes of the Aegean sea through the coastal Greek cities, continued for over 100 years<sup>18</sup>.

Even though the two arguments we put forward within the given chronology as an answer to the question: "When and why was Aigai established?", don't seem to be meaningless on the aspect of external conditions, it is necessary to question whether and on what extend the territory of Yund Mountain was used by the Aeolians before the foundation of the city on Gündağı. It should not be forgotten that the fact that no finds dating earlier than the Late Geometric period have been found in the city doesn't necessarily mean that the inner hinterland of Aeolis was not used before that time. For instance it is probable that Aspordene (Yund Dağı) with a vegetation consisting of oaks, hackberries, wild olives, strong maki-like scrubs and Turkish pines, still rich in our day, was exploited by the coastal Aiolian cities before the establishment of the city. The Aiolians may have began destroying the vegetation of their hind mountainous areas with lumbering and less probably wood coal production (!), making room for agriculture and stockbreeding which they would take up in the future, occupations both requiring a closer contact (like founding a settlement). We may hope for the execution of paleo-geography studies on the area for the verification of these assumptions.

It would be against the nature of things for Aigai not to have a founder (*ktistes, oikistes*), like all Greek cities do, guiding its establishment. The fact that the name of the founder of Aigai has not survived to our day whereas many of the names of the founders of the Aiolian cities are known must indeed be a coincidence. The city must have been founded under the leadership of Cyme, in the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., during the reign of Agamemnon, probably at the same time with other coastal Aiolian cities like Myrina and Gryneion and defended together with them. The temple of Apollon Chresterios on the banks of Kocaçay (Pythikos-Titnaios) which reaches the sea in front of Myrina is considered to be an important indication of the religious and traditional relationship of Aigai with the Aiolian cities in subject.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Hdt. I, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Hdt. I, 15-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cfr. Ragone 2008, pp. 343-356; 2009, pp. 429-442.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Hdt. I, 16-27.

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