eleven-book version of Hephaestion seems highly likely. Elsewhere he makes explicit reference to it, at p. 246.15 C: *ὡς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πλάτος εἰρημένοις αὐτοῦ ἕνδεκα βιβλίοις φησί*.[28] This obviously refers to a fuller version of the same work, a version that he had access to and which doubtless contained most if not all of the poetic texts that Choeroboscus uniquely preserves.[29]

In the period when Choeroboscus was working there is very little evidence of poetic texts being read. Though in one place Choeroboscus seems to indicate that students at the time were reading Homer and other poetry, there is no direct evidence for what this other poetry might be. However, we should expect that lyric was not an area he would expect his students to turn to—at best a bit of Homer, tragedy, and comedy.[30] Indeed Choeroboscus explicitly states that the value of studying Hephaestion is for those interested in verse composition.[31] And it is unlikely that the forays made into verse composition at this point extended beyond hexameters, elegiacs, iambics and the occasional Anacreontic.[32] Indeed Choeroboscus, for all his familiarity with Hephaestion, is capable of making bad mistakes, such as in his discussion of the choliambic (p. 193.12–14), and of synizesis (p. 210.13). Thus it is quite probable that had Choeroboscus had access to other verse texts (even such fragments as are preserved in Theodosius' *Canones*) he might well have been unable to identify their metre in any case beyond the few metres that were still practised in the middle Byzantine period.[33]

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[28] Cf. Wilson (n. 18), 73.

[29] A modification of the suggestion mentioned above regarding the corruption of an ascription to Callimachus is that in the *Enchiridion* available to Choeroboscus the text already stood as we have it, but that the ascription to Callimachus was explicit in the eleven-book edition he had access to.

[30] For the texts read at this time see Wilson (n. 18), 61–78. We remember that Photius did not include any classical poetry in the *Bibliotheca*.

[31] P. 180.16 C; cf. Wilson (n. 18), 72–3.

[32] The case of Ignatius the deacon mentioned by Wilson (n. 18), 73, who claims to have been introduced to 'trimeters, tetrameters, trochees, and anapaests' by his master the patriarch Tarasius (d. 806), should not be regarded as evidence for a general milieu in which verse texts were studied and imitated, but as an example of an otherwise rare appetite for an aspect of classical civilization that was for the most part forgotten at this point in history. We should remember that the last man who seems to have been capable of writing iambics that observe the rules of classical prosody, George of Pisidia, had been dead for some hundred years. For Anacreontics at this period see West (n. 6), 169.

[33] I would like to thank Dr Armand D'Angour for reading and commenting on a draft of this note.

VIRGIL AND THE *ASTYANAX* OF ACCIUS

The influence of Greek and Roman tragedy on the *Aeneid* has been largely recognized throughout the twentieth century.[1] Scholars took interest mainly, on the one

[1] The only thorough (but as yet incomplete) work is A. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie. Studien zur imitatio-Technik Vergils* (Diss., Berlin, 1970). Cf. at least, among the others:

hand, in Virgil's relationship with Sophocles and Euripides, who seem to be more compatible than Aeschylus with his moral and aesthetic sense.[2] On the other hand, mythological information and verbal borrowings coming from Roman tragedy also fascinated scholars, with particular attention focusing on Ennius, who is included among the *auctores principes* for the *Aeneid* (though more for his *Annals* than for his drama).[3] The influence of the works of Accius attracted less attention, possibly because he is cited relatively seldom by the ancient scholars of Virgil: in fact, Macrobius and Servius lay stress principally on his debt to Ennius.[4]

In the 1970s Stanislaw Stabryla and Michael Wigodsky both focused on the relationship of Virgil with the Roman tragedians, albeit from different points of view.[5] The former, at the end of his enquiry, states that Virgil took 'verbal and material borrowings' from Accius' drama, in order to impregnate his language with poetic metaphors, to extend and differentiate the means for depicting characters and situations; but he also took 'structural elements', that is, ideas and scene-architecture, 'pertaining to the Trojan cycle' (the narration of the downfall of Troy in Book 2). Among Accius' tragedies followed by Virgil (*Deiphobus*, *Troades*, etc.) Stabryla does not mention the *Astyanax*, which he leaves out completely.

Wigodsky is in general more cautious and careful, starting from the items given by the ancient commentators and submitting them to a close examination: whilst he acknowledges Virgil's debt to Accius' plays, like the *Antigone* and the *Armorum iudicium*, he does not ignore his simultaneous approach to the Greek originals, the Sophoclean and Euripidean works. He does not, however, mention the *Astyanax*, which seems to have no precise model in Hellenic drama. After these exhaustive researches, there have been some specific and limited enquiries, which have not only failed to enrich the general outline significantly, but have not even taken into consideration the *Astyanax*.[6] The aim of this study is to fill this gap, looking for and into the

V. Pöschl, 'Virgile et la tragédie', in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Présence de Virgile* (Paris, 1978), 73–9; P. Hardie, 'Virgil and tragedy', in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge, 1997), 312–26 (bibliography as an appendix); G. K. Galinsky, *Greek and Roman Drama and the Aeneid*, in D. Brand and C. Gill (edd.), *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honour of T. P. Wiseman* (Exeter, 2003), 275–94.

[2] On Sophocles cf. E. Lefèvre, *Dido und Aias. Ein Beitrag zur römischen Tragödie* (Wiesbaden, 1978). On Euripides: H. M. Johnson, 'Vergil's debt to the Hecuba and Troades of Euripides', *CW* 3 (1910), 50–2, 58–60; B. Fenik, *The Influence of Euripides on Vergil's Aeneid* (Diss., Princeton, 1960); C. Collard, 'Medea and Dido', *Prometheus* 1 (1975), 131–51. But cf. on Aeschylus too: P. Hardie, 'The *Aeneid* and the *Oresteia*', in *PVS* 20 (1991), 29–45; G. Scafoglio, 'La tragedia di Eschilo nel libro II dell'*Eneide*', *AC* 70 (2001), 69–86.

[3] Cf. E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius. Kriegsbilder aus Roms großer Zeit* (Leipzig–Berlin, 1915 = Darmstadt, 1966); A. D. Leeman, 'Bäumefällen Vergil als Glied in der antiken epischen Tradition', in *Form und Sinn. Studien zur römischen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), 203–11; W. Kofler, *Aeneas und Vergil. Untersuchungen zur poetologischen Dimension der Aeneis* (Heidelberg, 2002), 76–88.

[4] Cf. R. B. Lloyd, 'Republican authors in Servius and the *Scholia Danielis*', *HSCPh* 65 (1961), 291–341. Anyway, these quotations consist mostly of mere verbal parallels: they often come from contexts so remote from the Virgilian ones that the echo seems purely casual. In fact ancient scholars and commentators intended to illustrate Virgil's use of archaic diction in general rather than imitation of specific passages.

[5] Cf. S. Stabryla, *Latin Tragedy in Virgil's Poetry* (Wroclaw–Warsaw–Kraców, 1970), esp. 51–72, 91–103, 119–23; M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 76–97.

[6] Cf. L. Galli, 'Dicta tyranni: Verg. *Aen*. 10.443 e la tragedia latina', *Prometheus* 25 (1999), 61–76; A. La Penna, 'La collana di Armonia e il bàlteo di Pallante: una nota su Virgilio e Accio', *Maia* 54 (2002), 259–62.

imitation of this play in phrases and scenes of the *Aeneid*, in order to make clearer, as far as possible, Virgil's debt to Accius.

The part of the *Aeneid* most concerned with the influence of tragedy, besides the Dido-episode in Book 4, is undeniably the narration of the conquest of Troy in Book 2: a personal, eyewitness account (told by a deeply involved survivor), performed by Virgil with the dramatic technique of the *ῥῆσις ἀγγελική*.[7] Here the effect of Accius both on style and content, among other Greek and Roman tragedians, has been already recognized, specifically by Stabryla.[8] In particular the *Deiphobus* seems to have inspired, if not entirely, at least some points in the Sinon-episode, that *tragoediarum eloquentiam et acumen redolet* (as Heyne rightly wrote). This play was centred upon the downfall of Troy (the action took place inside the city walls) and included without doubt the trick of the wooden horse and Sinon's stratagem.[9] Virgil took some elements from this play: the capture of the deserter, his lying tale about Ulysses' hostility and his winning effects on Priam, who trusts him, saves him and, adopting him as a Trojan, gives him freedom.[10]

But in Sinon's tale there is something more, coming from another tragedy of Accius, the *Astyanax*, whose central point was the cruellest happening in the Trojan cycle, the murder of Hector's baby, hurled down from the city walls by the Greeks after their victory.[11] The plot of the play was probably the one given by the *Seruius auctus ad Aen.* 3.489. After the conquest of Troy adverse winds hindered the return of the Greeks: the gods wanted Astyanax to die, as Calchas' response established. But there was also another, more important reason to kill the baby: if he survived, he would restore the Trojan kingdom and avenge his father's murder. Andromache hid Astyanax, trying desperately to save his life; but Ulysses found him and had him thrown from the walls. Then the Greeks departed.[12]

Thus, in the play, the killing of Astyanax was proclaimed by Calchas as a sacrifice required by the gods and indispensable to propitiate the winds. Instead, as a matter of fact, the murder responded to a political purpose, upheld by Ulysses with cynical

[7] Cf. A. Deremetz, 'Le livre II de l'*Énéide* et la conception virgilienne de l épopée: épopée et tragédie dans l'*Énéide*, *REL* 78 (2000), 76–92; G. Scafoglio, 'La tragedia di Euripide e la mediazione romana arcaica nel libro II dell'*Eneide*', *Vichiana* 3/2 (2001), 187–212; S. Laigneau, 'Épopée et tragédie dans le chant II de l'*Énéide*', *BAGB* (2001), 379–89.

[8] Cf. Stabryla (n. 5), 91–6. Whilst Wigodsky (n. 5), 83, is sceptical and limits himself to admitting that 'the Greeks' representation of the wooden horse as an offering to Minerva is derived from Accius'.

[9] E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), 2.410–13; V. D'Antò, *Accio: I frammenti delle tragedie* (Lecce, 1980), 84–5, 245–8; J. Dangel, *Accius: Oeuvres* (Paris, 1995), 158–9, 317–18. Nevertheless, there is still no adequate reconstruction of the plot of this play, or indeed of many others of Accius.

[10] Cf. the dated but still useful volume of O. Ribbeck, *Die Römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* (Leipzig, 1875), 410–11, who first recognized the influence of Accius' *Deiphobus* on Virgil's episode of Sinon.

[11] About this play cf. G. Scafoglio, *L'Astyanax di Accio. Saggio sul background mitografico, testo critico e commento dei frammenti* (Coll. Latomus, Bruxelles, 2006), who discusses textual and exegetical problems regarding fragments and proposes as far as possible a reconstruction of the plot, in light of the surviving evidence.

[12] Cf. G. Thilo-H. Hagen, *Seruii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* (Leipzig, 1881), 1.427. Here is the text: *fabula autem de Astyanacte ista est: superato Ilio cum Graeci ad patriam redituri contrariis flatibus prohiberentur, Calchas cecinit deiciendum ex muris Astyanacta Hectoris et Andromachae filium, eo quod si adoleuisset fortior patre futurus, uindicaturus esset eius interitum. hunc Vlixes occultatum a matre cum inuenisset, praecipitauit e muro, et ita Graeci Troia profecti sunt*. For Servius and the *Seruius auctus* see also the *editio Haruardiana*, ed. E. K. Rand and J. J. Savage, vol. 2 (Lancaster, 1946).

far-sightedness—to do away with a potential enemy and to remove a future danger.[13] In a highly significant yet textually tormented fragment of the *Astyanax*, Calchas, stricken with remorse, is pressured by an unidentified character, most likely Odysseus himself, who orders him to reveal his response without delay and to stop holding back the army from their homecoming (lines 171–2 Ribbeck-Klotz; 136–7 Warmington; 281–2 Dangel):[14]

> nunc, Calcas, finem religionum fac, desiste exercitum
> morari nec me ab domuitione arce tuo obsceno omine.

nunc *Grotius* : hunc *Nonii codd.* / Calcas *Ribbeck* : aicais *uel* acais *uel* acias *codd.* / finem *Baehrens*: pinem *codd.* / religionum *Vossius* : regionum *codd.* / desiste *Baehrens* : ac desisset *codd.* / nec me *codd.* : meque *Ribbeck* / domuitione *edd.*: domu itionem *uel* domum itionem *uel* domuitionem *codd.* / arce *Spengel* : arcere *codd.* / tuo obsceno omine *Mercerus* : tu obsceno homine *codd.*

There is a possible parallel in the tale attributed by Virgil to his Sinon, who makes the Trojan believe he was an innocent victim of their worst enemy Ulysses, responsible for his plight. The false deserter explains he was ruined by the *Ithacus*, after an impulsive boast that he would avenge his beloved friend Palamedes, put to death on a trumped-up charge (*Aen.* 2.94–6). Hence Ulysses' endless threats and slanders, culminating in a diabolic plan, carried out with the complicity of Calchas (lines 97–100):

> hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Vlixes
> criminibus terrere nouis, hinc spargere uoces
> in uulgum ambiguas et quaerere conscius arma.
> nec requieuit enim, donec Calchante ministro . . .

Sinon breaks off at a tense moment, at the mention of Calchas, which would have a sinister ring for the Trojans, as well as for Virgil's readers, well knowing that this prophet (called even κακόμαντις in the literary tradition) was involved in the sacrifice of Iphigenia and was to be involved in the murder of Astyanax too. After this hardened character, Sinon mentions the most feared and hated one, Ulysses: he says that, if the Trojans killed him, they would give pleasure to this criminal and to all the Greeks—the very last thing Priam's people would wish to do (lines 101–4). He clinches his case with crafty subtlety and stops talking just when his audience could not fail to ask him to continue: the Trojans are all agog to hear the end of his tale. He then continues and explains how he was chosen to be the victim of a sacrifice, to appease the winds and gain a safe journey home for the Greeks. They had been longing to leave for a long time, but were prevented by the gods' anger and had to placate it by means of a human sacrifice, as they learned from the Delphic oracle, consulted by Eurypylus. Here is the response, referred *ad uerbum* by this Greek hero and in the same way by Sinon (116–19):

[13] Ulysses' decisive role in the human sacrifice, as well as his real purpose (i.e. a cynical political aim), can be inferred from the *Seruius auctus* previously quoted (n. 12). However, the crime is attributed to the same hero since the Greek epic cycle up to the Attic tragedy: cf. A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos* (Paris, 1963), 4.92, regarding Arctinus' *Iliupersis*; W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme* (Ann Arbor, 1968), 128–37. As Ulysses' role in the child-murder is an ancient and recurrent mythical element, it is no surprise that it is to be found also in the *Astyanax* of Accius.

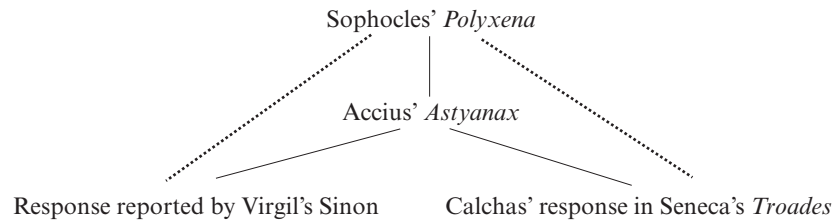
[14] The fragment, quoted by Nonius under the item *obscenum* (357, 2 = 566 Lindsay) and transmitted in his manuscripts in disastrous conditions, is cited here as reconstructed by Scafoglio (n. 11), 85, with an essential critical apparatus, which can be useful to have at least an idea of the textual problems.

> 'sanguine placastis uentos et uirgine caesa,
> cum primum Iliacas, Danai, uenistis ad oras;
> sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum
> Argolica'.

A rather similar oracle is given by Calchas, who requests the sacrifice of Polyxena to placate the anger of Achilles' ghost in the *Troades* of Seneca, probably modelled on the *Astyanax* of Accius or on the Greek play possibly followed by the archaic Roman tragedian himself, the *Polyxena* of Sophocles.[15] Suffice it to quote the first point of the response (lines 360–1):

> dant fata Danais quo solent pretio uiam:
> mactanda uirgo est Thessali busto ducis.

The obscure and elliptical expression *quo solent pretio* implicitly (or better, allusively) concerns the sacrifice of Iphigenia, perpetrated by the Greeks at the beginning of the war to calm the adverse winds: thus, the proposed murder of Polyxena is compared to the previous sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter. In the response reported by Sinon there is a similar comparison between the past sacrifice and the imminent one, except that the chosen victim of the latter is a Greek man rather than a Trojan girl. However, Seneca is unlikely to have followed Virgil in this point, because the parallel between Iphigenia and Polyxena (two princesses at marriageable age, the one Greek and the other Trojan) is more convenient and better balanced than the one between Agamemnon's daughter and Sinon, who only have in common the *anima Argolica* (118–19). Virgil and Seneca most probably followed the same model (the *Astyanax* of Accius or the *Polyxena* of Sophocles), re-elaborated by the former and imitated more faithfully by the latter. As Accius is chronologically and linguistically nearer to both poets, their connection with him could be direct and exclusive; but it is more probably additional and subsidiary to the one with Sophocles, in accordance with the following pattern:



Therefore, Virgil's Sinon brings into his deceptive tale some elements coming from the *Astyanax* of Accius (and perhaps, at the same time, also from its model, the

[15] On the *Troades* of Seneca cf. W. Schetter, 'Zum Aufbau von Senecas *Troerinnen*', in E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Senecas Tragödien* (Darmstadt, 1972), 230–71; E. Fantham, *Seneca's Troades* (Princeton, 1982); A. J. Keulen, *L. Annaeus Seneca. Troades* (Leiden, 2001). As regards Seneca's relationship with Accius: A. De Rosalia, 'Echi acciani in Seneca tragico', in *Dioniso* 52 (1981), 221–42; G. Aricò, 'Seneca e la tragedia latina arcaica', *Dioniso* 52 (1981), 339–56. The fragments of Sophocles' *Polyxena* are restored by A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* (Cambridge, 1917), 161–8; A. Nauck *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, supplementum adiecit B. Snell (Hildesheim, 1964), 245–7; S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 4, *Sophocles* (Göttingen 1999), 403–7.

Polyxena of Sophocles): in particular the Delphic oracle, referred by Eurypylus and leading to the human sacrifice.[16] Thus, Virgil's Sinon seems to take the place of both Astyanax and Polyxena in the development of the myth from Sophocles to Accius.

But there is still something more. Sinon explains how Calchas was charged with interpreting the oracle and designating the victim; how he was dragged with uproar into the middle of the army and ordered by Odysseus to give a response; how he was reticent and silent for ten days, stricken with remorse; how finally he was forced by the *Ithacus* to designate and condemn Sinon himself, or at least acquiesced in doing so. Here is the passage (*Aen.* 2.122–9):

> hic Ithacus uatem magno Calchanta tumultu
> protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina diuum
> flagitat. et mihi iam multi crudele canebant
> artificis scelus, et taciti uentura uidebant.
> bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat
> prodere uoce sua quemquam aut opponere morti.
> uix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,
> composito rumpit uocem et me destinat arae.

There is an evident parallel in the quoted fragment of Accius' *Astyanax* (lines 281–2 Dangel), where an unidentified character, who is most likely Odysseus, imperiously talks to Calchas and tries to force him to reveal his response, which in all probability concerns the human sacrifice and is going to designate Astyanax as victim. The lost context of this fragment is likely to be very similar to the cited Virgilian passage, so that the latter could be used to help reconstruct (at least in outline and with the necessary prudence) the former.

* * *

Therefore, the Sinon-episode was conceived under the strong influence of tragedy, but not in the footsteps of a single play. The *auctor princeps* seems to have been Accius himself, whose *Deiphobus* may be the main model followed in this part of Book 2, both for the general architecture and for numerous particular elements, such as the capture of the false deserter and his stratagem.

But another model of this episode, almost ignored by scholars until now, seems to have been the *Astyanax*. Virgil imitated this for the content of Sinon's deceitful tale, concerning first the tendentious use of the response (which hides an ambiguous and ominous aim) and second the contentious relation between Odysseus and Calchas, who finally come to an agreement, the former's will prevailing to the detriment of the friend of Palamedes. In accordance with this reconstruction, the Virgilian episode of Sinon and the *Astyanax* of Accius illuminate one another, in such a way as to illustrate and make fuller the diachronic development of the myth too.

But Virgil's Sinon is very different from Astyanax, to whom nevertheless he is implicitly compared by means of the allusive technique: Hector's son is an innocent baby, a defenceless victim of the Greek cruelty; whilst the false deserter (called fairly

[16] The response reported by Eurypylus was set in the context of Greek drama first by W. H. Friedrich, 'Exkurse zur *Aeneis*', *Philologus* 94 (1940), 142–74 (in particular 152–64): he identifies the direct model followed by Virgil with the (lost) *Philoctetes* of Euripides rather than with Sophocles' *Polyxena* or Accius' *Astyanax*. As in the beginning of Sinon's speech there are some reminiscences of Euripides' play, Friedrich asserts that this must be the (only!) model of the whole episode; but here he seems to undervalue the complex, stratified structure of the *Aeneid*.

Graecus dolis instructus et arte Pelasga by Aeneas—and by the poet)[17] is a disloyal and impious deceiver, who dares involve the gods and their oracles in his tale.[18] The allusive strategy on the one hand shows Sinon to be even more wicked and wretched, compared to the pure little Astyanax. On the other hand, it gives insight into the dreadful consequences of the conquest of Troy (in particular the cruellest and more aberrant one: the murder of a baby disguised as a sacrifice, a religious duty), an aim pursued and obtained by the stratagem of the false deserter, characterized with further connotations and put in a worse light.

Thus, Virgil skilfully uses the allusive technique in connection with drama, and specifically with the *Astyanax* of Accius, to cast a shadow on Sinon's behaviour, with significant ideological implications. In fact, the Trojan people seem to be victims of a diabolic deceiver, who accomplishes a hellish project and paves the way for a number of sorrowful happenings, culminating in the murder of Astyanax on the pretext of the sacrifice. Not only Sinon but also the Greeks in general are put on the same level in the consequent moral censure. Aeneas, speaking in the first person and appearing deeply involved,[19] presents them as cruel and cynical villains —this point appearing most likely in the *Astyanax* of Accius too.[20]

So Virgil uses the intertext *suo more*, expressing his own genius, to strengthen and enrich the semantic content of his language, to make it more meaningful, with an original and effective result.

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[17] What R. Heinze wrote about Virgil's interpretation of Sinon and the poet's ideological purpose is still useful: *Virgils epische Technik*[3] (Leipzig–Berlin, 1928), 8–12. On Virgil's portrait of Sinon and its 'symbolic' significance cf. also J. P. Linch, 'Laocoon and Sinon: Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.40–198', *A&R* 27 (1980), 170–9.

[18] On the Sinon-episode cf. H. Paoletta, 'Graecus ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasga (*Aen.* II, 153)', *Latinitas* 16 (1968), 251–67 (especially the deceiving technique); B. Manuwald, 'Improvisi aderunt. Zur Sinon-Scene in Vergils *Aeneis* (2,57–198)', *Hermes* 113 (1985), 183–208; and J. H. Molyneux, 'Sinon's narrative in *Aeneid* II', *Latomus* 45 (1986), 873–77 (continuity and consistency in Sinon's narrative).

[19] Cf. the emblematic proem of Book 2: *Infandum, regina, iubes renouare dolorem* / *Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum* / *eruerint Danai, quaeque ipse miserrima uidi* / *et quorum pars magna fui* (lines 3–6).

[20] As attested by the following fragment (line 176 Ribbeck-Klotz; 147 Warmington; 272 Dangel): *quorum crudelitatem numquam ulla explet satias sanguinis*; the logical subject (sc. the very cruel, bloodthirsty people), lost along with the lost context, but implied by the relative pronoun, must be the Greeks.

ENVY AND *AKRASIA* IN SENECA'S *THYESTES*

204–18

SATELLES
Fama te populi nihil
aduersa terret? AT. Maximum hoc regni bonum est, 205
quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
tam ferre quam laudare. SAT. Quos cogit metus