

## IMMOVABLE DELOS: *AENEID* 3.73–98 AND THE HYMNS OF CALLIMACHUS

*cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos?*

In the following two passages we read Apollo's epiphany to (respectively) the Trojan leader Aeneas and Callimachus:

Vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente  
liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri  
mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis

(Verg. *Aen.* 3.90–2)

Οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐσεΐσατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ,  
οἷα δ' ὄλον τὸ μέλαθρον...  
καὶ δὴ που τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ Φοῖβος ἀράσσει·  
οὐχ ὀράας; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἡδύ τι φοῖνιξ  
ἐξαπίνης...  
αὐτοὶ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίνασθε πυλάων,  
αὐταὶ δὲ κληίδες· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακρὴν.

(Call. *hymn* 2.1–7)

'The whole site reverberates with an echo of Callimachus' hymn to Apollo' writes Stephen Heyworth elegantly:<sup>1</sup> and, though the Callimachean echo is already familiar to Vergilian scholars,<sup>2</sup> he has been able to demonstrate new links between the Delos episode in the *Aeneid* and Callimachus' Hymns, especially *H.* I (to Zeus) and II (to Apollo). My argument focuses on a companion piece, the *Hymn to Delos* (IV), whose subject makes it a likely starting point for a narrative set in the same island.

The connections between the *Hymn to Delos* and the *Aeneid* episode are active at several levels of the Vergilian text. The key link is probably the idea of dynastic prophecy. The hymn looks back to the foundation of the Delian cult of Apollo and then forward, from mythic distance, to contemporary monarchy. Unborn Apollo anticipates the future rise of the Ptolemaic house (162–90) and establishes a strong nexus between Apolline devotion and the future rulers. Coming to Delos, in an era between myth and Greek history, Aeneas discovers not just the indication of a goal, but also the first intimation of future power for his descendants: *et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis* (3.98). Virgil had no tradition about a prophecy of Delian Apollo for the Aeneadae, and he must have been interested in the celebratory language experimented with by Callimachus. His Apollo is indebted to the fourth hymn just as Jupiter's prophecy (*Aen.* 1.257ff.) reenacts the encomiastic discourse of Theocritus, *Herakliskos* and *Encomium to Ptolemy*.<sup>3</sup> The two Vergilian passages are a striking witness to continuity between the Aeneadae and the Julii, and both turn out to be influenced by Alexandrian celebratory poetry. The constellation of Apollo, Delos, the Ptolemies, Cos, and Alexandria, is a model for the constellation of Apollo, Delos, the Julians, Troy and Rome, and Callimachus helps the *Aeneid* to shape a dynastic project through time and geography.

<sup>1</sup> 'Deceitful Crete; Aeneid 3.84ff. and the *Hymns* of Callimachus', *CQ* 43 (1993), 255–7, at p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. M. Paschalis, 'Virgil and the Delphic oracle', *Philologus* 130 (1986), 44–68, at p. 55 and n. 60 (with bibliography). The theme of miraculous door-opening is spared for another Apolline consultation, *Aen.* 6.81.

<sup>3</sup> M. Labate, *MD* 18 (1987), 76–80.

The incipit of the *Aeneid* episode is an allusive description, and the island's name is deferred until the very last line of the episode (124, where it is Ortygia not Delos):

Sacra mari medio colitur gratissima tellus...<sup>4</sup>

(3.73)

but the identification of the site is ensured by the memory of another incipit (where the delay is much shorter):

Τὴν ἱερὴν...  
Δήλον...

(Call. *hymn* 4.1–2)

and the progress of the narrative recapitulates the main points of the Callimachean aetiology: the tale of a wandering island (76 *errantem* with 192 *πλαζομένη*, same metrical sedes), first wind-tossed, then fixed by Apolline intervention (3.77 *immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos* with *hymn* 4.11–13 *ἡνεμόεσσα καὶ ἄτροπος*<sup>5</sup>... *πόντῳ ἐνεστήρικται*; 4.194).

The echo produces an effect of learned memory, but also of dramatic tension. The hymn tells the story of an anxious quest for the right place for Apollo to be born: Leto's wandering finds a paradoxical solution, in an island which had always been on the move, and now settles down forever. But now again – in Vergil – 'steady' Delos is the start for a new quest: from here the Trojans will pursue, through mistakes and obstacles, the hope of a steady fatherland. Delos, the Clear, is both the clear promise of a stabilized future, and the omen of a life of *errores*.<sup>6</sup> If the Trojans pause to consider the origins of Apollo's island, they will discover a familiar menace: Hera's persecution.

We can go back to the divine epiphany which was our starting point, with its model in the *Hymn to Apollo*. Richard Heinze<sup>7</sup> stressed that what we see in Vergil is not just another oracular consultation. (Delos, incidentally, is emphatically not a place of normal mantic activity.)<sup>8</sup> The answer to Aeneas' query is a unique and marvellous incident. We have noted above that the subject-matter of the *Aeneid* passage is to an extent analogous to that of the prophecy in the *Hymn to Delos*. That was an event of extreme irrationality: Apollo sees from the womb the ascent of the Ptolemies through an uncanny gap of time. So the *Aeneid* borrows its Apolline epiphany not from a

<sup>4</sup> *Delos* is latent in *tellus* by assonance. *Colitur* is explained by Conington and by R. D. Williams *ad loc.* as simply meaning 'is inhabited = exists', but that seems reductive. The verb, repeated at 77 *coli dedit*, implies that a promise made in the most ancient text dedicated to the Delian cult, the Homeric hymn to Apollo, has now come true: Leto had promised that the small island would be honoured (as a holy place, as a site of oracles) in return for the hospitality given to her, cf. *Hymn Hom. Apoll.* 53, 72, 88. Now *coli* suggests that the island is not only inhabited, but cultivated, visited, hallowed and maybe even that it is – unusually for an island – the addressee of a religious hymn: the Callimachean *Hymn to Delos*, model for this Vergilian episode. Those meanings are all within the semantic range of *coli*.

<sup>5</sup> On the epithet see below, n. 15, and cf. W. H. Mineur, *Callimachus, Hymn to Delos* (Leiden, 1984), 61.

<sup>6</sup> Note further D. Quint, 'Repetition and ideology in the *Aeneid*', *MD* 23 (1989), 9–54, at pp. 14–16: in a following episode, the Strophades adventure, the idea of the floating island surfaces again.

<sup>7</sup> R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1915 etc.), 101.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Paschalis, art. cit., 54–6; J. Masters, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's 'Bellum Civile'* (Cambridge, 1992), 184. A comparison with the much more conventional procedure of Cumaean consultation at *Aen.* 6.42–102 is instructive: as the narrative unfolds, religious practice becomes closer to 'historical' standards. Here Vergil seems to be fulfilling the island's prayer uttered at *Hymn Hom. Apoll.* 79–81 – a request left unanswered by Greek culture: not just a sanctuary for the god, but also an oracle for men (see above, n. 4, for this technique of saturating an archaic model).

standard oracular model, but from the mysterious opening of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*. Virgil has combined, in a generalizing frame inspired by Callimachus, a number of cult features of Apollo, Delian as well as Delphic:<sup>9</sup> Delian laurel and Delphic tripods vibrate in unison. The effect has a power which transcends the reverberation of the *Hymn to Apollo*:<sup>10</sup> *tremere omnia visa repente ... totusque moveri / mons circum*. More than a sympathetic vibration, this is a catastrophic break of natural order. Philip Hardie observes that those 'cosmic' effects belong to the register of sublimity, but he also adds (with typical sense of balance) that we need not exclude the relevance of contextual motivations.<sup>11</sup>

There is, in fact, at least one plausible reason for this *deinosis*. Vergil echoes the beginning of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, a text which nobody would seriously set in Delos, but he transfers the model to a prehistoric Delos, in a narrative context moulded by references to the Delian Hymn. I suggest that this is not just contamination<sup>12</sup> and homage to Callimachus.<sup>13</sup> We should not forget that the same Delos is *immota* (3.77) through Apollo's decision. It would be reductive to understand that the island is as 'fixed' as any other is: an ordinary reward for such a miraculous history. Greek and Roman poets explore a powerful language of steadiness to describe the critical moment when the island is 'driven into the sea' (*hymn* 4.13), when 'four straight pillars / with adamantine bases / shot up from the roots of the earth /

<sup>9</sup> F. Williams, *Callimachus. Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford, 1978), 15–17; Paschalis, art. cit., 55; Heyworth, art. cit., 255; L. Beschi, *EV s.v. Delo* (1985) II 21.

<sup>10</sup> This vibration is so magical that it produces an effect of prosody that is unique in the whole poem, *-que* being treated as a long before a simple liquid consonant, *liminaQUÊ laurusque*. Ovid imitates the scene in a Delphic consultation, and the effect is 'routinized' – as is predictable when Delphi supplants Delos: *Met.* 15.634–5 *et locus et laurus (!) ... intremuere simul*. On the systematic contrast in the 'politics' of seismology between Delphic vibrations and Delian stability, cf. G. Panessa, *Fonti greche e latine per la storia dell'ambiente e del clima nel mondo greco* (Pisa, 1991), I 325.

Vergil adapts to his Delian wonder a Lucretian register of sublimity: *omnia saepe gravi tremere et concussa repente* (6.122, quoted by Hardie [below, n. 11], 225) is active in the clausula *tremere omnia visa repente*, and helps to sustain the effect of cosmic profundity. The pious reaction of the Trojans, *summissi petimus terram* (3.93) inverts a Lucretian model, where the subject is the perverse results of a superstition fostered by mantic practice: *terram genibus summissa petebat* (1.92).

<sup>11</sup> *Virgil's Aeneid. Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford, 1986), 225 'such things in Virgil sometimes appear to have become merely a stylistical mannerism ... but often there is a more specific point'.

<sup>12</sup> 'Contamination' includes not just the hymnic models in Callimachus, but also Apollonius, whose presence in Book III is ubiquitous. Apollo's mysterious epiphany in the desert island of Thynias and the reaction of the Argonauts (*Arg.* 2.674–719) are surely relevant here, especially when the whole island is shaken (2.680) as the god moves on. Note particularly R. Hunter, 'Apollo and the Argonauts: two notes on Ap. Rhod. 2. 669–719', *MH* 43 (1986), 50–60; D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic* (Oxford, 1991), 75–6 ('Apollo is not simply seen ... the reaction of nature shows that he is "physically" and weightily "there"'). There is a studied contrast between the violent physicality of the epiphany and its lack of narrative consequences; conversely, Vergil's epiphany combines indirect manifestation and a strong dividend at the level of plot).

<sup>13</sup> We should be wary of underestimating the link between the epiphany at the start of *Hymn* II, where the god's presence is introduced, and the programmatic revelation at the end of the hymn, where the god's voice patronizes Callimachus' modern poetics (lines 105–12). Thus the moment when Aeneas undertakes his epic journey is sanctioned by the god of slender and pure poetry. There is an interesting effect of literary genealogy and recapitulation: Apollo's Delian cult recalls simultaneously the modern poetry of Callimachus' *Hymns* II and IV, and the 'Homer' of the archaic *Hymn to Apollo* (an important model and foil for Callimachus), the blind singer who is traditionally (*Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 315–21) tied to the remote songs of Delian festivals. Apollo's voice exploits a Callimachean licence but also quotes (and manipulates, see below) two lines from the *Iliad*. Setting his epic hero in motion, Vergil collapses the distance between a neo-Homeric and a post-Callimachean poetics.

and on their capitals they supported / the rock...' (Pindar, *Hymn to Zeus*, fr. 33d.5–9) or when 'you, Asterie, sent down the roots of your feet into the Aegean' (*hymn* 4.53–4), or when 'the god anchored the island firmly to lofty Mykonos and to Gyaros' (Verg. *Aen.* 3.76). Underneath the many variants lies a shared assumption: those spectacular manoeuvres guarantee that Delos, in Pindar's words,<sup>14</sup> is an ἀκίνητον τέρας (fr. 33c.4), an island that, alone among so many in the Aegean, is forever immune to shocks and earthquakes. *Immota* is not just a reversal of past drifting; it also alludes to Delos' prodigious immobility, since ἀκίνητος is almost a technical term to express this situation.<sup>15</sup> Apollo's epiphany in Delos is announced by one of the most unique wonders that Greek tradition could offer: a trembling and a shock (*tremere, moveri*) at the heart of the island which is fixed as a central hearth of the hellenized Mediterranean. Aeneas, who is no Greek, and, as a narrator, is too involved in the miracle to pause for antiquarian comments, gives only a hint, but the readers could follow this trace further.

The god who makes his voice heard after the portent is a master of deviousness, and we may ask whether the (un)natural event and the verbal message can be combined to create a further voice.<sup>16</sup> Apollo's response concerns Aeneas' future, and his function as a leader, in a land which will turn out to be Italy. The god of Augustus and Callimachus quotes a 'Romanized' variant<sup>17</sup> of *Iliad* 20.307–8:

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο γένος πάντεσσιν ἀνάξει  
καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται

and transfers the prophetic formula to Italian land:

hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris  
et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.

(3.97–8)

The dimension of power becomes wider and wider as *cunctis oris* supplants πάντεσσι, which in turn had ousted the original Τρώεσσι. This is one of the Callimachean lessons which I discussed earlier in this paper: the language of absolute rule in Apollo's prophecy for the Ptolemies (*hymn* 4.166–7 ὑπὸ μίτρην...κοιρανέεσθαι) projects a widening of geographical perspectives which transcends even the poet's horizon: Apollo's remote view of ἀμφοτέρῃ μεσόγεια, marine territories, the end of

<sup>14</sup> On Pindar and Callimachus, P. Bing, *The Well-read Muse* (Göttingen, 1988), 96–110. The idea of Delos as a steadfast island is implied in other points of Hymn IV: 306 ἀσφαλὲς οὐδας (cf. Mineur ad loc.) and 325 ἰσότη (cf. Bing, 102; 142–3, quoting Plat. *Phaedr.* 247a).

<sup>15</sup> Schol. Call. *hymn* 4.11 p. 66 Pf. ἄτροπος· ἤγουν ἀκίνητος καὶ ἄσειστος· ἡ γὰρ Δήλος οὐδέποτε σειομένη τινάσσεται; Hdt. 6.98 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἦν αἰεὶ κινηθῆναι Δήλον τὸ πρὶν εἶδεν ἀκίνητον; Thuc. 2.8.3 ἐτι δὲ Δήλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἑλληνες μέμνηνται. Perhaps the coupling of *immota* and *contemnere ventos* shows that Vergil alludes to *hymn* 4.11 ἡνεμόεσσα καὶ ἄτροπος, reading ἄτροπος through the interpretive tradition preserved in the part of the scholion to 4.11 that I have just quoted (the scholiastic alternative, 'untilled', is favoured by most modern commentators).

Delos' immunity from earthquakes is attested as a piece of Varronian information by Plin. *N.H.* 4.66 'Delos, quae diu fluctuata, ut proditur, sola motum terrae non sensit ad M. Varronis aetatem'.

<sup>16</sup> Waverings, misunderstandings and renewed consultations are traditional ingredients in the narratives of colonisation oracles (N. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 9–13; *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco* [Napoli, 1991], 81): but what is at stake here is more than a ktisis, it is the birth of a world power.

<sup>17</sup> γένος πάντεσσιν replaces βίη Τρώεσσιν. Cf. Heyworth (art. cit.), 256 and n. 3. The god of Callimachean poetics (above, n. 13) quotes, and updates, two lines from the *Iliad*, the lines which serve as a stepping stone to start the new epic (cf. *Iliad* 20.302 'destiny wants Aeneas to come out alive...') and are the main authority to legitimize Vergil as a successor to Homer.

the West and the place where the Sun's horses start (cf. 168–70)<sup>18</sup> can surely be accommodated to a present, i.e. Callimachean, historical situation, but has also the capacity for future, boundless expansions. Precisely for that reason, it is not easy to control the reference of *cunctis dominabitur oris*.

Moreover, the prophecy echoes a prophecy familiar to Vergil's readers:

cum domus Assaraci Pthiam clarasque Mycenae  
servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis

(1.284–5)

Apollo has a pro-Trojan tradition, and Aeneas appropriates it through the epicleris *Thymbraee* (3.85), yet the god's voice is speaking from the most hallowed centre of panhellenism. The 'first' earthquake ever experienced at Delos is explained by Herodotus (6.98) as a prologue to a shaking of the whole Greek world:

Μετά δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεύτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δῆλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμοῦ σεισθεῖσα. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφηγε ὁ θεός· ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξῳ τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξῳ τοῦ Ξέρξῳ, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενέων, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων. Οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν αἰεὶ κινηθῆναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν εἶδαν ἀκίνητον. [Καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὥδε·  
κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ εἶδαν.]

Starting from the epicentre in Delos, Herodotus outlines the expanding ripples of a crisis that includes Persian and civil wars, catastrophes without precedent for twenty generations, that is (one is tempted to say) back to the times of the Trojan war. Thucydides bypasses the Herodotean 'first time' and narrates his own first earthquake at Delos in Greek memory: the new context, undoubtedly a meaningful one, is the start of the Peloponnesian war (2.8). Aeneas' visit to Delos suggests a message that is even more destructive for Greece: a wonder that forebodes the victory of the Aeneadae through a time-span of 1,000 years.<sup>19</sup>

The hymn to Delos offers both the right décor and the motif of the 'Ptolemaic' prophecy, that can be reused for Rome and the Caesars. A last clue confirms that the model of this hymn has been important for Vergil. The navigation to Delos features the first occurrence in extant Latin poetry of the bold trope in which a landscape 'runs away' from the sight of a departing viewer:

terraeque urbesque recedunt.

Sacra mari colitur...

(3.73–4)

<sup>18</sup> Among the many interpretations proposed for the obscure ἀμφοτέρῃ μεσόγεια, L. Koenen's suggestion ('Die Adaptation ägyptischer Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof', in AA.VV., *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* [Leuven, 1983], 186–7) that Callimachus is echoing the traditional formulae that describe the Egyptian kingdom ('Lord of the two lands, of lands and islands, wherever the sun shines...' et sim.) is especially rewarding. In general, I take the three lines 168–70 as a deliberate blurring of boundaries and temporal perspectives. Apollo's foresight can be tied to a contemporary assessment of Ptolemaic rule, though I am not convinced by attempts to use it as a precise mapping of Ptolemaic expansionism in Coelestria and the Aegean; but this is surely not the end of the story. It would be awkward to imagine the embryonic Apollo setting a geographical limit and a deadline to the growth of the empire: the poetics of encomium requires an open-ended dimension, and the meaning is intended to 'grow' together with the expected success of the laudandus.

<sup>19</sup> Another two-edged omen in Vergil is Venus' sign (*Aen.* 8.520–40): it allows a double reading, a promise of victory for Aeneas, a dark intimation of civil war, with an impending personal loss, for Evander's house (see my comments in *La traccia del modello* [Pisa, 1984], 80–90). The reference to Aeneas and the location of the omen on the Arcadian Palatine are intersecting, rather than complementary, forces. See also J. J. O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton, 1990).

Before the safe landing in Delos mirrored in Aeneas' narrative, Apollo and his mother went through a surrealistic experience: the places they approached were literally (though Callimachus leaves it open how literally this is to be taken) 'on the run' to avoid them: *φεύγε μὲν Ἀρκαδίη, φεύγεν δ' ὄρος... Παρθένιον, φεύγεν δ' ὁ γέρων μετόπισθε Φενειός, φεύγε δ' ὅλη Πελοπηίς... φεύγε καὶ Ἀονίη... φεύγε πρόσω... φεύγε δ' Ἀναυρος... φεύγε δὲ καὶ Πηνειός...* (hymn 4.70–2; 75; 95; 103; 105). Leto is a persecuted runaway, and every possible goal runs away from her.<sup>20</sup> It could be suggested that this experiment in the persecutory animation of landscapes has influenced the strong Vergilian imagery which represents Aeneas' journey as the pursuit of a fleeing Italy by a restless exile:

arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro  
quaerenda...  
Italiam sequimur fugientem...  
iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras.

(*Aen.* 3.496; 5.629; 6.61)<sup>21</sup>

The last and closural occurrence appears, appropriately, in a prayer of Aeneas to Apollo.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The threatening god is Ares, sitting on a Thracian mountain (4.63–5). Aeneas has just quitted Thrace, *Mavortia tellus* (cf. 3.13), where his devotion to Mars (35 *Gradivumque patrem*) and the mistaken attempt to refashion a tradition (18 *Aeneadasque... fingo*) have come to nothing. Apollo ousts Ares in the Vergilian narrative; again, the tension may be indebted to the poetics of *Hymn IV* (cf. 58, with Bing, op. cit. [n. 14], 122 'The realization of Callimachean song is part of the new order that comes with Apollo's birth, and it helps overturn the old. To Callimachus, the most significant representative of the old order is Ares. He constructs the poem in such a way that Ares is the force that must, by various means, be overthrown.').

<sup>21</sup> 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor* and 4.381 *i, sequere Italiam ventis...* should be set apart, since *sequor* can mean 'seek to reach a stationary object', but I cannot exclude the possibility that 'fleeing Italy' is present by implication.

<sup>22</sup> A few lines before, Aeneas has seen a representation of the Cretan labyrinth on the doors of Apollo's Cumaeen temple. The description at 6.27 *hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error*, parallel to *Aen.* 5.591 (the *lusus Troiae*) *frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error*, alludes to Cat. 64.114 *tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error*, but this whole tradition of 'unnatural' lines would not exist without Call. *hymn* 4.311 *Πασιφάης καὶ γναμπτόν ἔδος σκολιού λαβυρίνθου*, an anomalous word-distribution for a perverted architecture ('ein krummer Vers für das "krumme" Labyrinth', H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* (München, 1968), 130 n. 4). In the same context, the Athenians are called *Cecropidae* (6.21) which looks again like an echo of *Hymn IV* (315: 'an gleicher Versstelle in gleichem Zusammenhang', Norden ad 6.21).

Daedalus' self-reflexive work – an artistic representation of a work of art, by the same author – recapitulates the importance of the labyrinth theme (see now P. Doob, *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* [Ithaca and London, 1990]) in the first part of the *Aeneid*: the main articulations are Aeneas' *errores* and the *lusus Troiae*, but again we might underline a contribution from Callimachus' Delian poem. The *lusus Troiae* has a labyrinthine design (*Aen.* 5.588–92) exactly like the Delian Crane-dance described by Callimachus (4.310–15): the dance had been instituted by Theseus as an imitation of the twists and turns of the maze (Plut. *Thes.* 21) and the dance-floor was around the Delian altar (Poll. 4.101); exactly the place where Apollo has started Aeneas' labyrinthine *errores*.