

PASIPHAE AND DAEDALUS AND THE FOUR PANELS OF THE DOOR OF APOLLO'S TEMPLE

(Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.20–30)

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Introduction

It has been observed and widely agreed upon that Vergil composed his *Aeneid* with a structure, sometimes making symmetry even numerical¹. It has also been shown that to understand why Vergil wrote the poem, one must depart from and be guided by Vergil's own structure. Studies of Vergil's structure of the *Aeneid* have indeed received exhaustive scholarly attention². Particular attention has also been given to appreciating the symbolism behind the *Aeneid* by means of the observations made on the structure of the poem.

The relationship between narrative structure and symbolism is sometimes given special focus by Vergil through ecphrasis³. Much has already been said about this method of symbolically adverting the reader of what will take place, and what has taken place; and of the connexion between the past and the present both in the ecphrasis

and between the ecphrasis and the poem or its message⁴.

Some of these ecphrases, precisely because they tend to introduce something important to come, are placed towards the beginning of a book. We are here immediately reminded of *Odyssey* VII, where Odysseus will meet Alcinous and Arete. Before Odysseus steps into the palace, Homer pauses for a numerically perfectly structured passage describing the garden, and another numerically structured one similarly describing the entrance to the palace⁵. We understand what kind of people the Phaeacians were, remote from the rest of mankind, already from their horticultural and architectural activities, before we meet them.

The openings of *Aeneid* I and VI

On two occasions, right at the beginning of a book after a short introduction, Vergil presents us with such an ecphrasis. I refer to the Trojan reliefs on the Carthaginian battlements of Dido in Book I, and the Athenian and Cretan ones on the door-pa-

¹ On the existence of symmetry in Greek literature prior to Vergil, see H. Mac L. Currie (1976), 46–47.

² A. J. Boyle (1972a), 63.

³ While it is true that symbolism may be exaggerated, and connexions inferred where they do not exist, as pointed out by Th. E. Kinsey (1986), 137, there is a bigger danger of misinterpreting the *Aeneid* without symbolism.

⁴ H.C.R. Vella (2004).

⁵ H.C.R. Vella (1991), 148–162.

nels of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae⁶. On both occasions, Vergil presents his hero as being absorbed in his study of the pictures. The reader will imagine the importance of pictures that could leave such impressions on the hero he is following in the narrative.

On both occasions, Aeneas is disturbed by the arrival of somebody, here a female character, Dido in Book I, and the Sibyl in Book VI. In Book I he had cried on seeing himself in past sufferings; in Book VI Aeneas does not cry at seeing the sufferings of *proles* symbolised by the representations of analogous, foreign situations. Nor will he cry when he sees and picks up Vulcan's Shield in Book VIII, wherein his *proles* are again represented in the midst of wars and battles⁷. In all three ecphrases, therefore, is underlined the problem of suffering, as indeed in the whole of the *Aeneid* and the other major works of Vergil⁸. Before he comes to Carthage, "the wrong place", Aeneas' vision of the real Promised Land had been blurred, and is very much attached to the seemingly never ending past; when

he comes to Cumae⁹, the place of initiation, Aeneas' coming to Hesperia has materialized, and is now looking to what is next¹⁰. It is in this context that Aeneas is absorbed by the metaphorical representations of "his issue", at Cumae in Hesperia¹¹.

The *Spectacula*

In general, the representations on the door panels of the temple of Apollo may be said to represent aspects of Aeneas' own past history. The symbolical relationship of Daedalus and Aeneas has already been aptly referred to by A. J. Boyle, who also agrees with the opinion that this ecphrasis has only four panels, as described below¹². The last panel, however, may be said to represent not only his past, but also his imminent future. The first two panels deal with death, suffering and sacrifice, and remind us of Creusa, Anchises, Dido and Palinurus¹³.

⁶ The story appeared in Catullus LXIV and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* VIII, for a discussion of which see B. Pavlock (1998–1999), 141–157. It is also referred to by Vergil's contemporary, Horace, in his *Odes* (1.3, 2.20 and 4.2). For a discussion of treatment of the myth by other Classical authors, see E. Paratore (1979), 208. For a discussion on the relationship of the temple of Apollo at Cumae to other temples of Apollo, see M. Paschalis (1986b), 44–68. For a discussion of this ecphrasis in Vergil, see, for example, V. Poeschl (1975), 119–123.

⁷ P. R. Doob (1990), 228, has already referred to this triptych involving Dido's murals, Daedalus' carvings and Vulcan's Shield.

⁸ F. A. Sullivan (1969), 161–177, but especially 161. Earlier, R. D. Williams (1964), 62, had referred to the equipoise of the *Aeneid*, that of "success and failure, life and death, triumph and defeat, joy and sorrow".

⁹ For Vergil's choice of Cumae in making Aeneas' first landfall in Western Italy, see R. V. Schoder (1971–1972), 97–109. For studies on Cumae and its relationship with Vergil's narrative, see P. O'R. Smiley (1948), 97–103; R. J. Clark (1977a), 63–71, and R. J. Clark (1977b), 482–495.

¹⁰ In the words of H. C. Rutledge (1971–1972), 112, "As Aeneas passes through the gates of the temple of Apollo we see him leaving his own dismal past behind him. He will not be the same person when he emerges from his total Cumae experience."

¹¹ In the words of M. C. J. Putnam (1998a), 244, "with Daedalus' artisanship Aeneas shares the element of autobiography watching himself within an episode he views". See also M. C. J. Putnam (1987), 173–174.

¹² A. J. Boyle (1972), 116–118. See also M. Owen Lee (1992), 83–84, and 85, where he even compares Daedalus with Vergil, the author "pitying Queen Dido and guiding Aeneas through the underworld". For a more negative view in the comparison of Daedalus with Aeneas, see J. W. Zarker (1967), 221: "Daedalus, however, has no apparent relationship either to the rest of VI or the *Aeneid* as a whole".

¹³ M. Paschalis (1986a), 40–41, sees the scene of Androgeus as heralding and "triggering" the scene of

In the third panel, Pasiphae reminds us of Dido, the notion of love and cruelty derived from the consequence of that love¹⁴. The fourth panel looks both back to Aeneas' labyrinthine wanderings, and forward to his descent into the Underworld¹⁵.

The subject matter of this ephrasis is therefore quite complex, comprising death (especially of the young)¹⁶, suffering, sacrifice, love (and cruelty resulting from it), and life's wandering paths¹⁷. It is about life and its complexities, difficult to unravel and difficult to predict. As such, this ephrasis is a microcosm of the whole *Aeneid*, where progress is counterbalanced by loss of life¹⁸. No doubt Aeneas was absorbed looking at the *spectacula*, not because they mirrored his past in specific scenes, as some would interpret¹⁹,

or because they were Greek artistic representations to be contrasted to Roman concepts of *imperium*²⁰, but because they reflected Man and every viewer in a very deep way. These *spectacula*, therefore, were not trivial at all²¹, even when compared to what the Sibyl and Anchises were going to show Aeneas in the Underworld. They were *spectacula* because they were graphic; at the same time, they were a forecast of what could be revealed to Aeneas in the Underworld, the destination as indicated by Anchises in Book V. Even so, the real thing has still to come, and Aeneas must not tarry at these *spectacula*, as he will not tarry at meeting Palinurus and Deiphobus in the Underworld.

Aeneas and Daedalus

Both Daedalus and Aeneas are exiles²², and both are devotees of Apollo. Both pay first

Marcellus at the end of VI and that of the death of Pallas in Book X. This, therefore, could not have been the reason why Aeneas tarried viewing such a scene, for Aeneas could not yet see the connection of Androgeus with his future, as sometimes hinted.

¹⁴ D. E. Eichholz (1968), 109, disagrees with Pöschl (1962) in the comparison of Pasiphae with Dido. For further comparison of Pasiphae with Dido, see B. Otis (1964), 284, R.A. Hornsby 1970, 53, W. Fitzgerald (1984), 52 and D. Pike (1993).

¹⁵ See also W. Fitzgerald (1984), 52, and M. Erdmann (1998), 500–505.

¹⁶ See M. Paschalis (1986a), 33–41, M. Paschalis (1986b), 64, and M.C.J. Putnam (1998b), 5. The ephrasis, being in a way an introduction to the descent into the Underworld, warns Aeneas of immature deaths to be met in the Underworld, including those of Deiphobus and Dido. These young deaths ironically herald to Aeneas future ones of Pallas and Lausus in the second half of the *Aeneid*.

¹⁷ It is therefore much more than “the grief for the death of Icarus” and “his feeling of guilt for the same death”, as in M. Paschalis (1986a), 35.

¹⁸ M. C. J. Putnam (1998b), 95.

¹⁹ M. Paschalis (1986a), 40, for example, mentions Icarus as reminding Aeneas of Palinurus, and so could not take off his eyes from the scene. But Vergil never included Icarus in the ephrasis, and Aeneas could not have been detained by an Icarus-representation.

²⁰ F. Zevi (1995), 187–188.

²¹ As said by W.F. Jackson Knight (1969), 166.

²² A different view from that of R. J. Clark (1978), 150: “Daedalus, an exile, is pictured here in order to be contrasted to Aeneas”. The contrast lies in the fact that Daedalus escaped from his own labyrinth to end up carving his past on the doors of Apollo's temple, whereas Aeneas escaped from Troy with hope of a future based on future generations. See also D. E. Eichholz (1868), 111, and W. Fitzgerald (1984), 61. For the comparison of Aeneas with Daedalus as exiles, however, see, for example, V. Pöschl (1962), 150, H. C. Rutledge (1971–1972), 111, W. Fitzgerald (1984), 52, P. R. Doob (1990), 234, and M. Erdmann (1998), 488–489. For the comparison of Daedalus and Aeneas as coming from the East with Augustus coming from Egypt, see H. C. Rutledge (1967), 310. Because of the comparison of Daedalus with Aeneas, it is therefore difficult to accept the comparison of Icarus with Aeneas, as in H. C. Rutledge (1971–1972), 113. To the coming of Daedalus from the East, Sallust adds Sardinia as his preceding landfall, for which see Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 7: *Daedalus vero primo Sardiniam, ut dicit Sallustius, post delatus est Cumas*. For a comment on Vergil's departure from tradition of making Daedalus come to Cumae from Sardinia, and not straight from Crete, see F. Zevi (1995), 178–179.

respects (*pietas*) to Apollo, one for arriving safely at Cumae by air, the other by sea²³. Like Daedalus, Aeneas escaped from his maze, “labyrinthine” Troy: Daedalus lost Icarus, Aeneas Creusa. As Aeneas in vain tried to embrace the ghost of Creusa, so in vain Daedalus tried to represent his son on the door panels (*A.2.792–793: ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; / ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago*)²⁴.

This ecphrasis, commonly referred to as Daedalus’ ecphrasis, is Vergil’s ecphrasis, just as the garden and palace of Alcinous are Homer’s ecphrases. I say this because much has been said about the artist, Daedalus, as if he performed the work as described by Vergil! Whether the temple of Apollo existed or not, whether it was built by Daedalus or not²⁵, it is still Vergil who is the artist here, and he has proved himself to be so great an artist, that some have even been tempted to give credit to Daedalus instead of to Vergil²⁶! It is to the credit of Vergil that Daedalus is here seen to hit the mark, that of being the first artist in Classical literature to tell his own story in art²⁷.

The ecphrasis in detail

This ecphrasis occurs in Vergil’s *Aeneid*

²³ M. Paschalis (1986b), 63.

²⁴ B. Catto (1988), 73.

²⁵ J. Perret (1978), 162, comments that Vergil was the first author who attributed the construction of the Temple of Apollo to Daedalus.

²⁶ W. Fitzgerald (1984), 53, says that this ecphrasis is unique in that the artist (Daedalus) represents his own story. This story, however, is mythical, and not partly mythical and partly historical. Also, Daedalus was involved in the construction of the labyrinth, and in the affair of Pasiphae with the bull, but he was not involved in the death of Androgeus and the tribute paid by Athens to Crete. So it is not completely “his own story”.

²⁷ M. C. J. Putnam (1998b), 5.

VI²⁸, and it covers eleven lines from 20 to 30. It is preceded by six lines from 14 to 19, Daedalus flying²⁹ from Crete to Cumae, and followed by four lines, from 31 to 34, giving us an explanation of why Icarus, who had died in the same flight, could not receive an artistic representation from his father³⁰. These lines, altogether making up 21, come immediately after the Introduction to the poem, whose subject matter precisely deals with the coming of Aeneas and the Trojans to Cumae (13 ll.). They are then followed by 122 ll., a scene where Aeneas meets the Sibyl and is given instructions to perform the funeral of Misenus and to pluck the Golden Bough, itself a symbol of life and death, two conditions for him to start his descent into the Underworld³¹.

14–19 (6 ll.) Daedalus flies from Crete to

Cumae.

20–30 (11 ll.) The ecphrasis on the temple’s gate

31–34 (4 ll.) Why Icarus was not included in the ecphrasis.

²⁸ B. Pavlock (1998–1999), 142, notes that Ovid too incorporated the story of Daedalus in the middle of his poem.

²⁹ According to Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 7–9, Daedalus and Icarus did not fly, but sailed. He supports this view by referring *remigium alarum* to a maritime activity, for which he quoted also Vergil, *A. 3.520: velorum pandimus alas*. Although *remigium* refers to the sea, *alarum* can be said to refer to the air, and so the metaphor is pregnant both ways. Nevertheless, Servius’ statement of Icarus’ death on voyage by sea would remind us more closely of the death of Palinurus. In any case, the ambiguity of the expression suits both Daedalus and Aeneas, both chased and exiled, Daedalus by Minos, Aeneas through Destiny.

³⁰ As observed by M. C. J. Putnam (1998b), 81, this part of the episode is “a study in artistic incompleteness that is extraordinarily complete as a poetic art”. He even extends this notion of incompleteness to Aeneas’ failure from his ideal by killing Turnus (95), a different concept from F. A. Sullivan (1959), 160: “During the rest of the poem Aeneas never fails in his task”.

³¹ See Also A. J. Boyle (1972), 136–137.

W. Fitzgerald remarks that this ecphrasis, when compared to the one of Dido's murals in Book I, comes up in the narrative abruptly, and that it is less motivated than the other. He even says that Aeneas is never directly represented observing the gates³². Yet, as said above, Vergil here uses this ecphrasis as part of the introduction of Aeneas' coming to Cumae. Furthermore, Aeneas is truly looking at the decorations; for how else could he be disturbed by Achates and the Sibyl and asked not to look at these *spectacula* (1.37)?

We note from the above analysis that Vergil dedicates practically as many lines to the coming (of Daedalus) and not coming (of Icarus) to Cumae as to the actual ecphrasis. Aeneas only sees representations on the door-panels (in the middle section, that is, the ecphrasis proper); he does not see the story of Icarus as we see it through Vergil. Vergil addresses Icarus who is not present for Aeneas to see, and in so doing make us see him all the same. And here our imagination runs forward: we imagine Daedalus trying to represent his son's tragic fall, but being unable. In any case, good thing he did not, for he would have spoiled the symmetry as we have it in Vergil, or as Aeneas sees it now: two pictures against two others, as follows:

In foribus letum Androgeo³³; // tum pendere
poenas³⁴ (6.20)

³² W. Fitzgerald (1984), 52.

³³ For the genitive of *Androgeo*, see A. Di Prima (1960), 93–96.

³⁴ Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 5: *quod Minos dolens collectis navibus bella commovit et victis Atheniensibus poenam hanc statuit*. Note the alliteration of *m* in *pendere poenas* which recall *A.7.595: ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas* (for this echo and others, see W. Moskalew (1982), 217).

Cecropidae iussi // miserum septena³⁵
quotannis³⁶
corpora³⁷ natorum³⁸; // stat ductis sortibus urna.
Contra elata mari // respondet Gnosia tellus³⁹:

³⁵ The correct interpretation of *septena* as “by seven”, and not “seven” goes back centuries. See, for example, Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 6: *septem de filiis et septem de filiabus*; Ascensius (ed. Garland Publishing, Inc.), 324: *septena: utriusque sexus septem, hoc est quatuordecim, corpora natorum*, B.A. Gould ed. (1858), 441, and H.E. Burton ed. (1919), 362. Vergil further corroborates on the number of fourteen (seven youths and seven maidens) by the sacrifice which the Sibyl performed, a sacrifice of seven sheep and seven bullocks. For the interpretation of *septena* as “seven”, however, see M. Paschalis (1986a), 35, M. Paschalis (1986b), 64, and M. Owen Lee, (1992), 82–92, who dedicates the whole article on the aspect of “seven” throughout the *Aeneid*. For the interpretation of *corpora* as “corpses”, see Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 9: *bene corpora, quae adempta vita consumebantur*. For the wrong inclusion of Theseus among the *septena*, see J.W. Zarker (1967), 222.

³⁶ A metrical repetition of the previous line in the first four feet (*dsds*). Note also the trisyllabic words in *miserum septena quotannis*. See Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 6: *singulis quibusque annis*. Vergil here differs from the traditional nine-yearly tribute.

³⁷ Note the alliteration of *c* and *q* in *Cecropidae ... quotannis / corpora*.

³⁸ Note the enjambement in the first two successive lines of the ecphrasis. For the significance of *septena*, see note above. I suggest, contrary to the opinion of many commentators (e.g., Servius {ed. G. Thilo}, 9, G. Long ed. {1884}, 430), that (*miserum!*) should read simply *miserum* (syncopated form for *miserorum*), without the exclamation-mark. See also Ascensius (Garland Publishing), 324: *liberorum, tam masculorum quam foemiellarum miserum, pro miserorum, hoc est miseratione dignorum*. Hence one could note the double inner hyperbata (*abcba*) in *miserum septena quotannis / corpora natorum*. These last two words recall *A.2.214: corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque*. Vergil does not refer to Theseus at all, not because he departs from the traditional story (as in M. Paschalis {1986a}, 35), but because he was here referring to the annual tribute Athens was paying to Crete. The voluntary or non-voluntary enrolment of Theseus among the fourteen is outside Vergil's story.

³⁹ R.W. Cruttwell (1946), 85, aptly reminds us of *Gnosia regna* of 3.113 when we read *Gnosia tellus*, in the same way as Anchises' *laborem* (6.892) would remind us of *labor* in 1.27. Thus, Crete and Italy are connected through Aeneas' ancestor Dardanus and through labyrinthine activities.

there is a hero from the opposite side: Androgeus and Daedalus.

Let us allow the ecphrasis to speak for itself, as Vergil reported it! Here we have four persons expressly mentioned: Androgeus, Pasiphae, Minotaur and Daedalus. We have no Theseus and Ariadne⁵³, nor, in my opinion, were they meant to be included by Vergil, despite his knowledge of Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis* and his use of it⁵⁴. Of these four personages, Androgeus occupies one panel, at the top of the left door (if left precedes the right); Pasiphae and the Minotaur occupy the panel at the top of the right door, while Daedalus occupies the fourth and last panel, at the bottom of the same right door. *Cecropidae* is not a person, but a people, and they occupy the only panel left, the bottom of the left door⁵⁵. Daedalus' representations are now complete, and the ecphrasis comes to the end here.

Unfortunately, Vergil's words ... *quin protinus omnia / perlegerent oculis* have been misunderstood to mean that Aeneas was prevented from reading to the end of the panels by the coming of Achates and the Sibyl⁵⁶. Vergil's words mean "and verily

they would have scanned with their eyes everything forthwith". Vergil here wants to hint, as in the case of the spectator's reaction to Dido's murals and Vulcan's Shield, that Aeneas and the Trojans were so absorbed by what they saw, that they needed more time to dwell thoroughly on every detail (*omnia perlegerent*). The representations were those which we read, and no message, like that of the secret of life and death, was missed.

The third and fourth panels

I come now to some mistaken views related to the third and fourth panels, if not also on the so-called fifth or sixth panels.

I start by quoting again the very important line in this controversy:

Magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem

In the fourth panel, Vergil says, Pasiphae is in the labyrinth. To understand this statement, we have to review the third panel taken together:

contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus:
hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta

*nefandae*⁵⁷;

hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error.

The first line, as we said earlier, starts the Cretan picture, which simply talks of the labyrinth (*labor*), in which are to be found (*inest*) Pasiphae and the Minotaur. The verb *inest* is in the singular by attraction to its

are told, was not yet complete ... he (the spectator) does not even see every panel of the temple doors". For similar views, see W. Fitzgerald (1984), 53.

⁵⁷ Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 10: *aut memoria turpissimi coitus, aut ultio Veneris a Sole proditae, significat autem Minotaurum.*

Athenian (1.20–22) and the Cretan (23–30). The same does M. Erdmann (1998), 486–487.

⁵³ As interpreted by J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge eds. (1895), 364, J. W. Zarker (1967), 222, R. J. Clark (1978), 148: "Scenes laid in Attica and Crete evoking the figure of Theseus ..." See also D. E. Eichholz (1968), 111, and P. R. Doob (1990), 230.

⁵⁴ See especially Vergil's imitation of Catullus' abandonment of Ariadne on the shores of Naxos when he was portraying Aeneas' withdrawal from the shores of Dido, for which discussion see D. H. Abel (1962), 57–58.

⁵⁵ The division of the representations on the door of Apollo into four panels as described here in fact goes back to centuries. See, for example, J. B. Greenough and G. L. Kittredge eds. (1895), 364.

⁵⁶ R. Armstrong (2002), 337: "Aeneas' reading, we

nearest subject, that is, *Minotaurus*. But the subject is various: *crudelis amor*, *Pasiphae*, and *Minotaurus*, who has, as appositions preceding him, *mixtumque genus* and *proles biformis*. The labyrinth, constructed by Daedalus according to legend, contains the sin of Pasiphae (*crudelis amor*), the sinner (*Pasiphae*), her manner of sinning (*furto*), and the result of her sin, *Minotaurus*, a monster⁵⁸. This interpretation of Daedalus' labyrinth is important, as it anticipates the contents of both monsters and sins to be met in Vergil's own labyrinth, that is, the Underworld.

In Latin, we are aware of the distinction between *hic ...*, *ille ...* to mean "here ...", "there ...". This we do not have here. Instead we have *hic ...*, *hic ...*. In other words, we have one and the same thing: the labyrinth at Crete and what it contains, Pasiphae and the Minotaur. Vergil, therefore, does not make Daedalus add another separate panel, that is, the labyrinth. The two *hics* do not mean the same here: the first is a particle of reference ("here"), the other a demonstrative pronoun in the masculine gender to agree with *labor*. *Ille* signifies the "famous" labyrinth, the well known one in Crete. Here it is, Vergil is implying, this is what contains Pasiphae and the Minotaur, making up this frame⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ And not just the Minotaur, as in M. Paschalis (1986a), 38. More on the various use of the word *labor* by Vergil in the *Aeneid*, see P. R. Doob (1990), 229. Furthermore, Doob (230) compares many items of the description of the labyrinth here with those referring to the Trojan horse in *Aeneid* II. P. A. Miller (1995), 229, compares the unlawfulness of Pasiphae in this ephra-sis with the unlawfulness of the Trojan women burning their ships and Ascanius riding Dido's horse in *Aeneid* V. In his words, the labyrinth contains the Minotaur, "the product of Pasiphae's bestial lust" (232).

⁵⁹ Indeed, this picture of the labyrinth, comprising both Pasiphae and her son the Minotaur, is given

"Here lies inside the cruel love of the bull, and Pasiphae, having been placed under (him) by a trick, and the Minotaur, the mixed race and the two-shaped offspring, monuments of horrible love: this is the famous labyrinth and the inextricable maze."

The symbolism, then, becomes clear: the Underworld, a labyrinth, is the place where one should find sins, sinners, and monsters, apart from other things which will be described in the rest of the Book VI. Furthermore, the Underworld-episode unites and summarizes the first six books of the *Aeneid*, the *inextricabilis error* Aeneas bids farewell to and completes⁶⁰, and heralds what is to come by way of Aeneas' intrigues in Latium⁶¹.

Regina Pasiphae

We come now to the identification of *regina*.

magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,
caeca regens filo vestigia. ...

The verb is *resolvit*, its subject is *Daedalus*, with whom agree the past participle *miseratus* before, and the present participle *regens* after. *reginae* does not refer to Ariadne⁶² (who was not a queen), but to Pasip-

more lines by Vergil than that of the Athenian youths (M. Paschalis {1986a}, 39). Apart from the more cruel fate that the Minotaur receives, it was for him that Daedalus was asked to construct the labyrinth initially, later on to receive the human tribute from Athens. A different interpretation of *hic ... hic* as introducing two separate frames, and not one and the same frame, was given by J. W. Zarker (1867), 221.

⁶⁰ See also B. Otis (1964), 284, and B. Catto (1988), 76.

⁶¹ H. C. Rutledge (1971–1972), 113.

⁶² As in Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 10, B. A. Gould (1858), 441, J. W. Zarker (1967), 222, W. Fitzgerald (1984), 54, Th. E. Kinsey (1986), 137, M. Paschalis

hae herself. Apparently, B. Otis is the only critic who anticipates my view that the pity Daedalus shows is indeed for Pasiphae⁶³. As such, therefore, he receives the criticism of M. Paschalis who says that “the reunion of mother and son strikes a discordant note in a series of tragic deaths”. But did Vergil want to talk only on tragic deaths? Does not the Minotaur reflect a tragic death understood from the myth not described in this ecphrasis? Also, weak is Paschalis’ reason for taking *regina* to mean Ariadne and not Pasiphae, namely, because Ariadne is not mentioned at all, so she it must be here, while Pasiphae appears again later on in *Aeneid* VI and in *E.* 6.45–60, and so does not need to come in here as well!⁶⁴

And why should Daedalus have pitied Ariadne at this stage (he would have pitied her abandoned at Naxos), for her “great love” for Theseus, who is also neither mentioned nor indicated here? Why should Daedalus be involved with her?

It was not Daedalus that rescued Theseus by the thread (*filo*)⁶⁵, but Ariadne, and that story was still to come, outside the ecphrasis. The idea that a princess (not queen) helping a future husband by a trick and betraying her father and fatherland, to be later on abandoned by that man, is a recurrent theme in Greek mythology. Medea, Ariadne’s cousin, for example, helped Jason by her magic to lull to sleep the monster, guardian of the golden fleece. In so doing, she betrayed Aeetes and escaped from Colchis,

(1986a), 35, M. C. J. Putnam (1987), 175, 179, M. Owen Lee (1992), 84, and S. Casali (1995–1996), 1.

⁶³ B. Otis (1964), 284.

⁶⁴ M. Paschalis (1986a), 37.

⁶⁵ As interpreted by J. W. Zarker (1967), 222, and M. Paschalis (1986a), 35.

only to be abandoned by Jason at Corinth. But the story of Theseus and Ariadne does not come in Vergil’s ecphrasis, and it is not necessary to say that these two figures “were pushed to the background”, with their names not even mentioned⁶⁶.

Meanwhile, Daedalus, who pitied the great love Pasiphae, the queen, had, not for the bull here, for that has been mentioned earlier in the ecphrasis (*crudelis amor*), and for which love he himself was involved by the setting up of the fictitious cow (*furto*)⁶⁷, but for Minotaur, her son, wants to rescue her himself (*ipse*). Why *ipse*? From remorse, as just said, but also because he knew the way to the labyrinth since he himself constructed it to retain her offspring, the Minotaur⁶⁸. Vergil here is either quoting a source unknown to us, or is supposing a detail in the life of Pasiphae: he rescues the queen in a visit she makes to her offspring, the Minotaur, a task not to be dared, not because of the Minotaur, her son, but of finding her way out. Daedalus, therefore, helps her by the thread to find the exit of the labyrinth. In so doing, he foreshadows also the Sibyl, who will guide Aeneas both into and out of the labyrinthine Underworld⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ M. Paschalis (1986a), 35. See also J.W. Zarker (1967), 222, before him, where he states “lest it suggest to Aeneas or to the reader the kind reception of Aeneas by Dido and as that of Theseus by Ariadne and the subsequent seduction and ungrateful abandonment of both Dido and Ariadne”.

⁶⁷ And so was truly involved in the affair of Pasiphae, contrary to what W. Fitzgerald (1984), 54, said: “Daedalus’ own part in the story of Pasiphae is not mentioned”. For a comparison of the cow and the Trojan horse, see M.C.J. Putnam (1998b), 84.

⁶⁸ And so is truly mentioned as creating the labyrinth, not as in W. Fitzgerald (1984), 54.

⁶⁹ In the words of P.R. Doob (1990), 56, “there is also a labyrinth with a happy ending ... carefully shaped by a master architect to direct the worthy wanderer to a profitable end”.

The idea of the thread, no doubt, Ariadne, later on, learnt to use for her “future husband”, *alterum Iasonem*, when he goes in to kill the Minotaur and “rescue” the fate of the six youths (and himself) and seven maidens. But the thread was used here by Daedalus himself: he who made the labyrinth, he who helped Pasiphae commit the sin, he himself now solved the problem of going in and out off the labyrinth to let her see her offspring once more (*ipse ... resolvit*).

Symbolically, this means that the divine, who made “heaven and earth”, will itself guide us through the exit by divine means. Daedalus used the *filum*, Aeneas will use the Golden Bough (*species auri frondentis opaca*) as indicated by the Sibyl. Aeneas is *ipse* divine: he will make it to the exit of the Underworld, having shown admiration at the offspring (*proles*) that were waiting to be born (hence *biformis* in the sense of being ex-Trojan and future Roman), as shown by Anchises, and pity (*miseratus*) towards Palinurus, Deiphobus and Dido.

Icarus

Icarus⁷⁰ is not part of the picture. In fact, Daedalus twice tried to put him in, and twice he failed. This does not render Daedalus’ work, and our ecphrasis, incomplete. M.T. Bahr-Volk even sees this incompleteness as a symbolism of Vergil’s own incompleteness of his own poem⁷¹, or, as A. J. Boyle

⁷⁰ Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 7: *Icarus altiora petens, pennis solis calore resolutis, mari in quod cecidit nomen Icarium inposuit*.

⁷¹ M. T. Bahr-Volk (1974–1975), 16: “but was himself (Daedalus) unable to complete the bas-relief because of sorrow for his lost son. ... Vergil may be implying that his own poem can be only a partial reflection of the reality he recognizes as true and complete”.

said, Aeneas’ prospective failure within the poem⁷², or as H.C. Rutledge said earlier, “Daedalus himself could not prevent the death of Icarus, Aeneas Pallas”⁷³. But Icarus is there all the same, represented through a different art, epic. Vergil succeeded to complete in poetry what Daedalus failed to do in art⁷⁴. We see Icarus’ story just as if it formed another panel⁷⁵; but it does not!

Had Daedalus succeeded, where would he have placed Icarus, in the next (fifth) panel⁷⁶?! Aeneas sees nothing, but is able to imagine, as Vergil, the author, speaks his thought out, that the four panels would not be so arranged had Daedalus included the story of Icarus.

... tu quoque magnam (6.30)
partem opere in tanto, // sineret dolor, Icare,
haberes.
Bis conatus erat // casus effingere in auro,⁷⁷
bis⁷⁸ patriae cecidere manus.⁷⁹ // ...

Marcellus and Icarus, and Vergil’s missing apodosis

Icarus in *Aeneid* VI represents the death of a young man who, like Palinurus, becomes a victim for his countrymen⁸⁰. Icarus contri-

⁷² A. J. Boyle (1972), 118.

⁷³ H. C. Rutledge (1967), 310.

⁷⁴ M. C. J. Putnam (1987), 181–182.

⁷⁵ S. Bartsch (1998), 336.

⁷⁶ The idea that Daedalus constructed five panels was in fact suggested by M. Paschalis (1986b), 64, M.C.J. Putnam (1987), 175, and M.C.J. Putnam (1998b), 77.

⁷⁷ Metrically opposite to the previous line in the first four feet (*dsdd/sdss*). Note also the assonance in *effingere in auro*.

⁷⁸ Note the anaphora of *bis* in these two lines.

⁷⁹ Note the play on the words *casus* / *manus*, both of the fourth declension and bisyllabic, one after, the other before the caesura.

⁸⁰ See also M. Paschalis (1986a), 40.

buted to man's inventions. His death serves as a lesson for man to know his limits, and to explore safe navigation. Like Icarus, the seven young men and seven girls died for Athens as tribute to Crete. They paid for man's arrogance, as shown here towards Androgeus. Like Icarus, Marcellus, this time at the opposite end of the book, will die as a victim to disease, man's failure to combat. Man learns of his weakness in the midst of his advancement. As the sad memory of Icarus mars Daedalus' successful attempt to incorporate him within his artistic door-panels, so does the sad inclusion of Marcellus mar the effect derived from the pageant of successful heroes still to be born⁸¹. Vergil thus hints here at man's sorrows, at his inability to cope with tragedies, and at man's failure to understand God's Mind and Destiny⁸². This is the role of Aeneas as a religious hero in a religious poem⁸³.

Man dies to be born again. But whether Icarus will be Marcellus a thousand years after, is an open question⁸⁴. We have seen Daedalus being compared to Aeneas. Icarus is Daedalus' son, Marcellus is Aeneas', both as offspring of his descendants, and as the

adopted son of Augustus represented by himself in the poem. Anchises, at the other end of the Book, addresses a soul still to be born, and tells him, "*tu Marcellus eris. ...*" As Vergil addresses Icarus at the beginning of the book (30–31), "*... tu quoque magnam / partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes*", so does Anchises address Marcellus at the end of the book (882–883). In both addresses, Vergil includes a hypothetical conditional clause (*sineret dolor; si qua fata asperè rumpas*). In the first part, the apodosis is *magnam partem haberes*, in the second part, the apodosis is missing, for *tu Marcellus eris* in the indicative is another sentence⁸⁵. The missing apodosis would be to the effect of Anchises saying, "*tu Icarus sis*". As things turned out to be, Anchises halted from finishing the apodosis, as if not to reveal such deep secrets, and abruptly and dramatically moved on to a new sentence (*tu Marcellus eris*). A confirmation of this transmigration of souls can be the next word (... *manibus date lilia plenis*). Vergil here was comparing this scene with the Icarus scene, where he has said, "*bis patriae cecidere manus. ...*". The hands of Daedalus fell, not so will those of Aeneas in bestowing lilies on to Marcellus.

The sixth panel?!

Apart from the story of Icarus which Daedalus did not represent, but was imagined by Aeneas, S. Casali suggests that Aeneas could have time to see yet another panel (in his imagination, not that of Aeneas!),

⁸¹ And Augustus' pleasure in listening to Vergil's recital of this passage. See also R. D. Williams (1964), 62.

⁸² See also W.A. Camps (1967–1968), 30, A.J. Boyle (1972), 124, W. Fitzgerald (1984), 52, and M. Paschalis (1986a), 35.

⁸³ F.A. Sullivan (1959), 150: "A religious hero is a man who senses, beyond earthly things, a Being or Power on whom he depends, to whom he is bound, and without whom he feels lonely and afraid in the world".

⁸⁴ On the comparison of Marcellus with Icarus or Icarus, see M. Owen Lee (1992), 87–90. On the significance of forgetting the past for Aeneas and the Roman administration, and of their failure to learn from experience because of amnesia, see A.J. Boyle (1972), 126–129, and 141.

⁸⁵ Only one scholar, D.T. Shackleton Bailey (1986), 199–205, quoting Rolfe Humphries, a 1951–American poet and translator, has come to the conclusion that this apodosis is missing.

that of Theseus and Ariadne, if he had not been interrupted by Achates and the Sibyl. If this imagined panel were to be accepted as really occurring to the mind of Daedalus and, therefore, Vergil, it would be the sixth panel⁸⁶, following the fifth of Icarus. But this was not so, for we must distinguish fact (four panels) from Daedalus' intention (Icarus), and still from fantasy (Theseus and Ariadne).

Casali supports this view by making us compare the experience of Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus at Naxos, with that of Dido, abandoned by Aeneas⁸⁷. But Ariadne did not commit suicide, nor did Aeneas leave Dido for negligence. He also wants us to be aware that *amor* is repeated eight times in *Aeneid* IV, as it appears here once in *magnum ... amorem* (1.28), and that *regina* should remind us of Dido, to whom the word refers 21 times in the *Aeneid*⁸⁸. Unfortunately, the number of times a word is repeated does not necessarily indicate the person concerned the next time we meet with that word!

Theseus and Ariadne

Finally, the comparison of Aeneas and Theseus is also unfortunate⁸⁹, since Aeneas did

not end up in Tartarus, nor did he abduct or run away with Dido⁹⁰. To me, his absence does not invoke his presence⁹¹. In fact, neither Theseus nor Minos are mentioned in the ecphrasis, even if these two personages appear together with the urn and Pasiphae in Tartarus⁹². It is therefore unnecessary to state that Theseus is “the unifying factor in these panels”⁹³.

Similarly, Vergil's familiarity with Homer's description of Achilles' Shield and its reference to Ariadne's Cretan dance (*Il.*18.590–606)⁹⁴ did not have to condition him to reserve a place for Ariadne in Daedalus' carvings. Cruttwell even suggests that Theseus and Ariadne must be imagined within this ecphrasis to have danced with the rescued 14 (that is, himself included)⁹⁵.

Colours, metals and centrepieces

An ecphrasis is normally related to colours and metals used, as in the case of the description of Shields⁹⁶. Our ecphrasis does not mention metals and colours. However, we understand that bronze was the metal, and that gold was used to gild it⁹⁷. In fact, both before and after the ecphrasis, Vergil refers to the *aurea tecta* (1.13), that is, the

⁸⁶ M. Owen Lee (1992), 85, even goes further to say that “the destructive passion of the Cretan queen (Ariadne)” is a figure for Dido, echoing H.C. Rutledge (1971–1972), 111–112. Rutledge continues to compare this “passion” with that which caused the Trojan War and the flight of Aeneas hither.

⁸⁷ See also D.H. Abel (1962), 57–61.

⁸⁸ D. Pike (1993), 99, although doubting whether *regina* refers to Pasiphae, still compares with Dido not Ariadne, but Pasiphae.

⁸⁹ J.W. Zarker (1967), 220–226, begins and concludes his article by hinting at this unfortunate comparison (which he does not deny to exist), as follows: “In VI, however, Vergil progressively reveals the less attrac-

tive qualities of the Athenian hero. ... Vergil seems to be saying that the epic hero Theseus is no longer suitable in the world of Augustan Rome”.

⁹⁰ S. Casali (1995–1996), 3–8. See also J.W. Zarker (1967), 222, and M. Owen Lee (1992), 85.

⁹¹ As in R. J. Clark (1978), 150.

⁹² A comparison and conclusion drawn by R. W. Cruttwell (1946), 84.

⁹³ M. Paschalis (1986a), 34.

⁹⁴ For which see S.H. Lonsdale (1995), 273–284.

⁹⁵ As in R. W. Cruttwell (1946), 89.

⁹⁶ H. C. R. Vella (2005), 57–87.

⁹⁷ Rather than as the material of construction, as in M. Paschalis (1986b), 63.

temple of Apollo, and to Daedalus' attempt to represent Icarus *in auro* (l.32). A.J. Boyle comments on the importance Vergil gives to the element of "goldenness", and its relationship to failure, death and non-fulfilment as we encounter the Golden Bough, "the golden promises of history (6.793ff.) and the golden Shield"⁹⁸.

An ecphrasis also has normally a centre-piece, especially when it covers the description of Shields⁹⁹. Our ecphrasis with four panels, made up of half Athenian, half Cretan pictures, may be said to have central undercurrent themes as mentioned above; but the structure of the doors do not allow them to be presented with centrepieces as in Shields. Even Jason's mantle's centre in Apollonius' *Argonauticon* has no pictorial detail¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸ A. J. Boyle (1972), 119.

⁹⁹ R. F. Thomas (1983), 175–184.

¹⁰⁰ R. F. Thomas (1983), 177.

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Conclusion

Daedalus' representations are divided into four panels, two Athenian, and two Cretan, involving, in each panel, Androgeus, the Cecropidae, Pasiphae and the Minotaur, and Daedalus. As such, they exclude Icarus, Ariadne and Theseus. The third and fourth panels represent Crete's labyrinth, where Daedalus helps Pasiphae visit her offspring, the Minotaur, and come back alive from the labyrinth. These representations are not trivial (*spectacula*), but artistic representations (*spectacula*) of deep and important events in human experience. They usher Aeneas and the reader into the labyrinth of the Underworld, with similar undertones of suffering, where he finally comes to the pageant of heroes, including Icarus, to be born again as Marcellus, just before Aeneas is guided safely by the Sibyl into the world of the living.

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**PASIFAJĖ, DEDALAS IR KETURI APOLONO ŠVENTYKLOS RELJEFAI
(VERGILIJUS, *ENEIDA* 6. 20–30)**

Horatio Caesar Rodger Vella

S a n t r a u k a

Vergilijaus *Eneidos* struktūra yra griežta ir simetriška, kartais net matematiškai tiksli. Būtent griežta simetriinė kompozicija leidžia išvelgti simbolinį aprašomų dalykų turinį. Pasakojimo struktūros ir simbolių lygmens sąsajos ypač akivaizdžios giesmių pradžioje esančiose ekfrazėse. Jos dažniausiai yra tarsi įvadas į giesmės turinį. Vienu metu apibendrinamos tai, kas yra įvykę, ir tai, kas turi įvykti, tokios ekfrazės įgauna simbolinę prasmę ir yra vienas iš poemos

idėjinių akcentų. Griežta simetrija sudėliotos eilutės parodo, kad *Eneidos* šeštosios giesmės pradžioje esanti ekfrazė (6. 20–30), viena vertus, yra tarsi įvadas į būsimas Enėjo klajones po mirusiųjų pasaulio labirintus. Kita vertus, joje aprašyti keturi Apolono šventyklos durų reljefai įprasmina ir Enėjo praeitį ir jo laukiančią ateitį. Juose atsispindi mirtis ir kančia, auka ir meilė; taigi tuo pat metu reljefai apibendrina bendrą žmogiškąją patirtį.

Gauta 2010 09 30

Priimta spaudai 2010 12 06

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