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Looking for the Aeolian Migration

Both the date and source of the Aeolian migration to Asia Minor are far from clear; in *CAH*³ 2.2, Hammond (706) dated it with some precision to around 1100 BCE, but Cook (778) placed it anywhere between 2300 BC and 1000BC. There is little material evidence for the influx of a new population into the region at the end of the Bronze Age; Lesbian monochrome gray ware was produced without interruption from the Bronze Age to the 7th century. The origin of the Aeolians is also debated: (1) their dialect is closest to Thessalian; (2) Strabo and Pausanias say that the migration was led by Penthilos, son of Orestes, i.e. from Peloponnesos; (3) when Mytilene sought support for its revolt from Athens, it asserted kinship with the Boiotians (Thuc. 3.2.3); (4), in *Iliad* 24, 543-545, Lesbos is called the seat of Makar, who is described as *Aiolion* in the *Hymn to Apollo* (37), but Diodorus Siculus (5.81.4) traced his ancestry to (Peloponnesian) Achaia.

According to Hittite documents, Lesbos and the Kaikos valley were ruled around 1300 by an Anatolian (Luwian) dynasty; evidence from Troy suggests that the predominant culture in North-Western Anatolia was still Luwian around 1150. On the other hand, Makarís epithet *Aiolion*, and the Lesbian cult of the ìAeolian Goddess,î supposedly honoured by the Atreidae on their return from Troy (*Lyrical Graeca Selecta* 127, 196), suggest that Lesbos was perceived by the Greeks to have been ìAeolianî before the fall of Troy. Traditions of Aeolian settlement both before and after the Trojan War can be combined if the migration was a continuous process over several hundred years. The beginning of the process is likely marked by the resettlement of Thermi on Lesbos around 1300, at which point Greeks were probably a minority in a predominantly Anatolian culture. The date provided by the ìHerodoteanî *Life of Homer* (540) for the establishment of *cities* on Lesbos, 130 years after the fall of Troy, corresponds fairly well to Straboís narrative of Penthilos and also to the first appearance of Proto-Geometric pottery. This suggests that it was in the 10th century, with the formation of *poleis*, that Greeks became the predominant elements of the population.

Although Asiatic Aeolian dialects are closest to Thessalian, the *Thessaloi* did not move into Thessaly until the end of the second millennium; hence the Aeolians may not have shared space with the Thessalians in Thessaly, but rather in a region of the Northern Aegean such as the Macedonian plain. Straboís narrative of the Aeolian migration does not mention Thessaly, but rather Thrace (where Penthilos died). Lesbos had close ties with the North Aegean, especially with the Thracian cult of Orpheus, and material evidence may point in the same direction; protogeometric pottery from Troy finds its closest parallels in the Northern Aegean and ìAeolianî monochrome ware has been reported from Bulgarian Thrace.