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 numerical. 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 attention. 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 ecphrasis. 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 message.

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 palace. 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-

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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.
nels of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae. 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 battles. 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 Vergil.

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 Cumae, the place of initiation, Aeneas’ coming to Hesperia has materialized, and is now looking to what is next. It is in this context that Aeneas is absorbed by the metaphorical representations of “his issue”, at Cumae in Hesperia.

### 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 below. 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 Palinurus.

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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.


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 Cumaean experience.”


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 “trigering” the scene of
In the third panel, Pasiphae reminds us of Dido, the notion of love and cruelty derived from the consequence of that love. The fourth panel looks both back to Aeneas’ labyrinthine wanderings, and forward to his descent into the Underworld.

The subject matter of this ecphrasis is therefore quite complex, comprising death (especially of the young), suffering, sacrifice, love (and cruelty resulting from it), and life’s wandering paths. It is about life and its complexities, difficult to unravel and difficult to predict. As such, this ecphrasis is a microcosm of the whole Aeneid, where progress is counterbalanced by loss of life.

No doubt Aeneas was absorbed looking at the spectacula, not because they mirrored his past in specific scenes, as some would interpret, or because they were Greek artistic representations to be contrasted to Roman concepts of imperium, but because they reflected Man and every viewer in a very deep way. These spectacula, therefore, were not trivial at all, 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 exiles, and both are devotees of Apollo. Both pay first tribute to Pasiphae.
respects (*pietas*) to Apollo, one for arriving safely at Cumae by air, the other by sea. 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 brachia circum; / ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago*)

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 not, 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 Vergil! 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 art.

### The ecphrasis in detail

This ecphrasis occurs in Vergil’s *Aeneid*

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23. M. Paschalis (1986b), 63.


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”.


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 ephrasis, 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 gates. Yet, as said above, Vergil here uses this ephrasis as part of the introduction of Aeneas’ coming toCumae. 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 (I.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 ephrasis. Aeneas only sees representations on the door-panels (in the middle section, that is, the ephrasis 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 Androgeo; // tum pendere poenas (6.20)

Cecropidae iussi // miserum septena // quotannis corpora natorum; // stat ductis sortibus urna. Contra elata mari // respondet Gnosia tellus:

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 pendit sanguine poenas (for this echo and others, see W. Moskalew (1982), 217).

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 quattuordecim, 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 enjambment in the first two successive lines of the ephrasis. 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 (abba) 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 l.27. Thus, Crete and Italy are connected through Aeneas’ ancestor Dardanus and through labyrinthine activities.
hic cruelis amor // tauri\textsuperscript{40} suppostaque furto\textsuperscript{41} Pasiphae mixtumque genus // prolesque biformis\textsuperscript{42} (6.25) Minotaurus inest, // Veneris\textsuperscript{43} monimenta\textsuperscript{44} nefandae; hic labor ille domus\textsuperscript{45} // et inextricabilis error\textsuperscript{46}; magnum reginae // sed enim miseratus amorem\textsuperscript{47} Daedalus ipse\textsuperscript{48} dolos // tecti ambagesque resolvit\textsuperscript{49}, caeca regis filo // vestigia\textsuperscript{50} ... (6.30)

The four pictures apparently are not clear to us all, even if Vergil made them so. In the first place, we should be agreed that there are four, not five (or six) pictures. The door, presumably a double one, has four panels, two on each door. The opposition of the last two to the first ones is clearly given by Vergil by the word contra at the start of l.23, and by respondet Gnosia tellus in the same line. On one side is the Athenian situation, introduced by In foribus, involving a Cre- tan, Angrogeus\textsuperscript{51}: the distinction between the first and the second of the Athenian pictures is indicated by tum, still half-way in the first line of the ecphrasis, within the fourth foot. On the other side is the Cretan situation involving an Athenian, Daedalus himself: the distinction here between the third and the fourth panel is indicated by sed, half-way through l.28, just after the penthemimeral caesura. Thus, on both pairs of panels, one Athenian and one Cretan\textsuperscript{52},

\textsuperscript{40} Transferred epithet. It is not love that is cruel, nor the bull for that matter. It is the result of that love which makes the existence of a monster cruel. However, for the interpretation of cruelis as signifying the cruelty of the deity who vindictively imposed this passion on Pasiphae, see M. Paschalis (1986a), 38, in which case one queries Vergil’s justice in placing Pasiphae in Tartarus. Servius in his Commentarii (ed. G. Thilo), 5, recounts on how Venus revenged herself against Pasiphae, the daughter of the Sun, for having her adulterous acts from Amphitryon. R. Armstrong (2002), 325, in her discussion of the Trojans’ departure from Crete, sees echoes in this passage with A.3.180–181: \textit{agnovit prolem ambiguaeinem obscum parentis, \textit{seque novo veterum deceptam errore locorum.}}

\textsuperscript{41} Note the chiasmus in \textit{atque\textit{hh(que)\textit{a in mix- tumque genus prolesque biformis.}} Here occurs also a figure of speech (copia) whereby one thing is expressed differently twice. Not so for Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 10: \textit{mixtumque genus, secundum veritatem, prolesque biformis, secundum fabulam.}} Also, Servius, 7 \textit{(et quia geminos peperit, unum de Minoe et alium de tauro, enixa esse Minotaurum dicitur; quod et ipse paulo post ostendit dicens mixtumque genus), interprets \textit{mixtumque genus not as “monster”, but in the fantastic myth of the two twins of Alcmena, Heracles from Zeus, and Iphicles from Amphitryon. R. Armstrong (2002), 325, in her discussion of the Trojans’ departure from Crete, sees echoes in this passage with A.3.180–181: \textit{agnovit prolem ambiguaeinem obscum parentis, / seque novo veterum deceptam errore locorum.}}

\textsuperscript{42} Note the alliteration of \textit{m, and the hyperbaton in magnum ... amorem.}}

\textsuperscript{43} Veneris, a personified noun. On the subject of malicious love and its relationship to Pasiphae, see D. Pike (1993), 98–103.

\textsuperscript{44} monimenta in the neuter plural to agree with various genders.

\textsuperscript{45} Note the antithesis of \textit{hic...ille... \textit{H.C. Rutledge (1971–1972), 111, applies labor and error with sensus pregnans to refer to the anguish caused to victims by the passion of Pasiphae.}}

\textsuperscript{46} Metrically inverse to the previous line in the first four feet (ssdd\textsubscript{4}dd\textsubscript{6}). Note also the triple bisyllabic words in \textit{labor ille domus, and the assonance in et inextricabilis error. These last two words recall A.5.591: frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error.}}

\textsuperscript{47} Note the alliteration of \textit{m, and the hyperbaton in magnum ... amorem.}}

\textsuperscript{48} Daedalus is in fact mentioned in the ecphrasis, contrary to what W. Fitzgerald (1984), 53, said.

\textsuperscript{49} Metrically inverse and opposite to the previous line in the first four feet (ssdd\textsubscript{4}dd\textsubscript{6}). Note also the triple bisyllabic words in \textit{ipse dolos tecti, and the hyperbaton in caeca ... vestigia.}}

\textsuperscript{50} Note the triple bisyllabic words in \textit{caeca regens filo, vestigia echoes A.5.592 (haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu), as has been pointed out by R. Armstrong (2002), 335.}}

\textsuperscript{51} M. Paschalis (1986a), 36, compares the fate of Androgeus with that of Talon, murdered by the same Talon. One wonders whether the artist would have liked this comparison himself; but S. Casali (1995–1996), 1, compares the fate of Androgeus with that of Penthesilea on Dido’s murals in Book I.

\textsuperscript{52} B. Otis (1964), 284, divides these panels into the
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 Ariadne, nor, in my opinion, were they meant to be included by Vergil, despite his knowledge of Catullus’ Peleus and Thetis and his use of it. 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 door. 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 Sibyl. 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 monimenta
nefandae;

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.

Servius (ed. G. Thilo), 10: *aut memoria turpis coitus, aut ullo Veneris a Sole proditae, significat autem Minotaurum.*
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 monster. 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 frame.

“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 completes, and heralds what is to come by way of Aeneas’ intrigues in Latium.

**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 Ariadne (who was not a queen), but to Pasiphae, the product of Pasiphae’s bestial lust”.

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 ecphrasis 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 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.


hae herself. Apparently, B. Otis is the only critic who anticipates my view that the pity Daedalus shows is indeed for Pasiphae. 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!

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), 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, 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 mentioned.

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), 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 Minotaur. 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 Underworld.

63 B. Otis (1964), 284.
64 M. Paschalis (1986a), 37.
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”.

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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 of 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**

Icarus\(^70\) 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 poem\(^71\), or, as A. J. Boyle said, Aeneas’ prospective failure within the poem\(^72\), 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 art\(^74\). We see Icarus’ story just as if it formed another panel\(^75\); but it does not!

Had Daedalus succeeded, where would he have placed Icarus, in the next (fifth) panel?\(^76\)! 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.

\(\ldots\ tu\ quoque\ m\agnam\ pau\ntem\ opere\ in\ tanto,\ //\ si\neret\ dolor,\ Icare,\ haberes.\)

\(Bis\ conatus\ erat\ //\ casus\ effingere\ in\ auro,\)\(^77\)

\(bis\ \ patriae\ cecidere\ manus.\)\(^78\) // …

**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 countrymen\(^80\). Icarus contri-
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 born. 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 Destiny. This is the role of Aeneas as a religious hero in a religious poem.

Man dies to be born again. But whether Icarus will be Marcellus a thousand years after, is an open question. 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 asperae 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 sentence. The missing apodosis would be to the effect of Achises saying, “tu Icarus sis”. As things turned out to be, Achises 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).

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!),...
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 panel 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 Aeneas. 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 (l.28), and that regina should remind us of Dido, to whom the word refers 21 times in the Aeneid. 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 unfortunate, since Aeneas did not end up in Tartarus, nor did he abduct or run away with Dido. To me, his absence does not invoke his presence. In fact, neither Theseus nor Minos are mentioned in the ekphrasis, even if these two personages appear together with the urn and Pasiphae in Tartarus. It is therefore unnecessary to state that Theseus is “the unifying factor in these panels”.

Similarly, Vergil’s familiarity with Homer’s description of Achilles’ Shield and its reference to Ariadne’s Cretan dance (II.18.590–606) 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 ekphrasis to have danced with the rescued 14 (that is, himself included).

**Colours, metals and centrepieces**

An ekphrasis is normally related to colours and metals used, as in the case of the description of Shields. Our ekphrasis does not mention metals and colours. However, we understand that bronze was the metal, and that gold was used to gild it. In fact, both before and after the ekphrasis, Vergil refers to the *aurea tecta* (l.13), that is, the active 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”.

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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 attractive 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”.


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.


95 As in R. W. Cruttwell (1946), 89.


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 (1.32). 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”.

An ecphrasis also has normally a centrepiece, especially when it covers the description of Shields. 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 detail.

### Conclusion

Daedalus’ representations are divided into four panels, two Athenian, and two Cretan, involving, in each panel, Androgeus, the Crecopidae, 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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98 A. J. Boyle (1972), 119.
100 R. F. Thomas (1983), 177.

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PASIFAJĖ, DEDALAS IR KETURI APELONO ŠVENTYKLOS RELJEFAI
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