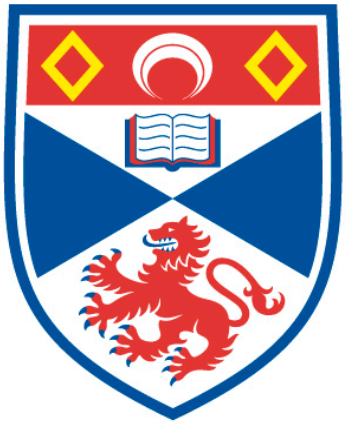
# Representations of Idomeneus in Graeco-Roman sources and their reception in the West, to 1720

Colin Andrew McLaren

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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ABSTRACT

The dissertation examines representations of Idomeneus, and of the myths and traditions associated with him, in Graeco-Roman literature, and their reception in the West (represented by Italy, France, Germany and England). It takes the following form: Chapter 1, the representations and their cultural significance; Chapter 2, the representation of Idomeneus in the *Iliad*; Chapter 3, accretive representations of Idomeneus, principally from Late Antiquity; Chapter 4, the transmission of the accretive representations to the West, their accessibility through vernacular translation and their assimilation in contemporary literature; Chapter 5, the transmission of the Iliadic representation of Idomeneus to the West, through the publication of the epic, first in an academic format, latterly as polite literature; Chapter 6, the association of Iliadic and accretive representations in literature and drama between 1699 and 1720; Chapter 7, summary and conclusion.

The dissertation addresses hitherto under-explored issues in the representation of Idomeneus. These include his limitations as an *aristos* in the *Iliad*; his gradual detachment from his associate, Meriones; his prominence in the English 'interlude', *Horestes* (1567); his treatment in Italian and French burlesque of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; his representation in *fin-dix-septième* French drama; and in Alexander Pope's enlightened character study of 1720. These are supplemented by assessments of the impact of authorial/editorial omissions, paraphrases and interpolations on the representations; and of Idomeneus' visibility in text, paratext and early 'books of reference', compared with that of his fellow-*aristoi*, the Aiantes, Diomedes, Nestor and Odysseus.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge, with the deepest gratitude, the constant support of my wife, our dogs, and my family; my supervisors in the School of Classics of the University of St Andrews, Jon Hesk and Emma Buckley; the academic and administrative staff of the school; the staff of the libraries of the Universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen; and, at the latter, of Michelle Gait, in the Special Collections Centre, whose logistical efforts have transcended any known service level agreement. I am also most grateful for help and guidance from: Anastasia Bakogianni, Bettina Bildhauer, Roger Brock, Jenny Strauss Clay, Margaret Coutts, Marina Franceschi, Edith Hall, Sue Hamstead, Laura Jansen, Adrian Kelly, James Mellis, Martin Mueller, Ricktor Norton, Alison Saunders, Letizia Vettor and Jenny Winter.

ABBREVIATIONS

*Reference works*

| | |
|---|---|
| *BNJ* | Worthington, I. (ed.). 2019. *Brill's New Jacoby;* [online]. |
| *CT* | Grafton, A., Most, G. W. and Settis, S. (eds). 2010. *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press). |
| *DAF* | Académie française. 1694. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. |
| *DELG* | Chantraine, P. 1968–80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4 vols (Paris: Klincksieck). |
| *EGM* | Gantz, T. 1993. *Early Greek Myth: a Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, 2 vols (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press). |
| *ECCO* | *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. |
| *ESTC* | *English Short Title Catalogue*; [online]. |
| *HP* | *The History of Parliament:… Parliaments 1558-1603;* [online]. |
| *HTT* | Clay, J. Strauss. 2011. *Homer's Trojan Theater: Space, Vision, and Memory in the 'Iliad'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). |
| *LIMC* | Boardman, J. and others (eds). *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich: Artemis). |
| *OCD* | Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (eds). 2012. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press). |
| *ODNB* | Cannadine, D. (ed.). 2020. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]. |
| *OGCMA* | Reid, J. D. (ed.). 1993. *Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology*, 2 vols (New York: Oxford University Press). |
| *SGHI* | Erbse, H. (ed.). 1969–88. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)*, 7 vols (Berolini: De Gruyter). |
| *USTC* | *Universal Short Title Catalogue* [online]. |

*Texts: personal names and titles follow OCD.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Achille* | Lodovico Dolce. *L'Achille et l'Enea … .* |
| *Aen.* | Virgil. *Aeneid*. |
| *Alex.* | Lycophron. *Alexandra.* |
| *All.* | John Tzetzes. *Allegories of the 'Iliad'.* |
| *Ant.* | M. Terentius Varro. *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum.* |
| *Antehom.* | John Tzetzes. *Antehomerica.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Bell.* | Joseph of Exeter. *Bellum Trojanum.* |
| *Bellum* | Jean de Sponde. *Bellum troianum de bello troiano Homeri … .* |
| *Bib.* | Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca.* |
| *Bibē* | Diodorus of Sicily. *Bibliothēkē.* |
| *BvT* | Hans Mair. *Buch von Troja.* |
| *Cant.* | *Cantari della guerra di Troia.* |
| *Cat.Wom.* | [Hesiod]. *Catalogue of Women.* |
| *Chron.* | John Malalas. *Chronographia.* |
| *Comm.* | Servius. *Commentary.* |
| *Corpus* | *Corpus Paroemiograhorum.* |
| *Desc.* | Pausanias. *Description of Greece.* |
| *Dial.* | Lucian. *Dialogues of the Dead.* |
| *Eph.* | Dictys Cretensis. *Ephemeris belli Troiani.* |
| *Exc.* | Dares of Phrygia. *Excidio.* |
| *Exēg.* | John Tzetzes. *Exēgēsis.* |
| *Fab.* | Hyginus. *Fabulae.* |
| *Fort.* | *Fortsetzung* (*Trojanerkrieg*). |
| *GEF* | *Greek Epic Fragments.* |
| *Gen.* | Giovanni Boccaccio. *Genealogia.* |
| *Geog.* | Strabo. *Geographia.* |
| *Gest* | John Clerk. *The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy.* |
| *Her.* | L. Flavius Philostratus. *On Heroes.* |
| *HIE* | Thomas Hobbes. *Homer's 'Iliads' in English.* |
| *H.Il.* | Aldus Manutius. *'Ilias': Homeri 'Ilias'.* |
| *Hist.* | Guido de Columnis. *Historia Destructionis Troiae.* |
| *HIT* | John Ogilby. *Homer his 'Iliads' Translated … .* |
| *Hom.* | John Tzetzes. *Homerica.* |
| *Hor.* | John Pikeryng. *A Newe Enterlude of Vice Conteyning, the Historye of Horestes … .* |
| *HPIl.* | Lorenzo Valla and Francesco Griffolini. *Homeri Poetae 'Ilias'.* |
| *Idom.* | Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon. *Idoménée.* |
| *Id.trag.* | François Paulin, S.J. *'Idoménée, tragédie'.* |
| *Il.* | *Iliad.* |
| *Il.giac.* | Giovan Francesco Loredano. *Iliade giacosa.* |
| *Il.H* | Alexander Pope. *The 'Iliad' of Homer.* |
| *Il.HT* | Johannes Baptista Rexius. *'Ilias' Homeri teutsch.* |
| *Iliades* | Jean Samxon. *Les 'Iliades' de Homere … .* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iliads* | George Chapman. *The 'Iliads' of Homer* … . |
| *Il.Lat.* | [P. Baebius Italicus]. *Ilias Latina.* |
| *Illus*. | Jean Lemaire de Belges. *Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye.* |
| *Liet* | Herbort von Fritzlar. *Liet von Troyge.* |
| *Livres* | Salel H. and A. Jamyn. *Les XXIIII livres de 'l'Iliade'.* |
| *L'ist.* | Jacques Millet. *L'istoire de la destruction de Troye la grant…* . |
| *LTB* | *Laud Troy Book* |
| *Met.* | Ovid. *Metamorphoses.* |
| *Od*. | *Odyssey.* |
| *Odes* | Horace. *Odes IV.* |
| *Outl.* | Sextus Empiricus. *Outlines of Pyrrhonism.* |
| *Par*. | Lucian of Samosta. *The Parasite.* |
| *Parek.* | Eustathius. *Parekbolai* (*Commentarii*). |
| *PHL* | *Pseudodositheana Hermeneumata Leidensia.* |
| *Poet.* | Henri Estienne II. *Poetae graeci principes …* . |
| *Post.* | Quintus Smyrnaeus. *Posthomerica*. |
| *Posthom.* | John Tzetzes. *Posthomerica.* |
| *Recoeil* | Raoul Lefèvre. *Recoeil des histoires de Troyes.* |
| *Recuyell* | William Caxton. *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye.* |
| *Rom.* | Benoît de Sainte-Maure. *Le Roman de Troie.* |
| *Sack* | *Triphiodorus. The Sack of Troy.* |
| *Sch. Od.* | *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*. |
| *Seege* | *The Seege* (*Batayle*) *of Troye*. |
| *Sol*. | Heraclides Ponticus. *Solutions to Homeric Questions*. |
| *Storia* | Binduccio dello Scelto. *Storia di Troia.* |
| *SGT* | Filippo Ceffi. *Storia della guerra di Troia.* |
| *TB* | John Lydgate. *Troy Book.* |
| *Tél.* | François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon. *Les Avantures de Telemaque...* . |
| *Tkrieg* | Konrad von Würzburg. *Trojanerkrieg.* |
| *Vat.Myth.I* | First Vatican Mythographer. |
| *Vat.Myth.II.* | Second Vatican Mythographer. |

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> *Idomeneus, a kynge of Crete or Candy, whiche came with the greekes to Troye. In his retourne beinge troubled with tempeste, he vowed, that if he returned saulfe in to his royalme, he wolde offer what so ever he met with all fyrste. Wherfore whan he wold have offered his son, who fyrste met with hym at his landynge, the people dyd aryse agaynste hym, and drave hym out of the countrey. And than sayled he into Apulia, and buylded there a citie, whiche he called Petilia on the mountayne called Salentinum in Calabre.*
>
> T. Elyot. 1542. *Bibliotheca Eliotae, Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet), fol. R8$^{r.-v.}$

The entry in Sir Thomas Elyot's sixteenth-century[1] biographical dictionary shows at a glance why the literary representation of Idomeneus is an appropriate subject for a reception study. Like Elyot's first sentence, the earliest surviving representation of Idomeneus, in the *Iliad* (eighth century BCE), is superseded in significance by the account, in a fourth-century commentary on the *Aeneid* (first century BCE), that reveals Idomeneus' rash vow, its consequences and their aftermath; determining, from the final decade of the seventeenth century onwards, his place in western literature, drama and opera. Little attention, in consequence, has been paid to his representation in the intervening medieval and Early Modern periods; still less to what it reveals of the impact of the reception process upon a figure of secondary importance in classical ratings. Accordingly, the thesis examines literary representations of Idomeneus in Classical and Late Antiquity; their reception in the West from the Carolingian Renaissance to the juncture of Early Modernity with Enlightenment; and the impact of their reception upon the visibility of Idomeneus in the growing genre of 'books of reference'. It does not, however, follow what may appear to be a logical

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, dates are in the Common Era.

progression to the representation of Idomeneus in the series of libretti of the eighteenth-century 'tragédies lyriques' and 'opera serie' that commences in 1712. I believe that the libretto, music, staging, performance and initial reception of each work should be studied as an entity, as in the current accounts of Mozart's *Idomeneo*.[2] Such an approach, however, would far exceed the prescribed word-limit of this thesis. It is therefore deferred until the thesis appears in an extended format online or in print.

The thesis is based on a survey of 75 texts from England, France, Germany and Italy, selected initially from standard repositories of literary, mythological and graphic sources, e.g., *LIMC*, *OGCMA* and *EGM*; latterly from international and national bibliographies, e.g., *USTC, ESTC, Gallica.* Defining 'literary representations' as original (not recapitulated) accounts of Idomeneus' words and actions, his mentality, physicality and sociality, it registers and contextualises the texts in cultural terms, before demonstrating ways in which successive generations of western authors have modified and refigured them to comply with cultural imperatives of their own time.

*Idomeneus in Antiquity*

Idomeneus is represented in the *Iliad* as the son of Deukalion and grandson of Minos, thereby claiming kinship with Zeus.[3] He rules a populous Cretan state and leads a large pan-Cretan contingent to join the Greek forces at Troy, where he is 'γέρων ἄριστος',[4] a senior member of the High Command. Introduced in the epic as a figure of renown, he is subsequently revealed to be ageing, graying, slowing down; no longer living up to his reputation. This realistic but not unsympathetic representation is eventually subordinated, however, to those of 26

[2] E.g., Rushton 1993; Kahn 2018.

[3] For the Cretan Zeus, Schofield 2011: 260.

[4] Accordingly, Idomeneus and his peers are referred to here as *aristoi*, following Edwards 1984: 62.

accretive texts, 'prequels, sequels and retellings',[5] ranging from the seventh century BCE to the fifth or sixth century. Often drawing on unspecified traditions and sources, they represent Idomeneus in the later stages of the war and its aftermath. Some are authoritative, some fortuitous, while several are anti-Homeric. According to their often contradictory accounts, Idomeneus is killed in the war, or survives it; he is expelled from Crete for sacrificing his son in fulfilment of a rash vow, or he rules there in peace, raising Orestes, son of the murdered Agamemnon; in exile, he establishes a colony in Magna Graecia, or dies as a vatic in a temple on the west coast of Asia Minor.

*Survival, revival, arrival*

During the seventh, and part of the eighth century, classical literature is inaccessible in the West; or, if accessible, neglected. Nevertheless, Idomeneus survives the break. In the late-eighth and ninth centuries, when interest in Antiquity is revived and encouraged under the Carolingians, his name appears in extracts from the *Iliad* reproduced in recycled Antique teaching-aids. By the end of the ninth century, the Late Antique accretions to the *Iliad* (but not the epic itself) begin to circulate in the West. By the end of the twelfth, Idomeneus appears, at a modest level, in western literature, notably the *Roman de Troie* (*c*. 1160), assuring him of a regular, if still modest, part in its derivatives, vernacularised Troycentric romances, over the next three centuries; his age no longer an issue; his filicide a matter for the mythographers.

Late in the fifteenth century, the *Iliad* finally appears in the West, in print, first in Latin prose, then in the versified Greek vulgate. Idomeneus, 'γέρων ἄριστος', is revived, re-edited and vernacularised by Renaissance humanists. Nevertheless, his accretive other is not forgotten: in the sixteenth century, as second father, later backer, of the vengeful Orestes, he

[5] Simms 2018: t.-p.

makes his first recorded appearance on stage – having failed, as far as is known, to make it to the Panathenaea – at the English court. His filicide has by now reached the Calepinos,[6] as Elyot shows, but is as yet an unsuitable topic for creative treatment. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, dramatisations of the stories of Jephthah and Iphigenia have prepared court, clerisy,[7] and the by-now, not-uncommon, classically-minded reader, for the story of a king who makes a rash vow to a god; is required to sacrifice his son in fulfilment of it; and has to decide between natural sentiment and religious obligation. Moreover, writers have learned that the subordination of love to duty, recast subliminally as liberty oppressed by absolutism, personal faith by prelacy, is a powerful polemic. As a result, Idomeneus 'arrives' on stage in France in the last decade of the century in three *Idoménée*s and an *Idomeneus*, all of them in five acts; and he symbolises the redeemable sinner in a didactic novel, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699), by François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, which runs to 99 reissues and editions in France by the end of the century. In England, however, Idomeneus remains the 'γέρων ἄριστος' of the *Iliad*, eliciting from Alexander Pope an uncharacteristically sympathetic, one-page character-study, representing him as a readily recognisable old soldier, talking too much in an effort to perpetuate his reputation.

*Companions-in-arms*

Idomeneus is associated throughout the *Iliad* with his fellow-*aristoi*, the Aiantes, Diomedes, Nestor and Odysseus. Like him, they are not central to the *Mēnis*, the basic, protracted plot of the epic, but feature, singly and together, in its evolution and resolution.[8] They are also prominent in the accretions and Troycentric romances but increasingly as individuals, not least as victims of mental and emotional crises; their association with Idomeneus largely

[6] Post-medieval subject dictionaries, Blair 2010: 122.

[7] As defined by Burke 2000–12: I, 19.

[8] Latacz and others 2002: 136–37.

limited to elaborate orders-of-battle. Their appearance in refigurations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is reduced to discrete cameos. In the thesis, however, they form a suitable cohort for comparative purposes: Aias, son of Telamon (Aias I), Diomedes and Odysseus interchangeably topping the tables; Idomeneus, Nestor and Aias, son of Oïleus (Aias II), vying for position well below them.

In the *Iliad* and the romances, Idomeneus is also accompanied by his kinsman, Meriones. The closest of Idomeneus' followers, Meriones shares his command of the Cretan contingent, is also his charioteer and, potentially, his surrogate in the field. He is, however, unconventionally independent; increasingly so in the romances where, until his death at Hektor's hands, he is sometimes more visible than Idomeneus himself. Although Idomeneus and Meriones are regularly perceived as a duo – 'a pair of genuine Minoans from the heyday of Knossos'[9] – the thesis suggests that their relationship was one of mutual benefit rather than close friendship.

*Sources*

Seventy-five texts may seem an enviable dataset on which to base a thesis but, while the representations themselves vary widely in form – from medieval refigurations to humanist editions; an English 'interlude' to an Italian burlesque; three *fin-dix-septième* dramas to a best-selling novel – the dataset as a whole is limited in content; Idomeneus, as a result, in visibility. In the *Iliad*, he appears in 34 interactive episodes, amounting to only 481 lines (3%) of the epic's 15,693; well behind Diomedes, with 1,463 (9%); if above Aias II with 208 (1%). Moreover, only six of the episodes are significant in the context of Idomeneus' representation: the *Epipōlēsis*, when Agamemnon reproaches him for under-performing; a conversation with Meriones, ostensibly about bravery and cowardice, sub-textually a battle of

[9] West 1988: 159.

egos; his vaunts over two of his opponents, which offer a glimpse of his former stature; his confession of fear at the youth and fitness of a third opponent, Aineias; his incapacitating terror when, having once volunteered to face Hektor in single combat, he finds himself at the Trojan's mercy; and the *Athla*, where he distinguishes himself by resisting provocation from an out-of-order Aias II.

The Antique accretions are for the most part in Latin, and consist of reportage; in Idomeneus' case, short of both detail and dialogue. The exception is the *Ephemeris* of Dictys Cretensis, a pseudonymous revisionist, who presents himself as a protégé of Idomeneus and allows him 25 episodes but no speeches. In the medieval, Troycentric romances, the detail regarding Idomeneus is not only sparse but deficient, creating a confusion of identities that resurfaces, intermittently, over two centuries. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on stage and novelised, Idomeneus has plenty to say, but he is speaking in Early Modern. Little of Antiquity remains in these refigurations, beyond a few, indicative, personal names. By now, however, as the thesis demonstrates, the integrity of the representations themselves is infringed at will: they are victims of unsignalled excision, paraphrase and interpolation, to accommodate changing metres, literary conventions, readers' sensitivities and printers' costs.

*Previous studies*

Until the twentieth century, the representations of Idomeneus receive only conventional, philological attention from the academy; with the exception of assorted nineteenth-century Analysts seeking evidence of his pre-Iliadic origins. The results are summarised by the philologist, Koenraad Kuiper, in 1919.[10] Two years later, Sir James Frazer, in his edition of the *Bibliotheca*, devotes a signature, if not textually justified, appendix to Idomeneus' rash

[10] Kuiper 1919.

vow and its parallels in European folk-tale.[11] A long period of inactivity follows, ending when two studies of Idomeneus and Meriones as lord and follower appear in 1982. That of Ellen Bradshaw Aitken is of particular importance, defining, in the case of Meriones, his dual role as *therapōn* (a ritual surrogate) and *opaōn* (less persuasively, perhaps, a ritual surrogate who may be preserved for higher things); it is endorsed by Gregory Nagy in 2015.[12] In 1999, Eduardo Federico produces a much-needed (if speculative) account of Idomeneus' kouretic origins and of the *polis*-based traditions associated with his return to, and expulsion from, Crete.[13] More firmly grounded in fact is the study by Mariano Valverde Sanchez of the Idomeneus myth and its literary, but primarily theatrical and operatic, tradition in Spain until the end of the eighteenth century; he devotes only four pages to the medieval and Early Modern periods.[14] Finally, Jean-Philippe Grosperrin augments his edition of the didactic drama, *Idoménée* (1700),[15] with a succinct account of sacrifice in *fin-dix-septième* French theatre.

Studies of three of Idomeneus' fellow-*aristoi*, Diomedes and the Aiantes, have also appeared; a fourth, of Nestor, is again speculative and of less relevance.[16] Ironically, the futility of attempting to represent Idomeneus is the subject of a single-act, choric drama in 2008; some critics found it interesting.[17] As the first diachronic study, in English, of the representation of Idomeneus in Graeco-Roman, medieval and Early Modern literature, it is hoped that this study will usefully complement the works surveyed here.

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[11] Frazer 1921.

[12] Greenhalgh 1982; Aitken 2015; Nagy 2015: sect. 1.

[13] Federico 1999.

[14] Valverde Sanchez 2005; 2016: 65-68; see also Belloni 2008.

[15] Grosperrin 2008.

[16] Winter 2010; Durand 2011; Kramer-Hajos 2012; Frame 2009.

[17] Schimmelpfennig 2014.

*Reception*

The thesis presents as a study in classical reception (with dutiful attention to classical tradition)[18] on two counts. First, it establishes the variable course of Idomeneus' representation: the Iliadic version of Classical Antiquity subsumed in the dual stream of accretions of Late Antiquity with origins in the *Ephemeris* and the *Aeneid*; the prevalence of the former from the eighth to the late fifteenth century; its co-existence with the Iliadic from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century; and the co-existence of the Iliadic and Aeneidic from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century; the latter, thereafter, predominating until well into the twentieth century.

Secondly, in examining the translation and refiguration of the *Iliad* and related texts, the 'close-reading of what has been done *with* them'[19] highlights the impact of excision, interpolation and paraphrase on the representation of secondary characters like Idomeneus, with only limited visibility in the text. It suggests, as a corollary, that this aspect of reception may be as yet inadequately documented; that it may involve a hitherto unrecognised element of selectivity on the part of translator or adaptor; and that the Greek and Trojan *aristoi* would form a suitable, comparative cohort for further research in this connection.

*Praxis*

The editorial apparatus of the thesis follows the *MHRA Style Guide (Author-Date)*, http://www.mhra.org.uk/pdf/MHRA-Style-Guide-3rd-Edn.pdf, chosen for the latitude it allows in the citation of works by editor and translator, rather than by original author, and in the use of single quotes to register titles within titles; necessities in a study that refers to

[18] Budelman and Haubold 2008: 23–25.

[19] Hardwick 2016: 17.

numerous editions and translations of Homer's *Iliad*. While I have followed it rigorously in the Appendices and References sections, I have retained within the main text and footnotes, the conventional, and more reader-friendly, inversion of Roman and Italic fonts.

In a further modification, I have incorporated extracts from sources (Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German and English) directly into the main text; italicised, and referenced in round brackets. To avoid a confusion of 'ibids', they are identified on each occasion by an abbreviation of their title, e.g., *Il*. 2.45; *Tél*. 60–61. Individual words and phrases disassociated from the extracts, and all literal translations of them, are in Romans and single quotes, e.g., 'δουρικλυτὸς', 'famous for the spear', as the style-guide requires. A number of Greek proper and common nouns, appearing regularly in the text are, again for reader-convenience, italicised and transliterated, e.g., 'Ἐπιπωλησις', *Epipōlēsis*, 'θεράπων', *therapōn*.

In addition, I have normalised i/j and u/v in transcriptions from unedited texts in French and German. I have rounded percentages. Unless otherwise stated (BCE), dates are in the Common Era. And, again, unless otherwise stated, translations from ancient and modern languages are my own.

Spellings of Homeric personal and place names follow the sensible practice of Hammond (1987, 2000), although his 'Knosos' is regrettable. Aias, son of Telamon, and Aias, son of Oïleus, however, are distinguished as Aias I and Aias II. Other Graeco-Roman personal and place-names, the titles of Graeco-Roman texts in their original, anglicised or shortened forms, and their suggested dates of composition, follow as far as possible *OCD*. English, French, German and Italian personal and place-names from the seventh century onwards, together with the titles of vernacular texts in their original, anglicised or shortened forms, and their dates of composition, follow as far as possible *CT*.

Certain terms, commonly occurring in the thesis, should be understood in the

following senses: ‘episode’, a discrete event or series of related events; ‘scene’, a unitary passage of narrated action and/or dialogue; ‘passage’, a discrete section of continuous narration/dialogue; ‘speech’, discrete, formal/informal, articulation of sentiment or information, in monologue or dialogue; ‘paratextuality’ (one of the more amorphous, philological ‘-alities’)[20] is limited here to prefaces, *argumenta* (synopses) and indices.

[20] Jansen 2014: 1.

## CHAPTER 2: IN THE *ILIAD*, EIGHTH CENTURY BCE

Although a newly-excavated inscription may one day demonstrate that he did appear in the poetry of the high Minoan age; a newly-catalogued fragment of the earliest version of the *Nostoi* may exculpate him of filicide; or a Turkish monastery library may disgorge a treatise illuminating his kouretic-vatic past; the first substantive representation of Idomeneus currently remains in the *Iliad*.[1]

### *The narrative*

The 34 passages of the *Iliad* relating to Idomeneus raise few textual issues.[2] The principal scholiasts athetised sixteen lines,[3] only three of which (*Il.* 11.515; 13.255; 23.471) concern him directly (below, 21, n. 56; 31, n. 84; 30, n. 87). Post-Wolfian Analysts were equally untroubled by the text, focusing instead on the provenance and structure of the passages as a whole; in, particular, those constituting Idomeneus' *aristeia* in Book 13. From the 1830s onwards, they presupposed the existence of a traditional, self-contained poem about Idomeneus; and, in the *Iliad* itself, they identified one redacting hand, 'ein Bearbeiter', integrating excerpts from this earlier source, not always seamlessly, with embedded prequels and invented links. These suppositions enabled them to account, in part, for inconcinnities in the scenes; in particular, the inconclusive nature of Idomeneus' duel with Aineias, ostensibly the climax of his *aristeia*. Later in the century, however, Book 13 was identified, along with Books 14 and 15, as part of an extensive retardation, ramping up tension before the

[1] van Thiel, H. (ed.). 2010 *Homeri Ilias = Il.*

[2] This excludes the discussion of the name of Idomeneus' follower, Meriones, and its implications for dating their origins: Latacz 2004: 259–63.

[3] Aristarchus: 6.433–39; 11.515; 13.255; 23.471, 479; Aristophanes: 11.515; Zenodotus: 17.260–61; Kirk 1985–93: II, 217; III, 280; IV, 79; V, 88; VI, 222. Line 13.255 remains excluded in West 1998–2000; he also distinguishes 13.316 and 480; van Thiel retains these lines but distinguishes them.

resumption of the *Mēnis* theme in Book 16.[4] This, in turn, was used to explain its narrative weaknesses.[5] More recently, however, close readings of the book have found it, and Idomeneus' scenes within it, unitary in conception and composition; their inconclusivity an inevitable result of a storyline in which the divine wills of Poseidon and Zeus are locked in opposition; neither side allowed to win a determinate advantage (*Il.* 13.345–61).[6] Current theories of intelligent design in the *Iliad*, however, emphasise the inverted, parodic nature of the middle section of text, in which Book 13 appears; justifying the attention in this chapter to inconsistencies in Idomeneus' representation.[7]

Idomeneus' status in the *Iliad* is established well before the standard expositionary sequence of the Catalogue of Ships, the *Teichoskopia*, and the *Epipōlēsis*.[8] In Book 1, Agememnon groups him with Aias I, Odysseus and Achilleus, as one of his counsellors, *ἀνὴρ βουληφόρος* (*Il.* 1.144–45); in Book 2, he is identified as one of the elders and leaders of the Greek alliance (*Il.* 2.404–05), [9] and in this capacity attends a sacrificial feast, alongside Aias I and Odysseus. The Catalogue formalises his credentials: famed as a spearman, *δουρικλυτός* (*Il.* 2.646), he commands the Cretan contingent of the army, with a fleet of eighty ships (*Il.* 2.645–52); the *Teichoskopia* establishes his connections beyond Crete, when Helen remembers him as a regular guest at the Spartan court (*Il.* 3.228–31); and at the *Epipōlēsis*, when Idomeneus utters his first lines in the *Iliad*, he speaks bluntly to Agamemnon, addressing him by the unadorned patronymic, *Atreidē*, which Odysseus, on the same

[4] Ameis and Hentze 1877–79: II, 1–24.

[5] Leaf 1900–02: II, 1.

[6] Winter 1956: 56–119; Michel 1971: 7, 11–19, 67–71, 113–16. Both show the influence of the rehabilitated Schadewaldt of 1966, Graziosi 2002: 14–15. Michel's conclusions are now generally accepted, Clay 1972: 278; Hainsworth 1993: 266–67; Krischer 1974: 293–95; Janko 1994: 41. Maitland 1999: 11, describes the storyline as 'classic palace meddling'.

[7] Louden 2006: 94–96.

[8] Scodel 2002: 112.

[9] The words, used in apposition, imply equivalence, Kirk 1985: 158; Edwards 1991: 257.

occasion, will use in anger (*Il.* 4.350).[10]

Thereafter, Idomeneus' eminence is matched by his prominence in the narrative. His name occurs on 76 occasions, in seventeen of the *Iliad*'s 24 books[11]. He is named or appears personally in 34 episodes: in 24 scenes as a focal character, in action or conversation; and in ten narrative passages, focalised by the narrator, or by other characters (Appendix 2.1).[12] His twelve speeches total 115 lines with an average length of ten. He is one of six Greek leaders to have an *aristeia* (*Il.* 13.328–519),[13] in the course of which he receives divine encouragement (*Il.* 13.215–38) and assistance (*Il.* 13.424–54); and, like Aias I and Diomedes, he exchanges spear-casts with Hektor (*Il.* 17.597–625).

Together, Idomeneus' status and visibility in the *Iliad* have accustomed generations of scholars to place him in the inner circle of Greek leaders:[14] at one remove from the Atreides, Achilleus and Patroklos, but among the Aiantes, Diomedes, Nestor, and Odysseus, his peers.[15] Aias I is named on 141 occasions; Aias II, 28; Diomedes, 161; Nestor, 87; and Odysseus, 127.[16] Aias I has seventeen speeches, averaging eight lines each; Aias II, three, averaging eight; Diomedes, 27, averaging nine; Nestor, 31, averaging sixteen; Odysseus, 26, averaging thirteen. Idomeneus comes fifth in both the name- and speech-counts, in each case above Aias II: a position that will be repeated in other comparisons. Nevertheless, in each case, his score, compared to those of the the Greeks' senior strategist and their principal fixer, is respectable. Like his peers, and often alongside them, he appears in three roles: in command, in action and in council.

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[10] For the usage of *Atreidē*, Brown 2006: 29.

[11] Latacz and others 2002: 190.

[12] The remaining 42 occurrences of Idomeneus' name are either repetitions or incorporated in the epithet of his *therapōn*, Meriones.

[13] The others are Diomedes, Agamemnon, Patroklos, Menelaos and Achilleus.

[14] E.g., Latacz and others 2002: 136–37.

[15] Lowe 2000: 117.

[16] Latacz and others 2002: 175, 183, 196, 197; entries under 'Aiantes' are not included.

*In command*

Idomeneus, acknowledging his authority and the lineage on which it is based, describes himself as *πολέσσ' ἄνδρεσσιν ἄνακτα | Κρήτῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ*, 'ruler over many people across the breadth of Crete' (*Il.* 13.452–53).[17] The Catalogue confirms the extent of his influence: in addition to Knosos, men from six other populous settlements in central Crete and from settlements elsewhere on the island fight under his command (*Il.* 2.645–52).[18] As *anax*, however, Idomeneus is not just a military leader but has an active, seigneurial role.[19] This is reflected in another of his epithets, *Κρητῶν βουληφόρε*, counsellor of the Cretans (*Il.* 13.219), which evokes a sense of consideration: the counsellor's awareness of his responsibility to those he advises.[20] Of Idomeneus' peers, Nestor alone is called *anax* in an ethnic context (*Il.* 2.77); the title warranted by his peaceful resumption of power in Pylos after the war.[21]

Idomeneus is also described as *anax* in the command structure of the Greek army, underlining his status there (*Il.* 2.405; 10.112; 15.301). Of his peers, only Diomedes has the same title (*Il.* 5.794); although its single use in his case may be metrical. Idomeneus is one of the most senior commanders, listed in second place, after Nestor.[22] He commands, *ἡγεμόνευεν* (*Il.* 2.645), one of the largest contingents in the Greek army: his eighty ships

[17] Fenik 1968: 134, echoed by Janko 1994: 134, describes the speech as 'composed entirely of familiar details', but in none of the speeches to which it is compared (*Il.* 6.152–60, 14.113–25, 20.208–41 and 21.153–60, 187–89) is there a corresponding genealogical statement.

[18] Simpson and Lazenby 1970: 115.

[19] *DELG* I, 84. Nestor defines *anax* at *Il.* 9.96–99, Haubold 2002: 62–63.

[20] Janko 1994: 75. Elsewhere, Kirk 1990: 78 and Hainsworth 1993: 360, consider it formular. It is also used by Meriones at *Il.* 13.255.

[21] Yamagata 1997: 3.

[22] Sch. bT (*Il.* 1.145–46; 2.405–09) suggest that Idomeneus' seniority is due to his age and relationship to the House of Atreus, *SGHI* I, 51; 2, 271–72. The notion of kinship with the Atreides may derive from a misreading: below, p. 46, n. 34.

carrying some 4,000 men.[23] Of his peers, only Nestor, with ninety ships, surpasses him (*Il.* 2.602); Diomedes equals him (*Il.* 2.568); but Aias II (forty), Aias I and Odysseus (twelve each) lag behind (*Il.* 2.534, 557, 637). The *Iliad* does not say how he acquired his command, whether by right or public choice, although his power-base in the island would have made him an obvious candidate under either system.

Idomeneus is not in sole command. He is one of eight commanders on the Greek side credited in the Catalogue with one or more associates. The need for such support is illustrated by the cases of Protesilaos and Philoktetes (*Il.* 2.698–709, 721–28), for whom substitutes have hurriedly to be found. Idomeneus has a single, named associate, Meriones (*Il.* 2.651).[24] Diomedes, with the same number of ships, has two (*Il.* 2.564); the Aiantes and Odysseus, with smaller fleets, have none. Nor has Nestor, with ninety ships, although his two sons may have served, unaccredited, in this capacity. Family ties often determine the choice of associates: of the fifteen Greek and Trojan contingents with two leaders, eight are commanded by brothers.[25] If Idomeneus' versions of his own lineage and that of Meriones' (*Il.* 13.249) are correct, Meriones may be either his nephew or cousin; although another tradition implies that he is a half-brother.[26]

The relative status of commander and associate varies. Five of the Catalogue entries are formatted in a way that suggests a shared command: 'A and B led contingent C…'. In contrast, the variant format of the entry for Argos reveals that command of that contingent is hierarchical: Diomedes has two associates but in a resumptive line is said to be *συμπάντων*,

[23] The Catalogue talks of 50 and 120 men to a ship (*Il.* 2.510, 719). Kirk 1985: 168, 198, and van Wees 1986: 287, prefer 50.

[24] The *Κρητῶν ἀγοὶ* surrounding Idomeneus in the *Teichoskopia* (*Il*. 3.231), like Nestor's five *ἑταῖροι* in the *Epipōlēsis* (*Il*. 4.295–96), are probably lower in the chain of command: van Wees 1986: 288, 290.

[25] Ibid. 287.

[26] Janko 1994: 79; Clay 1997: 85.

'in overall command' (*Il.* 2.563–67). The Cretan entry is similar but less specific: Idomeneus is twice said to lead the Cretans, but the resumptive line continues with *Μηριόνης τ',* 'and Meriones' (*Il.* 2.651).[27] As a result, Meriones is described by one modern editor as joint leader, 'zusammen mit […] Anführer'; by another as 'second-in-command'.[28] The latter view may be coloured by the belief that as Idomeneus' *opaōn* or *therapōn*, Meriones is already his subordinate. In fact, the entry makes no reference to their institutional relationship; and Meriones' dual epithet, *ὀπάων Ἰδομενῆος* […] *ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ*, '*opaōn* of Idomeneus […] equal of Enyalios, killer of men' (*Il.* 7.166, 8.264, 17.259), is shortened to *ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ*, suppressing the institutional, subordinate element.[29]

Idomeneus and Meriones appear together in command on only one occasion: at the *Epipōlēsis* when, following the Trojans' unilateral breach of the truce on Day 1 of the battle,[30] the Greeks are finally preparing to advance. Idomeneus is surrounded by his Cretans as they arm; more precisely, he is *ἐνὶ προμάχοις*, 'among the fighters of the front line' (*Il.* 4.252–53), putting on a brave show, like a wild boar, for the men clustering around him.[31] Meanwhile, Meriones is with the *πυμάτας* […] *φάλαγγας* (*Il.* 4.254): expert with bow as well as spear,[32] he is putting heart into the mixed, lightly-armed troops that take stance behind the

[27] A third variant combines associate and leader with *οὐκ οἷς, ἅμα τῷ* … (*Il.* 2.745); however, the resumption, following a digression, may not be comparable.

[28] Latacz and others 2002: 137; Kirk 1985: 223.

[29] Friedrich 2012: 44.

[30] Days are numbered as in Latacz and others 2002: 152.

[31] Idomeneus is also compared to a boar at *Il.* 13.471. Gray-headed and slow, he cannot be a lion, and the boar is next in the animal hierarchy: sch. bT 4.253b; T 13.471b, *SGHI* III, 494. In boar similes, the animal is either surrounded by hunters or faces them at bay. Among his men, Idomeneus would resemble the former. Mazon 1998: I, 163, favours the latter: 'Idomenée se tient devant leurs lignes …'.

[32] Janko 1994: 126.

first line.[33] The impression is of parity in the Cretan command: each of the two lines of the contingent fighting under its own, specialised co-commander.[34] As the commander of one of the second-largest contingents in the allied army, with his closest follower at an associated level, Idomeneus is well-positioned to respond to what seems to be an unanticipated challenge from the supreme commander.

Idomeneus' relationship with Agamemnon, supreme commander of the Greek army, is also illustrated in the *Epipōlēsis*. On Idomeneus' part, it is sustained by a vow; on Agamemnon's, by his capacity to motivate Idomeneus through positive or negative appraisals[35] and generous allocations of plunder. This emerges as Agamemnon rallies the Greeks. He urges on the bolder spirits and shames the weaker, demonising the Trojans as the first to violate the truce and inflict casualties (*Il.* 4.236). Reassured by the sight of the Cretan contingent readying itself for battle,[36] he moderates his tone to deliver a series of frank, motivational talks to his senior commanders, starting with Idomeneus (*Il.* 4.251–71).[37]

Agamemnon tells Idomeneus that he honours him above all other Greeks and, as a mark of his admiration, ensures that when the wine of the elders is served at feasts,[38] Idomeneus' cup, like his own, is refilled;[39] other guests get no more than their ration.

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[33] According to sch. bT 4.254, Meriones encourages the second line but is not, himself, part of it, *SGHI* I, 496.

[34] Singor 1991: 31.

[35] Zanker 1994: 32–33.

[36] Stanley 1993: 71, reads *γήθησεν* here and at *Il.* 4.283 and 311 as evidence of a 'harmonious relationship'.

[37] Zanker 1994: 25–27.

[38] van Wees 1992: 32–33.

[39] Diomedes may have enjoyed the same privilege (*Il*. 8.161). Scodel 2008: 8–9, accuses Agamemnon of disingenuity.

The implication is clear: Idomeneus has to prove himself worthy of this favour.[40] Agamemnon then orders him into battle, urging him to be *οἷος πάρος εὔχεαι εἶναι*, 'the man that once he said he was' (*Il.* 4.264). The implication here is that Idomeneus has boasted of his former exploits but is currently under-performing. Idomeneus responds tersely,[41] acknowledging the king's authority, *Ἀτρείδη*,[42] and reaffirming their relationship.[43] He will remain Agamemnon's trusted comrade, *ἐρίηρος ἑταῖρος* as he promised with a ritual gesture, *ὑπέστην καὶ κατένευσα*, at the start, *πρῶτον* (*Il.* 4.266–67). He does not explain what he means by 'πρῶτον'; nor does he reveal whether he made his promise as a private person or as commander. If the former, then he may be referring to the oath that he took as one of Helen's suitors;[44] if the latter, to a political or military commitment made to Agamemnon when the army first assembled.[45] His position re-stated, Idomeneus tells Agamemnon to rally the remaining Greeks[46] so that the army can go into action as soon as possible. Having in effect accused his superior of delaying the action, Idomeneus dutifully repeats Agamemnon's own words: the Trojans were the first to break the truce, *πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσαντο* (*Il.* 4.271).

Agamemnon, satisfied, continues his inspection. Conciliatory to Aias I (*Il.* 4.273–91),[47] he insults Diomedes (*Il.* 4.365–421), patronises Nestor (*Il.* 4.310–25) and accuses Odysseus, like Idomeneus, of accepting his hospitality without earning it (*Il.*

[40] Irwin 2005: 42.

[41] '[k]urz', Michel 1971: 50.

[42] Brown 2006: 30.

[43] Kirk's description of the reply as 'egregious' seems unwarranted, 1985: 358.

[44] Idomeneus' suit is not mentioned in the *Iliad*. The audience may know of it from other traditions.

[45] Kirk 1985: 358.

[46] Those who need it, Christensen 2007: 421.

[47] Paired here with Teukros, Kirk 1985: 359.

4.329–63).[48] Unlike Idomeneus, Odysseus forces Agamemnon to take his words back (*Il.* 4.339–63); his anger will add edge to his later outburst against Agamemnon at a war council.[49] Councils and assemblies provide opportunities for the leaders to vent their feelings against Agamemnon (e.g., Nestor at *Il.* 9.53–78; Diomedes at *Il.* 9.32–49), but there is no record of Idomeneus using them in this way. His only subsequent contact with the supreme commander will be as a fellow-fugitive from Zeus' thunderbolt (*Il.* 8.75–78) and a fellow-mourner with Achilleus (*Il.* 19.309–39). Nevertheless, Agamemnon's challenge at the *Epipōlēsis* may account for Idomeneus' sensitivity in his pre-aristeic conversation with Meriones; his offer to meet Hektor in single combat; and his commitment to an *aristeia* ultimately beyond his strength.

Idomeneus' relations with other commanders are no different from those of his peers: marked by rivalry; a determination to be seen as 'better'; at the very least, as 'not inferior'; and, occasionally, a degree of solidarity; attitudes, it may be said, that characterise the polities on whose behalf they fight.[50] On Day 1 of the battle, for example, when Nestor shames them into fighting Hektor in single combat, Idomeneus and his other four peers are among the nine who volunteer immediately (*Il.* 7.161–69). Competition, however, does not stop him from admiring the others' expertise: a close-quarters fighter himself, he observes that Teukros, best of the Greek archers, and Aias I also perform well in that position (*Il.* 13.313–14, 324–25). Nor does it prevent him from collaborating with them in action; risking his life, as they do, in a series of urgent, improvised, collaborations to stem a rout or rescue a fallen comrade. Eleven such collaborations are recorded in the *Iliad.* Idomeneus participates in four; of his

[48] Graziosi and Haubold 2005: 70, contrast Agamemnon's treatments of Idomeneus and Odysseus, but both are based on *aidōs*, 'a sense of shame'.

[49] Haft 1989–90: 114.

[50] van Wees 1992: 24.

peers, Aias I participates in six; Diomedes in four; Aias II and Odysseus in three.[51] Of those involving Idomeneus, two are instigated by the Atreides: on Day 2, Agamemnon urges the army, directing his words at the commanders, to halt Hektor's advance (*Il.* 8.228–34); on Day 3, Menelaos pleads with them to protect and retrieve the corpse of Patroklos (*Il.* 17.246–55). On both occasions, the Atreides appeal to the leaders' *aidōs*, as Agamemnon did at the *Epipōlēsis*. It works with Diomedes on the first occasion; with Aias II, on the second. Idomeneus participates in both collaborations, but his earlier, robust response to Agamemnon's team-talk suggests that he is acting in solidarity with his fellow-commanders, rather than any sense of shame. A third collaboration seems to confirm this. Also on Day 3, it is organised by Thoas, commander of the 40-ship Aitolian contingent, one of the most respected of the younger, rising leaders.[52] He insists that the commanders should fight a rearguard action, while the main body of the Greeks retreats to the ships. He refrains from shaming them as the Atreides did; nevertheless, even using an indirect imperative, *ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω πειθώμεθα πάντες*, 'Let us all do as I say' (*Il.* 15.294), he is no less forthright in imposing his will. Idomeneus and the other commanders hear and obey: their loyalty transcending rank and attitude.

The remaining collaboration is organised by Idomeneus himself (*Il.* 11.510–15). It, too, occurs on Day 3, again on the left, where he, Nestor and others are facing Hektor.[53] Machaon, a contingent commander who is also principal physician of the Greek army, takes an arrow in the shoulder. This leaves him open to capture or death if the battle goes the Trojans' way: an outcome likely to undermine Greek morale. Idomeneus, addressing Nestor respectfully before

[51] Odysseus fails to collaborate on one occasion (*Il.* 8.90–98), possibly feigning deafness, Pache 2000: 21.

[52] Janko 1994: 259; at 74, however, he implies that Thoas is Idomeneus' equal.

[53] Analysts' concerns with this scene, e.g., Ameis and Hentze 1877–79: IV, 68–70, are rationalised by Fenik 1968: 107–8, Hainsworth 1993: 279–80 and West 2011: 257.

switching to the imperative, [54] orders him to drive Machaon to safety. He reminds Nestor how valuable physicians are; citing (oddly for a spearman but not for a Cretan)[55] their skill with arrow wounds (*Il.* 11.514–15).[56] According to a scholiast, Idomeneus is using Machaon's rescue as a way of getting Nestor himself to safety;[57] as one of five commanders who fled the field on Day 2, leaving Nestor stranded (*Il.* 8.75–78), he may be making amends for his panic. The Trojan War has been described as a battle among a few great men and not a fight between two great lords.[58] Idomeneus' ready collaboration with his peers goes some way to support this collective view.

As a commander, Idomeneus has to handle unsolicited interventions from Olympos. He is well equipped to do so as *Ζηνὸς γόνος*, 'descended from Zeus' (*Il.* 13.449), a distinction not shared by any of his peers.[59] He traces his divine lineage through his father, Deukalion, and grandfather, Minos, respectively king and guardian of Crete, proclaiming it in a vaunt during his *aristeia* (*Il.* 13.448–50). Nevertheless, his lineage wins him no special attention from Olympos, where his name is never mentioned; nor does it arise in his two encounters with an epiphanic Poseidon (*Il.* 13.215–38, 424–54); and it does not stop him acknowledging bitterly that his divine ancestor favours the Trojans over the Greeks (*Il.* 13.225–27, 319–20).

Of Idomeneus' encounters with Poseidon, only one involves his command. It takes place on Day 3, when the Greeks, lacking three of their leaders (the wounded Agamemnon, Diomedes and Odysseus), are penned in their camp; while the Trojans, having broken

[54] Hainsworth 1993: 165; Janko 1994: 155.

[55] For the bow as a traditional Cretan weapon, Janko 1994: 79.

[56] Aristarchus and others athetised the line as disparaging to the medical profession, *SGHI* III, 222–24.

[57] Sch. bT 11.510, *SGHI* III, 221.

[58] Strasburger 1954: 49.

[59] They had independent relationships with partisan gods, e.g., Diomedes, aided and protected by Athene (*Il.* 5.121–132); Odysseus, aided and advised by her (*Il.* 2.166–81).

through its defences, threaten to torch the Greek ships. Poseidon, attributing the Greeks' plight to Zeus' design, rebels against his brother and resolves to strengthen Greek resistance. He visits the camp disguised as the seer, Kalchas, delivering pareneses to the Aiantes and to the younger leaders, including Meriones (*Il.* 13.93). He then goes to the commanders' quarters, looking for others to harangue. There, he meets Idomeneus, preparing to re-arm and rejoin the battle.[60] Poseidon now disguises himself as Thoas, presumably in the belief that Idomeneus may more readily accept his criticism and advice.[61] Greeting Idomeneus as *Κρητῶν βουληφόρε*, 'counsellor of the Cretans', thus showing respect for his judgment, Poseidon/Thoas asks pointedly what has happened to the big talk, *ἀπειλαί*, of the Greeks (*Il.* 13.219–20).[62] Idomeneus, having newly arranged treatment for one of his men who has been wounded (*Il.* 13.211–13),[63] is well aware of the Greeks' poor showing and ignores the sarcasm. Covering himself with a provisional *νῦν*, 'now', he insists that the Greeks' cowardice is past; he concedes, nevertheless, that all may still end ingloriously, such is the intention of Zeus; and he advises Poseidon/Thoas, as he advised Agamemnon at the *Epipōlēsis*, to keep encouraging the men, *κέλευέ τε φωτὶ ἑκάστῳ* (*Il.* 13.230). The god, assuring Idomeneus that only slackers will come to a bad end, tells him to re-arm and accompany him, *ἴθι*: if even the poorest soldiers, fighting together, can succeed, he says, how much more will the two of them, both soldiers who can take on the best, achieve? *νῶι δὲ καὶ κ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπισταίμεσθα μάχεσθαι* (*Il.* 13.237–38). Poseidon, however, is talking of a

[60] Idomeneus' unheralded entrance and the clumsy explanation for his appearance convinced the Analysts that an older tradition had been used here: Michel 1971: 47.

[61] Poseidon adopts Thoas' voice; his golden armour (*Il.* 13.25) would have concealed face and form.

[62] The tendentious opening is either attempted characterisation, since Thoas was a skilled orator (*Il.* 15.283–84); or may indicate lost text, thus explaining apparent non-sequiturs in Idomeneus' reply, West 2011: 276.

[63] Janko 1994: 74.

notional, not an actual, partnership: he does not wait for a reply but disappears into the turmoil of the camp. Idomeneus is left to go to his quarters and re-arm, as he first intended, for what will become his *aristeia*. He seems unaware of the true nature of his interlocutor; unlike Aias II, who made the connection immediately (*Il.* 13.68–75). Idomeneus' interaction with Poseidon before his *aristeia* has a mythical element. Nevertheless, it is ignored in the accretive account of Idomeneus' subsequent relationship with the god, where he appears as supplicant, obligant and eventually miscreant.

*In action*

The first of Idomeneus' fights takes place on Day 1 as part of the Greek assault inaugurating Diomedes' *aristeia* (*Il.* 5.43–48). The rest occur on Day 3, in three discrete, narrative contexts. Six of them (one in two rounds) comprise Idomeneus' *aristeia*, as he fights within the perimeter of the Greek camp, on the left, trying to force the Trojans back from the Greek ships (*Il.* 13.361–519). Later, he participates in another *aristeia*, that of Patroklos, and has his eighth engagement (*Il.* 16.345–50). Finally, with the *Patrokleia* over, he fights his last action to save a fleeing Greek from Hektor's spear (*Il.* 17.597–625).

Idomeneus' first opponent, Phaistos, is of interest only because of his Cretan name and the location of his wound.[64] In contrast, his five opponents in the *aristeia* are all distinctive characters, who make their appearance in ascending order of ability and importance.[65] At the bottom is Othryoneus: a young adventurer,[66] whose skills do not match his aspirations. Asios, co-commander of the Trojan third division, normally mounted, is reluctantly fighting on

[64] Kirk 1990: 57–59.

[65] Michel 1971: 100.

[66] Othryoneus' youth is assumed by Reinhardt 1961: 298–99, possibly from his swagger; there is no hard evidence of his age.

foot.[67] Deïphobos, one of Priam's sons, is also a co-commander of the third division; he had an inconclusive encounter with Meriones (*Il.* 13.156–68) preceding the *aristeia*. Alkathoös is a Trojan celebrity, *ἀνὴρ ὥριστος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ* (*Il.* 13.433),[68] co-commander with Paris of the second division; married to Aineias' elder sister, he helped to raise Aineias as a child (*Il.* 13.427–33, 463–66). Aineias himself is the main contender. He is also the one with whom Idomeneus has most in common: Aineias, too, is of divine lineage (*Il.* 2.819–21); he is styled *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* (*Il.* 5.311); he commands the Trojan fourth division (*Il.* 12.98–99); and he shares Idomeneus' impatience, in identical terms, with ill-timed conversation (*Il.* 20.244). Unlike Idomeneus, however, he still has his youth, which is, as Idomeneus admits, *ὅ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον*, 'the greatest power that a man can have' (*Il.* 13.484). Idomeneus' seventh opponent, Erymas, is again memorable only for his wound.[69] Idomeneus' final opponent is Hektor.

Idomeneus instigates five of his fights, with Phaistos, Othryoneus, Alkathoös, Erymas and Hektor. The rest are imposed upon him during his *aristeia*: by Asios, in order to retrieve Othryoneus' corpse; by Deïphobos (the first round), to avenge the death of his co-commander Asios; by Aineias, partly in support of Deïphobos, partly to retrieve the corpse of Alkathoös, his brother-in-law; and again by Deïphobos (the second round), taking advantage of Idomeneus' laborious withdrawal. This 'chain reaction'[70] in the *aristeia* means that in spatial terms it is largely static; appropriately enough for a man whose legs are said to be weak.[71]

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[67] Sch. bT 13.384a sums up Asios' arrival as one loudmouth coming to support another, *SGHI* III, 477. Both fit the Trojan stereotype described by Griffin 1980: 4.

[68] Strasburger 1954: 74, notes his affinities with Hektor.

[69] Janko 1994: 361.

[70] Fenik 1968: 10.

[71] For Idomeneus' almost unchanging position, *HTT* at *Il.* 13.328–29, 384, 402, 427, 455, 468–69, 477, 489.

The majority of Idomeneus' fights are in single combat. The fight with Alkathoös, however, is only nominally so, since Poseidon intervenes on Idomeneus' side. His fight with Aineias is intended to be single combat but is fought amid multiple actions instigated by their respective supporters; as is the second round with Deïphobos. His fights with Phaistos, Erymas and Hektor originate in melees.

Idomeneus kills five of his opponents, all with the spear. This hardly justifies his epithet, 'δουρικλυτός', however: two, Othryoneus and Alkathoös, seem to lack shields. He makes a sixth, collateral, kill, when his return cast at Aineias takes out a soldier of the third division, brought up in support by Deïphobos. There is some irony in this, since Deïphobos himself has already made a collateral kill in his first round with Idomeneus (*Il.* 13.411–12) and will make another in round two (*Il.* 13.518–20). Another collateral kill is, in a sense, also attributable to Idomeneus. Koiranos, Meriones' *therapōn*, trying to rescue Idomeneus during his encounter with Hektor – an intuitive act of courage or a generous interpretation of the *therapōn*'s code of surrogacy – takes Hektor's spear in his neck (*Il*. 17.617–19). Idomeneus' kills, five deliberate, one collateral (he inflicts no disabling wounds), give him an overall hit rate of 67%.

It is difficult to compare Idomeneus' record, like-for-like, with those of his peers: Nestor drives but does not fight; Diomedes (*Il.* 11.369–400) and Odysseus (*Il*. 11.456–89) are wounded in mid-*Iliad* and retire from action; while the record of Aias II is incomplete, his best score left unquantified (*Il.* 14.520–22). Aias I offers the only comparatives: 37 recorded fights, fifteen kills (40%) and fourteen disablings (38%); with a hit rate of 78%, only 11% ahead of Idomeneus, although he is almost five times as effective and more deserving of their shared epithet 'δαίφρων' (*Il.* 14.459; 17.123). Idomeneus' modest record is not improved by the quality of his kills. Three of the six are soft: Phaistos, in the back, as he climbs into his chariot (*Il.* 5.43–47); Alkathoös, pre-emptively neutralised by Poseidon (*Il.* 13.427–44); and

Oinomaos, collateral of a missed cast. Phaistos apart, however, Idomeneus' casts all hit the front of his opponents' bodies: this signifies, in his view, that they are his equals in valour; only cowards are hit in the back (*Il.* 13.288–91). Of his five deliberate kills, four are in the torso and only one in the smaller and less accessible target of the head.[72] In contrast, Aias I makes a single, soft (collateral) kill (*Il.* 14.458–75). Details of only six of his direct kills are recorded, however (*Il.* 4.473–79; 5.610–26; 6.5–11; 12.378–86; 15.419–21; 17.288–304): all are at the front, divided equally between head and body. Comparison with Aias I may be unfair; nevertheless, Idomemeus' record as a fighting-man hardly matches his epithets and seems more in line with Agamemnon's complaint at the *Epipōlēsis*.

Idomeneus delivers two vaunts in the course of his *aristeia*.[73] The first follows the killing of Othryoneus, who was promised Priam's daughter, Kassandra, in return for clearing the Greeks from the country. Idomeneus, evidently aware of the arrangement,[74] affects to believe that Othryoneus is alive; hauling his body by the foot towards the Greek line, he tells him that the Greeks, too, will promise him a royal bride if he will sack Troy for them (*Il.* 13.377–82).[75] His second vaunt is provoked by Deïphobos, who declares, after his first collateral kill, that he has not only avenged Asios' death but has given him an escort in the Underworld. Idomeneus, when he kills Alkathoös, produces his own variation on the theme of requital, by asking if three down for one evens things up, *Δηΐφοβ' ἦ ἄρα δή τι ἐΐσκομεν ἄξιον εἶναι | τρεῖς ἑνὸς ἀντὶ πεφάσθαι;* (*Il.* 13.446–47). The quality of Idomeneus' vaunts is evident in the difficulty later translators found in matching their succinctness; their taste was still a matter of debate in the 1700s.

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[72] For the anatomy and physiology of wounds inflicted by Idomeneus in his *aristeia*, Saunders 1999: 346–49.

[73] For the significance of vaunting (flyting), Hesk 2006.

[74] A narrative convention, which some scholiasts tried to explain in real terms, de Jong 2005: 16.

[75] '[O]ne of the most sarcastic, almost coarse, speeches addressed to an enemy in the epic', Kyriakou 2001: 255.

Idomeneus does not lack courage, as his snap decision to engage Hektor, at the end of the long Day 3, shows. Nevertheless, he shows fear in battle on three occasions. On Day 2, he panics and runs from Zeus' thunderbolt (*Il.* 8.75–78). He is not alone, however: Agamemnon and the Aiantes run with him; and he subsequently atones for his cowardice by extricating Nestor and Machaon from danger (*Il.* 11.510–15). On the second occasion, at the climax of his *aristeia*, Aineias' ready agreement to fight in Deïphobos' place arouses in Idomeneus a sense of isolation, forcing him to admit his fear of the younger man to Meriones and other younger leaders, and to ask for their help (*Il*. 13.481–82). On the third, when first Koiranos, then Meriones, rescue Idomeneus from his fight with Hektor, the *Iliad* poet is unequivocal, *δέος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ*, 'fear settled on his heart' (*Il.* 17.625). Idomeneus' capacity to experience and express fear may explain the cogency with which he describes it to Meriones in their conversation on fear and fearlessness (*Il*. 13.274–94).

Aineias, Idomeneus told his younger leaders, possessed the flower of youth, *ἔχει ἥβης ἄνθος*, the source of greatest strength, *ὅ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον* (*Il.* 13.484). His own seniority in age is signified at the beginning, in the middle and towards the end of the narrative. He follows Nestor in the catalogue of guests at Agamemnon's sacrificial feast (*Il.* 2.402–09); he is described as 'going gray', *μεσαιπόλιός*, at the start of his *aristeia* (*Il.* 13.361);[76] and he is among the older men who try to comfort Achilleus after the death of Patroklos (*Il.* 19.309–39).[77] Inevitably, his age affects his physique: his legs and feet are weak at the joints, *οὐ γὰρ ἔτ ἔμπεδα γυῖα ποδῶν ἦν ὁρμηθέντι*, making close combat a necessity

[76] Idomeneus' hair is described as half-gray, 'μεσαιπόλιός', which sch. bT 13.361a[1] gloss as 'σπαρτοπόλιος', 'sprinkled with gray', *SGHI* III, 470. They then distinguish between two types of old men: the bright and active sort, 'ὠμογέρων', like Odysseus, and the seriously old, 'γέρων', like Nestor. The order in which they give the names may imply that Idomeneus is, in their minds, closer in character to the former than the latter.

[77] Kirk 1985: 157; Edwards 1991: 271.

rather than the preference that he proclaims (*Il.* 13.512–15),[78] and he fears Aineias' youthful speed (*Il.* 13.484). Later, he will refer deprecatingly to his vision, *οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε | εὖ διαγινώσκω* (*Il.* 23.469–70) and will be accused outright of poor sight, as well as old age (*Il.* 23.476–77). Circumstantial evidence supports this depiction of Idomeneus as an ageing *aristos*. He shows an older man's appreciation of the medical profession (*Il.* 11.510–15) and an awareness, perhaps envy, of other men's speed (e.g., *Il.* 13.325, 348).[79] Agamemnon's comment on the readily-filled cups at the top table (*Il.* 4.261–63) may be read as an allegation that he is now a heavy drinker; Agamemnon is, after all, accused of the same thing (*Il.* 1.225). Finally, Idomeneus' can no longer strip his victims: for the fighting-man, the rite that signifies self-glorification or self-reward.[80] He leaves Phaistos' corpse to be stripped by his *therapontes* (*Il.* 5.48); and, taking the spear from his collateral kill, Oinomaos, he is so slow that he becomes a target for Trojan spears and has to abandon his aim of stripping the corpse (*Il.* 13.512–13). In contrast, Diomedes strips four corpses (*Il.* 5.159–63 x 2; 10.455–57; 11.368); Odysseus, two (*Il.* 11.432); and the Aiantes, one (*Il.* 13.197–205). Indeed, the practice is so widespread, that Nestor has to warn the army as a whole not to start stripping corpses until the killing is over (*Il.* 6.68–71).[81] Given Idomeneus' pride in his trophies, it seems unlikely that he would abandon the tradition without serious, physical cause. Idomeneus' grizzled head and stiffening joints go far to explain his under-performance in the *Iliad*.

Idomeneus' personal security in the field is, in theory, the responsibility of Meriones, his principal *therapōn*, who owes him loyalty, support and surrogacy. Such obligations normally

[78] 'A description unparalleled in the *Iliad*', Fenik 1968: 136–37. Sch. bT 13.512 insist that if Idomeneus is unsteady, it is not from fear; sch. bT 13.513 revive yet again the image of the waiting boar, whose feet are there to bear him, not bear him away, *SGHI* III, 500.

[79] Fenno 2008: 158, n. 42.

[80] Ready 2007: 13–17.

[81] Willcock 1978: I, 245; Griffin 1980: 46–47; Zanker 1994: 49–50.

require the *therapōn* to remain in close proximity to his leader. Meriones, however, does not seem to be bound by this requirement. It is possible that, as co-commander of the Cretan contingent and newly-appointed co-commander of the perimeter guard (*Il.* 9.79–84), he is allowed some latitude. It is equally likely, however, that he is exercising the considerable degree of independence that Idomeneus allows him. At all events, his presence alongside Idomeneus in the line is recorded on only six occasions: four in joint actions (*Il.* 8.264, 15.302, 16.342, 17.259); and two when Idomeneus is in single combat (*Il.* 13.479, 17.610). In the first of these, with Aineias, Idomeneus communicates his fear to Meriones and four of his fellow-leaders of the perimeter guard, who shoulder their shields and stand by in support. In the second, the fight with Hektor, Idomeneus' pre-emptive cast leaves Hektor with a bruised chest, and Idomeneus himself with a broken spear, at Hektor's mercy. Meriones is at hand, however, and although it is his charioteer, Koiranos, who comes first, and fatally, to Idomeneus' aid, it is Meriones who bundles his fearful leader into the empty chariot, hands him the reins and tells him to drive to the camp (*Il.* 17.597–625).

In a third fight, Idomeneus is supported by Poseidon. The god paralyses Alkathoös, giving Idomeneus a free thrust through his unshielded corselet. Poseidon's action is unsolicited: indeed, the narrator attributes Alkathoös' death to him, with Idomeneus merely the instrument, *τὸν τόθ' ὑπ' Ἰδομενῆι Ποσειδάων ἐδάμασσε* (*Il.* 13.434).[82] As Poseidon is not known to have unfinished business with Alkathoös, the likeliest explanation for his intervention is as a gesture of favour to Idomeneus, for whose *aristeia* he deems himself responsible.[83] Again, Poseidon's intervention, later to be allegorised as the action of the sea itself, is ignored in the accretions.

[82] Lesky 2001: 181.

[83] Sch. T 13.434a[1] suggests that it is a narrative device to make the ageing Idomeneus' victory more credible, *SGHI* III, 487. Janko 1994: 101, disagrees.

*In council*

Idomeneus' role as a senior commander is complemented by his participation in the supreme commander's council, 'βουλή'. Agamemnon has a nucleus of regular counsellors, including all but one of Idomeneus' peers: Aias II, like some of the younger leaders, is co-opted as required (*Il.* 10.196–97). Idomeneus also participates in assemblies of the army, 'ἀγοραί', held to announce new strategies or calls for volunteers. The value of his past contributions to both fora is attested early in the *Iliad* by Agamemnon's reference to his counsel (*Il.* 1.144–47).[84] It is surprising, then, to find Idomeneus recorded as attending no more than half of the dozen councils and assemblies covered in the *Iliad* itself (Appendix 2.2). He attends two, a council and an assembly, but his presence at four more is implicit in the text. His presence is not recorded at a further five meetings, however, and he is definitely absent from a sixth. As it stands, his overall record of attendance is unimpressive compared to that of most of his peers. Nestor is recorded as attending and speaking at seven meetings; Odysseus and Diomedes, at four; Aias I, at two. Idomeneus' record is no better than that of the intermittently attending Aias II.[85] His contribution to the meetings he attends is equally limited. He is not recorded as speaking at the council; and at the assembly, he volunteers to meet Hektor in single combat merely by rising to his feet (*Il.* 7.165–69). In contrast, Diomedes, hailed by Nestor, ambiguously,[86] as the best counsellor in his age-group, is an outspoken critic and opponent of Agamemnon's strategy (*Il.* 9.29–78, 696–713; 14.109–32); while Odysseus comes close to usurping Agamemnon's authority (*Il.* 2.182–210).

On one occasion, there may be a logistical explanation for Idomeneus' inactivity.

[84] There is a further reference to Idomeneus as a counsellor, Poseidon's respectful *Κρητῶν βουληφόρε* (*Il.* 13.219); but it refers to Idomeneus as a ruler. Meriones addresses him by the same epithet (*Il.* 13.255), but this may be an interpolation, re-cycling the earlier usage, van der Valk, 1963–64. II, 497; Michel 1971: 74; Janko 1994: 79.

[85] Whom he will later call *κακφραδής*, 'useless', as a counsellor (*Il.* 23.483).

[86] For the ambiguity, Hainsworth 1993: 67. To Frame 2009: 194, it is a 'gentle rebuke'.

Lodged in quarters on the far-left flank of the camp, he and Aias I have to be summoned by messenger (*Il.* 10.112–13); once summoned, they have further to come to the meeting-place than anyone else. On Day 2, in the prelude to what becomes the *Doloneia*, they are summoned to a nocturnal council held by Agamemnon, for no apparent, operational reason, beyond the perimeter of the camp. The preliminaries are protracted and confused, but eventually all those invited to the council are said to have arrived (*Il.* 10.195). As Aias I is present (*Il.* 10.228), Idomeneus should be too; but he is not mentioned at any point in the meeting. His absence is all the more conspicuous when Nestor calls for volunteers to spy on the Trojan camp. The rest of Idomeneus' peers respond; so does Meriones, who has been temporarily co-opted (*Il.* 10.196–97). Idomeneus, however, who two days earlier offered to fight Hektor, makes no recorded response. It is possible that, fatigued by the late call-out and the long scramble through the camp's fortifications to the plain (*Il.* 10.196–201), the ageing counsellor is abrogating his responsibilities.

Idomeneus' limited participation in meetings does not reflect a generally laconic disposition. On the contrary, at the *Epipōlēsis*, Agamemnon implies that he talks too much about his past glories; and Aias II leaves him in no doubt about it. At the *Athla*, the games following the cremation of Patroklos, he sits apart from, and above, the other *aristoi*, and from this position commentates, unasked, on the chariot race, speculating about a change in the lead. His commentary runs to sixteen lines (*Il.* 23.457–72): its ring composition and growing precision heighten the suspense (*Il.* 23.471); its integral enjambements convey his excitement.[87] He also delivers it in a loud voice. This, as much as its content, angers Aias II, whose abusive objection refers three times to Idomeneus' habitually loud mouth, 'λαβρεύεαι'

[87] Lohmann 1970: 29–30; Richardson 1993: 222–23, who notes, nevertheless, that Aristarchus athetised *Il.* 23.471.

twice and ‘λαβραγόρην’ (*Il.* 23.474, 478, 479).[88] Idomeneus responds in kind,[89] and proposes that they should bet on the identity of the leader: losing a tripod or a cauldron, he adds, should teach Aias a lesson. The patronising tone brings Aias, furious, to his feet, causing Achilleus, as president of the games, to intervene before the quarrel can escalate. As Idomeneus intends. Aware of his current limitations as a fighter, he has evaded the threat of violence, foreseen by the narrator (*Il.* 23.490); he has shown himself willing to defuse the quarrel by proposing a wager; while his final, provocative remark has exposed Aias as a graceless malcontent, unable to take a joke. Idomeneus may be guilty of senescent garrulity but not here: tactically, he has not lost his touch.

*Idomeneus and Meriones*

Idomeneus is *Κρητῶν ἀγὸς*, leader of the Cretan contingent (*Il.* 2.645), but his relationship with his men is rarely described. He is, nevertheless, close to them: at the *Teichoskopia* and the *Epipōlēsis*, he is in their midst, *ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι* (*Il.* 3.230), *ἐνὶ προμάχοις* (*Il.* 4.253). Analysing their conduct in ambush, during his conversation with Meriones, he reveals that he recognises their fears (*Il.* 13.276–87). He knows, too, what they have left behind (*Il.* 9.339); and to Poseidon/Thoas, he speaks bleakly of their likely fate, dying nameless far from home, *νωνύμνους ἀπολέσθαι ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιούς* (*Il.* 13.227). His respect for the army physicians (*Il.* 11.514–15) and his care for one of his own wounded, (*Il.* 13.213–14) show that he thinks of their welfare. His coolness towards Poseidon/Thoas indicates that he does not accept sneers at their expense, *οὔ τις ἀνὴρ νῦν γ' αἴτιος, ὅσσον ἔγωγε, | γινώσκω* (*Il.* 13.223); equally, that he does not tolerate slackers (*Il.* 13.228–30). On Day 1, his *therapontes* (apart from Meriones) risk their lives to strip his first victim for him (*Il.* 5.48), and on Day 3,

[88] ‘λαβραγόρης’ = ‘discoureur passionné’, *DELG* III, 610. Richardson 1993: 222–23, refers to ‘loud-mouthed people’ in his comment but translates ‘λαβρεύεαι’ as ‘big mouth’.

[89] Sch. bT 23.458a and b 23.476 confirm that this is how punters behave, *SGHI* V, 438, 441.

in his fight with Hektor, Meriones' *therapōn* dies to save him (*Il.* 17.608–619): these are indications of, at the very least, common respect.

Idomeneus' closest relationship, however, is generally assumed to be with his principal *therapōn*, Meriones: indeed, it is as an established duo that they are thought to have appeared in lost poetry of the 'high Minoan age'.[90] *Therapōn* is best defined as a leader's most senior, dependant servant, sometimes his deputy, as well as his most able and best-loved companion;[91] obligations that may require him to serve as his leader's surrogate, as Patroklos serves Achilleus.[92] Indeed, Achilleus and Patroklos are seen to provide a paradigm of the affective relationship between leader and *therapōn*.[93] They share quarters, sleeping with their women in opposite corners (*Il.* 9.663–68). Achilleus gives Patroklos direct orders (*Il.* 1.337; 9.202; 11.611) and contents himself on one occasion with a directive nod (*Il.* 9.620). Patroklos obeys *φίλῳ* […] *ἑταίρῳ*, 'his dear companion' (*Il.* 1.345; 9.205; 11.616) without question, laying on hospitality for his leader and his guests or reporting on the situation in the war zone. The strength of their attachment and its intimacy are apparent in the memories of the phantom Patroklos (*Il.* 23.77–78); their awareness of each other's faults, in Patroklos' passionate criticism of Achilleus' *Mēnis* and its consequences (*Il.* 16.30–32), and in

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[90] West 1988: 159.

[91] Greenhalgh 1982: 81. There is no convincing, one-word, all-purpose, English equivalent for *therapōn*. Earlier views of the *therapōn*, and the older *opaōn*, in the context of a suppositious Homeric feudality, e.g., by Jeanmaire 1939: 96–108, led to its translation as 'squire', 'henchman' or 'écuyer'. The feudal view was later challenged, e.g., by Finley 1957: 139, and Kakridis 1963:79–85, after which the term was briefly considered analogous to 'ἑταῖρος', 'companion', by Stagakis 1966, 411–19, until his view was refuted by Greenhalgh 1982: 85–86; Aitken, 2015, *passim*, discusses in detail the association of the two words with surrogacy. I follow Greenhalgh's example and keep the Greek original, *therapōn* (as I do for the equally intractable *opaōn*); although for the former, Clay's 'sidekick,' 2011: 72, is hard to resist. Miller, 2000: 105–06, recycles 'squire'.

[92] Lowenstam 1981: 126–31; Nagy 1999: 33.

[93] Zanker 1994: 14.

Achilleus' prayer that his *therapōn*, unsupported, might succeed in his command (*Il.* 16.243–44).[94]

The relationship of Idomeneus and Meriones is in marked contrast, although all three terms, *opaōn*, *therapōn* and *hetairos*, feature in it. Idomeneus himself is the faithful companion, *ἐρίηρος ἑταῖρος*, of Agamemnon (*Il.* 4.265–67), having ratified his fealty by feasting at Agamemnon's table (*Il.* 4.259–60).[95] He is also the leader of an unknown number of *therapontes* (*Il.* 5.48), including Meriones. Meriones is described by the *Iliad* poet as both *opaōn* (*Il.* 7.165) and *therapōn* (*Il.* 13.246); off the field, he is greeted by Idomeneus as the dearest of his companions, *φίλταθ' ἑταίρων* (*Il.* 13.249). In theory, therefore, Meriones is the closest to Idomeneus of a limited group of dependant followers, drawn in turn from a wider circle of companions. Idomeneus owes him support and protection; he owes Idomeneus loyalty, service and, in principle at least, surrogacy.

In practice, however, the relationship is less straightforward.[96] From the beginning, Meriones has greater independence than the other *therapontes* in the *Iliad*; more, certainly, than Patroklos. He lives apart from Idomeneus in his own quarters (*Il.* 13.167–68);[97] he has his own chariot and driver, the ill-fated Koiranos, also described as his *opaōn* (*Il.* 17.610–11). Meriones not only fights away from Idomeneus' side, he selects his own opponents (*Il.* 5.59; 13.159). He takes operational decisions without consulting Idomeneus: volunteering to fight Hektor (*Il.* 7.166), accepting command of a hundred-strong division of the perimeter guard (*Il.* 9.79–84),[98] and equipping the unarmed Odysseus for what will become the *Doloneia* with

[94] Without detracting from Achilleus' personal *kleos*, 'glory', Holway 2012: 159.

[95] Griffin 1980: 14; Rundin 1996: 200.

[96] Lowenstam 1981: 131–40.

[97] Clay 1997: 85, suggests, on the basis of *Il.* 13.268, that it may be at the far end of the Cretan position. The distance is too short, however, to be represented in *HTT*.

[98] According to Friedrich 2012: 44, Meriones volunteered for the post, but there is no evidence for this.

bow, sword and inherited boar's tusk helmet (*Il.* 10.260–71). This unconventional relationship has implications for both parties: for Idomeneus, to ensure that Meriones' partial autonomy does not weaken the institutional obligations of service and support that bind them; for Meriones, to preserve and exploit his independence in order to enhance his reputation and his advancement.[99]

The tension within the relationship is reflected in Idomeneus' conversation with Meriones[100] when they meet, unexpectedly, off the field.[101] Idomeneus, last seen sending Nestor and Machaon to safety there (*Il.* 11.510–15), is now there himself. Agamemnon and two of Idomeneus' peers, Diomedes and Odysseus, are wounded; the Aiantes are occupied with Hektor in the centre; of the senior commanders, Idomeneus alone is free to retrieve the situation and accordingly has withdrawn to re-arm; only to be delayed by Poseidon/Thoas. Meanwhile, Meriones, harangued by Poseidon (*Il.* 13.91–124), has tasked himself to fight Deïphobos, commander of the Trojan third division. Failing to kill him and losing, in the process, both his spear and his temper, he is heading for his quarters to replace his weapon (*Il.* 13.156–68). When he passes Idomeneus' quarters on the way, leader and *therapōn* encounter each other where neither should be:[102] out of the action at a critical point in the battle. The situation is either grimly comic or grimly ironic: how far this is by authorial intention remains uncertain.[103] Both men know that so far they have under-performed in

[99] For a more generous interpretation, in which Meriones seeks to 'realize himself as a hero in his own right', a realisation that occurs at the *Athla*, Aitken 2015: 12.

[100] Louden 2006: 96, calls this and comparable encounters 'consultations', implying a degree of pre-meditation that the text does not support.

[101] The phrase 'off the field' suggests more space than must, in reality, have existed, since the Greeks are being pushed back to their quarters and the ships on the shore behind them. Clay 2011: ix, suggests joining 'the poet and his audience in a shared imaginative vision'.

[102] van Wees 1986: 290, suggests that their personal followers may also have been present, but there is no evidence of this in the text.

[103] Willcock 1984: 210.

action. Idomeneus, on notice from Agamemnon to earn the high honour he enjoys (*Il.* 4.251–71),[104] has only one soft kill to his name. Meriones' record is no better: his single kill has been with a low blow (*Il.* 5.59–68); and his second effort has left him weaponless. Both, therefore, are defensive of their valour, as they try not simply to save face, but to protect their respective status within the relationship. The dialogue is, under the ostensibly equable exchanges, agonistic.

Tension underlies the very first speech. Idomeneus, as befits his senior rank, greets Meriones with patronymic, epithet and the effusive *philtath' hetairōn*, 'dearest of my companions' (*Il.* 13.249).[105] He suggests reasons for Meriones' presence behind the line: he is wounded or carrying a message. The tone is solicitous but with an edge (*Il.* 13.249–52), since neither explanation is likely: Meriones is, at best, walking wounded and, as co-commander of the Cretans, can hardly be delivering messages at such a time. These are the weak excuses of a soldier who has deserted his post; by suggesting them, Idomeneus is hinting at inappropriate conduct. He reinforces the implication by stressing his own reluctance to be behind the line and his eagerness to return to the battle, *οὐδέ τοι αὐτὸς | ἧσθαι ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι λιλαίομαι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθαι* (*Il.* 13.252–53). Meriones greets Idomeneus with corresponding formality. Anxious to demonstrate his keenness, and aware of the time it will take him to fetch a replacement spear from his own quarters, he asks Idomeneus to lend him one (*Il.* 13.255–57); if, he adds thoughtlessly, Idomeneus has a spare. Idomeneus loftily assures Meriones that there are plenty of spears in his quarters, all stripped by him from his victims in battle since – labouring the point – he chooses to fight at close-quarters, *οὐ γὰρ ὀίω | ἀνδρῶν*

[104] Mackie 1996: 131; Beck 2005: 155–56, is more positive.

[105] The salutation has been described as 'honorific' by Janko 1994: 79; and 'strikingly warm' by Friedrich 2012: 44. It occurs only twice in the *Iliad* and is applied on the other occasion by Achilleus to the dead Patroklos (*Il.* 19.315); here, it seems fulsome, possibly reflecting Idomeneus' embarrassment at their encounter.

*δυσμενέων ἑκὰς ἱστάμενος πολεμίζειν* (*Il.* 13.262–63). The *πεπνυμένος*, 'shrewd'[106] Meriones is not going to be patronised, however; referring to the size of his own collection, he asserts that, although his weapon is the bow, he also uses the spear and likes to fight up close (*Il.* 13.269–71). Then, on a sudden note of frustration, he admits that some of the Greeks may not yet have seen him at his best (*Il.* 13.272–73); although, he adds, he believes Idomeneus knows from past experience that he is good (*Il.* 13.273). Despite his independence, Meriones evidently still needs reassurance and depends on his leader to provide it. [107] Idomeneus, satisfied that his dominant role in their relationship is intact, responds warmly that Meriones is indeed a brave man and does not need to spell it out, *τί σε χρὴ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι* (*Il.* 13.275). He holds forth on bravery and cowardice, making his points with illustrations not from the field but from the conditions of stealth and secrecy that apply in an ambush; and he ends by assuring Meriones that no-one would question his qualifications for that kind of operation (*Il.* 13.287). He ignores that fact that only a few hours previously, Diomedes has done precisely that, choosing Odysseus over Meriones and other volunteers as his partner in the *Doloneia* (*Il.* 10.227–47). Idomeneus ends the conversation peremptorily (*Il.* 13.292–93). They arm and discuss where best to take position; agreeing that they are still needed on the left, they set out together. The poet of the *Iliad*, however, carefully underscores their institutional relationship, equating Idomeneus with Ares, god of war; Meriones with his son, Panic, *Phobos* (*Il.* 13. 299).[108]

In the course of Idomeneus' *aristeia*, and especially after it, Meriones features more prominently in the narrative, acting with even greater independence. He continues to choose his own opponents but, in addition, takes direct orders from other senior commanders: the

[106] 'of sound understanding', Aitken 2015: sect. 1a.

[107] Friedrich 2012: 44, in his rosier view of their relationship, attributes to Meriones 'the sensitive self-confidence of a *homo novus*'.

[108] Aitken 2015: sect. 1c.

Atreides (*Il.* 17.669–72; 23.133); Aias I (*Il.* 17.716–18), and Odysseus (*Il.* 19.238–39); together with a reprimand from Patroklos (*Il.* 16.631). He also gives a direct order to Idomeneus, *μάστιε*, 'Use the whip!' (*Il.* 17.622) – admittedly, he is saving his lord's life. He follows it with his opinion that the Greeks are no longer strong enough to win, *ὅ τ' οὐκέτι κάρτος Ἀχαιῶν* ;[109] and that Idomeneus knows as much, *γινώσκεις δὲ καὶ αὐτός* (*Il.* 17.623). Orders from the other commanders include joint assignments of considerable trust: with the Aiantes, protecting Patroklos' corpse (*Il.* 17.656–72); with Menelaos, carrying it out of the line (*Il.* 17.715–46); and with other younger leaders, fetching Agamemnon's gifts for Achilleus (*Il.* 19.238–45).[110] In addition, Agamemnon gives Meriones sole command of the wood detail for Patroklos' pyre: logistically more complex than it sounds, involving large numbers of men and mules (*Il.* 23.108–28).[111] On this occasion, and nowhere else, Meriones is called *θεράπων ἀγαπήνορος Ἰδομενῆος*, 'therapōn of courteous Idomeneus' (*Il.* 23.113, 124),[112] possibly an acknowledgement of his lord's amenability to the commission. At the same time, Meriones raises his overall hit rate from one to eight. He kills and wounds four with the spear (*Il.* 13.526–39, 567–75; 16.342–44, 16.603–13), and one with the bow (*Il.* 13.643–52); his other kills are not recorded in detail. He continues to hit low, however: a spear between navel and genitals (*Il.* 13.567–68) and an arrow through buttock and bladder (*Il.* 13.650–02).

[109] 'κάρτος / κράτος' = 'force physique qui permet de triompher', *DELG* II, 578–79.

[110] Agamemnon spoke of sending his *therapontes* (also called his heralds) to fetch the gifts (*Il.* 19.142–43); he also invited Achilleus to select *κούρητας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν*, the best young commanders in the Greek allied force. Evidently, it was on the latter basis that Odysseus made his selection.

[111] Richardson 1993: 180, links the appointment to Meriones' organisational experience as a *therapōn*. It may also reflect his responsibility for the mixed second line of the Cretan contingent.

[112] 'ἀγαπήνωρ' = 'courtois', *DELG* I, 7.

Finally, as Idomeneus' *θεράπων ἐὺς*, 'brave in war' (*Il.* 23.528, 860, 888),[113] Meriones gives what is ostensibly an impressive demonstration of his versatility at the *Athla*, winning first prize for the bow against Teukros (*Il.* 23.859–83) and second prize for the spear (*Il.* 23.884–97). In fact, neither result is what it seems: Teukros loses the archery prize by offending Apollo, although Meriones is alert enough to take advantage of the situation; while the spear competition is scratched as a gesture to his opponent, Agamemnon. Meriones also competes in the chariot race, coming fourth out of five; a poor result that is nevertheless held to flatter him (*Il.* 23.528–31). [114] Idomeneus attends the *Athla* as a spectator. He is generally assumed to be there in support of Meriones, [115] but this assumption derives solely from a scholion.[116] There is no mention of support in the text, and Idomeneus' running commentary on the chariot race refers only to the leaders, not to Meriones, by then back marker (*Il.* 23.529–30).

Information about the relationship of Idomeneus' peers and their *therapontes* is insufficient for comparative purposes. Nestor's *therapōn*, Eurymedon, acts as his charioteer but fails to impress Diomedes in that role (*Il.* 8.104). Diomedes has a closer relationship with his own *therapōn*, Sthenelos, a subordinate commander of the Argolid contingent (*Il.* 2.564): Sthenelos extracts an arrow from Diomedes' shoulder (*Il.* 5.11–13); advises him to abandon his *aristeia*, in vain (*Il.* 5.241–50); secures Aineias' horses for his leader's stables (*Il.* 5.319–20); serves as his charioteer (*Il.* 8.109, 113); and is at the finishing-post when Diomedes wins with them in the *Athla* (*Il.* 23.510–13). None seems to have been allowed, or to have assumed, the independence of Meriones.

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[113] 'ἐύς' = 'de bonne qualité, brave à la guerre', *DELG* II, 388. As Meriones is also called *hērōs*, warrior (*Il.* 23.893), it seems reasonable to retain Chantraine's martial sense.

[114] For the view that Meriones' participation in the chariot race is 'a dress-rehearsal, as it were' for his future role as a dominant hero, Nagy 2015: para. 3.

[115] Richardson 1993: 220.

[116] Sch. bT 23.451a, *SGHI* V, 437.

*Idomeneus anax: Idomeneus mesaipolios*

Idomeneus is represented in Books 1–3 of the *Iliad* as the responsible ruler of a large part of Crete, ‘πολέσσ' ἄνδρεσσιν ἄναξ Κρήτῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ’; as a senior member, ‘γέρον ἄριστος’, of the Greek High Command at Troy, the peer of the Aiantes, Diomedes, Nestor and Odysseus; and as a renowned spearman. At the *Epipōlēsis* (Book 4), however, he is reproached by Agamemnon, supreme commander of the Greeks, for failing to live up to his reputation. He is later shown to be ageing, with graying hair, ‘μεσαιπόλιός’, and weak legs, slow-moving and fearful. Although he talks confidently to Meriones of courage and cowardice (Book 13), his ensuing *aristeia* ends in an admission of fear; and, at the mercy of Hektor (Book 17), ‘fear settles on his heart’. Nevertheless, at the *Athla* (Book 23), his shrewd deflection of the abusive Aias II, who accuses him of being a braggart and a bore, suggests that he has resource enough to face what the post-Iliadic years may bring.

CHAPTER 3: BEYOND THE *ILIAD*, *c.* 750 BCE – 570

Idomeneus is also represented in at least 26 accretions from Graeco-Roman literature (Appendix 3.1). These augment, challenge and sometimes refute, Iliadic versions of his rule in Crete; his participation in the Greek alliance against Troy; and his service in the Iliadic period of the war; and offer alternative and often conflicting accounts of his involvement in the post-Iliadic period; his *nostos*, 'homecoming'[1] (from Troy to Crete or Troy to Ionia, according to tradition); his later years (in Crete, Magna Graecia or Ionia, according to tradition); his death; and his posthumous reputation, 'Nachleben'.

*Accretions*

The accretions are narrative (epic, historical, biographical and fictional); academic (mythographical, antiquarian, textual and didactic); and literary (including lyric poetry, mono- and duodrama, letters and inscriptions). Most are well-known, serving as authorities of first resort not only for Idomeneus but for his peers.[2] Nevertheless, in a period of this length, they look uncomfortably isolated, despite their kinship through common sources. One set, however, has a shared purpose: sources from the Second Sophistic (*c.* 60–230) are predominantly of a revisionist nature, as scholars of that era challenge the accuracy of the *Iliad* itself, rewriting it in a variety of fictive formats.[3] A second set (Appendix 3.2) reflects in its content the *polis*-based traditions that come to be associated with Idomeneus.

Two works are of particular narrative significance. The first, the *Ephemeris belli Troiani*,[4] is said by its fictive author, Dictys Cretensis, to give the true story of the Trojan War and its aftermath. The Greek text (second to third century) survives in fragments; a Latin

[1] In its 'multi-directional implication', Bonifazi 2009: 501.

[2] *LIMC* 1981–2009: 1.1.313–14, 336–37; 3.1.397; 6.1.943–44; 7.1.1060.

[3] Goldhill 2001: 22–23; Bär 2010: 289; Kim 2010: 12–15.

[4] Eisenhut 1973 = *Eph.*; Merkle 1989: 263–83.

version (fourth century), much of it thought to be close to the Greek original, selectively recounts episodes as they appear in the Trojan Cycle; often diverging, however, in sequence, structure and motivation. The *Ephemeris* is presented as autopsy, augmented where necessary by other, accredited testimony. Its provenance is supposedly explained and authenticated by a letter of explanation and dedication, *Epistula*, and a preface, *Prologus*.[5] This 'Beglaubigungsapparat' identifies Dictys as a Cretan from Knosos; a companion, *socius*, of Idomeneus and Meriones at Troy. At their command, *ordinatus*, he compiles a chronicle, *annales*, of the war, composed in Greek and written in the Phoenician alphabet (*Eph.* 1, *Prol.*). The association with Crete is thought to be either ironic (weren't all Cretans liars?)[6] or inventive (a forgotten island,[7] home to a multi-cultural population: where better to locate a vestigial Punic script?). The intended association may be less with Crete, however, than with Idomeneus: an *aristos*, his patronage likely to dignify a narrative dark in duplicity and excess. The *Ephemeris* gives Idomeneus more space than any of the other accretions: he appears in nineteen passages; although, in line with the utilitarian style of the work, he has no speeches, direct or indirect. Nevertheless, Odysseus (Ulysses), who appears in 52, not only in the war but in its aftermath, Aias I, 49, and Diomedes, 41, are more prominent; while Aias II, seventeen, and Nestor, thirteen, are close behind him.

The second material accretion is associated with the *Aeneid* ([29]–19 BCE).[8] The *Commentary* of Servius (fourth century)[9] appears late in Virgilian scholarship.[10] The first

[5] Merkle 1989: 263–83; 2003: 563, 566–68, 570, 577; Farrow 1992: 344; Cameron 2004: 124; Horsfall 2008–09: 41–63; Gainsford 2012: 60.

[6] Horsfall 2008–09: 46–48. A similar irony may underscore the 'Cretan lies' of Odysseus, Armstrong 2002: 338. For Crete and the 'Liar Paradox', Beall and others 2017: unpag.

[7] Willetts 1965: 11

[8] Williams 1962, Grandsen 1991 = *Aen*.

[9] Thilo and Hagen 1878–1902 = *Comm*.; Pellizari 2003: 14–15.

[10] For evidence of its continuing primacy in Roman education and culture, Geymonat 1995: 298–99;

version, S, is based on Latin digests of Greek mythology and an earlier, non-extant, commentary by Aelius Donatus; a later version, SD, is augmented with further material from Donatus. The S and SD versions recount the myth of Idomeneus' rash vow. Annotating Virgil's allusions to Idomeneus' *nostos* and subsequent expulsion from Crete (*Aen*. 3.121, 400–01; 11.264–65), the *Commentary* relates as a 'historia', a fact or fiction according with nature,[11] that Idomeneus, complying with a rash vow made in fear, is required to sacrifice his son. It deals convincingly with the uncertain outcome,[12] making it clear that public reaction to Idomeneus' action, or contemplated action, and its consequences drive him from the island. Following his usual practice,[13] Servius does not cite the source of his account and it is unknown in any other surviving text. If, however, it derives from references to human sacrifice in Lyktos, it may have originated in the third century BCE with Anticleides of Athens, whose now fragmentary *Nostoi* refers to the practice there and might have named Idomeneus in that context. Around 200, Clement of Alexandria quotes Anticleides' comment on Lyktos in his *Protrepticus*,[14] which suggests that the *Nostoi* is still in circulation, the reference to Idomeneus possibly reaching Servius via Donatus.

In contrast to these substantial accretions, *Heroes* (*c*. 230),[15] attributed to L. Flavius Philostratus, originator of the phrase 'Second Sophistic',[16] negates Idomeneus' role in myth and tradition. Another revisionist, fictive autopsy, presented as a duodrama, it relays the memories of Protesilaos, the first Greek fatality of the Trojan War. Among its multiple aims

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Pellizari 2003: 33.

[11] Dietz 1995: 61–63; Cameron 2004: 184–88.

[12] Despite the uncertainty of the outcome, the episode is regularly categorised as a sacrifice, e.g., Bonnechere 1994: 241; 2013: 27.

[13] Cameron 2004: 187, 193-94, 201.

[14] Worthington 2019: 458 F7; Hughes 1991: 120.

[15] Rusten and König 2014 = *Her*.

[16] Anderson 1993: 13.

is that of validation:[17] it robustly challenges both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in its profiles of thirteen Greek leaders,[18] among them Idomeneus and his peers (*Her.* 26–36).[19] The profile of Idomeneus is the shortest: Protesilaos declares that Idomeneus was never at Troy, not only contradicting the Iliadic version of the legend but invalidating the entire *Ephemeris*. Whether the damage is deliberate or incidental remains unresolved.[20]

*Pre-Iliadic*

The *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus (second century),[21] the *Bibliothēkē* of Diodorus of Sicily (*c.* 30 BCE),[22] and the *Ephemeris* repeat Idomeneus' claim in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 13.448–50) to be descended through his mythical father, Deukalion, and grandfather, Minos, from Zeus (*Bib.* 3.3.3; *Bibē* 5.79.4; *Eph. Prol.*). Pausanias, however, in his *Description of Greece* (*c.* 150)[23] adds that Idomeneus is also descended, through his grandmother, Pasiphaë, from the sun-god Helios; it identifies him among statues in the Altis in Olympia by the cock, sacred to Helios, carved on his shield (*Desc.* 5.25.9–10). The symbol is also used, however, to substantiate the kouretic-vatic element in the history of Idomeneus.[24]

Idomeneus' terrestrial family history is more obscure. In the *Odyssey* (eighth century BCE),[25] Odysseus, in the third of his 'Cretan lies',[26] invents and impersonates a younger

[17] Maclean and Aitken 2001: lxxvi-lxxxvii; Betz 2004: 25–48; Jones 2010: 72.

[18] The profile of Chiron, the centaur, who was not at Troy, is ignored here.

[19] Mestre 2004: 127–42; Kim 2010: ch. 6.

[20] E.g., Merkle 1989: 254–59; Follet 2004: 225; Grossardt 2006: 72. *Eph.* and *Her.* are, however, the only surviving texts where Idomeneus is associated with supreme command, which argues against coincidence.

[21] Frazer 1921 = *Bib. Epit*.

[22] Oldfather 1933–67 = *Bibē.*

[23] Rocha-Pereira 1973–81 = *Desc.*

[24] El Khashab, A. El-M. 1984: 216.

[25] van Thiel 1991 = *Od*.

brother, ‘Aithon’ (*Od.* 19.183), as the *Alexandra* of Lycophron (after 197–96 BCE)[27] acknowledges (*Alex.* 432). The *Bibliothēkē* refers only to Idomeneus’ cousin, Meriones, son of Deukalion’s brother, Molos (*Bibē* 5.79.4), later to become Idomeneus’ co-commander and *therapōn*. The *Bibliotheca*, however, names a sister, Krete, and an illegitimate brother, Molos (*Bib.* 3.3), of whom nothing more is known.[28] The *Catalogue of Women*, formerly attributed to Hesiod (580–20 BCE),[29] links Idomeneus, though not by name, to the Atreides through his cousin Aerope, daughter of Molos and thus Meriones’ sister (*Cat.Wom.* 137–38).[30]

Idomeneus declares in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 13.452–53) that he has inherited, through Deukalion and Minos, a populous domain extending across central Crete; its principal *poleis* include Knosos, Lyktos and Gortyn (*Il.* 2.646–47). The accretions confirm his association with all three. Odysseus, posing as Idomeneus’ brother, but with no reason to invent a family seat, gives it as Knosos (*Od.* 19.190); in the *Bibliothēkē* (*Bibē* 5.79.4) and the *Ephemeris* (*Eph. Epist.*), Idomeneus rules and is buried there; in the *Alexandra* he rules both Knosos and Gortyn (*Alex.* 1214).[31] In the *Aeneid* and Servius’ *Commentary*, however, he is *Lyctius Idomeneus* (S 3.401); while, in the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum libri XXV* of Marcus Terentius Varro (47 BCE),[32] he is associated with the otherwise unknown town,

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[26] Haft 1984: 289. ‘Cover stories’, West 2003: 303, is better.

[27] Hurst and Kolde 2008 = *Alex.*

[28] Beyond the speculation that ‘Meriones, son of Molos’ could be Idomeneus’ half-nephew, Clay 1997: 85.

[29] Most 2007 = *Cat.Wom.*

[30] Willetts 1962: 121.

[31] Ibid. 281, on the basis of *Il.* 2.646. They, together with Mooney 1921 and Mair 1955, distinguish between *Γόρτυνος δόμους*, ‘houses’ (as buildings) of Gortyn (*Alex.* 1214); and *στρατηγῶν οἶκος*, ‘house’ (as a ruling family) (*Alex.* 1216). The sense of the latter is retained by Mooney and Mair, translating ‘στρατηγῶν’ as ‘of rulers’; as opposed to Hurst and Kolde: ‘chefs de guerre’.

[32] Camden 2009 = *Ant.* The text of this otherwise useful digital version is, regrettably, ‘from an unknown edition’.

*oppidum*, of Blanda (*Ant.* 3.30).[33] The *Ephemeris* describes in unexpected detail the process by which Idomeneus' inheritance is extended. In its opening chapter, Greek and Cretan notables celebrate in Crete as Idomeneus and Meriones inherit from their uncle, Katreos, [34] son of Minos, brother of Deukalion and Molos, the lordship of his estates, *civitatum terrarumque imperium*, while his treasure and livestock go to his Greek grandsons (*Eph.* 1.1).

Accounts of Idomeneus' own family begin with the *Odyssey*. Odysseus, in his first lie, invents a son for Idomeneus, 'Orsilochus', whom Odysseus murders (*Od.* 13.259–68). Idomeneus' matrimonial plans involve, almost inevitably, Helen of Sparta. The *Catalogue of Women* places him among some thirty of her suitors, including two of his peers (Odysseus and Aias II),[35] and records the unconventional nature of his wooing (*Cat.Wom.* 155). He refuses to rely on reports of her beauty, send her messages or gifts, or court her through an agent; instead, he visits her in person. Idomeneus has a Cretan rival: a T scholion (at *Il.* 19.240) refers to Lykomedes, who is thought to have followed Idomeneus in the *Catalogue.*[36] A list in Hyginus' *Fabulae* (first or second century)[37] includes Meriones as well as Idomeneus (*Fab.* 81) but is not considered reliable.[38] Idomeneus is unsuccessful in his suit, but the detailed account of his courtship, together with a reference to his love for Helen in another of Hyginus' lists (*Fab.* 270), suggest that it is of more significance than previously

[33]The fragment of text survives in the *Commentary* on Virgil's *Eclogue 6* by Ps.-Probus (1st cent.): Keil 1848: 14; see also Thilo and Hagen 1878–1902: III, part 2, 336–37; Williams 1979: 15; Viarre 1990: 103–04. Keil notes *Lyktos* as a variant for *Blanda*. Nevertheless, Federico 1999: 348, n. 151, identifies Blanda, albeit tentatively, with Biennos and assigns the episode in question to the Gortyn tradition.

[34] Katreos is confused with Atreus, complicating an already complex genealogy, West 1985: 178, 182.

[35] West 1985: 117–18; Cingano 2005: 124.

[36] *SGHI* IV, 621; Cingano 2005: 121, n.16.

[37] Marshall 2002 = *Fab.*

[38] West 1985: 117, n. 199.

thought: sharpening the edge of his later encounters with another suitor, the Trojan prince, Deïphobos (T scholion at *Il.* 13.516–17).[39] Idomeneus survives his disappointment. It is generally assumed that, as a suitor, he participated in the oath imposed upon them all by Helen's father, Tyndareos, to protect the marriage against violation (*Cat.Wom.* 155).[40] By the time Idomeneus is required to honour his vow, however, he is married to an otherwise unidentified Meda; with a daughter, Kleisithura; at least one son, un-named; and a foster-son, Leukos,[41] to whom Kleisithura is betrothed (*Alex.* 1220–25; *Bib. Epit.* 6.10–11), presumably to perpetuate the dynasty.[42] According to four accretions, they all meet unhappy ends.

The process by which Idomeneus joins the alliance against Troy is not recorded in the *Iliad*, beyond his own acknowledgement that he promised his loyalty personally to Agamemnon, its supreme commander (*Il.* 4.266–67). Accretions are more informative. Odysseus in his second lie, but with no apparent need to invent this particular detail, says that people urged, *ἤνωγον*, [43] Idomeneus to lead their ships to Troy (*Od.* 14.237–38). This has been taken to imply an element of 'community control' or subordination to public opinion.[44] In the *Ephemeris*, Idomeneus, along with other Greek leaders,[45] commits himself to the alliance through two oaths. The first, after Helen's abduction, implements the suitors' oath to Tyndareos, binding them to wage war on Troy if Helen is not returned (*Eph.* 1.12).

[39] *SGHI* IV, 501–02; cited by Sage 1994: 575.

[40] Haubold 2000: 140.

[41] Leukos is identified as the son of Talos and grandson of Kres, although versions of his lineage vary. All are thought to link his character initially to pre-Minoan mythical tradition, making his later involvement in Knosos tradition 2 a construct.

[42] Through a variant reading of Leukos' name, he is associated with the rival *polis* of Phaistos and the proposed marriage is seen as a political one, Muller 1811: II, 601; Faure 1980: 141–42. Federico 1999: 324, n. 64, considers the theory 'in sé non escudibile', but I find no other support for it.

[43] 'ἄνωγα' = 'ordonner', *DELG* I, 94, implying either a formal order or an informal bidding.

[44] van Wees 2004: 96.

[45] The Greek leaders here are called *Pelopidae*, 'sons of Pelops'; accurately for the Atreides but not applicable to Idomeneus, unless as a general term for Greek leaders: Fowler 2000–13: II, 428.

Agamemnon, indeed, inaugurates the alliance, according to the Epic Cycle, attributed to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE,[46] by reminding them all, *ἕκαστον τῶν βασιλέων*, of their earlier commitment (*GEF* 70–71). The second oath, taken at an assembly in Argos after Priam's rejection of their demand, binds them to fight until Troy is destroyed (*Eph.* 1.15). The ceremony is followed by the unanimous choice of Agamemnon as supreme commander, which is probably when Idomeneus takes his personal oath (*Il.* 4.267).

As commander, according to the *Odyssey*, Idomeneus appoints his own staff, although the procedure and its outcome are the hinge of Odysseus' first lie and may be fictive (*Od.* 13.265). He also decides who should govern his domain in his absence. In Odysseus' third lie, this is 'Aition', whose authority includes control of public supplies and attendance on visiting dignitaries (*Od.* 19.182–202); his responsibilities seem unlikely to have been invented. A more formal regency, however, is previsioned in the *Alexandra*: Idomeneus will appoint Leukos, his foster-son, as guardian of his sovereignty, *φύλακα τῆς μοναρχίας* (*Alex.* 1218). Servius also refers to the creation of a regency but does not identify the regent (*Comm.* S 11.264).

Idomeneus, with Meriones as co-commander, takes the Cretan contingent to join the Greek army as it gathers at the first assembly in Aulis (*GEF* 72–73).[47] Diodorus credits them with ninety ships (*Bibē* 5.79.4), possibly confused by the ninety cities said to be in Crete. Apollodorus, listing only Idomeneus' presence, assigns him forty (*Eph. Epit.* 3.13); the *Ilias Latina* gives them each forty (*Il.Lat.* 208-09). The *Ephemeris*, the *Chronographia* of John Malalas (approximately 480–570),[48] and the *Excidio* of Dares Phrygius (fifth or sixth century),[49] like the *Iliad* (*Il.* 2.652), give them eighty (*Eph.* 17; *Chron.* 108; *Exc.* 14). With

[46] West 2003 = *GEF*.

[47] For the successive assemblies at Aulis: West 2013: 104–11.

[48] Dindorf 1831 = *Chron.*

[49] Meister 1873 = *Exc.* For arguments against a Greek or earlier Latin version, Bretzigheimer

the exception of the *Bibliothēkē*, which does not refer to its composition, they describe the contingent as ‘of Cretans’, ‘from Crete’; or, in the *Ephemeris*, ‘from the whole of Crete’. The *Ephemeris* also records an episode at the second assembly at Aulis that is found nowhere else. When Agamemnon gratuitously insults Artemis and refuses to atone for his offence by sacrificing his daughter, Iphigenia, the allied leaders strip him of his command, appointing in his place four of their number, including Idomeneus and his peers, Aias I and Diomedes, dividing the army equally among them. Idomeneus is thus at the summit of his military career, until Agamemnon agrees to the sacrifice and is reinstated (*Eph.* 1.19, 23). Idomeneus resumes his place at Agamemnon’s table, only to be portrayed later by Lucian of Samosta in *The Parasite* (*c.* 160)[50] as a sponger (*Par.* 291–92). In *Heroes*, however, Idomeneus does not go to Aulis but remains in Crete, sending an envoy to Agamemnon with the promise of a force from one hundred Cretan cities if Agamemnon will share the supreme command with him. Agamemnon cleverly temporises, prompting Aias I to insist that a single command will ensure order in the army; they can take Troy as they are, if they put their minds to it (*Her.* 30). Idomeneus, no less prone to sulking than Achilleus, refuses to join the action.

*Iliadic*

This phase is covered mainly by the *Ilias Latina,* a first-century teaching-aid,[51] the fictive *Ephemeris*, and the *Chronographia*; the latter intended as history, despite drawing heavily on the former.[52] The *Ilias Latina* has little to offer. Idomeneus is mentioned on only four occasions: far fewer than Aias I, nineteen and Diomedes, eighteen; closer to Odysseus (Ulysses), six; but above Nestor, three, and Aias II, two. In the *Ephemeris*, Idomeneus

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2008: 392–97.

[50] Harmon 1921 = *Par*.

[51] Scaffai 1997 = *Il.Lat.* For dating, Marshall 1983: 191–92.

[52] Jeffreys and others 1990: 176–77.

appears first as counsellor: he joins Nestor, both of them highly respected, *in decernendo optimi auctores*, to advise on the distribution of plunder seized by Achilleus during a campaign against Trojan allies in the South. Their advice will inform the decisions of the army and its leaders, *conductis in unum cunctis militibus ducibusque*, which are taken jointly, *cunctorum sententia* (*Eph.* 2.16, 19). Chriseïs (Astynome) is assigned to Agamemnon, in respect of his royal status; and Achilleus is allowed to retain Briseïs (Hippodameia) and another female captive.[53] The *Chronographia*, however, differs: Achilleus hides Briseïs, excluding her from the distribution, and as a result is removed from his command; Idomeneus and Teukros replace him (*Chron.* 102). In a third accretion, however, the *Proverbia* of Zenobius (*c.* 130)[54] offers an alternative take on Idomeneus and the plunder system. Illustrating the coinage, 'κρητίζω', 'to play the Cretan, to lie', Zenobius relays an anecdote in which Idomeneus, appointed to oversee a distribution, abuses the trust of his fellow *aristoi* by taking the plunder for himself (*Corpus* 4.62).[55]

During the *Mēnis* of Achilleus, Idomeneus sees action twice. On both occasions he holds a joint command; otherwise, the episodes bear no resemblance to each other, nor to any in the *Iliad*. In the *Chronographia*, he is sent, with Teukros, to continue Achilleus' campaign against the Trojan allies (*Chron.* 102); an event unconfirmed elsewhere. The episode in the *Ephemeris* (*Eph.* 2.32) occurs after Agamemnon spurns the father of Chriseïs, provoking Apollo to afflict the army with plague. Burning corpses alert the Trojans to the Greeks' predicament and they attack. The Greeks form a defensive line with Aias II and Idomeneus in the centre. Although Idomeneus' experience in command is established at Aulis, and Aias II

[53] Ostensibly, therefore, Agamemnon has no personal part in the distribution process, contrary to the allegations of Achilleus and Thersites in the *Iliad* (2.226–28; 9.330–33, 367), Hainsworth 1993: 105–06.

[54] von Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–51 = *Corpus*.

[55] Buhler 1987: 288. Cameron 2004: 141, dismisses this as a 'silly story' from dubious sources.

has proved himself earlier by defending the camp (*Eph.* 2.14), more is clearly expected from Achilleus and Antilochus on the right, and Aias I and Diomedes on the left. Diomedes does, indeed, distinguish himself, but the fighting overall is static.

Idomeneus' contests in the rest of the Iliadic period receive limited attention. The *Ilias Latina*, referring to his first contest, with Phaistos (*Il.* 5.43; *Il.Lat.* 429–30a), adds that, heartened by his victory, Idomeneus kills Skamandrios, who is Menelaos' victim in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 5.49; *Il.Lat.* 430b–431). In the *Ephemeris*, Idomeneus fights as an individual with no recorded rank but alongside his peers. When Aias I fells Hektor with a stone, causing the Trojans to flee (*Il.* 14.409), Idomeneus joins the Aiantes and Diomedes in pursuit (*Eph.* 2.43). Following Diomedes' *aristeia*,[56] he takes part in a mounted action with Meriones as his charioteer and kills Akamas, leader of the Thracians (*Eph.* 3.4), dislodging him from his chariot and spearing him as he falls.[57] But when the Greeks avenge the death of Patroklos by routing the Trojans, an occasion on which Aias I takes forty prisoners single-handed, Idomeneus is merely wounded by a nameless assailant (*Eph.* 3.14).

In the *Excidio*, Idomeneus is associated with the death of Hektor, by whom he is killed – a peremptory deed, perfunctorily reported, *statimque Idomeneum obtruncavit* (*Exc.* 24) – on the day that Hektor himself is killed. The *Chronographia* involves him in Priam's visit to Achilleus to ransom Hektor's corpse (*Il.* 24.468–675; *Chron*. 124). When the episode is recounted in the *Ephemeris*, without Idomeneus, the elderly Nestor is moved by Priam's age and ill-fortune to intervene on his behalf with Achilleus (*Eph.* 3.20); the equally aged Phoinix shares his pity (*Eph.* 3.21). In the *Chronographia*, however, Idomeneus is present and, similarly affected by Priam, acts with Nestor on his behalf. In the *Iliad*, the same elders

[56] Merkle 1989: 135.

[57] A conflation of names and incidents from the *Iliad.* In Diomedes' *aristeia*, Idomeneus kills Phaistos (*Il*. 5.43–47); in the *Patrokleia*, he kills Erymas (*Il.* 16.345–50), while Meriones kills Akamas (*Il.* 16.342–44). Phaistos and Akamas are killed while mounting their chariots.

have already joined Achilleus in mourning Patroklos (*Il.* 19.309–39).

*Post-Iliadic*

Idomeneus is in action against the allies who come to the Trojans' aid after the death of Hektor. In the *Posthomerica* of Quintus Smyrnaeus (probably third century),[58] he fights against Penthesilea and her Amazons alongside Aias II, Diomedes and Meriones. He spears Bremousa, one of Penthesilea's close followers, who seems, from the formulaic account of her death, to have been on foot (*Post.* 1.247).[59] In the *Chronographia*, however, Idomeneus, Achilleus and the Aiantes face mounted Amazons (*Chron.* 126). Idomeneus, if mounted, is without his usual driver: Meriones is elsewhere in the field, trading arrows with the Amazon archers.

When Penthesilea is killed, the Amazons are replaced by Memnon and his Ethiopians, whose initial impact is so damaging that the Greeks resort to single combat to decide the outcome (*Eph.* 4.6). Before a champion to meet Memnon can be chosen by lot, however, Agamemnon, without explanation, excludes three leaders from the draw: Menelaos, whom he has protected in the past (*Il.* 7.120–21); Odysseus, whose weapon is the bow; and Idomeneus, probably because of the physical demands of a duel. When Aias I wins the draw, however, he appoints Odysseus and Idomeneus his seconds, no doubt salving their feelings.[60] In the rout

[58] Vian 1963–69 = *Post*. For dating, Maciver 2012: 3.

[59] Bremousa is one of 12 well-born fighting-women, who escort Penthesilea in public (*Post*. 1.33–34, 47). Despite their rank, they are called *δμοωίδες*, 'servantes' (*Post*. 1.35): 'attendants', James 2004: 4; 'Dienerinnen', Bär 2009: 123. In fact, her status seems not unlike that of a *therapōn* like Meriones.

[60] Agamemnon may, nevertheless, have saved Idomeneus from humiliation. In the *Posthomerica*, when Nestor tries to avenge his son, a victim of Memnon, the Ethiopian respectfully declines to fight one so much older than he (*Post*. 2.308–10). While this may be to Memnon's credit, Quintus remarks elsewhere that the victory of a young man over an old does not count as heroic (*Post.* 13.194–5).

that follows Aias' victory, Idomeneus, alongside Diomedes and the Aiantes, kills three of Priam's sons, proving that in the front line he is still a force. Finally, when Eurypylos and his Mysians reinforce the Trojans, who are already revitalised by the death of Achilleus, the *Posthomerica* shows Idomeneus at his best, again in the front line. Under heavy attack, with Aias I wounded, Idomeneus and several other leaders prepare to retreat. Seeing Agamemnon and Menelaos still surrounded, however, they rally. Idomeneus, striking Eurypylos with the biggest stone he can lift, *λᾶαν, ὅσσον σθένε, χερσὶν ἀείρας*, causes him to drop his spear, allowing the Atreides to escape (*Post.* 6.590–99).

Thereafter, Idomeneus sees no further action until the *Sack of Troy* of Triphiodorus (third or early fourth century)[61] and the *Posthomerica* put him in the Wooden Horse. Here his age is not an issue. In the former, where he joins a team of 21, including Diomedes and Aias II, Triphiodorus merely mentions his graying hair, *μεσαιπόλιον βασιλῆα*, in passing (*Sack* 168). In the *Posthomerica*, where Nestor, in the grip of remorseless old age, *γῆρας ἀμείλιχον*, is dissuaded from volunteering (*Post.* 12.276), Idomeneus and Meriones enter the horse along with Odysseus, Diomedes, Aias II and 26 named others (*Post.* 12.316–30). Outside again in the streets of Troy, he and Aias II each make a single, unremarkable kill; they are outstripped by Diomedes with four (*Post.* 13.169, 181, 209–12).

The *Posthomerica* also describes an episode of the war, but not of warfare. Following the funeral of Achilleus, Thetis inaugurates his Funeral Games (*Post.* 4.115–17).[62] At the games for Patroklos, Idomeneus was a spectator, while Meriones competed. This time, Meriones looks on, while Idomeneus is the first to enter the boxing event. Unlike Homer, Quintus presents Idomeneus as an expert in every sport, *ἐπέι οἱ θυμὸς ἴδρις πέλε παντὸς ἀέθλου*; but out of respect for the older man, *γεραίτερος*, none of the younger leaders will take

[61] Miguélez-Cavaro 2013 = *Sack*.

[62] An alternative account (*GEF* 112) does not mention Idomeneus or the boxing.

him on (*Post.* 4.284–87). Instead, Thetis presents him with a chariot and team, which Meriones, as his charioteer, drives to their ship. Meanwhile, the aged Phoinix homilises on the incident: Idomeneus did not have to do anything for his prize; the gods awarded it out of respect for his age; but the younger men have still to fight for theirs; let them get on with it. If Idomeneus feels patronised either by the younger men, the award, or Phoinix's words, he conceals it and shows his mettle by staying with the contestants, *κλυτῷ ἐν ἀγῶνι* (*Post.* 4.292).[63]

Idomeneus is again expected to act as a counsellor. In the *Posthomerica*, following the burial of Achilleus, Thetis announces that she will give her son's armour to the man who rescued his corpse (*Post.* 5.134–76). Both Aias I and Odysseus claim it by right. Aias asks Idomeneus, Nestor and Agamemnon to judge between them; Odysseus agrees, knowing that all three are considered wise and above reproach, *πινυτοὶ καὶ ἀμύμονες* (*Post.* 5.138). Nestor demonstrates his wisdom immediately, however, telling his colleagues that whatever they decide will be divisive, that they will be blamed, and that they should therefore delegate the decision to Trojan prisoners of war. Agamemnon agrees; Idomeneus says nothing but associates himself publicly with their refusal to serve.

Later, and only in the *Ephemeris*, dissident Trojan leaders, led by Aineias and Antenor, force Priam to negotiate an end to the war (*Eph.* 4.22). On Nestor's recommendation, the Greeks receive Antenor as an envoy; and Idomeneus joins Agamemnon, Odysseus and Diomedes in secret talks with him. These proceed on two tracks, however: overtly, the Greeks offer peace conditions; covertly, Antenor, for himself and Aineias, agrees to betray Troy in return for a reward and protection when the Greeks destroy it. Idomeneus and the others are involved in a second round of the covert talks, when the

[63] 'ἀγών' = 'assemblé pour des jeux', *DELG* I, 17; 'staying in the lists where fame is won', James 2004: 71; 'il ne quitte pas la noble assemblée', Vian 1963–69: I, 147.

capture of the citadel is planned (*Eph.* 5.4). Finally, he joins Diomedes and Odysseus, together with Nestor and Meriones, in a delegation to Troy to ratify the spurious peace terms (*Eph.* 5.22).

Idomeneus is not recorded as participating in the capture and destruction of the citadel; in the distribution of plunder, either as a judge or a recipient; nor in the contest among Odysseus, Diomedes and Aias I for the Palladium of the city.[64] The last episode ends in disaster, underlining Nestor's caution over the armour of Achilleus and Idomeneus' sense in heeding it.

Idomeneus appears in three accretions in contexts (rankings in catalogues, association with other Greek leaders) that reflect contemporary responses to his role in the Trojan War. He is grouped with his peers and the Atreides in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (pre-year 8).[65] Ovid recreates the verbal contest between Aias I and Odysseus for the armour of Achilleus (*Met.* 13.1–381). Judgment lies with the Greek leaders in council. Idomeneus is among them: indeed, Odysseus praises him among others for having volunteered to meet Hektor in single combat (*Il.* 7.161–69). In battle, he declares, they are not inferior to Aias;[66] yet, unlike Aias, they have forborne to challenge Odysseus' claim to the arms, thus acknowledging the superiority of his mind over their muscle. In fact, as Ovid has explained earlier, some volunteers (he does not mention Idomeneus) did not dare to put themselves before Aias (*Met.* 12.621–25). Nevertheless, Odysseus gets the armour.

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[64] As part of the plan to capture the citadel, Antenor secretly gives the Palladium, its guardian image, to Odysseus and Diomedes, who carry it off. When the plunder is distributed and Aias I demands the image in return for his service, each of them claims it for himself. Diomedes withdraws; the image is assigned to Odysseus; the Atreides, who made the award, are reviled; and on the following day Aias I is found dead in mysterious circumstances (*Eph*. 5.15). In the Trojan Cycle, it is alleged that the Greeks received only a replica of the Palladium (*GEF* 150).

[65] Hopkinson 2000 = *Met*.

[66] Aias, he seems to be arguing, was chosen over them to fight Hektor but only by lot, not on merit.

Idomeneus is with the same company and others when the *Fabulae* (*Fab.* 114) registers the kills of 22 Greek leaders in the Iliadic and (it includes Neoptolomos) post-Iliadic phases of the war. The highest total, that of Achilleus, is 72; Idomeneus comes eighth with thirteen. Of Idomeneus' peers, Aias I scores 28 (he is recorded as killing fourteen in the *Iliad*); Diomedes scores eighteen (32); and Odysseus twelve (eighteen). The most surprising score among the peers is that of Aias II, whose total of two in the *Iliad* is admittedly incomplete (*Il.* 14.520–22) but who is credited with 24 in the list, second only to Aias I. The scores do not tally, however, with the kills as recorded in the Epic Cycle; they might have been compiled from other traditions of the Trojan War in the as yet unidentified Greek sources on which Hyginus is thought to have drawn.[67] The catalogue nevertheless confirms the impression from the *Iliad* that Idomeneus' scores were less than could have been anticipated from a renowned spearman.

Finally, Idomeneus is among the gallery of Greek leaders portrayed, mainly in physical terms, in the *Chronographia*. He is above medium height, dark skinned, with good eyes, well-knit, powerful, with a good nose, bushy beard, a good head, curly hair, a reckless fighter (*Chron.* 103–04). The value of such portraits is questionable however;[68] not least in the case of Idomeneus, whose graying hair, well-attested elsewhere, passes without comment.[69]

*Nostos*

No accretions describe Idomeneus' thoughts on his departure from Troy: yet, like all the Greek leaders, he will have been aware of impending danger. During the destruction of Troy, Aias II violates the sanctity of Athene's temple by either raping (*Alex.* 1142–43; *Post.*

[67] Cameron 2004: 34.

[68] Malalas may have invented them: Jeffreys and others 1990: 243.

[69] Odysseus' '*mixopolios*', 'graying hair' is noted, however: ibid.: 237.

13.421–29) or abducting (*GEF* 147; *Her.* 31.4; *Eph.* 5.12) Kassandra, who has sought sanctuary there.[70] Warned of Athene's wrath, the Greeks consider stoning Aias, but when he, too, seeks sanctuary, they spare him (*GEF* 146–47; *Bib. Epit.* 5.25).[71] Idomeneus is not named in these proceedings, although his peer, Odysseus, takes an active part (*Desc.* 10.31.2.2). It is unlikely, however, that he will have missed the subsequent assembly called by the Atreides to decide when, in these circumstances, the Greeks should depart. Believing that Aias' pardon may have displeased Athene, Menelaos wants to leave immediately; Agamemnon, to stay and propitiate her.

Unknown to the leaders, they face danger from another source. Nauplios and his son, Palamedes, are kinsmen of Idomeneus.[72] On the way to Troy, Palamedes falls foul of Odysseus, Diomedes and Agamemnon, and through their agency is either murdered or judicially executed for treason (*GEF* 70–71; *Bib. Epit.* 3.8; *Her.* 33.31–33; *Eph.* 2.15). In revenge, Nauplios now intends to sabotage the Greeks' *nostoi* by luring their ships into danger; he also plans to destroy the houses of Agamemnon, Diomedes and Idomeneus by inciting their wives to betray them in their absence (*Bib. Epit.* 6.8–9). Idomeneus has served briefly with Palamedes (*Eph.* 1.19) apparently without incident; he is not a judge in the case against him, although he is probably present when a letter incriminating Palamedes is read to the Greek leaders, *principibus convocatis* (*Comm.* S 2.81). The only personal link between them seems to be familial: Nauplios, therefore, may blame Idomeneus for failing to defend Palamedes as a kinsman should.[73] In Kassandra's mind, Nauplios' revenge is conjoined with,

[70] Gantz 1993: II, 652. Redfield 2003: 137, characterises the couple as 'the Marauding Male and the Perilous Female'.

[71] For the order of events, West 2013: 236.

[72] Nauplios is married to Clymene, daughter of Katreos and thus Idomeneus' cousin. Palamedes is one of the descendants of Katreos who inherits a share of his fortune when Idomeneus and Meriones inherit Katreos' Cretan domains (*Eph.* 1.1).

[73] The subject may have been treated in any of the seven known Nauplios-Palamedes tragedies,

or possibly subsumed in, Athene's. In the *Alexandra*, she refers to it as *τοὐμον ταλαίνης πῆμα*, 'the bane of my unhappy self' (*Alex.* 1215). This may also have been Virgil's opinion: in the *Aeneid*, Diomedes lists Greek leaders who suffered for violating the fields of Troy, i.e., committing war crimes, grouping Idomeneus with Aias II and Agamemnon, victims respectively of Athene and Nauplios (*Aen.* 11.255).

The assembly called by the Atreides is divided irreconcilably (*GEF* 154–55; *Od.* 3.135–58; *Bib. Epit.* 6.1). The following morning, Nestor, Diomedes and other anti-appeasers (*Od.* 3.147) start loading their ships. Idomeneus himself has now to decide whether to sail with them and face Athene's retribution (*Od.* 3.166); to proceed independently, reducing the risk of collateral damage from her vengeance; or to remain with Agamemnon. He has also to decide whether to follow the direct but more hazardous course across the open sea to Euboia then south to Crete; or the indirect course, slower but safer, harbour-hugging down the coast of Asia Minor then island-hopping westward to Crete.[74] This, in turn, requires him to consider the state of his fleet after ten years' inactivity: not only of its timbers and lacings but of its crews, depleted by casualties yet required now to handle craft heavily laden with women and plunder (*Od.* 3.154; *Post.* 14.374–76).[75] Idomeneus' decision is not recorded. In the *Odyssey*, however, when Nestor re-lives his own trouble-free voyage, he names Diomedes and Idomeneus as the only other leaders he knows to have returned safely by sea (*Od.* 3.180–92).[76] As Nestor and Diomedes owe their safety to their immediate departure and their eventual choice of the fast route, it seems possible that Idomeneus, sailing

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Woodford 1994: 164.

[74] West 2013: 252.

[75] Mark 2005: 139.

[76] Nestor also names Philoktetes (*Od*. 3.190), but in the *Bib*., Philoktetes is driven off course to Italy (*Bib. Epit*. 6.15).

independently, did so too.[77]

Nestor implies that Idomeneus' voyage home was accomplished without incident[78] (the Knosos 1 tradition): he lost no men to the sea, *πόντος δέ οἱ οὔ τιν' ἀπηύρα* (*Od.* 3.192), which suggests that his fleet escaped the storms raised by Zeus at Athene's demand, compounded by Nauplios' false beacons (*GEF* 154–55; *Od.* 3.278–300; *Bib. Epit.* 6.1, 5, 6; *Eph.* 6.1).[79] Odysseus himself refers to the voyage in his first and second lies: posing as a Cretan commander who served alongside Idomeneus, he speaks of surviving perilous waves and a storm sent by a god, which scattered the Greek ships (*Od.* 13.264; 14.242) but implies that the Cretan fleet coped.[80] The *Bibliothēkē* also reports Idomeneus' safe return (*Bibē* 5.79.4); while Strabo, in his *Geographia* (c. 23),[81] repeats Nestor's words (*Geog.* 10.4.15).

Servius also records that the journey is accomplished safely but only at a cost (Lyktos 1). According to the *Commentary* (S 3.121–23; SD 11.264–65), Idomeneus is caught in a severe storm. He does not say when or where this occurs; whether it is Idomeneus' own ship or his fleet that is at risk; and whether the storm is a natural or divinely appointed intervention. Idomeneus is terrified, however, and vows that he will sacrifice to Poseidon (Neptune), the first thing to meet him, *devovit sacrifacturum se de re, quae ei primum occurrisset*, if he survives.[82]

Other accretions point, instead, to a foreshortened voyage (Kolophon 1). In the

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[77] Parada 1997 provides a map of their return voyages.

[78] From this point onwards, the *polis*-centred traditions (Appendix 3.2) offer divergent and conflicting accounts.

[79] '[I]l paradigma del nostos felice', Camerotto 2009: 173; 2010: 15.

[80] Both phrases are formulaic, however (*Od*. 13.264; 8.183; 14.242; 3.132; 13.317) and may have been added by Odysseus for effect: Heubeck and Hoekstra 1988–92: II, 210.

[81] Radt 2011 = *Geog.*

[82] Fabricius, whose printed edition of Virgil (1575) included Servius' *Comm.*, supplied *si reversus fuisset*, Thilo and Hagen 1881–83: II, 510. Williams 1962: 80, and Gransden 1991: 95, supply 'if he were saved' and 'on landing' in their paraphrases of the text.

*Alexandra*, Kassandra forecasts that Idomeneus will be one of the Greek leaders whose return will be impaired, and that he will end his days in the vicinity of Kolophon, in Ionia on the west coast of Asia Minor (*Alex.* 431–32).[83] A scholion to the *Odyssey* (at 13.259) describes the episode: off Euboia, Idomeneus encounters a storm sent by Athene and is forced to change his route, heading eastwards to Kolophon. Unaccountably, he is accompanied by Kalchas, the Greek seer, and Sthenelos, *therapōn* and subordinate commander of Diomedes. Kassandra calls the three of them *καύηκας*, 'seagulls' (*Alex.* 424–25),[84] and is assumed to refer to their age and gray hair; although in the case of Sthenelos, as one of the Epigoni, this seems inappropriate; alternatively, she may be referring to their Greek, seagull-like, rapacity.[85] The common element of the trio is said to be their vatic power,[86] but again this is not immediately apparent: Kalchas is famed as a seer, but neither Sthenelos nor Idomeneus appears in that role in the Trojan Cycle.[87] The Byzantine grammarian, John Tzetzes, who might have been expected to make the connection if it existed, insists that Idomeneus and Sthenelos had different *nostoi*.[88] If such a connection exists, however, the speculation that Idomeneus has a kouretic-vatic past may explain his inclusion.[89] Servius' later statement that, according to some, Idomeneus, after his years in exile, went finally to Kolophon, may refer

[83] Boardman 1999: 29.

[84] Mooney 1921: 45.

[85] Muller 1811: II, 595; Scheer 1881–1908: I, 39; II, 156-57. As one of the Epigoni, however, Sthenelos may be of an age with Diomedes. 'Seagulls' may simply reflect the fact that the three fled landwards from the storm.

[86] Hurst and Kolde 2008: 161.

[87] Kassandra refers only briefly to Sthenelos, focusing instead on his father, Kapaneus, one of the Seven against Thebes, killed by Zeus for his arrogance. He, too, is unknown as a vatic (*Alex.* 433–38).

[88]Muller 1811: II, 594–606; Scheer 1881–1908: I, 40; II, 158-59. Later commentators also ignore it: Canter 1566: 233, describes them as *tres* | *aetate grandiores*; Richard 1788: unpag., groups them with other Greeks who suffered disaster, *clades*, on their voyage home.

[89] Federico 1999: 368.

back to the *Alexandra*.

The final stage of Idomeneus' *nostos*, his reception upon his return to Crete, is treated in three traditions, some with variant versions. The first tradition (Knosos 1) occurs only in the *Bibliothēkē* (5.79.4). Idomeneus is received in the *polis* unopposed, as Nestor is in Pylos (*Od.* 3.186); like Nestor, he resumes his rule there. According to the second tradition (Knosos 2, Lyktos 1 and 2, Blanda-Gortyn), he is opposed and expelled. In the Knosos 2 version, the opposition is the product of Nauplios' revenge, as foretold by Kassandra (*Alex.* 1216–25)[90] and recounted by Apollodorus (*Bib. Epit.* 6.9–11). While Idomeneus is at war, Nauplios visits Crete and at his instigation Idomeneus' wife, Meda, commits adultery with Leukos, her foster-son, intended son-in-law, and regent in her husband's absence. Subsequently, Leukos kills her,[91] Kleisithura, to whom he is betrothed, and Idomeneus' other children as they seek sanctuary in a temple, ensuring that Idomeneus has no successor. He takes control of ten *poleis* and, on Idomeneus' return, drives him out of Crete. Servius (S 11.264) refers briefly to what may be the same episode, without naming the *polis* or the regent.[92]

In the Lyktos versions of the second tradition (1 and 2), the opposition arises from Idomeneus' vow to Poseidon (Neptune). The episode is skirted in the *Aeneid* (3.121–33, 401; 11.264–5) but described in Servius S at those lines. When Idomeneus lands on Crete, the first thing to meet him is his son; according to some, he sacrifices the young man in compliance with his oath; others say only that he is willing to sacrifice him; in consequence, he is driven from Crete. According to a further comment on Book 3 by Servius SD, however, when

[90] For Scheer's suggested transposition of the passage, West 1983: 123.

[91] Meda may have been unfaithful to Leukos, Gantz 1993: II, 698. Her adultery, and the similarity of her name, may have led to the 'silly' story, that Idomeneus offended Medea by judging her less beautiful than Thetis, Cameron 2004: 141.

[92] Dictys Cretensis, in the *Ephemeris*, is aware of the Nauplian tradition but does not include Idomeneus in it. Nauplios' victims there are Agamemnon and Diomedes, and vengeance is executed by one of Nauplios' remaining sons (*Eph.* 6.2).

Idomeneus shows himself compliant, a plague breaks out, causing the people to expel him, it is thought, as a scapegoat.[93] In Book 11, meanwhile, Servius maintains that Idomeneus is expelled because of the cruelty of his intended or executed deed.

In the Blanda-Gortyn version of the second tradition, recounted baldly in the *Antiquitates* (*Ant.* 3.30), Idomeneus is expelled from Blanda by seditious subjects during a localised war involving the Magnetes, immigrants from Magnesia in Thessaly, possibly settled on the territory of Gortyn, in an area between the *polis* itself and Phaistos.[94] On this occasion, Idomeneus leaves Crete accompanied by armed followers.

According to the third tradition, Idomeneus is opposed, but either overcomes the opposition (Knosos 3) or outlasts it in exile and is welcomed back. The Knosos 3 version is recounted in the *Solutions to Homeric Questions* of Heraclides Ponticus (fourth century BCE).[95] On Idomeneus' return to Knosos, Leukos, backed by his ten *poleis*, meets him in force. Idomeneus and his veterans from Troy defeat him, however; blind him; and destroy his power-base at Lyktos, together with his other *poleis* ( *Sol*. 99). In an *Odyssey* scholion however, the *poleis* are re-founded (at *Od.* 19.174). There is some support for this version from Strabo. In the *Geographia*, having dismissed the likelihood of armed opposition (Nestor would have mentioned it in the *Odyssey* at 3.191–92), he concedes that if it had occurred, Idomeneus and his veterans would certainly have won (*Geog.* 10.4.15).[96] Meanwhile the *Ephemeris*, either drawing on an otherwise unrecorded tradition or simply inventing, also implies that Idomeneus encountered opposition on his return but does not recount the episode. Instead, its first reference to Idomeneus after his departure from Troy locates him in

[93] Federico 1999: 337–40.

[94] von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1895: 188; but see Sammartano 2008–09: 117 and n. 21.

[95] Schütrumpf and others 2008 = *Sol.*

[96] These three accretions discuss Idomeneus' reception in the context of the long-running debate on the apparent discrepancy between *Iliad* and *Odyssey* over the number of cities in Crete (*Il.* 2.649; *Od.* 19.172–74), Heath 2009: 255–58.

Corinth, apparently in exile with other Greek leaders who, ejected by conspiracies at home, plan their return to power. Idomeneus' opponents lose favour, however, allowing him to return in triumph to Crete (*Eph.* 6.2, 5).

*Aftermath*

The *Bibliothēkē* continues the tradition (Knosos 1) that Idomeneus, returning and resuming power in Crete, rules there until his death. In the *Ephemeris*, he generously assists former fellow-leaders at Troy who come to Crete by choice or chance. The first is Odysseus. In the *Odyssey*, he and his companions, laden with plunder, put into Crete to repair their storm-damaged ships and are welcomed by Idomeneus (*Od.* 14.382–85). In the *Ephemeris*, Odysseus has lost most of his men and all his plunder when he arrives in two ships hired from friendly Phoenician pirates. At his request, Idomeneus gives him two ships (either additions or replacements), makes good the loss of his plunder and sends him on to Scherie, the land of the Phaeacians (*Eph.* 6.5).[97] The *Chronographia* emphasises the pitiable impression that Odysseus makes and describes Idomeneus not as a ruler but as *ἔξαρχον Ἑλλήνων*, 'a leader of the Greeks', implying that pity for, and affinity with, his fellow-veteran explain his largesse (*Chron.* 121–22).

The remaining encounter with a fellow-veteran is recorded in the *Ephemeris*, where Idomeneus is assigned a sympathetic role in the aftermath of the murder of Agamemnon. While still in exile in Corinth, he is entrusted with the care of the young Orestes,[98] whom

[97] In the *Odyssey* (5.282–493), Odysseus is shipwrecked and, with the help of the gods, fetches up naked and destitute on the coast of Scherie.

[98] There is no apparent reason for Talthybios' choice of Idomeneus. Although he is in regular touch with Greek leaders during the war (*Il.* 4.192–97; *GEF* 70, 72), Talthybios has no recorded contact with Idomeneus.

Talthybios, Agamemnon's herald, rescued from his father's killers (*Eph.* 6.2).[99] In Crete, he provides the nucleus of the force with which Orestes avenges his father's death (*Eph.* 6.3). Later, visited by Menelaos, Idomeneus tells him of Orestes' matricide (*Eph.* 6.3–4), [100] thereby creating a breach between uncle and nephew, but eventually reconciles them (*Eph.* 6.4). Idomeneus has no such roles in other versions of the murder and its aftermath (*GEF* 156-57; *Cat Wom.* 19; *Bib. Epit.* 6.23–30), nor in the surviving Attic tragedies based upon them. Their apparent invention in the *Ephemeris*, therefore, may be an effort to modify its determinant theme: the initial decency of the Greek leaders and their contamination by the war.[101] Idomeneus, the narrator's king and the nearest thing to his hero, is allowed to survive with his compassion intact.

Traditions of Idomeneus' course of action after his expulsion from Crete comprise Blanda-Gortyn, Lyktos 2 and Kolophon 2. In the first, according to the *Antiquitates*, Idomeneus leaves Blanda with a large, armed force, *cum grandi manu*, and, well-equipped by his experience if not his age, to become a mercenary,[102] fetches up in 'Illyricum',[103] a region in which Greeks trade but are reluctant to settle.[104] Whatever his original purpose there, he leaves with another, smaller, addition to his force, *accepta manus*, authorised by a local Illyrian ruler, Clinicus,[105]and sets out across the Adriatic on the short crossing to south-

[99] For other versions of the rescue, West 2013: 270–71.

[100] In the *Orestes* of Euripides, Menelaos learns the news from a sailor, Kovacs 2002: 373–74.

[101] They are 'humanen kultivierten Griechen'; the Trojans are 'gewissenlosen Barbaren', Merkle 1989: 142.

[102] He matches most of the criteria listed by Garlan 1991: 65.

[103] Illyricum is, by the mid-1st cent., the name for Rome's Adriatic territories north of Macedonia. Varro, however, is clearly referring to the Illyrii, the large group of tribes formerly occupying the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

[104] Wilkes 1992: 104–09.

[105] 'Divitius' in some versions of the text. Clinicus is the option preferred by Dušanić 1997, cited by Foresti 2004: 87, n. 51. For kingship among early Illyrian tribes, Hammond 1966: 241–42.

eastern Italy as a colonist.[106] At sea, however, he encounters *plerique Locrenses*. From Varro's description, *profug*[*i*] […] *similem causam*, the Locrians, like the Cretans, are refugees expelled from their homeland on the southern shore of the Euboian Gulf. Either on their own initiative, or that of Idomeneus, they ally themselves with the Cretans and Illyrians and (again, the source of the initiative is unclear) the joint force sails on, around the heel of Italy to the Locrian colony of Locri Epizephyrii on the south coast. Idomeneus finds the colony deserted, the colonists having fled from an unexplained fear, *vacuata eo metu urbe*. He occupies it, possibly leaving some of his Locrians there. His next recorded move is eastwards, either across or around the Gulf of Tarento, to the Salentine peninsula (*Ant.* 3.30).

The immediate outcome of the move is covered by the Lyktos 2 tradition, as it appears in the *Aeneid*.[107] Aineias, preparing to sail from Epirus across the Ionian Sea to Italy, is warned to avoid the near, southern coast, where there are hostile Greeks, *mali Grai*;[108] among them Idomeneus, who occupies the Salentine Plains (*Aen.* 3.371–72).[109] No explanation is given for this objective. Strabo records the tradition of an earlier Cretan settlement there (*Geog.* 6.3.2),[110] but there is no evidence that this was an incitement. The *Antiquitates* simply lists Idomeneus' foundations there, adducing a superlative, *nobilissimum*,

[106] For traditions associating Illyrians with the early colonisation of Messapia in the Salentine peninsula and the problems they present, Foresti 2004: 79–82.

[107] The Cretan-led colonisation of the Salentine peninsula is also noted by Solinus in his *Collectanea*: 2.10, but is attributed to *Lyctii* without mention of Idomeneus, Mommsen 1895: 13

[108] 'maudits Grecs', Lacroix 1993: 145.

[109] Virgil here refers separately to colonisation in southern Italy by 'Narycii Locri'. If this not a reference to the founders of Locri Epizephyrii, it may be to a now unidentifiable foundation by the ultimately leaderless Locrian contingent from the Trojan War, Russi 2012: 205–06.

[110] Strabo derives Iapygia, the Greek name for the peninsula, from Iapyx, a son of Daidalos, artificer to Minos, Idomeneus' grandfather, who had flown from Crete to Sicily. According to Herodotus, however, Cretans under Minos, in pursuit of Daidalos, were shipwrecked and settled in Iapygia, Godley 1920–24: III, 485. For such confusion in traditions: Boardman 1999: 164.

for the coastal citadel and sanctuary of Castrum Minervae (*Ant.* 3.30).[111] It also summarises the pattern of settlement apparently imposed by Idomeneus on the Salentine people. They are divided into three major groups, doubtless reflecting their triple ethnicity, then into twelve *populi*, probably sub-ethnic or family communities,[112] whose continuing amity is guaranteed *in salo*, 'in salt'.[113]

Idomeneus' final journey, the Kolophon 2 tradition, is summarised in the *Commentary* (S 3.401). He quits the Salentine peninsula for Asia Minor, arrives at Kolophon and settles at the nearby temple and oracle of Apollo Klarios. This is the second accretive association of Idomeneus with Kolophon; like the first, in the *Alexandra*, it makes sense only in the context of his kouretic-vatic past; as suggested earlier, it may simply reflect the statement in the *Alexandra*.

*Death and Nachleben*

The death of Idomeneus in Knosos and his burial there form the penultimate stage of the Knosos 1 tradition as recorded in the *Bibliothēkē* (5.79.4). The same passage also records the death of Meriones, implying that they die around the same time and are buried with great honour in a single tomb: *διασωθέντας* […] *τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀξιωθῆναι.*[114] Nevertheless, the inscription on the tomb itself, as transcribed by Diodorus, is ambiguous. It begins by enjoining the reader in what may be Idomeneus' voice, or that of a third person,

[111] '*oppidum*' in *Ant.*; '*arx*' and '*templum*' in *Aen.* and *Comm.* (3.531). Virgil makes no reference to Idomeneus as its founder but Servius mentions it in his note. For problems in identifying the other named foundation, Uria, Russi 1984–91: 656–58.

[112] Such partitioning recalls Nestor's scheme for the Greek army at Troy (*Il.* 2.362–63), with which Idomeneus will have been familiar.

[113] Salt symbolises the divine protection of reciprocal friendship, Sommerstein 2014: 127. Varro derives the name 'Salenti' from this: ostensibly the purpose of his essentially antiquarian work.

[114] Coldstream 1976: 13 and n. 43, refers to the 'supposed tombs of Idomeneus and Meriones'.

*Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὄρα τάφον*, 'Behold the tomb of Idomeneus the Knosian …'. It continues, however, in the voice of Meriones, *αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι πλησίον ἵδρυμαι Μηριόνης* …, 'And at his side am I, Meriones …'. A possible interpretation is that Meriones dies after Idomeneus but shares the tomb, either at his own request or on the initiative of an admiring *polis*. The report in the *Ephemeris*, that Meriones succeeds Idomeneus as ruler in Knosos (*Eph*. 6.6), supports both suggestions. It is also argued, however, that the order of the inscription simply reflects their respective importance in the eyes of the *polis*.[115] Diodorus claims that the tomb is prominent in Knosos in his time, but this has been challenged.[116]

The death of Idomeneus at Kolophon is predicted by Kassandra in the *Alexandra*; the *Commentary* (S 3.401*)* may contain a confused echo. It follows her prediction that Idomeneus will be forced to abandon his *nostos* and make his way to the Ionian *polis*, together with Kalchas and Sthenelos. She foresees that all three will be buried there, at the foot of nearby Mount Kerkaphanos (*Alex.* 431–32). The tradition of Kalchas' humiliation, death and burial at Kolophon or its port, Notium, appears elsewhere (*GEF* 152–53; *Bib. Epit.* 6.4). Idomeneus' demise there is, again, only credible in the context of his kouretic-vatic past.

The *Nachleben* of Idomeneus, in cultic terms, hardly compares with those of Aias I, who had cults in five locations, or Diomedes, whose cults extended from southern Italy to the Adriatic.[117] Idomeneus has two, both in Knosos. In the *Bibliothēkē*, he and Meriones, in their tomb, are held in special honour as *βοηθοί*, 'those who respond to a cry for help'. People sacrifice to them invoking, *ἐπικαλούμενοι*, 'their aid in time of war'. Their shrine has long been used to typify the epic-generated heroic cult.[118] By the second century BCE, however, Idomeneus has a cult in his own right. An inscription refers to him alone as *πολισσοῦχος*,

[115] Federico 1999: 306

[116] 'spurious patter purveyed to visitors', Coldstream 1976: 13.

[117] *OCD*: 46; Castiglioni 2008: 12.

[118] Farnell 1921: 325; Bravo 2004: 63–65; Martínez Fernández 2006: 601–02.

'guardian of the *polis*'.[119] It has been suggested that this owes less to his Iliadic reputation than to the tradition in which he overcomes the usurper Leukos (Knosos 3).[120] He is no less revered, however: the inscription declares that one, Tharsumachos, dying bravely in a local battle, is fit to sit enthroned alongside him: *σύνθρονος Ἰδομενεῖ*.

Two accretions offer polarised reflections on Idomeneus' *Nachleben*. Horace in his ode to Lollius, *Ne forte credas* (*Odes* 4.9; *c.* 15 BCE),[121] calls Idomeneus *ingens*, tropologically 'great'. He associates him with Teukros and Sthenelos as heroes who owe their enduring fame to poetry; and he declares that Idomeneus and Sthenelos fought battles worthy of the Muses. While the grouping may simply represent expertise with the bow, spear and chariot,[122] this hardly accounts for the closer pairing of Idomeneus and Sthenelos as fighting-men. Sthenelos' role in the *Iliad* as *therapōn* and charioteer of Diomedes is closer in status and achievement to that of Meriones, with whom Horace links him, and by whom Horace supplants him in the *Odes* (1.6.15).[123] It is possible, therefore, that the two are associated in Horace's mind by Kassandra's prediction of their burial together at Kolophon (*Alex.* 424), although the connection there is kouretic-vatic rather than heroic.[124]

In Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* (*c.* 160), [125] Idomeneus is in more familiar company. The shade of the satirist, Menippus, shown round Hades, asks to see the remains of the Ancients, *μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπισήμους*, 'especially the famous ones'. He is shown

[119] Guarducci 1935–50: I, 8.33.

[120] Federico 1999: 306. If this is the case, the sanctuary might have been sited near the main defences of the *polis* like those described by de Polignac 1995: 148.

[121] Rudd 2012 = *Odes*.

[122] Johnson 2004: 86–87.

[123] Ahern 1991: 306–08.

[124] They are also listed as suitors of Helen (*Cat.Wom.* 156, 204; *Fab*. 81) and as inmates of the Wooden Horse (*Od.* 168; *Fab*. 108); but even in what has been called an ode of 'ambiguity and indirection', Sage 1994: 568, it is hard to see these links as relevant.

[125] Macleod 1961 = *Dial.*

Agamemnon, Achilleus and, close by, Idomeneus; then Odysseus, Aias I and Diomedes and others; all described by his guide as *οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, 'the best of the Greeks'. Menippus, eyeing the decaying remains, dismisses them as *πάντα καὶ λῆρος πολύς*, 'so much dust and dross' (*Dial.* 6(20).413). Idomeneus and his peers are thus glorified and humiliated in a single exchange, as Lucian demonstrates the futility of worldly fame.[126]

*Idomeneus and Meriones*

In several accretions, Meriones supports or partners Idomeneus much as he does in the *Iliad*: as co-commander of the Cretan contingent to the Trojan War (*Bibē* 5.79.4; *Eph.* 1.13–17, 5.22; *Exc.* 14); as *therapōn* and charioteer (*Eph.* 3.4); and as a fellow-leader (*Bibē* 5.79.4). Lucian, however, mocks their relationship in *The Parasite*, adding Meriones to his list of spongers: a *therapōn*, he argues, is by definition parasitic (*Par.* 298–99).

Increasingly, however, Meriones is treated in the accretions as an independent figure. In the *Fabulae*, he is listed, dubiously, among Helen's suitors (*Fab.* 81); he also appears in the table of fighting men, placed eleventh with seven kills (*Fab.* 114). In the *Ephemeris*, he is injured in the heavy fighting that follows the withdrawal of Achilleus and his Myrmidons from the line (*Eph.* 2.38); later, however, he is back in training, ranked with the best archers (*Eph.* 3.1); later still, he is in action against the Amazons (*Eph.* 4.2). Following the death of Patroklos, he is one of the team that brings wood from Mount Ida for the pyre (*Eph.* 3.12); he also competes in the archery competition at the Funeral Games but is eclipsed by Philoktetes (*Eph.* 3.18).[127] The *Posthomerica* credits Meriones with six independent kills (*Post.* 1.245–47; 6.549–55; 8.101–05; 8.402–20; 11.91); only one of them with the blow below the belt for

[126] Bartley 2005: 359.

[127] In the *Iliad*, Meriones leads the wood-collecting operation and wins the archery competition. The variations in the *Ephemeris*, where Meriones is otherwise depicted favourably, are probably slips of memory.

which, in the *Iliad*, he is notorious. Finally, in the *Excidio*, Meriones is killed by Hektor, no more credibly than Idomeneus, but with more glory: he is struck down as he tries to rescue the corpse of Patroklos (*Exc.*19).

There are two pen-portraits of Meriones. In the *Excidio*, he is auburn-haired; of moderate height, well-proportioned and robust; tenacious, 'pertinax';[128] unmerciful and irascible (*Exc.* 13). He shares 'robust' with Neoptolemos; 'irascible' with Diomedes; both younger men like himself. In the *Chronographia*, he is short and broad; fair-skinned; in a broad face, he has large eyes with black pupils, a crooked nose and a good beard; he is a fighter, fast but magnanimous (*Chron.* 103–04). Elsewhere, the philosopher, Sextus Empiricus, addresses Meriones' sexuality. In his *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* (late second century),[129] he discusses homosexuality in Crete, arguing that Meriones is, by the derivation of his name ('μηρός', 'thigh'), identified as a practitioner (*Outl.* 3.23.199). This in itself hardly supports the further presumption that Meriones' relationship with Idomeneus was sexual.[130]

In the *Bibliothēkē*, Meriones returns with Idomeneus to Knosos, dies and, apparently in his own right, shares Idomeneus' tomb (*Bibē* 5.79.4). He appears in none of the traditions that take Idomeneus to Magna Graecia and beyond. Diodorus, however, gives him an expatriate life of his own. He has a separate *nostos*, ending it in Enguon, said to be a Cretan foundation in Sicily (*Bibē* 4.79.6),[131] where he is thought to have had a cult.[132] Both outcomes, together with the tradition in the *Ephemeris* that Meriones succeeded Idomeneus,

[128] The most recent translation renders 'pertinax' as 'swift', Laurén 2012: xxiii, 315.

[129] Bury 1933 = *Outl.*; Annas and Barnes 2000: xi-xii.

[130] Worthington 2019: 26 F.1.16. John Addington Symonds emphasised the neutrality of Homer's account of the relationship and attributed claims that it was 'paiderastic' only to 'the later Greeks', Norton 1997: sect. II.

[131] Another settlement, now unidentified, attributed to the Cretans of Minos: above, n. 109.

[132] Dunbabin 1948: 10.

accord with the parity that Meriones enjoys in the later accretions. In the *Posthomerica*, when he enters the Wooden Horse with Idomeneus, they are described as *ἀριδεικέτω ἄμφω*, 'both of great renown' (*Exc.* 12). The same point is made much later, in 364, by Libanius, teacher in,[133] and public orator of Antioch, when he seeks assistance from Saloutios, Praetorian Prefect of the East, and Kallistion, his assessor. To the latter, he writes: *μετὰ τοῦ Ἰδομενέως παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ τὸν Μηριόν*, 'along with Idomeneus [Saloutios] we also call upon Meriones [Kallistion]'; the latter, he declares, partakes of all the praise that is bestowed by mankind upon the former, *κοινων ὄντα τών ἐπαίνων, ὅσσι γίνονται παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνῳ*. [134]

*Knōsios Idomeneus: Lyctius Idomeneus*

Idomeneus is represented in Late Antique accretions to the *Iliad* in a positive or negative light according to their conservative or revisionist predilections and *polis*-centred inflections. During his *nostos*, positive traditions show him either returning, after some disruption, to reign securely in Crete, or surviving danger to settle as a reclusive vatic in Kolophon; negative traditions depict him no less credibly, as a victim, either of régime-change, or of self-inflicted misfortune, culminating in actual or intended sacrilege; and, in exile, as the founder of a colony in Magna Graecia. The Knosos tradition, of his successful return (in the *Ephemeris* of Dictys Cretensis), and the Lyktos tradition, of his rash vow, filicide, ejection and exile (in the fourth-century *Commentary* of Servius on the *Aeneid*), follow him to the West.

[133] Cribiore 2007: chs 5–7.

[134] Worthington 2019: 223 T 1.

# CHAPTER 4: SURVIVAL, *c.* 600 – 1474

The seventh century is aptly called the 'wasp waist' of the Dark Ages;[1] when, under the dominance of ecclastiastical schools and scriptoria, the neglect of classical texts in the West, compounded by their inaccessibility, is at its most acute. This changes, however, during the Caroline Revival of the eighth and ninth centuries, when the study of Latin classics resumes. Greek texts, however, remain inaccessible, their language the preserve of a few scholars, mostly in Rome, whose interest lies in the literature and affairs of the Church.[2] If, however, the original text of the *Iliad* is unknown and unavailable in the West, copies of Latin texts referring to it (epitomes and colloquia, the revisionist rewritings of Late Antiquity, the *Aeneid* and commentaries upon it) begin to appear in the book-lists of Caroline centres of learning.[3]

## *Latin texts from the seventh to the eleventh century*

In the case of Idomeneus, the principal, copied Latin texts are those of the *Ilias Latina* (from the first century); the *Pseudodositheana Hermeneumata Leidensia* (third century); the *Ephemeris belli Troiani* of Dictys Cretensis (fourth century); and Servius' *Commentary* S on the *Aeneid* (also fourth century).[4] They are augmented by compilations from the period itself: the SD version of Servius' *Commentary* (seventh to eighth century); the collections of two of the so-called Vatican Mythographers (ninth to eleventh century);[5] and scholia on the *Aeneid*, drawn from sources other than Servius, represented here by a set from the so-called 'Virgil of Tours'.[6]

The *Ilias Latina*, the epitome of the *Iliad* used as a teaching aid in Late Antiquity, re-

[1] Reynolds 1983: xvii.

[2] Leonardi 1988: 282.

[3] McKitterick 1994: 34–36.

[4] Yavuz 2015: 29–30, 41.

[5] Kulscár 1987: 75, 283.

[6] Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 165; Savage 1925: 91.

emerges in this capacity in the mid-ninth century. While Idomeneus' record in it is unmemorable, his presence along with his five peers may have secured his survival in impressionable minds. But not many: the first, modern edition of the *Ilias Latina* registers 36 texts dating from the ninth to the twelfth centuries;[7] a more recent and selective census registers 24;[8] the most recent edition, 21.[9] Nevertheless, the impressionable minds are widely spread: Idomeneus' *aristeia*, reduced from over 150 lines to half a line in the *Ilias Latina*,[10] could be read or heard from Aerschot in northern France, to Regensburg in southern Germany, to Sherborne in Dorset.[11]

Idomeneus is also mentioned as a principal character in the *Iliad* in the *Pseudodositheana Hermeneumata Leidensia*, a learning aid for elementary Latin. The work is ascribed to the third century; the *plenior recensio* of the earliest surviving texts dates from the tenth.[12] Its two books of bilingual colloquia (lists of Greek and Latin words and phrases grouped by topic) are followed by a third, containing passages of prose, including bilingual epitomes of fourteen books of the *Iliad*: 7–15, 17, 19 , 23 and 24 (*PHL* 2750–3067). Idomeneus is mentioned twice in these. First, the epitome of Book 12 credits him with the killing of the Trojan commander, Asios (*PHL* 2829–40). In the original epic, however, the encounter between them is foreshadowed in Book 12 (*Il.* 12.108–17) but not recounted in detail until Book 13 (*Il.* 13.384–93), where it occurs in another context. Nevertheless, the epitome describes the dead Asios, prostrate in front of his chariot, *ὅν Ἰδομενεὺς τῷ ἅρματι αὐτοῦ ὑπέστρωσεν*, | *quem Idomeneus curru eius prostravit* (*PHL* 2831, 2838), much as he is

[7] Vollmer 1913: 4–16. His two 9th-cent. versions are known only through catalogues, although Marshall accepts them.

[8] Munk-Olsen 1982–89: I, 414–20. He excludes Vollmer's two 9th-century versions.

[9] Scaffai 1997: 36–46.

[10] First noted by Tilroe 1939: 394.

[11] Yavuz 2015: 37–38; Woods 2016: 43.

[12] Flammini 2004 = *PHL*; Dickey 2012–15; 2016.

depicted in the *Iliad*, *ὣς ὃ πρόσθ' ἵππων καὶ δίφρου* (*Il*. 13.392); suggesting that the summariser knew the text better than is assumed. Secondly, Idomeneus is mentioned in the epitome of Book 13 (*PHL* 2851–54), this time as the killer of the Trojans' self-appointed saviour, Othryoneus (*Il.* 13.366–67); it is, indeed, to retrieve the latter's corpse that Asios subsequently attacks Idomeneus (*Il.* 13.384–85), although the point is not made in the epitome. On this occasion, the epitome refers to Idomeneus' awesome strength: *θαυμασῇ τινι ἰσχύι, mirabili cum virtute* (*PHL* 2844, 2851–52). Of Idomeneus' peers, three are prominent in the epitomes: Diomedes and Nestor each appear six times in battle or in council; Aias I (five) appears as a fighting-man, who can kill twelve men in a single action. Odysseus (three) is less prominent, however; while Aias II appears once, as an Aiante. Idomeneus' two appearances put him at this lower level, but 'awesome strength' may have improved his visibility.

Of the two revisionist versions of the *Iliad* that survive to become dominant influences in the period, the *De excidio Troiae historia* of Dares Phrygius (fifth or sixth century) is the most prolific. Of its seventeen texts, one is from the eighth century, five from the ninth, one from the tenth, one from the tenth/eleventh, seven from the eleventh, and two from the eleventh/twelfth.[13] The *Excidio*, however, mentions Idomeneus only as the commander of the Cretans, later killed by Hektor (*Exc.* 24). In contrast, the *Ephemeris*, in which Idomeneus features prominently, survives in only seven texts: three from the ninth century, two from the tenth, one from the eleventh, and one from the eleventh/twelfth.[14] Nevertheless, his 25 appearances, as a commander and counsellor in the war and as a benefactor of fellow-leaders and their families in its aftermath, and not least as Dictys' patron, are memorable because the first three occur on the first three pages of the text.

[13] Munk Olsen 1982: 363–78.

[14] Ibid. 379–82.

Idomeneus is mentioned briefly in the fabricated *Epistula* and at greater length in the *Prologus*; while he appears to advantage in the first lines of the first book alongside the Atreides and other Greek kings. Of the two ninth-century hyparchetypes (the third is fragmentary), the first contains the prologue and the opening scene; the second, all three.[15] Indeed, his immediate visibility in the *Ephemeris* may have helped to secure Idomeneus his place in the Troycentric memory of the West from the twelfth century onwards.[16]

Idomeneus presents in the *Ilias Latina, Hermeneuta* and *Ephemeris* as *anax* and *aristos*. In Servius' *Commentary* S, he is the regal perpetrator of a rash, possibly filicidal vow. This portrayal is reinforced in the SD version, quoted briefly in the previous chapter. Dated to the seventh or eighth century, it survives in around twenty manuscripts from this period.[17] An expansion of S, incorporating material from the lost commentary of Aelius Donatus not already used there, it was thought to be the lost commentary itself. Alternatively, it was seen as an amalgamation of Servius and Donatus, possibly incorporating other, post-Servian commentaries, and attributable to an English or Irish scholar.[18] This view is now challenged and greater attention paid to the originality of the medieval commentators.[19]

Servius D provides accretions to the two accounts of Idomeneus' rash vow in S. At *Pulsum regnis cessisse paternis* (*Comm.* SD 3.121), it identifies Idomeneus as the son of Deukalion; and relates that after he sacrifices or contemplates sacrificing his son, there is a plague, *et post orta esset pestilentia*: the 'et' suggesting that it is for this concomitant disaster as well as his cruelty that he is expelled. At *Versosque penates Idomenei* (*Comm.* SD 11.264),

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[15] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 902; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. Vitt. Em. 1631; Eisenhut 1973: xiii–xv; xxii–xxxvi.

[16] The account of the rash vow of Idomeneus (Idoménée) in the pirated part-edition of Fenélon's *Télémaque* (1699), placed at the very end of the first vol. may have benefitted in the same way.

[17] Savage 1932: 82–119, lists 13; Murgia 1975: 46, 50–52, 55, 57, adds 6 more.

[18] Daintree 1990: 68–69.

[19] Keeline 2013: 62, n. 5.

it records that Idomeneus makes his rash vow to Poseidon (Neptune). This comment refers back to that at 3.121 but makes no mention of the plague; Idomeneus is expelled on account of his cruelty. There are two further accretions. At *Lyctius Idomeneus* (*Comm.* SD 3.401), Servius states that Idomeneus comes to Italy and that he is said to have set out afterwards for Asia; it adds, however, that according to others, he returns and settles at Apollo Clarus in Kolophon, Ionia. At *Apparet in arce Minervae* (*Comm*. SD 3.531), it states that Idomeneus is said to have founded the temple of Minerva (Athena), also called a *castrum*, 'fortress'.

Both Servius S and SD feature in the compilations of the first two Vatican Mythographers. That of the First Mythographer[20] is of uncertain authorship and is dated from the late ninth to the late eleventh century.[21] Its three books contain some 230 *fabulae*, 'stories', the precise number varying with each editor.[22] Fifteen concern the Trojan War; ten, its aftermath; while some contain multiple episodes and cover both periods. *De Idomeneo rege et eius filio* (*Vat.Myth.I* 45)[23] describes Idomeneus' rash vow, his ejection from Crete and his subsequent colonisation of the Salentine peninsula. This, the Lyktos 2 tradition of his *nostos*, is drawn verbatim from Servius S, omitting its introductory *sed talis historia est* and providing a connective *igitur* between the two sentences that follow. In place of Servius' summative third sentence, however, the account ends with lines that have strayed from other scholia (at *Aen.* 3.122 and 6.78). The account does not appear in the main sequence of Troy-related material (*Vat.Myth.I* 50–52). Like that of Iphigenia (*Vat.Myth.I* 5), with which it shares a subtext of parricide, contemplated if not committed, it is located discretely. So, indeed, are the accounts of his peers who present, like Idomeneus himself, as agents or victims of misfortune. Odysseus (Ulysses) is the instrument of Palamedes' death (*Vat.Myth.I*

[20] Zorzetti and Berlioz 1995 = *Vat.Myth.I*.

[21] Pepin 2008: 5–6.

[22] Zorzetti and Berlioz 1995: lv; Kulcsár 1987: xvii.

[23] In the earliest extant text, this appears as 'cuius filia', a rubricator's error.

9); Aias II, the violator of Kassandra (*Vat.Myth.I* 42); Diomedes, a betrayed husband, as well as the unwilling keeper of the Palladium (*Vat.Myth.I* 21, 34); even Aias I is recalled not as a fighting-man but as a suicide, his remains abandoned by his brother (*Vat.Myth.I* 33). Although *De Idomeneo et eius filio* is treated discretely, it does have a tenuous link to the story that precedes it. *De Gryneo memore* (*Vat.Myth.I* 45) involves Kalchas, the Greeks' seer at Troy, his subsequent defeat in a vatic contest, and his death in Ionia.[24] According to Kolophon 1, Kalchas sails with him to Ionia, where they both die at Kolophon.

The Second Mythographer remains anonymous; [25] his dates are even less certain, but possibly later than those of his predecessor.[26] His compilation contains 275 accounts in a single sequence. Ten concern the Trojan War and its aftermath, although this is not always apparent from their rubrics: *De Hercule et Yla* (*Vat.Myth.II* 227) and *De Peleo et Thetide* (*Vat.Myth.II* 248) both evolve into accounts of the war. *De Idomeneo* (*Vat.Myth.II* 254) is similarly uninformative but free, unlike the First Mythographer's version, from rubricator's slips.The wording of the account is close to that of Servius S and the First Mythographer. The principal difference is an attempted elegance of style: *devovit propter sedandam tempestatem sacrificium se dare de hac re que ei reverso primum occurreret*, 'to temper the storm he would tender a sacrifice'. *De Idomeneo* is sequenced with other accounts relating to Troy, including *De Diomede*, the only one of Idomeneus' peers to be given his own account. Iphigenia, featured here in *De Agamennone* (*Vat.Myth.II* 245), appears in the sequence. *De Mopso* (*Vat.Myth.II* 268) remains in the compilation but well away from *De Idomeneo*.

The First and Second Mythographers draw intensively on a few sources for their Troy-related accounts,[27] using only the *Aeneid* and its Servian commentaries, the *Fabulae* of

[24] Bérard 1960: 30.

[25] Kulcsár 1987 = *Vat.Myth.II*.

[26] Pepin 2008: 6–7.

[27] Cameron 2004: 308.

Hyginus, the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus, and a fifth- or sixth-century commentator on Statius, 'quel que soit son nom';[28] the Second Mythographer also borrows from his predecessor's own compilation. Consequently, they provide no fresh accretions, and only the Second Mythographer, prone to interpret and allegorise, offers any analysis. What the Mythographers do provide, however, is a parade of over two hundred gods, heroes, men, women, monsters and metamorphoses, Idomeneus memorably among them.

The omitted plague apart, Servius S and D and the Vatican Mythographers offer a consistent account of Idomeneus' rash vow and its consequences. Nevertheless, at least one variant version exists in this period. It is in Bern, Burgerbibliothek: Cod. 165, fols 82$^{r.}$, 193$^{v.}$, in two discrete scholia to the *Aeneid*, written in the same hand (Appendix 4.1).[29] The writer is clearly familiar with Servius D and, indeed, with the pre-Servian commentary of Aelius Donatus, although he is also aware of other, analogous sources.[30] His scholia together provide a different occasion for Idomeneus' vow: his departure from Troy. According to them, Idomeneus prays to the gods that, if he returns unharmed to Crete, he will sacrifice to them whatever comes first to meet him as he enters his house. Having returned safely, he is about to enter, when he encounters his only son, who has come to meet him. The event leaves him in deep distress. The scholia then recount the outcome and the expulsion of Idomeneus by his people in wording close to that of Servius S. They may represent a partial remembrance of the passages there, retaining only the premise of the vow and the consequences of its redemption, while reconstructing the occasion of the vow as a pre-departure ritual. Alternatively, they may represent another tradition altogether, in which the pre-departure prayer is evidence that Idomeneus, influenced by Menelaos' apprehensions of Athena's retribution upon the Greeks for the outrage against Kassandra in her temple, makes a

[28] Wolff 2010: 423, n. 4.

[29] Mittenhuber 1962: at Cod. 165.

[30] Savage 1931: 406–07.

personal, pre-emptive bid for protection, an event hitherto unrecorded in extant sources. The absence of a dramatic context for the vow may indicate an earlier source, possibly the *Nostoi* of Anticleides of Athens (third century BCE); the urgent plea for succour in the storm being a later attempt to increase narrative tension.

*Byzantine texts of the twelfth century*

While the *Iliad* remains inaccessible in the West, it retains a distinctive place in Byzantine culture. The eleventh-century scholar, Michael Psellus, recounts that his daughter began her education by memorising the Psalms; he began his by memorising the *Iliad*.[31] Its primacy makes the epic the subject of critical commentary until the demise of the empire in 1453, at its most assured in the twelfth century,[32] in the works of John Tzetzes and Eustathius, Metropolitan of Thessalonica.

Tzetzes atones for his notoriety as a fractious grammarian[33] with his erudition and industry. As applied to the *Iliad*, these are represented by the *Exēgēsis* (*c.* 1140),[34] a prose commentary on Book 1; the *Carmina Iliaca*: *Antehomerica, Homerica, Posthomerica* (*c.* 1133),[35] a summary of the matter of Troy in verse; [36] and the *Iliad Allegories* (1145),[37] a paraphrase and allegorical interpretation of the epic, also in verse.[38] Idomeneus is mentioned once in the *Exēgēsis*, but only as the patron of Dictys Cretensis (*Exēg.* 20). He appears in his own right, however, in the *Homerica* and *Posthomerica*. In the former, he and Meriones

[31] Cavallo 2006: 39; Kaldellis 2006: 62, 121.

[32] Browning 1975: 25.

[33] He is treated more temperately by Budelmann 2002: 150–53.

[34] Papathomopoulos 2007 = *Exēg.*

[35] Bekker 1793 = *Antehom.*, *Hom.*, *Posthom.*

[36] The phrase, without quotation marks, seems now to be in general use, e.g., Desmond 2016: 251.

[37] Boissonade 1851 = *All.*; Goldwyn and Kokkini (2015).

[38] For a summary dating of these works, Braccini 2011: 43.

support Diomedes during his *aristeia*, although their kills (*Il.* 5.43–48, 59–68) are reduced to half a line each (*Hom.* 57b, 59a). In the *Posthomerica*, drawing on the *Chronographia* of Malalas, Tzetzes places Idomeneus and Meriones in the field against the Amazons (*Chron.* 5.56; *Posthom.* 83, 87). He ignores accounts in other sources, however, including the *Posthomerica* of Quintus Smyrnaeus, in which Idomeneus kills an Amazon (*Post.* 257–54).[39] Tzeztes also puts Idomeneus inside the Wooden Horse with 22 others, including his peers, Aias II, Diomedes and Odysseus (*Posthom.* 644–50). Again, he ignores the account by Quintus (*Post.* 12.316–30). He draws, instead, on the *Sack of Troy* (*Sack* 152–83), although Triphiodorus does not include Odysseus in the horse, and Tzetzes does not describe Idomeneus as grizzled. He describes him as *μεσοήλιξ*, 'middle-aged', however, in the pen-portrait that follows the list of interns (*Posthom.* 660–61). It resembles the portrait in the *Chronographia* (*Chron.* 5.24) but shares only two of its terms: *εὔρινος*, 'a good nose', and *δασυπώγων*, 'a bushy beard'. Other common features are Idomeneus' *γόργος*, 'vigour'; *κυανόχρους*, 'dark complexion'; and *κονδόθριξ*, *οὐλοκάρηνος*, 'short, curly hair'.

Tzetzes wrote the first fifteen books of his *Allegories* to enlighten his Bavarian empress; the remainder for a client who was better-informed (*All.* 16.1–6).[40] This is reflected in the change of emphasis from narrative to allegorisation, which is in turn reflected in the space devoted to Idomeneus. Of the 29 focal scenes and passages in which Idomeneus appears in the first fifteen books of the *Iliad* (Appendix 2.1), nineteen remain in full or in part in Tzetzes' paraphrase; of Idomeneus' five appearances in the remaining nine books, Tzetzes retains only one. Three of his omissions are regrettable in terms of Idomeneus' character. In Book 13, Tzetzes omits the conversation with Meriones. He makes the theme of the book

[39] For Tzetzes' use of Quintus' *Posth.*, Harder 1886: 54; Tomasso 2010: II, 104. While it may be the length of Quintus' two accounts that deters him, Tzetzes also relies heavily on his memory (*All*. 15.87–89), although it may have failed him here.

[40] Goldwyn and Kokkini 2015: viii–ix.

Poseidon's revitalisation of the disheartened Greeks, interpreting it as 'στοιχειακός', 'an elemental allegory':[41] the sea (Poseidon) becomes rough, preventing the Greeks from fleeing in their ships; they have no alternative but to face the Trojans (*All.* 13.18–26). In the rapid sequence of fights that follows, there is no place for a lengthy discussion of courage. In Book 17, Tzetzes omits the encounter between Idomeneus and Hektor that ends in Idomeneus' flight (*Il.* 17.597–625). He assigns only 22 of the book's 126 lines to narrative (*All.* 17.1–8, 106–19), devoting these to Menelaos' efforts to save the corpse of Patroklos, while excluding other, ancillary actions. Finally, in Book 23, Tzetzes omits Idomeneus' exchange with Aias II at the *Athla*. Here, Tzetzes' narrative, covering the funeral and the games, is even briefer: six lines out of 128, of which three describe the games. On the positive side, Tzetzes offers another portrait of Idomeneus (*All. Prol.* 708–09). Like that in the *Posthomerica*, it refers to his age, hair and beard but has only one adjective in common, 'δασυπώγων'. Tzetzes devotes 44 of the 207 lines of Book 13 to Idomeneus' *aristeia*, although he reduces Idomeneus' vaunt over Deïphobos from ten lines to two. Finally, he allegorises Idomeneus' fight with Alkathoös (*Il.* 13.434–43), the opponent whom Poseidon paralyses while Idomeneus kills him. Tzetzes interprets this as the sea (Poseidon) overpowering Alkathoös so that he has no way to escape (*All.* 13.106–09). Nevertheless, Idomeneus' peers fare better: Aias I, for example, in Books 7 and 15; Diomedes in Books 5, 8 and 10; and Odysseus in the *Prologomena* and Book 10. Meriones, however, suffers like Idomeneus from Tzetzes' change in emphasis. While his supporting roles in Idomeneus' *aristeia*, the *Patrokleia* and the rescue of Patroklos' corpse are covered, briefly, the minimal narrative of Book 23 excludes his performances in the *Athla*.

Unlike Tzetzes, Eustathius flourished in public life, teaching rhetoric at the

[41] Morgan 1983: 177.

Patriarchal School in Constantinople;[42] and continuing to teach after his advancement in the Church.[43] He directs his *Parekbolai* (*Commentarii*) on the *Iliad* [44] at *νέῳ ἄρτι μανθάνοντι*, 'young learners of today' (*Parek. Prooimion* 2.21),[45] providing them with *τα χρήσμα*, 'useful information', ranging from the rudimentary to the recondite.[46] Regarding Idomeneus, Eustathius is at his most instructive in Book 13, where his disinterest in Iliadic warfare[47] leads him to focus upon Idomeneus' speeches. An admirer of 'ἁπλότης ἡρωικά', 'heroic simplicity' (*Parek.* 930.15), Eustathius generally commends their unassuming brevity but singles out one for criticism: Idomeneus' endorsement of Meriones' courage, running to sixteen lines (*Il.* 13.275–91). Eustathius considers it overlong, envisages the poet's efforts to bring it to an end (*Il.* 13.292–93; *Parek.* 930.38–39), then loyally, as is his custom, [48] seeks to justify the lapse (*Parek.* 930.44–45). Peristasis, he argues, is acceptable because Idomeneus and Meriones are friends, suffering in war, one encouraging the other, *ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καμόντες λόγόις ἀναψύχουσι φίλον ἦτορ* (*Parek.* 930.44). Eustathius is reassured, however, by a speech from Idomeneus' *aristeia*, his vaunt over Deïphobos, Priam's son (*Il.* 13.446–54). In nine lines, Idomeneus demonstrates his superiority as a fighter, his royal descent from Zeus, and his destiny as the Trojan's bane. The speech, says Eustathius, leaves Deïphobos in consternation, *εἰς ἔκπληξιν* (*Parek.* 941.42), and establishes Idomeneus as a plain-speaking man, *φιλόλαλον ἀφελῶς τὸ ἦθος τοῦ Ἰδομενέως πλάττεται* (*Parek.* 942.42). The value of Eustathius' commentary, and the reliance upon it of successive generations of commentators, will be apparent in the following chapters.

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[42] Browning 1962: 186.

[43] Kazhdan and Franklin 1984: 133.

[44] Van der Valk 1971–87 = *Par*. Dating: *Parek.* I, cxxxvii–ix.

[45] *Parek*. I, cxx.

[46] Pagani 2017: 80-81.

[47] *Parek*. I, lxxxix.

[48] Ibid. I, xxxviii, cxv.

*Latin and vernacular texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*

In the West, translated or adapted narratives of the matter of Troy, in Latin and the vernacular, poetry and prose, appear incrementally. Their authors aim to inform and instruct readers and listeners, offering a coherent account of the volatile history of the pagan city that became, through Aineias, the precursor of Rome; and, through other diasporated heroes, the progenitrix of several ruling dynasties. The majority narrate its history in three parts: from the Argonauts and the first destruction of Troy to the abduction of Helen; the Trojan War and the final destruction of Troy; and the aftermath of the war. They take it from surviving Latin texts, including the *Excidio*, which they value both as a credible version of the antecedents of the Trojan War and as an eye-witness account of the war itself; while they turn to the *Ephemeris* for its account of the aftermath. They dispense with the partisan interventions of pagan gods, presenting history in terms of chance and mischance, human strengths and frailties. Some amplify their translations with themes that will resonate in the courtly culture of a crusading century: ill-fated love affairs, military spectacle and scenes of exotic excess. Others adopt a more austere style, 'brevitas' at the expense of 'amplificatio', to achieve greater clarity and realism.[49].

Idomeneus' role in these narratives is illustrated here by sixteen texts. Taken together, his appearances are fewer, briefer and less memorable than those in the *Iliad* or the *Ephemeris*. This is apparent in the first generation of texts, from the second half of the twelfth century. The earliest and, at over 30,000 lines, most expansive, is the *Roman de Troie* (*c.* 1160) of Benoît de Sainte-Maure.[50] The disparity is signalled in its *Résumé*, which refers to all Idomeneus' peers, like Diomedes and Odysseus (both on seven occasions), but does not mention him. It is no surprise, then, to find that Idomeneus makes only twelve appearances in

[49] Everson 2001: 41–44; Jung 1996: 11–14; Lienert 2001: 103–06.

[50] Constans 1904–12 = *Rom.*; Jung 1996: 40–77.

the poem: five during the war itself (35 lines in all); seven in its aftermath (86 lines). His appearances in the war are confined to three episodes: the Catalogue of Ships, the 'Second Battle', and the betrayal of Troy. Those in its aftermath are also limited to three: the revenge of Orestes, the *nostos* of Odysseus; and Idomeneus' own death and succession. In contrast, Diomedes is mentioned on 41 occasions; Aias I, 37; and Odysseus (Ulysse), 31. Idomeneus is again between Nestor, thirteen references, and Aias II, ten.

Idomeneus' first appearance is brief: with Meriones, leading the Cretan fleet of eighty fine, big ships, [*b*]*eles et granz* (*Rom.* 5646). He next appears, again with Meriones, at the start of the second battle. This episode is an innovation of the *Excidio*, a tersely-worded account of the death of Patroklos at an early stage of the war (*Exc.* 19), which Benoît transforms into the most elaborate battle sequence in his poem. Idomeneus, Meriones and their Cretans form the Greeks' twelfth division (*Rom.* 8225–28), *dis mile*, 'ten thousand strong' (*Rom.* 8426).[51] Idomeneus and Meriones and the twelfth division fight alongside the now leaderless Myrmidons (*Rom.* 8431–32). Benoît's observations, that Idomeneus and Meriones place great trust in their men, *la gent ou mout se fient* (*Rom.* 8228), and that the division marches proudly into battle, *fierement vienent a l'estor* (*Rom.* 8428), reflect well on the commanders and their command. There is, however, a complication: a 'Merion' and 'Ipomenès' are also said to command the second division, together with Menestheus, leader of the Athenian contingent (*Rom.* 8179–86). These have been identified as Meriones, a cousin of Achilleus, and Ipomenès, a Greek leader, unrecorded elsewhere. Unidentified, however, the names remain a source of uncertainty in texts based on the *Roman* over the next three centuries.[52]

[51] Constans 1904–12: I, 445, nn. at 8179–87; V, 59, 66; VI, 242-43.

[52] The uncertainty arises with MS. M of the *Roman*, which gives the strength of the twelfth division as 'dous mile', 'two thousand'. It is thought to reflect scribal confusion of the twelfth division with the second, where 'Ipomenès' commands *dou mile et mais*, 'over two thousand': Constans 1904–12

Thereafter, Benoît follows the *Excidio* in making Meriones one of the many dead heroes of the battle and ignores Idomeneus, who does not appear again until all 23 battles are over. When he does, it is in an elegant pavilion decorated with gold, silver and ivory. There, with Agamemnon, Odysseus and Diomedes, all chosen apparently by acclaim, he participates in meetings with Priam's counsellor, Antenor, whose plan is to betray the city under cover of official negotiations for peace (*Rom.* 24902–11). When the negotiations and the plotting continue in Troy, however, only Diomedes and Odysseus are involved (*Roman* 25325–27). Nevertheless, Idomeneus visits the city with the other Greek leaders when the formal peace is ratified, and is among the first to ratify it (*Rom.* 25816–30).

Benoît allows Idomeneus to survive the war, disregarding the *Excidio*, in which he is killed (*Exc.* 24). Having associated Idomeneus with salient episodes of the war, however, he has established his parity with other Greek leaders, and can introduce, credibly, the post-war episodes from the *Ephemeris* in which Idomeneus is prominent. Idomeneus eventually returns in triumph to Crete (*Rom.* 28277–84), raises Orestes, aids him to avenge his father, Agamemnon (*Rom.* 28073–112, 28285–94, 28533–38),[53] and assists Odysseus to return home (*Rom.* 28579–90, 28941–52); achievements that enable Benoît to describe Idomeneus' death in Crete as *damages e maus*, a sad and painful loss (*Rom.* 29070).[54] It seems fair to say that Benoît's inclusion of Idomeneus in the *Roman*, his disregard of the *Excidio*'s abrupt dismissal, ensure Idomeneus' survival, eclectic as it is, in the Troycentrica to come.

Of the remaining two twelfth-century texts, the *Liet von Troyge* (1195–1210) of

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I, 445; II, 7, n. at 8426.

[53] Benoît, misled by a variant version of the *Eph.*, here gives Idomeneus a wife, Therasis, and a daughter, Clymene (*Rom.* 28104–112), Constans 1904–12: V, 42, 88; Kern and Ebenbauer 2003: 318.

[54] In fact, Benoît is referring here to the dual death of Idomeneus and a son who succeeded him but died five days later (*Rom.* 29064). This account of the succession, however, is based on a mis-reading of the *Eph.* (6.6), Constans (1904–12): V, 61; VI, 257.

Herbort von Fritzlar,[55] is an abridgment of the *Roman* in Middle High German verse, amounting to some 18,000 lines. Herbort preserves the tripartite structure of the narrative, omitting no element of the plot but achieving *brevitas* by adopting a terse style, eschewing detailed accounts of persons, scenery and speeches:[56] Herbort's is a hard war.[57] The result, in Idomeneus' case, is the reduction of his appearances to eight: three in the war (ten lines) and five in its aftermath (fifty). Herbort retains Benoît's depiction of Idomeneus and Meriones with the Cretan fleet but credits them with only sixty ships (*Liet* 3353–56). He replaces Benoît's roll-call of the Greek divisions before the Second Battle with a simple list of commanders' names in the same order (*Liet* 4862–63). [58] Thereafter, like Benoît, he focuses upon Meriones in the field. Finally, Idomeneus does not negotiate with Antenor in a fancy tent but does ratify the official peace (*Liet* 16000). A sparse account, but Herbort establishes Idomeneus' status sufficiently to proceed with the post-war episodes involving Orestes and Odysseus at a length proportionately equivalent to that of Benoît. Here, however, there are disparities between the two texts for which *brevitas* alone is not responsible. Idomeneus has charge of Orestes when the boy turns fifteen. In the *Ephemeris*, Orestes reaches man's estate, *transactis pueritiae annis officia viri exsequi coepit* (*Eph.* 6.3). In the *Roman*, this is an occasion for courtly ceremony, *Tant qu'Orestès fu chevaliers,* | *Qu'il ot assé quinze anz entiers* (*Rom.* 28285–86). In the *Liet*, Orestes simply comes of age, *Do er zv sinem taugen was comen* (*Liet* 17386–90). This line may reflect the survival in Herbort's Thuringia of an

[55] Fromman 1837 = *Liet*.

[56] Lengenfelder 1975: 13–25; Lienert 2001: 111–20; Brunner 2013: 149–50. Herbort's description of battles reminds one critic of a football commentator on radio describing the action to listeners who know the game, enabling them to feel part of it: Lengenfelder 1975: 21.

[57] 'grausam und häßlich', Müller 2006: 141.

[58] Another example of uncertainty arising from *Rom.* 8179–86 and 8225–28. Herbort seems to confuse Idomeneus and Meriones with the leaders of the second division, listing them earlier than they would appear as leaders of the twelfth.

older notion of the transition to 'warrior-manhood', existing alongside the newer, courtly concept of knighthood.[59]

The third twelfth-century text, the *Bellum Trojanum* (*c.* 1180)[60] of Joseph of Exeter, was known in contemporary sources as the *Ylias Daretis Phrygii*, and was, indeed, an adaptation of the *Excidio*, supplemented by information from the *Ephemeris* and other surviving Latin sources, and enlivened by Joseph's rhetorical versatility. Idomeneus appears twice: first with the fleet; then in the field, where Hektor kills him. In the *Excidio*, Hektor's deed is recorded perfunctorily, *Idomeneum obtruncavit* (*Exc.* 24); in the *Bellum Trojanum*, he attacks Idomeneus with a weapon as stout as a timber beam, *teloque trabali Idomenea petit* (*Bell.* 5.473–74).[61] Joseph's elaboration of Idomeneus' death at Hektor's (and Dares') hands only reaffirms Idomeneus' good fortune at Benoît's.

The matter of Troy in the thirteenth century is represented by three texts from the last two decades: the *Trojanerkrieg* of Konrad von Würzburg (1281–87) and its anonymous *Fortsetzung*, 'Continuation' (*c.* 1300), both in verse;[62] and the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287) of Guido de Columnis of Messina,[63] a prose paraphrase of the *Roman de Troie*. The *Trojanerkrieg* and the *Historia* share more than their dates: the former has been described as '[d]er klassische ('most influential') deutsche Trojaroman';[64] while the 136 manuscripts of the latter that awaited its first editor early in the twentieth century[65] testify to its popularity.

The *Trojanerkrieg* is incomplete. In over 40,000 lines Konrad covers only a third of

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[59] Jackson 1981: 49.

[60] Gompf 1970 = *Bell.* For the title, Bate 1986: 6–7.

[61] Mora 2003: 242, n. 75, renders 'petit' as 'vise' = 'aim at' but includes Idomeneus among Hektor's kills.

[62] Thoelen and Häberlein 2015 = *Tkrieg. Fort*. For a possible later dating of the latter, Lienert 1996: 333; 2001: 137.

[63] Griffin 1936 = *Hist.*; Meek 1974.

[64] Lienert 2001: 120.

[65] Griffin 1936: xi.

the narrative of the *Roman*, his principal exemplar.[66] Beginning even earlier than Benoît, with the unpropitious birth of Paris (*Tkrieg* 350–63), he segués into the now conventional tripartite structure, completing the first part (the antecedents of the war) but ending abruptly during the second (the war itself), as both sides take the field for what in his sequence is the fourth battle. Konrad's dramatic opening, with its portent of catastrophe, exemplifies the narrative skill with which he treats his predominant themes of 'minne', 'love', and 'strît', 'warfare'.[67] Idomeneus' two appearances, however, owe more to the punctilious listing of orders-of-battle with which Konrad prefaces his structured account of each conflict, 'Schlachtenchoreographie',[68] and to the light and colour with which he enriches it.[69] Here, Idomeneus appears as Ipomenes,[70] in sole command of the ninth division of the Greek army, at the onset of the second battle: *diu niunde rotte funden* | *wart in eines herren hant* | *der was Ipomenes genant* (*Tkrieg* 30634–36). He has, nevertheless, a second, auxiliary commander, Philitoas:[71] *Filithôas* […] | *der half behüeten im die schar*, 'Philitoas […] who helped [Idomeneus] to take charge of [their 12,000 men]' (*Tkrieg* 30638–39).[72] Konrad adds only that Idomeneus lived in high renown, *lebte in hôhem prise* (*Tkrieg* 30637). He mentions

[66] Gentry 2002: 460.

[67] Lienert 2001: 122.

[68] Ibid. 1996: 307 and n. 275.

[69] Ibid. 277–81; 307–09.

[70] 'Ipomenes' is accepted as a variant of Idomeneus by Kern and Ebenbauer 2003: 318, n. 1, following Lienert 1996: 145, n. 404. Neither takes into account Constans' suggestion that 'Ipomenes', joint commander of the second division in the *Rom.*, is a discrete character.

[71] Otherwise Pheidippus, a son of king Thessalus and grandson of Herakles, and joint leader of the contingent from a group of islands headed by Kos (*Il*. 2.678; *Eph*. 1.14, 17; *Exc*. 14): Kirk 1985: 228; Kern and Ebenbauer 2003: 496.

[72] Konrad seems to have constructed his ninth division from the eleventh and twelfth divisions of the *Rom.*, excluding Meriones from the latter, Lienert 1996: 145, n. 404. The passage has caused confusion: Kern and Ebenbauer 2003: 318, 496, make Idomeneus the sole commander of the division; Lienert 1996: 145, puts it under Philithoas, naming Idomeneus as the second commander.

Idomeneus and Philitoas again, when he describes the eighth and ninth divisions facing the Trojans' seventh at the beginning of the Third Battle, lingering on their gleaming armour and exotic silks: *ir decke und al ir wâfenkleit | die gâben lietberenden schîn. | si wâren edel baldekin | und ûz erweltin sîde gar* (*Tkrieg* 32818–29).[73]

What the *Fortsetzung* lacks, by contrast, in style, it makes up for in content. It completes the second and third parts of the tripartite structure in less than 10,000 lines with a utilitarian account of the war, from the Fourth Battle to the fall of Troy, and a condensed version of its aftermath. It eschews any attempt at courtly romance, is perfunctory on 'minne', but relentless on 'strît'.[74] Indeed, because of the author's zeal, Idomeneus appears more often and to greater advantage here than in any other medieval narrative: regularly among his peers, prominent in action, worthy of praise.

Idomeneus' eight appearances are taken from the *Ephemeris* which, together with the *Excidio*, constitute the *Fortsetzung*'s principal sources. For the first, however, the author has to conflate the two sources in order to circumvent the account of Idomeneus' death at Hektor's hands (*Exc.* 24). Accordingly, he draws upon the episode in the *Ephemeris* in which Idomeneus is wounded by an unnamed assailant (*Eph.* 3.14), adding circumstantial details from the *Excidio*, so that Idomeneus is *sêre wunt*, 'badly wounded', by Hektor (*Fort.* 40478–79) but free to continue his role in the narrative. In fact, Idomeneus does not re-appear until after Hektor has been killed, Penthesilea has failed to fill his place, and Memnon (Mennon) has succeeded her as Troy's last hope. Memnon's initial victory leaves the Greeks as dispirited as they were during Hektor's ascendancy but, as they recover, Idomeneus makes a

[73] In fact, Idomeneus should have made three appearances. In what would have been the first, however, with Meriones at the head of the Cretan fleet (*Tkrieg* 23838–89), Konrad replaces his name with that of Diomedes. It is possible that Konrad used MS. M of the *Rom.*, in which similar confusion occurs.

[74] Lienert 1996: 343–45, who at 344 likens its style to that of a war-communiqué.

further five appearances. He is among the senior leaders who, in a variation of the episode in the *Ephemeris* (4.6),[75] convene to choose a champion to fight Memnon in single combat. He nominates Odysseus (Ulysses) (*Fort.* 42881–83): *geriet | daz in bestuont ûz al der diet | Ulixes der werde helt*, but they eventually settle on Aias I, apparently because of his youth (*Fort.* 42884). Idomeneus, Odysseus and Achilleus are selected to support him (*Fort.* 42886–92) and take up their positions (*Fort.* 42900–10; 42979–85). Aias can only wound Memnon, however, and it is Achilleus who kills him, to the Trojans' dismay. When six of Priam's sons try to regain the intiative, Odysseus, Aias II and Idomeneus each kill two (*Eph.* 4.7; *Fort.* 43135–200) and are praised by the Greeks (*Fort.* 43342–51). In these episodes, Idomeneus himself is *der ellenhafte werde*, 'brave and noble', *man* (*Tkrieg* 42880) and *der degen*, 'the warrior' (*Fort.* 43197); alongside Agamemnon, Menelaos and his peers (excluding Nestor) he is one of *die hoesten und die besten* (*Fort.* 42847), *die helde muotes riche*, 'the most courageous heroes' (*Fort*. 42899-900) and *die hôchgebornen fürsten*, 'the high-born princes' (*Fort.* 42980). It is something of an anticlimax when he makes only two more appearances, still among his peers but less prominently: negotiating with Antenor (*Eph.* 4.22; *Fort.* 46034), and ratifying the official peace (*Eph.* 5.10; *Fort.* 47796). He does not appear, however, in the brief account of Orestes in the aftermath of the war: a possible victim of the author's abridgement.

The popularity of the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287) owes more to its readability[76] and apparent historicity,[77] than to any literary quality. Its influence as a work of history derives from Guido's sober Latin prose and from his insistence that the *Excidio* and the *Ephemeris* are his main sources (*Hist.* 4). Guido does not mention the *Roman* as his

[75] In *Eph*. 4, Aias is chosen by lot; Menelaus, Idomeneus and Odysseus are excluded from the draw; Aias himself chooses the last two as his seconds.

[76] Griffin 1936: xvi–xvii.

[77] Meek 1974: xi.

exemplar; indeed, he modifies many of Benoît's amplifications, criticising the time-consuming lure of *magis ornatum dictamen*, 'a more ornate style' (*Hist.* 276).[78] Nevertheless, he retains Benoît's tripartite structure; and although he reduces Idomeneus' appearances from twelve to ten, they occur in the same six episodes. Diomedes is mentioned on 29 occasions; Aias I, on 22; Odysseus (Ulysses), on 18.

Idomeneus first appears leading the Cretan fleet of eighty ships (*Hist.* 89),[79] but Guido cuts Benoît's line praising their quality. When Idomeneus appears next, at the Second Battle, Guido puts Idomeneus and Meriones (Merion) in charge of the eleventh, not the twelfth division; apparently a misreading (*Hist.* 132).[80] Later, he assigns 2,000 men to Idomeneus and 3,000 to Meriones (*Hist.* 134), strengths more realistic than the *Roman*'*s* 10,000 (*Rom.* 8425– 26), but removes Benoît's reference to the commanders' faith in their men and the men's pride in their division. While Benoît records the presence of Idomeneus and his men at the second encounter between Hektor and Meriones over the corpse of Patroklos, Guido notes that their presence does not deter Hektor from dismounting to strip his victim: *descendere ab equo non curans* [... ] *quod Ydomeneus* [... ] *contra eum pervenit ad bellum* (*Hist.* 134). Thereafter, like Benoît, Guido abandons Idomeneus, returning to him only when he is chosen to join Diomedes and Odysseus in negotiations with Antenor (*Hist.* 223). Guido's downsized account of the aftermath of the war ignores Idomeneus' eventual return in triumph to Crete (*Rom.* 28277–84) but recounts his support there of Orestes (*Hist.* 249, 253, 256) and Odysseus (*Hist.* 256–57, 261). Finally, he reduces Benoît's account of the death of

[78] Ibid. xxi–xxiii.

[79] Omitted by Meek: ibid. 87.

[80] Guido also retains Benoît's confusing reference to '[rex] Ipomenes' and '[rex] Meriones' in the second division (*Rom.* 8179–86). This is, however, signalled by Griffin, 132, n. 4, citing Constans 1904–12: I, 445.

Idomeneus and his son, cutting the fulsome comment on their loss (*Rom.* 29059–70; *Hist.* 267).

*Vernacular texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*

The vernacularisation of Guido's *Historia* in this period, notably by the *volgarizzatori* of Italy, ensures that the story of Idomeneus, elements of it, anyway, survives in a variety of western European literatures. Nevertheless, the earlier texts of that period do not abandon the *Roman*. Indeed, *The Seege* (*Batayle*) *of Troye* (1300–25),[81] an anonymous poem from the North West Midlands, initially intended for performance,[82] draws upon the *Excidio* and the *Roman.* On Idomeneus' (Edemoyne) single appearance, leading the fleet, the author not only counts the ships but, like Benoît, praises them: *fful wel arayd in al thynge* (and variants, *Seege* 76-77). The *Storia di Troia* (*c.* 1322)[83] of the Florentine, Binduccio dello Scelto, a *volgarizzamento* of the *Roman* in one of its prose versions,[84] similarly retains Benoît's praise of Idomeneus' men and their pride in their division (*Storia* 253).

The representation of Idomeneus in vernacular translations of the *Historia* (Appendix 4.2.1–2) is illustrated from nine texts. Italy is represented by the *Storia della guerra di Troia* (1324) of Filippo Ceffi, Florence;[85] and the *Cantari della guerra di Troia*, an anonymous poem composed after 1325, transcribed around 1369.[86] England is liberally represented by *The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* (after 1385) of John Clerk, Lancashire; [87] the

[81] Barnicle 1927 = *Seege.*

[82] Ibid. xxxiii–vii.

[83] Ricci 2004 = *Storia*.

[84] 'Prose 2', Jung 1996: 485.

[85] Dello Russo 1868 = *Storia della guerra.* In the eclectic fashion of the *volgarizzatori*, part of it is later used in the first Neapolitan *volgarizzamento*, Cornish 2011: 49–56; De Blasi 1986: 10–11.

[86] Mantovani 2013 = *Cant.*

[87] Panton and Donaldson 1869–74 = *Gest*.

*Laud Troy Book* (*c*. 1400) possibly from the East Midlands;[88] the *Troy Book* (1412–20) of John Lydgate, Suffolk; [89] and *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1473–74) by William Caxton, then working in Bruges.[90] Germany is represented by the *Buch von Troja* (1390-92) of Hans Mair, Nördlingen;[91] and France, by the *Recoeil des histoires de Troyes* (*c*. 1464) of Raoul Lefèvre, also in Bruges;[92] and *L'istoire de la destruction de Troye la grant* (1450–52), a drama by Jacques Millet, in Orléans. [93]

In the *Troy Book*, the *Recoeil* (Book 3), and the *Recuyell*, Idomeneus makes the same ten appearances in the same six episodes as he does in the *Historia*. The remaining texts cover fewer episodes and appearances, either through choice, omission, or because they end with the departure of the Greeks from Troy, thereby precluding episodes from the aftermath of the war. There are, in addition, frequent variations in the texts, where the author or transcriber either misreads the *Historia*, uses a variant version, confuses characters with similar names, or draws upon additional sources.[94] Equally, there are occasions when texts are extended by an author's predilections. Thus, Lydgate's concern to proclaim the value of social order over contingency in his own time[95] may explain why he goes out of his way to emphasise the legality of Orestes' claim to his father's throne, thus validating Idomeneus'

[88] Wülfing 1902–03 = *LTB.*

[89] Bergen 1906–35 = *TB.*

[90] Sommer 1894 = *Recuyell*.

[91] Dreckmann 1970 = *BvT.*

[92] In the absence of a definitive edition of the *Recoeil*, I use Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 3326, identified by Jung 1996: 584–85, as the third version of Book 3 of the *Recoeil*, 'Guido C', from the third quarter of the 15th cent. = *Recoeil*.

[93] Millet 1883. In the absence of a modern, paginated edition of *L'istoire*, I follow Muir 2007: 245–46, n. 11, in citing the transcription of the printed edition of 1484 made by E. Stengel in 1883 = *L'ist.*

[94] The likelihood of confusion between the leaders of the second and the eleventh divisions (*Rom.* 8179–86, 8225–28) persists in those texts that have not been definitively edited.

[95] Fewer 2004: 241.

support (*TB* 5.1166–79).

Two texts exclude Idomeneus altogether. Both are intended for public entertainment and necessarily restricted in length and complexity. The *Cantari*, originally performed in the street,[96] draw upon Ceffi's *Storia dell guerra*, but omit Idomeneus from their accounts of the Greek fleets (*Cant.* 1.4–15), the second and eleventh divisions (*Cant.* 2.3–16), and the protection of Patroklos' corpse (*Cant.* 2.22–24). The *Cantari* end at the death of Achilleus, thereby precluding the negotiations with Antenor and the aftermath of the war. Idomeneus is is also absent from *L'istoire.* Based on the *Historia* and designed for performance over four days, it owes much to Millet's stagecraft;[97] his skill, for example, in reducing the original twenty-plus protracted battles to eight brisk encounters, each constructed around a single episode, like the death of Patroklos. That episode alone should have assured Idomeneus of an appearance, but his assistance in defending the corpse disappears in a stage direction: *les autres grecz se mesleront dedans la bataille a grans sons de trompettes* (*L'ist.* 10064). Like other figures in the *Historia*, he makes way for newly-created minor characters, such as messengers, to explain the plot and facilitate the action.[98]

If Idomeneus was known more widely through fourteenth- and fifteenth-century translations and adaptations, it was not as a commander or a counsellor but as a net provider for his peers and their progeny after the war. He might have fared better in the first two roles had his importance not already been diminished by the heightened action, romance or pathos accorded to his peers in texts from the *Roman* onwards. They each had, in addition to their prominent martial roles, either a love affair or a mental crisis that kept them centre-stage. Diomedes murdered Palamedes and fell in love with Briseïs. Aias I had a breakdown after he failed to win the Palladium and died in suspicious circumstances. Aias II abused Kassandra

[96] Cornish 2011: 44–45.

[97] Oliver 1899: 13.

[98] Ibid. 224.

and was punished by Athene (Minerva). Odysseus (Ulysses) lived up to his reputation for intrigue masked by eloquence but was Diomedes' accomplice in the murder of Palamides and was suspected of the murder of Aias I. Nestor was not only a respected counsellor but a father, desolated by the death of his son, Antilochus. Nothing that Idomeneus experienced or achieved in the war or its aftermath in the vernacularisations approached these traümata.

Idomeneus also suffered by comparison with Meriones, to whom Benoît and his successors accorded a better, albeit briefer, war. Meriones the *therapōn* was no more. He commanded in his own right part of the Cretan contingent, deploying it at will. As such, he had three encounters with Hektor, the last of sufficient importance to receive its own rubric, *Hic Ector occidit Regem Merionem* (*LTB* 172).

In the *Iliad*, Meriones and Idomeneus were involved in protecting the body of Patroklos after he had been killed by Hektor; Meriones, indeed, helped to carry it from the field (*Il.* 17.256–61, 656–72, 715–46). This was recalled in four lines of the *Excidio* (*Exc.* 19), where Hektor killed Patroklos in the Second Battle. He prepares to strip the corpse of its armour, but Meriones quickly removes it. Hektor pursues and kills him, but when he tries to strip Meriones' corpse, Menestheus, leader of the Athenians, attacks and wounds him. In the *Roman*, Benoît elevates this into a three-part episode with speeches, action and ending designed to please a courtly audience (*Rom.* 8364–94, 8446–71, 10049–70). When Meriones (Merion), leading 3000 men, discovers Hektor stripping the corpse, he first rails at him, *Loup enragiez* / *Autre vïande porchaciez*, 'Mad wolf, find other prey', then strikes him from his saddle. Hektor recovers, however, and tries again, this time on foot. Meriones, now with Idomeneus at the head of 2,000 men, again prevents him and under cover of the action puts the corpse over his saddle and carries it off the field. Much later in the battle, Hektor encounters Meriones in front of his tent: *Ja avendra* […] *vostre ore*, 'Your time has come', he tells him and cuts off his head. He sees the corpse of Patroklos in the tent and makes a

third attempt to strip it until Menestheus intervenes.

Benoît's version was epitomised in the *Historia* (132, 134–35, 145, 179). Guido made only one change: when Hektor killed Meriones, it was the latter's corpse, not that of Patroklos, that he tried to strip (*Hist.* 145). This version is followed closely by Mair and Lydgate. Elements of it also appear in the *Storia di Troia*, *Gest*, *Laud Troy Book*, the *Recoeil* and the *Recuyell* but with a confusion of names and identities. The uncertainty arising from the existence of two Meriones in the *Roman* persists,[99] however, and is compounded by misread minims. In the *Gest*, for example, 'Merion' leads the second division with Menestheus (*Gest* 6326–30) and opposes Hektor (*Gest* 6326–29, 6480), but 'King Menon' is killed by Hektor (*Gest*: insertion at 7042 ); while 'Myrion the mighty' is listed as Hektor's victim (*Gest* 8841, 14010).[100] The *Recoeil* distinguishes between 'Menon', leading the second division, and 'Merion', the eleventh, but makes the former the hero of the three bouts with Hektor; the *Recuyell* follows suit. Of the remaining texts, the account in the *Bellum Trojanum*, based on the *Excidio*, is almost as brief as that of its exemplar: indeed, Meriones' interventions and death are not stated so much as implied.[101] The *Liet von Troyge*, too, is confused by multiple Meriones. A Meriones attacks Hektor but is *zweigeteilt*, 'split in two' by Polydamas (*Liet* 5001–78); another appears later and unhorses Hektor (*Liet* 5882–87) but is killed by him (*Liet* 8881–87); finally, a third fights alongside Achilleus and Menestheus (*Liet* 10123–60).[102]

In the *Trojanerkrieg*, Konrad offers a different version of events. Meriones (Merion)

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[99] Above, n. 52.

[100] The first is Meriones of Crete; the second, confused with Memnon (Menon), the Trojans' ally, is Meriones, cousin of Achilleus, as is the third, Wilflingseder 2007: 75, 77, 120. Elsewhere in the *Gest*, Meriones of Crete (Merion) is confused with Memnon; the culprit here, however, is not John Clerk but his editors, Panton and Donaldson 1869–74: I, 128.

[101] Mora 2003: 226, n. 41.

[102] The confusion is signalled but not resolved by Kern and Ebenbauer 2003: 399.

is leader with Menestheus of the second division (*Tkrieg* 30536–39).[103] He attacks Hektor apparently in revenge for the death of Patroklos (*Tkrieg* 31216–40), not to prevent Hektor from stripping the corpse.[104] Konrad, in his regard for chivalry, here absolves Hektor of an unchivalrous act and provides Meriones with an alternative, equally chivalrous motive for intervening. His version of their encounters demonstrates his ability to palliate the common brutality of single combat with vivid imagery: Meriones charges at Hektor more bravely than a bison, *noch balder denne ein wisentier* (*Tkrieg* 31041); Hektor strikes Meriones' helmet so hard that sparks of wildfire fly, *daz im des wilden fiures melm* | *dar ûz begunde stieben* (*Tkrieg* 31066–67). On their first encounter, Meriones is saved by Achilleus, whom Konrad puts into the field, unlike Benoît, who keeps him behind the lines. On the second, when Meriones' deflected lance kills Hektor's horse under him, leaving Hektor fighting on foot but making the ground glitter with patches of blood, *mit bluotes* | […] *erliuhtet* (*Tkrieg* 31237–40), Menestheus intervenes. Their third encounter opens with an exchange of speeches, courteous in tone, sardonic in subtext, after which Hektor splits Meriones' skull, causing the top of his helmet and the shell of his brain to fall on the grass; Meriones is dead before they hit the ground: *daz helmes boden und diu schal* | *des hirnes vielen ûf daz gras*, | *und Meriôn erstorben was*, | *ê daz die waeren beide* | *gevallen zuo der heide* (*Tkrieg* 36578–82).

### *The* Iliad *in Latin in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*

Unlike the *volgarizzatori*, Trecento humanists, seeking greater philological precision in their exploration of classical literature, try to recover the original Greek texts, together with the scholarly apparatus that has accumulated around them. Unable at first to read the language, they also recruit scholars educated in Byzantium to provide not only tuition but translations,

[103] Hitherto identified as Meriones, the cousin of Achilleus, above, n. 39, and here treated as such by Kern and Ebenbauer 2003: 398, but not by Lienert.

[104] Lienert 1996: 149.

insisting upon Latin as the only appropriate medium.[105]

The earliest Latin translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* produced in these circumstances are by Leonzio Pilato, in Florence, in 1360–62,[106] under the patronage of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Pilato opts to translate the epics *ad verbum.* Petrarch privately doubts the wisdom of this;[107] his doubts justified by later critics,[108] who suggest that Pilato is probably incapable of anything more sophisticated.[109] Petrarch's doubts show in notes he adds to Pilato's manuscript, mainly to improve its accuracy. In the limp version of Agamemnon's exhortation to Idomeneus at the *Epipōlēsis* (*Il*. 4.251–64), Pilato translates the Greek 'μειλιχίοισιν' as *humilibus*, 'humble words'; Petrarch adds *scilicet verbis dulcibus*, 'gentle words'. Where Pilato reads 'Δαναῷν ταχυπώλων', 'swift-horsed Greeks' as *danaum citorum*, 'fast-moving Greeks', Petrarch ignores the altered epithet but emphasises the extent of Agamemnon's respect for Idomeneus, *idest super omnes*, 'that is, above everyone'. Petrarch is also unhappy with Pilato's version of Agamemnon's final line, *Sed surge ad bellum qualis antea iactabaris esse*, 'But go to war, be what you boasted of being before'. He prefers *hactenus dicebaris*, 'what hitherto you were said to be,' adding, *hoc est famam factis eque*, 'That is, live up to your reputation as a man of action' (*Il.O* 4.256–57, 264).

Pilato annotates his translations, drawing on the D scholia of the *Iliad* and the V scholia of the *Odyssey* and, indirectly, upon Eustathius.[110] His notes are mythological rather

[105] Cornish 2011: 159.

[106] Rossi 2003 = *Il.O.* Pertusi 1964: 200, suggests 1358–60 for the specimen translation, Books 1–5 of the *Iliad,* which Pilato produced initially for Petrarch.

[107] Sowerby 1997a: 45–46.

[108] E.g., Wilson 1992: 3, 13. Pertusi 1964: 440, is more generous and is endorsed by Branca 1976: 126, n. 46.

[109] E.g., De Nolhac 1907: II, 353.

[110] Pertusi 1964: 269

than philological,[111] but of use to Boccaccio, then completing the first draft of his *Genealogiae deorum gentilium libri* (before 1360–75).[112] In the case of Idomeneus, Pilato annotates the *Odyssey*, lines 13.259–60, the first of the 'Cretan lies', involving Odysseus, Idomeneus and his fictitious son, Orsilochus. Drawing, without acknowledgement, on scholia at 13.259, 267 and on Lycophron (*Alex.* 425), he comments on Idomeneus' parentage and his death at Kolophon.[113] Boccaccio himself also uses Servius' *Commentary* to augment his entry on Idomeneus. He paraphrases, with interpolations, the SD version of Idomeneus' rash vow, breaking off at the appearance of Idomeneus' son, *contigit ut ante alios filius desiderio videndi patrem illi fieret obvius etc.* (*Gen.* 11.32). The implication seems to be, either that Boccaccio believes that the story is by then familiar, although no other textual evidence for this has been found; or that he assumes that his readers have, or have had access to, the *Commentary* itself.

Almost a century passes before a more acceptable Latin translation of the *Iliad* in prose is made. It is the work of the Quattrocento humanist, Lorenzo Valla, and his pupil, Francesco Griffolini.[114] Valla completes Books 1–16 by the end of 1443 but seems to lose interest before his death in 1457.[115] Griffolini finishes Books 17–24 by 1461 at the latest.[116] The completed translation is first printed in full in November 1474 by Henricus Colloniensis and Statius Gallicus in Brescia. Familiar with Pilato's *Iliad*, Valla rejects its *ad verbum* approach, preferring to translate the text *ad characterem oratorium*,[117] the style preferred by

[111] Ibid. 291.

[112] Romano 1951 = *Gen.*

[113] Dindorf 1855: II, 570–71; Hurst and Kolde 2008: 425.

[114] Willing 2009 = *HPIl.*

[115] Schneider and Meckelnborg 2011: 4–57.

[116] Ibid. 11.

[117] Besomi and Regoliosi 1984: 191–92.

humanists for public readership.[118] Griffolini is said to follow Valla's practice.[119] Despite the popularity of their translation in the decades immediately following its publication, however, its value as an interpretation of the epic and its verse is generally questioned by modern critics.[120] While the 32 passages concerning Idomeneus do nothing to amend this view, they illustrate the translators' methods: paraphrase, amplification to ensure clarity, and the omission of formulaic epithets and other ancillary phrases. They also provide examples of the errors that ultimately mar the reputation of the work.

The process is illustrated in Valla's version of the *Epipōlēsis* (Appendix 4.3.1). As in most of the other passages involving Idomeneus, the Latin text is longer. Here, the original Greek runs to 107 words, 47 of which Valla omits; while the Latin version runs to 120, 31 of which are interpolations. In fairness to Valla, however, his prolix text is clear and his decorous Latin captures something of Agamemnon's equivocal nature: his version of the final injunction, *hoios paros eucheai einai*, though longer in Latin, *et qualem te fore gloriari soles,* is equally pointed. The graver textual errors in these passages occur on Griffolini's watch. In the first, during Idomeneus' fight with Hektor, his version, *Is pulchra Lycto secutus, pedes, primus e navibus militavit* (*HPIl.* 17.356–57) for *ὅς ῥ' ἐκ Λύκτου ἐυκτιμένης ἕπετ' αὐτῷ | πεζὸς γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα λιπὼν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας* (*Il.* 17.611–12), misses the unsignalled switch of subject from Koiranos to Idomeneus at 'πεζός', *pedes*, 'on foot'.[121] In the second, at the *Athla, Equi primi Diomedis sunt, qui sequuntur Eumelis, scite equos regentis* (*HPIl.* 23.268–69) for *ἵπποι δ' αὐταὶ ἔασι παροίτεραι, αἳ τὸ πάρος περ | Εὐμήλου δ' αὐτὸς ἔχων εὔληρα βέβηκε* (*Il.* 23.480–81), he mistranslates the angry response of Aias II. In the Greek, Idomeneus claims that Diomedes is in front, but Aias II corrects him, saying that it is Eumelos. In

[118] Kircher 2014: 62–63.

[119] Ford 2007: 40–41.

[120] For a judicious assessment, acknowledging the lack of adequate reference works: ibid. 38.

[121] Edwards 1991: 122.

Griffolini's translation, however, Aias II asserts that Diomedes' horses are in front. It seems churlish to focus upon the limitations of the translation, but Valla and Griffolini themselves may have viewed it as a functional rather than a virtuosic project. It has, indeed, been argued that Valla might not have undertaken the task, had it not been a royal commission;[122] while Griffolini's subsequent translation of the *Odyssey* is an unashamedly flat, prose paraphrase.[123] Nevertheless, their translation of 1474, followed by ten printed editions in Italy, France and Germany, makes the *Iliad* accessible in Latin prose for Greekless, Homer-hugging humanists,[124] until the first, complete *ad verbum* translation in verse by Andreas Divus in 1537 replaces it in popularity.[125]

*Der ellenhafte werde man*

Idomeneus is represented in the medieval West as 'Κνώσιος Ἰδομενεύς', senior commander at Troy and ruler of Crete in the aftermath of the war. He has a modest role in Latin and vernacular, Troycentric, romances like the *Roman*, the *Historia*, the *Trojanerkrieg* and its *Fortsetzung*. *Lyctius Idomeneus*, the filicide, is marginalised. Iliadic Idomeneus, the ageing *aristos*, remains largely inaccessible in the West until the late fifteenth century, when he makes his first appearance in print there in the unflattering Latin prose of Valla and Griffolini.

[122] Sowerby 1997a: 62.

[123] '[Griffolini] habe mit seiner Übertragung Homer, den *poeta eloquentissimus*, fast sprachlos Gemacht'; 'Griffolini's translation made Homer, the most eloquent of poets [as he called him] almost speechless', Schneider and Meckelnborg 2011: 12, 19.

[124] Homage to Graziosi 2016: 1.

[125] Ford 2007: 26.

# CHAPTER 5: REVIVAL, 1504 – 1675

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, printed versions of the complete *Iliad*, in Greek, Latin and the vernacular, from pocket octavos to luxury folios, circulate in the West. Accordingly, the original account of Idomeneus at Troy is for the first time readily available to scholars and students, teachers and pupils, their numbers growing as Greek enters the curricula, first of universities,[1] then of schools.[2] It is also available to critics of the epic and its poet, although it does not seem to have featured prominently in their attacks.[3] And it is accessible to the literate public, among them creative writers who conflate it with accounts of Idomeneus' rash vow and other post-war experiences, familiar from earlier vernacularisations. As a result, Idomeneus appears in a variety of literary and dramatic adaptations, from pan-Gallic fantasy[4] through 'Tudor interlude' to Italian burlesque.

## *Sixteenth-century Greek texts and Latin translations*

The first complete Greek *Iliad*s to appear in this century are printed in Italy, but by mid-century, production is centred on France[5] and on Germany, including Strasbourg[6] (arguably the first 'Buchstadt'). Together, the three countries produce forty Greek, Latin and bilingual editions, including successive republications and reprintings.[7] Such is their availability, to those who can afford them, that insular English printers see no need to risk the trouble and

[1] Burke 1998: 89–90.

[2] Houston 1988: ch. 2.

[3] Not prominently enough, anyway, to feature in Sowerby 1997a and b.

[4] Shepard and Powell 2004: 70.

[5] For the changing relationship of the book-trade in Italy and France, encapsulated at a local level, Deramaix and Vagenheim 2006: 12–13.

[6] Ford 2006: 3–6.

[7] Data from Young 2003: 177–88, as amended by Ford 2006: 3, n. 9.

expense of contributing to their number[8] until the century is almost over.[9]

Sequentially, the editions illustrate the refinement of the Greek text through the publication of early scholia and the philological studies, individual and communal,[10] of three generations of Continental humanists, aggregated, validated and disseminated in newly-published commentaries. The process is illustrated in the opening of Idomeneus' vaunt over Deïphobos (*Il.* 13.446–48). In the Aldine edition of 1504:[11]

> *Δηΐφοβ', ἦ ἄρα δή τις ἐΐσκομεν ἄξιον εἶναι,*
>
> *τρεῖς ἑνὸς ἀντὶ πεφᾶσθαι; ἐπεὶ σύ περ εὔχεαι αὖτως*
>
> *δαιμόνι ', ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐναντίος ἵστας' ἐμεῖο*, (*H.Il.* [144$^{v\cdot}$]).

In 1535, Johannes Herwagen's edition of the D Scholia[12] clarified, but did not amend 'ἄξιον'.[13] In 1566, however, Henri Estienne II, basing his edition of the *Iliad*[14] on a comparative study of current editions (*Poet.* 18), inserted a full-stop after *αὖτως* , transforming *δαιμόνι*, 'idiotic', into *Δαιμόνι*, 'You idiot',[15] the powerful opening of Idomeneus' challenge (*Poet.* 212).

For those who preferred their *Iliad* in Latin, the prose *Homeri Poetae Ilias* of Valla and Griffolini was republished seven times between 1502 and 1541.[16] Thereafter, it was overshadowed by new translations in verse. In 1537, Andreas Divus produced a literal rendition of the Aldine text, *ad verbum translata*, that ran to seven editions by 1540.[17] In that

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[8] Wolfe 2015: 488; Demetriou and Pollard 2017: 15–16.

[9] Homer 1591.

[10] Turner 2014: 49–50.

[11] Manutius 1504 = *H.Il.*

[12] Homer 1535: 231. Not the earliest collection but better presented than its predecessors.

[13] van Thiel 2014: 434.

[14] Homer and others 1566 = *Poet*.

[15] Fagles 1991: 356.

[16] These and the following statistics are based on Young 2003: 177–82.

[17] Divus 1537.

year, Elias (Helius) Eobanus Hessus produced a more expansive version that ran to six editions by 1550.[18] Their differing styles show in their versions of Idomeneus' gibe. Divus is brisk, *Tres uno pro interfecisse*; Hessus, more specific, *Me tres occidisse viros, te scilicet unum*.[19] By the end of the century, however, the best buy was undoubtably the bilingual edition of the *Iliad* of Eusebius Episcopius (Bischoff), published in 1583, in which the Greek text and Latin translation were framed by the Latin commentary of Jean de Sponde.[20]

Drawing heavily on Eustathius, whose twelfth-century commentary was first printed between 1542 and 1550, Sponde's comments on the passages involving Idomeneus are astute. When Meriones, telling Idomeneus how he broke his spear, uses the first-person plural (*Il.* 13.254–58; *Bellum* 247), Sponde suggests either that, as friends, Meriones and Idomeneus held their weapons in common, *qua omnia sunt amicis communi*; or that Meriones, throwing the spear, and Deïphobos, fending it off, broke it between them (*Bellum* 248). When Idomeneus vaunts facetiously over the corpse of Othryoneus (*Il.* 13.374–82; *Bellum* 249), Sponde comments on the singularity of the occasion, *Rarum quidem est, ut in Iliade Homerus risum excitet* (*Bellum* 251). When Idomeneus, facing Aineias, is said to show no fear, *φόβος* (*Il.* 13.470; *Bellum* 252) but later admits to it (*Il.* 13.481–82; *Bellum* 252), Sponde reconciles the statements, arguing that *φόβος* is to be read not as 'fear', but as an inclination to flight, *Ergo pro fuga accipiendum* (*Bellum* 254). Sponde is sometimes patronising: noting Henri Estienne's *Daimoni* (*Poet.* 212), he gives it benign approval, *quod ego lubenter amplector* (*Bellum* 251). Equally, he can be pragmatic: dismissing futile efforts to identify the wounded Cretan evacuated from the line by Idomeneus (*Il.* 13.210–15), he respects the poet's decision not to give him a name, *ubi poeta ipse tacuit, silendum quoque nobis est* (*Bellum* 248). And

[18] Hessus 1540.

[19] Divus 1537: [144$^{v}$]; Hessus 1540: 333.

[20] de Sponde 1583 = *Bellum*. For the respective responsibilities of Episcopius and de Sponde: ibid. 8; Boase 1977: 22; Ford 2007: 156.

he is also direct, rephrasing Idomeneus' ironic challenge to Deïphobos (*Il.* 13.446–47) with an in-his-face reminder that if three kills for one are not enough, he could be number four: *ut si non satis est tres occidisse pro uno, tu quartus numerum expleas* (*Bellum* 251). Unsurprisingly, texts and commentary of the Bischoff-Sponde compilation had run to three editions by 1610.

*Vernacular translations*

The complete *Iliad* also appears in new, vernacular translations, mainly in the second half of the century, in France. There, the study of Greek epic, surviving early religious and cultural controversy,[21] flourishes under luminaries like Guillaume Budé and Jean Dorat, stimulating creativity in and beyond the academy.[22] Vernacularisation is allowed considerable latitude and duly enriches the French poetic register,[23] while vernacularised epics feature prominently in civil and political discourse.[24] The following examples illustrate the purpose and method of the translators, the visibility of Idomeneus in their texts and paratexts, and the integrity with which they transmit his story.

The first French translation, *Les Iliades de Homere* (1530),[25] is described by its author, Jean Samxon, as a prose, *ad verbum* translation from the *Homeri Poetae Ilias*, amended to make it closer to the Greek original, *de latin en langaige vulgaire au plus prez de la langue grecque* (*Iliades* 17$^{r.}$). Seemingly old-fashioned in approach,[26] the work is evidence of continuing interest in Late Antique and medieval Troycentric literature by humanists. To Samxon, the poet of the *Iliad* is not only a *Poete Grec* but a *grant Hystoriographe*, recounting

[21] Saladin 2000: ch. 13.

[22] Ford 2007: chs 2, 4, 5; Capodieci and Ford 2011: 11–23.

[23] D'Amico 2015: 6.

[24] Bizer 2011: ch. 4.

[25] Samxon 1530 = *Iliades*.

[26] E.g., Silver 1981–87: I, 8.

*maintz faictz chevallereux, et grande discipline militaire* (*Iliades* C1$^{r.-v.}$). The epic as a whole, he insists, is best understood through its *premisses et commencemens* as recorded in the eyewitness accounts of the *Ephemeris* and the *Excidio*, mediated by the *Historia* of Guido de Columnis (*Iliades* aa1$^{v.}$). Samxon summarises these in a preamble of 44 folios and extends Book 24 of the epic with a 33-folio account of the destruction of Troy and the aftermath of the war, drawn from the same sources.

Samxon's version of the *Iliad* retains 32 of the 34 passages relating to Idomeneus found in the original. He follows Valla (*HPIl.* 11.370) in omitting the brief *mis en scène* (*Il.* 11.500–03) that prefaces Idomeneus' evacuation of Nestor and the wounded Machaon from the field; but he cuts for no obvious reason Idomeneus' killing of Erymas during the *Patrokleia* (*Il.* 16.345–50; *HPIl.* 16.255–58). Samxon reduces Idomeneus' visibility further by ignoring all but three of the 26 epithets of rank or quality originally attached to him, replacing them with unmemorable paraphrases: *Ἰδομενῆα δαΐφρονα* (*Il.* 4.252) as *leur prince* […] *homme de grant force et vertu* (*Iliades* 49$^{v.}$); *Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς* (*Il.* 5.45) as *le noble Idomeneus dun long dard duquel il souloit bien user* (*Iliades* 56$^{r.}$); and *Ἰδομενεὺς Κρητῶν ἀγὸς* (*Il.* 23.450) as *premier conducteur des Cretenses* (*Iliades* 204$^{r.}$). His single paratext, sparse and incomplete, makes no reference to Idomeneus. Indeed, the sub-heading of Book 13 covering Idomeneus' *aristeia* refers instead to the achievements of his principal opponent, Aeineas, *Comment plusieurs et divers assaultz furent entre les Troiens et les Grecz*: *et combatit Enee et plusieurs aultres dung et aultre coste* (*Iliades* 141$^{r.}$).

More representative of his era is Hugues Salel, *abbé* and poet. Commissioned by François I to translate the complete *Iliad* in verse, he publishes only the first ten books before his death in 1553; his translation of the eleventh and twelfth books appears the following year.[27] Salel translates directly from the Greek but is also familiar with the Latin versions of

[27] Salel 1545, 1554.

both Valla and Andreas Divus. He decides against an *ad verbum* translation, *Non vers pour vers*, insisting that no-one can handle Greek epithets in modern metres, *car persone vivante* […] *ne scauroit faire entrer les Epithetes | Du tout en rhythme*, [28] and his choice of decasyllabic couplets is well-regarded then, as now.[29] His single, structural change is to cut the Catalogue of Ships, probably on grounds of length and limited reader-interest. Salel's work is continued by a second poet, Amadis Jamyn, and the completed epic published as *Les XXIIII livres de l'Iliade* under their joint names in 1577.[30] Jamyn, however, writes in alexandrines and in the 1577 edition replaces Salel's earlier version of Book 12 with his own. A comparison of the two suggests that Jamyn, too, works from the Greek text but more circumspectly.[31] Nevertheless, he accepts Salel's excision of the Catalogue, forbearing to restore it in 1577.

In jettisoning the Catalogue, Salel deprives Idomeneus of one of his more memorable appearances in the *Iliad*. He also cuts the very first reference to him, by Agamemnon (*Il.* l.145; *Livres* A6$^{r.}$); and, following Valla or Samxon, the *mis-en-scène* (*Il.* 11.500–03). Idomeneus thus appears in only 31 passages. Nevertheless, Salel is, despite his initial declaration, relatively generous with epithets. While he cuts eight of the nine that appear in Books 1–11 of the original, retaining only *Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα* (*Il.* 2.405), which he paraphrases as *Idomenee* […] *le Roy de Crete*, he supplies three of his own, *Roy des cretois*, *le bon Roy de Crete* and *le vaillant Roy de Crete* (*Livres* 111$^{v.}$, 145$^{r.}$ and 172$^{v.}$). Jamyn, however, paraphrases six of the original epithets: *δουρικλυτὸς* (*Il.* 13.210, 476), for example, as *Le preux Idomene* and *Idomene qui en la Grecque armee | D'estre brave a la lance avoit la renommee* (*Livres* 200$^{r.}$, 205$^{r.}$); and *Κρητῶν ἀγός* (*Il.* 13.221, 13.259) as *le Prince des Cretois*,

[28] Salel 1545, p. xv.

[29] For exceptions, Kalwies 1978: 599.

[30] Salel and Jamyn 1577 = *Livres.*

[31] Ford 2007: 290–93.

*le Duc Idomene, le chef des gend'armes de Crete* (*Livres* 200$^{r.}$, 201$^{r.}$, 358$^{r.}$). He also supplies on his own initiative, *Le preus/preux Idomene* and *Idomenee ayant des Cretois la conduite* (*Livres* 200$^{v.}$, 203$^{r.}$, 279$^{v.}$).

The paratext of the joint edition provides synopses for each book, which reflect, albeit crudely, the translators' perception of the relative significance, in the narrative, of Idomeneus and his peers. Aias I and Diomedes are each featured in five synopses; Nestor and Odysseus in four; and Aias II in two. Idomeneus is featured only once, in the synopsis of Book 13, where he is joined by Meriones. They are described as valiant fighters, who enter the line to uproar on both sides and win fame there: *entre* [*les plus vaillans hommes de l'armee Gregeoise*] *Idomené et Merionés gagnent une bonne reputation*: *comme ils vindrent aux mains és deux armees, d'un costé et d'autre s'eleva une clameur horrible* (*Livres* 195$^{v.}$). Unusually, however, Meriones also reappears in the synopsis of Book 17, helping to carry off the corpse of Patroklos; while his chivalry is again featured, Idomeneus' collateral role in the rescue is ignored.

In the course of the century, printing-houses move from centres of learning to centres of trade, their technology advances and their marketing grows more sophisticated.[32] Nevertheless, texts and translations of the *Iliad* continue to circulate in manuscript. In 1584, while a student in Vienna, Johannes Baptista Rexius translates the *Homeri Poetae Ilias* into German prose.[33] He explains that his effort is intended to entertain, *allen lustig zu lesen* (*Il.HT* 125), implying private circulation. Indeed, the translation remains unpublished until 1929,[34] when it was likened dismissively to a musician's 'Fingerübung', the 'fingering exercise' of a promising if not wholly proficient Latinist. Currently, however, Rexius is

[32] Pettegree 2011 ch. 4.

[33] Willing 2009 = *Il.HT*.

[34] Newald 1929; Willing 2009.

considered to write in a brisk, accurate and 'einbürgernde', 'naturalised', fashion.[35] He follows Valla closely, cutting the *mis-en-scène* and ignoring most of the epithets in the remaining 33 passages. He is sufficiently confident in the knowledge of his localised readership to dispense with a paratext.

Despite their common Greek or Latin sources, the three translations differ in interpretation. Their versions of the *Epipōlēsis* (Appendix 5.1, *Extracts 1–3*), for example, reveal their varied perceptions of the relative status of Idomeneus and Meriones. In the Greek original, Meriones is mentioned simply by name. In the *Homeri Poetae Ilias*, however, Valla makes it clear that Meriones is Idomeneus' subordinate: his charioteer, *Meriones autem auriga*. Samxon follows him but makes a point of setting Meriones' role in a recognisably chivalric context: he is an officer of Idomeneus' household, his master of horse, *aurige ou conducteur de ses chevaulx, cestassavoir son escuier descuirie*. Salel departs from his Greek text to raise Meriones' profile further, describing him as Idomeneus' friend, *amy*. Rexius alone leaves Meriones as a charioteer, *furmann*. Perceptions also vary over the relationship between Idomeneus and his supreme commander. When Agamemnon urges Idomeneus to be worthy of the honour with which he is favoured, Samxon and Rexius follow Valla in describing his tone as affable, *par plaisantes parolles*, *mit freündtlichen worde*. Salel, however, translates the Greek *προσηύδα μειλιχίοισιν* as *avec semblant courtois*, implying that the courtesy is assumed; that Agamemnon is, in fact, cautioning Idomeneus. He also interpolates a further four lines:

> *Voulant montrer que ces faveurs sont grandes,*
> *Ayant de moy tout ce que tu demandes.*
> *Montre toy donc aujourd'huy meriter*
> *Cette faveur.*

[35] Willing 2007: 482.

making clear Agamemnon's expectation that Idomeneus will comply with his wishes. Agamemnon's final exhortation, *οἷος πάρος εὔχεαι εἶναι*, *qualem te fore gloriari soles* […] *praesta*, Samxon renders as, *tel tu te soulois en gloire extimer*, retaining the accusation of boasting. Salel, with *comme souvent tu dis*, implies that Idomeneus is merely a bore. Rexius, having neatly 'naturalised' Agamemnon's injunction, *capesse proelium*, as *Frisch dran*, a sixteenth-century order to attack,[36] omits the accusation altogether in the bland injunction to show himself as the man he wants to be, *iezt erzaig dich dan, welcher du sein wilst*.

Such discrepancies affect the textual integrity of the three translations. The versions of Idomeneus' fight with Hector reveal a fundamental difference between Samxon and the others. He ends his version after the exchange of spear-casts between Idomeneus and Hektor and the collateral death of Meriones' *compaignon et charstier*, Koiranos (*Iliades* 174$^{v\cdot}$–175$^{r\cdot}$). He thus cuts lines describing Koiranos' self-sacrifice, the nature of his wound, the importance of Idomeneus' deliverance, Meriones' assumption of authority and Idomeneus' ignominious departure from the field. His decision to truncate an episode that focuses on loyalty and sacrifice surprises, since it is relatively brief and exemplifies the epic's *maintz faictz chevallereux* that Samxon explicitly admires. The episode contains unedifying features (Idomeneus is panic-stricken, Koiranos tracheostomised), but Samxon retains such passages elsewhere (*Iliades* 93$^{r\cdot}$, 141$^{v\cdot}$ x 2, 142$^{v\cdot}$, 143$^{r\cdot}$). It may be relevant, however, that his cut coincides with the sudden and confusing inversion of Koiranos and Idomeneus as subjects of the narrative (*Il.* 17.610–11); an interchange that Griffolini fails to signal clearly and one that Samxon may have found obscure.

Jamyn begins by reminding the reader of Idomeneus' status as leader of the Cretan contingent and may therefore have felt justified in omitting the expatiation on Idomeneus' survival. By cutting '*πεζός*' (*Il*. 17.612) however, he omits to explain that Idomeneus begins

[36] Ibid. 702.

the fight on foot and thereby fails to account for Koiranos' intervention with a chariot. In addition, he makes two interpolations, neither of them substantiated by the Greek or Latin texts. In the first, perhaps intended ironically, he observes that Koiranos is killed by the very spear-cast from which he had sought to save Idomeneus: [*l*]*e coup, duquel se vit Kirane prevenu* (*Livres* 279$^{v.}$). In the second, he attributes to Meriones the conscious decision to reject proud destiny, *de soy repousser la fiere destinee*, by dispatching Idomeneus to safety.

Rexius, producing a taut version of Griffolini's Latin, cuts the passages relating to Koiranos' self-sacrifice and Idomeneus' survival. His principal interpolation addresses the ambiguity in Griffolini's final line, which describes Idomeneus as fleeing, filled with fear, *Formido tum animum occupaverat*. Does Idomeneus fear for himself, or for the Greek army which, according to Meriones, faces defeat? Jamyn leaves the cause unspecified: *Car le frayeur desia le mettoit en souci*, 'For fear was already causing him distress'. Rexius, however, implies that Idomeneus' fear is personal: he is saving himself and his horses in the face of death, *damit sÿ sich vor dem todt erretteten.*

*Narrative adaptations*

Alongside vernacular translations of the *Iliad* and the *Homeri Poetae Ilias*, vernacular adaptations also appear. They combine episodes from the epic with material from the *Ephemeris*, the *Excidio* and other, more arcane, sources, often in support of nationalist and expansionist sentiment. The earliest is *Les Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* by the *grand rhétoriqueur*, Jean Lemaire de Belges; a work conceived in 1500 and published in three *livres*, effectively 'parts', in 1511, 1512 and 1513 respectively.[37] Intended to establish the inherent Gallic unity of Valois France, post-Valois Burgundy and Habsburg Austria, it presents an eclectic conspectus of historical, mythological, genealogical and literary sources.

[37] Stecher, J. 1882–91 = *Illus*.

These demonstrate the common origins of the Gallic races in the post-diluvian, Noachid foundations of Gaul and Troy (*Illus.* I.1–117); their renewal in the West after the fall of Troy (*Illus.* I.118–343; II.9–245) and the Trojan diaspora (*Illus.* II.259–308); and their consummation under Charlemagne (*Illus.* II.308–475). Its assorted titles, incremental publication and numerous textual disparities reflect its organic growth, complicated by the labile relations of the two houses and Lemaire's dependency first on a Habsburg then a Valois *patronne*.[38] Despite these limitations, it continues to be valued (with reservations about its rhetorical edge) as a work of literature, if not scholarship.[39]

The *singularitez* are self-contained episodes from the preliminaries, course and aftermath of the Trojan War, drawn principally from the *Ephemeris*, Lemaire's preferred source for the story of Idomeneus (*Illus.* II.92), the *Excidio* and the *Homeri Poetae Ilias*. They focus on Paris (Alexandre) as the agent of Troy's ultimate destruction and diaspora. Helen and Menelaos also feature prominently, and it is as Menelaos' cousin that Idomeneus (Ydomeneus) makes his more memorable appearances. The others are incidental; no more, perhaps, than an acknowledgement of his association with the author of the *Ephemeris*, whom Lemaire describes as Idomeneus' *cheualier stipendiare* (*Illus.* II.242). Again, he is less prominent than Aias I, mentioned on 26 occasions; Diomedes, 24; and Odysseus (Ulisses), 23. He is left between Nestor, eight, and Aias II, five.

Idomeneus makes an early first appearance; indeed, of his peers in the *Iliad*; Nestor alone is mentioned earlier but only by a few lines (*Illus.* II.56). Menelaos announces a forthcoming assembly in Crete, at which he, Agamemnon and other Greek kings, beneficiaries of the Cretan king, Atreus (Katreos), will receive their inheritance along with two Cretan heirs, his *beaux cousins*, Idomeneus and Meriones (Merion) (*Eph.* 1.1; *Illus.*

[38] Rothstein 2006: 732-67; Abelard 1995: 14–27; Gumpert 2001: 150–52.

[39] Lanius 1973: 160; Jenkins 1980: 16–17.

II.56). Lemaire presents the event itself in multiple contexts: dynastic harmony (*Illus.* II.93); communal shock, when news arrives of Paris' abduction of Helen (*Eph.* 1.2–3; *Illus.* II.94); and dynastic solidarity, as Idomeneus and the other Greek leaders follow Menelaos back to Sparta (*Eph.* 1.4; *Illus.* II.95).

Idomeneus' next three appearances occur during the war itself. He is responsible with Nestor for assigning female captives, among them Chryseïs (Astynome), to the Greek leaders (*Eph.* 2.19; *Illus.* II.139). The appointment is attributed in the *Ephemeris* to their joint reputation as men of good judgment. In the *Illustrations*, however, Lemaire describes Nestor as *le sage vieillard* but says nothing of Idomeneus' qualifications. Idomeneus is next credited with killing Akamas, king of Thrace, in battle. While the kill is, indeed, recorded in detail in the *Ephemeris* (*Eph.* 3.4; *Illus.* II.76), it is ascribed to Meriones in the *Iliad* and the *Homeri Poetae Ilias* (*Il.* 16.342–44; *HPIl.* 16.252–54). In any case, Lemaire omits the details. Finally, Idomeneus is wounded in battle by an unnamed opponent. In the *Ephemeris*, the incident is reported in personal terms: *vulneratus etiam Idomeneus dux noster*. Lemaire merely puts it in a casualty list (*Eph.* 3.14; *Illus.* II.179).

Idomeneus' final appearances come in the aftermath of the war. The fifth, when he is again ruler of Crete and is visited there by Menelaos, now reunited with Helen (*Eph.* 6.4; *Illus.* II.224), merely re-establishes their relationship. Lemaire uses the sixth, however, to demonstrate kinship as a driver of conciliation. Idomeneus is not just Menelaos' cousin but *parent* (in effect, foster-father) and backer of Orestes, Agamemnon's avenging, and in Menelaos' view, matricidal son. In this joint capacity, he engineers the meeting at which uncle and nephew are reconciled (*Eph.* 6.4; *Illus.* II.225–26). If Idomeneus' appearances in *Les Illustrations* are of limited significance, those as the cousin of Menelaos, accord with Lemaire's view of 'patriarchal genealogy'[40] as a force less for good than for political and

[40] Gumpert 2001: 145.

cultural hegemony.

In Italy, Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532) and other *romanzi di cavalleria* are the preferred reading at court and in the *piazze*.[41] They overshadow classical adaptations, the best-known of which runs to only two editions. This is *L'Achille et l'Enea* (1570) of Lodovico Dolce, [42] much admired in his time as a prolific editor, author, translator and critic.[43] Dolce is also the inventive associate of the innovative printer, Gabriele Giolito, not only editing classical and other texts for him but furnishing them with simple paratextual aids intended to reclaim the court and *piazze* readership. He targets the same sectors when he extracts from the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* their two predominant, hero-centred narratives and creates from them a single, continuous epic. He adds four paratexts, intending the work to be promoted as a *romanzo all' Ariosto*;[44] as it is, when Giolito publishes it two years after Dolce's death.

Dolce devotes 27 of his 55 *canti* to Achilleus. Beyond a reference to [*il*] *gran Poeta Greco* (*Achille* a[5$^{r.}$]), he does not mention his source(s). He is thought to have used a Latin *Iliad*;[45] and as a distinguished *poligrafo* (a 'man of letters', not a 'hack')[46] he would be familiar with the sources that covered Achilleus' early years and death. Dolce composes in stanzas of *ottava rima*, maintaining that their versatility makes them the apposite metre for heroic poetry: *Al poema Heroico diremo, che servino le Stanze* […] *lequali similmente possono riceuere ogni diversità di soggetto*.[47] He rejects the idea of literal translation (if, indeed, he ever considered it), preferring to rewrite his selected episodes in a style

[41] Beer 1987: 370-89.

[42] Dolce 1570. = *Achille.* References are to the 1572 edn in digital form.

[43] Terpening 1997: 3–5.

[44] Following Javitch 1991: 76.

[45] Tavella 2015: ch. 6, unpag.

[46] Richardson 1996: 213, 240; Terpening 1997: t.-p.

[47] Dolce 1550: fol. 90$^{r.}$.

appropriate for the Cinquecento, linking them by paraphrase, elision and excision, into a fluent, lucid narrative. This, in the case of Idomeneus (Idomeneo), he singularly fails to achieve.

Idomeneus appears in the narrative as an *aristos*, his name sufficiently familiar to be used without further description, *Ma ritorniamo a riveder alquanto* | *Quelle, ch'Idomeneo si faccia intanto* (*Achille* 195). The episodes in which he appears, however, are heavily, often carelessly, edited. At the *Epipōlēsis*, for example, Dolce cuts Agamemnon's reproachful admonition to Idomeneus (*Il.* 4.257–64), whose reply, assuring the king that he will demonstrate through his customary, undiminished courage, *vedrai de l'ardir mio gran paragone*, that he is indeed the king's special friend, *io ti sono amico espresso* (*Achille* 96), now seems otiose. Dolce also cuts Idomeneus' conversation with Meriones. Instead, he describes Idomeneus' inner dismay and anger at the plight of the Greek army and his intention of restoring its honour through his own valour, *tentar, se potea col suo valore* | *Ricourar egli il quasi estinto honore* (*Achille* 195); sentiments that contradict his bullish description of his fellow-commanders (*Il.* 13.311–27), also cut from the episode. In a final example, at the *Athla*, Dolce cuts Idomeneus' commentary on the chariot-race (*Il.* 23.457–72) and refers only to his doubts about the result (*Achille* 247). He reduces the ensuing angry exchange with Aias II from sixteen lines to five; and, oddly in an episode signifying Achilleus' returning humanity, cuts his conciliatory mediation from nine lines to two.

Dolce's economies suggest that he considered Idomeneus of only limited interest. This is confirmed in his paratexts. In the *Tavola de i nomi, et delle cose piu' notabili* (*Achille* b[2$^{v.}$]), an index of characters and their main exploits, Idomeneus appears only twice: as commander of the Cretan fleet and the killer of Othryoneus (Otrineo) (*Achille* 47, 196). Of his peers, however, all but Aias II (once) do better: Odysseus, on eight occasions; Diomedes, six; Aias I, five; Nestor, three. In the synopses preceding each canto, Idomeneus appears

once, at Book 20, where he will fight alongside Menelaos and others to save the fleet. This puts him equal with Aias I but below Odysseus, nine appearances; Diomedes, eight; and Nestor, two; Aias II is unmentioned. In the *Allegorie*, an allegorical interpretation of characters and events in each canto, Idomeneus is unmentioned, as is Aias II. The remaining peers, in contrast, are frequently allegorised: Odysseus and Diomedes, on nine occasions; Aias I , six; and Nestor, five.

*An English interlude*

There are also vernacular compositions in other genres, such as drama, where mythological and historical subjects furnish plots not only for the classically-constructed tragedies of Italy and France but for the hybrid productions known in England as 'interludes'. These offer high drama (tragedy), low drama (comedy), with additional, reciprocal action and commentary by characters personifying the abstractions of a morality play; there are also songs.[48] It is in an interlude, according to its published text, that Idomeneus makes his first recorded appearance on a western stage.

John Pikeryng's *Horestes* was published in 1567.[49] The identification of the author with Sir John Puckering, later Speaker of the House of Commons, now seems accepted;[50] as are the place and date of its only recorded production, at court between Christmas 1567 and Shrovetide 1568.[51] As intimated in its subtitle, *A Newe Enterlude of Vice, Conteyning, the Historye of Horestes with the cruell revengment of his Father's death upon his one* [own] *naturall Mother*, the play is a reworking of the story recounted in the *Ephemeris* and relayed

[48] Bevington 1962: 8–13; Happe 1972: 7–16.

[49] Axton 1982 = *Hor.*

[50] Phillips 1955: 227; Miola 2017b: 158. He is not, however, credited with the authorship in either the *ODNB* or *HP*.

[51] Bevington 1962: 61; Pincombe 2007: 163.

in the *Roman de Troie* and the *Historia Destructionis Troiae*. Orestes (Horestes), fostered by Idomeneus, avenges the death of his father, Agamemnon, by killing his mother, Klytaimestra, and her lover, Aegisthus; he is accused of matricide by his uncle, Menelaos, but they are reconciled and Orestes marries Hermione, Menelaos' daughter. The play's hybrid form enables it to explore in an accessible fashion the issues evoked by the story: divine and personal retribution, matricide, and lawful governance.[52] In the winter of 1567–68, it was a provocative choice. The queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, believed to have been complicit in the murder of her second consort, Lord Darnley, by her subsequent consort, the Earl of Bothwell, had in recent months been imprisoned and forced to abdicate. In the process, she had been compared by her detractors to Klytaimestra.[53] By recounting Klytaimestra's crime and by justifying Orestes' revenge upon her, Pikeryng not only reminds his English court audience of Mary's failings as a queen but emphasises her undesirability as a potential claimant to the English crown. In 1586, he will reiterate these charges more forcefully when, representing the Commons before his own queen, he presses for Mary's execution. [54]

The direct source of *Horestes* is John Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1412–20), which includes the story in its account of the aftermath of the Trojan War (*TB* 5.1157–79, 1467–780).[55] There, Idomeneus makes three appearances. He has no speeches, direct or indirect, but Lydgate's narrative represents him on each occasion as a judicious king, acting in an ethical and legally justifiable way. Thus, he fosters Orestes until the latter is of an age to regain his inheritance, *to whiche*, Lydgate stresses, *he hadde riȝt | By clere discent* (*TB* 5.1177–79).

In Pikeryng's *Horestes*, Idomeneus (Idumeus) has a more prominent role and a

[52]For subsequent re-assessments of the relative significance of these elements: Knapp 1973: 205–20; George 2004: 65–76; Shrank 2010: 523–41.

[53] Robertson 1990: 26–29.

[54] Staines 2009: 65.

[55] Merritt 1972: 255–66.

succession of speeches (his own and others') that elucidate his motivation. In its published form, the play contains 1,205 lines of verse that vary, according to character and context, from sixteeners and fourteeners to rhyme royal. There are thirteen scenes, un-numbered in the text and unsignalled other than by entrances and exits. The tragedy occupies six; in two of these and in four others, morality-play characters participate in the action or comment upon it; the remaining three scenes carry the comedy. There are 23 named characters: eleven appear in the tragedy; seven in the comedy; the remaining five are morality figures. In the published text, the characters are divided among a cast of six, Idomeneus being played by two different actors.[56]

Idomeneus is mentioned by name in the first scene, where his association with Orestes is explained: *Horestes to Crete with Idumeous dyd go | When his father was slayne by his mother most yll* (*Hor.* 25–26). Their personal relationship is explored in the next scene. Idomeneus has raised Orestes out of loyalty to the murdered Agamemnon whom, to Idomeneus' gratification, Orestes now resembles: *Of south, I joye for to behold Horestes actyve cheare | That which in the father sometime was, in son doth now apear* (*Hor.* 241–42; see also 293–94). It is, however, a feudal rather than a familial relationship. Idomeneus envisages Orestes as a *manley knight* (*Hor.* 292); while Orestes calls Idomeneus *that worthy kinge* (*Hor.* 221) and addresses him, kneeling, as *my soferayn lord* (*Hor.* 237) and *my leege* (*Hor.* 246). It is, therefore, in the context of regal suzerain and vassal, a system still familiar to a court audience in the 1560s, that the scene proceeds. Orestes has asked the gods if he should seek revenge upon his mother or let her live. 'The Vyce', a morality character, intent on stirring up strife, pretends to be their messenger, assuring Orestes that the gods are in favour of revenge. Orestes, as a feodary, now seeks the permission of Idomeneus, his lord. There is, he says, *a thing* [which] *very much, O king, I do requier* (*Hor.* 248). Idomeneus

[56] Axton 1982: 94.

responds cautiously, *if we suppose it laufull for to be, | On prynces faith without delaye it shall be given the* (*Hor.* 249–50). Orestes then announces his proposed revenge. Idomeneus himself does not assess its lawfulness: as he later cautions Orestes, *over rashe in doinge ought doth often damage bring*: | *Therfore take councell first, before thou dost anye thinge* (*Hor.* 479–83). Accordingly, he seeks the opinion of his counsellor, who holds:

> […] *it should be nothing ill,*
>
> *A prynce for to revenged be on those which so dyd kyll*
>
> *His fathers grace; but rather shall it be a feare to those*
>
> *That to the lyke at anye time their cruell minds dispose* (*Hor.* 268–71).

and encourages Idomeneus to support the venture. Idomeneus duly approves Orestes' intention and equips him with an expeditionary force of one thousand men (*Hor.* 244–305).

In the fifth scene, Idomeneus inspects Orestes' mustered force. Believing that Orestes' cause has divine approval, he is able to assure the men:

> […] *the gods for you shall fight,*
>
> *For they be just and will not se that you in case of right*
>
> *Shall be desstrest* (*Hor.* 462–64).

It is to reiterate this conviction and its corollary that he makes his final appearance, in the eleventh scene. Orestes has killed Klytaimestra and Aegisthus and is now in Athens, answering Menelaos' charge of matricide. Nestor presides over the hearing but asks that Idomeneus, also present, should participate, although he does not say in what capacity. Menelaos and Orestes make their cases, Orestes insisting that he believed he was acting as the gods had commanded. Idomeneus pre-empts Nestor's opinion by declaring his belief in Orestes' divine directive and indicates the danger of denying it: *as God is most mercyfull, so is he just lyke wyse, | And wyll correcte, most suerley, those that his heastes* [behests] *dispyse* (*Hor.* 986–87). Nestor concurs, threatening to fight anyone who thinks differently. This leads

Menelaos to accept the legality of Orestes' revenge, but he continues to reject the act of matricide. Idomeneus is again the first to intervene, bidding Menelaos to put the matter behind him and to think dynastically: *Horestes*, he reminds him, *is younge of yeares, and you are somewhat olde*, and he urges Menelaos to accept his exonerated nephew as his son-in-law (*Hor.* 1010–19). Menelaos remains reluctant but Nestor persuades him to accede. Compared to Idomeneus' presumptuous but well-intended interventions, Nestor's rulings prove more effective. It is surprising, therefore, to find 'the Vyce' in the penultimate scene ruing the failure of his efforts to create trouble and blaming it on *the pollycye of olde Idumeus* (*Hor.* 1068).

In *Horestes*, Idomeneus is concerned with establishing and subsequently defending the lawfulness of Orestes' action. He is an elderly king who has learned, and adheres to, the principle asserted by his counsellor, that a ruler must himself exhibit the moral rigour that he expects of his subjects:

> *For, lo, the unyversaull scoll of all the world we knowe*
> *Is once* [firstly] *the pallace of a kinge, where vyces chefe do flow*
> *And, as to* [two] *waters from on* [one] *head and fountayne oft do spring,*
> *So vyce and vertue oft do flo from pallace of a kinge*;
> *Whereby the people, seeing that the kinge adycte to be,*
> *To prosecute the lyke they all do labour, as we se* (*Hor.* 528–33).

The king is therefore constrained to correct such behaviour by lawful punishment, *least others be in fecte with that that they shall se | Their princes do* (*Hor.* 515–16).

*Seventeenth-century texts and translations*

Pragmatic English publishers contribute in a meagre fashion to the circulation of the *Iliad* in the West in the sixteenth century. George Bishop's Greek text does not make a second

edition; while Arthur Hall admits that his English translation of the first ten books of the *Iliad*, published in 1581, is a version of Salel's *Dix premiers livres*: *I have my wares at the second hande, as by Fraunce out of Greece, because I am not able to trauaile so farre for them, not understanding the Language*.[57] In the seventeenth century, however, English scholars, poets and publishers display a new confidence in their ability to compose, and in the capacity of their language to sustain, the translation of classical literature.[58] While the number of new and reprinted editions of the complete *Iliad*, Greek, Latin, and bilingual, published by the four countries, falls to a mere fifteen, twelve are produced in England.[59] The remaining three are from France; the low number the result of a growing preference there for editions of selected books of the *Iliad.*[60] If the academic and pedagogic market is slow, however, demand from the literate public for vernacular translations, for the *Iliad* as entertainment, increases. Together, the four countries produce 33: thirteen of them, first editions; seventeen, re-issues; and three, reprints of late sixteenth-century favourites. Of these, England produces fourteen, well ahead of France (eight), Italy (six) and Germany (five).

Confidence in themselves and their language instils a vitality in English classicists that contrasts favourably with the stolidity, and in Germany disarray,[61] of their Continental counterparts.[62] Certainly, there is nothing stolid in the eclectic origins and aims of the English translators of the *Iliad*. George Chapman, soldier, poet and dramatist, whose vigorous[63] account of the complete epic[64] runs to five editions between 1603 and 1640, represents

[57] Hall 1581: fol. A3$^{v.}$.

[58] Rhodes and others 2013: 55.

[59] These and the following statistics are based on Young 2003: 177–82.

[60] Hepp 1968: 11–13.

[61] Riedel 2000: 77

[62] Pfeiffer 1976: 143.

[63] Nicoll 1998: xx.

[64] Chapman 1611 = *Iliads*; Miola 2017.

himself as having inherited, in a 'Homeric bardophany',[65] Homer's *true sense*.[66] In attempting to share his inheritance, he creates a work of literature in English fourteeners that reclaims[67] and advances, not without some collateral obscurity, the language of his time. Chapman, 'a serious, though muddled student',[68] works from the bilingual texts and commentary of Bischoff and Sponde, augmented amongst others by the Latin versions of Valla and Griffolini, Henri Estienne II and Eobanus Hessus; his assessments of his Continental predecessors and contemporaries are, nonetheless, habitually less than gracious.[69]

Chapman's text, in its final form, contains all 34 passages relating to Idomeneus; none of them, it seems, seriously affected by his earlier revisions.[70] Scorning the limitations of *word-for-word traductions*, convinced that Greek and English[71] required [*o*]*nly a judgement to make both consent* | *In sense and elocution* (*Iliads*, *To the Reader* 103–06, 120), Chapman retains several of Idomeneus' epithets: 'ἄναξ' (e.g., *Il.* 2.405) as *king*, *King Idomeneus/Idomen*, *the worthy Cretan king* (*Iliads* 2.352–53; 7.145; 10.97; 15.301); 'δουρικλυτὸς' (*Il.* 2.650) as *warlike Idomen*, *Creta's king*, and, one of his signature compounds,[72] *the-famous-for-his-lance* (*Iliads* 2.572; 13.436, 444). Occasionally, he inserts an equivalent of his own devising, presumably for metrical reasons, e.g., Crete's *king*/sov'reign (*Iliads* 11.448; 13.340). In the paratextual synopses that Chapman provides for each book, Aias I and Diomedes are each featured in five; Nestor in four; Odysseus in three; and Aias II in two. Idomeneus is featured only once, in the synopsis of Book 13, as the killer

[65] Miola 1996: 49.

[66] Chapman 1609: fol. A4$^{v}$.

[67] Sukic 2007: para. 16.

[68] Fay 1952: 106.

[69] E.g., Sowerby 1992: 47.

[70] Bartlett 1935.

[71] Aias I is the only one of Idomeneus and his peers to be included by Bartlett among her 'heroes of Chapman's Homer'; Odysseus is also there but by virtue of the *Odyssey*, Bartlett 1941: 269.

[72] Fay 1953: 17.

of Othryoneus. Chapman also provides paratextual marginal notes identifying speakers, which reflect a similar hierarchy: Diomedes is named on 62 occasions; Aias I and Nestor, 49; Odysseus, 48; while Aias II and Idomeneus trail with seventeen and sixteen respectively

John Ogilby, who publishes a folio edition in 1660,[73] republished in 1669, is an impresario, publisher and later a cartographer, who wants to sell big, beautiful books, [74] ideally with a monarchist message.[75] Targeting recreational readers at the high end of the market, he enlivens his rhyming iambic pentameters with engravings subsidised by subscription,[76] and with a paratextual commentary of a traditional kind but in accessible English, as opposed to Latin. He does not identify his sources, but his notes rely heavily on Eustathius and Sponde. Ogilby is more sparing and less inventive with epithets. For 'δουρικλυτὸς', he offers the wordy *Idomeneus, who did much excell | in Feats of War*, and an unhyphenated *famous for his Speare* (*HIT* 59, 285); for 'ἀγός', he uses both *Generall* and *prince* (*HIT* 286, 288). Elsewhere, he uses, indiscriminately and less memorably, *stout* twice, *bold*, *feirce* and *stern* (twice) (*HIT* 100, 155, 288, 292, 293). His synopses contain fewer references to the *aristoi* than Chapman's: Nestor is featured in six; Aias I and Diomedes, in four; Odysseus, in two. Aias II and Idomeneus are featured once; Idomeneus again in association with Othryoneus.

Thomas Hobbes is sufficiently vital in his eighties to undertake a translation of the *Iliad*,[77] remarking that there was nothing else to do.[78] His throwaway line is taken seriously, however, and his version criticised for its inappropriately low key. It runs, nevertheless, to five editions between 1675 and 1689. It is read now as a final attempt by Hobbes to promote

[73] Ogilby 1660 = *HIT*.

[74] Ereira 2016: ch. 7.

[75] Lynch 1998: 26.

[76] Peck 2005: 272–73.

[77] Hobbes 1675 = *HIE*; Nelson 2008.

[78] Hobbes 1677: fol. A11$^{v}$.

his own political philosophy, conveyed through interpolation and excursus within the text .[79] The 34 passages relating to Idomeneus, however, offer little evidence of a philosophical subtext but are, ironically, enhanced by Hobbes' workaday style, as shown in his depiction of the coward waiting in ambush, the lines punctuated by breathless monosyllables:

> *He cannot without trembling quiet sit*,
>
> *But dances on his Hams, and changes hue*;
>
> *And cannot hold himself upon his feet*;
>
> *And shakes his Chaps. These things a Coward shew*.[80] (*Transls of H*. 13.261–64):

Hobbes does not list the texts on which he based his translation. Recent research, however, suggests that they included the published *Parekbolai* of Eustathius (1542–50) and the edition of Henri Estienne II (1566) as well as those of Hall, Chapman and Ogilby.[81] Further one-liners suggest that Hobbes has a low opinion of the last,[82] translation and commentary alike; nevertheless, like Ogilby, he chooses to write in pentameters but with alternating rhymes. Hobbes restricts his epithets largely to nine permutations of '*King Idomeneus of Crete*', although he rarely assigns 'King' to any other of the Greek leaders.[83] He provides no synopses but his brief register of contents refers to Diomedes on three occasions, Aias I and Nestor, twice and Odysseus once. He does not annotate his text but his reason, *I had no hope to do it better than* […] *M^r^ Ogilby*, is read now as another throwaway, concealing his derision.[84]

The extent to which the detail of Idomeneus' story survives the translators' adjustments, omissions and interpolations is illustrated here from three phases of the

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[79] Nelson 2008: xxi.

[80] 'Hams' = 'backs of thighs'; 'chaps' = 'jaws', ibid., 205, nn. 239–40.

[81] Ibid. xxiv

[82] Ibid. xix.

[83] Ibid. 63.

[84] Ibid. xv–xix.

narrative: the establishment of Idomeneus as an *aristos* in the first five books; his speeches before and during his *aristeia*; and his exchange with Aias II at the *Athla*.

Idomeneus is introduced in the *Iliad* as one of four counsellors whom Agamemnon considers competent to return Chryseïs to her homeland (*Il.* 1.144–47). Chapman alters the original name-order to fit his metre, making Idomeneus the first that the supreme commander suggests (*Iliads* 1.143–45). Ogilby retains the passage in its original form but adds an introductory note, establishing Idomeneus as a direct descendant of Zeus and one of Helen's former suitors (*HIT* 8–9, n. m). In a separate note he defines Idomeneus' rank, 'βουληφόρος' as *not onely a Senator or Statesman but any one also that is able to advise and give counsel to others* (*HIT* 8, n. l). At the *Diapeira*, Nestor, Idomeneus, the Aiantes, Diomedes and Odysseus are described as *γέροντες ἄριστοι*, 'elders and leaders' (*Il.* 2.402–09). Chapman designates them *the peers* (*Iliads* 2.353), although whether as equals in rank or association is unclear. Hobbes calls them *such as in the Army Princes were* but interpolates an alternative qualification of his own, [*o*]*r held to be for Chivalry the best* (*HIE* 2.373, n. 65), setting them firmly in a courtly culture not long past. Chapman and Ogilby at length, Hobbes more briefly, retain the entry in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.645–52). Ogilby, however, provides a second genealogical note, this time describing Idomeneus as the son of Deukalion but the nephew of Minos, and as the uncle of Meriones (*HIT* 59, n. g.). At the *Teichoskopia* (*Il.* 3.228–31), Chapman cuts Helen's description of Idomeneus as *θεὸς ὣς*, 'godlike', interpolating instead the bland *in Crete of most command* to explain why *his Cretan captains* clustered around him (*Iliads* 3.250–51). Hobbes does the same, scorning even an interpolation. Ogilby, however, dignifies Idomeneus with *God resembling* (*HIT* 81), despite having earlier denied his directly divine lineage. At the *Epipōlēsis* (*Il.* 4.251–71), Chapman's version of Agamemnon's reproach interpolates a comment that the other leaders drank even diluted wine in controlled amounts (*Iliads* 4.275); a point that Agamemnon himself should perhaps have made.

Chapman omits, however, from Idomeneus' reply the allusion to an initial oath made by him to Agamemnon.[85] The versions of Ogilby (*HIT* 100) and Hobbes (*HIE* 4.239–55) distinguish only between rationed and unrationed wine; and retain Idomeneus' reference to his earlier promise of loyalty.

In the first of the aristeic speeches, Idomeneus defends the Greeks' fighting–spirit, which Poseidon (Neptune) has disparaged, but supposes that Zeus intends them to lose the war ingloriously (*Il.* 13. 221–30). Chapman omits nothing from the text (*Iliads* 13.203–13) but interpolates a curious rhetorical question, *And why is my intelligence false*? as a preamble to Idomeneus' situation report. He creates an elegant neologism, 'disanimating', to replace *οὔτε τινὰ δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον*, 'gripped by mindless dread'. Ogilby, unwarrantably interpolating *But to our shame*, makes Idomeneus blame the Greeks for attracting the hostility of Zeus (*HIT* 286). Hobbes omits Idomeneus' pathetic evocation of the fighting-man's dread of dying, nameless, far from home, which presages the frank evocations of valour and cowardice in his subsequent conversation with Meriones. In the course of it (*Il.* 13.288–94), Idomeneus asserts that brave men, like Meriones, bear their wounds at the front, not the rear, of their bodies. Both Chapman (*Iliads* 13.267–74) and Hobbes (*HIE* 13.271–76) omit *εἴ περ γάρ κε βλεῖο πονεύμενος ἠὲ τυπείης*, Idomeneus' clumsy introduction of the subject of wounds; possibly considering it otiose. Ogilby (*HIT.* 288) joins them in omitting also *πρόσσω ἰεμένοιο μετὰ προμάχων ὀαριστύν* (*Il*. 13.291), Idomeneus' arch reference to fighting between the two front lines as 'dalliance',[86] thus sparing him the charge of ribaldry. Idomeneus ends the conversation summarily, ordering Meriones to take a fresh spear. Chapman's first interpolation, *Lest some* […] *chide that we stand still and woo*, seems to reintroduce a bawdy note, but *woo* here means 'to exchange compliments'. His second interpolation, *Go, choose a*

[85] Or as a suitor, Kirk 1985: 358.

[86] Janko 1994: 82.

*better dart and make Mars yield a better chance*, is not supported in the text. Hobbes' otherwise taut version is marred by the interpolation, *I think it therefore best | You now go to my Tent and take a Spear*. Apparently created for the rhyme (*best* with the preceding *brest*), it reduces Idomeneus' curt order to a thoughtful suggestion (*HIE* 13.275–76). In Idomeneus' vaunt over Othryoneus, Chapman, with Sponde's commentary to hand reminding him that there are few laughs in the *Iliad*, treats the text (*Iliads* 13.353–63) with the same care that he treats passages of irony and satire.[87] He makes only one change of significance, replacing Idomeneus' reassurance that the Greeks respect a marriage settlement, *ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι ἐεδνωταὶ κακοίί εἰμεν* (*Il*. 13.382), by assuming that responsibility himself, *I'll be no jot worse than my word*. Chapman retains the exit-line, although Ogilby does it better: *off by the foot the Corps he drew* (*HIT* 290–91). Hobbes, whose unaccountable omission of Priam's promise, *Δαρδανίδῃ Πριάμῳ, ὃ δ'ὑπεσχετο θυγατέρα ἥν*, has already killed the joke, omits the exit altogether (*HIE* 13.354–60).

In the exchange at the *Athla* (106 words), the poet of the *Iliad*, as bT scholiasts recognised,[88] echoes an everyday scene from sporting life: two spectators in an abusive, unstructured, shouting-match. All three translators seem to have shared the scholiasts' view and retain the discursive style. Chapman's version is the longest (*Iliads* 23.416–27, 136 words) with three interpolations unwarranted by the text. Aias now begins with a derisive reference to Idomeneus' admission of poor sight, *Your words are suited to your eyes* (*Iliads* 23.417); he accuses him of hoping that Eumelos will fall; and he complains that Idomeneus cannot govern his speech: *You must prate before all of us* (*Iliads* 23.419). Ogilby, in his version (*HIT* 484–8[5], 78 words) shortens the speech, although he, too, interpolates a reference to Idomeneus' urge to talk. Hobbes retains Aias' insults in full; allowing him,

[87] Wolfe 2008: 160.

[88] Richardson 1993: 222.

indeed, to complain twice about Idomeneus' compulsive speech, *But you must talk, though from the purpose wide* (*Transls of H*. 23.484); *And yet to talk you love so much the more* (*HIE* 23.486).

Chapman describes Idomeneus' response as disdainful, not angry; and, possibly to make his point, interpolates in his reply the redundant and ugly compound, *Barbarous-languaged* (*Iliads* 23.424). Ogilby describes Idomeneus correctly as *incens'd*, although the latter's line to Aias, *furnished best with dis-ingénious Arts*, (*HIT* 48[5]) is less than incisive. Hobbes, however, in contrast to his predecessors, abridges the exchange (*HIE* 23.481–92, 94 words). He reduces Idomeneus' insults to one, the most decorous, *of all the Greeks the worst | Except at railing* (*HIE* 23.489–90), focusing attention instead on Idomeneus' diplomatic proposal of a wager. Ogilby and Hobbes were both monarchists,[89] but the philosopher, avoiding the nasty and brutish, and keeping it short, shows more discretion.

*Burlesque*

The confidence and vigour of English classicists is at length echoed in Italy, when 'Homer' declares, in print, that he wants to sing of the cruel wrath of furious Achilles with the bell-like tones of the *Berniesche* (Burlesque) style, convinced that people are bored nowadays by the deeper-toned trumpet of conventional translation. He appeals to Dame Caliope to teach him how to concoct this everyday dish: *Monna Calliopea dotta Maestra | Insegnami à compor questa Minestra* (*Il.giac*. 17). 'Homer', here, is Giovan Francesco Loredano, a Venetian noble, co-founder in 1630 of the influential, free-thinking *Accademia degli Incogniti*. His *Iliade giacosa* appears in 1653 with his name on the title-page,[90] but carries a prefatory letter to readers, written by him under an alias, in the character of the cautious publisher, together

[89] Lynch 1998: 27.

[90] Loredano 1653 = *Il.giac.*

with a reply over his own name, cheerfully claiming, *mi sono posto a tradur' Homero co'l solo fine di sollevar me stesso, non di dilettare gli altri*, 'I translate Homer with the sole purpose of cheering myself up, not pleasing other people' (*Il.giac.* A6$^{v.}$–7$^{r.}$).

Loredano retains the *Epipōlēsis* in his version of Book 4 of the *Iliad.* Idomeneus, amid his fierce but thieving Cretans, *gente brave e genti ladre*, is duly accosted by Agamemnon (*Il.giac.* 179–80). The supreme commander says nothing, initially, about Idomeneus' unstinted wine supply, but compliments him, instead, on his bulk, *maggior d'un Briareo*, 'bigger than a Briareos'; and on his manliness, *Amante, e Cavaliere | Co'l Brochiei che co'l Braghiere*, 'lover and knight, hoisting your buckler and unbuckling your breeches'. Idomeneus is, Agamemnon adds, finally addressing the issue of sustenance, *vincitor sei al Campo, e la Cucina*, 'a conqueror in the kitchen as in the field', *Tù tracanni i bicchieri a pancia piena, | Quando assagiar li ardiscon gli altri a pena*, 'downing your drinks on a full belly, while others hardly dare to taste them'. Flattery, then, rather than a warning, leads him to urge Idomeneus into battle, *E col sommo valor merca la gloria*, 'with the utmost valour, gain glory'. Idomeneus is unimpressed: he doesn't need to be fired up, *No hò bisogno d'esser infiammato*.

> *Adopra, ò mio Signor, l'esortatoria,*
> *Con quel poltron, che la virtude hā spenta*
> *Che attendon solo à empirsi di Polenta*.
> Save the rhetoric for the cravens, who have no strength left and just want to stuff themselves with polenta.

Loredano then transforms Idomeneus' succinct advice to Agamemnon, to urge the rest on, *ἀλλ' ἄλλους ὄτρυνε* (*Il*. 4.268), into a defeatist moan, unsupported in the original:

> *Deue tua virtù forte, e guerriera.*
> *Pieni di Vin si giuocano à Primiera*:

*Di quest, e non di mè pensier haverne,*

*Deue tua virtù forte, e guerriera*.

The war is a disaster. Lots of our men are in the taverns drinking and gambling […]

Worry about them, not me.

Idomeneus finally resumes his confident stance of the original and reaffirms his loyalty to Agamemnon, assuring him that if Phrygia (the Trojans) has eaten the candles, she will shit the wicks.

*Idomeneus in the dictionaries*

Among the printed *Iliads*, modern commentaries and improved lexica on the humanists' shelves,[91] a new information resource appears: the printed dictionary of classical and/or historical biography. It originates in lexica that contain, either in their main text or as a supplement to it, biographical entries for mythical and historical figures. The entry for Idomeneus in the 1504 edition of the *Elucidarius* covers his presence at Troy, his rash vow, his expulsion and his colonisation of Calabria, and compares favourably with those allocated to his peers (Appendix 5.2, *Extract 1*). Biographical dictionaries meet an immediate need among scholars, teachers and learners,[92] and, as the century progresses, are expanded to meet the needs of new generations (Appendix 5.2, *Extracts 2.1–3*). Sir Thomas Elyot, for example, had a dictionary in the press by 1537. It contained an entry for Nestor, but nothing on Idomeneus or his other peers. Flattered by court interest in his work, however, Elyot decided to improve it; his additions include entries for Idomeneus and the others (Appendix 5.2, *Extracts 4.1–2*), although these average nine words to Nestor's 23. In his edition of 1542, however, Elyot devotes 94 words to Idomeneus; only Odysseus does better with 116.

[91] Considine 2008: ch. 2.

[92] Starnes and Talbot 1955: ch. 2.

Mid-century compilers, like Konrad Gesner and the Estiennes, Robert and Charles, sometimes cite their authorities: their entries on Idomeneus are regularly ascribed to 'Homer' and to Servius' *Commentary*. They also devote entries to Meriones (Appendix 5.2, *Extracts 5.1, 3*). Gesner and Robert Estienne describe him as Idomeneus' *auriga*, 'charioteer', and co-commander of the Cretan fleet to Troy, and refer to his epithet, comparable with Ares (Mars) in waging war, 'ἀτάλαντος Ἀρεῖ', *Marti, ut ait Martis arbitrio comparandus.*[93] Elyot's *Bibliotheca*, however, as edited by Thomas Cooper in 1548 (Appendix 5.2, *Extract 5.2*), calls him *a noble man of the Greekes*, suggesting renewed confusion with Meriones, the cousin of Achilleus (above, p. 84).

Biographical dictionaries by their nature lack the detail of the specialised reference works that appear later in the sixteenth century and beyond. Reiner Reineck, for example, in the first part of his monumental *Historiae Juliae* (1594), provides substantive accounts of both Idomeneus and Meriones, with precise references not only to Homer and Servius but to the *Ephemeris* and other works of Late Antiquity.[94] Sir Walter Raleigh, in his *History of the World* (1614) [95] refers to Idomeneus less sedulously but in five different contexts: contradictions in his recorded lineage; his presence at Troy with Meriones; his safe return (no reference to the rash vow); his later expulsion; and his settlement among the Salentines. Nevertheless, the continuing revision and reissue of the dictionaries alongside such works during the seventeenth century ensures that the story of Idomeneus, in outline, awaits the constant reader.

*That worthy kinge*

Iliadic Idomeneus, the ageing *aristos*, predominates in the sixteenth and seventeenth

[93] Calepino and Gesner 1549: fol. [Q4$^{v.}$]; Estienne 1558: fol. Nn4$^{r.}$.

[94] Reineck 1594: 243–44.

[95] Raleigh 1614: 317, 330, 454, 458.

centuries, as multiple translations of the *Iliad* appear, to be valued, like 'Chapman's Homer', as an addition to the nation's literature; or to serve, like Ogilby's illustrated edition, *de meuble commun seulement, et de meuble de sale*; *in liew of common ware and stuffe for their hall*.[96] Paradoxically, however, his most prestigious public appearance is in the play, *Horestes*, based on the *Ephemeris*, and performed at the English court. There, he is the loyal and generous king of Crete, who fosters Orestes, son of the murdered Agamemnon, helps him to avenge his father and saves him from the charge of matricide.

[96] Montaigne 1588: 370; Florio 1603: 508.

# CHAPTER 6: ARRIVAL, 1690 – 1720

Hitherto, the reception of Idomeneus has been examined over 'longues durées' measured in centuries, or shorter periods of cultural change such as the Humanist Era. Here, in contrast, the focus is on France and England and is limited to a mere thirty years. Difficult years, nevertheless: marked in France by war and war-weariness and growing resentment of absolute rule; in England, by war and war-weariness, régime-change and rebellion. And, in literature, heterogeneous years: encompassing for some scholars the 'sunset' of classical Parisian drama;[1] for others, the gearing-up, 'élan décisif', of the French didactic novel;[2] for others still, the unedifying resumption of hostilities between *Anciens* and *Modernes* in *La Querelle d'Homère*;[3] and for those on this side of the Channel, the emergence of the professional poet.[4] In France, Idomeneus (Idoménée) is no longer the *aristos* of the *Iliad*, but the filicidal king from Servius' *Commentary* (S, SD, 3.121–23;11.264–65); his rash vow, the inspiration of three plays in which he appears eponymously and a prominent feature of the didactic novel reconceptualising kingship in which he has a pivotal role.[5] In England, in contrast, the first of the poetry professionals has no difficulty in recognising Idomeneus *mesaipolios*.

## *Idomeneus didacticised: drama*

In August 1690, the tragedy, *Idoménée, Roy de Crete*, is performed, in Latin, at the Collège Royal et Archiepiscopal de Bourbon in Rouen. In 1691, what is thought to have been the same play, now entitled *Idomeneus, tragoedia*, is staged at the Collège de Louis-le-Grand,

[1] As in the title of Lancaster 1945; '[cette période … ] que la critique a convenu de nommer stérile', Dunkley 1980: vii. Dion 2012: 14–17, is more positive.

[2] Granderoute 1985: I, 25.

[3] '*La Querelle d'Homère*', following Cammagre 2010: 145–46.

[4] Deutsch 2007: 14.

[5] '[o]n aurait pu imaginer que le livre s'appelât "Idoménée" ': Le Brun 2004a: 521.

Paris. In 1700, a second play, *Idoménée*, *tragédie*, is performed, in French, at the Collège de la Trinité in Lyon. The colleges are 'run' by the Society of Jesus; [6] the plays, written by members of that order, are performed by their pupils at annual prize-giving ceremonies, and attended by the remaining pupils, by parents and college patrons. Idomeneus owes his eponymous appearances on stage to the system of didactic drama that is for almost 150 years an integral part of Jesuit education and an influence on the evolution of theatre in Western Europe and beyond.

Jesuit drama serves collegiate and communal ends. It aims to stimulate and reinforce the academic and cognitive skills of the young performers and promote their self-assurance; to refine their spirituality and, possibly, that of their audience; and to advertise to the municipality at large, potential parents and patrons in particular, the quality of the education provided by the Society. Drawing their subjects from biblical, hagiographical, historical and mythographical sources, the plays generally have as their nucleus a plot in which morality, in a religious, legal or political context, is challenged, defended and preserved; the process itself often complicated by romance, friendship or family ties; its outcome usually the validation of the defence and the punishment of the challenger.

The eclectic sources and settings of the plays are apparent from performances staged at the college of Louis-le-Grand in the five years before *Idomeneus* (Appendix 6.2). The sources range from the Bible (twice) to the sixteenth-century histories of Paul Émile and Jean Regnart; the settings from Archaic Thrace to fourteenth-century Brittany; eight involve family relationships. Often insufficient in their original form to sustain the conventional five acts, the stories are augmented, *per Fabulae licentiam*, 'as allowed in stories',[7] with additional characters and sub-plots. They are also punctuated with musical interludes or

[6] Following Loach 2013: 116.

[7] [Programme] *Jephtes tragoedia* 1686: p. 2.

paired with allegorical ballets; and enlivened with elaborate costumes, stylish sets and state-of-the-art mechanical effects.[8] Six are performed in Latin, made accessible in French through translated synopses delivered onstage or provided in programmes; the number performed in French is not known, although, as the *Idoménée* demonstrates, vernacularisation is acceptable by the beginning of the century.

The appearance in the list of a tragedy based on the biblical story of Jephthah,[9] given at Louis-le-Grand only four years earlier,[10] reveals that filicidal sacrifice generated by a rash vow or imposed by the gods is considered acceptable as a subject; is justified, moreover, on moral, exegetical and Christological grounds,[11] and if the victim understands the purpose of the sacrifice and accepts it, despite well-meaning discouragement or protection;[12] if the victim is ultimately spared; and if the perpetrator is appropriately punished. Within such limits, it provides plots in which the is-he-going-to-and-if-so-when? tension can last the full five acts. It is nevertheless treated with caution: familial sacrifice, where natural love is subordinated to duty, is a powerful metaphor for liberty oppressed by absolutism; freedom of worship by religious authority. At all events, the story of Idomeneus, despite its pagan origin is duly admitted to the genre. [13]

All that survives of the *Idoménée* of 1690 is a brief report in the gazette, *Le Nouveau*

[8] Loach 2013: 113–39; Wetmore 2016: 11.

[9] Summarised in Le Brun 1996: 79–81.

[10] Desgraves 1986: 21, 46, 58, 95, 111.

[11] Grosperrin 2007a: 171, notes in the last of these contexts that the play was given in the Collège de la Trinité at the Feast of Holy Trinity, and that the father and self-sacrificing son are, significantly, given the same name.

[12] A trope whose basic elements (revelation, debate, resolution and commission) are an innovative, if understated, theme in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* (*c*. 408 BCE). It would have been familiar to readers from the *Giocasta* of Ludovico Dolce (1549), a widely-read Italian translation, probably mediated through Robert Winter's Latin version of 1541; *Giocasta* itself was translated into English by 1566; Hall 2010: 282–85; Terpening 1997: 221–22.

[13] Grosperrin, 2008: xxvi–xxx.

*Mercure Galant.*[14] It names the author of the play as Antoine Despineuil, S.J., who is thought to have taught rhetoric in the college.[15] The action takes place immediately after Idomeneus (Idoménée) has returned from Troy to Crete, having by his rash vow destined his son, Idée, to be sacrificed. Idomeneus at first accepts that he must honour his vow and sacrifice his son. He is opposed by his wife, who reveals that in his absence, she has arranged for Idée to marry Electra (Electre), Agamemnon's daughter, now living in retirement in Crete after the murder of her father. The Cretans, too, find the intended sacrifice repugnant; they plan to depose Idomeneus and replace him with Idée. Idée, however, aware that Idomeneus' failure to fulfil his vow will incur the vengeance of the gods, disappears during the preparations for his wedding and secretly sacrifices himself. Brief as it is, the report shows clearly that Idée, rather than Idomeneus, has the more sympathetic role.

The production of 1691 is described at greater length in the programme that accompanies it.[16] Its eight pages offer paragraph-length synopses in French of each act; indicate elements of the plot interpolated by Despineuil, such as the Cretans' rebellion; and list the cast of ten, together with five others who perform as an interlude a selection of the principal scenes in French. In addition to Idomeneus, Idée, the queen (Mede) and Electra, the characters of the tragedy include Meriones (Merion), commander of Idomeneus' army; Archilochus, governor of Knosus, where the action is set; and Chalcas, the priest responsible for performing the sacrifice.

Eponymity notwithstanding, Idomeneus appears only in Acts 1, 3 and, briefly, 5. Nevertheless, his protracted vacillation, between his intuitive desire to save his son, 'la nature' in the synopsis,[17] and his traditional obedience to the gods, 'la Religion', drives most

[14] Ibid. 86.

[15] Ibid. n. 2.

[16] Ibid. 87–91.

[17] Ibid. 90.

of the action. Painfully accepting that Idée must die, Idomeneus defers the arranged marriage as soon as Mede mentions it. Meriones, to console her, tries to put Idée beyond Idomeneus' reach but cannot persuade him to abandon Electra. Idomeneus then resolves that Idée should live, denying Chalcas a victim and incurring his enmity. After further deliberation, however, he accepts again that his son must die. Idée, informed by Chalcas that the gods oppose his marriage, shares his father's opinion and offers himself to Chalcas as a victim, but Archilochus, replacing Meriones as his protector, saves him. In the final act, rebellious Cretans demand Idée on Chalcas' behalf, but Idomeneus (reason unsupplied) refuses. Thereafter, in a series of eight events, most of them reported, Idée disappears, prompting the disconsolate Mede and Electra to assume that he is dead. Archilochus announces, however, that he has suppressed the rebellion, Idée is safe and Idomeneus (reason again unprovided) has fled. Mede and Electra rejoice, only to learn that Idée has sacrificed himself to protect his father from divine retribution.

*Idoménée, tragédie*,[18] given in French in 1700, is one of the few Jesuit plays to survive as a text.[19] Written by François Paulin, S.J., another teacher of rhetoric, it is restricted to a cast of six: Idomeneus; Young Idomeneus (Le Jeune Idomenée), his son; Meriones (Mérion), his commander-in-chief; Protésilas, regent during his absence at Troy; Dictys, son of the last, a friend of Young Idomeneus; and Phronésime, high priest of Poseidon (Neptune). Paulin sets the action, a similarly restrictive 1,226 alexandrines, in the Cretan port of Cydonia, enabling Idomeneus, early in Act 1, to disembark from his fateful voyage, catch sight of his son waiting to welcome him, cry in horror, *Vous, mon fils* (*Id.trag.* 161) and deliver eight stichomythic expressions of dismay at a disaster that he believes will render him, within the day, filicide or forsworn, *en ce jour parricide ou parjure* (*Id.trag.* 314). The

[18] Ibid. 13–73 = *Id.trag.*

[19] Eickmeyer 2018.

ensuing four acts retard the verification of his prognosis and ultimately discredit it.

Idomeneus, resolving to spare his son but unable to trust his resolve, orders Meriones to keep Young Idomeneus out of sight, *Je ne sçay si ma foy dans l'horreur qui me presse | Ne l'emporteroit point par dessus ma tendresse* (*Id.trag.* 361–62). His son resists, however, forcing Idomeneus to explain, convolutedly, the need for obedience, *c'est vous rendre envers moy criminel | Si ce jour voit vos pas approcher de l'Autel* (*Id.trag.* 507–08); and to banish him from Cydonia, smugly telling Phronésime, when he demands his victim, *Mon coeur sent, je l'avoüe, une secrette joye | Qu'on enlève à Neptune une si chere proye* (*Id.trag.* 682–83). He is shocked, therefore, to learn that Dictys has, at the last minute, persuaded Young Idomeneus not to leave, assuring him of Idomeneus' enduring love. When Phronésime now insists that Idomeneus must sacrifice his son for his own good and that of the state. Idomeneus submits, absolving himself of any further responsibility, *Mon bras pour le sauver feroit un vain effort. | Je cède et laisse aux Dieux justifier sa mort* (*Id.trag.* 727–28). As Phronésime assures Idomeneus that he has acted within his right as king, however, Meriones interrupts him to announce that he is king no longer: the people have chosen Young Idomeneus to replace him.

Idomeneus remains resolute but demands to see Young Idomeneus and, awaiting him, has a further change of heart, *Cédons à la tendresse, au sang, à la Nature*: | *Sauvons-le* (*Id.trag.* 826–27). Persuaded by Protésilas, however, that Young Idomeneus himself has led the coup, Idomeneus reneges, *L'ingrat*! […] *Contre un Roy, contre un père oser cet attentat*? (*Id.trag.* 849, 852) and rejects him, *Va, je te désavoüe, et ne te connais plus* (*Id.trag.* 879). Young Idomeneus protests his innocence, and it is left to Dictys, once again, to confess that it is he who has roused the people to save both Idomeneus and his son for Crete; that Young Idomeneus has intervened only to calm them. Idomeneus, mortified, now insists they both should live; that he himself should be Phronésime's victim, *Seul j'ay fait le serment, quelque*

*sort qu'il entraisne* | *Ma teste en courra seule et le risque et la peine* (*Id.trag.* 993–94); and that Young Idomeneus should be crowned in his place. Protésilas, however, to whom he entrusts the ceremony, secretly decides to take advantage of the situation.

Paulin's fifth act, like Despinueil's, comprises swiftly succeeding scenes of live action and reportage. Idomeneus learns that Protésilas and Phronésime have together taken control of the still volatile people, who now demand a victim. Young Idomeneus goes to offer himself, in order to save his father and preserve the realm; Idomeneus pursues him, intending to take his place, *Dieux, si vous avez soif d'un trop malheureux sang* | *Prenez le mien, venez, je vais m'ouvrir le flanc* (*Id.trag.* 1143–44). Meriones subsequently recounts how Idomeneus arrived at the altar in time to stop Phronésime from sacrificing Young Idomeneus by affirming that his son was, indeed, now king, *Mon fils est vostre Roy*; *servez-le* (*Id.trag.* 1199a); that he offered himself as a victim in order, finally, to assuage the gods, *Par ma mort* | *Je vais calmer les Dieux, asseurer vostre sort* (*Id.trag.* 1199b–1200); but that when the people demurred, Young Idomeneus took Phronésime's knife and killed himself. Idomeneus, grief-stricken, tried to do the same, but Meriones prevented him, enabling them to hear Young Idomeneus, as he expired, beg his father to love Dictys as his own son. Idomeneus, appointing Dictys his successor, quits Crete:

> *Je vous laisse, je fuis un funeste rivage*
> *Qui d'un fils immolé m'offre l'horrible image*
> *Et je cours desrober pour jamais aux Crétois*
> *Le plus infortuné des péres et des Rois* (*Id.trag.* 1261–64).

The survival of the text shows the complexity of its structure, as not only a father, but his victimised son and his son's friend seek to obviate the evil outcome of his involuntary commitment with acts of familial loyalty and 'amitié heroïque' that accord with both Heroic

principle and Jesuit teaching.[20] It reveals, too, the close, intertextual relationship of the tragedy with those of Racine and others.[21] Idomeneus himself presents as a king in whom honour vies with a self-concern that degenerates into self-pity. Initially, he bemoans his fate jointly with that of Young Idomeneus, *Un destin jaloux de ton sort et du mien* (*Id.trag.* 178); despite his love, however, *Ce fils* […] *mon unique espoir* (*Id.trag.* 235), he begins to see his son less as a victim than an unwitting victimiser, *c'est ce fils qui fait toute ma peine* (*Id.trag.* 238). Later, as he rebukes Young Idomeneus for returning, unbidden, to the court, his undertonal, 'bas', self-reproach, *je sens le reproche expirer dans ma bouche* (*Id.trag.* 470), yields to anger as his self-pity intensifies, *Va, fils infortuné, dérobe aux yeux d'un père | Un objet qui ne fait qu'irriter sa colère* (*Id.trag.* 493–94). Similarly, when Idomeneus considers the implications of evading his fate, he does so first in terms of himself and his people, *qu'un ennemy des Dieux et rebelle à Neptune | Sur mon peuple et sur moy j'attire l'infortune* (*Id.trag.* 249–50), but rapidly focuses upon himself, *Réduit au triste choix par ma témérité | De n'avoir plus de fils ou plus de piété* (*Id.trag.* 315–16). Thereafter, Idomeneus' speeches, while acknowledging that the unmerited fate of his son and the suffering of his people are his fault, albeit unintentional, rarely fail to consider its impact upon himself and his reputation. *Veux-tu forcer mon coeur à devenir barbare?* (*Id.trag.* 946) he asks Dictys, who has incited the people to save Young Idomeneus; and he gives as a reason for sparing his son, *J'allais par un arrest honteux à ma mémoire | Flestrir de mes vertus tout l'éclat et la gloire* (*Id.trag.* 985–86). Regrettably, there is circumstantial evidence – persuasively presented[22] – but no record to show how far Paulin's characterisation of Idomeneus, or the construction of his plot, is influenced by a novel published the previous year, the story of the rash vow featuring prominently at the juncture of the first and second volumes.

[20] Grosperrin 2008: xxxvi.

[21] Ibid. xxxii–xxxiii.

[22] By Grosperrin 2008: xx–xxvi.

*Idomeneus didacticised: the novel*

François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, prelate, philosopher and educator, composes his 'roman pédagogique',[23] *Les Aventures de Télémaque*,[24] in the early 1690s, when tutoring the grandson, briefly heir-apparent, of Louis XIV. A quest-narrative permeated with politico-philosophical discourse, he intends it to entertain, as it edifies, a recalcitrant pupil entering his teens.[25] In 1697, however, Fénelon's association with Quietism leads to his dismissal as tutor;[26] while his *Explications des Maximes des Saints*, published in January that year, is condemned by an ecclesiastical commission in August; in 1698, his novel, circulating in manuscript, is misconstrued and misrepresented as a 'roman à clef', critical of Louis' absolutist rule;[27] and in 1699, licence for an unauthorised version to be published in Paris is rescinded.[28] The version appears in part, nevertheless, selling six hundred copies on the first day,[29] to be followed within months by editions published elsewhere, under varying titles, in assorted formats, and at differing stages of recension; and by translations in English (1699), German (1700) and Italian (1702).[30] *Télémaque* provokes partisan reactions among the élite,[31] but continues to sell widely. It is not until 1717, however, after the deaths of Fénelon and the king, that a revised edition, authorised by Fénelon's family, is published in Paris; the royal censor declaring its contents philosophically and politically correct, [*l*]*es mystères de la*

[23] On the issue of genre, e.g., Granderoute 1985: 1, 52–53; Cuche 2011: 53–58; Cipriani 2003: 61–71.

[24] Le Brun 1997: II, pp. 3–326, 1241–1488 = *Tél*. The title read *Avantures* until *c*. 1750, Fleischer 1812: II, 382.

[25] Melchior-Bonnet 2008: 116–25.

[26] For the context and concurrence of these events: Haillant 1995: 29–37.

[27] Melchior-Bonnet: 256.

[28] Le Brun 2004b: 135–36; Janssen 2012: 183–85.

[29] Melchior-Bonnet 2008: 255.

[30] Fleischer 1812: II, 402–07.

[31] Le Brun 2014: 8–9.

*politique la plus saine et la plus sûre y sont dévoilés*.[32] By 1799, *Télémaque* has run to a best-selling 99 French editions and reissues.[33]

*Télémaque* is originally described as a continuation, 'suite', [34] of Book 4 of the *Odyssey*; thus embedding it in epic tradition and offering adherents of the genre an immediate context. In that book, Telemachos (Télémaque), son of Odysseus (Ulysse), accompanied by Mentor (Athena (Minerva) in disguise), traverses the Mediterranean for news of his father. He then disappears from the narrative, to reappear in Book 15 on his way to Ithaka. *Télémaque* fills this gap with a series of episodes, based on epic sources and treated in epic style, in which the swiftly-maturing Telemachos encounters the realities of statecraft and learns from Mentor the principles of Fénelon's 'political vision for a new society'.[35]

Idomeneus (Idoménée) has an emblematic role in Telemachos' education as a bad but redeemable king. He appears in four episodes, distributed among five of the eighteen books (Appendix 6.1). In the first episode (Book 5), Mentor and Telemachos learn how Idomeneus, in Crete, sacrificed his son in fulfilment of a rash vow and was expelled by his subjects. In the second (Books 8–10), they encounter Idomeneus himself, now struggling to govern his recently-founded colony on the Salentine promontory in south-eastern Italy (Fénelon calls it Salente). Mentor elucidates Idomeneus' problems, attributes them to faults in Idomeneus' character, and shows how they should be redressed. In the third (Book 11), a self-contained 'histoire',[36] Idomeneus admits his faults and, in his own version of events in Crete and Salente, explains how they evolved. In the final episode (Book 17), Telemachos and Mentor

[32] Cahen 1927: I, cxiv–cxv.

[33] Fleischer 1812: II, 392. Following the formulas in Green 2000: 173, 175.

[34] The *Posthomerica* of Quintus Smyrnaeus is in French *La Suite d'Homère*.

[35] Gorday 2012: 168. The shortest, recent encapsulation of Fénelon's aims.

[36] Cahen 1927: I, xxxii.

depart, leaving Idomeneus to rule Salente as the 'republican monarchy'[37] that Fénelon advocates. The structure allows Fénelon to incorporate in his didactic novel a discrete worked example in two parts, Cretan and Salentine, illustrating the impact of indulgence and unaccountability on a weak king and the process through which he may be redeemed.

Fénelon's sources for *Télémaque* are not recorded, but he may have had access to contemporary texts and reference works such as Cornelis Schrevel's translation of the *Iliad* (1656)[38] and his edition of the *Aeneid* and its commentaries (1646).[39] The latter contain Servius' S and SD comments upon *Aeneid* 3.121 and 11.264, on which Fénelon's version of Idomeneus in Crete and Salente is based. While Servius' version remains equivocal, offering the possibility that Idomeneus contemplated but did not commit filicide, Fénelon assumes that filicide occurred. He does not refer, however, to the ensuing, punitive plague, mentioned in the first of Servius' comments, supposedly considering it redundant.[40] His interpolations include six additional characters with active and/or speaking roles: invented, like Idomeneus' daughter (Antiope); or Homeric in origin, like Nestor. Elsewhere, his interpolations draw on dramatic as well as Homeric sources: his description of Idomeneus' son, for example, unable to understand his father's demeanour when they meet, echoes lines in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis,* Racine's *Iphigénie en Aulide* and George Buchanan's *Jephtes.*[41]

Fénelon's style in *Télémaque* is praised in 1717 as 'poli, net, coulant, magnifique', 'refined, precise, free-flowing, imposing', but condemned in 1771 as 'ennuyeux à la mort', 'deadly boring'.[42] While there are passages involving Idomeneus that justify both verdicts,

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[37] Riley 2007: 78; see also Gorday 2012: 167, and Schmitt-Maß 2014: 17. I prefer 'egalitarian ethical vision', Hanley 2017: 29.

[38] Cahen 1927: I, lxxi.

[39] Schrevel 1646.

[40] Cahen 1927: I, 71, 167.

[41] Buchanan 1554: p. 18.

[42] *Télémaque* 1717: p. xxvii; Lescure 1855, II, 602; Perrin-Naffakh 2003: section 34 n. 14; and Le

Fénelon's treatment of the rash vow and its consequences is distinguished by its sharp focus and terse reportage, in contrast with the 'dialectique de l'*enchantement*'[43] that others have found in the work. He combines the four elements common to Servius' comments, storm, vow, filicide and expulsion, with a fifth of his own invention: Idomeneus' earlier misrule in Crete. He presents the episode as an eye-witness account relayed by Telemachus, *voici* […] *ce qu'un Crétois* […] *nous raconta* (*Tél.* 60), in just over one hundred lines, allowing himself only four speeches and one extended simile, and using interpolations to populate scenes, itemise actions, personalise emotion and instil tension, as the following examples show.

Servius refers briefly to the storm; Fénelon, in contrast, evokes its terrors through the reactions of the crew and pilot (*Tél.* 60). Servius proceeds directly from Idomeneus' vow to the filicide itself; Fénelon anticipates it with three additional scenes: Idomeneus' son, hurrying to meet his father's ship; Idomeneus, on board but safely in port, acknowledging his debt to Poseidon then, suddenly aware of the rashness of his vow, fearing to disembark lest he put his family in danger; and the goddess, Nemesis, invisibly propelling him ashore (*Tél.* 60). Fénelon then intensifies the suspense with four retardations: an itemisation of Idomeneus' actions as he encounters his son (*Tél.* 60); the boy's uncomprehending plea (*Tél.* 60–61); the pragmatic but abortive intervention of Sophronyme, a seer; and the son's acceptance of death (*Tél.* 61). Only then does Idomeneus kill him, in a fit of irrationality that lasts until he is once again at sea (*Tél.* 62).[44] Finally, while Servius attributes the expulsion of Idomeneus to popular anger at the filicide itself, Fénelon interpolates his own version. The Cretans feel compassion for the victim and horror at the deed but interpret its barbarity as a manifestation of the insanity justly inflicted upon Idomeneus by the gods in punishment for his misrule. Poisoned by the goddess, Strife, they take up arms against Idomeneus;

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Brun 2009: n. 30.

[43] Grosperrin, 2004: 499.

[44] 'de démence ou encore *d'enthousiasme*', Kintzler 2004: 77.

abandoning the good sense they have acquired under the hitherto enlightened Minoan regime, they reject the legitimate authority of Minos' grandson (*Tél.* 62).

Fénelon not only creates a distinctive life and character for Idomeneus but, in the didactic spirit of the novel, allows him to reflect openly upon them. Reviewing his rule in Crete, Idomeneus acknowledges and regrets his defects as man and king. Initially, he admits, he is distracted by the pursuit of pleasure, *l'ardeur de la jeunesse et le goût des vains plaisirs m'entraînoient* (*Tél.* 120). It is, however, his pride and susceptibility to flattery that bring about his downfall, *mon orgueil et la flatterie, que j'ai écoutée ont renversé mon trône* (*Tél.* 124). They lead him to dismiss his faithful but stringent counsellor, Philocles; to rely instead on the indulgent but manipulative Protesilaus, *qui flattoit mes passions dans l'espérance que je flatterois à mon tour les siennes* (*Tél.* 152); and to appoint him regent during the Trojan war, a role in which he terrorises the island (*Tél.* 179). The popular revolt on his return, Idomeneus insists, owes less to his filicide, [*c*]*e n'est pas tant la mort de mon fils qui causa la révolte des Crétois*, than to the gods' retribution for his misrule, *que la vengeance des dieux, irrités contre mes foiblesses*, and to the people's hatred of Protesilaus, now directed at him, *et la haine des peuples, que Protésilas m'avoit attirée* (*Tél.* 179).

Idomeneus is no less critical of his defects as ruler of Salente. Within the state, he has again been distracted from government, this time by ostentatious building projects, *je n'ai songé qu'à faire une ville magnifique* (*Tél.* 150); beyond, he has antagonised all its neighbours, [*e*]*n un mot, tout est contre nous* (*Tél.* 133).[45] His gravest error, however, is to have remained dependent on Protesilaus, retaining him out of apathy and indolence: *j'étais trop ennemi des affaires et trop inappliqué pour pouvoir me tirer de ses mains* (*Tél.* 177). Idomeneus inclines to self-exoneration, however, attributing his misfortunes in Salente to the

[45] Riley translates *tout* here as plural, 1994: 135. In the singular, 'where everything is against us'.

vengeful gods who, having driven him from his ancestral throne, have not tired of persecuting him, *n'étaient pas encore lassés de me persécuter* (*Tél.* 124, 129). Mentor disagrees: they have not finished teaching him, *ils n'ont pas encore achevé de vous instruire* (*Tél.* 131).

Idomeneus does not deny his need of instruction and commits himself to Mentor's guidance, *il est juste de croire vos sages conseils plutôt que ma passion* (*Tél.* 134). Mentor teaches him to rule, as he must, for the common good, *pour secourir Idomenée dans le besoin où il est de travailler au bonheur de ses peuples*, and to rectify the errors into which he has been misguided, *et pour achever de lui faire réparer les fautes que ses mauvais conseils et les flatteurs lui ont fait commettre dans l'établissement de son nouveau royaume* (*Tél.*154). He warns Idomeneus, however, that he will hear hard truths and wonders if he can take it, [*v*]*oyons si vous aurez maintenant le courage de vous humilier par la vérité qui vous condamne* (*Tél.* 150). Idomeneus shows that he can: his candour in admitting his faults, [*s*]*a simplicité à avouer son tort*; his amenability to correction, *sa douceur, sa patience pour se laisser dire par moi les choses plus dures*; his self-abnegation as he publicly redresses his errors, *son courage contre lui-même pour réparer publiquement ses fautes et pour se mettre par là au-dessus de toute la critique*, all proclaim, in Mentor's eyes, a truly noble spirit, *une âme véritablement grande* (*Tél.* 157).

It is disconcerting, then, to discover, as the final episode opens, that Mentor's assessment of Idomeneus as a redeemed ruler is qualified. He now exercises self-control and seeks to rule justly, *Idoménée modère ses passions et s'applique à gouverner son peuple avec justice*; but he still has faults that derive from his corruption in earlier days, *mais il ne laisse pas faire encore bien des fautes, qui sont des suites malheureux de ses fautes anciennes*; and he remains conditioned by his experience of ruling directly: *il s'applique trop au détail*, he is too hands-on; [*il*] *ne médite pas assez le gros de ses affaires pour former des plans*, he needs to see the bigger picture; [*l*]'*habilité d'un roi* […] *ne consiste pas à faire tout par lui-même,*

he should delegate (*Tél.* 293). Idomeneus also remains mentally and emotionally volatile under stress. At its most extreme during the filicide, *tout hors de lui* (*Tél.* 61) and its aftermath, *le père dans l'excès de sa douleur devient insensible* (*Tél.* 62), it recurs on five later occasions (*Tél.* 123–24, 125, 134, 148–49, 298) and dominates the penultimate scene of the episode, which recounts the departure of Mentor and Telemachus, despite Idomeneus' wilful attempts to retain them.

Idomeneus begins by warning Mentor of imminent issues on which he must have his guidance. Mentor discusses them in principle but resists further involvement. Idomeneus then concentrates on Telemachos, convinced that if he remains in Salente, Mentor will remain with him. Observing that Telemachos admires his daughter, Antiope, he tries to promote their marriage. He fails – Telemachos is interested but remains loyal to his quest for Odysseus – lapsing into depression, reclusion and self-neglect, *une tristesse mortelle* […] *une désolation à faire pitié* (*Tél.* 303–04). When Mentor and Telemachos seek permission to depart, however, Idomeneus makes a last attempt. He not only offers his daughter's hand to Telemachos but, having from their first meeting appointed himself Telemachos' surrogate father (*Tél.* 119), proposes to make him his heir. When Telemachos hesitates, Idomeneus, anticipating a refusal, relapses into self-pity, questioning the value of his efforts at self-redemption, *À quoi sert de chercher la vertu, si elle récompense si mal ceux qui l'aiment*? and accusing the gods of treating him more harshly now than when he killed his own son, *Ah*! *je comprends combien les dieux me sont cruels. Je le sens encore plus rigoureusement qu'en Crète, lorsque je perçai mon propre fils*. Telemachos does, indeed, refuse: having learned from Idomeneus' misfortunes, he declares that he must disown his personal feelings and act selflessly as a future king should, *Je ne suis point à moi* […] *Étant né pour être roi, je ne suis pas destiné à une vie douce et tranquille, ni à suivre mes inclinations* (*Tél.* 307). The irony escapes Idomeneus.

Book 17, and with it Idomeneus' involvement in *Télémaque*, ends uncertainly. Mentor's final exhortations, intended to rally the despondent Idomeneus, also reveal his concern. The gods, he reminds Idomeneus, have restored the loyal but outspoken Philocles to counsel him. Idomeneus must require and accept his correction without mitigation, [*il doit*] *l'obliger à vous dire tous vos défauts sans adoucissement*; if he has the courage to do so, he will survive their departure, [*p*]*ourvu que vous ayez ce courage, notre absence ne vous nuira* (*Tél.* 308). He must not yield easily to despair, [*n*]*e vous laissez point abattre mollement à la douleur*, but strive after virtue, *mais efforcez-vous de suivre la vertu*. Like everyone, he must follow his destiny with courage, [*c*]*hacun doit suivre courageusement sa destinée*; it is pointless for him to repine, [*i*]*l est inutile de s'affliger.* Without pausing, however, Mentor commits himself to return to Salente himself, once the quest for Odysseus is over, should Idomeneus need him (*Tél.* 309): intended as reassurance, it is also a presentiment of failure.

Fénelon insists, nevertheless, that Mentor's words transform Idomeneus: he is calm, *il sentit son coeur apaisé;* gently distressed but no longer distraught, *plutôt une tristesse et un sentiment tendre qu'une vive douleur*. His true qualities, Fénelon explains, [*l*]*e courage, la confiance, la vertu,* and his trust in the gods, *l'espérance du secours des dieux*, are in the process of rebirth, *commencèrent à renaître au-dedans de lui* (*Tél.* 309). Fénelon's assertion is thought to credit Idomeneus with a nascent 'sainte resignation', 'holy resignation':[46] a spiritual state defined in his *Maximes* of 1697 as one in which the soul subordinates the desires that concern it to the will of God, putting this before its own self-interest: 'L'âme resignée veut, ou du moins voudroit plusieurs choses pour soi, par le motif de son interest propre […] Elle soûmet et subordonne ses desirs interrez à la volonté de Dieu, qu'elle prefere à son interest'.[47]

[46] Cahen 1927: II, 512, n. 2.

[47] Fénelon 1697: 49–50.

Idomeneus' response to Mentor's exhortation, his final speech in *Télémaque*, accords with Fénelon's explanation. He understands that he must lose everything without losing heart, *il faut donc tout perdre, et ne se point décourager*; that he must not resist the will of the gods, who have lent him a counsellor of such worth, [*j*]*e n'ai garde de résister aux dieux, qui m'avaient prêté un si grand trésor* (*Tél.* 309). Idomeneus also reveals a sense of as yet unacceptable loss, [*d*]*u moins souvenez-vous d'Idoménée*, he pleads; *n'oubliez pas que Salente fut votre ouvrage, et que vous y avez laissé un roi malheureux, qui n'espère qu'en vous* (*Tél.* 309). It recurs in his discomposure as he accompanies Mentor and Telemachos to the harbour, [*i*]*l les regardait, il gémissait, il commençait des paroles entrecoupées, et n'en pouvait achever aucune*; and in his lingering gaze after their departing ship, [*il*] *les suit des yeux aussi loin qu'il peut*. At the end of his version of Idomeneus' story, Fénelon, as Mentor, doubting the strength of Idomeneus' redemption, is more persuasive than Fénelon, as himself, assured of Idomeneus' nascent submission.

Idomeneus' filicide features prominently in the first responses to *Télémaque*. Pierre-Valentin Faydit denies that it occurred, insisting that Idomeneus' son is saved by the Cretans who, after expelling his father, make him their king;[48] while Nicholas de Gueudeville, his critique in effect an attack on absolute monarchy, deconstructs the rash vow as, 'if you spare me, I will spray your altars with innocent blood' *si tu veux m'épargner* […] *j'arroserai tes autels d'un sang innocent.*[49] Idomeneus' redemption, in contrast, presented in this equivocal fashion, attracts less attention. Pierre de Marivaux, however, in his self-styled 'travesti' of the novel, composed around 1715 but not published until 1736, parodies Mentor's final assessment of Idomeneus, whom he portrays as the inept, uxoricidal seigneur, Omenée. His conduct has improved, [*i*]*l est vrai qu'Omenée est plus reglé qu'il n'étoit*; but years spent

[48] Faydit 1700: 114–15.

[49] Gueudeville 1700: 16.

wallowing in filth have left him with a taste for it, *mais comme il a longtems croupi dans le bourbier il sent encore quelquefois*; and he is still prompted at times by greed and lust, *la gourmandise et la concupiscence lui parlent encore de tems en tems à l'oreille*.[50]

*Idoménée à la Comédie-Française*

Six years after featuring prominently in a didactic novel and eponymously in a didactic tragedy, Idomeneus re-appears, eponymously again, this time on the professional stage: his presence there, in one view, 'something to do with' a desire to stage an equivalent of the Jephthah story at a time when biblical subjects are discouraged;[51] its alexandrines intended less to teach than to shock. [52] The *Idoménée* of Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (Crébillon Père),[53] completed in August 1705 and accepted unanimously by the company of the Comédie-Française in September, opens on 29 December[54]in its public playhouse.[55] The reception that evening forces Crébillon to re-write and rehearse the fifth act in five days,[56] but verdicts on the play continue to vary: in a nineteenth-century edition, reproducing original comments on its content and style, the second scene in Act 1 receives 27, five of which are favourable, six neutral and sixteen hostile.[57] The play has thirteen performances, the last in February 1706;[58] insufficient to call it a success, remarks Voltaire, who admits that the play contains 'quelques beautés' but lists only its faults;[59] and it is not revived. Nevertheless, 'une tragédie fin de

[50] Marivaux 1736: II, 313.

[51] Rushton 1993: 69.

[52] Soulatges 1996: 387; Mazouer 2011: 39; Grosperrin 2009: 274–78.

[53] Soulatges 2012 = *Idom.*

[54] Parfaict 1748: XIV, 407–08.

[55] Ravel 1999: 13.

[56] Dutrait 1895: 18.

[57] Parrelle 1828: I, 48–60.

[58] Parfaict 1748: XIV, 407.

[59] His view is cited and challenged by Dutrait 1895: 20–21.

siècle',[60] it opens with memories of the tempest; much of it is declaimed to tempestuous effect;[61] and it ends with a self-sacrifice centre-stage. Crébillon's subsequent success with such spectacles establish his reputation, 'le terrible Crébillon',[62] ensuring that the text, first published in Paris at the end of January 1706,[63] runs to nine re-issues and re-editions and is included in almost fifty versions of his *Oeuvres* before 1799.[64]

As with Paulin, there is no hard evidence of Crébillon's familiarity with *Télémaque* beyond his re-use of the name of Fénelon's seer, Sophronyme, in another context. The principal characters of *Idoménée* are Idomeneus (Idoménée); Idamante, his son; Sophronyme, his chief minister; Égésippe, a palace official; and Érixène, with whom Idamante and Idomeneus, unknown to each other, are in love – unrequited in both cases since, following an abortive coup, they have respectively captured and executed her father, Meriones (Mérion). The action of the play takes place six months after Idomeneus' return from Troy to Cydonia. To his despair, the port is afflicted by continuing tempests and the plague, and the dead are piled high, *La mort jusqu'en mes bras moissonne mes sujets* (*Idom.* 14). He confesses to Sophronyme that he is to blame, *Et c'est moi cependant, c'est leur roi sacrilège | Qui répands dans ces lieux l'horreur qui les assiège* (*Idom.* 35–36). He reveals the secret of his rash vow and its bitter repercussions for himself and his son, now forcing him to choose between kingship and fatherhood, *Ne puis-je être son roi qu'en cessant d'être père*? (*Idom.* 164). Égésippe, sent to seek guidance from an oracle, returns with a blunt response: Idomeneus already knows what the gods demand, *Le roi n'ignore pas ce qu'exigent les dieux* (*Idom.* 613); it must be the blood of Idomeneus, *Il faut le sang d'Idoménée* (*Idom.* 616). To

[60] Grosperrin 2009: 274.

[61] Ibid. 2007: 327.

[62] An 18th-cent. coinage, still in regular use: e.g., Dion 2012: 244.

[63] The earliest digital version is Crébillon 1711.

[64] Soulatges 2012: 571–73, 579.

Égésippe, ‘blood’ means Idomeneus’ death. To the dejected Idomeneus, however, it signifies ‘blood-line’, confirmation that he must sacrifice Idamante, a deed that he cannot condone, *Non, il ne mourra point* […] *je ne puis m’y résoudre* (*Idom.* 635).

Idomeneus spends the rest of the play – a series of soliloquies and dialogues with little action until the end – attempting to protect Idamante. He tries to deflect the threat by making Idamante assume the crown, *Régnez, mon fils, régnez sur la Crète et sur moi* (*Idom.* 661); rebuffed, he begs him to seek safety overseas, under compassionate gods, *loin de ces climats* | *Allez chercher des dieux qui ne se vengent pas* (*Idom.* 829b–30) When he discovers, however, that Idamante is his rival in love, *fils ingrat, vous êtes mon rival* (*Idom.* 883), and that Érixène, misunderstanding the oracle’s meaning, has tried to incite his subjects to kill him, he wishes them both dead, *Faisons-leur du trépas un barbare lien*; while news that Mount Ida is emitting lethal fumes makes him wish that he might share their fate, *Dans leur sang confondu mêlons encor le mien*; wishes, he hastily insists, that are transitory, *Vains transports qu’a formés ma fureur passagère* (*Idom.* 1001–03). Finally, he takes the decision to sacrifice himself: it is the only way to save Idamante from the inexorable demand of the gods, *Pour conserver celui que sa* [le ciel] *rigueur demande*, | *C’est le mien aujourd’huy qu’il faut que je répande* (*Idom.* 1171–72). Sophronyme, however, initiates Idamante into the secret of the rash vow and warns him of his father’s intention. He then adds that it is not Idomeneus whom the gods demand, and Idamante immediately deduces that he is meant to be the victim, *ce n’est pas son sang* […] *C’est donc le mien*? (*Idom.* 1320–22a). Whether Sophronyme speaks by design or account, the audience has to infer from the intonation of his final line, *Hélas! j’en ai trop dit, seigneur* (*Idom.* 1322b). Idamante publicly offers himself for sacrifice and, when Idomeneus refuses to participate, sacrifices himself. Idomeneus, in the last speech of the play, implies that his own death will follow and reproaches the gods for their intransigence:

*Hélas*! *du coup affreux qui termine ton sort*

*N'attends point d'autre fruit que celui de ma mort.*

*Dieux cruels*! *fallait-il qu'une injuste vengeance,*

*Pour me punir d'un crime, opprimât l'innocence?* (*Idom.* 1601–04)

Crébillon's *Idoménée* differs in detail from the accounts in Servius' *Commentary*, augmented in Fénélon's *Télémaque*. Idomeneus is not corrupted by a power-hungry Protesilaos but experiences a similar betrayal of trust when, in the course of their return from Troy, his much-favoured friend, Meriones, seeks to replace him: *Mérion me fut cher, mais de cet infidèle,* | *Mes bienfaits redoublés ne firent qu'un rebelle* (*Idom.* 427–48). Meriones' treachery, one of Crébillon's bolder interpolations, is an invention, unsupported elsewhere but possibly suggested by the *Ephemeris*, in which Meriones succeeds the dead Idomeneus as king of Crete. Crébillon makes four changes in the rash vow itself and its consequences. In the first and most important, but again unsupported, he allows Idomeneus to claim that, while he was terrified by the storm, Poseidon (Neptune) took control of his mind and dictated the words of the vow,

*Neptune l'instrument d'une indigne faiblesse*

*S'empara de mon coeur, et dicta la promesse.*

*S'il n'en eût inspiré le barbare dessein,*

*Non, je n'aurais jamais promis de sang humain.* (*Idom.* 111–14).

Secondly, Idomeneus admits that, when he put into Cydonia and saw a man alone on the shore, he was close to fulfilling the vow and killing him, *Rebelle à ma tendresse,* | *Je fus près d'obéir*; (*Idom.* 132b–33a). He recognised the figure as his son, however; his strength failed him; his son embraced him; and the moment passed, *mais Idamante enfin* | *Mit mon âme au dessus des dieux et du destin* (*Idom.* 133b–34). This allows Crébillon to interpolate a retardation, in which Idomeneus spends six months hoping vainly for the gods to punish him

instead of his son; while they, in turn, try to undermine his resolve by afflicting his people. Finally, Crébillon's dénouement spares him the need to create a Cretan rebellion against their king in repugnance at his cruelty. Instead, when Égésippe, leaking the oracle's answer to the people, explains that the gods will end their suffering only when Idomeneus is dead, they express passive regret at their king's fate, *du grand Idoménée* | *Contents de déplorer la triste destinée*; positive relief at prospect of their own salvation, *Ils semblaient seuls frappés par l'arrêt du destin* (*Idom.* 988–89); but do not answer Érixène's call to arms. Érixène herself, Meriones' vengeful daughter, coincidentally beloved by father and son, is the boldest of Crébillon's interpolations. Again, it is unsupported: the only recorded romance in Idomeneus' life is as a suitor of Helen in the *Ephemeris*.

Crébillon's Idomeneus bears little resemblance to his character in the *Iliad*, although he sometimes refers to his experiences in Troy: he compares, for example, the dead surrounding him in Cydonia to the slaughter under its walls, *J'ai cru me retrouver dans le même carnage* (*Idom.* 1188); while his solemn insistence to Érixène upon his former love for her father, *Madame, je l'aimai* (*Idom.* 485), reflects the prevailing view of their service there together. Crébillon draws, instead, on Fénélon's characterisation in *Télémaque*, analysed there at didactic length by the author, Mentor, Telemachos and Idomeneus himself. Idomeneus is mentally more robust than his namesake in Salente: for example, when he is locked in reproachful dialogues with Idamante, *Et j'allais couronner* | *Ce fils qu'à ma fureur je dois abandonner*! (*Idom.* 889–90); and Érixène, *Quoi, rien ne peut fléchir votre injuste colère*? | *Trouverai-je partout le coeur de votre père*? (*Idom.* 487–88). He is nevertheless guilty, like his namesake, of self-exoneration, as illustrated in his comment to Sophronyme on Poseidon's dictated vow, and to Érixène on his execution of Meriones, *Je l'en vis à regret laver son attentat*.| *Mais je devais sa tête à nos lois, à l'État* (*Idom.* 433–34). Like his namesake, too, he is prone to self-pity, *Je ne verrai donc plus dans mes tristes États*, | *Que*

*des dieux ennemis et des hommes ingrats* (*Idom.* 885–86). Indeed, his regular apostrophisation of the 'dieux ennemis' for their relentless persecution, takes on a tone of exasperated familiarity, *Poursuivez, dieux cruels, àjoutez à ma peine* (*Idom.* 864); *N'était-ce pas assez pour victime qu'un roi*? (*Idom.* 1510). Idomeneus also shares his namesake's sudden mood-swings, notably in his scenes with Idamante, who spends much of the play aware that his father faces a crisis but wholly unaware of its true nature, *Je sais de vos secrets respecter le mystère* (*Idom.* 807), and whose bewildered responses to Idomeneus' efforts to resolve it seem at best unhelpful, at worst, obstructive, transforming his father's regard, *Au trône en ce moment, daignez remplir ma place* (*Idom.* 652), to despair, *fuyons cet entretien funeste* (*Idom.* 680).

In *Télémaque*, Idomeneus kills Idamante quickly in a fit of derangement. In *Idoménée*, their relationship fluctuates over five acts. In Act 1, Idomeneus, on his way home from Troy, learns with pride of Idamante's success in suppressing Meriones' coup, *La gloire de mon fils me causa plus de joie | Que ne firent jamais les dépouilles de Troie* (*Idom.* 75–76); in him, he places both trust and hope, *Cet appui de mon trône, et mon unique espoir* (*Idom.* 78). When the repercussion of the rash vow first puts Idamante's life in his hands, his love for his son, *la nature*, silences the gods, *fit taire tous les dieux.* As he continues, however, there is a difference between confronting the power of the gods and escaping their vengeance, *qui veut peut braver leur puissance | Mais ne peut pas qui veut éviter leur vengeance* (*Idom.* 138–40), and in Acts 2 and 3, the relationship declines. Idamante's refusal to give up Érixène takes Idomeneus beyond his earlier 'vains transports', *Vous n'êtes plus mon fils, ou peu digne de l'être, | Je vois que tout mon sang n'en a formé qu'un traître* (*Idom.* 923–24); his brutality driving Idamante to threaten suicide, *Laissez couler le sang d'un rival odieux* (*Idom.* 950). Idomeneus retracts, *je ne te puis haïr* (*Idom.* 954) but dismisses Idamante nevertheless, *Laissez-moi, fuyez ma triste vue*. In Act 4, Idomeneus makes peace with

Idamante, *Ne craignez plus mes feux* (*Idom.* 1281), but is no more communicative than before, saying only that blood must flow: whose, Idamante will soon learn, *Vous apprendrez bientôt quel sang a dû couler* (*Idom.* 1305). Sophronyme's unsolicited intervention, however, sends Idamante to the sacrificial altar in Act 5, finally aware of why he comes to be there and, once he has carried out the act, to answer Idomeneus' question, *Qu'avez-vous fait, mon fils*? with what may be another rare touch of Crébillon's irony, *Mon devoir et le vôtre* (*Idom.* 1592), 'My duty and yours'. More significant than the ambivalence in the father-son relationship, however, are Idomeneus' instructions to Sophronyme on the manner in which he should direct the fatherless son after Idomeneus' death. They are, in effect, bullet-points from Fénelon's politico-philosophical discourse, as relayed through Mentor to Télémaque.

> *Que par toi tous ses pas tournés vers la sagesse*,
>
> *D'un torrent de flatteurs écarte sa jeunesse*.
>
> *Accoutume son coeur à suivre l'équité*;
>
> *Conserve-lui surtout cette sincérité*,
>
> *Rare dans tes pareils, aux rois si nécessaire*. (*Idom.* 1259–63).

Idomeneus' courtship of Helen is distinguished by his unconventional decision to carry it out in person. Idomeneus' courtship of Érixène in *Idoménée* is no less distinctive. Describing to Sophronyme his love for the implacable daughter of his friend, turned enemy, turned victim, Idomeneus called it the harshest blow that the gods have yet delivered, *C'était des dieux vengeurs, le coup plus funeste* (*Idom.* 212); subsequently modifying it as an affront to his reason but an emotion to be cherished, *Mais je chéris ce feu que ma raison déteste* (*Idom.* 504). Idomeneus also displays, however, alongside his love for Érixène, *fatal objet d'une flamme odieuse*, an almost parental care, *à mon coeur toujours précieuse* (*Idom.* 799–800). When he urges Idamante, unsuccessfully, to escape from god-stricken Cydonia, he instructs him to take Érixène as a passenger, unaware (yet another trace of Crébillon's irony)

that Idamante loves her. The plan comes to nothing, and Érixène's subsequent attempt to incite Idomeneus' subjects to kill him extinguishes 'la flamme'. Idomeneus, having attributed his irrational desire to the gods in the first place, sees in his release a portent of victory over them, *Allons* […] *et que mon coeur libre enfin de ses feux, | Commence par l'amour à triompher des dieux* (*Idom.* 1041–42).

In one context, Crébillon's Idomeneus differs notably from his namesake in *Télémaque*. There, Idomeneus admits that as king he took no account of the welfare of his subjects; ignoring them in the youthful indulgence of his passions in Crete, forgetting them in his grandiose scheme to urbanise Salente. In *Idoménée*, however, he shows throughout a sincere regard for the citizens of Cydonia, suffering god-inflicted disasters for which he takes responsibility. In the unconventional opening soliloquy of Act 1, when he is woken by the sounds of a tempestuous night, his first thought is for his country, *Dieux puissants, épargnez la Crète infortunée* (*Idom.* 3). In Act 3, when he itemises the issues that confront him as king, his people literally come first, *Ô mon peuple, ô mon fils, promesse redoutable, | Roi, père malheureux, dieux cruels, voeu coupable*! (*Idom.* 795–96); and he acknowledges their regretful acceptance of his fate when it is leaked to them by Égésippe and Érixène, *Sujets infortunés qu'en mon coeur je déplore | Au milieu de vos maux me plaignez-vous encore*? (*Idom.* 995–96). In Act 4, he sees them as victims of his failure as their guardian, to whom he must try to bring salvation by ending with his death his liability to, and their persecution by, the gods, *De leur salut enfin cruel dépositaire, | Essayons si ma mort leur sera salutaire* (*Idom.* 1199–200). In Act 5, however, when he tries to justify his decision to a passionately resistant Idamante, and to deter his reciprocal insistence upon self-immolation, Idomeneus' experience of the people's response to Érixène's intimation of his death – passive regret – convinces him that Idamante's gesture will be unavailing. It will be to him, Idomeneus, he argues, that the people will offer the choice of flight or death, *Mes peuples par vous-même*

*instruits de votre sort | Ne laissent à mon choix que la fuite ou la mort* (*Idom.* 1577–78). Five stychomythic speeches later, Idamante kills himself.

*Lance-fam'd Idomen of Crete*

In the course of the eighteenth century, the invigoration of Homeric scholarship by these adaptations and by the work of antiquarians and artists is reflected in the output of the classical book-trade. Over 450 reissues and new editions of Homeric works are published in Europe and the New World.[65] Of these, almost a quarter (104) are vernacular translations of the complete *Iliad* in German (sixteen), Italian (nineteen), French (34) and English (35).[66] Eminent versions appear in the first three languages: distinguished, like that of Johann Heinrich Voss (1781-93);[67] distinctive, like the prose-poetic version of the Italian Ossianist, Melchiorre Cesarotti (1786-94);[68] while the prose version of Anne Dacier (1711), a 'foremother' of women classical scholars,[69] running to eleven editions and reprintings over some sixty years, mediated to a non-academic French readership the poetic and narrative strengths of the epic, and the virtues of honesty, simplicity and humanity that she held it to enshrine.[70] Nevertheless, the verse translation of the *Iliad* (1715–20) by Alexander Pope,[71] a version still emotive after three hundred years,[72] takes precedence here as the origin of the first serious character-study of Idomeneus.

Prefacing his version, Pope confesses himself *utterly incapable of doing Justice to*

[65] Young 2003:108.

[66] Ibid. 197–213.

[67] Riedel 2002: 526.

[68] Matarese 2011: 108–09.

[69] Hall and Wyles 2016: 11.

[70] Moore 2000: 96.

[71] Shankman 1996 = *Il.H.*

[72] Shankman 1983: xv. For a brief sample of emotive responses, Power 2018: 747–66.

*Homer* (*Il.H* 19). This does not prevent him, however, from seeking to preserve the epic's *Spirit and Fire*, a trust he imposes on all aspirant translators (*Il.H* 22), or from mediating it through his own arresting imagery, succinct aphorisms and stylish heroic couplets.[73] Pope's 'professionalism'[74] as a poet, complementing his skill, shows in his innovative approach to the production values of his work: it is published not only in folio but quarto; the text enhanced with generous formats; the paratexts accessibly disposed. [75] The commentary, owing much to Anne Dacier's edition and, through her, to Eustathius,[76] is lively in tone and inventive in presentation; not least the characterisations, which address fourteen Greek and Trojan heroes, including Idomeneus and four of his peers. Surviving partisan spite, misunderstandings with Madame Dacier,[77] and a pirated, Dutch octavo,[78] Pope's translation runs to 25 re-editions and reissues before 1799.[79]

Idomeneus makes all 34 of his appearances, his visibility assured by references to his rank, nationality, or quality, *the Cretan king*, *the Cretan*, *the great Idomeneus* (e.g., *Il.H* 2.785; 4.309; 5.57). Judiciously retaining archaic epithets where appropriate, however,[80] Pope revives 'δουρικλυτὸς', *lance-fam'd*, for the prelude to Idomeneus' *aristeia* (*Il.* 13.210; *Il.H* 13.278). His *aristeia* dominates the synopsis of Book 13: part-titled *The Acts of Idomeneus*, it itemises these as his conversation with Meriones; his victories over Othryoneus, Asius and Alcathous; his fights with Deïphobos and Aineias; and his withdrawal from the field (*Il.H*

[73] Mack 1967: VII, liii; Lynch 1982: 3.

[74] For changing views of Pope as a 'professional poet', Griffin 2014: 84–90.

[75] Foxon and McLaverty 1991: 63–65; Gillespie 2016: 299, 309–16.

[76] Mack 1967: VII, 83.

[77] Weinbrot 2001: 183–206.

[78] Barnard 1973: 112–33; Hayes 2009: 169; Foulon 2010: 158–62; Foxon and McLaverty 1991: 57–58.

[79] Young 2003, 198–213, lists 27, but not all can be confirmed in ESTC or ECCO. See also the caveat of Gillespie 2016: 309, n. 20.

[80] Shankman 1983: 98.

597). Although Nestor (featured on nine occasions), Diomedes (seven), Aias I and Odysseus (six each) are more conspicuous in the synopses, and even Aias II is named in two, the sixty-word passage on Idomeneus is the longest. There are five references under his name in the *Person Index*: to his appearances in the *Catalogue of Ships* and the *Teichoskopia* and to his three aristeic victories (*Il.H* 1156). He also appears incidentally in the entries for Agamemnon, Aias II, Poseidon (Neptune) and Deïphobos (*Il.H* 1152, 1154, 1158). Even when aggregated, however, these leave him less prominent than Nestor, for example, with 21 entries, or Odysseus, fifteen; only Aias II, with four does worse.

Pope depicts Idomeneus first as *a plain direct Soldier* (*Il.H* 7), adjectives that remain implicit in his later, more nuanced descriptions and are, to a visualiser and verbaliser like himself, constraining. In Book 13, therefore, where he considers Idomeneus' conversation with Meriones *a little resembling common chit-chat* (*Il.H* 638, n. 353), he cannot resist what he calls *swell*[ing] *into Fustian* (*Il.H* 16). Having reduced the protasis and retarded apodosis to two consecutive lines, he embellishes the modest visuals. Idomeneus' coward receives *a dropping Sweat creep*[ing] *cold on ev'ry Part*; *stiff'ning Hair*; and *wild Eye-balls* [in which] *Terror and Death stare*. The brave man gains an *unmov'd* […] *Frame*; [*c*]*ompos'd Thought*; a *determin'd* […] *Eye*; and a *Soul* [fixed] *to conquer or to die* (*Il.H* 607).

Pope's characterisation of Idomeneus (Appendix 6.3), a single *Observation* of 594 words (*Il.H* 118, n. 278), puts him between Diomedes (758 words) and Aias I (302), both of them treated in a comparable format. These three, with Nestor and Odysseus (Ulysses), appear in the *Poetical Index* under the heading, *Characters of the* HEROES (*Il.H* 1166); Aias II joins Meriones in *Other Heroes* (*Il.H* 1168). The characterisations themselves, as Pope explains, derive principally from individual speeches that *depend upon and flow from, these several Characters* (*Il.H* 1166). That of Idomeneus, however, consists mainly of paraphrased dialogue, modestly contextualised: to Pope, his character is familiar, *such as we see pretty*

*often in common Life* (Appendix 6.3.1). The Peace of Utrecht is concluded, Mr Hardcastle has come home [81] and will re-fight Marlborough's battles for the next sixty years.[82] Idomeneus, however, is more elevated than Goldsmith's nostalgic squire; he is an *aristos* but going grey and in decline. Formidable at the start of his *aristeia,* he is exhausted at its end (Appendix 6.3.1). He is a compassionate leader, nevertheless, whose care for his men (Appendix 6.3.2) resonates with Pope, as it has not with his predecessors.[83] But he is garrulous on the subject of war (Appendix 6.3.3), as his conversation with Meriones attests, and as Aias II alleges at the *Athla.* He is also arrogant (Appendix 6.3.4), as in his vaunts over Deïphobos and Othrynoneus; and supercilious (Appendix 6.3.5), as in his insistence, indulged by Agamemnon, on an ever-brimming cup. Indeed, such is Idomeneus' self-regard, Pope recalls from Philostratos' *Heroes* (*Her*. 30.1–3), that he demands to share the supreme command at Troy.

Pope attributes two further characteristics to Idomeneus but offers no direct evidence for them. The first, that Idomeneus avoids fights he cannot win (Appendix 6.3.6), is demonstrable, nevertheless, from his *aristeia.* Observing the youth and fitness of his final opponent, Aeneias, he calls for support, creating a melee from which he duly staggers to safety (*Il.H* 614). The second characteristic, that Idomeneus' loquacity is strategic, designed to preserve his reputation through the memories of younger men, derives from Pope's overall perception of him, *conscious of his Decline in Strength and active Qualities*; *and therefore endeavouring to make it up to himself in Dignity*, *and to preserve the Veneration of others* (Appendix 6.1.7). Idomeneus may be aged and infirm but he has not lost the resilience to perpetuate his name.

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[81] Goldsmith 1773.

[82] Joseph Addison refers to Marlborough's campaign in the War of the Spanish Succession as 'an Iliad', Addison 1705: 2; Richardson 2003: 490.

[83] Strawn 2012: 597.

*Idomeneus in the histories*

Well-embedded as Idomeneus becomes in the swelling reference works of the seventeenth-century and Early Enlightenment[84], he fails to secure a place in Pierre Bayle's expansive *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1697). Of his peers, however, only Aias I and II and Odysseus (Ulysse) have individual entries,[85] and these are, as Gibbon, reading those on the Aiantes, notes, 'all very short ones.' 'Bayle', Gibbon adds, 'does not, in my opinion, sufficiently esteem Homer',[86] a theory that may explain Idomeneus' absence. Nevertheless, Idomeneus' name begins to appear in reference works of a more specific nature. For example, Lorenz Beger, the numismatist, in his inventory of the antiquities of the Elector of Brandenburg (1701), refers to the cock depicted on Idomeneus' shield;[87] and the topographer, Giuseppe Bisogni de Gatti, refers to Idomeneus and Nestor as founders of colonies in Calabria:[88] the capacity in which they quarrel in *Télémaque*.

In England, however, academic works of a different genre are appearing, 'new narrative histories of antiquity',[89] restructuring it in modern time-frames. Such initiatives require space; and the first innovators, both publishing in 1707, find it at the expense of what they call 'the *Fabulous Age*'.[90] The first volume of Temple Stanyan's *The Grecian History* (1707) contains a single, one-line reference to Idomeneus; of his peers, only Aias I (three) and Odysseus (two) do better.[91] More generously, the first volume of Thomas Hind's *History of Ancient Greece* refers twice to Idomeneus: briefly, to his presence at Troy, with his peers

[84] Israel 2001: 134–35.

[85] Bayle 1697: I, 140–44, 1273; II, 1221, 275, 772, 1132–33.

[86] Gibbon 1796: II, 308.

[87] Beger 1701: III, 37.

[88] Bisogni de Gatti 1710: 21.

[89] Lianeri 2016: 46.

[90] Stanyan 1707: 2; Hind 1707: 15.

[91] Stanyan 1707: 40. The first volume is revised and reissued with the second volume when it appears in 1739 but the reference to Idomeneus is unchanged.

and Meriones; and at paragraph-length, in a four-page section describing his *nostos* and its aftermath, together with those of Aias II, Diomedes and Odysseus.[92] In view of Hind's need for space and his reservations about the period and its sources, however, it is no surprise, perhaps, to find that his account of Idomeneus' *nostos* strongly resembles in text and content those available in the biographical dictionaries of the past century.

*Roi sacrilège: plain direct Soldier*

After some thirteen centuries, and in the course of three decades, Idomeneus becomes an unexpectedly egregious character in French literature and drama. In 1699, the story of his rash vow, its fatal consequences and his exile, first represented in Servius' fourth-century *Commentary* on the *Aeneid*, provide the before-and-after elements of Fénelon's best-seller, *Télémaque*; in 1705, it follows its biblical equivalent, the story of Jephthah, onto the commercial stage, in the playhouse of the Comédie-Française; and, in 1712, as a *tragédie mise en musique*, it premieres at the Théâtre du Palais Royale, in the medium with which it is now most commonly associated. At the same time, however, the Iliadic Idomeneus, the ageing *aristos*, flourishes in England: a character instantly familiar to Alexander Pope, whose tactful character-study accompanies his translation of the epic.

[92] Hind 1707: 69, 79–80.

# CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The thesis fills a gap that currently exists between recent accounts of the myth of Idomeneus and studies of its reception in eighteenth-century literature, drama and music. It examines the literary representations of Idomeneus in Classical and Late Antiquity and their reception in the West from the Middle Ages to the end of the Early Modern period, extended for completeness to 1720.[1] It registers the representations by date, form and content, demonstrating the ways in which they were modified and refigured to comply with changing western culture, and their impact on the visibility of Idomeneus as a character in the literature and drama of the period.

## *In the* Iliad, *eighth century BCE*

The *Iliad* recounts Idomeneus' participation in the latter part of the Trojan War. The representation comprises 34 passages amounting to three per cent of the epic. He is represented initially as a seasoned *aristos.* He commands one of the largest contingents in the Greek force at Troy. He is famed for his spearmanship and crowns his contribution to the war with an *aristeia*. He is considered a peer of the Aiantes, Diomedes, Nestor and Odysseus. Meriones, a kinsman, is his associate commander, also his charioteer and surrogate.

Idomeneus is, however, an *aristos* under sufferance. Agamemnon, his supreme commander, complains that he is under-achieving and over-indulged, and puts him on notice to regain his previous form. It transpires that Idomeneus is ageing: going gray, slowing down and struggling in the field. He is regularly surpassed by all but one of his peers, Aias II, who may not be alone in considering him a loud-mouthed, old bore. Meriones, for his part seems more concerned with his own advancement than his role as Idomeneus' minder.

[1] Citations referenced in the previous chapters.

*Beyond the* Iliad, *c. 750 BCE – 570*

Idomeneus is also represented in 26 accretions to the *Iliad*: mostly from Late Antiquity; factual in content and utilitarian in form; often contradictory; several of them revisionist. They focus on Idomeneus in the final days of the war and in its aftermath, covering them in three phases. In the first of these, Idomeneus remains at Troy until its fall and, depending on the selected accretion, fights Amazons and Ethiopians, negotiates with disaffected Trojans preceding the capture of the citadel, or has a place in the Wooden Horse.

The second phase is covered by two conflicting narratives. In the first, originating in the *Ephemeris* of Dictys Cretensis (fourth century), Idomeneus returns safely to Crete where, after an unspecified disruption and a visitation of the plague, he reigns in peace; raising Orestes, son of the murdered Agamemnon, helping him to avenge his father's death; and assisting Odysseus, still on his way back to Ithaka. The second narrative itself has two opposing themes. In one, foretold in the *Alexandra* (second century BCE) and narrated in the *Bibliotheca* of Appollodorus (second century), Idomeneus returns to Crete, where he is opposed by his regent, his foster-son, who has also seduced his wife. According to the other theme, deriving from the fourth-century *Commentary* of Maurus Servius Honoratus on the *Aeneid*, he returns to Crete but is expelled by his subjects for sacrificing, or intending to sacrifice his son in pursuance of a rash vow, thereby exposing his people to pestilence.

In the third phase, exile, originating in the *Antiquitates* of Marcus Terentius Varro (first century BCE) and subsequently assimilated in Servius' *Commentary*, Idomeneus sails first to the eastern coast of the Adriatic; then to Italy, where he establishes and rules a colony on the Salentine promontory in Calabria, before ending his days, possibly as a vatic, in Kolophon, on the western coast of Asia Minor.

Two accounts ignore the three-phase pattern. Dares Phrygius, in his *Excidio* (fifth or sixth century) states that Idomeneus was killed at Troy by Hektor. L. Flavius Philostratus, in

*Heroes* (third century) claims that he refused to go there in the first place.

*Survival, c. 600 – 1474*

During the seventh, and for part of the eighth century, classical literature is largely inaccessible in the West. During the Carolingian Renaissance of the late-eighth and ninth centuries, however, its study is revived and the texts containing the accretive representations start to circulate there: the *Ephemeris*, in the ninth century; Servius' *Commentary*, by the tenth.

The representation in the *Ephemeris* ultimately predominates. Its survival is assured when it is vernacularised and incorporated in the *Roman de Troie* (*c.* 1160) of Benoît de Sainte-Maure; the earliest, longest and most authoritative of the Troycentric narratives that proliferate from the twelfth to the fifteenth century for the entertainment, and instruction, of a courtly readership. Benoît deals briefly with Idomeneus' service at Troy (incidentally confusing him with another Greek leader) and focuses upon his support for Orestes and Odysseus. As a result, Idomeneus appears (still intermittently misidentified) in other vernacular texts based on the *Roman*, such as the *Trojanerkrieg* of Konrad von Würzburg (1281–87) and its anonymous *Fortsetzung*, 'continuation' (*c.* 1300). His ensuing presence in the *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287), the popular Latin epitome of the *Roman* by Guido de Columnis, secures him a place in vernacularisations of that work – for example, John Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1412–20) – in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

At the same time, however, Idomeneus' visibility suffers in comparison with his fellow-*aristoi*, whose extended acts of chivalry, along with their emotional crises, win them more space. He also suffers from the increasing visibility, at his expense, of Meriones, who features in the *Roman* and its derivatives as the protector of Patroklos' corpse until he is killed by Hektor.

Idomeneus, no less than the others, has an emotional crisis to contend with, as narrated in Servius' *Commentary.* By the eleventh century, the rash vow and filicide have been extracted and incorporated in the works of the Vatican Mythographers. The story is, nevertheless, ethically censurable: the vow, fatally indeterminate; the filicide, irreligious and unnatural; the sacrifice, repellent and etiologically indefensible. The downbeat ending, in particular, distinguishes it from other, sacrifice-led stories, in which the victim is, by human or godly intervention, spared. It remains marginalised during the next five centuries.

*Revival, 1504 – 1675*

The Iliadic account of Idomeneus in the *Iliad* survives in the East where, in the twelfth century, the epic benefits from the attentions of eminent scholars like John Tzetzes and Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica. In the late fifteenth century, the *Iliad* is published in the West: first, in the Latin prose of Lorenzo Valla and Francesco Griffolini (1474); and only then, in the versified Greek vulgate (1488). In the sixteenth century, *Iliad*s in Greek, but more often in Latin, flow from printing-houses in Italy, France and Germany; sufficient in quantity and quality to service England, which does not produce its own Greek edition until 1591. They are accompanied by commentaries: of past scholars like Eustathius, published in 1542–50; and of contemporary humanists like Jean de Sponde, who draws heavily on Eustathius in his own commentary, supporting a bilingual edition of the epic (1583).

Vernacular *Iliad*s also appear. While they extend the readership of the epic beyond the clerisy to the classically-minded reader in study, *studiétto, studori* or *cabinet d'étude,* they modify its original text with unmarked excisions, paraphrases and interpolations, enabling them to accommodate new metres and stylistic conventions, to say nothing of the exigencies of publication. Prominent among the vernacularisations are the French, prose, literal version of Jean Samxon (1530), and the French, poetic, non-literal version of Henri Salel and Amadis

Jamyn (1577); less prominent, indeed unpublished before the twentieth century, is the German, manuscript, prose, non-literal, version of Johannes Baptista Rexius (1584). Textual modifications continue in the seventeenth century, their impact visible in the English versions of George Chapman (1611), John Ogilby (1660) and Thomas Hobbes (1675).

The *Iliad* is also subjected to vernacular refigurations. Idomeneus features in *Les Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* (1511–13) of Jean Lemaire de Belges and in *L'Achille et l'Enea* (1570) of Lodovico Dolce, an Italian co-adaptation of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. He also appears in a third co-adaptation, of the *Iliad* (minimally) and the *Ephemeris*: the *Horestes* of John Pikerying (1567). This English 'interlude' – in fact, an attack on Mary Stuart, formerly queen of Scotland – is based on John Lydgate's *Troy Book*. It describes Orestes' revenge upon his mother, Klytaimestra, and her lover for the murder of Agamemnon. Idomeneus is the elderly king – 'olde Idumeus' – who raises the fatherless Orestes, supports his venture and, afterwards, when his uncle Menelaos accuses Orestes of matricide, intervenes to save him.

*Arrival, 1690 – 1720*

In Antiquity, Idomeneus is represented as an ageing *aristos*; an active, dead or conspicuously-absent participant at Troy; a successful, cuckolded, rejected king of Crete; and a filicide, colonist and vatic. From the twelfth century to the penultimate decade of the seventeenth, he appears primarily as a knight of some distinction but overshadowed by his peers. Between 1690 and 1720, however, in France, he makes his name – after a fashion – as a king who sacrifices his son. There, the court, clerisy and an increasing number of classically-minded readers can enjoy sacrifice-themed dramas in all their sustained dramatic tension. Accordingly, Servius' account of Idomeneus' rash vow and filicide is de-marginalised and vernacularised, becoming, with suitable interpolations, the subject of

didactic plays, performed in three Jesuit colleges in 1690, 1691 and 1700; and a commercial play, *Idoménée*, by Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (Crébillon Père), performed by the Comédie-Française in 1705. In all four, Idomeneus refuses to sacrifice his son, only to have his son sacrifice himself, either on-stage or off, to save his father from the gods' anger at his refusal.

More enduring in impact, is the didactic novel, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699), written for the heir to the throne by his eminent tutor, François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon. The novel, a best-seller of the eighteenth century, converts the pre- and post-Iliadic years of Idomeneus' life into platforms for a before-and-after plot, in which Idomeneus, an indulged, self-willed, young king in Crete, becomes an indulged, self-willed, older king in his Italian colony, but is redeemed by applying to himself, and to his rule, Fénelon's concept of what is now termed 'republican monarchy'.

While Idomeneus, in France, is highly visible as a bad , or bad but redeemable king, in England, he retains an alternative presence as the ageing *aristos* of the *Iliad*. To Alexander Pope, in the character-study that accompanies his translation (1715–20), Idomeneus is a *character* […] *such as we see pretty often in common life*; [*a*]*n old Soldier*; *grown in Combats grey*; *conscious of his Decline in Strength and active Qualities*. To which Pope adds – perhaps with Enlightened perception – *Talkative upon Subjects of War, as afraid that others might lose the Memory of what he had done in better Days.*

*Conclusion*

A thesis that begins eight centuries before the Common Era and continues thereafter for a further seventeen-plus, interspersed with close-readings in six languages and supplemented by fourteen appendices, but which offers only two illustrations, requires less a conclusion, perhaps, as an *apologia*, 'a speech in defence'. Nevertheless, its format notwithstanding, this study registers, for the first time in English, the multiple representations of Idomeneus,

created through translation or adaptation, in Graeco-Roman, medieval and Early Modern literature; it sets them in their cultural contexts; and it draws attention to the licence with which translators and adaptors have treated their original sources, through practices like paraphrase, omission and interpolation.

Inevitably, the study prompts further questions, not least, the nature of the representation of Idomeneus in opera, currently deferred. Additionally, the extent to which the licence with which Idomeneus, as a secondary character in the *Iliad* and its accretions, is treated by translators and adaptors, is extended in the representation of his peers, the Aiantes, Diomedes, Nestor and Odysseus? The answer would require a comparable array of evidence, based on further close-reading. It could be readily achieved, however, by the creation of an 'aristoic database' (with user-friendly technology, if such a thing exists, from the digital humanitarians) and could usefully augment the online or printed publication of the thesis, thus contributing to the better understanding of Late Medieval and Early Modern classical translation.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 2.1

*Idomeneus in the* Iliad*: focal scenes and narrative passages*

*Note*: Based on van Thiel, H. (ed.). 2010. *Homeri 'Ilias'* …, 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Olms). Days are numbered as in Latacz and others 2002: 152.

| *No.* | *Ref.* | *Scene/passage* |
|---|---|---|
| *10th day. Assembly.* | | |
| 1 | 1.144–47 | Agamemnon, planning to return Chryseis to her father, considers that the mission could be accomplished by Idomeneus, Aias I, Odysseus, or Achilleus. |
| *22nd day. Day 1 of the battle.* | | |
| 2 | 2.402–09 | *Diapeira.* Agamemnon, sacrificing to Zeus, invites Idomeneus, Nestor, the Aiantes and Odysseus to participate in the ceremony and the subsequent feast. |
| 3 | 2.645–52 | The Catalogue of Ships lists Idomeneus and Meriones as co-commanders of the Cretan contingent of 80 ships. |
| 4 | 3.228–31 | *Teichoskopia*. Helen, on the wall of Troy, identifies Idomeneus, Aias I and Odysseus. |
| 5 | 4.251–71 | *Epipōlēsis.* Agamemnon reviews his army and motivates Idomeneus, the Aiantes, Nestor, Odysseus and Diomedes. |
| 6 | 5.43–48 | Diomedes' *aristeia*. Idomeneus kills Phaistos, who is mounting his chariot, spearing him through the right shoulder. Idomeneus' *therapontes* strip the corpse. |
| 7 | 6.433–39 | Andromache tells Hektor that a weak section of the wall of Troy has been tested by Idomeneus, the Aiantes and Diomedes. |
| 8 | 7.165–69 | Hektor challenges a Greek champion to a duel. Idomeneus volunteers, as do Meriones, Diomedes and Odysseus. |
| *25th day. Day 2 of the battle.The Trojans force the Greeks back to their newly-built fortifications.* | | |
| 9 | 8.75–78 | Zeus routs the Greeks with a thunderbolt and, like Agamemnon, Idomeneus flees with the Aiantes and Odysseus to the Greek ships. |
| 10 | 8.261–72 | The Greeks fight back, inspired by Diomedes. Idomeneus, Meriones and the Aiantes charge behind him. |
| *Night of Day 2. The Trojans camp on the plain.* | | |
| 11 | 10.53–59 | Agamemnon summons Idomeneus, the Aiantes, Diomedes, Odysseus and |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Nestor to inspect the perimeter guard and attend a council beyond the perimeter. |
| 12 | 10.112–13 | Nestor, unaware of Agamemnon's earlier order, advises him to summon the same group. |

*26th day. Day 3 of the battle. Agamemnon, Diomedes and Odysseus have been wounded.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 13 | 11.500–03 | Idomeneus and Nestor are on the left flank, facing Hektor, while Aias I advances in the centre. |
| 14 | 11.510–15 | When Machaon is wounded, Idomeneus persuades Nestor to drive the physician to the ships. |

*Day 3 continued. The Trojan army, in five divisions, attacks the Greek fortifications. Trojan pressure on the right diverts Aias I from the centre, allowing Hektor, now in the centre, to breach the wall. Poseidon takes advantage of Zeus' inattention to encourage the Greeks.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15 | 12.115–17 | *Teichomachia*. The narrator intimates that Idomeneus will kill Asios. |

*Day 3 continued. The battle is now within the perimeter of the camp. Aias I is back in the centre.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16 | 13.210–15 | Idomeneus, having withdrawn from the line to re-arm in his quarters, on the left, sends for healers to help a wounded comrade. |
| 17 | 13.215–38 | Poseidon, disguised as Thoas, exhorts Idomeneus to action. |
| 18 | 13.240–45 | Idomeneus arms in his quarters and prepares to return to the field. |
| 19 | 13.246–94 | Idomeneus meets Meriones, who has withdrawn to replace his spear; they talk. |
| 20 | 13.295–305 | Idomeneus equips Meriones with one of his own spears. |
| 21 | 13.306–27 | Idomeneus and Meriones discuss where to rejoin the battle, agreeing to return to the left flank. |

*Day 3 continued. Idomeneus' aristeia.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 22 | 13.328–44 | On the left, Idomeneus and Meriones face the Trojan divisions 2 (Alkathoos), 3 (Deiphobus) and 4 (Aeneias). |
| 23 | 13.361–84 | Idomeneus selects and kills Othryoneus, spearing him, through his corselet, in the stomach. Idomeneus vaunts. |
| 24 | 13.384–93 | Asios, dismounted, but with his chariot at his back, confronts Idomeneus. Idomeneus casts first, spearing him through the throat. Asios’ charioteer is killed by a young leader. |
| 25 | 13.402–16 | Deïphobus confronts Idomeneus and casts first. His spear, glancing off Idomeneus’ shield, kills Hypsenor. Deïphobus vaunts, addressing Idomeneus. Idomeneus does not cast in return. Deïphobus remains on the field. |
| 26 | 13.424–54 | Idomeneus selects and kills Alkathoös, who has been entranced by Poseidon, spearing him through his corselet, in the chest. Idomeneus vaunts, addressing Deïphobus. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 27 | 13.455–513 | Deïphobus recruits Aineias to fight Idomeneus in his place. Idomeneus asks for help from Meriones and other young leaders, prompting Aineias to seek support from Deïphobus and others. Aineias casts first and misses. Idomeneus responds and misses, spearing Oinomaos, through his corselet, in the stomach. Idomeneus fails to strip the corpse. Aineias remains on the field. |
| 28 | 13.514–19 | Deïphobus casts at Idomeneus as he withdraws with dignity from the battle; he misses him and kills Askalaphos. Idomeneus does not respond. Deïphobus remains in the field. |

*Day 3 continued. The Greeks have forced the Trojans beyond the camp and Hektor has been wounded. Revived by Apollo, he threatens the fortifications again. Zeus ends Poseidon's pro-Greek intervention.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 29 | 15.300–05 | Thoas persuades Idomeneus and the other commanders to cover the main Greek army as it retreats to defend the ships. |

*Day 3 continued. The Trojans, again in the camp, threaten to torch the ships. The Patrokleia and its aftermath.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 30 | 16.345–50 | Idomeneus kills Erymas, spearing him through the mouth. |
| 31 | 17.256–61 | Idomeneus and Meriones join Aias II in the struggle to save Patroklos' corpse. |
| 32 | 17.597–625 | As Hektor pursues the retreating Greeks, Idomeneus casts at him, striking him on the corselet and breaking his spear. Hector casts in return, misses Idomeneus, and kills Koiranos, Meriones' charioteer, who has come to Idomeneus' rescue. Meriones completes the rescue. |
| 33 | 19.309–39 | Achilleus, mourning Patroklos, asks Idomeneus, Agamemnon, Menelaos, Odysseus, Nestor and Phoinix to stay with him. |
| 34 | 23.448–98 | *Athla*. When Idomeneus commentates on the chariot race, Aias II objects and they quarrel. Achilleus orders them to stop. |

APPENDIX 2.2

*Idomeneus' attendance at councils and assemblies*

*Note:* Based on van Thiel, H.(ed.). 2010 *Homeri 'Ilias'*…, 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Olms).

| *Ref.* | *Meeting* | *Idomeneus* | *Other Speakers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.54–305 | Army (λαὸν) | Presence unrecorded | Nestor |
| 2.53–86 | Council (γέροντες) | Presence implied | Nestor |
| 2.100–50 | Army | Presence unrecorded | – |
| 2.207–393 | Army | Presence unrecorded | Odysseus |
| | | | Nestor |
| 2.433–43 | Council (informal) | Present | Nestor |
| 7.123–74 | Army (informal) | Present; volunteers | Menelaos |
| | | | Nestor |
| | | | Diomedes |
| | | | Aiantes |
| | | | Odysseus |
| 9.9–78 | Army | Presence unrecorded | Diomedes |
| | | | Nestor |
| 9.89–181 | Council (γέροντες) | Presence implied | Nestor |
| 9.669–713 | Council (βασιλῆες) | Presence implied | Diomedes |
| 10.53–253 | Council (βασιλῆες) | Presence recorded | |
| 14.27–132 | Council informal | Not present | Odysseus |
| | (βασιλῆες […]ὅσοι | | Diomedes |
| | βεβλήατο χαλκῷ) | | Nestor |
| 19.45–276 | Army | Presence unrecorded | Odysseus |

APPENDIX 2.3

*Structure of the conversation between Idomeneus and Meriones*

*Note:* Based on van Thiel, H. (ed.). 2010 *Homeri 'Ilias'* …, 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Olms). Lohmann 1970: 133–34, summarised in Janko 1994: 78, reduces the themes to (a) Meriones' bravery, 'Tapferkeit'; (b) Trophies, 'Trophäen'. He includes both hypotheses in (a), captioned 'Meriones' bravery, set out in broader terms', 'breit ausgeführt'.

| *Lines* | *Speaker* | *Theme* | *Signifier* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 249–50 | Idomeneus | Greets Meriones | |
| 251–52 | | Speculates about Meriones' *presence* | $A^1$ |
| 252–53 | | Proclaims his own *valour* (eager to return) | B |
| 255–57 | Meriones | Explains his *presence* (to replace *spear*) | $A^2$ |
| 257–58 | | Proclaims his own *valour* (fighting Deïphobus) | B |
| 260–62 | Idomeneus | Offers Meriones a *spear* from his trophies. | $A^2$ |
| 262–65 | | Proclaims his own *valour* (trophies) | B |
| 267–68 | Meriones | Implicitly accepts the *spear* | $A^2$ |
| 269–71 | | Proclaims his own *valour* (trophies) | B |
| 272–73 | | Considers his *reputation* | $C^1$ |
| 275 | Idomeneus | Affirms Meriones' *reputation* | $C^1$ |
| 276–87 | | Offers *Hypothesis* 1 supporting Meriones' *reputation* | $C^2$ |
| 288–91 | — | Offers *Hypothesis* 2 supporting Meriones' *reputation* | $C^2$ |
| 292– 3 | — | Ends talk, lest they may be reproached (i.e. their *valour* will be doubted) | B |
| 294 | — | Tells Meriones to take a *spear* | $A^2$ |

APPENDIX 3.1

*Chronological list of sources of accretions*

*Note:* Names, titles and dates follow *OCD.*

| *Author/Attribution* | *Title (and short title)* | *Date* |
|---|---|---|
| | *Odyssey* | 750–700 BCE |
| | *Greek Epic Fragments* | 7th to 6th cent. BCE |
| [Hesiod] | *The Catalogue of Women* (*Catalogue*) | 580–20 BCE |
| Heraclides Ponticus | *Solutions to Homeric Questions* (*Solutions*) | 4th cent. BCE |
| Lycophron | *Alexandra* | after 197 BCE |
| M. Terentius Varro | *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* (*Antiquitates*) | 47 BCE |
| Diodorus Siculus | *Bibliothēkē* | *c*. 30 BCE |
| Virgil | *Aeneid* | 29-19 BCE |
| Horace | *Odes 4* | *c*. 15 BCE |
| Ovid | *Metamorphoses* | Pre-year 8 |
| Strabo | *Geographia* | *c*. 23 |
| [P. Baebius Italicus] | *Ilias Latina* | 1st cent. |
| Hyginus | *Fabulae* | 1st or 2nd cent. |
| Pausanias | *Description of Greece* (*Description*) | *c*. 150 |
| Zenobius | *Proverbia* | *c*. 130 |
| Lucian | *Dialogues of the Dead* (*Dialogues*) | *c*. 160 |
| | *The Parasite* | *c*. 160 |
| Apollodorus | *Bibliotheca* | 2nd cent. |
| Sextus Empiricus | *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* | late 2nd cent |
| Dictys Cretensis | *Ephemeris belli Troiani* (*Ephemeris*) | Greek: 2nd to 3rd cent.<br>Latin: *c*. 4th cent. |
| L.Flavius Philostratus | *On Heroes* (*Heroes*) | *c*. 230 |
| Quintus Smyrnaeus | *Posthomerica* | prob. 3rd cent. |
| Triphiodorus | *The Sack of Troy* (*Sack*) | 3rd or early 4th cent. |
| Servius | *Commentary* | S. 4th cent.<br>SD 7th to 8th cent. |
| John Malalas | *Chronographia* | *c*. 480 to *c*. 570 |
| Dares of Phrygia | [*D*]*e excidio Troiae historia* (*Excidio*) | 5th or 6th cent. |

APPENDIX 3.2

*Polis-centred traditions of Idomeneus*

*Note:* Based on Federico, E. 1999. *Dall' Ida al Salento. L'itinerario mitico di Idomeneo cretese* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei).

| *Tradition* | *Content* | *Sources* |
|---|---|---|
| Knosos 1 | Id. returns safely to Knosos; unopposed; rules in Knosos until his death; the subject of two cults. | *Bibliothēkē*, 5.79.4<br>*Odyssey*, 3.192; 13.264; 14.242 |
| Knosos 2 | Id. is opposed and expelled by Leukos. | *Alexandra*, 1216–25<br>*Bibliotheca, Epit*. 6.9–11<br>*Geographia*, 10.4.15<br>*Commentarii, Aen*., 11.264 |
| Knosos 3 | Id. defeats Leukos and restores order. | *Solutions*, 98<br>*Sch. Od.*, 19.74<br>*Geographia*, 10.4.15 |
| Lyktos 1 | Returning to Lyktos, Id. survives a storm by making a rash vow; he is required to sacrifice his son; he is expelled by the *polis* either for his cruelty or, when Crete is visited by plague, as a scapegoat. | *Commentarii, Aen*., 3.121–3; 11.264–65 |
| Lyktos 2 | Id. is expelled from Lyktos by the *polis*; he founds a colony on the Salentine peninsula in Italy. | *Aeneid*, 3.121–23; 11.264–65 |
| Blanda-Gortyn | Id. and his armed followers are expelled by seditious subjects; with the help of Illyrians and Locrians, he founds a colony on the Salentine peninsula in Italy. | *Antiquitates*, 3.6.1 |
| Kolophon 1 | Returning from Troy, Id. is shipwrecked off Euboia and proceeds to Kolophon with Kalchas and Sthenelos. | *Alexandra*, 424-38<br>*Sch. Od.*, 13.259 |
| Kolophon 2 | Id. travels from the Salentine peninsula to Kolophon. | *Commentarii*, at *Aen*., 3.401 |

APPENDIX 3.3

3.3 *Idomeneus in the* Ephemeris

| *No.* | *Ref.* | *Scene/passage* |
|---|---|---|
| *Nine years before the events of the* Iliad*, Greek leaders, grandsons of the dead king, Atreus (i.e.Katreos) son of Minos, assemble in Crete to share his bequest of treasure and livestock.* | | |
| 1 | 1.1 | Atreus has bequeathed his domains to the Cretan line of the dynasty: Idomeneus, son of Deucalion, and Meriones, son of Molus. |
| *While on Crete, the leaders learn of the abduction of Helen. When negotiations for her return fail, they hold a panhellenic conference in Argos*. | | |
| 2 | 1.13, 15, 16 | Idomeneus and Meriones, closest of friends, attend the conference. They participate in an oath to destroy Troy; and in the election, by written ballot, of Agamemnon as supreme commander. |
| *Seven years before the events of the* Iliad*, the panhellenic army assembles at Aulis*. | | |
| 3 | 1.17 | Idomeneus and Meriones bring 80 ships |
| *While at Aulis, Agamemnon offends Artemis, who ravages the army with plague. Agamemnon is required to atone by sacrificing his daughter*. | | |
| 4 | 1.19 | Idomeneus, Aias I and Diomedes are among four co-commanders appointed to replace Agamemnon when he refuses to make the sacrifice and is deposed. |
| 5 | 1.23 | After the issue of the sacrifice is resolved, Agamemnon is reinstated and, by implication, Idomeneus and the others stand down |
| *One year before the events of the* Iliad*. After a false start, the Greeks leave Aulis for the second time. Reaching Troy, they campaign against the Trojans' neighbouring allies.* | | |
| 6 | 2.19. | Idomeneus and Nestor advise on the distribution of the captives and treasure accumulated in the campaigns. Agamemnon receives the daughter of Chryses, a priest of Apollo |
| *Co-terminous with the* Iliad*. Chryses demands the return of his daughter, but Agamemnon refuses. When the army is hit by a second plague, the Greeks attribute it to Apollo and, led by Achilles, again blame Agamemnon.* | | |
| 7 | 2.30 | The Trojans attack. Idomeneus and Aias II command the Greek centre. |

*Agamemnon returns Chryses' daughter, ending the plague but further alienating Achilles, who withdraws with his men. When the Trojans attack, Aias I wounds Hektor, who retires.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8 | 2.43 | Idomeneus, the Aiantes and Diomedes pursue the retreating Trojans. |

*Achilles is eventually reconciled. The next phase of hostilities is inaugurated by Diomedes' aristeia.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9 | 3.4 | Idomeneus, with Meriones driving, kills Acamus, king of the Thracians. |

*Patroclos, over-eager to show his mettle, is killed in a covert Trojan attack and his corpse defiled. Achilles, grieving, conducts his funeral*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10 | 3.14 | Idomeneus is wounded in another covert attack. |

*Achilles kills Hektor in an ambush and defiles his corpse*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11 | 3.18-19 | Achilles organises funeral games for Patroclos. Idomeneus and Nestor are among leaders who are awarded gifts (as opposed to prizes). |

*Continuing the* Iliad*. The Greeks defeat the last allies of Troy, the Amazons and Aethiopians, killing Penthesilea and Memnon, their respective leaders*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12 | 4.6 | Idomeneus and Odysseus are excluded from the draw to fight Memnon in single combat, but Aias I, who wins the draw, appoints them his seconds. |
| 13 | 4.7 | Idomeneus, Odysseus, Diomedes and the Aiantes kill 13 of Priam’s sons in the rout that follows the duel. |

*Achilles is trapped and murdered by Paris. Disaffected Trojans, using the cover of peace talks, betray Troy to the Greeks.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14 | 4.22 | Idomeneus is chosen, with Odysseus and Diomedes, to negotiate with the seceding Trojans when they come to the Greek camp. |
| 15 | 5.4 | Idomeneus is again involved in the negotiations but when Odysseus and Diomedes continue these in Troy, Idomeneus does not accompany them. |
| 16 | 5.10 | Idomeneus, with Meriones, Diomedes, Odysseus and Nestor, are part of a delegation to Troy to ratify the peace terms. |

*The Greeks commit atrocities in Troy. For these and earlier crimes, their leaders are made to suffer during and after their return home. Thus, Agamemnon, on his return to Mycenae, is killed by his wife, Clytemnestra (Klytaimestra) and her lover Aegisthus.*

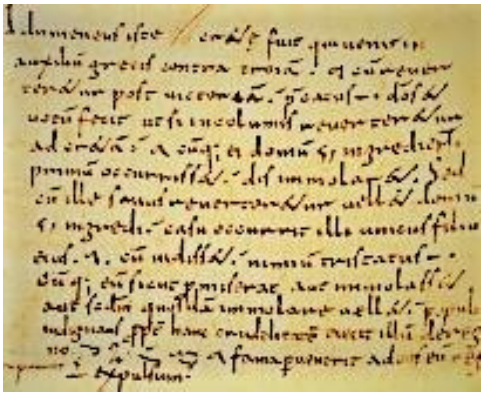
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17 | 6.2 | Idomeneus, Diomedes and others who have suffered at their homecomings, settle in Corinth. There, Idomeneus is given |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | charge of Agamemnon's son, Orestes. |
| 18 | 6.2 | The exiles in Corinth, possibly including Idomeneus, consider combining to regain their lands by force but are dissuaded by Nestor. |
| 19 | 6.2 | Diomedes' exploits restore the reputation of the former leaders, and Idomeneus is welcomed back to Crete. |
| 20 | 6.3 | There, Idomeneus receives the now mature Orestes and assists him to avenge his father. |
| 21 | 6.3 | Idomeneus later receives Menelaos and Helen, who learn that Orestes has killed Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. |
| 22 | 6.4 | Idomeneus, inviting Menelaos and Orestes to Crete, ends the feud between them. |
| 23 | 6.5 | Idomeneus receives Odysseus and assists him to continue his voyage. |
| 24 | 6.6 | Idomeneus dies and is lawfully succeeded by Meriones. |
| 25 | 6.11 | A year after Idomeneus' return, Crete is afflicted by plague. |

APPENDIX 4.1

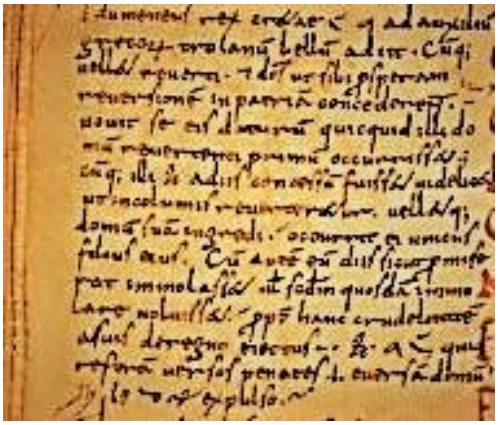
*Scholia on* Aeneid *3.121 and 11.264, from 'The Virgil of Tours*': *Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 165: 'Vergilius: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis/scholia Turonensis'*

*Note*: Based on Mittenhuber, F. (ed.). 1962. *Otto Homburger: Die illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern* (Bern: Selbstverlag der Burgerbibliothek Bern). The manuscript dates from the second quarter of the ninth century. It is written in Caroline Miniscule of the style associated with the scriptorium of the abbey of St Martin Tours. It was originally donated to the abbey but in the sixteenth century came into the possession of Pierre Daniel, editor of the first printed edition of Servius SD. The scholia in question are from fol. 82$^{r.}$, at *Aen*. 3.121, and fol. 193$^{v.}$, at *Aen*. 11.264. They appear to be in the same hand, associated with Liudramnus (Litramnus), active at Tours from around 820 to 834. In the transcription, the relevant passages of the scholia are italicised; Tironian *notae* are indicated by angled brackets; doubtful readings elsewhere are in square brackets. The translation is my own.



Cod. 165, fol. 82$^{r.}$
<qui> cum rever / teretur post victoriam, precatus <est> deos et / votum fecit ut si incolumis reverteretur / ad cretam, <quicumque> ei domum [eius] ingredienti / primum occurrisset, dis immolaret. Sed / cum ille sanus reverteretur vellet domum / <eius> ingredi, casu occurrit illi unicus filius / eius. <quem>, cum vidisset, nimium tristatus <est>.

when [Idomeneus] was returning after the victory he prayed to the gods and vowed that if he returned unharmed to Crete, he would sacrifice to them whatever came first to meet him as he entered his house. But when he returned in good health and wanted to enter his house, by chance his only son came to meet him. On seeing him, Idomeneus was exceedingly distressed



Cod. 165, fol. 193$^{v.}$
Cumque / vellet reverti, <ad> deos ut sibi prosperam / reversionem in patriam concederent, / vovit se eis daturum quicquid illi do / mum revertenti primum occurrisset. / cumque illi <quid> a diis concessum fuisset videlicet / ut incolumis revertetetur, velletque / domum suam ingredi, occurrit ei unicus / filius eius.

And when Idomeneus wished to return, he vowed to the gods, in order that they should grant him a favourable return to his homeland, that he would give them whatever first came to meet him when he returned. And when the gods had granted this, namely that he should return unharmed, and he wished to enter his house, his only son came to meet him.

APPENDIX 4.2

*Episodes involving Idomeneus in Guido de Columnis*, Historia destructionis Troiae, *(1287), and their incidence in representative texts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*

*Note:* Based on Griffin, N. E. (ed.). 1936. *Guido de Columnis: Historia destructionis Troiae* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America).

4.2.1 *Episodes*

1 Troy. Id. and Meriones lead the Cretan contingent and its fleet of 80 ships
2.1 Troy. Id. and Meriones lead the eleventh division of the Greek force in the second battle.
2.2 Troy. Id. opposes Hektor with 2000 men in the second battle.
3 Troy. Id., Diomedes and Odysseus negotiate with Antenor over the betrayal of Troy.
4.1 Crete: Id. raises Orestes, the son of Agamemnon.
4.2 Crete. Id. helps Orestes to avenge his father's death.
4.3 Crete: Id. helps to reconcile Orestes with his uncle, Menelaos.
5.1 Crete: Id. welcomes Odysseus who has landed there destitute.
5.2 Crete: Id. helps Odysseus to continue his journey home.
6 Crete: Id. dies and is succeeded by his sons.

4.2.2 *Incidence*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Binduccio dello Scelto | *La Storia di Troia* | 1 | 2.2 | 3 | 4.1-2 | 5.1-2 | 6 |
| | *The seege or Batayle of Troye* | | | | | | |
| Filippo Ceffi | *Storia della guerra di Troia* | 1 | 2.1-2 | | 4.1-2 | 5.1-2 | 6 |
| | *Cantari della guerra di Troia* | | | | | | |
| John Clerk | *The Destruction of Troy* | | 2.2 | | 4.1-3 | 5.1-2 | 6 |
| Hans Mair | *Buch von Troja* | 1 | 2.1-2 | 3 | | | |
| | *Laud Troy Book* | | | 3 | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Lydgate | *Troy Book* | 1 | 2.1-2 | 3 | 4.1-3 | 5.1-2 | 6 |
| Raoul LeFevre | *Recoeil des histoires de Troyes* | 1 | 2.1-2 | 3 | 4.1-3 | 6.1-2 | 6 |
| William Caxton | *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* | 1 | 2.1-2 | 3 | 4.1-3 | 5.1-2 | 6 |

APPENDIX 4.3

*Extract from the Epipōlēsis in the* Homeri Poetae Ilias *of Lorenzo Valla and Francesco Griffolini*

*Note:* Based on van Thiel. 2010. *Homeri 'Ilias'* …, 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Olms), 4. 250–64; Willing, A. (ed.). 2009. *Homeri Poetae 'Ilias', per Laurentiam Vallam in latinum sermonem traducta*, and *Johannes Baptista Rexius: 'Ilias' Homeri teutsch* (Berlin: Schmidt), 4. 94–205. Text omitted by Valla is italicised; his interpolations are underlined.

Atque hunc in modum Agamemnon hos exhortans, illos increpans, ad catervas Cretensium pervenit, quae se iuxta principem suum *δαΐφρονα* Idomeneum armabant. Ipse vero Idomeneus, *συῒ εἴκελος ἀλκήν* ut validibus viribus, su[o]s in prima acie curabat. Meriones autem auriga in postremis eos, qui longius aberant, urgens, ut se armarent, ac duci praesto essent. Quos cum vidisset *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* Agamemnon, maiorem in modum laetatus, *αὐτίκα* placidis illum verbis affatus est. Idomeneu tu mihi inter omnes Graecos *ταχυπώλων* praecipuo in honore haberis, quo cum actu, sive domi sive militiae, quin *ἐν δαίθ'* in ipsis etiam tempestivis conviviis aut in populo, *ὅτε πέρ τε γερούσιον αἴθοπα οἶνον | Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι κέρωνται* cui maximi quique Graecorum adhibentur, *εἴ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ | δαιτρὸν, σὸν δὲὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἰεὶ | ἔστηχ' ὥς περ ἐμοί, πιέειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι*| cum caeteris bibere volentibus semipleni calices**:** tibi tamen uni: ut mihi pleniores apponuntur. Agedum igitur, capesse proelium, et qualem te fore gloriari soles, talem te hodie praesta.

APPENDIX 5.1

*Sixteenth-century vernacular translations of the encounter between Idomeneus and Agamemnon at the Epipōlēsis as recorded in* Iliad *4.251–64 and* Homeri Poetae Ilias … *4.168–81*

*Note*: Based on H. van Thiel (ed.). 2010. *Homeri 'Ilias'* …, 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Olms); A. Willing (ed.). 2009. *Homeri poetae 'Ilias', per Laurentiam Vallam in latinum sermonem traducta*, and *Johannes Baptista Rexius: 'Ilias' Homeri teutsch* (Berlin: Schmidt). Translators' principal interpolations are underlined.

*Extract 1*. Samxon, J. (transl.). 1530. *Les 'Iliades' de Homere* [ … ] *translatees en partie de latin en langaige vulgaire* … (Paris: J. Petit), fols 49$^{v.}$–50$^{r.}$.

… il parvint iusques oux batailles de cretenses lequels se armoient prez leur prince Idomeneus. Et lequel Idomeneus qui estoit homme de grant force et vertu / il estoit en la bataille le premier de ses gens. Et meryones son aurige ou conducteur de ses chevaulx / cestassavoir son escuier descuirie estoit en la derniere bataille de ses gens qui admonnestoit de eulx armer prestement et de venir et assister a leur prince. Et quant Agamenon les eust ainsi veu il en prist une merveilleuse resiouissance. Et par plaisantes parolles luy dist en ceste maniere Idomeneus je te ay en preciput honneur et reverence entre les gregois. Car comme ainsi soit que aux autres qui ont desir de boire soit en la maison ou en bataille ou es conviz esquelz les tres grans de grece sont appellez on leur presente leurs tasses ou hanaps a demy plains. Mais je voy que a toy seul comme a moy sont presentez plus plains. Or fus doncques entre en bataille et te monstre ce jourdhuy estre tel que tu te soulois en gloire extimer.

*Extract 2*. Salel, H. (transl.). 1545. *Les dix premiers livres de 'l'Illiade'* [...] *traduictz en vers* ... (Paris: J. Loys and V. Sertenas), pp. [122-23].

… il s'arreste
Droict en la place ou les Souldardz de Crete
Se preparoient à l'entour de leur Roy,
Qui les rengeoyt en bel ordre et arroy.
Et son amy Merionés estoit,
Aux plus loingtains, qui tresfort les hastoit
De s'auancer. Adonc le grand Gregeois
Luy dict ainsi, avec semblant courtois.
Idomenée, entre les Roys et Princes,
Qui mont suivi des Gregeoises Provinces,

Je ta'y porté honeur plus singulier,
Fust en publie, ou en particulier,
Fust en la Guerre, ou bien quand on s'assemble
Dedans ma tente à banqueter ensemble.
Et qu'il soit vray, je n'ay si grand amy,
Qui puisse avoir sa Coupe que à demy
Pleine de Vin, et à toy est donnée
Entierement comblée, et couronée: bu
Voulant monstrer, que tes faueurs sont grandes,
Ayant de moy tout ce que tu demandes.
Monstre toy donc au iourdhuy meriter
Ceste faveur: Et pour bien t'acquicter,
Fay qu'on te voye, entre les plus hardiz,
Prompt au combat, comme souvent tu dis.

*Extract 3*. A. Willing (ed.). 2009. *Homeri poetae 'Ilias', per Laurentiam Vallam in latinum sermonem traducta*, and *Johannes Baptista Rexius: 'Ilias' Homeri teutsch* (Berlin: Schmidt), p. 215.

... kame er zu den Cretensern, die sich bei irem haubtman Idumaeneo rüsteten. Dan Idomenaeus vermanet die an der spiz als die sterkesten, sein furmann aber, Meriones, trübe die hinderigsten herfür. Nachdem si Agamemnon ansichtig worde, erfreüet er sich hoh darüber, undt redet den Idomeneum mit freündtlichen worten also an:

"Idomeneae, du wirst von mir vor allen in der grösten ehr gehalten undt auch von allen Grichen. Dan wo wir beisamen sein, es seÿ gleich dahaimets, im krig, under dem volk oder auf ofentlichen gastmalen, so schenket man den andern all die bacher nur bis auf die helft ein, allain mir undt dir erfüllet mans. Nuhn wolauf, frisch dran, jezt erzaig dich dan, welcher du sein wilst."

APPENDIX 5.2

*Idomeneus and Meriones in sixteenth-century biographical dictionaries*

*Note*: The sample is drawn exclusively from digital sources.

*Extract 1*. Torrentinus, H. 1504. *Vocabularius poeticus sive elucidarius carminum et historiarum ...* (Colonie: Cornelius von Zierickzee), ff. A3$^{r.}$, C1$^{v.}$, C7$^{v.}$, E1$^{v.}$, G3$^{r.}$.

Aiax Thelamonis filius ex Hesione filia Laomedontis fortissimus Grecorum post Achillem. Sed Achille occiso cum illius arma peteret Aiax, et Ulysses eloquentia sua iudicibus illa accepisset, Aiax pre ira insaniens pecora multa occidit credens Ulyssen cum sociis illius se occidere. Deinde etiam seipsum occidit, de cuius cruore ut ait Ovidius flos hyacinthus crevit.

Alter eodem tempore fuit Aiax Oilei filius rex Locrensium velox pedibus et peritus haste vibrande. Hic capta Troia Cassandram virginem et vatem in templo Palladis violavit et propterea domum repetens fulmine exustus est in mari cum sua navi.

Diomedes penultim[a] longo. Rex Aetoliae Tydeos et Deiphyle filius qui ad Troiam cum Aenea congressus Venerem adiuvantem Aeneam percussit. Quapropter illa multas ei miserias attulit. Nam uxorem eius adulteram fecit. Quod audiens Diomedes domum venire noluit, sed in Apuliam profectus Arpos condidit. Item socii eius mutati dicuntur in aves herodios.

Idomeneus rex Crete qui cum Grecis ad Troiam pugnavit. In reditu vero tempestate vexatus promisit si sospes in regnum rediret, se hoc immolaturum quod exeunti sibi de nave primum occurreret. Itaque cum filium suum qui primus occurrerat immolasset, aut ut alii dicunt immolare voluisset. A Cretensibus ob crudelitatem pulsus navigavit in Apuliam, et urbem Petiliam condidit super Salentinum montem Calabrie.

Nestor filius Nelei rex Pyli qui cum quinquaginta navibus ad Troiam venit cum Grecis, cum esset natus annos amplius ducentos. Nam terciam etatem hominum vivebat eratque facundus et dulci loquentia.

Ulysses Laerte et Autholie filius rex Ithacae et Dulichii insularum, callidissimus et facundus. Hic cum expeditionem in Troiam Greci pararent ut domi maneret simulavit se fu[r]ere. Vide supra Palamedes. Idem Achillem muliebri habitu in Scyro latentem deprehendit et ad Troiam duxit, et in bello multa

prudenter effecit. Item post eversionem Troie ceteris Grecis patriam repetentibus, Ulysses vi tempestate vexatus adhuc decem annis erravit in mari et ad diversa loca venit, ut ait Homerus qui de ipsius erroribus opus insigne quod Odyssea inscribitur. [Odysseus' travels follow.]

Further editions: 1515, 1520, 1531, 1540, 1552, 1563.

*Extract 2.1.* Calepino, A. 1509. *Dictionarium ex optimis quibusquam authoribus* ... (Paris: J. Bade), fol. z5$^{r.}$.

Idomeneus Deucalionis filius Cretensium rex qui contra Troianos strenue dimicavit, et Petiliam urbem super Salentinum montem Calabrie condidit.
Further versions: 1513, 1521, 1535.

*Extract 2.2.* Calepino, A. and Gesner, K. 1549. *Dictionarium linguae latinae* [...] *accedit quoque* [...] *onomasticon propriorum nominum …* (Basileae: H. Curio; H. Petri), fol. N6$^{r.}$.

Idomeneus, Deucalionis filius, et nepos Minois, rex Cretensium, qui teste Homero, populos suos ad Troiam duxit, et quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur in tempestate devovit diis sacrificaturum se de re quae ei primum occurrisset. Contigit ut filius eius primus occurreret, quem quum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset, ut alii, immolare voluisset, a civibus pulsus regno, Salentinum Calabriae promontorium tenuit, iuxta quod condidit civitatem, ut scribit Vergilius 3 Aeneidis. Et Salentinos obsedit milite campos. Lyctius Idomeneus. Haec Servius.

*Extract 2.3.* Calepino, A and Estienne, R. 1553–[54]. *Dictionarium, quarto et postremo ex R. Stephani latinae linguae thesauro auctum* ([Genève]: R. Estienne), fol. 274$^{r.}$.

Idomeneus, Deucalionis filius, Cretensium rex, qui contra Troianos strenue dimicavit. Troia autem eversa, quum in patriam renavigaret, subito oborta tempestate, solenne votum concepit, si se Neptunus incolumen in patriam reduceret, se illi immolaturum quod primum sibi occurreret. Contigit autem, ut filius eius ei primus occurreret: quem quum immolare vellet, a suis pulsis, fugit in Calabriam; ubi iuxta Salentinum promontorium oppidum condidit. Haec refert Servius in illud Virgilii 3 Aeneidis. Et Salentinos obsedit milite campos Lyctius Idomeneus.
Further versions: 1562, 1570, 1588.

*Extract 3.* Estienne, C. 1553. *Dictionarium historicum, et poeticum* ... (Lutetiae: C. Estienne), p. 316.
Idomeneus, Deucalionis filius, et nepos Minois, rex Cretensium, populos suos ad Troiam duxit: et quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit diis sacrificaturum se de re quae primum occurrisset. Contigit ut filius eius primus occurreret: quem quum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset, ut alii, immolare voluisset: a civibus pulsus regno, Salentinum Calabrie promontorium tenuit, iuxta quod condidit civitatem. Vergilius, 3, Aeneidis.
Further versions: 1579, 1581, 1595.

*Extract 4.1.* Elyot, T. 1538. *The Dictionary* (London: T. Berthelet), fol. Ll3$^{r.}$.
Idomeneus, the sonne of Deucalion and king of Crete.

*Extract 4.2.* Elyot, T. 1542. *Bibliotheca Eliotae, Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet), fol. R8$^{r.-v.}$.
Idomeneus, a kynge of Crete or Candy, whiche came with the greekes to Troye. In his retourne beinge troubled with tempeste, he vowed, that if he returned saulfe in to his royalme, he wolde offer what so ever he met with all fyrste. wherfore whan he wold have offered his son, who fyrste met with hym at his landynge, the people dyd aryse agaynste hym, and drave hym out of the countrey. And than sayled he into Apulia, and buylded there a citie, whiche he called Petilia on the mountayne called Salentinum in Calabre.
Further version: 1545.

*Extract 4.3.* Cooper, T. 1548. *Bibliotheca Eliotae, Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet), fol. Kk5$^{r.-v.}$.
As above.
Further versions: 1552, 1559, 1565, 1573, 1578.

*Extract 5.1.*Calepino, A. and Gesner, K. 1549. *Dictionarium linguae latinae* [ ... ] *accedit quoque* [ ... ] *onomasticon propriorum nominum* (Basileae: H. Curio; H. Petri), fol. [Q4$^{v.}$].
Meriones. Fuit teste Homero lib. Iliad 2. Auriga Idomenaei et cum eo dux navium, quae e Creta venerant ad Troiam, Marti, ut ait Martis arbitrio comparandus.
Further version: 1588.

*Extract 5.2.* Cooper, T. 1548. *Bibliotheca Eliotae, Eliotis Librarie* (London: T. Berthelet), fol. Xx2.
[Meriones] a noble man of the Greekes
Further versions: 1565, 1573, 1578.

*Extract 5.3.* Estienne, R. 1558. *Dictionarium nominum propriorum virorum* ... (Coloniae: W. Fabritius). fol. Nn4$^{r.}$.

Meriones. Fuit teste Homero lib. Iliad 2. Auriga Idomenaei et cum eo dux navium, quae e Creta venerant ad Troiam, Marti, ut ait Martis arbitrio comparandus.
Further version: 1576. Coloniae.

APPENDIX 6.1

*Idomeneus (Idoménée) in* Les Aventures de Télémaque *(1699): a chronological summary*.

*Note*: The account of Idomeneus, diffused non-sequentially through five episodes in the text, is reconstructed here in chronological order. Page references are to Le Brun, J. (ed.). 1997. *Fénelon: Oeuvres*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard).

1. Idomeneus, king of Crete, fails to rule in the principled fashion of his ancestors. He resents the stringent criticism of his friend and counsellor, Philocles. His resentment is encouraged by another friend, the sycophantic, manipulative Protesilaus, who aims to take Philocles' place (171).

2. Protesilaus, failing to persuade Idomeneus that Philocles covets his throne, advises him to give Philocles command of the Cretan fleet to be sent against the Karpathian islanders. He plans to denigrate Philocles in his absence and, if Philocles is victorious, to make Idomeneus jealous of him. Philocles warns Idomeneus of this, but Idomeneus nevertheless appoints Protesilaus his counsellor in Philocles' absence (171–73).

3. Philocles defeats the Karpathian fleet. Idomeneus, at Protesilaus' urging, orders him to take the island. Protesilaus plans to undermine Philocles' campaign, in order to discredit him, but Philocles, supported by his loyal troops, is successful (173, 175–76).

4. Assisted by Timocrates, a corrupt servant of the king, Protesilaus fabricates evidence to convince Idomeneus that Philocles intends to take Karpathium for himself. Timocrates alarms Idomeneus further by suggesting that Protesilaus and Philocles may be colluding to dethrone him. Idomeneus does not know whom to trust (173–74).

5. Idomeneus sends Timocrates to kill Philocles. Timocrates fails and reveals Idomeneus' involvement. Philocles, disillusioned, resigns his command and retires to seclusion in Samos. Idomeneus, although fearing and mistrusting Protesilaus, succumbs to inertia and retains him in office (175–77).

6. Idomeneus joins the Greek forces at Troy, leaving Protesilaus to rule Crete in his name. Protesilaus becomes a cruel despot, alienating the people. He sends Timocrates to spy on Idomeneus in Troy and forces the king to discredit Meriones, of whom Protesilaus is jealous (179).

7. After the Trojan War, Idomeneus sails home. When his ship is caught in a storm, he prays to

Poseidon (Neptune) to bring him safely to Crete, vowing in return to sacrifice the first person he sees after landing (60).

8. The first person Idomeneus sees is his son. He prays to Poseidon to accept his life instead of his son's and tries to kill himself, but is prevented by his entourage. The seer, Sophronimus, warns him that to fulfil his vow unnaturally would dishonour Poseidon and that he should sacrifice one hundred bullocks instead, but Idomeneus does not respond. Finally, Idomeneus' son offers his life to save his father from Poseidon's wrath. Idomeneus, now deranged, kills him. He again tries to kill himself but is prevented (60–62).

9. The Cretans are horrified by Idomeneus' action. Believing that the gods have deserted him, no longer accepting him as the grandson of Minos, they improvise weapons (62).

10. Idomeneus' companions intervene, take him back to his ship and embark with him. Recovering from his derangement, he thanks them. Protesilaus and Timocrates, the first to flee from the impending violence, accompany him. They establish a colony in Salentinum (Salente) in south-eastern Italy (62, 179–80).

11. Idomeneus rules as badly in Salentinum as he did in Crete, depending exclusively on Protesilaus and Timocrates, who involve him in grandiose enterprises and war with his neighbours. Resenting the influence of Mentor, they disparage the political, economic and social reforms that he advocates and plot to destroy him, but fall out before they can try (124–25, 180–81, 186).

12. On Mentor's advice, Idomeneus has Protesilaus and Timocrates arrested and taken to Samos, whence he repatriates Philocles, although he questions whether they can work together. On Philocles' return, Idomeneus publicly confesses his injustice towards the former, to the acclaim of his people. Mentor and Philocles together encourage Idomeneus in further reforms, notably the advancement of education and the promotion of peace (183–91).

13. Telemachos serves with Salentines and their allies against the Daunians. When he returns, Mentor tells him that Idomeneus has a ship ready for their return to Ithaka. Telemachos, however, announces that he has fallen in love with Antiope, Idomeneus' daughter (288, 296–97).

14. Idomeneus, fearing the imminent departure of Mentor and Telemachos, tries to delay it: first citing religious, political and social issues on which he needs advice; then promoting Telemachos' marriage to Antiope and his succession to the crown. Failing, he becomes severely depressed. Mentor restores him, instructing him to rely upon Philocles and promising to return, if needed, when he has restored

Telemachos to his father and Ithaka (299-309).

15 Idomeneus, now displaying signs of ‘holy resignation’, accepts the inevitability of their departure and makes an emotional farewell (309).

APPENDIX 6.2

*A selection of plays staged at the Jesuit-run college of Louis-le-Grand, Paris, 1685 – 90.*

*Note*: Based on Desgraves, L. 1986. *Répertoire des programmes des pièces de théâtre jouées dans les Collèges en France (1601–1700)* (Paris: Champion) and the sources cited there and in Grosperrin, J.-P. 2008. *Francis Paulin, S.J. Idoménée tragédie (1700)* (Toulouse: Société de Littératures Classiques).

1685. *Demetrius.* 178 BCE, Macedon. Philip V, deceived by his elder son, Perseus, kills his second son, Demetrius.

1685. *Clissonius.* 1387 Brittany. Jean IV orders the death of Olivier de Clisson, Constable of France, but his agent wisely disobeys the order.

1686. *Jephtes*. 982-76 BCE, Mizpah, Gilead. The Israelite commander, Jephthah, seeking victory over the Ammonites, vows to sacrifice to God the person he first encounters on returning to his house. He meets his daughter Seila who, learning her fate, duly accedes.

1686. *Clovis.* 496, Francia. Clovis I, king of the Salian Franks, having defeated the Alamanni after praying to his wife's Christian god, converts to her religion.

1687. *Celsus Martyr*. 4th century, Antioch. Marcianus, governor of Antioch and persecutor of Christians discovers that his long-lost son, Celsus, is a convert and cannot save him when he commits sacrilege.

1687. *Erixane.* 13th century, Acre. Federic, its ruler, is married to Erixane; with children, Raymond and Belinde. Tarsillas, his favorite, scheming to succeed him, has Raymond abducted. Ten years later, he plans to marry Belinde but the marriage is opposed by Erixane, whom he accuses falsely of infidelity. When she is tried by combat, she is saved by Belinde, disguised as her champion, supported by Raymond, who has escaped from his abductors. Tarsillas affirms the queen's fidelity before he dies.

1688. *Saul*. 11th cent. BCE, Mount Gilboa, Israel. King Saul is defeated by the Philistines, who wound him and kill his three sons. He orders his armour-bearer to kill him but the man refuses from fear. Saul kills himself; as does the armour-bearer.

1688. *Heraclius sive Crux recepta.* 627-30, Seleucia. Heraclius, the Eastern Roman emperor, defeats Khosrow II, king of the Persians, who is killed by his eldest son. Heraclius returns the True Cross, taken by the Persians, to Jerusalem.

1689. *Polymestor*. Undated. Thrace. Priam, king of Troy, protects his son, Polydorus, by entrusting him to his daughter, Iliona, and her husband Polymestor, king of Thrace. As a further precaution, Iliona transposes Polydorus with her son, Deiphilus. When the Greeks persuade Polymestor to kill Polydorus, he kills his own son in error.

1690. *Alexander Magnus*. 323 BCE, Babylon. Alexander the Great, to unite Macedonians and Persians, takes a second, Persian, wife, Stateira. After his death, his first wife, Roxana, has her killed.

APPENDIX 6.3

*Alexander Pope's* ‘Character’ *of Idomeneus*

*Note:* Based on van Thiel, H. (ed.). 2010. *Homeri 'Ilias'* … 2nd edn (Hildesheim: Olms) = *Il*.; Shankman, S. (ed.). 1996. *The 'Iliad' of Homer. Translated by Alexander Pope* (London: Penguin) = AP; Mack, M. (ed.). 1967. *The 'Iliad' of Homer,* The Twickenham edition of the poems of Alexander Pope, vols 7–8 (London: Methuen). The table contains extracts from Pope's *Iliad*, *Observations* and *Poetical Index* illustrating his characterisation of Idomeneus. The characterisation itself forms part of his observations on *Iliad* 13.278, and is in two discrete sections: *Idumen* [...] *Agamemnon himself* and *For instance* [...] *Bellies*. It credits Idomeneus with seven characteristics, based primarily on ten passages from Books 4 and 13. Five of the characteristics, those supported directly from individual passages, are listed in the *Poetical Index*. Each is referenced by a brief description from Pope’s observation and the number of a single, representative line in the relevant passage. The two unindexed characteristics are perceptions based on the text as whole.

‘An old Soldier’
Dreadful in Arms, and grown in Combats grey: *Il.* 13.361–62; AP 13.455; Mack 1967: VII, 128.
Tho’ now unfit an active War to wage: *Il.* 13.[510–11]; AP 13.648; Mack 1967: VII, 136.
A Person of the first Rank, sufficient enough of his high Birth, growing into Years
The true Picture of a stiff old Soldier

‘A lover of his Soldiers’
[His pensive Brow the gen’rous Care exprest] | With which a wounded Soldier touch’d his Breast: *Il.* 13.[213–14]; AP 13.280; Mack 1967: VIII, 119.
Very careful and tender of his Soldiers, whom he had commanded so long that they were become old Acquaintance; (so that it was great Judgment *Homer* chose to introduce him here, in performing a kind Office to one of ’em who was wounded).

‘Talkative upon Subjects of War’
Secure of me, O King! exhort the rest: *Il.* 4.268; AP 4.303 S; Mack 1967: VII, 235.
[Spears I have store, (and *Trojan* Lances all)] | That shed a Lustre round th’illumin'd Wall: *Il.* 13.261; AP 13.340; Mack 1967: VIII, 122.
And were some Ambush for the Foes design’d: *Il.* 13.276; AP 13.355, etc.; Mack 1967: VIII, 122.

‘Vain of his Family’

[From *Jove*, enamour’d on a mortal Dame,] | Great *Minos*, Guardian of his Country, came: AP 13.565, etc.; *Il.* 13.445; Mack 1967: VIII, 133.

The vaunting of his Family in this Book, together with his Sarcasms and contemptuous Railleries on his dead Enemies, savour of the same Turn of Mind.

‘Stately and insulting’

[The great *Idomeneus* bestrides the dead] | And thus (he cries) behold thy Promise sped: *Il.* 13.373–74; AP 13.472 etc.; Mack 1967: VIII, 129.

One may observe some Strokes of Lordliness and State in his Character: That Respect *Agamemnon* seems careful to treat him with, and the particular Distinctions shewn him at Table, are mention’d in a manner that insinuates they were Points upon which this Prince not a little insisted. And it seems there was among the Ancients a Tradition of *Idomeneus* which strengthens this Conjecture of his Pride: For we find in the *Heroicks* of *Philostratus*, that before he would come to the *Trojan* War, he demanded a Share in the sovereign Command with *Agamemnon* himself.

Untitled

[… old Soldier] not inconsiderate [thoughtless] in Danger; but by the Sense of his Age, and by his Experience in Battel, become too cautious to engage with any great odds against him

Untitled

conscious of his Decline in Strength and active Qualities; and therefore endeavouring to make it up to himself in Dignity, and to preserve the Veneration of others

not willing to lose any of the Reputation he has acquir’d

Talkative upon Subjects of War, as afraid that others might lose the Memory of what he had done in better Days

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