Classical Quarterly **43** (i) 255–257 (1993) *Printed in Great Britain*

DECEITFUL CRETE: *AENEID* 3.84. AND THE *HYMNS* OF CALLIMACHUS

Early in *Aeneid* 3 Aeneas visits Delos and approaches the temple of Apollo with a request for advice on the destination for which the refugees should head. There is an immediate response to his questions (Verg. *Aen.* 3.90–2):

> uix ea fatus eram: *tremere omnia uisa repente*,
> *limina*que *laurus*que dei, *totus*que *moueri*
> mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.

The whole site reverberates with an echo of the opening of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*:

> Οἷον ὁ τὠπόλλωνος ἐσείσατο δάφνινος ὄρπηξ,
> οἷα δ' ὅλον τὸ μέλαθρον· ...
> οὐχ ὁράᾳς; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δήλιος ἠδύ τι φοῖνιξ
> ἐξαπίνης, ...
> αὐτοὶ νῦν κατοχῆες ἀνακλίνασθε πυλάων,
> αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακράν.

How the laurel branch of Apollo shakes! How shakes the whole shrine! Do you not see? A pleasant nod from the Delian palm all of a sudden. By yourselves now be pushed back, bolts of the gates; by yourselves, bars: the god is no longer far off. (Callimachus *H.* 2.1–2, 4–5, 6–7)

In Vergil the god's proximity is made manifest when he speaks in verse 94. The participle *reclusis*, unmotivated within its own context, is a masterly encapsulation of the imperatives addressed to the bolts of the door in Callimachus: suddenly the shrine is open, human involvement quite unapparent. To maintain geographical consistency, *mons* would have to be referred to the hillock Cynthus on Delos; but the movement of a mountain around the shrine (together with mention of *cortina*) evokes Apollo's oracular shrine at Delphi; Vergil combines the Pythian and the Delian within a scope even smaller than his model. In 91 the varying scansion of *que* recalls the frequent use of the device in the *Hymns*.[1] This is Callimachean writing of a very fine order: and it serves to introduce a passage where the allusion to Callimachus has rather wider repercussions.

The god's response is suitably oracular in style: alliterative, periphrastic, ambiguous (3.94–8):

> Dardanidae duri, quae uos a stirpe parentum
> prima tulit tellus, eadem uos ubere laeto
> accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.
> hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris
> et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.

[1] Cf. N. Hopkinson, 'Juxtaposed Prosodic Variants in Greek and Latin Poetry', *Glotta* 60 (1982), 162–77: 'Extraordinary even by Hellenistic standards is Call. *H.* 1, with six examples in 96 lines' (164).

This Apollo is appropriately learned: he translates not the accepted text of Homer, *Iliad* 20.307–8, but the Roman variant (Poseidon speaking, about to save Aeneas from Achilles[2]):

> *νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο γένος πάντεσσιν ἀνάξει*[3]
> *καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.*

But now the race of Aeneas is going to rule the world, and his sons' sons, who will come hereafter.

The Trojans rejoice, but they wonder where Phoebus' instructions will send them *errantis* (101, 'in their wandering'; but also a pointer to the error they are about to make). Anchises interprets (3.102–9):

> tum genitor ueterum uoluens monimenta uirorum
> 'audite, o proceres,' ait, 'et spes discite uestras.
> Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula ponto,
> mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.
> centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna,
> maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
> Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est aduectus in oras,
> optauitque locum regno.

But his attempt to interpret the oracle by relating it to other texts (102) is not a success: not Teucrus, but Dardanus (cf. 94) is the relevant ancestor; Crete, though fertile, as the etymological play of 106 insists, is not the right land (cf. *ubere* again at 164); for it was only the cradle of the Trojan race, as his diction reveals (105), and not the mother; *matrem* (96) he takes to be a reference to Cybebe (111); but she will turn out to have another home.[4] The problem is not Anchises' false recall of what he has heard (107), but rather a failure of interpretation. He would have done better to use as a model for his hermeneutics not an old record (102) but a text yet to be written – Callimachus, *H.* 1.1–9:[5]

> *Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῇσιν ἀείδειν*
> *λώιον ἢ θεὸν αὐτόν, ἀεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἄνακτα,*
> *Πηλαγόνων ἐλατῆρα, δικασπόλον οὐρανίδῃσι;*
> *πῶς καί νιν, Δικταῖον ἀείσομεν ἠὲ Λυκαῖον;*
> *ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον.*
> *Ζεῦ, σὲ μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσί φασι γενέσθαι,*
> *Ζεῦ, σὲ δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ· πότεροι, πάτερ, ἐψεύσαντο;*
> *"Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται·" καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο*
> *Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.*

At libations to Zeus what else should be sung rather than the god himself, mighty for ever, king for evermore, router of the Pelagonians, dispenser of justice to the sons of Heaven? How shall we sing of him – as Dictaean or Lycaean? My soul is much in doubt, since his birth is

[2] Dr E. L. Harrison, for whose critical comments on this paper I am most grateful, points out the neatness of transferring the prophecy 'from the anti-Trojan Poseidon of the *Iliad* to the pro-Trojan Apollo, who in the *Iliad* was prepared to sacrifice Aeneas to preserve Hector (20.75ff.), but who now shows his true Augustan mettle in the (dramatically) earliest prophecy of Aeneas' voyage.'

[3] Thus Strabo 13.1.53; *Αἰνείω γενεή* in *Σ* Arn/A. Our editions and the MSS read *βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει*. Similar is *H.Hom.* 5.196–7.

[4] See T. P. Wiseman, 'Cybele, Virgil and Augustus', in A. J. Woodman and D. A. West (eds.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 117–28.

[5] On which see N. Hopkinson, *CQ* 34 (1984), 139–48.

controversial. Zeus, some say that you were born in the hills of Ida; others, Zeus, say in Arcadia; which, Father, lie? 'Cretans are ever liars.'[6] Yes, O lord, for the Cretans created a tomb for you; but you did not die, for you are for ever.[7]

Crete is no more the birthplace of the Trojan race than it is that of Zeus: for both it is the cradle or nursery (Call. *H.* 1.34, 42ff.). Anchises' words confirm the allusion that he misses and we can pick up: *Iouis* (104); *mons Idaeus* (105) > Call. *H.* 1.6, 51; *maximus pater* (107: Vergil teasing the reader, for this turns out to be Teucrus); and, exquisitely, in 116–17:

> modo Iuppiter adsit,
> tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris.

The god is used as a personification of fair weather. Reaching Crete will indeed prove no problem; but Jupiter will not smile on them when they try to settle there: his precedent is not favourable. Further echoes of the Callimachean Hymn come with the mention of the Corybantes (111; Call. *H.* 1.46) and the Curetes (131; Call. *H.* 1.52[8]).

The true interpretation of the oracle is delivered by the Penates, eager to avoid a tedious return of the narrative to Delos (3.161–71):

> mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit
> Delius aut Cretae iussit considere Apollo.
> est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
> terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;... 164
> hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus 167
> Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.
> surge age et haec laetus longaeuo dicta parenti
> haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat 170
> Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arua.

antiqua, *ubere*, and *Dardanus* all fit with details of the original oracle. *Dictaea* is the epithet Zeus has denied for himself in Call. *H.* 1.4, 8; but what the Roman Penates utter is *haud dubitanda*, unlike the slippery and paradoxical words of the Callimachean god (NB Call. *H.* 1.5).

It is Italy Aeneas is to head for, and, more specifically, Corythus (170–1); but though this was the birthplace of Dardanus, it is something of a red herring in the Trojans' quest. We are told that Aeneas visits it in his search for military assistance (9.10), but it will not prove to be the site of the city that will gain the often-promised glory of empire. In this respect, the Callimachean god turns out to be a more telling prophet. For we may wonder what has happened to Arcadia, the true birthplace of Zeus – does that have any relevance to Aeneas' destination? Of course, it is not in Arcadia that Rome is to be built, it is not there that the Trojans originated. But when in Book 8 Aeneas does reach the Palatine, site of Rome, home of Cybebe, whom will he find living there but Arcadians?

Wadham College, Oxford S. J. HEYWORTH

[6] Hopkinson does not bring out the full paradox of this: for Epimenides' dictum to have point it must be spoken by a Cretan; at issue here is whether Zeus is a Cretan or not. If he is, he would lie to us: the debate can never be resolved by asking the god himself for information.

[7] Another paradox here too, I fancy: why are we discussing the birth-myth of a god who is not only immortal, but actually eternal?

[8] By placing *Curetum* under *Cretam* (129), Vergil brings out the etymology of Crete that Callimachus leaves unsaid: see R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Latin Etymologies* (Leeds, 1991), p. 161.