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THE MYTH THAT CRETE BECAME: THE THEMATIC SIGNIFICANCE OF  
CRETE AND CRETAN TOPOI IN HOMER'S "ODYSSEY" AND VERGIL'S  
"AENEID"

*Princeton University*

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THE THEMATIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CRETE AND CRETAN TOPOI  
IN HOMER'S ODYSSEY AND VERGIL'S AENEID

Adele J. Haft

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To My Family

--for their love, support, and determination--

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## INTRODUCTION

Like the Minoan double-axe, the 'memory' of prehistoric Crete evinced in Classical literature is two-sided. On the one hand, there is the Attic perspective, most pronounced in the famous myth of Theseus' adventure in the Cretan labyrinth, which emphasizes the 'darker' aspect of Crete and of her inhabitants--Pasiphae's perverse passion for the Cretan bull, the ghastly tribute of Athenian youths to the Minotaur, Minos' brutality not only towards his subjects and captives but towards his own family, Ariadne's betrayal of her country and family, Phaedra's destructive love for her step-son Hippolytus. On the other hand, even in antiquity Minos' reputation was recognized to be controversial, for little resemblance seemed to exist between his characterization in Attic tragedy and his glorious depiction in Homer and Hesiod (see pp. 127-28, nn.24-30 below). Furthermore, numerous passages in Classical literature not only attest to Minos' traditional justice, but preserve Crete's own long-established associations with Zeus, ancient law, maritime power, the Afterlife, and both the Olympians and the pre-Olympians worshipped in the mysteries. According to Jane Harrison, this 'favorable' tradition indicates that:<sup>1</sup>

Crete was the mother and source not of barbarism, though her wealth is not wholly free from some tinge of barbaric excess, but of civilization.

And M. I. Finley asserts, in turn, that a Greek of the fifth century B.C. would have regarded this civilization as "a Greek civilization essentially like his own, only brighter,

richer, greater."<sup>2</sup>

Since the turn of this century and Evans' spectacular excavation at Knossos, Crete has fired the imagination of various experts who have attempted to rediscover 'the reality that Crete was.' By a resourceful combination of ancient literary testimony with modern evidence derived from archaeological finds and from studies in comparative linguistics and religion, these scholars have concerned themselves primarily with reconstructing the societies and religious beliefs of Minoan, Mycenaean, and historical Crete.<sup>3</sup> To put it as simply as possible, the method employed by these scholars involves the isolation of recurring patterns from the evidence they have been able to accumulate, and the subsequent search for historical, mythological, ritual, and/or psychological 'explanations' for the existence and preservation of these recurring patterns. Nilsson, for instance, speculates that Helen--with her cult association to trees and with two mythological accounts of her rape (once in her childhood by Theseus; later, of course, by Paris)--was originally a Minoan vegetation goddess.<sup>4</sup> As soon as these 'explanations' have been postulated and an 'original' picture reconstructed, the scholars are free to contrast 'the reality that Crete was' with 'the myth that Crete became.' Classical literature, with its numerous references to Crete and to Cretan figures of myth, becomes viewed as an archive--preserving, in its own distorted way, the faint but nevertheless recognizable traces of a very real past.

A complementary approach exists which examines 'the myth that Crete became,' yet accords only peripheral importance to the distinction between the 'real' Crete and the representation of Crete in Classical literature. While also concerned with the assembling of literary evidence pertaining to Crete and with the isolation of recurring patterns within this body of material, this approach attempts first to establish within which works these recurring patterns appear to be numerous, and, second, to determine whether any deliberate correspondence exists between these recurring patterns and the underlying themes of these particular works. At least three scholars have previously employed this approach with success. Kenneth Reckford concentrates his attention on three 'Cretan plays' of Euripides, and compares the Phaedra of the Second Hippolytus with the Phaedra of the First Hippolytus and with her mother, Pasiphae, in The Cretans.<sup>5</sup> By carefully reconstructing the lost plays, Reckford demonstrates how Phaedra II--as a result of her reaction against her Cretan family, combined with her own personality and a disastrous set of circumstances--becomes "the 'bad woman' that, superficially viewed, she always was."<sup>6</sup> Of Euripides' use of 'Crete' in the Second Hippolytus, Reckford concludes:<sup>7</sup>

We may say, finally, that "Crete" stands for more than inherited sexual passion in this play. Instead, it comes to stand metaphorically for evil itself, for the pull backward into the subhuman past that contradicts, as it frustrates, all our better designs of mind and spirit.

Glenn Morrow, on the other hand, uses the same approach but to a different end.<sup>8</sup> In an attempt to show why Plato in the Laws has settled upon Crete for the proposed site of his final utopian state, Magnesia, Morrow suggests that:<sup>9</sup>

In spite of its [Crete's] lack of political and cultural importance in the classical period, Plato as well as his countrymen had a lively memory of the island's former glories, of the vast power that Minos, the ancient king, once exerted over the Hellenic Sea, and of the many respects in which Crete contributed to Greek culture in the archaic period.

To support this idea, Morrow outlines the various influences which Crete had on mainland Greece--influences 'remembered' primarily in scattered references to Crete in Homer, Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, Herodotus, Thucydides, etc. (see pp. 128-29 below).

The most extensive study of this kind, however, appears in Stephen Rosenquist's dissertation, "Transformation in the Allusive Force of References to Cretan Myths: Euripides, Catullus, and Vergil."<sup>10</sup> In the process of investigating the literary allusions to Cretan mythology down to Vergil's time, Rosenquist isolates what he refers to as "the major incidents in Cretan mythology," and proceeds to divide these into three 'groups': "1) the unfaithful Cretan princess, especially Phaedra, 2) the savage and cruel Minos, and 3) Daedalus, Pasiphae, the Minotaur, and the labyrinth." Like Reckford, Rosenquist focuses his attention upon those particular literary works and recurring patterns which emphasize the 'darker' aspect of Crete. Although concerned primarily with Roman verse, Rosenquist begins his thesis with a

chronological catalogue of allusions to Cretan myths in Greek literature, and then discusses the Cretan myths dramatized by the fifth-century Attic tragedians--a discussion which culminates in an examination of Euripides' Hippolytus as "the only extant Greek work which devotes considerable attention to the bizarre and strange aspects of a Cretan legend." For the most part, however, Rosenquist focuses upon: Catullus' "Marriage of Peleus and Thetis" (64), with its long excursus on Ariadne's desertion by Theseus; Vergil's Eclogue 6. 46-60, with Silenus' song about Pasiphae and her love for the bull; and, especially, Vergil's Aeneid 6. 14-33, with Daedalus' depiction on the doors of the Apollo temple of the Athenian tribute to the Minotaur. These particular passages epitomize, according to Rosenquist, the prevalent conception of Crete in Roman poetry:

...for Roman poets Crete could be, though not always was, par excellence an exotic, haunted locale of those who operated before history and heroic legend began, that the inhabitants of Crete were universally regarded as "strange" or "mysterious."

Rosenquist concludes his study by suggesting that this conception of Crete is "primarily at home in the genre of tragedy and, to a lesser extent, in the lyric genre." More importantly, Rosenquist demonstrates that Vergil has incorporated this conception of Crete into another genre--that of the epic. Commenting upon several of Vergil's scattered references and the two "sustained episodes" relating to Crete (Eclogue 6. 46-60 and Aeneid 6. 14-33), Rosenquist

contends that they:<sup>11</sup>

...clearly indicate that Vergil chose Cretan myths to illustrate moral corruption or to create a sense of mystery or both.

In my thesis, I have adopted the same general approach taken by Reckford, Morrow, and Rosenquist. There is necessarily a certain degree of overlap with the works of these scholars: with Reckford's article, in the concern for how a particular poet can use 'Crete' as a metaphor; with Morrow's chapter, in the recognition that Classical literature contains a 'favorable memory' of Crete; and especially with Rosenquist's dissertation, in the sheer breadth of our independent investigations of allusions to Crete in Classical literature, and in our interest with how Vergil's depiction of Cretan characters in Aeneid VI emphasizes the 'darker' aspect of Crete and subtly indicates that, for Aeneas' descendants, the renowned Cretan civilization must function as a negative model.<sup>12</sup> Here, however, the major points of similarity end.

I have chosen to examine two poems, Homer's Odyssey and Vergil's Aeneid. By so doing, I have not limited the primary scope of my thesis to a single literary work, to the literature of a single language, or to a single conception of Crete: Homer's epic, with its generally 'favorable reminiscence' of Crete, balances the perspective of the Aeneid. Unlike previous scholars, I have attempted to incorporate Classical antiquity's ambivalence toward Crete into my discussion, not only by juxtaposing the Greek epic with its

Latin 'counterpart,' but by demonstrating the extent to which Vergil in his Aeneid deliberately cloaks his description of Crete and of Cretan characters in Homeric robes, only to undermine the apparent similarities by his carefully contrived language and context. Furthermore, I have assembled a number of recurring patterns about Crete from as varied an assortment of sources as possible, and not simply from one genre or perspective. These recurring patterns, in turn, provide a framework for the study of Crete in my thesis.<sup>13</sup> The scope of this study is also defined by the fact that the Odyssey, the Aeneid, and Dictys Cretensis' Ephemeris Belli Troiani--the Latin translation of a Greek prose chronicle discussed in the epilogue of this thesis--describe the events surrounding the Trojan War and the heroes who participated in them.

Hence, an examination of Cretan characters and of recurring patterns about Crete--referred to, from now on, as Cretan *topoi*--serves as the initial basis for my study. To clarify first what I do not mean by 'topoi,' I have recourse to Rosenquist's own terminology. As mentioned previously, Rosenquist traces three groups of "major incidents in Cretan mythology" throughout Roman verse (see p. 5 above). Except for the labyrinth, each of the elements listed as belonging to one of these three 'groups' (or recurring patterns) is a Cretan character. I have also considered these particular mythological figures, as well as focused upon others to whom Rosenquist only alludes:

Rhadamanthys, Aerope, Meriones, and Idomeneus--who are at least as significant as these others for an understanding of Odysseus' Cretan Lies in Odyssey XIII-XIX, of Vergil's manipulation of Homeric material, and of Dictys Cretensis' revisionism in general. On the other hand, I have attempted to make a distinction between Cretan characters and Cretan topoi in order to expand the range of this study, while retaining the dual image of Crete itself. Only one of Rosenquist's 'groups' of "major incidents" resembles what I mean by a 'topos'--the category of the "unfaithful Cretan princess," which I shall refer to henceforth as the topos of illicit sexuality.

I have begun by defining the ambiguous term 'topos'<sup>14</sup> as a recurring pattern which appears to emerge from the collected literary evidence about a particular place. A 'Cretan topos' is, more specifically, a generalization about Crete itself. Cretan topoi differ in their complexity, in their apparent resemblance to 'the reality that Crete was,' and in the extent to which they were recognized as generalizations by Classical antiquity. Some topoi assume the form of a proverb, thus supporting Frye's definition of a topos as a "rhetorical commonplace, the irresistably quotable phrase."<sup>15</sup> St. Paul, for instance, summed up the Cretan reputation for lying in a single phrase which he attributed to Epimenides of Crete--"Cretans are always liars"<sup>16</sup> (Letters to Titus I. 12: "Κρητες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται"; see pp. 40-44 below). So famous was the Cretan reputation for seafaring that, according to the

scholiast of Aristides, the expression "the Cretan and the sea" --"ὁ Κρητὴς δὴ τὸν πόντον"--became itself proverbial for the man who claims not to know what he does, in fact, know.<sup>17</sup>

Scholars suggest that other topoi were proverbial throughout antiquity: the dangers of the Cretan Sea,<sup>18</sup> and, especially, the Cretan reputation for archery, a fame to which certain scholars note that Vergil alludes whenever he uses phrases like "Gnosia spicula," "Cressamque pharetram," etc. (see pp. 139-56 below). On a more subtle note, commentators have long pointed to Aristophanes' Frogs 849-850--"You composer of Cretan monodies,/Bringing your unholy marriages onto the stage" ("ὦ Κρητικῶς μὲν συλλέγων μονωδίας,/γάμους δ'ἀνοσίους εἰσφέρων εἰς τὴν τέχνην")--as evidence that Euripides, on the one hand, was held responsible for consistently dramatizing the sexual deviations of the Cretan princesses, and that Crete, on the other hand, was associated by the end of the fifth century B.C. with illicit sexuality (see pp. 231-35 n. 89 below). Still other topoi become apparent only upon closer consideration of the evidence pertaining to Crete. Crete's central location in the Aegean, for instance, makes it an ideal halting-place for various mythological heroes during the course of their adventures (see pp. 124-26 below). Crete also appears to have some traditional association with the Afterlife--a topos exemplified most notably by the fact that the Cretan judges, Minos and Rhadamanthys, are linked with different conceptions of the hereafter, the Elysian Field and Hades (see pp. 56-57 below). Finally, there remains in

numerous passages of Classical literature the dim 'remembrance' of Crete as the prototypical civilization of Greece (see pp. 126-32 below).

Despite the varied 'origins' of these topoi--influenced by geographical location and necessity, by the Greek misunderstanding of pre-Greek ritual and myth, by the extreme religious conservatism of historical Crete which tended to preserve elements of Minoan worship--these generalizations assume an equal veracity in Classical literature. The reason that these particular topoi<sup>19</sup> are considered in this study is that they are conspicuous, even in their absence, in the Odyssey, the Aeneid, and the Ephemeris Belli Troiani. But I am not concerned simply with the fact that they appear or do not appear, but with the explanation for why they are included or excluded and for how some topoi come to assume more veracity than others in a given work. These topoi can evolve into trite and pedantic generalities for describing Crete and her heroes; such is the case in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani. Or the topoi can acquire a metaphorical significance, indicating that their presence is not just referential but intimately linked with the underlying themes of the work itself. In the Odyssey, Homer's use of Cretan characters and topoi helps explain why Odysseus pretends to be a Cretan beggar on his return to Ithaca in the second half of the poem. And in the Aeneid, Vergil's manipulation of Cretan characters and topoi leads to an understanding of why Aeneas sails to Crete in Book III and encounters the golden doors of Daedalus in Book VI.

## NOTES

1. Jane Ellen Harrison, Mythology (n.p.: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924; rpt. ed., New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), p. 41.

2. M. I. Finley, Aspects of Antiquity: Discoveries and Controversies (New York: Viking Press, 1969), p. 10; Finley equates Minos' civilization with the Golden Age.

3. Among the works that have proved most useful in providing background material for my examination are: Jane Ellen Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903); Martin Persson Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion, 2nd rev. ed. (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1950), The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932), and Homer and Mycenae (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972); and R. F. Willetts, Cretan Cults and Festivals (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962). For further bibliography, refer to Willetts' work and to p. 77 and p. 105 n. 83 below.

4. Nilsson, Mycenaean Origin, pp. 73-76.

5. Kenneth J. Reckford, "Phaedra and Pasiphae: The Pull Backward," TAPhA 104 (1974): 307-28. Because my thesis is concerned with Greek and Latin works, I have attempted as far as possible to retain each author's and each scholar's

particular preference for the names and spelling of characters and places.

6. Ibid., p. 318.

7. Ibid., p. 327 (emphasis mine).

8. Glenn R. Morrow, "Crete," in Plato's Cretan City (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 17-35.

9. Ibid., p. 17.

10. Stephen Lawrence Rosenquist, "Transformation in the Allusive Force of Reference to Cretan Myths: Euripides, Catullus, and Vergil" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1978).

11. Refer to Rosenquist's thesis for the references cited above: p. 8, for the "major incidents in Cretan mythology"; pp. 3-4, for his opening comments on the Hippolytus; p. 1, for the Roman poets' conception of Crete; p. 224, for this conception's relationship to tragedy and lyric poetry; p. 218, for Vergil's incorporation of this conception into epic; and p. 103, for Vergil's use of Crete in general.

12. It was because of the similarities in our independent treatments of Aeneid VI that I first became aware of Rosenquist and his dissertation. While interviewing for a position at the University of Minnesota during the APA/AIA convention in Vancouver (December 1978), I began to summarize my conclusions on Aeneid VI to Professor Robert Sonkowsky.

After a few minutes, Professor Sonkowsky remarked that the approach sounded familiar to him and proceeded to introduce me to Stephen Rosenquist--whose thesis he had inherited after Rosenquist's first adviser, R. Joseph Schork, had left the University of Minnesota. Rosenquist, I was informed, had received his degree only months before. Had I not had this coincidental interview, I would not have known that Rosenquist's thesis existed until earlier this year, when the title appeared in University Microfilm's 1980 "Ancient Literature, Language, and History: Dissertation Catalog" (p. 7). In light of Rosenquist's thesis, I decided to avoid further research on works which he had treated at some length, specifically the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius and Catullus LXIV. Although I had spent nearly a year on the fragments of the fifth-century 'Cretan plays,' I decided to eliminate my discussion of this topic from my thesis, feeling that Rosenquist had already performed the service both of outlining the titles and the myths supposedly dramatized by the great tragedians and of discussing the Cretan references in the Hippolytus. My own treatment of these 'Cretan plays' had begun to focus upon the apparent differences between the characterizations and approaches taken by various tragedians working with the same general myth; as this involved a painstaking reconstruction of each 'Cretan play,' it seemed best to reserve my research for subsequent endeavors and to refer the reader to Rosenquist's thesis for a discussion of Crete in Greek tragedy. I have retained my own treatment of Aeneid VI for several

reasons: it is far shorter than Rosenquist's (see "Transformation," pp. 122-208); it provides a balance and a clarification for Vergil's description of Crete in Aeneid III--an incident which Rosenquist refers to only as "a thwarted settlement" (see "Transformation," pp. 103-104, 108); and because it forms such a perfect counterbalance for Homer's Odyssey--a work which Rosenquist does not treat at all.

13. Francis Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh: University Press, 1972), p. 99, defines 'topoi' as "the smallest divisions of the material of any genre useful for analytic purposes" (emphasis mine). Although the topos envisioned by Cairns is quite different from mine, it is nevertheless for us both the basic building-block of our respective studies.

14. Kenneth Francis Kitchell, Jr., for instance, in his dissertation, "'Topographica Cretica': 'Topoi' of Classical Crete with Testimonia" (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1977), defines 'topoi' simply as place names, and proceeds to draw up the first part of a catalogue of Cretan sites in antiquity.

15. Northrop Frye, "New Directions from Old," in Myth and Mythmaking, ed. by Henry Murray (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1968), p. 120.

16. All translations in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise specified.

17. Edgar Lobel and Denys Page, ed., Poetae Melici Graeci (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 88 Fr. 164.

18. E. C. Wickham, Quinti Horatii Flacci opera omnia, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1877), p. 77, cited by Rosenquist, "Transformation," p. 230 n. 28.

19. I have chosen, for the most part, to leave to Rosenquist two patterns which I would call topoi--Crete's associations with artistic excellence and with the labyrinth--for these play a very significant role in his discussion of Aeneid VI.

ODYSSEUS' CRETAN LIES: ODYSSEY XIII-XIX

Cretans are always liars, evil  
beasts, and idle bellies.

St. Paul, Letters to Titus I.12

### Introduction to the Cretan Lies

Homer's Odyssey is fundamental to our investigation. Not only does the poem represent one of the earliest works of Greek literature, but it displays an interest in Crete which, so far as we can tell from surviving works, goes unparalleled until fifth-century Attic tragedy.<sup>1</sup>

On first glance, however, the Odyssey appears to offer even less insight into Crete than the earlier Iliad. That poem, although not concerned with the island for its own sake, nevertheless depicts at some length the two Cretan heroes of the Trojan War, Idomeneus and Meriones, whose "aristeia" occupies most of Iliad XIII, and also mentions such famous figures of Cretan myth as Minos, Rhadamanthys, Europa, Deucalion, and Ariadne. In much of the Odyssey, we find only fleeting references to Crete and its heroes. Nestor provides the earliest of these when he informs Telemachos that Idomeneus was one of the only Achæans to return home swiftly and safely with all his men (III. 191-192). Later, Nestor goes on to describe how Menelaos' fleet was split in two off Maleia; the ships which Menelaos still controlled sailed to Egypt, while the other division was driven by winds to Crete and destroyed near Phaestos, a city on the southern side of the island (III. 291-300). Menelaos himself mentions his second association with Crete, when he recounts Proteus' prophecy that Menelaos will not die but be transported by the gods to the Elysian Field, where (Cretan) Rhadamanthys is

reputed to be (IV. 561-569). Rhadamanthys' name appears again when Alcinoos, promising Odysseus speedy conveyance to any destination of his choice, recalls that the Phaeacian ships once conveyed Rhadamanthys all the way to Euboea and returned the same day (VII. 318-326). In Odysseus' account of his visit to Hades, Odysseus describes how he saw Phaedra and Ariadne among the Heroines of the Past (XI. 321-325), and Minos judging the dead (XI. 568-571). Shortly after Odysseus' arrival on Ithaca, Eumaios recollects a lying tale once told to him by a wandering Aetolian, who claimed that he had seen Odysseus repairing his ships with Idomeneos among the Cretans (XIV. 378-385). Finally, to the inquiries of Telemachos (XVI. 62-67) and Penelope (XVII. 522-527), Eumaios describes the disguised Odysseus as a wanderer who claims his home is Crete.

It is not until the second half of the poem that the thematic significance of Crete becomes evident. In the lies Odysseus tells about himself in Odyssey XIII-XIX, Crete plays a prominent role as the fictitious home of the disguised hero and as one of the most memorable details of his alleged identity. In the first of these lies, Odysseus addresses his divine counterpart, Athena (disguised herself as a shepherd boy), and pretends to be a wealthy Cretan, voluntarily exiled for murdering Idomeneus' son, Orsilochos, who attempted to deprive "Odysseus"<sup>2</sup> of his plunder from Troy (XIII. 256-286). To the loyal swineherd, Eumaios, Odysseus delivers a far more detailed account of how he once with

Idomeneus led a contingent to Troy, returned to Crete briefly, and then determined to lead a piratical raid on Egypt--an escapade which ended in the destruction of his expedition and countless years of wandering for himself (XIV. 191-359). In the Lie to Penelope, Odysseus claims to be Idomeneus' younger brother, Aethon, and describes the entertainment he once offered Penelope's husband on Crete, when "the real Odysseus" was driven off-course on the way to Troy twenty years before (XIX. 165-202, 221-248, 262-307, 336-342). Whatever the obvious similarities and contrasts are between these tales, all three are characterized by their specific reference to Crete and the Cretan hero, Idomeneus, and are, therefore, unique when compared to the other lies Odysseus tells in the Odyssey.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, we shall refer to these particular lying tales as the "Cretan Lies."

To say that the Odyssey reveals an interest in Crete is to claim that the selection of this island as Odysseus' fictitious home is not accidental, but is influenced instead by a number of related considerations: Crete's reputation for lying and for seafaring, Menelaos' possible association with Crete in pre-Homeric oral tradition, Odysseus' intricate relation to Idomeneus and Meriones, as well as Crete's "mediation" between Ithaca and Scheria. Included in this idea is the suggestion that Homer has employed--especially in the second half of the Odyssey--certain topoi peculiar to Crete as a basis for choosing and describing the island: the reputation of the Cretans as liars and sailors, the relationship

of Crete to the Afterlife, Crete's role as a halting-place for various heroes, and the conception of Crete as the archetypal model of civilization.<sup>4</sup> What we wish to investigate is the way in which these Cretan considerations and topoi interact with some of the major thematic concerns of the Odyssey. In doing so, we shall draw upon the various references to Crete in both the Odyssey and the Iliad in order to gain some idea of the Cretan figures of myth known to Homer's audience, as well as to provide a background against which to view the Cretan Lies of Odysseus; we shall also venture into the realm of post-Homeric literature in an attempt to glean possible traditions upon which Homer himself might have drawn.

This chapter will be divided into three sections which will deal with each of the Cretan Lies as it appears in the course of the Odyssey. In discussing the Lie to Athena, we shall broach certain issues of context. Where do the Cretan Lies appear? Why do the Cretan Lies occur? What form do the Cretan Lies assume? And, what is the probable relationship between the Cretan Lies and the topos that Cretans are liars? In our discussion of the Lie to Eumaios, we shall consider why Homer has Odysseus "recall" the wanderings of Menelaos and what possible relationship Menelaos may have with Crete and with the Cretan topos of the Afterlife. Finally, we shall consider Odysseus' Lie to Penelope not only as a particular tale, but as the culmination of all the Cretan Lies. Here several questions will be raised. Why does the Cretan hero, Idomeneus, who never appears in the action of the Odyssey,

play such an important role in the Cretan Lies? What sort of symbolism is involved in Odysseus' selection of Crete as his alleged home? Does a sequential examination of the Cretan Lies provide evidence that Odysseus' identity develops progressively? And, do the Cretan Lies help us to understand better the relationship between Homer and his hero/bard, Odysseus?

The Lie to Athena: The Context of the Cretan Lies

For I say that all has been accomplished for him  
Just as I told him, when the Argives embarked  
For Ilion, and Odysseus of the many wiles went with  
them.

I said that he--having suffered many evils, and  
having lost all of his companions--  
Would come home in the twentieth year,  
Unknown to all: and now all of this is being  
accomplished.

Halitherses' prophecy about Odysseus,  
Odyssey II. 171-176

Where do the lies occur?

When we think of Homer's Odyssey, two parts of the epic usually come to mind: (1) Odysseus' account to the Phaeacians of his Fabulous Wanderings, those ten years at sea during which Odysseus found himself increasingly at the mercy of Poseidon and of the lesser divinities inhabiting the mythical lands which the hero visited on his return from Troy; and (2) the climax of the epic--beginning with the contest of the bow, and culminating in Odysseus' slaying of the suitors, reconciliation with Penelope, and final victory over his opponents on Ithaca. In Books XIII-XIX, that quarter of

the Odyssey separating Odysseus' reception on Scheria from his reestablishment on Ithaca, we find Odysseus' Cretan Lies.

Scholars have tended, in general, to neglect the lies Odysseus tells about himself in the second half of the Odyssey. Trahman, whose early article "Odysseus' Lies" still provides the only sympathetic literary analysis of the lies, inadvertently suggests why the Cretan Lies have failed to inspire further study when he notes that they are found in "perhaps the least interesting part of the Odyssey"<sup>5</sup>; indeed, during the course of these seven books, Odysseus only very gradually traces his way from the harbor where he encounters Athena (XIII. 221-440), to Eumaios' hut where Athena has advised him to wait (XIV-XVII. 197), then finally to his own palace where he endures the abuse of his wife's suitors (XVII. 198ff.). But where scholars appear openly critical of the "flagging tempo" of Books XIII-XIX, their condemnation invariably involves the Cretan Lies as well: "tedious" becomes the word they use to dismiss the tales from further consideration.<sup>6</sup> Kirk, the most adamant in his criticism, goes as far as to say that Odysseus' lies "are elaborated far beyond the requirements of the context and show an interest in storytelling for its own sake."<sup>7</sup>

It can be shown, however, that the Cretan Lies provide more than simple entertainment and that the pace of this part of the epic is both dramatically and psychologically necessary for Odysseus. The Cretan Lies are very much bound up with Odysseus' recent return to Ithaca and must be viewed

in terms of his desire to regain his hearth, wife, and throne. If he is to succeed, Odysseus needs time to gather information and allies, and to test the loyalty of others. Lying serves both functions. In the sense that Odysseus controls the stages of his revelation to others on Ithaca, Todorov's observation proves insightful: "Every lie is necessarily performative. Feigned speech is both narrative and action."<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, there is another reason why Odysseus bides his time for a full quarter of the Odyssey--Odysseus must rediscover his own identity which, after twenty years of absence from Ithaca and ten years at sea, is precariously balanced. Segal summarizes this process beautifully when he says:

The whole of the 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. And as he rediscovers these, he recreates himself.<sup>9</sup>

This rediscovery simultaneously wins Odysseus the opportunity and reflects his ability to regain what he has lost on Ithaca. In many ways, Odysseus' gradual self-revelation presents the most formidable task in his final journey back to his hearth and Penelope's bed.<sup>10</sup> And it is in the Cretan Lies that Odysseus' rediscovery of himself is, perhaps, best illustrated.

Why do the lies occur?

Perhaps the most memorable characteristic of the

hero, Odysseus, is his singular propensity for disguise and verbal deception, a trait which we can trace throughout both Homeric epics. In the Iliad, for instance, Antenor recalls how Odysseus accompanied Menelaos on an embassy before the war and baffled the expectations of the Trojans by first looking like a fool, then delivering such an eloquent speech that it seemed his "words were like the winter snows" (III. 221-222); later, Odysseus takes part with Diomedes in the "Doloneia," a night reconnaissance raid into Troy, in which Odysseus encounters and deceives Dolon ("Guile"), his Trojan counterpart (X. 313ff.). In the Odyssey, Helen gives the first account of Odysseus' craftiness when she tells Telemachos how Odysseus once disguised himself in order to gain access into Troy (IV. 244-264). Odysseus' masterminding of and participation in the Trojan Horse--the scheme which finally spelled an end for Troy--is recounted by Menelaos (IV. 271-289), and later by Demodokos at Odysseus' own request to hear "the stratagem which famous Odysseus once filled with men and brought...into the acropolis" (VIII. 494-495). Odysseus' clever manipulation of words is revealed when he relates how he tricked the Cyclops, Polyphemos, by calling himself "No-Man" (IX. 363-367), and when he repeatedly prefaces his lies in the second half of the Odyssey with an appeal to the truthfulness of his words.<sup>11</sup> The Cretan Lies, as Kirk puts it, "substantiate Odysseus' craftiness"<sup>12</sup>; they are the culmination to Homer's portrayal of Odysseus as a master of deception.

Post-Homeric literature, particularly Attic tragedy,

depicts Odysseus' skill at verbal deception as a negative attribute--Odysseus becomes the subtle villain, the archetype of the amoral sophist who can make any argument appear just.<sup>13</sup> Largely because of this Classical prejudice against Odysseus' character, there is a tendency among modern scholars to approach the lies from a moral point of view: does Odysseus have the right to lie?<sup>14</sup> Homer, however, does not present Odysseus' deception as a negative trait; instead, it becomes the key to his survival and, through Odysseus, to the preservation of all that the Odyssey values. Although the moral approach usually vindicates Odysseus on the grounds of self-defense, it is simply too limited in its scope to offer any substantial insight into the Cretan Lies as a separate and distinct phenomenon in the poem.<sup>15</sup>

The Cretan Lies are a form of self-defense.<sup>16</sup> They provide Odysseus with a cloak of words, a verbal disguise which complements the beggar's rags which conceal Odysseus' physical appearance from the end of Book XIII on. Odysseus is not a compulsive liar, but he has learned to create for himself a false identity when circumstances demand that he remain anonymous. The encounter with Polyphemos taught Odysseus the value of being "No-Man," for as soon as the hero revealed his true identity, the Cyclops hurled down upon him the anger of Poseidon and a homecoming filled with hardship (IX. 528-535).<sup>17</sup> Later, Polyphemos' curse--εὖροι δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ--is echoed and elaborated by the prophecy Odysseus receives in Hades from Teiresias, who warns that, if Odysseus escapes from the Island

of the Sun, he will find his house being devoured by his wife's suitors (XI. 115-120). Teiresias tells Odysseus that he will have his revenge, but does not indicate whether Odysseus will achieve this by strategy or openly-- ἢ ἐ δόλω ἢ ἀμφαδόν (120). It is not until Odysseus hears Agamemnon's tragic account in Hades that the necessity of concealment, especially in one's own land, becomes brutally apparent (XI. 455-456):

In secret, not in the open, bring your ship  
Into your own land: for there is no faith in women.

*κρύβδην, μηδ' ἀναφανδά, φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν  
νῆα κατισχόμεναι, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν.*

On Ithaca, Odysseus must protect himself from a society which he may remember as familiar, but which has been perverted by time--that fatal paradox which Agamemnon urged Odysseus to recognize.<sup>18</sup> Long before Odysseus returns to Ithaca, therefore, he is equipped with the knowledge of what he will find, as well as with the advice and experience needed to confront the last, and greatest, obstacle on the journey back to his own hearth. Disguised in his cloak of words and rags, Odysseus fulfills his own prophecies to Eumaios and Penelope--that he will return home "openly or in secret" (XIV. 330 and XIX. 299: "ἢ ἀμφαδόν ἢ κρυφῆδόν").

What form do the Cretan Lies assume?

The Cretan Lies are characterized by several recurrent elements which form the framework of Odysseus' alleged identity: (1) his Cretan origin; (2) his Cretan family; (3) his relationship to the Cretan hero, Idomeneus; (4) his departure

from Crete; (5) his arrival on Ithaca; and (6) his account of "the real Odysseus."<sup>19</sup> With the exception of Odysseus' alleged relationship to Idomeneus, a claim which will be discussed later (see pp. 59-68 below), we shall now examine the forms which these recurrent elements assume in the lies. As we shall discover, only the first three of these claims appear in every Cretan Lie.

Although each of the Cretan Lies contains some mention of Odysseus' fictitious home, the first two lies describe Crete only briefly. When addressing Athena, Odysseus claims that he had heard of Ithaca "even in wide Crete, far away over the sea" (XIII. 256-257: "καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ, / τηλοῦ ὑπὲρ πόντου"); in the Lie to Eumaios, Odysseus merely relates that he comes "from wide Crete" (XIV. 199: "Ἐκ μὲν Κρητῶν... εὐρειῶν"). By contrast, the description of Crete with which Odysseus entertains Penelope acts essentially as an introduction to his final false tale (XIX. 172-179):<sup>20</sup>

There is a land called Crete in the middle of the  
 wine-dark sea,  
 A beautiful and fertile land, surrounded by water.  
 In it are  
 Many peoples, beyond count, and ninety cities.  
 One language mixes with others: for on it are Achaeans,  
 Great-hearted Eteocretans, Cydonians,  
 The Dorians in their three divisions, and the noble  
 Pelasgians.  
 Among the cities is Cnossos, the great city, where Minos  
 Ruled for nine-year intervals and conversed with great  
 Zeus....

Κρήτη τις γὰρ ἔστι, μέσφ' ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,  
 καλὴ καὶ πείρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι  
 πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐνήκοντα πόλεις·  
 ἄλλῃ δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσαι μεμιγμένῃ· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,  
 ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,  
 Δωριεὲς τε τριχάϊκες δῖοι τε Πελασγοί·  
 τῆσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἐνθα τε Μίνως  
 ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀραστής....

Odysseus' concern with creating the details of his alleged Cretan family also differs from lie to lie. In Book XIII, Odysseus refers briefly to his family when trying to account for the wealth of Phaeacian gifts in his possession: "but now I have come here with all these goods, having left as many still to my children (XIII. 257-258: "νῦν δ' εἰλήλουθα καὶ αὐτὸς / χρήμασι σὺν τοῖσδεσσι· λιπὼν δ' ἔτι παισὶ τοσαῦτα"). To Eumaios, Odysseus offers a far more detailed account of his Cretan family. He claims to be the son of a wealthy Cretan, Castor, and a concubine; because of his illegitimacy, "Odysseus" inherits only a small portion of his father's estate, although he later wins his reputation and a wealthy wife because of his courage in raids and battles. When "Odysseus" returns from the Trojan War, he remains at home for only a month before embarking on yet another expedition (XIV. 200-234, 244-245). Finally, in his Lie to Penelope, Odysseus actually traces his ancestry back to Minos and claims to be the younger brother of Idomeneus (XIX. 180-181):

(Minos) was the father of my father, great-hearted  
Deucalion,  
And Deucalion bore me and king Idomeneus.

*πατὴρ δ' ἐμοῦ πατήρ, μεγαθύμου Δευκαλίωνος.  
Δευκαλίων δ' ἐμὲ τίκτε καὶ Ἰδομενεῖα ἀγακτα·*

The last three elements are not found in every one of the Cretan Lies. A reason for "Odysseus'" departure from Crete, for instance, appears only in the first and second lies. To Athena, Odysseus relates how, following his murder of Orsilochus, he begged some Phoenician merchants to carry him

to either Pylos or Elis (XIII. 272-275). Odysseus greatly expands the potential of this claim in the Lie to Eumaios, thereby creating the most detailed of his fictitious accounts. Odysseus explains that he left Crete soon after the war to undertake an expedition into Egypt. The piratical raid proved a failure, however, and "Odysseus" remained in Egypt for seven years gathering possessions. Then he fell into the hands of a deceitful Phoenician, who, after taking "Odysseus" first to Phoenicia, resolved to sell him as a slave in Libya. On the way there, however, the ship and the Phoenician merchant were destroyed, while "Odysseus," clinging to the ship's mast, floated safely to Thesprotia and the court of King Pheidon (XIV. 243-302). This particular account of his supposed departure from Crete is the last Odysseus offers. In the Lie to Penelope, Odysseus does not explain why he left his native land.

We see the same pattern in Odysseus' description of his arrival on Ithaca. To Athena, Odysseus explains that the Phoenicians were driven off-course by winds and forced, against their will, to land in Ithaca; here, Odysseus says, he fell asleep, only to awaken later to find himself alone (XIII. 276-286). In his Lie to Eumaios, Odysseus relates how Pheidon provided him with conveyance to Dulichium, but the Thesprotians to whom "Odysseus" was entrusted resolved, instead, to sell him into slavery; while they dined one night on Ithaca's shore, "Odysseus" escaped and made his way to Eumaios' hut (XIV. 335-359). To Penelope, on the other hand, Odysseus offers no

reason for his presence on Ithaca.

Odysseus' final claim is that he has some knowledge of "the real Odysseus." This claim has no place in the Lie to Athena, since Odysseus believes throughout his tale that he is addressing a stranger. To Eumaios, however, Odysseus first prophesies his own return (XIV. 158-164), then purports to have news of Odysseus from Thesprotia. Pheidon, Odysseus tells Eumaios, confided in him that "the real Odysseus" had just recently arrived in Thesprotia and was visiting the oracle at Dodona to learn whether to return to Ithaca "openly or in secret"; Pheidon also claimed to have had a ship prepared in which to convey "the real Odysseus" back to Ithaca (XIV. 321-334). Odysseus expands his account of "the real Odysseus" to such an extent in the Lie to Penelope that it becomes, virtually, the entire substance of the false tale. First, Odysseus, in the guise of Aethon, relates how he once entertained Penelope's husband on Crete twenty years before and sent the hero off to Troy (XIX. 185-202); next, he "recalls" what he remembers of "the real Odysseus" from that distant encounter (XIX. 221-248), and concludes by repeating some of the details he had offered Eumaios earlier--"the real Odysseus'" arrival on Thesprotia, visit to Dodona, and imminent return to Ithaca (XIX. 262-307). This part of Odysseus' Lie to Penelope ends with the famous prophecy (XIX. 306-307):

In the course of this very year, Odysseus will be here,  
Either with the waning of the moon, or with its rising.

*τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος εἰλείσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς.  
τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἰσταμένου.*

It is immediately apparent that, on a superficial level, a good deal of consistency exists between the three Cretan Lies, that Odysseus assumes a persona in one lie which is consonant with his personae in the others. The advantages of this consistency are several. For Odysseus, it generally prevents self-contradiction--since his audience changes with each Cretan Lie--and establishes credibility by allowing him to create a network of harmonious and likely details.<sup>21</sup> It also gives Odysseus an identity on Ithaca, while permitting him to conceal his name. In addition, it allows us to recognize Odysseus even within the framework of his lies, as well as to evaluate better Odysseus' motivations and development in the second half of the Odyssey. For us, the association between Odysseus and the Cretan Lies is encouraged and acknowledged. In a very real sense, Odysseus is his lie.

The consistency within the Cretan Lies echoes the consistency of Odysseus' impersonations over time. In both the Iliad and the Odyssey, Odysseus reveals a partiality toward disguises which appear in striking contrast to his own identity as hero and king. As we have mentioned (see pp. 24-25), the crafty counselor of the Greeks is described in Iliad III as having once assumed the appearance of a fool (220: "τιν' ἄφρονά"), while in Odyssey IX Odysseus flirts briefly with the idea of anonymity when he calls himself "No-Man." But the example most illuminating to our study of the Cretan Lies is found in Helen's description of Odysseus undertaking a spying mission during the Trojan War. Singling out this

particular adventure to characterize Odysseus, Helen recalls how the hero disguised himself as a slave or a beggar (IV. 244-248):

Marring himself with cruel blows,  
 Throwing a filthy rag around his shoulders, like a  
 slave,  
 He entered the wide-wayed city of the enemy:  
 He disguised himself in the likeness of another--  
 A beggar--he who was never such a one beside the  
 ships of the Achaeans.

*αὐτὸν μιν πληγῆσιν ἀεικέλησι δαμάσσας,  
 σπεῖρα κάκ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι βαλῶν, οἰκῆϊ ἐοικώς,  
 ἀνδρῶν ὄσμενέων κατέδυ πόλιν εὐρύγυιαν·  
 ἄλλω δ' αὐτὸν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἦϊσκε  
 δέκτην, ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἔην ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.*

Helen qualifies her description by emphasizing the disparity between Odysseus and the outward form he assumes. But she also foreshadows the very disguise Odysseus will assume on Ithaca from the end of Odyssey XIII to his revelation to the suitors in XXII. After his Lie to Athena, Odysseus is disguised by the goddess, who ruins his physical appearance, clothes him in a vile rag and tunic, and sends him on his way to do the only thing possible under the circumstances--to beg (XIII. 398-403, 430-438).

Yet despite the seeming incongruity between Cretan beggar and Ithacan king, there exists a very carefully elaborated and self-conscious correspondence, best articulated by Odysseus himself, when in his guise as beggar he confides to Eumaios (XVII. 563):

For well do I know about him (Odysseus), since we  
 have suffered the same grief.

*οἶδα γὰρ εὖ περὶ κείνου, ὁμηρὸν δ' ἀνεδέγμεθ' οἴζυν.*

In the Lie to Penelope, Odysseus actually relates some of his Fabulous Wanderings; although cautiously omitting his seven-year sojourn with Calypso, Odysseus tells Penelope how he lost his crew after they killed the cattle of Helios and how he was received by the Phaeacians (XIX. 273-283). Generally, however, Odysseus in his assumed identity repeats details and echoes patterns which define his actual identity--but without regard for chronology or for any specific relationship between the fictitious and the actual peoples and places he has encountered. Vivante, speaking about how the Cretan Lies exemplify Odysseus' past, says that the lies are "representations of the self in an imaginary setting, what actually occurred altered to what might have under similar circumstances."<sup>22</sup> Instead of the Fabulous Wanderings, Odysseus presents in his lies a rather typical account of places visited by pirates and traders in the known world: Crete, Egypt, Phoenicia, Thesprotia and Dodona, for example, take the place of Aea, Hades and Ogygia. The Cretan Lies also reflect Odysseus' memory of his life on Ithaca and contain numerous allusions to his family, livelihood, former prosperity, and power; some of these memories are channeled by Odysseus into his fictitious descriptions of his Cretan family (see p. 29 above).

But the lies do not simply "recollect" Odysseus' past--they also look to the present and anticipate the future. By pretending in the Lies to Eumaios and Penelope that Odysseus is visiting the oracle of Dodona, Odysseus gives himself

an alibi for the present. The Cretan Lies themselves combined with the beggar's disguise, as we have mentioned previously, provide Odysseus with an immediate identity on Ithaca. Even more important is the idea that Odysseus' assumed identity symbolizes the actual condition of his spirit. As Finley says of Odysseus:

His return as beggar fits in with his painfully acquired knowledge of his mortal place in the world. This disguise is partly descriptive...the disguise expresses his mind...(these) half-true, half-false stories that Odysseus tells in Ithaca in his disguise as Cretan beggar.<sup>24</sup>

But the Odysseus who lies to Athena in XIII is not the same Odysseus who lies to Penelope in XIX. The Cretan Lies show us not only Odysseus' rediscovery of his identity on Ithaca, but the transformation of a hero from the helpless victim on Calypso's island to the slayer of his wife's suitors. This is very much a continuous process, one which we see evolving even while Odysseus is telling his false tales: for the change within Odysseus is most subtly both reflected and achieved by the Cretan Lies.

The lies also anticipate the future by their use of prophecy and by allusions to Odysseus' slaying of the suitors, to his fears of revenge and exile--to a return abbreviated by further wanderings. The most overt reference to the future is, of course, the Cretan beggar's prophecy that "the real Odysseus" will soon return to Ithaca (XIV. 158-164, 321-334; XIX. 262-307). But Odysseus' anticipation of the future is mirrored primarily in his first two lies; here, his premonition

of what may lie ahead is influenced by Teiresias' prophecy in Hades, as well as by Athena's summary of the current state of affairs on Ithaca (XIII. 375-396). In the Lie to Athena, Odysseus relates how he and a friend ambushed and killed Orsilochos in the dark (XIII. 267-271). This description, in turn, foreshadows Odysseus' actual punishment of the suitors. When Odysseus slays the suitors, he does so with the help of Athena, Telemachos, Eumaios and Philoitios; at night, in an atmosphere recalling Theoklymenos' gloomy portent to the suitors (XX. 351ff.: "shrouded in night are your heads, and faces, and knees below..."); and secretly, at least for as long as possible (XXIII. 137-140). Odysseus, while best articulating his fears of revenge and exile to Telemachos in Book XXIII, nevertheless unwittingly reveals as early as in his Lie to Athena that the murder of the suitors involves grave consequences. In his explanation of how he supposedly slew Orsilochos and then resolved upon voluntary exile to escape punishment on Crete--an alternative which Odysseus never accepts after his slaying of the suitors--Odysseus says that he asked the Phoenician merchants on Crete to convey him "to Pylos...or famous Elis, where the Epeians rule" (XIII. 274-275: "Πύλονδε.../ἢ εἰς Ἑλιδα δῖαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί"). These are exactly the two places mentioned by Antinoos' father, Eupheithes, as possible refuges for Odysseus should he desire to escape the revenge of the suitors' parents (XXIV. 430-432). Since Teiresias' prophecy gives no hint of the final episode which comprises Odyssey XXIV, the fears expressed in Odysseus'

Lie to Athena still threaten to become reality. Finally, Odysseus' anticipation of only a brief return to Ithaca--a fear inspired by Teiresias' prophecy of the hero's journey to the land of No-Oar<sup>26</sup>--is vividly recalled in the Cretan beggar's description to Eumaios of how he returned to Crete after the war, but remained for only a single month (XIV. 244-245). Odysseus' journey to the Land of No-Oar, however, promises Odysseus an opportunity to integrate his identity: the danger of a new exile, which threatens Odysseus' return in the second lie, becomes the only assurance of that return's lasting fulfillment.

Despite the obvious consistency within the Cretan Lies, the dissimilarities between them offer an even greater insight into Odysseus' character and craft as storyteller. Although there are several verbal repetitions in the lies to Eumaios and Penelope, specific details generally vary with each lie, depending upon both the necessities of the plot and Odysseus' appeal to the particular sympathies of his listener.<sup>27</sup> Regarding the circumstances outside of Odysseus' control, we find that Odysseus must account in the Lie to Athena for the presence of the gifts from the Phaeacians, but in the other Cretan Lies for the beggar's disguise given to him by Athena. Odysseus is, in turn, disguised by divine agency for several reasons. First, there is a common feeling among those who knew Odysseus well that, were Odysseus still alive, he would be begging for his livelihood (XIV. 42-44) and would have aged, as a result of his long wanderings, like

the Cretan stranger (XIX. 358-360); the beggar's disguise, therefore, carries a special significance for Eumaios, Penelope and Eurykleia, but not for the shepherd boy, whom Odysseus believes he is encountering in Odyssey XIII. On another level, Odysseus' disguise and Cretan Lies symbolize the passage of time.<sup>28</sup> Helen's description of Odysseus in Book IV, as we have already said, points out the consistency of Odysseus' impersonations over time, but also foreshadows the extent to which Odysseus has grown into his persona. During the war, Odysseus could disguise himself as a beggar without worrying that his appearance might be mistaken for his identity. But after ten years at sea, the loss of his crew and Trojan booty, the constant threat of annihilation, Odysseus returns to his palace in a disguise which harmonizes--all too well--with the loss of his fortune.<sup>29</sup>

Odysseus also tailors his lies to his particular audience. When he addresses the shepherd boy--the only occasion in the second half of the Odyssey on which Odysseus lies to a "stranger"--Odysseus delivers the shortest of the Cretan Lies, one designed to explain as briefly as possible who he is and why he has arrived on Ithaca with so many possessions. Odysseus' description of his feud with Orsicholos functions on two levels simultaneously. First, while this episode mirrors Odysseus' apprehension of the future and, specifically, of his revenge upon the suitors, it also looks back to the past: for Odysseus "recalls" Achilles in Iliad I. There is the same sense of unmerited injury, loss of hard-won possessions,

and overriding desire to kill the offender--the two Homeric heroes are linked forever by the common themes of anger and revenge. Odysseus exploits the similarities between his fictitious identity and Achilles' dilemma in order to secure sympathy through general knowledge. On the other hand, Odysseus' account of his violent murder of Orsilochos also provides a subtle warning, as Trahman points out, "to discourage any desire for wrongdoing on the part of the shepherd."<sup>30</sup>

By contrast, the Lie to Eumaios is the longest and most complex of the Cretan Lies, the only false tale which contains both an account of "the real Odysseus" and an elaborate description of the Cretan beggar's life. But, although this particular lie is clearly meant to entertain Eumaios and to pass the time, it specifically appeals to the swineherd's sympathies as well. The description of "the real Odysseus" complements Eumaios' loyal concern for his absent master, even while it reveals his scepticism of Odysseus' return. Just as important, however, is the way in which Odysseus manipulates Eumaios' sympathy by fashioning his lie to imitate the swineherd's own sufferings--a history with which Odysseus is certainly familiar, even though we do not hear Eumaios' tale until after Odysseus tells his lie. In both this lie and Eumaios' account later (XV. 403-484), we find an island birthplace, a powerful father, similar geographical details, treacherous Phoenicians, the death of an evil individual(s), and the threat of slavery.

Perhaps the most obvious example of Odysseus' appeal to the sympathy of his listener, however, is to be found in the Lie to Penelope. Here the entire account is characterized by Odysseus' diminishing interest in offering a lengthy description of his fictitious identity and by his primary concern with "the real Odysseus"--to whom the narrative is almost exclusively devoted. Van der Valk, in fact, noting the careful design of the Cretan Lies, uses this observation to support his view that the highly controversial description of Crete at the beginning of Odysseus' Lie to Penelope (XIX. 172-178; see p. 28 above) is not an interpolation:

Modern critics have thought that this learned digression was inserted by an interpolator. This reasoning would be correct, if we had to judge the Odyssey according to our own standards. In reality, however, this learned excursus serves to show off the culture of the stranger and is entirely in keeping with the learned etymological allusions of Penelope.<sup>31</sup>

The question of the meaning of these lines will be addressed later (see pp. 68-81 below).<sup>32</sup> For now, it suffices to say that the form of Cretan Lies changes as Odysseus molds his fictions to the personality, knowledge, and expectations of each person he addresses.

"Cretans are always Liars"

Up to now, we have dealt with the Cretan Lies in general and focused, primarily, on such questions as where and how Crete is significant in Odysseus' lying tales. Now we must consider why it is that Crete, as opposed to some other

geographic location, becomes Odysseus' fictitious home in the Odyssey.

There is a proverb, known throughout Classical antiquity, that "Cretans are always liars"--"Κρήτες ἀεὶ φεῦσται."<sup>33</sup> Scholars have long noted the aptness of this saying to the Odyssey, that it is quite fitting for Odysseus to claim that he belongs to a race as well known as he is himself for lying.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, Odysseus' claim of Cretan origin carries with it the subtlest irony of all, since his alleged identity automatically signals its own untrustworthiness by the simple syllogism: all Cretans are liars, Odysseus is a Cretan, therefore Odysseus is a liar. Our particular interest in the proverb, however, lies in its function as a literary topos and in the chronological relationship of this topos to the Odyssey.

The proverb has been attributed, at least from the time of St. Paul, to the sixth-century Cretan philosopher and prophet, Epimenides--a man who, within a hundred years or so of his death, had already become legendary, and who was best known for purifying Athens in 595/4 B.C. of her pollution following her dubious punishment of the Cylonian conspiracy and for his "Rip Van Winkle" sleep of forty or fifty-seven years (depending upon the tradition).<sup>35</sup> Scholars now tend to believe, however, that Epimenides would have had no reason to condemn his fellow Cretans in this manner, and that the saying is not by Epimenides but about Epimenides; according to their theory, the Delphic oracle probably attached this proverb to

the Cretan prophet out of rivalry, perhaps even in response to Epimenides' rejection of Delphi's claim to lie at the center of the earth.<sup>36</sup> Needless to say, whatever the validity of this theory, it does not address the issue of the proverb's relation to the Odyssey, which was probably composed a full century before the height of Epimenides' career. We are, therefore, left with two alternatives: either Homer, by coincidentally making the liar Odysseus a Cretan in the lies, appears on hindsight as the originator of the topos, or, as seems more likely, the poet of the Odyssey drew upon a topos which long preceded both Epimenides and himself in order to add irony to Odysseus' Cretan Lies.

The Homeric Hymn to Demeter contains a Cretan lie similar to the one Odysseus tells Eumaios in Odyssey XIV. In her anger over the rape of her daughter Persephone, Demeter abandons Olympus and wanders over the earth in disguise. Finally, near the Well of the Maiden in Eleusis, Demeter is addressed by King Celeos' daughters, who ask the identity of the goddess disguised as an old woman. Demeter responds--like Odysseus, prefacing her words with an assertion of their truthfulness (20-21)--that she is Δῶς, a Cretan woman brought unwillingly from her home by pirates, whom she managed to escape while they were preparing dinner on shore; but, although fleeing the slavery the pirates had intended as her lot, she is now forced to wander and beg for her livelihood (22-34).<sup>37</sup> Despite the obvious similarities between Demeter's lie and Odysseus' Lie to Eumaios (XIV. 337ff.), we cannot

determine whether the Hymn or the Odyssey was composed first and, therefore, cannot assess which might have acted as a possible source or reference for the other.<sup>38</sup> Much more likely, however, is the possibility that neither poem was the originator of Cretan-Liar topos, but that both drew independently upon a common tradition: as Richardson suggests, "Demeter probably comes from Crete because this is suitable to a 'false tale.'"<sup>39</sup> In any event, we possess two pieces of evidence pointing to the existence of this topos before its attribution to Epimenides.

If the topos does antedate Homer, why did it originate? Several "explanations" for the Cretans' reputation as liars have been put forward both recently and in antiquity. Athenodorus of Eretria tells the charming, if untrustworthy, tale of how Idomeneus was once invited to judge a beauty contest between Thetis and Medea: when he declared Thetis the winner, Medea said, "'Cretans are always liars' and cursed them that they should never speak the truth."<sup>40</sup> On a more serious level, Crete's renown for commercial enterprise and naval expertise from Minoan times to the end of the Archaic Period may have been influential in winning the Cretans a reputation for deceit; Nilsson seems to suggest this idea when he points out the close relationship between trade and piracy, a connection best illustrated in the Odyssey by the Phoenicians, the Cretans' successors on the sea.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the most tantalizing hypothesis is the one propounded originally by Nilsson and evidenced in Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus (4-9). According to

Nilsson, the Greeks, who regarded their gods as immortal and undying, could not understand the pre-Greek conception of a dying god, a belief which survived particularly in the Cretan tradition that Zeus died and was buried on Crete.<sup>42</sup> Callimachus appears to offer the first and most damning criticism of this heretical claim when, in "debating" the parallel claims of Crete and Arcadia as the birthplace of Zeus, he asks Zeus to resolve the question--and Zeus seems to respond "Κρήτες ἄει ψεύσται," since the Cretans have built him a tomb as if he were dead (809). As Willetts concludes, "this belief in a dying Zeus brought upon the Cretans the censure of Callimachus as being liars and worse, a censure that is echoed by St. Paul and other early Christian writers."<sup>43</sup>

Although Athenodorus and Callimachus are only two of the ancient writers who mention the Cretan reputation for lying,<sup>44</sup> in general this particular Cretan topos does not appear to have inspired much popularity, except as a clever allusion, after Homer. Only in the Odyssey do we find the topos used to complement the liar/storyteller hero, Odysseus, and to add subtle irony to his impersonation in the second half of the poem. Moreover, even though other Cretan topoi play a vital role in the understanding of the Cretan Lies, these others appear again in Vergil's Aeneid, where they are, perhaps, more clearly presented as a prelude to their final rejection by both hero and poet. The Odyssey stands, therefore, as the unparalleled literary exemplar of the Cretan topos, "Cretans are always liars."

The Lie to Eumaios: Menelaos, the Afterlife, and Crete

A Tentative Topos

Odysseus, we do not imagine, as we look upon you,  
 That you are deceitful and wily, such as are many  
 The black earth nourishes--men, scattered over the  
 world,  
 Who fashion lies from sources which no man can see for  
 himself.  
 But there is a grace upon your words, and the mind  
 within you is noble.  
 Like a singer, you have told this story with skill....

Alcinoos to Odysseus, Odyssey  
 XI. 363-368

The Lie to Eumaios is not only the most complex of the Cretan Lies, but the one in which Odysseus' fictional identity is composed of elements borrowed from the greatest number of other identities. To a large extent, Odysseus consciously creates his alibi. We have already mentioned how Odysseus models many of the details of this lie to conform to what he knows of Eumaios' own autobiography. We have also suggested that, in this lie particularly, Odysseus draws upon his Fabulous Wanderings for material, but substitutes contemporary heroes and commercial harbors for the various divinities and mythical lands he encountered during his ten years at sea. In this lie, we see Odysseus consciously "de-mythologizing" his Fabulous Wanderings--that is, he conceals what is unique about himself as a hero by converting the mythical associations of his actual travels into a rather typical historic narrative;<sup>45</sup> as Segal puts it, "Eumaios receives a tale in strictly human terms."<sup>46</sup>

But this lie also conveys the feeling that Odysseus' own identity is most precariously balanced, that there is an unresolved tension between what Odysseus was, what Odysseus is now, and what Odysseus must become in order to regain his position on Ithaca. On a simple physical level, this tension is symbolized by the beggar's disguise Odysseus assumes at the end of Odyssey XIII and by the helplessness of his situation, poignantly illustrated by the fact that Odysseus no sooner arrives at Eumaios' hut than he is nearly mauled by the swineherd's dogs (XIV. 29-38). In Eumaios, Odysseus discovers what Stewart calls a "counterfoil to the Cyclops," a farmer devoted to his rustic existence;<sup>47</sup> yet the similarity reminds us that Odysseus was "No-Man" to Polyphemos. Even while Odysseus elicits sympathy by his carefully contrived tale, Homer subtly reveals the extent to which Eumaios has assumed Odysseus' role in the absence: Eumaios becomes his master's host and even the "surrogate" father of Odysseus' son, Telemachos.<sup>48</sup>

In the Aetolian's Tale, we find an example of what Segal refers to as Odysseus' "being both 'himself' and 'not himself' simultaneously."<sup>49</sup> After hearing the beggar's purported autobiography, Eumaios repeats a story told to him by a wandering Aetolian, a man the swineherd had once entertained as he is entertaining Odysseus (XIV. 382-385):

He said he had seen him (Odysseus) among the Cretans  
with Idomeneus:  
Odysseus was repairing his ships, which the winds had  
shattered.  
And he said that Odysseus would return either in the  
summer or in the fall,

Bringing many possessions with his god-like companions.

φῆ δέ μιν ἐν Κρήτεσσι παρ' Ἰδομενεῖι ιδέσθαι  
 νῆας ἀκειόμενον, τὰς οἱ ξυνέαξαν ἄελλαι  
 καὶ φάτ' ἐλεύσεσθαι ἢ ἐς θέρος ἢ ἐς ὀπώρην,  
 πολλὰ χρήματ' ἄγοντα, σὺν ἀντιθέοις ἐτάροισι.

These lines prove to be a tantalizing puzzle. The Aetolian's Tale, although like Odysseus' Lie to Eumaios attempting to establish credibility largely through reference to Crete and its king, Idomeneus, nevertheless appears to contradict all of Odysseus' autobiographical accounts from Book IX on. We know that Odysseus returns home to Ithaca from Scheria, but that he claims he comes from Crete (XIII. 256-258). To Eumaios, Odysseus pretends that he has just sailed from Thesprotia and that "the real Odysseus" will soon follow the same course; yet, immediately after this "prophecy," Eumaios introduces the Aetolian's Tale that "the real Odysseus" was last seen on Crete! In an effort to explain this perplexing tale, Woodhouse suggests that a pre-Homeric "Saga of Odysseus" contained the original wanderings of the hero and that Odysseus, following his adventure on Ismaros, was driven off-course--not to the Lotus Eaters, as in Homer's poem--but to Crete: the Aetolian's Tale becomes, for Woodhouse, an actual eye-witness account of Odysseus' wanderings in the earlier "Saga."<sup>50</sup> Intriguing as this theory is, we shall find other "explanations" for the presence of Crete in Odysseus' lies and, more particularly, for Homer's inclusion of the Aetolian's Tale. On one level, this story becomes the basis of Eumaios' disbelief in Odysseus' "prophecy," the superb irony being that

Eumaios regards as false what is, in fact, the truest part of Odysseus' account.<sup>51</sup> But on another level, Homer is emphasizing and challenging the delicate balance defining Odysseus' identity, the bridge which links self and non-self.

One remaining point needs to be discussed. In the process of demythologizing his Fabulous Wanderings in the Lie to Eumaios, Odysseus presents an autobiographical account which echoes Menelaos' description of his own wanderings after the Trojan War. Odysseus' fictional identity reminds us of Menelaos.<sup>52</sup> Yet, although Odysseus is capable of modeling his lie around Eumaios' life or his own Fabulous Wanderings, he certainly would not know the details of Menelaos' return in the Odyssey. Furthermore, Odysseus' "recollection" of Menelaos in Book XIV is underlined by the way in which Homer weaves around this episode a conclusion to the Telemachy. Telemachos, as Odysseus learns from Athena at the end of Book XIII, is visiting Sparta at the same time that Odysseus has returned to Ithaca and is planning to visit Eumaios (414-415). The Lie to Eumaios as well as all the events in Book XIV are enclosed, in fact, by references to Menelaos. At the end of Book XIII, Athena promises to bring Telemachos home from Sparta (421-423), and at the beginning of Book XV, she persuades Telemachos to leave Menelaos' court (1-184).

Why does Homer have Odysseus "recall" Menelaos in this particular lie? One reason is that Odysseus and Menelaos are presented by Homer, in the Iliad (III. 203-224; XI. 461-488) and especially in the Odyssey (III. 141-164; IV. 104-112,

169-180, 266-289, 551-553), as friends during the war; the Lie to Eumaios as well as the subsequent Cloak Tale, in which Odysseus claims that he participated in a night ambush under the walls of Troy with Menelaos and "the real Odysseus" (XIV. 469-502), echo these allusions to the heroes' friendship. Furthermore, Menelaos' adventures serve as a prototype for the Fabulous Wanderings in the Odyssey. In terms of the length and complexity of his return from Troy no other hero is as comparable to Odysseus as Menelaos.<sup>53</sup> If we were to diagram Menelaos' wanderings, we would find that the hero visited in order: Troy, Tenedos, Lesbos, Geraistos, Sounion, Maleia, Egypt, Cyprus, Phoenicia, Aithiopia, Erembos, Sidon, Libya, Pharos, Egypt, and Lacedaemonia. Both heroes encounter the supernatural, learn the advantages of disguise and ambush in a world oblivious to the heroic code, and follow the same pattern--as opposed to the strictly linear homecoming epitomized by Agamemnon--of taking a step backward before proceeding.<sup>54</sup>

The approach which I find most intriguing, however, concerns Menelaos' relation to Crete in the Odyssey and the light which this relationship sheds upon the Cretan Lies. Two passages will be discussed. In the first, Nestor describes how Menelaos' fleet was split in two during the return from Troy--one part was driven by Zeus on to Crete, the other part with Menelaos in command arrived in Egypt (III. 291-300):

Then he (Zeus) drove some of those (ships) which  
had been separated to Crete,  
Where the Cydonians live about the streams of the  
Iardanus.  
There is a smooth rock running sheer into the sea  
On the border of Gortyn on the misty sea:

There the South Wind drives a great wave against the  
western headland  
Toward Phaestos, and the small rock breaks the course  
of a large wave.  
These (ships), then, came there; by their effort, the  
men escaped  
Destruction, but the waves smashed the ships  
Against the rock. But the other five dark-prowed ships  
The wind and water carried and brought to Egypt.

ἔνθα διατμήξας τὰς μὲν Κρήτην ἐπέλασσαν,  
ἦχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.  
ἔστι δὲ τις λισσὴ αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἅλα πέτρῃ  
ἔσχατῇ Γόργυνοσ, ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ,  
ἔνθα Νότοσ μέγα κύμα ποτὶ σκαῖον ῥίον ὤθει,  
ἐσ Φαιστόν, μικρὸσ δὲ λίθοσ μέγα κύμ' ἀποέργει.  
αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐνθ' ἦλθον, σπουδῇ δ' ἦλυξαν ὄλεθρον  
ἄνδρες, ἀτὰρ νηῆσ γε ποτὶ σπιλάδεσσιν ἔαξαν  
κύματ'· ἀτὰρ τὰσ πέντε νέασ κυανοπρωρείουσ  
Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπέλασσε φέρων ἄνεμόσ τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

According to this passage, Menelaos never visits Crete in the Odyssey. Later, when in Book IV Menelaos himself relates the places he visited during his wanderings, he neither mentions Crete nor the fate of his men shipwrecked near Phaestos. For this reason, Stanford regards the description in Book III as merely a "very long parenthesis."<sup>55</sup> When we consider the role Crete plays in Odysseus' lies in the second half of the poem, however, the digression becomes more meaningful. On the one hand, it anticipates Odysseus' claims that Zeus destroyed the Phoenician vessel just as it sailed past Crete (XIV. 300-309), and that "the real Odysseus" suffered near disaster inside the Cretan harbor of Amnisos (XIX. 186-189). The treachery of the waters surrounding Crete, a fact which will be used metaphorically by Euripides in his Hippolytos and by Vergil in the Aeneid (see pp. 132-37 below), is established already by Homer. On the other hand, the digression in Odyssey III also anti-

cipates Odysseus' presentation of Crete as a natural halting-place after the Trojan War, an idea which may have more significance than first appears.

In the second passage Proteus prophesies that Menelaos, as Helen's husband and the son-in-law of Zeus, will not die (IV. 563-568):

But the immortal gods will send you to the Elysian  
Field  
And the bounds of the earth, where golden-haired  
Rhadamanthys is,  
And where the existence is easiest for men.  
There is no snow, nor much bad weather, nor any rain,  
But always the Ocean sends up blasts of whistling  
breezes  
From the West Wind to cool men.

ἀλλά σ' ἐς Ἥλυσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης  
ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθις,  
τῇ περ ῥηϊστῆ βιοτῇ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν·  
οὐ νιφετός, οὐτ' ἄρ χειμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὕμβρος,  
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνεῖοντος ἀήτας  
Ἵκεανὸς ἀνήσειν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

The connection between Menelaos and Cretan Rhadamanthys is what concerns us immediately. Homer refers to Rhadamanthys two other times in his poems: in Odyssey VII during Alcinoos' description of Phaeacian hospitality and the speed of his ships (319-326) and in Iliad XIV during Zeus' blustering "compliment" to Hera that he was never so desirous of a woman, "not even when I loved Phoinix' daughter, who bore me Minos and god-like Rhadamanthys" (321-322: "οὐδ' ὅτε Φοῖνικος κόουρης τηλεκλειτόιο, / ἧ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν "). Rhadamanthys' relationship to Crete is established by the fact that he is brother to Minos, founder of the Cretan royal

house and grandfather of Idomeneus (Iliad XIII. 450-454; Odyssey XVIII. 523, XIX. 178-181). Menelaos is, therefore, drawn into indirect association with Crete in Homer's Odyssey.

On the other hand, Menelaos is very much associated with Crete in post-Homeric literature from the Cypria on. Although the evidence we possess postdates the Odyssey, it is possible that Homer knew of alternative traditions and drew upon them not so much for his portrayal of Menelaos--although the digression in Book III perhaps echoes Menelaos' connection with Crete--as for the composition of Odysseus' Cretan Lies. Despite the inevitable inconclusiveness of any such theory, the evidence does help clarify the "long parenthesis" in Odyssey III as well as provide another reason why Homer has Odysseus "recall" Menelaos in the Lie to Eumaios.

A tradition exists in which Menelaos visits Crete as part of his wanderings, although it is unclear whether this is an alternate tradition or simply a misinterpretation of Odyssey III. 291-300. Euripides provides the earliest surviving reference in his Helen. When Helen, who has been detained in Egypt throughout the war, asks her husband how he came safely from Troy, Menelaos replies (766-769):

Why should I mention those who perished on the Aegean,  
Nauplius' false beacons on Euboea,  
Crete, the Libyan cities I visited,  
The heights of Perseus?

*τί σοι λέγοιμ' ἂν τὰς ἐν Αἰγαίῳ φθορὰς  
τὰ Ναυπλίου τ' Εὐβοικὰ πυρπολήματα  
Κρήτην τε Λιβύης θ' ἄς ἐπεστράφην πόλεις,  
σκοπιῖς τε Περσέως;*

The passage is, however, vague and does not specifically say that Menelaos himself went to Crete. Several centuries later, however, the mythographer Apollodorus writes that Menelaos first landed at Sounion, but then drifted to Crete and from there to Libya, Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt (Epitome VI. 29). Dictys Cretensis, the fictitious author of the fraudulent Ephemeris Belli Troiani, has Menelaos visit Crete twice after the war. On the first occasion, Menelaos learns about Agamemnon's death and relates his Egyptian adventures to Idomeneus (VI. 3-4);<sup>56</sup> the second time Menelaos visits Crete, he does so at the invitation of Idomeneus, who wishes to reconcile a feud between Menelaos and his nephew Orestes (VI. 4). In Dictys' chronicle, therefore, Crete serves as a crucial midway point for Menelaos between his wanderings and his return to Mycenae (see pp. 258ff. below).

Apollodorus and Dictys are late and generally untrustworthy as sources, despite the current opinion that Dictys is ultimately indebted to the Epic Cycle and particularly to those works categorized as the "Trojan Cycle." But there is other evidence linking Menelaos to Crete. In Proclus' summary of the Cypria, we discover that one tradition assigns Menelaos a visit to Crete before the war (Chrestomathy I):

After this, Menelaos sails for Crete, bidding Helen to provide the guests with whatever they need until they depart. In the meanwhile, however, Aphrodite joins Helen to Alexander....

*Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μενέλαος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκπλεῖ, κελεύσας τὴν Ἑλένην τοῖς ξένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρέχειν ἕως ἂν ἀπαλλαγῶσιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη συνάγει τὴν Ἑλένην τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.*

According to this account, Menelaos' journey to Crete is significant in that it provides the opportunity for Helen's kidnapping--the pretext of the Trojan War itself. Euripides shows that he is familiar with this story when, in the Troiades, he poises Menelaos at the point of killing Helen, only to have her counter with the accusation (940-944):

Bringing with him no little goddess, he came--  
Her avenger by whichever name you wish to  
Call him, be it Alexander or Paris.  
You, worst of men, left him in your Spartan  
Home, while you went away in your ship to the  
land of Crete!

*ἦλθ' οὐχὶ μικρὰν θεὸν ἔχων αὐτοῦ μέτα  
ὁ τῆσδ' ἀλίστωρ, εἴτ' Ἀλέξανδρον θέλεις  
ὀνόματι προσφωνεῖν νιν εἴτε καὶ Πάριον  
ὄν, ὃ κάκιστε, σοῖσιν ἐν δόμοις λιπῶν  
Σπάρτης ἀπήρας νῆϊ Κρησίαν χθόνα.*

Ovid, Apollodorus, and Dictys echo this same tradition.<sup>58</sup>

The last two writers, however, provide an extra detail not mentioned in these other accounts. According to both Apollodorus and Dictys, Menelaos visited Crete at this particular time for a reason: to perform obsequies to the father of his Cretan mother. Menelaos' relationship to Crete is not accidental, in other words, for Menelaos is by birth half-Cretan.

Hesiod calls Menelaos' mother "Aerope."<sup>59</sup> So fragmentary is the evidence from the seventh to the fifth century, however, that we find no specific reference to her Cretan origin until Sophocles. In the Ajax, Sophocles has Teucer disparage Agamemnon's descent with these words (1295-1297):

You yourself were born of a Cretan mother, with whom  
Her father discovered a strange man,

And so consigned her as a prey to the mute fish.

αὐτὸς δὲ μητρὸς ἐξέχων Κρήσσης, ἐφ' ἣ  
λαβῶν ἐπακτὸν ἄνδρ' ὁ φιλίσσας πατήρ  
ἐφῆκεν ἔλλοις ἰχθύσιν διαφθοράν.

Furthermore, Aerope's adultery with her brother-in-law, Thyestes, a story probably related at least as early as the sixth century epic Alcmaeonis, is dramatized in the second half of the fifth century by Euripides in his Cretan Women, by Agathon and Carcinus in their Aeropes, and perhaps by Sophocles in his Atreus or Mycenaeen Women.<sup>60</sup> Euripides later refers back to this story, when in the Orestes he shows Electra bewailing the fate of her house and the grisly feud between Atreus and Thyestes (17-18):

Famed Agamemnon--if this be fame!--and Menelaos  
Sprang from a Cretan mother, Aerope.

ὁ κλεινός, εἰ δὴ κλεινός, Ἀγαμέμνων ἔφυ  
Μενέλειός τε Κρήσσης μητρὸς Ἀερόπης ἄπο.

The Hellenistic poet Lycophron seems to recall Teucer's sentiment in the Ajax, when he labels Menelaos "a half-Cretan barbarian" in his Alexandra (150: "ἡμικρῆτα βάρβαρον"). Finally, as we have said previously, both Apollodorus and Dictys provide the details of Menelaos' rather complicated genealogy, which traces his Cretan descent through Aerope, to her father Catreus (or Atreus, according to Dictys), then to Minos. This evidence points to a very clear relationship between Menelaos, Idomeneus, and the royal house of Crete.<sup>61</sup>

The possibility exists that Homer had some or all of these alternate traditions upon which to draw in the creation

of the Cretan Lies, particularly the Lie to Eumaios. That is, Homer might have composed the Lie to Eumaios by using details associated with Menelaos in pre-Homeric tradition, and then substituted Odysseus for Menelaos. We see, for example, that Odysseus claims to be Cretan by birth, the peer or close relative of Idomeneus, a participant in the Trojan War, and to have had adventures on Crete both prior to and following the war; these specific circumstances parallel Menelaos' own Cretan derivation, his relationship to Idomeneus, his participation in the war, and his connection with Crete before and after Troy. When we then consider the similarities between Menelaos' actual adventures in the Odyssey and Odysseus' alleged wanderings in his Lie to Eumaios, we are left with the feeling that Homer is not simply implying a comparison between Menelaos and Odysseus, but that Odysseus' claims to Eumaios regarding his fictitious identity may, in fact, represent the truth about Menelaos in some pre-Odyssean tradition.

The Odyssey also reveals, perhaps, an earlier association between Menelaos and another topos which appears particularly Cretan--that of the Afterlife. We have seen, for instance, how Homer alludes very briefly to the fact that Rhadamanthys is to be found in the Elysian Field--a clear indication that Homer expects his audience to be familiar with this detail. The connection between Crete and the Afterlife is further established in the Nekyia by a passage describing Minos' role as judge in the Underworld (XI. 568-571):<sup>62</sup>

There too I saw Minos, Zeus' glorious son,  
 Holding his scepter and, as he sat, declaring law  
 To the dead; while they, sitting and standing  
 about the king,  
 Sought judgment throughout the wide gates of Hades.

*Ἐνθ' ἦ τοι Μίνωα ἴδον, Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱόν,  
 χρύσειον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα κέκυσσιν,  
 ἡμενον· οἱ δέ μιν ἀμφὶ ἕκασ εἴροιτο ἄνακτα,  
 ἡμεῖοι ἑσταότες τε, κατ' εὐρυπύλῃς Ἄϊδος ἔω.*

Now Harrison, commenting upon the recurrent depiction of certain characters like Rhadamanthys and Minos as counselors in the hereafter, remarks, "all canonical denizens of the underworld are hero and heroine figures of the older stratum of the population."<sup>63</sup> Nilsson goes even further when he claims that Elysium represents a pre-Greek conception of the Afterlife, whereas the Underworld represents a Greek conception.<sup>64</sup> According to this interpretation, we discover that Crete is associated with both contrasting conceptions of the Afterlife.

Menelaos is linked in the Odyssey not only with the Elysian Field, but with two rationalizations of that ideal. Nilsson, for example, notes that in Greek poetry the concept of Elysium began to converge with the idea of fabulous lands located at the edges of the world, "where the righteous and pious lived in a closer communion with the gods than other men, such as the Hyperboreans, the Ethiopians, etc."<sup>65</sup> We remember the Aethiopians as the peoples whom Zeus feasts among in the Iliad (I.423-427), and whom Poseidon visits in the Odyssey (I. 22-26, V. 282-283); yet they also play a part in Menelaos' wanderings (IV. 84). In fact, the Aethiopians appear as one of the two peoples included in

Menelaos' account of his adventures, but not included either in Odysseus' Fabulous Wanderings or in his Cretan Lies.

Nilsson also recalls a passage from Hesiod's Works and Days which describes the Isles of the Blessed (another name for the Elysian Field) as a place which bears fruit three times a year.<sup>6</sup> In his description of Libya, Menelaos uses a similar image to convey the abundance he found there: "τρὶς γὰρ τίκτει μῆλα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἑνιαυτόν" (IV. 86: cf. 85-89). In Odyssey IV, therefore, Homer associates Menelaos directly and indirectly with the Elysian Field.

One other point needs to be mentioned. Lord suggests that Menelaos' wanderings are not simply the prototype, but the source for Odyssey X-XI: "if the return of Agamemnon has been a potent influence in shaping the part of the Odyssey that concerns Telemachos, the return of Menelaos, narrated in the Nostoi and in Book 4 of the Odyssey, has been effective in fashioning the Circe and Underworld episodes."<sup>67</sup> This theory not only parallels my own ideas regarding the possible influence of a pre-Homeric tradition about Menelaos upon the composition of the Odyssey, but provides yet another connection between Menelaos and the Afterlife in this poem. Homer himself explains why this association exists--Menelaos' status is bound up with Helen, who, according to Nilsson, is originally a pre-Greek vegetation goddess.<sup>68</sup> Menelaos' indirect association with Crete and his various links with the Afterlife in the Odyssey appear, therefore, to predate and influence Homer.

The Lie to Penelope:

Idomeneus, the Symbolism of Crete, and Odysseus' Return

There is a land called Crete in the middle of the  
wine-dark sea....

Odysseus to Penelope,  
Odyssey XIX. 172

Idomeneus

The Lie to Penelope is the final and most revealing of the Cretan Lies, for, while it functions as an independent entity, it also offers insight into the transformation of Odysseus' lies from Books XIII-XIX, the development of Odysseus' identity during this time, and Crete's symbolism as it relates specifically to the return of the hero.

One of the most provocative elements in the Cretan Lies is the relationship Odysseus claims with Idomeneus, the Cretan king and surviving legitimate descendant of Minos. Like each one of Odysseus' general claims, the alleged relationship between Odysseus and Idomeneus reveals simultaneously the similarities within the framework of the three Cretan Lies and also the lies' subtle, but very significant, differences: for, although Idomeneus' role remains essentially static throughout the lies, Odysseus' position in regard to Idomeneus changes with each lie, reflecting the gradual stages of Odysseus' self-revelation.

In the Lie to Athena, Odysseus claims that Idomeneus and his family expected submission from "Odysseus" and, failing to obtain that, attempted to resort to violence

(XIII. 259-266):

I fled, because I murdered Idomeneus' own son,  
Orsilochos, swift of feet, who in wide Crete  
Surpassed enterprising men by the swiftness of his  
feet.

He wanted to deprive me of all my booty  
From Troy--on account of which I suffered grief in  
my heart,

As I cut my way through the wars of men and the  
grievous waves--

For I did not honor and serve his father  
In the land of the Trojans, but led other companions.

φεύγω, ἐπεὶ φίλον νῆα κατέκτανον Ἴδομενῆος,  
Ὀρσίλοχον πόδας ὠκύν, ὃς ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ  
ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς νῆα ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι,  
οὐνεκά με στερέσαι τῆς ληΐδος ἤθελε πάσης  
Τρωάδος, τῆς εἴνεκ' ἐγὼ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῶ,  
ἀνδρῶν τε πολέμους ἀλεγυνά τε κύματα πείρων,  
οὐνεκ' ἄρ' οὐχ ᾧ πατρὶ χαριζόμενος θεράπευον  
δήμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων, ἀλλ' ἄλλων ἄρχον ἐταίρων.

Odysseus emphasizes in this first tale the themes of oppres-  
sion, alienation, and revenge. Yet only a short time later  
to Eumaios, Odysseus describes himself as Idomeneus' peer

(XIV. 235-239):

But when far-seeing Zeus devised  
That hateful journey, which broke the legs from  
under many men,  
Then they urged me and glorious Idomeneus  
To lead with the ships into Ilion. Nor was there any  
Way to refuse, for the harsh talk of the people con-  
strained us.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν γε στυγερὴν ὁδὸν εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς  
ἐφράσαθ', ἣ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσε,  
δὴ τότε ἔμ' ἦνωγον καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἴδομενῆα  
νῆεσσ' ἠγήσασθαι ἐς Ἴλιον· οὐδέ τι μῆχος  
ἦεν ἀνήνασθαι, χαλεπή δ' ἔχε δήμου φήμις.

In the Lie to Eumaios, therefore, the themes of common enter-  
prise and suffering replace those of rivalry and revenge.

Finally, to Penelope Odysseus claims that he is Idomeneus' brother (XIX. 181-184):

Deucalion bore me and king Idomeneus.  
But he (Idomeneus) had gone in his curved ships  
with the  
Sons of Atreus to Ilion. My noble name is Aethon:  
I am the younger by birth, whereas he is older and  
nobler.

*Δευκαλίων δ' ἐμὲ τίκτε καὶ Ἰδομενεῖα ἄνακτα·  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήεσσι κορωνίσιν Ἴλιον εἶσω  
οἶχεθ' ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν, ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων,  
ὀπλότερος γενεῆ· ὁ δ' ἄρα πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων.*

No longer is there any conflict with Idomeneus; in fact, Odysseus voluntarily calls Idomeneus "nobler" (184). Then, too, Odysseus not only describes himself as a prominent Cretan leader, but implies that he was, before falling upon difficult times, the second most powerful person on Crete. Odysseus' progressive rise in social status throughout the course of his lies, culminating in his alleged kinship with Idomeneus in the final Cretan Lie, indicates that Odysseus desires to present himself to Penelope as most like "the real Odysseus" as possible. The lie is now becoming Odysseus.

Why does Odysseus specifically choose Idomeneus, rather than some other hero, as his counterpart in the Cretan Lies? We know, for example, that Idomeneus never appears in the action of the Odyssey and that, with the exception of Odysseus' lies, the Cretan hero is mentioned only twice: in Nestor's account of the Greek homecoming from Troy (III. 191-192) and in Eumaios' recollection of the tale told to him by the lying Aetolian (XIV. 378-385).<sup>69</sup> We must, there-

fore, turn our attention to what is unique about Idomeneus as a hero in the Iliad and as a returning warrior in the Odyssey.

The passage of time plays a part in Odysseus' choice of Idomeneus. Neither of these men can boast that they were among the younger heroes of the war. Yet, even in the Iliad, it is clear that Idomeneus is several years older than Odysseus--an age difference Odysseus later accounts for in the Odyssey, when he describes Idomeneus as "πρότερος" to Penelope (XIX. 184). In Iliad XIII Homer refers to Idomeneus as "half-grey" (361: "μεσαιπόλιός") and later shows the Cretan king appealing to his lost youth before an encounter with Aeneas, a much younger hero (481-486). During the Funeral Games, the lesser Ajax goes so far as to ridicule Idomeneus by pointing out that the Cretan's age and eyesight put him at a disadvantage when compared to the rest of the Greeks (XXIII. 474-481). Yet, it is in terms of speed that we find the most revealing comparison of Odysseus and Idomeneus. When Idomeneus retreats before Deiphobos in Iliad XIII, Homer notes that the hero's feet can no longer carry him quickly out of the fighting (515: "οὐκέτι ῥίμφα"). By contrast, Odysseus is renowned for his swiftness and even wins first prize in the foot-race during the Funeral Games, despite the fact that he is much older than the other contestants (XXIII. 740-792). And yet in the Odyssey, when Odysseus boasts to the Phaeacians of his athletic prowess, he apologizes specifically for his lack of speed in the foot-

race and explains that his years at sea have weakened his legs (VIII. 230-233). In the time it has taken for Odysseus to return to Ithaca from Troy, Odysseus has aged in such a way that he now appears in the Odyssey as old as Idomeneus was in the Iliad.

Idomeneus' reputation also proves important to Odysseus. In the Iliad, Idomeneus ranks among the major heroes of the Trojan War. We are introduced to the Cretan king at some length in the Catalogue of Ships, where we learn simultaneously of his power over his subjects and the strength of his contingent (II. 645-652):

Idomeneus, the spear-famed, had command over the  
Cretans  
Who held Cnossos and walled Gortyn,  
Lyktos, Miletus, and chalky Lykastos,  
Phaestos and Rhytion, all well-established towns,  
And the others who lived around 100-citied Crete.  
Of these Idomeneus, the spear-famed, had command  
And Meriones, like man-slaying Enyalios.  
With them eighty black ships followed.

Κρητῶν δ' Ἴδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευει,  
οἱ Κνωσὸν τ' εἶχον Γόρτυν τε τειχιόεσσαν,  
Λύκτον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Λύκαστον  
Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε, πόλεις εὖ ναιετώσασ,  
ἄλλοι θ' οἱ Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν ἀμφερέμοντο.  
τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἴδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευε  
Μηριόνης τ' ἀτάλαντος Ἐνναλίφ ἀνδρειφόντη·  
τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' ὀγδώκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

Only three other heroes command as extensive a force as Idomeneus: Agamemnon with one hundred ships (576), Nestor with ninety (602), and Diomedes with eighty (568). When Agamemnon approaches Idomeneus in Iliad IV, he announces voluntarily that he honors the Cretan king "beyond...the

fast-mounted Danaans, whether in war or in some other endeavor or at the feast" (257-259: "περὶ...Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων / ἡμῶν ἐνὶ πολέμῳ ἢ δ' ἄλλοίω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ / ἢ δ' ἐν δαίθ'...").

Idomeneus frequently appears in action with the Aiantes or is associated in some way with Agamemnon, Nestor, Diomedes, and Odysseus. But the crowning point of Idomeneus' career occurs in Iliad XIII with the celebration of his "aristeia," when he rallies the Greeks demoralized by Hector's successful attack on their ships (93-575). In the Odyssey, therefore, when Odysseus mentions Idomeneus in the course of his lying tales, he expects that his audience will be familiar with Idomeneus' reputation and will be predisposed, as a result, to credit and admire Odysseus' alleged identity.

Another characteristic of Idomeneus in the Iliad is his close association with the Cretan hero, Meriones. The two heroes are first described together in the Catalogue of Ships; later, Idomeneus' "aristeia" is shared in large part by Meriones, and their individual personalities are revealed primarily through the dialogue they have with one another in Iliad XIII (246-329). Yet, although comrades-in-arms, Meriones is called Idomeneus' "ὀπάων"--a term which indicates Meriones' subordinate position;<sup>70</sup> furthermore, while Idomeneus ranks among the foremost fighters in the Iliad, Meriones appears usually with the minor heroes.

In the Odyssey, there is no mention of Meriones or his association with Idomeneus. Instead, Idomeneus becomes associated with Odysseus--and in the Cretan Lies Odysseus, to

a certain extent, assumes Meriones' role. The lies always portray "Odysseus" as subordinate to the Cretan king, yet powerful enough to lead a contingent to Troy (XIII.265-266; XIV. 235-239). [In the Lie to Penelope, Odysseus claims that he is related to Idomeneus; although Homer never specifies whether Idomeneus and Meriones are kinsmen, later accounts refer to them as cousins (Diod. V. 79.4) or even as half-brothers, indicating that Meriones is Deucalion's illegitimate son (Apolloed. III. 3.1)<sup>71</sup>--a point which reminds us that Odysseus earlier claimed to Eumaios to be the son of a powerful Cretan and a concubine (XIV. 200-204)]. Odysseus, furthermore, shares several characteristics with Meriones. One is their ability in an ambush situation. For instance, both Meriones and Odysseus volunteer for the night raid in Iliad X and, when Odysseus is chosen, Meriones offers his own weapons and helmet to the victorious hero (228-232, 260-271); later, Idomeneus praises Meriones at length for his courage in ambush (XIII. 277: "ἐξ λόχου" and 285: "λόχου"). Odysseus, in his Lie to Athena, carefully describes how he "lay in wait" (XIII. 268: "λοχησάμενος") for Orsilochos and murdered him in the fields at night; later, when recalling his youth for Eumaios, Odysseus boasts of his lack of fear in choosing the best men for an ambush (XIV. 217: "λόχουδε"). Meriones and Odysseus both excel in archery as well as in spear-throwing; Meriones participates in these events during the Funeral Games in the Iliad (XXIII. 859-897), while Odysseus boasts to Alcinoos in the Odyssey of his prowess at these contests

(VIII. 214-229). Finally, both Meriones and Odysseus are linked by their relation to the boar's tooth helmet, stolen at one time by Odysseus' maternal grandfather, Autolykos, then passed down eventually to Cretan Molos, and to his son, Meriones (Iliad X. 266-271). To conclude, the relationship which existed between Idomeneus and Meriones during the Trojan War furnishes Odysseus with a convenient model around which to frame his Cretan Lies. Since mention of Idomeneus begs reference to his companion, Meriones, Odysseus subtly manipulates his audience's expectation by assuming a role very similar to Meriones', thus enhancing his own credibility. But, since Meriones and Odysseus already share several characteristics, Odysseus can mirror Meriones' identity and his own simultaneously.

Nevertheless, the role of the Cretan heroes in the Iliad is significantly less spectacular than we might expect, given the strength of their naval contingent in the Catalogue of Ships. The characteristization of both Idomeneus and Meriones remains, instead, superficial. Homer's brief treatment of these heroes, and in particular of Idomeneus, however, offers Odysseus a distinct advantage in his Cretan Lies--for Odysseus' audience know enough about Idomeneus to respect Odysseus, but not enough to suspect Odysseus. The hero of the Odyssey is able to construct his false identity around a set of widely-known, yet sparse, details.

Idomeneus' homecoming plays a significant role for Homer in the creation of the Cretan Lies. Here we must turn

to the two passages in the first half of the Odyssey, which refer to the Cretan king. According to Nestor, Idomeneus is one of the few Greek heroes to return home safely and quickly (III. 191-192):

Idomeneus brought to Crete all his companions,  
Who escaped from the war; the sea did not deprive  
him of any.

*πάντας ὃ' Ἰδομενεὺς Κρήτην εἰσήγαγ' ἑταίρους,  
οἳ φύγον· ἐκ πολέμου, πόντος δὲ οἱ οὐ τιμ' ἀπήύρα.*

Idomeneus' homecoming appears doubly blessed: for he avoids the fate of being murdered in his own home, like Agamemnon, and the fate of being driven for years from coast to coast, like Odysseus or Menelaos. Furthermore, since Idomeneus presumably arrived in Crete ten years before the Odyssey begins, his return is considered common knowledge in the poem. Nestor, for example, appeals to hearsay in his description of Idomeneus' voyage and promises to tell Telemachos "as much as I have heard while sitting in our halls" (III. 186-187: "ὅσσα δ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι καθήμενος ἡμετέροισι / πεύθομαι"); Nestor, in other words, passes his knowledge on to Telemachos in the same way he once received it. Homer gives us in the Aetolian's Tale another indication of the story's familiarity. Since this account does not coincide with Odysseus' description of his Fabulous Wanderings, the Aetolian must have created his fiction around a known fact, the return of Idomeneus. This is precisely Odysseus' own technique, one which lends credibility to his words. And yet, Odysseus' alleged relationship with Idomeneus contains a subtle irony. While the Cretan Lies

reveal the disparity between the fates of the beggar and of Idomeneus, the truth is that Odysseus has in fact returned to Ithaca and is even now planning how best to regain his hearth. Odysseus' return, like Idomeneus' ten years before, is almost safely at an end.

#### The Symbolism of Crete and the Return of the Hero

The most obvious and potentially valuable detail about Idomeneus, at least as far as the lies are concerned, is his recognized association with Crete. The significance of this island becomes more apparent with every lie, particularly when in the Lie to Penelope Odysseus offers for the first time what Van der Valk refers to as a "learned excursus" about Crete, a passage describing the island's appearance, peoples, cities, and history (see pp. 28 and 40 above). Two questions come to mind when we consider Odyssey XIX. 172ff. Aside from the Cretan reputation for lying, what symbolism is involved in Odysseus' choice of Crete as his fictitious home in the lies? And why, apart from Van der Valk's suggestion that the "learned excursus" appeals to Penelope's curiosity and intellect, does the detailed description of Crete occur in the final lie?

In an attempt to isolate the symbolism surrounding Crete in the lies, we must first compare Crete with both Ithaca and Scheria. When Odysseus claims to be from Crete, his allegation leads us to compare his ostensible home with his actual home. Several similarities immediately come to

mind. Both Crete and Ithaca are islands, accessible only by sea. In fact, the difficulty of arriving safely in either country functions as part of the Odyssean theme: according to both Nestor and Odysseus, destructive winds habitually threaten the approach to Crete (see pp. 18, 50 above); and, it is within sight of Ithaca that Aeolos' bag of winds is released (X. 28-49), driving Odysseus away again and compelling him to endure ten years of suffering before his return to Ithaca in Book XIII. Both Crete and Ithaca, on the other hand, are fertile producers of grain, wine, and cattle. Just as Ithaca is identified by its mountain, Neritos, so the mountains of Crete define that island's contour.<sup>72</sup> Access to both lands is achieved by way of a harbor, adjacent to which stands a cave sacred to a female divinity: the Cretan goddess Eileithyia at Amnisos (XIX. 188-189) and the Naiads on Ithaca (XIII. 103-104, 347-348). Furthermore, Crete and Ithaca are civilized and share similar political as well as social institutions. Both countries sent contingents to Troy under the leadership of their respective kings: Idomeneus from Crete, Odysseus from Ithaca. And finally, Odysseus' description of the relationship which once existed between Cretan Minos and Zeus--he specifically refers to Minos as the "Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς" (XIX. 179: "the converser with great Zeus")--reminds us of Odysseus' own affinity to the goddess Athena. The details which Odysseus emphasizes about Crete could, in other words, also characterize Ithaca.

Odysseus' description of Crete in the lies also

contains reminiscences of Scheria, the home of the Phaeacians. At first, the plot of the Odyssey necessitates this comparison. When Odysseus encounters Athena on Ithaca, he has just returned from Scheria, where he has been given suitable clothes and a wealth of gifts. Because he cannot conceal these possessions, Odysseus implies that these constitute the part of his Trojan booty which he was able to smuggle out of Crete after his murder of Orsilochos (XIII. 257-259, 262-263); in an effort to demythologize his adventures, Odysseus effectively substitutes Crete for Scheria. By the time Odysseus lies to Penelope, however, the comparison between Scheria and Crete is conditioned less by the plot of the Odyssey and more by Odysseus' own choice. In the Lie to Penelope, Crete becomes the model of hospitality (XIX. 194-202, 341-243), a theme which Odysseus increasingly emphasizes and associates with himself.<sup>73</sup> The details concerning Aethon's supposed entertainment of "the real Odysseus" on Crete echo Odysseus' actual reception on Scheria: the perilous sea voyage, the near destruction within the harbor, the encounter with a younger member of the royal family, the abundant entertainment provided by the king and townspeople, the delayed departure.<sup>74</sup> For Odysseus, these details painfully underline the inadequacy of his reception on Ithaca.

Other points of comparison exist between Crete and Scheria. One of these is location. Both countries are far-away, isolated, and yet accessible. Homer, in his description of the Phaeacians, places Scheria "far from enterprising

men" (VI. 8: "ἔκδ' ἀνδρῶν ἀλφειστάων"), a distance Nausicaa later elaborates upon, when she says (VI. 204-205):

We live far away on the surging sea,  
The most remote of peoples; nor do other men have  
dealings with us.

*οἰκέμεν δ' ἀπάρευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,  
ἔσχατοι, οὐδέ τις ἄμμι βροτῶν ἐπιμίγγεται ἄλλος.*

By comparison, in his first words to Athena, Odysseus claims to have heard of Ithaca "καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ, τηλοῦ ὑπὲρ πόντου" (XIII. 256-257); to Penelope, Odysseus adds that Crete is "surrounded by water" (XIX. 173: "περίρρυτος") and located "in the middle of the wine-dark sea" (XIX. 172: "μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ"). The isolation of Scheria accounts for the Phaeacians' confidence at home and at sea: they fear neither foreign invasion (VI. 200-203) nor any harm to their ships under sail (VIII. 562-563). Like the Phaeacians, the Cretans in Odysseus' lies appear free from external threat and direct their aggression, for the most part, against foreigners (XIV. 230-231). Finally, the Phaeacians are not entirely cut off from human contact, for various strangers--like Odysseus and Rhadamanthys--wander to Scheria and are willingly conveyed to their desired destinations, no matter how far away (VII. 321-324). Crete, although lying at a considerable distance from Ithaca, is nonetheless a manageable voyage. In his Lie to Penelope, Odysseus claims, in fact, that "the real Odysseus" journeyed to Crete twenty years before. Just as he actually visits Scheria in his Fabulous Wanderings, so Odysseus assigns himself a visit to Crete in his lies.

There are a number of reasons why Crete's location plays a prominent role in the Cretan Lies. The first can be found among the scholia to the Odyssey (at XIV. 199):

He (Odysseus) claims to be fleeing disgrace from that place (Crete)  
Because it is far from Greece.

ἐντεῦθεν δέ φησιν εἶναι  
φεύγων τὸν ἔλεγχον  
ἐπεὶ πόρρο τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Odysseus' story, in other words, must be accepted on face value, since verification would require too much time and difficulty; in his allegations, Odysseus finds security in the very distance of Crete from Ithaca. The location of Crete also demands that its people acquire an easy familiarity with the sea--a proficiency which Odysseus, as an island-dweller originally, has certainly mastered after ten years at sea, but which he claims, in his Lie to Eumaios, to have learned on Crete (XIV. 222-234). Stanford even goes so far as to say, "...from the time of the naval supremacy of Minos, the Minoan Cretans were also renowned as adventurous sailors and raiders: that is no doubt why Odysseus assumes their nationality."<sup>76</sup>

Yet, despite Crete's proverbial reputation for sea-faring, there is a further explanation for the importance of Crete's location within the lies. Odysseus, by substituting Crete for Scheria, can describe an essentially psychic phenomenon in terms of geographic distance. Segal, in his article on the Phaeacians, shows that Homer represents Scheria as a stepping-stone between the fantasy world of the Fabulous Wanderings and the real world of Ithaca: the land of the Phaea-

cians simultaneously subsumes and stands removed from both of these worlds.<sup>77</sup> In *Odysseus' Cretan Lies* the physical location of Crete is, to some extent, a symbol of Scheria's mediation within the poem and within *Odysseus'* experience. *Odysseus* designs Crete to bridge geographic, heroic, and historic distances--Crete becomes a stepping-stone between Scheria and Ithaca, echoing and anticipating his experiences on both. We have discussed some of the similarities between Ithaca and Crete as well as between Crete and Scheria. Now we must consider the differences: for, like Homer's Scheria, the Crete which *Odysseus* describes simultaneously transcends and pales before the reality which Ithaca represents. As we shall see, Crete has the same relationship to Ithaca as Scheria has to Crete.

Crete can be described as older, more famous, richer, more organized, and (in a certain sense) closer to the gods than Ithaca. When Athena challenges *Odysseus* early in *Odyssey* XIII by explaining that Ithaca is known "all the way to Troy" (248-249), she implies, although coyly omitting any mention of *Odysseus'* name, that Ithaca would not be known were it not for *Odysseus*. Indeed, *Odysseus* is both hero and bard of Ithaca--the man whose actions and words have spread Ithaca's fame throughout the known and the mythical worlds. Such is not the case with Crete, where Idomeneus lives and rules. Although famous in his own right, Idomeneus possesses an even more impressive genealogy, one which *Odysseus* capitalizes upon in his Lie to Penelope when claiming to be related to the Cretan

king (XIX. 178-181): for Idomeneus traces his descent from Deucalion, the son of Minos, the son of Zeus.<sup>78</sup> In addition, Odysseus sees some of Idomeneus' relatives in Hades--Phaedra and Ariadne among the Heroines of the Past (XI. 321-325), as well as Minos judging the dead (XI. 568-571)--further evidence of the Cretan royal family's antiquity in oral tradition. Contrast this genealogy with Odysseus' paternal descent from Laertes, son of Arkeisios. Throughout most of the Odyssey Laertes is portrayed as a simple, helpless old man, whose responsibilities have long since been passed on to Odysseus, and hence to Telemachos and Eumaios; Arkeisios is no more than a name to us in the Odyssey,<sup>79</sup> and entirely without mention in the Iliad. It is apparent, therefore, that Crete's fame precedes and transcends Ithaca's.

The same may be said about the civilization on Crete. In his lies, Odysseus continually emphasizes the wealth of his fictitious home, not only with regard to his own possessions, but to the public resources (XIX. 197-202) and to the fertility of the land itself. Moreover, there is something grand about the organization of Crete with its ninety cities, its numerous peoples and tongues, and its great city Cnossos--all of the details in Odysseus' "learned excursus," which have no parallel in any of the Iliadic or Odyssean descriptions of Ithaca (Iliad II. 200-202; Odyssey IV. 605-608, IX. 19-28, XIII. 241-249).<sup>80</sup> A final example of Crete's uniqueness can be found in the relationship Odysseus claims Minos had with Zeus. By describing Minos, not as Zeus' son, but as the

"ὄαριστής" of Zeus--a word found nowhere else in Homer--  
 Odysseus emphasizes a type of familiarity between gods and men,  
 an intimacy associated with a more heroic past.<sup>81</sup> We may even  
 feel that Odyssey XIX. 179 contains some hint of another  
 Cretan topos, one which views Crete as the earliest model of  
 Greek civilization; later writers certainly did, for they  
 often pointed to this line as evidence that Zeus--long associa-  
 ted with Crete as the land of his birth (and death!)--first  
 handed down laws to his sons Minos and Rhadamanthys, who in  
 turn became exemplars of justice to the Greek world. (This  
 topos, although probably reflected in the Homeric references  
 to Minos and Rhadamanthys, will be discussed in my section on  
 Vergil's Aeneid III see pp. 126-32 below .)

But if Crete "surpasses" Ithaca, Scheria "surpasses"  
 Crete for similar reasons. In the sense that Scheria strides  
 the worlds of myth and reality, the land of the Phaeacians  
 cannot be categorized in exclusively historical terms. The  
 Phaeacians are mortal and, therefore, subject to death  
 (VI. 11; VII. 64-66). Yet, they are former neighbors of the  
 Cyclops (VI. 4-6), who inhabit the world of Odysseus'  
 Fabulous Wanderings; the Phaeacian ships too seem almost immune  
 to the vicissitudes of the sea and time (VII. 317-326; XIII.  
 109-113). As for the fame of her people, Nausicaa brags  
 (VII. 108-110):

As much as the Phaeacian men are skilled beyond  
 others  
 In gliding a swift ship on the sea, so the women  
 Are skilled at the loom.

ὄσσον Φαίηκες περὶ πάντων ἴδριες ἀνδρῶν  
 νῆα θοὴν ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἐλαυνέμεν, ὡς δὲ γυρταῖκες  
 ἰστῶν τεχνῆσσαι

Austin describes Scheria as "the showplace of the arts," "the paradigm of the ideal community, in which human craftsmanship is united with natural advantages."<sup>82</sup> In terms of wealth and organization too, Scheria provides a model which Crete can only imitate. Odysseus' claims of his former prosperity on Crete represent a diluted reminiscence of the splendor of Alcinoos' palace; the number of slaves in the king's household, the variety and generosity of the gifts bestowed upon Odysseus by the Phaeacians, the arrangement of the harbor and assembly hall on Scheria (VI. 262-269; VII. 43-45), as well as the layout of the courtyard to Alcinoos' palace (VII. 112-132) only provide further evidences that the Phaeacian society is unparalleled in the Odyssey. The special significance of the Phaeacians is emphasized, moreover, in their relationship with the gods. Not only do Alcinoos and Arete trace their descent back to Poseidon and Periboea, daughter of the Giant Eurymedon (VII. 54-66), but all the Phaeacians themselves claim to be related to the gods: "for we are near kin to them, like the Cyclops and the wild tribes of the Giants" (VII. 205-206: "... ἐπεὶ σφισιν ἔγγυθον εἰμέν, / ὡς περ Κύκλωπές τε καὶ ἄγρια φύλα Γιγάντων). Alcinoos explains that the gods reveal themselves in their own forms to the Phaeacians and even join them at the feasts. Musing over the possibility that Odysseus may be a god in disguise, Alcinoos says (VII. 199-205):

But if some one of the gods has come down from heaven,  
 Then this is some other matter which the gods are  
 contriving:  
 For always before this time, the gods have revealed  
 themselves clearly  
 To us--when we perform magnificent sacrifices--  
 And dine among us, sitting where we sit.  
 If some traveler, on his solitary trip, encounters  
 (one of the gods),  
 They do not conceal their identity, since we are near  
 kin to them....

*εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλουθεν,  
 ἄλλο τι δὴ τόδ' ἔπειτα θεοὶ περιμηχανόωνται.  
 αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ πάρος γε θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐταργεῖς  
 ἡμῖν, εὖτ' ἔρδωμεν ἀγακλειτὰς ἐκατόμβας,  
 δαίνυνταί τε παρ' ἄμμι καθήμενοι ἔνθα περ ἡμεῖς.  
 εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ μόνος ἴων ξύμβληται ὀδίτης,  
 οὐ τι κατακρύπτουσι, ἐπεὶ σφισιν ἔγγυθεν εἰμέν,...*

When Odysseus later describes Minos' relationship with Zeus, therefore, he also recalls the unique intimacy between the Phaeacians and the gods. Scheria stands as the model civilization in the Odyssey.

We have so far been discussing why Odysseus represents Crete as his fictitious home in the lies; now we must consider the selection of Crete from Homer's point of view. Scholars, ever since Evans' remarkable discoveries on Crete at the turn of the century, have been convinced that Homer's Scheria contains reminiscences of Minoan Crete.<sup>83</sup> They point to: Arete's power (VII. 63-77); the relationship between Alcinoos and his niece, Arete, as a rationalization of the brother-sister marriage sanctioned by the rules of matriarchal endogamy (VII. 54-56); the reference to "κυάνος," an imitation lapis lazuli, derived from Egypt by way of Crete (VII. 87); the story of Rhadamanthys' conveyance and the distance to Euboea (VII. 87); the soft and luxurious living of the Phaeacians (VIII.

246-250); their love of games and dance (VIII. 100-102, 250-253, 370-380); and the pervading imagery of seafaring. This idea becomes even more compelling when we consider that Odysseus' Crete contains reminiscences of Scheria. Homer and his bardic hero, in other words, display the complementary processes of oral composition. While Homer's Scheria represents the conversion of historical remembrance to the realm of fantasy, Odysseus' Crete represents the "demythologization" of that fantasy to the realm of historical reality.

Finally, why, apart from the symbolic significance of Crete, does Odysseus offer a lengthy description of his fictitious home only in the Lie to Penelope? Throughout the course of the Cretan Lies, we are able to trace Odysseus' growing emphasis on such concerns as "home," "return," and "the real Odysseus." The description of Crete in the final lie forms the culmination of this process. If we consider that Odysseus' Lie to Penelope essentially divides into four separate narratives (XIX. 165-202, 221-248, 262-307, 336-342), we discover that the first section--with its "learned excursus," its interest in tracing Idomeneus' genealogy, its details concerning how "the real Odysseus" came to and was received in Crete--is almost entirely devoted to a description of Odysseus' fictitious home, Crete.

To a large extent this lie is designed, as Van der Valk suggests, to appeal to Penelope's sympathy and to provide what she wishes to hear. But on another level, the detail in this narrative is possible only after Odysseus has spent time on

Ithaca, revealed himself to Telemachos, visited his palace and property, and stood before his wife again. Before this, Odysseus' accounts emphasized his adventures and sufferings: his Fabulous Wanderings in the tale to the Phaeacians; the violence leading to his exile in the Lie to Athena; his travels throughout Egypt, Phoenicia, and Thesprotia in the Lie to Eumaios. Now in response to Penelope's question of his origin (XIX. 162), Odysseus generalizes his adventures as an introduction to his account and then plunges into his description of Crete (XIX. 165-172):

Respected wife of Odysseus, son of Laertes,  
 Will you no longer cease asking about my origin?  
 I will tell you right out; yet you will give me to  
     sorrows  
 More than I have--for such is the way things are when  
 A man has been away from his country as long as I have  
     now,  
 Wandering through many cities of men, and suffering  
 griefs.  
 But even so I will tell you what you ask me and inquire  
 about.  
 There is a land called Crete in the middle of the  
     wine-dark sea....

*“ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος,  
 οὐκέτι' ἀπολλήξεις τὸν ἐμὸν γόνον ἐξερέουσα;  
 ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω· ἦ μὲν μ' ἀχέεσσι γε δώσεις  
 πλείοσιν ἢ ἔχομαι· ἢ γὰρ οὐκίη, ὅππότε πατρὸς  
 ἦς ἀπέησιν ἀνὴρ τόσσον χρόνον ὅσσον ἐγὼ νῦν,  
 πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστε' ἀλώμενος, ἄλγεα πάσχων.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐρέω ὃ μ' ἀνείρρει ἠδὲ μεταλλῆς.  
 Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,*

This pattern of lament for his sufferings followed by an account of his origin is reminiscent of Odysseus' opening words to the Phaeacians (IX. 12-36) and reminds us that on Scheria Odysseus follows the same progression from anonymous

beggar to delayed revelation which characterize that part of the epic containing the Cretan Lies. The lament for his sufferings and the account of his origin represent an advanced stage in the reassertion of Odysseus' identity and precedes both Odysseus' pronouncement of his own name after four books of silence (V-IX) and later Homer's celebration of Odysseus' scar (XIX. 386ff.). Just as his rehearsal to the Phaeacians of his Fabulous Wanderings earns Odysseus a more prosperous return and allows Odysseus his final adventure--Ithaca--so his "remembrance" of home and self simultaneously wins Odysseus the opportunity and reflects his ability to regain both. The Cretan Lies, in this sense, encompass and transcend all previous modes of storytelling with which we have become familiar in the Odyssey. It is unlike either the third-person narratives of the professional bards, Phemius and Demodokos,<sup>84</sup> or the autobiographies of Menelaos, Helen, and the ghost of Agamemnon--all of which look only to the past--or even Odysseus' own account of his Fabulous Wanderings, which Homer has Odysseus narrate in the first-person in order to reveal what the hero has learned in the course of his adventures. The Cretan Lies are a poetry of reflection and growth, in which the hero continually plays the storyteller, and the storyteller gradually becomes the hero.

We see Odysseus' gradual self-revelation presented in several ways. One is, of course, Odysseus' rise in social status throughout the Cretan Lies, culminating in his alleged kinship with Idomeneus. Another is the assumption of a name, Aethon, in his final lie (XIX. 183);<sup>85</sup> before Odyssey XIX

Odysseus is simply the beggar from Crete, an anonymous stranger in a world which regards a person's name and genealogy as the indicator of his identity. But Aethon's life is not the subject of this final lie; as we mentioned before, Odysseus, in the guise of Aethon, offers Penelope no explanation for why he left Crete, how he arrived on Ithaca, or what sufferings he encountered in between (see pp. 29-31 above). The focus of this account, therefore, resembles that of Odysseus' three lies to his enemies in Books XVII-XIX--to the suitors Antinoos (XVII. 415-444) and Amphinomos (XVIII. 125-150), and to Penelope's treacherous servant, Melantho (XIX. 71-88)--where Odysseus shows a predominant concern with "the real Odysseus."<sup>86</sup> This interest in "the real Odysseus," furthermore, focuses upon two central points in the life of "the real Odysseus": his "recent" departure from Ithaca twenty years before, an incident which Odysseus recalls in his description of the entertainment Aethon offered Penelope's husband on Crete; and his "imminent" arrival on Ithaca, the subject of Odysseus' famous prophecy to Penelope (XIX. 300-307). In the Lie to Penelope, with its minimization of Aethon and Aethon's suffering and with its emphasis on "home," "return," and the hero, we begin finding it difficult to distinguish Odysseus from "the real Odysseus," the narrator from the narration. Odysseus' portrayal is but a single step from Odysseus revealed. It is no wonder that, shortly after the last Cretan Lie, Eurykleia sees her master's scar and recognizes Odysseus.

### Conclusion

John Barth, speaking of the tales told by another famous storyteller, Scheherazade, makes the significant distinction between her stories and what we commonly think of as "lies." "They're too important to be lies. Fictions maybe-- but truer than fact."<sup>87</sup> These words apply equally well to Odysseus' Cretan Lies and summarize the complex associations bound up with the lies. Homer has bequeathed to his hero his gift for oral poetry. Odysseus' tales, like Homer's poem itself, are created around a recognizable framework of recurrent themes, phrases, and concerns--those very similarities within the Cretan Lies which first attract our attention. And yet Odysseus' genius, like Homer's, involves his ability to vary his tale within this framework: to appeal to the individual and collective sympathies of his audience, to entertain, to threaten, to prophesy, and (what is unique to Odysseus as hero/bard) to reveal his gradual rediscovery of his own identity in the very act of seeming to conceal it. The process of harmonizing past and future, the realms of myth and reality, self and non-self--that process which defines the lies until, as in the case of the lie to Laertes, it actually renders them unnecessary<sup>88</sup>--shows Odysseus gradually accepting and meriting his return. The contest of the bow and the slaying of the suitors are the climax in physical terms of a recreative process most brilliantly illuminated in the lies Odysseus tells about himself.

Throughout the Odyssey and the Cretan Lies in particular, Homer presents us with a generally positive depiction of Crete--one which "remembers" Crete's reputation for seafaring, her association with the Afterlife, her role as archetypal model for civilization, and which displays the Cretan royal family in light of these favorable contexts. By designing Crete to mediate between Scheria and Crete, furthermore, Homer gives a metaphorical significance to the topos that Crete functions as a geographic midway point for various heroes--including Menelaos, whom Odysseus "recalls" during his lies (see pp. 48-58 above). Finally, Homer capitalizes on the topos that Cretans are liars in order to undercut subtly the very authenticity of Odysseus' tales. Ironically, however, Crete plays such an important part in the lies of Odyssey XIII-XIX that we begin to assume that, for Odysseus, Crete and lying always belong together. As a result, when Odysseus lies to Laertes in Book XXIV, he deceives not only his father, but us as well. Just as we become accustomed to his Cretan disguise, Odysseus shatters our expectation by claiming to be Eperitos from Sicania, an area perhaps identifiable with Sicily (306-307).<sup>89</sup> Only a few lines earlier, Odysseus introduces himself to Laertes with an autobiographical sketch similar to the one he originally offered Penelope in Book XIX.<sup>90</sup> Remembering this account, we unwittingly equate both instances of guest-friendship and anticipate, once again, Odysseus' claim of Cretan identity. This simply does not occur; in fact, after Odysseus' Lie to Penelope, no further reference to Crete occurs in the poem.

We, who have grown confident in our ability to recognize Odysseus' disguise, find ourselves--like the suitors--temporarily mistaking a predictable disguise for Odysseus.

## NOTES

1. For a complete list of references to Crete and Cretan heroes in the Odyssey, see Appendix A.

2. A problem in terminology arises when we try to distinguish the Odysseus who tells the Cretan Lies from the Odysseuses portrayed in the Cretan Lies. For this reason, we shall resort to using three variations of Odysseus' name in this chapter--Odysseus, "Odysseus," and "the real Odysseus": (1) Odysseus (without quotations marks) will naturally refer to the Odyssey's bard and hero, whether he appears disguised or not; (2) "Odysseus," on the other hand, means the same thing as "Aethon" and refers to Odysseus' fictitious identity within the lies themselves; (3) "the real Odysseus," finally, is the term we shall use whenever Odysseus, in his disguise as Cretan beggar, claims in his lies to have information about the Odyssey's bard and hero--although some of his stories about "the real Odysseus" are patently false (as, for instance, his claim that "the real Odysseus" is at that moment consulting the oracle of Dodona [XIV. 327-339; XIX. 296-299]), others may very well be true or contain some element of truth (as his assertion in the Cloak Tale that "the real Odysseus" visited Crete on the way to Troy [XIX. 185ff.])).

3. These other lies would include the three Odysseus

addresses to his enemies in Books XVII-XIX (see pp. 105-106 n. 86 below), the lie to Laertes in Book XXIV (see pp. 106-107 n. 88 below), as well as the Cloak Tale in Book XIV (see p. 49 and p. 85 n. 2 above).

4. In this chapter, see pp. 40-44 (liars), p. 72 and n. 76 (sailors), pp. 56-58 (Afterlife), p. 29 ff. (halting-place), and p. 75 (civilization); for further discussion of the last three topoi, refer to my sections on Vergil's Aeneid VI and III respectively.

5. C. R. Trahman, "Odysseus' Lies (Odyssey, Books 13-19," Phoenix 6,2 (1952): 34. Two other treatments of the Cretan Lies from a much narrower perspective are provided by W. B. Stanford, "Studies in the Characterization of Ulysses--III: The Lies of Odysseys," Hermathena 75 (1950): 35-48, and by P. Walcot, "Odysseys and the Art of Lying," Ancient Society 8 (1977): 1-19. Katherine King, then a graduate student at Princeton University, presented a paper on Odysseus' lies at the annual meeting of the APA held in New York City in 1976; although I was unable to attend her presentation or to consult her manuscript later, I was advised that her examination focused primarily upon the differences between the heroes/bards, Achilles and Odysseus.

6. The term "flagging tempo" belongs to G. S. Kirk, The Songs of Homer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 360. For another critic of the lies, see Howard W. Clarke, The Art of the Odyssey (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 24-25.

7. Kirk, Songs, p. 108.
8. Tzvetan Todorov, The Poetics of Prose, trans. Richard Howard, with a new foreword by Jonathan Culler (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1977), p. 60.
9. Charles P. Segal, "The Phaeacians and the Symbolism of Odysseus' Return," Arion 1, no. 4 (1962):46.
10. The most articulate proponent of this idea is Douglas J. Stewart in his work The Disguised Guest: Rank, Role, and Identity in the Odyssey (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell Univ. Press; London: Associated Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 76-88. Segal in his "Phaeacians and Symbolism," pp. 24 and 46, discusses how Odysseus' rediscovery of his identity is a continuous process which begins on Scheria.
11. Odysseus' appeal to the truthfulness of his words is noted by Todorov, Poetics, p. 61, and by Trahman, "Odysseus' Lies," p. 38 n. 1.
12. Kirk, Songs, p. 360. Carpenter also feels that the Cretan Lies simply indicate Odysseus' love of deceit: "for no apparently more cogent reason than that Odysseus dislikes to tell the truth when a lie will serve equally well, that much traveled adventurer tells the swineherd Eumaios a yarn to cover his true identity" (Rhys Carpenter, Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics [Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1946], p. 94).

13. For a discussion of Odysseus' reputation after Homer, refer to W. B. Stanford, The Ulysses Theme, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1968), pp. 90-117.

14. Ibid., pp. 19-22. Stanford divides all lying tales into three categories--fictional, benevolent, and malevolent--and concludes that Odysseus is never guilty of telling an "unforgivable malevolent lie" to a friend in either the Iliad or the Odyssey (Stanford, "Lies of Odysseus," p. 43). Walcot, although denying that Odysseus' lies are symptomatic of any moral failing ("Art of Lying," p. 9), nevertheless devotes himself entirely to showing how lying is both praiseworthy and necessary in the Greek world.

15. One intriguing theory, which ultimately derives from a moral approach to the lies, is summarized best by Stanford ("Lies of Odysseus," pp. 44-45):

Homer never condemns any of these deceits. But he subtly shows how continued deception, even if enforced and venial, can demoralize. By the end of his Odyssean wanderings, Odysseus has become so much accustomed to deceiving and being deceived that he suspects...even the most benevolent actions ....Nor can he resist practicing his gift for imaginative fiction on his own aged father....

Stewart also subscribes to this idea and, in fact, devotes most of his book to describing how for Odysseus "caution has ceased to be a defensive device and has become an all-pervasive obsession" (Disguised Guest, p. 63). Although the approach taken by Stanford and Stewart provides a great

deal of insight into Odysseus' character throughout the Odyssey, it offers little scope for understanding the Cretan Lies specifically and seems, rather, to apply well only to Odysseus' Lie to Laertes in Book XXIV.

16. Trahman indicates that the lies spring from Odysseus' desire to conceal his identity: see Trahman, "Odysseus' Lies," p. 35.

17. See also Stewart, Disguised Guest, p. 109, and Jean Starobinski, "The Inside and the Outside," trans. Frederick Brown, The Hudson Review 28 (Autumn 1975):346.

18. Stewart, Disguised Guest, pp. 46 and 82.

19. For a diagram of these recurrent elements and their appearance in each lie, see Appendix B.

20. Later, we shall discuss why this elaborate description of Crete occurs only in the Lie to Penelope (see pp. 78-81 above). "Odysseus'" Cretan birth is, furthermore, not only the most recurrent element in the lies, but an obvious and memorable detail for introducing the beggar to others. Eumaios demonstrates this when, in his descriptions of "Odysseus" to Telemachos (XVI. 62-66) and later to Penelope (XVII. 522-527), he emphasizes not only the beggar's wide wanderings, but the claim of Cretan origin; thus, Eumaios tells Telemachos that his guest was born in Crete (XVI.62: "ἐκ μὲν κρητῶν γένος εὐχεται εὐρειῶν ") and

Penelope that the beggar "lives in Crete, where the race of Minos is (XVIII. 523: "Κρήτη ναιετάων, ὅθι Μίνως γένος ἔστίν").

21. That the success of the lies depends, in large part, on Odysseus' artful use of plausible details is noted by Trahman, "Odysseus' Lies," pp. 38-39, and by Stanford, "Lies of Odysseus," p. 44.

22. Paolo Vivante, The Homeric Imagination: A Study of Homer's Poetic Perception of Reality (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1970), p. 195. A similar sentiment is expressed by Segal in his "Phaeacians and Symbolism," p. 46.

23. When Odysseus reflects on his past, one of the first memories he brings to life is that of his family. It is only fitting that Odysseus, "Telemachos' own father" (Iliad IV. 345), be greeted on his return to Ithaca by Athena disguised as a delicate young man, "such as are the sons of kings" (Odyssey XIII. 223); practically the first words of Odysseus' Lie to Athena concern the wealth he has supposedly left to his children (XIII. 258). To Eumaios, Odysseus claims he returned briefly to Crete and enjoyed his wife, children, and possessions (XIV. 244-245); Odysseus recreates his memories of Penelope, when he brags to Eumaios that he won a wife of wealthy parents (XIV. 211). Laertes becomes "Castor" in the Lie to Eumaios (XIV. 200-208) and "Deucalion" in the Lie to Penelope (XIX. 180-181). Similarly,

Odysseus' former power and prosperity play a large part in his lies. To Athena, Odysseus claims that he led his own following to Troy (XIII. 266). In his Lie to Eumaios, Odysseus describes how his courage in battle and ambush made him feared and respected among his countrymen (XIV. 234). Power and wealth become increasingly associated in each lie, until in the Lie to Penelope, Odysseus claims to be Idomeneus' brother and relates himself to the most famous family on Crete (XIX. 178-184).

24. John Finley, Jr., Homer's Odyssey (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978), p. 45.

25. Even a person who among the people has killed  
 a single man--  
 One who has not left many avengers behind--  
 Flees that man's kinsmen and leaves his fatherland.  
 But we have killed the pillars of many houses,  
 those who were by far the best  
 Of the young men in Ithaca. I bid you to con-  
 sider these matters. (118-122)
26. But when in your halls you have slain  
 The suitors either by deceit or in the open with  
 sharp bronze,  
 Then, taking a balanced oar, go  
 Until you reach men who do not know  
 The sea, nor do they eat food prepared with salt,  
 Nor do they know red-cheeked ships,  
 Nor balanced oars, which become the wings of ships.  
 I will give you a very clear sign, nor will it  
 escape you:  
 When another traveler encounters you  
 And says that you have a winnowing-fan on your  
 glorious shoulder,  
 Right then plant your balanced oar in the earth  
 And perform acceptable sacrifices to lord  
 Poseidon.... (XI. 119-130)

27. For other discussions of how Odysseus appeals to the individual sympathies of his audience, see Walcot, "Art of Lying," pp. 9-14, and Trahman, "Odysseus' Lies," pp. 35-41.

28. Page says that there is "abundant evidence from Book 16 on that Odysseus is simply altered by passage of time and disguised by his dress" (Denys Page, The Homeric Odyssey [Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955], p. 89).

29. Aside from the Cretan Lies, we see the idea of the passage of time illustrated in the episode containing the Lie to Athena: for Odysseus fails to recognize Ithaca not only when he first arrives home (XIII. 187-196), but even after he has lied to Athena and been informed of her true identity (XIII. 324-354). The mist which Athena sends--yet another symbol of time's passage--simultaneously conceals Odysseus from his countrymen and hides the identity of Ithaca from Odysseus.

30. Trahman, "Odysseus' Lies," p. 35.

31. Marchinus H.A.L.H. Van der Valk, Textual Criticism of the Odyssey (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1949), p. 204.

32. In regard to the entire interpolation debate, I have taken what may be described as an extreme "unitarian" stance in assuming that all of the lines referring to Crete and Cretans in both the Iliad and the Odyssey are genuine to

the poet(s) of these poems. For this reason, I tend to follow Van der Valk in his belief that XI. 568-571 (the description of Minos as judge of the dead) and XIX.172-178 (the "learned excursus" about Crete) should not be regarded as interpolations: see Van der Valk, Textual Criticism, pp. 229-30 and 204. This same view is held by Willetts, who argues the legitimacy of all of XIX. 172-178, including the highly controversial lines 175-177: see Willetts, Cults and Festivals, pp. 132-37. For a list of those scholars who consider these lines interpolation, see W. B. Stanford, ed., Odyssey, 2d ed. (rpt. with alterations and additions), 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1965), 1:401-402; Page, Homeric Odyssey, pp. 25, 39, and 48 n. 6; and selected bibliography in both Van der Valk, Textual Criticism, p. 204 n. 1, and Willetts, Cretan Cults, pp. 132-27. I also favor Anderson's view that IV. 561-570 (Menelaos' account that he will be transported to the Elysian Field) is not an interpolation; for Anderson's view as well as a list of opposing views, see W. S. Anderson, "Calypso and Elysium," Essays on the Odyssey, ed. C. H. Taylor (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1963): 127 n.1. I also tend to sympathize with Anderson's contention that, if a passage appears to "function integrally" with other passages and themes in the Odyssey, it ought to be regarded as genuine (pp. 73-74).

33. St. Paul in his Letters to Titus I.12 offers the most pithy expression of this proverb, when he notes

that a Cretan prophet once said, "Κρήτες ἀεὶ φεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί"--"Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, and idle bellies": see Hermann Diels and Walther Kranz, eds. and trans., Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, 3 vols. (Zurich/Berlin: Weidmann, 1964), 1:31-32. See also August Otto, Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1890), pp. 99 and 150.

34. Stanford, Odyssey, 2:209, and Stewart, Disguised Guest, p. 109.

35. See Diels and Kranz, Fragments der Vorsokratiker, 1:27ff.

36. Apparently Wilamowitz was the first to suggest that Epimenides might have cast doubts on the claim of the Delphic oracle that it lay at the navel of the earth: for discussion and bibliography, see H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, The Delphic Oracle, 2 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), 1:111 and 363. Also see Willetts, Cretan Cults, p. 263, and George Huxley, "Nikias, Crete and the Plague," GRBS 10 (1969):235-39. Harrison similarly believes that "perhaps Epimenides went further than the orthodox Olympian religion could tolerate in the matter of the revival of ancient cults," and goes on to say that he introduced ceremonies of purification brought from Crete which were "wholly alien to Olympian ritual" (Prolegomena, p. 319). Huxley

rather amusingly suggests that "if Delphi knew the tale of Epimenides' long sleep...then the assertion that Cretans are liars is especially plausible" (George Huxley, Greek Epic Poetry From Eumelos to Panyassis [Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969], p. 83).

37. The similarities between Demeter's lie and Odysseus' Lie to Eumaios are pointed out by N. J. Richardson, ed., The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 188-90, and by Bernard Fenik, Studies in the Odyssey (Hermes; Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie, Einzelschriften, Heft 30), p. 35. There is evidence, furthermore, indicating that Demeter has long-standing associations with Crete, if she is not, in fact, a Cretan goddess originally; see Willetts, Cults and Festivals, pp. 148-52, etc., and Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 272-72 and 564-67. In the Theogony, she mates with Iasion in a thrice-plowed field in Crete (969-974); in the Odyssey, this myth is referred to by Calypso, who, however, makes no mention of Crete (V.125-128).

38. Richardson argues that the Homeric Hymn to Demeter was composed between 670-550 B.C.: ibid., pp. 5-11. While he believes that the Hymn shows an awareness of the Theogony, he only guesses that it also shows an awareness of the Iliad and Odyssey.

39. Ibid., p. 188. Mylonas goes further in suggest-

ing that Crete became the fictional homeland of any wandering stranger who wished to conceal his identity:

...in the Hymn the Goddess is telling a 'story' to conceal her identity and explain her presence. The use of Krete to hide the real provenience of a traveler or guest is not unusual in epic poetry. In the stories he creates, Odysseus repeatedly mentions Krete as his birthplace, and it seems that the rhapsodists of that period used that island whenever they wanted to indicate an indefinite, faraway place and provenience that would make possible the introduction of pirates into whose hands a divine or heroic personage had fallen.

(George Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries [Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1961], p. 18).

40. Reference to Athenodorus' story can be found in A. W. Mair, ed. and trans., Callimachus and Lycophron, Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), pp. 36-37 note c. Mair also notes that the scholia to Athenodorus suggest that Idomeneus divided the spoils of Troy unfairly (ibid., pp. 36-37 note c). Harrison says that Athenaeus, on the authority of Sosicrates in the first book of his History of Crete, claims that "the Phaeacians from earliest childhood practiced the art of saying ridiculous things and the Cretans unanimously attributed to them preeminence in the art of raising a laugh" (Harrison, Mythology, p. 18).

41. Nilsson, Mycenaeen Origin, p. 149.

42. Willetts, Cretan Cults, p. 219.

43. Perhaps the most obvious Cretan liar is Phaedra, who sent her step-son Hippolytos to his death on the false accusation that he raped her. Phaedra is, however, only the most famous of the Greek "Potiphar's Wives"--among whom we discover many non-Cretan women like Stheneboea, Idaea (Apollod. III. 15. 3), and Astydamia (Apollod. III. 13. 3-7). Neither Sophocles nor Seneca in their Phaedras, nor Euripides in either of his Hippolytos plays appear to have capitalized on the topos for dramatic irony. A fragment of one of Callimachus' iambic poems indicates that someone is speaking the truth when he says he knows the Cretan tomb (of Zeus) is empty (XII. 202. 15-17: "ἔστιν οἴκ[...]. ἰ[...]. ἄψευδέα λέγων / καὶ τάφο[ν τὸ]ν Κ[ρ]ῆτα γινώσκειν κενόν"). Later, Aratus prefaces the Cretan story of how the Bears were transported to heaven with the words "if it is true" (Phaenomena 30: "εἰ ετεδὸν δῆ"), thus implying that the Cretans do not always tell the truth. Ovid shows that he is aware of Crete's reputation for lying; first, he calls upon the Cretans to vouch for the reliability of his story about Ceres' love for Iasius--"Cretes erunt testes--nec fingunt omnia Cretes" (Amores III. 10. 19: " he Cretans will be witnesses --nor do they invent everything"); then, he dares Crete--"quamvis sit mendax" ("liar though she be")--to deny the tale of Pasiphae's passion for the bull (Ars Amatoria I. 298); finally, Ovid has Scylla claim that Minos' descent from Jupiter and Europa is untrue--"generis falsa est ea fabula"

(Metamorphoses VIII. 123: "that story of your birth is false"). However, Ovid does not use the topos as a method for organization or as a significant attribute of the Cretans in general. Martial, in one of his epigrams, has Jupiter make fun of the lies on his Idaean tomb (IX. 34. 1: "Iuppiter Idaei risit mendacia busti"). Finally, whoever wrote the fraudulent memoir known as the Ephemeris Belli Troiani assumed the fictitious name Dictys Cretensis--"the Cretan from Crete"--thus indicating that he, like all Cretans, is not to be trusted: Dictys effectively extends the topos "ad absurdum" (see pp. 258ff. below).

45. The term "demythologize" was suggested to me by Froma Zeitlin, Professor of Classics at Princeton University, in conference (fall 1976).

46. Segal, "Phaeacians and Symbolism," p. 25 and also p. 24; see, in addition, Walcott, "Art of Lying," pp. 12-13.

47. Stewart, Disguised Guest, p. 90.

48. In a simile, Homer describes Eumaios welcoming Telemachos home:

As a loving father would greet his only son--  
Who has come from a distant land in the tenth year--  
An only child, now grown, for whom he has suffered  
many griefs. (XVI. 17-19)

49. Segal, "Phaeacians and Symbolism," p. 57.

50. W. J. Woodhouse, Composition of Homer's Odyssey

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 135.

51. Fenik, Studies, p. 170.

52. In the Lie to Eumaios, Odysseus claims that he returned home to Crete after the war (242-245); Menelaos too set sail from Troy intending to return to Sparta (III. 141-179, 276-285). Although arriving safely in Crete, Odysseus remained home for only one month before venturing on another expedition, this time to Egypt (246-258); as Menelaos neared Sparta, his fleet was split in two by a storm, which drove one part to Crete and the other to Egypt (III. 286-300). The failure of his piratical raid caused Odysseus to remain in Egypt against his will, although he profited from his stay by collecting gifts from the people there (259-286); Menelaos, finding himself in Egypt after the storm, resolved to spend time gathering substance from the inhabitants (III. 301-302). After many years, Odysseus left Egypt and went to Phoenicia (287-294); from Egypt, Menelaos traveled among peoples of alien tongue--visiting Cyprus, Phoenicia, Aethiopea, Erembos, Sidon, and Libya (III. 302; IV. 83-91). Odysseus then sailed for Libya, but was shipwrecked near the coast of his homeland, Crete (295-304); after many years of wandering, Menelaos was compelled to return to Egypt before heading home (IV. 351-353, 475-483, 576-585). Odysseus, nevertheless, survived even more hardship before coming to Ithaca and telling Eumaios his tale (305-359); Menelaos, after performing the hecatombs to the

gods, returned home in his eighth year and lived to tell Telemachos his tale (IV. 81-82, 585-592).

For other discussions of the similarities between Odysseus' fictitious adventures and Menelaos' return, see Fenik, Studies, p. 168, and Walcot, "Art of Lying," p. 14.

53. See A. B. Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 165-167.

54. Odysseus, we must remember, revisits Aeolus (X. 1-179), Circe (X. 135-574; XII. 1-150), as well as Scylla and Charybdis (XII. 222-261, 428-446), each stop acting as a preface and a conclusion to some other adventure--specifically, the first unsuccessful return to Ithaca (X. 28-54), the voyage to Hades (XI), and the sacrilege on the Island of the Sun with its aftermath (XII. 261-427); also, according to Nestor, Odysseus left Troy with Menelaos, but then returned in order to bring Agamemnon comfort (III. 155-164). Similarly, Menelaos' wanderings are circumscribed by his visits to Egypt: Egypt is the first land he reaches after unsuccessfully rounding Maleia (III. 286-300), and it is the last land he sees before returning to Sparta, since the gods compel him to journey once again to Egypt and complete hecatombs to them (IV. 351-352, 475-480).

55. Stanford, Odyssey, 1:260.

56. In the Odyssey, by contrast, Menelaos learns of Agamemnon's death from Proteus in Egypt (IV. 512ff.);

Menelaos also narrates his adventures, not to Idomeneus, but to Telemachos.

57. In Euripides' Iphigeneia at Aulis, Agamemnon claims that Helen was kidnapped while Menelaos was far from home (76-77): Crete, however, is not specified.

58. In Ovid's poems, Paris criticizes Menelaos for visiting Crete while Paris is a guest in Sparta (Heroides XVI. 301): Helen responds by saying that Menelaos controls her actions, even if he is in Crete (Heroides XVII. 163-166); see also Remedia Amoris 773-776. According to Apollodorus, Menelaos entertained Paris in Sparta, but then sailed to Crete to perform obsequies to his mother's father, Catreus (Epitome II. 1. 3). Dictys' chronicle begins with Menelaos and other descendants of Cretan Atreus assembled on Crete to receive their inheritance; during this time, Alexander visits Sparta and rapes Helen (I. 1-3).

59. For references to Aerope in Hesiod, see fragments 194 and 195 in R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, ed., Fragmenta Hesiodica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 93-96; see also H. W. Stoll, Roscher's Lexikon, 2, 2: 2776-2791 s.v. "Menelaos" for other references to Menelaos' relationship to Aerope and Crete.

60. Refer to Vergil chapter, note 105.

61. Needless to say, if Homer knew these traditions,

he did not incorporate them directly into his poems. Although Agamemnon and Menelaos are called "Ἀτρεΐδαι," no mention is made of their mother, her origin, or her adultery with their uncle, Thyestes; in fact, Homer implies that the succession passed smoothly from Atreus, to Thyestes, to Agamemnon (Iliad II. 105-107) and was only interrupted by Aegisthos (Odyssey I. 35-47). The relationship between Menelaos and Idomeneus is confined to guest-friendship, and although Helen specifically says that Idomeneus visited Sparta many times (Iliad III. 232-233), neither poem speaks of a visit made by Menelaos to Crete. Homer either knows nothing of those myths which link Menelaos with Crete or-- what appears equally likely--neglects to establish the relationship beyond the two indirect references in Books III and IV.

62. In Hades Odysseus also sees Minos' daughters, Phaedra and Ariadne--"κούρην Μίνωος ὀλοῦφρονος" (XI. 321-325).

63. Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 606-607.

64. Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, pp. 619-33.

65. Ibid., p. 630.

66. Ibid., p. 627. The verses from Hesiod's Works and Days read: "τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν / τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα" (172-173).

67. Lord, Singer, p. 165.

68. See p.       above.

69. Willetts points out that Zenodotus and certain manuscripts of the Odyssey substitute Crete for Sparta, and Idomeneus for Menelaos at various places in Book I; see Willetts, Cretan Cults, p. 126 n. 34. Apparently, Zenodotus found a unique way of accounting for the importance of Crete in Homer's epic: he sent Telemachos, not to Sparta, but to Crete for information of his father!

70. Meriones is called Idomeneus' "ὄπᾶων" at Iliad VII. 165, X. 58, XVII. 258 and 610; see LSJ<sup>9</sup>, p. 1237, s.v. "ὄπᾶων," regarding the definition of the term.

71. See P. Weizsäcker, Roscher's Lexikon, 2:2836 s.v. "Meriones."

72. For the productivity: (1) of Crete, see XIII. 345-350, XIX. 188, and 197-198; (2) of Ithaca, see XIII. 241-249. For the mountain(s): (1) of Ithaca, see Iliad II. 632, Odyssey IX.21-22, and XIII.351; (2) of Crete, see XIX. 338-339.

73. See XIII.261-266, XIV. 315-337, XVII. 420-424, and XIX. 76-79.

74. Compare XIX.186 ff. with V. 291ff.; XIX.188-189 with V. 400ff.; XIX. 184-185 with VI. 110ff.; XIX. 185-202

and 241-243 with V-VII; and XIX. 199-202 with XI. 335-361.

75. Trahman notes and discusses this particular scholium: see Trahman, "Odysseus' Lies," pp. 35-36 and 36 n. 16. Other scholars also refer to the advantage that Crete's distance plays in the lies: see Walcot, "Art of Lying," p. 10, and Walter Leaf, Homer and History (London: Macmillan, 1915), p. 169.

76. Stanford, Odyssey, 2:209.

77. Segal, "Phaeacians and Symbolism," pp. 17-64.

78. Idomeneus traces his descent from Deucalion (Odyssey XIX. 180-181; Iliad XII. 117, XIII. 307 and 452-453, and XVII. 608), the son of Minos (Odyssey XIX. 178-180; Iliad XIII. 451), the son of Zeus (Odyssey XI. 568; Iliad XIII. 449-450).

79. See IV. 755, XVI. 118, XXIV. 270 and 517.

80. One of the peculiarities about Ithaca is, in fact, that it can be described in negative terms: Athena, who offers the most lengthy account of Ithaca, says that it is "in no way nameless" (XIII. 238-239: οὐδέ τι λίην/οὔτω κώνυμος ἔστιν), "not a good place for driving horses" (242: οὐχ ἱππήλατός), and "not that poor, but not widely-shapen" (243: οὐδ' λίην λυπρή, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' εὐρεῖα τέτυκται).

81. Willetts, in fact, believes that the designation

"oaristes" precedes the more common Homeric description of Minos as Zeus' son: see Willetts, Cretan Cults, p. 121.

82. Norman Austin, Archery at the Dark Side of the Moon: Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1975), pp. 198 and 156, respectively.

83. For a discussion of these reminiscences as well as extensive bibliography, see: Stanford, Odysseus, 1:322 and 323; Willetts, Cretan Cults, pp. 127-129; Judith Margaret Engle, "Phaeacia: A Shield on the Misty Face of the Water" (B.A. thesis, Mt. Holyoke College, 1974); and Alexander Shewan, Homeric Essays (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1935), pp. 242-252. Shewan, although adamantly opposed to the notion that "Homer has given Minoan Crete a local habitation...in Scheria," nevertheless agrees with earlier scholars that Minoan features in Scheria do exist (pp. 149-150). Engle demonstrates how Homer might have "remembered" these reminiscences, and traces the reminiscences ultimately to Pylos (pp. 101-102).

84. For Phemius' song see I. 325-359; for Demodokos' songs see VIII. 72ff., 264ff., and 482ff.

85. Webster says that "Aithon" is a Mycenaean name found on the tablets at Cnossos; refer to T. B. L. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964).

86. These lies also differ from the Cretan Lies in that

they tend to act as prophecies of "the real Odysseus'" eventual return and as veiled threats, rather than as detailed fabrications containing some symbolic significance. Moreover, despite the obvious verbal repetition of several lines in the Lies to Eumaios and Antinoos (XIV. 258-272, XVII. 427-441), Odysseus never mentions where he is from in any of the lies to his enemies, although he certainly encourages Eumaios, who is present at the suitors' feast in Book XVII, to believe that "Odysseus" is telling yet another Cretan tale (Woolsey notes that in the Lie to Antinoos, Odysseus "lays no claim to native land" [Robert B. Woolsey, "Repeated Narratives in the Odyssey," CP 36 (April 1941):173 n. 15; see also Fenik, Studies, p. 167 n. 64]). In his lies to his enemies, Odysseus simply presents himself as a wealthy man, who has lost everything through adverse circumstance and has been reduced to begging for his livelihood on Ithaca. Without making his identity transparent, Odysseus offers the suitors an account of himself which is far less encumbered by plausible details than either of the accounts he has previously related to Athena or Eumaios. The fact that the suitors never seriously question the beggar's identity demonstrates not only their "arrogance" (Woolsey, "Repeated Narratives," p. 179), but their blindness.

87. John Barth, "Dunyazadiad," Chimera (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 61.

88. The lie Odysseus tells his father, Laertes, in

Book XXIV (258-279, 302-314) differs from the Cretan Lies for several reasons: it follows the climax of the poem--a full five books after Odysseus offers Penelope his third Cretan Lie; there is, perhaps, a moral question as to whether Odysseus is justified in lying to his aged father (see Stewart, Disguised Guest, pp. 94 and 101; Stanford, "Lies of Odysseus," pp. 44-45; Walcot, "Art of Lying," pp. 18-19; and Woolsey, "Repeated Narratives," pp. 179-180); the account is clearly allegorical (Fitzgerald, in his translation of Odyssey XXIV. 304-306, has Odysseus claim, "I come from Rover's Passage where my home is, and I'm King Allwoe's only son. My name is Quarrelman" [Robert Fitzgerald, trans., The Odyssey (New York: Anchor-Doubleday, 1963), p. 454 ] ); finally, Odysseus claims to come, not from Crete, but from Sicania (see p. 83 and n. 89).

89. Stanford, Odyssey, 2:423.

90. Odysseus introduces himself to Laertes as one who had entertained "the real Odysseus" years before, given him many gifts, and sent him on his way over the sea (266-279); to Penelope he claims that he once entertained her husband on Crete, then saw "the real Odysseus" on his way to Troy (185-202), laden with several Cretan gifts (241-243).

THROUGH HOMER'S LOOKING GLASS:  
CRETE REVISITED IN VERGIL'S AENEID

Crete was the mother and source not  
of barbarism, though her wealth is  
not wholly free from some tinge of  
barbaric excess, but of civilization.

Harrison, Mythology, p. 41  
(emphasis mine)

### Introduction

When we think of Vergil's use of Crete in the Aeneid, two episodes usually come to mind: the ill-fated settlement of Pergamea on Crete in Book III (73-191), and Daedalus' depiction of the Athenian tribute to the Minotaur fashioned on the gold doors of the Apollo temple at Cumae in Book VI (14-33). These passages, in addition to being the lengthiest and most detailed descriptions of the island and its inhabitants in Vergil's entire corpus, also provide a model against which to view the other numerous references to Cretan characters and myths particularly in Aeneid III-XII,<sup>1</sup> as well as in the earlier Eclogues and Georgics.<sup>2</sup> An examination of these various passages reveals that in the Aeneid Vergil has consciously developed "Crete" into a metaphor whose systematic use illuminates the very nature of the poem as a Roman epic.

This chapter falls into four parts, entitled:

(1) "On Crete: Aeneid III"; (2) "Cretan Archery in the Aeneid"; (3) "'Fugiens Minoia Regna': Aeneid VI"; and (4) "Jupiter, Crete, and Rome." The first part establishes a transition between the chapters on Homer and on Vergil by suggesting that Vergil's presentation of the Cretan episode in Aeneid III demonstrates both his debt to and his reaction against the Odyssey--with its particular interest in Idomeneus and in Crete as a 'false home'--as well as against the Greek "epic" view of Crete in general. A number of questions

must be raised in the course of this examination, such as why: Vergil includes Crete among Aeneas' wanderings; Anchises misinterprets Apollo's oracle on Delos; and Crete is depicted as desolate, plague-ridden, and ultimately forbidden to the Trojans. What we discover is that Vergil's physical description of the island in Aeneid III anticipates and helps explain Vergil's metaphorical use of Crete throughout the rest of the poem. The second part of the chapter introduces us to Crete as a poetic symbol in the Dido/deer simile of Aeneid IV (68-73), where Dido is compared to a deer wounded by an arrow in the Cretan woods. In subsequent references to Cretan archery throughout the Aeneid (V. 305-306; XI. 773; and XII. 859), we find that the geographical adjective "Crete" is not merely an "ornamental" or "literary" epithet, but that the epithet appears to forebode the deaths of precisely those characters whom Vergil sympathetically, but emphatically portrays as the victims of their own excesses and as the greatest obstacles to Aeneas' destiny. Crete, in other words, becomes associated with death, excess, and the unacceptable alternative. The third part of the chapter treats Aeneid VI--the most significant book for our study of Vergil's conception and use of Crete, since it is in the Underworld episode that Crete's symbolic significance is made most apparent. The ecphrasis, with its depiction of Minos' ghastly tribute to the Minotaur, not only sets the tone for the entire episode, but foreshadows Vergil's unique presentation of various notable Cretans inhabiting the Underworld.

Despite his many Homeric and "epic" reminiscences, Vergil specifically undermines several topoi we have come to associate with Crete in order to emphasize the darker aspects of the Cretan civilization and royal family. Crete--the antiqua mater of the Greeks--becomes relegated by Vergil to the past, but to a past which cannot in the end provide the Romans with a moral exemplar for the future. Finally, the fourth part of the chapter attempts to explore how Jupiter--long associated with Crete as the land of his birth--becomes the guiding spirit of Rome, despite the implications of "Saturnia" Juno's opposition.

I. ON CRETE: AENEID III

Crete, the island of great Jupiter,  
 lies in the middle of the sea.  
 Mount Ida is there, and the cradle  
 of our race.

Aeneid III. 104-105

It is not until Book III that Vergil first introduces us to Crete in the Aeneid (90-208). Aeneas, while relating to Dido the story of his long wanderings after the sack of Troy, recalls how his Cretan adventure began originally with Anchises' misinterpretation of Apollo's prophecy to the Trojans during their stay on Delos--"seek out your ancient mother" (96: "antiquam exquirite matrem"). According to Aeneas, Anchises assumed without hesitation that Apollo was referring to Crete, the land from which Teucer as the Trojans' "earliest ancestor" had once sailed to Troy (107-108: "maximus unde pater... / Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras...."). Despite the fact that Creusa's ghost had previously told Aeneas himself that Hesperia held the promise of the Trojans' future (II. 780-784), the hero offered no resistance to Anchises' suggestion.<sup>3</sup> Persuaded by Anchises, therefore, the Trojans departed for Crete, where, finding the island deserted by their enemy Idomeneus, they began to establish a new settlement which they named "Pergamea" (121-137). Then suddenly the lives of the Trojans were decimated by drought and plague (137-142). Aeneas, urged by his

father to return to Delos for Apollo's aid, was visited shortly afterward on Crete by a dream, in which the Penates appeared and correctly interpreted the oracle of Apollo--that Italy, not Crete, was to be the destined home of the Trojans (143-178). No sooner had Anchises been told of this dream than he recalled Cassandra's nearly forgotten prophecy that the Trojans would one day settle on the shores of Hesperia (178-188). Aeneas and the Trojans, persuaded now by the Penates and by Anchises' acceptance of their message, set sail from Crete but, on gaining the open sea, found themselves engulfed in mist and tossed by a fierce storm, until they were able on the fourth day to spot land at last (189-208).

Crete's appearance in this part of the poem would be more momentous perhaps--heralded, as it seems to be, by Apollo himself--were it not already recognized as deceptive by Aeneas the narrator, by his Carthaginian audience, and by us as well. Instead, the unsuccessful settlement of Cretan Pergamea becomes associated in Aeneid III with two earlier episodes in which Aeneas also reveals his own ignorance of the Trojans' ultimate destination: the equally frustrating attempt to found the city of Aeneadae on Thrace (13-72) and the brief visit to Apollo's temple on Delos (73-124).<sup>4</sup> Yet, even within this context, Vergil indicates that there is something unique about the Cretan adventure. Vergil's description of Crete occupies one-sixth of Aeneid III and is, as a result, more lengthy than any of the other episodes, with the exception of Buthrotum (294-505: one-third

of Aeneid III) and Etna (568-691: one-sixth of Aeneid III). Furthermore, although Aeneas settles Pergamea in ignorance of his destiny, he leaves Crete understanding that the Trojans must sail to Italy; after Crete, the focus of Aeneas' wandering shifts from "where home is to be found" to "how home in Italy is to be achieved." But perhaps the most tantalizing aspect about the Cretan adventure in the Aeneid is that Vergil may have invented the entire episode.

By comparing Vergil's Aeneid to the prose accounts of his contemporaries, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy, modern scholars have recognized that at least four episodes in Aeneid III--"Crete, the Harpies in the Strophades Islands, Scylla and Charybdis, the Cyclops on Mt. Etna"--have been introduced by Vergil into what is perhaps the more traditional saga of Aeneas' wanderings after Troy.<sup>5</sup> While the latter three episodes have been explained as "borrowings" from the mythological wanderings of Odysseus in the Odyssey and of Jason in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica,<sup>6</sup> the Cretan adventure remains something of a puzzle. Servius indicates that this episode may not be original with the Aeneid when he quotes Diodorus Siculus, Vergil's older contemporary, as saying: "in earlier works it is indeed said that Aeneas, when driven in truth by a storm to Crete, named the place after Trojan Pergamum" (at Aeneid III. 133: "legitur sane in libris antiquioribus Aeneam vere Cretam tempestate delatum locum Troiam nomine Pergamum appellavisse"). It is possible, then, that Vergil, in fashioning the Cretan episode, drew upon a

separate tradition from Dionysius or Livy; unfortunately, Diodorus Siculus gives no indication of what he means by "in libris antiquioribus," let alone of why Vergil's treatment differs at this point from contemporary prose accounts. Furthermore, Diodorus Siculus offers yet another "explanation" for the origin of Cretan Pergamea's name: "others say that Pergamum in Crete was founded by Trojan captives, who were driven there from Agamemnon's fleet...."<sup>7</sup> In this aetiological version, Aeneas' relationship to Cretan Pergamea is subordinate to Troy's relationship to Crete--one for which we can find literary evidence as early as Callinus, who first wrote that Teucer originally sailed to Troy from Crete (see pp. 189-90 below). Williams, in fact, suggests that the addition of the Cretan adventure in Aeneid III represents Vergil's exploitation of the legendary connection between Crete and Troy to illustrate "how widespread was the fame of the ancestors of Aeneas."<sup>8</sup> Williams' suggestion is, in turn, supported by the reasons Vergil puts in Anchises' mouth for mistakenly assuming that the Trojans' antiqua mater is Crete--namely, Teucer's Cretan origin, Ida's derivation from the name of the Cretan mountain, and the influence that the Cretan cult of the Mother Goddess Rhea exerted upon the mysteries of Phrygian Cybele (107-113):

From that place (Crete) our earliest ancestor, Teucer--  
 if I recall what I have heard  
 Correctly--first sailed to Rhoetean shores  
 And chose a place for his rule. Not yet had Ilium  
 and the heights  
 Of Pergamum endured over time: people were living  
 in the lowest valleys.

From here (Crete) came the Mother, inhabitant of  
 Cybele, and the weapons of the Corybants,  
 And the grove of Ida; from here came the faithful  
 silence of her sacred rites,  
 And the harnessed lions submitted to the chariot of  
 their mistress.

Maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,  
 Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras  
 optavitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces  
 Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.  
 hinc Mater cultrix Cybelae Corybantiaque aera  
 Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris,  
 et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.

But beyond the related ideas of Cretan Pergamea's aetiological association with Pergamum and of Troy's legendary connection with Crete, the only explanations that scholars have offered for Vergil's addition of the Cretan episode have nothing to do with Crete per se: Sempke proposes that Vergil includes Crete and the storm after Crete to keep the Trojans away from the hostile Greek mainland,<sup>9</sup> while Williams suggests that the Cretan adventure adds "variety to the gradual revelation of Aeneas' goal, and a setting for another prophecy of the future glory of the Trojans and Rome."<sup>10</sup>

Whether we regard the Cretan adventure as a Vergilian adaptation or invention, these explanations only begin to address the issue of Crete's significance in Aeneid III, and entirely overlook the way in which this particular episode establishes a basis for viewing Crete in the rest of the poem. My approach to these problems is two-fold. To begin with, I wish to consider how Homer's use of Crete contributes to an understanding of Aeneid III. Both the Odyssey and the Aeneid, for instance: refer to Idomeneus and his fate after the

Trojan War; describe the violence of the Cretan Sea; and present Crete, in some sense, as the antiqua mater of the Greeks and as a 'false home.' Vergil's response to Homer, a subject which commentators have long noted in the various references to Cretan characters throughout Aeneid VI, is as yet unexplored as regards Aeneid III. The second consideration (though related to the first) involves tracing Vergil's own use of Crete throughout the epic. In Book III Vergil portrays the island as desolate, plague-ridden, and ultimately uninhabitable. By so doing, he also establishes a basis for viewing "Crete" as a metaphor in the rest of the poem: for in subsequent references to the island, "Crete" adopts the ominous connotations of excess, unacceptable alternatives, the past, and death. The Cretan episode provides not only a non-metaphorical demonstration of these associations, but a background against which to view the lengthy preface to the Underworld scene in Aeneid VI (see pp. 157-84 below). In the Aeneid, and particularly in the "Odyssean" part of his epic, Vergil reworks the relationship between his hero and Crete in such a way as to debase the Homeric "myth of Crete" forever. Crete--its associations with law and justice, sea and commerce, the Afterlife, etc.--belongs to the past, to the realm of Greek literary and ancestral experience.

#### Idomeneus

As in the Odyssey, Idomeneus' fate is mentioned throughout the course of the narrative, but Idomeneus himself

plays no active part in the Aeneid's action. Yet even a superficial inspection of both epics reveals that Vergil has simultaneously altered the outcome of Idomeneus' return from Troy and lessened the importance of the Cretan hero's role within the poem. Whereas Homer's Idomeneus--along with a few other Greek heroes, like Diomedes--is blessed with a swift and safe homecoming (Odyssey III. 191-192), Vergil's Idomeneus suffers exile from Crete and is forced to settle on the east coast of Italy. In fact, the three Vergilian references to Idomeneus each focus upon that hero's exile:

Rumor flies that the general Idomeneus had been  
 banished  
 And had departed from his paternal realms, that the  
 shores of  
 Crete were deserted, that homes were empty of the  
 enemy and buildings stood abandoned. (III. 121-123)

Fama volat pulsum regnis cecidisse paternis  
 Idomeneia ducem, desertaque litora Cretae,  
 hoste vacare domos sedesque adstare relictas.

Here both the Locrians of Naryx built their walls  
 And Lyctian Idomeneus occupied the Sallentine plains  
 With an army.... (III. 399-401)

hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Iocri  
 et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos  
 Lyctius Idomeneus....

Should I recall the realms of Neoptolemus and the  
 Overthrown house of Idomeneus? (XI. 264-265)

regna Neoptolemi referam versosque penates  
 Idomenei?

By giving Idomeneus an unsuccessful homecoming, Vergil makes possible the Trojans' attempted settlement at Pergamea. But he also removes what was in the Odyssey the most apparent

motivation for Odysseus' association with Idomeneus: in the Aeneid we find no living and renowned exemplar of the ideal homecoming, nor any return without suffering.

At Aeneid III. 399-401 Aeneas learns from the Trojan prophet, Helenus, that Idomeneus has occupied the Sallentine plains of southeast Italy and that the Cretan general, like all the Greeks settled on this coast, could prove hostile to the Trojans. The fact that Helenus mentions Idomeneus as a warning to Aeneas contains a certain irony when we consider the extent to which the fate of the Trojans begins to echo that of the Greeks from Book III on. What we learn from Helenus is that Aeneas is destined to follow the same general route which Idomeneus reluctantly traced before--from Troy to Crete, and eventually to Italy. With the outbreak of war in Italy, however, Aeneas finds his most faithful ally in the Greek Evander (VIII. 51ff.), and his most potential threat from the Greeks not in Idomeneus, but in Diomedes, for it is to Diomedes that the Latins immediately turn for advice and aid against the Trojans (VIII. 9-17), and it is Diomedes, in turn, who later warns the Latins that even those victorious over the Trojans ultimately suffer for their success (XI. 252-295). In both the Odyssey and the Aeneid, Diomedes shares Idomeneus' particular fate--the successful return of the earlier epic (III. 180-182), but the dismal exile to Italy of Vergil's Roman epic (XI. 269-270). Yet Homer, despite the fact that he mentions Diomedes only once in the Odyssey, describes at length in the Iliad the encounter

between Diomedes and Aeneas, in which Diomedes almost slew the Trojan hero (V. 166-346). This incident, coupled with Diomedes' Iliadic fame in general as well as with the pre-Vergilian tradition of Diomedes' exile after the Trojan War,<sup>11</sup> influenced Vergil's choice of Diomedes--rather than of Idomeneus--to represent the hardships of the Greeks and their reluctance to fight a second war against the Trojans.

Although Aeneid III. 121 makes it clear that Idomeneus left Crete because he was banished ("pulsum"), the specific reasons for his exile remain obscure. There are perhaps three traditions which variously explain this event. One tradition, recorded by both Lycophron (Alexandra 1214-1220) and Apollodorus (Bibliotheca, Epitome VI. 9-10), involves a usurper named Leucus who, although entrusted with Crete's rule during the absence of Idomeneus, nevertheless murders the royal family and banishes Idomeneus upon the latter's return from Troy. The problem with viewing this story as an explanation for Idomeneus' exile is that Aeneas finds Crete completely deserted--neither Idomeneus nor a usurper control the realm. According to a second tradition, Idomeneus, overwhelmed by a storm during his return, promised Neptune that he would sacrifice to the god the first person he encountered on his arrival in Crete; unfortunately, this person turned out to be Idomeneus' own son with the result that--whether Idomeneus actually performed the sacrifice, or only attempted to--a plague broke out on Crete and Idomeneus was exiled.<sup>12</sup> Although this is the explanation

offered by Servius,<sup>13</sup> the only detail included by Vergil in his account of Crete is the outbreak of a plague, which, however, has nothing to do with Idomeneus in the Aeneid. Finally, Herodotus may offer a third tradition--that Crete, for whatever reasons, was susceptible to outbreaks of plague: he mentions that the present inhabitants of Crete were the third peoples to occupy the island, for Minos' expedition to Sicily depopulated the land, and then a plague later killed all survivors of the Trojan War (VII. 171).<sup>14</sup>

Two traditions appear to recall a destructive plague which decimated Crete shortly after the Trojan War. If Vergil does not specify the source of his debt, it is precisely because his primary interest involves Aeneas' departure, and not Idomeneus' exile, from Crete. Yet Vergil seems to have deliberately adapted the idea of a Cretan plague when fashioning his episode of Aeneas' settlement on the island.<sup>15</sup> By so doing, Vergil transfers any responsibility for the plague directly to Aeneas.

#### Crete: A 'False Home'

In both the Cretan Lies of Odyssey XIII-XIX and Aeneid III, Crete is introduced to us as part of each hero's autobiographical account. As Homer's audience, we are privy to the fact that Odysseus (on his return to Ithaca in the second half of the poem) deliberately designs Crete to function as his fictitious home--the notion of Crete as 'false home' in the Odyssey being associated with the topos that

Cretans always lie. Odysseus' lies appear credible partly because Idomeneus, according to Homer, continues to rule over his ancestral kingdom. Yet, since the Cretan tales are primarily fictions, Odysseus can fashion Crete to suit his particular needs and desires, as well as the individual sympathies of his audience. The knowledge and control exhibited by Odysseus in his lies are, on the other hand, totally lacking to Aeneas in his early wanderings after Troy. In the Aeneid, we as Vergil's audience know long before Aeneas relates his wanderings in Book III that Italy-- not Crete--is to be the Trojans' ultimate destination. Along with the narrator Aeneas, we are able to view a more naive Aeneas and Anchises futilely attempting to make Crete conform to their belief that it is their appointed home. Rather than the fictitious alibi of the Odyssey, Vergil's Crete becomes a 'false home' in the sense that it is mistaken. Vergil demonstrates how mistaken it is by depicting the settlement on Crete as: too easy, retrogressive, an unacceptable alternative, and forbidden.

On the most obvious level, Cretan Pergamea represents a confused and overly hopeful interpretation of Apollo's prophecy to the Trojans on Delos (III. 93-96):

Unyielding sons of Dardanus, the same earth  
 Which first bore you from the stock of your parents  
     will  
 Welcome you with fertile breast on your return.  
     Seek out your ancient mother!

Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum  
 prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto  
 accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.

As Servius first points out, Apollo's words "Dardanidae duri" should have provided the Trojans with the double clue that their destination is Dardanus' birthplace, Italy, and that their antiqua mater still lies at a distance.<sup>16</sup> Anchises, however, convinced that by "a stirpe parentum" Apollo meant their Cretan ancestor Teucer, urges Aeneas to sail for Crete--an island less than three-days journey from Delos. Crete is simply too easy for the Trojans to reach and occupy--and not in a physical sense alone. As regards the Trojans' motivation at the beginning of Aeneid III, the settlement of Crete is retrogressive. To an even greater extent than the earlier foundation of Aeneadae on Thrace, Cretan Pergamea illustrates Aeneas' desire to supply an answer for his own prayer to Apollo (85-87):

...Grant walls to the weary,  
A race, and an abiding city. Preserve Troy's  
second "Pergamum"....

...da moenia fessis  
et genus et mansuram urbem: serva altera Troiae  
Pergama....

The very name of these "new" cities indicate the dual forces of ignorance and nostalgia which typify the wanderings of the Trojans immediately after the fall of Troy. On Thrace the bleeding bush, symbolic of that country's brutal disregard for the oaths of friendship and hospitality, drives the Trojans to Delos. On Crete, however, Aeneas actually begins to establish laws for his new city,<sup>17</sup> when the plague suddenly breaks out (137: "iura domosque dabam: subit cum tabida membris...."). The plague symbolizes the annihilation of

incentive--or what Putnam refers to as "the unheroic acceptance of fate"<sup>18</sup>--which characterizes a life spent living on memories of a past which cannot be restored in any form. In view of the fact that Vergil has transferred the outbreak of the plague from Idomeneus to Aeneas, a correspondence seems appropriate between this particular "lues" (139) and the excessive nostalgia exhibited--in this episode especially--by Aeneas' Trojans. After the Cretan episode, Aeneas still finds himself inspired by the desire to return to his Trojan past (III. 492-505; IV. 340-346), but he has learned from the Penates to spurn it. In the end, Crete represents a part of the Trojan ancestral past, but the wrong part as far as the Aeneid is concerned. Cretan Pergamea--because of its associations with a more "recent" past--signals that the Trojans have retrogressed, rather than "returned," to their homeland.<sup>19</sup>

For whatever reason Crete became hostile to the Greeks under Idomeneus, the plague and drought prove equally forbidding to the Trojans.<sup>20</sup> In Aeneid III Vergil demonstrates that Crete cannot offer either the Greeks or the Trojans an acceptable alternative for the present or the future. The Odyssey, on the other hand, presents Crete as an acceptable alternative on two levels simultaneously, for Crete is cast as the fictitious home of Odysseus as well as a viable midway point for the lying hero both on his way to Troy (XIX. 185ff.) and on his return from Troy (XIII. 256ff.; XIV. 235-256, 382-383). Numerous examples from Greek literary tradition substantiate the fact that Crete repre-

sents a halting-place for other heroes as well--a circumstance attributable, in part, to Crete's central location in the Aegean. When Vergil brings Aeneas to Crete, as a result, he places his hero directly into a topos exemplified by such mythological forerunners as Theseus, Daedalus, Procris, Europa, Menelaos, Odysseus, Polyidos, Heracles, Jason, and Medea--all of whom found in Crete a harbor during their wanderings or a refuge from their flight.<sup>21</sup> Vergil, in fact, recalls in Aeneid VI the Cretan adventures of both Theseus and Daedalus (see pp. 160ff. below). On the other hand, Vergil's Aeneas also becomes the unsuccessful counterpart of the mythological colonizers of Crete: Althaemenes, Phaestus, Cydon, Archedius, Gortys, and Tectamus.<sup>22</sup> Aeneas shares some of the characteristics of each group of heroes: like the first group, Aeneas' wanderings at sea introduce him to many places and involve him in a series of adventures; yet, like the second group, Aeneas comes as a homeless hero to Crete believing that he will find there an end to his search and a settlement for his men. These very similarities, however, emphasize Aeneas' unique position--he does not slay any monsters or perform a deed which might glorify his heroism, nor does he establish a permanent city or spawn a new race on Crete. Instead, Aeneas and his men become the ignominious victims of a plague which they cannot control. The fact that the Trojans can neither settle nor end the plague emphasizes that Crete will not provide them with a refuge or a new land, and underlines Crete's status as a 'false home.'

Vergil goes further still: Crete becomes for the Trojans the forbidden land. As the Penates warn in their final words to Aeneas, "Jupiter denies you the Dictaeon fields" (171: "... Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva").

#### Crete: The Antiqua Mater of the Greeks

Whether the Cretan adventure is an invention or an elaborate adaptation, we are nevertheless left wondering why Vergil, apart from his obvious presentation of Italy as the promised home, should so explicitly depict Crete as a desolate and forbidden land. The explanation may lie in Vergil's response to that aspect of Greek literary tradition which views Crete as the antiqua mater of the Greeks.

Although Aeneid III makes it clear that Crete is not--as Anchises confidently asserts--the "gentis cunabula nostrae" (105), Vergil demonstrates his familiarity with the prevailing Greek tradition which regarded Crete as the cradle of Zeus: just as the Cretan episode ends with Jupiter's denial of Crete to the Trojans, so it begins with Anchises referring to Crete as "the island of great Jupiter" (104: "Creta Iovis magni...insula"; see pp. 186-88 below).<sup>23</sup> While Homer recalls Zeus' association with Crete in terms of his role as divine progenitor of the Cretan royal family, Hesiod emphasizes in the Theogony that this association derives from the circumstances surrounding Zeus' birth (477-484). According to Hesiod, Rhea--fearing that Kronos would devour the infant Zeus rather than risk being usurped by his own child--

stole away on the advice of Gaea and Uranos to Crete, where she gave birth to Jupiter; Gaea then presented Saturn with a rock, rather than the child, wrapped in swaddling cloth. Because Zeus' Cretan birth involves the animosity of Kronos--then patriarch of the pre-Olympian gods and of the universe--Crete becomes intimately associated with the establishment of a 'new world order' under Zeus. (We will discuss Jupiter's relationship to Saturn in the Aeneid as a theme of our fourth section on Vergil--"Jupiter, Crete, and Rome"; see pp. 185-204 below).

Crete is not simply the antiqua mater of Zeus, however. Although more indirectly, Crete is also "remembered" in Greek literature as the prototype of civilization on Greece. Minos and Rhadamanthys--referred to by Homer as the Cretan sons of Zeus (Iliad XIII. 449-50)--retained throughout much of classical literature their "epic" reputation for righteousness, a virtue for which the gods supposedly rewarded them by making them judges in the Afterlife;<sup>24</sup> as we mentioned earlier, Harrison considers that this ancient association between the Cretan judges and the hereafter indicates that Minos and Rhadamanthys belong "to the older stratum of the population" (see p. 57 above). Farnell goes further when he suggests that "this juridical conception of Rhadamanthys and Minos, partly attested by Homer, may be a reflex of a lingering folk-memory of the higher civilization and law of prehistoric Crete."<sup>25</sup> In addition to his role as ghostly judge, Minos was regarded as the first Greek to organize a navy, to rid

the Mediterranean of pirates, and to colonize extensively-- Thucydides expressly states that Minos' naval strength contributed to the economic development and stabilization of the Greek coast (I. 4);<sup>26</sup> it has been argued on sound archaeological grounds that this tradition "recalls" Crete's prehistoric naval power--an importance which Crete regained briefly during the colonial expansionism of the Archaic Period (see note 39 below). Then too, especially during the late fifth and fourth centuries, with that period's interest in comparative constitutions and in the idealization by Socrates and later by Plato of the Cretan constitution in particular, the laws of Crete came to be regarded as the most ancient in Greece.<sup>27</sup> According to Cleinias, Plato's Cretan ambassador in the Laws (624a-625a), Zeus personally educated his mortal son Minos and passed the Cretan laws down to him: Homer's description of Minos as the "converser with mighty Zeus" (Odyssey XIX. 179) is cited as evidence not only for the antiquity of the Cretan laws, but for their divine origin as well.<sup>28</sup> This belief provided a basis for considering Crete the home of the ideal constitution: the Spartans claimed that Lycurgus originally brought their laws from Crete,<sup>29</sup> and according to Morrow, some ancient testimony suggests that Cretan legislators influenced not only Lycurgus, but the Spartans, Zaleucas and Charondas, and even Athenian Solon himself;<sup>30</sup> and Plato in his Laws (704b-705c) deliberately makes Crete the site of his hypothetical Utopian state, Magnesia.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Diodorus Siculus records that the

Cretans believed that the majority of the gods who were benefactors to mankind came originally from Crete (V. 64. 2ff.). Despite the implicit exaggeration, the Cretans could legitimately claim that several gods either appear to be Cretan or to have strong associations with the island-- particularly since Crete gained the reputation, rightly or wrongly, of being the original home of the mysteries (Diod. Sic. V. 77. 4-8), a reputation which, in turn, stemmed from the extremely conservative adherence to prehistoric religious practice during the Classical period on Crete.<sup>32</sup> Among the gods mentioned by Diodorus are: Apollo, supposedly purified on Crete after his slaying of Pytho (Pausanias II. 7. 7; X. 6. 7, 7. 2, and 16. 5) and responsible, in addition, for waylaying a Cretan merchant vessel en route from Cnossos and enlisting all those onboard as the first ministers of his Delphic worship (Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo III. 386-546)--according to Morrow, "from Crete Apollo was believed to have brought to Delphi his rites of purification, later written into the homicide law of Athens and Greece in general";<sup>33</sup> Demeter, whose Eleusinian mysteries may be of Cretan origin;<sup>34</sup> Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth--whose Cretan shrine Odysseus recalls in his Lie to Penelope (Odyssey XIX. 188); the Curetes, whose armed dance and clashing shields prevented Zeus' infant cries from being heard by Kronos (see p. 187 below)--again, according to Morrow, "Cretan rhythms, Cretan paeans to Apollo and the armed dances were familiar both at Athens and Sparta, and were sup-

posedly introduced in imitation of the dances of the Cretan Curetes;<sup>35</sup> the Idaean Dactyls, Cretan divinities renowned as the earliest metalworkers and associated in cult worship with the Curetes (Aeneid III. 131), as well as with the Cabiri and the Corybants (Aeneid III. 111); Heracles, supposedly a Cretan predecessor of Alcmena's son and founder of the Olympian Games;<sup>36</sup> and also Diana, Athena, Dictynna/Britomartis, the vegetation god Zagreus/Dionysus/Zeus, and Rhea.<sup>37</sup>

The topos that Crete represents the archetypal Greek civilization derives, therefore, from what appears to be Crete's long-established associations with Zeus, with ancient law, with maritime power, and with both the Olympians and the pre-Olympian divinities worshipped in the mysteries. Vergil, like his contemporaries--Diodorus Siculus, Cicero, Horace, Propertius, and Ovid--reveals a knowledge of this particular topos and of the myths exemplifying it. At Aeneid III. 104-113, Vergil has Anchises speak of Crete--in a description reminiscent of Odysseus' elaborate excursus on Crete to Penelope (see p. 28 above)--as an influential civilization with its numerous cities, fertile realms, and long history of habitation.<sup>38</sup> In the Underworld episode of Aeneid VI, furthermore, Vergil demonstrates the extent to which Crete has already experienced the authority and renown only promised to the future generations of Italy. Yet as the antiqua mater of Greece, Crete belongs primarily to the ancestral experience of the Trojans' former enemies--a people whose

influence the Romans would later learn to absorb in order to transcend:<sup>39</sup> under the veneer of Crete's former fame, Vergil displays the inhumanity and vain cruelty of a degenerate civilization (see pp. 157-84 below).

Apart from his unmistakable influence throughout Aeneid III, Anchises is ideally suitable as a character for misinterpreting the words of Apollo's prophecy. As an old man, Anchises becomes the reservoir of his race's oral tradition and looks to the past for instruction and guidance (107: "si rite audita recordor"). But this "past," while couched in terms of the Trojan's ancestry, is in effect the Greek literary heritage upon which Vergil himself drew.<sup>40</sup> The past which Vergil has Anchises recall is actually that of Greek epic, a "positive" view of Crete--especially evident in Homer, Hesiod, and those historians and philosophers who followed them in this respect--which remembers Crete as the cradle of Greek civilization, the birthplace of Zeus, the home of the mysteries, etc. Anchises' misinterpretation, in a sense, reflects Vergil's own profound debt to Homer and this tradition. Yet as a Roman epic, the Aeneid cannot accept the Greek epic view of Crete. It is for this reason that the plague breaks out so suddenly in Aeneid III and the Trojans are specifically denied Crete.

Until informed of the Penates' visit, Anchises entirely forgets Cassandra's prophecy just as Aeneas never seems to recall the basic message of Creusa's ghost. Quinn suggests that throughout the poem the alternately recurring

names for Italy--Ausonia, Hesperia, Italia--only "accentuate the uncertainty" of the Trojans' destiny (see n.3). The confusion which both Anchises and Aeneas show in response to the name "Hesperia," in particular, can be understood when we consider that it is simply a geographical designation meaning "west." Throughout the first half of the epic, with the single exception of the Penates' words, Hesperia remains for Aeneas a name with almost no past history or tradition. Aeneas--the man cut off from the past and denied the present, the hero around whom a new mythology will be focused--becomes the counterpart of this land whose promised future so transcends its shadowy past. Crete, on the other hand, represents just the opposite--a dominant past with no promise for the future.

#### The Cretan Sea

After our ships gained the deep and no land any longer  
 Appeared, but sky and sea were on all sides,  
 Then over my head a dark rain-cloud hung,  
 Bringing night and stormy weather, and waves peaked in  
 the dark.

Immediately the winds tumble the sea and the great waters  
 Rise; scattered, we are tossed on the vast whirlpool.  
 Thunderclouds enveloped the day and a wet night swept  
 away

The sky; from exploded clouds, lightning redoubles.  
 We are driven from our course and wander in the blind  
 waves.

Palinurus himself says he cannot distinguish day from  
 night in the sky

Nor does he remember the way through the water's midst.  
 Indeed, three days perhaps we wander on the sea  
 In a blind gloom--and for as many nights without stars.  
 On the fourth day at last, land was first seen  
 To rise.... (Aeneid III. 192-206)

Postquam altum tenuere rates nec iam amplius ullae  
 apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,  
 tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber,  
 noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.  
 continuo venti volvunt mare magnaue surgunt  
 aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto.  
 involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum  
 abstulit; ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.  
 excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis.  
 ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo  
 nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda.  
 tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles  
 erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.  
 quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem  
 visa....

No sooner do the Trojans lose sight of Crete's shores than they are enveloped in such a furious tempest that day becomes indistinguishable from night. So frequently does storm appear as one of the motifs of the epic, however, that the particular significance of this storm in Aeneid III has been overlooked.

Greek literary tradition--influenced undoubtedly by the actual conditions sailors had to face when navigating around Crete--consistently portrays the Cretan Sea as rough and as posing an inevitable threat to those sailing toward, away from, or near the island. The Odyssey alone provides four passages which exemplify this topos: while rounding Maleia, Menelaos' fleet encounters a storm which drives half of the ships to Egypt and casts the others against the rocks on southwest Crete (III. 291-310); in his Lie to Eumaios, Odysseus claims that Zeus destroyed the deceitful Phoenician's vessel just after it passed Crete and was sailing with no land in sight (XIV. 293-310); Eumaios, to show his utter disbelief in any prophecy of Odysseus' return, relates that an

Aetolian stranger once pretended to have seen Odysseus with Idomeneus' Cretans repairing the ships which the winds had damaged (XIV. 378-383); finally, the disguised Odysseus tells Penelope that, twenty years before, her husband was driven by winds to Crete and nearly wrecked in the harbor of Cretan Amnisos (XIX. 185-189). Servius, too, in an attempt to explain where Cretan Pergamea got its name, refers to two traditions which both recall the agency of a storm off Crete--Aeneas in the first is driven by a storm to Crete, and in the second embraces the Trojan captives who withdrew to Crete when Agamemnon's fleet was scattered by a storm (at Aeneid III. 133: see p. 115, n. 7 above); finally, to avert a tempest which threatens his return from Troy, Idomeneus promises to sacrifice to Neptune the first person he meets on Crete--his own son (see p. 120, n. 12 above). Perhaps most influential for the Aeneid, however, is Apollonius Rhodius' description of what Jason encounters on the Cretan Sea--particularly since Vergil's storm sequence leads directly into the meeting by the Trojans of the Harpies, another episode derived in part from the Argonautica: in Book IV of that epic, Jason leaves Crete and is immediately engulfed in a "pall of darkness," a night so black that he is unable to see the stars and the moon or to tell whether he is drifting in Hades or on the sea (1693-1701).

These descriptions of the Cretan Sea display certain common characteristics, many of which the Aeneid III episode shares: a storm sequence--often related in some way to the

will of Zeus/Jupiter or another god--which results in the loss of course, in the (often merited) destruction of life and property, or in some other association with death. The Vergilian storm on the Cretan Sea directly follows Jupiter's denial of Crete to the Trojans, causes Palinurus' total confusion regarding the course the ships must take, and concludes with the Trojans' landing on the mythological Island of the Strophades. Although nobody perishes during this storm, the Cretan Sea episode in Aeneid III carries with it connotations of metaphorical transition from one state of being to another. In this respect, Vergil's sequence contains a similar significance not only to Argonautica IV with its voyage suggestive of a ship sailing in Hades, but to two passages from Greek drama. In Sophocles' Trachiniae, the Cretan Sea represents the "ebb and flow" of mortal existence and becomes a metaphor for life's continual change (112-121):

As one may see the many waves raised by the tireless  
 south  
 Or north wind driven back and forth on the wide sea,  
 So the great suffering of his life--like the Cretan Sea--  
 Now twists Heracles back, now uplifts him.  
 Yet one of the gods always saves him, innocent, from  
 the house of death.

πολλὰ γὰρ ὥστ' ἀκάμαντος  
 ἢ νότου ἢ βορέα τις  
 κύματ' ἂν εὐρέι πόντῳ  
 βάντ' ἐπιόντα τ' ἴδοι,  
 οὕτω δὲ τὸν Καδμογενῆ  
 στρέφει, τὸ δ' αὖξαι βίωτου  
 πολύπονου, ὥσπερ πέλαγος  
 Κρήσιον. ἀλλὰ τις θεῶν  
 αἰὲν ἀναμπλάκητον Ἄι-  
 δα σφε δόμων ἐρύκει.

Euripides uses the recurrent image of water in the Hippolytus to convey Phaedra's losing struggle against her own emotions:

intimately associated with this image is the motif of the Cretan Sea which, on one level, is a physical entity that Phaedra must cross on her way to Athens, yet, on another level, symbolizes an entire range of metaphorical transitions--childhood to maturity, virginity to marriage, infamous homeland to glorious Athens, escape from Crete's promiscuity to a destiny already charted by her mother Pasiphae and her sister Ariadne, and, finally, life to tragic death (753-762):<sup>41</sup>

O white-winged Cretan  
Boat, which across the salt-thudding  
Sea-wave of the brine  
Brought my queen from her rich home--  
A calamitous gratification for her marriage.  
For in truth, it was both from  
(Minos') land that she flew with ill omens  
To glorious Athens  
And that on Mounichia's shore  
They made fast the twisted hawser-ends  
And stepped on the mainland earth.<sup>42</sup>

ὦ λευκόπτερε Κρησία  
πορθμῖς, ἃ διὰ πόντιον  
κῦμ' ἀλίκτηπον ἄλμας  
ἐπόρευας ἐμὴν ἄνασσαν ὀλβίων ἀπ' οἴκων  
κακονυμφοτάταν ὄνασιν· ἦ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων  
<Μινωίδος τ'> ἐκ γὰρ δυσόρ-  
νις ἔπτατο κλεινὰς Ἀθή-  
νας Μουνίχου τ' ἀκταΐσιν ἐκ-  
δήσαντο πλεκτὰς πεισμαίων  
ἀρχὰς ἐπ' ἀπίρου τε γὰρ ἔβασαν.

In Vergil's epic, once Aeneas leaves Crete with the knowledge of his ultimate destination, he will never again seriously consider settling a new Troy. The storm on the Cretan Sea signals an end simultaneously to the Trojans' early wanderings (Thrace, Delos, Crete), to the nostalgia which provides the Trojans with their major motivation at

this time, and to the implicit assumption that the antiqua mater of Greece can offer anything new to the Trojans or to civilization. Yet, combined with Crete's association with death and the past is the fact that Aeneas finally understands while on Crete that Italy is his promised home: in Aeneid III, in other words, Aeneas gains knowledge by experiencing Crete.<sup>43</sup> In Aeneid VI, as a metaphorical demonstration of this idea, Aeneas is made to pass through those areas of Hades represented by the Cretan judges, Minos and Rhadamanthys, before he can gain entrance to Elysium (see pp. 178-84 below).

#### On Crete: Conclusion

In an attempt to understand why Vergil has included Crete among the wanderings of Aeneas, we have compared the poet's depictions of Idomeneus and of Crete with those exhibited in the Odyssey primarily. Vergil, like his predecessor, endows Crete with a central significance, but, unlike Homer, discards Crete very early in his poem, replacing it with the promise of an Italian homeland and of a future Rome. The credibility of Odysseus' lies is based on the fact that Idomeneus still governs Crete and that Crete can still provide Odysseus with a present alternative. Vergil's Crete exists only in a physical sense: as a civilization, it belongs to a past which the Trojans must absorb, but transcend. The very fact that Crete is an island--a characteristic which conforms so well with Odysseus' experience

and with the exigencies of his lies--clashes with Aeneas' fate, associated as it is with land warfare and with mainland city empires like Troy, Carthage, Rome. Vergil demonstrates that Crete has become a cliché--it is too easy to reach and too obvious as an antiqua mater. In his lies, Odysseus claims to be a Cretan who cannot get back to his homeland; his words must be believed because no one has the time to travel to Crete for verification of the stranger's identity. In Aeneid III, on the other hand, Crete is less than three-days' journey from Delos and, when reached, is found to be deserted by anyone who could resist the Trojan settlement there.

Vergil makes Aeneas sail to Crete and then abruptly leave. Aeneid III, while offering the plague and Aeneas' destiny as reasons for the abandonment of Crete, gives no further explanation. For this, we must wait until the Underworld episode of Book VI--where we, along with Aeneas himself, actually encounter many legendary Cretans and discover that Crete represents not only the past, but the inadequacy of Greek ancestral myth and experience for providing a moral exemplar and model for future Rome.

## II.

CRETAN ARCHERY IN THE AENEID

You see the contour of all of Crete, that it is not flat like the land of the Thessalians. For this reason, they make more use of their horses, but we of our runners: for our land is uneven and more suitable for the training of men on foot. It is necessary, in such a case, to possess light weapons and not to carry ones which are heavy. The lightness of bows and arrows seems appropriate.

The Cretan Ambassador Cleinias  
Plato, Laws 625d

Before the Underworld scene, however, we encounter the famous simile of Aeneid IV--where Dido, consumed by her love for Aeneas, is compared to a deer wounded by the arrow of an unknowing shepherd in the woods of Crete (68-73):

Unhappy Dido burns and in her frenzy roams the entire City, like a deer who has been struck by an arrow:  
A deer--incautious in the Cretan woods--whom from afar  
A shepherd, pursuing with his weapons, has struck and  
left the winged tip--  
Unknowing; fleeing, she wanders through the Dictaeon  
Woods and valleys, the deadly shaft fixed in her side.

uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur  
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,  
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit  
pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum  
nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat  
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

While awarding the simile the acclaim and attention it deserves, scholars tend to remain divided in regard to the relative importance of its Cretan setting. On the one hand, there are those who either ignore the setting entirely<sup>44</sup> or, convinced that the geographic reference merely adds color to the description, concern themselves with the mood that the setting creates.<sup>45</sup> Those scholars, on the other hand,

who attempt an explanation for Vergil's specific choice of Crete in these lines suggest either that the Cretans' proverbial fame as archers provided the poet with an obvious setting for a simile about hunting with arrows<sup>46</sup> or that Vergil, by his repeated reference to Crete, alludes to the Cretan princesses whose fates so resemble Dido's tragedy, foreshadowed in the simile itself.<sup>47</sup> Ariadne, the daughter of Minos who found herself deserted by the very man whom she had risked rescuing and loving, offers the clearest analogy for Dido, particularly since Vergil in his handling of Dido's story is so directly indebted to Catullus LXIV. 50-264, the "digression" on Ariadne's tragedy at the hands of Theseus.<sup>48</sup> However, Dido is also compared to Phaedra, whose passion for her stepson Hippolytus resulted in the destruction of them both,<sup>49</sup> and even to Pasiphae, whose perverse love for the bull inspires the poetry of Eclogue VI. 45-60<sup>50</sup> and who is recalled twice in Vergil's Underworld scene of Aeneid VI (24-26, 447). All these studies share the belief that Vergil has carefully chosen Crete as the setting for this particular simile because of the island's traditional association with illicit sexuality--a topos exemplified in fifth-century Athenian drama (see pp. 162 and 168-69, and n. 105 below). Viewed in this context, the simile's Cretan setting implies that Dido's love, like that of the Cretan princesses before her, is unsanctioned and inevitably destructive. Only one scholar, however, has recognized that the symbolic significance of Crete in Aeneid IV is not confined to a single

simile, but that Crete occurs "in a sinister, foreboding context" in various instances throughout Vergil's work-- particularly in Aeneid VI. 14-33 and in several, apparently isolated references from Aeneid IV to XII. Although Rosenquist does not emphasize the fact, most of these latter references contain some allusion to Cretan archery.<sup>51</sup> A study of these particular passages reveals what Rosenquist, by the limitations of his approach, could not: that in the Aeneid reference to Cretan archery carries with it a metaphorical connotation similar to and yet distinct from that contained in other references to Crete or things Cretan.

The Aeneid mentions Cretan archery on four occasions: in the Dido/deer simile discussed above (IV. 68-73); during the Funeral Games for Anchises, when Aeneas promises each contestant in the footrace an axe and two Crossian arrows, shining with polished iron (V. 305-306: "Gnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro/ spicula...."); in Latium, when Chloreus, Cybele's priest, appears in battle magnificently attired in purple and gold and shooting Gortynian arrows from a Lycian bow (XI. 773: "spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu"); and, near the end of the poem, when Jupiter sends as a portent to Turnus one of the Dirae, whose flight down to earth is likened in a simile to an arrow shot by a Parthian or by a Cydonian (XII. 859: "Parthus sive Cydon...."). None of these passages is particularly lengthy. In each case the Cretan archery motif appears as a reference to an arrow (or arrows)<sup>52</sup> combined with an epithet for Crete--whether that be "Cretan,"

"Dictaeon" (for the mountain on which Jupiter was born), "Cnossian," "Gortynian," or "Cydonian" (after the important cities of Crete). Aside from such considerations as metrical convenience and poetic preference, the significance of these epithets is generally the same: by referring to Crete, Vergil invites us to recall every other allusion throughout the Aeneid to Crete in general and to Cretan archery in particular.<sup>53</sup>

Commentators from Servius on have compared these passages with two earlier Vergilian references--Eclogues X. 59-60 and Georgics III. 345<sup>54</sup>--and have attributed the presence of the Cretan archery motif in all of these to the proverbial fame of Cretan archers throughout antiquity.<sup>55</sup> This historical fame is reflected in literature from Homer on. During the Funeral Games for Patroclus in Iliad XXIII, the Cretan hero Meriones wins first prize for the archery contest (859-883). Odysseus, who begins the slaughter of his wife's suitors by turning his bow against them, pretends to be a stranger from Crete in those books directly preceding the Odyssey's climax. In his Hymns Callimachus alludes not only to the ancient association between the archer-deities--Apollo, Artemis, and Dictynna/Britomartis--and Crete (Hymn to Artemis 15-17, 41-44, 189-203), but to the gods' "Cretan archery" as well: Apollo carries "τό τ' ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον" (Hymn to Apollo 33); Artemis holds her "Κυδώνιον τόξον" (Hymn to Artemis 79); and Cretan Dictynna is described as εὐσκοπόν (Hymn to Artemis 190). Like Callimachus, Vergil and

his contemporaries reveal their knowledge of Crete's reputation for archery through their employment of the Cretan epithet: when describing Minos' battle array, Ovid uses the phrase "Cydonaeasque pharetras" in Metamorphoses VIII. 22; Propertius speaks of the Cnossian quiver which hangs from Amor's shoulder (II. 12. 10: "pharetra...Gnosia"); while Horace insists that Helen cannot hide from the Cretan arrows outside her chamber (Odes I. 15. 17: "spicula Gnosii"), and that Telamonian Teucer was not the first to shoot arrows from a Cretan bow (Odes IV. 9. 17-18: "tela Cydonio/direxit arcu").

Because of the apparent lack of any relationship between the Cretan archery motif and both the contexts and characters involved, Vergil's commentators appear satisfied with the notion that, in those particular passages which allude to Cretan archery, the epithet "Cretan" illustrates the poet's "fondness for adorning his subject with allusions of literary, historical and antiquarian interest,"<sup>56</sup> and functions only as an "ornamental" or a "literary" epithet;<sup>57</sup> in this regard, these scholars draw no distinctions between Vergil's poems and the works of Callimachus, Horace, Propertius and Ovid,<sup>58</sup> between Vergil's Aeneid and his earlier Eclogues and Georgics, or even between Crete and both Parthia and Lycia--places equally famous for their archers and often associated with Crete in Vergil's references to archery.<sup>59</sup> Without attempting to qualify all these distinctions, we will show that for Vergil's Aeneid, at least, the explanation

proffered by the commentators is inadequate.

In the Aeneid reference to Cretan archery is neither accidental nor simply ornamental--instead, as Rosenquist suggests, Vergil employs the epithet "Cretan" to emphasize that there is something particularly ominous or foreboding about a scene.<sup>60</sup> What Rosenquist does not recognize is that the Cretan archery motif is linked not only with death, but with the themes of excess and unacceptable alternatives. Cretan arrows prove an ill omen to five major characters whom Vergil associates independently with one another as tragic figures who hold our sympathy from the start (but especially in the wake of their doom) and as victims of their own blameworthy excesses: Nisus, Euryalus, Dido, Camilla, and Turnus.<sup>61</sup> Even more specifically, the references in Books IV, XI and XII to Cretan archery directly forebode and symbolically cause the deaths of the three of these characters who present the most serious threat to Aeneas' divine destiny: Dido, Camilla, and Turnus. In these three examples, the Cretan archery motif is associated quite naturally with three other motifs--the "pastor," the "hunter/hunted," and the "archer-deity" motifs--which help place the episodes which contain reference to Cretan archery within the larger context of the poem's intentions; an examination of these various motifs leads to an understanding of how these deaths, tragic as they are, function as part of the price for Rome's ultimate foundation.

Nisus and Euryalus

During the Funeral Games for Anchises, Aeneas promises the contestants in the footrace that, regardless of their finishing position, they will receive an axe and two Cnossian arrows (V. 305-306).<sup>62</sup> Of the seven contestants in the footrace, only three--Nisus, Euryalus, and Diores--appear again, and in each case their second entrance signals their death.<sup>63</sup> Just before Nisus and Euryalus set out on their night-raid in Aeneid IX, Iulus hands to Euryalus (303-305):

A golden sword, which Cnossian Lycaon had made with  
wondrous  
Art and had rendered portable with an ivory scabbard.

ensem/auratum, mira quem fecerat arte Lycaon  
Cnosius atqueabilem vagina aptarat eburna.

Again, Nisus and Euryalus come into contact with a weapon described as "Cnossian." As an explanation for the Cretan epithet, Williams points to the island's fame for craftsmanship, while Rosenquist goes on to note the allusion to Daedalus--the brilliant artist of Minos' court who nevertheless lost his only son: "here Vergil is using a Cretan setting to foreshadow this tragic end of the two youths: no matter how careful or elaborate the preparation, Nisus and Euryalus, like Icarus, will meet an early death."<sup>64</sup> But the repetition of the particular epithet "Cnossian" reveals the similarity between the scenes of gift-giving in Aeneid V and Aeneid IX: Aeneas freely awards the Cnossian arrows to Nisus and Euryalus (among others),<sup>65</sup> while Iulus later voluntarily offers Euryalus the sword made by Cnossian Lycaon. This similarity, in

turn, is one of many parallels which can be cited to indicate that the footrace incident during the Funeral Games foreshadows the tragic outcome of the night-raid in Aeneid IX:<sup>66</sup> the spilled blood, Nisus' constant protection of Euryalus, the frustrated enterprise, the ambivalence toward the heroes' actions--an attitude which ranges in the first episode from Salius' allegation that Nisus cheated (V. 340-342) to the Trojan sympathy for the youths' beauty and loyalty (V. 343-361), and in the night-raid incident from Vergil's description of the "lust" for murder and booty which inspire Euryalus (IX. 339-374) to Vergil's eulogy for the youths' bravery and friendship (IX. 446-449). In the two passages where the epithet occurs, therefore, Crete forebodes the deaths of these young Trojans whose mutual love wins them immortal fame, but leads to the disastrous failure of their mission. The motif of Cretan archery, in turn, becomes associated not only with death, but with the excesses of love and "lust," as well as with the unacceptable alternative of placing friendship before the demands of society as a whole.<sup>67</sup>

### Dido

Having already discussed the Cretan setting of the Dido/deer simile in Aeneid IV, we must turn our attention to the context of the Cretan archery motif. Several scholars have noted that this particular passage forms the second in a triad of similes describing Dido and Aeneas;<sup>68</sup> in the first of these, the Carthaginian queen is compared to Diana,

wandering over the ridges of Cynthus with her maidens and with a quiver hanging from her shoulder (I. 498-502); in the Dido/deer simile, Vergil likens Dido to a deer, fatally wounded by the arrow of an unknowing shepherd in the Cretan woods (IV. 68-73); while in the third simile, Aeneas is compared to Apollo, renewing the dance on Delos and surrounded by his retinue of worshippers, who include the Cretans (IV. 143-150). The progressive development of these similes provides a metaphorical accompaniment to the narrative which gradually unfolds Dido's tragedy. The image of Dido as a deer wounded by a shepherd's arrow contrasts strikingly with her earlier comparison to the archer-goddess, Diana: Dido's losing struggle against her feelings for Aeneas is depicted by the motif of the hunter (Diana) who becomes hunted (deer). Simultaneously, the extent of Aeneas' agency in this development is illuminated by his comparison first with an ignorant shepherd and then with the archer-god, Apollo--a link being forged between these two similes by Vergil's repetition of "Crete" (IV. 70: "Cresia"; 73: "Dictaeos"; 146: "Cretesque"); as Dido becomes metaphorically weaker, Aeneas becomes metaphorically more powerful. Finally, the "pastor" motif--with all its associations with leadership and with the ideals and compromises inherent in leadership--appears in the figure of the "pastor.../nescius," who unknowingly wounds the deer at Aeneid IV. 71-72; but whatever the implications of this phrase are for Aeneas (see n. 75 below), the simile makes it clear that Dido's ungovernable passion will take precedence

over her responsibilities as queen. As the Cretan arrow becomes the slayer of the deer (IV. 73: "letal<sup>is</sup> harundo"),<sup>69</sup> the Cretan archery motif provides an indicator of Dido's tragic love, which ultimately runs counter to the poem's intended end.

### Camilla

In Aeneid XI. 768-777, Vergil introduces the Trojan Chlo<sup>reus</sup> who appears in battle magnificently arrayed in gold and purple and shooting Gortynian arrows from his Lycian bow:

It happened that Chlo<sup>reus</sup>, sacred to Cybelus and long  
time a priest,  
Gleamed resplendently from afar in his Phrygian arms  
And urged on his foaming horse, which was covered by  
A hide of bronze scales entwined with gold in a plume.  
He himself, blazing in his exotic purple-browns and  
purples,  
Shot Gortynian arrows from a Lycian bow.  
Golden was the bow on his shoulders, golden the helmet of  
The seer. On that occasion, he had fastened his yellow  
mantle  
And its rustling linen folds into a knot with yellow gold;  
His tunic and foreign trousers were detailed with em-  
broidery.

Forte sacer Cybelo Chlo<sup>reus</sup> olimque sacerdos  
insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis  
spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis aenis  
in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.  
ipse peregrina ferrugine clarus et ostro  
spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu;  
aureus ex umeris erat arcus et aurea vati  
cassida; tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque  
crepantis  
carbaceos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro,  
pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum.

While Chlo<sup>reus</sup> himself is an insignificant character, mentioned only once again among those slain by Turnus in Aeneid XII (363: "Chlo<sup>reaque</sup>"), Chlo<sup>reus</sup>' appearance--of which the

Cretan arrows form a part--proves so attractive to Camilla that it lures her to her death: "blindly and incautiously she followed him through the entire army and burned with a woman's lust for booty and spoils" (XI. 781-782: "caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen/femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore"). Here again the Cretan archery motif forebodes the death of one of Aeneas' greatest obstacles, the last ally upon whom Turnus could rely; and, at the same time, the Cretan arrows provide one of many parallels in Vergil's depictions of Dido, Euryalus and Camilla--all of whom become driven by an obsessive "lust" to act recklessly, to abandon their instincts and responsibilities, and to allow themselves to be lured to their destruction.

In the Camilla scene, the Cretan archery motif is also associated with the same three motifs we discussed in relation to Dido/deer simile of Aeneid IV. Whereas Dido becomes Diana only in a metaphorical sense at Aeneid I. 498-502, Camilla is not only the goddess' darling, but the mortal counterpart of Diana herself--huntress and archer; Diana plays a prominent role in the second half of Book XI as the grieving prophet of Camilla's doom and, later, as her avenger. Apollo also appears as a participant in the action, rather than as simply the metaphorical representation of Aeneas at Aeneid IV. 143-150; when Arruns, the Trojan who patiently stalks Camilla throughout the battle, prays that he may kill the "dira... pestis" (XI. 792), it is to Apollo that he directs his prayer--and Apollo, in turn, grants his wish (XI. 784-798). Once

again, we find a female victim identified with Diana, and her destroyer associated closely with Apollo. Furthermore, Vergil begins by describing his heroine as a hunter (XI. 780: "venatrix"), then details how she is hunted and slain (XI. 794-831)--a development vividly represented by the simile which compares Arruns, following his wounding of Camilla and his subsequent flight, to a wolf who, with the knowledge of his reckless deed, retreats after killing a bull or a shepherd (XI. 811-812: "occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco, / conscius audacis facti...").<sup>70</sup> Here the "pastor" Camilla is not the killer, but the victim, a situation very unlike that encountered at Aeneid IV. 68-73: as Hornsby notes, although Vergil assigns Camilla the role of "shepherd-of-the-people," he portrays her as unsuccessful because she has not learned to put aside her personal feelings ("femineo praedae et spoliorem...amore") for the public interest<sup>71</sup>-- a lesson which Aeneas was forced to learn in Aeneid IV.

### Turnus

In his prayer to Apollo, Arruns refers to Camilla as a "dira...pestis" (XI. 792). Interestingly, the final reference to Cretan archery in the Aeneid occurs in conjunction with one of the Dirae--"geminae pestes cognomine Dirae" (XII. 845)--the loathsome goddess whom Jupiter sends to earth as a portent of Turnus' death (XII. 856-859):

Even as an arrow shot from a string through a cloud:  
An arrow which, armed with the juice of a violent poison,  
a Parthian,  
A Parthian or a Cydonian sent forth--an incurable shaft.

It hisses and passes through the swift shadows, unknown.

Non secus ac nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta,  
armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni,  
Parthus sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit,  
stridens et celeris incognita transilit umbras.

Because only two figures--the arrow and its archer--appear in this simile, the presence of the word "Cydon" becomes significant, particularly since the Cretans, despite their proverbial fame as archers, are not specifically associated with the use of poisoned arrows. The question arises, why should Vergil have added "Cydon" to the already repeated "Parthus?"<sup>72</sup>

The foreboding aspect of Cretan arrows in general provides a perfect complement for the Dira in particular: just as Cretan arrows symbolize ill omen, so the Dirae not only are described in such terms (XII. 846: "importuna"; 876: "obscenae"), but personify "Ill Omen"--it is appropriate, in other words, for the Dira sent as a portent of Turnus' doom to be represented metaphorically as an arrow shot by a Cretan archer. Like most references to Crete in the Aeneid, the Dirae are associated with death: the dread goddesses bring disease, war, and "awful death" (XII. 849-850: "letum horrificum"), assume the shape of the tomb-haunting owl (XII. 863), utter the cry of death (XII. 877: "letalumque sonum"), and portend destruction (XII. 869ff.). If we regard the Dirae as synonymous with the Furies--Allecto and Tisiphone<sup>73</sup>--we can see how Vergil, who carefully associates both the goddesses and Crete with the Underworld,<sup>74</sup> could employ the image of the Cretan arrow as another expression of

the Furies' sinister, death-related aspect: Vergil describes the Dirae as sisters of "Tartaream...Megaeram" (XII. 846); and, as we already know, Tisiphone herself inhabits the Tartarus of Cretan Rhadamanthys (VI. 554-572). Finally, the Cydonian archer represents Jupiter, who is responsible for sending the Dira/arrow to earth: the epithet proves totally appropriate for Jupiter, whom Vergil, like his literary predecessors, closely associates with Crete (Georgics II. 536; Georgics IV. 149-152; Aeneid III. 104, 116, 171).

Those motifs which we have become accustomed to finding associated with the image of Cretan archery reappear in a more subtle configuration in Aeneid XII. The word "pastor," for example, does not occur in either the Dira/arrow simile or its immediate context: Jupiter is described simply as "Parthus" or "Cydon." The absence of the term, on the other hand, results from the fact that Vergil never refers to a god as "pastor"--a case supported by the passages we have mentioned previously and, in Aeneid XII, by an earlier simile which compares Aeneas, on the verge of firing Latinus' city, to a shepherd smoking out a beehive (587-592: "inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor...."). The Aeneas/shepherd simile and the Dira/arrow simile mirror one another, for they signal major changes of events within Aeneid XII: Aeneas' firing of the city forces Turnus to face his obligations and, as a result, to frustrate Juturna's attempt to keep him from confronting Aeneas directly, while Jupiter's dispatch of the Dira simultaneously forces Juturna to abandon her brother to

his fate and reflects the recent reconciliation between Jupiter and Juno. But Jupiter's intervention also indicates his concern for "pastor" Aeneas, the poem's representation of civilization.<sup>75</sup>

The immediate context for this intervention involves Juturna's blatant act of restoring to Turnus the sword which he had lost during his flight from Aeneas (XII. 728-790). Yet, as far as Jupiter is concerned, this incident proves far less significant than another--Juturna's suspected wounding of Aeneas with an arrow earlier in Aeneid XII (318-323). That the Dira sent by Jupiter should be represented as an arrow shot by a Cretan archer makes sense, therefore, on another level: Jupiter sends his Dira--the minister of his will, the avenger of spilled blood, the embodiment of retaliation (XII. 849-852)--because he wishes to punish Juturna, the spiller of Aeneas' blood. Jupiter metaphorically becomes the archer who shoots the arrow which both mirrors and avenges the arrow Juturna sent against Aeneas. Within Aeneid XII, in other words, we find the archer-deity motif is exemplified by Juturna's gradual shift from her active protection of Turnus to her reluctant retreat in the face of his doom.

Unlike Aeneas' injury, however, the wound of Turnus promises to be fatal. Vergil repeatedly emphasizes this in the simile by focusing upon the poisonous and incurable aspect of the Cretan arrow (XII. 857-858: "armatam saevi... quam felle veneni / ...telum immedicabile"); in essence, the simile looks not only back to Juturna's wounding of Aeneas,

but ahead to Aeneas' slaying of Turnus. It is striking that Vergil, by metaphorically portraying Jupiter as Aeneas' avenger, anticipates Aeneas' own motivation for killing Turnus: Aeneas avenges the death of Pallas, while Jupiter, partly to avenge the spilled blood of Aeneas, sends the Dira as a portent of Turnus' death. Pallas' baldrick (XII. 938-952) and Jupiter's Dira symbolize the mortal's and the god's motivation. In the process of contrasting the divine reconciliation between Jupiter and Juno (XII. 791-842) with the lack of human mercy Aeneas shows to Turnus at the end of Aeneid XII, we must view Aeneas' action as a reflection of Jupiter's sending of the Dira. On the one hand, Aeneas' slaughter of Turnus and Jupiter's intervention with the Dira are the direct result of Turnus' often excessive behavior. Yet, on the other hand, there is something terribly disturbing about Vergil's description of Aeneas' action at the end of the Aeneid (XII. 946-947: "furiis accensus et ira/terribilis"; 950-951: "hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit/fervidus"). Finally, regarding Jupiter's intervention, Johnson goes so far as to say that:<sup>77</sup>

In this sense [i.e. in the sense of Turnus' ignorance of Juno's and Allecto's intentions--an ignorance Turnus shares with Aeneas] the ugliness of his [Turnus'] death and the behavior of the Dira (and of Jupiter in sending her) seem, to put it as mildly as possible, excessive.

Once again Vergil associates the Cretan archery motif with death, unacceptable alternatives and excess, but the implications of this association are more ambivalent than ever.

Cretan Archery: Conclusion

Aeneas' wound, which eludes the skill of the surgeon Iapyx, is cured by Venus in a notable way: Aeneas' divine parent resorts to using "dictamnus," an herb which grows on Cretan Ida and provides a salve for goats wounded by arrows (XII. 412-415: "dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida... / non illa feris incognita capris/gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere saggittae"). This image, so reminiscent of the Dido/deer simile with its Cretan setting and reference to an animal wounded by an arrow,<sup>78</sup> is particularly striking since it associates Crete with the restoration of life, rather than with its destruction. As we have mentioned, Vergil on two other important occasions associates Crete simultaneously with death and with the knowledge which leads to progress (see p. 137 above): on plague-ridden Crete Aeneas first comprehends that Italy is his ultimate destination; similarly, only after Aeneas has passed through the traditional realms of Hades presided over by the Cretan judges, Minos and Rhadamanthys, can he gain access to Roman Elysium and to the prophetic vision of his promised race. In his representation of Crete, Vergil seems to incorporate what Nilsson believes to have been an essential characteristic of pre-Greek, Minoan religion--that duality between life and death which underlies the implications of sacral kingship, the myth of Polyidus' rejuvenation of Glaucus, the concept of Elysium, and the traditional cult practices which survived in Crete even during the historical period (see p. 57 and n. 64 above).

Then by applying this idea of Crete's symbolic dual aspect to the image of Cretan archery in the Aeneid, we discover that-- while Cretan arrows forebode the deaths of such prominent figures as Dido, Nisus, Euryalus, Camilla, and Turnus<sup>79</sup>-- they prove ill-omened specifically to those whose weaknesses pose the most serious threat to the very subject of Vergil's poem. The deaths, tragic as they are, represent the price of progress.

## III.

"FUGIENS MINOIA REGNA": AENEID VI

- 15 Daedalus, so the story goes, fleeing the realm of Minos,  
 Dared on swift wings to entrust himself to the sky;  
 And, flying away on an unaccustomed journey toward the  
     icy North,  
 At last hung hovering above the Chalcidian hill.  
 Here first restored to earth, to you Phoebus, he dedicated  
 His carage of wings and built an immense temple.  
 20 On the doors was the death of Androgeus; next, the  
     children of Cecrops  
 Ordered to pay the penalty--pitiful! Every year seven  
 Bodies of their sons: the urn stands with its lots drawn.  
 Opposite, arising from the sea, the Cnossian land appears:  
 Here is the cruel love of the bull, the mating in secret  
 25 Of Pasiphae, the mixed breed and double-formed offspring--  
     The Minotaur--monument of impious love.  
 Here is the house of toil and the maze inextricable;  
 But, pitying the great love of the princess,  
 Daedalus himself disentangled his building's deceptions  
     and windings,  
 30 Guiding blind steps with a thread. And you also, Icarus,  
 Would have a great part in such a work--would grief permit;  
 Twice he tried to fashion in gold your fall,  
 Twice a father's hand fell. Indeed they would have con-  
     tinued  
 Examining everything with their eyes, but....<sup>80</sup>

- Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna,  
 15 praepetibus pinnis ausus se credere caelo.  
 insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos  
 Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.  
 redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebus, sacrauit  
 remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.  
 20 in foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas  
 Cecropidae iussi, miserum! septena quotannis  
 corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.  
 contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus:  
 hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto  
 25 Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis  
 Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae;  
 hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;  
 magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem  
 Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,  
 30 caeca regens filo vestigia. tu quoque magnam  
 partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes;  
 bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,

bis patriae cecidere manus. quin protinus omnia  
perlegerent oculis, ni....

Aeneid VI. 14-34

In Daedalus' depiction of the labyrinth myth on the doors of the Apollo temple at Cumae (Aeneid VI. 14-34), we along with Aeneas re-encounter the island of Crete. It is not the Crete of Aeneid III--a land destitute of her king and uninhabitable by others--but a powerful civilization, capable of preventing all but the most inventive from escaping her shores and of forcing even Athens to pay Minos' ghastly tribute to the Minotaur. Yet despite this surface incongruity, in both cases Crete is associated with death, the past, and unacceptable alternatives. What has changed in Vergil's presentation of Crete between Books III and VI is not simply the alteration of the island's physical appearance and historical setting--which bring about this discrepancy--but the conversion of "Crete" from an actual adventure to a poetic symbol. In the earlier episode, Crete, plague-ridden and scorched with drought, proves to be quite literally: the death of many Trojans and the ruin of their crops; a land bereft of any present civilization; the unsuccessful settlement of a second Pergamum; the wrong part of the Trojans' ancestral past; and, in general, a mistaken homeland. In Aeneid VI, on the other hand, not only does Crete's story form a preface to the Underworld episode, but the Cretan labyrinth becomes Vergil's model for his intricately structured "house" of the dead (see pp. 162-84 below). Aeneas, further-

more, gazing upon the representation of Crete's former glory, confronts a scene which differs significantly from the Trojan War depiction on the Juno temple in Carthage (I. 453-493), for the first ecphrasis displays the recent history of Aeneas and his generation, whereas Daedalus' doors picture events which lie outside the experience of either.<sup>81</sup> Even for Aeneas, Crete's pre-eminence remains deeply rooted in the Greek heroic past<sup>82</sup>--a fact illustrated by the appearance of certain characters both in the ecphrasis and in the Underworld generally, by the number of "Cretans"<sup>83</sup> whose names alone tell their stories in Aeneid VI, and by Vergil's establishment of Minos and Rhadamanthys in their "traditional" roles as judges of the dead. In the end, the preface with its Cretan myth of the Greek past functions as an appropriate complement to the pageant at the close of the Underworld episode, where Aeneas is introduced to his unborn descendants, the future heroes of Rome (756-885). Vergil's description of Crete's former civilization--her hegemony over Athens, her past patronage of the remarkable artist/builder Daedalus, as well as her reputation for justice and law, bound up in the figures of Minos and Rhadamanthys--demonstrates the extent to which Crete has already experienced the authority and prestige only promised to the future generations of Italy (791-807, 851-853).<sup>84</sup> Yet the ecphrasis also suggests what we shall continuously discover about Crete throughout Aeneid VI--the island's association with sexual excess, cruelty, and murder.<sup>85</sup> Because of the nature of her illustrious past,

Crete represents the inadequacy of Greek ancestral myth and expertise for providing a moral exemplar and model for future Rome.

Vergil's metaphorical use of Crete can be understood by examining how Aeneid VI, despite its obvious debt to Odyssey XI, differs from its Homeric source in terms of its choice and presentation of various "Cretan" characters and Cretan topoi. Among those characters associated with Cretan myth, there are three whose appearance in Vergil's Underworld is deliberately reminiscent of their presence in Homer's Hades: Minos in his role as judge of the dead (Odyssey XI. 568-571; Aeneid VI. 430-433); Phaedra, whose name appears along with those of other mythical heroines (Odyssey XI. 321; Aeneid VI. 445); and Procris, the Athenian heroine associated in the same line with Phaedra. On the other hand, there are also three "Cretan" characters whose Vergilian treatment notably contrasts with their depiction by Homer. Rhadamanthys, although associated in both epics with the Afterlife, is connected with the Elysian Field in Odyssey IV (561-569), but with Tartarus in Aeneid VI (566-569). Ariadne, whose elopement with Theseus and subsequent slaying by Dionysus are described in Homer's Hades episode (321-325), does not appear by name in Vergil's poem. And Theseus, whom Homer pictures with either Ariadne (see above) or Pirithous (Odyssey XI. 631), is not directly associated in Aeneid VI with the Cretan characters,<sup>86</sup> but with Pirithous' disastrous attempt to kidnap Persephone from Hades (Odyssey XI. 392-397, 601-603/617-618).

Finally, Vergil, while retaining for the most part the Odyssey's list of "Cretan" characters, introduces an additional collection of characters--Daedalus, Androgeus, Pasiphae, the (Cretan) bull, the Minotaur, and Icarus--all of whom appear together in Aeneid VI, where they figure prominently in the labyrinth myth; Homer, by contrast, reveals no knowledge of this particular myth.<sup>87</sup> Whereas Homer scatters his references to "Cretan" characters throughout the Odyssey, Vergil, prior to the Underworld episode, specifically associates only Idomeneus and Jupiter with Crete; the other "Cretan" characters--those who appear in the ecphrasis, as well as those like Phaedra, Rhadamanthys, and Procris, who appear in the Underworld--are all found for the first time in Aeneid VI.<sup>88</sup>

In his epic Vergil consciously conditions our response to Crete by portraying the island as either desolate and plague-ridden (Aeneid III) or inhabited by a cruel and lascivious people (Aeneid VI). Vergil achieves this effect in part by his careful selection and manipulation of Cretan topoi. The Odyssey--with its "recollection" of Crete's reputation for seafaring, her association with the Afterlife, her role as halting-place for various heroes and perhaps as archetypal model of civilization, and despite its clever use of Crete's reputation for lying--presents the island in a favorable light. Vergil, on the other hand, undermines several of these topoi: the "Afterlife topos" by his portrayals of Minos and Rhadamanthys; the "halting-place topos" by his demonstration of

Crete's destructive nature; and the "civilization topos" by his introduction of a topos particularly evident in tragedy and in those works influenced by that genre--Crete's association with illicit sexuality.<sup>89</sup> By so doing, Vergil rejects the Odyssey's particular significance of Crete and presents--despite the apparent Homeric reminiscences--a uniformly negative depiction of both the island and its inhabitants. The representation on the Cumaean doors--like the thread of Daedalus himself--provides a clue for unraveling the complex scheme of this Cretan creation.

#### The Ecphrasis and the Underworld Episode

Vergil's preface to the Underworld episode has occasioned opposing critical reactions. There are scholars, on the one hand, who share Norden's contention that these opening lines unnecessarily "retard" the action of Aeneid VI, while others follow the approach first taken by Verrall, who demonstrated that the Cretan labyrinth is used by Vergil as a symbol for Hades and that a definite parallelism exists between the events described in Aeneid VI. 14-34 and Aeneas' imminent descent into the Underworld:<sup>90</sup>

...the Labyrinth--the entangled maze from which return is impossible, save with the clue given by the maker--must be intentionally suggestive of the Underworld, where Aeneas was to wander under the guidance of the Sibyl and with the help of the golden bough, the sign that his enterprise had received divine sanction.<sup>91</sup>

Implicit in Verrall's statement is the recognition of a number of important associations--labyrinth/Underworld,

(Theseus)/Aeneas, Daedalus/Sibyl, and thread/golden bough-- all of which play a part in the consciously complex imagery of Aeneid VI.<sup>92</sup>

Perhaps the most famous advocate of Verrall's thesis is Knight, who in his Cumaean Gates argues conclusively that Vergil did not invent the association between labyrinth and Underworld, but that the maze is a folklore motif representing both cave and tomb. In Vergil's hands the labyrinth becomes a poetic symbol for: the elaborate rituals of purification and initiation which Aeneas must undergo before his fated rendezvous with Anchises in Hades; the tortuous descent from the Sibyl's cave into the highly structured Vergilian Underworld; the ignorance and confusion which characterize Aeneas, particularly at the outset of his journey; and the process of passing from one state of being to another.<sup>93</sup> Rosenquist, in his exhaustive study of Vergil's language at the opening of Aeneid VI, goes further than Knight or any previous scholar in demonstrating how the labyrinth image is anticipated by the simile describing the "Lusus Troiae" (Aeneid V. 588-591) and is evoked throughout the Underworld episode.<sup>94</sup> For Rosenquist the labyrinth alone--rather than Crete in general--becomes associated symbolically with the underworld, death, and the past (especially Aeneas').<sup>95</sup>

At Aeneid VI. 122 Aeneas calls attention to the fact that he--like "Thesea magnum," among others--claims descent from Jupiter and should be permitted, as a result, to pass alive into Hades. As Zarker indicates, however, Vergil

establishes an identification between Aeneas and Theseus by subtly alluding in the ecphrasis to the Athenian hero who successfully challenged the Cretan labyrinth.<sup>96</sup> Because Theseus is not referred to by name in the preface of Aeneid VI, his presence must be inferred from Vergil's extremely concentrated description of the myth depicted on Daedalus' doors. Although other passages may be cited,<sup>97</sup> lines 28-30 provide the clearest evidence that Theseus, as Verrall expresses it, "is prominent in Virgil's thoughts throughout"<sup>98</sup>--"magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem/Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,/caeca regens filo vestigia." According to the majority of commentators from Servius on, Vergil essentially summarizes what Catullus says in LXIV--that Ariadne's great love for Theseus inspired Daedalus, builder of the labyrinth and fellow-countryman of Theseus, to provide the clue necessary for the Athenian hero's safe return from the labyrinth: in other words, Vergil means for us to interpret regina as Ariadne and the caeca vestigia as belonging to Theseus.<sup>99</sup> Thus Aeneas, just prior to his hazardous journey into the Underworld, becomes associated with the victor of the labyrinth, symbol of Vergilian Hades. Following this analogy through, Vergil fashions Daedalus into a mythical counterpart of the Sibyl, who personally directs the Roman hero, Aeneas, through the entangled structure of Hades. And the filum, which enables Theseus to find his way through the labyrinth, anticipates the golden bough, without which Aeneas cannot even gain entrance into the house of death; Vergil's descrip-

tions of the golden bough--"the golden-haired produce of the tree" (141: "auricomos...arbore fetus") and "the gold-leaf rustling in a calm wind" (209: "leni crepitabat brattea vento") --emphasize its fragility and the tenuous balance between life and death maintained by Aeneas throughout the Underworld episode. One of the reasons, therefore, for Vergil's selection and particular description of the labyrinth myth is to provide Aeneas with a precedent or model for his descent into Hades.

Superficially, Vergil appears to offer yet another of Theseus' heroic exploits--his descent with Pirithous into the Underworld (the incident alluded to at Aeneid VI. 122)--as an even closer parallel for Aeneas. Yet, as Zarker points out in his examination of subsequent Vergilian references to Theseus (VI. 392-397, 617-618; see pp. 176-77 below), the Athenian hero in the end proves to be an inadequate moral exemplar for Aeneas--for Theseus and Pirithous gained entrance into the Underworld with the impious intention of kidnapping Persephone from Hades:<sup>100</sup>

One might even suggest that in Vergil's poetic but basically unsympathetic portrayal of Theseus there is a "tacita censura" of the morality and spiritual direction (i.e. "pietas") of the Greeks in general and of the Athenians in particular.

The implied comparison in the ecphrasis between Aeneas and Theseus is later overturned by Vergil's brief, yet decisive treatment of the Athenian hero whom Aeneas so confidently associates himself with at Aeneid VI. 122.

I suggest that Vergil's "unsympathetic portrayal of Theseus" forms the second half of a process at work throughout Aeneid VI. The first half of this process involves the deprecation of Cretan characters at the expense of Athenian characters and is illustrated by Vergil's deliberate selection of the labyrinth myth for depiction in the ecphrasis and by Vergil's unique portrayal of the Cretans who inhabit his Underworld. Norden long ago recognized that Vergil has Daedalus represent the labyrinth myth on two doors--on the first, the events which took place in Athens (20-22) and, on the other, the events which took place in Crete (23-30).<sup>101</sup> One of the reasons for the continued popularity of the labyrinth myth throughout antiquity is that it blends Cretan and Athenian myth; Vergil visually demonstrates the fusion of these local myths in the deliberate balance he maintains on Daedalus' temple doors. The visual opposition between Athenian setting and Cretan setting, however, becomes emblematic of the fact that any fusion of Athenian and Cretan myth automatically condemns the latter, since the focus of this fusion is undoubtedly pro-Athenian and finds its supreme expression in Attic tragedy.<sup>102</sup> Vergil discredits Crete by depicting Crete from an Athenian point of view and by implicitly associating Aeneas with Theseus in his role as leader/savior of the Athenian youths. In the second half of the process, Vergil then erodes the association between Aeneas and Theseus, thus pointing out the narrow concerns and time-worn symbolism of Greek mythological tradition: Athens becomes discredited

by Rome. In the end, an examination of Vergil's use of Cretan myth in the creation of his Underworld episode reveals the extent to which he has manipulated the Greek literary association of Crete with the Underworld in order to reject that model and replace it with a more philosophical, Roman model.

### Aeneas in the Underworld

The first Cretan whom Aeneas sees in the Underworld is none other than Minos in his "traditional" role as judge of the dead (430-433):

After these [the souls of the infants] are those condemned to death on a false charge.  
By no means are these positions assigned without lot,  
without a judge:  
Minos, the examiner, shakes the urn; he summons the  
silent  
Council, and learns their lives and crimes.

hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis.  
nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:  
quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum  
conciliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit.

We are reminded immediately of Odyssey XI. 568-571, which describes Minos as seated, golden scepter in hand, listening to the cases of the dead in Hades (see pp. 56-57 above). If we examine Vergil's passage carefully, however, we discover several significant differences: the absence in the Aeneid of any reference to Minos' descent from Jupiter; the specification that Vergil's Minos judges only the cases of those unjustly accused; and the replacement of Homer's golden scepter by the Roman urn and lot.<sup>103</sup>

Reference to Minos appears elsewhere in Homer's

poems, where the focus is upon the genealogy of Idomeneus and (later) of Idomeneus' fictional brother, Aethon. We learn that Minos was: a son of Jupiter; the moral sire of the Cretan royal family; a king who "cared for his people" (Iliad XIII. 450); as well as the mortal exemplar on Crete of Jupiter's rule (see pp. 69 and 74-75 above). Countless sources besides Homer "remember" Minos in a favorable light as righteous king, divinely inspired ruler, mortal founder of Crete's ancient social and political institutions, scourge of piracy, as well as Underworld judge of men's sins on earth.<sup>104</sup> Vergil's description of Minos might appear, at first, to belong exclusively to this laudatory tradition were it not for the compelling evidence that Attic tragedy emphasizes the savagery, injustice, and cruel ambition of the Cretan tyrant. [Although all the plays which portrayed Minos have been lost, fragments of these works combined with ancient testimony suggest: that in Euripides' Cretans Minos is not only accused by Pasiphae of "blood-thirsty deeds and the slaughter of men" as well as of failing to acknowledge his responsibility for her scandalous behavior, but is later shown by the Chorus of Initiates to have judged Pasiphae's case rashly and unjustly; that in Sophocles' Theseus Minos may have displayed the same lascivious intentions towards his Athenian captive, Eriboea, as he did in Bacchylides' earlier Theseus or Youths; that in Euripides' Theseus a violent altercation ensues between Minos and Theseus (?), whom Minos has sentenced to death along with the other

Athenian youths; that in Sophocles' Camicans Minos meets his death while trying to trap Daedalus, who has fled from Crete; and that in Aeschylus' Cretan Women, Sophocles' Seers or Polyidus, and Euripides' Polyidus Minos forces the seer, Polyidus, at the risk of his own life, to rejuvenate Minos' dead child, Glaucus.<sup>105</sup> So striking is the difference between these traditions of Minos' character that Diodorus Siculus actually expresses his disapproval of certain myths because they portray Minos as impious (V. 76. 4). Vergil, however, uses this incongruity to his own advantage--cloaking his description of Minos in the robes of the first tradition, while allowing his poetry and carefully contrived context to undermine that very association.

In the Aeneid Minos' judicial function in the Underworld becomes inextricably linked with the terrors of the labyrinth and of the Minotaur. Vergil refers only twice to Minos: in the passage we have been discussing (VI. 430-433), and at Aeneid VI. 14, where Vergil specifically chooses the epithet "Minoia" to indicate the kingdom from which Daedalus fled to Cumae.<sup>106</sup> In this same preface, as I mentioned previously (see pp. 160-61 above), Vergil introduces a cast of characters who are all directly associated with the story of Athens' tribute to the Minotaur--the most damning of the myths about Crete. The man ultimately responsible for the wretched deaths of so many Athenian youths (21: "miserum!"), the king whom Daedalus was forced to flee (14: "Daedalus... fugiens Minoia regna"), is none other than Minos himself.

These youths, furthermore, are chosen by lots drawn from an urn--"stat ductis sortibus urna" (22)--the very action Vergil employs to characterize Minos' position as judge of those souls unjustly condemned to death:<sup>107</sup> "nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:/quaesitor Minos urnam movet" (431-432). One may argue that Vergil is merely adapting the details of Roman judicial procedure in order to "update" the recognized image of Minos as judge in Hades. But this does not explain why Vergil chose to focus upon the lot method rather than upon Theseus' voluntary sacrifice--the very motivation ascribed to Theseus in Catullus LXIV. 80-83--the poem which very much influenced Vergil's own description of the labyrinth myth in Aeneid VI. Thus, Vergil simultaneously confines Minos' sphere in Hades--for the first time in literary history--to only those unjustly condemned, and contrives Aeneid VI. 430-433 to echo the description in the preface to the Underworld episode. We are forced to conclude that Vergil, by so doing, draws attention to the contradictory and almost sinister nature of Minos' position. In the process, Vergil totally undercuts Minos' apparent role as moral exemplar for Aeneas.

Only a few lines later, Aeneas reaches the Fields of Mourning, the "Lugentes Campi" filled with those "whom harsh love has wasted away with its cruel pestilence" (442: "quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit"). Here Aeneas discovers Pasiphae (447), whose representation on Daedalus' doors had previously captured the interest of the hero: "hic crudelis

amor tauri suppostaque furto/Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque  
 biformis/Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae" (24-26).  
 These few lines with their allusion to Pasiphae's strange passion  
 for the (Cretan) bull, her deception of the bull by means of  
 a wooden cow constructed for her by Daedalus, and her sub-  
 sequent delivery of the hybrid Minotaur present a picture of a  
 woman whose love is as tragic as it is illicit. Nor is  
 Pasiphae the only "Cretan" character who inhabits the Fields  
 of Mourning.<sup>108</sup> Immediately preceding Pasiphae, Aeneas saw  
 Pasiphae's daughter, Phaedra, as well as Procris in a line  
 which almost echoes Odyssey XI. 321 (Aeneid VI. 445):

his Phaedram Procrim locis maestamque Eriphylen...

Φαίδραμ τε Πρόκριν τε ἴδον καλήν τ' Ἀριάδην...

Vergil shows his familiarity with Phaedra's story when he  
 refers to her later in the Aeneid as "the step-mother"  
 whose artifice ended the life of Hippolytus/Virbius (VII.  
 765-766: "namque ferunt fama Hippolytus, postquam arte  
 novercae/occiderit"). Procris, finally, is mentioned only  
 once in both the Odyssey and the Aeneid. While it is pos-  
 sible that neither Homer nor Vergil had any thematic reason for  
 placing the names "Phaedra" and "Procris" together, I would  
 like to suggest that Vergil did so deliberately. There is a  
 story that Procris, wife of Athenian Cephalus, was at one time  
 the mistress of Minos, and that the javelin with which  
 Cephalus accidentally slew her was the gift of the Cretan king  
 (Apollod. III. 15. 1).<sup>109</sup> Ovid, Vergil's younger contemporary,

reveals his knowledge of this story in his Remedia Amoris (433):

In Procris Minos lost his passion for Pasiphae.

Pasiphaes Minos in Procride perdidit ignes.

Vergil, in other words, lists Minos' wife, daughter, and mistress within twenty lines of his description of Minos. Vergil's placement of the "Lugentes Campi" episode, like his allusion to "Minoia regna" in the ecphrasis, implicates Minos in the illicit and destructive type of love which infests the Cretan royal house, and, as a result, further tarnishes Minos' reputation as judge in the Underworld.

There remains, in this particular episode, the question of Vergil's substitution of "Eriphyle" for Homer's metrically equivalent "Ariadne." While Norden has explained Eriphyle's presence in Aeneid VI. 445,<sup>110</sup> no one has offered any reason for Ariadne's omission. My suggestion is that Vergil has rendered direct reference to Ariadne unnecessary by his wording of line 460, in which Aeneas addresses Dido's unforgiving shade--"invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi": the word "regina" reminds us of its only other appearance in Aeneid VI at line 28, where Vergil alludes to Ariadne's great love for Theseus--"magnum reginae...amorem." Dido is thus compared to Ariadne,<sup>111</sup> and Aeneas to Theseus: our "Theseus" comes face to face with the "Ariadne" he has just deserted.<sup>112</sup> A favorite subject in the first century B.C., Theseus' desertion of Ariadne forms the central concern of

Catullus LXIV, finds its way into Propertius' poetry, and is repeatedly referred to by Ovid.<sup>113</sup> For the writers of Latin love poetry, this story becomes the symbol of man's fickleness toward woman. Vergil is certainly aware of this significance. Unlike Catullus' Theseus who, according to a despairing Ariadne, faithlessly deserted his plighted bride on a lonely island--"perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?" (LXIV. 133)--Vergil's Aeneas "returns" to tell Dido that only with reluctance and at the commands of both the gods and his own relentless fate did he leave Carthage (VI. 450-466). Aeneas cannot be forgiven by his former lover, who is comforted by Sychaeus (VI. 472-474), as Catullus' Ariadne is comforted by Bacchus (LXIV. 251-264). And yet we are able to forgive Aeneas. In the process we realize that Vergil has indicated another of Theseus' faults, just as he does earlier when he depicts Charon automatically rebuking Aeneas at the Styx--for Charon assumed that Aeneas, like his predecessors Theseus and Pirithous, intends some treacherous mission in Hades (VI. 392-397).<sup>114</sup> Vergil reminds us of Theseus' impiety in the first passage, and, more subtly, of Theseus' faithlessness in the second.

As soon as Dido disappears, Aeneas resumes his journey and quickly reaches the "farthest fields," the dwelling place of those souls renowned for warfare (VI. 477-478: "arva tendebant/ultima"). Here, at the end of one of Hades' geographic areas, the Sibyl indicates the place where the road splits in two--the right fork toward Elysium, the left fork

toward Tartarus (540-543). It is in Tartarus that we find the last Cretan inhabitant of Vergil's Underworld.<sup>115</sup>

According to the Sibyl:

Cnossian Rhadamanthys rules these most harsh realms:  
He punishes and hears the crimes of men, forcing them  
to confess,  
Whenever anyone on earth, exulting in vain deceit,  
Has put off until later, in death, the incurred  
atonement.

Gnosius haec Rhadamanthys habet durissima regna  
castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri,  
quae quis apud superos, furto laetatus inani,  
distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.

Because no innocent soul is admitted to Rhadamanthys' realm, Aeneas must simply hear from the Sibyl what goes on in Tartarus.

We are immediately struck by the difference between this scene and anything we have previously encountered in the Odyssey. To begin with, there is no Hell in Homer's poem; although the poet refers to some of the legendary sinners in his Hades episode (XI. 576-600), Homer gives no indication that these sinners occupy a separate area and, instead, designs his Hades as a spectacle of the past for Odysseus' benefit, rather than as a moral lesson for a nation. A dichotomy does exist in the Odyssey between Hades and the Elysian Field--that paradisaal spot at the limits of the earth where certain heroes live eternally (IV. 561-570). Here in the Elysian Field, as I have mentioned previously (see pp. 18-19 and 57 above), Homer specifies that Rhadamanthys dwells. Various commentators have pointed out how subsequent sources appear to follow the same general tradition as Homer:<sup>116</sup>

Pindar states that the righteous go to the Isles of the Blessed, where Rhadamanthys shares the judgment seat forever with Cronus (Olym. II. 70-76); Plato in his Apology has Socrates say that he may find Rhadamanthys, Minos, Aeacus, and Triptolemus in Hades among the judges who lived justly while on earth (41a), and in his Georgics pictures Rhadamanthys, Minos, and Aeacus as sitting as judges "in the Meadow at the parting of the ways, whence the two ways lead, one to the Isles of the Blessed and the other to Tartarus" (524a); while Diodorus Siculus suggests that the reputation which both Rhadamanthys and Minos had for justice led to the myth that they were appointed judges in Hades (V. 79. 2).

Butler perhaps best summarizes the difference between this "Homeric" tradition and Vergil's depiction of Rhadamanthys: "there is nothing earlier than Vergil making Rhadamanthys the especial judge of sinners destined for Tartarus."<sup>117</sup> Rhadamanthys is no longer associated with the Elysian Field or the Isles of the Blessed, but with their total opposite--Tartarus; even as a judge in Hades, Rhadamanthys does not determine the fates of the innocent and of the guilty equally, but only hears the crimes of sinners. Unlike Minos, whose controversial reputation I have already discussed (see pp. 168-70 above), Rhadamanthys is always identified with justice. And yet, as Servius long ago pointed out, Aeneid VI. 567 provides a striking example of "ὕστερον πρότερον." Although the significance of this literary device is controversial,<sup>118</sup> several scholars interpret the line as meaning that Vergil's

Rhadamanthys is as brutal and ruthless as the sinners over whom he judges. Sidgwick, for instance, remarks that Vergil's description of Rhadamanthys is characterized by a line famous "for its inversion of the natural order of justice."<sup>119</sup> And Conington-Nettleship, summarizing the interpretation of previous commentators, concludes that Vergil's phrase "durissima regna" (566) refers "as much to the character of Rhadamanthys' rule as to the regions subjected to it."<sup>120</sup>

Tartarus is the most ominous part of Vergil's labyrinthine Underworld. In its black abyss lie the earth-born monsters and the sinners whose tortures have become as renowned as their various crimes. Here, in the center of this terrifying labyrinth, we discover that the Vergilian "Minotaur" is not any sort of physical monster<sup>121</sup>--like the wild beasts and hybrids at the gates of the Underworld (285-286), or Cerberus with his immense size and three ravenous throats (417-425), or even the savage Tisiphone, Hydra, and Fury, who inhabit Tartarus and inflict punishment upon the sinners there (570-577, 605-607)--but the moral depravity of spirit which allows men to sin against other men and against the gods themselves (608-624). As an example of this depravity, Theseus is consigned by Vergil to Tartarus (617-618):

...Unhappy Theseus sits and will forever/sit...

...sedet aeternumque sedebit/infelix Theseus...

Like Rhadamanthys, Theseus suffers conversion at Vergil's hands: Theseus is first alluded to as valiant protector of innocence, but later described as a violent contriver of crime.

As punishment, Theseus--victorious over the Cretan labyrinth, the Minotaur, and Minos' injustice to man--becomes condemned for his own transgression against the gods to remain transfixed forever within the very depths of Vergil's Hades.<sup>122</sup>

After the Sibyl concludes her description of Tartarus, she leads Aeneas to the doors of Dis' palace (628-637). Here Aeneas dedicates the golden bough to Persephone. The fact that Aeneas performs this ritual now, rather than after his interview with Anchises and before his ascent to the upper-world, indicates the pivotal nature of this scene. Within only a few lines, Vergil shows Aeneas turning away from Theseus--condemned for attempting to kidnap Persephone--and subsequently relinquishing to Persephone the very object which ensures Aeneas' admission to the Underworld. Aeneas, in fact, resembles Theseus emerging safely from the Cretan labyrinth with his guide, Daedalus, and with Daedalus' thread. As this scene makes clear, however, Aeneas does what his predecessor failed to accomplish--to escape alive from Vergil's labyrinthine Hades.<sup>123</sup> And Vergil, despite his obvious knowledge at Aeneid VI. 122 of an Athenian tradition which glorified Theseus' adventure in Hades ("quid Thesea magnum"), eventually adheres to what Butler calls "the non-Athenian tradition, which allowed Theseus no escape, and made his guilt equal with that of Pirithous."<sup>124</sup> In the end, the self-serving, hubristic side of Theseus' heroism is highlighted by Vergil as a contrast to Aeneas' particularly Roman sense of duty.

Finally, Aeneas enters the third geographical area of Vergil's Hades--Elysium. In the description of the "Fortunatorum Nemorum" (639), Vergil presents us with a scene unparalleled in Homer's Hades or in Vergil's previous depiction of the Underworld. There is a feeling that Aeneas has emerged from the labyrinthine Hades:<sup>125</sup> for the Blissful Groves are not confined like the rest of the Underworld, but characterized instead by their expansive fields, mountainous contours, purple light, and own peculiar stars and sun (640ff.); through this area, even the Sibyl herself must be guided by Musaeus (666-678), just as Aeneas is later guided by Anchises (679ff.). The particular form which the labyrinth motif assumes in Vergilian Elysium is to be found in Anchises' description of the transmigration of souls. According to this conception, man's soul is tainted by contact with the body--agent of decay and death (733-734):<sup>126</sup>

...nor do the souls see the light, enclosed in darkness  
and in their own blind prison.

...neque auras/dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere  
caeco.

In Vergil's hands the labyrinth has been converted from an architect's devious maze, to a poet's structured Underworld, to a philosopher's image for the body itself.

Furthermore, although the Blissful Groves represent an obvious response to Homer's Elysian Field and Pindar's Isles of the Blessed, Rhadamanthys plays no part in Vergil's concept of Elysium.<sup>127</sup> And, although Elysium forms part of

Vergil's Underworld episode, neither Minos nor Rhadamanthys appears there as judge. Prior to Vergil, the sources which describe the myth of judgment-after-life either show the Cretan judges alone or in tandem with the other Greek heroes--Aeacus and/or Triptolemus--or make no specific mention of any judge by name;<sup>128</sup> nowhere, except in the Aeneid, are the Cretan judges deliberately consigned to part of the Underworld and yet banished from the most important part. Vergil has left them behind because his conception of Elysium calls for an entirely new breed of judges and lawgivers.<sup>129</sup> Aeneas, as he is guided around the Blessed Woods, sees: Silvius Aeneas, who, like his namesake Aeneas, promises to be "equally exemplary in duty and arms" (769-770: "pariter pietate vel armis/egregius"); Numa, who will found the infant city of Rome on laws (810-311: "primam qui legibus urbem/fundabit"); Cato (841); and Augustus, who will bring a second Golden Age to Saturn's former land (792-794). Just as significant as this vision is Anchises' message to Aeneas that Rome's first art will be "to assign law to peace" (852: "pacique imponere morem"). Finally, Vergil ties together Rome's association with law and justice when he depicts a sequence of three scenes on Aeneas' shield in Aeneid VIII (663-674): first, an incident from the reign of the lawgiver, Numa (663-666); then Tartarus, which, as we know, is Rhadamanthys' realm (666-669); and then, by contrast, the pious being given laws by Cato--"secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem" (670). It is as if Vergil has purposely placed the picture of Tartarus between

the two visions of Roman lawgivers to emphasize Rhadamanthys' expulsion from the Aeneid's conception of Elysium. In Rhadamanthys' place sits Cato.

#### Conclusion, Parts I-III

In the ecphrasis of Aeneid VI, Vergil uses Crete to exemplify the power and renown of ancient Greece in contrast to the more recent acclaim won by Greece during the Trojan War, the subject of the ecphrasis in Aeneid I. Vergil's selection of a Cretan myth as the preface for his Underworld episode functions, in part, as a logical "explanation" for Anchises' mistaken belief in Aeneid III that Crete is the antiqua mater of Troy--a belief which, as I have suggested earlier (see pp. 131-32 above), stems from Vergil's presentation of Anchises as the inheritor and fount of the Greek epic view, which remembers Crete as the birthplace of Jupiter and as a cradle of Greek civilization, law, and justice. Then too, in the course of Aeneid VI, Vergil includes Minos and Rhadamanthys in their "traditional" roles as judges in the Underworld; by so doing, Vergil reveals his debt to Homer, Pindar, and Plato, whose presentations of the righteous Cretan judges point out the close association which exists in "epic" literature between Crete and the Afterlife, a topos in turn allied to the conception of Crete as the cradle of civilization, law, and justice. At the same time, however, Vergil emphatically demonstrates his knowledge that there is a conflicting attitude toward Crete manifested most clearly in

Attic tragedy, which links the island's inhabitants with illicit sexuality and with cruelty. Vergil combines these two traditions<sup>130</sup>--regarding Crete in such a way as to leave us with a uniformly negative attitude toward Crete in Aeneid VI and throughout his epic. By presenting Aeneas and the reader with Daedalus' depiction of the ghastly tribute to the Minotaur in VI. 14-34, Vergil immediately reminds us of Crete's dark side--a view Homer either is unaware of or underplays in his portrayal of Crete as a positive mediator between Scheria and Ithaca in Odysseus' lies of Odyssey XIII-XIX. Minos, son of Zeus and renowned judge in the Underworld, becomes disassociated in the Aeneid from his divine parent and is described in such a way at Aeneid VI. 14-34 and 430-433 that he must be viewed as an unjust tyrant who sent innocent Athenian youths to their deaths in his labyrinth. Vergil--by sketching Pasiphae's love for the bull in the ecphrasis, by referring to Pasiphae, Procris, and Phaedra in the "Lugentes Campi," and by alluding to Ariadne in both places--emphasizes the extent to which the Cretan royal family are victims and victimizers because of "crudelis amor"; the "Lugentes Campi" scene echoes and "explains" the Cretan setting in the Dido/deer simile of Aeneid IV--for Aeneas discovers the shade of Dido in the same mournful setting inhabited by Pasiphae and Phaedra, who along with Ariadne (alluded to in Aeneas' address to Dido at VI. 460) provide fitting precedents for Dido's tragic behavior and death. Even Rhadamanthys, whose proverbial righteousness is linked with his association with Elysium and

later with his role as judge in Hades, is ruthlessly consigned by Vergil to Tartarus, where Rhadamanthys' savage exactment of punishment conforms so well with the brutality of his realm itself and of the sinners within. The Cretan labyrinth as a symbol for the intricate structure of Vergil's Underworld is relegated, in the end, to only a portion of Hades--that same portion where Minos and Rhadamanthys appear and where time is perpetually frozen in the past. For Vergil, the conception that the dead cling forever to their attributes in life is a particularly Greek attitude.<sup>131</sup> By contrast, Vergil's Elysium--that marvelous blend of Roman history with the ideals of modern philosophy and the symbolism of mystery religions, both of which are ultimately indebted to a pre-Greek, Minoan conception of death<sup>132</sup>--is forward-looking and symbolizes the cyclicity of life and death which is central to Vergil's thought.

In Aeneid VI Vergil designs Crete as a symbol for foreboding, excess, unacceptable alternatives, death, the past, and transition. By using Crete as a metaphor throughout the Underworld episode, Vergil confirms and clarifies his presentation of Crete in Aeneid III and his use of the Cretan archery epithet in Aeneid IV, V, XI, and XII. As a symbol of foreboding: Crete proves, along with Thrace, to be an ill-omened settlement for the Trojans in Book III; reference to Cretan archery acts as an ominous indicator of what is to come; and the Cretan labyrinth myth, as Austin notes (see p. 159 and n. 85 below), strikes a sombre note for the themes pre-

sented in Aeneid VI. Crete's association with excess can be seen: in the nostalgia which provides the Trojans with their primary motivation at the beginning of Aeneid III; in the fact that reference to Cretan archery proves ill-omened to those who are unable to moderate their passion for love, gold, booty, and/or murder; and in Vergil's depiction of the Cretans in Aeneid VI as victims of destructive love and as practitioners of cruelty and murder. Crete represents the unacceptable alternative in that the island is not the antiqua mater which Apollo alludes to as the once and future home of the Trojans; is associated in the Cretan archery epithet with those characters who place their personal desires over the needs of their people; and is unable, despite its former fame and power, to function as a moral exemplar for Aeneas and for future Rome. The island's association with death is established by the facts that: the Trojans and their crops are decimated by a plague and drought on Crete; reference to Cretan archery signals the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus, Dido, Camilla, and Turnus, while in two similes--the Dido/deer and the Dira/arrow similes--a Cretan arrow metaphorically destroys the lives of Dido and Turnus; in the ecphrasis to Aeneid VI, Crete is responsible for sending the Athenian youths to their deaths, while the Cretan labyrinth myth in general forms the preface to the entire Underworld episode. We see Crete's association with the past in the fact that: the island is completely deserted in Aeneid III and is ultimately unable to support a new civilization under the

Trojans; Dido, Camilla, and Turnus represent the greatest obstacles to Aeneas' destiny, the foundation of Rome; Vergil chooses the Cretan labyrinth myth to illustrate Greece's past in Aeneid VI, while the part of Hades which Minos and Rhadamanthys inhabit represents a Greek conception of death which views the dead as locked forever into their own past. Finally, as the inevitable corollary of these associations, Crete symbolizes transition: only on plague-ridden Crete does Aeneas first comprehend that his real destination is Italy; only after the deaths of Dido, Nisus, Euryalus, Camilla, and Turnus--tragic though they are--is Aeneas' destiny successfully established; and only after Aeneas has passed through the realm of Hades "presided over" by the Cretan judges Minos and Rhadamanthys can he gain access into Elysium and to the prophetic vision of Rome's grandeur.

## IV. JUPITER, CRETE, AND ROME

Of Cretan origin is the story of the "golden age" of Kronos and the associated myth of the Islands of the Blessed....

Glenn Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 18

This final section represents an attempt to deal with a particular set of opposing yet complementary associations which in the Aeneid reflect Vergil's conscious manipulation of literary tradition as well as the conflicting nature of the literary tradition itself. On the one hand, Vergil begins in Book III to establish the relationship between Crete, Jupiter, the Trojans, and the Trojan ancestors--associations which can be found in the earliest works of Greek literature. By the second half of the Aeneid, however, it becomes obvious that Vergil balances and contrasts these associations with the relationship he establishes between Italy, Saturn, the Latins, and the Latin ancestors; Vergil's presentation of this latter relationship, in turn, derives from a largely Roman tradition whose relative antiquity remains controversial. The tension implicit in this set of associations is highlighted at several points in the poem: when Vergil depicts Jupiter constantly urging Aeneas on to Italy, the land to which Saturn fled after his usurpation by Jupiter (VIII. 319-325); when he suggests that Jupiter is henceforth to be associated with Italy, and with Rome in particular (VIII. 351-354); and when he charac-

terizes Juno as "Saturnia" in her opposition to fate and to the agents of fate--especially Jupiter and the Trojans. Yet, just as the warring Trojans and Latins are eventually unified in Italy, so the pattern of conflict and reconciliation occurs on the divine sphere within the action of the epic and onward in time to Augustan Rome, to a period which the Aeneid can only view as prophecy (VI. 792-794). Under Augustus, who will restore the Golden Age of Saturn with the guidance of Jupiter, Roman Italy promises to surpass Jupiter's Crete and Saturn's Italy by combining the best of both gods' rules.

#### Crete, Jupiter, the Trojans, and the Trojan Ancestors

We mentioned earlier that Jupiter's ancient association with Crete is attested to by Homer and Hesiod--that the Iliad and Odyssey refer to Zeus as the divine progenitor of the Cretan royal family, while the Theogony emphasizes the birth of the god on Crete (see pp. 126-27 above). Vergil, by his self-conscious literary allusions and reminiscences, reveals that he is familiar with both aspects of Jupiter's Cretan association. And yet the poet, who apparently declines the opportunity of calling Minos "the glorious son of Jove" at Aeneid VI. 430-433 (see pp. 167-69 above), does not mention Jupiter in the ecphrasis of Book VI or Jupiter's familial relationship to any member of the Cretan royal house in the Aeneid. Such an omission may indicate that the poet either expects his audience to know this aspect of Jupiter's association with the

island, and/or specifically wishes to dissociate the god from the cruel and lascivious family depicted in the Underworld episode. When Vergil does establish the connection between Jupiter and Crete, the poet always alludes to the island as Jupiter's birthplace. We see this most clearly in Aeneid III, when Anchises first mentions Crete by calling it "Creta Iovis magni...insula" (104). Later in the same book, the Penates advise Aeneas in a dream to leave Crete and conclude with the words, "Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva" (171); the epithet "Dictaea" refers to Dicte, the Cretan mountain on which Jupiter was born and raised.<sup>133</sup> Vergil also describes how the Trojans "glided to the ancient shores of the Curetes" (131: "antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris"), the Curetes being the male nymphs who concealed the cries of the infant Jupiter from Saturn by clashing their shields together as they danced around the child. Both the Curetes and Jupiter's Dictaeon cave are referred to by Vergil in his earlier Georgics (IV. 149-152):<sup>134</sup>

Come now, I will relate those qualities which Jupiter  
himself gave in addition  
To the bees--for which reward, they followed  
The Curetes' chanting cries and clattering weapons  
And fed the king of the sky in a cave under Mt. Dicte.

Nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse  
Addidit expediam, pro qua mercede canoros  
Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae  
Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro.

Finally, at Georgics II. 536-538 Vergil not only calls Jupiter the "Dictaeon king" but emphasizes the theme of conflict between Saturn and Jupiter which underlies every allusion--

from Hesiod on--to Jupiter's Cretan birth:

Even before the reign of the Dictaeon king and before  
An impious race indeed feasted on slaughtered bullocks,  
Golden Saturn led this life on earth.

Ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante  
impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvenis,  
aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat.

Although the implications differ in the Georgics,<sup>135</sup> this primal opposition between Jupiter and his father lies embedded within the framework of Vergil's epic as well. Jupiter's association with Crete is the first innocuous indicator of this conflict.

Jupiter is also associated with the Trojans. The most indirect of the ties is Teucer himself, the Cretan ancestor of the Trojans and the "maximus pater" (Aeneid III. 107), whom Anchises believes is meant by Apollo's words: "quae vos a stirpe parentum/prima tulit tellus" (III. 94-95). Like Jupiter, Teucer comes from Crete. The "parents" Apollo referred to, however, are Iasius and above all Dardanus (III. 167-168), the two sons Electra bore to Jupiter (VII. 219-220 and VIII. 134-142): it is from Dardanus that the Trojans trace their descent from Jupiter. Moreover, as Harrison points out, Aeneas lays claim to a double line of descent from Jupiter.<sup>136</sup> Like all Trojans he regards Dardanus as his ancestor and as the "generis auctor" (IV. 365), but Aeneas can also boast that his mother is Venus, daughter of Jupiter (I. 256, etc.). The Trojan spokesman, Iloneus, emphasizes this dual claim when he tells Latinus (VII. 219-220):

From Jupiter is the origin of our race. The Dardanian men rejoice in

Their ancestor Jupiter. The king himself springs from  
Jupiter's supreme race.

ab Iove principium generis, Iove Dardana pubes  
gaudet avo, rex ipse Iovis de gente suprema.

As we can see, three independent associations exist between Jupiter and the Trojans: two blood-ties, and one indirect link between two Trojan ancestors--Jupiter and Teucer--and the geographical locality of Crete.

In other sources the three mortals whom Vergil names as the original ancestors of the Trojans--Teucer, Dardanus, and Iasius--share a common association with Crete. Vergil is, of course, explicit about Teucer's Cretan origin (III. 107-109):

If I remember what I have heard correctly, it was  
from there [Crete] that our earliest father,  
Teucer, first sailed to the Rhoetean shores  
And chose a place for his kingdom.

maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,  
Teucris Rhoeteas primum est advectus ad oras  
optavitque locum regno.

According to Strabo (XIII. 1. 48), Callinus was the first to hand down this account which posits a Cretan foundation for Troy; Strabo thereby attests to the antiquity of the tradition upon which Vergil draws in Aeneid III.<sup>137</sup> Dardanus, on the other hand, is associated in the Aeneid only with Troy, Samothrace, and Italy (VII. 205-241)--associations which can be discovered in Homer (Iliad XX. 215-219) and in Hellanicus.<sup>138</sup> Yet there is another tradition, though of dubious origin and antiquity, which connects Dardanus with Crete. While Vergil neither names nor mentions Teucer's daughter, whom Dardanus

married, Lycophron specifically refers to her as "Cretan Arisbe" (Alexandra 1308);<sup>139</sup> Lycophron also describes Dardanus in a simile as "a bird of Rheithymia"--a city in northwest Crete--when relating the hero's migration to Troy (Alexandra 72-78). Better evidence comes from Servius, who writes that Dardanus is variously considered to be an Arcadian, a Cretan, or a native of the Troad (at Aeneid III. 167).<sup>140</sup> If--as it seems possible--Vergil knew of this tradition linking Dardanus with Crete, he ignored it in order to establish a clearly defined distinction between Teucer/Crete and Dardanus/Italy. Iasius, far more than Dardanus, blurs this distinction. Vergil mentions Iasius only once in the Aeneid, in a passage which emphasizes Iasius' Italian derivation and relationship to Dardanus (III. 167-168):

...From here [Italy] sprang Dardanus  
And father Iasius, the ancestor from whom our  
race came.

...hinc Dardanus ortus  
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.

This particular statement by the Penates has aroused scholarly criticism since, as Page remarks, the Penates seem to speak "of Iasius as the head or original ancestor of the Trojan race, though this distinction can only belong to Dardanus."<sup>141</sup> Cruttwell, however, offers the ingenious explanation that the Penates are actually alluding to Iasius as their own father, just as Dardanus is the father of the Trojan race; for Cruttwell, it is entirely natural that the Penates give this particular message to Aeneas on Crete--for Iasius' ancient association

with Crete is attested to as early as Hesiod's Theogony, where Iasius appears as the consort of Demeter, making love in the thrice-plowed fields of Crete (969ff.).<sup>142</sup> In Iasius' case, there is no question that his association with Crete predates and rivals his associations with either Italy or Dardanus.<sup>143</sup> Iasius' Cretan origin, coupled with the fact that his wanderings do not take him to Troy, render him a very minor character in Vergil's Aeneid. In the end, we cannot help but have a great deal of sympathy for Anchises' mistaken notion that Apollo's prophecy points to Crete--after all, the earliest recorded traditions of at least three Trojan ancestors--Jupiter, Teucer, and Iasius--indicate their primary association with Crete. Aeneas, on the other hand, must go beyond the limitations of these purely Greek ancestral traditions.

#### Italy, Saturn, the Latins, and the Latin Ancestors

Saturn's association with Italy, as Ryberg notes, stems from several potentially related considerations:<sup>144</sup> the identification of the Italian Saturnus with the Greek Kronos--attested to as early as Livius Andronicus; "the Euhemeristic interpretation of Saturn as an elderly king in Italy," available to the Romans in Ennius' translation of Euhemerus' Sacred History;<sup>145</sup> the idea that the Italian farmers in Italy are the "surviving stock of Saturn"--perhaps an influence from Varro's De Re Rustica III. 1. 4; and "the tradition that Saturn was king in the western lands

(Sicily, Libya, and Italy)," a tradition found in Diodorus Siculus III. 61. 3 and alluded to in Cicero's De Natura Deorum III. 44. Vergil himself first draws attention to Saturn's Italian association when referring to the land as "Saturnia tellus" at Georgics II. 173, and when comparing the lives of the Italian farmers to the existence Saturn led on earth at Georgics II. 538. In the Aeneid Dido alludes to this same tradition when she promises to assist the Trojans whether they seek "great Hesperia and the fields of Saturn" (I. 569: "seu vos Hesperiam magnam Saturniaque arva"), or some other destination. In Book VI Anchises shows Aeneas the shade of Augustus among the future heroes of Rome and says (792-794):

Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will once again  
Establish for Latium a Golden Age throughout the fields  
Once ruled by Saturn...

Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet  
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva  
Saturno quondam...

Reference to the Golden Age inaugurated in Latium by Saturn occurs again in Evander's detailed description of Italy's early history (VIII. 319-325):

First came Saturn from heavenly Olympus,  
Fleeing the arms of Jupiter--an exile from his usurped  
realm.

He brought together the race untaught and scattered on the  
Tall mountains, and he gave them laws. He chose that the  
land

Be called Latium, because he had hidden himself safely  
in these realms.

The Golden Age which they speak of existed under that  
King: thus he ruled the people in tranquil peace....

primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo,  
arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis.  
is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis  
composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari

maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.  
 aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere  
 saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat....

Diomedes later calls the Latins "fortunatae gentes" and their land "Saturnia regna" in the Aeneid's final allusion to Saturn's beneficent rule over Italy (XI. 252). Thus in Vergil's epic--as opposed to Eclogue IV which incorporates what Johnston labels a "Hesiodic golden age"--"Saturnia regna," instead of referring to Saturn's residence in heaven, has come to refer to his residence in Italy,<sup>146</sup> while Saturn's "aurea saecula," instead of having Hesiod's universal connotations, is localized in Latium.

Saturn's relationship to the Latins is emphasized almost immediately in Book VII. Vergil, recounting Latinus' ancestry, says (47-49):

We learn that Latinus was born from Faunus and the  
 Laurentine  
 Nymph, Marica: Faunus' father was Picus, and he announces  
 that  
 You, Saturn, are his parent--you the first founder of the  
 line.

hunc Fauno et Nympha genitum Laurente Marica  
 accipimus: Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem  
 te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.

Like Aeneas, Latinus traces his descent from a preeminent deity: Aeneas from the present father of gods and men, Latinus from Jupiter's usurped father.<sup>147</sup> Latinus' ancestor appears again when the Trojan representatives encounter the statue of "Saturnusque senex" in front of what was once Picus' palace (VII. 180). The fact, finally, that the Latins too trace both their ancestry and customs back to Saturn is emphasized

by Latinus in his address to the Trojan representatives (202-204):

Neither flee our hospitality nor be ignorant that the  
 Latins  
 Are the race of Saturn. Just, not because of bond or  
 laws,  
 But by their own will, they hold themselves to the cus-  
 tom of their ancient god.

ne fugite hospitium neve ignorete Latinos  
 Saturni gentem, haud vinclo nec legibus aequam,  
 sponte sua veterisque dei se more tenentem.

Only a few lines later, Ilioneus responds with the Trojan counterclaim that the Trojans and Aeneas trace their ancestry ultimately to Jupiter (VII. 219-220: see pp. 188-89 above). In the Aeneid Jupiter's association with Crete and with the Trojans is essentially established in the first half of the poem. On the other hand, Saturn's association with Italy and particularly with Latinus and the Latin peoples assumes an obvious thematic significance only after Aeneas has reached Hesperia in the second half of the poem. Once Aeneas is in Italy, one of Vergil's central concerns involves showing how these distinct relationships--so opposing and yet complementary--must encounter one another and ultimately merge.

### Conflict

We mentioned earlier that the theme of hereditary conflict between Saturn and Jupiter appears in Georgics II. 536-538, where Jupiter is portrayed as the enemy of Saturn's Golden Age, and in Aeneid III, where Jupiter's Cretan birth

reminds us immediately of his near destruction by Saturn (see pp. 186-88 above). This same theme recurs in yet another context at Aeneid VIII. 319-325 (for the passage, see p. above). Here the reason for Saturn's residence in Italy is made explicit--Saturn was driven out of heaven and his divine realm usurped by Jupiter (319-320). In addition, Vergil--by means of what Gransden refers to as "a characteristic piece of aetiological word-play" in the phrase "Latiumque vocari/maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris" (324-325)<sup>148</sup>--emphasizes that the name "Latium" derives ultimately from "lateo" and that Italy represents Saturn's refuge from Jupiter. Yet other explanations existed upon which Vergil could have drawn for the etymology of Latium:<sup>149</sup> Johnston, for instance, says that Varro derived "Latium" from "Latinus";<sup>150</sup> while both Conington-Nettleship and Williams quote Servius as saying that "Varro gave the same etymology but for different reasons, 'quod latet Italia inter iuga Alpium et Appennini.'"<sup>151</sup> Vergil draws instead--as both Conington-Nettleship and Johnston assert--upon the explanation provided in Ennius' translation of Euhemerus' Sacred History (Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones I. 14. 1):<sup>152</sup>

[Saturn], after he had been driven throughout all lands and pursued by arms, which Jupiter had sent for the purpose of either catching or destroying him, scarcely found in Italy a place to hide.

qui [Saturnus] cum iactatus esset per omnis terras persequentibus armatis, quos ad eum comprehendendum vel necandum Iuppiter miserat, vix in Italia locum in quo lateret invenit.

In other words, Aeneid VIII. 319-325 acts as a contrasting

mirror-image for the passages in Aeneid III: just as Jupiter's traditional association with Crete is linked with the story that Crete provided him with a refuge from Saturn, so in Vergil's epic Saturn's association with Italy is linked with the fact that Italy provides him with a refuge from Jupiter! Johnston suggests also that "the phrase, 'Saturnia tellus,' which Vergil adapts from Ennius' 'Saturnia terra' (Ann. 25 V<sup>3</sup>), also reflects Euhemerus' account of Saturnus' flight to Italy, as opposed to Hesiod's account, wherein Cronus was cast into the region below Tartarus."<sup>153</sup> This is as much as to say that in the Aeneid reference to Saturn's residence in Italy connotes his persecution by Jupiter, just as reference to Jupiter's Cretan birth connotes his persecution by Saturn.

However, a little later in Book VIII Evander indicates to Aeneas that Jupiter has now made his home in Italy, specifically in the sacred grove which was to become the Capitol (351-354):

This grove, he said, this hill with its leafy summit,  
A god inhabits--though it is uncertain which god. The  
Arcadians believe  
That they have seen Jupiter himself, when he would often  
Shake the black aegis with his right hand and stir up  
the clouds....

hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso vertice collē,  
quis deus incertum est, habitat deus; Arcades ipsum  
credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem  
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret....

That Vergil has the Arcadians testify to Jupiter's presence in Italy is noteworthy, since--after the Cretans--the Arcadians possess the most well-attested claim to Jupiter's birth in their land.<sup>154</sup> In a single passage, Vergil manages not

only to replace Jupiter's association with Crete by the god's new association with Italy, but to place Jupiter in the heart of what was once Saturn's refuge from him. Like the Latinus-Illioneus passages in Book VII, Evander's words in Book VIII subtly present an aspect of a primary conflict embedded within the Aeneid. The war between the Trojans and the Latins becomes a mirror-image not only of the Trojan War (Aeneid II), but of a primal opposition between Jupiter and Saturn, between those who represent and those who oppose fate.

It may be objected that Saturn never appears in the course of the poem's action, and that if Jupiter is pitted against any god in the Aeneid, it is against Juno. However, as Amerasinghe points out, in Vergil's epic the epithet "Saturnia" for Juno is as characteristic of the epithet "pius" for Aeneas.<sup>155</sup> According to Wigodsky and Anderson,<sup>156</sup> the phrase "Saturnia Juno" is not original to Vergil, for Servius claims that Ennius used the expression--but not how (at Aeneid IV. 576); Anderson, in fact, goes on to say that "Vergil has made the epithet an integral element in the general theme concerning Saturn." A number of factors lend support to Anderson's statement. To begin with, MacKay demonstrates that the epithet "Saturnia" applied to Juno occurs sixteen times in the Aeneid--four times in Books I-VI, but twelve times in Books VII-XII; MacKay contrasts this disproportionate percentage with the distribution of Juno's name without the epithet "Saturnia"--twenty-eight times in the first half of the poem, but only twenty-one times in the second half of the poem.<sup>157</sup>

The appearance of "Saturnia Juno," in other words, corresponds with the thematic importance of Saturn himself throughout the second half of the Aeneid. Then too, in the opening lines of the poem, Vergil's first reference to the goddess as "Saturnia" (I. 23) is closely followed by Juno's first angry words against Aeneas and the Trojans as "Teucrorum... regem" (I. 38); Cruttwell, in fact, observes that "it is Juno who first describes the Trojan ancestors of the Romans as 'Teucrians'...and it is as 'Teucrians' (I. 89) that she first tries to destroy them utterly."<sup>158</sup> What is important is the fact that Juno does not refer to Aeneas' race as "Trojans" or "Dardanians," but as "Teucrians"--thereby alluding to and anticipating what we shall discover in Aeneid III is the race's association with Crete, an association which reminds us of Saturn's own opposition to Jupiter.

On the surface, Vergil's personification of Juno could not be more antithetic to his description of Saturn. On the one hand, Juno is female, vitally energetic despite her portrayal as a "middle-aged" goddess, shrewd, deceptive, and totally committed to her hatred and violent persecution of the Trojans. Saturn, on the other hand, is male, apparently absent from the Aeneid's action though his whereabouts remain undisclosed, described as "senex" (VII. 180) or "vetus" (VII. 204), considered strong but simple--like the farmers he helped train--and consistently associated in the rest of the poem with the blessings of peace and the Golden Age in Italy. The only thing Juno and Saturn appear to have

in common, besides the daughter/father relationship, is their association with the Latins. Yet Johnston shows that situation is more complex than this--for "in the Aeneid, and to a lesser extent in the Georgics, Vergil integrates and reconciles conflicting accounts of the hero-god," Saturn: Hesiod describes Kronos as a powerful tyrant/god, who never associates with mortals, but heralds in a blissful Golden Age until cast by his son into Tartarus; Euhemerus' Saturn is, on the other hand, a deity-turned-hero who benefits "mortals by his physical appearance among them" after he is driven from heaven to Italy by Jupiter--but this Saturn is also "physically and morally weak," a character not only associated with cannibalism, but guilty of twice attempting to murder his own son even after Jupiter rescued him from his evil brother, Titan.<sup>159</sup> Despite the differences in characterization, as Johnston goes on to argue, both Hesiod's and Euhemerus' accounts demonstrate that "the interests of Saturnus are in opposition to both Jupiter and fate"--for Hesiod's Kronos tries to circumvent the oracle which prophesies his succession by one of his children (Theogony 453ff. and 851ff.), while Euhemerus' Saturnus allows his paternal impulses to be turned aside by the malicious jealousy of his ambitious brother (Lact. Div. Inst. I. 14. 1).<sup>160</sup> Finally, Johnston shows how Vergil has integrated these portrayals of Saturn with his own characterization of Juno:<sup>161</sup>

[Jupiter's] role in the succession-conflict of the Aeneid...is relatively neutral, as compared with Juno's passionate involvement. Juno wages her conflict, ultimately, against fate. The villainous aspect of Euhemerus' Saturnus, which fades away in Evander's account

of Saturnus' arrival and rule in Italy, thus reappears in the person of his daughter, Saturnian Juno, who is just as reluctant to yield to a new generation of rulers as her father was.

Interestingly, either the epithet "Saturnia Juno" or some reference to Saturn's name can be found in every book of the Aeneid, with the exception of Book II--the only occasion on which Jupiter's and Juno's will are focused harmoniously upon the same task, the destruction of Troy (II. 612-618, especially). In the Aeneid--as Widgosky, Anderson, and MacKay observe--"Saturnia" implies either the prevention of Trojans' settlement in Italy and/or Juno's and Saturn's associations with Italy and with the "old order."<sup>162</sup>

### Reconciliation

Jupiter's final reconciliation with Juno in Book XII (791-842) also involves an implicit reconciliation with Saturn. Jupiter, addressing Juno as his "coniunx" (793), asks what end she seeks and forbids her further persecution of the Trojans (791-806). To this, Juno--described for the last time in the Aeneid as "Saturnia" (807)--replies by asking for a single concession, that the Latins be permitted to retain their name, and Italy its "Itala virtute" (808-828). It is noteworthy that Juno makes this request "pro Latio...pro maiestate tuorum" (820). Conington-Nettleship quote

Servius as saying that "'pro maiestate tuorum' respicit ad Saturnum, qui in Italia quandoque regnaverat," and as quoting, in turn, Vergil's lines at Aeneid VII. 48-49 where the ancestry of Latinus is traced back to Saturn (see p. 193 above).<sup>163</sup>

Vergil, in other words, has Juno subtly point out that Latinus and his Latins are related not only to Saturn, but to Jupiter himself as the son of Saturn: this is the first time that Juno--or anyone else in the Aeneid--specifically associates the Latins with Jupiter. Furthermore, when Jupiter grants Juno's request and enables her to "joyfully change her purpose" (841), he addresses her in the following manner (830-831):

You are the sister of Jupiter and the other child of  
Saturn:  
Such waves of wrath you churn in your breast....

es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles:  
irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus....

The connotations of these lines can be examined on several levels. First, Jupiter's reconciliation with Juno emphasizes not the marriage-bond primarily, but the blood-tie with its common heritage of inborn characteristics and responses. In so doing, Jupiter concedes not only his similarity to Juno, but their mutual debt to Saturn.<sup>164</sup> This is in fact the first time Jupiter has mentioned his father's name in the Aeneid. Yet we are reminded of Dido's earlier reference to Jupiter as "Saturnius pater" at Aeneid IV. 372, where Dido hurls back at Aeneas' claim that Jupiter himself is urging the Trojans on to Italy (356-361) the accusation that "iam iam nec maxima Iuno/ nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis" (371-372)

Dido, in fact, suffers the same bitter fate from "Saturnius" Jupiter that Aeneas suffers from "Saturnia" Juno. Jupiter does not speak of Saturn, moreover, in the same eulogistic terms we have heard in the rest of Vergil's Aeneid, but rather as one who knows all too well the darker side of Saturn's character; again, we are reminded that in Ennius' translation of Euhemerus' Sacred History Jupiter is raised on Crete as a result of Saturn's first persecution, and later casts Saturn from heaven into Italy as a result of Saturn's second persecution (see pp. 195-99 above). It is because Jupiter has endured Saturn's traditional opposition that the reconciliation with Saturn is so long delayed in the Aeneid and so meaningful when it does occur. Jupiter's phrase "Iovis Saturnique," more than any other device, indicates that the harmony between the two gods has been realized, and points ahead to the promised merging of the Trojan and Latin races, as well as to the ultimate embodiment in Augustus of the creative energy which can be generated once opposing forces are reconciled. As Ryberg observes, Augustus as "Divi genus" (VI. 792) and as the "founder of a new Golden Age will be like Jupiter, the son greater than his father who brought to a close the reign of Saturn...."<sup>165</sup> And Conington-Nettleship, noting that Vergil makes the Golden and Iron Ages synchronize ("which does not agree with Ovid, Metamorphoses III. 14"),<sup>166</sup> inadvertently demonstrates the extent to which Vergil's Augustus actually combines under his rule the advantage of both Saturn and Jupiter. Johnston, finally, commenting upon Aeneid XII. 791-

842, suggests that the passage is "consistent with Vergil's broader pattern of reconciliation: he reconciles the Latin farmers to the Trojan invaders, Juno to her defeat, and Saturn to his overthrow."<sup>167</sup>

The opposing, yet complementary associations of Crete/Jupiter/Trojans/Trojan ancestors and Italy/Saturn/Latins/Latin ancestors are thus brought together by Vergil both within and outside of the Aeneid's action. But perhaps the most encompassing illustration of this merging is to be found in the marriage-pattern of Aeneas and Jupiter. This marriage-pattern may be diagrammed in the following manner: an older man/god has a daughter who marries a younger man/god, who is on some level antagonistic to the older man/god, and the issue of this marriage represents the reconciliation between the antithetical principles embodied by these men/gods--but with the condition that the issue incorporate the more obvious characteristics and responses of the older man/god, while the younger man/god remains the primary personality or force. The most obvious example of this pattern in the Aeneid is: Latinus → Lavinia + Aeneas → Silvius, whereby Silvius represents the promised unity between Trojans and Latins, a mingled race which will inherit Latinus' name, language, and customs but also a devotion for Aeneas as their national hero and founder of their Italian settlement.<sup>168</sup> Yet Aeneas' marriage ultimately imitates Jupiter's: "Saturn → "Saturnia Juno" + Jupiter → Mars. And as Mars will ultimately father the Romans themselves (I. 274; VI. 777ff.; VIII. 630), this

divine pattern both anticipates and follows the pattern traced by Aeneas, embracing Rome's heritage and history, as well as her inevitable cycles of confrontations and reconciliations. Jupiter's Crete, the prototype of Greek civilization, and Saturn's primitive Italy, with its reminder of the benefits of a Golden Age, are absorbed and transcended by Augustan Rome.

## NOTES

1. See Appendix C.
2. See Appendix D.
3. For a discussion of how Aeneas' total neglect of Creusa's words amounts to a major inconsistency within the poem, see: Kenneth Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), pp. 121 n. 1 and 126-27; and R. D. Williams, ed., P. Vergili Maronis: Aeneidos Liber Tertius (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 20.
4. R. B. Lloyd, "Aeneid III: A New Approach," AJPh 78 (1957): 138. Lloyd demonstrates that these three episodes--all of which take place in the Aegean--form the first set of a natural tripartite grouping of the nine episodes in Aeneid III.
5. Williams, Liber Tertius, p. 11; see also pp. 8-12 and 80. Scholars are fairly well divided on the question as to whether the Cretan episode is Vergil's invention or an adaptation of various versions: H. Nettleship in his early article "The Story of Aeneas' Wanderings," Journal of Philology 9 (1880): 45, says only that Vergil adds Crete and the Strophades to the adventures recorded by the historians, Dionysius and Livy; on the other hand, Jacques Perret in his Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome (Paris: Les

Belles Lettres, 1942), pp. 35-36, asserts that the legend of Cretan Pergamea's foundation by Troy did not arise before Vergil, and that the Cretan settlement of Pergamea appears to be Vergil's creation; R. B. Lloyd in his "Aeneid III and the Aeneas Legend," AJPh 78 (1957): 395, concludes that "whether or not the Cretan episode is original with Vergil, it is clear that the poet leaned toward the fantastic in the additions he made to Aeneas' wanderings."

6. Williams, Liber Tertius, p. 11, and Lloyd, "Aeneas Legend," p. 396.

7. ...alii dicunt Pergamum in Creta conditam a Troianis captivis, qui ex classe Agamemnonis illo erant delati<sup>t</sup> ibique putant Aeneam quendam, generis auctorem, Ilio incolumi cum eo ad sacrum Apollinis venisset, gravidam hospitis filiam fecisse; ex qua ortus eodem nomine Aeneas classem Agamemnonis est adgressus hieme disiectam, cui se feruntur iunxisse hi qui Cretam secesserant deserto Agamemnone. unde loco nomen Pergamum ab illo inditum, quod obtinuisse desertores feruntur, iuxta Cydoneam. quod poetam latenter attigisse debemus accipere.

(Servius at Aeneid III. 133)

According to Velleius Paterculus, on the other hand, Cretan Pergamea was founded by Agamemnon himself (I. 1. 2). Servius' explanation is considered to be a conflation of a preexisting tradition (which Velleius recalls) and Vergil's own account in Aeneid III: see Perret, Les Origines, p. 36 n. 1, and Lloyd, "Aeneas Legend," p. 395.

8. Williams, Liber Tertius, p. 12.

9. W. H. Semple, "A Short Study of Aeneid Book III," BRL 38 (1955-56): 231.

10. Williams, Liber Tertius, pp. 80 (at III. 121ff.) and 12.

11. Nettleship, "Aeneas' Wanderings," pp. 33 and 39.

12. Servius at Aen. III. 121 and XI. 264, and Apollodorus Epitome VI. 10; see also Sir James George Frazer, ed., and trans., Apollodorus, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), 2:394-404 (appendix XII).

13. Subsequent scholars also regard this as the explanation: see, for instance, Williams, Liber Tertius, p. 80 (at III. 121ff.).

14. Dictys Cretensis records that a plague and famine broke out on Crete shortly after Idomeneus' death and the succession of Meriones to the throne (Ephemeris Belli Troiani VI. 11).

15. Williams states that "the idea of a plague may owe something to Idomeneus' story" (Liber Tertius, p. 85 [at III. 137-39]).

16. "Nam dicendo 'Dardanidae' ostendit Italiam, unde Dardanus fuit. quod si Cretam significaret, 'Teucridae' diceret" (at Aen. III. 94); see Williams, Liber Tertius, p. 75 (at III. 94-96), and T. E. Page, ed., The Aeneid of

Virgil: Books I-VI (London: MacMillan, 1957), p. 283 (at III. 94).

17. The establishment of laws at Cretan Pergamea appears noteworthy when we consider the reputation afforded to Cretan laws from at least the fourth century on; the fact that Aeneas is able to build homes and establish laws on Crete--as opposed to Thrace--may indicate that Vergil makes his hero "conform," in a way, to some of Crete's more obvious attributes as a renowned civilization (see pp. 179-80 above).

18. From Michael Putnam's talk entitled "Aeneid III: Between Homer and Rome," given at Princeton University (Sept., 1978); see his forthcoming article on Aeneid III.

19. Vinzenz Buchheit, Vergil über die Sendung Roms: Untersuchungen zum Bellum Poenicum und zur Aeneis (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1963), p. 140, astutely remarks that, despite the accepted code of ancient warfare, Jupiter promises Juno that the Latins will not be called Trojans and that Latium will not be called Troy (XII. 830-40). Buchheit, furthermore, contrasts Jupiter's concession with statements made by Sallust (Jug. XVIII. 12): "victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere," and by Servius (at Aen. I. 6): "novimus, quod victi victorum nomen accipiunt" (p. 143). In other words, when Aeneas' Trojans actually "return" to Italy, they must surrender their name--as Teucrians (II. 836)--and their Trojan identity, save their "morem ritesque

sacrorum" (XII. 836): there is no question in Italy of founding a new Trojan city named "Pergamea" or of renaming Latium "Troy."

20. Lloyd, "New Approach," p. 142, refers to the Trojan landing at Crete as "a fatal error."

21. Theseus, of course, visits Crete as one of the Athenian youths offered as tribute to the Minotaur, and, while there, slays the beast with the help of the Cretan princess, Ariadne (see pp. 163-65 above); Daedalus, after murdering his inventive nephew, flees Athens for Minos' court, and, in turn, is forced to escape from Crete for his role in Pasiphae's scandal--or, according to Vergil, for his aid in unlocking the labyrinth for Theseus (see pp. 164 below); the Athenian Procris, angered by her husband's supposed infidelity, visits Crete--and there, according to some versions, she becomes Minos' mistress (see pp. 171-72 below); Europa is conveyed by Jupiter to Crete--and later, according to some accounts, leaves the island for Lycia with her son, Sarpedon (Herodotus IV. 45; Aeschylus, Carians or Europa); Menelaos is described as visiting Crete either directly before or immediately following the Trojan War (see pp. 49-54 above); in his Cretan Lies, Odysseus fashions accounts which ascribe to him adventures on Crete both before and after the war (see pp. 28-31 above); Polyidus is called to Crete by Minos, who demands that the Corinthian seer discover and then rejuvenate the body of his dead son, Glaucus--

upon Glaucus' revival, Polyidus is not permitted to leave until he teaches his trade to the boy (Aeschylus, Cretan Women; Sophocles, Seers; Euripides, Polyidus; Apollodorus III. 3. 1-2; Hyginus, Fabulae 136); Diodorus Siculus records that Heracles, in the course of his wanderings, comes to Crete and rid~~s~~ the island of its wild beasts (IV. 17. 3); Jason and Medea anchored at Crete shortly before their return to Iolchis (Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica IV. 1636-1713; Apollodorus I. 9. 26; Strabo I. 2. 39).

22. Althaemenes, although usually considered a Cretan who founded a city on Rhodes (Diod. Sic. V. 59. 1-4; Apollodorus III. 2. 1-2), is referred to by Strabo as a Megarian who led an expedition to settle Crete (XIV. 2. 6); Pausanias says that Heracles' son, Phaestus, became king of Argos and later migrated to Crete (II. 6. 6-7); Cydon, Archedius, and Gortys were Arcadians--according to Pausanias' rendition of a Tegean account--who migrated to Crete and founded three cities there (VIII. 53. 4); Tectamus, finally, was a son of Dorus and sailed with Aeolians and Pelasgians to Crete, where he became king of the island (Diod. Sic. IV. 60. 2).

23. Williams, Liber Tertius, pp. 76 and 92 (at III. 104 and 171).

24. See pp. 175 below for references in Plato's Apology (41a) and in Diodorus Siculus (V. 79. 2) to the relationship between the Cretan heroes' righteousness and

their roles as judges in the Afterlife; see also Propertius, who asserts that Minos deserves his position as judge in Hades for his justice to his enemy, Scylla (III. 19. 21-28).

Minos' reputation for justice and righteousness can be found: in Hesiod, who refers to Minos as "βασιλεύτατος καταθνητῶν βασιλῆων" (quoted by Plato in his Minos 320d and by Plutarch in his Theseus XVI. 3); in Plato's Minos, where Minos is called "ἄγαθός...καὶ νόμιμος" and "νομεὺς ἄγαθός" (321b); in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica, where Jason claims that Minos actually aided Theseus in his love for Ariadne (III. 1097-1101); as well as in Cicero's De Officiis I. 28. 97 and in Ovid's poems, where Minos is graced with epithets like "legifer" and "iustus" (Amores III. 10. 41; Heroides V. 69; Ars Amatoria II. 25). Rhadamanthys' reputation for justice and righteousness is even more explicit: Hesiod supposedly refers to a saying of Rhadamanthys--that a man shall reap what he sows in the way of good and evil (see Merkelbach and West, Fragmenta Hesiodica, p. 147 [Fr. 286]); Theognis contrasts the superficial love of wealth with the virtue of Rhadamanthys' wisdom (699-728); Pindar indicates that Rhadamanthys' righteousness is intimately related to his place beside Saturn in the Isles of the Blessed (Olympian II. 75; Pythian II. 73-77); the Cyclops in Euripides' satyr-play of that name alludes to Rhadamanthys' righteousness (273-274); Plato acknowledges in the Laws that Rhadamanthys was renowned for his justice (624-25), and in the Minos calls the Cretan a "δίκαιον ἄνδρα" (318d); and Diodorus Siculus claims that Minos exiled

Rhadamanthys from Crete because Minos became jealous of his brother's reputation for righteousness (V. 84. 2).

25. Lewis Richard Farnell, ed., Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965), p. 20 (at Olympian II. 75-76).

26. See also: Herodotus, who asserts that Polycrates was the first Greek, except perhaps for Minos, to attempt a maritime hegemony (I. 177; III. 122); Plato, who suggests that the Athenians were forced to pay tribute to Minos because they were unable to duplicate his fleet (Laws IV. 706b-c); Aristotle, who claims that Crete's location made it ideal for domination of the Hellenic world, and enabled Minos to build a maritime empire of colonies and subject states (Politics 1271b 30-40); Callimachus, who writes that Minos "stretched a heavy yoke over the neck of the islands" (Aetia I. 4); Diodorus Siculus, who states that Minos was the first Greek to create a powerful naval force and to become master of the sea (IV. 60. 3; V. 78. 3); Strabo, who says that the maritime supremacy of Minos was renowned (I. 3. 2); Ovid, whose character Daedalus repeatedly tells himself that Minos does not control the sky as well as the land and sea (Heroides IV. 157; Ars Amatoria II. 21ff; Metamorphoses VII. 456-60, VII. 183ff.); Pausanias, who refers to Minos as "lord of the sea" (I. 27. 9); and Apollodorus, who records that Minos was the first to obtain dominion over the sea and to extend his rule over most of the islands (III. 1. 3). Particularly in the

accounts of Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pausanias and Apollodorus, we find a variety of places considered to be either colonies or subject states of Crete during its period of maritime supremacy: Eurythrae, Colophon, Magnesia, and Miletus (in Asia Minor); Macedonian Bottiaea; Sicilian Minoa and Engyum; Italian Hyria and Brentesium; Panachaea; and the islands-- Chios, Ceos, Lemnos, Paros, Peparethos, Delos, Andros, Carpathos, Naxos, and Rhodes.

27. In Plato's Crito, Socrates attempts to make Crito understand why he will not try to escape from prison; he has Crito imagine that the Athenian Laws would chide Socrates, in such a case, for choosing to remain in Athens for seventy years, rather than for going to Sparta or Crete--the homes of his favorite models of good government (52e). Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 20, also cites Protagoras 342a-343b and Republic 544c as further evidence of Socrates' and Plato's admiration for the Cretan constitution. For the antiquity of the Cretan laws, see Minos 318c-d and Heracleides Constitutions 3 (for quotations from Aristotle); see n.28 below.

28. In the Minos Zeus is a sophist and educates Minos as a sophist (319c-321d); Diodorus Siculus' Minos claims that Zeus gave him the laws of Crete (I. 94. 1); Horace laments that even Minos--who shared the secrets of Jove--is dead (Odes I. 28. 9); Plutarch asks why we cannot believe that a man like Minos, while ruling his kingdom, could have been instructed by a deity (Numa IV. 7). Odyssey XIX. 179 is quoted for this

reason by Plato in the Laws 624 and Minos 319b-d and by Strabo XVI. 2. 38 (quoting from Ephorus); Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 23, reports that Isocrates also follows Plato in this respect (XII. 205).

29. Herodotus I. 65; Aristotle Politics 1271b, 20ff.; Pausanias IV. 2. 4; Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, pp. 20-21 and 33-35, suggests that Plato inspired Aristotle's interest in the Cretan and Spartan constitutions, and that Aristotle's statement that Lycurgus visited Crete appears to have been the "unquestioned view" among Aristotle's contemporaries and among later writers (Strabo X. 4. 19; Plutarch Lycurgus IV).

30. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 19.

31. Morrow, in explaining why Plato chose Crete as the site of his Utopian state, presents a general summary of Crete's contributions to the Greek mainland down to the end of the Archaic Period; See Plato's Cretan City, pp. 17-18, for his bibliography of primary texts and secondary works on these various contributions. Although my own presentation is independent of Morrow's, I have used some of his findings to supplement my own; see, for instance, notes 33-35 below.

32. For a thorough discussion of the possible origin of the mystery religions on Crete, see Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 153-154, 411, 567, 580-81, and 598-99; in addition, for the conservative nature of Cretan religious practices

throughout historical times, see Willette, Cults and Festivals, pp. 43ff.

33. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 18 (and n. 6 for bibliography). Apollo is, furthermore, the god who causes and alleviates plague. Greek myth is full of examples indicating that Crete was regarded during the historical period as a center for rites of purification--its two most famous practitioners being Thales, who relieved a plague in Sparta, and Epimenides, who purified Athens after the pollution following the Cylonian conspiracy: see Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 99-100, Willetts, Cults and Festivals, pp. 311-12, and Huxley, "Crete and the Plague," pp. 235-39.

34. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 18 (and n. 8 for bibliography).

35. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 18 (and n. 4 for bibliography).

36. For collected references to the Idaean Dactyls, see von Sybel, Roscher, 1:940-41 s.v. "Daktyloi." Heracles is often associated with the Idaean Dactyls, and is therefore rationalized as being a predecessor of Alcmena's son (Diod. Sic. III. 74. 4, V. 64. 6-7; Paus. IX. 37. 8, 19. 5).

37. For a detailed examination of the deities associated with Crete, see Willetts, Cults and Festivals, pp. 148-291.

38. Both Odysseus and Anchises begin their accounts by referring to: Crete's location in the middle of the sea (Odyssey XIX. 172-73; Aeneid III. 104); the fertility of the soil (XIX. 173; III. 106); the vast number of cities on the island (90 cities at XIX. 174; 100 cities at III. 106); the impressive nature of the Cretan civilization (XIX. 173-79; III. 111-13); and the genealogical relationship between the speakers themselves and the Cretans (XIX. 178-81; III. 107-10).

39. On a historic level, Crete--crippled by its internal conflicts, by the growing intervention of the Romans, and by piracy in the second century B.C. --became amalgamated with Cyrene to form a single Roman province in 68/67 B.C.-- during Vergil's lifetime! See R. F. Willetts, The Civilization of Ancient Crete (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 15-16 and 213, and Ancient Crete: A Social History from Ancient Times Until the Roman Occupation (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 13 and 154-57.

40. Robert W. Cruttwell in his Virgil's Mind at Work (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1969), p. 42, defines Vergil's literary heritage in a slightly different way:

But when, after reaching Crete, Anchises learns that the oracle's reference was to Dardanus' Italy and not to Teucer's Crete at all (147-179), he now "at once recognizes the two-fold descent and double parentage, and his own deception by a new mistake about old places" (180-181)--a perplexity of mind, both topographical and genealogical, reflecting that of 'the memorials of the men of old' (101); those classical mythographers, in fact, from whose variant traditions Virgil conflated the

following version.

41. For an examination of water imagery in general, see Charles P. Segal, "The Tragedy of Hippolytos: The Waters of Ocean and the Untouched Meadow," HSCP 70 (1965): 117-69. Kenneth J. Reckford in his "Phaedra and Pasiphae: The Pull Backward," TAPhA 104 (1974): 307-28, presents a fascinating account of how Phaedra is doomed to repeat the scandalous example of Pasiphae--which Euripides dramatized in his Cretans, a play performed presumably only a few years before the production of the surviving Hippolytus.

42. In translating this difficult passage, I have followed the suggestions of W. S. Barrett, ed., Euripides' Hippolytos (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 308-309 (at 758-63).

43. Henry W. Prescott in his work The Development of Virgil's Art (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), p. 348, notes that on Crete the Trojans "receive a negative and positive expression of divine will."

44. Viktor Pöschl, The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid, trans. Gerda Seligson (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1962), pp. 79ff.; Brooks Otis, Vergil: A Study in Civilized Poetry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 72-75.

45. Arthur Stanley Pease, ed., Publi Vergili Maronis: Aeneidos Liber Quartus (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1935), p. 147 (at Aen. IV. 68), suggests that the Cretan setting "makes the picture more vivid," since the arrow represents Eros primarily; W. R. Johnson, Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), p. 81, asks rhetorically whether Crete has any significance beyond "harundo"--"is it geography of liars as well as the geography of dreadful arrows that is in question?"--but concludes by asserting that the very vagueness of Vergil's reference to Crete is what is important: "'incauta' and 'nescius' take on a suitably eerie and inarticulate force in the twilight landscape of this stylized and shadowy Crete that a clearer place and a clearer picture would not bestow on them."

46. R. G. Austin, ed., P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 45 (at Aen. IV. 70); R. D. Williams, ed., The Aeneid of Virgil, 2 vols. ([New York:] St. Martin's Press, 1972-73), 1:340 (at Aen. IV. 70); Gloria S. Duclos, "Nemora inter Cresia," CJ 66 (1971): 194; Johnson, Darkness Visible, p. 81; Rosenquist, "Transformation," p. 113.

47. Rosenquist, "Transformation," p. 113.

48. For bibliographies on this subject and its various scholarly treatments, see W. S. Anderson, The Art of the Aeneid

(Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 115 n. 8, and John Ferguson, "Catullus and Vergil," PVS 11 (1971-72): 41 n. 1.

49. For example, see J. Foster, "Some Devices of Drama Used in Aeneid 1-4," PVS 13 (1973-74): 28-41.

50. James Zetzel in an unpublished manuscript.

51. Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 103, 108-116. Rosenquist specifically refers to Aeneid IV. 69-73, IV. 143-149, IX. 303-305, XI. 773, and XII. 856-858; neither IV. 143-149 nor IX. 303-305 contains a direct reference to Cretan archery; furthermore, Rosenquist does not detail the appearance of the Cnossian arrows in V. 305-306.

52. Vergil does refer to a "Cretan quiver" at Georgics III. 345 (see n. 54 below); other poets mention Cretan bows (see pp. 142-43 below).

53. "Cresia" = -∪∪ at IV. 70; "Dictaeos" = --- at IV. 73; "Gnosia" = -∪∪ at V. 305; "Gortynia" = --∪∪ at XI. 773; and "Cydon" = ∪- at XII. 858. The following Cretan epithets occur in these lines throughout Vergil's works: "Lyctian" at Eclogues V. 72 and Aeneid III. 401; "Dictaeon" at Eclogues VI. 56, Georgics II. 536 and IV. 152, Aeneid III. 171 and IV. 73; "Gortynian" at Eclogues VI. 60 and Aeneid XI. 773; "Cydonian" at Eclogues X. 59 and Aeneid XII. 858; "Cnossian" at Georgics I. 222, Aeneid III. 115, V. 306, VI. 23, 566, and IX. 305; "Cretan" at Georgics III. 345, Aeneid III.

117, IV. 70, V. 285, VIII. 294, and XII. 412; "of the Curetes" at Georgics IV. 151 and Aeneid III. 131; and "Minoan" at Aeneid VI. 14. All the references to the Curetes and most of those to Dicte occur in conjunction with some description of Jupiter, while "Cnossian" (derived from Crete's most powerful city) functions as a common general epithet for "Cretan"; otherwise, Vergil makes no apparent distinction between these geographical epithets.

54. Gallus, in a vain attempt to escape from love's cares, imagines that he has become a hunter who delights in shooting Cydonian arrows from his Parthian bow (Eclogues X. 59-60: "...libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu/spicula..."); an African shepherd follows his flocks and carries a Cretan quiver with him (Georgics III. 345: "Cressamque pharetram").

55. John Conington and Henry Nettleship, eds., P. Vergili Maronis Opera, 3 vols. (ed. 5, London, 1898; Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963), 1:123 (at Eclogues X. 59) and 3:478 (at Aen. XII. 857); T. E. Page, ed., P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica (London: MacMillan, 1898), p. 117 (at Eclogues X. 59), p. 320 (at Georgics III. 345); Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, 1:340 (at Aen. IV. 70), 1:418 (at Aen. V. 306), 2:429 (at Aen. XI. 773), and 2:500 (at Aen. XII. 857-58). Abundant historical evidence certainly exists for such an explanation. As early as the Messenian Wars, the Spartans employed Cretan archers as mercenaries (Paus. IV. 7. 4, 12; 9. 10); during the Peloponnesian War, Cretan archers were again sent as mercenaries--

this time to fight against their own colonists in Gela (Thucyd. VI. 25, 43, 57); Pausanias records seeing an Attic grave, dated to 413 B.C., in which Cretan archers were buried (I. 29. 6), and shows surprise upon discovering that the Cretans were not, in fact, the only Greeks whose custom it was to use the bow (I. 23. 4); Plato shows that he is aware of Crete's reputation for archery (Laws 834), and even makes his Cretan ambassador Cleinias explain that the island's hilly contours necessitate the wearing of light armor and the use of the bow (Laws 623). See Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, p. 26 and n. 43, for other examples.

56. Page, Bucolica et Georgica, p. 181 (at Georgics I. 8); see his Introduction, p. xxvi.

57. Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, 2:773 (at Aen. XI. 773); Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 1:123 (at Eclogue X. 59).

58. Page, Bucolica et Georgica, p. xxvi; Pease, Liber Quartus, p. 147 (at Aen. IV. 70).

59. Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, 2:429 (at Aen. XI. 773--where he mentions that Lycia is associated with the bow: cf. Aen. VII. 816 and VII. 166) and 2:500 (at Aen. XII. 857-58--where he lists Parthia's other associations with archery; cf. Eclogues X. 59 and Georgics IV. 313-14); Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 1:373 (at Georgics IV. 314), and 3:478 (at Aen. XII. 857). Unlike Crete, neither Lycia nor Parthia is mentioned except in brief references throughout the Aeneid. Lycia's association with archery appears three times in the

poem: at VII. 816, where Camilla is introduced carrying a Lycian quiver ("Lyciam...pharetram"); at VIII. 166, where Evander recalls that Anchises once gave him Lycian arrows, among other gifts ("Lyciasque saggitas"); and at XI. 773, where Chloereus is described shooting Gortynian arrows from a Lycian bow ("Lycio...cornu"). Otherwise Lycia is mentioned in connection with: Apollo, as the location of his winter home (IV. 143) and of one of his oracles (IV. 346, 377; XII. 516); and those allies of Aeneas from that area (I. 113; VI. 334; X. 126, 751; XII. 344, 516). Parthia's association with archery appears only once in the Aeneid--at XII. 857-58, the very passage where Vergil refers to Jupiter as "Cydon" and "Parthus." Otherwise Parthia is mentioned on only one previous occasion in the poem--where Vergil states that the twin gates of the Janus temple were opened when Rome decided to reclaim her standards from the Parthians (VII. 606: "Parthosque reposedere signa"). Lycian archery per se does not appear to be a motif of foreboding; only when reference to Lycian or Parthian archery is combined with reference to Cretan archery does the passage take on an ominous quality (i.e., at XI. 773 and XII. 857-58).

60. To support this idea, we have only to consider how Vergil fashions our perception of Crete throughout the poem. In Book III Crete promises to be the Trojans' fated homeland, but instead becomes associated with exile, plague, death, lifelessness, annihilation of incentive, and civiliza-

tion past its prime (see pp. 108-38 above). The Underworld episode of Book VI strips away the veneer of Crete's illustrious civilization to expose the cruelty and sexual indulgence which festered underneath (see pp. 157-84 below). Although reference to Crete--as one element among many--is not Vergil's only symbol of "foreboding," the epithet "Cretan" in the Aeneid has much the same resonance as a discordant chord played repeatedly in the sound track of a horror film or murder mystery in order to evoke fear and terror, and to signal that some terrible scene is imminent.

61. The bibliography on the similarities between these characters is so extensive that I will attempt only a short list of recent works. For comparisons between: Camilla and Nisus, see Otis, Civilized Poetry, p. 181; Camilla and Turnus, see Quinn, A Critical Description, p. 272, and L. R. Kepple, "Arruns and the Death of Camilla," AJPh 97 (1976): 344-60; Camilla, Turnus, and Nisus, see Roger A. Hornsby, "The Armor of the Slain," PQ 45 (1966): 347-59; Camilla, Turnus, and Euryalus, see George E. Duckworth, "The Significance of Nisus and Euryalus for Aeneid IX-XII," AJPh 88 (1967): 129-50; Turnus, Euryalus, and Dido, see Anderson, Art, p. 91; Turnus and Dido, see R. D. Williams and C. J. Carter, "Critical Appreciations, II: Vergil, Aeneid XII. 843-86," G&R 21 (1974): 165-77, and William A. Camps, An Introduction to Vergil's Aeneid (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 31-40; J. William Hunt, Forms of Glory (Carbondale and

Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Univ. Press; London: Feffer and Simons, 1973), pp. 92ff.

Other characters in the Aeneid do not share all these characteristics: Mezentius is given a very negative portrayal at first (VIII. 481ff.); Pallas goes to his death, not because of any reproachable or reckless desire to slay his "better," but because he has the bad fortune to encounter Turnus--who commands his Rutulians to retire, so that he can duel with Pallas alone (X. 439ff.); and Lausus' death cannot be blamed on any reprehensible offense, unless we perversely regard his "patriae...pietatis" (X. 824) as such.

62. Only a few lines earlier, Aeneas unexpectedly awards Sergestus with another Cretan prize--a slave woman, Pholoe, suckling twins at her breast (V. 284-85: "olli serva datur.../Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati")--as consolation for the disastrous performance of Sergestus' ship in the rowing contest. It is not surprising to find Cretan objects offered as prizes here, since the Trojans have visited Crete in the course of their wanderings from Troy. The two passages in Aeneid V and all references to Cretan artifacts throughout the poem indicate that only Trojans possess goods from Crete--a phenomenon which accords with their temporary settlement of that island.

63. Salius, Patron, Helymus, and Panopes are the other contestants; Diores meets his death at Aeneid XII. 509-12.

64. Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, 2:296 (at Aen. IX. 305); Rosenquist, "Transformation," p. 109.

65. Although the Cretan arrows are given to all the contestants in the footrace, the two major contestants--in fact, the "sine qua non" of the contest itself--are Nisus and Euryalus. Cretan arrows alone would not be a sufficiently valuable prize for an individual contestant; furthermore, Vergil wants to forebode the deaths of both Nisus and Euryalus --a purpose easily achieved by making the "Cnossian" arrows a common prize for the contest.

66. Anderson, Art, p. 52; Giusto Monaco, Il Libro Dei Ludi ([Palermo : Palumbo, 1957]), pp. 81-90.

67. Vergil makes it clear that, without Euryalus, Nisus would have had an excellent chance of crossing the enemy lines and reaching Aeneas (IX. 176-223, 359-66, and 386ff.). As it turned out, the message originally carried by Nisus and Euryalus is given to Aeneas by means of a miracle--Aeneas' ships, turned into nymphs by Cybele, inform him of the fighting in Latium and urge him on to battle (X. 215ff.).

68. Duclos, "Nemora inter Cresia," pp. 193-94; Pöschl, Image and Symbol, pp. 60-68; Otis, Civilized Poetry, pp. 73-76; Roger A. Hornsby, "The Vergilian Simile as Means of Judgment," CJ 60 (1965): 337-44; ibid., Patterns of Action in the Aeneid (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1970), pp. 89-94; Rosenquist, "Transformation," p. 112, compares the two

Aeneid IV similes; Quinn, Critical Description, p. 140, n. 2, refers to the Aeneas/Apollo simile as the pendant of the Dido/Diana simile. I have, for the most part, simply summarized their findings.

69. Dido's metaphorical wound at Aeneid IV. 68-73 becomes actualized at the end of the book--"infixum stridit sub pectore volnus" (689).

70. Even as before the hostile weapons pursue him,  
He immediately hides himself alone in the steep  
mountains--  
The wolf who has killed a shepherd or a great  
bull--  
And conscious of his reckless deed, he droops  
his trembling  
Tail under his belly and seeks the woods.

ac velut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,  
continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos  
occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco,  
consciis audacis facti, caudamque remulcens,  
subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit.

(Aeneid XI. 809-13)

71. Roger A. Hornsby, "The Pastor in the Poetry of Vergil," CJ 63 (1967-68): 150-51.

72. Parthia is undoubtedly introduced in this very ominous simile because of the Romans' ignominious defeat by the Parthians--and by the Parthian archers, in particular--at Carrhae in 57 B.C.

73. Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, pp. 499-500 (at Aen. XII. 845).

74. Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 111-12, finds

verbal similarities between this simile and Vergil's prior descriptions of the labyrinth and Hades.

75. The significance of the "pastor" motif in the Aeneid is very controversial: Hornsby concludes his examination by asserting that Aeneas at XII. 587-92 finally assumes his role as "shepherd-of-the-people" and leader par excellence in contrast to the several occurrences of the failed "pastor" earlier in the poem ("Pastor," pp. 150-51); Anderson, on the other hand, feels that the motif subtly reveals the extent to which Aeneas "becomes the innocent agent of all he abhors" (Art, pp. 7-9). There is, no doubt, some truth in both these extreme positions.

76. When Jupiter confronts Juno for the last time in the Aeneid, he asks her whether it was right that the sword be returned to Turnus (798-99), while Aeneas, on the other hand, was profaned by a mortal wound (797: "mortalin decuit violari volnere divum"); in her response, Juno makes no mention of Juturna's return of the sword to Turnus, but, instead, swears that she did not persuade Juturna to use her bow or arrows (815ff.)--the implication being that both Jupiter and Juno consider Juturna guilty of wounding Aeneas. See: Johnson, Darkness Visible, pp. 126, 172 n. 108; Quinn, Critical Description, p. 260 n. 1; and Anderson, Art, p. 94.

77. Johnson, Darkness Visible, p. 128 (emphasis mine).

78. Pease, Liber Quartus, p. 148 (at Aen. IV. 72,

"peragrat"). For imagistic similarities, compare "nemora inter Cresia" (IV. 70) and "silvas saltusque.../Dictaeos" (IV. 72-73) with "Cretaea...ab Ida" (XII. 412), and "haeret lateri letalis harundo" (IV. 73) with "cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae" (XII. 415).

79. Hornsby conversely calls the Dira/arrow "an omen of good for Aeneas" (Patterns, p. 135).

80. Since no single translation of these verses can possibly render all the subtle nuances of the Latin into English, I refer the reader to any one of these commentaries for a detailed discussion of individual lines and phrases: C. G. Heyne, ed., P. Virgilius Maro: Varietate Lectionis et Perpetua Adnotatione, 6 vols., 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Caspari Fritsch, 1800); James Henry, ed., Aeneidea, or Critical, Exegetical, and Aesthetical Remarks on the Aeneid, 4 vols. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873-92; rpt. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969), 3:207-458; Arthur Sidgwick, ed., P. Vergili Maronis Opera, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1890), 2:282-315; Eduard Norden, ed. and trans., P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903); H. E. Butler, ed., The Sixth Book of the Aeneid (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920); Sir Frank Fletcher, ed., Virgil: Aeneid VI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 2:423-545; Page, Books I-VI, pp. 444-504; and Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, 1: 457-517.

81. Harry C. Rutledge, "The Opening of Aeneid 6," CJ 67 (1971-72): 112-13, discusses the ecphrasis of Book VI in relation to the other "plastic representations of life and history" in the Aeneid--the mural of the Juno temple, the "Show of Heroes" (VI. 756-886), and the Shield of Aeneas (VIII. 626-728). For further examination of and bibliography on the comparison between the ecphrases in Books I and IV, see John W. Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus in Aeneid 6," CJ 62 (1967): 220-21; and Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 59 and 61-63.

82. It is worth noting that, whereas every character in Hades belongs to Greece's mythological past, Vergil specifically uses a Cretan myth in the ecphrasis to exemplify this past.

83. I have chosen the term "Cretans" to indicate all of the characters whom Vergil associates in some way with Cretan myth during the course of Aeneid VI. Thus the "Cretan" characters include: the Cretans--Androgeus, Minos, Pasiphae, Phaedra, Rhadamanthys, and (Ariadne); as well as the Athenians --Daedalus, Icarus, Procris, and (Theseus). The term is intended to emphasize the fusion of Cretan and Athenian myth which Vergil manipulates for his own purposes in Aeneid VI (see pp. 166ff. below).

84. Rutledge, "Opening," pp. 110-11, remarks that Aeneas, at the beginning of Book VI, surveys what represents the height of Greece's civilization and, at the end of Book VI,

previews the zenith of Rome's culture; see also, Rosenquist, "Transformation," p. 158, who contrasts the "present and future promise of Rome" with "Crete and Cretan mythological past as depicted on the temple panels." (As a point of clarification, I intend to use the phrase "see also, Rosenquist..." whenever I have reached a conclusion independently of Rosenquist.)

85. Austin, Liber Sextus, p. 38 (at VI. 14-41), observes that the Aeneid VI ecphrasis depicts "the dark and legendary past," where "scenes of murder and punishment and criminal passion" strike "a sombre note...for the theme to come"; Austin, however, does not pursue this point in regard to Crete or to the Cretans inhabiting Vergil's Underworld; Friedrich Klinger, Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis (Zurich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1967), pp. 495-96, remarks in the same vein that "die tragische Harmonie der abgebildeten Szenen mache ein Vorspiel zu dem Gesang vom Totenreich aus."

86. Later I shall argue, nonetheless, that Vergil alludes to Ariadne and to Theseus in both the ecphrasis and the "Lugentes Campi" episode (see pp. 164 and 172-73 respectively).

87. At Iliad XVIII. 591-92, Homer describes Daedalus as the artisan who constructed a dancing floor on Crete for Ariadne; Daedalus is not mentioned, however, in the Odyssey. Nor does Odyssey XI. 321-25, despite its reference to Ariadne's elopement with Theseus, mention anything about Theseus' adventure in the labyrinth. Furthermore, the phrase "Μίνωος

ὀλοόφρονος" at Odyssey XI. 322 is generally considered to mean "crafty Minos," rather than "baleful Minos"--and so does not appear to be an epithet which would cast a negative light on Minos: see LSJ<sup>9</sup>, p. 1218. In other words, if Homer knew about the labyrinth myth, he took pains to underplay it. On the other hand, a number of scholars regard the Odyssean passage as a sixth-century interpolation--in which case the issue of Homer's knowledge becomes irrelevant: Page, Homeric Odyssey, pp. 35ff.; Barrett, Euripides' Hippolytos," p. 9; and Stanford, Odyssey, 1: 393-94, who argues that the description of Phaedra, Ariadne, and Procris is "an excerpt from Attic mythology (which Homer generally ignores...)." ."

88. Vergil later alludes to Phaedra, though not by name (Aeneid VII. 765-66; see p. 171 below), and to the Cretan bull slain by Hercules (Aeneid VIII. 294-95: "Cresia...prodigia").

89. Although Rosenquist devotes part of his thesis to a discussion of the "Cretan" plays produced in the fifth century ("Transformation," pp. 10-47) and recognizes the tremendous influence that the tragic genre exerted upon Vergil (pp. 209-25), I have chosen to present a summary of my own and of Rosenquist's findings in the hopes that it will give the reader a general background against which to view Vergil's Aeneid VI.

Bernard Knox, in a paper entitled "Myth and Attic Tragedy," now printed in his Word and Action: Essays on the

Ancient Theater (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1979), argues that we possess only 35% of the names of all plays produced in the fifth century; after studying the surviving titles, he concludes that Cretan myths represented the eighth most popular subject for dramatization. The precise number of plays which these titles represent is open to some controversy: Knox counts only ten plays, but he does not include other "Cretan" plays--like the "Aerope" plays--which he places into other categories of dramatization; Rosenquist mentions eighteen plays ("Transformation," pp. 15, 21 and 23); Cantarella, the most reliable of the scholars, lists nineteen plays and satyr-plays (Raffaele Cantarella, ed., I Cretesi [Milano: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1963], p. 157); after doubling up some of his titles and adding Aeschylus' Carians or Europa and Penelope as well as Sophocles' Mycenaeans or Atreus to Cantarella's list, I suggest that we now possess evidence for about 20-21 separate "Cretan" tragedies. Of this number, it appears that at least half dealt with the subject of illicit sexuality. Scholars who have studied individual "Cretan" plays, as well as commentators on Aristophanes' Frogs, have tended since antiquity to assume that when Aristophanes portrays Aeschylus lambasting Euripides with the words--"You composer of Cretan monodies,/Bringing your unholy marriages onto the stage" (849-50)--the comic poet is intentionally associating "Cretan monodies" with "unholy marriages." The verses, therefore, refer to Euripides' dramatization of the illicit passions of Pasiphae in the

Cretans, Aerope in the Cretan Women, Ariadne in the Theseus, and Phaedra in the two Hippolytus plays: Reckford, "Phaedra and Pasiphae," p. 307 n. 1; Cantarella, I Cretesi, pp. 14-15, where he mentions the ancient testimony of Apollonius, Timachidas, and Tzetzes; T. B. L. Webster, The Tragedies of Euripides (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 38, 88, and 108; and Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 10-47, where he cites Aristophanes as evidence that one of the two major themes which appear in the tragic genre is "a princess of Crete who is disloyal either to her homeland or to her husband." In fact, only one of Euripides' "Cretan" plays does not appear to treat the issue of illicit sexuality. This is the Polyidus, a play which Euripides wrote much later than the other "Cretan" plays--all of which were probably produced within a ten- or fifteen-year period, beginning with the production of the Cretan Women in 438: Webster, Tragedies, pp. 32 and 117; Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, trans. James Willis and Cornelius de Heer (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966), p. 395; and Cantarella, I Cretesi, p. 107, who argues that the Cretans was produced ca. 433, rather than ca. 441--as Webster suggests. The probable subjects of the five Euripidean "Cretan" plays are: Aerope's adultery with her brother-in-law, Thyestes (Cretan Women); the discovery by Minos of Pasiphae's love for the bull (Cretans); Ariadne's betrayal of both Crete and Dionysus as a result of her love for Theseus (Theseus); and Phaedra's fatal infatuation for her stepson, Hippolytos (Hippolyti)--see Webster, Tragedies, pp. 37-43,

87-92, 105-109, and 64-76 (respectively) and Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 23-47, for general summaries of these plays. Euripides is not the only tragedian who dramatized the theme of illicit sexuality. Of Sophocles' six "Cretan" plays, three--the Mycenaeans or Atreus, the Theseus, and the Phaedra--appear to parallel the plots of Euripides' Cretan Women, Theseus, and Hippolyti (respectively): A. C. Pearson, ed., The Fragments of Sophocles, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1963), gives summaries of the Sophoclean plays. In addition, both Carcinus and Agathon wrote plays entitled Aerope: Cantarella, I Cretesi, p. 157.

The tragedians did not invent the association between Crete and illicit sexuality. Both Cantarella (I Cretesi, pp. 161-64) and Rosenquist ("Transformation," pp. 12-14), in fact, emphasize that a fragment of a dithyramb by Bacchylides (P. Ox. XXIII, 1956, #2364 F I) indicates that the most ancient literary evidence of Pasiphae's story is not Euripides, but Bacchylides; Cantarella even argues that evidence may be found, in an extremely mutilated fragment of Hesiod's Catalogue of Women, for the Minotaur's birth (I Cretesi, pp. 159-60). The story of the golden lamb--intimately associated with Aerope's adultery (Euripides' Electra, 995-1012, for example)--apparently appeared first in the sixth century epic, the Alcmaeonis, a possible source for the fifth-century tragedians; Welcker, in fact, suggests that the epic made some comparison between Eriphyle and Aerope, and between Polyneices and Thyestes (F. G. Welcker, Die Griechischen Tragödien mit

Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus, 3 vols. [Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1839-41, in Rh. M.: Supplementband 1835-49. Sup. 2, pts. 1-3], 1: 358-59). Finally, Cantarella--after noting that the Cretan Epimenides apparently referred to Ariadne and Dionysus, to Minos, and perhaps to Pasiphae as well--makes the intriguing suggestion that, since Epimenides came to Athens ca. 600 B.C. for the famous purification of the city, it is not impossible that the interest in Crete manifested in Athenian literature after that time goes back in some way to the Cretan seer himself (I Cretesi, p. 166). Crete's association with illicit sexuality is probably established, therefore, in the sixth century at the very latest.

90. Those who consider that Aeneid VI. 14-34 "retards" the action of this part of the epic are: Norden, Buch VI, p. 120; Prescott, Development, p. 365; Robert Brooks, "Discolor Aura," AJPh 74 (1953): 261. Those who maintain the opposing position are: Margaret Verrall, "Two Instances of Symbolism in the Sixth Aeneid," CR 24 (1910): 43-44; W. F. Jackson Knight, Cumaean Gates: A Reference of the Sixth Aeneid to the Initiation Pattern (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), pp. 132-56, "Vergil's Troy," in Vergil: Epic and Anthropology, ed. John D. Christie (London: Allen & Unwin, 1967), 15-134, and Roman Vergil (London: Faber and Faber, [1944]), esp. pp. 167-68 [a general summary of Knight's findings can be found on p. 163 above]; and Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 120-25, where he presents further bibliographical materials

and criticism. All of these scholars assume, however, that Aeneid VI. 14-34 derives entirely from Vergil's imagination and is not, as Butler suggests, a description of an actual relief which may have existed on the Temple of Cumaean Apollo during Vergil's time (Sixth Book, p. 90 [at VI. 20]).

91. Verrall, "Instances," p. 44.

92. For instance, Verrall (ibid.), Rutledge ("Opening of Aeneid 6," pp. 113-15), and Rosenquist ("Transformations, pp. 123, 140, 157-59, 177, 182-87, etc.) acknowledge that Aeneas is associated in the ecphrasis with two Athenians--The-seus, the victor over the labyrinth, and Daedalus, the failed genius of Aeneid VI. Others have pursued the comparison between Aeneas and Daedalus: Pöschl, Image and Symbol, p. 150; Harry C. Rutledge, "Vergil's Daedalus," CJ 62 (1967): 309-11; and D. E. Eichholz, "Symbol and Contrast in the Aeneid," G&R 15 (1968): 105-12. Rosenquist, furthermore, explores every possible association which could exist between the characters described in the ecphrasis and those whom Aeneas encounters in some way during his journey through the Under-world. Daedalus is compared to: the Sibyl ("Transformation," pp. 140, 142, and 192); Anchises (pp. 123 and 154); Augustus (p. 173); and Apollo (p. 184). Ariadne is compared to the Sibyl (pp. 140, 170-71, and 192) as well as to Dido (pp. 182-83 and 186-87). The thread of Daedalus is compared to the golden bough (ibid., 156), etc. My intention in restricting the scope of my study has not been to exclude the

possibility of other associations, but rather to demonstrate as briefly as possible the characteristic which underlies them all--that is, the deliberate undermining by Vergil, during the course of Aeneid VI, of all the associations he has so carefully established in the ecphrasis.

93. See n. 90 above for references to Knight's work.

94. Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 116-225.

Rosenquist systematically examines every word of Aeneid VI. 1-33 and traces its appearance throughout the Underworld episode; he discusses lines 27-30--the description of the labyrinth--on pp. 172-201.

95. Ibid., p. 215. It is here that Rosenquist and I disagree concerning Vergil's use of Crete in Aeneid VI. Because Rosenquist does not devote any attention to Aeneid III--beyond his summary reference to Crete as a "thwarted settlement" (ibid., pp. 103-104 and 108)--he does not appreciate how Vergil has made Crete itself into a poetic symbol: it is not simply the Cretan labyrinth which becomes associated with the Underworld, death, and the past--but rather Crete in general.

96. Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus," pp. 221-22; Rosenquist also refers to Zarker's study ("Transformation," p. 121).

97. Verrall points to the phrase "stat ductis sorti-

bus urna" (VI. 22) as an indication that Vergil "is thinking of Theseus' part in the story, how he volunteered to go when the time came for the casting of lots" ("Instances," p. 44 and n. 1); in so doing, she cites Plutarch's Theseus XVII. 2. Zarker--following Norden's example of regarding the labyrinth myth as represented on four panels, two on each of the temple doors (see n. 101 below)--not only suggests that Theseus appears on the second panel ("Theseus was one of the 'septena corpora'" [VII. 21-22]), but overzealously attempts to argue that Theseus is alluded to in each of the panels: see pp. 221-22.

98. Verrall, "Instances," p. 44; see also Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus," p. 222.

99. Of all the lines in Vergil's preface to the Underworld episode, Aeneid VI. 28-30 offer the widest range of interpretation, centering upon the subject of the words "reginae" at line 28 and "caeca vestigia" at line 30. The majority of scholars regard Ariadne and Theseus as the respective subjects for several reasons: first, Aeneid VI. 27-30 is a deliberate reminiscence of Catullus LXIV. 112-15, where the "errabunda vestigia" are Theseus' and where Ariadne's love for Theseus enables the hero to wander safely throughout the labyrinth (Verrall, "Instances," p. 44 and n. 2; Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 2:430 [at VI. 28]; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, pp. xxv and 33-34 [at VI. 27-30]; Austin, Liber Sextus, p. 42 [at VI. 28] and p. 46 [at VI. 30]; Butler, Sixth Book, pp.

92-93 [at VI. 30]; Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus," p. 222 and n. 10; and Klingner, Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis, p. 495); second, as Norden contends, the name "Ariadne" (Ἀριάδνη) is difficult to render into hexameter verse and is often replaced by expressions like "Gnosia" in Georgics I. 222 or "reginae" in this particular instance (Buch VI, p. 129 [at VI. 28]); and Austin, Liber Sextus, p. 45 [at VI. 28]); there are also the allusions to Theseus elsewhere in the ecphrasis (see n. 97 above). On the other hand, there are a handful of scholars who share Otis' contention that Pasiphae is the "reginae" and that it is Pasiphae's "caeca vestigia" which Daedalus guides into the labyrinth; according to these scholars, the "magnum amorem" at line 28 refers to Pasiphae's love for her hybrid offspring (Otis, Civilized Poetry, p. 284 n. 1; Rutledge, "Opening," pp. 111-12; and Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 182-83 and nn. 92-93--however, see below). Otis' contention is supported by the facts that: the wording of Aeneid VI. 28-30 is vague enough to make it natural for the entire passage, including the word "reginae," to refer to Pasiphae; Vergil has apparently altered the focus of the Catullan lines by making Daedalus, rather than Ariadne, the guide in the labyrinth (see, however, Fletcher, Aeneid VI, p. 34 [at VI. 29]); Catullus renders Ariadne's name into hexameters at lines 54 and 253; and Vergil specifically omits Ariadne's name at VI. 450, a line which would otherwise be a literal and metrical translation of Odyssey XI. 321 (see, however, pp. 171-73 above). But the problems posed by Otis'

reading are at least as great as those he attempts to resolve. If Vergil meant for the "magnum amorem" at VI. 28 to indicate Pasiphae's love for her child, the Minotaur, then the poet has certainly confused the issue by referring to Pasiphae's love for the (Cretan) bull as the "crudelis amor tauri" at VI. 24. Furthermore, the word regina appears only twice in Aeneid VI--at line 28 and later at line 460, when Aeneas addresses Dido's shade; according to Otis' interpretation, in both instances a man (Daedalus/Aeneas) pities a woman (Pasiphae/Dido). The inevitable complication, as Rutledge himself cautions, is that "we should not go so far as to equate Dido and Pasiphae--that would be too gross ("Opening," p. 112); such an equation, however, is equally as implicit as the Aeneas/Daedalus comparison. A better solution is certainly to posit a comparison between Ariadne and Dido in these lines (see pp. 164-65 above). Rosenquist avoids pitting one interpretation against another by accepting both as equally valid--a position which is absolutely justified given the extreme vagueness of Aeneid VI. 28-30. I have chosen in my text, however, to explore the implications of a narrow scope of allusions, rather than to present--as Rosenquist does--all possible interpretations as equally valid.

100. Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus," p. 220; see also pp. 223-26.

101. Norden, Buch VI, p. 121 (at 14ff.); see also, Verrall, "Instances," p. 44. Norden's detailed scheme of what

Vergil represents on the four panels of the Cumaean doors--two panels on the "Attic" door (IA = line 20; IB = lines 20-22) and two panels on the "Cretan" door (IIA = lines 24-26; IIB lines 27-30)--provides both Zarker ("Aeneas and Theseus," pp. 221-22) and Rosenquist ("Transformation," pp. 137ff.) with a diagram for structuring the presentation of their own arguments.

102. We know of at least seven fifth-century "Cretan" tragedies which represented Athenians as the victims of Cretans: the Thesei of Sophocles and Euripides; the Phaedra of Sophocles and the Hippolyti of Euripides; Euripides' Cretans, which appears to have portrayed the imprisonment of Daedalus and Icarus by Minos (Cantarelli, I Cretesi, pp. 111-20); and Sophocles' Camicans or Minos, which dramatized the escape of Daedalus from Crete, and Minos' pursuit of him to Sicily (Pearson, Fragments, 2: 3-8). [See also n. 89 above.]

103. Butler appears overly concerned that Vergil has described Minos as "the judge merely of a group or groups of the dead, who are not deserving of punishment, and concerning whom the only question can be the allotment of a suitable dwelling-place"; Butler's conclusion is that the passage at VI. 430-33 illustrates the unfinished nature of Vergil's epic (Sixth Book, pp. 175-76 and 13-14). Yet Butler, as well as the rest of the commentators who accept the passage without equivocation, provide detailed accounts of the differences which exist between Vergil's picture of Minos and the descrip-

tions of the Cretan king found in Vergil's literary predecessors: Norden, Buch VI, pp. 239-40 (at 430-33); Fletcher, Aeneid VI, pp. 64-65 (at 431-33); Austin, Liber Sextus, p. 156 (at 431ff.). Only Rosenquist, however, analyzes this passage in light of the ecphrasis which opens Aeneid VI, and offers the interpretation which I arrived at independently for Vergil's peculiar description of Minos' "traditional" role as Underworld judge; see also "Transformation," pp. 138-53 and 209-10.

104. See pp. 127-28 and nn. 24-30 above.

105. In the Minos 318d, Socrates' companion claims to have heard that Minos was "a savage sort of person, harsh, and unjust"--"ἀγριόν τινα καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἄδικον"--to which Socrates replies that such a characterization is a fiction of Attic tragedy; Rosenquist discusses this quotation, as well as the supporting evidence of Plutarch (Theseus XVI. 3) and Strabo (X. 4. 8), and attempts to demonstrate that the fifth-century "Cretan" plays did portray Minos in a negative light ("Transformation," pp. 49-51; see also pp. 22 and 38-41). I have also offered my own summary of how Minos might have been portrayed; both Rosenquist and I are indebted to Webster's analysis of the Euripidean plays. Most important is the fact that, as both Rosenquist (p. 152) and I recognize, Vergil has adapted this negative picture of Minos to Aeneid VI.

For the quotation from Euripides' Cretans,

see also Rosenquist, ibid., pp. 38-41. I have taken the quotation from Cantarella F 4, lines 36-37 (I Cretesi, p. 28). Croiset, furthermore, makes the interesting point that Pasiphae's "defense" of her actions is really "a direct indictment of the judge, who is transformed into the accused" (Maurice Croiset, "Les Crétois D'Euripide," REG 28 #128 [1915]: 226-27); in Euripides' Cretans, in other words, Minos--traditionally the righteous judge on earth and later in Hades--suffers a complete reversal of role.

There is still a question whether Sophocles wrote a Theseus at all: Pearson, Fragments, 1: 184-85; Cantarella, I Cretesi, p. 157, does not mention this play among the nineteen "Cretan" tragedies produced during the fifth century. Second, there is still a question whether P. Ox. 2452 belongs to Sophocles' or Euripides' Thesei. Both Turner (E. G. Turner, P. Ox. XXVII [1962] no. 2452, and plate II) and Lloyd-Jones (M. Lloyd-Jones, Gnomon 35 [1963]: 434-36) favor the ascription to Sophocles for stylistic reasons; Webster, on the other hand, considers that the papyrus contains more fragments of Euripides' Theseus (Tragedies, p. 106). For a number of reasons, I favor the opinion of Turner and Lloyd-Jones. One reason is that Eriboea, whose name appears in only one surviving play, Sophocles' Ajax (569), also appears in F 4 of P. Ox. 2452, where she seems to be asking Ariadne for pity and aid, presumably against her cruel fate at the hands of Minos--just as Bacchylides' Eriboea (Youths or Theseus) inspires the aid of Theseus against Minos; see Umberto Diotti,

"Il 'Teseo, di Sofocle," Dioniso 40 (1966): 43-62, who discusses Eriboea's role in Sophocles' Theseus (see especially p 59).

106. This is the only occasion in Vergil's works when the epithet "Minoia" is used to refer to Crete.

107. By referring in the ecphrasis to the "letum Androgeo" (VI. 20), Vergil indicates that Minos was justified in exacting some sort of punishment from the Athenians for the death of his son, Androgeus, who died suddenly during a visit to the mainland. According to most sources, the Athenians were generally considered guilty in this regard: Pausanias alone records that Androgeus was slain accidentally by the Cretan bull at Marathon, but that Minos refused to believe in the Athenians' innocence (I. 27. 10); Apollodorus refers to two traditions--in one of these, Aegeus is responsible for sending Androgeus to his death against the Cretan bull at Marathon, and, in the other, jealous competitors waylaid Androgeus on his way to Thebes to celebrate the games for Laius (III. 15. 7); and Diodorus Siculus records that Aegeus, fearing for his rule and convinced that Minos was in alliance with the sons of Pallas (the enemies of Aegeus' and Theseus' hereditary claim to the kingship), arranged to have Androgeus murdered on his way to Thebes (IV. 60. 5). Although Vergil does not specify which tradition he is following, he implies--simply by referring to Androgeus--that the Athenians were, in fact, to blame originally for the tension between Crete and Athens. However, Vergil also makes clear by

his exclamation "miserum!" (VI. 21) that the retribution Minos chose to exact was even more pitiful and unwarranted than the death of Androgeus was in the first place. As Rosenquist puts it, "the youths are sentenced to die and must linger in the agony of knowing they will die sometime after they arrive in Crete in the lair of the monstrous Minotaur" ("Transformation," p. 143); Rosenquist concludes by suggesting that Minos establishes his power as a law unto itself (pp. 148-49).

108. Rosenquist also discusses Pasiphae and Phaedra ("Transformation," pp. 162-67); in addition, he devotes several pages to Pasiphae's appearance in Eclogues VI. 45-60 (ibid., pp. 104-108). He does not, however, deal with Procris; and, although he recognizes that Ariadne is alluded to at Aeneid VI. 460 (ibid., pp. 182-83 and 187), Rosenquist does not emphasize the fact that as many as four "Cretan" women appear or are alluded to within only a few lines of Vergil's description of Minos.

109. Martial (XI. 69. 5-6) refers to a Cretan dog who followed Cephalus in the hunt and later to heaven; Apollodorus says that Minos gave Procris both a javelin and a dog as presents.

110. Norden, Buch VI, pp. 244-45 (at 445).

111. We mentioned earlier that at IV. 68-73 Vergil alludes, by his repeated reference to the Cretan setting in the

simile, to the Cretan princesses--Ariadne, Phaedra, and Pasiphae--whose fates resemble Dido's foreshadowed tragedy (see pp. 139-40 above).

112. Anderson, Art, p. 56.

113. Catullus LXIV. 50-253; Propertius I. 3. 1-2 and II. 24. 43; Ovid, Ars Amatoria I. 525-64 and III. 35-36, 157-58, 457-60, Amores I. 7. 15-16, IV. 59, Heroides X, XVII. 193, and Metamorphoses VIII. 172-82.

114. Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus," pp. 223-24.

115. See also, Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 159-60, 210 and 213, for his treatment of Rhadamanthys.

116. See, for instance, Norden, Buch VI, p. 268 (at 548ff.); Fletcher, Aeneid VI, pp. xvii and xix (for the quotation from Plato's Gorgias); and especially, Butler, Sixth Book, p. 177 (at 432).

117. Butler, Sixth Book, p. 177 (at 432).

118. The controversy stems from two related problems: the meaning of "castigare" and the significance of the literary device of "ὕστερον πρότερον" in Aeneid VI. 567. In regard to the first problem, Austin suggests that "castigare" means "to reprove" and cites Statius' Thebais IV. 530ff. as evidence, on the ground that the phrase "vera minis poscens" at IV. 531 is equivalent to Vergil's "castigare" (Liber Sextus, pp.

183-84); the drawback in Austin's logic is that Statius is referring to Minos and not to Rhadamanthys--Vergil's particular description of Rhadamanthys still remains exceptional as a description of that particular Cretan judge. Norden, on the other hand, believes that "castigare" means "to punish" and pictures the guilty confessing under torture (Buch VI, p. 280); he, however, attempts to explain away the sinister portrayal of Rhadamanthys by claiming that it is Tisiphone who carries out the actual punishment. Heyne remarks that Vergil's Rhadamanthys is less like a judge and more like one of the "Tresviri Capiales" at Rome or the Eleven at Athens--who torture the guilty into confession and inflict or superintend their punishment (Varietate Lectionis, 3: 232; see also Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 2: 498-99). In regard to the second problem, a number of commentators believe that the "ὅσπερ πρότερον" of line 567 is simply Vergil's emphatic way of representing the parts of a unified action: Henry, Aeneidea, 3: 344-45; Butler, Sixth Book, p. 199; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, p. 73; and Austin, Liber Sextus, pp. 183-84, who provides a short bibliography on the controversial views. Rosenquist and I, however, believe that the verbs in this line represent successive actions (see notes 119 and 120 below).

119. Sidgwick, Opera, 2: 302.

120. Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 2: 498-99. Juvenal may be referring to Vergil's characterization of Rhadamanthys when he writes that a guilty conscience is "far crueler than

any punishment devised by Rhadamanthys" (XIII. 196-97).

121. Rosenquist details how Vergil's description of the Minotaur at VI. 25-26 is later echoed in the various descriptions of the monstrous creatures who inhabit the Vergilian Hades: "Transformation," pp. 139, 141-43, 167-68, and 193.

122. Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus," pp. 225-26; see also, Rosenquist, ibid., p. 146, who notes that reference to Theseus at VI. 617-18 "brings to mind the Minotaur and the labyrinth and his [Theseus'] exploits in Crete."

123. Whereas Theseus is doomed forever to suffer for his past, Aeneas leaves his own past behind. See Brooks Otis, "Three Problems of Aeneid 6," TAPhA 90 (1959): 170; R. D. Williams, "The Sixth Book of the Aeneid," G&R 11 (1964): 63; Charles P. Segal, "Aeternum per saecula nomen, the Golden Bough and the Tragedy of History: Part II," Arion 5 (1966): 40; and Rutledge, "Opening," p. 112.

124. Butler, Sixth Book, p. 108 (at 122); Butler, in turn, refers to Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 612.

125. There are a number of differing eschatologies for Vergil's Underworld: the bipartite division first expounded by Norden, and the various tripartite divisions espoused first by Cartault (A. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 2 vols. [Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1926], pp. 461, 475, and 490), and later by Norwood (Frances Norwood, "The Tripartite Eschatology of Aeneid VI,"

CP 49 [1954]: 15-26) and by Otis (Civilized Poetry, pp. 289 and 297-304) [see Friedrich Solmsen, "The World of the Dead in Book 6 of the Aeneid," CP 67 (1972): 31-41, for a discussion of these various views]. Rosenquist opts for Otis' eschatology, although he appears to misquote his source: see "Transformation," pp. 149 and n. 86, 152, and 172. Rather than become embroiled in a discussion of where "Mythological Hades" ends and "Philodophical Hades" begins, I have chosen to refer to the three "geographical divisions"--"the Styx with souls on either bank, Tartarus and, lastly, Elysium" (Norwood, "Tripartite Eschatology," p. 17). What is important for both Rosenquist and myself is that: (1) the Cretan judges appear in only the earliest division(s) of Vergil's Hades; and (2) the associations established in the ecphrasis (labyrinth/Underworld, Theseus/Ariadne, etc.) have broken down before Vergil's final and most important division of Hades.

126. The enclosure, darkness, and repetition of the adjective caecus in Book VI. 30 and 734 remind us of the labyrinth pictured on the Cumaean doors; see also Rosenquist, "Transformation," pp. 194, 196-97, and 212.

127. Page, Books I-VI, p. (at 639), points out the similarity between the conception of the "Fortunatorum Nemorum" and the "Fortunatae Insulae"--the translation of the "μακάρων νῆσοι."

128. See pp. 127 and 174-75 above, where the Cretans

appear as judges in the Afterlife; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, pp. xx-xxi, mentions Plato's myth in the Phaedrus and the "Myth of Er" in Republic 613e-621d--in both these cases, judgment takes place on the dead souls, but no judge is named.

129. Norwood ("Tripartite Eschatology," pp. 20-22; Solmsen ("World of the Dead," p. 34) and Rosenquist ("Transformation," pp. 197-98) remark that there is no judge in this part of Hades, but that each soul is responsible for itself.

130. See also Rosenquist, "Transformation," p. 218: "by borrowing a wide variety of Cretan myths from an equally wide variety of genres of poetry as well as from prose and by endowing them with new symbolic values, Vergil made Crete, with her strange labyrinth and monstrous Minotaur, tyrannical but just Minos, perverted Pasiphae, sexually immoral princesses, and Daedalus, the almost otherworldly wonder-worker, at home in the genre of written epic.

131. See p. 57 and n. 64 above for Nilsson's views on pre-Greek and Greek conceptions of the Afterlife.

132. It is a matter of common knowledge that Vergil's description of the immortality of the soul at VI. 724ff. contains Stoic and Pythagorean ideas. Pythagoras, in turn, is said by the biographer Porphyry to have visited Crete, from which he supposedly gleaned many of his own ideas: see Willetts, Cults and Festivals, p. 242; Charles F. Herberger, The Thread of Ariadne: The Labyrinth of the Calendar of Minos

(New York: Philosophical Library, 1972), p. 22; and Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 153-54.

133. Willetts, Cults and Festivals, p. 200, notes that during the historical period on Crete Zeus was worshipped under the name "Diktaios"; Willetts, furthermore, believes that "Dikt-""--the root from which the names "Dikte," "Diktaios," and "Diktynna" are derived--is pre-Greek (ibid., p. 210). Besides Dicte, Ida and Aegeum are also considered by various poets to be the mountain upon which Jupiter was raised; see Frazer, Apollodorus 1: 6-9, for references.

134. See also: Callimachus, Hymn I. 42-53; Aratus, Phaenomena 30-35; Lucretius II. 633ff.; Diodorus Siculus V. 65. 4; Ovid, Fasti IV. 207.

135. In this passage from the Georgics, Jupiter is associated with all that is new and decadent, Italian Saturn with the old and venerable. A far more optimistic view can be found in the Aeneid, where Jupiter--instead of being viewed as "hostile" to the Golden Age--actually becomes an agent of its restoration under Augustus.

136. E. L. Harrison, "Aeneas' Pedigree," CR 12 (1972): 303-304.

137. J. Schmidt, Roscher 5:403-406, s.v. "Teukros," gives further sources for Teucer's Cretan birth. Callinus' version also appears in Lycophron's Alexandra 1302-1308 (and in the Scholiast at 1303) and in Cephalion (frag. 5;

fr. Hist. Gr. 3. 70). Servius, finally, offers two distinct accounts of Teucer's birth (at Aeneid III. 108): according to the first, Teucer's father was the Cretan archer, Cures-- whose name also recalls the Cretan Curetes; according to the more popular tradition, Scamander sired Teucer in Crete and then was forced to flee with his son and part of his men when a famine occurred--an account not dissimilar to the one Vergil uses to explain the reasons for Aeneas' immediate departure from Crete in Aeneid III. In Vergil's account, however, only Teucer makes the voyage from Crete to Troy.

138. Homer describes Dardanus as the son of Jupiter who founded Dardania under the slopes of Trojan Ida; Hellenic appears to be the first to associate Dardanus with Iasius, and both "brothers" with Samothrace (see Seeliger, Roscher, 1, 2: 59-63, s.v. "Iasion"). As for Dardanus' Italian birth, von Sybel claims that Vergil was following a "Roman-Etruscan" tradition, but gives no literary evidence of this tradition prior to Vergil (ibid., 1; 962, s.v. "Dardanos").

139. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the other hand, stipulates that Teucer's daughter is named "Bateia" (I. 50. 3, 63. 1); see Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind, pp. 43-45. Servius mentions that Dardanus marries Teucer's daughter, but does not name her (at Aeneid III. 108).

140. "Graeci et Varro, Humanarum Rerum, Dardanus non

ex Italia, sed de Arcadia, urbe Pheneo, oriundum dicunt; alii Cretensem; alii circa Troiam et Idam natum."

141. Page, Books I-VI, 1:291 (at Aeneid III. 168); Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, 1: 283 (at III. 167-68), shows that Vergil's passage results from the conflation of two conflicting traditions.

142. Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind, especially pp. 42-43.

143. Seeliger, Roscher, 1, 2: 59-63, s.v. "Iasion," points out that Iasius' association with Dardanus and Samothrace is not attested to before Hellanicus. Seeliger also notes other examples of Iasius' Cretan association: Diodorus Siculus relates that Plutus--the offspring of Demeter and Iasius in Hesiod's Theogony (969-74)--was born in Cretan Tripolis (V. 77. 1); Ovid charmingly details Ceres' infatuation for Iasius, whom she spies hunting near Mt. Ida (Amores III. 10. 25-42); Pausanias lists Iasius among the Cretan Idaean Dactyls (V. 7. 6, 14. 7)--and indeed there was a Cretan cult devoted to Iasius during the historical period; the Scholiast to Theocritus III. 50 even considers Iasius to be one of Minos' grandsons (see M. L. West, ed., Hesiod: Theogony [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], p. 423 [at 971], who "corrects" the reading of "son" to "grandson" in the mutilated line of the scholiast).

144. I. S. Ryberg, "Vergil's Golden Age," TAPhA 89 (1958): 126 and n. 45. The entire sentence which follows in

the text derives from Ryberg, with the exception of the material taken from Johnston; see n. 145 below.

145. Patricia A. Johnston, "Vergil's Conception of Saturnus," CSCA 10 (1977): 57-70, presents cogent arguments in support of her thesis that Vergil was drawing upon Ennius' translation of Euhemerus' Sacred History in the composition of the Aeneid; I am very much indebted to her treatment of Saturn's characterization prior to Vergil.

146. Johnston, ibid., p. 67.

147. Buchheit, Die Sendung Roms, p. 93 n. 365, suggests that the Latinus/Saturnus ancestry may derive from Ennius.

148. K. W. Gransden, ed., Virgil: Aeneid Book VIII (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 125 (at 322-23).

149. Page, Bucolics and Georgics, pp. 288-89 (at Georgics II. 538), suggests that the Latium/"lateo" etymology refers to Saturn's disappearance from Italy and the subsequent disappearance of the Golden Age with him.

150. Johnston, "Vergil's Saturnus," p. 70 n. 15; Buchheit, Die Sendung Roms, pp. 86-100, suggests that Vergil was the first poet to call the land "Latium" at the time of Latinus, and to refer to Latinus' people as "Latins" prior to their amalgamation with the Trojans (according to Livy I. 15

and I. 2. 4, as Buchheit notes [p. 91 and n. 359], Aeneas gave the "Aborigines" the name "Latins"); Buchheit, on the other hand, does not discuss the etymology of "Latium" or the significance of the epithet "Saturnia" in the Aeneid.

151. Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 3: 116 (at Aeneid VIII. 320); Williams, Aeneid of Virgil, 2: 248-49 (at 319ff.).

152. Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 3: 116 (at Aeneid VIII. 320), puts the thought more tentatively than Johnston when they assert, "there is perhaps a touch of Euhemerism in Virgil's account, as is natural where a mixture of mythology and history is attempted"; Johnston, "Vergil's Saturnus," p. 64.

153. Johnston, "Vergil's Saturnus," p. 61.

154. Callimachus vouches for the Arcadian claim over the Cretan claim because the Cretans are proverbial liars; he says that Jupiter was born in Arcadia and later transported as an infant to Crete (Hymn I. 7, 10-41). See also Strabo VIII. 3. 22 and Pausanias VIII. 31. 4, 38. 2-3, 41. 2. Willetts, Cults and Festivals, p. 218, says that, given the variety and frequency of the legendary material regarding Jupiter's Cretan birth, there is no question about the priority of the Cretan claim.

155. C. W. Amerasinghe, "Saturnia Iuno--Its Significance in the Aeneid," G&R 22 (1955): 61.

156. M. Wigodsky, Vergil and Early Latin Poetry, Hermes Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie Einzelschrift XXIV (1972), p. 67; William S. Anderson, "Juno and Saturn in the Aeneid," Studies in Philology 55 (1958): 520-21 n. 4.
157. L. A. MacKay, "Saturnia Iuno," G&R 3 Series 2 (1956): 60.
158. Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind, p. 41.
159. Johnston, "Vergil's Saturnus," pp. 57-59.
160. Johnston, ibid., p. 65.
161. Johnston, ibid., p. 63.
162. Wigodsky, Early Latin Poetry, pp. 67-68; Anderson, "Juno and Saturn," pp. 522-25; MacKay, "Saturnia Iuno," p. 60.
163. Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 3: 475 (at XII. 819, 820).
164. Buchheit, Die Sendung Roms, p. 141, suggests that at XII. 830-31 Jupiter tells Juno "you belong to our world and to the world to which I belong, i.e., to the 'gens Saturnia'"; Buchheit, however, does not discuss the epithet "Saturnia" or its significance to Jupiter's only reference to Saturn in the Aeneid.
165. Ryberg, "Golden Age," p. 129.

166. Conington-Nettleship, Opera, 2: 531 (at Aeneid VI. 793).

167. Johnston, "Vergil's Saturnus," p. 69.

168. Cruttwell draws numerous parallels between Aeneas' marriages to Creusa and Livia and the marriages of his predecessors and descendants (Virgil's Mind, pp. 51-54); the most important parallel for this study, however, concerns the relationship which exists between Aeneas and Dardanus (ibid., pp. 138 and 141). Given Dionysius' evidence in addition to Vergil's, we can diagram Dardanus' marriage as follows:  
 Teucer → Batea (or Arisbe) + Dardanus → Erichthonius and the Trojan race. Vergil appears to remember the tradition of Teucer's priority in Troy by having Anchises misinterpret Apollo's prophecy and by stipulating that Dardanus sailed to Teucer (VIII. 134-36); although Vergil does not mention any animosity between Teucer and Dardanus, he does picture very clearly the disparity between what is Cretan and what is Italian. From Teucer, the Trojans inherit their name "Teucrians," yet their particular purpose in the Aeneid is to retrace Dardanus' voyage from Italy to Troy, in reverse (III. 94-98); like Aeneas after him, Dardanus is considered to be the "primus pater urbis" (VIII. 134). Both Aeneas' and Dardanus' experience ultimately imitate Jupiter's, however.

EPILOGUE

ego Gnosius Dictys comes Idomenei....

--Ephemeris Belli Troiani V. 17

The Ephemeris Belli Troiani, a mediocre chronicle which nevertheless was to exert a major influence upon the story of Troy,<sup>1</sup> purports to be the memoirs of Dictys Cretensis--a man who claims to have followed the Cretan leaders, Idomeneus and Meriones, to the Trojan War (I. 13). For a number of reasons, Dictys' journal provides an amusing epilogue to our study of the uses of Cretan characters and topoi by Homer and Vergil. To begin with, Dictys' Creto-centric perspective results in a very peculiar account of the role played by Crete and her heroes during the period of the Trojan War. Yet, because Dictys claims to base his account either on his own observation or on information given to him by Ulysses (I. 13), the author of the Ephemeris Belli Troiani implies that his prose description of the events surrounding the war is authoritative; the underlying implication is, of course, that whenever discrepancies arise between Dictys' account and the traditional poetic descriptions of the war--especially the Homeric epics--the Ephemeris Belli Troiani is to be believed on the basis of its alleged antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in the process of magnifying the importance of Crete, Dictys has recourse to the same Cretan topoi used by Homer and Vergil. But Dictys, as we shall see, extends the Cretan topoi, which were so intricately interwoven into the theme of the Odyssey and the Aeneid, ad absurdum.

The Cretans' reputation for lying is the most significant and (now, at least) the most blatant of the topoi used by the author of the Ephemeris Belli Troiani.<sup>3</sup> We have previously discussed how this topos adds subtle irony to Odysseus' Cretan Lies in Odyssey XIII-XIX, for the untrustworthiness of the hero's assumed identity is signaled by the simple syllogism: all Cretans are liars, Odysseus is a Cretan, therefore Odysseus is a liar (see pp. 41-44 above). As Jacob Perizonius conclusively demonstrated at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the same syllogism also applies to Dictys Cretensis. To begin with, neither the Homeric poems nor the Aeneid nor any other description of the Trojan War refers to a Cretan hero by that name. Furthermore, not only is "Dictys" related etymologically to the Cretan names "Dicte" and "Dictynna," but the epithet "Dictaeon" is a usual synonym for "Cretan" in the works of the Alexandrian poets and their literary successors.<sup>4</sup> The name "Dictys Cretensis" simply means, in other words, "the Cretan from Crete."

The identity of the author who used the name "Dictys Cretensis" remains as controversial as the precise date of the journal's original composition, suggested dates ranging from about 66 A.D. to about 250 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Frazer, on the basis of the author's fictitious name and of the importance assigned to Crete and Idomeneus in the chronicle, speculates that the work was originally written by a Cretan.<sup>6</sup> This is probably no more the case than that the Cretan Epimenides called his own countrymen "liars, evil beasts, and idle bellies."

Instead, this is the sort of generalization imposed from the outside. The author who referred to himself as "Dictys Cretensis" should be compared, rather, to Odysseus in the second half of the Odyssey or to Demeter in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (122-125)--both of whom pretend to be Cretan in order to conceal their actual identity. Whoever Dictys Cretensis really was, he managed to extend the Cretan topos one step beyond its function in either of the other works, where distinctions are made between the characters' alibis and their actual identities. Dictys Cretensis proves to be a fiction and the Ephemeris Belli Troiani a "fraudulent memoir."<sup>7</sup> Dictys certainly hints about his own unreliability, not only by identifying himself as a Cretan (I. 13; V. 17: "ego Gnosius Dictys comes Idomenei"), but by reporting that all his information about the events preceding the war comes from Ulysses (I. 13: quae antea apud Troiam gesta sunt, ab Ulixee cognita quam diligentissime rettuli), a man whom Dictys goes on to portray, in Books I-V at least, as deceitful and treacherous.<sup>8</sup> We do not know how seriously Septimius--the self-acknowledged Latin translator of the original Greek chronicle--regarded his text: but, as Champlin points out, "there is not the slightest evidence that Septimius was not a genuine scholar who firmly believed in the authenticity of his find."<sup>9</sup> One thing alone is clear. The hoax propagated by the mind behind Dictys Cretensis endured for a millenium-and-a-half.

Within the text itself, Dictys capitalized upon the topos that Crete provides a halting-place for heroes, thus

creating his uniquely Creto-centric account of the events surrounding the Trojan War. In the first place, the action of the Ephemeris Belli Troiani begins on Crete, where all the Greek kings who trace their descent from Minos have gathered to claim their share of the inheritance following the death of Minos' son, Atreus (I. 1). Among those present, as we would expect, are the two Cretan generals--Idomeneus, son of Deucalion, and Meriones, son of Molus--who alone are described as heirs to the rule of Crete's cities and lands. More significantly, Idomeneus and Meriones are accompanied by other "Minois Iove geniti pronepotes" whose homes are elsewhere in Greece and whose stay on Crete is only temporary. These include two sets of cousins who are later to play important roles in the Trojan War: Agamemnon and Menelaus (the children of Atreus' daughter, Aerope, and Plisthenes), as well as Palamedes and Oeax (the children of Atreus' other daughter, Clymene, and Nauplius). Furthermore, while the Cretans are busy entertaining the Greek kings, Alexander takes advantage of Menelaus' absence and carries off Helen (I. 3). Except for the curious fact that Dictys calls Minos' son "Atreus" (a problem which we will discuss later: see pp. 267-70 below), there is nothing particularly unique in Dictys' genealogy: as we mentioned previously, the relationship between the Atridae and Aerope is attested to by Hesiod, and Aerope's Cretan origin is confirmed as early as Sophocles' Ajax (see pp. 54-55 above). The Cypria, moreover, specifically links the abduction of Helen with Menelaus' visit to

Crete (see pp. 53-54 above). Dictys' contribution is this-- that at the critical moment which instigated the Trojan War, not only Menelaus but Agamemnon, Palamedes and Oeax are described as staying temporarily on Crete. Palamedes, in fact, assumes responsibility for Menelaus' return to Sparta from the island, while the other Greek kings simultaneously converge on Sparta to discuss what revenge to take for Alexander's crime (I. 4).

Just as Crete is connected with the outbreak of the Trojan War, so it is also assigned an important role in the return of the heroes following the war. Although neither Homer nor Euripides specifically says that Menelaus visited Crete on his return from Troy (see pp. 52-53 above), Dictys makes Crete a crucial midway point for the hero. On his way home from Egypt, Menelaus lands on Crete (VI. 3-4). Here, while Cretans from all over the island flock to catch a glimpse of Helen, Menelaus tells the tales of his adventures following the war (an episode which Homer reserves for Telemachus' visit to Menelaus in Sparta: Odyssey IV. 347-592) and also learns, for the first time, about Agamemnon's death (a discovery which Homer places in Egypt, during Menelaus' interview with Proteus: Odyssey IV. 512-47). No sooner does Menelaus return to Mycenae from Crete, than he begins to plot against his nephew, Orestes (VI. 4). As if this account were not strange enough, Dictys goes on to write that both Menelaus and Orestes subsequently visited Crete, on the invitation of Idomeneus, and became reconciled--

Orestes being promised Menelaus' daughter, Hermione, in marriage. As there is no evidence prior to the Ephemeris Belli Troiani for either of Menelaus' visits to Crete after the war, it seems reasonable to assume that Dictys has extended the traditional association between Menelaus and Crete far beyond its original scope.

Dictys has created, furthermore, a unique relationship between Idomeneus and Orestes, whose career is intimately linked with the outcome of the heroes' return from Troy. Even before Orestes accompanied Menelaus to Crete in an attempt to reconcile their differences, he had followed Idomeneus to Crete as that king's youthful ward (VI. 3). According to the traditional accounts of the events surrounding Agamemnon's death, Orestes was rescued from Aegisthus and sent immediately to the home of Strophius of Phocis.<sup>10</sup> Dictys, by contrast, claims that the boy was first entrusted to Idomeneus and that Orestes only later came to Strophius, a potential ally against Aegisthus; Orestes' childhood was spent, in other words, in Mycenae and on Crete. Like his uncle, Menelaus, Orestes visits Crete twice in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani: neither occasion is referred to by any writer prior to Dictys.

Crete also serves as a halting-place for Ulysses on his return from Troy--in fact, Dictys claims that Ulysses arrived on Crete during Menelaus' and Orestes' stay with Idomeneus (VI. 5). According to Dictys, Ulysses came to the island with two ships he had hired from the Phoenicians; this detail immediately reminds us of two allegations in

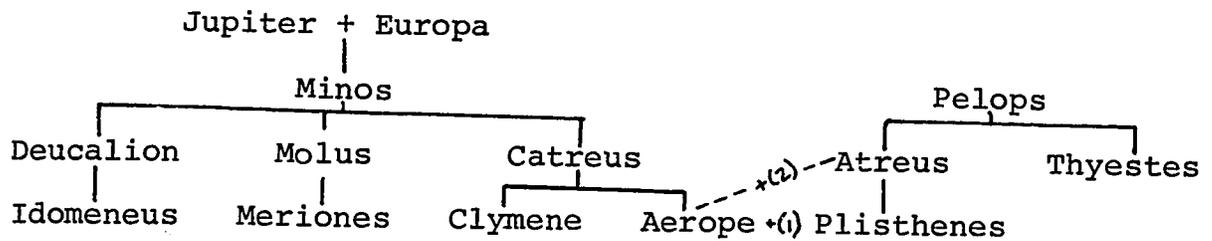
Odysseus' Cretan Lies--first, that "Odysseus" had boarded a Phoenician vessel after his murder of Idomeneus' son (Odyssey XIII. 271-86), and, second, that the Phoenician ship in which "Odysseus" was sailing was destroyed by a storm as it passed beyond Crete (Odyssey XIV. 299-309). Furthermore, Dictys has Ulysses, in response to Idomeneus' questions, explain how he lost all his men during his wanderings--an autobiographical account which Homer sets on Scheria, rather than on Crete, in the Odyssey. After his description of his wanderings, Dictys' Ulysses begs Idomeneus to convey him to Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians, just as Homer's Odysseus had begged Alcinous to convey him to Ithaca. We have previously mentioned Woodhouse's theory about a pre-Homeric "Saga of Odysseus" (see pp. 46-48 above). It probably comes as no surprise, therefore, that Woodhouse uses Dictys' chronicle to support the idea that Odysseus really visited Crete--rather than Scheria or any of the mythical lands of the Fabulous Wanderings--in the "Odysseus Saga" upon which Homer's Odyssey was supposedly based.<sup>11</sup> However this may be, Homer makes a distinction between Odysseus' autobiographical account in Books IX-XII and the Cretan Lies in Books XIII-XIX. Dictys, by trying to combine Crete with Scheria and with the lands of the Fabulous Wanderings, flattens the impact which Crete has in the Odyssey as a symbolic mediation between Ithaca and Scheria. That Crete has become the most important of Ulysses' adventures in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani is indicative of the extent to which Dictys has demythologized and trivialized his

account of Ulysses' return from Troy.

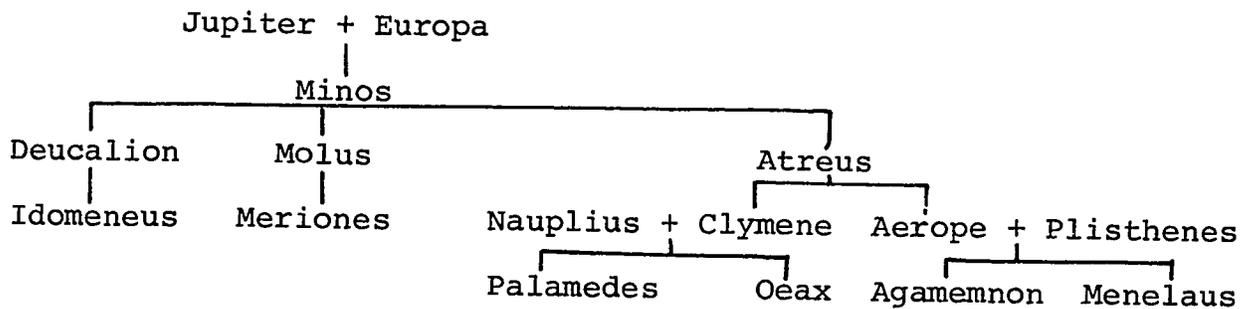
Finally, Dictys demonstrates that even for Idomeneus and for Dictys himself, Crete possesses the potential of becoming no more than a halting-place. Dictys implies that Idomeneus, like Vergil's Cretan king, was forced to flee Crete upon his return from Troy (VI. 2); unlike the Idomeneus of the Aeneid, however, Dictys' hero settles in Corinth--where he first comes into contact with his youthful charge, Orestes--and is then reinstated as king of Crete (VI. 3). Dictys goes on to describe how he himself, following the death of Idomeneus and the transfer of Crete's rule to Meriones (VI. 6), was forced to leave the island once again, this time as part of a three-man embassy sent to Delphi after Crete was suddenly devastated by a swarm of locusts (VI. 11). The situation is rectified only when the other two envoys are drowned on their return, thus fulfilling the oracle's prophecy that living creatures would perish before the crops would grow again. While Dictys chooses to heed the advice of Delphi's people, his companions imprudently set sail despite the dangerous weather and perish, struck by a thunderbolt on their way back to Crete. The fate of Dictys' companions reminds us of the dangers which both Odysseus and Aeneas faced on the Cretan Sea (see pp.132-37 above). In the Odyssey, especially, Odysseus' return to Ithaca is continually threatened by the relationship Odysseus sets up between himself and Crete in his Cretan Lies (see pp.133-34 above)--the underlying theme being that home must be won,

deliberately and constantly. Dictys, finally, has extended this idea to the Cretan heroes of the Ephemeris Belli Troiani.

Like Homer, Dictys does not associate Crete with illicit sexuality. But whereas Homer either underplays or is entirely ignorant of this association, Dictys manipulates traditional genealogies in such a way as to divorce the Cretan royal family from its intricate patterns of adultery and brutal revenge. Although Dictys does not mention most of the Cretan characters who play such a prominent role in Aeneid VI (where the topos of illicit sexuality is emphasized), he does refer to Aerope--the Cretan princess who, although absent from Homer's and Vergil's epics, nevertheless became a popular tragic figure; for, according to various accounts, Aerope was twice proven guilty of illicit sexuality--once by her father Catreus for sleeping with a slave, and later by her husband Atreus for having an affair with her brother-in-law, Thyestes.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, Dictys specifically refers to Aerope as the mother of Agamemnon and Menelaus, and to Clymene--Aerope's sister and mirror-image in Greek tragedy<sup>13</sup>--as the mother of Palamedes and Oeax. To avoid the stigma attached to the Cretan royal family as a result of Aerope's infidelity, and yet, at the same time, to magnify the fame of the Cretan dynasty by retaining the traditional relationship between it and the major heroes of the Peloponnesus, Dictys takes the accepted genealogy:



and proceeds to conflate Catreus (heir to Crete as Minos' son) and Atreus (heir to Argos/Mycenae as Pelops' son):



This combined character, whom Dictys calls "Atreus," resembles Catreus in that he is portrayed as Minos' son, as the successor to the Cretan throne, and as the father of Clymene and Aerope (I. 1); he also resembles the Atreus of both Hesiod and Aeschylus in that he is depicted as the grandfather of the Greek generals,<sup>14</sup> Agamemnon and Menelaus, rather than as their father--the relationship ascribed to him by Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca.<sup>15</sup> According to the last three sources, however, Atreus fathers Agamemnon and Menelaus on Aerope--who is first married to Atreus' son, Plisthenes, and only marries Atreus himself after Plisthenes' death. Whereas these earlier works describe how Plisthenes' family takes Aerope in after his death, Dictys assigns this role to Aerope's own family. As a result, Agamemnon and Menelaus are

referred to as the "Atridae" in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani not because they are raised in Argos/Mycenae by their father or paternal grandfather, Atreus, but because they are raised on Crete (presumably) by their maternal grandfather, Atreus. In the process, Dictys renders the traditional house of Pelops almost nonexistent. Plisthenes, whose parents and origin are never mentioned, is reduced to the role of an outsider in relation to the Cretan royal family. There is no character in the chronicle equivalent to Atreus--father of Plisthenes, husband of Aerope, father or paternal grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaus. And Pelops, who is usually thought of as Tantalus' son and as Atreus' father, is transformed by Dictys into some hazy hero of the past whom most of the Greek leaders regard as their ancestor.<sup>16</sup> In other words, Dictys has totally obscured the Mycenaean royal house of Pelops in an effort to magnify the importance of the royal house of Minos. At the same time, Dictys renders Aerope's adultery impossible according to the way in which he has structured her family and marital relationships. Dictys implies that Aerope, far from being the bane of her father Catreus and of her husband Atreus, actually brought her children to Crete to be raised by her father Atreus. As a result, when Dictys shows the Greek army reviling Agamemnon and Menelaus after the death of Telamonian Ajax, he has the army call the Atridae "ignobiles" because--though they were raised by Atreus (I. 1)--they are really the sons of Plisthenes, rather than of the famous Atreus himself (V. 16); it appears that Dictys has modeled

this insult around the passage from Sophocles' Ajax where Teucer, outraged over the Atreidae's insinuations regarding his illegitimate birth, "reminds" the heroes of their mother's renowned promiscuity (1295-1297). What Dictys has done is to remove from Agamemnon and Menelaus the embarrassment of their traditional association with Crete. Secondly, by separating Atreus from Pelops and Plisthenes, Dictys has eliminated the idea of a family curse associated with the house of Pelops--particularly the slaying and eating of its children, an act associated with Tantalus, and later with Atreus after his discovery of Aerope's adultery with Thyestes.<sup>17</sup> Finally, Dictys attempts to combine two characters who, in fact, appear to be traditional mirror-images of one another: for Catreus and Atreus have not only similar names, but similar roles in relation to Aerope--both are older, authority figures who discover Aerope's part in an illicit affair, and punish her subsequently. While it appears historically that Catreus is a reduplication of Atreus,<sup>18</sup> Dictys has conflated the two heroes in such a way as to give precedence to Catreus', rather than to Atreus', relation to Aerope. All that Dictys has retained of the Peloponnesian Atreus is his name.

Evidence of three other Cretan topoi can be found in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani. Two of these--the Cretan reputation for seafaring and for archery--appear in contexts which are obviously Iliadic. Dictys' Catalogue of Ships, for instance, parallels Homer's in the number of ships sent to Troy under Idomeneus: both sources claim that Idomeneus led

eighty ships, one of the largest contingents in the war (Iliad II. 645-52; Ephemeris Belli Troiani I. 17). Unlike Homer in the Odyssey, however, Dictys does not take advantage of the topos' potential for the return of the heroes--for none of the Cretan heroes in Dictys' chronicle are singled out as particularly fine sailors. Dictys does emphasize Meriones' skill at archery (III. 1; IV. 2), a skill which wins the Cretan hero first prize in the Funeral Games of the Iliad (XXIII. 859-97); Dictys recalls Homer's contest in his chronicle, but "revises" the results by making Philoctetes beat both Ulysses and Meriones--for Philoctetes actually severs with his arrow the string from which the dove is suspended (III. 18).

Finally, Dictys also associates Crete with justice--one of the components of the "civilization" topos--but in a novel way. We have grown accustomed usually to seeing Minos or Rhadamanthys placed in the role of the righteous judge or counselor. But in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani, Rhadamanthys is never mentioned and Minos is referred to simply as the son of Jupiter, the ancestor of the Cretan royal family (I. 1); their services on earth and especially their traditional roles as judges in the Underworld, however, find no place in Dictys' demythologized chronicle. Instead, Dictys confers upon Idomeneus the distinction of being an influential arbiter--a distinction which accords well with Homer's portrayal of Idomeneus as one of the older heroes in the Iliad, and which gives Idomeneus a "Nestor-like" quality in the Ephemeris

Belli Troiani. When the booty from neighboring cities of Troy is to be divided among the Greek leaders, the advice of Nestor and Idomeneus is followed since they are "the best advisers in the determination (of the allotment)" (II. 19: "in decernendo optimis auctoribus"). Towards the end of the war, Antenor asks the Greeks to choose representatives for peace talks: among those selected are Agamemnon, Ulysses, Diomedes, and Idomeneus (IV. 22). Both Idomeneus and Meriones later accompany a group of Greek heroes visiting Troy in order to ratify the final terms of the peace (V. 10). Idomeneus' final act of arbitration involves the reconciliation of Menelaus and Orestes, both of whom Idomeneus invites to Crete specifically for this purpose (VI.4: "ad postremum intercessu Idomenei uterque conciliatus..."). Although Idomeneus' distinction in the chronicle seems lackluster when compared to Homer's descriptions of Minos and Rhadamanthys in the Odyssey, nevertheless the role of arbiter certainly enhances the characterization of Idomeneus--who never appears in the action of either the Odyssey or the Aeneid, and whose final appearance in the Iliad is marred by the insult of Ajax, son of Oileus, who contends that Idomeneus' judgment is impaired by his poor eyesight (XXIII. 448-98). Other sources, furthermore, inform us that, whenever Idomeneus is cast as a judge or arbitrator, he proves totally unsuccessful. We mentioned earlier that, according to Athenodorus of Eretria, Idomeneus was once invited to judge a beauty contest between Medea and Thetis--the outcome of which permanently

affected the Cretans' credibility: for Medea, angered at not being chosen the fairer, cursed all the Cretans so that they would never speak the truth again (see p. 43 above). Philostratus, in turn, demonstrates that Idomeneus, far from being the persuasive speaker of Dictys' account, is a coward and a boaster, who elicits Telamonian Ajax's sarcastic reply--  
 τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ἐσμὲν τὰς ἀρετὰς οἷοι Τροίαν μὲν ἐσπυδακότες  
 λαβεῖν, Κρήτην δὲ πάνζοντες--when he claims that he will bring the hundred cities of Crete into the war, so that Troy may be quickly taken (Heroicas VIII). Most damning of all, however, are those sources which suggest that Crete won its reputation for lying when Idomeneus, chosen to act as arbiter in a quarrel over the distribution of the spoils from Troy, abused his official position and divided the spoils unfairly (Zenob. Cent. IV. 62; Schol. Callimachus Hymn I. 8ff.). In other words, Dictys, by styling Idomeneus as an arbiter in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani, has transferred a role--usually associated with Minos and Rhadamanthys--to Idomeneus. But, in the process, Dictys' characterization of Idomeneus contradicts almost every other description of the Cretan king in ancient literature.

To conclude, Dictys Cretensis presents his Ephemeris Belli Troiani as an historical prose chronicle clearly intended to discredit the "later" poetic interpretation of the Trojan War. Yet Dictys variously hints about his own unreliability by claiming to be a Cretan, by identifying Ulysses as the source of his prewar account, as well as by the way in

which he uses and manipulates Cretan topoi. By describing his Cretan characters and the relationship of the Trojan War heroes to Crete solely in terms of these topoi, Dictys demonstrates his indebtedness to that very literary tradition he endeavors to discredit, and reveals himself as a pedant posturing as a Cretan warrior. Dictys has made the topoi central to his plot and, insofar as this term applies, to his characterizations: the Cretan liar topos adds subtle irony to Dictys' entire narration; Crete becomes the halting-place before and after the war for many of the heroes-- Menelaos, Agamemnon, Palamedes, Oeax, Orestes, Ulysses, Idomeneus, and Dictys himself; Crete's fame for seafaring and archery are alluded to; Idomeneus is described as "the most judicious of men;"<sup>19</sup> while the topos of illicit sexuality is conspicuous by its absence, for Dictys appears to have purposely conflated the House of Pelops with the Cretan royal family in order to avoid any suggestion of Crete's 'darker' side. The artistic and spiritual grandeur of Homer's epics and Vergil's Aeneid is entirely lacking in Dictys' demythologized, chronological narration of the events surrounding the Trojan War. Unlike Odysseus' Cretan Lies--which are themselves demythologized and simplified representations of the Fabulous Wanderings--Dictys' description of the island and her heroes does not illustrate or participate in some larger structural framework: the Cretan topoi have no thematic significance in the Ephemeris Belli Troiani. Furthermore, despite Dictys' Creto-centric perspective, Crete itself did

not become a metaphor--as it does in Vergil's Aeneid. Instead, by extending the scope of the topoi far beyond their narrative significance and importance in previous literature, Dictys simultaneously trivializes the topoi and strips Crete of her mystical association with the socializing of mankind, the power of women, labyrinths and Minotaurs, and the Afterlife.

## NOTES

1. The other major influence was a prose chronicle entitled, Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia, a supposed Latin translation of another eyewitness of the Trojan War--Dares the Phrygian. Because the author is recounting the Trojan War from the Trojan point of view, he says little about the Cretan heroes; furthermore, what he does say is absolutely incredible--as, for instance, his assertion that Hector slew Idomeneus in battle (Section 24).

2. In fact, although it is convenient to regard Books I-V as the "Iliadic" portion of Dictys' chronicle and Book VI as a condensed Latin version of Dictys' "Odyssean" portion (Nathaniel E. Griffin, "The Greek Dictys," AJPh 29 [1908]: 332; R. M. Frazer, Jr., The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian [Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1966], pp. 8-9), we actually find that those incidents recorded in the Iliad appear only in Books I. 17 and II. 28 - III. 27 of the Ephemeris Belli Troiani, and that the subject of the Odyssey--Odysseus' return--occupies only Book VI. 5-6 of Dictys' chronicle. Dictys, with his interest in the events preceding and following the Trojan War, is ultimately indebted to the post-Homeric "Trojan Cycle."

3. Frazer, The Trojan War, p. 11; Edward J. Champlin, "A Severan Man of Letters: Serenus Sammonicus," HSCP (forthcoming).

4. See, for instance, Callimachus Hymn I. 4 and 47, Lycophron Alexandra 1300, and Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica IV. 1640.

5. The question of dating is complicated immeasurably by the fact that scholars must untangle four different puzzles --the parts of the chronicle handed down in the medieval manuscripts: (1) a letter, introducing the chronicle in one group of manuscripts; (2) a preface, introducing the chronicle in another group of manuscripts; (3) the chronicle, as it has been handed down to us in its Latin translation; and (4) the chronicle, as it may have first appeared in its Greek original, some fragments of which have recently come to light. Griffin, writing at the turn of the century, believed that the Greek original along with its preface was composed between 66 A.D. and 250 A.D., although he preferred the earliest date possible; the author of the letter, Griffin felt, was the same person who translated the Greek Dictys into Latin sometime in the fourth century (Griffin, "Greek Dictys," p. 331; Frazer, The Trojan War, pp. 10-11). Champlin disagrees entirely with Griffin's assessment and hypothesizes that the Greek original was composed or first widely circulated in the Severan Age--since the papyrus fragments date from about 200 A.D. Furthermore, he suggests that the Latin

translation (or "version") may have followed the Greek original almost immediately; the letter was composed at the same time by the translator, who wished to provide the reader with the supposed background of the chronicle. As for the preface, Champlin concludes that it is a later forgery "added... to an already fraudulent memoir." In fact, Champlin's description of the preface as "wit masquerading as pedantry" may apply to Dictys' journal itself (Champlin, "Serenus Sammonicus"). For another discussion of the dating problem see: Werner Eisenhut, ed., Dictys Cretensis Ephemeris Belli Troiani Libri (Leiden: B. C. Teubner, 1973), pp. viii-xi.

6. Frazer, The Trojan War, p. 11.

7. Champlin, "Serenus Sammonicus" (see note 4 above).

8. Dictys shows that Ulysses was responsible for the forged letter sent to Clytemnestra regarding Iphigenia's supposed marriage to Achilles (I. 20-22), as well as for the treacherous murder of Palamedes (II. 15 and 29); in addition, Dictys asserts that the Greek army felt that Ulysses was to blame for Ajax's death--which Dictys implies could have been a murder (V. 15).

9. Champlin, "Serenus Sammonicus."

10. See, for instance, Pindar Pythian XV. 35.

11. Woodhouse, Composition of Homer's Odyssey, pp. 133-34 and p. 133 note 17.

12. See Homer chapter pp. 54-55 above, Vergil chapter note 89 above, and note 17 below.

13. Apollodorus records that Catreus had four children, among whom were Aerope and Clymene. Catreus gave both daughters to Nauplius to sell into a foreign land; Nauplius engaged Aerope to Plisthenes, but married Clymene himself--by whom he had Palamedes and Oeax (III. 2. 2; II. 1. 5). Apollodorus goes on to say "as the tragic poets write, Nauplius married Clymene, daughter of Catreus"--"ὡς μὲν οἱ τραγικοὶ λέγουσι, κλυμένην τὴν Κατρέως" (II. 1. 5). Furthermore, Pearson cites Polyaeus as evidence that this story was used by the fifth-century dramatists (Fragments of Sophocles, 2: 131ff.). How the story of Palamedes was treated in Aeschylus' Palamedes, Sophocles' Nauplius Catapleon and Nauplius Pyrkaeus, or Euripides' Palamedes, however, remains unknown.

14. Hesiod frag. 194 (Merkelbach and West, Fragmenta Hesiodica, p. 93) and Aeschylus Agamemnon 1539, 1573, etc.; see also Schol. Iliad I. 7 and II. 249, and Apollodorus III. 2. 2.

15. Atreus is referred to as the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus in Iliad III. 98 (etc.), and Odyssey IV. 462 (etc.), in Sophocles' Ajax 1295-1297, Euripides' Iphigeneia in Tauris 3ff., Orestes 16-18 and 995-1012, Helen 390-92, and Electra 699-742, and in Seneca's Thyestes 325-28. (See

also Homer chapter note 59 above).

16. See Frazer, The Trojan War, p. 174 n. 6.

17. The scholium to Euripides' Orestes 812 claims that Atreus, according to Sophocles, threw Aerope into the sea as punishment for her adultery with Thyestes--"ῥίψας αὐτὴν εἰς θάλασσαν, ὡς φησι Σοφοκλῆς"; as Pearson points out, however, this passage is probably "an inaccurate reminiscence of Ajax 1295-1297"--the scholium to which indicates that Aerope was sentenced by her father to drown for her affair with a slave, and that this story, in turn, was dramatized by Euripides in his Cretan Women (Pearson, Fragments of Sophocles, 1: 93).

18. All surviving references to Catreus' name are late--Apollodorus III. 1. 2 (etc.) and Epit. II. 10 - III. 3, Diodorus Siculus IV. 60. 4, and Schol. Lycophron Alexandra 386.

19. Frazer's translation of "In Decernendo Optimis Auctoribus" (The Trojan War [at II. 19]).

## APPENDIX A

CRETAN REFERENCES IN THE ODYSSEY

## BOOK III

- 191-192 Nestor tells Telemachos that Idomeneus brought back to Crete all his companions who had escaped from the fighting, and that none were lost at sea.
- 291-300 Nestor tells Telemachos that Menelaos' fleet was separated into two parts near Maleia. One half of the ships were driven to Crete and destroyed on the rocks near Phaestos; the crew managed to save themselves, however. The other half of the fleet was driven to Egypt.

## BOOK IV

- 561-569 Proteus, according to Menelaos' account, prophesies that Menelaos will not die in Argos, but will be conveyed by the gods to the Elysian Field--to the limits of the earth, where Rhadamanthys is, and life is easiest for mortals.

## BOOK VII

- 318-326 Alcinoos brags to Odysseus that the Phaeacian ships can make the journey to Euboea and back on the same day; he tells Odysseus that the Phaeacians once carried Rhadamanthys there, when Rhadamanthys wished to visit Tityos, the son of Gaia.

## BOOK XI

- 321-325 In his account of the Fabulous Wanderings, Odysseus tells the Phaeacians that he saw Phaedra, Procris, and Ariadne in Hades; Odysseus describes how Ariadne, on her way from Crete with Theseus, was slain by Artemis in Dia, after Dionysus bore witness against her.
- 586-571 Odysseus also says that he saw Minos, the son of Zeus, judging the dead in Hades.

## BOOK XIII

256-286 Odysseus' Lie to Athena: the first of Odysseus' Cretan Lies, designed to provide a fictitious identity for Odysseus and enable him to observe, unrecognized, the situation in his own palace. In this particular lie, Odysseus claims to be a wealthy Cretan exiled voluntarily for murdering Idomeneus' son, Orsilochos, who had tried to deprive him of his plunder from Troy. Odysseus says that he fled Crete on a Phoenician vessel bound for Pylos or Elis, but that a storm forced him to land on Ithaca instead.

## BOOK XIV

192-359 Odysseus' Lie to Eumaios: the longest and most complex of Odysseus' Cretan Lies. In this account, Odysseus claims to be the son of a wealthy Cretan and a concubine. Although only granted a small share of the estate upon the death of his father, Odysseus says he earned both wealth and respect by his courage in raids and battles. He fought in the Trojan War, leading a contingent of warriors with Idomeneus. When he returned to Crete, he remained at home for a single month and then decided to make an expedition to Egypt. Here, Odysseus claims, he lost all his men and found himself a suppliant to the King of Egypt. He gathered substance in Egypt for seven years, then went with a Phoenician merchant to Phoenicia for a year. But the merchant, deciding to sell "Odysseus" into slavery, set sail for Libya. When his ship had passed Crete, however, it was destroyed by a storm sent by Zeus. Only "Odysseus" survived. Washed ashore on Thesprotia, he was entertained by King Pheidon and sent to Doulichion on a Thesprotian ship. However, the sailors decided to enslave "Odysseus" instead. When the ship anchored in the harbor of Ithaca, "Odysseus" escaped and fled to Eumaios' hut.

378-385 Eumaios scolds Odysseus and says he will not believe any story of his master's homecoming. For once an Aetolian, who had murdered a man and wandered widely, claimed that he had seen Odysseus repairing his ships with Idomeneus among the Cretans. This Aetolian, Eumaios recalls, prophesied that Odysseus would return in the summer or in the autumn with his possessions and his companions.

## BOOK XVI

61-67 Eumaios informs Telemachos that his suppliant beggar claims to be a Cretan, who has wandered widely and has just escaped from a Thesprotian vessel.

## BOOK XVII

522-527 Eumaios informs Penelope that the beggar in her halls claims to be from Crete, the home of Minos' generation. Eumaios adds that the beggar has heard that "the real Odysseus" is in Thesprotia and plans to return shortly.

## BOOK XIX

16 -202 Odysseus' Lie to Penelope: the last of Odysseus' Cretan Lies. Odysseus claims that he is Aethon, Idomeneus' younger brother. He tells Penelope that he once entertained her husband in Crete, when he was driven off course on his way to Troy.

336-342 In the final part of the lie, Odysseus refuses the blankets Penelope offers him. He claims that these have been hateful to him ever since he left Crete.

## APPENDIX B

## RECURRENT ELEMENTS IN ODYSSEUS' CRETAN LIES

His Cretan Origin	Lie to Athena XIII. 256-286	Lie to Eumaios XIV. 191-359	Lie to Penelope XIX. 165-202, 221-48, 262-307, 336-342
	Wide Crete, far away over the sea	Wide Crete (199)	Elaborate description of Crete: distant island with many peoples and 90 cities; Gnossos, the place where Minos ruled and conversed with Zeus
His Cretan Family	Left as many possessions in Crete with his children as he brought to Ithaca (257-58)	Son of wealthy man, Castor, and a concubine; married a wealthy woman because of his courage; preferred wars and ships to the cares of his house; after Trojan War, returned to Crete for only one month (200-34, 244-45).	Same as his relationship to Idomeneus (below)
His Relationship to Idomeneus	Killed Idomeneus' son, Orsilochos, for trying to seize his booty from Troy; would not serve as Idomeneus' henchman in the war, but led own men (258-71)	Cretans called upon Idomeneus and him to lead their troops to Troy; they could not refuse (235-42)	Describes Idomeneus as his "elder and nobler" brother; traces their ancestry back to Minos; names himself "Aethon" (180-85)

Lie to Athena

How he  
left Crete

After killing Orsilochos,  
he begged some Phoenician  
merchants to take him to  
Pylos or Elis (272-75)

Lie to Eumaios

Expedition to Egypt;  
his men are routed and  
he remains in Egypt for  
7 years with the king;  
then he falls to a de-  
ceitful Phoenician, who  
desires to sell him into  
slavery; a storm destroys  
the Phoenician vessel after  
it has sailed past Crete;  
he floats to Thesprotia,  
where Pheidon receives him

Lie to Penelope

How he  
came to  
Ithaca

The Phoenicians are  
driven off-course by  
winds to Ithaca; there  
they leave him and his  
possessions (276-86)

The Thesprotians disembark  
on Ithaca; he escapes,  
realizing that they plan  
to enslave him (335-59)

His Ac-  
count of  
"the real  
Odysseus"

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He claims that Pheidon  
had told him of "the real  
Odysseus'" recent arrival  
in Thesprotia, and of his  
visit to the oracle at  
Dodona to find out whether  
he should return to  
Ithaca "in secret or  
openly"; he claims that a  
ship had been prepared to  
take "the real Odysseus"  
home (321-34); earlier, he  
prophesies that "the real  
Odysseus" would return  
home momentarily (149-64)

He tells Penelope that he had  
entertained her husband on  
Crete 20 years before, and  
had sent him on his way to  
Troy (185-202); he describes  
what he remembers of "the  
real Odysseus" (221-48); he  
repeats his story of "the real  
Odysseus'" stay in Thespro-  
tia, and simultaneously pre-  
dicts that Penelope's hus-  
band will return home momen-  
tarily (262-307)

## APPENDIX C

## CRETAN REFERENCES IN VERGIL'S EARLY WORKS

The Eclogues

- V. 72 Menalcas promises to make Lyctian Aegon sing as part of the rites to deified Daphnis.
- VI. 45-60 As part of his song, Silenus elaborates on Pasiphae's passion for the snow-white bull. In the song, Pasiphae calls upon the nymphs of Dicte to help her find the bull, whom she believes may be brought home by some heifers to the stalls at Gortyn.
- X. 59-60 Gallus, in order to bury the sorrow of his love, claims that he will become a hunter and shoot Cydonian arrows from his Parthian bow.

The Georgics

- I. 222 Vergil suggests that the farmer allow the Corona borealis (Ariadne's crown) to withdraw before planting seeds.
- II. 536 In the final section of Book II (513-42), Vergil describes the difficult but idyllic life of the farmer under Saturn's Golden Age, before Jupiter--the "Dictaeon king"--ruled over Italy.
- III. 345 Vergil pictures the African herdsman, like his Roman counterpart, going to war with all his possessions, including his Cretan quiver.
- IV. 149-52 Vergil announces that he will describe Jupiter's reward to the bees who, following the martial tunes of the Curetes, fed the infant Jupiter in a cave on Mt. Dicte.

## APPENDIX D

CRETAN REFERENCES IN VERGIL'S AENEID

## Book III

103-191 When on Delos Apollo advises the Trojans to seek out "their ancient mother," Anchises announces that the god means Crete, the island of great Jove: for Teucer--one of the founders of Troy--is said to have come from Crete. Since Idomeneus, according to rumor, had been banished from his homeland, the Trojans confidently sail to Crete and begin to found Pergamea. However, a plague soon decimates the population. In a dream, Aeneas learns that Apollo did not refer to Crete, and that the Cretan fields are denied to the Trojans by Jupiter himself.

400-401 Helenus warns Aeneas to avoid the eastern coast of Italy, where Greeks, like Lyctian Idomeneus, have settled with their troops.

## Book IV

70-73 In a simile Dido is described as burning with love, like a doe wounded unknowingly by the arrow of a shepherd in the Cretan woods.

143-149 In a simile Aeneas is compared to Apollo leaving his winter home in Lycia and returning to Delos to lead the dances, while Cretans and other peoples sing around his altar. At this moment, Aeneas has just joined Dido in the hunt.

## Book V

284-285 After Sergestus brings his ship back last in the races, Aeneas presents him with a Cretan slave-woman named Pholoe, who nurses twins at her breast.

306-307 Aeneas promises that each contestant in the footrace will receive an axe and two Cnossian arrows.

588-590 The complicated course of the young Trojan horsemen is compared in a simile to the winding maze of the labyrinth in Crete.

Book VI

14-32 When Daedalus fled on wings from Minos' realm, he landed first on Cumae, where he built a temple to Apollo. On the doors he pictured: the death of Androgeus and the Athenian tribute to Minos; the land of Crete rising from the sea; Pasiphae's love for the bull and her offspring, the Minotaur; Daedalus' aid to Ariadne; and the thread which unlocked the labyrinth. Icarus' sorry plight alone remains unfinished, due to the grief of the father.

431-433 After crossing the Styx, Aeneas sees the souls of those condemned to die on false charge. Here Minos presides as judge, and learns men's crimes and lives.

445-447 Beyond, Aeneas finds the Fields of Mourning and those who died due to love's cruelty. Among these Aeneas sees Phaedra, Procris, and Pasiphae.

566-569 When the road splits in two, Aeneas looks to the left and sees Hades' Hell. Here, the Sibyl informs Aeneas, Cnossian Rhadamanthys rules with an iron hand, exacting confessions from the guilty.

Book VII

761-780 As Hippolytus' son rides to war against the Trojans, Vergil describes how Hippolytus--killed by his stepmother's craft--was rejuvenated by Aesculapius and hidden by Trivia in Italy.

Book VIII

294-295 In the hymns sung to Hercules, the Salii sing of the hero's labors--including his killing of the Cretan bull.

## Book IX

303-305           Ascanius gives Euryalus his own gold and ivory sword made by Cnossian Lycaon.

## Book XI

264-265           Diomedes warns the Italians not to fight the Trojans: he describes the sorrows of the returning Greeks, including the overthrown house of Idomeneus, king of the Cretans.

773               Chloereus--dressed in purple, saffron, and gold--sends Cretan arrows from his Lycian bow. Camilla, in her desire to win this booty, is lured to her death.

## Book XII

411-415           Seeing her son wounded and in pain, Venus plucks a medicinal herb--dictamnium--from Cretan Ida and with it cures Aeneas' injury.

856-860           One of the Dirae, in the shape of an owl, speeds to earth "like an arrow, shot by a Parthian or a Cydonian."

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ABSTRACT

THE MYTH THAT CRETE BECAME: THE THEMATIC SIGNIFICANCE OF  
CRETE AND CRETAN TOPOI IN HOMER'S ODYSSEY AND  
VERGIL'S AENEID

Adele J. Haft

In Homer's Odyssey and Vergil's Aeneid, the role of Crete has generally remained unexamined. Yet both epics contain many references to notable mythological Cretans (Idomeneus, Minos, Rhadamanthys, etc.) and evidence of various topoi--proverbial statements or literary generalizations--associated with the island (Crete's reputation for lying, archery, seafaring, and stormy seas; her geographic position as a halting-place for heroes; her connections with the Afterlife, law, and justice; her dimly recollected role as the prototypical civilization of Greece, etc.). The primary aim of this thesis is three-fold: (1) to isolate these Cretan characters and topoi; (2) to demonstrate the extent to which the poets have interwoven these with various themes in their works; and (3) to reveal how Vergil's choice and presentation of these illustrate simultaneously his awareness of and reaction against Homer's generally favorable depiction of the island.

The thematic significance of Crete in the Odyssey becomes apparent in the three Cretan Lies Odysseus fashions for himself in Books XIII (256-286), XIV (191-359), and XIX (165-342). Chapter One of this thesis is divided into three

sections corresponding to each of the lies in order of presentation. The section on the Lie to Athena focuses upon the context of the lies and explores such issues as: the relationship between the Cretan Lies and the topos that "Cretans always lie"; the similarities and subtle differences between the six recurrent elements within the Cretan Lies; and the paradoxical blend of control and gradual rediscovery of identity implicit in Odysseus' tales. In the section on the Lie to Eumaios, the central concerns are: why Homer has Odysseus "recall" the wanderings of Menelaos, as well as what Homer and subsequent poets considered to be Menelaos' associations with Crete and with the Cretan topos of the Afterlife-- an examination which leads to the hypothesis that Homer may have composed the Lie to Eumaios by using details associated with Menelaos in a pre-Homeric tradition, and then substituted Odysseus for Menelaos. The final section treats the Lie to Penelope both as a particular tale and as the culmination of all the Cretan Lies. This section offers insight into the development of Odysseus' identity and into Crete's symbolism as it relates to the return of the hero. Of special importance are Odysseus' changing relationship to Idomeneus throughout the lies, and the way in which Homer and his hero/bard design Crete to mediate between Scheria and Ithaca.

When we think of Vergil's use of Crete in the Aeneid, two episodes come to mind: the ill-fated settlement of Cretan Pergamea (III. 73-191), and Daedalus' depiction of the Athenian tribute to the Minotaur fashioned on the Apollo

temple at Cumae (VI. 14-33). Chapter Two, which falls into four sections, examines both these scenes and considers two other Vergilian usages of Cretan characters and topoi. The first section, "On Crete: Aeneid III," provides a transition between the Homer and Vergil chapters by suggesting that Vergil has either invented or greatly elaborated the Cretan episode so as to demonstrate his response to the Odyssey: for both epics refer to Idomeneus' fate following the Trojan War, describe the violence of the Cretan Sea, and present Crete--in some sense--as an antiqua mater of Greece and as a 'false home.' The second section, "Cretan Archery in the Aeneid," attempts to establish that in the four references to Cretan archery throughout the poem (IV. 68-73; V. 305-306; XI. 773; XII. 859) the geographical adjective "Crete" is not merely "ornamental." Instead, the epithet forebodes the deaths of those characters whom Vergil sympathetically but emphatically portrays as victims of their own excesses and as the greatest obstacles to Aeneas' destiny: Crete becomes associated with death, excess, and the unacceptable alternative. In the third section, "'Fugiens Minoia Regna': Aeneid VI," the conversion of "Crete" from an actual adventure (Book III) to a complex poetic symbol is explored. Daedalus' depiction not only sets the tone for the entire episode, but foreshadows Vergil's unique presentation of various notable Cretans inhabiting the Underworld. Despite his many Homeric and "epic" reminiscences, Vergil deliberately undermines several topoi we have come to associate with Crete in order to em-

phasize the darker aspects of the Cretan civilization. Crete--the antiqua mater of Greece--becomes relegated by Vergil to a past which cannot provide the Romans with a moral exemplar for the future. The final section, "Jupiter, Crete, and Rome," examines how Jupiter--long associated with Crete as the land of his birth--becomes the guiding spirit of Rome, despite the implications of "Saturnia" Juno's opposition.

The thesis concludes with a brief examination of Dictys Cretensis' Ephemeris Belli Troiani. In this fraudulent memoir, the Cretan topoi--familiar to us now from the works of Homer and Vergil--appear in an entirely trite, non-metaphorical form. Dictys has effectively and finally extended the Cretan topoi "ad absurdum."