

CORYTHUS: THE RETURN OF AENEAS IN VIRGIL AND HIS SOURCES

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I. LEGEND AND GEOGRAPHY

The Italian town of Corythus, which Virgil makes the home of Dardanus and the cradle of the Trojan people (*Aen.* iii, 170; vii, 209; ix, 10), has long been identified with Cortona, between Arezzo and Chiusi.¹ It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that this identification is false; in reviving an alternative suggestion, which has not been current since the Renaissance, I hope to show too that the vexed question of whether or not the story is a Virgilian innovation admits of a decisive answer. The *Aeneid* itself provides our earliest evidence; it is remarkable that Virgil's own topographical indications, oblique, but not obscure, should have been so completely ignored by earlier writers on the topic.

From his ancestral throne, King Latinus addresses the Trojan embassy (vii, 195 f.): 'dicite Dardanidae (neque enim nescimus et urbem et genus, auditique advertitis aequore cursum).'² He speaks of Dardanus, ancestor of Aeneas, as 'his ortus ut agris' (206): the old story relates that, 'Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectus' (209), Dardanus made for Samothrace, and then Troy (207 f.). The location of Latinus' city is indeed left uncertain,³ but we are clearly to envisage it as standing somewhere between the Tiber mouth and Ardea. That is about 120 miles from Cortona—enough to impose a great strain on *his* (206). It would be far more satisfactory if we could discover a Tyrrhenian location for Corythus that was easily reconcilable with 'his . . . agris'. The *fama* which Latinus relates is *obscurior* on account of *anni* (205) and not because the story has percolated with difficulty through the length of Etruria.⁴

At *Aen.* viii, 36 ff., the river-god Tiberinus addresses Aeneas: 'o sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem qui revehis nobis aeternaque pergama servas' (viii, 36 f.). At the moment of speaking Tiberinus is somewhere between Ostia and Rome; he speaks with divine knowledge, but in the character of a local deity,⁵ so though Corythus is in Etruria, it must be near enough to the Tiber mouth for Aeneas' arrival there to be felt as a proper return (*re-vehis*): this language of return is strongly marked in Virgil's account of Dardanus—*repetit* (vii, 241), *reduces* (iii, 96), *reverti* (iii, 101).

The Etruscan associations of Aeneas' arrival are still clearer in Ilioneus' address to Latinus:

sed nos fata deum vestras exquirere terras
imperis egere suis; hinc Dardanus ortus,
huc repetit, iussisque ingentibus arguet Apollo
Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim et fontis vada sacra Numici (vii, 239-42).

Vestras must refer to the *terrae* of Latinus and his people, some of whom may be present at the interview. *Hinc*, therefore, just like the *his* of vii, 206, points away from the Apennines, and down towards the borders of Latium and Etruria. Ilioneus tells his

¹ cf. P. Cluverius, *Italia Antiqua* i (Leyden, 1624), 590 ff.

² There is some inconsistency between these words and vii, 167 f., 'nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat advenisse viros'; cf. V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (*Gymn. Beiheft* iii, 1963), 160, n. 41.

³ cf. B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis* (*Phil. Supplbd.* xxiv, 2, 1932), 52 ff.

⁴ It is not significant that Evander omits to hail the return of the native; he is himself an Arcadian and a wanderer, so a mention of Aeneas' Italian ancestry would hardly be appropriate in his mouth. In place of

the *Aurunci* . . . *senes* (vii, 206), the authority quoted for Aeneas' strictly orthodox genealogy is *ut Grai perhibent* (viii, 135); cf. G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus* (*Beitr. z. klass. Phil.* xxxviii, 1971), p. 58.

⁵ Though the Tiber was familiar as 'the Etruscan river' (cf. n. 8 below; its Etruscan name was *Thebris*—Varr., *L.L.* v, 29), the river-god is here given an unmistakably local appearance: Tiberinus was his name in cult at Rome (*Liv.* ii, 10, 11; *Serv. ad Aen.* viii, 72; cf. A. Momigliano, *Terzo Contributo* 615 f., 632 f.; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*² 566 ff.).

audience that Dardanus calls back⁶ the Trojans to the land of Numicus and Tiber—'Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim'. The epithet is important, for it deftly reconciles three discrepant elements in the story: Corythus associates the Trojans with Etruria; their traditional landing-place is on the coast, south-east of the Tiber-mouth, towards the Numicus, while the Tiber-mouth itself is where Virgil's Trojans land, through a bold innovation, historically and symbolically most attractive.⁷ The epithet *Tyrrhenus* is conventional,⁸ but in Ilioneus' speech, alongside the reference to Corythus, it carries the suggestion that, in returning to the Etruscan river, Aeneas returns to the homeland of his race.

We must now turn to Aeneas' movements in *Aen.* viii-x.

Evander tells Aeneas of an old Etruscan settlement, Agylla (= Caere), 'haud procul hinc' (viii, 478); its citizens are now in revolt, and their tyrant Mezentius has fled. All Etruria is crying out for a leader: 'his ego te', promises Evander, 'ductorem milibus addam' (viii, 496); 'toto namque fremunt condensae litore puppes signaque ferre iubent' (viii, 497-8). The leader of this sea-borne host is Tarchon, eponym of Tarquinii (see below, p. 71), twenty-five miles up the coast beyond Caere. Evander gives the Trojans horses, 'Tyrrhena petentibus arva' (viii, 551), and 'fama volat parvam subito volgata per urbem, ocius ire equites Tyrrhena ad litora regis' (viii, 554 f.). In the evening (viii, 606 f.), Aeneas reaches a mighty wood by the chill stream of Caere (viii, 597), and 'haud procul hinc' (viii, 603), Tarchon and the Tyrrhenians are waiting for him. Aeneas rapidly reaches an agreement with Tarchon and leads the Etruscans back by sea to the Tiber-mouth (x, 146 ff.).

This picture presents no problems or inconsistencies whatsoever. It is also crucial for the identification of Corythus: at ix, 6 ff. Iris tells Turnus that Aeneas has left *urbs*, *socii*, and *classis*, and gone to the Palatine settlement of Evander.

nec satis: extremas Corythi penetravit ad urbes
Lydorumque manum collectos armat agrestis (ix, 10-11).

Heyne's interpretation of *extremas*⁹ *Corythi* . . . *urbes* reigns undisputed: 'designat Etruriam ab Corytho conditore Cortonae'. The notion that Corythus here is a man, not a place, is unsound (n. 12), and does not even fit the sequence of events: Aeneas has gone to Caere, and it would be of little help to Turnus to be told that he is somewhere in Etruria—between Veii and Mantua. The phrase demands an explanation which puts Aeneas where he really is. Moreover, one might question whether, in the heroic geography of Italy, Corythus could stand for all Etruria.¹⁰ Corythus is important in the *Vorgeschichte* of the Aeneid, not in the action;¹¹ the name is rare and learned, ill-suited to standing for all Etruria, as Thebes might for Boeotia, or Sparta for the

⁶ Dardanus must be the subject of *repetit; hinc* and *huc* cannot be separated by a strong mark of punctuation. Serv.'s suggestion that Dardanus is here used for Aeneas is not persuasive; cf. Heyne-Wagner's note here.

⁷ Aeneas' landing and the annalistic tradition: cf. Fabius Maximus *fr.* 1 P; Liv. i, 1, 4; D. Hal. i, 53, 3; Buchheit (n. 2) 179; H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Allard-Pierson Stichting, Arch.-Hist. Bijdr.), 53 ff. Tiber and Virgil: Buchheit, 173 ff.

⁸ R. G. M. Nisbet and M. E. Hubbard on Hor., *Od.* i, 20, 4; 26, 1; Lyc., *Alex.* 805; R. Ritter, *De Timaei topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes* ii, 27 ff.

⁹ *Extremas* must mean not 'quae plurimum Corytho urbe distant' but 'quae plurimum luco Pilumni distant' (cf. ix, 3 f.); the former interpretation is both linguistically awkward, and, on any identification of Cortona, geographically intolerable.

¹⁰ Rut. Nam. i, 60 'per Corythi populos' is not worth much for the interpretation of Virgil. References to the importance of Cortona (Steph. Byz., s.v. Κρότων as a Τυρρηνίας μητρόπολις, cf. D. Hal. i,

20; Liv. ix, 37, 12—Cortona, Perugia, and Arretium as the *capita Etruriae* in 310 B.C.) are not, on my argument, relevant to the discussion of Corythus.

¹¹ x, 719 f. 'venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acro Graius homo' is a lone exception. Acron fits easily in with an identification of Corythus with the Pelasgian city of Cortona, home of Odysseus (D. Hal. i, 20, 4; 26, 1; Lyc., *Alex.* 805; R. Ritter, *De Timaei fabulis per Varronem Vergilio traditis* (Diss. Halle 1901), 16 ff.; H. H. Scullard, *The Etruscan Cities and Rome* 156 ff.). But the name points elsewhere: Acron is familiar as the king of the Caeninenses killed by Romulus (Liv. i, 9, 8, etc.); so like Arruns and Herminius he is a name borrowed by Virgil from Roman legend (cf. C. Saunders, *TAPA* lxxi (1940), 544). Propertius (iv, 10, 9) calls Acron *Herculeus*, so clearly the king of the Caeninenses had some Greek associations, and I would suggest that Virgil's Acron draws his Greekness from his name, rather than from his place of origin. cf. H. Hill *JRS* li (1961), 90 f. for the abundance of Greeks in Virgil's Italy.

Peloponnesse. Corythus and Caere must belong to the same area; only then will *extremae Corythi . . . urbes* be correctly understood.¹²

The modern town of Tarquinia acquired its name in 1922; prior to that it was called Corneto.¹³ The earliest evidence for this name is perhaps the reference to an 'episcopus Cornensis' in the synod of A.D. 504; there is no doubt about the existence of name and settlement by the eighth century, when the Saracens had destroyed the ancient city of Tarquinii, whose acropolis stands about a mile to the north-east of the modern settlement.¹⁴ There is a hint in Silius Italicus that Tarquinii and Corythus were associated in antiquity (cf. p. 71). The first explicit attempt to connect Corythus and Corneto¹⁵ does not occur until the *Collectiones* of Paul of Perugia (d. A.D. 1348), excerpted by Boccaccio for his *Genealogia deorum*.¹⁶ It is also mentioned in a poem (post 1454) addressed by one L. Vitellius to Filelfo:

is Coritus mons est, veteris primordia Troiae
Cornetum quo nunc urbs opulenta sedet.¹⁷

The identification of Corythus with Tarquinii is in full agreement with the geographical indications given in the *Aeneid*; the connection of the Dardanidae with Tarquinii will also be seen to harmonize with the other legends of that city and with the associations of the name Corythus.

The one substantial obstacle to the identification proposed lies in the evidence of Silius Italicus. It has long been recognized¹⁸ that Silius provides the only real support for the popular identification of Corythus with Cortona:¹⁹

Describing Flaminius' advance into Etruria before the battle of Trasimene, Silius writes (iv, 718 ff.):

ergo agitur raptis praeceps exercitus armis
Lydorum in populos sedemque ab origine prisci
sacratam Corythi iunctosque a sanguine avorum
Maeonios Italis permixta stirpe colonos.

Cortona looks down over Trasimene, and there can be no doubt about the identification of Corythus here. But it is curious that Silius does not refer at all to the Trojan associations of Corythus: to a poet of his generation the conceit of Rome's distant ancestors looking down upon her defeat was potentially most attractive. Moreover, he describes Corythus as jointly settled by Italians and Etruscans of Lydian origin; this information is irreconcilable with the rest of our information on the prehistory of Cortona.²⁰

¹²In view of the frequency of the appositional genitive (*urbs Romae*) in the *Aeneid* (cf. i, 247 with Austin's note; iii, 293 with Williams' note), I rather doubt whether the genitives *Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede* (vii, 209), *extremae Corythi . . . urbes* (ix, 11), and *antiquis Corythi de finibus* (x, 719) would naturally refer to an ancient king rather than to a place. This interpretation is reinforced by the difficulty involved in making *Corythum* at iii, 170 refer to a person, not a place; to interpret C. as a place in iii and as a person in vii, ix, and x is to introduce needless complications. It is easy to take the plur. *urbes* as referring to a single town (cf. vii, 207 f. and 364 of Troy and the use of *arces* at iii, 553 *et saep.*), and a single town is clearly envisaged at vii, 209, Sil. iv, 719 f. and v, 123. Even if there had been an ancient king Corythus, his city would probably have borne his name (cf. vii, 1 ff.; 670; xi, 246)! ix, 11 should not be pressed for any precise information on the relations between Corythus and Caere; cf. p. 76 ff.

¹³A royal decree of 10 Sept., 1872, imposed the hybrid appellation *Corneto Tarquinia*.

¹⁴G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* i², 303 f.; L. Dasti, *Notizie storiche archeologiche di Tarquinia e Corneto* (1878), 73 ff.; Scullard (n. 11),

86 f.

¹⁵Etymologically, Corneto is usually connected with 'cornel-tree' (Dasti, l.c.); whether there is much significance in the similarity between Corythus and Corneto is very doubtful; cf. n. 19.

¹⁶i, 290, 28 ff. Romano; cf. C. G. Hardie, *JRS* liv (1964), 250; A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere Latine di Boccaccio* (Trieste 1879), 494 ff.

¹⁷L. Uhrlichs, *Bull. Inst.* xi (1839), 68. Few scholars have considered the Tarquinia identification seriously: L. Holstenius ap. Dasti (n. 14), 75; W. Christ, *S. bay. Ak., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1905, 42; Hardie, l.c. (n. 16).

¹⁸At least since Dausqueius' ed. of Sil. It., Paris 1615; cf. Dennis (n. 14) ii, p. 396, n. 1.

¹⁹cf. A. Rosenberg, *Rh.M.* lxi (1914), 622, who says that the identification is 'nur wegen des äusseren Anklanges von Korythus an Cortona'. Even though we might also compare other names of Cortona, notably D. Hal. i, 26 Κορθωνία, the common element of *Cor + t/th* is hardly adequate evidence to demonstrate identity.

²⁰D. H. i, 20, 26; inhabited by Umbrians, Pelasgi, Romans. See too Scullard (n. 11) 157 f.

Secondly, Flaminius himself exclaims, shortly before the actual battle (v, 122 ff.):

Poenus nunc occupet altos
Arreti muros, Corythi nunc diruat arcem?
Hinc Clusina petat? postremo ad moenia Romae
Illaesus contendat iter?

The line of advance is unmistakable: Arezzo—Cortona—Chiusi—Rome.

On the other hand, in Silius' Catalogue of the Italian forces, we read (viii, 472 ff.):

Lectos Caere viros, lectos Cortona superbi
Tarchonis domus, et veteres misere Graviscae.
Necnon Argolico dilectum litus Halaeso
Alsium et obsessae campo squalente Fregenae.

The order in which these places is named is irregular,²¹ but they all belong firmly to the coast of the Maremma. Cortona is named as the home of proud Tarchon: accounts both of the legendary hero Tarchon,²² and of the royal Tarquins²³ demonstrate clearly that Tarquinii can be the only place meant. The place called Cortona by Romans and Italians has no known association with Tarchon, and would anyway belong with Faesulae and Clusium in a second inland division of Silius' Etruscan contingent (viii, 476 ff.).

What are we to make of a writer who calls Cortona 'Corythus' and Corneto 'Cortona'? Silius' various references to Cortona and to Corythus differ very greatly in their status as evidence: in his Italian Catalogue, it has been recognized that he is following carefully a prose topographical source, the same as Virgil's in *Aeneid* vii and x.²⁴ On the other hand, the passages in *Punica* iv and v are casual references; one of them we have seen to be rather confused.

Ancient Virgilian scholarship makes no serious attempt to identify Corythus: to call it simply *mons*, *oppidum*, or *civitas Tusciae*²⁵ is a disclosure of complete ignorance; that Corythus is in Etruria can, of course, be deduced from the poem. It is therefore quite possible that Silius' precise identification of Corythus represents his own solution to an intractable problem of Virgilian topography. The fame, antiquity and associations of Cortona, in addition, perhaps, to a certain similarity in sound (cf. n. 19), would clearly make this identification superficially attractive to many. This explanation does at least suggest how Silius' Cortona²⁶ may have come into existence: if Silius can say of Cortona that it is Corythus, then, confronted by a reference to Corythus, he may well substitute Cortona. Whether the process is one of subconscious association or wilful erudition we cannot say. But if Silius' source for his Italian Catalogue—or indeed some other topographical text that he remembered—contained some slight allusion to Tarquinii as Corythus, then may he not have simply written Cortona in place of Corythus? The identity of the place meant (Tarquinii) is preserved only by the mention of Tarchon! I do not believe that these passages from Silius are sufficient basis for an identification of Corythus with Cortona, in opposition to the internal evidence of the *Aeneid* itself.

One more topographical problem remains to be considered: the foundation of the town of Cora (mod. Cori, SE. of Velletri) is attributed to Dardanus, though Coras is

²¹ From NW. to SE. the geographical sequence is: Cortona (?), Graviscae (? = Porto Clementino), Caere (= Cerveteri), Alsium (= Palo), Fregenae (= Fregene).

²² Strab. v, p. 219, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταρκυνία, Ταρχώνιον, p. 76 ff. *infra*.

²³ Liv. i, 34, etc.; R. M. Ogilvie *A Commentary on Livy i-v*, 1965, 141; p. 14 f. *infra*.

²⁴ Rehm (n. 3), 97 ff. The identity of this source is once again a matter for dispute. Rehm (104) settled for Varro *res hum.* xi; Reeker (*Die Landschaft in der Aeneis, Spudasmata* xxvii, 1971, 121 ff.) rejects Rehm's conclusions only in respect of the coastal parts

of Virgil's Catalogues, where he argues for a use of Varro's *de ora maritima*. But Sallmann's meticulous discussion (*Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro*, Berlin 1971, 224 f., 267, etc.) suggests strongly that the *de ora maritima* did not contain suitable material for Virgil and Silius.

²⁵ Serv., *ad Aen.* i, 380; iii, 104; vii, 209; ix, 10; cf. Serv. and Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* iii, 170.

²⁶ Which *TLL Onom.* 655, 52 and most modern writers identify with Cortona-by-Trasimene without a qualm.

clearly a more plausible founder.²⁷ Coras, however, is connected by Virgil and 'Sextius' with the foundation of Tibur.²⁸ Dardanus' association with Cora is probably suggested by the story of Dardanus and Corythus, on account of the similarity in sound. Cora was traditionally an Alban colony,²⁹ and the acquisition of so splendid a founder is best explained in terms of casual erudition. We can no longer say with confidence that the reference to Dardanus in Pliny derives from Varro,³⁰ but it does perhaps suggest some diffusion among antiquarians of the connection between Dardanus and Corythus. It is less easy to understand why Virgil should have associated Coras and Tibur.³¹ Finally, the Δάρδανος πόλις of Lyc., *Alex.* 1129 is Daunian, and owes its name to the tribe of Dardi (Plin., *HN* iii, 104); it has no relevance to this discussion.³²

We must now consider whether an identification of Corythus with Tarquinii is explicable in terms of the mythological associations of both names.

The name Corythus belongs to seven distinct characters in Roscher's mythological lexicon. Of these, the offspring of Paris and Oenone has no relevance that I can discover to the story under discussion. Of the others, only one has an old-established and secure place in Greek legend:

The infant Telephus, offspring of Heracles and Auge, was ordered to be exposed by Auge's father, Aleus, τὸ δ' ἀπολειφθὲν ἐν τῷ Παρθενίῳ βρέφος ὑπὸ τῆς Αὔγης βουκόλοι τινὲς Κορύθου τοῦ βασιλεῶς εὐρόντες ὑπὸ τινος ἐλάφου τῷ μαστῷ τρεφόμενον ἐδωρήσαντο τῷ δεσπότη. ὁ δὲ Κόρυθος παραλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἀσμένως ὡς ἴδιον υἱὸν ἔτρεφε.³³ This version of the story is most probably that found in Sophocles' *Aleadae*, whereas in Euripides' *Telephus* Auge and Telephus are placed in a chest by Aleus, and are then thrown into the sea.³⁴ Despite the variety in accounts of Telephus' infancy and adventures, it is clear that the suckling hind and the rearing by Corythus are both part of the same version (cf. Binder, l.c.), though we should perhaps not go so far as to say that where we find the suckling hind, there too must the name of Corythus have been known (cf. p. 73).

The account cited of Telephus' exposure is very firmly localized:³⁵ Corytheis is one of the demes of the Tegeates (Paus. viii, 45, 1) and Corythus is clearly to be thought of as its eponym. The deme is situated at the south-eastern end of Mt. Parthenius, sacred to Auge (Callim., *H.* v, 70 f.), where a precinct of Telephus was shown in antiquity (Paus. viii, 54, 6). To the west stands Tegea, with which Telephus was closely associated: in the temple of Athena Alea there was a picture of Auge, and on the west pediment, the fight between Telephus and Achilles;³⁶ to the north, there was a fountain where Heracles was said to have raped Auge (Paus. viii, 47, 3 f.). Perhaps most important for us is the fact that the hind suckling Telephus was depicted on the coins of Tegea.³⁷

If we start to pursue links between Tegea and Central Italy to provide a suitable context for the adoption of Corythus, they are not hard to come by.³⁸ For example, Dardanus, ancestor of the Trojans, is described as an Arcadian as early as Hellanicus;³⁹ Evander is associated both with Tegea (Ov., *F.* i, 545), and with Pheneus, in western

²⁷ Plin., *HN* iii, 63; Sol. ii, 7; Mart. Cap. vi, 642; Coras-Serv., *ad Aen.* vii, 672.

²⁸ *Aen.* vii, 672, 'Sextius' ap. Sol. ii, 7; identified with Sueius by R. Ritter, *Diss. Hal.* xiv. (1901), 330.

²⁹ *Aen.* vi, 775, *O.G.R.* 17, 6.

³⁰ Sallmann (n. 24), 149, n. 69.

³¹ Though Coras is said by Virgil to be of Argive stock, the name may be intended to recall by association Cora and its neighbourhood, passed by in the rest of the Catalogue; cf. L. A. Holland, *AJP* lvi (1935), 202 ff.

³² *Pace* B. Nardi, *Mantuanitas Vergiliana* (1963), 2 f.

³³ Diod. iv, 33, 11; cf. Apollod., *Bibl.* iii, 9, 1 and ii, 7, 4 with Frazer's notes; Paus. i, 4, 6 with Frazer's note; viii, 48, 7; 54, 6; Hyg., *Fab.* xcix; Tz. *ad Lyc.*

206. See too H. Schrader, *JDAI* iii (1888), 61 f.

³⁴ Soph. fr. 89 mentions the hind; cf. A. C. Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles* i, 46 ff. The exposure story is of a very common type: cf. G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros u. Romulus* (1964), 130 ff.

³⁵ O. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythologie* i (1906), 203.

³⁶ Paus. viii, 45, 4; cf. C. Dugas, etc., *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna* (1924), 77 ff.

³⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins, Peloponnesus* 202 f.

³⁸ Gruppe (n. 35), 203 ff.; subjected to a minute but often obscure critique by J. Bayet, *MEFR* xxxviii (1920), 63 ff.; cf. too, J. Perret, *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (1942), 38 ff.

³⁹ P-W iv, 2168, 55 ff.; *FGH* 4 F 23, with Jacoby's note.

Arcadia (*Aen.* viii, 168; cf. Paus. viii, 43, 2); a Tegeate, by name Salius, is among the followers of Aeneas, and establishes the ritual of the Salii (*Aen.* v, 299; Perret (n. 38) p. 43 ff.). One could go on, but I believe that this approach proves ultimately to be irrelevant and misleading. Corythus is not an important mythological figure; his existence in legend depends on his connection with Telephus, and it is only by following the Telephus story westwards that we can properly understand the function of Corythus in Italy.

Telephus is associated not only with Arcadia, but also, even more strongly, with Mysia, whose people he led to the Trojan War: this localization was apparently to be found in the *Little Iliad* (fr. vii, Allen = Paus. iii, 26, 9); by the time of Aeschylus' *Mysians* it was well-established (cf. Gruppe (n. 35) 204, n. 11). It is clearly on account of his status as a Mysian that he is brought into the foundation legend of the Etruscans. The inconcinnity of this arrangement has often been noticed and made a basis for speculation:⁴⁰ elsewhere, the Etruscans are connected with Lydia, not Mysia. But there is no interesting or important Lydian hero of Greek mythology, to be claimed as forebear of the Etruscans (Gruppe (n. 35) p. 292); so once it was thought desirable to replace the indigenous Lydian genealogies of the Etruscans' origins with something Hellenic and generally acceptable, Telephus was the nearest hero—in respect of geography—available for inclusion in the genealogy.⁴¹ Lycophron provides our earliest explicit literary evidence for the Telephid origin of the Etruscans: in *Alex.* 1245 ff. the brothers Tarchon and Tyrsenus are described as the offspring of Telephus;⁴² we find Tyrrhenus as son of Telephus ascribed to 'others' at D.Hal. i, 28, 1. Capuan coins of the mid-third century B.C., showing the hind suckling Telephus are clearly a result of Etruscan influence, and are probably meant to rival the wolf and twins of Rome.⁴³ Many representations of Telephus-stories have also been found in Etruria proper, on vases, *cistae*, mirrors, and sarcophagi,⁴⁴ though one should hesitate before accepting Schachermeyr's inference that these illustrations are so widely diffused as to prove that the legend of Telephid origins had become outstandingly popular among the Etruscans themselves (see n. 90 below).

The story of Telephus as ancestor of the Etruscans is therefore sufficient explanation for the presence of the name Corythus on Italian soil. It also accounts for Virgil's use of the name to designate Tarquinii, for that city was linked through its eponym Tarchon with the Telephus-story.⁴⁵

However, this explanation does raise a number of apparent difficulties, both geographical and chronological:

To say that Tarchon is simply an eponym derived from the city-name Tarquinii⁴⁶ is to oversimplify the question: the name is authentically Etruscan, related to that of the family of the Tarquinii, and of the Asiatic god Tarku (Tarchon: Etr. Tarχna; cf. n. 23); 'Tarchon' cannot be dismissed as a late construction, and must be accepted as an authentic *Stadtgott* and hero.⁴⁷ His connection with Tarquinii, perhaps the oldest of Etruscan cities,⁴⁸ will have been obvious to all, even though the explicit evidence for that connection might be thought a little scanty (cf. n. 22). Thus Corythus might

⁴⁰ cf. M. Pallottino, *L'origine degli Etruschi* (1947), 17; F. Schachermeyr, *W.St.* xlvii (1929), 154 ff.; *Etr. Frühgeschichte*, (1929), 205 f.

⁴¹ cf. Hdt. i, 94; Xanthus Lydus *ap.* D. Hal. i, 28, 2 = *FGH* 765 F 16. H. H. Scullard in *Ancient Society and Institutions. Studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg* (1966), 225 ff.; Bayet (n. 38) 76 traces the process of Hellenization in detail.

⁴² Contrast Lyc., *Alex.* 1351 ff., with von Holzinger, *introd.* p. 70. Timaeus (*FGH* 566 F 62 = Tert., *Spect.* 5) accepted the Herodotean account of Etruscan origins; it would not be easy (pace J. Geffcken, *Timaios' Geogr. d. Westens, Phil. Unters.* xiii, 1892, 44, n. 1) to trace the Telephus-story back to him; cf. Jacoby n. 324 on *FGH* 566 F 62; Perret (n. 38), 356 ff.

⁴³ A hind is also associated with the foundation of

the city by Capys, *Sil.* xiii, 115 ff.; cf. J. Hubaux, *Rome et Veies* (1958), 264 ff.; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, (1965), 280; Binder (n. 34), 155 f.; J. Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine* (1942), 224 f.

⁴⁴ J. Schmidt in Roscher v, 296, 10 ff., *passim*; J. Beazley, *Etr. Vase-Painting* (1947), 54, n. 1; 66.

⁴⁵ For the evidence, cf. n. 22. In the writers on *res Etruscae*, A. Caecina and Verrius Flaccus, (T)archon was also connected with the northern dodecapolis of the Etruscans; cf. Schol. Ver. on *Aen.* x, 200; Ogilvie on *Liv.* v, 33, 9.

⁴⁶ E. Wikén, *Die Kunde der Hellenen von dem Lande und den Völkern der Appeninenhalbinsel bis 300 v. Chr.* (1937), 132.

⁴⁷ So Schachermeyr *op. cit.* (n. 40), 207.

⁴⁸ Scullard (n. 11), 84 ff.; Schachermeyr 208 f.

appear to be something of an interloper at Tarquinii. But in the *Aeneid*, Tarchon is leader of all the Etruscans, and is not explicitly connected with Tarquinii at all. Indeed Tarquinii is nowhere mentioned (cf. p. 77 f. *infra*). This omission does make the proposed identification of Corythus and Tarquinii rather easier, and may possibly have been made partly for that very purpose.⁴⁹

Secondly, there is a problem of chronology. Telephus is a hero of the Trojan war, and his son sailed to Italy after the capture of Troy.⁵⁰ Thus the Corythus who looked after Telephus as a baby belongs to the generation before the Trojan war. But in Virgil, the name of Corythus must pre-exist Dardanus,⁵¹ and Dardanus is the great-great-great-grandfather of Aeneas. But this kind of chronological discrepancy should not be allowed to trouble us. As a figure, Corythus is not important in myth; for Virgil or his source, the name has exactly the right associations, but is not so renowned as to be immovably fixed in time. Indeed the far greater question of the date of the Etruscans' arrival in Italy is left unsettled in Virgil and elsewhere.⁵² On the one hand, Tarchon fights alongside Aeneas,⁵³ that fixes him in the generation of the Trojan war, and, if we regard him as a leader of the Etruscan people, fixes their migration in the same period. Yet elsewhere,⁵⁴ Virgil clearly conceives of the Etruscans' power as well-established in Italy by the time of Aeneas' arrival.⁵⁵ An early date for the settlement might seem to imply an equally early date for its leader Tarchon, in formal contradiction to his position as son of Telephus and ally of Aeneas. Indeed Lydus (*Ostent.* 3) is compelled to posit the existence of two Tarchons! But for Virgil the name Tarchon—rich in associations, unlike the shadowy eponym Tyrrhenus⁵⁶—will serve as that of the leader of any generation of Etruscans. If Tarchon is movable in time, then the difficulty noted over the generation of Corythus is somewhat reduced. But it is unreasonable to demand precise synchronisms between such complex legends.

II. SOURCES

In the only substantial modern discussion of the Corythus-story, Prof. V. Buchheit argues forcefully that it is a Virgilian innovation (n. 2, 151 ff.): by it Virgil rescues the Trojan ancestry of Augustus and Rome from the odium incurred by Troy as an Eastern city, and sets the claim of Italy to world-rule on the firmer basis of a yet older manifestation of divine planning and favour (*ibid.* 166 ff.).

Buchheit's exposition of the Augustan aspects of the story as developed in the *Aeneid* I do not wish to question.⁵⁷ But the fact that the story is developed in an Augustan way⁵⁸ is not in itself an argument for Virgil's originality: he has a great talent for exploiting the patriotic potential of the most diverse material. Nor is the great importance which Virgil attaches to the theme of 'return' (Buchheit 151 ff.) in any way proof of invention: a theme so structurally useful and emotionally satisfying clearly required full exploitation whatever its origins. The remainder of this paper sets

⁴⁹ Dardanus is not easily fitted into the pattern of primitive occupations of Cortona (cf. n. 11). Tarquinii, on the other hand, has no long prehistory; cf. Cato, *Orig.* fr. 43P 'Cato Originum, qui Pisas tenerint ante adventum Etruscorum, negat sibi compertum...'

⁵⁰ 'Others' ap. D. Hal. i, 28, 1; cf. Plut., *Rom.* 2, 1.
⁵¹ Serv. makes Corythus the father of Dardanus, by various genealogical arrangements; cf. E. Thraemer, P-W iv, 2176, 18 ff.; cf. n. 12.

⁵² In Herodotus, in the mid-thirteenth century B.C.; cf. ii, 145; Rawlinson i.p. 354 ff.; Scullard (n. 41), 226 ff.; Vell. i, 1, 3, at the time of Orestes—i.e. just after the Trojan war. In Lyc., presumably just in time for them to settle and meet Aeneas.

⁵³ In Virg., Lyc.; cf. 'others' ap. D. Hal. i, 28, 1.
⁵⁴ viii, 480; xi, 581; cf. J. Gagé, *MEFR*, xlvii (1929), 120; Nardi (n. 32), 1.

⁵⁵ Does this imply that Virgil thought the Etruscans autochthonous (cf. Nardi 4 ff.)? I very

much doubt it. Virgil refers to Caere as Pelasgian (viii, 597 f.) and implies that Agylla was a yet earlier foundation on the same site (viii, 478 f.). The usual version in antiquity made Agylla the Pelasgian name and Caere the Tyrrhenian (D. Hal. i, 20, 5, Plin. *HN* iii, 51, etc.), but Varro, after Hellanicus, etc., regarded Caere as the Pelasgian name, and Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians as identical (Schol. Ver. *ad Aen.* vii, 652; Serv., *ad Aen.* x, 183; Serv. Dan., *ad Aen.* viii, 600; cf. Pallottino (n. 40), 28 ff.; Scullard (n. 41), 229 ff.); and it would appear that Virgil did so too.

⁵⁶ At xi, 612, a mere name.

⁵⁷ The change in Horace's attitude to Troy (*Od.* iii, 3 to iv, 6, 15), is noteworthy (Buchheit, *ibid.* p. 171, n. 92), but it is an argument for the influence of the *Aeneid* as a whole, and not for the impact of one story.

⁵⁸ cf. Binder (n. 4), 18; A. Montenegro Duque, *La Onomástica de Virgilio y la Antigüedad preitalica*, Salamanca 1949, 271 ff.

out an argument for the derivative character of the Corythus story, and though I do not identify Virgil's source, I try at least to date it.

Virgil's first allusion to Aeneas' Italian descent occurs at i, 380:
*Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo.*⁵⁹

If the reader did not know that the *patria* of Jupiter's son Dardanus was indeed Italy, then the remark would be extraordinarily hard to follow: *patria* might be understood as Aeneas' future home, but the unexplained connection of Dardanus with this *patria* would constitute an obstacle to any reader. The next allusion does not occur till iii, 94 ff., and we cannot be expected to retain a clear recollection of these fragments for future explanation. When the oracle of Delian Apollo orders the Trojans:

*Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
 prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
 accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem,*

we must be able to appreciate the precise reference in *Dardanidae*, even though the Trojans cannot. It is one thing for the wanderers to be baffled by the obscurity of this oracle (cf. iii, 103 ff., 161 ff., 182 ff.), another for even Virgil's most learned readers not to be able to understand the narrative; it is not enough to write in terms of a gradual solution in the poem to the problem of Corythus (Buchheit, p. 166). Virgil must have expected at least some of his readers to grasp the full point of i, 380 and iii, 94 ff. This could not have been done with a totally new story.

In *Aeneid* vii the fullest statement of the Trojans' Italian origin is elaborately introduced (205 ff.):

*atque equidem memini—fama est obscurior annis—
 Auruncos⁶⁰ ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
 Dardanus . . .*

Buchheit (p. 165) contrasts these words with a simple acknowledgement of tradition such as *accipimus* (vii, 48), and suggests that the poet here is implicitly disclaiming any literary dependence. But there are many forms of the claim ἁμαρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰεῖδειν,⁶¹ and I would suggest that Virgil has here constructed a deliberately Italian version of it.⁶² We may come to admit that Virgil's source is indeed *obscurior*, while doubting that it is necessarily ancient or oral. His use of historical and antiquarian material is often extremely subtle, but I do not believe that it would be in his manner to depart radically from a traditional account, in a direction totally unknown before the *Aeneid*⁶³ and then claim to be writing in accordance with tradition.

It has often been observed that the *Aeneid* displays a distinct partiality for the Etruscans,⁶⁴ though it must be stressed that we cannot be sure either that Virgil's family was Etruscan (though his name was) or that he sat at the feet of the Etruscologist Tarquinius Priscus,⁶⁵ or indeed that any of the religious lore in the poem

⁵⁹ It is clearly wrong to divide the two halves of 380 by a mark of punctuation (Mynors, Williams). To the convincing arguments of Wagner and Austin, I would add that for Virgil, Aeneas' descent from Jupiter in the male line runs through Dardanus and his Italian ancestry: there is an unbreakable link of sense between *genus* and 'Italy, my fatherland'; cf. iii, 129 *Cretam proavosque petamus*. It asks much of a reader to supply both a pause in sense and construction before *et*, as well as an *est* with what follows, when excellent sense can be obtained without either pause or understood copula. Cf. E. Harrison, *CR* xxii (1972), 303 f.

⁶⁰ *Auruncos* is probably used in a vague sense, as an *Ur-volk* of Central Italy; cf. vii, 795; xi, 318; Plin. *HN* iii, 56; Rehm (n. 3), 64 f.

⁶¹ cf. Norden on *Aen.* vi, 14; R. G. M. Nisbet and

M. E. Hubbard on Hor., *Od.* i, 7, 23, with further bibliography.

⁶² cf. Isyll. 3 f. ὦδε γὰρ φάτις ἐπέπουσ' ἦλυθ' ἐς ἀκοῆς προγόνων ἀμετέρων—of a new and startling Epidaurus-centred account of Asclepius' birth: cf. E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* ii (1945), 69 f. On the other hand, cf. Pind., *Ol.* vii, 54 f.: φαντι δ' ἀνθρώπων παλαιὰ ῥήσιες, where the schol. says πρὸ Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ἰστόρητο but rather was preserved in local tradition.

⁶³ cf. Rehm (n. 3), 84 ff.

⁶⁴ cf. Alföldi (n. 43), 279; Nardi (n. 32), 1 ff.; Gagé (n. 54), 115 ff.; R. Enking, *MDAI(R)* lxvi (1959), 65 ff.

⁶⁵ cf. K. Büchner, *P-W* viii, A 1, 1037, 53 ff.; Westendorp Boerma on *Catal.* 5, 3 f.

is either distinctively Etruscan or significantly recondite.⁶⁶ But the Mantua of Virgil's youth may have retained elements of Etruscan scholarship and sympathies, and the romantic allure of Etruria in the Augustan age is undeniable.⁶⁷

Whatever the origins of this partiality, the evidence of the *Aeneid* is striking, displayed notably in the honourable role of the Etruscans in Aeneas' Italian war. Only Mezentius of Caere, an exile on account of his monstrous cruelty, fights, with his following of a thousand men, against the Trojans and the establishment of the Roman order.⁶⁸ Against him

omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis (viii, 494).

The forces which Tarchon leads to Aeneas' support are fully recorded in a second Catalogue (x, 166 ff.), which may have recalled to some that of the allies of the Trojans in the *Iliad*:⁶⁹ they range from Caere and Pyrgi to Mantua, from the Ligurian coast to Clusium. To Aeneas' side they come not so much as allies, but as subjects:

ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam
cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon,

says Evander, passing on the command to Aeneas.⁷⁰ It must be stressed that this was in Virgil's day a very unusual role for the Etruscans to play in the *Aeneid*. Livy's account of Mezentius of Caere fighting with Turnus against the Trojans (i, 2, 3) is by then 'normal'.⁷¹ It is well known that there are antecedents for this apparent innovation, notably the account in Lycophron: Aeneas shall come to Etruria⁷²—to Pisa and Agylla—and will there be met by Odysseus, and also by Tarchon and Tyrsenus, sons of Telephus (1238 ff.). It is tempting to suppose that Virgil had read Lycophron, though other Augustan poets seem not to have known him at all,⁷³ but it is perhaps likelier that some later Republican source of his preserved a version of the account also known to Lycophron.⁷⁴

It is important to try to interpret Virgil's favourable presentation of the Etruscans in historical terms.⁷⁵ In 390 B.C., the *sacra*, the Vestals, and the *flamen Quirinalis* were given sanctuary by the Caeretans (Liv. v, 40, 7 f.) who were admitted to *hospitium* by way of reward (v, 50, 3); when in 353 the Caeretans were lured into war against Rome by Tarquinius, they at once took fright and sued for peace, which was granted on account of the *vetus meritum* (Liv. vii, 20, 8). Thus in the *Aeneid* Caere is relieved of the guilt of association with Mezentius, and becomes the site of Aeneas' meeting and alliance with all Etruria (viii, 603 ff.). It is less easy to justify historically the well-established account (n. 71) of the hostility of Caere and its ruler Mezentius towards the cause of Aeneas.⁷⁶

Thus Caere is an eminently suitable place for Aeneas to receive the subjection of

⁶⁶The belief that it is inherited from Serv. (*ad Aen.* x, 228, etc.), and Macr. (*Sat.* iii, 9, 16, etc.); the ancient commentators are tireless excavators of Virgilian *Religionswissenschaft* (cf. E. Thomas, *Essai sur Servius* (Paris, 1880), 267 ff.), and their uncritical enthusiasm has infected many modern writers (notably H. J. Rose, *Aeneas Pontifex*, 1948).

⁶⁷R. G. M. Nisbet and M. E. Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* i, 1, 1; Enking (n. 64), 94 ff.; J. Heurgon, *La Vie quotidienne des Etrusques* (1961), 317 ff.

⁶⁸vii, 653; viii, 478 ff.; cf. P. T. Eden, *Proc. Verg. Soc.* iv (1964-5), 31 ff.; and p. 69 f., *supra*.

⁶⁹But cf. G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer, Hypomnemata* 7, 1964, 297.

⁷⁰viii, 505 f.; x, 153 ff.; Gagé (n. 54), 130 ff.

⁷¹cf. Cato, *Orig.* fr. 9, 10, with Schroeder's notes (M. Porcius Cato, *Das erste Buch der Origines, Beitr. z. kl. Phil.* xli, 1971), Varr. *ap.* Plin. *HN* xiv, 88; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* i, 259, etc. D. Hal.'s position is slightly unusual; he does not connect Mezentius with Caere, but calls him simply 'king of Tyrrhenia' (i, 64, 4; 65, 2); cf. D. Musti, *Tendenze nella storiografia romana e*

greca su Roma arcaica, Quaderni Urbinati x, 1970, 31.

⁷²1239 πολιμπλανήτην δέξεται Τυρσηνία. It would be imprudent to build much on a sense of 'returning' for π.; cf. von Holzinger *ad loc.*, *Epigr. Gr.* 491, 5.

⁷³S. Josifović, *P-W Suppl.* xi, 922, 20 ff.; K. Ziegler, *P-W* xiii, 2350, 13 ff. is perhaps too sceptical about Virgil.

⁷⁴Also *FGH* 560 F 4 (Alcimus): Romulus son of Aeneas and Tyrrhenia; cf. further p. 78 *infra*, Gagé (n. 54), 115 ff.; M. Sordi, *I Rapporti Romano-Ceriti* (1960), 10 ff.; Josifović (n. 73), 900, 18 ff. (on Lyc.); L. Malten, *ARW* xxix (1931), 49; Buchheit (n. 2), 166; Perret (n. 38), 468 f.; Musti (n. 71), 30 f.

⁷⁵Gagé (n. 54), 129; Geffcken (n. 42), 44, n. 1; C. Saunders, *Vergil's Primitive Italy* (1930), 74.

⁷⁶According to Hoffmann, it reflects Greek impressions of mid-fourth-century hostility between Rome and Caere, though I doubt whether contacts were quite so sensitive (*Rom u. die gr. Welt im 4. Jahrhundert, Phil. Supplbd.* xxvii, 1 (1934), 124 ff.).

his Etruscan homeland.⁷⁷ The return of Aeneas to Etruria and his alliance with the Etruscans are clearly related themes.⁷⁸ We may discern a great fitness in the unexpected support of all Etruria for the man whose family was once Etruscan. This fitness is only touched on lightly in the poem (ix, 10 f.), perhaps because it stands in superficial contrast to the demand that the new leader of Etruria should be *externus* (viii, 503), even though Aeneas' family connection with Etruria is now so ancient that he is in reality *externus*.⁷⁹

At Caere Aeneas has reached the *extremas Corythi . . . urbes* (ix, 10), but we may perhaps wonder why he does not meet Tarchon at Corythus-Tarquinius, and indeed why Tarquinius is not mentioned in the Etruscan Catalogue. The answer to the first question may simply be that Tarquinius is—on Virgil's tightly worked-out time-scale—too far from the Tiber mouth. There is also an issue of suitability: Caere, as we have seen, has an honourable place in Roman history; Tarquinius, on the other hand, like Veii, had a bad record: home of the Tarquins' family, enemy of the infant Republic (Liv. ii, 6 f.), ally of Veii against Rome (Liv. v, 16), a vigorous opponent through the 350's (Liv. vii, 12 ff., *passim*), who took up arms again as soon as the forty-year truce of 351 had expired (Liv. ix, 32 ff., *passim*). The subjection of Tarchon and the Etruscans to a Trojan leader (p. 69 *supra*) was rightly invested by Gag  ⁸⁰ with an historical meaning, as foreshadowing the ultimate subjection of Etruria to Rome. It may indeed be felt that an identification of the Dardanidae with so great an enemy of Rome is historically intolerable: Virgil never mentions Tarquinius at all,⁸¹ and leaves the identification of Tarquinius and Corythus to those aware of the 'fama obscurior'. But it is not hard to envisage both the growth of a story associating Tarquinius with the Trojans at a time when Greeks would have contacts with the great Etruscan city, but would not be likely to know much about relations between her and Rome, and the use or adaptation of such a story at a far later date to legitimate in mythological terms the subjection of Etruria to Rome and the eventual reconciliation of the two powers. Thus the origins of the Corythus-story are easily divorced from the long hostility between Tarquinius and Rome.

The legend of the Telephidae in the West, to which I have suggested that the name Corythus belongs is connected in several ways with the foundation of Rome;⁸² in Lycophron, there is no family connection between Aeneas and his Telephid helpers.

The directly relevant passages are:

(a) Plut., *Rom.* 2, 1 ἄλλοι δὲ Ῥώμην Ἰταλοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ Λευκαρίας, οἱ δὲ, Τηλέφου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, Αἰνεΐα γαμηθεΐσαν, οἱ δ' Ἀσκανίου τοῦ Αἰνεΐου, λέγουσι τοῦνομα θέσθαι τῆ πόλει.⁸³

(b) Malelas, *Chron.* vi, p. 162 τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Αὔγης ὁ Τήλεφος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐβασίλευσεν ὁμοίως ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὄντινα Λατίνον ἐκάλεσεν (cf. Suda s.v. Λατίνιο).

The account in Plutarch contains some elements suggestive of an early period in Greek contacts with Italy:

Rh  me is mentioned by Hellanicus (*FGH* 4 F 84 = D.Hal. i, 72, 2): in form and

⁷⁷ Few will have known that, historically, the family of the Tarquinius was probably connected more closely with Caere than with Tarquinius; cf. Ogilvie (n. 23), 141; Gag   (n. 54), 128 f. A close connection of Tarchon and Caere would have suited and convinced no one!

⁷⁸ Nardi (n. 32), 9; Buchheit 166.

⁷⁹ viii, 512; x, 156. As he is also an *externus* for purposes of marriage with Lavinia (vii, 68, etc.); Amata's claim that Turnus is a foreigner (vii, 367 ff.), on the other hand, is not expected to convince; cf. Buchheit 113.

⁸⁰ 130 ff.; he compares viii, 505 ff. and D. Hal. iii, 59 ff. (the subjection of Etruria by Tarquinius

Priscus).

⁸¹ Perhaps because it is not a coastal city (Plin., *HN* iii, 51), perhaps because of the name's hostile associations at Rome; Gag   (n. 54), 122 ff.; Saunders (n. 64), 74 f.

⁸² Alf  ldi 279; Bayet (n. 38), 75 ff.; Wik  n (n. 46), 180; Perret (n. 38), 468 ff.; W. Schur, *Klio* xvii (1921), 141; E. D. Phillips, *JHS* lxxiii (1953), 61; A. Rosenberg, P-W 1 A 1082, 8 ff.; F. Schachermeyr (n. 40), 154 ff.; *EF* 205 ff.; etc.

⁸³ cf. D. Hal. i, 28, 1, others say that Tyrrhenus son of Telephus came to Italy after the Trojan war; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταρχώνιον, Tarchon son of Telephus as eponym of Tarquinius.

character she is a Greek eponym and not indigenous.⁸⁴ Likewise, Tyrrhenus is clearly a Greek, not an Etruscan eponym of the Etruscans (cf. p. 73 f. *supra*, on Tarchon); indeed the simple genealogical linking of eponyms is very much characteristic of the age of Hellanicus.⁸⁵

With these accounts it is clearly necessary to compare:

(c) Alcimus, *FGH* 560 F 4 = Fest., p. 326.35L: 'Alcimus ait Tyrrhenia Aeneae natum filium Romulum fuisse atque eo ortam Albam Aeneae neptem, cuius filius nomine Rhomus condiderit urbem Romam.'

Alcimus belongs to the late fourth century, and the fragment quoted displays an interesting blend of old and new conceptions: the references to Alba, Romulus, and Rhomus are a first sign that Greek writers on Rome are being influenced by native names and stories.⁸⁶ But the reference to Romulus as a son of Aeneas and Tyrrhenia appears like a relic of the sixth or fifth centuries, an age when to Greek writers the Etruscans were the only known inhabitants of central Italy,⁸⁷ and when a continuator of Hesiod could say that Agrius and Latinus πᾶσιν Τυρσηνοῖσιν ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἀνάσσει.⁸⁸

These analyses of Plutarch and Alcimus would appear to point to the same conclusion: that a Greek writer of the fifth century—possibly Hellanicus—may have linked Aeneas with the Etruscans in his account of the Trojan settlement in central Italy.⁸⁹ The place and date of Telephus is rather less secure, and too much reliance should not be placed on Plutarch's mention in isolation. Yet Lycophron's story of Tarchon and Tyrsenus (father or brother of Alcimus' Tyrrhenia?) could well have had its origin at a time when Greeks might care to honour Caere and Tarquinia, familiar through trade from the seventh century, with respectable legendary associations.⁹⁰

It remains to try to fit Corythus into this picture.

I do not wish to suggest that Virgil is here following a fifth-century Greek historian, or even a later writer indebted, as it might be, to Hellanicus. The story of Corythus appears rather to be a late and learned offshoot of the Telephus-in-the-West legend. In the discussion above, a few traces of ancient writing on Corythus independent of Virgil were outlined.⁹¹ Even if there was some hint of the Corythus story in Varro (p. 79) it was not clear enough to rescue Silius from his confusion (p. 70 ff.), and did not pass into the main-stream of geographical lore to inform Servius. Other traces in Servius should be dismissed:

In Serv., *ad Aen.* iii, 148, 'Varro sane rerum humanarum secundo ait Aenean deo Penates in Italiam reduxisse,' Servius' *re-* should not be pressed into implying that Varro ever thought of the Penates as returning; the commentator might well be importing notions from the poem into his citation of Varro.

⁸⁴ Indeed her action in burning Aeneas' ships betrays definite hostility towards the Trojan settlements in the West; cf. Th. Mommsen, *Herm.* xvi (1881), 3 = *Ges. Schr.* (Berlin, 1906) iv, 3; Jacoby on *FGH* 564 F 5 (Callias ap. D. Hal. i, 72, 5); Hoffmann (n. 76), 109 ff.; A. Rosenberg, P-W 1 A, 1077, 56 ff.; C. J. Classen, *Hist.* xii (1963) 449 ff.; A. Alföldi, *Die Trojanischen Urahen der Römer* (1957), 9 ff.

⁸⁵ F. Jacoby, P-W viii, 144, 1 ff.; E. Bickermann, *CPh* xlvii (1952), 66 f.: 'one could write on the subject in an original manner, disentangling the difficulties in most satisfactory fashion, yet without coming into conflict with accepted mythology.'

⁸⁶ Jacoby, *ad loc.*; Hoffmann (n. 76), 114; Wikén (n. 46), 180; Classen (n. 84), 447 ff.

⁸⁷ cf. D. Hal. i, 25, 5 Τυρρηνας μὲν γὰρ δὴ ὄνομα τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον (i.e. fifth century) ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ προσσηπέριος Ἰταλία τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἔθνος ὀνομασίας ἀφαίρεθείσα [καὶ] τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἐκεῖνην ἐλάβονεν. This passage tells against West's 500 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* for (Hes.) *Theog.* 1011 ff.; I do not find it easy to credit that Greek writers could have distinguished between Latins and Etruscans by that date. It is pretty clear that the Carthaginians were unable to do so, reckoning Rome in 509 to be yet another prosperous Etruscan trading city; cf. Plb. iii, 22, 6 with Walbank's note.

⁸⁸ *Theog.* 1016; cf. A. Momigliano, *JRS* lvii (1967),

212 = *Quarto Contributo* 490 f., who refers these words to the period of Rome's expansion under the Tarquins and Servius Tullius.

⁸⁹ cf. Jacoby's commentary on Alcimus fr. 4 (*FGH* 560). G. K. Galinsky (*Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*, 1969, 105) implies optimistically that Hellanicus was aware of Aeneas' status among the Etruscans.

⁹⁰ Ogilvie (n. 23), 141; Scullard (n. 12) 86, 100; A. Rosenberg, P-W 1 A, 1082, 28 ff. Von Christ (n. 17) compares Corythus and Corinthus—a name well known at Tarquinii in connection with Demaratus! It will appear from my argument that I do not at all accept Schachermeyr's account of Rome's Telephid origins as coming from an Etruscan source, constituting a claim to primacy and mastery over an enemy city. Rather, I hope to show that the origin of these genealogies is distinctively and datably Greek. Cf. too Jacoby's remark (n. 27 on *FGH* 569 F 4): 'es ist schwer vorstellbar wo und wie Tyrsener oder tyrsenerfreundliche Hellenen für die vorrechte der Etrusker eingetreten' (Wikén (n. 46), 180) sein sollen.' This being so, it is hard to see how Schachermeyr's 'old Etruscan story' could have been transmitted.

⁹¹ P. 72 f., the foundation of Cora (though the source of Plin. *HN* iii, 63 is not necessarily Varro, (n. 30); p. 71 f., the source of Sil.'s Italian Catalogue, more probably Varro (n. 24).

In Serv., *ad Aen.* iii, 167, 'Graeci et Varro, humanarum rerum, Dardanum non ex Italia, sed de Arcadia, urbe Pheneo, oriundum dicunt' we are just as little entitled to infer a Varronian reference—even if a negative one—to the Trojans' Italian origin.

Buchheit (n. 2, p. 165 f.) claims that Varro's account of the Trojans' origins is quite clear:⁹² the story of Corythus is therefore not in Varro, and no Roman antiquary of that age would dare to go against the master's judgement. Neither contention is quite secure: Varro was in the habit of recording different accounts of the same point in the same—or in different—places,⁹³ and the fact that we know Varro's account of Dardanus in *res hum.* ii, does not absolutely exclude his having recorded an alternative version elsewhere. Secondly, Varro's authority, though great, should certainly not be imagined as absolute: note, for instance, Hyginus' departure from the Varronian doctrine on the important topic of the origin of the Sabines.⁹⁴ Nor should we exclude the possibility that the Corythus-story should be attributed to another antiquary of Varro's own lifetime, perhaps writing before the appearance of the *res hum.*

E. Thraemer⁹⁵ observes that in Virgil the Penates are never Samothracian, but Trojan or Phrygian (ii, 747; iii, 148): unless, he argues, we suppose that Dardanus and Iasion set off from Italy without *väterliche sacra*, then Aeneas is bringing back from Troy Penates that are originally Italian.⁹⁶ But of this 'return of the Penates', of itself a major theme, there is not one word in the *Aeneid*, and it cannot be accepted as an account current in the late Republic.⁹⁷ However, when Thraemer suggests (*ibid.* 63 ff.) that the Corythus story should be explained in terms of the 'schon zu Varros Lebzeiten einsetzenden Neigung, die römische Religion mit der Etrusca disciplina in Verbindung zu bringen', I am convinced that he has hit upon the right period, though I should prefer to think in terms of legend, rather than of religion. The pro-Etruscan element in the story of the Trojans' exile, which we find so important in Virgil and Lycophron,⁹⁸ is restricted in its application to the landing of Aeneas in Etruria. The Corythus-story improves upon this: Aeneas himself cannot be made an Etruscan by birth, but his family certainly can be. This elegant mythological development is presumably made for reasons of Etruscan patriotism; Virgil, writing of Aeneas exploits it strongly but discreetly, introducing the element of νόστος into the wanderings of Aeneas and his followers.

There was much interest in things Etruscan in the late Republic at Rome: the work of A. Caecina, Nigidius Figulus, Tarquinius Priscus, and C. Fonteius Capito on Etruscan divination is well known; Varro himself appears to have read *Tuscae historiae* (Censorinus 17, 6), and clearly had done some work on the subject in general.⁹⁹ It is at least credible that a late republican antiquary, Etruscan himself, or of Etruscan sympathies, should, in a spirit of patriotism, have decided, by a clever mythological stroke, to capture the whole glorious house of the Dardanidae for his nation. The place of Aeneas, of Telephus, and perhaps of Corythus too, was secure enough in Etruria for the speculation to be admired—and followed by Virgil.

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⁹² *Res hum.* ii ap. Serv., *ad Aen.* iii, 148 'sane hos deos Dardanum ex Samothracia in Phrygiam, Aeneam vero in Italiam ex Phrygia transtulisse idem Varro testatur' (similarly, Varr. ap. Serv. Dan., *ad Aen.* i, 378). On iii, 167, Serv. Dan. (*supra*) adds that Dardanus came originally from Pheneus in Arcadia. cf. G. Wissowa, *Herm.* xxii (1887), 40 ff. = *Ges. Abh.* (1904), 107 ff.; S. Weinstock, P-W xix, 453, 37 ff.

⁹³ cf. the startling range of Varronian etymologies of Palatium: *LL* v, 53; Serv., *ad Aen.* viii, 51; G. Lugli, *Fontes ad topogr. vet. urbis Romae pertin.* viii (1962), 9 ff. There must have been another list in *res hum.* viii, *de urbe Roma*; cf. P. Mirsch *Leipz. Stud.* v (1882), 100 ff.; H. Dahlmann, P-W Suppl. vi, 1231, 39 ff.

⁹⁴ J. Poucet in *Etudes étrusco-italiques* (1963),

173 ff.

⁹⁵ P-W iv, 2176, 41 ff.

⁹⁶ cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* iii, 15 'cum omni hereditate maiorum diviserunt etiam deos Penates Dardanus et Iasion fratres, quorum alter Thraciam, alter Phrygiam incoluit occupatam'.

⁹⁷ Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* (n. 92), 113, n. 3.

⁹⁸ S. Josifović, P-W Suppl. xi, 900, 18 ff.; cf. p. 13.

⁹⁹ S. Weinstock, *PBSR* xviii (1950), 44 ff.; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (1971), 4 ff.; Heurgon (n. 67), 288 ff.; Enking (n. 64), 94.

I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Cornell, Mr. C. G. Hardie, and Dr. R. M. Ogilvie for much stimulating criticism.