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Athena and Pallas, Image, Copies, Fakes and Doubles

Françoise Létoublon

The question of the fake in visual arts may be still more complicated than in literature. It raises three aspects of the fake, in reference to the original author, to the time of creation, and to the resemblance between original and copy. Greek literature offers a great amount of allusions and anecdotes on a statue called *Palladion* Goddess Athena's surname *Pallas*, that played an important part in the legend of Troy and in several foundation myths of cities around the Greek and Roman ancient world. We shall try to analyze some aspects of the question of the fake or genuine Palladion in myth.
Athena's statue named Palladion was not mentioned in Homer, but the important part it played in the legend of Troy appears in numerous other texts, which seems to imply that it was an key of first importance to victory or defeat in the war in several parts of the Epic Cycle. Thus the hypothesis that it was alluded to in the *Iliad* being explicitly mentioned appears sustainable. The paper aims to detect the ancient allusions or references to a very complicated story and to look at the iconographical testimonies as well[1]. The task is not easy, since texts, though numerous, are generally recent, but some images undoubtly ancient prove that the legend circulated early. The complications of this story might imply that the statue had some secret powers, and therefore required to stay hidden in the *adyton*, maybe even that uttering its name was forbidden: the scarcity of ancient literary documents could then find an explanation, but of course, it cannot be demonstrated.

The most detailed narratives occurs in Apollodorus, *Bibl.*3.142-146 and in Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Let us begin with Ps. Apollodorus. The passage is clearly articulated in two parts, the first one concerning the presence of the statue in Troy, the second one telling its divine origin. Though this succession may appear surprising, we shall keep in trust to it, since it will allow us to begin the research with the statue moving in the human world and to close it with its creation by a goddess as a copy and substitute of a beloved person, which might imply that fabricating a statue is generally meant as the creation of a fake imitation of a figure, be it human or divine. In between, with the help of other authors, historians or poets, we shall see other aspects of the statue.

Paragraphs 3.142-3 of the *Bibliotheca* recall Ilos' travel from Greece to Phrygia. He was chosen as king and received an oracle telling him to follow a cow and to found a city in the place where the cow would stop, which shows a strong parallel to the better known Theban myth. He followed the instructions and founded a city named *Ilios* his own name. He asked Zeus to give him a sign, and a statue fell from the skies before Ilos' tent: the Greek text says τὸ διιπετὲς παλλάδιον πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κείμενον ἐθεάσατο : "he admired the διιπετὲς palladion ». Which meaning does the adjective διιπετὲς convey? Is it semantically

1 The iconographical part of the research due to my colleague Maria Paola Castiglioni was orally presented with mine in Greece at a conference on the Epic Cycle. Unhappily she did not have time for revising her text, so that I remain sole responsible for this paper, including the errors that may occur. My warm thanks also go to Javier Martinez who asked me to take part to the second edition of the book and to Stephen Rojcewicz who revises my English with a kind *akribeia.*

appropriate? We will see further that it is probably a formulaic epithet,[2] which may thus appear in more or less pertinent contexts. Let us start from formal facts: it is a compound adjective, the first element of which Διο- (a variant form Διιπετὲς will be met later) can only be a genitive form of origin (or in the case of Διι- a dative with an instrumental value) of the name of Zeus. The meaning is then: "fallen from Zeus" or "by Zeus" (instrumental value of the dative). The epithet was no longer understood, probably already at the time where the *Bibliotheca* was composed, and it was translated in Latin as if it meant "fallen from the sky". Anyhow, the epithet seems here quite appropriated, since the object was sent by Zeus in response to Ilos' prayer.

In a more detailed narrative, Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells in great details the foundation of Rome through ancient Pelasgians, Aborigenians and Trojans who escaped Ilios with Eneas during the city's fall. In 1.67, he ventures to explain how the Roman images of the gods were taken from Troy to Italy (first to Lavinium, later to Alba) by Eneas and kept there in a temple, and once deplaced to a secret place (ναοῦ χωρίον ἔχοντος ἄβατον); in the following night, the statues moved by themselves and were found standing on their former bases (διαμείψαντα τὰ βρέτη τὴν στάσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εὑρεθῆναι κείμενα βάθρων); the same phenomenon occurred once again. Then it was decided to leave the statues in their place and to affect six hundred peoples caring for them. The historian gives their names, and particularly the Roman one (*Penates*). He ends paragraph 67 with a remark on the absolute necessity of secrecy around them, and in general:[3] it is forbidden to see them and even to speak or write about them; we have to remember this obligation, which may have been available for the sacred objects from the first time. In the following paragraph, he mentions a small temple on the forum in Rome, in a place called *in Velia*, where Trojan gods' images could be looked at by everybody, two sitting youths with spears and military equipment. Among the sources about them, he explicitly mentions *Arctinos* who is known otherelse as one of the authors of the Epic Cycle, namely of the *Aithiopis* and the *Iliou Persis*.[4] The *palladion* occurs in this context of the sacred objects brought with them by Greek migrants first to the island of Samothrace, then to several places in Phrygia, then to Italy, and eventually to Rome: Dionysius actually uses the plural *palladia*, which raises the issue of a genuine Palladion versus a fake Palladion. The detailed narrative of 1.68.3 reads thus: Chryse, daughter of Pallas (note that for Dionysius, this Pallas is a man)

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2 Let us refer to Milman Parry's definition of the formula, and recall that Achilles may be called 'swift footed' (gr. Πόδας ὠκύς. ποδωκύς) even when seated (Graziosi 000000).

3 End of 1.67: ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα μὲν ὁρᾶν ἅπασιν οὐ θέμις οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ὁρώντων ἀκούειν οὔτε ἀναγράφειν οἴομαι δεῖν, νεμεσῶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅσοι πλείω τῶν συγχωρουμένων ὑπὸ νόμου ζητεῖν ἢ γινώσκειν ἀξιοῦσιν. Beginning of 1.67: Ἃ δὲ αὐτός τε ἰδὼν ἐπίσταμαι καὶ δέος οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει με περὶ αὐτῶν γράφειν τοιάδε ἐστί·

4 According to the summary by Photios of the *Chrestomathia* of Proclos.

married Dardanos and received as marriage gifts from Athena the Palladia and other sacred objects of the Great Gods, since she had been initiated to the Mysteries:[5]

> Χρύσην τὴν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα γημαμένην Δαρδάνῳ φερνὰς ἐπενέγκασθαι δωρεὰς Ἀθηνᾶς τά τε Παλλάδια καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν διδαχθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τὰς τελετάς.

Afterwards, escaping the flood (τὴν ἐπομβρίαν φεύγοντες), Dardanos and his Arcadians flew from the Peloponnese to Samothrace, where they founded the Mysteries.[6] Dardanos seems then to be the main chief in the initiation process:

> ἐν δὲ τῇ Θρᾳκίᾳ νήσῳ τοὺς βίους ἱδρύσαντο, κατασκευάσαι τὸν Δάρδανον ἐνταῦθα τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἱερὸν ἀρρήτους τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιοῦντα τὰς ἰδίους αὐτῶν ὀνομασίας καὶ τὰς τελετὰς αὐτοῖς τὰς καὶ εἰς τόδε χρόνου γινομένας ὑπὸ Ϛαμοθρᾴκων ἐπιτελεῖν.

He did not stay in the island, but left for Asia Minor with the Palladion and other sacred objects.[7] Thereafter, Dionysius quotes the text of the oracle that mentions the *aporthetos polis* (then Dardania, later Ilios nearer to the coast): the statue was meant to guarantee the safety of the city forever (note the formulaic expressive reduplication in the text of τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον and ἤματα πάντα).[8] The well attested links between oracles and formulaic diction in Greek

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5 Those Mysteries of the Great Gods are thus supposed to come from Peloponnese.

6 The secret of the Mysteries of Samothrace have been so well kept that we do not know much about them, see 0000.

7 Dionysius' text may contain contradictions, since it seems to imply that the same sacred objects followed Dardanos in his migrations from Peloponnese to Phrygia through Samothrace, whereas the Mysteries of Samothrace lasted long after Dardanos and others left for Asia. Dionysius actually makes a distinction between the sacred objects proper to Samothrace and other ones: ὡς δὲ μετῆγε τοῦ λεὼ τὴν πλείω μοῖραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς τελετὰς τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἐν τῃῃῇ νήσῳ καταλιπεῖν· τὰ δὲ Παλλάδια καὶ τὰς <τῶν> θεῶν εἰκόνας κατασκευασάμενον ἀγαγέσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ.

8 The formula ἤματα πάντα is obviously Homeric: *Il.* 8.539, 12.133, 13.826, 14.235, 276, 19.226, 23.594, 24.491, *Od.* 2.55, 205, 4.209, 592, 5.136, 210, 219, 6.46, 7.94, 257, 8.431, 468, 9.123, 10.467, 15.54, 17.534, 21.156, 23.6, 336, 24.24, it occurs very often in the verse end, but not constantly. The phrase τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον appears as a gloss or comment, as if the late author was aware that Homeric Greek could confuse. For more clarity, we quote here the whole text of the oracle as it stands in *Roman Antiquities* 1.68.4:

> Εἰς πόλιν ἣν κτίζῃσθα θεοῖς σέβας ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ
>
> θεῖναι, καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυσίαις τε χοροῖς τε.

tradition met here allow to conclude that oral tradition helped preserving the words of a very old text.[9] We are then in Troy or Troad in the times of its occupation and foundation. Let us remark that those migrants are supposed to be Greek: therefore, the war of Troy does not consist at all for Dionysius, who is himself of Ionian origin, in a clash of Greeks against Asiatic enemies: it is rather the issue of Greek tribes fighting one another because of women raped with booty and wealth.[10] In 1.69, Dionysius Halicarnassensis explains how Dardanos set the objects in the eponym city founded in Troad,[11] and how they were later transferred to Ilios where he temple was built for them on the *acro(polis)*, with a secret room (*adyton)* he explains that the *palladion* remaining was taken from the by Eneas after the fall of Troy, which leads him to mention that the other one was stolen by Diomedes and Odysseus:

> Δάρδανον μὲν ἐν τῇ κτισθείσῃ τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὀνομασίας ὁμοίας τυχούσῃ πόλει τὰ ἕδη καταλιπεῖν, Ἰλίου δ' ἐν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ συνοικισθέντος ἐκεῖσε μετενεχθῆναι πρὸς τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερά. ποιήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς νεών τε καὶ ἄδυτον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ φυλάττειν δι' ἐπιμελείας ὅσης ἐδύναντο πλείστης θεόπεμπτά τε ἡγουμένους εἶναι καὶ σωτηρίας κύρια τῇ πόλει. ἁλισκομένης δὲ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὸν Αἰνείαν καρτερὸν τῆς ἄκρας γενόμενον, ἅραντα ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων τά τε ἱερὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἔτι περιῆν Παλλάδιον (θάτερον γὰρ Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Διομήδην νυκτός φασιν εἰς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένους κλοπῇ λαβεῖν) οἴχεσθαί τε κομίσαντα [τὸν Αἰνείαν]

ἔστ' ἂν γὰρ τάδε σεμνὰ καθ' ὑμετέρην χθόνα μίμνῃ
δῶρα Διὸς κούρης ἀλόχῳ σέθεν, ἡ δὲ πόλις σοι
ἔσται ἀπόρθητος τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἤματα πάντα.

9

See the entries Formulaic Language and Oracular Language in the *EAGLL* (Létoublon, to appear). Among the formulas, let us also note σέβας ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ and δῶρα Διὸς κούρης.

10

As Herodotus put it previously in fis first book.

11

Dardanos was the city's name for Dionysios, whereas the *Iliad* mentioned rather *Dardania*, higher in the Ida's slopes than Troy.

ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἄγοντα εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

After having thus mentioned in prose the importance of the objects sent by the gods (θεόπεμπτά) for keeping the city safe (καὶ σωτηρίας κύρια τῇ πόλει),[12] he very quickly resumes the taking of the downtown part of Troy with an absolute genitive (ἁλισκομένης δὲ τῆς κάτω πόλεως), which explains that Eneas could take the sacred objects from Acropolis and flee with them to Italy.

Thus appears the existence of two Palladia: Dionysios invokes the authority of Arctinos (is it a quotation or rather a translation in prose?) for an explanation: Zeus gave Dardanos one Palladion, and it is this object that was kept in Ilios until its fall: Ἀρκτῖνος δέ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ Παλλάδιον ἓν καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ τέως ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἀβάτῳ· But a copy of the original Palladion had been made, so close to the genuine image that people who saw it could be abused. This image was exposed to gaze, and the (Achaean) thieves took the copy, the fake Palladion instead of the genuine one: εἰκόνα δ' ἐκείνου κατεσκευασμένην ὡς μηδὲν τῆς ἀρχετύπου διαφέρειν ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἕνεκεν ἐν φανερῷ τεθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας λαβεῖν. The end of paragraph 69 precises that the genuine Palladion taken from Troy by Eneas was still kept in Dionysios time in 'Hestia's' temple, which refers to Latin Vesta, with the city Fire, and he announces that he will come back to this issue later (i. e. 2.66-7: see below).

The same author comes back later to the Palladion in the wake of the Roman heritage and tradition: the temple of Hestia preserves not only the well known sacred public fire, but also the objects brought by Dardanos from Samothace, later by Eneas from Troy to Italy: τοῦτο δὴ λαβόντες ὁμολογούμενον ἐπισυνάπτουσιν αὐτοὶ στοχασμούς τινας ἰδίους, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ λέγοντες ἱερῶν μοῖραν εἶναί τινα φυλαττομένην τὴν ἐνθάδε, Δαρδάνου μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κτισθεῖσαν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὰ ἱερὰ μετενεγκαμένου, Αἰνείου δὲ, ὅτ' ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ταῦτα κομίσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὸ διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον ἀποφαίνοντες εἶναι τὸ παρ' Ἰλιεῦσι

12

It is actually a prosaic transposition of the oracular text mentioned above.

γενόμενον, ὡς Αἰνείου κομίσαντος αὐτὸ δι' ἐμπειρίαν, Ἀχαιῶν δὲ τὸ μίμημα αὐτοῦ λαβόντων κλοπῇ· (2.66.5)

Thus there are for him two divergent traditions, one admitting that Dardanos took the whole of the sacred objects from Samothrace, whereas the other one the Palladion, qualified as διοπετὲς, was sent by Zeus: the coincidence with Apollodorus' τὸ διιπετὲς Παλλάδιον is striking, maybe all the more with a very slight difference in the text, implying either a dative or a genitive of Zeus' name in the first term of the compound.[13] It seems then that for the first tradition, the Palladion was part of the marriage gifts given to Dardanos's wife by Zeus' daughter as seen above. In the same part of the narrative, Dionysios also alludes to the theft of the palladion, and to the fact that the Achaean thieves were abused and took a copy only (τὸ μίμημα αὐτοῦ).

The occurrence of the formula τὸ διοπετὲς παλλάδιον occurs in the context of the statue's presence in Rome. The narrative does not seem entirely consistent with Book 1 and the mention of Dardanos' wedding gift. But Dionysius is perhaps more coherent with the historical method here, where he recognizes that several mythological traditions may justify the state of things: in 1.69.4, he called the Palladion the *legendary*, τὸ μυθευόμενον παλλάδιον, and some anecdotes that he tells, in concordance with other authors, seem to imply that the statue had magical powers: in 2.66.4, Lucius Caecilius Metellus, seeing Vesta's temple burning, as the priestesses flew without the sacred objects, rushed into fire without caring for his own safety, and saved them. Dionysius does not mention any misfortune for this important Roman citizen, who received a reward for this courageous deed. But other saviors of the objects, and particularly the Palladion, were less fortunate, as some cases of blindness particularly testify. Plutarch, in his *Minor Parallels*, mostly describes Ilos' blindness with two variants. In one case, Ilos took (ἥρπασε may imply violence)[14] the statue out of the *adyton* to the daylight, and became blind (ἐτυφλώθη[15]).[16] He probably had good intentions, since the temple was burning

13

Thus the variant in the tradition could be a strong clue to the authenticity of the formula coming from an oral tradition relative to the Epic cycle.

14

The verb ἁρπάζω bis currently used in Greek for the rape of women for instance.

15

The aorist may imply that it happened suddenly, as if the statue were punishing her raper.

in both variants (καιόμενον). Plutarchus gives the reason of his blindness: it was not allowed to gaze at the statue (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βλέπεσθαι). According to Plutarchus, it was the version of Derkullos, whereas Aristeides of Miletos suggested that Ilos was trying to save the statue from burning. Anyhow he became blind all the same, but recovered his sight later. Plutarchus includes this tale in his Parallells to show that the Trojan Ilos had a fate similar to the Romans Metellus (mentioned in Dionysios Halicarnassensis) and Antylus. From those allusions, it can be deduced that the statue had the power, when taken to daylight, to throw dangerous lightning flashes that could blind human beings. The description of the statue in Virgil's Aeneid strikely corresponds to this supposition.[17] The Greek traitor Sinon tells for the Trojans that after they have stolen the Palladion, Diomedes and Ulysses encountered goddess Athena's wrath:

> Tritonia gave signs of this by no uncertain portents. The statue had just been set down in camp. Dancing flames blazed from her upwards-turned eyes and salt sweat passed over her limbs. Three times she actually leaped from the ground (a wonder to relate), carrying her round shield and quivering spear. At once Calchas pronounced that the Greeks were to venture on the waves in flight; Pergama was not to be taken by Argive arms, if they did not seek out fresh auspices at Argos and bring back the goddess whom they had carried off with them by sea in their curved ships.[18]

The fact that Sinon is lying in the context of Virgil's interpretation of the Trojan war does not impel the general knowledge of the brigthness of the statue, and its magical powers.
In Quintus of Smyrna 10.350-60 is found an allusion to the Palladion in a crypted prediction:[19] ἄμβροτον εἶδος, ἀπ'Οὐλύμποιο Κρόνιων
κάββαλεν …
We can notice here the parallel with Dionysius Halicarnassensis' reference of the oracle, and

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16

See Létoublon on Blindness, 2011 à vérifier.

17

Virg. *Aen.* 2.171-179

18

Translation N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 2. A Commentary*, Leiden, 2008: 11. See his commentary to these verses, *ibid.*: 165-73. The statue (called *sacrem effigiem* in v. 167) turned the eyes away from the thieves and sent flames (*arsere coruscae* / *luminibus flammae arrectis*, v. 172-3 is particularly expressive).

19

Of course, since the word Palladion is not there, a research in the TLG missed this occurrence.

the mention of Zeus (called here by the periphrase "son of Cronos") throwing the statue from the Olympos: the aorist with apocope and assimilation in the beginning of the verse is typically Homeric.[20] Quintus Smyraneus does not call the Palladion as such, but uses a periphrase which means "immortal apparence", and strengthens the Homeric tone of the passage.[21] So it seems that Quintus imitated Homer's style, perhaps in a particular instance when the content is not actually Homeric…

It is also possible that the Palladion was not explicitely designated here, precisely because of the magical power of the statue: in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, the description of the foundation of the Samothrace Mysteries by Dardanos well implies the presence of some secret objects and words,[22] so that the periphrase used by Quintus might respect a language prohibition.

To those classical sources, the New Jacoby online allows now to add the Papyrus Rylands 22a, which alludes to the theft of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes, following a prediction given by the seer Helenus.

Thus literary sources available on the Palladion are quite recent, but some of them include pieces of formulaic style that might refer to quotations of the Epic cycle or of oracular traditions transmitted from a period close to the Homeric epics. The formal variations appear strong testimonies to archaic remains kept in recent texts as linguistic fossils.

Graphic arts might also show some interesting testimonies. If we summarize Castiglioni's still unpublished study, the statue considered as the Palladion may have been linked to several episodes in the Epic cycle, namely Cassandra's rape by Ajax, the recovering of Helen by Menelaus in the *Iliou persis* his try to kill her, the theft of the Palladion mentioned by Proclus' summary as taking place in the *Ilias parva*,[23] and Aeneas carrying both

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20

The TLG provides us with 8 occurrences of κάββαλ-: *Il.* 5.343, 8.249, 9.206, 12.206, 23.127, 683, *Od.* 6.172, 17.302.

21

ἄμβροτον is used actually in Homer with αἷμα, θεόν, κρήδεμνον, ἱστόν; εἶδος appears in several Homeric formulas, none with an epithet. Thus both words are Homeric, their association is not.

22

References:

23

The first evidence is an Attic cup from the Hermitage Museum (LIMC 23), called the Makron cup (around 480 BC), with two Palladia. A Stockholm Amphora (LIMC 24), an Attic production of the same period (480), represents the same scene, but Athena replaces the Greek heroes between Diomedes and Odysseus who face each other and are both fully armed. Two Palladia also occur in an Apulian oenochoe from the Louvre (360-

the Palladion and his father Anchises. The images showing two similar Palladia are very interesting, in comparison to the mentions in Dionysios of a copy of the Palladion, which was made on purpose as a piece of delusion against the enemies. We might perhaps call it an 'official fake'.
Anyhow, if the legend admits the existence of two Palladia, a genuine one and a fake, whatever Diomedes and Odysseus took one and Eneas the other, it raises a serious issue: the oracles considered that the city would remain safe as long as the Palladion stay in its hiding place. If the Achaeans took the fake, the city should not have fallen, unless the oracles were lying. If they took the genuine, how could Eneas still have the genuine Palladion to bring to Italy? The argument of a second Palladion opens the way to sophistic speculations on fate and history, and maybe explains that from two, the number could be expanded to the infinite: it may have been the main reason why several cities in ancient Greece and Italy claimed that they owned a Palladion kept among their most precious heritage from the war at Troy.[24]

Before going back to the fabrication of the statue, it seems necessary to insist on the status of the formulas and their relation to poetry and metrics, which could reveal quotations from the Epic cycle, particularly Διο/Διιπετὲς παλλάδιον.
We know two Greek probable "quotations" (Apollodorus and Dionysius Halicarnassensis), and Latin "translation" in Dictys Cretensis (*a caelo*). The quotation is not explicit, and is not officially attributed to the Cycle either by one or by the other author.
The fragments of the Cycle are very scarse, but they seem to use the same hexametric form as the epics, and generally Archaic poetry. Let us then try a metrical analysis: in the dactylic hexameter παλλάδιον begins with a long vowel followed by three short vowels: if the final o stands in front of a lengthening consonant, the word can be scanned — ˘ ˘ / —
Thus the nominative form of the word cannot be located at the end of the verse. In other cases of the flexion we can imagine παλλαδίῳor παλλαδίου: — ˘ ˘/ ¯
This form cannot stand at the end of the verse either, but it needs to be followed at least by another word supplying the brief vowels of the dactyl…
On the other hand, διοπετὲς scanned — ˘ ˘/ ¯, implies anyway a metrical lengthening of the first iota.
Thus the whole formula διοπετὲς (variant διιπετὲς in Apollodorus) παλλάδιον implies— ˘ ˘/ ¯ and — ˘ ˘/ ¯ , which cannot occur as a metrical sequence in the hexameter, but could reflect the dislocation of the terms with other words (something like διοπετὲς ˘ ˘ παλλάδιον ˘ ˘.
The inversion of both terms does not provide a satisfactory solution.
Parry's definition of the formula helps us understand Διοπετὲς (Διιπετὲς) as a fixed or particularising epithet (that is, which is only used to qualify this particular object in Homeric

350)). An Attic cup (470-460) and a Panathenaic amphora (about 420) depict only one palladion in accordance with the *Little Iliad*'s version.

Argos, Sparta, Thebes, Athens, Amphissa, Rome, Siris, Luceria, Lavinium.

Greek): it gives the object the status of an individual, a person, providing it with almost a proper noun. We actually know that in Greek the onoma is first a proper noun, then only secondarily a "common" name.
This settles the problem of the meaning of the epithet which becomes in Latin (and other existing translations of the Greek) "fallen from the sky ", while the first element of the compound Διοπετὲς (Διιπετὲς) can only be a genitive form of origin (or in the case of Διι- a dative with an instrumental value) of the name of Zeus. The meaning is then: "fallen from Zeus" or "by Zeus" (instrumental value of the dative).

The equivalence between Zeus and the sky is well known in the Indo-European reconstruction of the name (the correspondents skr *dyauh*, lat. *dies*"daytime" imply a close semantic reconstruction with the meaning 'bright day'. It is also valid to speak from a 'functional' point of view: the Iliad refers to the sharing of *timai* the sons of Cronos, ending with Zeus reigning over the sky and the earth, Poseidon over the sea and Hades over the underworld.
Nethertheless it remains linguistically impossible in Greek to understand Διοπετὲς (Διιπετὲς) as meaning properly ἀπ' οὐρανοῦor κατ' οὐρανοῦ. On the contrary, the excerpt from Quintus quoted hereabove clearly indicates that Zeus threw the Palladion (Κρόνιων / κάββαλεν) from the top of the Olympus (ἀπ'Οὐλύμποιο).
We assume that both details were mentioned in the earliest text, and that the actual meaning of διιπετές, as proved by the occurrence of such syntagms as Δία ῥῖψαι (*Bibl.* .145) and Κρόνιων /κάββαλεν (Quintus of Smyrnae 10.359-60), must be "thrown by Zeus". But as some late lexicographers attest, this phrase could no longer be understood during their times, and required a gloss saying "fallen from the sky" or mentions such as ἀπ'Οὐλύμποιο to replace it. P. Rylands 22 τὸτῆς 'Αθηνᾶς οὐράνι[ον ἄγαλμα, « Athena's celestial statue » seems consistent with this view.

It is Zeus who threw the Palladion from the Olympus, and Dardanos or Ilos who found it at his door (we will not dwell upon whether it was a wedding gift for Dardanos).[25] Zeus actually never uses epiphanies to show himself to mortals on earth as other gods do (Athena, Hermes, Apollon, Poseidon, Ares in the Epics).[26]
In any case, in Homer's texts, Zeus always sits in the heights, on Mount Olympus or Mount Ida, and only leaves them for the sacred Tables of the Ethiopians; he sometimes stands up to

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25

Three mythological versions at least may be distinguished : - wedding gift to Dardanos' wife by Athena (who then may have fabbricated it previously) - fallen before Dardanos' door
- fallen before Ilos' door
Dionysios Halicarnassensis mentions both versions relating to Dardanos, [Apollodorus] the version relating to Ilos and Athena's fabrication.

26

His frequent courtships imply, however, that he sometimes descends to earth and takes a human form – Amphitryon's for example- to seduce women such as Alcmene;

brandish the lightning or the thunder, and to throw objects from his throne such as the rain of blood he sends out in the episode of Sarpedon's death.[27] Cf. The formula αἷμα διοπετές 'blood fallen from Zeus' met in the Homeric corpus (*Il*. 5.339, 5.870).

Apollodorus 3.144-5 refers to the statue of Pallas made by Athena after the death of her friend (who was Triton's daughter).[28] This statue was endowed with the attributes of the goddess (δόρυ, ἠλακάτη, ἄτρακτος, and the *aigis* which caused Pallas' death). Δία ῥῖψαι appears a development of or verbal equivalent for διιπετὲς.

4) the Palladion as a talisman

We will try now to show that the Palladion is a magical object, which was to our opinion largely underestimated in Faraone's book on the question.

Given by the divinity, it must be kept inside (in the *adyton* of the temple, inside the city), far from the light. In daylight, the statue emits flashes of light (Virgil, *En*. 2.) and can blind the person who sees it (cf. the blinding of Ilos as told by Derkyllos in Plutarch's *Minor Parallels*, and the Roman parallels he mentions in Roman tradition: Metellus etc.). This could be the reason why Diomedes and Ulysses steal the Palladion at night.

The formula we analyzed probably comes from a fragment of the *Little Iliad* or the *Iliupersis*, as the summary by Proclus, and perhaps some iconographical representations, seem to indicate. But we must be careful : the theft of the Palladion could belong to the episodes of the fall of Troy, but the fall of the Palladion on Ilos or Dardanos's front door might belong to a previous episode. Naturally, if Διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον is a formula, it might be repeated in several episodes, without a deep semantic value or relevance in every one of them.

In any case, Apollodoros and Dionysios of H. probably still had knowledge of the traditions resulting from the Cycle, in which the small statue of Athena (see the size accurately indicated by Apollodorus) had a formulaic epithet, but its meaning was forgotten over time.

Several texts and images show two Palladia and use the plural. The most explicit version is found in Dionysus Halicarnassensis who recalls Dardanos' travel from Arcadia to Samothrace. He seems to have received the statue there, either as a

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The meteorological verbs are impersonal in Greek, but the imperative used in prayers asking for rain and addressed to Zeus, prove that rain and snow were thought as the result of his will and action.

28

Which could explain one of the traditional epithets of the Goddess, *Tritogeneia*, at least in popular etymology, as it often occurs in Antiquity.

wedding gift or rather "fallen from Zeus". Did he then have a copy of the statue made before leaving the island for Asia Minor with sacred objects, including the *Palladia ?* Later on, several episodes provide references, which are more or less explicit, to at least two Palladia: it may be inferred that the true or original statue came from Zeus who threw it on earth. The copy might have been designed as a trap for thieves who wanted to steal the statue for its magical power.
Several of our texts refer to predictions linked to the Palladion (see Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Quintus Smyrnaeus mostly). The theft of the statue by Odysseus and Diomedes is a consequence of such a prediction: they knew that Troy would not fall if the Palladion remained in its *adyton*, far from human eyes. The allusions to their expedition are numerous, but Dictys Cretensis is the only one to provide an explanation for the method used by the Achean heroes: Antenor and his wife Theano secretely agreed to steal the statue from the temple and exchange it for a great amount of money.[29] We find this version very convincing because it could account for several details found in the *Iliad* and still unexplained: in Book 3, Antenor describes Odysseus' sublime eloquence in the famous *Teichoscopia*, comparing his words to a snow storm.[30] Was Antenor referring to his own experience of being swept away by this verbal storm? In Book 6, Hector asks his mother to offer a sacrifice to Athena. She brings her most splendid veil as a gift to be offered to the goddess by her priestess Theano. The sacrifice seems in perfect accordance to the ritual, but the goddess denies it (*Il.* 6.311 ... ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη): this can be considered as a very bad omen for the city of Troy. One could assume that, even if she is a woman, Hecuba had no right to enter the *adyton*: therefore she asked the priestess to take care of the prayer and the offering on her behalf. But on the other hand, Athena cannot accept a veil coming from Paris's treasure chest. Is the statue mentioned in this occurrence the *palladion* or another cult object? The question remains open.
Later on, some authors thought that Diomedes and Odysseus stole two statues (the *palladia* from Dardanos' time or later on); others suggested that they stole only one statue, but that is was the fake. It then could be inferred that Antenor and Theano were more clever than the *polymetis* Odysseus himself, since they sold a fake statue for a high price.[31] Anyway, the legend of the Trojan origins of

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Dionysios Halicarnassensis 1.46 could contain an allusion to this version : Ἰλίου κρατηθέντος ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν, εἴτε τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου τῇ ἀπάτῃ, ὡς Ὁμήρῳ πεποίηται, εἴτε τῇ προδοσίᾳ τῶν Ἀντηνοριδῶν εἴτε ἄλλως πως, [...]

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*Il.*3.222 ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα, see Létoublon 000 1994 ????.

31

Rome is based, among other elements, on the idea that Aeneas carried away with him, apart from his father on his back, his wife, his son, the *Penates*, and the original Palladion thrown by Zeus: this statue was then kept by the Romans in Vesta's temple, if we follow Dionysius Halicarnassensis.

The story takes on a sophistical turn that, as far as we know, has never been commented by ancient authors: if the statue was a guarantee of safety for the city, and if Diomedes and Odysseus took only a fake Palladion, a copy, and the original remained in the temple, why did Troy fall after all? The Palladion is key to the Achaeans's victory, and they will replace it with the Wooden Horse, another trap reversing the move from outside to inside.
Let us come back to the text of the *Bibliotheca* and its narrative of the statue's creation by Athena. According to the mythograph, the goddess as a child, was raised by Triton,[32] with his daughter Pallas. Both of the girls used to play war games (ἀσκούσας τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον) and once came to quarrell. As Pallas was going to strike Athena, she was frightened. Zeus also was afraid for her and he streched the *aigis* before her as a protection. Pallas, startled, looked up, was striken by Athena and fell. Athena was deeply sorry (περίλυπον ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενομένην), she made an image close to her (ξόανον ἐκείνης ὅμοιον κατασκευάσαι), she put the *aigis* she was afraid of around her shoulders and placed it besides Zeus to be honoured there (καὶ περιθεῖναι τοῖς στέρνοις ἣν ἔδεισεν αἰγίδα, καὶ τιμᾶν ἱδρυσαμένην παρὰ τῷ Διί). But later, Electra after her rape, sought refuge by the image, and Zeus threw it with Ate into the Ilian country (ὕστερον δὲ Ἠλέκτρας κατὰ τὴν φθορὰν τούτῳ προσφυγούσης, Δία ῥῖψαι μετ' αὐτῆς/ Ἄτης[33] καὶ τὸ παλλάδιον εἰς τὴν Ἰλιάδα χώραν), Ilos built a temple for it and honoured it (Ἴλον δὲ τούτῳ ναὸν κατασκευάσαντα τιμᾶν).
Almost every word counts in this short narrative: the statue is a *xoanon*, which means a wooden archaic statue, it is rather small in size (three cubits: *tripekhus*) that could easily fit in human arms.
The statue is clearly conceived in the idea of replacing the dead friend and

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The sophistic issue mentioned above seems still more acute in this case.Did Theano, as the priestess of Athena,betray her city and her goddess, or did she act skillfully, in collusion with her husband, deceiving the skillful Odysseus himself? In both cases, the city's fall shows their mistaken choice.

32

φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, The detail could explain the frequence of *Tritogeneia* as appellation of Athena in our texts, be they Greek or Latin.

33

allowing grieving and solace: this correspond to the current ideas met in Greek literature about the birth of the statues and paintings in general, as show the myths of Protesilaos and his wife Laodamia and the myth of Boutades' daughter: the dead's wife or the fiancée of a soldier tries to have at least an image of the beloved one.[34] In addition to this essential feature, we may note a childish tone that could show that making an imitation (ἐκείνης ὅμοιον) of her friend may be also for young Athena a way of playing with a puppy.[35] Therefore the Palladion is first an image of the beloved Pallas and a solace for her death, and as an image, it is a substitute for the person. But still when playing with her living friend, Athena may be considered playing with her own double: she is a girl, more or less of the same age, and they play together war games with a strong aspect of competition. It is well-known that children often invent imaginaries companions to play with. In this story, young Athena had an actual friend who was a kind of double for her, and she replaces her when dead by an image, another kind of double.[36] We meet with the subtle notion of double in mythology studied by Maurizio Bettini in a paper published in 2004. He distinguishes two kinds of creation of doubles in Greek myths, that proceed either from defence or from attack. Here, Pallas is from the beginning a double for Athena, as her foster father Triton is a double and substitute for Zeus. Zeus and the *aigis* defend Athena against the potential violence of her double, and Athena makes an image of it, that could gilt as defence of virginity.[37] Fighting against her own double is a kind of challenge such as Athena likes to cope with. The question we wanted to pose is the analogy between the notions of fake, double,and image: after the death of

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34 See mainly Bettini 1992 and Steiner 2001.

35 Bettini devoted a whole chapter to puppies in Antiquity. They are considered a symbol of virginity, which fits particularly well for the virgin goddess playing in her childhood with another girl close to her.

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37 However the examples of Electra in this version, of Cassandra raped by Ajax although she sought refuge near the Palladion, show that its protection is not sufficient.

her double, Athena makes an image of her which has very strange powers, hence a strange story, full of mysteries and enigms, and this image provoked many fakes and delusions. It might be that Homer's silence on the topic could be part of the problem.

Annex

Bibl. 145-6 φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν ᾿Αθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, ᾧ θυγάτηρ ἦν Παλλάς· ἀμφοτέρας δὲ ἀσκούσας τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον εἰς φιλονεικίαν ποτὲ προελθεῖν. μελλούσης δὲ πλήττειν τῆς Παλλάδος τὸν Δία φοβηθέντα τὴν αἰγίδα προτεῖναι, τὴν δὲ εὐλαβηθεῖσαν ἀναβλέψαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς ᾿Αθηνᾶς τρωθεῖσαν πεσεῖν. ᾿Αθηνᾶν δὲ περίλυπον ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενομένην, ξόανον ἐκείνης ὅμοιον κατασκευάσαι, καὶ περιθεῖναι τοῖς στέρνοις ἣν ἔδεισεν αἰγίδα, καὶ τιμᾶν ἱδρυσαμένην παρὰ τῷ Διί. ὕστερον δὲ ᾿Ηλέκτρας κατὰ τὴν φθορὰν τούτῳ προσφυγούσης, Δία ῥῖψαι μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ παλλάδιον εἰς τὴν ᾿Ιλιάδα χώραν, ῾Ίλον δὲ τούτῳ ναὸν κατασκευάσαντα τιμᾶν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ παλλαδίου ταῦτα
λέγεται.]

Annex: ancient texts

[Apollodorus], *Bibliotheca, 142-146:* Ἶλος δὲ εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀφικόμενος καὶ καταλαβὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόθι τεθειμένον ἀγῶνα νικᾷ πάλην· καὶ λαβὼν ἆθλον πεντήκοντα κόρους καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας, δόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ χρησμὸν καὶ βοῦν ποικίλην, καὶ φράσαντος ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν αὐτὴ κλιθῇ τόπῳ πόλιν κτίζειν, εἵπετο τῇ βοΐ. ἡ δὲ ἀφικομένη ἐπὶ τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς Φρυγίας Ἄτης λόφον κλίνεται· ἔνθα πόλιν κτίσας Ἶλος ταύτην μὲν Ἴλιον ἐκάλεσε, τῷ δὲ Διὶ σημεῖον εὐξάμενος αὐτῷ τι φανῆναι, μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν τὸ διιπετὲς παλλάδιον πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κείμενον ἐθεάσατο. ἦν δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τρίπηχυ, τοῖς δὲ ποσὶ συμβεβηκός, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ δόρυ διηρμένον ἔχον τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ ἠλακάτην καὶ ἄτρακτον.

III, 144-145 [ἱστορία δὲ ἡ περὶ τοῦ παλλαδίου τοιάδε φέρεται·
φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, ᾧ θυγάτηρ ἦν Παλλάς·
ἀμφοτέρας δὲ ἀσκούσας τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον εἰς φιλονεικίαν ποτὲ προελθεῖν.
μελλούσης δὲ πλήττειν τῆς Παλλάδος τὸν Δία φοβηθέντα τὴν αἰγίδα προτεῖναι,
τὴν δὲ εὐλαβηθεῖσαν ἀναβλέψαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τρωθεῖσαν πεσεῖν. Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ περίλυπον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ γενομένην, ξόανον ἐκείνης ὅμοιον κατασκευάσαι, καὶ περιθεῖναι τοῖς στέρνοις ἣν ἔδεισεν αἰγίδα, καὶ τιμᾶν ἱδρυσαμένην παρὰ τῷ Διί. ὕστερον δὲ Ἠλέκτρας κατὰ τὴν φθορὰν τούτῳ προς- φυγούσης, Δία ῥῖψαι μετ᾽ αὐτῆς/ Ἄτης[38] καὶ τὸ παλλάδιον εἰς τὴν Ἰλιάδα χώραν, Ἴλον δὲ τούτῳ ναὸν κατασκευάσαντα τιμᾶν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ παλλαδίου ταῦτα λέγεται.] III, 144-145.

Dionysios of Halicarnassos, I, 68

> Εἰς πόλιν ἣν κτίζῃσθα θεοῖς σέβας ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ
> θεῖναι, καὶ φυλακαῖς τε σέβειν θυσίαις τε χοροῖς τε·
> εὖτ᾽ ἂν γὰρ τάδε σεμνὰ καθ᾽ ὑμετέραν χθόνα μίμνῃ
> δῶρα Διὸς ἀλόχῳ σέθεν, ἥδε πόλις σοι
> ἔσται ἀπόρθητος τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἤματα πάντα.

Λέγουσι γοῦν ὧδε· Χρύσην τὴν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα γημαμένην Δαρδάνῳ φέρνας ἐπενέγκασθαι δωρεὰς Ἀθηνᾶς τά τε Παλλάδια καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν μαγαλῶν θεῶν διδαχθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τᾶς τελετάς·
I, 69,2 ἅραντα ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων τά τε ἱερὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν καὶ ὅπερ ἔτι περιῆν Παλλάδιον (θάτερον γὰρ Ὀδυσσέα καῖ Διομήδην νυκτὸς φασιν εἰς Ἴλιον ἀφικομένους)
(fr. of Arctinos) I, 69.3 Ἀρκτῖνος δὲ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ Παλλάδιον ἓν καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ τέως ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο
I, 69.4 καὶ τὸ μυθευόμενον Παλλάδιον. ὅ φασι τὰς ἱερὰς φυλάττειν παρθένους ἐν ναῷ κείμενον Ἑστιᾶς.
Id., II, 66
τὸ διιπετὲς παλλάδιον

Plutarque, *Minor parallels* on Ilos: Ἐν Ἰλίῳ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμπρησθέντος, προσδραμὼν Ἶλος τὸ διοπετὲς ἥρπασε παλλάδιον ἐτυφλώθη. οὐ γάρ ἐξῆν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς βλέπεσθαι, ὕστερον δ᾽ ἐξιλασάμενος ἀνέβλεψεν (Derkyllos and Aristides of Miletos)

Procl. *Chrest.* 206 (*Iliadis Parvae enarratio*)… Ὀδυσσεύς τε αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατάσκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀναγνωρίσθεὶς ὑφ᾽ Ἑλένης περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς πόλεως συντίθεται κτείνας τέ τινας τῶν Τρώων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικνεῖται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομήδει τὸ παλλάδιον ἐκκομίζει.

38

(*Iliupersidos enarratio*) Μενέλαος δὲ ἀνευρὼν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τᾶς ναῦς κατάγει, Δηίφοβον φονεύσας. Κασσάνδραν δὲ Αἴας ὁ Ἰλέως πρὸς βίαν ἀποσπῶν συνεφέλκεται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον. ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθέντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καταλεῦσαι βοθλεύονται τὸν Αἴαντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καταφέυγει καὶ διασῴζεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου κινδύνου.

Quintus of Smyrna, 10, 350-360
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ᾽θεῶν τις ἀπειρέσιον χαλεπήνας ἔσθενεν ὄλβιον ἄστυ διαπραθέειν Πριάμοιο ἀθανάτης ἔμπροσθεν ἀκηδέος ἐμβεβαυίης ἁρπάξας ἐθέλουσαν ἐύφρονα Τριτογένειαν / ἢ τ᾽ ἔρυμα πτόλιός τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπλετο Τρώων·);

Virgil, *Æn.* 2, 171-179
Nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.
Vix positum castris simulacrum, arsere coruscae
luminibus flammae arrectis, salsusque per artus
sudor iit, terque ipsa solo -- mirabile dictu --
emicuit, parmamque ferens hastamque trementem.
'Extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas,
nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama telis,
omina ni repetant Argis, numenque reducant,
quod pelago et curuis secum auexere carinis.
(cf. comm. by Servius)

Dictys Cretensis 5.5-7: focus on Antenor and Theano as traitors
Praeterea cognoscunt ab Antenore editum quondam oraculum Trojanis, maximo exitio civitati fore, si Palladium, quod in templo Minervae esset, extra moenia tolleretur : namque id antiquissimum signurn caelo sublapsum, qua tempestate Ilus templum Minervae extruens, prope summum fastigii pervenerat, ibique inter opera, quum necdum tegumen superpositum esset, sedem sibi occupavisse, idque signum ligno fabrefactum esse. Hortantibus dein nostris, uti secum ad ea omnia eniteretur, facturum se quae cuperent, reepondit. Atque his praedicit, publice se in consilio super qualitate eorum quae postulaturi essent, exertius disserturum, scilicet ne qua suspicio sui apud Barbaros oriretur. Ita composito negotio, cum luce simul Antenor ac reliqui proceres ad Priamum vadunt; nostri ad naves redeunt.
6 Dein ubi justa pueris farca sunt, post diem tertium Idaeus supradictos duces accitum venit : queis praesentibus Lampus, caeterique quorum consilium praevalebat, multa disserere, atque docere ea quae antea gesta essent temere et inconsulte, non per se, quippe qui contempti despectique a regulis, arbitrio alieno agerent. Caeterum quod arma adversus Graecos tulissent, non sponte factum : namque qui sub imperio alieno agerent, expectandum his, atque exsequendum esse nutum ejus qui teneat. Ob quae dignum esse Graecos data venia consulere eis, qui semper auctores pacis fuerint : caeterum a Trojanis ob maleconsulta satis poenarum exactum. Dein multo hinc atque inde habito sermone, ad postremum de modo praemiorum agi coeptum. Tum Diomedes quinque millia talentorum auri, ac totidem argenti optat : praeterea tritici centena millia, eaque per annos decem. Tum silentio habito a cunctis, Antenor, non Graecorum more agere eos adversum se ait, sed barbaro : namque quod impossibilia postularent, palam fieri, praetextu pacis bellum eos instruere : caeterum auri tantum atque argenti ne tum quidem priusquam in auxilia conducta dilaceraretur, civitati fuisse. Quod si permanere in eadem avaritia vellent, superesse Trojania, uti clausis portis, incensisque intus deorum aedificiis, ad postremum idem sibi cum patria exitium peterent. Contra Diomedes: « Non civitatem vestram consideratum Argis venimus, verum adversum vos dimicaturi. Quodcirca sive etiam nunc bellare in animo est, parati Graeci : sive, ut ais, igni dabitis Ilium, non prohibebimus : quippe Graecia affectis injuria, ulcisci hostes suos finis est. »

Tum Panthus in proximum diem veniam deliberandi orat. Ita nostri ad Antenorem abeunt, atque inde in aedem Minervae.

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