

Mapping Foundations: The Italian Network of City Foundations in the Poetic and Antiquarian Tradition¹

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In illo tempore Priamus Helenam rapuit. Troianum bellum decennale surrexit causa mali, quod trium mulierum de pulchritudinem certantium praemium fuit, una earum Helena pastore iudice pollicente. Memnon, Amazones Priamo tolerere subsidium. Exinde origo Francorum fuit. Priamo primo regi habuerunt; postea per historiarum libros scriptum est, qualiter habuerunt regi Friga. Postea partiti sunt in duabus partibus.

At that time Priam (sic!) abducted Helen. The ten-year-long Trojan War arose from an apple which was the prize for three women competing in beauty; one of them promised Helen to the shepherd who acted as referee.² Memnon and the Amazons brought help to Priam. From there came the origin of the Franks. They had Priam as their first king; later it is written in the books of history how they had a Phrygian king. Later they were divided in two parts.

So we are told in Fredegar's *Chronicle*³ from the early eighth century CE.⁴ More detail is provided by the anonymous *liber historiae Francorum*, which was written in 727 and based on Gregory of Tours, right at its beginning:⁵

Principium regum Francorum eorumque origine vel gentium illarum ac gesta proferamus. Est autem in Asia oppidum Troianorum, ubi est civitas, quae Illium dicitur, ubi regnavit Aeneas [...] Surrexerunt autem reges Grecorum adversus Aeneam cum multo exercitu pugnaveruntque contra eum cede magna, corruitque illic multum populus Troianorum. Fugit itaque Aeneas et recludit se in civitate Illium,

¹ An earlier (German) version with a focus on Rome and Italy is to be found in Schmitzer 2014: 137-156. – I have to thank Markus Heim for checking the citations and Ulrike C. A. Stephan for the English translation of my paper.

² The translation uses the corrected text *Helena(m) pastori iudici*: Blänsdorf 1996: 85-110.

³ MGH SS rer. Merov. vol. 2, II, 4; Collins 1996; 2007.

⁴ Cf. Blänsdorf 1996: 108f; Hommel 1956: 323-341.

⁵ MGH SS ref. Merov. vol. 2, A, I. H. Wolfram & H. Haupt 1982. *Quellen zur Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts. Liber historiae Francorum, Das Buch von der Geschichte der Franken*. Unter der Leitung von H. W. neu übertragen von H. Haupt, Darmstadt (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters IVa): 329-331.

pugnaueruntque adversus hanc civitatem annis decim. Ipsa enim civitate subacta, fugiit Aeneas tyrannus in Italia locare gentes ad pugnandum. Alii quoque ex principibus, Priamus videlicet et Antenor, cum reliquo exercitu Troianorum duodecim milia intrantes in navibus, abscesserunt et venerunt usque ripas Tanais fluminis [...]

We will present the beginning of the Kings of the Franks and their origin, or that of those peoples, and their deeds. Now there is in Asia the city of the Trojans, where there is a community called Illium, where Aeneas reigned [...] Then the kings of the Greeks stood up against Aeneas with a large army and fought against him with much bloodshed, and heavily the Trojan people fell there. Therefore Aeneas fled and locked himself in the city of Illium, and they fought against this city for ten years. When even the city had been conquered, the ruler Aeneas fled to Italy to find peoples there to fight with. Other princes, too, namely Priam and Antenor, together with the remaining army of the Trojans, which were twelve thousand, entered the ships, sailed away and came to the banks of the River Don [...]

The Franks are descended from the Trojans:⁶ while Aeneas arrived in Italy, other Trojan refugees took different paths by which they ended up at the estuary of the River Don. In historically and geographically intricate ways these Franks came into contact with the Romans, who were their relatives from the beginning, proved their loyalty, and settled finally in the historical territories near the Lower Rhine and in modern France. This fundamental mythological-geographical connection consequently leads to the Franks' claim (later to be echoed by the House of Habsburg) to be the rightful successors of the *imperium Romanum*.

This text and more than a few others from the Middle Ages, in which the history of the Franks is thus, by reference to Troy, ennobled and closely connected with the Romans, stand in a strong ancient tradition: one or a few founding persons emigrate to another country, in a prehistorical period and due to a specific event (not driven by structural, e.g. economic reasons), and bring their customs and names with them. Thereby they generate a collectively binding foundation myth. In particular, however, they implant in the region of the new settlement a new significance that it would otherwise not possess. The empty space acquires – though only in retrospect – a meaningful history. In historical times the ties of kinship to the old homeland inscribed in the myth are made instrumental for political alliances.

In Italy, other than in the Hellenic sphere, autochthony is not a desirable part of founding narratives. This also explains why almost all such narratives are linked to migration myths.⁷ These myths do not simply juxtapose peoples or ethnic communities in haphazard ways. While local traditions may sometimes be present in the background, they are altogether constituents of a mythical map, by which the currently inhabited space is charged with special significance obtained from the

⁶ Anton 2000: 1-30 (with further bibliography).

⁷ See the comprehensive overview in Bourdin 2012: 73f.

past, which can be situated either in mythical or historical time. It makes little or no difference whether such past events are documented by evidence or completely constructed. The coordinates of this Italic map are determined by two mythological compounds which follow each other chronologically in mythological history: the journeys of Hercules, which lead him, among other places, into the Western Mediterranean; and, one mythical generation later, the Greeks and Trojans who after the fall of Troy are scattered about the Mediterranean. In analogy to the early commentary and exegesis of the Homeric and Cyclic epics, which are thus given a geographical backbone, as it were, the mythological narration the place of which was unspecified in the original text, is translated into a local, aetiologically charged and mythically enhanced topography. As far as we can determine, given the conditions of transmission, the founding narratives show considerable uniformity. They were not seen by the Romans and Italians as an alien imposition, or as retrospective cultural colonisation by the Greeks, but were apparently readily accepted or developed further by tapping into existing myths.

Ultimately, such appropriations even result in Italy's outdoing of Greece. Ovid at least suggests as much in his *Fasti*, where he describes the Italic-Roman holiday calendar (*Ov. Fast.* 4.63f., English translation following the 1931 Loeb edition):⁸

nec tibi sit mirum Graeco rem nomine dici;
Itala nam tellus Graecia maior erat.

Nor need you wonder that a thing was called by its Greek name, for the Italian land was Greater Greece.

The specific Italic situation now is constituted by the fact that on the one hand we have, as in the Hellenic sphere, a number of cities, nations and communities in juxtaposition which are competing with one another and which conduct their competition not least in the area of collective genealogies. On the other hand Rome is, at least from the late third century BCE onward, the dominating central power.⁹ She converted her political supremacy, among other aspects, into a prerogative to interpret and reinterpret the constructions of history, and was supported in this claim by the fact that the literary transmission does not start until this process had already become irreversible. Thus, we would not expect any parallel designs or competing concepts. Nevertheless there are traces of such competing genealogies,

⁸ Cf. Fantham 1998, *ad loc.* This is quite a different focus from the attempt by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to render the Romans a genuinely Hellenic people (see Gabba 1991: 11-13). Instead, Ovid tries to underline the Italic peoples' superiority over the Greeks they had left behind in more than one way.

⁹ Cancik 2004: 307-323 is important for the concept of city foundation and the various ethnic components gathered therein.

and of a remarkable number under the circumstances, which may make it necessary to re-evaluate the position of Rome. The aim of the present paper is to assemble and interpret these traces.

For this purpose we shall engage with two exemplary mythological compounds, the role of Aeneas' companion Antenor, and the construction of Hellenic-Trojan topography, as it is set out especially by Ovid in his *Fasti*.

*Padua*¹⁰, the ancient Patavium built by Antenor, was, from a legal perspective, located outside Italy until 42 BCE, namely in *Gallia Cisalpina*.¹¹ Nonetheless Livy, who had been born and raised there and later became *the* historian of the Roman Republic (though he could never quite cast off the label of *patavinitas*: Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.56 and 8.1.3, quoting Asinius Pollio), saw Padua on a par with Rome. The first words of his historical account in *ab urbe condita* are as follows (Livy 1.1.1-3, English translation from the 1919 Loeb edition):¹²

Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsus et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras.

First of all, then, it is generally agreed that when Troy was taken vengeance was wreaked upon the other Trojans, but that two, Aeneas and Antenor, were spared all the penalties of war by the Achivi, owing to long-standing claims of hospitality, and because they had always advocated peace and the giving back of Helen. They then experienced various vicissitudes. Antenor, with a company of Eneti who had been expelled from Paphlagonia in a revolution and were looking for a home and a leader – for they had lost their king, Pylaemenes, at Troy – came to the inmost bay of the Adriatic. There, driving out the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, the Eneti and Trojans took possession of those lands.

By placing Antenor¹³ next to Aeneas at the beginning of his historical account, Livy establishes a link between his own hometown and Rome. And even though Antenor remains in Padua and is thus eliminated from the path of history connected to Aeneas' journey (Antenor's tomb has been shown in Padua since the

¹⁰ Cf. Bourdin 2012: 102-104.

¹¹ Kienast 2009: 479f.

¹² Zelzer 1987: 117-124.

¹³ Braccesi 1984: 47-65; on the close connection between Aeneas/Aineias and Antenor already in the *Iliad* see Espermann 1980: 101-107. For the iconographic tradition see Cisotto Nalon 1990: 197-213.

Middle Ages),¹⁴ Padua is thereby still connected to Rome, not only by the history of the military conquest of Northern Italy but causally and from the very beginning. Padua is Rome's legitimate younger sibling, and many other such siblings were located throughout Italy.¹⁵ This is all the more remarkable given that the tale of Antenor was not used in historical times as an aetiology for an existing alliance – although the relationship between Padua and Rome was close and friendly – but was apparently created as a competing foundation narrative.¹⁶

Antenor is a Homeric character and can be found in ancient Greek literature in many places.¹⁷ On the one hand, he is regarded as a brave warrior at Troy and a loyal companion of Aeneas; on the other, there is quite early a charge of treason against him, which is developed from his mediating position already mentioned in the *Iliad* and his commitment to Helen's return. The path from the Hellenic tradition, where Pindar (for example) positions him as a settler in Cyrene, comes via Sophocles. It was Sophocles (and as far as we can see, he was the first) who made Antenor take a westbound route, to Italy.¹⁸ This fits in a general way with the interest shown by Sophocles in the mytho-historical foundation of Northern Italy (e.g. in the *Antenoridae*), which is possibly based on Athens' expansionistic endeavours into this area under Cimon.¹⁹ The ancient geographical literature took up the point²⁰ and transformed the fiction into a realistic account of historical events (Strabo 13.1.53, English translation from the 1960 Loeb edition):

Σοφοκλῆς γοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Ἰλίου παρδαλέαν φησὶ πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντήνορος προτεθῆναι σύμβολον τοῦ ἀπόρθητον ἐαθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀντήνορα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μετὰ τῶν περιγενομένων Ἐνετῶν εἰς τὴν Θράκην περαιωθῆναι κάκειθεν διαπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν Ἐνετικὴν,

At any rate, Sophocles says that at the capture of Troy a leopard's skin was put before the doors of Antenor as a sign that his house was to be left unpillaged; and Antenor and his children safely escaped to Thrace with the survivors of the Heneti, and from there got across to the Adriatic Heneticê, as it is called [...].

¹⁴ Beneš 2011: 39-62; on the so-called "tomb" of Antenor see also Zampieri 1990:197-213.

¹⁵ Even though, to the best of my knowledge, this family metaphor is not attested in antiquity, the prodigy of the sow and her thirty piglets witnessed by Aeneas points towards the thirty Albanian colonies (Lyk. *Alex.* 1250-1260) as originating from a common mother (Varro *R.R.* 2.4.18).

¹⁶ For the archaeology and the population of Padova see the papers in Zamperi 1990, especially Capozza: 151-164).

¹⁷ See the evidence in Braccesi 1984, *passim*.

¹⁸ Cf. Strabo 5.1.4.

¹⁹ Cf. Leigh 1998: 82-100, esp. 87f.; Cerrato 1985: 167-174.

²⁰ Cf. Leigh 1998.

The first Latin author to adopt this view was probably the Umbrian Accius in the second century BCE, for whom a fragmentary tragedy is attested under the title *Antenoridae*; but the surviving pieces of this tragedy do not give any hint as to whether and how Italic geography has been integrated. From about the same time as Accius we have a parallel testimony in Cato's *Origines*²¹ (frg. 2,12 Beck/Walter²²):

Venetos Troiana stirpe ortos auctor est Cato.

That the Veneti originate from the Trojan tribe is attested by Cato.

This develops into a *communis opinio* which, at least in Augustan times, connects Antenor firmly with Patavium.²³ Thus a tradition is established which stretches into late antiquity, for example in the *Origo gentis Romanae* by Ps.-Aurelius Victor, 1.5, with clear reference to Livy:²⁴

Cum procul dubio constet ante Aeneam priorem Antenorem in Italiam esse pervectum eumque non in ora litori proxima, sed in interioribus locis, id est Illyrico, urbem Patavium condidisse, ut quidem idem supradictus Vergilius illis versibus ex persona Veneris apud Iovem de aerumnis Aeneae sui conquerentis: Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus cet. Quare autem addiderit tutus, suo loco plenissime annotavimus in commentatione, quam hoc scribere coepimus, cognita ex libro, qui inscriptus est De Origine Patavina.

As it is certain beyond all doubt that Antenor arrived earlier in Italy and before Aeneas, and that he did not found the city of Patavium in a region near the coast but in the interior of the country, that is in Illyria, as indeed Vergil himself mentioned above in those verses in which Venus complains to Jove about Aeneas' labours: "Antenor could escape from amidst the Achaeans and arrive at the Illyrian shores, and he is safe there in the interior" etc. As to why he added "safe", however, we have remarked upon most fully in the appropriate place in the commentary, which we have begun to write on this and which we have learned from the book with the title On the origins of Patavium.

²¹ Cf. also Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1.11.1 (= Cato frg. 1,4 Beck/Walter), according to whom Cato and other Roman historians wrote down the foundation and origin histories of the Italic townships in extensive records.

²² *Die Frühen Römischen Historiker*, Vol. 1 and 2, hg., übersetzt und kommentiert von Hans Beck und Uwe Walter, Darmstadt 2004 (vol. 1) and 2005 (vol. 2).

²³ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.247f. [*Antenor*] *hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit / Teucrorum.*

²⁴ *Origo Gentis Romanae. Die Ursprünge des römischen Volkes.* Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Markus Sehlmeier, Darmstadt 2004, with commentary *ad loc.*

This last sentence is quite a sensational finding in the history of transmission, as it shows that Patavium had its own local historiography of which the last traces stretch up into late antiquity – although neither date nor author can be specified in any way. (However, that this author is the author of the *Origo* itself, as is often assumed, is far from certain). Such local traditions, whether they are transmitted in historiographical or aetiological or even historio-epic form, were evidently wide-spread. To us they are completely lost; the fact that interest in antiquity has focused almost exclusively on Rome, combined with the scarcity of libraries and archives in these provincial towns, have conspired to allow them to pass into oblivion.

So only few traces of the former knowledge were transmitted. For instance, Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.21.1) depicts the boldness of Paetus Thrasea towards the tyrant Nero by mentioning that Thrasea regarded the local festivals of his hometown as superior to the new festivities organised in the Emperor's honour:²⁵

Trucidatis tot insignibus viris ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano, olim utrisque infensus, et accedentibus causis in Thraseam, quod senatu egressus est, cum de Agrippina <re>ferretur, ut memoravi, quodque Iuvenalium ludicro parum [et] spectabilem operam praebuerat; eaque offensio altius penetrabat, quia idem Thrasea Patavi, unde ortus erat, ludis cetastis a Troiano Antenore institutis habitu tragico cecinerat.

After so many magnificent men had been slaughtered, Nero finally sought to erase virtue itself by murdering Paetus Thrasea and Soranus Barea, as he had long been hostile to both of them, and more reasons came in addition against Thrasea: because he had left the senate when the report about Agrippina was given, as I have mentioned, and because he had devoted too little spectacular effort to the Iuvenalian Games. And this offence cut all the deeper as this very Thrasea had at Patavium, where he was born, sung at the *ludi cetasti*, which had been established by the Trojan Antenor, in a tragic garment.

Irrespective of the difficult question of what the *ludi cetasti*²⁶ may be, the remarkable point of the passage is that even under the Empire local traditions were maintained performatively and publicly, not only as literary reminiscences; they commemorated the foundation myth of the city and evidently had such a prestige that even senators participated in the corresponding games. The behaviour of Paetus

²⁵ Cf. Braccesi 1984: 109f. on the conflict between Nero and Paetus Thrasea as a conflict between centre and periphery.

²⁶ Braccesi 1984: 109-111.

Thrasea reveals, beyond the offence against the Emperor, a local pride in Patavium²⁷ and the sense that the city would not defer to Rome. Similarly, Seneca (in a *praeteritio*) puts both cities and their ancestors on a level (Sen. *Dial.* 12.7.6):²⁸

quid interest enumerare Antenorem Patavi conditorem et Euandrum in ripa Tiberis regna Arcadum collocantem?

Why should I count Antenor, the founder of Patavium, and Evander, who on the banks of the Tiber built the kingdom of the Arcadians?

This local pride is perceptible in spite of the dramatic loss of local historical records outside Rome, as the focus on the capital gave rise to a kind of colonial amnesia.

Padua seems to have boasted a fairly elaborate foundation history, as is implied by three passages in late antique commentaries on Vergil's *Aeneid*, which are inserted at the relevant positions in the text (Serv. auct. *Aen.* 1.242):²⁹

ANTENOR POTVIT capto Ilio Menelaus memor se et Ulixen beneficio Antenoris servatos, cum repetentes Helenam ab eo essent suscepti ac paene a Paride aliisque iuvenibus interempti essent, parem gratiam reddens inviolatum dimisit. qui cum uxore Theano et filiis Helicaone et Polydamante ceterisque sociis in Illyricum pervenit, et bello exceptus ab Euganeis et rege Veleso victor urbem Patavium condidit; id enim responsi acceperat eo loco condere civitatem quo sagittis avem petisset; ideo ex avis petitae auspicio Patavium nominatum [...]

ANTENOR COULD: After the conquest of Troy, Menelaus remembered that he and Ulysses had been saved through Antenor's deed, when they, in the attempt to regain Helen, had been welcomed by him and almost been killed by Paris and other young men; granting to Antenor equal mercy, Menelaus dismissed him. He came with his wife Theano and his sons Helicaon and Polydamas and the other companions to Illyricum, was received there with war by the Euganeans, and having emerged victorious over King Velesus he founded the city of Patavium. For he had obtained as an oracle that he would in that place found a city where he had shot a bird with arrows; therefore, due to the auspices gained from a shot bird, the city was named Patavium [...]

The explanation follows a few verses later (Serv. auct. *Aen.* 1.247):³⁰

²⁷ Cf. Sil. 8.602-603: *tum Troiana manus tellure antiquitus orti / Euganea profugique sacris Antenoris oris.*

²⁸ Cf. also Claudian's little poem on a fountain near Padova (*Carm.* 26, 1f.; Braccesi 1984: 25-30): *Fons, Antenoreae vitam qui porrigis urbi / fataque vicinis noxia pellis aquis ...*

²⁹ The texts also in Leigh 1998: 90f.; cf. Leon 1964: 33-34; Dyer 1996: 403.

³⁰ For a contemporary view see Pellegrini 1990: 165-172.

VRBEM PATAVI hoc est Patavium. Patavium autem dictum vel a Padi vicinitate, quasi Padavium, vel ἀπὸ τοῦ πέτασθαι, quod captato augurio dicitur condita, vel quod avem telo petisse dicitur et eo loco condidisse civitatem.

THE CITY OF PATAVUS: this is Padua. Padua now is named either after its vicinity to the River Po, quasi *Podium*, or from πέτασθαι, the Greek term for flying, because it is said to have been founded after the taking of an augury, or because he (i.e. Antenor) is said to have shot a bird with an arrow and to have founded the city in that place.

Both texts mention an act of foundation based on a bird augury. This is confirmed by another testimony from the *Scholia Veronensia* on *Aeneid* 1.247, which also mentions birds, indeed a whole flock of birds. This, too, seems to point to either a competing or a complementary relationship to Rome, because for Rome, too, a bird plays an important role (alongside the she-wolf). Mars' bird, the woodpecker (cf. also Fabius Pictor frg. 7f. Beck/Walter: *et simul videbant picum Martium*) also brought food to the twin boys Romulus and Remus (according to the report in Plutarch, *Romulus* 4.2, English translation from the 1914 Loeb edition):

ἐνταῦθα δὴ τοῖς βρέφεσι κειμένοις τὴν τε λύκαιναν ιστοροῦσι θηλαζομένην καὶ δρυκολάπτην τινὰ παρεῖναι συνεκτρέφοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα.

Here then, the babies lay, and the she-wolf of myth suckled them here, and a woodpecker came to help in feeding them and to watch over them.

Moreover, the actual foundation of Rome by Romulus was connected to a bird augury, or rather a double bird augury, the two *auguria* of Remus and of Romulus, which found its destination in the *augurium augustum* of Romulus (Ennius *anales* 154 Skutsch):

Augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est [...]

When after the illustrious augury the noble Rome had been founded [...]

The remarkably frequent mentions of Padua relative to the town's actual significance are not only prompted by geographical interest or by a pursuit of mythographical completeness, but seem rather to constitute a systematic self-conception complementary to Rome and its foundation story. The region of the *terra Patavina*, actually located in *Gallia Cisalpina*, gains mythical significance which stretches far into the historical era and is able to maintain its position even under the Principate, against the centralising claims of Rome and its rulers.

Antenor becomes the dominating figure in the Upper Italic sphere and leaves his imprint on the entire region between the river Po and the Alps (Lucan 7.192-195, English translation from the 1928 Loeb edition):

Euganeo, si uera fides memorantibus, augur
 colle sedens, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit
 atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timauī,
 [...] dixit: [...]

If those who tell the tale may be believed, an augur sat that day on the Eugean hills, where the smoking spring of Aponus issues from the ground and the Timavus, river of Antenor, splits into channels; and he cried: [...]

In the same vein Silius Italicus writes (8.602-604, English translation from the 1927 Loeb edition):

tum Troiana manus, tellure antiquitus orti
 Euganea profugique sacris Antenoris oris.
 necnon cum Venetis Aquileia †superfluit armis.

There was also a band of Trojans, coming from the Euganean country in ancient times and driven forth from the sacred soil of Antenor. Aquileia too together with the Veneti was full to overflowing with troops.

The aspect of an ‘anti-Rome’ or ‘alternative Rome’ is further underlined by the emphasis on the inhabitants’ Trojan roots. This aspect had already become visible in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, when Venus complains to Jove about Aeneas’ fate and highlights Antenor as a paramount example of a successful settler (this is the passage to which the cited explanations refer: Verg. *Aen.* 1.242-249, English translation from the 1916 Loeb edition):³¹

Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achiuis
 Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus
 regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timauī,
 unde per ora nouem uasto cum murmure montis
 it mare proruptum et pelago premit arua sonanti.
 hic tamen ille urbem Pataui sedesque locauit
 Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit
 Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit:

Antenor could escape the Achaean host, safely penetrate the Illyrian gulfs and in most realms of the Liburnians, and pass the springs of Timavus, from where through nine mouths, with a mountain’s mighty roar, there comes a bursting flood that buries the fields under its resounding sea. Yet here he founded Padua’s town, a home for his Teucrians, gave a name to the race, and hung up the arms of Troy; now, settled in tranquil peace, he is at rest.

³¹ Cf. Pianezzolla 1990: 173-178.

Furthermore, Livy cites the *pagus Troianus* (Livy 1.1.3) as a term for the surroundings of Padua even in the Augustan present (*nomen est*), despite the fact that the eponymous town Troia – an echo of the original Troy – may have vanished in historical times from Upper Italy.³² Padua and its surroundings thus become a reconstruction of Troy and of the Aeneads' origins. As a result, while we must be cautious given the conditions of the extant texts, Padua may nevertheless be seen to precede as well as to complement the city of Rome – and this is in some respect also true in terms of its geographical location. When other Italic towns are taken into account, the exclusive role of Rome is thus diminished – the *urbs* becomes just a *prima inter pares*. Other Italic peoples were evidently just as successful in charging their territory with special meaning by setting it within the Trojan tradition. It may well be that the Romans found it not at all inconvenient when a Troy in Upper Italy was destroyed just in time, thus eliminating a potential competitor in the contest for prestige. Indeed, if Otto Skutsch (see n. 32 above) is right, this was even interpreted by Ennius in the *Annals* – in perfect unison with Roman intentions – as the execution of Juno's wrath (the *ira Iunonis*, as it appears at the beginning of the *Aeneid*) at Troy's ongoing existence, and thus ideologically contrasted with Rome's fate.

These observations on Antenor and his role in the Italic discourse of foundation can, in spite of the highly fragmented material, be extended even further and thus furnished with general significance, as the following examples show. The comparison with Etruscan towns proves instructive: apparently these towns did not inscribe their genesis³³ into the same foundation networks,³⁴ although the total loss of Etruscan historical literature makes a detailed analysis difficult.³⁵ The town of Arezzo, for instance, enters the historical stage in a rather unspectacular way, as an ally of the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus (Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 3.51.4, English translation from the 1961 Loeb edition):

[...] οὐχ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γενόμενοι γνώμης, ἀλλὰ πέντε πόλεις μόναι Κλουσῖνοι τε καὶ Ἀρρητῖνοι καὶ Οὐολατερρανοὶ Ῥουσιλανοὶ τε καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Οὐετολωνιάται.

³² Cf. Enn. *Ann.* frg. 445 Skutsch (book 8, frg. 18) with Skutsch's commentary *ad loc.*, who suspects that the town of Troia was destroyed during the Second Punic War in the course of a military expedition to Illyria in 221 BCE.

³³ Bourdin 2012: 105-112.

³⁴ For the "barbarization" of Etruscans – following the Greek historiographical literature – and their exclusion from the Mediterranean common host of foundation narratives see e.g. di Fazio 2013: 48-69.

³⁵ A scarce remainder is preserved in Serv. auct. *Aen.* 10.179 (Cato frg. 2,15 Beck/Walter): Cato Originum qui Pisas tenuerint ante adventum Etruscorum negat sibi comperitum [...].

[...] though not all were of the same mind, but only five cities, namely, Clusium, Arretium, Volaterrae, Rusellae, and, in addition to these, Vetulonia.

We can therefore restrict ourselves for the remainder of our investigation to a particular group of cities in Italy³⁶ that constructed their foundation-myths in a way similar to the one of Padua: those cities which, at least according to their self-image, had been founded in the era before the Greek colonisation and which nevertheless thought of themselves as belonging to the Hellenic sphere because their origin was associated with a fundamental event in Greek history and common Greek self-conception, namely the Trojan War. These cities were interconnected, as I will show, by the common core of their foundation myths, and thus formed what might be called a ‘mythotactic’ network in Italy. It would be rewarding to investigate more closely their relationship to the foundations by Heracles/Hercules³⁷, whose heroic deeds took place one mythic generation before the Trojan War – but such a study is beyond the scope of the present paper.

Initially a rival of Aeneas and Antenor was the Greek *Diomedes*, who had even wounded the goddess Venus, Aeneas’ divine mother, in the battle at Troy. But upon arrival in Italy Diomedes refused to continue to wage war in alliance with the Italic people, and instead called for reconciliation, according to the corresponding reports in Vergil and Ovid. The tradition credits him with a whole series of foundation acts (Serv. auct. *Aen.* 11.246):³⁸

ARGYRIPAM Diomedes fuit de civitate quae Argos Hippion dicitur, de qua Homerus Ἄργεος ἰπποβότοιο, Horatius aptum dicit equis Argos. hic in Apulia condidit civitatem, quam patriae suae nomine appellavit et Argos Hippion dixit: quod nomen postea vetustate corruptum est, et factum [[est]] ut civitas Argyrippa diceretur: quod rursus corruptum Argos fecit. [[sane Diomedes multas condidisse per Apuliam dicitur civitates, ut Venusiam, quam in satisfactionem Veneris, quod eius ira sedes patrias invenire non poterat, condidit, quae Aphrodisias dicta est. item Canusium Cynegeticon, quod in eo loco venari solitus erat: nam et Garganum a Phrygiae monte Gargara vocavit. et Beneventum et Venafrum ab eo condita esse dicuntur]].

ARGYRIPAM: Diomedes was from the city named Argos Hippion, which Homer calls “Argeos Hippobotoio”, and Horace, appropriately, “suited for horses”. He founded a town in Apulia, which he named after his hometown and called Argos Hippion; this name was later corrupted due to old age, and the town happened to be

³⁶ See Bourdin 2012 with ample references.

³⁷ Cf. already Fabius Pictor frg. 1 (Beck/Walter): [Κοί]ντος Φάβιος ὁ Πι-[κτω]ρίνος ἐπικαλού-[[μεν]ος, Ῥωμαῖος, Γαίου | [νιδ]ς | [δς] ἰστόρηκεν τὴν | [Ἡρ]ακλέους ἄφιξιν | [εἰς] Ἴταλιαν καὶ δ’ ἔτι | [νοσ]τον Λανοῖου συμ-[[μάχ]ου τε Αἰνεΐα καὶ | [Ἀσκα]νίου· πολὶ ὕστε-[[ρον] ἐγένετο Ῥωμύλος | καὶ Ῥέμος καὶ Ῥώμης | [κτίσις ὑ]πὸ Ῥωμύλου, [δς] | [πρώτ]ος βεβασί[λευκεν].

³⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11.246f. ille urbem Argyripam patriae cognomine gentis / uictor Gargani condebat Iapygis agris.

called Argyrippa; this was again corrupted to Arpos. In fact, Diomedes is said to have founded many towns across Apulia, such as Venusia, which he founded as a way of placating Venus, since he had been unable to find the dwellings of his fathers due to her wrath, and which is called Aphrodisias. Also Canusium Cynegeticon, because he used to hunt in this place: for he also named Mount Garganus after the Phrygian mountain Gargara. Beneventum and Venafrum are said to have been founded by him, too.

Diomedes also found his way from fictional poetry into historical prose. Strabo, for example (5.1.9; 6.3.9), after taking into account his mythic aspects, sees him as a serious and important Italic foundation figure.

An even more detailed account of Diomedes' motives is given by Servius in the commentary to *Aeneid* 8.9:³⁹

MITTITVR ET MAGNI VENVLVS DIOMEDIS AD VRBEM Diomedes postquam repperit ira Veneris a se vulneratae uxorem apud Argos turpiter vivere, noluit reverti: sed tenuit partes Apuliae, et edomita omni montis Gargani multitudine in eodem tractu civitates plurimas condidit. nam et Beneventum et Equumtuticum ipse condidit, et Arpos, quae et Argyrippa dicitur [...]

AND VENULUS IS SENT TO THE CITY OF THE GREAT DIOMEDES: After Diomedes had found out that, due to the wrath of Venus who had been wounded by him, his wife was living in disgrace near Argos, he did not want to return: but he occupied parts of Apulia, and after he had conquered the entire population of Mount Garganus, he founded a number of towns in the same region. For he himself founded Beneventum and Equumtuticum, and Arpos, too, which is also called Argyrippa [...]

Diomedes turns out to be a key figure in mythical city foundations in Southern and Central Italy, a counterpart to Upper Italian Antenor as well as an exemplary case of the integration of various fields of origin. For on Italian soil it ultimately proves irrelevant on which side the heroes have fought in the Trojan war. Diomedes even explicitly seeks an agreement with Aeneas and refuses to ally himself with the Italic people: the newcomers are united in solidarity by their common fate – which in each case is a kind of exile – and together they shape a new map of Italy.

How this post-Trojan historical conciliation functions even within the same discourse, is shown in the proem to the fourth book of Ovid's *Fasti*. In order to explain how Greek and Italic elements were combined to a new whole, the poet mentions the city founders who had come from abroad, first Evander and Hercules, before widening the view beyond Rome to include Italy as a whole. The destroyer of Troy, Ulysses, can follow next in line without causing any animosity (Ov. *Fast.* 4.69-72, English translation from the 1931 Loeb edition):⁴⁰

³⁹ For Servius' toponomastic see also Santini 2009: 563-77.

⁴⁰ Bömer 1957-1958, *ad loc.*; Fantham 1998, *ad loc.*

dux quoque Neritius; testes Laestrygones exstant
 et quod adhuc Circes nomina litus habet;
 et iam Telegoni, iam moenia Tiberis udi
 stabant, Argolicae quod posuere manus.

The Neritian chief also came: witness the Laestrygones and the shore which still bears the name of Circe. Already the walls of Telegonus were standing, and the walls of moist Tibur, built by Argive hands.

By mentioning Ulysses, Ovid moves away from Rome into the adjacent Italic regions, to the South (Mons Circeus), Southeast (Tusculum, as founded by Telegonus), and East of Latium (Tibur). For according to a non-Homeric tradition, Ulysses could not quite withstand the charms of Circe as they are described in the *Odyssey* but fathered a son with her, Telegonus⁴¹, “he who is born afar”. From this perspective, Circe is not a problem despite her destructive magical powers, since evidently a higher value was found in the dignity her myth could confer on the origins of a people. This is confirmed by the fact that even Medea could be integrated into the foundation legends: the *Marsi* derived their ancestry from a son of Circe and worshipped her niece Medea as the goddess Angitia.⁴² For Telegonus’ role as foundation hero of Tusculum, there is further evidence beside Ovid; as Porphyrio explains in his commentary on *Hor. carm.* 3.29.7:

ET TELEGONI IUGA PARRICIDAE: Tusculum significat, quod dicitur Telegonus Circes filius condidisse, qui per ignorantiam patrem suum Vlixen occidit.

AND THE RIDGES OF THE PATRICIDE TELEGONUS: this denotes Tusculum, which Telegonus, the son of Circe, is said to have founded, who by ignorance killed his father Ulysses.

Similar information is given in the etymological dictionary by Festus (116.7) which is based on the work of the Augustan scholar Verrius Flaccus:

⁴¹ Cf. Hygin, fab. 127: Telegonus Vlyssis et Circes filius missus a matre ut genitorem quaereret, tempestate in Ithacam est delatus, ibique fame coactus agro depopulari coepit; cum quo Vlysses et Telemachus ignari arma contulerunt. Vlysses a Telegono filio est interfectus, quod ei responsum fuerat ut a filio caueret mortem, quem postquam cognouit qui esset, iussu Mineruae cum Telemacho et Penelope in patriam redierunt, in insulam Aeaenam; ad Circen Vlysses mortuum deportarunt ibique sepulturae tradiderunt. eiusdem Mineruae monitu Telegonus Penelopen, Telemachus Circen duxerunt uxores. Circe et Telemacho natus est Latinus, qui ex suo nomine Latinae linguae nomen imposuit; ex Penelope et Telegono natus est Italus, qui Italiam ex suo nomine denominavit.

⁴² Mastrocinque 1993: 178.

Mamiliorum familia progenita sit a Mamilia Telegoni filia, quam Tusculi procreavit, quando id oppidum ipse condidisset.

The family of the Mamilians be descended from Mamilia, the daughter of Telegonus, whom he fathered in Tusculum, as he had himself founded this city.

Another strand of the tradition claims Telegonus for Praeneste, which was situated not far from Tusculum (Plut. *parallela minora* 316, English translation by Marietta Horster, New Jacoby):

ΤΗΛΕΓΟΝΟΣ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Κίρκης ἐπ' ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς πεμφθεὶς ἔμαθε πόλιν κτίσαι, ἔνθα ἂν ἴδῃ γεωργοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ χορεύοντας. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τινα τόπον τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ θεασάμενος ἀγροίκους πρηνίους κλάδοις ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ ὀρχήσει προσευκαίρουντας, ἔκτισε πόλιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκυρήματος Πρηνίστον ὀνομάσας, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι παραγῶγως Πραίνεστον καλοῦσιν· ὧς ἰστορεῖ Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

Telegonos, the son of Odysseus and Circe, who was sent to search for his father, was instructed to found a city at a place where he should see farmers wearing wreaths and dancing. When he came to a certain place in Italy and saw people wearing wreaths of oaken (*prininoi*) twigs and leisurely engaged with dancing, he founded a city. Because of these circumstances he named the city *Prinistum*, which the Romans, having altered its name, call Praeneste. So Aristokles relates in the third book of his *Italian History*.

In this last testimony we can also find some indication of the lost literature on regional history and culture, which must have contained information about this area, among many other topics. The extent to which it is based on older traditions, or just external attributions, is impossible to determine in view of the fragmentary transmission. The literary tradition was also supported by material evidence. Strabo, for instance, reports with only mild skepticism (*φασιν*), that at Mount Kirkaio, that is Monte Circeo, relics of Ulysses are shown (5.3.3): *δείκνυσθαι δὲ καὶ φιάλην τινὰ φασιν Ὀδυσσέως*.

The foundation of Tibur, also mentioned by Ovid, was already known to Cato. It was founded – according to the logic of a pre-Roman legend – from Arcadia, a site as primordial as that of Rome (Solin. 2.7):

Tibur, sicut Cato facit testimonium, a Catillo Arcade praefecto classis Euandri (*scil. conditum*).

Tibur, as Cato testifies, was founded by the Arcadian Catillus, the fleet commander of Evander.

This explanation was met with general consensus in antiquity, although we do find disagreement on Catillus' exact region of origin (he is sometimes also associated with Argos).

The fact that the Sabines hailed from Sparta and that their national character could be thus explained seems to have been common knowledge in Roman Republican historiography (Serv. auct. *Aen.* 8.638):⁴³

AUT 'SEVERIS' DISCIPLINA: aut rem hoc verbo reconditam dixit, quia Sabini a Lacedaemoniis originem ducunt, ut Hyginus ait de origine urbium Italicarum, a Sabo, qui de Perside Lacedaemonios transiens ad Italiam venit et expulsus Siculis tenuit loca quae Sabini habent [...] Cato autem et Gellius a Sabo Lacedaemonio trahere eos originem referunt. porro Lacedaemonios durissimos fuisse omnis lectio docet. Sabinorum etiam mores populum Romanum secutum idem Cato dicit: merito ergo 'severis', qui et a duris parentibus orti sunt, et quorum disciplinam victores Romani in multis secuti sunt.

[...] he says the thing hidden in this word, because the Sabini claim their origin from the Lacedaemonians, as Hyginus says on the origin of the Italic cities; their name derives from Sabus, who, coming from Persia through the land of the Lacedaemonians, arrived in Italy and, driven from Sicily, took possession of the region which the Sabines have now [...] however Cato and Gellius report that they derive their origin from the Lacedaemonian Sabus. Furthermore, every reading teaches us that the Lacedaemonians were the toughest people. The same Cato writes that the customs of the Sabini were followed by the Roman people: therefore the word 'severis' is rightly used here, both because they descend from tough ancestors and because the victorious Romans followed their discipline in many ways.

In his catalogue of founders, Ovid then proceeds by association from Ulysses and his son to the Trojans who had fled from the destroyed city (*Ov. Fast.* 4.73-78, English translation from the 1931 Loeb edition):⁴⁴

venerat Atridae fatis agitated Halesus,
 a quo se dictam terra Falisca putat.
 adice Troianae suasorem Antenora pacis,
 et generum Oeniden, Apule Daune, tuum.
 serus ab Iliacis, et post Antenora, flammis
 attulit Aeneas in loca nostra deos.

Driven from home by the tragic doom of Atrides, Halesus had come, after whom the Faliscan land deems that it takes its name. Add to these Antenor, who advised the Trojans to make peace, and (Diomedes) the Oenid, son-in-law to Apulian

⁴³ Cf. Strabo 5.3.1: οἱ Σαβῖνοι ... αὐτόχθονες.

⁴⁴ Fantham 1998, *ad loc.* points out that in the series of external founders Aeneas is the only one to import alien gods to Italy.

Daunus. Aeneas from the flames of Ilium brought his gods into our land, arriving late and after Antenor.

In this catalogue of Trojan and Greek city founders, who are not in conflict but rather complement one another, the civilisation of Italy becomes a product of the Trojan War and its aftermath. The map of Italy gains a historio-mythical superstructure which connects small and large, insignificant and important places and even incorporates Ovid's hometown⁴⁵ (*Ov. Fast.* 4.79-81, English translation from the 1931 Loeb edition):

huius erat Solymus Phrygia comes unus ab Ida,
a quo Sulmonis moenia nomen habent,
Sulmonis gelidi, patriae, Germanice, nostrae.

He had a comrade Solymus, who came from Phrygian Ida; from him the walls of Sulmo take their name – cool Sulmo, my native town, Germanicus.

Ovid combines personal fortune, local tradition, and “big” Italic history. Whether this is an ad-hoc aetiology inspired by local patriotism is impossible to determine from the extant sources⁴⁶. It was, however, apparently accepted without argument in antiquity, as the mention in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (the epic on the war of the Romans and Italics against Hannibal, much influenced by Livy) shows: (*Sil.* 9.70-76, English translation from the 1934 Loeb edition):

huic domus et gemini fuerant Sulmone relict
matris in uberibus nati, Mancinus et una
nomine Rhoeteo Solimus. nam Dardana origo
et Phrygio genus a proauo, qui scepra secutus
Aeneae claram muris fundauerat urbem
ex sese dictam Solimon. celebrata colonis
mox Italis paulatim attrito nomine Sulmo.

This man was a native of Sulmo and left two boys there at their mother's breast – Mancinus and one who bore the Trojan name of Solimus; for their remote ancestor was a Trojan who had followed Aeneas as his sovereign and built the famous city which he called by his own name, Solimus; but, when many Italian colonists resorted thither, the name was gradually shortened into Sulmo.

⁴⁵ See Carpineto 1976: 201-202 on the importance of the Paelignians and their origins for Ovid.

⁴⁶ Cf. Bourdin 2012: 126f.

Solimus⁴⁷ can also serve as an exemplar of how such a genealogical construction works: the nation of the Solymoi is known from the *Iliad* (6.184 and 204); it derived its ancestry from Solymus, son of Zeus (e.g. Stephan. Byz. p. 524 s.v. Pisidia: οἱ Πισίδαι πρότερον Σόλυμοι, ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Χαλδῆνης). In the Hellenistic era this origin was extended into a proper foundation cult and displayed, for example, on coins; cf. Strabo 13.4.16: Τερμησσέων ἄκρας ὁ ὑπερκείμενος λόφος καλεῖται Σόλυμος, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Τερμησσεῖς Σόλυμοι καλοῦνται. This fact could also have been known in the Roman West, as a remark made by Pliny the Elder in the context of Cilicia attests: *Insident verticem Pisidae, quondam appellati Solymi, quorum colonia Caesarea, eadem Antiochia* (Plin. *Nat.* 5.94.1). Furthermore, the town was easily confused with *Hierosolyma*, the city of Jerusalem, which had been rich and famous at least since Pompey's conquest of Judea (e.g. Mart. 7.55.7 *sed quae de Solymis venit perustus* eqs.; cf. Juv. 6.544).

If Ovid did invent the etymology of Sulmo,⁴⁸ – and there is significant evidence for such a *creatio ex nihilo* – he may have played a highly sophisticated and enigmatic joke. The only passage in which he mentions Solimus, the otherwise unattested companion of Aeneas, was almost certainly composed in exile – or in other words in the Hellenic Eastern sphere of the Imperium Romanum – because Germanicus is named as the direct addressee (as in the revised proem of the first book of the *Fasti*).⁴⁹ If my speculation is correct, it means that Ovid has operated on the grounds of the geographical association and phonetic similarity of Sulmo and Solymoi: the perished nation of the Solymi (Plin. *nat.* 5.127.1 *ex Asia interisse gentes tradit Eratosthenes Solymorum* eqs.) is substituted by the Sulmonenses, while the eponymous hero is sent on a westbound journey, just like Aeneas, and is established in Italy by a *translatio nominum* (if not *imperii*). Whether the cult of Jove in Sulmo (on his temple was built the church Santa Maria della Tomba, according to tradition⁵⁰) can be compared to that of Termessus for Zeus Solymus, may remain undiscussed for now.

If, then, this speculation holds true, this would additionally serve as evidence of ancient authors' awareness of and intervention in these etymologising foundation narratives, whose suggestive power not only convinced Silius Italicus and prompted his narrative elaboration, but also characterises the self-conception of

⁴⁷ Also see Türk 1927: 990f. s.v. Solymos 1) and 3) on the overlap of Greek and Latin ethnography discussed below; Dupraz 2009: 319-339.

⁴⁸ See in general Schur 1932: 728f. (s.v. Sulmo 1), who also assumes an invention by Ovid. Cf. Mattiocco 1997.

⁴⁹ Fantham 1998, *ad loc.* also ponders whether “the entire sequence of colonizers” may be “a late addition”.

⁵⁰ Mattiocco 1997: 63f.

Sulmo, or Sulmona, even today.⁵¹ Ovid has been very successful in giving the territory of his hometown special significance and thus saved it from anonymity.⁵²

Ovid could have done this without any intellectual risk, since no one could have kept track of all foundation figures claimed by larger and smaller Italic cities and towns with more or less sophisticated justifications. This series of mythical founders, which by its sheer mass suggestively visualises the Greek-Trojan primordial influence, can be found up to late antiquity in several encyclopaedic surveys and historiographical catalogues⁵³, as in Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* quoted above, or in the large encyclopaedia by Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, 6.642.⁵⁴

Hoc loco possem etiam urbium percurrere conditores, ut a Iano Ianiculum, a Saturno Latium, a Danae Ardeam, ab Hercule Pompeios, cum boum pompam duceret Hiberorum [...] Iapygas Iapyx, Daedali filius, condidit, Coram Dardanus, Agyllinam Pelasgi, Tibur Catillus, praefectus classis Euandriae. Parthenope dicta ab Sirenis sepulchro hoc nomine vocitatae, quae nunc Neapolis appellatur. Praeneste ab Ulixis nepote Praeneste, licet alii velint Caeculum conditorem [...] Arpos et Beneventum Diomedes, Patavium Antenor, Pylii Metapontum condidere.

At this point I could also run through a number of founders of cities, such as Ianiculum by Ianus, Latium by Saturnus, Ardea by Danae, Pompei by Hercules, when he led the train of the Iberian oxen [...] Iapyx, son of Daedalus, founded Iapygiae, Dardanus Cora, the Pelasgi Agyllina, Catillus, Evander's fleet commander, Tibur. Parthenope is named after the tomb of the siren by this very name, and is now called Neapolis. Praeneste by the grandson of Ulysses, Praenestis, even though others like to regard Caeculus as its founder [...] Diomedes founded Arpos and Beneventum, Antenor Patavium, the Pylii Metapontum.

Catalogues like this one convey a comprehensive Italic perspective, and draw from the pool of potential foundation figures. The knowledge in local foundation narratives is either derived from this pool or formed by analogy to existing traditions.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. <http://www.fes.hd.bw.schule.de/index.php?id=160>. "According to ancient tradition, 'Sulmo', an Italic 'oppidum' and Roman 'municipium' was founded by Solimo Frigio, friend of Aeneas."

⁵² An etymologising joke is made by Ovid when he attributes *gelidis uberrimis undis* to Sulmo, as the name of the place may be derived from Indoeuropean *suel* meaning "abounding in water" (currently the only source is <http://sulmonadiadbc.blogspot.de/2010/03/il-nostro-dialetto-parte-prima.html>). – Ovid is also in competition there with the other Italic place named Sulmo (cf. Philipp 1932: 729f. s.v. Sulmo 2), which derives its foundation from the Rutulian Sulmo (Verg. *Aen.* 9.412), that is, an indigenous figure. Ovid's Sulmo is thus privileged in comparison by the connection to Aeneas.

⁵³ Cf. also Vell. 1.1-3; Schmitzer 2000: 43-60.

⁵⁴ See also the even longer catalogue in Solinus 2.4.4-18; Grebe 1999: 335.

Conclusions

It is this concept of a decidedly personal and genealogical relationship which is most evident in foundation narratives, and this is where the ancient view differs most from the modern perspective, which mostly envisages colonisation as motivated by economic or political reasons. Another remarkable point is that this common characteristic of the foundation myths renders Rome a special case of a comprehensive phenomenon, so that the teleological narration of the *Aeneid* is opened up to alternative viewpoints. The Augustan and already Ciceronian construction of a *tota Italia*⁵⁵ often prevents us from seeing the polymorphic and polyphonic narratives structuring Italic identities beyond the city of Rome:⁵⁶ Italic towns by no means always locate their origin in the Roman genesis, but employ parallel and contrasting inventions (a total detachment had become impossible after the rise of Rome as Italy's dominant power) in order to construct multi-faceted relationships with the urbs.

As a result of such erudite genealogical constructions stretching over centuries, Italy can be visualised in terms of a mythical map which uses coordinates of the Trojan War, especially the *nostoi* narratives and the escape from Troy, to structure contemporary Italic geography: there are no postcolonial attempts at emancipation from these concepts to be found. By means of aetiology – the procedure of scholarly-narrative argumentation available *lege artis* – a foundation history of names, nations, and national characters in Italy is written. In this foundation history Rome is *prima inter pares*: the city is not a singular case but merely the most prominent and best documented instance of an external foundation by a founding figure that has a name and who belongs to that period between myth and history which already in antiquity was difficult to categorise.

However, Rome stands out from other foundation narratives available to us by virtue of the complexity of its foundation narrative, which unites all possible variations: Hercules, Greeks (Evander), Trojans (Aeneas) and Italics (Latinus) are not amalgamated but, with their individual functions intact, are juxtaposed in a synthesis which eventually leads to Romulus (who carries all these traditions on his mother's side, but whose father is the god of war, Mars). Evidently a number of regional traditions sought to establish parallel and competing constructions to the tradition of Aeneas. Again, the extent to which the citizen population or aristocratic families competed against or even complemented one another here is difficult to assess in view of the heavily fragmented transmission.

⁵⁵ Syme 1939, Meisner 2011: 117-151.

⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. Chevallier 1974: 181-204; Briquel 1998: 41-50 on the Italian 'map', derived from Horace's poems.

It is just as difficult to estimate whether and to what extent this association with Greece is directly connected to historical events, for example an early settlement or early trade contacts. This appears, however, unlikely in view of the structure of ancient knowledge. A more attractive assumption is that early cultural contacts led to a kind of *interpretatio Italica*,⁵⁷ just as Aeneas and Anchises had found an iconographical path into Italy as early as the sixth or fifth century BCE, and just as Aeneas was venerated in the fourth century BCE as Aeneas Indiges in a tomb near Lavinium. Only in this way could the foreigner become a native and be incorporated into the Italic world of heroes⁵⁸ (this manipulation of mythical narrative did, however, never fall completely into oblivion).

Among foundation narratives of this structure, Rome is a special case – a special case, however, which gained the appearance of exclusivity in the course of history and in the wake of Rome's rise to dominance in Italy. The prestige which the *urbs* gained from the foundation narratives of Aeneas and Romulus was not only employed to justify its own existence. It also gave legitimacy to the expansion of Rome's dominion into the whole of the Mediterranean. Other Italian cities were naturally unable to follow Rome down this path.

One point remains, however: Rome, like a number of other cities and towns in Italy, received its identity in historical times not from a narrative of autochthony but from an association with and a claim on existing narratives situated in the culturally advanced Greek sphere. All these towns thereby gain a share in the territorial, myth-based significance comprised in these narratives, and establish their role in a comprehensive Mediterranean network of migration-based foundation narratives.

founded city? space originates? ... as "a physical site in which diverse ... and space can be accommodated". The ... the third and fourth principles outlined in ... in *Der Epochen ...* is also ... and its discursive spatio-temporal ... actually far more to be gained by reading ... dian concept of heterotopia.

Michel Foucault presented his concept of heterotopia ... in the years 1966 and 1967. First, with ...

1993: 126.
 1993: 127 and 128 ...
 1993: 127 ...

⁵⁷ Mastrocinque 1993: 126f.

⁵⁸ Cf. most recently Schauer 2007: 66.