Failed *Nostoi* and Foundations: Kalchas at Kolophon[1]

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Introduction: the failed *nostos*

Successful *nostoi* are boring. For this volume, with its focus on settlement and community, an easy homecoming has relatively little to offer. A difficult *nostos* on the other hand, offers many opportunities for founding new settlements and creating new communities. As several papers in this volume demonstrate, returning wanderers were implicated in the establishment of many cities across the Mediterranean and beyond. This is particularly true of the Achaean heroes returning home after the Trojan War, several of whose stories were told in the epic poem the *Nostoi*.[2] Those, like Odysseus, who eventually arrived home after long and tortuous journeys, were often said to have established cities along the way. Others, like Diomedes, who initially arrived home but were soon compelled to leave again, were often linked to the foundation of new homes and communities. These problematic or frustrated *nostoi* lay at the heart of many foundation myths.[3]

In this paper, however, I discuss another category of *nostoi* – those that failed completely. Several Achaean heroes are said to have suffered the ultimate *anostos tuche*[4] while on their way home from Troy, dying on their journeys. Through their early deaths, these individuals lost all chance of a *nostos*, either in the form of returning to their original homes or in the form of establishing new ones.

Proclus' summary of the epic *Nostoi* suggest that three main figures fell into this category (Nostoi F1 West). They were: the seer Kalchas, who died and was buried at Kolophon in Asia Minor; the Lokrian Ajax, who died in a shipwreck in the Aegean and was buried on the island of Mykonos; and the aged Phoinix, who died and was buried somewhere in Thrace. Other stories of failed *nostoi* must also have existed in the wider mythic tradition, but these three individuals seem to have been important examples of the type. Not only were they treated prominently enough within the *Nostoi* for Proclus to include them in his summary, but they were also discussed consecutively by Lykophron in the *Alexandria* (Ajax: 387-407; Phoinix: 417-23; Kalchas: 424-38), punctuated only by a brief reference to the many anonymous Achaeans fated to die on their way home (408-16). In the interests of brevity, I will focus in particular on only one of these failed *nostoi* – that of Kalchas – before returning to consider Kalchas in the context of Ajax, Phoinix, and other failed *nostoi* at the end of the paper.

My central argument is that the failed *nostoi* were not associated with foundations. The dead heroes were not treated as civic founders or 'oikists', and neither were they held responsible for community or tribal origins. Instead, these figures seem to have occupied a different place in local mythologies, fulfilling a different set of roles in the construction of civic identity. Although they may not have been founding fathers, these failed *nostoi* could nonetheless loom large – literally as well as figuratively – over the civic landscape.

The myth of Kalchas at Kolophon

After the sack of Troy, the Achaean host is said to have split up and taken various routes home. The prophet Kalchas, we are told, foresaw a terrible storm in the Aegean (the same storm that shipwrecked Ajax; see below), and so chose to set out overland. Heading south from Troy with his companions, Kalchas is said to have come to Kolophon (Figure 1). Here he encountered Mopsos, the son of Apollo

[1] I am grateful to Simon and Giulia for the invitation to participate in this volume and the conference on which it was based. I am also grateful to them and the other participants at the conference for their valuable comments. I would also like to thanks participants of a research seminar at Byrn Mawr College in February 2017 and a reading group at Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies in March 2017 for their useful discussion on early versions of the paper.

[2] Recent scholarship on *The Nostoi* includes West 2013, 244-87; Danek 2015.

[3] In addition to other papers in this volume, see crucially Malkin 1998; Erskine 2001, 139-43.

[4] Lyk. *Alex*. 1088 for the idea of ἄνοστον… τύχην (see Hornblower 2015, 390).

and the Delphic seer Manto, and the grandson of the famous prophet Tiresias.[5] The two engaged in a contest of prophetic skill, which Mopsos won.[6] Kalchas is then said to have died of shame or a broken heart, and was buried at Kolophon.[7]

<insert Figure 1 here>

The story is an old one, appearing in the epic *Nostoi*. Unfortunately, we know relatively little about what the poem said about the myth, as only Proclus' brief summary survives: οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάλχαντα καὶ Λεοντέα καὶ Πολυποίτην πεζῇ πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι (those with Kalchas, Leontes, and Polypoites went overland by foot to Kolophon, and they buried Tiresias who had died there: Nostoi F1 West). The myth was also recounted by a number of other authors during the Archaic and Classical periods,[8] including Hesiod (*Melampodia* F278 M-W), Kallinos,[9] Pherekydes (*BNJ* 3 F142), and perhaps Theopompos (*BNJ* 115 F351).[10] The story continued to circulate in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, when it was recounted by Euphorion (F102 Lightfoot); Lykophron (*Alex.* 424-30); Pseudo Apollodorus (*E* 6.2-4); Strabo (14.1.27; 14.4.3; 14.5.16); and Konon (*BNJ* 26 F1.4); as well as by several scholiasts (Schol. *Od*. 13.259 Schol. Lyk. *Alex* 424; Tzet. Lyk. *Alex* 980).

As ever with mythic traditions, the various versions of the tale differ in their details. There is some disagreement, for example, over the identity of Kalchas' companions. The *Nostoi* and Tzetzes specify Leontes and Polypoites; Strabo names Amphilochos; and Ps-Apollodoros includes all of the above plus Podaleirios. Another point of divergence is the nature of the prophetic competition between Kalchas and Mopsos. In the *Melampodia*, the seers vied to guess the number of figs on a wild fig tree; while in Pherecydes the contest was to determine the number and sex of piglets being carried by a pregnant sow.[11] Later authors, such as Ps-Apollodorus, Lykophron, and Strabo presented a combination of both stories. Konon's version is different once more – he suggests they competed to foretell the fortunes in war of the Lycian king Amphimachos. These mythic variations do not, however, detract from the central narrative of the story, which pivots on Kalchas' arrival at Kolophon, his defeat in a prophetic contest by Mopsos, and his resulting death and burial.

One area of variation is, however, of greater concern for this paper – the location of the story. In several of these cases, the alternative locations can be explained through a connection with Kolophon. In Ps-Apollodoros for example, while the main events of the myth are situated in Kolophon, two locations are given for the tomb – Kolophon (*E* 6.2) and Notion (*E* 6.4). The initial incongruity of this disperses, however, when we consider that Notion was the port of Kolophon and, as will be discussed in more detail below, after the third century (and certainly by the time the

[5] While the identity of Mopsos' mother and grandfather are never questioned, sources differ as to the identity of his father. While most sources specify Apollo (Ps-Apollodoros *E* 6.4; Tzetzes Lyk. *Alex* 980), some claim his father was Rhakios, Manto's later husband (Pausanias 7.3.2). See Scheer 1993, 166-7 and Hornlower 2013, 210-1 for the genealogy and identity of Mopsos.

[6] The myth contains several elements common to other stories of prophetic contests. Comparisons can be made, for example, with the later competition between Mospsos and Amphilochos (see n.14 below); Apollo and Python (*Homeric Hymn to the Delphic Apollo* 300-374; Fontenrose 1959).

[7] For the most recent comprehensive treatment of the Kalchas-Mopsos myth, see Hornblower 2015, 210-5. For discussions of the myth primarily from the perspective of the *Nostoi*, see West 2013, 254-8; Danek 2015, 367-8; in relation to the Hesiodic *Melampodia*, see Cingano 2009, 122-3; in the context of Pherekydes, see Fowler 2013, 546-50.

[8] We have Strabo to thank for our knowledge of these early versions of the story, as he cites the accounts of these authors at varying length (Str. 14.1.27 for Hesiod, Pherekydes and Sophokles; 14.4.3 for Kallinos).

[9] There is some discussion over whether this should be Kallisthenes (the fourth-century Alexander historian), rather than Kallinos (the seventh century elegiac poet from Ephesos), as Vatican palimpsest of Strabo has Kallisthenes. See Hornblower 2015, 211 for a discussion of this point with references.

[10] Theopompos is reported as saying Kalchas left Troy on foot, but the scholiast does not specify whether he also wrote about the contest with Mopsos in Kolophon.

[11] I have argued elsewhere that the nature of both contests – the pigs and the figs – played on slang terminology for the vagina, and may be related to the sexual ambiguities surrounding the family of Mopsos (Mac Sweeney 2013, 119).

Epitome was written) the two locations were often elided.[12] A more worrying doubling of Kalchas' tomb appears in Lykophron, who mentions a tomb at Siris (978-80) as well as in the territory of Kolophon (424). This doubling, however, should be understood in the context of Siris' status as a colony founded from Kolophon, and the wider practice of colonies appropriating myths from the mother-city.[13] Other sources transfer not just the tomb of Kalchas, but the entire story. Sophokles (F180 Radt) and Quintus Smyrnaeus (14.359-68) for example, set the entire tale in Cilicia. Like Siris however, Cilicia is mythically linked to Kolophon, as the mainstream tradition held that Mopsos and Kalchas' companions eventually left Kolophon to found several cities in Cilicia and Pamphylia.[14] In contrast to Notion, Siris and Cilicia, one alternative location that cannot be easily explained by a Kolophonian connection is that suggested by Euphorion (F103 Lightfoot), who locates the myth in Gryneion in Aeolis.[15]

These was evidently no single canonical version of the tale, and traditions surrounding the death of Kalchas were clearly fluid and multiple. This multiplicity stands testament to the importance of the story, and its continuing relevance through antiquity – the tale of Kalchas' death was obviously worth telling, and worth innovating on.[16] Nonetheless, within this rich tradition, it is also evident that there was a dominant strand locating Kalchas' death and burial at Kolophon. The *Nostoi*, Hesiod, Pherekydes, Ps-Apollodoros, Strabo, Konon, the Iliadic scholiast, the Lykophrontic scholiast, and Tzetzes all specify Kolophon as the location of this myth explicitly; while Kallinos, Ps-Apollodoros and Strabo also make reference to Apollo's oracle at Klaros – Kolophon's primary extramural sanctuary.[17]

We can say with some confidence, then, Kalchas was a figure of mythic significance for Kolophon. The nature of this mythic significance, however, is not immediately clear. Crucially, he does not seem to have been treated as a civic founder or oikist, and is not portrayed as engaging in any of the key activities associated with city foundation. He was not the first person to establish the settlement or community – this role is usually attributed to Manto (*Epigonoi* F3 West); to Manto along with her husband Rhakios (Pausanias 7.3.1-2 and 9.33.2); or to Mopsos (Pomponius Mela

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[12] I have discussed the close relationship and mythical interchangeability of Kolophon and Notion elsewhere (Mac Sweeney 2013, 114-5; see also Rubinstein in *IACP*, p92 and nos 825, 848 and 858; for the opposite view, see Lane Fox 2008, 234-5).

[13] For the Siris-Kolophon argument, see Hornblower 2013, 364-5 with references. Interestingly, there seems to have been a wider tradition linking Kalchas with Magna Graecia more generally, as Lykophron mentions another Italian cenotaph (1048), and there was reportedly a heröon of Kalchas in Daunia (Timaios *BNJ* 566 F56; Str. 6.3.9). It has been argued, however, that this Kalchas of Magna Graecia might be a different but homonymous hero (Malkin 1998, 256 n.107; Lightfoot 1999, 443-4). A well-discussed example of colonies assuming the cults or myths of their supposed mother cities is the cult of Artremis of Ephesos in the western Mediterranean, which is associated with the networks surrounding Phokaian colonies (Malkin 2011, 197-200).

[14] Theopompos *BNJ* 115 F103; Euphorion F103 Lightfoot; Lykophron *Alex* 439-46; Pliny *NH* 5.26; Eusth. Schol. Dion. Per. 852. Interestingly, these stories sometimes mention duel fought between Mopsos and Amphilochos (see discussion in Scheer 1993, 16873). The Cilician adventures of Mopsos have been recently discussed in: Lane Fox 2008, 224-39; Oettinger 2008; Lopez-Ruiz 2009; Hornblower 2015, 211.

[15] Scheer 1993, 165 n.79.

[16] I have written elsewhere on the subject of mythic variation, and how it seems to present greater conceptual problems for us today than it did in antiquity: Mac Sweeney 2015.

[17] I have argued elsewhere for a mythical interchangeability between Kolophon and Klaros (Mac Sweeney 2013, 111). A brief examination of the sources suggests that they themselves elided Kolophon and Klaros. Strabo locates the myth in "the Ionian city of Kolophon and from there the grove of Klarian Apollo" (ἡ Κολοφὼν πόλις Ἰωνικὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἄλσος τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος); Konon states that "Kalchas arrived at Kolophon, when Mopsos occupied the oracle and was prophesising (φικνεῖται Κάλχας εἰς Κολοφῶνα, ἐν ᾧι Μόψος ἔχων ἔχρα τὸ μαντεῖον). Furthermore, a scholiast on Apollonios of Rhodes lists "Klaros: a place of Kolophon" (Κλάρον τόπος Κολοφῶνος: Schol. Apol. Rhod. 1.308b); later providing an etymology for the name according to epic *Epigonoi*, saying that Manto, "coming to Kolophon, felt sad there and wept for the destruction of her homeland, and the place was called Klaros after her tears (ἐλθοῦσα εἰς Κολοφῶνα καὶ ἐκεῖ δυσθυμήσασα ἐδάκρυσε διὰ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος πόρθησιν, διόπερ ὠνομάσθη Κλάρος ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων; *Epigonoi* F4 West). Similarly, the scholiast on Nikander describes Klaros as being "of the city of Kolophon" (ἔστι δὲ πόλις Κολοφῶνος: Schol. Nik. *Ther*. 958); and Pausanias is comfortable to locate the same story in Kolophon in one passage (7.3.1) and at Klaros in another (9.33.2).

1.78). Alternatively, some sources also make reference to the occupation of the city by migrants from Pylos (Mimnermus F9 West) or Athens (Nikander *Al.* 9-11). Similarly, Kalchas is never described as establishing Kolophon's key civic cults – instead, the foundation of Klaros in particular is overwhelming ascribed to Manto (Schol. Apol. Rhod. 1.308b; Schol. Nik. *Ther.* 958; Pomponius Mela 1.78). Finally, Kalchas is not said to be responsible for the naming of either city or cult – this is most often attributed to Manto (Schol. Apol. Rhod. 1.308b; Schol. Nik. *Ther.* 958); but also to Apollo gaining the land by lot (Nearchos *FGrHist* 133 F29; Schol. Nik. *Ther.* 958); or to an eponymous local hero (Theopompos *BNJ* 115 F346). As I have already discussed the foundation myths of Kolophon and Klaros elsewhere,[18] I will not explore these stories in any further detail here. For the purposes of this paper, what is most important is that Kalchas did not fulfil the role of an oikist at Kolophon.[19]

If not an as oikist, then what was the significance of Kalchas at Kolophon? What meaning did he hold for the city and its citizens? And what role did he play in local tradition and mythologies? To begin to address this question, I will now turn to evidence from Kolophon itself.

The evidence for Kalchas at Kolophon

As we have already seen, several literary sources suggest that somewhere in the territory of Kolophon there was a tomb of Kalchas, and by extension, a local cult.[20] The earliest possible reference to this is in the epic *Nostoi* (F1 West; see above) which according to Proclus' report, stated that Tiresias was buried at Kolophon. Some commentators have suggested that 'Tiresias' here was an accidental substitution for 'Kalchas', as the original account in the *Nostoi* would have been primarily concerned with the death and burial of Kalchas.[21] Following this, the next reference to the Kolophonian tomb of Kalchas comes from Lykophron's *Alexandra*:

> τρισσοὺς δὲ ταρχύσουσι Κεκάφου νάπαι
> Ἁλεντος οὐκ ἄπωθε καύηκας ποτων.
> τὸν μέν, Μολοσσοῦ Κυπέως Κοίτου κύκον,
> συὸς παραπλαγχθέντα θηλείας τόκων,
> ὃτ᾽εἰς ὀλύνθων δῆριν ἐλκύσας σοφὴν
> τὸν ἀνθάμιλλον, αὐτὸς ἐκ μαντευμάτων
> σφαλεὶς ἰαύσει τὸν μεμορμένον πότμον.
> Three sea-swallows will be buried in the woods of Kerkaphos.
> not far from the waters of the Ales.
> One of them, the swan of the Molossian Kypean Koitan god,
> made a mistake about the offspring of the female, the sow,
> after he had drawn his rival into a contest of wits
> about figs; he shall, after his defeat,
> sleep his allotted fate of sleep, as ordained by oracles.
>
> Lykophron, *Alexandra* 424-30 (text and translation from Hornblower 2013, 211-3)

The specific geography is discussed in the scholia, which describe the location of the Κεκάφου νάπαι (groves of Kerkaphos) thus: "Kerkaphos is a mountain not far distant from Kolophon but obviously close to the waters and the stream of the Ales, the river of Kolophon" (ὁ δὲ Κέρκαφος ὄρος Κολοφῶνός ἐστιν οὐκ ἀποθεν δὲ καὶ οὐ μακρόθεν ἀλλὰ δηλονότι πλησίον τῶν ποτῶν καὶ τῶ ὑδάτων τοῦ Ἀλέντος ποταμοῦ Κολοφῶνος: Schol. Lyk. *Alex* 424). In his commentary on the poem, Tzetzes offers less geographical detail, saying only that Kalchas' companions buried him "a little way" from Kolophon (μετ᾽ὀλίγον: Tzet. Lyk. *Alex* 980). As we have already seen, Ps-Apollodoros seems to imply that the tomb was located at Kolophon's port of Notion, saying: "he was buried in

[18] Mac Sweeney 2013, 104-37.

[19] I do not mean to infer that Kalchas was not accorded oikist status because he was a seer. Other seer-oikists are attested, including Hagesias who is described as the *sunoikister* of Syracuse by Pindar (*Olympian* 6; Foster 2013), and of course Manto at Kolophon. I am grateful to Virginia Lewis for this point.

[20] The definition of tomb or 'hero' cult is debated. For the Geometric to Classical periods, see Antonaccio 1995; Boehringer 2001; Currie 2005. For the late Classical to Hellenistic periods, see Alcock 1991.

[21] E.g. Fowler 2013, 546; West 2013, 254-5.

Notion" (ἐτάφη ἐν Νοτίῳ: *E* 6.4).

While there was evidently a tradition of Kalchas having a tomb in the territory of Kolophon, no archaeological evidence has yet emerged to confirm this. There were, however, many tombs in the landscape immediately around the city which might possibly have been identified with the burial of Kalchas (Figure 2).

<insert Figure 2 here>

One potential candidate is the Mycenaean tholos tomb, which lay to the north of the main urban zone. This tholos, already robbed in antiquity, was hastily excavated in 1922 in difficult circumstances due to the Greco-Turkish War.[22] Information about the tholos was published only in 1974, relying solely on excavation records as all finds and primary material had been lost in the intervening years.[23] One detail from the excavation notebooks that did not make it into the eventual publication was a stele that was reportedly found "lying in tholos", which originally stood at c.1.6m in height.[24] Stelae such as this were a common feature of tomb cult in the Iron Age Aegean, and it is possible that this stele was erected as part of a tomb cult at the tholos. Perhaps also relevant is that excavators reported "pottery found on top of stones of tholos".[25] This pottery suggests ritual activity, either linked to the tholos specifically or to the several other burials clustered around it. These burials, according to a careful study of the excavation records, likely date to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, some as late as the seventh century BCE.[26] This indicates, that at the very least, the area around the tholos continued to have ritual significance well into the Iron Age. Unfortunately, it may never be possible to ascertain if there was indeed anything like a tomb cult here, as all trace of the tholos and surrounding tombs has now disappeared, ploughed into the surrounding fields.[27]

Slightly to the northeast of the Mycenaean tholos lies what is known as the 'Northeast Necropolis', a low-lying cemetery area characterised by several large tumuli from the Geometric and early Archaic periods.[28] While most of these seem to have taken the form of wide, low mounds (roughly 22m in diameter, and 1-2m in height), one – known as Mound I – was notably taller (measured at 9m in height in 1922) as well as wider (measured at 40m in diameter in 2013-4). This morphological variation does not seem to have been caused by differential preservation or later human intervention, suggesting that that Mound I would have remained a conspicuous marker in the landscape throughout antiquity.[29]

Mortuary activity seems to moved south of the city during the Archaic period, where recent survey work has identified no fewer than 95 burial mounds and 28 other built graves.[30] Many of the burials here seem to be of Classical date, although the use of these cemetery areas may range from the late Archaic to the early Hellenistic period. Some of these mounds would also have been significant landscape features, with the largest being up to 15m in diameter and 4m in height.[31] Indeed, several seem to have been located with visibility in mind, standing out on hillsides or along the crest of a high ridge overlooking the city. Further south still, and a number of outlying tumuli have also been identified.[32] Some of these seem to belong to the early Hellenistic period, in particular those further south along the road between Kolophon, Klaros and Notion. It is possible that one of these may have

[22] For the details and political implications of this excavation campaign, see Davis 2000 and 2003.
[23] Bridges 1974.
[24] This note and a scale drawing of the stele can be found on the ninth page of L.B. Holland's field notebook. The relevant page can be viewed online at the website of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/index.php/archives/Excavation- Records#Kolophon).
[25] This comment is taken from the field note book of H. Goldman, Monday 5th June 1922, p.75.
[26] Gassner *et al* 2017, 55-6.
[27] Bruns-Özgan *et al* 2011, 226-7; Gassner *et al* 2017, 57-8. This area is variously known as the 'North Cemetery', 'Cemetery B', or the 'Değirmendere Cemetery' in the excavation records and publications.
[28] For details and measurements of these tumuli, see Gassner *et al* 2017, 58-62. For a re-evaluation of the 1922 excavations of the tumuli, see Mariaud 2010.
[29] As noted in Gassner *et al* 2017, 62.
[30] Gassner 2017, 62-75.
[31] Gassner 2017, 67.
[32] Gassner 2017, 74-5.

been the tomb of the Colophonians and Smyrnaeans who died fighting against Lysimachus in the early third century BCE. This tomb was said to be "on the road to Klaros on the left" (ἐς Κλάρον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ: Paus. 7.3.4).[33]

There is no evidence that any of these burials were considered in antiquity to be the tomb of Kalchas. And yet, it would not be surprising if one of them had been. Like many other Greek cities, Kolophon was surrounded by a rich and evocative mortuary landscape. More unusually, this mortuary landscape was characterised by large burial mounds, which conspicuously marked and transformed the landscape.[34] These tumuli were often designed to be highly visible, recognisable at great distances not just by their size but also by their location. Epigraphic evidence suggests that at least some of these may have been linked with local hero or tomb cults. At the end of the fourth or start of the third century BCE, the Kolophonians built a new circuit of city walls, as commemorated in a lengthy building inscription.[35] As part of the consecration ceremony, sacrifices and oaths were given to various named gods, as well as to "all the other gods and the heroes who occupy our city and countryside" (καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἳ κατέχουσιν ἡμῶν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν).[36] Given Kolophon's penchant for conspicuous mortuary commemoration, and the explicit acknowledgement of hero cults in the *chora*, it would therefore not be surprising at all if, at some stage in antiquity, there had been a tomb cult of Kalchas at Kolophon.

The lack of archaeological evidence notwithstanding, it is nonetheless evident that there was a *tradition* of such a cult. The literary sources alone demonstrate that the *idea* of a cult of Kalchas at Kolophon was in circulation, even if no such cult actually existed. What was at stake, then, in the idea of the city celebrating Kalchas? Why might the idea of this cult have emerged, and why might it have persisted? What reason would there be for imputing its existence at all?

The context of Kalchas at Kolophon

To answer these questions, we must turn to the history of Kolophon itself. The best fixed date we have for the attestation of the Kalchas tomb is that of Lykophron, as the reference in the *Nostoi* is unclear and that in Ps-Apollodoros cannot be firmly dated. Interesting, following the dating of Hornblower, around the time that Lykophron wrote the *Alexandra* c.190 BCE,[37] the city of Kolophon was in a period of dramatic change and renewal.

Although Kolophon may have begun the third century in a mood of positive enthusiasm, with the building of a new circuit of city walls (see above), the city suffered a dramatic reversal some time between around 294 and 289 BCE.[38] According to Pausanias, at this time Lysimachus deported the citizens of Kolophon and forced them to settle in his new city of Ephesos-Arsinoea, along with the inhabitants of Lebedos and the old city of Ephesos (Paus. 1.9.7). The old city, Pausanias tells us, was laid waste because of the Kolophonians' resistance to the move (Paus. 7.3.4). The idea of a wholesale destruction, however, is not borne out by the archaeology. Recent results instead suggest that there was a significant decrease in population, and that the traditional centre of the city saw limited occupation in from the 280s onwards.[39] It is also possible that some of the city's inhabitants moved to

[33] For discussion of this tomb, see Schuchhardt 1886, 414-5; Vacante 2015, 591.

[34] In the immediate area, tumulus burials have also been found around the cities of Klazomenai and Smyrna, but in much smaller quantities. Only at Larissa, further north in Aeolis, can a comparable number of tumuli be found, most of which seem to be smaller (Gassner *et al* 2017, 76); or further inland at the cemetery of Bin Tepe at Sardis (Luke and Roosevelt 2016).

[35] For the inscription, see Meritt 1935, no.1. The date of this inscription has traditionally been given as late fourth century, although Vacante (2015, 596) has recently argued that the walls were built at some time between 302 and 297 BCE.

[36] Merrit 1935, 362: no.1, Col. I, lines 18-20.

[37] Hornblower 2015, 36-9.

[38] The *terminus post quem* is Lysimachus' capture of Ephesus, likely in 294 BCE when his rival Demetrius was away from Asia Minor; and the *terminus ante quem* is 298/8 BCE, when the city of Arsinoe appears on an inscription of the Ionian League from Miletos (Vacante 2015, 553-4).

[39] Vacante 2015, 593-5; Gassner *et al* 2017, 53-4.

Notion, as both the epigraphy and archaeology of Notion suggest expansion around this time.[40] Indeed, it was in this period that Notion began to be known as 'Kolophon-by-the-Sea'.[41]

The third century was a time of geographical indeterminacy for the Kolophonians. Both archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggest that people continued to live in the old city.[42] At the same time, however, civic functions were beginning to shift to Klaros and Notion. Around the middle of the third century, a decree from Klaros concerning tax farming made reference to "Kolophonians living in either Notion or Kolophon" (Κολοφωνίων τῶν κατοικούντων | ἐν Νοτίωι ἢ Κολοφῶν)[43], as well as Kolophonians "registered in either Notion or Kolophon" (ὅσοι γράφωνται ἐν Νοτίωι ἢ ἐν Κολοφῶνι).[44] This was to change by the start of the second century. While in 206 BCE it was still just about possible to speak of "the Kolophonians living in the old city and the Kolophonians living by the sea" (Κολοφώνιο[ι οἱ τὴν] | ἀρχαίαν πόλ[ιν οἰ]κοῦντες | Κολοφώνιοι ἀ[πὸ] | θαλάσσης);[45] by 190 BCE the population could be better described as "the Kolophonians, who lived in Notion" (Colophoniis, qui in Notio habitant: Livy 38.39.8). Lysimachus' forced relocation to Arsinoea therefore marked the start of a long, slow process of population shift that lasted the best part of a century. Over time, as the remaining inhabitants of the old inland city moved towards the coast, the area around Klaros and Notion – which had always been a crucial part of the Kolophonian territory – gradually became the geographic core of the *polis* of 'Kolophon'.[46]

By the turn of the third into the second century, this process seems to have become one of consolidation and strengthening.[47] The renewal of construction work at Klaros at this time, previously abandoned due to the Lysimachean relocation, suggests newfound prosperity. At precisely this time, a dramatic new oracular crypt was constructed beneath the Temple of Apollo and a colossal statue group was erected.[48] Furthermore, the reference by Livy mentioned above to the Kolophonians at Notion comes in the context of their support for Rome in the wars of 192-188 BCE against the Seleucid king Antiochus III. By this time, Kolophon was evidently confident enough to re-assert itself on the international stage, and strong enough to withstand a siege led by Antiochus himself in 190 BCE that lasted for several months (Livy 37.26-31). For their efforts, Kolophon was rewarded with tax exemptions in the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BCE (Livy 38.39.8), which can only have contributed further to the city's growing prosperity.[49]

At the end of the third and beginning of the second century therefore, Kolophon was emerging from a period of instability and change and into one of redevelopment and renewal. But as well as physical rebuilding and expansion, Kolophon also needed for forge a new sense of civic

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[40] Recent archaeological survey at Notion has documented a significant increase in finds from the third century when compared with earlier periods, although more work is planned to investigate further (Ratté and Rojas 2017).

[41] For a list of epigraphic and literary references to Notion as 'Kolophon-by-the-Sea', see Vacante 2015, 582-3.

[42] See n.39 above for the archaeological remains of third century occupation. The best-known piece of epigraphic evidence for third century activity in the Metroön on the acropolis comes from an inscription mentioning the tribes of the city, including a tribe named after Seleukos (Meritt 1935, 380-1: no.6). This tribe must have been named during the period when the Seleukids were mostly in control of Asia Minor between c.281-241 BCE.

[43] Étienne and Migeotte 1998, 145: lines 38-9.

[44] Étienne and Migeotte 1998, 145: line 40. This decree appears on the same stele as a decree slightly later in the third century, which deals with the same issue of tax farming. The later decree also makes reference to Kolophonians both in the old city of Kolophon and in Notion, explicitly referring to Notion in this case as 'Kolophon-by-the-Sea' (Étienne and Migeotte 1998, 144: line 13).

[45] Kern 1900, 44, no.53, lines 74-9. This inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander lists envoys sent from various Ionian cities to the festival of Artemis Leukophyrene.

[46] Kolophon was not the only Ionian city to undergo a topographic shift around this time. Ephesos, as we have already seen, was forcibly moved by Lysimachus from its previous location (which at the time was a few kilometers inland due to the silting of the river mouth) to a location at Arsinoe (which at this time was on the coast).

[47] For this period in general in Asia Minor, see Bresson 2001.

[48] Moretti 2009, 173; Moretti *et al* 2014, 36.

[49] For Kolophon's continued engagement with Rome in the mid-second century, we can learn much from the career of Menippos, Kolophon's ambassador on several occasions and also at points a Roman agent. See the honorific inscription to Menippos at Klaros (*SEG* 39, 1244; Robert and Robert 1989, 70-1 and 101-2).

identity and to cultivate a new sense of civic pride. Crucially, the period saw a revived interest in the city's mythic past, and a renewal and perhaps even a reinvention of cult traditions. As well as benefitting from a facelift, the sanctuary at Klaros was effectively re-branded at the turn of the century, with a formal request for *asylia* and re-establishment of the penteteric games of the Klaria.[50] Inscriptions from the early second century tell us that Klaros' new status was officially recognised by the Ionian League,[51] as well as other cities[52] including Rome.[53] Local history also enjoyed a renaissance, and at least two works of Kolophonian history were written at this time – the *Kolophoniaka* and the *Peri ton ek Kolophonos Poieton*.[54] Although both are now sadly lost, these would almost certainly have included some discussion of the city's distant past and its early myths, likely including the death and burial of Kalchas.

As well as the more general interest in local history, there seems to have been a more specific focus on the epic, and in particular the Homeric, past. This may perhaps be ultimately linked to the old tradition that Homer himself hailed from Kolophon (Pindar F188 in Str. 14.1.28). A new issue of bronze coins from around this time featured Homer in combination with Apollo Kitharoides.[55] There may also have been a shrine dedicated to Homer at Notion, as an inscription from the end of the third century mentions "the running race in the Homereion that is to be the responsibility of the gymnasiarch" (τὴν δέ διαδρομήν συντε[λεῖσΘαι ὑπο τοῦ γ]υμνασιάρχου ἐν τῶι Ὁμηρείωι).[56] It is possible that this Homereion may have housed the statue of Homer mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch in the *Life of Homer*.[57] Furthermore, Kolophonian writers of the second century also self-consciously styled themselves in Homeric fashion. In the *Theriaka* for example, not only did the author write in

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[50] Rigsby 1996, 351-3. Interestingly, Kolophon was not the only city seeking to renew its sanctuary and civic identity at the turn of the third into the second centuries. Magnesia on the Maeander was engaged in similar moves concerning the Temple of Artemis Leukophyrene (see n.45 above, and also Patterson 113-7; 131-2), and comparable claims of *asylia* can be found for Miletus/Didyma, Amyzon, Kyzikos, and other cities in the region. This, as argued by Flashar (1999), must be in part a response to the aggressive policies of Antiochus III around this time. As argued in this paper, it must also have been at least partly dependent on the cities in question having the stability and prosperity necessary to undertake significant civic projects.

[51] Müller and Prost 2013 discuss this inscription of the Ionian League, found at Klaros.

[52] See SEG 33-973 (Rigsby 1996, 352: no.172) for a decree found at Notion of an unknown Dorian city recognising the games and *asylia*.

[53] See SEG 1.440 (Rigsby 1996, 352-3: no.173) for a letter to the Kolophonians from the Scipio brothers, found inscribed at Klaros.

[54] Both of these works are attributed to Nikander of Kolophon, although there is some uncertainty over whether there may have been two such Nikanders. It is possible that the author of these two historiographical works may have been a slightly older relative of the Nikander who wrote the didactic poems, the *Theriaka* and the *Alexipharmaka*. While these two latter poems seem to date to the second century, the local histories may well be earlier. For a recent discussion of the issue of the 'two Nikanders', see Overduin 2014, 9-11.

[55] There is some uncertainty over the dating of Kolophon's Homeric coins in the Hellenistic period (another Homeric issue appeared in the 3rd century CE). Head dates the type to between 300 and 189 BCE (1892, 41: no.42), while Milne suggests that the type appeared only in the first century (1941, 19 and 79: nos 178-9). Esdaile, which remains the only dedicated study of Homeric coinage to date, favours a date before 189 BCE (1912, 310). On balance, a second century date seems likely, and Kolophon's Homeric issue should probably be seen in the context of a wider trend in the mid-second century in Asia Minor whereby a wide range of new civic coins were issued, many of which featured local heroes and cults (Thonemann 2015, 59-62). The image of Homer on the coins may even have drawn from a statue that reportedly stood in Kolophon (see n.57 below), as several other coins from this period also featured local cult statues (Thonemann 2015, 62).

[56] Macridy 1905, 161-3: lines 26-7.

[57] Ps-Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 1.4: "There are some, however, who endeavour to show that he [Homer] was a Colophonian, taking as their main piece of evidence the elegiacs inscribed on his statue, which run as follows: Son of Meles, Homer, you gave glory to all Hellas | and to your homeland Colophon for ever; | and from your breast with your godlike soul you fathered | these two maidens, by writing out your texts. | One of them sings Odysseus' far-roaming retun, | the other the Dardanids' war at Ilion." (εἰσὶ μέντοι οἳ καὶ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύναι πειρῶνται, μεγίστωι τεκμηρίωι χρώμενοι πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῶι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγεγραμμένωι ἐλεγείωι· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· 'υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὅμηρε, σὺ γὰρ κλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσηι | καὶ Κολοφῶνι πάτρηι θῆκας ἐς ἀίδιον· | καὶ τάσδ' ἀντιθέωι ψυχῆι γεννήσαο κούρας | δισσὰς ἡμιθέων, γραψάμενος σελίδας· | ὑμνεῖ δ' ἡ μὲν νόστον Ὀδυσσῆος πολύπλαγκτον, | ἡ δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν Δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον."). Translation from West 2003, 410-1.

epic hexameters, use Homeric dialect, and engage in complex Homeric intertextuality,[58] but he also explicitly referred to himself as 'Homeric Nikander' (Ὁμηρείοιο… Νικάνδροιο: line 957).

Indeed, when Nikander came to write about his homeland in the *Alexipharmaka*, he described it in distinctly Homeric terms, as the place "contained within the strong headland of Aisagea and in Kerkaphos (ἢ καὶ ἐρυμνός | Αἰσαγέης πρηὼν καὶ Κέρκαφος ἐντὸς ἐέργει: lines 217-8). The toponym 'Aisagea' appears only here in the *Alexipharmaka* and in the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, where Leto is said to fly over "gleaming Klaros and the high mountain of Aisagea" (καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπὺ: line 40). One of the two toponyms used by Nikander of his homeland therefore has Homeric resonances. The other is Kerkaphos – a toponym which is known only from this passage and from Lykophron's allusion to the tomb of Kalchas.

When Lykophron mentioned this tomb, he did so at a time of civic and mythic renewal at Kolophon. There was new investment in urban and cult spaces; new expansion in the political and diplomatic sphere; new explorations of civic identity and the mythic past; and a new interest in the specifically Homeric heritage. Against such a background, the *idea* of a tomb of Kalchas may have held some appeal at Kolophon.

The politics of Kalchas at Kolophon

At the start of the second century, the idea of a tomb and cult of Kalchas may have been an attractive one for a city that had recently embarked on a large-scale project of civic reimagining, involving both mythic and cultic reconfiguration. It may have been especially appealing given the city's long-established traditions of monumental burial and marking the landscape with conspicuous tombs. But as the second century progressed it may have become yet more attractive, given the specific context of Kolophon's political links with Rome.

During this time, Roman influence and eventually Roman rule in Asia Minor had a profound impact on the way that the cities of the region constructed their mythic traditions.[59] Given Rome's claim of foundation from Troy, several cities in Asia Minor now found it appropriate to rediscover their own mythical connections to Troy, or to its allies. In 197 BCE for example, the city of Lampsakos sent ambassadors to Rome, requesting Roman protection on the basis of ancient *sungeneia* through Troy.[60] Similarly, Rome showed favour to the Lykian cities in the Treaty of Apamea despite their support for Antiochus, because Lykia had been a vital ally of Troy during the Trojan War (Polybius 22.5). Later in the century, the Lykians celebrated this ancestral alliance in dedications.[61] A similar process may have been underway at Magnesia on the Maeander, which began to engage with its Amazonian past around this time.[62] When the Temple of Artemis Leukophyrene was rebuilt c.190 BCE and relaunched as an interstate cult, the sculptural decoration featured an Amazonomachy on the frieze. Around the same time, Possis of Magnesia wrote an *Amazonid* (*BNJ* 480 F2), which seems to have interwoven Penhellenic stories such as that of the Argo and Herakles with local traditions concerning Amazons. In a second century context, the Amazons' status as Trojan allies must have been part of their appeal for the Magnesians.[63] Rome's growing influence in second century Asia Minor meant that a mythic connection to Troy acquired new political value.

Given what we know of Kolophon's foundation stories and early myths, there was no obvious way that the city would have been able to engage in this kind of kinship diplomacy with Rome. The surviving traditions suggest no clear route by which Kolophon could claim descent either from Troy or from a Trojan ally. And yet, in the contest of Kalchas and Mopsos, Kolophon had what might have been the next best thing – a myth featuring the defeat of a high-profile Achaean hero on his way home from the Trojan War. The prophetic contest could therefore have worked as an analogy for the Trojan War, with the Kolophonian hero Mopsos assuming an equivalent role to that of the Trojan heroes,

[58] Overduin 2014, 64-5, 69-71, 93-7.
[59] For Roman engagement in Asia Minor, see Ferrary 2001.
[60] *SIG*^{3} 591. Erskine 2001, 169-72.
[61] *ILS* 32. Erskine 2001, 177-8.
[62] For stories of Amazonian occupation in this part of Asia Minor, see Blok 1996; Mac Sweeney 2013, 139-43.
[63] Biagetti (2010, 61) suggests instead that the Magnesian interest in Amazons may have been related to a primordial mother-cult, while Banchich (2016) raises the issue of a regional conception of Artemis as connected to Amazons, given the widely-attested links between Amazons and the Ephesian Artemision.

defending his homeland from incoming Achaeans. The ancestors of the Kolophonians could be viewed as comparable to those of the Romans: caught in a similarly defensive position, and fighting against the same foe.[64]

For second century Kolophon therefore, the figure of Kalchas may have offered a powerful way of engaging in mythical diplomacy with Rome. This was evidently not what we now refer to as 'kinship diplomacy' – the claim of shared ancestry being deployed in the service of contemporary political relationships.[65] Equally, this was not what we might call 'ancestral alliance diplomacy' where, as in the case of the Lykian cities and perhaps Magnesia with Rome, the idea of an old alliance between one's forebears could be used for forging new political relationships. Both of these uses of myth postulate a direct relationship between the ancestors of the contemporary groups – either as kin or as allies/friends. In contrast, the Mopsos-Kalchas story does at Kolophon implies no direct relationship implied between Rome and Kolophon, and makes no claim of interaction between their ancestors. The mythic opportunity offered by Kalchas, therefore, was not for something *shared* (a shared past), but rather for something *analogous* (an analogous past). This is a qualitatively different type of mythic diplomacy from that which has dominated studies of the subject to date. We might, for the sake of clarity, want to create a term for this. Unfortunately, I can offer nothing more inventive than 'ancestral analogy diplomacy', which although descriptive is admittedly clunky.

Before we leave Asia Minor to return to the other failed *nostoi*, it is worth pointing out one other potential case of this 'ancestral analogy diplomacy' with Rome. The Attalid dynasty of Pergamon, Rome's key ally in the region, claimed descent from Telephos, the son of Herakles and king of the Mysians. This choice of founding hero had many potential benefits in an early Hellenistic context, as it provided the Pergamenes with a heroic and Hellenic past.[66] Telephos would have acquired a new significance, however, in the context of diplomacy with Rome. At opposite end of the Trojan War from Mopsos, he fought against Achaeans who arrived in Mysia on their way to Troy, and was badly wounded by Achilles in the process. The story of Telephos and Achilles therefore served Pergamon in a similar way to the tale of Mopsos and Kalchas at Kolophon, acting as an ancestral analogy between Pergamon and Rome. Pergamon appears as an analogue and double for Rome, as the ancestors of both – the Mysians and the Trojans respectively – battled against the Achaeans.[67] Interestingly, the Attalid appropriation of Telephos can be located in the same time period as the possible Kolophonian interest in Kalchas – it is first attested at the end of the third century[68] and seems to have gathered momentum in the second.[69] And yet for Pergamenes, the analogy between Telephos and Troy might also have been problematic. Telephos eventually came to terms with his Achaean attackers, leading them to the very walls of Troy.

In contrast, the Mopsos-Kalchas story is different in one crucial respect – in this case, the Achaean hero was vanquished. Where the ancestors of Pergamon and Rome both failed, the ancestor of the Kolophonians triumphed. Celebrating the Kalchas story in second century Kolophon, therefore, may not have been a case of celebrating Kalchas himself, but rather of celebrating his defeat.

Failed *nostoi*, foundations, and figures of civic myth

The significance of Kalchas in early second century Kolophon is temporally specific and historically contingent. While the story of his defeat at the hands of Mopsos could have been a source of civic pride in many different periods, at this particular time it must have acquired a specific new political

[64] The figure of Kalchas may have eventually acquired positive associations from a Roman perspective – in Quintus Smyrnaeus, it is Kalchas who saves Aeneas from the sack of Troy and foretells the glories of Aeneas' Roman progeny (13.334-46). The contribution of the Mopsos-Kalchas myth and Kolophon to this Roman rehabilitation of Kalchas is unclear, but the possibility remains intriguing. I am grateful to Jason Harris for this point.

[65] Jones 1999; Patterson 2010.

[66] Scheer 1993, 71-149; Scheer 2003, 223-6.

[67] See Davies (2000, 8) for the Achaeans activities in Mysia as an episode that "*anticipates*, and serves as a *doublet* of, the Trojan War itself". For the utility of the figure of Telephos in Attalid-Roman relations, see Scheer 1993, 148-9.

[68] In 209 BCE the Aiginetians donated a statue of Telephos to Pergamon on account of their *sungeneia* through Aiakos, Telephos' uncle (*IG* II^2 885; Scheer 1993, 127-8).

[69] Scheer 1993, 133-44.

relevance. We cannot, therefore, extrapolate the idea of Kalchas as a focus for 'ancestral analogy diplomacy' to other periods. Nor can we necessarily extrapolate the model to other myths and other locations, even in the cases of other failed *nostoi*.

There is no evidence, for example, that the Lokrian Ajax occupied a similar position in the civic mythology of Mykonos. As the most basic level, the story of Ajax' failed *nostos* and his Mykonian tomb seems to have been recounted less frequently than that of Kalchas at Kolophon (Nostoi F1 West; Lyk. *Alex.* 387-407; Ps-Ap. *E* 6.5).[70] Similarly, we know of no traditions or archaeological remains that might point to a tomb cult of Ajax on the island.[71] From the evidence available therefore, Ajax did not seem to have been an important figure in Mykonian civic myth, which instead seems to have focused on the eponymous founder (Diodorus 5.79.2; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μύκονος),[72] or the Ionian migrant Neleus (Zenobius, *Ep.* 5.17).

Although Kalchas cannot serve as a model for understanding the stories of failed *nostoi* elsewhere, his Kolophonian story can nonetheless function as a spur to their further investigation. To date, both in our investigations of local mythologies and in our research on mythic diplomacy, we have tended to focus almost exclusively on two particular types of mythic figures – founders and ancestors. Yet the case of Kalchas at Kolophon demonstrates that other categories of mythic figure could also be of great significance in the construction of local history and civic identity. Local heroes need not be oikists or forefathers – instead, they could have a range of quite different relationships to the landscape in which they were supposedly buried, and to the people by whom they were honoured. While Kalchas at Kolophon may be one such example; the cult surrounding Hektor's bones in Thebes must be another (Lyk. *Alex.* 1189-1213; Paus 9.18.5);[73] and the cult of Oedipus as Colonnus is another still (Soph. *Oed. Col.*).[74] The failed *nostoi*, almost by definition, did not result in foundation or the establishment of new lineages. Yet they could potentially hold a range of meanings nonetheless. To get a better sense of what these might be, we must shift our attention away from founders, and towards a more general idea of figures in civic myth.

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[70] West 2013, 260-2.

[71] There is a Mycenaean tomb on Mykonos, but there is no sign here whatsoever of a later tomb cult associated with the tholos (Hadzidakis 1997; Ioannis Galanakis *pers. comm.*). Hornblower mentions no further traditions of the tomb of Ajax (2015, 205).

[72] Reger 2001, 179-80; Carbon 2015, 542.

[73] Hornblower 2015, 422-33; NcNeils and Sens 2016, 194-9.

[74] Calame 1998.

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