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CALLIMACHUS, ISTRUS AND THE STATUE OF DELIAN APOLLO

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 110 (1996) 43–48

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:] “ναί, Δήλιος”: “ἦ σύ γεπη[
]ν;” “ναί μὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμέ.”
 :] “ναί, χρύσεος”: “ἦ κλεῖφα[
]ζῶμα μέσον στ[ρέφεται
 σκαίῃ μὲν ἔ]χεις χερὶ Κύνθιε τ[όξον,
 τὰς δ’ ἐπὶ δεξιτερῇ] σάς, ἰδανὰς Χάριτας;”
]ν ἴν’ ἄφρονας ὑβρ[
 ἀ]γαθοῖς ὀρέγω·
]ητοῖσι κολασμο[
 ἀργό]τερος·
] . εν φίλα χειρὶ δατ[.]σ . αι
]ντες ἐτοῖμον αἰεί,
 ἴν’ ἦ μετὰ καί τι νοῆσαι
] ἀγαθὸν βασιλεῖ

(F 114 Pf. 4–17)¹

In these lines of a Callimachean fragment from the *Aetia* (*lib. incert.*)² the poet is seen addressing the statue of Apollo at Delos.³ The conversation probably went something like this: “Are you Delian Apollo?” “Yes, I am Delian Apollo . . . I swear it by my own self.” “Are you golden?” “Yes, I am golden . . . and there is a belt about my waist.” “Why do you hold your bow in your left hand, and the comely Graces in your right?” “So that, while keeping the foolish from outrageous behaviour, I may offer help to the good and be slower to punish and my hand quicker to bestow salvation, in order that there may be also something good for the king to notice.” Apollodorus⁴ explains:

* My thanks to Rudolf Kassel for his kind guidance.

¹ See also R. Pfeiffer, “The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 15 (1952) p. 20 ff. = *Ausgew. Schriften*, ed. W. Bühler, Munich 1960, 51 ff.

² It is not the intention here to discuss the structure of the *Aetia* or how the present poem may be fixed within it, but the most recent arguments can be found in P. Borgonovo / P. Cappelletto, “Callimaco fr. 114 e 115 Pf.: Apollo ‘Poligonale’ e Apollo Delio”, *ZPE* 103 (1994) pp. 13–17; E. Livrea, “Callimaco, fr. 114 Pf., il *Somnium* ed il *Prologo* degli ‘Aitia’”, *Hermes* 123 (1995) pp. 47–62; and G. B. D’Alessio, “Apollo Delio, i Cabiri Milesii e le Cavalle di Tracia. Osservazioni su Callimaco fr. 114–115 Pf.”, *ZPE* 106 (1995) pp. 5–21.

³ The identity of the interlocutor has long been a matter of debate among scholars, a debate resuscitated recently by R. Kassel, “Dialogue mit Statuen”, *ZPE* 51 (1983) pp. 1–12 = *Kl. Schriften*, ed. H.-G. Nesselrath, Berlin–New York 1991, 140–53, and now by Livrea, *art. cit.*, p. 48 ff. But there is, I think, no really good reason to assume that it is not the poet himself.

⁴ 244 *FGrH* 95 = Macrob. s. 1.17,13.

quia perpetuam praestat salubritatem, et pestilens ab ipso casus rarior est, ideo Apollinis simulacra manu dextera Gratias gestant, arcum cum sagittis sinistra, quod ad noxam sit pigrior et salutem manus promptior largiatur.

His point is reiterated by Philo (*Leg. ad Gai.* 95)⁵:

εἰς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα μετεμορφῶτο καὶ μετεσκευάζετο στεφάνοις μὲν ἀκτινοειδέσι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενος, τόξον δὲ τῆ εὐωνύμῳ καὶ βέλη κρατῶν χειρὶ, Χάριτας δὲ τῆ δεξιᾷ προτείνων, ὡς δέον τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ὀρέγειν ἐξ ἐτοίμου καὶ τετάχθαι τὴν βελτίονα τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις ὑποστέλλειν καὶ τὴν καταδεεστέραν χώραν κεκληρωθῆσθαι τὴν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα.

The background to this action, however, remains obscure. And it is interesting that Callimachus' amanuensis Istrus refers to the same statue as holding the bow in the *right* hand and the Graces, each of whom has a musical instrument, in the *left*.

We find the following recorded in Plutarch (*De Mus.* 14 p. 1136 A)⁶:

καὶ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος αὐτοῦ (*scil.* Ἀπόλλωνος) ἀφίδρυσις ἔχει ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ τόξον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Χάριτας, τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ὀργάνων ἐκάστην τι ἔχουσαν· ἡ μὲν λύραν κρατεῖ, ἡ δ' αὐλούς, ἡ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ προσκειμένην ἔχει τῷ στόματι σύριγγα. ὅτι δ' οὗτος οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος, Ἀντικλῆς καὶ Ἴστρος ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιφανείαις περὶ τούτων ἀφηγήσαντο. οὕτω δὲ παλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀφίδρυμα τοῦτο, ὥστε τοὺς ἐργασαμένους αὐτὸ τῶν καθ' Ἑρακλέα Μερόπων φασὶν εἶναι.

We can see from this that Anticles also referred to the Delian statue in the same way. Undoubtedly Istrus drew his information from the older writer Anticles, or Anticleides as he is generally known,⁷ probably from a work written about 300 B.C. entitled *Deliaca* (140 *FGrH* FF 2 and 14), to use in his *Apollonos Epiphaneiai*. Whether Callimachus drew from Istrus or whether he looked directly to Anticleides remains a moot point.⁸ But Soterichus, the speaker in Plutarch's dialogue, who is pressing his argument that Apollo was the inventor of the art of singing to the accompaniment of the pipes and lyre, adds that the statue was so old that it is believed that it was made by the Meropians from the time of Heracles. Müller (1 *FHG* F 35) does not include the rider of the Meropians in his reading of the fragment but Jacoby (334 *FGrH* F 52) does, perhaps sensibly, since it seems a reasonable assumption that Soterichus would still be thinking of the sources he had just referred to.

The story of the Meropians is recounted for us by Hyginus (*Astron.* 2.16.1). Merops was the eponymous king of the first inhabitants of the island of Cos (*SH* 903^A),⁹ which in turn

⁵ = 6 p. 173,5 C–W = 2.559 M.

⁶ = 334 *FGrH* F 52 = 1 *FHG* 35 p. 423.

⁷ Anticleides of Athens who wrote in the period of the Diadochs and whom we are reasonably certain Istrus cited in FF 43 and 57 (334 *FGrH* Notes F43, n. 4, p. 519).

⁸ For an alternate view see D'Alessio, *art. cit.* pp. 8–13, who cites Posidippus XIX *HE* as a possible model for Callimachus.

⁹ That Cos belonged to the Meropian people is attested also by *h. hom. Ap.* 42, Herodas 2.95, Boeus *Orinth.* 21 p. 25 C.A. Powell, Thuc. 8.41.2. = Pherecyd. 3 *FGrH* F 78, Hesych. *in v.*, Eust. 97.40. See, too, Meropis = Cos *IG* xiv.1 293 A 23.

was named after his daughter.¹⁰ Merops had a wife, one of the nymphs, called Ethemea,¹¹ who failed to worship Artemis as she should. The result of all this was that she was wounded by Artemis' arrows but Persephone carried her off still alive to the underworld. Merops then grieved for his wife to the point that he wished to commit suicide, but Hera changed him into an eagle, afraid that if he remained a man he would continue mourning his spouse, and she placed him among the constellations.

The statue of Apollo could well have been made and placed by the Meropians in Delos, the birth-place of Apollo and Artemis, as an act both of appeasement and expiation for the annoyance caused to Artemis by their queen and of remembrance for their king and founder-colonist. That it should be a statue of Apollo, and not of Artemis, need not worry us too much in that an insult or injury done to his sister was often considered by Apollo an insult done equally to his own godhead.¹² Clearly, though, we are here looking at a piece of mythical cult-aetiology from pre-historic Cos, and it is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the statue may simply be of an allegorical nature.¹³

Now, we know that Hyginus had Istrus' work before him and that it is feasible, therefore, that Istrus not only told the story of the Meropians but that it formed part of his *Apollonos Epiphaneiai* which often involved episodes where the close relationship which we know existed between Apollo and Artemis was an integral part of the story.¹⁴ The reference in Plutarch by Soterichus to the time of Heracles (καθ' Ἡρακλέα), where καθ' specifically means "about the time of", is explained by the remarks of the scholiast on Theocritus (*Id.* 7.5 ff.) who tells us that Eurypylus, king of the Coans, married Clytia who was a daughter of Merops¹⁵:

Εὐρύπυλος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς Κῶων βασιλεύων γήμας Κλυτίαν τὴν Μέροπος
Χάλκωνα καὶ Ἀνταγόραν ἔτεκεν, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἐν Κῶ εὐγενεῖς. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ
τῆς Ἡρακλέους πολιορκίας τὴν Κῶ κατοικήσαντες . . .

¹⁰ For Cos as the daughter of Merops see Steph. Byz. s.v. Κῶς. Cp., too, Σ Callim. *H. DI.* 160–161, p. 70 Pf. and H. Dibbelt, *Quaestiones Coae Mythologicae*, Greifswald 1891, p. 1ff.

¹¹ Or *Echemeia* (Ἐχέμεια).

¹² As in the story of Orion, see 334 *FGrH* F 64 = 1 *FHG* F 37 p. 423.

¹³ Cp. J. Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age*, London 1979, p. 98.

¹⁴ See Hyg. *Astron.* 2.34 = 334 *FGrH* F 64 = 1 *FHG* F 37 p. 423. And, probably, Hyg. *Astron.* 2.40 = 334 *FGrH* F 66 = 1 *FHG* F 36 p. 423.

¹⁵ *Schol. in Theoc.* 7.5 e, f = p. 79 Wendel (cp. Gow pp. 132–133). Presumably Chalcon was the same as Chalcodon son of Eurypylus who wounded Heracles when he was attacking Cos (see Apollodorus 2.7.1, probably after Pherecydes who, acc. to the scholiast on *Il.* 14.255, told the story of Heracles in Cos; the scholiast also mentions that Eurypylus' sons were killed by Heracles). A Hesiodic source (F 43a, 55 ff. M–W) speaks of the *Ioia Mestra* who bore Eurypylus to Poseidon in Cos and of Eurypylus' sons Chalcon and Antagoras who were in power there when Heracles sacked the island (see M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, Oxford 1985, pp. 68 and 161; also S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, Göttingen 1978, 17. 306 ff.). Pindar mentions the conquering of the Meropian race by Heracles (*Nem.* 4.26; *Isthm.* 6.31). Cp. Quintilian *I.O.* 8.6.71; also Ovid *Met.* 7.363. A daughter of Eurypylus, Chalcope, married Heracles after he had subdued the Meropians (Σ *Il.* 2.677. See also H. Dibbelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 25; and M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Stuttgart 1906, 451 f.).

It seems likely, therefore, that while Istrus was interested in the more or less original form of the story, as recorded by Anticleides, for his work *Apollonos Epiphaneiai*, Callimachus severely adapted it to his own dramatic purpose.

It is in the nature of ktistic composition, a genre popular among the Alexandrians and one which Callimachus did so much to advance, for the author to superimpose his own story on an already long established legend.¹⁶ The connection between Cos and Delos was established by the Meropian action. And Callimachus, typically, extended this pre-historic link between Cos and Delos to that of one between Cos, Delos and Alexandria. Cos was the birth-place of Ptolemy Philadelphus,¹⁷ just as Delos was of Apollo, and it also fell inside the sphere of influence and authority of Alexandria under Philadelphus. Moreover, Philadelphus had attended the school of Philetas at Cos, and he had also won a famous naval victory off the island. We know of a Callimachean parallel here in his *Hymn to Delos*, which was written in commemoration of the above facts and in celebration of Philadelphus' birthday (*genethliakon* - a stock term in papyri to denote a god's or king's birthday)¹⁸ and anniversary of his accession to the throne, upon which it was recited in the Museum probably as Callimachus' "maiden-poem" thanking Philadelphus for recently admitting him to the Museum.¹⁹ The *Hymn to Delos* was the only hymn to contain open praise to Philadelphus, and it has been suggested that it was in effect a hymn to Cos.²⁰ Just as Asteria/Delos addresses the new-born Apollo in the Callimachean *Hymn to Delos* so Cos addresses the new-born Philadelphus in Theocritus *Id.* 17.66 ff. which probably preceded the Callimachean work.²¹

It is tempting to see the action of the Delian statue as an adjunct or rider to the *Hymn to Delos*. We know that the image on Athenian coins which depicted Apollo carrying his bow in his left hand and the Graces in his right was probably influenced by the nine foot statue allegedly made by Angelion and Tectaeus either in the very late seventh century or possibly in the very early sixth (Pausanias 2.32.4; 9.35.1).²² This creation would have occurred, no doubt, not long after the composition and performance of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, which refers to Cos as the home of the Meropians (line 42).²³ The statue of Angelion and Tectaeus was made of wood but plated with gold and was naked except for a belt. Clearly, it is specifically this image which Callimachus is describing (and possibly saw for himself on a coin) but he also knew of the earlier Delian Apollo from Meropian Cos as recorded by

¹⁶ See P. M. Fraser, *P. A.* p. 775 f.

¹⁷ Born 309 B.C., see P. M. Fraser, *P. A.* 1.309 and 2.464 n. 20. Cp. also Σ Callim. *H. Del.* 165, p. 70 Pf., and *Schol. in Theoc.* 17.58–59 = p. 321 Wendel.

¹⁸ For discussion and references see W. H. Mineur, *Callimachus: Hymn to Delos*, Leiden 1984, p. 11 f.

¹⁹ Mineur, *op. cit.*, intro. 2.1.10, p. 15.

²⁰ K. J. McKay, *Erysichthon. A Callimachean Comedy*, Leiden 1962, p. 143 ff.

²¹ Mineur, *op. cit.*, intro. 2.2.3, p. 17, although Gow remained uncommitted, vol. 2 pp. 325–347.

²² Interestingly, Pausanias does not say in which hand Apollo carries what. Angelion and Tectaeus were pupils of Dipoenus and Scyllis, the Cretan sculptors, who were said to be pupils of Daedalus and migrated to Sicyon, see Pfeiffer, above n. 1, *op. cit.*

²³ T. W. Allen / W. R. Halliday, *The Homeric Hymns*, Amsterdam 1980, pp. 208–209, n. 42.

both Anticleides and Istrus.²⁴ If we accept that the original Delian statue was of an allegorical nature, Callimachus can be described as further manipulating what had already become a literary sculpture. His Alexandrian audience will, I think, have appreciated this point. He does this by introducing the paradoxical element; in effect, he is asking the “new” statue why it is different from the “old” image of legend.²⁵ This in turn allows him to introduce his own specific message. We can only guess, of course, as to what this message might have been but the use of the word “king” at line seventeen is suggestive. If our translation is anywhere near the truth it may possibly have been in the shape of an example or even of some mild reproof made by the poet to his patron. But we cannot be at all certain.²⁶

What I think we have here is firstly in its original form a piece of mythical cult-aetiology from pre-historic Cos involving a statue of Apollo which was perhaps of an allegorical nature. The story of this statue was well known and Anticleides naturally described it in his history of Delos. Istrus and Callimachus knew of Anticleides’ description and used the story to their own ends. The original myth concerned Merops and his immediate descendants the earliest inhabitants of Cos. We learn more of Merops from Hyginus who we know at this point was drawing from Istrus, quite possibly indeed from his *Apollonos Epiphaneiai* for which we may reasonably suppose Istrus had himself drawn material from Anticleides. While Istrus appears to have only been interested in the original image, which had long before become a literary sculpture, Callimachus, it seems, decided to take things further. He combined the story and description of the legendary statue with that of a “new” one, which had probably been inspired by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, and whose image had also appeared on coins. And he concentrated on an apparent discrepancy between the “old” and

²⁴ There may be the suggestion that the colossal image of Apollo which still sits at Delos (J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*, London 1978, fig. 60) should also be considered here but this work is entirely marble and thus cannot be the image as described by Callimachus.

It struck me as interesting that Apollonius (*Arg.* 4.1705 ff.) depicts Apollo Aigletes as holding his bow in his *right* hand to guide the Argonauts by its light through the gloom. Here, surely, we have a form of antithesis to the Callimachean picture of the Delian statue in that although the bow is held in the right hand a good, non-destructive, deed is done by the god. I have mentioned elsewhere that this image was possibly inspired in Apollonius’ mind by the great Pharos lighthouse (*Creative Selectivity in Apollonius’ Argonautica*, Amsterdam 1993, p. 56 n. 2) but he may also have been remembering Anticleides’ account of the Delian statue. If so, can we perhaps see in our mind’s eye a little scholarly debate on this subject occurring between Istrus, Callimachus and Apollonius?

²⁵ For the ancient tradition of dialogue with statues, and treatment of statues as “old” or “new”, see S. P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*, Princeton 1992, ch.s 7 and 8; also R. Kassel, *art. cit.*

²⁶ An interesting and feasible view is given by F. Manakidou (*Beschreibung von Kunstwerken in der hellenistischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart 1993, 232 ff.) who suggests that the poet is an intermediary between king and god and that through the medium of his poetry, which is his god, he is saying that it is good if a king shows justice to his subjects in the same way as the god shows it to mortals.

the “new”.²⁷ The Meropian legend and action had established a close connection between Cos and Delos. Now Callimachus extended this link to Alexandria and Ptolemy Philadelphus. By focusing on the discrepancy between the “old” and the “new” he introduced a paradoxical element into the story and thus created a fresh action which allowed him to make his point. There is not really sufficient evidence in the text for us to establish what exactly Callimachus’ point here was, but the poem may have been an adjunct or rider to his *Hymn to Delos*.

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²⁷ Pfeiffer (F 114.8) compares Callimachus’
 σκαίῃ μὲν ἔ]χεις χερὶ Κύνθιε τ[όξον,
 τὰς δ’ ἐπὶ δεξιτερῇ] σάσ] ιδανὰς Χάριτας
 to

μετὰ το[ῖ]σι δὲ Λη[τόος υἱός],
 σ[κ]αιῇι τ[ό]ξ[ο]ν ἔχων, ἐτέρηφι δὲ γωρυτοῖο
 δέσμ’ ἀπο]αινύμ[ενος

of Antimachus of Colophon (F 184 Wyss). But the words of Antimachus have, clearly, nothing to do with the Delian Apollo.