

The Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη and its reuse within the seventeenth-century Portuguese epic poem *Ulisseia ou Lisboa Edificada*

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Ulisseia ou Lisboa Edificada (Ulysseia or Lisbon Founded) is a seventeenth-century epic poem written by Gabriel Pereira de Castro, which celebrates the mythical arrival of Ulysses in Lusitania and the subsequent foundation of Ulisseia by him. This city built by Greek hands comes to be Lisbon, the head of a great navy empire at the time of Portuguese Discoveries. This epic reshapes both the Odyssean sea voyages and Iliadic warfare, and Ulysses, the same crafty wanderer as the Homeric Odysseus, is also the bearer of a god-given mission like the Virgilian Aeneas. In this paper I examine the refashioning of the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη ('Deception of Zeus') in Ulisseia book 10 from a comparative and literary perspective. Castro follows his Greek model very closely but

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at the same time makes important deviations from it. He portrays the deceitful planning of Hera, with its erotic and humorous tone, and adapts it to the nationalistic purposes of his own epic story. Juno's plan is granted a more serious tone, since its effects on the war between Greeks and Lusitanians are directly linked to the glorious Destiny of the Portuguese people.

Introduction

Among the ancient heroes of Greek mythology none is so closely linked to the city of Lisbon and its legendary history than Odysseus. The story of his arrival in Iberia, at the far west of Europe, where he supposedly built a temple to Athena, seems to be based on scattered data from ancient sources, mainly Strabo's *Geography* (e.g. 1.2.11; 3.2.13; 3.3.1; 3.4.3–5). André de Resende, an eminent sixteenth-century humanist scholar deeply versed in Greco-Roman culture, read Strabo, gathered the reports on the hero's presence in Iberia, reshaped and magnified them to the point of creating the legend.¹ In his *Oratio pro rostris*, delivered at the University of Lisbon in 1534, Resende tells of the foundation of the city of Ulisseia by Ulysses on the site of Lisbon.² The association with the ancient mythology and Odysseus in particular was a way of exalting Lisbon and its inhabitants. In shaping a legendary national history out of few non-scientific reports, Resende gave the Portuguese people a honorific status, inasmuch as they thus

¹ Nascimento (2012: 632).

² Resende relies first of all on the similarities of the hero's and the city's Roman names (Ulysses and Olisipo). See Almeida (1992: 11–20) and Nascimento (2007: 655–64; 2012: 625–42) on the ancient names of Lisbon, and for discussions of its association with Ulysses. Resende had first recounted the legend of the Greek hero founding the Portuguese city, its walls and the temple to Athena at the mouth of Tagus River in his previous poem, *Vincentius Leuita et Martyr*, passages of which were extensively quoted in the tribute to the city of Lisbon presented in his *Oratio pro rostris*. See Pereira (1993: 308).

continued the history of the Romans and that of the Greeks, and extended their conquests imitating and emulating the deeds of old.³ Thus Resende was largely responsible for the dissemination of a story that became a mythical reality accepted by the scholars of his time and following generations until today. In his *Oratio* the origins of the Portuguese people are rooted in the sea adventures of the Greek hero. The period of the Portuguese Discoveries (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) was a time of intensive overseas exploration. It is easy to see why Odysseus, the famous seaman, became a model for Portuguese sailors.

Resende's refashioned story of Lisbon's Odyssean origins had both immediate and lasting repercussions in Portuguese literature. Luís de Camões inserted the myth in his Renaissance epic *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiads*), which celebrates Vasco da Gama's sea voyage to India. In the twentieth century, it also featured in Fernando Pessoa's book of poems *Mensagem* (*Message*), placing Ulysses among the heroes of the mythical Portuguese past.⁴ But its most developed use is found in Gabriel Pereira de Castro's epic poem *Ulisseia ou Lisboa Edificada* (*Ulysseia or Lisbon Founded*), published posthumously in 1636. This is an entire epic devoted to the story of how Ulysses reaches the Lusitanian shore and founds a city, the future Lisbon.⁵ The historical context

³ Nascimento (2012: 738). Cf. Braga (1984: 358).

⁴ Camões' *Os Lusíadas* was first published in 1572, and Pessoa's *Mensagem* in 1934.

⁵ Several scholars, from Varro (second and first century BC) to Isidore of Seville (sixth and seventh century), briefly referred to the presence of Ulysses on Lusitanian soil, and his founding of a city there. See Fernandes (1985: 139–61), Almeida (1992: 21–28), Prieto (2009: 173–74), Kark (2014: 122–25). In seventeenth-century Portuguese literature the myth is no longer limited to brief references, being developed as the main plot in long epic poems, first in Gabriel Pereira de Castro's *Ulisseia* (1636), then in António de Sousa de Macedo's *Ulissipo* (1640). See also Puga (2011: 145–75) on the literary updates of the myth in English and North American literature. The reception of Odysseus as a versatile, adaptable

explains the emphasis placed on this myth. From 1580 to 1640, Portugal was under Spanish rule. King Sebastião had disappeared at the Battle of Alcácer Quibir in 1578, and Henrique, the cardinal-king who came after him, died in 1580. Neither left any offspring. There was a succession crisis, which was only resolved with the crowning of Felipe II of Spain as Filipe I of Portugal in 1581. During the sixty years of the Philippine dynasty in Portugal, many literary works were produced with a nationalist bent.⁶ One way to enhance the sense of a Portuguese identity was interweaving into its historical past elements from the mythological traditions of the ancient Greeks and Romans. This approach produced epic poets – and epic poetry is a most fitting genre to praise national identity – to glorify Portuguese heroic achievements. In these historical circumstances, scholars took up Ulysses to ennoble the foundation of Lisbon, and strengthen a national consciousness against the threat of Spanish occupation.⁷

Castro's *Ulisseia* is dedicated to the ruling king, Felipe IV of Spain (r. 1621–1640). Castro simultaneously praised the Spanish king and Portugal's history.⁸ The *Ulisseia* celebrates the mythical foundation of Lisbon in ten books, using traditional stanzas of eight decasyllabic verses. The first half of the poem tells Ulysses' adventures at sea since his departure from Troy, and the second half shows his arrival in Lusitania and his warlike adventures to protect his newly founded city. Castro uses several sources, both

and controversial figure throughout literary tradition, from Antiquity to modern times, is traced in Stanford's seminal work *The Ulysses Theme* (1985²). Stanford does not discuss Castro's *Ulisseia* or the lusophone epic tradition, though.

⁶ See Cidade (1948), Vázquez Cuesta (1988) and Gomes (2009: 97–102) on Portuguese literature during the Dual Monarchy.

⁷ Fernandes (1985: 160).

⁸ For instance, Castro depicts the Portuguese victory over the Castilian troops at the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1385 (book 10, stanzas 53–56).

ancient, such as the epics of Homer, Virgil and Ovid, and others closer to his own time, such as the epic and lyrical works of Camões and Góngora. The *Aeneid*'s influence on the *Ulisseia* is clear from the very first verse: the phrase 'The weapons and the man [...] I sing'⁹ is an echo of the famous Virgilian opening *Arma uirumque cano*.¹⁰ However, the dependence on Virgil's poem is not only at the verbal level; it goes far beyond that for it is manifested in the same bipartite structure based on the pairing of voyage/war. In fact, Castro's Ulysses is drawn as much from his Greek model as from his Roman one: he is a crafty seaman seeking his way home, and also the carrier of the god-given mission to found a city that will become the birthplace of a great naval empire. On the Virgilian model, Castro's Ulysses is raised to national hero and becomes forefather of the Portuguese kings.¹¹

The Homeric poems have a no less significant influence. The reuse of the *Odyssey* can be seen mainly in the first five books of the *Ulisseia*, where the various adventures of the Homeric Odysseus at sea are imitated and refashioned, shortened in some cases, expanded upon in others, in order to fit the Greek material to the nationalist purposes of the seventeenth-century epic. The main deviations from the Homeric source are due to the influence of and blending with the Virgilian model, insofar as this Lusitanian

⁹ 'As armas e o varão [...] canto' (book 1, stanza 1, verses 1 and 8). English translations from Portuguese epics are my own.

¹⁰ Castro imitates Virgil, either directly or indirectly via Camões' imitation of Virgil in *Os Lusíadas*, which opens in clearly Virgilian manner: 'As armas e os Barões assinalados / Que da Ocidental praia Lusitana / [...] / Cantando espalharei' (*Lus.* 1.1.1–2, 1.2.7); *Arma uirumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris / Italiam [...] uenit* (*Aen.* 1.1–2). Both influences, the Virgilian and the Camonian, resonate strongly in the opening of Castro's *Ulisseia*.

¹¹ At the end of Castro's *Ulisseia*, Ulysses departs from Iberia leaving his son as King of Lusitania (*Ul.* 10.132.1–4).

Ulysses travels many seas and ultimately founds a city; his survival, marked by Providence, takes him to the far Iberian limits of the Mediterranean in order to lay the foundations of a city that will become a great empire. Against the individualistic portrait of the Homeric Odysseus, Castro's Ulysses is characterized by collective traits, like the Virgilian Aeneas. In this sense, the portrait of the hero as a looter of cities is diminished in the *Ulisseia* to the point of being practically absent.¹² The Cicones episode (*Ul.* 2.19) does not fully correspond to the narrative of the *Odyssey*,¹³ since Castro condenses the Homeric material, omitting the Greeks' attack against this tribe in order to create a more positive image for them as seamen without a thirst for plunder. The adventure in Lemnos (*Ul.* 2.20), taken from Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 1.609–909, earns the Greeks the enmity of Venus, who convinces Aeolus to release a storm upon their fleet. In the *Ulisseia*, Venus opposes the Lusitanian hero and the fulfillment of his mission, just as Juno opposes Aeneas. It is in fact the Virgilian model, not the Homeric, that Castro follows for Aeolus' storm, since he does not intend to display the foolishness of the Odyssean Greek crew and their mistrust in their commander, or the negligence of Odysseus who falls asleep, allowing his men to rebel. Instead, the Portuguese poet has the Greeks face the turmoil collectively, as a united group.

The Homeric antagonism between Odysseus and his crew in the Lotus-eaters episode is also erased. Castro's Ulysses does not drag his men back to the ships after they have eaten the lotus fruit. Instead, the poet contrives a remedy drawn from the mythical origins of that fruit, from the story of nymph Lotis (*Ul.* 3.5–16; cf. Ovid's

¹² The martial behavior of Ulysses as destroyer of cities is manifest mainly through the use of epithets, like 'burner of the Dardanian walls' ('abrasador dos muros de Dardânia', *Ul.* 2.26.8; 9.47.2), and 'Greek deceiver, who resorting to trickery turns the ancient empire of Troy to ashes' ('enganoso Grego, que por manha / Trocou de Tróia em cinza o antigo império', *Ul.* 1.32.3–4).

¹³ See Campos' commentary in Castro (2000: 804).

Metamorphoses 9.346–48). With this remedy, Ulysses restores the lost memory of his crewmates, and thus the bonds of loyalty between them are reinforced. The episode of the Cyclops in book 3 is also expanded from its Homeric model. Castro's version includes most of the themes found in that part of *Odyssey* book 9 (e.g., the cheeses, the cannibalism, the wine, the Cyclops' sleep, his blindness, the escape plan under the sheep, Telemus' oracle, and the Cyclops' plea to his father). Castro maintains the basic Homeric plot, changing it at specific points in order to avoid portraying Ulysses as wrongdoer and deceiver. The cheeses are illicitly eaten by Odysseus in the *Odyssey* in their owner's absence, but legitimately offered by Polyphemus in the *Ulisseia*, according to the sacred laws of hospitality. Furthermore, the false name Nobody is not used in the Portuguese version; this omission is indeed the most flagrant deviation from the Homeric material. Castro suppresses any deceitful traits unbecoming of a nationalist hero.¹⁴ In the Homeric poem, Odysseus' recourse to cunning and deceit defines him; he uses multiple disguises, is constantly lying, and even nullifies his own heroic identity. The nullification of his name, in Nobody, which is by extension the annulment of the fame that the name entails, does not serve the seventeenth-century epic project that Castro has for the *Ulisseia*, in which Ulysses' name is to be celebrated, not negated,¹⁵ and whose opening lines claim that the Greek hero immortalized his name in that of Ulisseia (*Ul.* 1.1.4).

For the Catabasis, Castro takes book 6 of the *Aeneid* as the prime model. Like Aeneas, the Lusitanian Ulysses descends into the Underworld and reaches Elysium,

¹⁴ Glaser (1963: 51): 'The worth of Ulysses is not only brought out by what Pereira de Castro adds to the Homeric tale, but also the data which he suppresses. Surprisingly enough, he eliminates from his version so delightful a fictional motif as the pun on the name Nobody. In all likelihood, he felt that, whatever the attenuating circumstances, recourse to deceit would degrade the protagonist.'

¹⁵ Fonseca (2014: 194).

where he is shown the future kings of the empire he will found. The sorceress Circe leads the way, playing the role of the Virgilian Sibylla of Cumae. However, as in book 11 of the *Odyssey*, Ulysses also meets his former comrades in arms from the Trojan War (Agamemnon and Achilles, *Ul.* 4.75–76), and hears news of Ithaca and his family in speaking with his mother (*Ul.* 4.119).

The nationalist project of the *Ulisseia* and the pervasive influence of Virgil's *Aeneid* demand that the traditional portrait of Odysseus be reshaped. In this way, Castro adapts the Homeric adventures to show the survival of all the men, not just the lonely survival of one. The dangers of Scylla and Charybdis are presented very briefly, omitting the hero's inability to save six of his men from being captured by the six-headed monster. And, in passing the isle of the Sirens, there is no mention of the wax that enabled Odysseus to hear their seductive song. Castro imposes the magnitude of the god-given mission (the foundation of the city) over the hero's personal interest.

The episodes of the Laestrygonians and Helios' cattle have no place in the *Ulisseia*. It is in the Laestrygonian harbour that eleven of Odysseus' twelve ships are destroyed. In order to complete his mission, the Lusitanian hero needs his full army, like Aeneas; the destruction of the majority of his ships would put a stop to that enterprise. Likewise, because the city that is to be born in Lusitania and achieve eternal glory cannot be founded by a group of insolent men who disregard the decrees of the gods. For this reason, the Thrinacia episode, mentioned in the proem of the *Odyssey* and which robs Odysseus of his last ship and his last men, does not suit the higher purposes of Ulysses' Lusitanian mission. The misadventure on Helios' island, because of which Odysseus arrives at Ithaca alone, would have followed the foundation of the Portuguese city and his departure from Lusitania had Castro told the complete story of Ulysses' *nostos*, but

he tells only a part of it, stopping at the founding of Lisbon. The *Ulisseia* thus presents the latter as ‘a new episode added to Homer’s *Odyssey*.’¹⁶

While the first five books of the *Ulisseia* incorporate many of the *Odyssey*’s sea adventures, adapted mainly under the influence of Virgil and the divine status of the mission assigned to his hero,¹⁷ the battle scenes of the *Iliad* are used as models in the last five books. Book 6 is noteworthy: the action takes place at the court of King Gorgoris, father of the maiden Calypso,¹⁸ where Ulysses tells the story of the Trojan War. His account is in fact a synthesis of the *Iliad*, depicting some of its heroes and most important scenes,¹⁹ such as the duel between Paris and Menelaus (6.18–26), Diomedes’ *aristeia* (6.34–40), the duel between Hector and Ajax (6.41–46), Dolon’s night mission (6.49–57), Patroclus’ *aristeia* and death (6.61–66), and the final duel between Achilles and Hector (6.72–94).²⁰

In this article, I intend to focus on the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη and its reuse in book 10 of the *Ulisseia*. This is a remarkable refashioning of *Iliad* 14. Castro imitates it with great attention to detail and at the same time adapts it to his own epic story, to the point

¹⁶ Campos (2004: 43).

¹⁷ Glaser (1963: 25–75) and Fonseca (2014: 187–200) discuss extensively on the presence of the *Odyssey* in Castro’s *Ulisseia* and the reshaping of Odyssean sea voyages. Garrett (1984: 25–26) praises the Homeric adaptation by Castro, while criticizing his Baroque style.

¹⁸ Despite bearing the same name, the Lusitanian princess has nothing to do with the Homeric nymph who conceals Odysseus in Ogygia. Castro’s Calypso is based (mainly but not solely) on the Virgilian Dido. See Glaser (1963: 31–37) and Campos (2004: 236–41). On the other hand, Kark (2014: 132) argues that ‘The act of naming this Lusitanian princess “Calipso” (i.e., Kalipso) [...] summons images of the inertia that Odysseus suffers on Ogygia.’ Kark also observes that ‘remaining in Lusitania’, like the sojourn on Ogygia, ‘would be a gross violation of his *nostos*’ (2014: 134).

¹⁹ See Campos (2004: 58–59).

²⁰ I have recently analyzed *Ulisseia* book 6 and its refashioned Iliadic scenes (Fonseca 2021: 137–56).

of giving the Iliadic scene a completely different outcome and meaning. Before the comparative reading of the *Iliad's* and *Ulisseia's* deceptions of Zeus, some context is required. At the end of book 5, Ulysses and the Greek fleet arrive in Lusitania, and the hero is received as an esteemed guest at the court of King Gorgoris. After a while, in book 7, Ulysses begins a relationship with Princess Calypso,²¹ raises walls for a new city and founds Ulisseia (stanzas 43–53). However, in book 8, the Fury Tisiphone appears to Gorgoris in a dream and turns him against Ulysses, and the Lusitanian king declares war on the newly arrived Greeks. Thus the clash between locals and newcomers begins. Large-scale confrontations, *aristeiai*, hand-to-hand fighting and bloody deaths on the battlefield feature throughout book 9. A divine assembly opens book 10, and Jupiter criticizes the other gods for interfering in the war of men. Then he departs for Mount Almata, whence he watches the Greek and the Lusitanian troops fighting. This is when Juno decides to seduce Jupiter in order to protect the Greeks.²²

²¹ The love scene between Ulysses and Calypso in *Ulisseia* book 7 is adapted from *Aeneid* book 4.

²² *Ulisseia* book 10 has several conspicuous scenes taken from the Greek and Roman epics. After the deception of Zeus, Pallas asks Vulcan for weapons for Ulysses (40–43), just as Thetis had done for Achilles and Venus for Aeneas. The ekphrasis of Ulysses' shield comes next (44–56); important events from Portuguese history are engraved upon it, just as key events from future Roman history are engraved upon Aeneas's shield. Ulysses and Gorgoris face each other (58–83); their fight plays the same role as its Homeric (Achilles vs Hector) and Virgilian (Aeneas vs Turnus) models. Ulysses slays the Lusitanian soldier Lanoso in order to avenge the death of his dear friend Creon (84–92), playing an Achilles- and Aeneas-like role echoing the end of *Iliad* book 22 and *Aeneid* book 12. After the funeral of King Gorgoris (93–98), there is a farewell scene between Ulysses and Calypso (99–131) reminiscent of that between Aeneas and Dido.

The Διὸς ἀπάτη in Castro's *Ulisseia*

The deception of Zeus in *Iliad* 14 has attracted the attention of many scholars. The erotic encounter between Zeus and Hera has been the object of much discussion from different points of view regarding its unity and structure, its comic, anthropomorphic, magical, marital, cosmic, mythical and oriental aspects.²³ Whatever one's perspective may be, one can certainly claim that this Homeric scene is a masterpiece of playful entertainment.²⁴ Hera decides to seduce Zeus in order to distract him from events on the battlefield, where Poseidon is helping the Achaeans. She puts in motion a plan, and with Aphrodite's and Hypnos' help she arouses her husband's sexual desire and afterwards makes him fall into a deep sleep. In this way Zeus' attention is momentarily drawn away from the war of men. According to Krieter-Spiro (2018: 73–74), this 200 verse-narrative (*Il.* 14.153–353) displays a threefold structure: (I) motivation and planning, (II) preparation and (III) execution.²⁵ The joyful and relaxed tone of the Διὸς ἀπάτη offer a sharp contrast with the war scenes, both those that precede it and those following, since the picture of divine pleasure opposes the suffering of human killing.

In *Ulisseia* book 10 the episode presents the same contrast between gods and humans. We may even ask why Castro adapted this Iliadic scene, which Virgil didn't

²³ For discussions on the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη, see e.g. Golden (1989: 1–11), Schäfer (1990: 87–92), Burkert (1992: 88–96), Taplin (1992: 170–71), Faraone (1999: 97–110), West (2003: 382–84), Loudon (2005: 94–95), Budelmann and Haubold (2008: 19–23), Kelly (2008: 259–304), Pucci (2018: 171–90).

²⁴ Janko (1999: 168) describes the deception of Zeus as 'a bold, brilliant, graceful, sensuous and above all amusing virtuoso performance'; Krieter-Spiro (2018: 75) states that it 'has great entertainment value'; Pucci (2018: 173) argues that 'The episode is more festive than frivolous, surreally ironic rather than amusing.'

²⁵ Janko (1999: 170) structures this narrative in four parts linked by Hera's motion: her toilette, the interview with Aphrodite, the persuasion of Hypnos, and the seduction of Zeus.

use in his Roman poem. It seems that Castro simply wanted to depict an erotic scene at the end of *Ulisseia*. Although divine and human love stories are present throughout epic poetry, there seems to be a tendency for ancient poets to recount sexual meetings at the end of their epics. In the *Iliad*, Briseis is taken away from Achilles in book 1, but in book 24.675–76 she lies beside him. In *Odyssey* 23.285–349, the poet recounts the first night that Odysseus and Penelope spend together after being twenty years apart. And in *Aeneid* 12.937, just moments before Turnus' death, there is a brief note that Lavinia is Aeneas' *coniunx*.²⁶ However, these endings lack the erotic sensuality of Zeus and Hera's meeting depicted at the end of the *Ulisseia*.²⁷ Be that as it may, Castro adapts an element from the ancient epic tradition and expands upon it, in order to emulate another epic model much closer to him, such as the 'Island of Love' episode told with vivid strokes of sensuality and eroticism, at the end of *Os Lusíadas* book 9. There, Venus wishes to reward the Portuguese sailors on their way home for the misfortunes they endured to accomplish their mission. For that, the goddess of love makes plans for them to rest on a divine island, where the sailors, in what begins as a hunting scene, chase the Nymphs and lie with them (*Lus.* 9.62–84).²⁸

In the *Ulisseia*'s last book the deception of Jupiter has the goal of bringing the war to an end. Juno favours the Greeks and particularly Ulysses. Thus she executes her plan first of all to protect the hero. In both the *Ulisseia* and *Iliad* this scene begins with Juno/Hera on Olympus looking down on the war. The scene in both texts opens with

²⁶ See Tarrant (2012: 333) on the possible readings of the phrase *tua est Lauinia coniunx*.

²⁷ See Campos (2004: 246) on criticism of the erotic behaviour of Juno, goddess of marriage.

²⁸ Symbolically, coupling with the Nymphs on the Island of Love grants the Portuguese mariners fame and immortality. See e.g. Torrance (1965: 232) and Willis (2009: 76).

verbs of sight.²⁹ It is the goddess' view over the troops in need that leads her to act. The Διὸς ἀπάτη fills 200 verses in *Iliad* 14 (153–353), and 27 stanzas in *Ulisseia* book 10 (11–37). These 27 stanzas count 216 verses, so Castro's adaptation is about the same length as its Homeric model, although the seventeenth-century poet deletes some parts and add others in order to adapt the Greek scene to his own story. The following comparative table, divided into five parts, clarifies the parallels and differences between the *Ulisseia* and its Homeric model.

Deception of Jupiter	<i>Ulisseia</i> Book 10	<i>Iliad</i> Book 14
Juno and the Greeks	stanzas 11–12	verses 153–65
– Watching the war of men	11–12	153–65
– Descending from heaven in her chariot	12	[<i>Il.</i> 5.748–52] [<i>Il.</i> 8.392–96]
Juno's beautification	stanzas 13–15	verses 166–86
– Juno's chamber	13	166–69
– Body anointed with soft oil	13	170–75
– Hair	13–14	175–77
– Dress	14	178–80
– Sandals	14	186
– Pearls and precious stones	15	181–83
– Veil	15	184–85

²⁹ *Ulisseia* book 10: 'Vendo', *seeing* (11.6); 'vê', *sees* (12.1); 'Via', *saw* (12.2); *Iliad* 14: εἰσεῖδε (153, 158).

The meeting between Juno and Venus	stanzas 16–20	verses 187–225
– Asking for a favour	16	187–92
– Venus’ receptiveness	16	193–96
– Deceptive request for the power of love and desire	17	197–99
– Tethys and Oceanus excuse	17–18	200–10
– Venus’ strap	19–20	211–24
– Departure from Olympus	20	225
<i>[Hera’s meeting with Hypnos]</i>		<i>[226–91]</i>
Sexual intercourse with Jupiter	stanzas 21–25	verses 292–353
– Meeting on Mount Almata	21	292–93
– Jupiter burns with desire and asks the reason for Juno’s arrival	21	293–99
– Juno answers deceitfully	22	300
– Tethys and Oceanus excuse	22	301–11
– Jupiter’s desire	23	312–14
– Catalogue of women loved by Jupiter	23–24	315–28
<i>[Hera suggests going to Zeus’ chamber on Olympus]</i>		<i>[329–40]</i>
– A cloud conceals Jupiter and Juno	25	341–53
Juno’s request	stanzas 26–37	<i>[Aen. 12.791–842]</i>
– Juno asks for the war to be over	26–30	
– Jupiter complies	31–32	
– Jupiter weights the fates of men	32–33	<i>[Il. 8.66–74]</i>
		<i>[Il. 22.208–13]</i>

		[<i>Aen.</i> 12.725–27]
– Jupiter’s thunder upon the battlefield	33–35	[<i>Il.</i> 8.75–77]
– Return to Olympus	36–37	

Castro imitates the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη very closely. However, as the table above allows us to see, and I will explain in the following pages, each of the five parts shows some deviation from its model. The last part is the most distant from the events narrated in *Iliad* book 14, since the outcomes of the original Greek scene and the refashioned Portuguese one are not alike. The deviations from the Homeric source are explained by the adaptation – through Castro’s imitative literary process and the nationalist purposes he wishes to serve – of other epic models, mainly the *Aeneid*. That said, the last section of the deception of Jupiter in *Ulisseia* book 10 actually both imitates and reverses the meeting on Olympus between Juno and Jupiter in *Aeneid* 12.791–842: Castro’s god also complies with his wife’s wishes, but it is he who intends to ‘seduce’ her, not the other way round.

The first part, Juno and the Greeks, begins with the same set of circumstances that we find in Homer, the goddess looking down on the battlefield where the two armies slay each other on a grand scale. However, the second part of this opening, the goddess driving her chariot towards her chamber, although it is taken from Homer, does not actually happen in *Iliad* book 14. The scene in Hera’s chariot is a formula used in *Iliad* books 5.748–52 and 8.392–96. In the former, Hera goes with Athena to Zeus and asks him for permission to prevent Ares from crushing the Achaean troops on the battlefield, and Zeus complies. In the latter scene, the same two goddesses intend to help the Achaeans, but are prevented by Zeus’ order. In *Ulisseia* book 10, Juno also acts out of compassion for the Greek army. And as in book 5, she drives her chariot in order to ask

Jupiter later on to help the Greeks. Castro diverges from Homer in saying that the goddess' chariot is drawn by peacocks, not horses. In the mythological tradition, the peacock is often associated with Hera/Juno. Furthermore in book 14.299 Zeus questions his wife about the chariot and the horses that she did not use to reach Mount Ida. Thus, in referring to Juno's chariot, Castro complements the Homeric scene, since it is not an element entirely unrelated to the Greek model.

In order to distract her husband, Juno makes herself beautiful: 'She makes up her beautiful face and beautiful body' (*Ul.* 10.12.8).³⁰ So the transition to the second part, Juno's beautification, is made. The description of her chamber is very similar in both poems, as both focus on the exact same element: the doors she closes upon entering. In Homer, the doors are said to be strong (*πυκινάς*, *Il.* 14.167) and bright (*φαιινάς*, *Il.* 14.169); in Castro, they are heavy and made of gold and ivory (*Ul.* 10.13.2–3).³¹ The emphasis on the doors and their closing certainly denotes the secrecy of Hera/Juno's plotting inside her chamber. That is where her beautification takes place. The goddess' preparation of herself with oil, perfume, clothing and jewellery has been understood both as a dressing scene, with parallels in the *Odyssey's* female characters, and above all as an arming scene, typical of male heroes before an *aristeia*. The dress and adornments are the weapons with which she overcomes her husband.³² Nevertheless, in contrast to the heroes' arming scenes, which proceed upwards (from knees to head), Hera's beautification proceeds downwards (from head to toe), since she begins by washing her

³⁰ 'Compõe o belo rosto e corpo belo.'

³¹ 'Sobre o quício gemia o peso grave / Das portas de ouro e de marfil' ('Upon the hinge creaked the heavy weight / of the doors of gold and ivory').

³² See Golden (1989: 5–6), Janko (1999: 173–74), Krieter-Spiro (2018: 74–75, 85–86) and Pucci (2018: 177–79) on Hera's beautification as an arming scene. Taplin (1992: 171) also sees it as parody of mortal warfare, and Schäfer (1990: 89) states that Hera uses women's weapons in her quarrel with Zeus.

body and combing her hair, and finishes by putting on her sandals. This reversal reflects her deceitful intentions. The adornments in *Iliad* 14.170–86 and *Ulisseia* 10.13–15 proceed as follows:

Hera's beautification

lovely body (170, 175)

hair (175), bright tresses, fair and ambrosial (176–77)

ambrosial dress (178)

girdle (181)

earrings (182)

veil (184) fair and glistening (185)

fair sandals (186)

Juno's beautification

hair, body of outstanding beauty (13.8)

golden hair (14.1)

slender dress, lovely body (14.5)

sandals (14.8)

pearls and other precious stones (15.1–4)

silver and fine veil (15.5) of such remarkable and exquisite beauty (15.6)

Juno's beautification strongly resembles that of Hera, despite the slight variation regarding the girdle (absent from the *Ulisseia's* scene) and the sandals (only briefly mentioned at the centre of the *Ulisseia's* scene, not at the end as in the Homeric one, and only within the dress' description). Like Hera's dress, which is pinned upon her breast with golden brooches, so too Juno's is pinned by a ruby and reaches down her feet. The text of Castro's seventeenth-century epic is refined and laboured, adorned with

plentiful adjectives and odd syntactical phrases and lexical choices. So it is in this dressing scene. The oil with which Juno anoints her body and hair, for instance, receives a whole line loaded with three epithets: ‘Tetiómeno, odorífero e divino’ (‘rich of fragrance, odoriferous and divine’, *Ul.* 10.13.7). The adjective *tetiómeno*, which is a neologism in Portuguese language, comes straight from Homer: Hera anoints herself with an olive oil described as ‘ambrosial, soft and *tethyomenon*’ (ἀμβροσίῳ ἔδανῶ, τό ρά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν, *Il.* 14.172). Castro transports the Homeric participle into Portuguese epic.³³ The following periphrasis is also quite remarkable: Juno’s pearls are introduced with the phrase, ‘The frozen dew of Aurora’s tears gives Juno infinite grace’ (*Ul.* 10.15.1–2).³⁴ Hera’s earrings, too, shine with ‘infinite grace’ (χάρις πολλή, *Il.* 14.183). Juno decorates her hair with other kinds of gems as bright as the sun itself, and wears a silver veil. These same colours are actually combined in Hera’s veil, which is white as the sun (λευκὸν δ’ ἦν ἠέλιος ὄς, *Il.* 14.185). Castro shows great literary artistry in refashioning this Homeric scene, even when he seems to deviate from it.

After her beautification, the *Iliad*’s Hera goes to ask Aphrodite for help. This is a meeting between two goddesses on opposite sides of the human war, since Hera favours the Achaeans, and Aphrodite the Trojans. However, the general tone of their conversation is one of notable politeness and harmony, in some moments even tenderness.³⁵ Their dialogue is structured as follows:

³³ See Castro (2000: 1094) for Campos’ remarks on *tethyomenon*; see Janko (1999: 174–75) and Krieter-Spiro (2018: 86–87) on the fragrant oil.

³⁴ ‘Das lágrimas da Aurora o congelado / Orvalho a Juno dá graça infinita.’

³⁵ See Schäfer (1990: 88), Janko (1999: 178–80), Jackson (2010: 156–57) and Krieter-Spiro (2018: 96) on Hera tricking Aphrodite and its comic effects. Louden (2005: 94) acknowledges that ‘Aphrodite and Hera also get along (14.188–224) better than in the early or late books.’

Dialogue between Hera and Aphrodite

Hera	4 verses (189–92)
Aphrodite	4 verses (193–96)
Hera	14 verses (197–210)
Aphrodite	3 verses (211–13)
Ekphrasis of the strap	4 verses (214–17)
Aphrodite	4 verses (218–21)

Dialogue between Juno and Venus

Juno	4 verses (16.1–4)
Venus	4 verses (16.5–8)
Juno	16 verses (17–18)
Venus	4 verses (19.1–4)
Ekphrasis of the strap	4 verses (19.5–8)
Venus	4 verses (20.1–4)

Castro employs the same structure and a very similar number of verses to the Homeric dialogue. The conversation runs alternating between the goddesses, with a clear dominance on the part of Hera/Juno, and is only momentarily interrupted by a short ekphrasis, which divides Aphrodite/Venus' last speech in half. The queen of the gods begins in a very friendly way, and the goddess of love shows no hesitation in helping, even though she still has no idea what the request will be. Hera speaks in an affectionate manner, addressing Aphrodite as 'dear child' (φίλον τέκος, *Il.* 14.190), and Juno is also 'loving' ('amorosa', *Ul.* 10.16.1) when addressing Venus. The goddess of love reacts to this affection with reverence, addressing her interlocutor with titles that evoke her status: 'Hera, queenly goddess, daughter of great Cronus' (Ἥρη πρέσβα θεὰ θύγατερ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο, *Il.* 14.194), 'Wife and sister of severe Jupiter' ('Mulher e irmã de Júpiter severo', *Ul.* 10.16.6). The longest speech of the queen of the gods runs in four parts: (I) a request for love and desire; (II) Tethys and Oceanus' excuse; (III) an external analepsis on her education; and (IV) her hope of reuniting Tethys and Oceanus in love. This is Hera/Juno's longest speech, explaining herself to Aphrodite/Venus; it is also a lie. Both poets make sure to clarify this even before she starts: 'Then with crafty thought spoke to her queenly Hera' (τὴν δὲ δολοφρονέουσα προσήδα πότνια Ἥρη, *Il.* 14.197), 'Juno answers in a deceptive mood' ('Torna Juno com ânimo enganoso', *Ul.*

10.17.1). Despite such exact matching both in content and form between the Homeric scene and the Portuguese imitation, one minor difference is to be mentioned. At the end of her longest speech, Hera expects to be named a dear friend and worthy of reverence by Tethys and Oceanus, whilst Juno promises to become a grateful friend to Venus. Thus Castro strengthens the ties of this quite unexpected friendship.

Tethys and Oceanus' quarrel is a ruse, but it actually mirrors Hera's own current situation, since she and Zeus are also at odds. Aphrodite is ready to help, observing that Hera sleeps in Zeus' arms (*Il.* 14.213; *Ul.* 10.19.3–4). Her remark is striking, since without realizing it, she anticipates Zeus and Hera's sexual intercourse which follows soon afterwards. And it will happen with aid of the magic strap that is given to Hera/Juno. The strap is requested to reconcile Tethys and Oceanus, but it will actually serve to arouse Zeus' desire for Hera. Thus, its stated role is indeed achieved, if otherwise than expected, since it leads to sexual intercourse between a god and a goddess.³⁶ The ekphrasis of Aphrodite's strap opens with the general, 'all manner of charms', before offering an enumeration of four specific types of incantation.³⁷ The ekphrasis of Juno's strap runs in the opposite direction: it begins with six specific woven charms and ends with a more generic reference to 'Cupid's invincible forces', which is in fact a wider label encompassing all the aforementioned charms:

³⁶ See Schäfer (1990: 88–89) and Krieter-Spiro (2018: 105) on the false marital quarrel mirroring Hera's currently real one. See Burkert (1992: 91–96), Janko (1999: 180–85), Faraone (1999: 97–110), West (2003: 382–84), Budelmann and Haubold (2008: 19–23) and Kelly (2008: 274–85, 286–89) for discussions on the Oriental origins of the Homeric literary traditions of Tethys and Oceanus' quarrel and Aphrodite's magical strap.

³⁷ Pucci (2018: 181–82) compares the description of Aphrodite's strap and its magical powers with that of Zeus' aegis at *Il.* 5.738ff.

Aphrodite's strap

all manner of charms (θελκτήρια πάντα, 215)

love, desire, dalliance (φιλότης, ἕμερος, ὀαριστύς, 216)

beguilement (πάρφασις, 217)

Juno's strap

desires, potions, passions ('Desejos', 'venefícios', 'ardores', 19.7)

seductions, caresses, lovemaking ('Lenocínios', 'blandícias', 'amores', 19.8)

Cupid's invincible forces ('As forças invencíveis de Cupido', 20.3)³⁸

Having received the strap from Aphrodite, Hera hurries to leave Olympus to meet Hypnos in Lemnos, but Juno descends directly from Olympus to meet Jupiter on Mount Almata. This is a very important deviation from the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη: the scene with Hypnos (*Il.* 14.226–91) is entirely absent from the *Ulisseia*. Indeed, according to the internal logic of the story told by Castro, it cannot take place here for while Hera bribes Hypnos to put Zeus to sleep, so that he does not see what is happening down on the battlefield, Juno has a very different purpose. Her secret plan does not involve diverting Jupiter's attention from the war, quite the contrary. She deceives her husband simply in order to ask him a favour about the fate of the war, which he grants after they have sex. Hera and Zeus have different agendas regarding the war between Achaeans and Trojans, whilst Juno and Jupiter agree on the outcome of the war between Greeks and Lusitanians. Hera needs Zeus to fall asleep for her plan to work, but Juno needs only to

³⁸ Castro uses Latin words, such as 'venefícios' (Lat. *ueneficia*), 'lenocínios' (Lat. *lenocinia*) and 'blandícias' (Lat. *blanditiae*). In stanza 20, when referring to Venus' strap, the poet employs the word 'cesto', transposed from the Greek κεστόν (*Il.* 14.214).

put her husband in a good mood so that he will satisfy her request. Thus Castro leaves Hypnos out.

As soon as husband sees wife, he is overcome with desire (*Il.* 14.293; *Ul.* 10.21.5–6). So Hera/Juno's beautification and Aphrodite/Venus' strap are effective. Their meeting takes place on Mount Ida in the *Iliad* and on Mount Almata in the *Ulisseia*, and represents the climax of the deception of Zeus. Asked about her presence there, Hera repeats the story of Tethys and Oceanus (*Il.* 14.200–202, 205–207 = *Il.* 14.301–306). Castro does not use the same formulaic language of the Homeric epic, and his goddess' plan is less elaborate, so Juno gives a much more succinct explanation, since readers already know her excuse. In both the *Iliad* and *Ulisseia*, the goddess asks her husband permission to make the trip. As she anticipated, the cloud-gatherer does not allow it, since he is overwhelmed by desire and wishes to make love to his wife. He recalls some of his previous lovers, both goddesses and mortal women:

Zeus's catalogue of women

Dia (317–18)

Danaë (319–20)

Europa (321–22)

Semele (323–25)

Alcmene (323–25)

Demeter (326)

Leto (327)

Hera (327–28)

Jupiter's catalogue of women

Europa (23.7)

Danaë (23.8)

Europa (24.1–2)

Alcmene (24.3)

Semele (24.3)

Leda (24.4)

Ceres (24.4)

Antiope (24.5)

Callisto (24.6)

Juno (24.7–8)

Zeus states that he has never felt a desire as strong as he feels now. The catalogue of his previous passions runs along with the οὐδέ anaphora (317, 319, 321, 323, 326, 327), a rhetorical device also used in Jupiter's catalogue, where we find the 'nem' (nor) anaphora (23.7, 24.1, 24.3, 24.4, 24.5, 24.6, 24.7). Both enumerations show a priamel-like form since the climactic moment is reached at the very end with the mention of Hera/Juno herself.³⁹ Thus Zeus recalls eight lovers (five mortal women plus three goddesses) and Jupiter mentions nine (seven mortal women plus two goddesses). Six characters referred to in the Homeric list appear in Jupiter's. Zeus mentions two of his lovers not by name but by their family ties: Dia is recalled as Ixion's wife and Pirithous' mother, Europa as daughter of Phoenix and mother of Minos and Rhadamanthus. In fact, the five mortal women are valued thanks to their children fathered by Zeus (Pirithous, Perseus, Minos and Rhadamanthus, Heracles, Dionysus), whilst the two goddesses mentioned before Hera are granted epithets (Demeter, the fair-tressed queen, and glorious Leto). Jupiter's catalogue has a different opening: at the end of stanza 23, he recalls his lovers only by mentioning his own metamorphoses into a bull and golden rain. Europa is never named, though she is alluded to a second time, at the beginning of stanza 24, as a daughter and mother.⁴⁰ Jupiter continues his list of lovers, providing no

³⁹ See Krieter-Spiro (2018: 151) and Pucci (2018: 187–88).

⁴⁰ The name Europa does not actually appear in the catalogues of either the Homeric Zeus or the Virgilian Jupiter. It is striking, though, that Castro chose to open Jupiter's catalogue of lovers with mention of his relations with Europa, who is thus mentioned twice. Castro's Ulysses departs from the Asian city of Troy and reaches Lusitania, at the far western limits of Europe. At the very opening of the poem, Castro acclaims the great city of Lisbon as the place where the broad Lusitanian empire was born and calls it the 'high head of Europe' ('A grão Lisboa e seus primeiros muros / (De Europa e largo Império Lusitano / Alta cabeça)', *Ul.* 1.1.5–7). Camões joins the two continents in *Os Lusíadas* when he notes that Odysseus burns Troy in Asia, while in Europe he founds Lisbon (*Lus.* 8.5.1–4). This opposition, in the Camonian

biographical information for some (Alcmene, Leda, Ceres), noting the origins of others (Semele and Antiope) or remarking on their beauty (fair Antiope, and Callisto the astonishment of her age).

Hera's reply (14.329–40), suggesting that they head to his chamber on Olympus for some privacy, is suppressed in the *Ulisseia*. Therefore, immediately after Jupiter's catalogue and without further delay, he gathers a cloud to conceal them both, and they have sex. To portray Jupiter and Juno's sexual intercourse, Castro takes many elements from the Homeric scene, especially the image of the cloud's pleasant drizzle over the floral setting. The cloud that grows 'in circles of silver' (10.25.3; cf. the golden cloud from *Il.* 14.342 and 351) is impervious to the keen sight of the Sun (10.25.2; cf. *Il.* 14.344–45), and from it 'pure showers' and 'very soft drops' are falling (10.25.5–6; cf. *Il.* 14.350–51) over a dewy meadow (10.25.7–8; cf. *Il.* 14.347–49). The Homeric scene ends with Zeus falling asleep in Hera's arms, overcome by sleep and love (*Il.* 14.352–53). However, in the *Ulisseia* no mention is made of Jupiter falling asleep, as stanza 26 opens with Juno's request, which is the key and final goal of her deception. In fact, Castro's imitation of the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη stops in stanza 25. The last section, stanzas 26 to 37, has nothing to do with *Iliad* 14, although the poet reuses other epic passages taken not only from Homer, but from Virgil and Camões as well.

Juno's prevalence over Jupiter is now manifested by a thirty-six-verse speech (stanzas 26–30). Jupiter's answer is much shorter, only eight verses long (stanzas 31–32). Even though Juno's request is not based on any speech of the Iliadic Hera, her words are structured as a ring-composition, like many Homeric speeches:

epic, between the fall of Asia and the rise of Europe, is highlighted by Pereira (1993: 308–309). The privileged position of Europa in Jupiter's catalogue is thus linked to Castro's nationalist project of praising the rise of Lisbon.

- A** ‘I wish to ask you something’ (26.7)
- B** Mention of Ulysses and sovereign Jupiter (27.1)
- C** ‘Through seas never sailed by others’ (27.2)
- D** The city and its walls (27.6)
- E** An endlessly harsh war is waged against him (28.1)
- F** Fate denies him sea and land (28.5)
- G** *Juno’s love for the Greeks* (28.6–8)
- F** He overcame the twists of fortune (29.2)
- D** He raised the great Lisbon (29.5)
- C** ‘Through a sea never traversed by others’ (29.7)
- E** Request for the harsh war to be over (30.2)
- B** Mention of Ulysses and Jupiter Anxur (30.6–7)
- A** ‘Do what I ask of you’ (30.7); ‘I ask you now’ (30.1)

This speech is framed by verbs of asking (‘quero pedir-te’, ‘Peço-te agora’ and ‘te peço’). Juno’s entire plan leads to this plea. Having joined physically with her husband, she now seeks to make an emotional connection as well, and delays her request. She makes her intentions known only in the last stanza: that Jupiter end the war and protect Ulysses. Since Juno postpones her request, segment E regarding the human war is the only one that appears out of place in the second half of the ring-composition. Before that, the goddess recalls the hero’s voyages through unknown seas (C), the foundation of Lisbon (D), the war waged against him by King Gorgoris (E), and fate’s decrees (F). At the centre of her speech (G), Juno gets emotional: she expresses her affection for the Greeks, tenderly referring to them as ‘my Greeks’ (‘os meus Gregos’), claims to shed tears for their suffering and cries because, in loving them too much, she can only help

them too little. Verses 6–8 of stanza 28 divide Juno’s speech in half; verse 6 is preceded by seventeen verses, and verse 8 is followed by sixteen. This central segment G sets a sharp contrast: here Juno refers to the Greeks in general, while in the preceding and later parts she refers to Ulysses particularly; it was he who wandered, overcame, suffered and founded a city, and is thus the constant subject of her speech. Ulysses is mentioned directly by name only at the beginning (27.1) and at the end of the speech (30.6). In both cases, his name precedes the goddess’ direct address of Jupiter, thus joining hero and god closely together. Juno emphasizes the many perils that Ulysses has faced, in order to arouse Jupiter’s compassion. For this purpose, the poet makes her declaim a well-known verse taken from *Os Lusíadas*: ‘Through seas never sailed before’ (‘Por mares nunca dantes navegados’, *Lus.* 1.1.3). This slightly adapted Camonian verse highlights Ulysses’ long experience of voyaging on the Aegean Sea (leaving Troy) and the Atlantic Ocean (arriving in Iberia) (27.1–4), and at the same time it shows that he is constantly wandering from land to land by fate’s decree (29.7–8). Thus enhancing Ulysses’ nautical merits, Juno implies that his hardships must come to an end. After all, he has already fulfilled the mission that Fate assigned him: he has suffered ‘infinite labours’ that must be immortalized, and founded a city in Lusitania (27.5–8). This is a memorable deed, since in founding Ulisseia, Ulysses also founds the ‘splendid Portuguese people’, hoping that this city (future Lisbon) comes to be ‘high princess of the cities of Europe’ (29.3–6).⁴¹ Fate is ambivalent towards him, as it prevents Ulysses from returning home and also seems to prevent him from settling in Lusitania due to local hostility towards him.⁴² Fate denies him both sea and land (28.5), when previously Ulysses had always managed to overcome all perils on both (29.1–2). Juno complains

⁴¹ ‘Das cidades de Europa alta princesa’ (*Ul.* 10.29.6).

⁴² See Campos’ commentary in Castro (2000: 1100).

that the war in Lusitania is endless and has caused too many deaths (28.1–4). She finally makes her plea, asking Jupiter to protect Ulysses and claiming that it is a matter of justice (stanza 30):

Peço-te agora, se contigo valho,	I ask you now, if I'm worth it,
Que se acabe tão áspera peleja,	That the harsh war be over,
Tantas mortes cruéis, tanto trabalho,	So many cruel deaths, so much labour,
A males tão sem fim seu fim se veja;	So endless evils, that their end be seen;
É bem que dêes a tudo honesto talho	You should give everything fair solution
E por ti defendido Ulisses seja,	And may Ulysses be protected by you,
Mova-te, grande Anxuro, ao que te peço	Do what I ask of you, great Anxur,
Que o merece a rezão, se o não mereço!	Since, if I don't deserve it, it is justice!

Juno ends her request in tears. Thus Jupiter first reacts to her sadness (31.5–8), and only then to her plea (32.2–4): he declares the end of the war but must see what Fate allows. The mighty god takes his scales – a scene found in Homer (*Il.* 8.66–74, 22.208–13) and Virgil (*Aen.* 12.725–27) – and weighs the fates of the two heroes whose combat will bring the war to an end: Ulysses, the leader of the Greeks, and Gorgoris, the Lusitanian king. The fate of the latter is heavier, while the former's is raised aloft. The Lusitanian king is doomed, and so the outcome of the war is in line with Juno's wishes. Jupiter acts right away and thunders aloud, sending a massive bolt of lightning onto the battlefield and terrifying the Lusitanian troops (stanzas 33–35). They are seized by wonder and fear just like the Achaeans in *Iliad* 8.

Hera's plan in *Iliad* 14 is successful only in the short term, as the result she achieves is undone when Zeus wakes up. In *Ulisseia* book 10, on the contrary, Jupiter doesn't undo what his wife has worked so hard for; he actually satisfies her will, because her

will is consistent with the immovable decrees of Fate. In his final speech, Jupiter gives Juno (now happy and grateful) credit for the end of the war and the growth of Lisbon (36.1–6). Juno’s aiding of the Greeks is vital for the fulfilment of Ulysses’ mission in Lusitania, and has instant effects: just the day before, the Greeks were forced to retreat and seek refuge inside Ulisseia (9.101); but now, after Jupiter has intervened, it is time for the Lusitanian troops to withdraw from the battlefield and gather inside their own city terrified by the crashing thunder (10.38). Castro’s deception of Jupiter ends with the departure of the happy couple for Olympus, in striking contrast to the events from the beginning of *Iliad* 15, showing yet again the quarrel between the two, with Zeus threatening physical violence against his wife. This scene refashioned by Castro follows Juno’s movements according to the Homeric model: she descends alone from Olympus to deceive her husband (‘She comes down from heaven in her magnificent chariot ... She comes promptly down from magnificent Olympus’);⁴³ and in the end, her plan fulfilled, she goes up to Olympus in triumph beside her husband (‘In the great chariot of Jupiter they went up’).⁴⁴ Juno’s plan is effective because it is in line with Fate, but it is still a fraud intended to deceive Jupiter, as the scene clearly shows: ‘Juno answers in a deceptive mood ... To whom Juno responds deceitfully.’⁴⁵ In *Iliad* 14 Hera ‘usurps Zeus’ executive function outright’ regarding the war of men,⁴⁶ while Juno plays the exact opposite role in inducing Jupiter’s executive function in the affairs of men in *Ulisseia* book 10. Juno’s deceptive plan actually consists of the most effective way in asking Jupiter to do what ultimately will happen anyway. The Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη is a

⁴³ ‘Dece do céu no carro esclarecido ... Dece logo do Olimpo esclarecido’ (*Ul.* 10.12.5, 10.20.5).

⁴⁴ ‘No grão carro de Júpiter subiam’ (*Ul.* 10.37.1).

⁴⁵ ‘Torna Juno com ânimo enganoso ... A quem Juno responde com engano’ (*Ul.* 10.17.1, 10.22.1).

⁴⁶ Louden (2005: 95).

comic and humorous episode, whilst the refashioning by the seventeenth-century Castro has a more serious tone at the end, since it relates to the foundation of the city and its glorious future. The deception of Jupiter is thus, through Juno's action influencing human events from a distance, directly linked to the Greek victory in Lusitania and, by extension, to the Destiny of the Portuguese people.

Conclusion

Portuguese literature of the Dual Monarchy is pervaded by a strong nationalist tone in its praise of the culture and history of Portugal. Portuguese writers had recourse to the Greco-Roman classics as a way of expressing independence from Spanish rule. They came to be identified by analogy with the authors of Classical Antiquity. Camões, for instance, is repeatedly referred to in seventeenth-century Iberian literature as the 'Portuguese Homer' and 'Lusitanian Virgil.'⁴⁷ Such epithets, with their combination of Classical authors and patriotic adjectives, not only reveal the erudition of seventeenth-century writers and a deep admiration for ancient authors; it expresses above all the intense desire to valorize a national literature under the rule of the Philippine dynasty.⁴⁸ Portuguese literary culture is thus associated mainly with the glory of the Roman empire, of which the Portuguese people are heirs and continuators. Castro's *Ulisseia*, published in 1636, four years before the restoration of Portuguese independence, interweaves the Odyssean journeys with the History of Portugal.⁴⁹ The Homeric Διὸς

⁴⁷ Gorey (2021: 70). Gorey shows that it was during Spanish rule, especially in its final phase, that Portuguese critics and authors began to systematically employ such epithets.

⁴⁸ Gorey (2021: 71–75).

⁴⁹ Kark (2014: 119–20, 122): 'Prophecies about the return of the *Encoberto* were especially prevalent during the decades preceding the 1640 Restoration, and within Pereira de Castro and Macedo's epics these prophecies would dovetail with Odysseus's fraught *nostos* ... The title of *Encoberto* therefore came

ἀπάτη of book 10 is in fact the culmination of that literary process of national praise. Juno's request to Jupiter is inserted into the History of Portugal, present throughout the poem; it is preceded by the prophecy of Lisbon (the Proteus episode in book 2), the catalogue of the Portuguese kings (the Catabasis in book 4), the Portuguese conquests in Africa (the Hercules episode in book 5, an imitation of the Adamastor episode from *Os Lusíadas*), and it is followed by Ulysses' shield, whose ekphrasis portrays important events from national history, such as the victory over the Castilian army at the Battle of Aljubarrota. As it is related to the fate of the Portuguese empire and its overseas exploration, the episode lacks the comic tone of its Iliadic model; instead it is framed by nationalist traits.

Castro exalts the Portuguese empire through his narration of its mythical origins. He takes the Homeric Odysseus, the crafty hero who travels the seas to many lands and survives extreme dangers before reaching home. However, Castro's Ulysses is not just a seafaring hero or a visitor in many kingdoms; he is first and foremost the founder of a new civilization. But he is also the same hero who saves the Achaean army and ensures the destruction of Troy. In this sense, it is significant that at the opening of *Iliad* book 14, just before the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode, Odysseus rebukes Agamemnon for his proposal to retreat (*Il.* 14.64–102). Since the defenses of the Achaeans' camp have failed, Agamemnon counsels not just retreat from the battlefield, but departure from Troy. Odysseus prevents this, and later guarantees the Greeks' entry into Troy and final victory. Thus responsible for the destruction of one city in the *Iliad*, Odysseus is

to rest on the missing D. Sebastião for the bulk of Portugal's incorporation into the Iberian Union. The *Encoberto* came to epitomize Portuguese independence from Castilian domination'.

responsible for the foundation of another in the *Ulisseia*; from savior of the Achaeans, the great hero becomes forefather of the Lusitanian people.⁵⁰

Although it is basis for the *Ulisseia*, the *Odyssey* does not properly suit Castro's foundational purposes. The final goal of the journey in this seventeenth-century epic poem is not a return home as in the Greek *Odyssey*, but rather the founding of a new imperial city, as in the Latin *Aeneid*. The basic Odyssean model is intertwined with the *Aeneid* (and even with *Os Lusíadas*), which is much closer to Castro's epic project in its focus on the foundation of an empire. Therefore, in the *Ulisseia*, 'Odysseus's stopover becomes a precondition for his *nostos*.'⁵¹ From the very beginning of the epic plot, the hero is driven towards the fulfillment of his mission, as is the Virgilian Aeneas. Ulysses' return to Ithaca is subordinated to the foundational storyline. The establishment of a city on the outermost edge of Europe is but an interlude on his way home; his journey home is only taken up at the very end of *Ulisseia*. Here the *nostos* of Ulysses – his arrival in Ithaca, the meeting with Telemachus, the reunion with Penelope and the revenge against the suitors – remains untold; that part of the Homeric epic is replaced here by another story, the birth of the Portuguese empire. In delaying his *nostos*, Ulysses builds a glorious future for Lisbon and its inhabitants.

Homer's Hera deceives Zeus in order to protect the Achaeans from the Trojans' attacks, but her plan is undone shortly after Zeus awakens from his sleep. Castro's Juno, on the other hand, puts Jupiter in a good mood and asks of him that the Lusitanian war

⁵⁰ This image of Odysseus as destroyer of Troy, preventing the desertion and flight of the Achaeans, is also evident in *Iliad* book 2, where he rebukes Agamemnon for a similar proposal of retreat (*Il.* 2.109–211), and in *Odyssey* book 4, where Menelaus tells that Odysseus saved him and the other Greek soldiers, holding them back inside the wooden horse when Helen called out their names (*Od.* 4.265–89). Menelaus acknowledges that Odysseus saved all the Achaeans (*Od.* 4.288).

⁵¹ Kark (2014: 124).

against Ulysses come to an end; her plan succeeds. In fact, this episode in *Ulisseia* book 10 is also based on the Olympic scene at the end of *Aeneid*. The Virgilian scene opens with Juno watching the combat from above (*pugnās tuentem*, *Aen.* 12.792). The Διὸς ἁπάτη episode begins in the same way both in the *Iliad* and the *Ulisseia* (cf. *supra* the verbs of sight in n. 29).⁵² Juno confesses that she has helped Turnus, but promises no further interference in the war, and eventually pleads Jupiter to secure the future glory of the Latins (*Aen.* 12.819–28). Jupiter acquiesces to her designs: *me uictusque uolensque remitto* (12.833); he promises that the Trojan survivors will be assimilated into the local population, and from that union a mixed race will be born, surpassing all other peoples. Therefore, if the final section of the Διὸς ἁπάτη in the *Ulisseia* deviates from the Iliadic model, it approaches the Virgilian one, specifically this conversation between Juno and Jupiter at the very end of the *Aeneid*. In Castro's seventeenth-century nationalist poem, Juno deceives Jupiter to favour the hero, who, having followed the decrees of fate, secures a glorious future for the Portuguese people.⁵³

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⁵² Tarrant (2012: 290) identifies *Il.* 15.12–77, the Iliadic scene just after the Διὸς ἁπάτη in book 14, as the primary Homeric model for the Olympic scene in *Aen.* 12.791–842.

⁵³ I am deeply grateful to the Editor of *Classical Receptions Journal* and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions on this article.

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