CORYTHUS RE-EXAMINED

1. Introduction

In JRS 63 (1973) I published a paper entitled 'Corythus: the return of Aeneas in Virgil and his sources'. It has met with general, but often uncomprehending, disbelief. Some of what I said then was true, but not clear, some was neither: but while criticism has pin-pointed those areas of the argument which required reinforcement, clarification, or abandonment, the two main conclusions (that Corythus is not Cortona but Tarquinii, and that Virgil does not invent the story) remain, I believe, substantially valid, though only the second (cf. n. 88) has gained much credence. It may therefore be helpful to have the argument presented afresh here in a suitably buttressed and clarified form; the story represents a peculiarly complex secondary development of the Trojan legend in the West.

The Italian town of Corythus, which Virgil makes the original home of Dardanus and the cradle of the Trojan people (Aen. 3, 170, 7. 209, 9. 10), has long been identified with Cortona, between Arezzo and Chiusi. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that the identification is false; in reviving an alternative suggestion, which has not been current since the Renaissance, I hope to show too that the question of whether or not the story is a Virgilian innovation admits of a decisive answer. The evidence is partly Virgilian (and here Harrison's critique has rendered a notable service) and partly independent.

2. Virgil

His topographical indications are more than usually elusive. From his ancestral throne, King Latinus addresses the Trojan embassy (7. 1950: dicite Dardanidae, neque enim nescimus urbem et genus, auditique adverteris aequore cursum). He speaks of Dardanus, ancestor of Aeneas, as his ortus ut agris (206); the old story related that Corythi Tyrrenha ab sede profectus (209), Dardanus made for Samothrace and then Troy (2070. Latinus' city is represented as lying somewhere between the Tiber mouth and Ardea, that is, 120 miles from Cortona.

1 Pp. 68-79. I am grateful to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies for permission to re-use parts of that paper. Hereafter 'Horsfall'.
2 My own and that of others: notably. E. L. Harrison. CQ 26 (1976). 293-5, to which some answer was made. ibid., 296-7; hereafter 'Harrison' and 'Horsfall, Reply'.
3 Corythus, mysteriously, J. Heurgon. REL 47. 1 (1969). 288. D. Briquel. 'Les Pelages en Italic' (Bibl. Ec. Fr. Ath. Rome 252. 1984), 161, and passim. Admittedly all the attestations in Virgil. Silius and Rutilius are in oblique cases and therefore technically ambiguous. but Serv. Auct. ad Aen. 3, 170. Serv. ad Aen. 10, 719, and the form of C's numerous homonyms in Greek myth (cf. p. 95) may be thought sufficient to establish -us as the correct form for both place and king. Virgil (see n. 13) treats the name as local, not personal. In Serv., the one name fills both roles, and only in Serv. is Corythus inserted into the royal genealogy of Troy: ad Aen. 3, 167: Briquel (n. 2), 162. Cf. further n. 12 p. 91.
6 Cf. Briquel (n. 3). 161 with n. 115.
7 ** Speak. descendants of Dardanus — for we are well aware of your city and race, and as known figures you have directed your course here upon the sea... born (206) in these lands... having started from the Etruscan site of Corythus (209).' Between auditi and 7. 167. nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat adventisse viros, there is some inconsistency: cf. V. Buchheit. Virgil iiber die Sendung Roms (Gynn. Beiheft 3, 1963), 160. n. 41.
At Aen. 8. 36ff., the river-god Tiberinus addresses Aeneas: *o sate gente deum, Troianum ev hostibus urbem qui revelis* nobis aeternaque Pergama servas. The god, as climax of his epiphany (8. 65), reveals that *celsis caput urribus exit* (which could include Cortona, clearly), but, at the moment of speaking, he is to be thought of, evidently, as located somewhere between Ostia and Rome, and Virgil identifies him by the name under which he is addressed in cult at Rome, Tiberinus."

Neither of the passages discussed so far conveys decisive topographical indications (Horsfall, Reply, 296). In comparison with the distance Aeneas has travelled from Troy, *his* (7. 206) and *revelis* (8. 37) could, it might be felt, legitimately point to any Tuscan location.

9 Note how the language of return recurs in Virgil’s account of Dardanus: *repetit* (7. 241), *reduces* (3. 96). *reverti* (3. 101). ‘*O sate...* Born from divine stock, you who bring us back the city of Troy from the enemy’s hands and preserve the eternal citadel of Pergamum.’

10 Liv. 2. 10. 11: Serv. ad Aen. 8. 72; *Encycl. Virgil.* s.v. Tevere, forthcoming.
CORITHUS RE-EXAMINED

Perhaps rather more helpful are Ilioneus’ words to Latinus (7. 239 - 42):

sed nos fata deum vestras exquirere terras
imperiiis egere suis, hinc Dardanus ortus,
huc repetit, iussisse ingentiibus urget Apollo
Tyrrehnum ad Thybrim et fontis vada sacra Numici.11

Vestras must, after all, refer to the terrae of Latinus and his people, from which Dardanus came (hinc). The Aeneid makes no reference to links between the headwaters of the Tiber and the Roman Campagna; coastal Etruria is (8. 470ff, 505ff) quite another matter.

Lastly, 9. 10-11: in 8, Evander tells Aeneas of an old Etruscan settlement. Agyila (= Caere). haud procul hinc (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. dactorum millibus addam (8. 496f). The leader of this sea-borne host is Tarchon. eponym of Tarquinia. twenty-five miles up the coast beyond Caere (cf. p. 92). Evander gives the Trojans horses, Tyrrehna petentibus arva (8. 551) and fama volat parvam subito volgata per urbem, ocius ire equites Tyrrehna ad litora regis (8. 554f). In the evening (8. 606f), Aeneas reaches a mighty wood by the chill stream of Caere (8. 597) and. haud procul hinc (8. 603), Tarchon and the Tyrrenhians are waiting for him. Aeneas rapidly reaches an agreement with Tarchon and leads them back by sea to the Tiber-mouth (10. 146ff). That is to say, Aeneas never goes beyond Caere. But in 9. 6ff. Iris tells Tumus that Aeneas has left urbs, socii and classis and gone to the Palatine settlement of Evander.

nec satis: extremas12 Corythi13 penetravit ad urbes
Lydorumque manum collectos armat agrestis (9. 10-11).

Iris’ speech is, as Mr Harrison (294f) with justifiable force reminds me, a Triugread, calculated to provoke Tumus into attacking the Trojan camp under a false conception of Aeneas’ actual whereabouts. It might therefore appear hopeless to expect to extract any topographical sense from it. That is not quite so: it would be altogether in keeping with the methods already employed by Juno’s other agent, Allecto, if Iris’ words blended the true, the misleading,14 the

---

11 But us the god-sent oracles have driven by their commands to seek out your lands, from here was Dardanus sprung. here he calls the Trojans back, and with mighty commands Apollo drives them towards the Tuscan Tiber and the sacred shallows of the brook Numicus.’ Dardanus must be the subject of repetit; hinc and huc cannot be separated by a strong mark of punctuation. Servius’ suggestion that Dardanus is here used for Aeneas need not be taken seriously.

12 Extremas must mean not ‘Farthest from the city of C;’ but ‘Farthest from the grove of Pilumnus’ (cf. 9. 3f); the former interpretation is both linguistically awkward and, on any interpretation of C., geographically intolerable.

13 Corythus: cf. n. 3. The linguistic evidence of the Virgilian citations points the same way: in view of the frequency of the appositional genitive (urbs Romae) in the Aeneid (cf. 1. 247 with Austin’s note and 3. 293 with Williams’ note). I rather doubt whether the genitives Corythi Tyrrehna ab sede (7. 209), extremas Corythi... urbes (9. 11), and antiquus Corythi de finibus (10. 719) could ever naturally in Virgil refer to an ancient king rather than to a place. Worse follows if C. is taken as a person, not a place at 3. 170: to take sonic of the Virgilian passages personally and others locally is to introduce needless complications. It is easy to take the plural urbes as referring to a single town (cf. 7. 207f and 364 of Troy, and the use of arces at 3. 553 et saep); and a single town is clearly envisaged at 7. 209, Sili. 4. 719f and 5. 123.

haud procul hinc (8. 478); ‘not far from here’... ‘upon these thousands I shall contribute you as leader’ (497f) ... ‘making for the Tuscan farmland’ (551) ... ‘a rumour suddenly takes flight, diffused through the little city that cavalry are making fast for the Etruscan king’s shores’ (554f) ... ‘not far from here’ (603f) ... ‘nor is that all: lie has reached the distant city of Corythus and is arming the assembled countryfolk, a Lydian hand’ (9. 10-11).

14 Harrison (294. n. 2) claims that collectos armat agrestis is. in the light of X. 493f and 10. 148f, wholly false: Tarchon has already collected and armed the Etruscans. But they are in truth gathered in one place under arms: to that extent Iris does not deceive.
reassuringly familiar, and the evilly inventive: "Turnus may (or may not) already know that Aeneas has gone off somewhere to the North-West." He is at the moment of course at Caere. Iris, though, tells Turnus that Aeneas has gone to the extremas Corythi . . . urbes. To fire Turnus to immediate and incautious action, she improves on reality, by, I would suggest, a carefully measured and altogether typical piece of exaggeration: if my identification of Corythus be accepted, Iris places Aeneas in exactly the right direction and neatly doubles the distance." The topographical indication she reinforces by the comforting extremas (cf. n. 12): it is now, therefore an ideal time for Turnus to attack the Trojan camp.

There is one other reference to Corythus in the Aeneid: 10. 719f, venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acro. Gratus homo. It might appear at first sight self-evident that Acro is a Greek because he comes from Cortona, a Pelasgian city and home of Odysseus. But the name suggests an alternative explanation: it is one of those which Virgil borrows from Roman legend." for Acro(n) is familiar as the king of the Caeninenses, killed by Romulus (Liv. 1. 9. 8, etc.). Propertius calls Acron Herculeus (4. 10. 9), which suggests that Greek associations unknown to us were familiar in Augustan times, and it is still perfectly possible that Virgil did not identify Corythus with Cortona and called Acro Greek for the same (unknown) reason as did Propertius (a son. perhaps?)."

Nothing in the above is to be regarded as a powerful and conclusive topographical argument, but it will be clear that in none of the passages just discussed would an identification of Corythus with Tarquinii be at all difficult, and that in the case of 9. 10f it would suit very well. It has long been recognised (cf. nn. 4, 21) that the decisive evidence is in Silius and that will now be discussed.

3. Silius

Outside Virgil, three other classical Latin texts refer to Corythus; nothing can be made of Rut. Nam. de reeditu 600. per Corythi populos. Sil. 4. 718ff, 5. 122ff and 8. 472ff are another matter and constitute a peculiarly complex problem. Describing Flaminius’ advance into Etruria before the battle of Trasimene, Silius writes (4. 718ff):

\[
\text{ergo agitur raptis praeceps exercitus armis}
\]

\[
\text{Lydorum in populos sedemque ab origine prisci}
\]

\[
\text{sacratam Corythi iunctoque a sanguine avorum}
\]

\[
\text{Maevios Italis permixta stirpe colonos.}
\]


16 8. 585ff: Aeneas’ open departure: 10. 267; his return by sen. is surprising.

17 From the general area of Latinus’ city to the Tiber, about ten miles, though Pilumnus’ grove might be thought a little further off towards Ardea. From Pallantium to Caere, 25 miles, from Caere to ‘Corythus’ (on my identification). 25 miles more.

18 'Acro, a Grech. had come from the ancient territory of Corythus.’ Cf. DH 1. 20. 4; Colonna (n. 3). 7ff; Briquel (n. 3). 101-168.


20 Cf. Briquel (n. 3). 225ff, for the Greek mythological associations of Tarquinii

21 Far too readily dismissed: Briquel (n. 3). 161 n. 115; Colonna (n. 5). 13; M. Cristofani, Encic. Virgil. s.v. Corythus: A. Necopi Modona. Cortona Etrusca e Romana, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1977). 173 n. 4, very closely followed by S. Montcro Herrero. Sr. Etr. 50 (1982). 42 n. 3. Pun. 4. 718ff: 'So the army snatched up its weapons and was hastened swiftly into the territory of the Lydians and the hallowed scat founded by Corythus of old, and the Maenian settlers linked from ancient stock, to the Italians, with races intertwined.'
Cortona looks down on Trasimene, and there can be no doubt about the identification of Corythus here. But is dis 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 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 our other testimonia on the prehistory of that city.22

Secondly, Flamininus himself exclaims, shortly before the actual battle (5.122):

. . . . . . Poenus nunc occupet altos
Arreti muros, Corythi nunc diriuit arcem?
hinc Clusin petat? postremo ad moenia Romae
illaesus contendat iter?

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

But that is not all: in Silius’ Catalogue of the Italian forces, we read (8.472ff):

lectos Caere viros, lectos Cortona superbii
Tarchonis domus, et veteres misere Graviscae,
nechon Argilico dilectum litus Halaeso
Alsium et obsessae campo squalente Fregenae.

The four places securely identified belong in irregular sequence23 to the coast of the Marmemna. The location of Cortona in this company is not in itself so bizarre as might appear, for Silius goes on to Faesulae, Clusium, Luna and Vetulonia, in that order. It is superbi Tarchonis domus that gives serious pause for thought. Tarchon has no links with Cortona elsewhere,24 and Briquel’s elaborate explanation of his presence there in this passage will not convince.25 Nomially, Silius will follow obediently his geographical source, most probably Varro, and very possibly res humanae 11, in such matters.26 What then has happened here? Ancient Virgil-school scholarship was very little concerned in general with topography,27 and the Servian commentaries refer to Corythus only as mons, oppidum, or civitas Tusciae; that is, they know nothing. Nor, given his confused mythological references to both Corythus and Cortona, does Silius seem any better informed.

22 DH 1, 20. 26: inhabited by Umrians. Pelasgi, Romans: see now exhaustively Briquel (n. 3). 101ff. Sil. 5. 122ff.; ’Should the Carthaginian now seize the lofty walls of Arretium, now destroy the citadel of Corythus, hence make for the walls of Clusium? Finally march on the walls of Rome unharmed?” Sil. 8. 472ff: ‘Caere sent chosen men. as did Cortona, the home of proud Tarchon; ancient Graviscae sent them too. So did Alsium. a coast loved by Argive Halaesus and Fregenae enclosed by an uncultivated plain.’
23 From NW to SE. the geographical sequence is: Cortona (?). Graviscae (? = Porto Clementino). Caere (= Cerveteri). Alsium (= Palo). Fregenae (= Fregone).
24 Colonna (n. 5). 13 n. 70. For connections between Tarchon and the Northern dodecapolis of the Etruscans. see schol. Ver. on Aen. 10. 200. and Ogilvie on Liv. 5. 33. 9. P. Venini (n. 26). 162. confirms that Silius’ information is unique.
25 That Silius is reliable here, that Tarchon does belong to Cortonu and is there superimposed upon Nana-Odysseus and Corythus: Briquel (n. 3). 240ff.
26 P. Venini, Mem. Ist. Lomb. 36 (1977-8). 220ff. evades the problem. But see B. Rehm. Das geogr. Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis (Phil. Supplbd. 24. 2. 1932). 97ff; he argues for Varr. Res hum. 11 (104) as the essential text. Sallmann’s dismissal (Die Geographie des alt. Plinius (Berlin. 1971). 2390 of res hum. 11 should not convince, for the mass of directly relevant material in Virgil and Silius is omitted from his argument (almost completely. but see 79ff), and study of the fragments in FGATH and HRR will not persuade that Virgil. Pliny and Silius drew their mythological information about central Italy from Alexander Polyhistor (the formulaic expression hoc tumum . . . trahit in Serv. Dan. ad Aen. 10. 389 should inspire caution) and Nepos: Verrius and Hyginus are probably both too late to have been used by Virgil for the Aeneid. Rehm’s arguments seem not therefore to have been overthrown, or even shaken.
28 Ad Aen. i. 380. 3. 104. 7. 209. 9. 10. Cf. Serv. and Serv. Dan. ad Aen. 3. 170.
But if Corythus is actually to be understood as Tarquinii, then not only is the full subtlety of Iris' Trugrede at Aen. 9. 10f revealed, but we may also glimpse a possible explanation of the genesis of error in Silius. He calls Cortona Corythus and gives Cortona Tarquinii's founder. Behind this misattribution there lurks no wider spread of Tarchon's kistic activities; rather in Punica 8 Silius has at last consulted seriously his chief topographical source and only now learns that Corythus was actually an old name of Tarquinii (which, familiarly, was of course founded by Tarchon'), but this rare and correct piece of information coexists in his recollection with his own earlier (and pernicious) answer to the problem of the identification of the Virgilian Corythus, which will have perplexed many readers; Silius, perhaps misled by the similarity of the first three letters,' had clearly once thought that Corythus was Cortona. Only, therefore, in Punica 8 does the name of the (second) founder bear witness to the fact that he had at last learned the correct identity of Corythus. It will be found both that this identification provides the only coherent explanation of the origins of the name Corythus and (p. 102) that our sources may supply the faint trace of an explanation for why the town's identity was so generally obscured.

4. Corythus

The modern town of Tarquinia acquired its name in 1922: prior to that it was called Corneto.12 The earliest evidence for this name is perhaps the reference to an episcopus Cornensis in the synod of 504; there is no doubt about the existence of both name and settlement by the eighth century, when the Saracens destroyed the ancient city of Tarquinii, whose acropolis stands about a mile to the North-East of the modern settlement.13 The first explicit identification of Corythus with Tarquinii occurs in the Collectiones of Paul of Perugia (d. AD 1348), excerpted by Boccaccio for his Genealogia deorum.34 Paul is a distinctly mediaeval figure,2 unaware of renaissance humanism creeping up behind him: also a most learned man, who kept the best company at the Aragonese court of Naples: a transmitter, not an inventor, and certainly not to be dismissed in the same breath as Annius of Viterbo, who died, after all, a century and a half later (1502).36

The identification is also mentioned in a poem (post-1454) addressed by one L. Vitellius7 to Filelfo:

is Coritus mons est, veteris primordia Troiae

---

1. Strah. 5 p. 219, etc.
2. See above. p. 93.
3. Called suggestively by the Greeks Kroton, Korthonia (Neppi Modona, (n. 21), 176ff).
4. A royal decree of 10 Sept. 1872 imposed the hybrid appellation Corneto Tarquinia.
CORYTHUS RE-EXAMINED

Cornetum quo nunc urbs opulenta sedet.\(^{38}\)

I turn now to the origins of the name: the name Corythus belongs to seven distinct characters in Roscher; 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 Alesus; the child, left on Mt. Parthenius by Auge, was found by some shepherds of King Corythus being fed at the teat of a doe. and they gave him to the ruler. Corythus received the child and gladly raised him as his own son.”’ This version appears close to that used by Sophocles in the *Aleuadae*.

Despite the variety in accounts of Telephus’ infancy and adventures,\(^{41}\) it is clear that the suckling hind and the rearing by Corythus are both part of the same version (cf. Binder, *loc. cit.*), though we should perhaps not go so far as to say that where we find the suckling Telephus was depicted on the coins of Tegea.””

How then does Corythus reach Italy? He is an Arcadian, but his presence in the West is probably not to be explained in terms of “l’arcadisme romain”,\(^{35}\) for Corythus is an extremely unimportant figure; his mythological existence depends on his connection with Telephus and our answer lies rather in the spread of the Telephus-story in the West.\(^{46}\) Telephus is associated not only with Arcadia but also, even more strongly, with Mysia, whose people he led to the Trojan War: this localisation was apparently to be found in the *Iliad*: by the time of

---


40 Fr. 89. 2 Pearson/Radt, mentioning the hind; for this element in exposure-stories, G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim. 1964), 130ff.


46 Colonna (n. 5), 9; Briquel (n. 3), 162. Unfortunately Briquel takes seriously *(164f)* Servius’ note on *Aen.* 7, 209 and Servius Danielis on 3, 170. concluding that there really was an *heroon* at Cortona, with which the Etruscans at some stage associated Corythus father of Dardanus. The mechanical ramblings of the Virgil commentators, when striving without evidence to fill a void, never deserved such consideration!

47 Fr. 7 Allen = Paus. 3, 26, 9.
Aeschylus' *Mysians*, it was well-established. It is as a Mysian, paradoxically," that he is brought into Etruscan foundation-legends, for there is no important Lydian hero of Greek mythology to be claimed as forbear of the Etruscans; 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 crude geographical terms — available for inclusion in their genealogy."

Lycophron provides our earliest explicit literary evidence for the Telephid origins of the Etruscans: in *Alex. 1245ff*, the brothers Tarchon and Tyrsenus are described as the offspring of Telephus;" and Capuan coins of the mid-third century BC showing the hind suckling Telephus, are clearly the result of Etruscan influence, and are probably meant to rival the wolf and twins of Rome. Many representations of Telephus-stories have also been found in Etruria proper, on vases, cistae, mirrors and sarcophagi."

Given that Tarchon is sufficiently attested as founder of Tarquinii (cf. n. 29), the position of Corythus in the story of Tarchon's father Telephus serves neatly and credibly to explain the application of Corythus as a name of Tarquinii; at Cortona, on the other hand, "the association of the Virgilian Corythus with the Telephus-story — one that appears by now to be *prima facie* obvious and integral — no longer has either purpose or explanation.

Admittedly, this attempt to disentangle our testimonies appears to raise both a geographical and a chronological difficulty. To say that Tarchon is simply an eponym derived from the city-name Tarquinii is to over-simplify the question: the name is authentically Etruscan, related to that of the family of the Tarquins, and of the Asiatic god Tarku (Tarchon: Etr. *Taryna*; cf. n.103). Tarchon is therefore a good deal likelier to be an Etruscan *Stadtgott* and even hero than a late construct. His connexion with Tarquinii, perhaps the oldest of Etruscan cities, will have been obvious to all, even though the explicit evidence of that connection might be thought


51 We find Tyrrenhus son of Telephus ascribed to 'others' at DH 1. 28. 1


54 Telephus is also introduced into the foundation story of Rome: 'others' *ap. Plut. Rom. 2. 1: Rome* and a daughter of Telephus: Malelas. *Chron. 6* p. 162: Telephus king in Italy and after him his son Latinus (cf. *Suda s.v. Latinoi*); compare Alcimus *FGrH 560 F 4 = Fest. p. 376. 35L; Romulus a son of Aeneas and Tyrrenhenia (on whom see A. Fraschetti, full ref.: Aeneas-legend, n. 67). I was rash to suggest (Horsfall, 78) that these passages 'would appear to point to the . . . 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 of central Italy'. Cf. rather T. J. Cornell, *PCPhS 21* (1975), 18ff, and Horsfall, *CQ 29* (1979), 80. Such scraps should not be bullied into reflecting an ordered and durable conception of the legendary prehistory of Italy (cf. p. 18 n. 66). The ingenuity and learning of the authors cited at the beginning of this note is quite without serious significance: if Telephus' arrival in central Italy makes mythological explanation, it must be in a Tarquinian context.

55 Cf. Colonna (n. 5, 10, whose explanation in terms of Etruscan onomastics is ingenious but utterly unconvincing: at the mythological level. Cortona entails far more difficulties that Tarquinii.


57 So Schachermeyr (n. 48). 207.

58 See, for instance. Scullard (n. 33). 84ff; Schachermeyr (n. 49). 2081.
a little scanty (cf. n. 29). But it exists; in the *Aeneid*, however, Tarchon is leader of all the Etruscans and is not connected with Tarquinii at all. Indeed Tarquinii is nowhere mentioned" (cf. n. 105); this omission does make the proposed identification of Tarquinii and Corythus rather easier and may possibly have been made partly for that very purpose.

It may also be thought that Tarquinii has a further substantial advantage in that it lacks an elaborate legendary prehistory; here Tarchon and Corythus can comfortably coexist as parts of the same story. Cortona, however, may be thought overcrowded already: " apart from a generous range of ethnic origins," we should note Nanas, Nanois/Odysseus, and notably Odysseus plain and simple. Given that Virgil takes such pains to separate and contrast Aeneas and Odysseus elsewhere (Horsfall. Reply, 296f), it would be extraordinary were he thought to equate Aeneas' recondite *antiqua mater* (Corythus) with Cortona, a city well-known for its associations with Odysseus. It is no answer to adduce (Colonna, *loc. cit.*) the 'parallel' of Latium. It is not clear that either Hellanicus or Lycophron associated Odysseus explicitly with the foundation of Rome: it is indeed extremely rare to find Odysseus associated with that foundation." There is room for both Aeneas, Odysseus, and their progeny as *kistai* of various Latin towns: indeed the way that they are there kept separate suggests rather that they should be kept separate in the foundation-stories of Etruscan towns likewise, and that Aeneas' ancestors do not belong to Cortona, above all in the *Aeneid* where Odysseus is so little respected.

Secondly, there is a problem of chronology. Telephus is a hero of the Trojan War, and his son sailed to Italy after the fall of Troy. Thus the Corythus who tended the infant Telephus belongs to the generation before the Trojan War. But in Virgil, the name of Corythus must pre-exist Dardanus and Dardanus is the great-great-great-grandfather of Aeneas. But this kind of discrepancy should not be allowed to trouble us. Corythus is mythologically insignificant; for Virgil or his source, he has ideal associations but insufficient fame to anchor him in time. The far greater problem of the date of the Etruscans' arrival in Italy is left unsolved in Virgil and elsewhere: " Tarchon fights alongside Aeneas, belongs therefore to the epoch of the Trojan War, and must further, if regarded as the Etruscans' leader, serve to date their settlement likewise. Yet elsewhere Virgil clearly regards the Etruscans' power as well-established in

---

50 Colonna (n. 35). 160. suggests curiously that Virgil supposed that Tarchon had not yet founded Tarquinia.
60 Strab. 5 p. 219; SByz. s.v.
61 Colonna (n. 5). 5ff; Briquel (n. 3). 10ff; Neppi Modona (n. 21), 2ff.
62 Umbrians, Pelasgians, Etruscans.
64 On *FGH* 4 F 84 see CQ 29 (1979). 378ff, and more cautiously, *Aeneas-Legend*. 15 Since apart from my doubts about authenticity, it is far from certain, even if it be accepted that *met `Odysseous* should be read, in *DH* 1. 72. 2. 2. that the phrase refers to the foundation of Rome and not to their joint arrival in Italy.
65 *CQ* 1979. 38f; *Aeneas-Legend*. 20.
66 CQ 1979. 379 n. 52; Cornell (n. 54). 18 n. 1; H. A. Sanders. *CPH* 3 (1908). 31ff.
69 Servius makes Corythus the father of Dardanus by various mythological arrangements; cf. E. Thraemer. *PW* iv. 3178. 1ff.
70 In Herodotus. in the mid-thirteenth century BC: cf. 2. 145. *Vell. 1. 3: at the time of Orestes (ie. just after the Trojan war). In *Lyc.* apparently just in time for them to settle and meet Aeneas.
Italy at Aeneas' arrival." 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 has to posit the existence of two Tarchons (*Ostent.* 3)! But for Virgil the name Tarchon, rich in associations, unlike the shadowy Tyrrenhus will serve as the leader of any generation of Etruscans. If *Tarchon* is movable in time, then our difficulty about the generation of Corythus is alleviated. But it is unreasonable to demand precise synchronisms between such complex legends.

5. Dardanus Tuscus

The story of Dardanus' Tuscan origins at Corythus is not altogether isolated: there are two other localisations on Italian soil, both of which, it is claimed, have some bearing on the origins of the story."

First. Clusium (?). On an Etruscan inscription from the Wadi Millian, inland from Carthage, expounded notably by Prof. Heurgon, Marce Unata Zutas dedicates to Tin the territory of the Dardaniei (Tartaniutn). The dedicator's *gentilicum* belongs exclusively to Clusium, and Heurgon ingeniously connects his presence in North Africa with Appian's reference (B.C. 1, 435) to the followers of Cn. Papirius Carbo from the neighbourhood of Clusium who fled with him to Libya in 82 BC. It would therefore appear that some story which connected Dardanus with, apparently, not Cortona or Tarquinii, but Clusium, pre-dated the *Aeneid* (cf. Colonna, n. 5, 5).

Heurgon argues that because the inscription uses a Latin form of the name, the Etruscan origin of the royal house of Troy was not yet known (and that therefore Virgil was likely to have invented the story of Corythus: I disagree: see below). Colonna (n. 5, 3) is rightly less impressed by the form of the name in isolation, and agreeably suggests (5) that if the inscription does anticipate the outlines of the Virgilian story, then these Clusine exiles are claiming older antecedents than Rome herself. Given the circumstances of their departure from Italy, it was hardly likely that 'Dardanii' would be used to signify 'Romans' (Colonna, 4f).

Clearly, if Virgil did not invent the story of Dardanus' origins, it need not have been very old (sufficient explanation of the Graeco-Roman form of the name): certainly, it need not have derived from the ancient Etruscan culture of Clusium. Cortona or Tarquinii. But older than Virgil, possibly than Varro too, it does, on the evidence of this text, appear to have been.

But not Clusium (? alone. The Δάρδανος πόλις of Lyc. *Alex.* 1129 may be dismissed; it is Daunian and owes its name to the tribe of Dardi (Plin. 3. 104): Lycophron of course cannot resist secondary allusion by *Gleichklang*! More seriously. Cora: *Corani a Dardano Troiano orti.* A difficult item: clearly Coras is a more plausible *kistès,* but the *gemini frates,* Catullus and Coras, are made leaders of the Tiburtines by Virgil (*Aen.* 7, 672) and at least Catillus is already in *Cato."

Does this imply that Virgil thought the Etruscans autochthonous? (Cf. Nardi (n. 72). 4ff.) I very much doubt it.

At *Aen.* 11, 612. a mere name.

Cf. Briquel (n. 3). 163ff; Colonna (n. 5). 2ff, after Heurgon. below (n. 76). Cf. too now *Enciel.* Virgil. s.v. Dardanus (Musti).


But see Nardi (n. 72). 2f.

Plin. 3. 63: an isolated mythological item in a list of colonies: Sol. 2. 7; Mart. Cap. 6. 642.

On the founders of Tibur. Catillus and Coras. see pp. 61f. Xf.

Fr. 56P. It is of course far from certain that the long rigmarole in *Solinus* (*Catillus enim Anphiarai filius . . . .* including Coras in passing) has anything to do with Cato: the authentic citation may well be limited to a *Catillo
conventionally an Alban colony." So what are we to make of Pliny's assertion? His source is quite unclear and need not be the same as that of the list of colonies itself. Either Pliny, or his source, perhaps, knew the story of Dardanus and Corythus (either from Virgil or from Virgil's source) and was prompted by the similarity of sound between Cora and Cor-thus to make Dardanus the founder of the latter also.** Given that Coras belongs to Tibur and Dardanus to Corythus, both solidly enough, to link Dardanus with Cora smacks of mere casual tinkering, scholarship by loose association. But it does appear to assume the story of Dardanus at Corythus.

6. Sources

In all of the above, only Sil. 8. 472f, the inscription of the Wadi Milian, and conceivably the foundation of Cora may, of our classical evidence, be interpreted as indicating that the story of Corythus is earlier than the Aeneid. But in the only substantial modern discussion before mine, Prof. V. Buchheit argued forcefully that it was a Virgilian innovation;** by it, proposed Buchheit, 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 (n. 7, 166ff).

Buchheit's exposition of the Augustan aspects of the story as developed in the Aeneid I do not wish to question.** But the fact that the story is developed in an Augustan way is not in itself an argument for Virgil's originality; he has a great talent for exploiting the national potential of the most diverse material. Notice the great importance which Virgil attaches to the theme of 'return' in any way proof of invention: a theme so structurally useful and emotionally satisfying clearly required full exploitation whatever its origins.

The external evidence for the derivative character of the story may be reinforced by indications drawn from the poem itself. Virgil's first allusion to Aeneas' Italian descent occurs at line 380: *Italiam quaerens patriam et genus ab Ore summocr* 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 connexion of Dardanus with this patria would constitute an obstacle to any reader.

---

*Arcade praefecto classis Euandri.* Sol. 2, 7 also cites 'Sextius' as having linked Coras and Tibur; hardly one of the philosophical Sextii: possibly (R. Ritter. Diss. Hal. 14 (1901), 330) the oft-corrupted poet Suetius lurks here.

**Aen. 6. 775: OGR 17. 6.

* Brique (n. 3), 163-4, incautiously and unhelpfully invokes the 'doubtless ancient presence of an Arcadian tradition' of Corythus at Cora — whence lie is transferred to Cortona (cf. Heurgen (n. 76). 290f, n. 3).


** The change in Horace's attitude to Troy (Carm. 3. 3 to 4. 6. 15) is noteworthy (Buchheit (n. 7). 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.


* 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 scnsce between genus and 'Italy, my fatherland': cf. 3. 129. Cremat proxivosque petumus. It asks much of a reader to supply both a pause in scnsce and construction before et, as well as an ex et with what follows, when excellent scnsce can be obtained without either pause or understood copula. Cf. E. Harrison, CR 22 (1972). 303f.
Next, 3. 94ff; we can hardly be expected to retain a clear recollection of these prophetically allusive fragments for future elucidation. When the oracle of Delian Apollo orders the Trojans:

Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
accipiet redux, antiquam exquisire 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. 3. 103ff, 161ff, 182ff), 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 n. 7, 166). Virgil must have expected at least some of his readers to grasp the full point of 1. 380 and 3. 94ff. This could not have been done with a totally new story.

In Aen. 7, the fullest statement of the Trojans' Italian origins is elaborately introduced (205ff):

atque equidem memini — fama est obscurior annis —
Auruncos80 ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
Dardanum . . .

Buchheit (n. 7, 165) contrasts these words with a simple acknowledgement of tradition such as accipimus (7. 48), and suggests that the poet is here implicitly disclaiming any literary dependence. Rather, Virgil in this passage offers a complex and deliberately Italian form of the claim ὁμόρρυθος οὐδὲν ἀεὶδειν: we may come to admit that Virgil's source is indeed obscurior, while doubting that it is necessarily ancient or oral (cf. p. 6). But Virgil's elaborate protestations do not, I suspect, compel us of themselves to infer that he is at this point indebted to a source at once proclaimed and obscured for his material." Rather, 'a story-teller's device for heightening the discourse', as Mr Stinton subtly remarks of the Virgilian si credere dignum est.

Virgil's treatment of the Etruscans continues to attract much, even too much attention." 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,94 or indeed that any of the religious lore in the poem is either distinctively Etruscan or significantly recondite.95 It cannot be inferred from the poems that the Mantua of Virgil's youth was a hotbed of romantic nationalism, yet the allure exercised by the Etruscans in the Augustan age is undeniable."

Whatever the origins of Virgil's 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, in exile on account of his monstrous cruelty, fights, with his following of a thousand . . .

---

80 Probably used in a vague sense as an Urwolk of central Italy: cf. Aen. 7. 795, 11. 318; Plin. 3. 56; Rehm (n. 26), 64ff. Cf. also Myth. p. 6.
81 PClPh 1976. 65.
82 Older discussions: see Horsfall, n. 65. See now Colonna (n. 5), 13ff, (n. 35) 159ff; E. Rawson, JRS 68 (1978), 139, and Intellectual Life in the late Roman Republic (London. 1985), 29ff.
84 Cf. K. Büchner. PW viii A 1, 1037. 53ff; Westendorp Boerma on Catal. 5. 3f.
men, against the Trojans and the establishment of the Roman order. Against him, *omnis furis surrexit Etruria iustis* (8. 494). The forces which Tarchon leads to Aeneas’ support are fully recorded in a second Catalogue (10. 166ff); 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:

\[
\text{ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam}
\]
\[
\text{cum scepbro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon}
\]
says Evander, passing on the command to Aeneas.” It must be stressed that this was in Virgil’s day an extremely unusual role for Etruscans to play in a text about Aeneas. Livy’s account of Mezentius of Caere fighting with Tumus against the Trojans (1. 2. 3) gives the standard version. Of possible antecedents for this apparent innovation in Virgil, the most striking is Lycophron’s version (*Alex*, 1238ff.): Aeneas shall come to Etruria — to Pisa and Agylla — and will there be met by Odysseus and by Tarchon and Tyrsenus, sons of Telephus. Virgil appears to have known Lycophron intimately.

It is tempting — and perhaps legitimate — to interpret Virgil’s favourable presentation of the Etruscans in historical terms.” In 390 BC, the *sacra*, the Vestals, and the *flamen Quirinalis* were given sanctuary by the Caetans (Liv. 5. 40. 7f) who were admitted to *hospitalium* by way of reward (5. 50. 3); when in 353, the Caetans 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. 7. 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 (8. 603ff). It is less easy to justify historically the well-established account (above) of the hostility of Caere and its ruler Mezentius towards the cause of Aeneas.

Thus Caere is an eminently suitable place for Aeneas to receive the subjection of his Etruscan homeland. The return of Aeneas to Etruria and his alliance with the Etruscans are clearly related themes. It is peculiarly appropriate that all Etruria should unite to support Aeneas, whose family had in the remote past been Etruscan, but this line of argument is only touched on once in the poem and then lightly (9. 10f; p. 91).

It has already been noted that Aeneas meets Tarchon at Caere, though Iris tells Turnus that he has gone to Corythus (p. 91); Corythus is studiously distanced from the action and Aeneas, on the time-scale tightly worked out by Virgil, could hardly have met his allies so far away from his own camp as the ancestral *patria* of Tarquinius. But there is also an issue of suitability: Caere, as we have seen, has an honourable place in Roman history: Tarquinii, on the other hand, like Veii, had a bad record: home of the Tarquins’ family, enemy of the infant republic.

---

102 Hoffmann (*Rom u. die gr. Welt . . . Phil. Supplbd*. 27. 1 (1934). 124ff) suggests improbably that fourth-century Greek sources reflected hostility then existing between Rome and Caere: were contacts ever quite so sensitive?
103 Few will have known that, historically, the family of the Tarquinius was probably connected more closely with Caere than with Tarquinius: Gagé (n. 72). 128ff; Ogilvie, *Livy 1-5*. 141. A close connection between Tarchon and Caere would have suited no-one.
(Liv. 3. 6f), ally of Veii against Rome (Liv. 5. 16), who took up arms again as soon as the forty-year truce of 351 had expired (Liv. 9. 32ff), a vigorous opponent through the 350's (Liv. 7. 12ff, *passim*). This pattern is so consistent that Gagé invested the subjuction of Tarchon and the Etruscans to a Trojan leader with an historical meaning* as foreshadowing the ultimate subjuction of Etruria to Rome, and that may indeed at one level of explanation be correct. It might for that matter be felt that a localisation of the Dardanidae in a city (Corythus-Tarquinii) so long and bitterly opposed to Rome is historically intolerable, but Virgil never mentions Tarquinii at all, and leaves the identification of Corythus to those aware of the *fama obscurior*. If, moreover, the story of Trojan Corythus is used to legitimate in mythological terms the subjuction of Etruria to Rome and the eventual reconciliation of the two powers, it may be thought that its narrative function in the *Aeneid* is sufficiently divorced from the long hostility between Tarquinii and Rome.

It is quite clear that no-one before Virgil had thought through the possible implications and developments of the Corythus-variant for the Aeneas-legend. but that is by no means the same thing as claiming the Etruscan origin of the Dardanidae as an outright Virgilian invention. Whatever we make of the fireside tales of Auruncan elders (above, pp. 6, 100), it should by now have emerged as likelier than not that Virgil drew on a pre-existing story of Corythus. Evidently, even if there had been some hint in Varro (see below), it was not clear enough to rescue Silius from his confusion, and did not pass into the main stream of geographical lore to inform the Virgil commentators or, for instance, Mela, Pliny, Solinus or Festus. Possible traces of Varro's position must be considered with special care: in Servius Auctus' note on *Aen.* 3. 148, *Varro sane rerum humanarum secundo air Aenean deos 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.

In Servius' note on *Aen.* 3. 167. *Graeci et Varro humanarum rerum Dardanum non ex Italia sed de Arcadia, urbe Pheneo, oriundum dicunt*, the contrast *non ex Italia sed* might at first sight appear to be Servius' not Varro's: were that so, we should still not be entitled to infer that Varro alluded, even if negatively, to the Trojan's Italian origin. But at Serv. Auct. *ad Aen.* 4. 682. *Varro ait non Didonem sed Annam amore impulam se super rogum interemisse*, we are encouraged by Servius' note on 5. 4 to conclude that the contrast could well have been made by Varro. The form of the contrast does not occur elsewhere in Servius' many references to Varro. On the other hand, in the note on 1. 52. *poetae quidem finging hunc regem esse ventorum sed et Varro dicit rex fuit insularum*. Servius makes it perfectly clear that he is himself contrasting Varro's version with another. In the note on 3. 167. then, it is a possibility to be taken very seriously that Varro did himself draw the contrast between Italian and Arcadian origins: the *Graeci*, perhaps mentioned by Varro as a source for the latter, are here linked with Varro by Servius or his source, not necessarily as having contrasted, like Varro, the two stories, but simply to back up Varro's account of the Arcadian origin of Dardanus.

Possibly, then. Corythus was included in a version mentioned only to be rejected by Varro. Buchheit* is surely incautious in suggesting that Varro's account of the Trojans' origins is

---

104 Gagé (n. 72). 130ff, comparing *Aen.* 8, 505ff and DH 3. 59ff (the subjuction of Etruria by Tarquinius Priscus).

105 Perhaps because not coastal, perhaps because of associations at Rome: see Gagé (n. 72), 122ff; Saunders (n. 102), 74ff. Cf. also n. 59.

106 Cf. PVS 13 (1973-4). 11: *Varr. LL* 5. 62, *non quod... sed...*. 5. 58. *non quas... neque ut vulgus putat... sed...*. 107 Buchheit (n. 7). 164. 'von dem uns Servius gleich *mehrmals die griechische Abstammung des Dardanus bestätigt*'.

---
quite clear; the LL is rich in rejected and alternative explanations\(^{108}\) and we should never suppose that Varro always offered the same account when discussing a single phenomenon in different places.\(^{109}\) But this discussion, despite the seductive implications of Servius’ note on 3. 167, is not committed to Varro as Virgil’s necessary source. Buchheit (n. 7. 165ff) is again unwise to suggest that no antiquity of the age would venture to go against the magisterial dictum that, for instance, Dardanus was an Arcadian. It bears repeating that Varro was descriptive, not prescriptive, and that the listing of alternatives is a regular technique of his.\(^{110}\) Nor was his authority necessarily revered: note for instance Hyginus’ departure from Varro’s view on the important topic of the origin of the Sabinæ.\(^{111}\) Nor should we exclude the possibility that the Corythus-story be attributed to another antiquary of Varro’s own lifetime, perhaps writing before the appearance of the res humanæ.

E. Thraemer\(^{112}\) observes that in Virgil, the Penates are never Samothracian, but Trojan or Phrygian (2. 747, 3. 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.\(^{113}\) But of this ‘return of the Penates’, which one might feel deserves to be a theme of major importance, there is not one word in the Aeneid and it cannot be accepted as an account current in the late republic.\(^{114}\) But he is much likelier to be right in his suggestion that (n. 112. 63ff) the ‘schon zu Varros Lebzeiten einsetzenden Neigung, die römische Religion mit der Etrusca disciplina in Verbindung zu bringen’ provides the right context for the development of the much of the Etruscan element in the story of the Trojans’ exile. The introduction of the Corythus-story represents an attempt to expand that element beyond the bounds of Aeneas’ landing and the immediately subsequent events. Of course Aeneas cannot himself be made an Etruscan, but his family now certainly can.

Corythus represents an elegant development of secondary myth, and does appear to have been invented for reasons of Etruscan patriotism; Virgil, writing of Aeneas, exploits the development strongly but discreetly, introducing the element of nostos into the wanderings of Aeneas and his followers.\(^{115}\)

The interest in things Etruscan that flourished in late-republican Rome has been studied closely in recent years: the work of A. Caecina, Nigidius Figulus, Tarquitius Priscus and C. Fonteius Capito on Etruscan divination is well-known: Varro himself appears to have read Tuscae historiae\(^{116}\) and clearly had done some work on the subject in general.\(^{117}\) In this context, it is perfectly credible that a late republican antiquary, Etruscan himself, or of Etruscan

---


^109: For instance the city of Rome in LL 5 and RH 8 (for which Misch’s collection of fragments must still be used).


^112: PW iv. 2176, 41ff.

^113: Cf. Sew. ad Aen. 3. 15, cum omni hereditate maiorum divisurum etiam deos Penates Dardanus et Iasion fratres, quorum alter Thracian alter Phrygian insolvent occupatam. Cf. too now Suerbaum (Aeneas. n. 156).


^115: Cf. n. 84.


^117: Harris (n. 95), 4ff; S. Weinstock. PBSR 18 (1950), 44ff; Heurgon (n. 96). 288ff; Enking (n. 95). 94; Cornell (n. 117).
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, given the secure place of both Aeneas and Telephus on Etruscan soil. at least in Lycophron! This new and ingenious speculation was, it has been suggested, alluded to and rejected by Varro; by Virgil, though, it was admired and followed.

118 Robert Ogilvie, Tim Cornell and Colin Hardie did much to improve the original version of this paper.