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Odysseus in Ino's Veil: Feminine Headdress and the Hero in *Odyssey* 5

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"Odysseus tests all the limits of his culture."[1]

Introduction: Feminine Headdress and the Hero

As Odysseus journeys home, from "submerged identity" back to wholeness and reintegration, from the languishing "dangers of exotic vice" back to the firm-founded bed of Penelope, even from death back into life, various devices and disguises demonstrate his epithet πολύτροπος.[2] Homeric scholarship has long been engaged to investigate his polytropic deviousness. One maneuver, however, remains unappreciated: his brief, clumsy, aquatic début wearing a veil (5.333–462). When Ino-Leukothea spies the shipwrecked (or rather raft-wrecked) Odysseus struggling in the ocean between Ogygia and Skheria, she pities him and loans him her veil (κρήδεμνον).

> Τὸν δὲ ἴδεν Κάδμου θυγάτηρ, καλλίσφυρος Ἰνώ,
> Λευκοθέη, ἣ πρὶν μὲν ἔην βροτὸς αὐδήεσσα,
> νῦν δ' ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι θεῶν ἔξ ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

[1]Foley 71. I would like to thank Don Lateiner, Bruce Heiden, and Erwin Cook, along with the editor and anonymous readers of *TAPA*, for thoughtful suggestions that helped to shape the final version of this article, and Steve Tracy, Joe Tebben, Sarah Johnston, and Jane Snyder for Homeric and feminist studies.

[2]Submerged identity: Holtsmark 207 n. 6, citing Whitman 289. Dangers of exotic vice: Brilliant 167. On the bed of Penelope see Dietz; Felson-Rubin 12, 38–39, 62; Zeitlin 1995. Death into life (rebirth): Holtsmark; Segal 1967; Germain 78–86, 126–28, 131–32; Anderson; Taylor; Flaumenhaft; Pucci 1987: 148–54. Odysseus *polutropos*: Pucci 1982 esp. 50–57.

ἥ ῥ᾽ Ὀδυσῆ᾽ ἐλέησεν ἀλώμενον, ἄλγε᾽ ἔχοντα·
αἰθυίῃ δ᾽ ἐϊκυῖα ποτῇ ἀνεδύσετο λίμνης,
ἷζε δ᾽ ἐπὶ σχεδίης καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·
"Κάμμορε, τίπτε τοι ὧδε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
ὠδύσατ᾽ ἐκπάγλως, ὅτι τοι κακὰ πολλὰ φυτεύει;
οὐ μὲν δή σε καταφθίσει, μάλα περ μενεαίνων.
ἀλλὰ μάλ᾽ ὧδ᾽ ἔρξαι, δοκέεις δέ μοι οὐκ ἀπινύσσειν·
εἵματα ταῦτ᾽ ἀποδὺς σχεδίην ἀνέμοισι φέρεσθαι
κάλλιπ᾽, ἀτὰρ χείρεσσι νέων ἐπιμαίεο νόστου
γαίης Φαιήκων, ὅθι τοι μοῖρ᾽ ἐστὶν ἀλύξαι.
τῇ δέ, τόδε κρήδεμνον ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τάνυσσαι
ἄμβροτον· οὐδέ τί τοι παθέειν δέος οὐδ᾽ ἀπολέσθαι.
αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν χείρεσσιν ἐφάψεαι ἠπείροιο,
ἆψ ἀπολυσάμενος βαλέειν εἰς οἶνοπα πόντον
πολλὸν ἀπ᾽ ἠπείρου, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι."
Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα θεὰ κρήδεμνον ἔδωκεν,
αὐτὴ δ᾽ ἆψ ἐς πόντον ἐδύσετο κυμαίνοντα
αἰθυίῃ ἐϊκυῖα· μέλαν δέ ἑ κῦμα κάλυψεν. (*Od*. 5.333–53)[3]

The daughter of Kadmos, sweet-stepping Ino called Leukothea,
saw him. She had once been one who spoke as a mortal,
but now in the gulfs of the sea she holds degree as a goddess.
She took pity on Odysseus as he drifted and suffered hardship,
and likening herself to a winged gannet she came up
out of the water and perched on the raft and spoke a word to him:
"Poor man, why is Poseidon the shaker of the earth so bitterly
cankered against you, to give you such a harvest of evils?
And yet he will not do away with you, for all his anger.
But do as I say, since you seem to me not lacking in good sense.
Take off these clothes, and leave the raft to drift at the winds' will,
and then strike out and swim with your hands and make for a landfall
on the Phaiakian country, where your escape is destined.
And here, take this veil, it is immortal, and fasten it under
your chest; and there is no need for you to die, nor to suffer.
But when with both your hands you have taken hold of the mainland,
untie the veil and throw it out in the wine-blue water
far from the land; and turn your face away as you do so."
So spoke the goddess and handed him the veil, then herself
in the likeness of a gannet slipped back into the heaving
sea, and the dark and tossing water closed above her.

[3]The Greek *Odyssey* text throughout is that of Stanford 1961, the *Iliad* Monro and Allen; the English translations are those of Lattimore 1951 and 1965.

Although at first Odysseus is understandably suspicious of divine feminine assistance, when faced with imminent drowning he follows the goddess's directions. He strips, ties on her immortal κρήδεμνον, and swims for it:

> εἵματα δ' ἐξαπέδυνε, τά οἱ πόρε δῖα Καλυψώ.
> αὐτίκα δὲ κρήδεμνον ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τάνυσσεν·
> αὐτὸς δὲ πρηνὴς ἁλὶ κάππεσε, χεῖρε πετάσσας,
> νηχέμεναι μεμαώς. (*Od*. 5.372–75)
>
> he stripped off the clothing which the divine Kalypso had given him,
> and rapidly tied the veil of Ino around his chest, then
> threw himself head first in the water, and with his arms spread
> stroked as hard as he could.

Later he returns the garment to her:

> ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἄμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη,
> καὶ τότε δὴ κρήδεμνον ἀπὸ ἕο λῦσε θεοῖο.
> καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐς ποταμὸν ἁλιμυρήεντα μεθῆκεν,
> ἂψ δ' ἔφερεν μέγα κῦμα κατὰ ῥόον, αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Ἰνὼ
> δέξατο χερσὶ φίλῃσιν· (*Od*. 5.458–62)
>
> But when he got his breath back and the spirit regathered into
> his heart, he at last unbound the veil of the goddess from him,
> and let it go, to drift in the seaward course of the river,
> and the great wave carried it out on the current, and presently Ino
> took it back into her hands.

Commentators on this scene have focused on the parallel between Leukothea's assistance here and Athena's help quieting the waves later (5.382–87),[4] Ino's mythic apotheosis, Leukothea's historical cult, or the folkloric motif of the divine helper who brings the hero a talisman.[5] But let us attend to this veil's

[4]As Fenik (143–44) analyses the doublets in this scene, Odysseus gives two monologues (297–312, 356–64), two waves shatter the raft (313–23, 365–70), twice the hero floats hanging on to timbers (324–32, 370–75), and two goddesses come to his assistance (Ino at 333–55, Athena at 382–87). Richardson (201–7) performs a close narratological analysis of the scene.

[5]Commentaries: Merry and Riddell; Stanford; Heubeck et al. Ino-Leukothea: Roscher 2.2: 2011–17; H. J. Rose 150–51; Gantz 112, 176–79, 478 (with ancient mythic sources). Her initiatory cult (never explicitly mentioned in Homer): Burkert 172 (with refs.); Bremmer; Lyons 48–51, 64–67, 108–12, 122–24, 128–30. The primary ancient references to her cult are Σ Apollonius 1.917 and Xenophanes 21 A 13.

unique function (as a kind of "lifebelt")[6] and Odysseus' singular treatment of it. Our justification might begin with a matter of emphasis: the word κρήδεμνον is stressed in *Odyssey* 5 as it is nowhere else in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*; it is repeated four times within approximately 100 lines here (at 346, 351, 373, and 459), but is widely scattered in its eleven other occurrences.[7] The emphasis on the veil is likely to reflect the initiatory cult of Leukothea, whose founding myths involved gender reversal and offered reassurance to sailors that the goddess would not allow them to drown at sea. Odysseus, no ordinary sailor, receives a magical token from the goddess herself, foregoing, as heroes sometimes can, cultic mediation. Yet such an allusion does not fully explain Odysseus' singular behavior; men in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* do not as a rule concern themselves with women's clothing, let alone handle it.[8] And no other Homeric male touches any sort of feminine headgear in the poems. What then does it signify that Odysseus not only touches, but actually *wears*, a κρήδεμνον?

Ino's loan not only saves Odysseus' life, but symbolically separates him from the world of war and fantastic adventures and prepares him to return to human society. As I hope to demonstrate, the Homeric veil is an especially appropriate garment to mark the end of Odysseus' liaisons with goddesses and to serve as talisman against erotic involvement with Nausikaa. When the hero of the *Odyssey*, already especially sensitive to female experience (as his handling of Kalypso demonstrated), undergoes a rite of passage in *Odyssey* 5 that features cross-dressing, his assumption of feminine garb helps reorient him as a human being. Paradoxically, at this crucial transition, his resumption of mature masculine identity depends upon transvestism, a ritual behavior that magically readies him for interactions and negotiations with the mortal women who will facilitate his return.

Folkloric motifs in the *Odyssey*: Carpenter; Page; on the divine helper motif see Thompson at F 340–48 and N 810.

[6]Lorimer 386.

[7]Nagler 1974: 10–11 lists all occurrences in the Homeric corpus (including epithetic compounds, which pertain only tangentially to this study). The line numbers for Penelope's veils were omitted from his list; see n. 23 below. The word κρήδεμνον, apparently comprised of κάρη, "head," and δέω, "bind," designates a woven garment women wore on their heads (Cunliffe s.v.; Frisk 2: 15; Chantraine 1: 581; Boisacq 514–15). For illustrations and nomenclature of women's headgear in Homer, see Lorimer 383–89; Johnson 34–38, 65–71; Marinatos A13–14, B1–22, esp. 21–22; Bieber 1928: 24–26, 1934: 25.

[8]The exception (discussed below) is consequential for this study: Telemakhos receives a dress from Helen for his future bride at *Od*. 15.125–29.

Let us look closely, and with appropriate surprise, at Odysseus as he ties Ino's ambrosial headgear ὑπὸ στέρνοιο (5.346 and 373).[9] Although he wears the veil in an unusual fashion, although he wears it only for the duration of his swim to shore, this scene does represent a Homeric hero donning a feminine garment. However brief, this is the sole example of male transvestism in the Homeric poems.[10] It is a moment often overlooked. The phrase "When Odysseus washes up on the shore of Skheria, naked and alone,"[11] or its close relative, is not a rarity in Homeric criticism, but such phrases disregard Odysseus' first minutes on shore, which are in fact spent lying exhausted with the veil still around his chest, and then untying it and letting the river current take it away (5.453–60). Still wearing the veil,

> ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἄπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος
> κεῖτ' ὀλιγηπελέων, κάματος δέ μιν αἰνὸς ἴκανεν. (*Od.* 5.456–57)
>
> with a terrible weariness fallen
> upon him he lay unable to breathe or speak in his weakness.

Transvestism, a practice well known in ancient Greek cult, myth, art, and literature, and conventional in tragedy and comedy,[12] has no part in Homeric descrip-

[9]Shapiro 158–59, with plate 27, discusses and reproduces a fifth-century pyxis lid depicting an otherwise nude Odysseus, *contra* Homer, still wearing the veil (around his shoulders) as he approaches Nausikaa. Lorimer 383–89 discusses ordinary positions for various types of feminine headgear.

[10]Odysseus is also the favorite of cross-dressing Athena, who appears in male guise (as Mentor and Mentes) and who even when undisguised wears and carries the armor of a male Homeric warrior.

[11]E.g. Segal 1962: 23 "His arrival there, thrown up by the waves, his safe sleep and awakening before Nausicaa, is a rebirth, a restoration to life after the quasi-death on Ogygia. *He emerges from the water entirely naked*, stripped of all that has been outgrown and outlived but ready to be reclothed for the resumption of his human life on Ithaca" (my emphasis). Cf. Green 40 ("naked and near-dead"). Holtsmark 209–10 includes the veil within rebirth imagery by likening the discarded headgear to an infant's umbilical cord.

[12]Miller provides a thorough discussion and bibliography of transvestism inside and outside ritual contexts in ancient Greece. Kenner presents the ancient *testimonia*. See also Dodds 181; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 211–56; Loraux esp. 125–31; Zeitlin 1996: 341–416; Lyons 103–33. Akhilles' cross-dressing episode on Skyros Homer ignores; cf. Dowden 53–55. Froma Zeitlin's work on tragedy and comedy as opportunities for men to "play the Other," and particularly her intriguing suggestion that tragedy employs the feminine "to imagine a more complete model of

tions of ritual or recounting of legend, and so seems to be surprising behavior for a Homeric hero.[13] As Margaret Miller observes and ethnographers have shown, circumstances and motivations for cross-dressing vary widely. Cross-dressing occurs in many cultures within communal festivals and rites of passage or distinguishes religious adepts (all three functions are attested in ancient Greece); in literature, wearing dress customarily associated with the opposite gender can serve narrative or symbolic functions.[14] In the case of Odysseus, the narrative function of the veil is to save him from drowning, and its symbolic function is twofold: to align him with feminine experience, and to associate his final struggle in the sea with a true rite of passage and thus with irrevocable transition into a new existence.

Understanding this event in the context of Homeric poetry will require of us as interpreters not only knowledge of the already well-explored symbolism of the veil in the Homeric formulaic system, but also the framework of an "anthropology of clothing" to put it in.[15] These two approaches, each enriching the other, will clarify (1) why, of all things, Leukothea hands Odysseus a κρήδεμνον, and (2) why Odysseus *wears* it instead of simply carrying it. This study seeks to consider Odysseus' veil-wearing within the context of signifying dress (especially headdress) in the *Odyssey*, and to compare Odysseus' behavior with that of cross-dressing males in non-Homeric cultures, in the expectation that cross-cultural evidence, properly brought to bear on his encounter with Leukothea in *Odyssey* 5, will enrich our understanding of this passage, of κρήδεμνον-associations in Homer, and of the hero's polytropic character and experiences. Calling upon anthropological theories of inversion and liminality, and employ-

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the masculine self," can be readily understood as having profound application for the Homeric scene under consideration here (Zeitlin 1996: 363).

[13]In extremity a Homeric man might use a masculine garment to veil his sorrow, shielding his face with his χιτών, χλαῖνα, or φάρος: cf. Telemakhos hearing Menelaos recount the labors of Odysseus (*Od.* 4.115, χλαῖνα), Odysseus at Alkinoos' court hearing Demodokos sing his exploits at Troy (*Od*. 8.84–85, φάρος), and Priam mourning Hektor (*Il*. 24.163, χλαῖνα). Such behavior breaks no gender vestmental codes. On veils concealing anger and signifying separation see Cairns 24.

[14]Miller 241, 242–46. In each culture, at crucial transitions or for select individuals, cross-dressing blurs conventional gender boundaries and subverts binary thinking about gender: Miller 223–24; Garber 16 (who considers *passim* how cross-dressing marks moments of "category crisis"); Bullough and Bullough. There is no universally gendered dress code, of course, but there is a Homeric one, in which the veil is unambiguously feminine garb.

[15]Sebesta xvii.

ing the rite of passage as primary paradigm, I hope to demonstrate that the hero who leaves Ogygia is functionally and structurally different from the hero who emerges on the Skherian strand. This is not character development but character transformation by cultural means.[16]

From an anthropological standpoint, clothes are material social signals. A component of dress as a whole, they reflect both achieved and ascribed status, help observers determine the gender, class, age, role, and attitude of the wearer, and thus give clues to help define interaction.[17] Everything humans wear, from the letter jacket of an American college cheerleader to the penis-sheath of an Akwe‡-Shavante man, sends these critical messages.[18] According to Alison Lurie's *The Language of Clothes*, "We put on clothing for some of the same reasons that we speak: to make living and working easier and more comfortable, to proclaim (or disguise) our identities and to attract erotic attention," motivations James Laver designates respectively the Utility Principle, the Hierarchical Principle, and the Seduction Principle.[19] These divisions cover most Homeric vestments, but a "magical principle" will also be necessary in order to approach Ino's veil (as well as other memorable garments in Homer: the ἰμάς Aphrodite loans to Hera, for example, or Athena's aegis). Much apparel from literature and life would seem to demand this additional principle, from the embroidered green kirtle so sinfully borrowed by Sir Gawain from his hostess, to the boots the

[16]On "character development" vs. "spiritual growth" see Niles esp. 56–57.

[17]With Roach-Higgins and Eicher (7) I define dress as "an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body," a broad definition that includes not only all types of clothing but also (for example) hairstyles, tatoos, cosmetics, armor, sceptres, and veils, no matter how temporarily worn. Dress is a form of human nonverbal behavior that can be described as a language with a grammar of its own and many dialects; cf. Levine, who analyzes "the gendered grammar of ancient Mediterranean hair," and Poyatos 1983: 156–67 on "body-adaptors" including clothing. On nonverbal behavior in Homeric epic see Lateiner 1992 and 1995. Korte and Poyatos 1983 and 1992 survey nonverbal behavior in literature and life and have assembled much relevant sociological and anthropological bibliography.

[18]On the Akwe‡-Shavante see Maybury-Lewis 106–7. Those are examples of everyday wear; for a sense of the deeper communicative possibilities imagine Joan of Arc in her armor, Gandhi in his dhoti, Ben Franklin wearing his raccoon-skin hat at the French court, or, for that matter, Odysseus in his filthy rags.

[19]These principles overlap: Lurie 27. See Laver; Rubinstein (on American dress codes). Roach-Higgins et al., Weiner and Schneider, and Barnes and Eicher are modern and global in scope.

American cowboy wants to wear for his burial.[20] While a full examination of the anthropology of clothes in Homer would attend to clothing as social currency in systems of exchange and gift,[21] within the confines of this study I will focus on nonverbal behaviors involving feminine garments in Homer. Ritual uses of clothing sometimes subvert everyday expectations, and obviously Odysseus wearing a κρήδεμνον defies explanation within the Homeric dress code as it normally functions. In order properly to watch Odysseus undress, dress, and undress for his first meeting with a woman in ten years, let us consider the significance of the κρήδεμνον in the Homeric poems.

The Homeric κρήδεμνον

Any consideration of this word must take into account the masterful study of Nagler, and then seek to cast new light on that body of information from an original point of view.[22] As Penelope demonstrates, the garment could be held forward to shield the wearer's cheeks; as Andromakhe makes clear, it could be torn off; as its uses for Troy's bastion and Nestor's winejar demonstrate, it served as a visible metaphor of intactness.[23] Its loss represented the loss—willing or unwilling—of the αἰδώς (shamefastness, propriety) proper to a woman in Homeric poetry.[24] Odysseus remembers "loosing the veils of Troy," a metaphor for rape.[25] In terms of nonverbal behavior, the Homeric veil is a "significant object" and body-adaptor of particularly effective force.[26] First and foremost, it is a marker of modesty and status: no unchaste or unempowered female wears one. The virginal and aristocratic companions to Nausikaa wear κρήδεμνα, but Homer graces Kalypso and Kirke (the very antitheses of virtuous

[20]On magical clothing see Lurie 29–34, who (30) cites examples such as the wife who takes off her wedding ring before going to a motel with her lover, or the track star who believes he cannot win a race without a particular cap.

[21]For example, garments are prominent among the *apoina* Priam offers to Akhilles to bring about the resolution of the *Iliad* (24.228–31): the list begins with *peploi, khlainai, pharea,* and *khitones*. My book in progress on Homeric dress examines this point in greater detail.

[22]Nagler 1974: 44–97; also 1967: 298–307.

[23]Penelope: *Od*. 1.334, 16.416, 18.210, 21.65; Andromakhe: *Il*. 22.470 (on which see Segal 1971); Troy: *Il*. 16.100, *Od*. 13.388; Nestor's jar: *Od*. 3.392.

[24]Nagler 1974: 45, 53–54; cf. Bennett 129–30 on the Homeric *zônê* and *krêdemnon*.

[25]*Od*. 13.388; cf. *Il*. 16.98–100.

[26]Lateiner 1995: xx, 182 n. 26.

wives) with the καλύπτρη instead and only when Odysseus resolves to put their physical charms behind him do these goddesses put on any headdress. Odysseus' protocol-flaunting maids, who lack status, manners, and virtue, have no headdresses of note.[27] Taken together, goddesses who have the upper hand, promiscuous maids, and Nausikaa's skittish retinue serve to remind us that the κρήδεμνον is endowed with both apotropaic *and* alluring qualities at the same time, as the gleam of glossy veils invites the eye yet reflects scrutiny. The paradoxical veil not only enhances women's looks (and prospects), but also conceals women who have their own points of view. What is rarely glimpsed excites curiosity in the beholder, but veils provide privacy for the viewer inside. One thinks, for example, of the suitors ogling the object of their desire while περίφρων Penelope alertly assesses them from behind her κρήδεμνα (e.g., 18.158–214). The potent fragility of this barrier expresses the delicate balance between protection and power, modesty and beauty, that constitutes feminine identity in the Homeric poems. This then is the exclusively feminine and poetically provocative garment Leukothea urges Odysseus to wear.

Her timing is crucial. When she directs Odysseus to undress and rely on a flimsy textile barrier for protection against the oceanic wrath of Poseidon, Odysseus' debate about whether to trust her device condenses the suspicion and dependence that permeate all his encounters with females. Her veil encircles Odysseus as he leaves the company of immortal females (Kirke and Kalypso), whom he could not trust, to join the realm of mortal ones (Nausikaa and Penelope), whose dilemma when confronted with Odysseus is whether or not to trust him. The principal mortal women in the *Odyssey* are depicted as possessing powers subject to men's dominion and care; they are ever anxious to maintain a good reputation; they are capable of concern for Odysseus' welfare—and they wear the κρήδεμνον. How fitting, then, that a κρήδεμνον and no other garment, and a κρήδεμνον freely given (and freely returned), brings Odysseus to liminal Skheria.

Odysseus had been vulnerable to goddesses, but after casting off his borrowed veil he faces human women's vulnerability to him. His canny ability to "see through" and delicately manage nubile and bare-headed Nausikaa alone on the shore is prefigured in vestmental correspondence between the pair: at the moment of meeting Nausikaa—who has thrown off her veil to frolic, believing there are no men present—he has *himself* just discarded the protection of a

[27]Nausikaa and company: *Od*. 6.100. Odysseus' maids may be contrasted with, e.g., the proper wives of banqueters invited to Menelaos' feast, who appear for only one line, yet wear κρήδεμνα (*Od*. 4.623).

veil.[28] We must see in Odysseus' dependence upon that fragile cultural artifact against the forces of nature a reflection of the gesture of faith in culture one imagines the Homeric woman making every day when she donned the κρήδεμνον to crown her ensemble. The veil in a world of competitive male violence is not a guarantee; it is a request, a hope, a claim to respect and safe passage. The Odysseus who has worn the veil will not only treat precocious Nausikaa with extreme tact and sympathy, but will also manage carefully his later, still subtler, negotiations with Penelope, which his negotiations with Nausikaa prefigure.[29] Once he has worn Ino's veil, warlike qualities once appropriate at Troy, but at times a positive handicap on the way home, are submerged, and he is free to recover Ithaka "not merely through carefully meditated violence, but also through indirection and gentle persuasion,"[30] for it is cunningly conceived and subtly engineered violence in a social and domestic setting that will destroy the suitors. Finally, with cleverness and with sensitivity, he induces Penelope to lower her formidable and frozen guard, a vigilance perfectly symbolized by the veils shielding her body.

Why do lovely-haired Kirke and Kalypso not wear κρήδεμνα?[31] Why do not Hekabe and Thetis? When we compare the females who do with those who do not, a pattern emerges indicating that the κρήδεμνον is reserved for those who are in possession of αἰδώς and χάρις. If, or when, one of these elements is missing, so is this particular form of headgear, and the καλύπτρη or κάλυμμα appears instead, for among the varieties of feminine headgear in Homer, the most charged with meaning, the most embued with modesty and grace, is the κρήδεμνον.[32] As Carol Delaney writes of young women's headcovering in contemporary Turkey,

[28]Shapiro 163 n. 20 (mistakenly citing Nagler for this point). By putting on the veil, Odysseus discards what Lord (51) terms "the excessive self-reliance which Odysseus must lose and does lose ... before he is saved at Phaeacia from his long battle with the sea." On Nausikaa as a threat to vulnerable Odysseus see Gross; G. P. Rose.

[29]Van Nortwick.

[30]Foley 73.

[31]Feminine epithets for lovely and rich hair denote sexiness or fertility, but not necessarily propriety: Levine 91–92 (with refs).

[32]If we begin to distinguish the κρήδεμνον from other Homeric types of headdress (something scholars have not done), Nagler's statement that "Odysseus has for many years regularly succumbed to divine temptresses who set their κρήδεμνα at

> The headscarf is a sign that everyone can read, and it says, "I am a proper woman, I am under the protective mantle of my father." He is guarantor of her sexuality until he transfers it to her husband upon marriage. By means of the headcovering a woman indicates that her fertile field is not free for the planting; it has boundaries and belongs to some man. These boundaries, like those of a field, cannot be transgressed without dire consequences.[33]

These observations not only suggest analogies between modern Turkish headscarves and ancient Homeric veils, they also reveal a problem with Penelope's veils. Her mantled head is only a bluff: for most of the *Odyssey* she is not "under the protective mantle" of any male the suitors need fear.[34] Her protective fortifications—walled house, bedchamber, veil—are all besieged, yet she manipulates what protection remains as best she can.[35] The idea that the κρήδεμνον, more than other headdresses, is worn by chaste and "proper" females with their boundaries intact makes it possible to expand upon Nagler's discussion of the veil as it is worn by Hera in *Iliad* 14 (lines 157–223, with the veil at 184–85). Nagler sees in Hera's use of the κρήδεμνον frank wifely eroticism and a display of queenly status,[36] but in this duplicitous scene, we might detect a further message in her wearing of this specific garment. I submit that she dons this headdress not so much as an unambiguous sign of her marital status and beauty, or to bedazzle Zeus with "the devastating power of the feminine," but as the crowning feature of her charade as good wife. According to this interpretation, it is not only her perfume, her jewelry, and the borrowed κεστὸς ἱμάς that smite him with desire[37]; it is the κρήδεμνον, which she uses to signal to him that she has come to play the proper wife for a change. He does not resist.

Recognizing a nexus of κρήδεμνον-imagery that (1) excludes Kirke and Kalypso, and (2) includes a bluffing Penelope and a submissively costumed Hera, expands our understanding of the range of nonverbal messages communicated by the Homeric veil. Such recognition also reveals the Homeric choice to

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him" (1974: 47) is not quite apt; the lines he cites (5.232 = 10.545) refer to the καλύπτρη of Kalypso or Kirke.

[33]Delaney 64.

[34]Cf. René Girard's influential definition of "victim" in *Violence and the Sacred*: a being that has no avengers (12–13).

[35]Lateiner 1995: 243–79: Penelope, the most frequent wearer of κρήδεμνα in the Homeric poems, employs them among her "gendered weapons."

[36]Nagler 1974: 55–59.

[37]On seductive clothing and related aphrodisiacs see Faraone.

cloak Odysseus in a κρήδεμνον in *Odyssey* 5 to be more significant than has hitherto been appreciated. Furthermore, if the preceding interpretations are correct, Hera's and Penelope's κρήδεμνα demonstrate that the veil is consciously used as a symbol by the Homeric narrator to evoke powerful associations in the audience (both the audience *in fabula* and that outside it).[38] No human within the epic witnesses the hero's cross-dressing episode; the sign of the veil can be read only by the human audience outside the epic, who benefit from the narrator's godlike knowledge and vision.[39] Odysseus wears this garment for symbolic reasons we shall explore at length below, but he also wears it for Leukothea and, so to speak, for us. Odysseus submits to the vestmental authority of Leukothea[40] as an external sign to the audience of his integrity with regard to women: that in the past he has been faithful to Penelope in many ways that matter, and that in the future he will avoid the all-too-marriageable Nausikaa. In the hands of Leukothea, as elsewhere, the veil is a powerful instrument of boundary-magic. As heroine, she has traversed the barrier between mortality and immortality that Odysseus now strives to cross in the opposite direction (in order to return to mortal life); as *kourotrophos* to Dionysos, whom she dressed as a girl, she has proven her skill in presiding over male heroic rebirth; as goddess, she functions as a protectress of sailors and brings aid to those in danger of drowning; as a modest female who nevertheless removes her veil before a man (in order to save his life), she provides us and Odysseus with a rare glimpse of altruism in the *Odyssey*.[41] If goddesses' reactions have been any indication, Odysseus has all along been good to look at; Leukothea invests him with a marker of good intentions toward females. That he lives up to the multivalent meanings of

[38]Audiences inside and outside Homeric epic: Doherty *passim*; Felson-Rubin esp. 125–44. Richardson cogently outlines the special capabilities and communicative methods of the Homeric narrator.

[39]Poseidon alone sees Odysseus swimming with the veil around his chest, and the wrathful god is diverted from drowning him (5.375–79).

[40]It should be noted, however, that Odysseus obeys Leukothea only after assertions of his independence are shattered along with his raft, and he does not follow her directions to the letter, either: compare 5.342–47 with 354–64, and 348–50 with 458–62 (cf. his mistrust of Kalypso's raft plan at 5.173–79). On independent Iliadic heroes see Jones 108–14, 116–18.

[41]Although literary sources for Ino's adventures are post-Homeric, it seems likely from the context that the Homeric audience is being reminded of a familiar mythological figure; on mythical allusion in Homer see Slatkin.

this numinous veil gains him passage home from Nausikaa's father, and regains for him Penelope's hand.[42]

Odysseus and Feminine Clothing

In two insightful chapters of *The Ulysses Theme* that were harbingers of Homeric gender studies to follow, W. B. Stanford examined the character of Odysseus and concluded that Odysseus' actions, speeches, and references to himself in speech reveal vital differences between this "untypical hero" and his compatriots at Troy.[43] Stanford maintains that Odysseus' uniqueness has consequences for his social identity: that Odysseus is not a typically masculine Homeric warrior, but rather a loner, sensitive, intuitive, multi-faceted, hard for other men to understand or trust—and appealing to women. This "closer temperamental affinity between Odysseus and the women of the Heroic Age than between him and the more conventional warrior-heroes" emerges, *inter alia*, in Odysseus' sympathetic relationships with women, and in his ability to "appeal to the feminine element in his [Phaiakian] audience" on many levels.[44] Helene Foley's later work on "reverse similes" in the *Odyssey* has shown, from a different perspective, that Odysseus' experiences cause him to identify with feminine experience. For example, the simile of *Odyssey* 8 that compares Odysseus to a woman weeping over her dead husband on the battlefield (lines 523–31) "perhaps suggests how close Odysseus has come in the course of his travels, and in particular on Calypso's island, to the complete loss of normal social and emotional function which is the due [*sic*] of women enslaved in war."[45] She notes that reverse similes, some of which compare a man to a woman or a woman to a man, often "seem to suggest both a sense of identity between people in different social and sexual roles and a loss of stability, an inversion of the normal" and yet also function to "... clarify the overall structure and meaning of the relations between man and wife." Her insight that "voluntarily (through disguise) or involuntarily, Odysseus adopts or experiences a wide range of social roles other than his own" is germane to this study.[46] On the other hand, Foley largely restricts her interpretation of these similes to their bearing on social and economic relations on Ithaka, and writes that "In the *Odyssey* direct symbolic

[42]On *Od*. 5 as trial (*peira*) see Nagler 1974: 47.

[43]Stanford 1963. Chapter 4, "Personal Relationships" (43–65), and Chapter 5, "The Untypical Hero" (66–80) both deal with Odysseus' relationships with women.

[44]Stanford 1963: 64–65.

[45]Foley 72.

[46]Foley 60.

inversion of the sexes is delicately reserved for a few prominently-placed similes."[47] Neither Stanford nor Foley considered Odysseus from a sartorial standpoint. Yet introducing Odysseus' clothing into this discussion will support and deepen these scholars' insights into Odysseus as a hero who cannot be subsumed under any narrow definition of masculinity. In fact, Odysseus has an association with apparel that no other Homeric hero does, and examining this connection will more fully reveal his character, especially in relation to his gender. Passing for the most part over the already well explored matter of Odysseus as a master of disguise,[48] let us look at instances specifically involving women.

While Homeric narrative attends most carefully to masculine wardrobes during arming scenes, and heroes generally lack the close association with clothing and textiles that characterizes many goddesses and women, Odysseus is often involved with clothes, gathering garments from many givers, most of them female. The list is impressive: Nausikaa dresses him in some of her brothers' just-washed clothes (we recall that her ostensible reason for doing laundry is possible upcoming weddings) and Arete questions him about these same garments,[49] Kalypso dresses him in an ensemble surely too fine for rafting (he discards her donation mid-Ocean), Kirke dressed Odysseus and his men, presumably from the store of textiles she has been melodiously weaving these many years, Helen reports giving him a bath and an outfit in Troy (surely ruining his canny disguise?), and Penelope declares that should the beggar win the contest of the bow, he will receive not her hand in marriage, but a set of new clothes.[50] Finally, to go back to the very beginning, Odysseus' wardrobe as he journeyed toward Troy deserves our attention, especially the luminous χιτών Penelope

[47]Foley 60.

[48]On the connection between Odysseus' clothing and his cunning see Block; Lateiner 1995: 167–202 analyzes the hero's disguises as one component of his generally effective and wily nonverbal behavior.

[49]On Arete's role in Odysseus' homecoming see Hölscher.

[50]6.214; 7.238; 5.264; 10.365, 451, 542; 4.253; 21.339. This partial list of examples includes only "real" gifts (events identified as true events by the primary narrator or by Odysseus as secondary narrator in the *Odyssey*); if we were to be exhaustive or to add Odysseus' *lies* about clothes (i.e., events identified as lies by the primary narrator), the list grows far larger. For example, the disguised Odysseus claims that the son of the king of the Thesprotians gave him a gift of clothing (14.320); and in order to coax a garment out of Eumaios, claims that once upon a time in Troy, Odysseus finagled a warm red cloak for him on a cold night (14.472–502). On primary and secondary narrators see Richardson; de Jong. On clothes in the *Odyssey* in general see Schadewaldt.

gave him to wear. Odysseus, posing as the beggar "Aithon," describes to Penelope what the hero wore twenty years ago:

> χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὔλην ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
> διπλῆν· αὐτάρ οἱ περόνη χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο
> αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι· πάροιθε δὲ δαίδαλον ἦεν·
> ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἐλλόν,
> ἀσπαίροντα λάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
> ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ἐόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,
> αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαὼς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσι.
> τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα περὶ χροΐ σιγαλόεντα,
> οἷόν τε κρομύοιο λοπὸν κάτα ἰσχαλέοιο·
> τὼς μὲν ἔην μαλακός, λαμπρὸς δ' ἦν ἠέλιος ὡς. (*Od*. 19.225–35)
>
> Great Odysseus was wearing a woolen mantle of purple,
> with two folds, but the pin to it was golden and fashioned
> with double sheathes, and the front part of it was artfully
> done: a hound held in his forepaws a dappled
> fawn, preying on it as it struggled; and all admired it,
> how, though they were golden, it preyed on the fawn and strangled it
> and the fawn struggled with his feet as he tried to escape him.
> I noticed also the shining tunic that he was wearing
> on his body. It was like the dried-out skin of an onion,
> so sheer it was and soft, and shining bright as the sun shines.

Bright as it is, this χιτών is eclipsed by its fastener. Περόναι, more lasting than their associated textiles, are more evident in the archaeological record than in Homeric narrative, but do receive epic mention; males and females alike ordinarily wore them to secure their garments, yet this artful piece rises far above the utilitarian fastening.[51] In fact, Odysseus' pin[52] is closer to Homeric feminine jewelry than to any other pin,[53] and a search for jewelry in the Homeric poems would properly take us to Hera's "arming scene" in *Iliad* 14, where Hera's finery adorned her in order to dazzle the opposite sex.

[51]Pins and fibulae: Marinatos A35–38; Lorimer 336–58. Bieber 1928: 12–16 demonstrates the folding and pinning of the *peplos* and *khiton*.

[52]Nancy Felson-Rubin (9, 30, 58) has thoroughly discussed the pin Odysseus wore on his cloak that day (and so minutely describes later) as a sign of erotic contest, specifically the struggle of Odysseus and Penelope in marriage and remarriage.

[53]Cf. the intricate and brilliant gold jewelry of Aphrodite in her Homeric *Hymn*, 5.65, 85–90. On ancient Greek jewelry see Bieber 1928: 88–89 (with plates).

Here in the fictitious Cretan settlement story of *Odyssey* 19, likewise, women gathered around Odysseus to admire his sheer, bright tunic:

> ἦ μὲν πολλαί γ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐθηήσαντο γυναῖκες. (*Od*. 19.235)
>
> Many of the women were looking at it in admiration.

"Aithon" claims that to wonder at the χιτών this flock of females came very close to, if not inside, the perimeter of personal space normally reserved for intimates; are they supposed to be admiring only the fair and shining tunic, or are they admiring Odysseus, too (235 αὐτόν)? What was it about Odysseus' character that might plausibly have led women to assume such public familiarity with a strange man? After all, "Aithon" is aiming for verisimilitude here, and must describe a genuine-sounding Odysseus to Penelope. As always, how much of this Odyssean lie is meant to represent the truth?[54] Clearly the pin and tunic stir memories in Penelope, and are meant to remind her of her last intimate gifts to her departing husband. Stanford and Foley were right: Odysseus has a special affinity with and understanding of women, and this scene centered on his unique attire provides another example of that quality in him. He uses this intricately-detailed story of admiring women in order to increase Penelope's keen curiosity about and present admiration for him. Odysseus' additional purpose in emphasizing this admiring clique may be to add a bit of jealousy or competition to the other emotions the beggar is stirring up in Penelope with his stories—nostalgia and desire. And yet the image is also one of fidelity: according to Aithon, on the day Odysseus left Crete, Odysseus was still wearing the farewell gifts Penelope had given him on the day he left Ithaka for Troy; thus her gifts, and his wearing of her gifts, represent their reciprocal marital bond to Penelope, who alone of those present can correctly interpret this story.

Let us focus on this brilliant tunic, Penelope's handiwork and gift to Odysseus as he left for Troy. Fortunately for us, it suits Odysseus' purpose in Book 19 to describe it (like the pin) in detail, and in his description it emerges as more like a feminine garment than a masculine one. In fact, its only parallels are feminine: the κρήδεμνον of Hera, which gleams bright as the sun (*Il*. 14.185 λευκὸν δ᾽ ἦν ἠέλιος ὥς), and the robe Helen gives Telemakhos for his future bride, which shines like a star (*Od*. 15.108 ἀστὴρ δ᾽ ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν).[55] It is

[54]Trahman; Pratt 89–93.

[55]The dress of Aphrodite in her Homeric *Hymn* is, like Odysseus' tunic, σιγαλόεις (5.85; cf. n. 53 above); the Homeric epithet for goddesses and women λιπαροκρήδεμνος associates shining clothes with femininity, as does the description of

safe to say that Odysseus' gleaming χιτών is among the glossiest garments worn in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and, excepting polished armor, is the flashiest worn by a male. Masculine clothes, such as the χιτών, χλαῖνα, or φάρος may be finely made, but are functional rather than luminous like the clothes of women. In contrast, Odysseus' tunic on his day of departure from Crete seems radiantly diaphanous. As mentioned above, Aithon testifies that admiring women surrounded Odysseus in it, and so on several levels—its maker, its appearance, and its capacity to generate audience response and vivid memories—this is a garment that places him firmly in the company of women.[56]

Having established Odysseus' unique relationship with feminine vestment, let us momentarily consider his handling of Ino's veil not as a magical talisman, but simply as an item of feminine apparel. As noted above, touching feminine garments is something Homeric males generally do not do. In fact, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the only other examples of males specifically touching female clothing are when Telemakhos receives the dress for his future bride from the hands of Helen (*Od*. 15.104–8, 123–28), and when the infant Astyanax takes comfort in his nurse's and then his mother's robed bosom (*Il*. 6.467, 483).[57] Neither instance represents a breach of propriety or a challenge to normal vestmental codes. In response to his father's hideous headgear, baby Astyanax seeks refuge in the soft feminine fabric at hand; he is behaving instinctively, yet he "reads" Hektor's helmet perfectly. Telamakhos' handling of what will someday be a bridal gown is more suggestive, since Helen's gift and accompanying speech refer to his approaching sexual maturity. Taken together with Odysseus' reception of Ino's veil, this means that the only adult men who handle women's clothes in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the two Laertids on the last legs of their respective journeys in search of identity. On the brink of homecoming, both father and son receive from a powerful female a token of safety and success in the form of feminine attire.

Penelope's veils as λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα throughout the *Odyssey*. Shelmerdine 100–101 lists all occurrences of shining and fragrant cloth in the Homeric corpus.

[56]Contrast Paris in *Iliad* 6 (313–24), who is among women in Helen's quarters when he should be fighting, idly playing with his armor rather than using it. Paris is shamefully at home among women; Hektor is out of place in the scene. Out of doors, the women of Troy, seeking news, surround dutiful Hektor (6.238–41), and this reflects positively on his character.

[57]As an infant, unaware of gender or dress protocols, Astyanax hardly counts. A "reverse simile" is worth noting here: Akhilles likens Patroklos to a little girl clinging to her mother's dress in search of comfort (*Il*. 16.7–10).

Odysseus the Initiate

At the close of *The Rites of Passage*, Arnold van Gennep described the need for multiple successive initiations in the unusual case of a man unexpectedly returned from being presumed dead—a startlingly apt parallel for Odysseus. For such a man, desiring reintegration into his former position is not enough: "He is required to pass through all rites pertaining to birth, childhood, and adolescence. He must again be initiated, and he has to marry his own wife."[58] Such a case is strikingly relevant to Odysseus, the Sacker of Cities who approaches Nausikaa as nude suppliant, weeps like a woman over the story of Troy (8.521–30), relies absolutely on his wife for the full recovery of his Ithakan identity, and experiences death while alive (Kirke calls him and his companions *disthanes* at 12.22). When the cultural categories that once defined him as Powerful Man, Prince, Husband, and Hero are stripped away from him, he is given the rare and terrible opportunity to question their usefulness, and thus either to reinvent himself, or to renew his commitment to the order he left behind. The concept of multiple initiations calls to mind immediately the scar episode ("first hunt") of Book 19 and the bridal contest of the bow of Book 21, as well as the emergence from the sea in Book 5. At first glance, the mild incongruity of Odysseus in Ino's veil seems far from the bizarre and frightening incongruity of Polyphemos or Skylla, yet these two types of oddity may be linked by the same impulse to portray initiatory experience. Liminality, the transitional state Victor Turner called "betwixt and between,"[59] seems to characterize both Odyssean monsters and Odysseus wearing Ino's veil, in that none of these entities is easily classified into normal or expected categories. Such "neither this nor that" symbolism appears in another hero's *nostos* as well: that of Menelaos. The closest parallel with Ino in the *Odyssey* is beneficent Eidothea (cf. Leuko-thea), who helps Menelaos trick her father Proteus into revealing the way home (in the story Menelaos tells Telemakhos, 4.354–461). In order to deceive Proteus, Eidothea (who like Ino appears in only one brief scene) does a peculiar thing: she dresses Menelaos in the skin of a seal. This is of course not transvestism, but Menelaos, far from home, is far outside the Homeric dress code as well. In this disguise, Menelaos defies categorization, being neither man nor beast, and afterward he seems to be empowered to hold on tight to Proteus, whose successive embodiments in Menelaos' grip make him the greatest boundary-breaker of

[58]van Gennep 188.

[59]Turner 93–111, Chapter Four, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*."

all.[60] Having worn the seal-skin disguise and overcome the Old Man of the Sea, Menelaos receives the knowledge necessary for his Return. There are strong correspondences between Menelaos in Eidothea's sealskin and Odysseus in Ino's veil. Turner hypothesized that liminal *sacra* that defy easy categorization (including Ndembu and Luvale masks combining the features of both sexes), "startle neophytes into thinking about objects, persons, relationships, and features of their environment they have hitherto taken for granted."[61] Odysseus overcomes the hybrid dangers and confusions of the physical monsters and enchantresses he encounters (and unlike his men escapes being transformed into a beast); not merely encountering, but *enacting* an unexpected mixture of cultural categories, might further his journey home. Unnatural combinations induce valuable realizations about culture:

> Put a man's head on a lion's body and you think about the human head in the abstract…. There could be less encouragement to reflect on heads and headship if that same head were firmly ensconced on its familiar, its all too familiar, human body. The man-lion monster also encourages the observer to think about lions, their habits, qualities, metaphorical properties, religious significance, and so on. More important than these, the relation between man and lion, empirical and metaphorical, may be speculated upon, and new ideas developed on this topic. Liminality here breaks, as it were, the cake of custom and enfranchises speculation.[62]

In the passage just above, substitute the words "women's veil" for "man's head," and "Odysseus" for "lion's body," and we have a keen analysis of Odysseus in Ino's veil. An Odysseus who is man and not-man, a man-woman Odysseus, encourages the observer (and Odysseus himself) to reflect on females and femininity, precisely because the veil is not "on its familiar, its all too familiar" female head.

Odysseus' liminal transvestism should also be understood as highly effective within the narrative structure of the epic. As John Niles writes, "Phaeacia is not only a temptation ... it is an elaborate test. The great importance of the epi-

[60]Note that Menelaos twice calls the seal a "monster" (κήτος, 4.443, 446), and that the whole scene takes place on a beach (liminal territory). Eidothea's advice, which discloses the mystery of Proteus' strength, reflects the revelation of secret knowledge to initiates, a common element of initiations from Eleusis to New Guinea.

[61]Turner 105.

[62]Turner 106. See Brilliant 168–69 on Kirke and hybrid monsters.

sode lies in its offering a final proving ground for Odysseus, a place in which the hero's every word and gesture proves his readiness to return. In this transitional zone—this 'halfway house,' as it were—the hero's behavior is impeccable." From a narrative standpoint, "The hero's progression in the course of the wanderings is clear, and it is a progression from lawlessness to law, from foolhardiness to discretion, from ignorance to knowledge. When Odysseus leaves Phaeacia, he is ready to come home." Charles Segal considers the passage to Skheria the principal point of crisis and transition in Odysseus' wanderings, the arrival on that island "a restoration to life after the quasi-death of Ogygia," and the Return as "a reclaiming of humanity" or "recreation of [Odysseus'] entire mortal life." [63]

In ritual (and culturally neutral) terms, we might describe Odysseus as a male who accepts a traditionally feminine garment at a moment of supreme crisis. He survives; both his own strength and his transvestism are to be credited. Although his vestmental reversal is temporary, it has powerful and lasting results. Described in this way, obvious similarities emerge between *Odyssey* 5 and certain ethnographic descriptions of initiations among societies practicing ritual transvestism. For example, J. S. La Fontaine observes the following about initiates among the Gisu of Uganda:

> The initiands, who are referred to as *basinde*, "boys," no matter what their age, prepare for initiation in a way that immediately brings them to the attention of the community. They begin to perform the songs and dances of initiation, wearing the distinctive dress of initiands.... The fashion for these may change slightly but what is important, and lends a youth prestige, is that he should wear women's adornments which have been given him by his father's sisters and ... other women who are kin, of his own and his father's generation. These are bead girdles, like the ones which all women wear round their loins; it is said these tokens of affection will give him strength to endure his ordeal. He wears them diagonally crossed over his chest. The number of the strings indicates the number of his female kin and their affection. In 1954 youths wore also the kerchiefs that women tie on their heads and, in a manner shocking to their elders, were wearing tokens from lovers as well as kin. Older Gisu said that the tokens should be of affection, with no connotations of sexuality; they found the display of

[63]Niles 55–56; Segal 1962: 23, 20, cf. 46 "The whole second half of the *Odyssey* consists in Odysseus' rediscovery of the familiar through alienation, of himself through being other than himself. This rediscovery is nothing less than his recreation of his entire mortal life, the whole range of his human ties."

> sexual ties shocking and a sign of the degeneracy of modern youth! The observer can see in the beads, which are associated with an intimate part of a woman's body and subject to a number of rules of etiquette in sexual life, an identification of the initiand with the women of his group.[64]

Concerning these girdles and sexual etiquette, La Fontaine adds that "to break a woman's beads was considered rape, even if intercourse did not take place,"[65] leading one to recall the "rape" of Troy expressed in Homeric metaphor as the undoing of the city's κρήδεμνα. The borrowing of headgear, the identification of the women's loaned girdles with appropriate sexuality and intactness (like Homeric veils), the girdles' position around the male initiand's chest, and the garments' ideal origin from a woman who is not one of the initiand's sexual partners all seem strikingly comparable to Ino's loan to Odysseus. After initiation the Gisu "boy" is publicly acknowledged as an adult, for the weak, dependent, marginal child is gone and and the strong, autonomous man has arrived; he is now qualified to establish his own household. Odysseus, whose greatest desire is to reestablish his own household, had become uncomfortably childlike with the powerful goddesses delaying his journey (we might even say "arresting his development"), and, like Telemakhos, matures to survive.[66] The hero's need to reestablish his rightful domestic position represents, in anthropological terms, a life crisis; his need for appropriate ritual action is symbolically answered with the initiatory imagery (including the cross-dressing) of *Odyssey* 5. Having assumed, then rejected, feminine garb, the hero's maleness now encompasses positive attributes of femaleness. The male who cross-dresses is more complete and powerful than the one who does not.

Gisu girdles and head-kerchiefs demonstrate an additional feature of ritual transvestism: that the initiand wearing women's garments or tokens should still be identifiable to the community as himself. As Kenneth Burke observes (in a consideration of literary metaphor), inversions must be transparent in order to be effective. In metaphor a subject both is and is not itself, and the logical result is that "One uses metaphor without madness insofar as one spontaneously knows

[64]La Fontaine 120.

[65]La Fontaine 138 n. 6.

[66]Eckert. As Peter Rose (125) observes, "Abandoning this realm is perceived as the hero's only route to survival—to having an identity as a dominant, independent male." On sexual ideology in the epic and Odysseus' return to patriarchy see Wohl; Bennett (149 with n. 123) considers Kirke's and Kalypso's "predatory use of sexual pleasure" and cites Crane for the goddesses' ability to "unman" men.

that the literal implication of the figure is *not* true."[67] The trickster (carnival-participant, clown, transvestite) must be seen through in order to be successful, for too much investment on the part of the audience threatens the elements of play and doubleness in these disguises. This is useful to bear in mind as we consider Odysseus in Ino's veil, because although Odysseus is not quite his usual self in terms of dress, a recognizable Odysseus is always before us, never utterly disguised or negated, but rather augmented in his possibilities.[68] In *Odyssey* 5, Odysseus' anxious soliloquy about trusting divinities, hardy swimming, vocal fears of being smashed on the rocks, and salt-soaked, exhausted body are all recognizably his own in spite of the brief sartorial switch. Such transparent or easily decoded transvestism is also found in Gregory Bateson's classic descriptions of *naven*, initiatory rituals involving transvestism for both sexes among the Iatmul of New Guinea. Bateson describes males wearing feminine garments purposely "wrong" for initiation rites, since the point of ritual transvestism is feminine power, not female impersonation. For example, for scarification ceremonies, the duty of the initiand's maternal uncle was to dress like an old woman and encourage his nephew by holding him during the painful process, and still cross-dressed, loudly and publicly to praise the boy afterward. His feminine attire was intended to heighten public appreciation of the manliness displayed by his nephew; it was expected that the uncle would make a very unconvincing woman.[69] In this regard, we recall that Odysseus does not put Ino's headgear on his head, but around his chest.[70] His "misuse" of the veil reminds us that initiatory transvestism is a *gesture* toward the feminine that fools no one as it enriches an ever present underlying masculine identity.

Conclusion: Odysseus Unveiled

As Odysseus approaches home, the man who was sidetracked and then trapped by sex with *daimones* must be symbolically reinitiated into the world where

[67]Burke 462, as cited by Babcock 13.

[68]This is also true in the later books of the *Odyssey*, where the external audience of the epic (in contrast with the internal Ithakan audience) appreciates that Odysseus' disguise *emphasizes* his Odyssean qualities; see Block.

[69]Bateson 12–22 (with plates at the end of the volume documenting men dressed as women for initiation ceremonies). More recreational are the numerous depictions on Athenian vases of hirsute cross-dressing komasts; cf. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 228–29; Miller.

[70]Leukothea directed Odysseus to strip off the clothes Kalypso gave him and wear *only* the veil. This may represent initiatory nudity and the need (at times enshrined in ritual) to get rid of the clothing from former life.

male-female relations are governed by and situated within appropriate human definitions. Kirke's lover existed unaware of time and place and beyond the claims of institutions or kin, but Penelope's victorious suitor must be preeminent at managing the converging crises of a human household that has been managed by a woman for twenty years.[71] This study has sought to show that Odysseus' appropriate treatment of the delicate garment Ino entrusts to him symbolizes his reawakened awareness of human institutions and limits—especially those concerning women—and his readiness to live within them again, and that such awareness arises not from old knowledge gained within these forms, but from new awareness gained through the view beyond. Simply put, "voluntarily (through disguise) or involuntarily, Odysseus experiences a wide range of social roles other than his own."[72] He has cross-dressed, answered to many names, been classified as tasty food on one island and a possible husband on another, and has been again and again the stranger who recreates himself. This Odysseus, reborn and reinitiated into the category of man within human culture, is both insider and outsider, and able to avoid both the trust and distrust of Penelope in order to play a razor-edged game of "husband" and "not-husband" with her; in the end, this re-socialized man inevitably overpowers the *un*socialized suitors, "boys" who fatally misjudge their opponents, male and female alike, and so fail ever to make the transition to becoming men. Veiled, Odysseus was prepared to navigate a stormy ocean. Veiled and then unveiled (in Book 5), he is prepared to navigate all of the potentially deadly domestic dangers focused around the females of Skheria and Ithaka.[73]

As we have seen, Odysseus' experiences are too universal to be defined as narrowly masculine. If transvestism has indeed enabled Odysseus "to imagine a more complete model of the masculine self," this is fundamental to symbolic and narrative rebuilding of the devastated Homeric hero in *Odyssey* 5. The Odysseus who sacked Troy's sacred citadel must not completely die off the coast of Skheria, but he cannot go home as he is. Suffering constitutes his general course of rehabilitation from man of war to man of peace, but courageous

[71]As Austin (239–53 on ὥρη, coincidence, and relationship) writes, "it is now or never" (240).

[72]Foley 60.

[73]The brief dependency on, and disguise in, Ino's veil may also be a rehearsal of sorts for the disguising and undisguising of Books 13–22, which is longer, requires verbal and nonverbal theatrical ability, and is closely scrutinized. Cf. Reece (esp. 189–206), who examines correspondences between small and large narrative units as comprising the "architecture" of the poem.

creativity is the positive answer to his suffering, and is what finally makes the *Odyssey* not tragedy but comedy. What specific remedy can be found for the man who was most responsible for the final taking of Troy's city walls, who in the company of other Akhaian warriors made countless women tear their beautiful hair in grief, yet who alone of all his comrades has a fighting chance to re-establish marital joy? It must be the same remedy that takes him away from the timeless lap of goddesses, into and out of the fond teenaged hopes of Nausikaa, and safely to the side of mature and socially-sanctioned Penelope. By appearing for a fleeting moment in the most feminine item of apparel in the Homeric corpus, the man who loosed Troy's κρήδεμνα (13.388) so many years ago symbolically regains not only life, but fully adult masculinity in the complex world of mortal women.

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