OXFORD

The RETURNING HERO

Nostoi *and Traditions of Mediterranean Settlement*

EDITED BY

SIMON HORNBLOWER
& GIULIA BIFFIS

THE RETURNING HERO

The Returning Hero

Nostoi *and Traditions of Mediterranean Settlement*

Edited by

SIMON HORNBLOWER
AND GIULIA BIFFIS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

First Edition published in 2018

Impression: 1

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

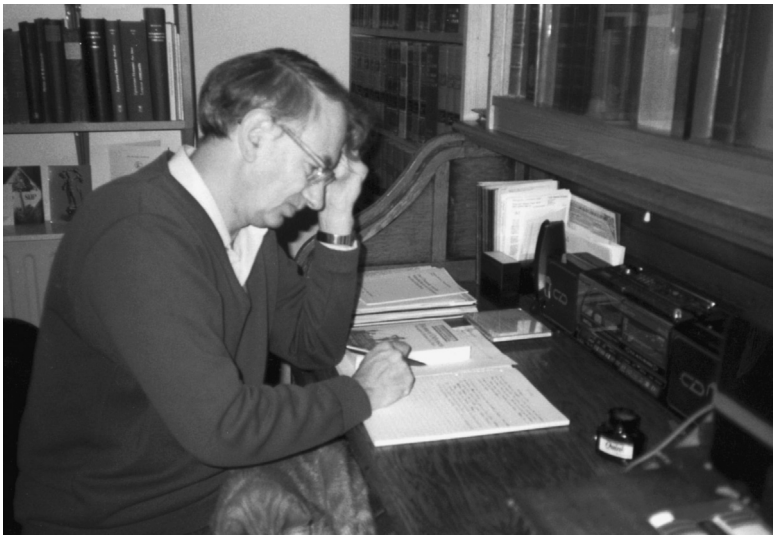
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018932384

ISBN 978–0–19–881142–8

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

To the Memory of Martin West,
23 September 1937–13 July 2015



Frontispiece The late Martin L. West, OM (and assistant).
By kind permission of Stephanie West.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This book is based on the papers delivered at a well-attended conference called '*Nostoi*: Traditions about Mediterranean Settlement', held in the beautiful Old Library of All Souls College, Oxford, on 6–7 May 2016. The core meaning of the ancient Greek word *nostoi* (*νόστοι*) is 'returns', frequently understood as the successful, partial, or failed returns of mythical Greek heroes from the Trojan War. The Greek word and its cognates are examined in the Introduction, below, section 2, and we explain our spelling policy (why and how we use both *νόστοι* and *nostoi*, and when we capitalize) at p. 1.

We are grateful to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College for generous funding of the conference, and for hospitality during it. One of the speakers at the conference is not directly represented among the chapters below: Robert Parker, whose Concluding Remarks have been of great value in the writing of the Introduction. But since it aims to act on his suggestions, especially by addressing topics covered insufficiently or not at all during the conference, he and we agreed that he would not contribute further. We also thank all those who attended the conference and contributed to the lively discussions after each paper, and above all we thank the speakers and now chapter-authors for their contributions, and their cheerful cooperation in the editorial process. We are grateful to Cathy Morgan in particular for good advice at the stage of conference planning. Finally, thanks to Georgina Leighton at OUP for help of various sorts, and to Ben Harris for careful and valuable copy-editing.

The book is dedicated to the memory of an inspiring, adventurous, and at that same time scrupulously exact scholar: Martin West, OM, FBA, who had, about a month before his sudden death in July 2015, agreed to deliver a paper at the *Nostoi* conference to be held in his own college.

Contents

List of Figures and Maps

Figures

Maps

List of Abbreviations

Note: ancient authors are generally cited according to *OCD*[4] pp. xxvi–liii; some exceptions are listed below.

A.	Aeschylus
Alle origini della Magna Grecia	*Alle origini della Magna Grecia*: *Mobilità, migrazioni, fondazioni*, *Atti Taranto* 50, Taranto, 2012
APF	J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC,* Oxford, 1971
Apollod.	Apollodoros the mythographer; and see *Ep*.
Ap. Rh.	Apollonios Rhodios
Ar.	Aristotle; [Ar.] *mir. ausc.* = Ps.-Aristotle, *de mirabilibus auscultationibus* (*περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*)
Austin[2]	M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*,[2] Cambridge, 2006
B.	Bacchylides
Barr.	R. Talbert (ed.) *Barrington Atlas of the Classical World*, Princeton, 2000
Beloch	K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*,[2] 4 vols in 8, Strassburg and Berlin, 1912–27. For edn 1 vol. 3. 2 (1904), see below, 00
Bill.	M. Billerbeck, *Stephani Byzantii* Ethnica (Berlin and New York, 2006–)
BNJ	I. Worthington (ed.) *Brill's New Jacoby,* online edition, 2006–
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4 vols, Paris 1968–80
CT	S. Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1991–2008
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
E.	Euripides (note *Andr*. for *Andromache*, *Her*. for *Herakles, and Herakl.* for *Herakleidai*)
EGM 1, 2	R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek mythography* I: *text and introduction*, II: *Commentary*, Oxford, 2000, 2013 (also referred to as Fowler 2013)
FGE	D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams,* Cambridge, 1981

FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* 15 vols, Leiden, 1953–8 (later vols, by other authors, are not cited)
FRHist	T. Cornell and others, *Fragments of the Roman Historians*
HCP	F. W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1957–79
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hes. *Th.*; *WD*	Hesiod, *Theogony; Works and Days*
IACP	M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen (eds) *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* Oxford, 2004
IG	*Inscriptiones graecae,* Berlin, 1873–
Il.	Homer, *Iliad*
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916
IvO	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin, 1896
Jos.	Josephus (*BJ* = *Bellum Judaicum*)
Kall.	Kallimachos
LfgrE	*Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (1955–2010), Göttingen
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews ,and other editors, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 5 vols in 8 so far, Oxford, 1987–2018
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 1981–97
LSJ[9]	H. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* edn 9, Oxford, 1940, with Supplement, 1996
Lyk.	Lykophron or Lykophron, *Alexandra*
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC,* Oxford, 1969
mir. ausc.	see Ar.
OCD[4]	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds) *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[4], Oxford, 2012
Od.	Homer, *Odyssey*
OLD	P. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1982
O/R	R. Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 478–404 BC*, Oxford, 2017
Pi.	Pindar, *I. (Isthmian), O. (Olympian), P. (Pythian), N. (Nemean) Odes*; *Pa. Paians*
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae melici graeci*, Oxford, 1962
PMGF	M. Davies, *Poetarum melicorum graecorum fragmenta* vol. 1, Oxford, 1991

Pol.	Polybius
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchos papyri
RC	C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period,* Yale, 1934
R.-E.	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa (eds), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 83 vols, Stuttgart, 1894–1980
R/O	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC*, Oxford, 2003
Radt	S. Radt, *Strabons Geographika, mit Übersetzung und Kommentar,* 10 vols, Göttingen, 2002–12
S.	Sophocles
Σ	scholion or scholia
Stes.	Stesichoros
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantinus
Suppl. Hell.	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum hellenisticum*, Berlin and New York, 1983
Syll.^{3}	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1915–24
Th.	Thucydides
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, Los Angeles, 8 vols, 2004–12
Tod	M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1933 and 1948 (numbering of inscriptions is continuous)
TrGF	S. Radt and R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*, 5 vols in 6, Göttingen, 1981–2004
V. *A.*; *E.*; *G.*	Virgil, *Aeneid*; *Eclogues*; *Georgics*
Walbank	see above, *HCP*
Xen.	Xenophon

List of Contributors

Giulia Biffis is Research Associate in Classics at the University of Reading and Associate Lecturer in Greek at Birkbeck College, London. Her first monograph, on Cassandra and the female perspective in Lycophron's *Alexandra*, is forthcoming.

Robert L. Fowler taught at Waterloo, Ontario and Bristol before his retirement in 2017. He is editor of the *Cambridge Companion to Homer* (2004) and author of *Early Greek Mythography* (2000–13).

Guglielmo Genovese is director of the archaeological excavation at Sant'Omobono Insula Volusiana, Rome. He teaches at the University of L'Aquila. His monograph *Nostoi* and further bibliographic output are based on his archaeological field work in several sites in southern Italy.

Simon Hornblower held teaching and research posts at Oxford and UCL before retirement in 2016. He has published *Lykophron* Alexandra: *Greek Text, Translation, Commentary and Introduction* (2015), and *Lykophron's* Alexandra*, Rome and the Hellenistic World* (2018).

Robin Lane Fox taught ancient history at New College and Exeter College, Oxford from 1977 to 2014 and classical languages and literature at New College in 2016/7. His books range from *Alexander the Great* (1973) to *Augustine: Confessions and Conversions* (2015) and he is currently working on early Hippocratic medicine.

N. J. Lowe is Reader in Classics at Royal Holloway, London. His publications include *The Classical Plot and the Invention of Western Narrative* (2000) and *Comedy: Greece and Rome New Survey* (2008).

Naoíse Mac Sweeney is Associate Professor in Ancient History at the University of Leicester. She is the author of *Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia* (2013) and *Community Identity and Archaeology* (2011). Her latest monograph *Troy: Myth, City, Icon* will be published by Bloomsbury in 2018.

Irad Malkin holds the Cummings Chair for Mediterranean History and Cultures and is Professor of Greek History at Tel Aviv University.

He is co-founder (1986) and editor of the *Mediterranean Historical Review* and is the Laureate of the *Israel Prize for History*, 2014. His publications include *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (1987); *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (1994; 2003); *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (1998); (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (2001); *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2011).

Catherine Morgan is Senior Research Fellow in Classics at All Souls College, Oxford, and a former Director of the British School at Athens. Her research focuses on the central Ionian Islands, where she conducts study and fieldwork on Ithaka in collaboration with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kephallonia, and collaborates in the research of the University of Krete on Meganisi. Her publications include *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (2003).

Nicholas Purcell is Camden Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford. He works on social, cultural, and economic history, with a special interest in the long-term history of the Mediterranean. On this theme he wrote, with Peregrine Horden, *The Corrupting Sea: a Study in Mediterranean History* (2000).

Tanja S. Scheer is Professor of Ancient History at the Georg August Universität Göttingen. Her books include *Mythische Vorväter. Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte* (1993) and *Griechische Geschlechtergeschichte* (2011). Her special interest is cultural history, especially Greek mythology and Greek religion in its social context.

Stephanie West is an Honorary Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Homer, and particularly the *Odyssey,* has always been her principal research interest; she published *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (1967), and a commentary on *Odyssey* books 1–4 (first commissioned by the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla 1981) was taken over by OUP and appeared in 1988. She has published articles on a wide range of other Greek authors, particularly Herodotus and Lykophron, and is currently working on a commentary on Herodotus book 4.

Map 0.1 The Mediterranean world of the *nostoi*.

Reproduced from Hornblower 2015 by permission of OUP.


Land elevation in metres
over 1850
1000 to 1850
0 to 1000
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 300 km
WHITE ISLAND
Black Sea
KOLCHIS
Ainos
SAMOTHRACE
Kyzikos
Ophryneion
Troy
Alexandreia Troas
TENEDOS
MYSIA
Pergamon
Lesbos
LYDIA
KILIKIA
Mallos
Kolophon
Miletos
Stratonikeia
DELOS
LEPSIA
Halikarnassos
Myndos
Knidos
KASIOS
Orontes
Apameia
Lindos
RHODES
CYPRUS
Byblos
Sarapta
KRETE
Alexandria

1

Introduction

Simon Hornblower

PROLOGUE

This book is about ancient Greek returns and returning, chiefly—but by no means only—of mythical Greek heroes from Troy.[1] One main, and certainly the most 'marked', ancient Greek word for 'return' is νόστος, plural νόστοι: in transliteration *nostos*, *nostoi*, as in the English derivative 'nostalgia'.[2] In the chapters that follow, the keyword and its cognates will, in the text at least, be given in transliterated form: *nostos*, *nostoi*, and so on, except at the start of sentences, and where the reference is to poetic and prose works actually called *Nostoi*, which will be capitalized. In general we have, in the interests of accessibility to non-specialist readers, kept the text as far as possible free of ancient Greek, which is confined to footnotes.[3] All Greek is translated.

[1] This Introduction seeks in part to act on helpful suggestions made by the publisher's referees on both the book proposal and the completed submission, and especially by Robert Parker in his acute concluding remarks at the conference on which the book is based. We were and are much indebted to him for these. In particular, the Introduction attempts to fill gaps in conference and book proposal noted by the above friendly critics; hence the coverage of the Argonauts; of Xenophon's Ten Thousand; of *nostos* in the historians generally; and of exile and return from it. Apart from the opening brief sketch of the book's contents, the Introduction does not summarize the chapters in a full and serial way, all in one place, but instead it exploits them in different ways and at different points.

[2] See below p. 32 for 'nostalgia'. For *nostoi* in Greek literature and history see pp. 7–37 below, and for prose *Nostoi* in particular, pp. 34–7.

[3] This has been done in deference to a suggestion by one of the book's referees after the submission of the completed typescript.

The chapters in this book are all thematic, but they are arranged in a roughly chronological sequence.[4] They draw on literary and material evidence, and many of them press the evidence of myth, and draw on modern theoretical work to do so. Robert Fowler's theme is early Greek ethnicity and ethnogenesis, and the implications of the relation, or rather the impressive dovetailing, between *nostoi* traditions and myths of Greek origins. Stephanie West shows that hints in Homer's *Odyssey*, and in its textual reception at Alexandria, betray knowledge of an alternative *nostos* of Odysseus, in which Krete was prominent. Irad Malkin explores the 'right of return' accorded to Greeks who went overseas in the great colonizing period; the evidence for this is largely epigraphic. Guglielmo Genovese examines the myths of the south Italian *nostoi* of Epeios and Philoktetes, and argues that they are good evidence for early and friendly interaction between indigenous peoples and Greek arrivals. Tanja Scheer asks and answers the question, 'why (with a handful of significant exceptions) do women in Greek myths not have *nostoi*?' Part of her explanation is that mythical constructions of male and female characters must not contradict fundamental expectations about the behaviour of the sexes in 'real' society. Giulia Biffis shows that *nostoi* myths as narrated in tragedy, especially the two surviving *Iphigeneia* plays of Euripides, contribute to the shaping the relationship of self to society; in particular, she examines the link between female self-sacrifice and the notion of return. N. J. Lowe applies modern theoretical and 'emotionological' work, especially the concept of place attachment (the emotional bonds between people and places, as already poignantly articulated in the *Odyssey*), to *nostoi* as they feature in Greek drama; and he unexpectedly takes in New Comedy as well as Attic tragedy. Robin Lane Fox's focus is the Hellenistic period, and the way in which Macedonians relocated or 'returned' mythical heroes (Perseus, Herakles, Jason, and Medea) to the new lands they themselves had conquered. Catherine Morgan, who draws on a combination of material and epigraphic evidence, presents and analyses four case studies which indicate that *nostoi* were exploited by communities so as to define themselves in relation to their neighbours, thus shaping communal as opposed to personal identity.

[4] Note 'roughly': for example, Catherine Morgan's chapter ranges widely in time from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods, but has been treated it as mainly Hellenistic.

Naoise Mac Sweeney takes a single well-documented example of a failed *nostos*, that of the famous Homeric seer Kalchas who ended up buried at Ionian Kolophon, and explains its Hellenistic manifestation in terms of Roman encroachment on the Greek East. Nicholas Purcell, who takes the discussion into the Roman and Christian periods, queries the usual idea that home and homecoming were always viewed positively.

This Introduction draws on the insights of all these chapters to offer what aspires to be a rounded thematic account of ancient, especially Greek, attitudes to return, *nostos*. In particular, it traces the Greek word *nostos* and its cognates, and addresses topics and episodes not covered in the 2016 conference or by the individual chapters of the book: see above n. 1. It will end by asking, was *nostos* always 'sweet', in its regular Homeric epithet?

Karl Julius Beloch, who died in 1929, splendidly began the second edition of his eight-volume Greek history with the following sentence: 'naïve history-writing sees only heroes. It does not trouble itself with the masses who stand behind them.' 'Die naïve Geschichtsbetrachtung sieht nur die Helden. Die Massen, die hinter ihnen stehen, kümmern sie nicht.'[5] He continued: 'so in Homer the Greeks are defeated, because Achilles stands aloof from the fighting; when he takes part again, he drives the Trojans before him like sheep, and Troy's fate is sealed by Hektor's death: *οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ* (for Hektor was sole protector of Troy).'[6] Beloch, who knew most of Homer and Thucydides by heart, surely did not need to check the Greek of those words. His flagging up of the resonant name Troy is an additional reason why his whole opening paragraph is a good preparation for the theme of this book. We will see that *nostos* came to be specially used about the returns or failed returns of Greek heroes from the Trojan War. By an extension justified by Lane Fox, it is sometimes used nowadays (and perhaps in antiquity also)[7] about Trojans seeking new homes after their city had been sacked. They were not usually *returning* anywhere. *nostos* was normally a state to be desired, although Purcell's chapter argues that 'home' might have negative connotations, as opposed to the positive notion of wandering. On this ambiguity, see further below section 5, *Conclusion*.

[5] Beloch 1914–28: 1. 1. [6] *Il.* 6.403. [7] See below, pp. 36–7 and 193.

You do not have to be a Marxist (and Beloch was not, see Momigliano 1994: 103) to agree that Greeks tended to personalize what might seem to us to be largely impersonal processes such as colonization and overseas settlement and migration generally. But actually, they were not so wrong in one way: the cult of the oikist or city-founder—cult, in the full technical religious sense of heroization[8]—expresses an understandable feeling that superhuman qualities were needed to get a new community off the ground in face of often hostile pre-existing occupants of the land. And this ancient tendency affects one aspect of colonial traditions in particular, namely *nostoi* by heroes. Our hope in this book, as in the conference from which it originates, is that by bringing together specialists in history, literature, myth, and archaeology, we will reach a better understanding both of the importance to ancient Greeks of the notion of individual 'return', and also of the social variables which determined the character of collective Greek settlement of the Mediterranean zone.

Trojan War *nostoi* are by their nature an extreme case of a personalizing or individualizing tradition. This is true in the main of the surviving literary text which above all others provides us with a kind of map of *nostoi* traditions, Lykophron's *Alexandra*. The word 'surviving' is important there, because the much earlier *Nostoi* poems of the Epic Cycle and of Stesichoros of Himera survive only in fragments; see further below.

So far, we have mentioned only literary traditions, but that is lopsided and misleading as an account of what we hope to do in this volume. Migration paths and patterns need to be studied with other tools as well, notably the sophisticated use of material evidence and of network theory, about which Irad Malkin has written so effectively.[9] In this area at least, Beloch was surely right. He spoke of the 'masses' who stood behind the heroes, but we need first to ask, is 'masses' the right word? One problem facing the historian of early Greece is to assess the size and scale of early migration. It is particularly hard to estimate secondary waves of emigration, because the literary sources naturally concentrate on the heroic and pioneering phases. Common sense suggests some approaches. If vigorous emigrants were too many, that might put the viability of the sending city or *mētropolis* at risk (sometimes wholesale evacuation of a community was imposed by

[8] See esp. Hdt. 6.38.1 (about the elder Miltiades).

[9] See esp. Malkin 2011.

foreign threats, as in the westward migration of the Phokaians in the sixth century BCE as Achaemenid Persia loomed). If numbers were too small, the settlers risked being overwhelmed, and failed but unrecorded colonies must have been many. Even very large colonial ventures might fail, such as the 10,000 Athenians overwhelmed at Drabeskos in the 460s. Irad Malkin shows (below, p. 94) that the possibility that a colony might fail could be recognised formallly in decrees, or at least can be inferred from foundation narratives.

It is understandable that unsuccessful colonies should have left less evidential trace than successful ones: nobody had an interest in celebrating failure by patriotic history or song. In any case, if a colony was completely overwhelmed, there would be no settlers left to tell the tale. On the other hand, a colony or cleruchy[10] which found itself in difficulties might ask the *mētropolis* for reinforcements.[11] Some inscribed foundation decrees show that there was another solution for unhappy colonists, namely to avail themselves of the right of return. This concept was, as Irad Malkin puts it in his chapter, 'bidirectional'. That is, it allowed a colonist to return to the *mētropolis* after a stated period, but it also—by a kind of extension of the notion of 'return'—allowed a citizen of the *mētropolis* to join an established colony.

Inscriptions and the material record generally can illuminate attitudes to *nostos* in less explicit and categorical ways than this. Catherine Morgan's chapter, which concentrates on the Ionian and Adriatic Seas at the heart of the Mediterranean, discusses how objects and assemblages can invoke *nostoi* as part of a pattern of thought and behaviour. For the cult of Diomedes on the Adriatic island Palagruza see *SEG* 48.693 and below (p. 234). A monument dedicated by Illyrian Apollonians, and found at Olympia, depicts a series of pairs of Greek and Trojan heroes (Odysseus and Kassandra's brother Helenos, Menelaos and Paris, Diomedes and Aineias, and so on). Apollonia was a Greek city and Apollo was the Greek god of colonization, but the

[10] A special sort of Athenian colony, often military in purpose, in which settlers did not lose their original citizenship.

[11] The Athenians sent a cleruchy to Potidaia in 429 BCE (ML no. 66); additional cleruchs were sent in 361, evidently at the request of the pro-Athenian element (Tod no. 146). In between, the place had been Spartan-controlled for a time. The Athenian cleruchy sent to Samos in the mid 360s (Diod. 18.18.9) was reinforced in 352/1 (*FGrHist* 328 Philochoros F 154), but we are not told why. Perhaps the Social War of the mid 350s placed the Samians under pressure from the Karian satraps; or perhaps there were too many Athenian mouths to feed.

city's legendary founder Apollo had favoured the Trojans in the war for Troy. The *nostoi* traditions are here used to hedge bets, by means of the simultaneous assertion of both Trojan and Greek connexions. In something like the same way, a strange Hellenistic inscription at Dodona by a Greek called Agathon claimed kinship with Trojan Kassandra, perhaps—as brilliantly suggested by the late P. M. Fraser—by descent from one of Kassandra's brothers, a son of Priam called Agathon, who is mentioned just once in the *Iliad*.[12]

NOSTOS AND ITS COGNATES

The word *nostos*[13] is usually thought to be related to *νέομαι* (*neomai)*, which simply means 'I go', 'I come', often 'I return'; and although 'return' (as noun), 'homecoming', especially the safe return of Greek heroes from Troy by sea, became the normal or default sense of *nostos*,[14] it does not invariably mean that. Occasionally it can mean 'arrival' or even 'journey',[15] as (perhaps) when Pindar speaks of Herakles reaching the end, *telos*, of his *nostos*.[16] The rare adjective *eunostos* means good return, and was the name of a harbour at Alexandria; it can also mean good harvest.[17] The more usual and neutral adjective *nostimos* is used by Homer; and by an Aeschylean chorus inquiring about the return from Troy of Menelaos, 'if he is on

[12] Fraser 2003 (*SEG* 53.570); *Il.* 24.249; Fragoulaki 2013: 256, 276.

[13] In this section, the use of some Greek in the text is unavoidable. The Greekless reader may wish to jump to p. 7, 'the return' theme.

[14] Default sense: Bonifazi 2009: 489, 492, 501, 505.

[15] LSJ[9] *νόστος* I (2), citing *Od.* 5.344, S. *Ph.*43 (but the idea of 'return' may be present here, see Schein 2013: 126), and E. *IA* 966 and 1261. Bonifazi 2009: 498 n. 50 adds E. *Hel.* 474.

[16] Pi. *N.* 3. 25, with von der Mühll 1968: 229–30, *νόστος nicht einfach = 'Heimfahrt'*. But at *Od.* 22.323, the parent expression *νόστοιο τέλος γλυκεροῖο* surely means 'the end of my sweet return'. Von der Mühll's other suggested example of a non-return sense for *nostos*, *P.* 3.35, is less cogent. On the etymology and different nuances of *nostos* see further Bonifazi 2009, an excellent study, but not straying much beyond Homer. Slater 1969: 354 gave 'homecoming' as the only meaning in Pindar, but added, in an obviously last-minute addition, a ref. to von der Mühll at the head of the entry.

[17] Strabo 17.1.10. On the problem of the heroic name Eunostos, which ought to mean 'fair return', and is said by ancient lexicographers to denote a spirit of the mill, see Parker 2017: 5 n. 14. (Cf. LSJ *νόστος* (II) for the meaning 'grain yield'). For Eunostos as a personal name, see below p. 42.

his way home and back safe';[18] for the link between *nost-* words and 'safe' or 'safety' (*σω-*) words, cf. below pp. 20–1 on Xenophon's *Anabasis*. An alternative derivation maintains that *nostos* ultimately derives from a lost root **νέσομαι* (*nesomai*), 'save oneself';[19] if so, Aeschylus' line might be called a virtual pleonasm. But words do often travel away from their origins. It has also been shrewdly noticed that, in Homer at least, *nost-* words are regularly found in oppositional pairing with *ap*(*ollumai*), 'I perish';[20] this is very relevant to the Herodotean usage to be discussed below (p. 17), whereby the verb (*apo*)*nostō* is applied to armies which never return, i.e. are slaughtered or just disappear mysteriously.

Homer and his imitators often use *nostimos* as part of the formulaic 'day of return', *nostimon ēmar*.[21] In both ancient (Kallimachos, n. 22) and modern Greek, *nostimos* can also describe food, and means tasty. LSJ gives 'yield or produce of grain when ground' as an entirely separate sense (II) of the noun *nostos*. But perhaps there is a connection: the seed is planted but then *returns* to the light.[22] So, too, we speak of agricultural returns. For Nostimos as a personal name, see below, p. 42.

THE 'RETURN' THEME IN GREEK LITERATURE AND HISTORY, ARCHAIC TO HELLENISTIC

If there was an epic poem even older than Homer, narrating the Return of the Argonauts from Kolchis, it has not survived; the *Odyssey* casually refers to the 'Argo known to all',[23] but this might

[18] A. *Ag.* 718, *εἰ νόστιμός τε καὶ σεσωσμένος πάλιν*.

[19] Chantraine 1968: 744–5; Bonifazi 2009: 492.

[20] Bonifazi 2009: 493.

[21] E.g. *Od.* 1.9, *ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ*, 'he (Hyperion the Sun-god) took away their day of return.'

[22] Robert Parker in his concluding remarks at the Nostoi conference in May 2016 discussed but rejected this explanation, while noting the agriculturally symbolic return of Persephone. Hopkinson 1984: 184, discussing Kall. *H.* 6.135, *φέρε δ' ἀγρόθι νόστιμα πάντα*, concludes that *νόστιμα* there does not convey the notion of literal return, but simply means 'abundant', 'productive'; but he goes on to cite Theophrastos (*CP* 4.13.2–3) for crops with a high 'return'; thence 'nourishing', 'tasty'. So he allows the connection with returning, albeit of a non-literal sort. But he does not comment on the appropriateness of the ambiguity, in a poem about Persephone's mother Demeter. On the Kallimachos passage see further Purcell, this volume, p. 272.

[23] *Od.* 12. 70, *Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα*. See below, p. 81 n. 49.

refer to something less than a full-scale poetic narrative, perhaps—as Stephanie West suggests, below p. 81—an informally circulating body of Argonautic poetry from which Homer borrowed and adapted details, and which he here courteously acknowledges.

As far as surviving evidence goes, the traditions about *nostoi* had their literary origins in the Homeric epics, in particular those passages of the *Odyssey* in direct speech which supplied details about the fate of homecoming Greeks after the fall of Troy—Odysseus himself, of course, and many others as well.[24] But Robert Fowler's chapter shows that, as a matter of history, the *nostoi* myths developed as part of a vast process of change, no less than the ethnogenesis of the Hellenes, in particular the arrival of the Aiolian and Dorian peoples. There is very little overlap between the cast, to use a theatrical metaphor, of the *nostoi* myths, and the cast which was composed of the newcomers such as the Herakleidai. There was in fact, an almost total clear-out. The *nostoi* were logically antecedent to the invasions, but the traditions about them were developed after the fact of the 'radical reconfiguration of the Greek world in the Geometric period' (p. 58).

Homer

'Place attachment' begins with Homer's *Odyssey*, as N. J. Lowe brings out in this volume (p. 181), by analysing the famous passage of book 9 where the hero evokes Ithaka to his Phaiakian hosts. But in the *Odyssey*, the most vigorous and memorable lines about Odysseus' return may not contain a *nost-* word at all. When at long last Odysseus reveals his identity to the hateful suitors, he does so, not by divulging his name as he had done to the friendly Phaiakians, but with the following emphatically pleonastic words: 'Dogs! You must have thought I would never

[24] The word *nostos* occurs as early as *Od.* 1.5, where Odysseus tried to preserve his own life and secure the *return* of his companions; see also 1.9 for the 'day of return' (above). Speeches narrating Greek *nostoi*: esp. 3.130–200 and 254–312 (Nestor); 4.333–592 (Menelaos). At Ithaka the bard Phemios sang of the 'painful return, *noston . . . lugron*, of the Achaians (the Greeks)', 1.326–7, but we are not told details, except for the apparently authorial addition that it was imposed by Athena (cf. below, p. 29). Similarly, Aiolos wanted to know about the return of the Achaians (10.15, cf. West, below p. 65). On the name Nestor as derived from the same root as *nostos* see, in this volume, Fowler p. 53, West, p. 65, and Malkin, p. 85.

In this book, the *Odyssey* is a constant point of reference. In the *Iliad*, by contrast, the great *nostos*-hero *Odysseus* actually prevents a premature general Greek *nostos* (2.155,206).

come back home again (*hikesthai*) returning (*hupotropos*) from the land of Troy!'[25] After some more in this furious vein, he proceeds to slaughter the rest of them, having already shot the ringleader Antinoos through the throat. The almost exclusively Homeric adjective *hupotropos* would be picked up by Apollonios, as we shall see (later; below, p. 26 for an interesting and complex–because double–Homeric allusion. The reason why Homer uses it in book 22 may be because it contributes to the rapid and angry dactylic rhythm of the whole line.[26]

Odysseus' return is so famous, and the Ithaka narrative is managed so expertly, that it is easy to overlook the signs that there had once been an alternative *nostos* for Odysseus, one which entailed Krete. Stephanie West's chapter examines the evidence for this.[27]

On Odysseus' home island of Ithaka, the Hellenistic Ithakesians made the most of their connection with the great man; their island had, after all, little else to give, to adapt and re-apply a famous line of Kavafy's poem *Ithaki*. Catherine Morgan adduces and discusses the epigraphic evidence for the Ithakesian festival of the *Odysseia*, which was one of many such new festivals founded or renewed in the late third or early second centuries BCE.[28] By means such as this, the people of Ithaka exploited the most famous *nostos* of all, so as to assert and reinforce their identity against their neighbours.

The Epic Cycle

The Trojan *nostoi* were the subject of a section of the post-Homeric Epic Cycle called the *Nostoi*.[29] The author is said to have been Agias of Troizen, about whom very little is known; but an anonymous

[25] *Od.* 22.35–6, *ὦ κύνες, οὔ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκεθ' ὑπότροπον οἴκαδ' ἵκέσθαι/ δήμου ἄπο Τρώων*, contrast the explicit 9.19–20, 'I am Odysseus . . . my fame has reached the sky.' But note that at the end of 22.35, M. West (Teubner ed., 2017) adopts the *nost*-word *νεῖσθαι*.

[26] With which compare the angry dactyls of Browning's *Lost Leader*, an attack on Wordsworth for accepting the Poet Laureateship: 'Just for a handful of silver he left us, / just for a riband to stick in his coat . . .'

[27] See also S. West 1981 and 2003; M. L. West 2013: 248–9.

[28] Chaniotis 1995. See also, for the remarkable spread of Panhellenic festivals in Hellenistic Greece, Parker 2004 (but the *Odysseia* on Ithaka seems to have been local).

[29] See esp. West 2003a (Loeb ed.) and 2013 (comm.). Welcker 1865–82 is still valuable. The most recent treatment of the epic *Nostoi* is Danek 2015 (with, at 361–5, brief commentaries on the frags.), but this was just too late to take account of the full-length comm. by West 2013: 244–87. See also West 2015. Hardie 2012:142 suggests that V. *A.* 11.257–77 (catalogue of *nostoi*) alludes to the Cycle.

Kolophonian is another possibility. The epic *Nostoi* are sometimes categorized among 'Posthomerica'. But they were not necessarily mere later attempts to supplement and plug gaps in Homer; they were perhaps actually contemporaneous with the *Odyssey*,[30] and took some of their materials from the same pre-existing storehouse of myth.[31] It is frustrating that so little of these poems survives today; modern knowledge derives mainly from summaries by a scholar called Proclus, and from the mythological handbook of Pseudo-Apollodoros. In antiquity the epic *Nostoi* were much liked and used by poets such as Pindar, the Attic tragedians, Hellenistic poets including and especially Lykophron;[32] and by artists of all sorts.[33] Indeed, artworks provide some actual fragments, notably a second-century cup which carries the words 'from the Returns of the Achaians'.[34]

Apart from the wanderings of Odysseus and Menelaos—topics already covered amply by Homer, who is here closely tracked by the *Nostoi*—the murder of Agamemnon and his avenging by Orestes evidently took up a good deal of space; but other *nostoi* or attempted *nostoi* featured as well (Kalchas; Lokrian Aias; Neoptolemos). The intriguing references to a section about Hades[35] are surely to the place rather than the god. A visit to the underworld by Odysseus, comparable to but different from the Homeric *nekuia* (*Odyssey* 11), would explain, for example, the fragments about Tantalos, Klymene, and maybe also Medea.[36] (But in other traditions, the last-named ended up married to Achilles in Elysion.)[37] There have, from the nineteenth century, been various more or less ingenious suggestions to explain this non-Homeric descent to the underworld (*katabasis*). Was it a description of the arrival of the souls of Agamemnon and Kassandra in the underworld, like that of the suitors at the end of the Odyssey? Or did Neoptolemos consult the Thesprotian oracle of the dead, like

[30] West 2013: 250: the *Nostoi* 'composed in parallel with the *Odyssey*'.
[31] Rutherford 2013: 18; Danek 2015: 356.
[32] On the Hellenistic reception of the Epic Cycle see Sistakou 2015.
[33] For the fall of Troy in poetry and art see Anderson 1997, esp. 75–91 for the literary treatments of the Trojan *νόστοι*.
[34] F10 West, *ἐκ τῶν[Ν]όστων Ἀχα[ι]ῶν*.
[35] See esp. F1 West, from Pausanias 10. 28. 7: the epic *Nostoi* included a *mnēmē* (surely more than just 'mention') of Hades, 'and of the terrors there', *τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων*.
[36] Danek 2015: 363 says of Medea, 'she may have been found in Hades.'
[37] *PMG* 291 (Ibykos); Lyk. *Alex.* 174–5.

Periandros of Korinth in Herodotus (5.92 η2)? But against this, Neoptolemos may not have gone so far west.[38] The most attractive solution is that of Martin West: Menelaos went to the underworld for news of his brother Agamemnon.[39]

The *nostos* of the Homeric seer Kalchas, who died and was buried by Teiresias at Ionian Kolophon, is a particularly interesting specimen of a failed *nostos*. It featured in the epic *Nostoi*.[40] It was also treated at some length by Lykophron,[41] and in this Hellenistic revival it is the subject of Naoise Mac Sweeney's chapter in this volume; see this Introduction, below p. 33, for the contemporary, second-century BCE aspect to the handling of the Kalchas myth.

But the most sensational failure of a *nostos*—described in both the Odyssey and the epic *Nostoi*—has to be that of Kassandra's sexual attacker Lokrian Aias, dashed to death on the Kapherian rocks near Mykonos. The topic naturally appealed to Lykophron, who makes Kassandra foresee it with suitably elaborated relish.[42]

The epic *Nostoi* are not the only part of the Cycle which offered material relevant to the general theme of *nostoi*. As Catherine Morgan observes in her chapter (p. 215), the *Telegony* or *Thesprotis*[43] narrated Odysseus' adventures in the north-west of Greece, and there was also north-western material in the *Alkmeonis* (part of the Theban Cycle) and the *Korinthiaka* of Eumelos. But the last-named poem was not a contribution to the Trojan War theme, but was rather intended[44] to compensate for the near-absence of Korinth from the *Iliad* (the attribution to Eumelos of a poem called 'Return of the Greeks' is probably a mere error).[45]

[38] West 2013: 278; cf. Danek 2015: 372.

[39] West 2013: 279–82. This, an improvement on his half-heartedly expressed earlier preference (2003a: 18, Agamemnon arriving in Hades), was unknown to Danek 2015.

[40] Arg. 2 (West 2003a: 155). Kalchas was also prominent in the epic *Kypria*: arg. 6–8 (West 2003a: 73–5) for his role at the beginning of the Trojan War.

[41] Lyk. *Alex*. 424–38.

[42] *Od*. 4.499–510; *Nostoi* arg. 3 (West 2003a: 155); Lyk. *Alex*. 387–407.

[43] Frg. 3 of the *Telegony* (=Paus. 8. 12. 5, West 2003a: 169) speaks of a separate poem called the *Thesprotis*, but this seems to have been a subsection of the *Telegony*, perhaps (West 2013: 288, 290, 299) its first book; see arg. 2 at West 2003a: 167.

[44] West 2002.

[45] On this *Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων* see West 2003a: 26, cf. 223 for the attribution, which is by *Σ* on Pi. *O*. 13.31a.

Some *nostoi* are described in Hellenistic writers, but cannot be traced in either Homer or the Epic Cycle, so are presumably late inventions. For example, Philoktetes and Epeios moved to Italy and died there, according to Lykophron (*Alex*. 911–50). Guglielmo Genovese's chapter shows how this pair of stories were a signifier for good relations between indigenous peoples and newly arrived Greek settlers: by dedicating their weapons at future sanctuary sites, Philoktetes and Epeios performed a symbolic action of great social importance: 'when the hero arrives in the new territory he lays down his own arms,'[46] so consecrating the space in question. They thus perform a pacificatory function, which enabled the harmonious creation of mixed communities. It is possible that Stesichoros, who was a native of either Sicily or South Italy, described these events in his poem *Nostoi*, although in that case we might have expected to hear of it from citation by some later author. But in any case we know of the existence of this work only from a mention by Pausanias, and there is only one fragment, whose allocation to the *Nostoi* is uncertain. It concerns Telemachos, and might suggest that accounts of the *nostoi* were—as in the Odyssey—attached to a narrative of his visit to the Spartan court of Menelaos. This is meagre and disappointing. Stesichoros did, however, also treat the returns of some Trojan War heroes in his *Palinode* and his *Oresteia*.[47]

Pindar

Pindar[48] likes the word *nostos*. In the epinikian odes he uses it eleven times, and the associated verbs once each.[49] Twice *nostos* refers to the return of the Argonauts (*P*. 4.32 and 196). But several times it

[46] Strictly, Epeios dedicates (not arms but) the tools with which he constructed the Trojan Horse: 948–50. But that passage makes clear that these objects brought 'dire destruction' on the Trojans. For Philoktetes' dedication of Herakles' bow in the temple of Apollo Alaios at Makalla see [Ar.] *de mir. ausc.* 107, and Genovese, this volume, p. 113. To be sure, not all dedications of weapons have a pacific function (most obviously, they can celebrate victory over a defeated opponent). It depends on the context.

[47] See fragments 169 and 170 Finglass (Paus. 10. 26. 1 and P. Oxy. 2360); Davies and Finglass 2015: 470–81.

[48] Not 'Pindar and Bacchylides' (but see below, p. 121): the latter does not seem much interested in the returns of his winning athletes. The verb *νεῖσθαι* is restored at *Ode* 13.162, about the arrogant expectations of return entertained by the horsemen of Troy.

[49] See Slater 1969, entries under the noun *νόστος* and the verbs *νοστέω* and *ἀπονοστέω*. For the longer form of the verb see *N*. 6. 50, where Memnon did not

denotes the return of the victor in the Panhellenic contests.[50] In this connexion, the *nostos* concept enables him to bridge the conceptual gap between the mythical world and that of the real-life athlete who returns to his *polis*: the failed *nostos* of the mythical hero serves as a foil to the successful *nostos* of the athlete or equestrian victor.[51] One of the most memorable glimpses of the ecstatic reception accorded to such an athlete is in a surprising source, one which does not here use *nostos* or a cognate at all. Thucydides tells us that in 423 BCE, the people of Skione in northern Greece received Brasidas warmly, and in the name of the city they crowned him with a golden crown as the liberator of Greece; in addition, many people showed their personal admiration by putting ribbons round his head, and going up to greet him 'as if he were an athlete'.[52] That is, they treated him like a returning athlete. But they did not make a hole in the city walls to let him in; that is a modern myth about the victor's return.[53]

Pindar does not always apply *nostos* to successful athletes. One of his most striking uses is of the loser, 'for whom no *nostos* as happy as yours was decided at the Pythian festival, nor upon returning to their mothers did sweet laughter arouse joy all around; but staying clear of their enemies, they shrink down alleyways, bitten by failure.'[54]

Tragedy and Comedy

There is a very broad sense in which almost all of the surviving tragedies[55] of the great period can with enough ingenuity be categorized as *nostoi*-tragedies: even Euripides' *Alkestis* 'finds a way to stage

return, *Μέμνονος οὐκ ἀπονοστήσαντος*, a way of saying he was killed. For this Herodotean use (typically about large armies which perished) see below, p. 17. Another such example in Pindar is *N.* 9.22–3, Adrastos' expedition against Thebes: 'on the banks of the Ismenos, his army laid down their sweet homecoming,' *γλυκύν* / *νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι*. For simple *νοστέω* see *N.* 11.26, where it means return of an athlete. At *I.* 8.51, Achilles 'bridged a *νόστος* for the Atreidai'.

[50] *O.* 8.69; *P.* 8.83; *N.* 2.24 and 11.26.

[51] Crotty 1982: 107 (myths of failure serve to illuminate '*ex contrariis*'). His whole chapter 'The return home' (pp. 104–38) is valuable.

[52] Th. 4. 121.1, *ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆι*. [53] Slater 2013.

[54] *P.* 8.83–7 (lit. 'returning to mother', *μολόντων πὰρ ματέρα*), cf. also *O.* 8.69.

[55] Alexopoulou 2009: ch. 3.

and thematise the greatest *nostos* of all, from the place of no return'.[56] The quotation is from N. J. Lowe's chapter in this volume (p. 187). But the qualification 'almost all' is important: Lowe also stresses that the elastication of *nostos* so as to cover all possible plot patterns is significantly incomplete: Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis* cannot be simplistically accommodated to a *nostos* model. (And we should recall that we have only a fraction of the plays once written and staged in Classical Athens.) Nevertheless Giulia Biffis argues in her chapter that *Iphigeneia in Aulis* does after all shed powerful light on the *nostos* theme. In Euripides, episodes of self-sacrifice are staged in such a way as to zoom in on the relationship between the individual and the group. These are all situations in which self-sacrifice works either to propitiate or to curse the return of a group from war. In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Euripides fully explores the *topos*. On Iphigeneia's *nostos* see further Scheer, below pp. 142–3 (and 126 for the statue of Artemis, brought back to Greece by Iphigeneia, as a possible example of female *nostos*-related memorabilia).

Tragedy naturally exploited the Trojan returns, but also the Theban cycle of myths. More generally *nostoi* tragedies include those 'escape-plays' in which the hero returns from exile to his homeland. Even Euripides' *Bacchai* is a version of the return-and-revenge plot of the Orestes type. Tragedy's distinctive obsession with return is, so Lowe suggests (with detailed analysis of emotionally charged passages from *Phoenician Women* of Euripides and *Philoktetes* of Sophocles),[57] to be explained by the rich narrative possibilities of place attachment. Biffis, in her chapter, shows how the tragedians are aware of the multiple ways in which narratives of return shaped different aspects of Greek life: the experience of the individual within a context of great mobility such as that of the Greek world; the self-perception of communities and the way these were perceived by others; the relationship between Greeks and not-Greeks. Euripides'

[56] To be sure, there are myths of *katabasis*, descent to Hades, which also feature a return to the upper world, achieved by such superhuman figures as Odysseus, Herakles (in *Alkestis*, and in order to capture Kerberos), and Theseus; Alkestis' own return from the dead is possible only by the agency of Herakles. But the function of these myths is precisely to emphasize by opposition the normally inescapable reality. As Housman put it at the end of his translation of Horace *Odes* 4.7: 'And Theseus leaves Pirithous in the chain / The love of comrades cannot take away.'

[57] The only surviving tragedy with the word *nostos* in its final line; see Lowe, below, p. 191.

Iphigenia in Tauris combines all these paths of *nostos* to create an all-encompassing narrative of return.

Lowe shows that tragedy did not exhaust Greek dramatic preoccupation with *nostos*, broadly conceived. New Comedy exploits variants of the return theme (return of a paterfamilias, of a young master, of a lost child, of an exile); but these are themselves derived from tragedy.

The Prose Historians

Of the Classical Greek historians, the author most famously associated with return is Xenophon, most of whose *Anabasis* or narrative of the 'upward journey' of the Ten Thousand soldiers in 400 BCE is actually a *katabasis*, in the sense[58] of an account of the 'downward journey' back to the sea from Mesopotamia in the heart of the Persian Empire. But his two surviving predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides, also have much to offer on the subject of returns, and they use words of the *nost-* family, the one frequently, the other with a unique occurrence. Their contemporary Hellanikos of Lesbos, author of a history of Athens and Attika (i.e. he was the first 'Atthidographer') also wrote works of mythography, including accounts of *nostoi*. These provide valuable information on, for example, the settlement of the north-eastern Aegean area (the 'Aiolid', i.e. Lesbos and the Asiatic mainland opposite) by Orestes and his family, and were probably drawn on by Lykophron.[59] (See further below, p. 35).

For Herodotus, the *nost-* root normally carries no special charge; indeed the saddest expression of colonial nostalgia in his *Histories* does not use a *nost-*word at all. He is describing how more than half of the Phokaians who set out for Corsica in the mid sixth century could not in the end bear to leave, despite the solemnity of their oath never to return: 'Out of *pothos*, "yearning", and *oiktos*, "sadness", for their city and the customs of their country, they broke their oaths and sailed back to Phokaia.' We will meet the powerful word *pothos* many times in the following pages, as the right term for colonial regret; and the object of that regret, what Herodotus here calls *ēthea*, is roughly

[58] For another sense of the word (descent to Hades) see above n. 56.

[59] *FGrHist* 4 F 136–57, and in *EGM* 1, for Trojan and *νόστοι* material. For Orestes and the Aiolid, F 32; Fowler *EGM* 597–602; Lyk. *Alex.* 1374–7.