

SOPHOCLES AT PATAVIUM (fr. 137 Radt)*

(1) Introduction

ONE of the most interesting of the myths concerning the migration to the West of those Trojan heroes who survived the destruction of their city is that of Antenor and his sons.¹ That Antenor and his family received the embassy of the Greeks, saved them from attack by a group of Trojans and consistently urged peace and the return of Helen is already established in Homer.² The consequent decision of the Greeks to spare the Antenorids at the sack of Troy is almost certainly present in the epic cycle.³ Somewhat later, two further traditions emerge: first the claim that Troy was betrayed by the Antenorids;⁴ second, that Antenor and various of his sons travelled overseas and settled in distant lands, notably Cyrene in Libya and Patavium in the Veneto.⁵ For anyone concerned with the development of the myth, it is therefore deeply frustrating that so little should remain of what must have been a crucial text: the *Antenoridae* of Sophocles. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that there is far more to be known about this play than has hitherto been perceived.

The extant remains of the *Antenoridae* of Sophocles are indisputably meagre: three fragments and a total of seven words, two of which are κᾶτ and a further two archaic and, in one case, incomprehensible glosses which do no more than encourage attribution of the piece to Sophocles' early, Aeschylean phase.⁶ It is therefore little surprise that the almost universal scholarly consensus has been to abandon the *Antenoridae* as a lost cause and to decree that there is nothing to be gained from the study of its fragments.⁷ This may, however, be unduly pessimistic.

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¹ A great deal of evidence is collected in Scholz (1911). The development of the Paduan myth is analysed in some detail in Wlosok (1967) 33-52. A more adventurous reconstruction of the different stages of the myth is offered in Braccisi (1984).

² Hom. *Il.* 3. 146-60, 3. 203-24, 7. 347-53, 11. 138-42. For the embassy, see also Proclus, *Cypriorum Enarratio*, 72-4 Davies. For the Antenorids in the *Iliad*, see Espermann (1980).

³ Paus. 10. 26. 8 = *Ilias Parva* fr. 13 Davies attributes to Lesches the story that Helicaon, son of Antenor, was wounded in the night-fighting and rescued by Odysseus. Apoll. *Bibl.* 5. 21 tells a very similar story of the rescue of Glaucus.

⁴ Lycophr. *Alex.* 340-43 is the earliest reference to the treachery of Antenor. See also Sisenna fr. 1 Peter; Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* 1. 46; Lutatius ap. *OGR* 9. 2. For analysis, see Wlosok (1967) 45-52 and Braccisi (1984) 123-46.

⁵ For Cyrene, see Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 82-5 cf. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 110 and Tzetz. at Lycophr. *Alex.* 874 who quote Lysimachus of Alexandria *Nostoi* = *FGrHist* 382 F6. The evidence for migration to Patavium is one of the themes of this paper. Apart from Soph. ap. Strab. *Geog.* 13. 1.53, the earliest claim for this migration may be the statement at Cato *Orig.* fr. 42 Peter that the Veneti are of Trojan stock. The conviction of Perret (1942) 255 and Horsfall (1987) 229 that this refers only to the traditional association of the Homeric Eneti with the Veneti of north-eastern Italy and not to the Antenorids is subject to the further objection that the Homeric Eneti are not Trojan but Paphlagonian and can only be thought Trojan in the sense that they are adopted by Antenor after the death of Pylaemenes.

⁶ Soph. fr. 138 Radt = Hesych. I 334 ἀφειλασάμην; Soph. fr. 139 Radt = Hesych. II 40 εκβαβάξα. The latter may suggest the sound made by the bird of fr. 137.

⁷ Ribbeck (1875) 406-7, 'Avτηνοπιδαι hiess eine Tragödie des Sophokles, deren Inhalt genauer zu ermitteln das vorhandene Material in keiner Weise ausreicht ... Aus den geringern Bruchstücken ist Nichts zu erkennen'. See also Perret (1942) 165-6; Vanotti (1979) 106; Cerrato (1985) 167; and Sutton (1984) 21-3, who closes his discussion of the *Antenoridae* with the pessimistic observation that '... it is best to admit our ignorance about the play's subject'.

(2) *Sophocles and Bacchylides*

It will be apparent from the summary offered above that the importance of the family of Antenor in the Trojan myth centres on two principal episodes: the embassy of the Greeks and the sack of the city and its aftermath. This is significant when one considers the title of the tragedy. For Bacchylides is the author of a dithyramb entitled *Antenoridae* or *Helenes Apaitesis* which clearly concentrates on the embassy of the Greeks and the demand of the return of Helen.⁸ Sophocles, meanwhile, is also the author of a tragedy entitled *Helenes Apaitesis*,⁹ which is presumed to represent the same events as Bacchylides.¹⁰ Three possible inferences may be drawn from this: either that Sophocles' *Helenes Apaitesis* and *Antenoridae* are the same play, or that they are separate plays in which Sophocles reworks the same material in the manner of Euripides' *Hippolytus Stephanephoros* and *Hippolytus Kaluptomenos*, or that they are separate plays which handle entirely different themes. The first of these inferences is that of Blass and Wilamowitz.¹¹ If it is correct, then the entire argument which follows must fall, but the two titles are never marked as indicating the same play anywhere else in the ancient citations and almost the only evidence for the contention can be the parallel with Bacchylides.¹² The second inference is even less likely if only because of the extreme rarity of Euripides' practice in returning to the same theme.¹³ The most plausible hypothesis, therefore, is that the two titles refer to separate dramas on separate themes. This in itself must incline us to look to events during and after the sack of the city.

(3) *Birds as Heralds, Birds as Servants*

Sophocles *fr.* 137 Radt is recorded by Athenaeus and reads: ὄρνιθα καὶ κήρυκα καὶ δῖάκονον.¹⁴ Along with this fragment Athenaeus also records Aeschylus *fr.* 95 Radt: ὄρνιθα δ' οὐ ποιω̄ σε τῆς ἐμῆς ὁδοῦ. The most likely interpretation of the fragment of Sophocles is that the phrase καὶ κήρυκα καὶ δῖάκονον is in apposition to ὄρνιθα and that it qualifies the role of the bird, which will act not just as a herald but also as a servant or aid.¹⁵ Pearson adds the suggestion that the manner in which the bird will fulfil this function can be inferred from its juxtaposition with the fragment of Aeschylus, that is as an omen for a journey.¹⁶ Further investigation may, however, reveal other possibilities.

The first task therefore is to examine in which contexts a bird can act as a herald or a

⁸ Bacchyl. 15 (Snell).

⁹ Soph. *frr.* 176-180a Radt.

¹⁰ For references to the embassy in the *Iliad* and the *Cypria*, see above (n.2). Proclus locates the embassy after the first fighting at Troy and the death of Cycnus, but Schol. BT at Hom. *Il.* 3. 206 states that it took place before the departure of the Greeks from Tenedos, while Apoll. *Bibl.* 3. 28-9 implies that it was simultaneous with the latter event, and Hdt. 2. 118 that it was after the Greeks had landed in the Troad. In all these cases, the embassy occurs very early on and cannot be part of the same material as Strab. *Geog.* 13.1.53 attributes to Sophocles.

¹¹ Blass (1898) lviii *cf.* Wilamowitz (1916) 186.

¹² Jebb (1905) 220 and (n.1) is convinced that Strab. *Geog.* 13.1.53 is a form of hypothesis of Sophocles' *Antenoridae* and quotes Welcker's view that a play of this title must feature the sons of Antenor in the role of chorus. However, Jebb argues that, in a drama centred on the embassy of the Greeks, it is much more likely that a chorus of Phrygians would mediate between the sons of Antenor as peace party and the war party of Priam who seek to retain Helen. For one possible argument in favour of Blass and Wilamowitz see below (n.29).

¹³ On this point, see Barrett (1964) 13 and Webster (1967) 75.

¹⁴ Soph. *fr.* 137 Radt = Athen. *Deipn.* 373 C-D.

¹⁵ This is the interpretation of Blaydes (1894). The sense of 'servant' for δῖάκονος avoids the tautology implicit in translating it as 'messenger'.

¹⁶ Pearson (1917) *I ad. loc.* attributes the interpretation to Hartung (1851) and finds 'some slight confirmation' in the fragment of Aeschylus.

servant.¹⁷ To begin with the former, it is apparent that a bird most often operates as the herald of a particular deity. This is apparent, for instance, from descriptions of the relationship of the eagle to Zeus. While Homer and Pindar call the eagle the bird of Zeus, Bacchylides and Aratus dub it the messenger or the great messenger of Zeus.¹⁸ This usage might be compared with that of Euripides, where it is the herald of Zeus.¹⁹ The raven, meanwhile, is the messenger of Apollo in Hesiod.²⁰ Both of these birds are included by Porphyry in a list of winged messengers of the gods which extends to those of Hera, Athena and Demeter as well.²¹ The general sense implied by calling a bird a κήρυξ is therefore clear and unproblematic.

The sense of calling a bird a διάκονος may be established in a similar manner. In early Greek, the term διάκονος can have the quite neutral sense of ‘messenger’, but can also imply something much more pejorative such as ‘servant’ or ‘lackey’.²² In its earliest usage, in Aeschylus, it is one of a series of insulting terms used by Prometheus to describe the subservience of Hermes to the tyrant Zeus.²³ Within the space of just over 20 lines, Hermes is described as a runner (τρόχισ) and an underling (ὑπηρέτης), is accused of servitude (λατρεία) and urged to scuttle back the way he came (κέλευθον ἤνπερ ἦλθες ἐγκόνει πάλιν).²⁴ A little later on, Hermes himself describes the subservience of the eagle when he dubs it the winged dog of Zeus (Διδὸς ... / πτηνὸς κύων).²⁵ One might compare this with Cicero’s repeated description of the eagle as the minion or the winged minion of Jupiter (*satelles Iovis* cf. *Iovis ... pennata satelles*). While this has no hostile sense at *De divinatione* 1. 106 and 2. 73, its appearance in the verse lines from Cicero’s translation of the Aeschylean *Prometheus Unbound* quoted at *Tusculan Disputations* 2. 24 surely exploits the prominence of *satelles* in anti-tyrannical discourse at Rome.²⁶ The other bird which is regularly represented as the servant of a god is the raven: Bianor dubs it the servant of Phoebus (Φοίβου λάτρης),²⁷ while Aelian describes it variously as the attendant (θεράπωντα) and the follower (ἀκόλουθον) of Apollo.²⁸

The suggestion that the bird is the herald and servant of a god seems highly probable. The type of service which the bird will perform remains to be established. The argument which follows should support Pearson’s suggestion that the juxtaposition in Athenaeus of this fragment

¹⁷ The following remarks draw heavily on Thompson (1936).

¹⁸ Bacchyl. 5. 19-20 (Snell): ἄγγελος Ζηηνός; Arat. *Phaen.* 522: Ζηηνός μέγας ἄγγελος.

¹⁹ Eur. *Ion.* 158-9; Ζηηνός κήρυξ.

²⁰ Hes. *fr.* 60 Merkelbach-West = Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 52: ἄγγελος.

²¹ Porph. *Abs.* 3.5.5: ἀλλ’ οἱ γε θεοὶ σιγᾶντες μὴνῶσιν καὶ συνιάσιν αὐτῶν ὄρνιθες θάπτον ἢ ἄνθρωποι καὶ συνέντες ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὡς δύνανται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ κήρυκες ἄλλοι ἄλλων θεῶν· Διδὸς μὲν αἰτός, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἰέραξ καὶ κόραξ, Ἥρας δὲ πελαργός, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ αὐτὸ κρέξ τε καὶ γλαυξ, καὶ Διμητροῦ γέρανος ὡς ἄλλων ἄλλοι.

²² For the neutral sense of ‘messenger’, see Soph. *Phil.* 497. The potentially close semantic fields of κήρυξ and διάκονος can be discerned from Pollux 8. 137: ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης εἶη ἄν καὶ ἄγγελος διάκονος· ἐτέρας δὲ χρεῖας κήρυξ καὶ σπονδοφόρος.

²³ Aesch. *PV* 942.

²⁴ At Xen. *Hier.* 4. 2, the tyrant gives his food to τοὺς διακόνους to taste. Here, however, διάκονος must have the sense of ‘waiter-slave’ apparent at Athen. *Deipn.* 420 E.

²⁵ Aesch. *PV.* 1021-2. For this description of the eagle, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 141; Soph. *fr.* 884 Radt = Schol. Ar. *Av.* 515.

²⁶ For ‘*satelles*’ as a henchman or bodyguard of a tyrant, see *OLD satelles* 1. Dependence on an armed bodyguard, often foreign, is one of the most distinctive markers of the Greek tyrant. See Xen. *Hier.* 2. 8, 4. 9, 5. 3, 6. 10-11, 8. 9, 10. 1-8.

²⁷ Bianor at Anth. *Pal.* 9. 27.2.

²⁸ Ael. *NA* 1. 47 cf. 1. 48.

of Sophocles with Aeschylus *fr.* 95 Radt is relevant, though, as will be seen, the point of contact is not necessarily that which he suggests.²⁹

(4) *Strabo on Sophocles and Antenor*

Apart from the fragments specifically attributed to the *Antenoridae*, there exists one further indication of what Sophocles had to say concerning the fortunes of Antenor and his family. This is the following well-known passage from Strabo, 13.1.53:

Σοφοκλῆς γοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου παρδαλέαν φησὶ πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντήνορος προτεθῆναι σύμβολον τοῦ ἀπόρθητον ἔαθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀντήνορα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετὰ τῶν περιγενομένων Ἐνετῶν εἰς τὴν Θράκιαν περισωθῆναι, κάκειθεν διαπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν Ἐνετικὴν· τὸν δὲ Αἰνεῖαν μετ' Ἀγγίσου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀσκανίου λαὸν ἀθροίσαντα πλεῦσαι ...

At any rate, Sophocles says that at the capture of Troy a leopard's skin was put before the door of Antenor as a sign that his house was to be left unpillaged; and that Antenor and his children safely escaped to Thrace with the survivors of the Eneti, and from there got across to the Adriatic Henetice, as it is called, whereas Aeneas collected a host of followers and set sail with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius...

This passage appears to offer direct evidence for the reconstruction of the content of the *Antenoridae*, but the reality is considerably less simple. On closer inspection, a number of problems present themselves. It is therefore necessary first to ask quite how many of the different claims made Strabo wishes to attribute to Sophocles; second to consider how he has gathered his information concerning the tragedian; third to identify the individual plays to which he refers and to isolate any elements which cannot but be alien to his mental world.³⁰

Grammatical considerations suggest that the entire passage refers to Sophocles. The beginning of the material attributed to Sophocles coincides with Strabo's adoption of the accusative and infinitive construction. Although Strabo's period continues after the close of this construction, he explicitly marks his movement to a new source. It is significant that the last claim which Strabo includes in the accusative and infinitive—that Aeneas and his family sailed from Troy—can be paralleled in the works of Sophocles. The fragment of the *Laocoon* preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the preparations for the voyage but says nothing of the final destination of Aeneas;³¹ when Strabo addresses this further question, he refers to the conflicting claims of a variety of authors.³²

It might therefore seem legitimate to infer that all the material encompassed by the accusative and infinite construction is Sophoclean. This, however, has been contested. In particular, Perret exploits considerations of grammar and structure in order to advance a much more restrictive

²⁹ The argument to be advanced here puts great emphasis on augury, Apollo, and the role of birds as guides on the outward journeys of colonists. It is therefore important to note that Soph. *fr.* 180 and 180a Radt = Strabo *Geog.* 14. 1.27 and 14. 5.16 indicate that the *Helenes Apaitesis* refers to the legend of Calchas, who was told by an oracle that it was his destiny to die when he encountered a greater seer than himself and locates the fatal contest with Mopsus in Pamphylia. Strabo *Geog.* 14. 1.27 claims that the conventional location for the contest is Colophon and cites the versions of the contest in Hesiod *fr.* 278 Merkelbach-West and Pherecydes *FGH* 3 F142. For further accounts, see Paus. 7. 2.3; Tzet. at Lycophr. *Alex.* 427 and 980 *cf.* Schol. Dionys. *Perieg.* 850. In each case, Calchas does not return to Greece after the sack of Troy, leads his people on a journey and finally falls victim to Mopsus. This might well provide a fitting context for Soph. *fr.* 137 Radt and support the argument noted above that *Antenoridae* and *Helenes Apaitesis* are one and the same play.

³⁰ These questions are not posed in Horsfall (1979) 387. This article is somewhat inexact in its treatment of Antenor.

³¹ Soph. *fr.* 373 Radt = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 48.2.

³² Strabo continues with a list of the various cities which different authors have said to be founded by Aeneas (οἱ μὲν ... φασιν ... οἱ δὲ).

hypothesis.³³ Perret contends that the passage must be read in the context of Strabo's scepticism towards the claim reported at 13.1.52, that Ascanius, son of Aeneas, and Scamandrios, son of Hector, ruled over Scepsis for a long time after the Trojan war: Strabo cites *Iliad* 20. 186-91 and 13. 460-1 as proof of the hostility between the two families, refers to the Antenoridae as fellow-rulers alongside the family of Aeneas, and then employs the particle γούν in order to show that he has 'at least' one certain text to support this final assertion.³⁴ What Sophocles says therefore extends no further than the reference to the panther-skin on Antenor's door and the decision to leave his house unharmed.³⁵ There is considerable sense in this argument. Strabo may be primarily concerned with the family of Aeneas but the characters last-named are his associates, Antenor and the Antenorids. The proof that this family too was opposed to Priam is provided by the Sophoclean account of their survival of the sack of the city.

However, there are even greater flaws in Perret's case. First, the best proof that the son of Aeneas and the son of Hector did not rule together in Scepsis is not the traditional enmity between their families but rather the decision of the Aeneadae to quite Troy altogether and sail off abroad. Yet one cannot get to this except across the reference not just to the sparing of the Antenorids but also to their own journey to Thrace and on to the Veneto. Second, while Perret emphasises the significance of the particle γούν, he conspicuously avoids any reference to Strabo's use of the accusative and infinitive construction which continues across the first two periods cited and closes only with the reference to the departure of Aeneas, his family and men. No surprise therefore that even Perret himself is not above the suspicion of the fundamental speciousness of his position.³⁶

Perret's scepticism may be misplaced but this should not permit the precipitate conclusion that Strabo's Sophoclean material is anything as simple as his own hypothesis of the plot of the *Antenoridae*. It has already been stated that Sophocles described the departure of Aeneas from Troy in the *Laocoon*; Strabo's reference to the panther's skin is also paralleled in Sophocles, but in a separate work, the *Aias Lokros*;³⁷ Strabo's passage may contain elements drawn from the *Antenoridae* but it cannot be said to be just a summary of that play.³⁸ Indeed, the very distribution of elements is significant, for it surely offers a window onto Strabo's method in quoting Sophocles: the geographer does not refer directly to Sophocles or to any single play but rather to a scholarly commentary or compendium which has taken it on itself to sift the tragedian for the various references in his work to the survivors of the sack of Troy.

Moreover, the surrounding paragraphs of Strabo from which this passage is drawn demonstrate his direct reference to just such a work: the commentary on the Homeric Catalogue

³³ Perret (1942) 159-66.

³⁴ For this 'part proof' use of γούν see Denniston (1954) 450-54.

³⁵ I have not been able to find any discussion of the significance of the panther-skin. It is worth noting that the only two Homeric warriors to wear this item are Paris at *Hom. Il.* 3. 17 and Menelaus at *Hom. Il.* 10. 29-30. Could it be a token reminding the latter of the previous hospitality of the Antenorids?

³⁶ Perret (1942) 165 admits that at first sight '... tous les arguments tirés de la composition et du mouvement d'un développement risquent ... d'apparaître subtils et spécieux'. For an intelligent critique of the mixture of rigour and perversity involved in this study, see Momigliano (1945) 103.

³⁷ *Soph. fr.* 11 Radt = *Schol. Ar. Av.* 933 *cf.* *Suid.* s.v. σπολάς and *Pollux* 7. 70.

³⁸ Strabo *Geog.* 13.1.53 opens Σοφοκλήης γούν ἐν τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου παρδαλέαν φησὶ ... One might compare this with Eustathius at *Hom. Il.* 3. 207, a passage so similar to that in Strabo as to be presumed to be dependent on it. The opening of this note is printed as follows in Stallbaum: Σοφοκλήης ἱστορεῖ ἐν Ἀλώσει Ἰλίου ... The implication of Stallbaum's capitalisation is that Strabo and Eustathius refer to a further Sophoclean tragedy called *Halosis Iliou* or at least that this is Eustathius' interpretation of Strabo. Van der Valk does not capitalise.

of the Trojans in Book 2 of the *Iliad* of Demetrios of Scepsis. The scholarly diligence of Demetrios can perhaps be inferred from his dedication of no less than thirty volumes to the elucidation of only 60 lines of Homer.³⁹ It should therefore be noted that the connection of Antenoridae and Anchisiadae in Strabo is already present in the Homeric Catalogue, where five lines are devoted to Aeneas and to his two companions, Archelochus and Akamas, the sons of Antenor.⁴⁰ An obvious question for Demetrios to pose would therefore be: what were the fortunes of these heroes and why did Homer connect them? If he followed a more or less even distribution of verse lines to commentary, he must have given two to three books over to the elucidation of this problem, time enough for a learned meditation on Sophocles.⁴¹ Other sections of Strabo's account of the mythical geography of the Troad make it perfectly clear that he is drawing directly on the efforts of Demetrios to elucidate the names and places recorded in the Homeric Catalogue.⁴²

(5) *Fifth-century Tragedy and the Upper Adriatic—Aeschylus and Phaethon*

The grammatical construction adopted by Strabo suggests continuous reference to Sophocles; the linking of the families of Antenor and Aeneas mirrors the Homeric Catalogue and, almost inevitably, the structure adopted in his commentary by Demetrios of Scepsis. One oddity, however, remains. It is known that Sophocles mentioned the panther's skin, and therefore the sparing of the family of Antenor by the Greeks, and that this episode was painted by his contemporary Polygnotus. Yet is it possible that Sophocles also described the departure of the Antenorids from Troy and, in particular, the journey to the Upper Adriatic and the Veneto? Perret, of course, is sceptical and doubts that Sophocles took the Antenorids even as far as Thrace.⁴³ Recent Italian scholarship, however, is more positive and points to the poet's interest in the West and in Trojan *apoikiai*.⁴⁴ The works of the young Sophocles are therefore linked to his alleged involvement in the Cimonian circle,⁴⁵ and his references to distant foreign lands seen as his contribution to the expansionist policies endorsed by Cimon.⁴⁶ In a learned and stimulating article, Cerrato applies this approach to the journey of the Antenorids to Thrace and makes much of other figures more or less contemporary with the young Sophocles, especially Polygnotus and Bacchylides.⁴⁷ Less, however, is said of the Veneto, and Cerrato presupposes that the fragments of the play can offer no more help.⁴⁸

³⁹ For the fragments of Demetrios of Scepsis, see Gaede (1880). For discussion of different aspects of his work, particularly his attitude to Rome, see Gabba (1974) 630-1; Smith (1981) 34-43; Gruen (1993) 40-2.

⁴⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2. 819-23.

⁴¹ Cf. Demetrios of Scepsis *fr.* 75 Gaede = Tzetz. at Lycophr. *Alex.* 530, where Tzetzes notes that both Sophocles and Demetrios attribute the killing of Protesilaus to Hector.

⁴² Strab. *Geog.* 13.1.33 refers both to Homer and to Demetrios. The concatenation of references to Mt. Ida, Zeleia, Aeneas, the Antenorids and Dardania reveals both the degree of Strabo's dependence on Demetrios and the manner of the latter's line-by-line and word-by-word elucidation of Homer.

⁴³ Perret (1942) 159-66.

⁴⁴ Braccesi (1984) 47 discusses Sophocles *fr.* 373 Radt = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.48.2 and the reference to the ἀποικία Φρυγῶν. See also Braccesi (1994) which returns to the subject in rather greater detail. For Sophocles and the West in general, see Vanotti (1979).

⁴⁵ This theory goes back to Webster (1936) 8-10.

⁴⁶ Braccesi (1984) 45-67 concentrates on the Veneto, but, in the absence of specific evidence, deals mainly in generalising hypotheses.

⁴⁷ Cerrato (1985). Note also Hom. *Il.* 11. 221-31 which connects the Antenorids to Thrace through Cisses, father of Theano, who lived in Thrace and raised Iphidamas there.

⁴⁸ Cerrato (1985) 167.

One fundamental point should therefore be established from the start: some fifth century tragedians knew about and were interested in the Upper Adriatic. Polybius indeed complains that the tragic writers tell many marvellous stories about the Veneti.⁴⁹ It has been argued that the historian refers here to his contemporary Accius but a much more plausible hypothesis is that he is responding to the unhealthy dependency of certain prose authors on the myths of the tragedians of the fifth century.⁵⁰ This relationship is particularly clear from the family of stories concerning the crash of Phaethon in the Eridanus and the subsequent lamentation of his sisters, the Heliades.⁵¹

The connection between the crash of Phaethon and the great river of the West, the Eridanus, is associated by Hyginus with as early a writer as Hesiod.⁵² The same author suggests that Pherecydes, the fifth century BC geographer, was the first writer to identify the Eridanus with the Po.⁵³ Both of these attributions are, however, contested by Schwartz, who suspects the inept and mendacious inventions of ill-informed scholia.⁵⁴ Separate evidence for Pherecydes' interest in the Eridanus does nothing to suggest that he equated it with the Po or any other river.⁵⁵ By the time of the 'escape ode' of Euripides *Hippolytus*, however, it is understood that the Eridanus flows out into the Adriatic,⁵⁶ and it is from this that the later association with the Po must derive.⁵⁷

Euripides provides a clear *terminus post quem* for the interest of Athenian tragedians in the Upper Adriatic, but other evidence implies a significantly earlier date. Two further fragments of the *Heliades* of Aeschylus leave it extremely unclear where he located the Eridanus and with it the fall of the chariot of the Sun, but a strong argument can be advanced for the contention that this was actually by the Po. A citation in Pliny indicates that Aeschylus placed the Eridanus in Spain, but the credibility of this claim is undermined by Pliny's inclusion of a demonstrably inaccurate summary of the claims of Euripides and Apollonius for the confluence of the Rhône and the Eridanus in the Adriatic.⁵⁸ It is therefore difficult to share Diggle's confidence that

⁴⁹ Polyb. 2.17.6: περί ὧν οἱ τραγωιδιογράφοι πολὺν τινα πεποιήνται λόγον καὶ πολλὴν διατέθενται τερατείαν.

⁵⁰ For discussion of this passage, see Walbank *ad. loc.* and at Polyb. 2. 16.13-15 and Braccisi (1984) 47-8. Walbank notes the similarly sceptical account of the Phaethon myth at Diod. Sic. 5. 23.5 and therefore cautions against the assumption that Polybius has Timaeus in his sights. An alternative source for outlandish descriptions of the culture of the area must be Theopompus. On this point, see below (n. 69).

⁵¹ The discussion which follows owes much to Peretti (1994) 1-61 and 265-93.

⁵² Hesiod. *fr.* 311 Merkelbach-West = Hyginus *Fabulae* <154 'Phaethon Hesiodi' cf. Lact. Plac. ad Ov. *Met.* 2.2-3 = p. 638. 9-10 ed. Magnus. Hes. *Theog.* 338 and *fr.* 150: 20-4 Merkelbach-West refer to the Eridanus, but only as a deep-flowing river associated with the production of amber. On this point, see Peretti (1994) 30-8.

⁵³ Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F74 = Hyginus *Fabulae* <154 'Phaethon Hesiodi' and Schol. Germ. *Arat.* 366 p. 174 Br.

⁵⁴ Schwartz (1960) 121-7 and 301-6.

⁵⁵ Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 16a = Schol. Ap. *Rhod. Arg.* 4. 1396.

⁵⁶ Eur. *Hipp.* 735-41.

⁵⁷ Cf. Hdt. 3. 115 who mocks as a myth the belief that the Eridanus is a river of north-west Europe connected with the trade in amber. Strabo *Geog.* 5. 1.9 reports that belief that there is a river called the Eridanus in the vicinity of the Po, but asserts that it is entirely non-existent.

⁵⁸ Aeschylus. *fr.* 73 Radt = Plin. *HN* 37. 31-2: 'occasio est uanitatis Graecorum detegendae: legentes modo aequo perpetiantur animo, cum hoc quoque intersit uitae scire, non quidquid illi prodidere mirandum. Phaëthontis fulmine icti sorores luctu mutatas in arbores populos lacrimis electrum omnibus annis fundere iuxta Eridanum amnem, quem Padum uocauimus, electrum appellatum, quoniam sol uocitatus sit Elector, plurimi poëtae dixere primique, ut arbitror, Aeschylus, Philoxenus, Euripides, Nicander, Satyrus. quod esse falsum Italiae testimonio patet. diligentiores eorum Electridas insulas in mari Hadriatico esse dixerunt, ad quas delaberetur Pado. qua appellatione nullas umquam ibi fuisse certum est, nec uero ulla ita posita esse in quas quidquam cursu Padi deuehi posset. Nam quod Aeschylus in Hiberia, hoc est in Hispania, Eridanum esse dixit eundemque appellari Rhodanum, Euripides

Aeschylus located the lamentation of the Heliades in Spain.⁵⁹ Rather, it is just as possible that the claim of Apollonius that the Rhône flows into the Eridanus, if paralleled in Aeschylus, may have prompted an intermediary geographical writer to complain that, if Aeschylus refers to the Rhône, he must think that the crash of Phaethon happened in Spain.⁶⁰ This may be particularly true of a later historical period where geographical knowledge of the rivers of the West has advanced.⁶¹

The hypothesis that Pliny's citation of Aeschylus is flawed is supported by the evidence of Aeschylus *fr.* 71: 'And the women of Adria shall have a [new] way of mourning' ('Αδριανᾶί τε γυναικες τρόπον ἕξουσι γῶων). It is evidence from this fragment that the local traditions of the Upper Adriatic played a significant role in the drama. Both Diggle and Radt note that this refers to a mode of lamentation recorded by a number of other writers as traditional in the Upper Adriatic.⁶² What they do not add is that the future tense of ἕξουσι demonstrably gives a mythical aetiology for that practice as the eternal expression of the locals' lament for Phaethon.⁶³ This is evident from Polybius 2. 16.13:

τάλλα δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἱστορούμενα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, λέγω δὴ τὰ περὶ Φαέθοντα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὰ δάκρυα τῶν αἰγείρων καὶ τοὺς μελανειμονὰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦντας, οὓς φασὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας εἰσέπει καὶ νῦν φορεῖν τοιαύτας ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέθοντα πένθους, καὶ πάσαν δὴ τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ταύτηι προσεοικυῖαν ὄλην, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ὑπερθησόμεθα, διὰ τὸ μὴ λίαν καθήκειν τῷ τῆς προκατασκευῆς γένει τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀκριβολογίαν.

The other tales the Greeks tell about this river, I mean touching Phaethon and his fall and the weeping poplar-trees and the black clothing of the inhabitants near the river, who, they say, still dress thus in mourning for Phaethon, and all matter for tragedy and the like, may be left aside for the present, detailed treatment of such things not suiting very well the plan of this work.

and from ps-Scymnus 395-401:

Ἴριδανός, ὃς κάλλιστον ἤλεκτρον φέρει,
ὃ φασὶν εἶναι δάκρυον ἀπολιθούμενον,
διαυγὲς αἰγείρων ἀποστάλαγμα τι.
λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ τὴν κεραύνωσιν προτοῦ
τὴν τοῦ Φαέθοντος δεῦρο γεγονέναι τινές·
διὸ καὶ τὰ πλήθη πάντα τῶν οἰκητόρων
μελανειμονεῖν τε πενθικὰς τ' ἔχειν στολάς.

rursus et Apollonius in Hadriatico litore confluere Rhodanum et Padum, faciliorem ueniam facit ignorati sucini tanta ignorantia orbis'. Radt *ad. loc.* cites Eur. *Hipp.* 737-41 and Ap. *Rhod. Arg.* 4.627-34 but notes that 'in neutrum ... verba eius quadrant'. For problems in Pliny's version of Apollonius and Euripides, see also Diggle (1970) 29 (n.2).

⁵⁹ Diggle (1970) 27: 'Of this much we can be tolerably confident—that Aeschylus spoke of poplar-transformations and amber tears beside the Spanish Eridanus. The rest is speculation'.

⁶⁰ Peretti (1994) 280-93 cites Schol. *Hom. Od.* 17. 208 for the claim that Phaethon fell κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πελάγους and the assertion that the story is found παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς. Peretti notes the common attribution of this story to the fourth century BC *Tragodumena* of Asclepiades of Tragilus and argues that the reference cannot be to Euripides and therefore must be to Aeschylus.

⁶¹ Philipp at *RE* 18. 2184 argues that Aeschylus changed his location of the Eridanus when corrected by Pherecydes. Diggle (1970) 29 (n.2) calls this 'preposterous', but Walbank at Polyb. 2. 16.6-15 accepts the thesis.

⁶² Diggle (1970) 29 *cf.* Radt *ad loc.*

⁶³ Apart from the passage quoted, see also Plut. *Mor.* 557 D, where the βαρβάρους μελανοφοροῦντας are discussed as an example of a people foolishly deemed subject to inherited guilt on account of an error represented on the tragic stage. For a similar prophetic future, see Eur. *Phaeth.* fr. inc. sed. 6 Diggle: ψυκτήρια / δένδρη φίλαισιν ὠλέναισι δέξεται.

Eridanus, which bears very beautiful amber, which they say is tears turned to stone, a translucent substance dripping down from poplars. For some indeed state that in the past it was here that Phaethon was struck with thunder, for which reason also all the masses of the local inhabitants wear black and have the garb of mourning.⁶⁴

It is entirely possible that the Aeschylus fragment is part of a catalogue of changes wrought all over the world as Phaethon fell. Peretti argues this point, treating Adria as the most accessible point of the mysterious hinterland North and West of the Upper Adriatic and the women of Adria as generic for all the women of that region.⁶⁵ The sheer vagueness of Greek thinking about the inland area lends credibility to this approach,⁶⁶ but Adria itself is known and clearly localised as early as Hecataeus, and there is no reason why this area should not have generated much more specific myths.⁶⁷ It is more likely, therefore, that Aeschylus identified the Eridanus with the Po and located the final crash in the Upper Adriatic. In both the passages cited, as in a number of others, the myth of the Heliades is inextricably bound up with the amber trade and it is surely through this commercial activity that fifth century Athens made its contact with the Upper Adriatic.⁶⁸ Aeschylus will have heard that the women of the area wear black and will have set this in a mythological framework by connecting it to their lament for Phaethon. The story which Polybius tells is one which he may himself have found in Aeschylus but which he is much more likely to have found attributed to Aeschylus in Theopompus. We have no reason to expect the latter to separate the cultural fact of wearing black from its mythical aetiology in Aeschylus. Ps-Scymnus is avowedly dependent on Theopompus for his description of the geography of the Adriatic.⁶⁹

It may be inferred that Aeschylus knew about the geography and culture of the Upper Adriatic; that he drew that knowledge from the amber trade; and that he provided a mythical explanation for what he knew. The area is therefore less remote from the mental world of the young Sophocles and his contemporaries than might be expected. There is no reason to exclude out of hand the notion that the *Antenoridae* involved a journey from Troy to Thrace and on to the Adriatic.

(6) *Servius, Antenor and the Birds*

The fragment of the *Antenoridae* in Athenaeus describes a bird which acts as a herald and an aid; the summary of Sophocles' different statements concerning the Antenorids in Strabo emphasises a journey from Troy to Thrace and on to the Upper Adriatic and the Veneto. Can a connection be found between these claims? Relevant here may be a version of the foundation of Patavium which, though recorded only in late antiquity, has demonstrable roots in the literature of a much earlier age.

The interpolated note of Servius Auctus at Virgil *Aeneid* 1. 242 offers the following account of the foundation of Padova:

⁶⁴ Another indication of a source in Aeschylus may be presented by the parallel between Polyb. 2. 16.13 μελανειμονας and ps-Scymnus 401 μελανειμονειν. Both adjective and verb are rare, but the Furies at Aesch. *Eum.* 370 are μελανειμοσιν.

⁶⁵ Peretti (1994) 49-51 and 272-5.

⁶⁶ Peretti (1994) 49-50 cites Hdt. 4. 49; Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 129 = Ps.-Scymn. 370-4 cf. Strabo *Geog.* 7. 5.1; Ps-Ar. *Mir. Ausc.* 104; Livy 40. 21.2.

⁶⁷ Hecataeus *FGrHist* I F 90.

⁶⁸ Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 738-41; Diod. Sic. 5. 23.

⁶⁹ ps-Scymnus 370 cites the description of the geography of the upper Adriatic given by Theopompus. For further evidence of Theopompus' interest in the culture and religion of the Veneti, see Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 274 = Antig. *Hist. Mir.* 173 and Aelian *NA* 17. 16. For discussion of this passage in Theopompus, see Prosdociami (1963-64) and Voltan (1985).

ANTENOR POTUIT] capto Ilio Menelaus memor se et Ulixen beneficio Antenoris servatos, cum repetentes Helenam ab eo essent suscepti ac paene a Paride aliisque iuuenibus interempti essent, parem gratiam reddens iniuiolatum dimisit. qui cum uxore Theano et filiis Helicaone et Polydamante ceterisque sociis in Illyricum peruenit, et bello exceptus ab Euganeis et rege Veleso uictor urbem Pataviium condidit; id enim responsi acceperat eo loco condere ciuitatem quo sagittis auem petisset; ideo ex auis petitae auspicio Pataviium nominatum, cui aeternitatem *** Helicaon ne uictor rediret gladio premit.

ANTENOR WAS ABLE: when he had captured Troy, Menelaus, mindful that he and Ulysses had been saved by the kindness of Antenor, when, on coming to ask for Helen to be returned, they had been received by him and almost killed by Paris and the other youths, returned the favour and dismissed him unharmed. With his wife Theano and sons Helicaon and Polydamas and the rest of his allies he reached Illyria, fought a war against the Euganei and their king Velesus and, when he was victorious, built the city of Pataviium. For he had been told by an oracle to build a city where he struck a bird with [an] arrow[s]. Pataviium is thus named after the auspice of the bird which was struck; to which eternity *** lest Helicaon should return victorious, he slew with a sword.

A few verses later, at *Aeneid* 1. 247, Servius himself returns to the same material, presenting a catalogue of etymologies for the name *Pataviium*:

URBEM PATAVI hoc est Pataviium. Pataviium autem dictum uel a Padi uicinitate, quasi Padauium, uel ἀπὸ τοῦ πέτασθαι, quod captato augurio dicitur condita, uel quod auem telo petisse dicitur et eo loco condidisse ciuitatem. alii a palude Patina, quae uicina ciuitati fuisse dicitur, Pataviium dictum putant.

THE CITY OF PATAVIUM this is Pataviium. And Pataviium is so called either from the nearness of the Po, so to speak Padaviium, or from the Greek ‘to fly’, because it is said to have been built after they sought an augury, or because he is said to have struck a bird with an arrow and there to have built the city. Others think that it is called Pataviium after the Patina marsh, which is said to have been near the city.

Finally, it is worth noting that the story of the birds is also present in the mutilated note of the *Scholia Veronensia* at *Aeneid* 1. 247:

---- quas aues Antenor secutus traditur ex responso. sunt qui Pataviium a Patena palude dictum putent, quae prope [urbem fuit. alii eam a P]jado flumine uocatam uolunt, ut littera una sit mutata ex Padauiio. Antenor autem traditur [comites suos Henetos], qui ex gente Paphlagonum secuti erant, amisso duce Poelamene adposito digamma Venetos appellasse, [de quibus etiam] Homerus ait: Παφλαγόνων δ' ἠγεῖτο Πυλαμῆνεος λάσιον κῆρ (*Il.* 2.851)

... which birds Antenor is said to have followed in obedience to an oracle. There are some who think that Pataviium is named after the Patena marsh, which was near the city. Others hold that it was called after the river Po, so that it is just one change of letter away from Padaviium. But Antenor is reported to have added a digamma and called the Veneti his companions the Heneti, who had followed him from the people of the Paphlagonians after the death of their king Poelamenes. Of these people Homer says: ‘And the shaggy breast of Pylaemenes led the Paphlagonians’.

All three of these notes therefore testify to the role performed by birds in the journey of Antenor to Pataviium. The two notes in Servius present the version of the bird struck by an arrow, that in the *Scholia Veronensia* indicates only that Antenor followed some birds. It is not easy to interpret this third version, but the most obvious solution is to connect it with the version in Servius which states that Antenor stopped in Padova after striking one of them.

The accounts presented correspond to a pattern already familiar from other myths of foundation and colonisation:⁷⁰ according to various authors, the Greek founders of Cumae were led there by a dove;⁷¹ the siren Acidalia who built Naples followed a dove of Venus sent by

⁷⁰ For discussion of this motif, see Vian (1963) 76-93; Parke-Wormell (1956) I:310 and n.9; Bömer at *Ov. Met.* 3. 12.

⁷¹ *Vell. Pat.* 1. 4.1.

Apollo;⁷² the oracles of Ammon and Dodona were the creation of two priestesses who each followed a dove from Egyptian Thebes;⁷³ a crested-lark led the people of Colonides from Attica;⁷⁴ a woodpecker led the way to Picenum;⁷⁵ eagles lead Roman forces in Silius and Tacitus.⁷⁶ I will consider other significant examples in due course.⁷⁷ Meanwhile it is important to investigate further the source and antiquity of Servius' story.

(7) *Servius and Largus*

How old is this version of the foundation of the city? In its totality, of course, it is not attested before Servius, but individual elements within the account—extremely significant and unobvious elements at that—are already attested in the second half of the first century AD. It may, for instance, be deduced from three references in Silius Italicus and in Martial that someone had already indicated that Polydamas and Helicaon were the sons of Antenor who accompanied him from Troy. In Book 12 of the *Punica*, Silius, who was of Paduan family or at least had close family connections with the city,⁷⁸ describes a young Paduan hero Pedianus who fights in Polydamantean armour (*Polydamanteis ... in armis*);⁷⁹ Martial, who is well acquainted with the pleasures of villeggiatura on the lagoon at Altinum,⁸⁰ celebrates the Euganean shores of Helicaon (*Euganeas ... Helicaonis oras*) in Book 10 of his Epigrams and, in Book 14, speaks of a woollen cloak from the Helicaonian region (*Helicaonia de regione*).⁸¹ It should therefore be observed that both of these writers make second-level references which presuppose a previous text which has associated the brothers with the region. In his most recent contribution to the study of the legend of Antenor, Braccesi points to the late-Augustan poet Largus and suggests that Servius reproduces the plot of his Paduan epic mentioned by Ovid in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.⁸² Closer examination of the citation in Ovid suggests that there are

⁷² ps-Calp. Sic. *Laus Pis.* 91-2; Stat. *Silv.* 3. 5.79-80 and 4. 8.47-9. For doves leading the way, see also Virg. *Aen.* 6. 190-211.

⁷³ Hdt. 2. 55.

⁷⁴ Paus. 4. 34.7-8.

⁷⁵ Strabo *Geog.* 5. 4.2.

⁷⁶ Sil. *Pun.* 17. 48-58; Tac. *Hist.* 1. 62.3.

⁷⁷ For parallels in Norse and German mythology, see Norden (1927) 173-4.

⁷⁸ Braccesi (1984) 87 quotes the Greek inscription from Caria published in *BEp* (1938) 395: Τιβέριος Κάτιος Ἀσκώνιος Σείλιος Εἰταλικός. Silius is thus connected both to the family of the Catii, whose presence in Padova is thoroughly documented, and to that of the Paduan editor of Cicero's speeches, Q. Asconius Pedianus. Silius' *cognomen* is Asconius' *nomen*, while the *cognomen* of Asconius is the only name given to the Paduan hero Pedianus. However, Braccesi (1984) 89 surely misunderstands Silius when he infers from the figure of Pedianus that there existed local forms of 'epica popolare' celebrating the alleged participation of Paduans in the 2nd Punic War. The Pedianus passage should be compared with those, for instance the appearance of Tullius at Sil. *Pun.* 8. 404-11, where Silius celebrates myth-historical ancestors of literary and historical heroes. The scepticism of Horsfall (1987) 228 is justified.

⁷⁹ Sil. *Pun.* 12. 212.

⁸⁰ See Mart. *Ep.* 4. 25.

⁸¹ Mart. *Ep.* 10. 93.1 and 14. 152.2. These two epithets in Martial are overlooked in Braccesi (1994) 166, who notes the resemblance between the death of one of the brothers implied at Serv. at Virg. *Aen.* 1. 242 and the myth of Romulus and Remus and then argues, on the basis of '*Polydamanteis*' at Sil. *Pun.* 12. 212, that Polydamus must be Romulus to Helicaon's Remus. It should also be noted that, while there is no attested form '*Remuleus*' as an equivalent for '*Romuleus*', Catull. 58.5 '*Remi nepotes*' cf. Prop. 4. 6.80 '*signa Remi*' and Mart. *Ep.* 10. 76.4 '*plebe Remi Numaeque*' demonstrate that the death of Remus does not deny him recognition as the mythical ancestor of his people.

⁸² Ov. *Pont.* 4. 16.17-18, '*ingeniique sui dictus cognomine Largus, / Gallica qui Phrygium duxit in arva senem*'. For discussion, see Braccesi (1994) 164-7. Less acute, at least on '*Polydamanteis*', is Braccesi (1984) 85. For the passage in Silius, see also the intelligent observations of Capozza (1987) 8-9.

indeed considerable affinities between Largus and Servius.

Ovid, *Fasti* 4.77-8 is a characteristic reference not just to Virgil but also to the intervening critical reaction to the *Aeneid*.⁸³ The statement that Aeneas brought his gods to Italy only late on and after Antenor takes all its point from the long tradition which identifies a contradiction between the description of Aeneas at *Aeneid* 1. 1-3 as the man who first came from Troy to the shores of Latium and the lament of Venus at 1. 242-52 that Antenor has reached the Veneto and built Patavium while Aeneas still labours amidst the storm. An important indication that Servius and Ovid are aware of the same tradition concerning the foundation of Patavium, and that that may be represented by Largus, is therefore apparent in their reference to the same rather forced resolution of the contradiction in Virgil. Ovid at *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.16.17-18 describes Largus as 'called by the surname of his own genius, who led the Phrygian elder to the fields of Gaul'.⁸⁴ Ovid's first verse puns generously on the name Largus,⁸⁵ his second verse draws a significant distinction. The full import of the statement that Largus led Antenor to the fields of Gaul emerges only when one considers the following note from Servius at *Aeneid* 1.1:

QUI PRIMUS quaerunt multi, cur Aeneam primum ad Italiam uenisse dixerit, cum paulo post hoc dicat Antenorem ante aduentum Aeneae fundasse ciuitatem. constat quidem, sed habita temporum ratione peritissime Vergilius dixit. namque illo tempore, quo Aeneas ad Italiam uenit, finis erat Italiae usque ad Rubiconem fluuium: cuius rei meminit Lucanus 'et Gallica certus limes ab Ausoniis disternat arua colonis' (l. 215-16). unde apparet Antenorem non ad Italiam uenisse, sed Galliam Cisalpinam, in qua Venetia est. postea uero promotis usque ad Alpes Italiae finibus, nouitas creauit errorem.

WHO FIRST Many ask why he states that Aeneas was the first to come to Italy, when a little later he states that Antenor founded his city before the coming of Aeneas. This certainly cannot be denied, but when one considers questions of chronology it emerges that Virgil spoke with great accuracy. For at the time that Aeneas came to Italy, the boundary of Italy stretched as far as the river of the Rubicon. Lucan recalls this when he says 'and a fixed limit separates the fields of Gaul from the inhabitants of Italy'. Hence it is clear that Antenor did not come to Italy but to Cisalpine Gaul, where the Veneto is. Afterwards, when the borders of Italy had been advanced as far as the Alps, the novelty caused the confusion.

While the *Fasti* supply the first evidence for the criticism of Virgil's inconcinnity, the *Epistulae ex Ponto* do the same for its resolution.⁸⁶ The sedulous Largus engages in some pretty fancy footwork in order to demonstrate that the master's alleged confusions are nothing of the sort. Without a radical reformulation of the chronology, any statement that Antenor came to Italy would have drawn attention to a technical failing in Rome's greatest epic. However, the assertion that the city of Patavium was founded not in Italy but in Gaul defers graciously to the *Aeneid* and provides it with its vindication. To testify to Patavium's Gallic past is, of course, in no way incompatible with the celebration of its Roman present and Roman future, and must indeed be a very happy theme for a loyal citizen of *Tota Italia*.

Ovid and Servius are both aware of the same local mythographic tradition. It is possible that the originator of that tradition is Largus. Even if this is not the case, there is no doubt that he mediates and modifies it in a significant way. It is therefore important to note a further point of contact between the description of Largus' work in Ovid and the foundation myths examined in Servius. The claim that Largus 'led' (*duxit*) Antenor to the fields of Gaul is a clear example

⁸³ Ov. *F.* 4. 77-8: '*serus ab Iliacis et post Antenora flammis / attulit Aeneas in loca nostra deos*'. A similar phenomenon is analysed in Connors (1992). Many thanks to Sergio Casali for drawing this article to my attention and sharing his thoughts on the subject with me.

⁸⁴ Ov. *Pont.* 4. 16.17-18: '*ingeniique sui dictus cognomine Largus, / Gallica qui Phrygium duxit in arua senem*'.

⁸⁵ Cf. Cic. *Marc.* 4; Ov. *Tr.* 3. 14.34; Juv. 10.119.

⁸⁶ For the language of this passage compare Luc. 1. 404: '*finis et Hesperiae, promoti limite, Varus*'.

of that literary figure according to which the poet is said to perform the act which he describes.⁸⁷ The manner in which Lergus did this for Antenor is apparent from the fragmentary note already cited from *Scholia Veronensia* at *Aeneid* 1. 247: --- *quas aues Antenor secutus traditur ex responso*. Lergus led Antenor to the fields of Gaul by describing how a bird did just that. *Dux* and *ducere* are the standard Latin equivalents for the Greek ἡγητής and ἡγεῖσθαι and it is a commonplace for the agency of birds guiding travellers to be described in just these terms.⁸⁸ The regular correspondence in Latin between *ducere* and *sequi* is surely too familiar to need to be underlined.⁸⁹

(8) *Why Polydamas?*

It has already been noted that elements in Servius' story of the foundation of Patavium are already the subject of second-level, allusive reference in the works of Silius Italicus and of Martial. References of this sort to Polydamas and Helicaon at this particular date do not, of course, have the same value for the reconstruction of Lergus as does the direct testimony of Ovid, but they are highly suggestive. Nor is the issue purely chronological. Rather, Silius corroborates one strikingly anomalous claim in Servius, which can only be explained satisfactorily if it is coordinated with the broader story told in Servius and now shown to be present in Lergus: the journey of the Antenorids to Gaul or Patavium under the guidance of a bird or birds.

The anomaly consists in the description of Polydamas as the son of Antenor. The *Iliad* gives Antenor, his wife Theano and their 11 sons a significant role.⁹⁰ Amongst these, of course, is Helicaon but not Polydamas.⁹¹ Instead the father of the latter is Panthus.⁹² Whoever developed the story of the foundation of Padova recorded by Servius has therefore introduced a substitution which may at first sight seem rather arbitrary but which finally emerges as extremely well motivated: Polydamas must be the son of the Antenor who founded Patavium under the direction of a bird because Polydamas himself is the Trojan war hero who in Book 12 of the *Iliad* warns Hector to pay heed to the warnings of augury.⁹³

This must be the fundamental motivation for the substitution. If one presses the evidence only a little further, however, the change in the paternity of Polydamas emerges as markedly less arbitrary than initially it seems. In the *Iliad*, the mantic art is explicitly associated with Phoebus Apollo from the first entry of the Greek Calchas, *Iliad* 1. 69-72:

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,
 ὅς ἤϊδη τά τ' ἔδοντα τά τ' ἔσοόμενα πρό τ' ἔδοντα,
 καὶ νῆεσσ' ἠγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἶσω
 ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τὴν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

⁸⁷ For further examples and discussion, see Van Dam at *Stat. Silv.* 2. 7.57.

⁸⁸ See Call. *Hymn Ap.* 66; Callisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 14a = Strabo *Geog.* 17. 1.43; *FGrHist* 124 F 14b = Plut. *Alex.* 27; Virg. *Aen.* 6.194; Sil. *Pun.* 17.54.

⁸⁹ See, for instance, Virg. *Aen.* 3. 113; Ov. *Her.* 4. 59 and *Tr.* 3. 1.25; Petron. 99.4; Elder Seneca at Quint. *Inst.* 9. 2.42.

⁹⁰ The Homeric figure is not, however, canonical. Schol. T at Hom. *Il.* 24. 496 states that Bacchylides gave Theano, the wife of Antenor, fifty sons.

⁹¹ Cf. Preller-Robert (1926) 1515.

⁹² Spaltenstein at Sil. *Pun.* 12. 212 maintains that Polydamas was the brother of Hector. I would like to think that is a learned reference to *Myth. Vat.* 1. 204.13-16, but it seems more likely that this error should be attributed to the statement at Hom. *Il.* 18. 249-50 that the two Trojans were born on the same night.

⁹³ Hom. *Il.* 12. 217-29 cf. 237-40.

Calchas, son of Thestor, by far the best of augurs, who knew what was and what was destined to be and what had been before, and who led the way to Troy for the ships of the Achaeans through the mantic skill which Phoebus Apollo gave him.

If Homer makes Polydamas, Helenus perhaps apart, the closest Trojan equivalent of Calchas, he does not explicitly associate him with Apollo or show him engaged in divination.⁹⁴ Polydamas characteristically refers only to what a skilled augur would say, were he interpreting the same signs.⁹⁵ In antiquity, however, this was enough to gain him the reputation as a master of the art.⁹⁶ At the same time, moreover, the family circle of Polydamas has long been perceived to be linked by an Apolline connection: of the three sons of Panthus, two, Polydamas and Hyperenor, have names the meaning of which is the same as a common etymology of Apollo;⁹⁷ the third, Euphorbos, cooperates with Apollo and Hector in the slaying of Patroclus,⁹⁸ and gives his mother the suitably mantic name Phrontis.⁹⁹ Outside the *Iliad*, the Apolline associations of this family multiply: Virgil calls Panthus the priest of Phoebus;¹⁰⁰ both Servius and the scholia to *Iliad* 12 record the story that he was a priest of Apollo at Delphi and that he was brought to Troy after the first sacking by Heracles in order to adjudicate as to why the city had fallen and whether it was just to rebuild it on the same site;¹⁰¹ the scholia to *Iliad* 15 state that Apollo saved Polydamas because he was a Trojan and a hero and add that, according to some, Panthus was from Delphi and a priest of the god;¹⁰² an alternative name in the scholia for the wife of Panthus is the equally mantic Pronome.¹⁰³ None of these authorities can be dated to earlier than the Hellenistic period, but it is highly probable that the Delphic origins of Panthus are already described in Pindar's sixth *Paeon*.¹⁰⁴

The suggestion that Polydamas was a son of Antenor therefore brings with it two significant connotations: the association with the practice of augury in Homer and the link with a specific deity, Apollo. Nor in this case are the two connotations just banally inter-dependent. While it is axiomatic that Polydamas the augur should be under the tutelage of Apollo the patron deity

⁹⁴ For the augury of Helenus, see Hom. *Il.* 6.76, where he is described, like Calchas as οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος; Anticlides *FGrHist* 140 F 17 = Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 7. 44.

⁹⁵ Polydamas refers to 'what an augur would say' at Hom. *Il.* 12. 228-9. Modern scholarship tends to consider him merely the prudent alter ego of Hector and to interpret Hom. *Il.* 18. 249-50 as referring only to the wisdom of experience and not the power of prophecy. See, for instance, Schofield (1986) 18-22.

⁹⁶ Ael. *NA* 8. 5.

⁹⁷ See Aly at *RE* 18. 3.779. For etymological play on Apollo 'The Destroyer' see Aesch. *Ag.* 1080-2 with Fraenkel *ad loc.*; Eur. *Phaeth.* 224-6 with Diggle *ad loc.* and Pl. *Crat.* 404D-405E.

⁹⁸ Hom. *Il.* 16. 804-17.

⁹⁹ Hom. *Il.* 17. 40.

¹⁰⁰ Virg. *Aen.* 2. 318-22 *cf.* 2. 429-30.

¹⁰¹ Serv. at Virg. *Aen.* 2. 318 *cf.* Schol. ABT at Hom. *Il.* 12. 211.

¹⁰² Schol. T at Hom. *Il.* 15. 521-2. The motif of a god rescuing the son of his priest is Homeric. See, for instance, Hom. *Il.* 5. 9-10 *cf.* 5. 23-4. Another significant escape for Polydamas comes at Hom. *Il.* 14. 462-4, where Ajax aims at him, misses and hits Archelochus, son of Antenor, instead. Note the comment of the narrator at Hom. *Il.* 14. 464: ... τῶι γάρ ῥα θεοὶ βούλευσαν δλεθρον.

¹⁰³ Schol. AB at Hom. *Il.* 12. 211. Stories concerning Panthus and family also give some prominence to the Antenorids, for both Servius at *Aeneid* 2. 318 and Schol. T at *Iliad* 12. 211-2 state that the man first sent to fetch Panthus from Troy was an unnamed son of Antenor, while Servius adds that the son of Antenor so fell in love with Panthus that he kidnapped him and took him back to Troy where Priam, in order to compensate him for his injury, made him priest of Apollo.

¹⁰⁴ The mutilated papyrus of Pind. *Paeon.* 6. 74 includes the Greek πανθοο in the context of a celebration of Apollo's services to man, including his defence of Troy. Wilamowitz (1922) 132 (n.1) denies that this is a reference to Panthus but offers no reasons for this conclusion. The case for Πάνθοο and a Pindaric origin for the journey of Panthus to Troy is argued magisterially in Radt (1958) 134-8.

of augury, in the myth under discussion he is an augur engaged in another quite separate activity: colonisation. It is crucial therefore that Apollo is also the tutelary deity of colonisation and that cults of Apollon Patroios or Archegetes are well attested in many cities of the Mediterranean.¹⁰⁵

It is therefore my suggestion that the importance of Polydamas is that he is able to interpret the bird sent by Apollo to guide the Antenorids away from Troy after it is sacked. It has already been demonstrated that a bird acting as a herald or a servant does so as the representative of a god.¹⁰⁶ Of all birds, those most closely associated with Apollo are crows, ravens and other corvids,¹⁰⁷ and it is the raven which Hesiod dubs the herald of Apollo.¹⁰⁸ One common mode of service performed by the crow or the raven on behalf of Apollo is that it guides those whom the god favours on a journey to another land or a new home.¹⁰⁹ On other occasions the god himself takes the form of a bird in order to lead the way.¹¹⁰ In a related story, Aristeas is said to have accompanied Apollo in the form of a raven.¹¹¹

The change in the paternity of Polydamas is a tell-tale inconsistency which exposes the concerns and motivation of its author. These may be summarised as the desire to associate with Antenor a figure who is both an augur and a devotee of Apollo. If this pattern has any connection with the *Antenoridae* of Sophocles, then it is a legitimate supposition that the bird of *fr.* 137 is of the family most closely connected with the god, that is a crow or a raven, and that it will fulfil its role as herald and servant by leading the Antenorids away from Troy and to their destination, perhaps in Thrace, perhaps in the Upper Adriatic. The intervention of the bird would most naturally be placed at the conclusion of the drama, offering an end to the lamentation for the sack of the city and the prospect of a new dispensation.¹¹²

(9) *Aeschylus fr. 95 Radt*

Some further confirmation of the hypothesis advanced above is perhaps suggested by the juxtaposition in Athenaeus of this fragment of Sophocles with Aeschylus *fr.* 95 Radt: ὄρνιθα δ' οὐ ποιω̄ σε τῆς ἐμῆς ὁδοῦ. This fragment comes from the *Cabeiroi*, which describes the arrival of the Argonauts on Lemnos. If, as is often suggested, the *Cabeiroi* is a satyr-play, much of the humour may depend on an encounter between the Cabeiroi and two members of the crew of the Argonauts so like them as later to be thought identical with them, the Dioscuri. One point of likeness between them, of course, is that both pairs are held to protect mariners and to lead them to shore. What I therefore see in this fragment is a play on words, which exploits both the conventional language for following an animal on a long journey and the physical characteristics of these gods. Two extremely close linguistic parallels to this fragment may be found in accounts in Pausanias of colonists who followed animals. At 3. 22.12, it is stated that the

¹⁰⁵ See Roscher (1884) 440-1 s.v.: 'Apollon als Gott der Kolonisation'; Wernicke at Pauly *RE* 2. 18; Parke-Wormell (1956) I: 49-81 for consultation of the oracle at Delphi before colonisation.

¹⁰⁶ See above §3.

¹⁰⁷ For Apollo and the crow, see Ov. *Met.* 2. 544-5; Petron. 122. 177-82; Stat. *Theb.* 3. 506; Ael. *NA* 1. 48; Bianor at *Anth. Pal.* 9. 272, and the discussion at Bouché-Leclercq (1879) 133-4.

¹⁰⁸ Hesiod *fr.* 60 Merkelbach-West = Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 52.

¹⁰⁹ Diod. 17. 49.5; Arr. *Anab.* 3. 3.6; Curt. 4. 7.15; Callisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 14a = Strabo *Geog.* 17. 1.43; Callisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 14b = Plut. *Alex.* 27; Plut. *Mor.* 412 C.

¹¹⁰ See Call. *Hymn. Ap.* 65-8 with Williams *ad loc.* At Hom. *Hymn. Ap.* 399-439, Apollo takes the form of a dolphin in order to lead the Cretans to Delphi.

¹¹¹ Hdt. 4. 15.2.

¹¹² For birds leading travellers to a new home on the Athenian stage cf. Ar. *Av.* 1-11.

founders of Boeae made a hare the leader of their journey;¹¹³ at 8.8.4 that the new site of Mantinea was suggested by a snake and that Antioe took this beast as her guide.¹¹⁴ Similar phrases are also recurrent in the context of the cow which led Cadmus to Thebes.¹¹⁵ In Greek writing in general, ὄδον ἡγεῖσθαι and similar terms are regularly used for humans showing each other the way.¹¹⁶ The paradox in the stories about Boeae, Matinea and Thebes is that the guide is an animal and not a human. In the *Cabeiroi*, the joke is reversed: the speaker plays on the familiarity of the sort of substitution apparent in Pausanias and directs his humour at one of the Dioscuri who, of course, are described at *Homeric Hymns* 33. 13 as springing through the air on tawny wings (ξουθήισι πτερύγεσσι δι' αἰθέρος ἀΐξαντες).¹¹⁷ It might be noted that later literature will describe as 'dux' the dove which leads the heroes of the *Cabeiroi*, the Argonauts, through the Symplegades.¹¹⁸

(10) *Accius and Sophocles*

There is a considerable distance between Sophocles and Servius. The evidence that the story recorded by Servius is at least as old as Largus is overwhelming, but this still leaves considerable difficulty. It is evident that Sophocles, however interested he may have been in the peoples of the Upper Adriatic, was not the slightest bit concerned to provide a Latin etymology for the name Patavium. How is the gap to be bridged? And what does this pattern imply?

The more the evidence suggests that the story presented by Servius is a prose hypothesis of the work of Largus, the more compelling becomes the theory that we are confronted with a Paduan micro-*Aeneid* written in the years after Virgil and consciously reproducing the tropes and themes of Virgil's foundation myth. It is obvious that exile, the company of a son or sons, and struggles against native tribes are central to the *Aeneid*, but the same may also be said for the pursuit of birds or the striking of a bird with an arrow. For the latter, one need think only of the doves which escort Aeneas to the golden bough in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*,¹¹⁹ or the omen of the arrow of Acestes in Book 5.¹²⁰ Both Perret and Braccesi have interpreted the Servian accounts in these terms.¹²¹ The implications are significant.

¹¹³ Paus. 3. 22.12: τὸν λαγῶν ἐποιήσαντο ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὁδοῦ.

¹¹⁴ Paus. 8.8.4: ὄφιν ... ἡγεμόνα ποιησαμένη τῆς ὁδοῦ; cf. Paus. 4. 34.8 where Colaenus follows the crested-lark (κόρυδον τὴν ὄρνιθα ἐκ μαντεύματος ἐξ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγησασθαι) and 9.12.1-2 where the cow leading Cadmus to Thebes is ἡγεμὼν τῆς πορείας. See also Strabo *Geog.* 5. 4.2 (δρυκολάπτου τὴν ὄδον ἡγησαμένου) for the woodpecker that led the settlers to Picenum, and Callisthenes *FGrHisto* 124 F 14a = Strabo *Geog.* 17. 1.43 (κοράκων ἡγησαμένων τὴν ὄδον) and *FGrHist* 124 F 14b = Plut. *Alex.* 27 (κόρακες ἐκφανέντες ὑπελάμβανον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς πορείας) for the ravens that led Alexander to Ammon.

¹¹⁵ Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 51 = Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2. 494 καθοδηγῶι βοῦ; Mnaseas of Patera *FHG* III: 157 F 47:7 = Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638 τὴνδε συ ἡγεμόνα σχεῖ περιτρέπτοιο κελεύθου; Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3. 1181-2; Nonn. *Dion.* 4. 296-7; Ov. *Met.* 3. 12.

¹¹⁶ Hom. *Od.* 6. 261 and 10. 263; Hdt. 9. 15.

¹¹⁷ The assertion that the Dioscuri have wings may be thought unusual. It is certainly more normal to represent them as travelling through the air on a golden chariot (Eur. *Hel.* 1495-6 cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 10) or on horses called either Phlogeus and Harpagos (Stesich. *PMG* 178) or Xanthus and Cyllarus (Suid. s.v. Κύλλαρος; Virg. *G.* 3. 89-90; Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 1. 426; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 327-9; *Etym. Magn.* p. 544, 54). The contradiction is not, however, so serious. For, as Kannicht at Eur. *Hel.* 1495-6 underlines, Hom. *Hymn* 33. 18 goes on to describe the Dioscuri as ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων. Moreover, it is evident from vases such as that quoted at *LIMC* s.v. Dioskouroi 203 that the capes of the Dioscuri while riding their chariots could come to resemble wings.

¹¹⁸ Prop. 2. 26.38-9.

¹¹⁹ Virg. *Aen.* 6. 190-211.

¹²⁰ Virg. *Aen.* 5. 519-40.

¹²¹ Perret (1942) 180-1 cf. Braccesi (1994) 164-7.

Is culture always generated by the centre for the periphery eagerly to emulate? Or does the centre appropriate and refashion the traditions thrown up from outside? It strikes me as an absurd over-simplification of the local heritage of Italy to regard it as something which could just be invented by the Augustan regime as a succession of miniature reproductions of the myths of Rome: Aeneas and Turnus, Romulus and Remus. In this case, the problem is twofold. First, the motif in myths of colonisation of the hero who follows a bird or some other animal is antique, widespread and paralleled elsewhere much more effectively than in the cases cited from Virgil.¹²² Second, however little we know of the accounts of Antenor, the Antenorids, the Veneti and the foundation of Patavium in Cato,¹²³ Sisenna,¹²⁴ or Lutatius,¹²⁵ it is evident simply from the phrasing of Livy 1.1 that there was an established and familiar account long before Virgil and Lergus ever wrote.¹²⁶

Apart from history, it is essential also to consider the contribution of tragedy. For the *Antenoridae* of Accius surely represents the crucial juncture where the Sophoclean handling of the myth will have been naturalised in Roman culture. The only satisfactory assessment of the five extant fragments of this drama remains that of Ribbeck.¹²⁷ According to this admirably circumspect hypothesis, it is possible that the drama included the following elements: an arrival in the morning, maybe on the day before the sack of the city;¹²⁸ the promise to fight for Troy, perhaps of the new arrival, who may be Pylaemenes, and his subsequent demise;¹²⁹ a council of elders in which Antenor and his sons make one final call for the return of Helen now that Paris is dead and the split decision is referred to the people;¹³⁰ the sack of Troy and the flight of the Antenorids and the Eneti.¹³¹

Ribbeck's reconstruction is open to objections. In particular, it involves a quite violent diversion from Homer, who has Pylaemenes slain by Menelaus in Book 5 of the *Iliad*.¹³² Homer, of course, is not above resurrecting Pylaemenes in Book 13, but even so this would not

¹²² To take just the case of Acestes, one might note first that no bird is actually struck; second, that the description of the omen of the flaming arrow at Virg. *Aen.* 5. 522-4 confesses its own debt to an anterior author or tradition: '*hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum / augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens / seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina uates*'. Virgil borrows as much as he prescribes.

¹²³ Cato *Orig.* fr. 42 Peter.

¹²⁴ Sisenna *fr.* 1 Peter.

¹²⁵ Lutatius ap. *OGR* 9. 2.

¹²⁶ Livy 1.1 opens the account of the fortunes of Aeneas and Antenor: '*iam primum omnium satis constat ...*' Ogilvie *ad loc.* infers from this that Livy has consulted more than one authority and that all agree. Even allowing for a considerable degree of Paduan *campanilismo*, Livy's phrasing implies that his contemporaries were familiar with the Antenor legend.

¹²⁷ Ribbeck (1875) 406-10.

¹²⁸ Accius *Antenoridae* fr. 3 ought to represent the arrival of a stranger: '*sed quis hic est, qui matutinum cursum huc celeranter rapit?*'

¹²⁹ Accius *Antenoridae* fr. 4 is the promise of the newcomer to fight for Troy: '*namque huc em uenio, ut mea ope opes Troiae integrem*'. Accius *Antenoridae* fr. 5 presumably stems from the same speech: '*qui aut illorum copias / fundam in campo aut nauis uram aut castra mactabo in mare*'. Ribbeck (1875) 409-10 argues that the boastful promises of the leader of the Eneti presupposes a final fight in which he is killed.

¹³⁰ Accius *Antenoridae* fr. 1: '*ad populum intellego / referendum, quoniam horum aequiter sententiae / fuere*' indicates the split decision and the reference to the people; Accius *Antenoridae* fr. 2 is the sort of remark which might be made in the agon: '*fortasse an sit quod uos hic non mertet metus*'. For criticism of this interpretation and the suggestion that what is at issue is a Greek council held to decide the fate of the Antenorids after the sack of the city, see Pearson (1917) 88 and (n.1).

¹³¹ Ribbeck (1875) 409-10 argues that the death of the leader of the Eneti leaves them nothing better than to seek the protection of Antenor.

¹³² Hom. *Il.* 5. 576-9.

make him a newcomer at a time close to the sack of the city.¹³³ Later editors avoid the inconsistency with *Iliad* 5 by arguing that the plot centres on the events described by Bacchylides and identifying the stranger arriving in the morning as Ulysses or Menelaus. Yet this in turn is unsatisfactory.¹³⁴ For when the arrival of a stranger is signalled by the text, it is axiomatic that one should attribute to that same stranger the ‘*huc em uenio*’ and the promise to fight for Troy of *Antenoridae* fr. 4. These are not the words of a Greek embassy. They could, however, be those of a Sinon, the Greek deceiver of *Aeneid* 2.¹³⁵ What is essential is that the drama is not made to straddle events such as the embassy and the sack of the city which are separated in any conventional construction by a very substantial temporal gulf. If it is concluded that the central event is the sack of the city and the flight of the Antenorids, then it is essential to suggest a newcomer whose arrival is as close as possible to Troy’s fall. The boastful promises of *Antenoridae* fr. 4 and 5 could well be those of one attempting to win the confidence of the city he means to betray.

All identifications of this sort can only be speculative and the tone adopted by Ribbeck is consistently cautious. On one point, however, he speaks with real conviction: for a Roman and Italian audience the flight from Troy and to Italy of the fleets of Aeneas and Antenor was of the utmost significance.¹³⁶ Accius’ interest in the Trojan origins of Rome is apparent already in the two alternative titles for his historical tragedy on the battle of Sentinum: *Decius* or *Aeneadae*. A similar concern in the *Antenoridae* might be inferred from the claim of Servius that the people of Patavium took this name from their mythical founder.¹³⁷ Accius himself was a native of Pesaro on the Adriatic coast and presumably well informed about the traditions of the region.¹³⁸ It is not hard to imagine how he might take the concluding scenes of the Sophoclean drama—the epiphany of the bird of Apollo, its interpretation by Polydamas—and, with a pleasant *figura etymologica*, identify Patavium as the place to which this *avis* is fated finally to direct them. Sophocles provides the bird and the journey, Accius the destination.

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¹³³ See Hom. *Il.* 13. 643-59 with Janko *ad loc.*

¹³⁴ D’Antò (1980) 242-3 *cf.* Dangel (1995) 315.

¹³⁵ For Sinon in the Greek tradition, see Proclus *Iliupersidos Enarratio* 14-15 Davies; *Ilias Parva* F 11c Davies = Tzetz. at Lycophr. *Alex.* 344; Soph. *fr.* 542-3 Radt.

¹³⁶ Ribbeck (1875) 410: ‘Für das römische und italische Publikum war der Auszug der beiden Schaaren [i.e. Aeneas and Antenor], die im Osten und Westen der heimischen Halbinsel Ansiedlungen gründen sollten, auf denen die Zukunft der eigenen Nation beruhte, von höchster Bedeutung’.

¹³⁷ Serv. at Virg. *Aen.* 1. 248.

¹³⁸ Hieron. *Ol.* 160. 2 = 140-39 BC states that Accius was born in the consulship of Mancinus and Serranus in 170 BC but then states that the ‘*fundus Accianus*’ in Pisaurum is so called because Accius left Rome to join the colony. Since the colony was founded by Q. Fulvius Nobilior in 184 BC, this is impossible, though it is quite possible that the father of Accius was amongst the colonists. This hypothesis strikes me as much more likely than the alternative that Accius himself joined a later adscription of colonists. For further evidence linking the Accii with Pisaurum, see Plin. *HN* 7.128 and Marx at Pauly *RE* 1. 1.142. For discussion of this issue, see Ribbeck (1875) 340; Rostagni (1944) 50; D’Antò (1980) 15-17. Dangel (1995) 10 (n.2) is not reliable.

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