

## IN PURSUIT OF DAPHNE\*

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Since the publication in 1901 of F. Skutsch's penetrating and provocative monograph on the poetry of Virgil's early years,<sup>1</sup> the Sixth Eclogue has served as the starting point for many studies of Augustan poetry and poetics. Despite continuing and intense critical scrutiny, much in this *Eclogue* resists our attempts at explanation. And this, of course, is one of the principal reasons why the poem seems to explain so much, about Virgil's early development as a poet, about the literary climate of the forties and thirties B.C., about Cornelius Gallus and his importance to the poets of that generation.<sup>2</sup> If we knew more, perhaps we would understand less. But unless the desert yields another unanticipated addition to our fund of knowledge about the poetry of this period (and one more helpful than the Gallus fragment from Qaṣr Ibrīm), we will continue to be forced to fall back upon the text of the poem itself for answers. Even in the absence of new external evidence, it is often possible to re-open old questions. By re-examining our original assumptions about the text it will be possible from time to time to obtain new perspectives on the poem and its background. In the Sixth Eclogue the Song of Silenus invites such treatment.

The song that Silenus sings, or rather is said to have sung, since Virgil only reports (*namque canebat uti...*, 31), is a catalogue of mythological themes. He begins with the creation of the universe out of void, but soon shifts to stories of bizarre content, tales of passion and metamorphosis, involving kings like Minos and Tereus, and heroes like Heracles.<sup>3</sup> The aetiological aspect of

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<sup>1</sup> F. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (Leipzig 1901). His most startling suggestion in this book, that the author of the pseudo-Virgilian *Ciris* was none other than Cornelius Gallus, the central figure of *Eclogue* 6, drew a rebuttal by F. Leo, "Vergil und die *Ciris*," *Hermes* 37 (1902) 14–65, which in turn led to a second book by Skutsch, *Gallus und Vergil* (Leipzig 1906). The excesses of Skutsch's two attempts to resurrect Gallus (hereafter referred to by name and date) deflected attention for many years from his positive contributions to the study of the *Eclogues*.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent comprehensive treatment of the Sixth Eclogue is by D. O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975) esp. 18–38, with references to earlier literature; see too the review of Ross by J. E. G. Zetzel, in *CP* 72 (1977) 249–60.

<sup>3</sup> Minos and Heracles appear obliquely in the references to Pasiphae (45–60) and Hylas (43–44); and Tereus' metamorphosis is mentioned at line 78. The Callimachean formulation (*Aet. fr.* 1.3–5 Pf. ἡ βασιλ[η... ἡ... ] οὐκ ἦρωας) is of course invoked in Virgil's adaptation in the poem's opening lines (*reges et proelia*, 3), representing a specific poem rejected by the poet. In Virgil's case, this poem is an encomiastic epic treating the military exploits of Varus, and

many of these stories, with their connections to Hellenistic poetry, has not gone unnoticed. G. Jachmann, for example, pointed out a specific feature of Hellenistic narrative in the manner in which the story of Hylas is represented: Silenus tells not of Hylas *per se*, but rather the name of the fountain where he was abducted, *quo fonte relictum*...<sup>4</sup> Virgil's summary thus reflects the Alexandrian manner of the song itself: by brief reference to characteristic details he suggests not only the content of the larger narrative, but also something of the style in which we are to imagine that it was presented. This concentration of allusive subject matter in a literary polemical context clearly marks the Song of Silenus as a positive statement of literary values, not simply a playful foil to Varus' encomiastic epic. It represents, to paraphrase J. P. Elder, a brief for Alexandrian poetry at Rome,<sup>5</sup> and so it was read by Ovid. For it is no accident that the Song of Silenus reminds us of nothing in ancient literature so much as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Ovid deliberately echoes the Song in his arrangement of themes, particularly in the opening book; indeed, he assumes much of the Sixth Eclogue as background, so that he can play off these associations while concentrating on his own very different narrative purpose.<sup>6</sup> Thus the opening cosmogony of the *Metamorphoses*, containing the narrative of Deucalion and Pyrrha, recalls the beginning of the Song of Silenus, which in its first twelve lines (31–42) recounts the creation of the world, and also includes the story of the flood (*hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos*, 41). Ovid first appears to break away from his model in the Sixth Eclogue with the story of Daphne:

primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia, quem non  
fors ignara dedit, sed saeva Cupidinis ira. (*Met.* 1.452–53)

That Ovid here marks an important transition in the poem has been noticed by most critics;<sup>7</sup> but many details of Ovid's depiction of Daphne have defied interpretation, and hence the role of this story in Ovid's larger scheme has escaped detection. Certainly the story contains some moments of awkwardness

thus, by implication the genre of epic: the alteration of ἥρωας to *proelia* is significant. The counterpoint to this rejected category of verse is not only the pastoral world of the *Eclogues*, but a different genre of verse represented here by the Song of Silenus. Virgil is apparently following the pattern of the *Aetia*, which must itself, as Wilamowitz saw (*Hellenistische Dichtung* I [Berlin 1924] 231), represent Callimachus' alternative to the style and genre of poetry rejected in the Prologue.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. Jachmann, "Vergils sechste Ekloge," *Hermes* 58 (1923) 303.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. P. Elder, "Non iniussa cano: Virgil's Sixth Eclogue," *HSCP* 65 (1961) 121, who calls Virgil's poem "a brief...for his own kind of Latin pastoral," while also accepting O. Skutsch's characterization ("Zu Vergils Eklogen," *RhM* 99 [1956] 193–95) of the poem as a catalogue of Alexandrian themes.

<sup>6</sup> The importance of the Sixth Eclogue as a model for Ovid was noted briefly by Skutsch (1901) 31, whose observations on this score are further developed by P. E. Knox, *Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Traditions of Augustan Poetry*, Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc., Supp. 11 (1986) 9–17.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. B. Ois, *Ovid as an Epic Poet*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 1970) 101; W. Ludwig, *Struktur und Einheit der Metamorphosen Ovids* (Berlin 1965) 20; R. Heinze, "Ovids elegische Erzählung," *Sitzb. Akad. Leipzig* (1919) 103n. 1 (= *Vom Geist des Römertums*, ed. 3 [Darmstadt 1960] 383n. 3); H. Fränkel, *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley 1945) 78.

for modern readers. Few, for example, have failed to notice or smile at some of the less conventional aspects of Apollo's courtship of Daphne. The incongruous portrayal of the god in hot pursuit of the maiden, producing a long speech of courtship in mid-career, is perhaps the most curious feature of Ovid's presentation—at the very least we must admire Apollo's endurance and conditioning. The incongruities of this situation alone with its humorous undertones, however, do not seem sufficient to explain Ovid's purpose here. For that, it is necessary to pursue Daphne more vigorously ourselves, and the place to begin is at the end, with the conclusion of the Song of Silenus.

### I. Laconian Lovers

Before rounding off his composition, Virgil summarizes Silenus' treatment of the separate stories of Scylla and Philomela. After them we learn,

omnia, quae Phoebus quondam meditante beatus  
 audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros,  
 ille canit (pulsae referunt ad sidera ualles),  
 cogere donec ouis stabulis numerumque referre  
 iussit et inuito processit Vesper Olympo. (*Ecl.* 6.82–86)

These lines pose a typically Virgilian puzzle. Does he imply that the song which Silenus sings is not his own creation, but one already composed and performed by Apollo, with the relative pronoun construed as a connective?<sup>8</sup> Or is the song of Apollo another addition to the catalogue of themes offered by the song of Silenus, representing some story associated with the god?<sup>9</sup> The solution to this puzzle will depend partly upon our identification of the events to which these two lines refer. For at this point another question supervenes: on what occasion did Apollo perform by the Eurotas? Servius' note on this passage contains a familiar blend of information and misinformation, first paraphrasing but not explaining the allusive reference: "Eurotas fluuium Laconum, qui audita ab Apolline suas edocet lauros, quibus eius plenae sunt ripae." The added detail that laurel trees abound on the banks of the Eurotas does not address the question of how the trees could be said to "learn" a song. The entry made by Servius Auctus contains more information, but it too is of uneven value: "ibi namque templum Apollinis est; nam hunc fluuium Hyacinthi causa Apollo dicitur amasse. 'lauros' uero multi pro uatibus accipiunt." The suggestion that

<sup>8</sup> Although it is already found in T. Keightley, *The Bucolics and Georgics of Virgil* (London 1847) ad loc., this interpretation first attracted attention with the discussion by O. Ribbeck, *Geschichte der römische Dichtung*, ed. 2 (Stuttgart 1894) 28–29. It is subsequently reflected in the views of several commentators (e.g. Page and Ladewig), as well as most recent interpretations of the *Eclogues*; e.g. M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Vol. 2, 4th ed. (Munich 1927) 42; H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley 1942) 97; Elder (above, note 5) 115–16; K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro: Der Dichter der Römer* (Stuttgart 1959) 202; M. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art* (Princeton 1970) 217.

<sup>9</sup> Objections to Ribbeck's reading were raised by Skutsch (1901) 30–31 and (1906) 133, whose interpretation of the lines was approved by Leo (above, note 1) 26 and Jachmann (above, note 4) 297n. 1, but made little impact on the critical literature.

many readers understand *lauros* as *uates* is only a guess based on the common association of the plant with Apollo and his prophetic abilities, and prompted by the seemingly unmotivated appearance of the trees in Virgil's poem. But the commentator also adds a pertinent piece of information identifying the occasion of the song: Apollo is by the Eurotas because he has a temple there, a reference to the cult of Apollo at Amyclae. Furthermore, he adds that "Apollo is said to have loved this river because of Hyacinthus." This does not sound like a mere guess. If these lines constitute another item in the catalogue of Silenus, they must refer, like all the other entries in the Sixth Eclogue, to a specific myth suitable for narrative treatment. Additionally, the reference in Virgil's poem must contain enough information in and of itself to identify the myth for the reader, and thus the reference must be to a particular song which could only have been sung by Apollo by the Eurotas. We should therefore consider whether Servius' candidate Hyacinthus meets these criteria.

The identification of the occasion of Apollo's song with his affair with Hyacinthus has been accepted by every commentator on the Eclogue since it was first recorded by Servius. Most simply repeat the information provided by the ancient commentator; some flesh out Servius' note with details of the story, providing an account of how Hyacinthus was loved by Apollo and died tragically when accidentally struck by a discus. The song, it has been generally assumed, was performed by Apollo during his courtship of Hyacinthus,<sup>10</sup> although long ago Cerda suggested that it was instead a song of mourning.<sup>11</sup> This suggestion has received intermittent support, and has been adopted in the most recent commentary by R. Coleman, who compares this song with that sung by Orpheus consoling himself for the loss of Eurydice by the banks of the Strymon.<sup>12</sup> One detail in particular militates against this interpretation: nothing in these lines specifically points to a song of consolation, and *beatus*, referring to the reaction of the river, suggests rather the opposite. It is not at all clear why the native river of Laconia should react to a song on the death of Hyacinthus in such a way, even when the song is performed by a god.<sup>13</sup> Such a reference would only have made sense if a song of consolation was a well-known feature of the tradition of Apollo and Hyacinthus, but no extant witness to the myth records such a moment; it is entirely a fiction of commentators on Virgil.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Thus, for example, Heyne, Conington and Page in their notes ad loc.

<sup>11</sup> Juan Luis de la Cerda, *P. Vergilii Maronis Opera* (Cologne 1628) ad loc.: "Vulgatum vero fabulis, Eurota iussisse lauros suas discere, quae ibi cecinisset Phoebus in luctu, quem habuit propter Hyacinthum." He was followed by B. H. Kennedy, *P. Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis* (London 1895) ad loc. and E. Maass, "Untersuchungen zu Properz," *Hermes* 31 (1896) 421.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. Coleman, *Vergil: Eclogues* (Cambridge 1977) ad loc.; he takes no position, however, on the separate question of whether the contents of the song are identical to the Song of Silenus.

<sup>13</sup> This objection was raised by Skutsch (1901) 31n. 1: 'Aber den Eurotas, der Trauerlieder hört, würde man doch wohl nicht *beatus* nennen.'

<sup>14</sup> Cf. S. Eitrem, "Hyacinthus," *RE* 9 (1914) 7-16; F. Greve, "Hyakinthos," *Roscher* 1.2 (1886-90) 2759-66; F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso: Metamorphosen. Buch X-XI* (Heidelberg 1980) 66-72. Ovid, *Met.* 10.205 refers to a song that Apollo will sing to honor the boy's memory, but such a reference here seems

The more likely alternative, therefore, remains that a song of courtship is referred to here, like the one attested for the god in his attempts to win Admetus.<sup>15</sup> But the identity of the object of his attentions here is open to question. For in spite of the easy acceptance of Hyacinthus by the commentators, this identification is suggested only by the Laconian setting. The personification of the river and the added specification of the laurels, though, are otherwise unmotivated by the context, and this suggests that they point to a specific myth. Servius, in the comment cited above, notes that laurel trees proliferate on the Eurotas, and later commentators dutifully add the corroborating testimony of ancient authorities to that effect.<sup>16</sup> But in the intensely literary context of the Sixth Eclogue, Virgil may not simply be adding a picturesque detail. The other most commonly attested love interest of Apollo is Daphne,<sup>17</sup> whose story is suggested, for example, together with Hyacinthus', in the Third Eclogue. Menalcas opens his song in the competition with Damoetas with a claim to the patronage of Apollo:

et me Phoebus amat; Phoebus sua semper apud me  
munera sunt, lauri et suaue rubens hyacinthus.  
(*Ecl.* 3.62–63)

Each of Apollo's young loves is suggested by the plant with which he was identified. The appearance of laurel trees by the Eurotas in the Sixth Eclogue thus raises the possibility that the person in question there is Daphne, not Hyacinthus.<sup>18</sup> A brief survey of the distribution of the myth of Daphne in

ruled out by the context; and the presence of the laurel trees would still require explanation.

<sup>15</sup> It is implied, for example, in Tib. 2.3.11–12 "pauit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo, nec cithara intonsae profuerunt comae," and [Tib.] 3.4.67 ff. The tradition that Apollo's servitude to Admetus was motivated by love is attested at least as early as Callimachus, *H.* 2.47–49; cf. G. Solimano, "Il mito di Apollo e Admeto negli elegiaci latini," in *Mythos: scripta in honorem M. Untersteiner* (Genoa 1970) 255–68.

<sup>16</sup> Heyne, for example, refers to Polybius 5.19, but he only describes the region of Amyclae as καλλιδενδρότατος. In fact there is little evidence that the Eurotas was especially noted for its laurels: Theocr. 18.23 mentions plane-trees growing there, as in fact they do; cf. Paus. 3.14.8 αἱ δὲ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς περὶ αὐτὸ αἱ πλατάνοι πεφύκασιν; A. Lindsay, "Was Theocritus a Botanist?," *G & R* 6 (1937) 81. Cat. 64.89 refers to myrtles, while in his note on the latter passage, R. Ellis (*A Commentary on Catullus* [Oxford 1889] 300) cites the testimony of Sir William Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in Morea* (London 1823) 322 to the effect that oleander is abundant there. Since, in fact, there seems to be no special association between the Eurotas and laurel trees, their appearance in the Sixth Eclogue takes on added significance.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* 17.2 (Apollo) Ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ἀναφρόδιτός εἰμι εἰς τὰ ἐρωτικά καὶ δύο γοῦν, οὓς μάλιστα ὑπερήγαπησα, τὴν Δάφνην καὶ τὸν Ὑάκινθον.

<sup>18</sup> It would be remarkable if this identification had not been suggested before, and in fact it seems to have occurred to L. v. Sybel, "Daphne," *Roscher* 1 (1884–86) 955, who refers to *Ecl.* 6.83 in his notice of the Laconian genealogy. The similar remarks by O. Waser, "Daphne (6)," *RE* 4 (1901) 2138 and H. Emonds *Zweite Auflage im Altertum* (Leipzig 1941) 201 appear to be entirely tralatitious, and I am unable to discover the source of v. Sybel's observation. If it was his

ancient literature will help to address the question of whether she fits the context better than he.

The most widely attested form of the myth in ancient literature establishes Daphne as the daughter of Earth (Γῆ) and the Arcadian river Ladon. The earliest reference to Daphne as daughter of Ladon dates from the first century A.D.,<sup>19</sup> but this genealogy is so widespread in both Greek and Latin literary sources that there are no grounds for doubting it to be a well-established early form of the myth. A composite summary of all these accounts would run as follows: Daphne flees from the attentions of an overly amorous Apollo, and just as she is on the point of capture, calls to her mother Earth for help. Rescue comes in the form of a sudden chasm which swallows her up, and the substitution of the laurel tree as consolation for Apollo. The myth is widely attested in this general outline: in addition to Statius, it is found in the Greek and Latin mythographical, scholiastic, and rhetorical traditions,<sup>20</sup> although not all sources are consistent in their treatment of Daphne's fate. In some instances Daphne's disappearance is treated as a metamorphosis without mention of Γῆ and the opening of the chasm.<sup>21</sup> In the case of a myth as widely disseminated as Daphne's the true line of division, to paraphrase Housman in a different context, is between the variants themselves, not between the authorities that transmit them. A special case that illustrates this point occurred when the story was transferred with its general features more or less intact to Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syria, where it was associated with the district of Daphne outside the city.<sup>22</sup> But this version of the myth, although it is the most widespread, is not the earliest found in our literary sources. It is this early account which now requires our attention before we turn to Ovid's variant genealogy in the *Metamorphoses*.

In the compendium of erotic tales composed for his friend the poet Cornelius Gallus, Parthenius includes a summary narrative of the loves of Daphne. His main account (*Erot.* 15.1–3) does not deal with her relations with Apollo, but with the love of Leucippus, son of Oenomaus. Some features of this story are shared with the more familiar subject of Apollo's attentions:

own discovery, he may have been unaware of its significance; in any event, no commentator on Virgil appears to have noticed.

<sup>19</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 4.289–90. Statius also refers to the Ovidian genealogy with its Thessalian setting in *Silv.* 1.130–31 *hanc si Thessalicos uidisses, Phoebe, per agros | erraret secunda Daphne*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e.g. Servius, *Aen.* 2.513; Paus. 10.7.8; [Palaiphatos] 50 (= *Mythographici Graeci* III.2 [Leipzig 1902] 70); Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 5 (= *Rhet. Gr.* Walz I 72–73); Tzet. *Lyc.* 6; Cass. Bass. *Geoponica* 11.2.

<sup>21</sup> The metamorphosis is set in Arcadia in Serv. *Ecl.* 3.63; Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4.290, and the same setting may be assumed for Ach. Tat. 15 and Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* 1.8, although they do not specify the locale.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1.16 τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δαφναίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ᾧ περιάπτουσιν Ἀσσύριοι τὸν μῦθον τὸν Ἀρκάδα. This transfer included Ladon as Daphne's father, with the renaming of a local stream; cf. Libanius, *Or.* 11.94; Eustathius, *Dion. Perieg.* 916; Strabo 16.750; and see further G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton 1961) 82–86. The story was also a favorite theme of local artists: Daphne's transformation is depicted on a mosaic found in a house in the region named after her; cf. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947) 205 and 211–12.

Daphne is a devotee of Artemis, who shuns the city and the company of men to hunt throughout the Peloponnese. Leucippus dons the attire of a young woman in order to accompany her on the chase, but his deception is uncovered when a jealous Apollo plants in Daphne's mind the desire to bathe with her attendants. When they discover a man in their company, they plunge their spears into Leucippus. This story has left little trace in the literary record,<sup>23</sup> but the sequel to the narrative of Leucippus' transvestism and untimely end introduces the courtship of Apollo:

καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ θεῶν βούλησιν ἀφανὴς γίγνεται· Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ Δάφνη ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰόντα προῖδομένη, μάλα ἐρρωμένως ἔφευγεν· ὥς δὲ συνεδιώκετο, παρὰ Διὸς αἰτεῖται ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαλλαγῆναι· καὶ αὐτὴν φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸ δένδρον τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης δάφνην. (*Erot.* 15.4)

The details touching upon Daphne's transformation as an escape from Apollo's pursuit are consistent with later versions that treat the story as a metamorphosis. An important point is the fact that Parthenius explicitly situates the story in Laconia, where Daphne is said to be the daughter of Amyclas (*Erot.* 15.1). Modern mythographers routinely refer to the Arcadian account as the "original" version of the myth,<sup>24</sup> although it is not always clear what is meant by that; but Parthenius is the earliest extant witness to the myth, and the Laconian version that he summarizes is certainly older. In the margin of the single manuscript which preserves the text of Parthenius, a later annotator has added the information that this story is also found in the elegiac poetry of Diodorus of Elaia, an otherwise unknown figure, and in Phylarchus.<sup>25</sup> Caution is required in basing broad conclusions on these later accretions to the text of Parthenius. They indicate only that the story as narrated by him was also found in some form in the works cited, perhaps only an allusive reference; they do not show that Parthenius is in any way summarizing their narratives. Nonetheless, even on this evidence it is reasonable to assume that authorities earlier than Parthenius situated the story of Daphne in Laconia, and in the case of Phylarchus this detail receives independent confirmation from the testimony of Plutarch, who explicitly attributes the story and the Laconian setting to him.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The story of Daphne and Leucippus is told at equal length by Pausanias 8.20, the only other reference to it. Pausanias makes no mention of Daphne's parentage here, but locates the story in Arcadia and identifies the river Ladon as the site of Leucippus' murder.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. v. Sybel (above, note 18) 954–55; Waser (above, note 18) 2138–40; B. Otis, (above, note 7) 350. But see the objections to this approach raised by F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen. Kommentar. Buch I–III* (Heidelberg 1969) 170.

<sup>25</sup> These notices do not derive from Parthenius himself, as is often assumed, but from a later commentator: cf. M. Papothomopoulos, *Antoninus Liberalis. Les Metamorphoses* (Paris 1968) xv–xix. For attempts to identify Diodorus as an earlier contemporary of Callimachus, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 412.

<sup>26</sup> Plut. *Agis* 9.2 (=FGRH 81 F 32 [β]) ὁ δὲ Φύλαρχος Ἀμύκλα θυγατέρα Δάφνην τοῦνομα φησὶν ὑποφεύγουσαν Ἀπόλλωνα βουλόμενον αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, καὶ μεταβαλοῦσαν εἰς τὸ φυτόν, ἐν τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μαντικὴν λαβεῖν δύναμιν. Phylarchus apparently had a very different purpose from Parthenius: he seems to have identified Daphne with the local oracular deity

The cumulative evidence of these passages can do little to establish the genesis of the myth, but it does indicate that a reference to Apollo in love in Laconia need not point exclusively to Hyacinthus, especially at the time when Virgil was composing the *Eclogues*.

## II. The Song of Apollo

There are other indications that the situation described in *Ecl.* 6.82–83 refers to Daphne, not Hyacinthus. The laurel trees, for instance, which are asked to learn the song of Apollo, point to her rather than to Hyacinthus; for him, of course, one would expect a different plant. But the question remains of the occasion of Apollo's song, and whether it had a place in Daphne's story. Certainly no literary account of Hyacinthus, least of all Ovid's, to which commentators routinely refer, makes any mention of a song of courtship by Apollo in connection with the boy.<sup>27</sup> And we ought not to expect one; for the focus of the myth is not on Apollo's courtship of Hyacinthus, which was successful and therefore uninteresting, but on the boy's accidental death and the god's sense of loss. Such songs belong rather to stories of an attempt to win over a reluctant lover. And there is ample evidence that in a literary account of the Daphne myth lost to us, Apollo attempted to court the maiden with song before he turned to more forceful measures. It depends in the first instance upon representations of the story preserved in the wall paintings of Campania, where Apollo and Daphne constituted a popular theme of decorative art. A number of Campanian frescoes of the first century A.D. depict the story in a form that resembles the familiar outlines of Ovid's account.<sup>28</sup> The interest of the Campanian artists focuses primarily on the pursuit of Daphne and her metamorphosis: Daphne is usually portrayed in various stages of undress, as she struggles against the god who has overtaken her. Her transformation is indicated by either of two methods: it is simply alluded to by the presence of a laurel tree in the background; or implied by sprigs of laurel growing from her hair and arms.<sup>29</sup> But one group of frescoes ignores the pursuit altogether and surely

Pasiphae and her cult at Thalamae; cf. F. Williams, "Augustus and Daphne: Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1,560–63 and Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 32 (b)," *PLLS* 3 (1981) 253–54.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. note 14 above.

<sup>28</sup> The details of these paintings and other works depicting Daphne and Apollo are conveniently summarized by O. Palagia, "Daphne," *LIMC* III (1986) 344–48, with plates and bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> A tree is shown in the background in Palagia (above, note 28) nos. 9, 13, 34, while sprigs of laurel are shown sprouting from Daphne in Palagia (above, note 28) nos. 11, 14, 33. Graphic depiction of Daphne in the process of transformation is not found in Roman frescoes, although Lucian refers to such a painting in his description of a similar phenomenon (*Ver. Hist.* 1.8):

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ὁ στέλεχος αὐτὸς εὐερνῆς καὶ παχύς,  
τὸ δὲ ἄνω γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ὅσον ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων ἅπαντα  
ἔχουσαι τέλεια-τοιαύτην παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν Δάφνην γράφουσιν  
ἄρτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταλαμβάνοντος ἀποδενδρουμένην.

The celebrated sculpture known as the "Daphne Borghese" (Palagia [above, note 28] no. 1), perhaps of Augustan date, depicts Daphne with her legs embedded in



reflects familiarity with a narrative of the myth independent of Ovid: these paintings show Apollo, kithara in hand, beside a young woman who appears indifferent to his attentions.<sup>30</sup> In one painting from this group (Figure 1 on p. 385),<sup>31</sup> Apollo is depicted on the left, wearing a wreath and quiver, and leaning on his kithara as he lifts Daphne's cloak. She is shown seated on the right, naked but for the cloak round her limbs, and from the top of her head there now sprouts a laurel branch. The identification of the girl is thus assured by comparison with scenes illustrating the chase theme, but the moment that it depicts has no equivalent in Ovid's account. The presence of the kithara suggests that Apollo has been singing to the girl, and in fact one painting clearly illustrates this moment.<sup>32</sup> The simplest conclusion is that these paintings reflect familiarity with a version of the myth in which Apollo first attempts to woo the maiden with song before he becomes violent.<sup>33</sup>

The detail of Apollo singing to Daphne has left virtually no trace in the written record, but in late antiquity it was known to Nonnus, who refers to just this moment in Book 15 of the *Dionysiaka*. Nonnus tells the tale of a young oxherd who has fallen madly in love with the huntress nymph Nicaia, though she will have none of him. In vain he sings to her and plays his pipe, but the girl only laughs at him: Pan played to his girl and Daphnis sang, but it did them no good...

πόσα Φοῖβου  
ἔκλυε μελομένοιο καὶ οὐ φρένα θέλγετο Δάφνη  
(*Dion.* 15.309-10)

the trunk of a laurel tree. The earliest surviving examples of this motif in pictorial art are to be found in mosaics of the second century, e.g. Palagia (above, note 28) nos. 15, 20; cf. L. Leschi, "Une Mosaïque de Tébessa," *MEFR* 41 (1924) 104-8.

<sup>30</sup> That this group of paintings derived from a different source of inspiration was recognized by W. Helbig, "Beiträge zur Erklärung der campanischen Wandbilder," *RhM* 24 (1869) 251-70, but his arguments have attracted little notice. Indeed, the most recent discussion completely rejects the possibility of a different version of the myth: E. Schwinzer, *Schwebende Gruppen in der pompejanischen Wandmalerei* (Würzburg 1979) 72.

<sup>31</sup> Casa dei Capitelli Colorati, VII 4, 31/51 (b)=Palagia (above, note 28) no. 10. Another representation of Daphne may have been in this house, but it no longer survives; cf. Palagia (above, note 28) no. 41, relying upon the description by W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig 1868) no. 215.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Palagia (above, note 28) no. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Most of these paintings (e.g. Palagia [above, note 28] no. 12, 33) show Apollo simply turning to Daphne, but in one (Palagia [above, note 28] no. 14) Apollo's pursuit takes the violent form familiar from other accounts, while his attempt at song is indicated by a kithara resting on a rock behind him. The relationship between these paintings and the literary record has been well discussed by L. Castiglioni, *Studi intorno alle Metamorfosi di Ovidio* (Pisa 1906) 124-34. Although his attempt to trace all accounts of the story to a single version set in Arcadia is misguided, his entire discussion of the Daphne episode may still be read with profit.

These lines are close enough almost to pass as an imitation of the Sixth Eclogue:<sup>34</sup> with 309–10 Φοίβου...μελπομένοιο compare Virgil's *Phoebo.... meditante*. But imitation is not the most plausible explanation for the similarity of these two passages. Nonnus was probably never influenced by Latin poetry,<sup>35</sup> and if it is necessary to posit a relationship between him and Virgil it would be more economical to assume a common source than to accept that Nonnus alone understood a reference in the Sixth Eclogue which Servius did not. Nonnus was quite familiar with Daphne's story: he refers to it in more than a dozen places, and he plays no favorites, alluding at different times to the Arcadian and Syrian locales, sometimes treating it as a metamorphosis, at other times referring to her disappearance.<sup>36</sup> Nonnus had access to vast amounts of Hellenistic literature no longer available to us; it was there, we may assume, that he discovered the otherwise neglected detail of Apollo's song to Daphne.<sup>37</sup>

That this feature of the myth was still known in Egypt in late antiquity may also be shown by a sixth century ivory relief now housed in Ravenna, but probably of Egyptian origin (Figure 2 on p. 386).<sup>38</sup> It depicts a scene like that familiar from the Campanian frescoes with Apollo playing to Daphne, who is already assuming a new shape. And another reference to the transformation of Daphne in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnus is also consistent with the hypothesis of the theme's survival in Egypt. For it might be objected that the motif of the leaves of the laurel tree learning the song of Apollo is attested only in Virgil. But in Book 42 of the *Dionysiaka*, Nonnus again employs the story of Daphne as an *exemplum* in a speech delivered by Dionysus while he courts his latest love-interest, the nymph Beroe. It is best, he says, to yield to the attentions of an amorous god: Syrinx disregarded Pan and paid a price,

καὶ θυγάτηρ Λάδωνος, ἀειδομένου ποταμοῖο,  
ἔργα γάμων στυγέουσα δέμας δενδρώσατο Νύμφη,  
ἔμπνοα συρίζουσα, καὶ ὁμψήεντι κορύμβῳ  
Φοίβου λέκτρα φυγοῦσα κόμην ἐστέψατο Φοίβου.  
(*Dion.* 42.387–90)

The living breath (ἔμπνοα συρίζουσα) produced by the new laurel tree suggests that Nonnus conceives of the tree as retaining something of the life of Daphne after the metamorphosis. So too the speaking clusters (ὁμψήεντι κορύμβῳ) suggest that the new tree retains to some extent the power of voice and might

<sup>34</sup> They were adduced by Helbig (above, note 30) 264 to support his case for a version that contained a song by Apollo, but he did not make the connection with the Sixth Eclogue.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. P. E. Knox, "Phaethon in Ovid and Nonnus," *CQ* 38 (1988) 536–51, with references to earlier literature.

<sup>36</sup> Nonnus alludes briefly to Daphne at *Dion.* 2.108, 2.114, 4.98, 8.227, 16.179, 16.363, 42.256; at 33.208–220 he clearly describes her disappearance, while at both 15.298–302 and 48.287–300 he refers to her metamorphosis.

<sup>37</sup> The survival of this motif is perhaps also indicated by [Palaeph.] 50 φιλεῖ δὲ ἐκείνην ὁ Πύθιος, καὶ ῥήματα ἦν ἐραστοῦ πρὸς τὴν κόρην.

<sup>38</sup> Ravenna, Mus. Naz. 1001 (=Palagia [above, note 28] no. 35); cf. L. Marangou, *Bone Carvings from Egypt* (Tübingen 1976) 45–46, with further references for the myth in Coptic textiles and sculpture.

echo the god. This is precisely what is alluded to in the parallel tale of Pan and Syrinx adduced by Nonnus. Syrinx, transformed into a reed,

νόθη δονακώδει μορφή  
ἔκφυγε Πανὸς ἔρωτα, πόθους δ' ἔτι Πανὸς αἰδεῖ.  
(*Dion.* 42.385–86)

Although neither of these passages specifically attests the laurel trees retaining the song of Apollo, they suggest a context in which such a reference makes sense.

The identification of Daphne in the Sixth Eclogue has some consequences for our reading of the poem, and suggests a more definite solution to the riddle of its closing lines. On strictly internal grounds Skutsch had already objected to the interpretation of *quae* as a connective. Virgil, he pointed out, could not state that all the preceding themes formed the content of Apollo's song, since this would include the initiation of Gallus, Virgil's contemporary, depicted in the centerpiece of the Song of Silenus.<sup>39</sup> Rather, he noted, a last item in the catalogue is introduced in asyndeton by *ille canit* in line 84, as earlier in 61 and 64 by *tum canit*. The story evoked here, however, is not Hyacinthus but another tale of passion and violence ending with metamorphosis, Apollo's courtship of Daphne. Even without making this identification, it should have been clear that the final entry in the song of Silenus reflects back upon the earlier subject of Silenus' song. M. Putnam is one of the few to have made this connection. He points out the correspondence between Apollo, singing to his beloved (Hyacinthus, as he supposed) by the banks of the Eurotas, with Gallus wandering by the stream of the Permessus, as he is described above (*errantem Permessi ad flumina*, 64). The equation is clearly deliberate; in Putnam's words, "though Apollo's 'meditation' here may have a more intellectual cast, the emotional result is equivalent."<sup>40</sup> This is precisely right; but not if the object of Apollo's attention is Hyacinthus, who was successfully wooed and won. Daphne, on the other hand, forms the perfect counterpart to Gallus' Lycoris, who, though little known to us, is spotted in the Tenth Eclogue, fleeing Gallus through the snows. Apollo's frustrated song to an unimpressed Daphne thus forms an ideal balance to Virgil's representation of the elegiac love-poet.

### III. On the Run in Thessaly

Discussion of Ovid's treatment of Apollo and Daphne in the first book of the *Metamorphoses* has been deliberately postponed to this point, in order to avoid the trap of importing into the earlier forms of the myth elements that may have originated with Ovid. So many of the stories related by him in the *Metamorphoses* have taken on the dimension of classic accounts for modern readers that we have grown accustomed to thinking only in terms of his treatment. It comes then as something of a surprise when we discover later authors who refer to myths that had been recounted by Ovid in versions which clearly

<sup>39</sup> Skutsch (1901) 30; (1906) 133–34.

<sup>40</sup> Putnam (above, note 8) 218.

derive from other sources and treat the stories in an entirely different manner.<sup>41</sup> But Ovid wrote in a tradition that recognized as an important feature of poetic art the sophisticated play of reference to a broad range of literary sources. Many of these are no longer extant, and later accounts independent of Ovid are therefore often helpful witnesses to the sources available to him but lost to us; for it is important to our understanding of Ovid's art to notice where he deviates from received tradition or adapts (or invents) a variant line. Such alterations usually underline a specific poetic purpose, pointing out a new emphasis or establishing a change of tone.

In Ovid's account Daphne is the daughter of the Thessalian river Peneus: "primus amor Phoebe Daphne Peneia," *Met.* 1.452. This genealogy is emphasized at several points in the course of the narrative: at 472 and again at 504 Daphne is *nympha Peneide*, while in 525 she is again addressed by this epithet.<sup>42</sup> Thus developed and emphasized, the identity of Daphne's father becomes a prominent feature of Ovid's account, and it immediately raises the question of Ovid's choice of setting; for Ovid is the sole surviving authority for the location of the chase in Thessaly with the role of father played by Peneus. Later versions of the story in Latin literature that refer to Peneus as her father (*Hyg. Fab.* 203 and *Serv. Auct. Aen.* 3.91) clearly derive this detail from the *Metamorphoses*. Against a background that fixed the story in Laconia, or perhaps in Arcadia, Ovid's transference of Daphne's home to Thessaly would be noticed immediately by the reader as a significant variation.<sup>43</sup> Critics have noted the obvious advantages of this setting for making a link with the preceding story of Apollo at Delphi; but few readers familiar with Ovid's techniques, sometimes far-fetched as they are, will be persuaded that it was only the need to make a link with the previous tale that led to the divergent genealogy.

Consider, for example, the connection with the following story of Io. Ovid describes the watery cave of Daphne's father Peneus, where all the neighboring and far-away rivers gather following the transformation of Daphne, all that is but one:

conueniunt illuc popularia flumina primum,  
nescia, gratentur consolenturne parentem,  
populifer Sperchios et inquietus Enipeus  
Apidanosque senex lenisque Amphrysos et Aeas,  
moxque amnes alii, qui, qua tulit impetus illos,  
in mare deducunt fessas erroribus undas.  
Inachus unus abest imoque reconditus antro

<sup>41</sup> For example the story of Byblis is outlined at Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.546–65 in a form that differs significantly from the famous version in *Met.* 9.454–665.

<sup>42</sup> The form *Peneis* is unique in Greek and Latin, but Ovid coined many such forms: cf Bömer on *Met.* 5.303.

<sup>43</sup> Was it his own innovation? H. Magnus, "Ovids Metamorphosen in doppelter Fassung?," *Hermes* 40 (1905) 204 calls this genealogy "eine sehr feine, poetisch wie mythologisch trefflich motivierte Neuerung Ovids." Although it is likely that this was indeed an Ovidian invention, it is not a necessary assumption, for one other Roman poet may already have made use of the myth of Daphne; see below, pp. 19–20.

fletibus auget aquas natamque miserrimus Io  
luget ut amissam. (*Met.* 1.577–85)

To some readers this transition may appear artificial and forced; but as H. Herter has pointed out, this manner of linking tales is a common folkloric technique, not eschewed by even the most self-conscious literary artist.<sup>44</sup> In the twelfth *Iambi*, written for the occasion of the *Hebdome*, the seventh day celebration, of his friend's daughter, Callimachus describes the gathering of the gods for the celebration for Hebe. In lines 35–39 of this fragment we learn that only Demeter does not attend, for she is home weeping for her lost daughter. Pfeiffer rightly cites our passage in his apparatus as a parallel, and we can be confident, with Herter, that Ovid knew Callimachus well enough to have had this passage of the *Iambi* in mind here. Ovid had a large number of such devices in his arsenal, and if it had suited his purpose to retain an Arcadian or Laconian setting for the Daphne story, a transition would have posed no insuperable obstacle.

Ovid's incorporation of Apollo's courtship of Daphne into an aetiological account of the use of laurel garlands to celebrate winners at the Pythian games brings him into conflict with another account of the practice by Callimachus. In the opening story of the fourth book of the *Aetia* (fr. 86–89 Pf.), Callimachus tells of the origins of the procession known as the *Daphnephoria*, which brought to Delphi a sprig of laurel every eight years from the valley of the Peneus; for it was there that Apollo washed himself following his defeat of the serpent. Ovid specifically rejects this aetiology in the *Metamorphoses*, in the lines which immediately precede his story of Daphne. After Apollo's defeat of the Python, victors at the newly established Pythian games were crowned with a garland of oak and Apollo decorated his brows with a garland from any tree at all:

hic iuuenum quicumque manu pedibusue rotaue  
uicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem.  
nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine  
tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebeus. (*Met.* 1.448–51)

Ovid's setting of the story of Daphne in Thessaly may thus serve a polemical purpose, reminding the reader that Ovid has rejected Callimachus' account, but it also frees him to treat the details of the plot in a new fashion.

Daphne's close relationship with her father is a novel feature of his account.<sup>45</sup> As we have seen, Ovid stresses this genealogy by repeating the

<sup>44</sup> H. Herter, "Daphne und Io in Ovids Metamorphosen," in *Hommages à Robert Schilling*, edd. H. Zehnacker and G. Hentz (Paris 1983) 315–17.

<sup>45</sup> No other version of the myth mentions an appeal by the girl to her father. Furthermore, Daphne's father is depicted in only two of the 41 items listed by Palagia. One, a third-century mosaic from Nea Paphos in the House of Dionysus (=Palagia [above, note 28] no. 37), depicts Apollo and Daphne with an unidentified river god. Although reports of the excavation routinely refer to this figure as Peneus, he is almost surely meant to represent Ladon. In this mosaic he plays no part in the action, and his appearance is probably motivated by the mosaicist's desire to balance the similar river god in the corresponding panel depicting the story of Pyramus and Thisbe. The second representation of Daphne's father is found on a vase, probably from Antioch (=Palagia [above, note 28] no. 39), portraying Apollo in pursuit of Daphne, with accompanying

epithet *Peneis*; it is also developed at length in the touching scene where Daphne begs her father for eternal virginity:

illa uelut crimen taedas exosa iugales  
pulchra uerecundo suffuderat ora rubore  
inque patris blandis haerens ceruice lacertis  
'da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime,' dixit  
'uirginitate frui! dedit hoc pater ante Dianae.' (*Met.* 1.483–7)

The sentiment is underscored by the footnote in 487 *dedit hoc pater ante Dianae*, referring, so to speak, to Callimachus' third hymn, where Artemis is shown as she entreats with Zeus:

...ὥς ὅτε πατὴρ ἐφεζομένη γονάτεσσι  
παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα τάδε προσέειπε γονῆα  
"δός μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἅπα, φυλάσσειν."  
(*H.* 3.4-6)

Ovid thus brings together thematic material from a variety of sources to create depth in his portrayal of Daphne's character: her antipathy to men is motivated by a deep-seated trait, suggested in large measure by the strength of her attachment to her father. Against this background, the modern reader will also notice the absence of Daphne's mother, Earth. Ovid has included no reference to her in his account, although this version has left its mark in the manuscript transmission.

The passage in question constitutes one of the best known textual cruces in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: at the point of the narrative where Apollo is on the verge of catching the girl, the manuscripts offer what appear to be alternative versions of Daphne's final words, an appeal to Tellus and an appeal to her father Peneus for help:<sup>46</sup>

544 uicta labore fugae 'Tellus' ait 'hisce uel istam  
545 quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram!'  
  
544a uicta labore fugae, spectans Peneidas undas  
546 'fer, pater' inquit 'opem, si flumina numen habetis;  
547 qua nimium placui, mutando perde figuram!'

Here, as in a number of other apparent doublets in the *Metamorphoses*,<sup>47</sup> editors have been constrained to decide between two alternatives: to attribute both versions of Daphne's appeal to Ovid's own hand, with the assumption that Ovid himself had not decided which to retain in the final edition of the poem;<sup>48</sup> or to

figures labelled as Pothos and Ladon. It is perhaps significant that Γῆ is not found in any depiction of the story.

<sup>46</sup> I adopt the numeration in W. S. Anderson's Teubner text, 2nd ed. (Leipzig 1982), but not his arrangement of the lines. For the state of the manuscripts recourse must still be had to Magnus' apparatus, although it too is unsatisfactory.

<sup>47</sup> They are found following *Met.* 4.767, 7.145, 8.285, 8.596, 8.603, 8.651, 8.693, 8.697.

<sup>48</sup> This view was first fully formulated by R. Helm, "De Metamorphoseon Ovidianarum locis duplici recensio servatis," *Festschrift J. Vahlen* (Berlin 1900) 335–65. Prominent among more recent exponents of this view are Bömer

excise one version as an interpolation, with the appeal to Tellus usually being regarded as the culprit.<sup>49</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to resolve all the problems raised by this passage, but some important points need to be dealt with, even if only briefly.

The first proposal can be dismissed. The case for alternative versions by Ovid depends upon his protests in the exile poetry that the *Metamorphoses* left his hands prematurely.<sup>50</sup> Such claims are entirely conventional, and no good case can be made that the poem as we have it is incomplete.<sup>51</sup> Critics who object to athetizing one version as an interpolation now argue that both appeals were intended to stand together in the text.<sup>52</sup> This suggestion needs to be taken more seriously, and it is closely related to the final question of which passage to athetize; for obviously if it can be shown that the two versions cannot consist, then one will have to go. The most recent editor prints a conflation of the two appeals in the following sequence:

- 544 uicta labore fugae 'Tellus' ait 'hisce uel istam  
545 quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram!'  
546 'fer, pater' inquit 'opem, si flumina numen habetis;  
547 qua nimium placui, mutando perde figuram!'

The case in favor of this arrangement of the lines has recently been forcefully argued by C.E. Murgia.<sup>53</sup> This sequence, it must be said, is not attested in any of the manuscripts, but their confused testimony is of no help in resolving the problem of the authenticity of these lines.<sup>54</sup> Careful investigation of Ovidian

(above, note 24) 168–71, and J. Blänsdorf, "Entstehung und Kontamination der Doppelfassung Ovid, *Metam.* 1.544–547a," *RhM* 123 (1980) 138–51, both of whom provide summaries of earlier views. See also Emonds (above, note 18) 188–233.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Magnus (above, note 43) 191–239.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. *Trist.* 1.7.13 ff., 3.14.23.

<sup>51</sup> Similar allegations of author's variants in other traditions have proved to be interpolations; cf. M. D. Reeve, "Author's Variants in Longus?," *PCPS* 15 (1969) 75–85; T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (Oxford 1971) 239–40; A. S. Hollis, *Ovid: Metamorphoses, Book VIII* (Oxford 1970) x–xi and xxvii.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. E. K. Rand, in his review of Magnus' edition (Berlin 1914), "The New Edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *CP* 11 (1916) 48–49.

<sup>53</sup> C. E. Murgia, "Ovid *Met.* 1.544–547 and the Theory of Double Recension," *CA* 3 (1984) 207–35.

<sup>54</sup> Thus Murgia's attempt to show that only the Tellus variant stood in the text of the common archetype of *M* and *N*, which he terms the "pure" branch of the tradition, yields an argument neither for nor against its authorship by Ovid. If true, it would only show that in a branch of the tradition one variant had completely ousted the other at some (not very early) stage of the transmission. Although in many respects Murgia's discussion serves as a useful corrective to Magnus' overly ambitious attempt to vindicate the Peneus variant for this branch of the tradition, his demonstration is also defective: for example, he does not explain why a scribe would erase the appeal to Tellus, only to replace it in the following line *before* writing in the appeal to Peneus. That this was in fact the sequence of events is clear from the photograph of *M* reproduced in Magnus' edition: cf. Blänsdorf (above, note 48) 141–42. Blänsdorf, on the other hand, ignores the fact that, as shown by his own researches with infrared photography, before erasure *N* appears to have read in the opening hemistich of 545 *quae facit ut laedar*, thus disagreeing with the original reading of *M*. The most reasonable

usage alone can decide the issue, and the verbal evidence deployed by Murgia to defend this conflation is open to serious question. The suggestion that 544–46 constitute a single continuous reminiscence of Virg. *Aen.* 4.24–25 collapses before the objection that *Her.* 6.144, “hiscere nempe tibi terra roganda fuit,” is a more obvious source for the expression.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, Murgia’s defence of the rhetorical articulation of the passage as he reconstructs it with the weak repetition of the verb of saying in asyndeton, *inquit* followed by *ait*, is forced;<sup>56</sup> and is refuted by the examples cited to defend it.<sup>57</sup> On these points Murgia largely restates and amplifies the arguments of predecessors; but in his defence of the Tellus variant he adds an entirely new argument based on a point of Augustan literary aesthetics. The appeal to *Tellus* is, in his view, another instance of a learned poet referring to a variant form of the myth which he has not adopted in his account.<sup>58</sup> On this interpretation, Ovid’s reader is supposed to

explanation of these circumstances remains to assume the presence of marginal variants in the archetype. G. Luck, *Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte Ovids* (Heidelberg 1969) 56 suggests that this is the product of scholarly activity in the Carolingian period, but these variants are certainly ancient: cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2nd ed. (Florence 1952) 388–90.

<sup>55</sup> Or, for that matter, the anonymous passage quoted at Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.2.26 *magnae nunc hiscite terrae*, to which Murgia (above, note 53) 210 also refers. *Met.* 14.373–74 might also have served as the model for 545. Murgia’s argument for *Aen.* 4.24–25 as the single source for the passage as he reconstructs it depends upon a method of tracing the chronology of literary imitations by mechanical tabulation of shared verbal “elements.” This method, which makes little or no allowance for the influence of the context, has been outlined by Murgia in his paper “Imitation and Authenticity in Ovid: *Met.* 1.477 and *Her.* 15,” *AJP* 106 (1985) esp. 459–64, and forms the basis for a number of other discussions of the relative chronology of Ovid’s works. But, to raise only a small objection relevant to this problem in the *Metamorphoses*, this method takes no account of the statistical probability of the word *pater* occurring in a dialogue between a father and a daughter. Murgia’s comparison of the stemmatic method of determining the genealogy of manuscripts is misguided: as with manuscripts, literary parallels need to be *weighed*, not counted.

<sup>56</sup> This objection was first raised by P. J. Enk, “*Metamorphoses Ovidii duplici recensione servatae sint necne quaeritur*,” in *Ovidiana*, ed. N.I. Herescu (Paris 1958) 326.

<sup>57</sup> From the *Metamorphoses*, 1.481–82 “saepe pater dixit, ‘generum mihi filia debes’; | saepe pater dixit, ‘debes mihi nata nepotes,’” and 8.231–32 “‘Icare’ dixit | ‘Icare’ dixit ‘ubi es?’” are by Murgia’s own admission not analogous, for in each case the verbal repetition is unvaried and serves a specific rhetorical purpose. The third, and for his case decisive, parallel is *Met.* 6.280–83, where corruption has been suspected for other reasons besides what Murgia (above, note 53) 220 refers to as “an incredibly lame repetition of *satia dixit* after *ait satia*”:

‘pascere, crudelis, nostro, Latona, dolore,  
pascere’ ait ‘satiague meo tua pectora luctu!  
corque ferum satia!’ dixit. ‘per funera septem  
efferor: exsulta uictrixque inimica triumphal!’

Murgia’s remedy is to attribute the flaw to Ovid. A more likely explanation was offered by Magnus (above, note 43) 212–13: the opening hemistich of 282 was taken from *Met.* 9.178 and ousted Ovid’s words, which may or may not have stood under the erasure in *N.*

<sup>58</sup> Murgia refers to articles by R. F. Thomas, “Catullus and the Polemics of Poetic Reference (Poem 64.1–18),” *AJP* 103 (1982) 144–64, and A. W. Bulloch,



recall other versions of the myth in which *Tellus* was portrayed as Daphne's mother.

Although attractive in many respects, this suggestion, too, falters upon close examination. It would constitute a plausible explanation for the appearance of *Tellus* if the language of the passage permitted it to stand, but a further word of caution is required. Our inspection of the myth of Daphne has shown that the only version attested in literature before Ovid in Phylarchus, Parthenius, and perhaps Virgil was not the so-called Arcadian version which featured *Tellus* as Daphne's mother, but the Laconian variant in which she had no role. The variant in which Daphne appeals to *Tellus* is in fact very rare, even in texts which adopt the Arcadian genealogy. It is first attested for Arrian, on the testimony of Eustathius, and is found thereafter only in later mythographical and rhetorical texts.<sup>59</sup> The evidence of the visual arts is also telling. Of the 41 representations of Daphne listed by Palagia, only one may allude to this variant: a late Roman sculptural group which portrays a diminutive Daphne gazing up at Apollo, who clasps a laurel tree.<sup>60</sup> While there is no reason to doubt the antiquity of the Arcadian genealogy, the inclusion of an appeal to *Tellus* in the rescue scene may not be so ancient. The oldest account of the myth, that found in Parthenius, attributes Daphne's metamorphosis to the intervention of Zeus, and this may well have been the only form Ovid knew. To the weight of linguistic and stylistic evidence brought to bear against the *Tellus* variant in the *Metamorphoses*, we should add the consideration that the form of the myth to which it refers may not have been current in the first century B.C.<sup>61</sup> This suspicion is strengthened by the remarkable parallel in the story of Syrinx. It is found later in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*, where it forms the subject of the song performed by Mercury to lull Argus to sleep. Mercury does not finish the song, but Ovid provides a summary of the omitted portion:

restabat uerba referre  
et precibus spretis fugisse per auia nympham,  
donec harenosi placidum Ladonis ad amnem  
uenerit; hic illam cursum impredientibus undis  
ut se mutarent liquidas orasse sorores,  
Panaque cum prensam sibi iam Syringa putaret,  
corpore pro nymphe calamos tenuisse palustres,  
dumque ibi suspirat, motos in harundine uentos  
effecisse sonum tenuem similemque querenti. (*Met.* 1.700–708)

"Callimachus' *Erysichthon*, Homer and Apollonius Rhodius," *AJP* 98 (1977) 97–123. To these add J. E. G. Zetzel, "Catullus, Ennius, and the Poetics of Allusion," *ICS* 8 (1983) 251–66 and R. F. Thomas, "Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference," *HSCP* 90 (1986) 171–98, with references to earlier discussions.

<sup>59</sup> Arrian, fr. 40 (=Eustath. *Dionys.* 916); [Libanius] *Progym.* 17; Aphthonius, *Progym.* 5; Nonn. *Dion.* 33.214ff.; Cass. Bass. *Geoponica* 11.2; [Palaeph.] 50; Tzetzes, *Lyc.* 6.

<sup>60</sup> Palagia (above, note 28) no. 28.

<sup>61</sup> The earliest evidence for the interpolation may be the conflated version of the story in *Myth. Vat.* 2.23. Servius and Hyginus are aware of Ovid's divergent genealogy, but their narratives show no other evidence of Ovidian influence.

The parallels to the story of Daphne are often noted;<sup>62</sup> and, as in some versions of the Daphne myth, the god first appeals to her (*precibus spretis*, 701), then pursues her when she declines. When she reaches the river Ladon (a reference, perhaps, by Ovid to the rejected genealogy of Daphne), the girl prays to the nymphs of the stream to change her shape, and they oblige. But Ovid's account acquired no special authority. In a note on *Ecl.* 2.31 identifying Syrinx, Servius remarks: "implorato terrae auxilio in calamum uersata est." The substitution of an appeal to Earth is a common feature in later references to this myth;<sup>63</sup> but in the absence of further contemporary evidence, it is safest to conclude that, like the Tellus variant in the myth of Daphne, this feature of the story was unknown to Ovid.

It is very much in Ovid's manner to play off a rejected variant in his retelling of a myth, and it might be expected that his account would display familiarity with the earlier version sketched out by Parthenius.<sup>64</sup> And it is indeed this practice which explains the most incongruous aspect of Ovid's narrative, Apollo's speech at 504–24. This long speech evokes mixed reactions from critics. Daphne is, after all, already on the run as the god delivers his address: "run more slowly," he pleads at one point, "and I will adjust my pace," ("moderatus, oro, l' curre fugamque inhibe, moderatus insequar ipse," *Met.* 1.510–11). A "grotesque" touch, Bömer notes here: Ovid's sense of humor is not for everyone. The address plays off a number of familiar motifs to represent Apollo as a figure which would now be quite familiar to the Roman reader, the out-of-luck suitor courting an uninterested lady. Ovid evokes the language of his own *Amores*, and perhaps the elegies of Gallus to set the tone.<sup>65</sup> He includes, too, a parody of the hymnic style as Apollo introduces himself to Daphne, complete with a recitation of cult places (Delphi, Claros, Tenedos, Patara) and a list of his special abilities complete with the ritually anaphoric pronoun, in this case *me*.<sup>66</sup>

cui placeas, inquire tamen: non incola montis,  
non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque  
horridus obseruo. nescis, temeraria, nescis,  
quem fugias, ideoque fugis: mihi Delphica tellus  
et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia seruit;  
Iuppiter est genitor; per me, quod eritque fuitque  
estque, patet; per me concordant carmina neruis. (*Met.* 1.512–18)

Of course, the humor of this episode has always resided in the fact that this speech is delivered on the run, when it ought to represent a first approach; but it may be that this is not an entirely gratuitous stroke by the poet. Ovid often

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Castiglioni (above, note 33) 128, 152–53. Nonnus refers to the story three times in the same context as Daphne: *Dion.* 2.118, 15.306–7, 42.383–86.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. *Myth. Vat.* 1.127, 2.48; Isid. *Orat.* 8.11.81. Cf. Ach. Tat. 8.6 ἐς γῆν καταδύναι λέγουσι, καλάμους δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀντ' αὐτῆς τεκεῖν.

<sup>64</sup> As Murgia (above, note 53) 255 admits, this was "probably the dominant version known to Ovid's audience."

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Knox (above, note 6) 14–17.

<sup>66</sup> Ovid wonderfully parodies the "Du-Stil" of prayers to divinities, for which see the classic account of E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig-Berlin 1913) 143ff.

represents courtship as a chase; that metaphor is here expanded and represented in concrete form. This point is further underscored if Ovid is also playing off a form of the myth in which Apollo put on such a performance for Daphne before the pursuit began.

#### IV. Daphne's Footprints

Arguments based upon lost works often begin to take on the form of a circle; this one may now be closed. Near the opening of his address, Apollo worries that in her haste to escape Daphne might injure herself:

'nymphā, precor, Penei, mane! non insequor hostis;  
nymphā, mane! sic agna lupum, sic cerua leonem,  
sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae,  
hostes quaeque suos: amor est mihi causa sequendi!  
me miserum! ne prona cadas indignae laedi  
crura notent sentes et sim tibi causa doloris!  
aspera, qua properas, loca sunt: (*Met.* 1.504–10)

The special concern that Apollo displays for Daphne's feet is not a new motif. In the Tenth Eclogue Virgil portrays Gallus complaining of Lycoris who has left him behind, and he too is worried about her feet:

tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)  
Alpinas, a! dura, niues et frigora Rheni  
me sine sola uides. a, te ne frigora laedant!  
a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas! (*Ecl.* 10.46–49)

There is little reason to doubt, as some have done, that this *topos* occurred in the poetry of Gallus,<sup>67</sup> but the issue is probably irrelevant for our purpose here, for it is extremely unlikely that this motif originated with either him or Virgil. The important parallels are not noted by Virgil's commentators: besides the passage in question from *Metamorphoses*, the motif is found in the sixteenth book of Nonnus' *Dionysiaka*. This book is devoted to Dionysus' courtship of the virgin huntress Nicaia, a story that in Nonnus' rendition resembles that of Apollo and Daphne, as the god pursues his new beloved through the hills. Before the chase begins Dionysus pleads his case and calls upon Nicaia to give up her woodland hunting to stay with him:

παρθενική ροδόεσσα, τί σοι τόσον εὐαδον ὕλαι;  
σὼν ἐρατῶν μελέων περιφείδεο, μηδ' ἐπὶ πέτραις  
ἄστορῆες σέο νῶτα κατατρίψωσι χαμεῦναι.  
(*Dion.* 16.91–93)

Where did Nonnus find this motif? It is as certain as it can be in such cases that this *topos* occurred in some literary version of the Daphne myth in which Apollo tries to persuade her to remain with him. Others have suggested

<sup>67</sup> Servius on *Ecl.* 10.46 is unambiguous: "hi autem omnes uersus Galli sunt, de ipsius translatis carminibus." His exact meaning has been much debated by moderns: cf. Skutsch (1901) 18; Ross (above, note 2) 73 and esp. 88–96.

Milanion and Atalanta, basing their case on the elegy of Sulpicia that also develops this theme:<sup>68</sup>

quidue iuuat furtim latebras intrare ferarum  
candidaque hamatis crura notare rubis? ([Tib.] 3.9.9–10)

This possibility cannot be excluded of course; but the complaint is at home in any such story of a virgin huntress.<sup>69</sup> In the Tenth Eclogue Virgil may once again be pointing a parallel between Apollo's Daphne and Gallus' Lycoris; whether Gallus himself made this connection is another matter, but the possibility cannot be excluded.<sup>70</sup>

It is pointless to speculate further about the identity of the literary source (or sources) for Ovid and Virgil, about which we will probably never know more. That there was at least one influential treatment of the myth before Ovid is virtually certain; whether it was identical with either of the treatments referred to in the margins of Parthenius, we cannot tell. With the loss of so much of the Hellenistic literature that influenced the Roman poets whose works survive, it is important continually to reassess our views of the literary context in which they worked. Apollo's song to Daphne may seem an obscure variant of the myth against the vacuum in our literary sources, but the scene appeared on the walls of at least five homes in Campania in the first century A.D.: it was not unknown. This particular example illustrates very graphically the ways in which the best Roman poets turned such material to their own purposes. Virgil alludes only briefly to the frustrated Apollo in his sustained evocation of the disappointed love-poet Gallus. Ovid chooses to forgo Apollo's song of courtship, and instead incorporates the themes appropriate to such a song into the speech delivered by Apollo on the run; the metaphor of the chase is thus expanded to become the principal subject of the narrative in a setting of thwarted passion and unmotivated aggression. A small point, perhaps; but some aspects both of Virgil's Sixth Eclogue and of the *Metamorphoses* may seem clearer if we have indeed caught up to Daphne.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. E. Maass, "Alexandrinische Fragmente," *Hermes* 24 (1889) 526.

<sup>69</sup> As Castiglioni (above, note 33) 136 remarks, in proposing Daphne.

<sup>70</sup> Ovid's representation of Daphne as daughter of Peneus is perhaps original (above, note 43), but the possibility that this too is taken from Gallus may be left open: in his note on *Geo.* 4.355 (the Aristaeus episode), R. F. Thomas remarks on the awkwardness of the half-line *Penei genitoris ad undam* in its context and suggests that this hemistich is a reference to an earlier treatment of Daphne.



Figure 1: Apollo and Daphne.  
Pompei VII 4, 31/51 (b), Casa dei Capitelli Colorati.  
Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut



Figure 2: Apollo and Daphne.

Ravenna: Museo Nazionale di Ravenna.

Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici di Ravenna