OVID AND THE ECLOGUES:
VERBAL ECHOES IN THE APOLLO AND DAPHNE EPISODE

by

JESSICA HOPE FISHER

(Under the Direction of T. Keith Dix)

ABSTRACT

Ovid is an author well-known for his ingenuity in experimenting with poetic genres and reshaping traditional tales. The Apollo and Daphne story marks a turning point in his most celebrated work, the Metamorphoses, where cosmogony gives way to tales of amatory adventures. In refashioning the story, Ovid makes a number of significant alterations and creates a dialogue with Vergil’s Eclogues through numerous allusions to the Vergilian text. The purpose of this paper is to explore these textual references to Eclogues to discover how they impact Ovid’s retelling of Apollo and Daphne and what this says about the nature of Ovid’s arte allusiva.

INDEX WORDS: Ovid, Metamorphoses, Vergil, Eclogues, Augustan poetry, Daphne
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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

By Ovid’s time,¹ the practice of including allusions to earlier texts was commonplace in Latin literature. Indeed, one aspect of Hellenistic artistic practice adopted by neoteric and Augustan poets was the *arte allusiva.*² As a reader of both Catullus and Vergil,³ Ovid recognized this practice and employed it in his own composition.

Ovid and the *Eclogues*

My investigation will concentrate on Ovid’s allusions to the *Eclogues*⁴ in the Apollo and Daphne story. While Ovid alludes to a number of literary predecessors in the course of *Metamorphoses* Book 1, scholars have noted only a few of his allusions to the *Eclogues*. Despite his many allusions to the *Aeneid* and his composition of the “little *Aeneid*” in the latter half of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid’s choice of the *Eclogues* as the vehicle for his references is unusual; while he attempted both epic and didactic poetry, Ovid never tried his hand at pastoral poetry.⁵

When I first began to note verbal echoes of the *Eclogues* in Ovid’s Apollo and Daphne, I was concentrating on Vergil’s political *Eclogues* (1, 4 and 9). I expected that

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¹ Ovid composed the *Metamorphoses* during the first decade of the first century CE, prior to his exile in 8 CE.
² Pasquali (1942) coined the term *arte allusiva* to describe the common practice of employing literary allusions to earlier works.
³ That Ovid had read both Catullus and Vergil is obvious from his numerous allusions to their works.
⁴ Vergil composed the *Eclogues* between 42-38 BCE.
⁵ The closest Ovid comes to pastoral poetry in the tradition of Theocritus and Vergil is the love song of Polyphemus at *Metamorphoses* Book 13.789-869.
in the course of investigating these verbal echoes, I would discover Ovid’s underlying commentary on the Augustan regime. I was surprised therefore that the majority of allusions to the *Eclogues* involved lovesick suitors engaged in poetic composition for the purpose of easing their sorrow. I was further surprised to find these allusions concentrated in the speech of Apollo during his pursuit of Daphne. While the image of Augustus’ patron deity pleading and emasculated does carry political significance, the image of Apollo as elegiac lover is more important as a signal of the shift in genre from epic to elegy. Fellow Augustan poets Vergil and Propertius depict Apollo employing his weapons at the battle of Actium.\(^6\) Ovid, in like manner, first presents Apollo in the *Metamorphoses* as the Python-slayer, an epic hero and fitting patron for the emperor. Using Cupid as his agent, Ovid then undermines this image and in the process reclaims the god of poetry for poetic pursuits.

**Methodology**

While there are many ways to categorize allusions,\(^7\) the most favorable method for my study is the terminology delineated by Richard Thomas in “Virgil’s *Georgics* and the Art of Reference.”\(^8\) Thomas defines six categories of references:\(^9\) casual reference, single reference, self-reference, correction (similar to *oppositio in imitando*), apparent reference and conflation (or multiple reference). Most of the references I will note involve either casual, single, apparent references or correction.

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\(^6\) Vergil describes Apollo stretching forth his bow, engraved upon the shield of Aeneas at *Aen.* 8.704-5. Propertius (4.6.67-8) also portrays Apollo using archery to bring about Octavian’s victory at Actium.

\(^7\) For a discussion of the historical development of the study of allusion in ancient literature, see Chapter 1 in Van Tress (2004).

\(^8\) Thomas (1986), 171-98.

\(^9\) Thomas (1986) prefers the term ‘reference’ to the term ‘allusion,’ 172.
A casual reference is “the use of language which recalls a specific antecedent, but only in a general sense, where the existence of the antecedent is only minimally important to the new context.” Thomas defines single reference as the use of language to evoke a particular context which the author wishes the reader to apply to the new context. Correction, or *oppositio in imitando*, is the conscious evocation of a particular context which is unmistakably altered. Thomas calls correction “the quintessentially Alexandrian type of reference,” which “demonstrates the scholarly aspect of the poet, and reveals the polemical attitudes that lie close beneath the surface of much of the best poetry of Rome.” The most complicated type of reference,

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10 Thomas (1986), 175. Ovid employs a casual reference at *Metamorphoses* 5.365: *arma manusque meae*. Venus is addressing her son Cupid, seeking his help to incite love in Pluto; her words are a direct allusion to the first line of the *Aeneid, arma virumque cano*. While the close verbal echo suggests a deliberate allusion, the reference does not seem to affect the meaning of Venus’ words in any manner. Venus’ situation here may call to mind *Aeneid* Book 1.655-88 where she requests aid from Cupid to enflame Dido with love. The reference to the first line of Book 1, however, seems to do no more than demonstrate Ovid’s cleverness.

11 Thomas (1986), 177. Ovid employs single reference in the speech of Cyane, when she compares her situation with that of Persephone at *Metamorphoses* 5.416: *quodsi componere magnis/ parva mihi fas est* (“if it is right for me to create small things from large”). The referent text is *Eclogue* 1.23: *sic parvis componere magna solebam* (“thus I was accustomed to compare great things to small”). In Vergil, the shepherd Tityrus assumes that Rome is like the small rustic cities he knows. By employing the words of Tityrus, Cyane both recognizes the error of her literary predecessor and presents her own comparison with self-deprecation. All translations are my own.

12 Thomas (1986), 185. Ovid corrects Homer at *Meta.* 4.714-7, where he likens Perseus attacking the sea creature to the bird of Jove, who knows to attack a dangerous serpent when its back is turned: *utque Iovis praepes, vacuo cum vidit in arvo/ praebentem Phoebio liventia terga draconem,/ occupat aversum, neu saeva retorquet oras, squamigeris avidis figit cervicibus unguibus* (“and just as the bird of Jove, when it saw a snake offering its black and blue back to the sun in an empty field, seizes the averted snake, and so that it might not twist back its savage mouth, it fastens its avid talons into the scaly neck”). Homer’s eagle in the *Iliad* (12.200-7) is a warning to the Trojans who are about to attack and burn the Greek ships on the shore:

> ὃνις γάρ σφιν ἐπηλθε περσέμεναι μεμάωσιν, ἀιτίος ὑψιπέτης ἐπ᾽ ἄριστερά λαὸν ἑγρυσών, φοινίκεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὑψίσσεσαι πέλωρον ἔσον ἢτ´ ἀσπάροντα; καὶ οὐ πώ λῆθετο χάριμς; κόμε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχουσα κατὰ στήδος παρὰ δειρὴν ἰδιωθὲς ὁπίσω; ὃ δ′ ἀπὸ ἔθνη ἤκε χαμάζε ἀληθείας ὁδύνηι, μέσῳ δ′ ἐνι καββαλ' ὁμίλῳ

“For a bird came upon them eager to sack, a high-flying eagle confining the host on the left,
apparent reference, defies explanation, since it may not represent a type of allusion at all. Thomas defines apparent reference as the use of a “context which seems clearly to recall a specific model but which on closer investigation frustrates that expectation.”

Ovid’s allusions often involve elements of more than one category, making labeling difficult. This difficulty may indicate that I have chosen the wrong system of categorization; or it may be a signal that any system of categorization which attempts to systematize a feature of literature that was meant to be recognized and appreciated rather than analyzed, will inevitably have its shortcomings. Ovid often defies categorization and challenges his readers. While it is helpful to have a system of categorization which attempts to explain the intent behind the allusion, I feel it may be more productive to concentrate on commonalities and distinctions between the texts of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Eclogues*, rather than to categorize each allusion.

Allusions can be broken down into constituent parts: the ground, the vehicle, the tenor, and the gap. The ground is the primary text under investigation: *Metamorphoses* 1.438-567. The vehicle is the reference text, in this case, the *Eclogues*. Thomas defines tenor as the overlap between the two texts. For single reference, correction and apparent reference, the gap is the difference between the two texts. In the case of

> bearing a blood-red serpent creature in its claws,  
> alive, still breathing; and it had not yet forgotten its lust for battle; for  
> having bent backwards it struck the one holding it on the chest near the throat;  
> but the eagle cast it from itself to the ground,  
> aggrieved by the pain, and flung it down in the middle of the crowd.”

In this case, the eagle does not foresee the danger of clutching the serpent, handles it poorly, and is bitten as a result. Ovid’s bird has learned from the fatal mistake of its literary predecessor.

Thomas (1986), 190. Ovid employs an apparent reference at *Metamorphoses* 1.199: *confremuere omnes*. The referent text is *Aeneid* 2.1: *conticuere omnes*. The alternate third plural perfect form of a compound verb combined with *omnes* in an isometric position is a clear allusion to the *Aeneid*, but Ovid turns the Vergilian text on its head. Whereas all grow silent for Aeneas to speak, Ovid’s Jupiter fails to inspire the same reverence during his council of the gods.
Ovid’s allusions, tenor and gap provide evidence for his intimate knowledge of Vergil’s texts as well as his unique authorial perspective.

Before investigating Ovid’s allusions to the *Eclogues* in Chapter 4, however, I will provide evidence of the Apollo and Daphne myth prior to Ovid and discuss his alterations to the tale (Chapter 2). I will then offer a close reading of the text of *Metamorphoses* 1.438-567 in Chapter 3.
CHAPTER 2
APOLLO AND DAPHNE IN GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE

Ovid is certainly not the first author to recount the story of Daphne. Two earlier versions of the tale in Greek literature have survived. As is his practice, Ovid accepted some details of these versions and altered other details. Much like the characters in his *Metamorphoses*, the stories themselves have undergone a certain transformation. Ovid’s alterations provide evidence for his knowledge of myth and illustrate his readiness to modify earlier versions to suit his own literary purposes.

The first extant version of the tale occurs in the *Sorrowful Love Stories* of Parthenius. Parthenius was a native of Nicaea, captured during the Third Mithradatic War and transported to Rome where he introduced the neoteric poets to the stylistic preferences of the Hellenistic Age. According to Macrobius (5.17.18), Parthenius was also the Greek tutor of Vergil.

The *Erōtikά Παθήματα* was a collection of prose tales dedicated to the neoteric elegist, Cornelius Gallus. Parthenius says that he collected these mythological

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14 Lightfoot (1999), 11-3. The *Suda* (s.v. *Τυρραννίων* τ 1184) details Parthenius’ capture: ἔχθει δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην, ληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου, ὅτε καταπολέμησε Μιθριδάτην, τὸν Πόντου βασιλέα ("and he was led to Rome, having been captured as a prisoner of war by Lucullus, when he battled Mithridates, the man ruling Pontus"). The identity of his captor is in dispute, although most agree it was either the poet Gaius Helvius Cinna or his father. The dates of his captivity are likewise in dispute. While the *Suda* passage above seems to indicate a date of around 73 BCE, some scholars wish to push the date forward to either 66/65 BC or even the 50’s BCE.

15 Lightfoot (1999), 14.
tales specifically for Gallus to use as subjects for his poems.\textsuperscript{16} Of the many elegies composed by Parthenius, only titles and fragments remain. The Έρωτικὰ Παθήματα is his only extant work.\textsuperscript{17}

Parthenius begins his tale by providing background information on Daphne’s parentage, homeland and interests. He describes Daphne as the daughter of Amyclas. Amyclas was either a son of Niobe spared by Telesilla\textsuperscript{18} or the son of Sparte and Lakedaimon, himself the son of the Pleiad, Taugete.\textsuperscript{19} The story is set in the Laconian countryside as Daphne desires to avoid the city, people and civilized life in favor of rustic settings and the pursuit of hunting. Hunting dogs serve as Daphne’s companions. Artemis herself gave Daphne, her keen devotee, a shooting lesson.

While hunting one day, Daphne is spotted by a young man named Leucippos, who loves her at first glance. Knowing that Daphne will not respond to the approach of a man, Leucippos decides to dress as a woman and accompany Daphne on the hunt. Leucippos’ plan worked brilliantly as Daphne becomes quite attached to the cross-dressing youth. Apollo was also enamored of Daphne and therefore hostile to the young man’s advances. In a scene similar to the tale of Diana and Actaeon (recounted in \textit{Metamorphoses} 3), Daphne and her maidens forcibly strip the reluctant Leucippos

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Sorrowful Love Stories}: Μάλιστα σοι δοκών ἁρμόττειν, Κορνήλιε Γάλλε, τὴν ἀθροισιν τῶν ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων, ἀναλεξάμενος ὡς ὁτι μάλιστα ἐν ἀραχυτάτοις ἀπέσταλκα (“Thinking that a gathering of sorrowful love stories is especially fit for you, having gathered them up in the briefest form possible, I sent them off,” 1-3).

\textsuperscript{17} Lightfoot (1999), 303.

\textsuperscript{18} Gantz (1993), 216. This attestation of Amyclas’ genealogy is only found in a fragment of lyric poetry: κατά δὲ Τελεσίλλαν εἰσώθησαν Ἄμυκλας καὶ Μελίβοια (“Amyclas and Meliboia were saved by Telesilla,” \textit{PMG} 721.3).

\textsuperscript{19} Gantz (1993), 217. In this version, recorded by Apollodorus (\textit{The Library}, 3.10.3, 6-7), Amyclas marries Diomede and has two offspring, Kynortes and Hyacinthos. The latter child is also an object of desire for Apollo, who, upon his death, transforms Hyacinthos into a plant.
and discover his duplicity. Their reaction to Leucippos’ deception is immediate and violent. Slaughtered, Leucippos disappears by the will of the gods.

This is not the end of the story for Daphne. With his rival removed, Apollo pursues Daphne, who is no less averse to the god than to Leucippos. Unable to outrun the god, Daphne entreats Zeus for help. Zeus receives her prayer and grants her wish, transforming her into the laurel tree, which thenceforth bore her name.²⁰

Ovid’s version of the story includes several details found in Parthenius: Daphne’s devotion to Artemis and fondness for hunting, Apollo’s desire for her and consequent pursuit, and her eventual transformation into the laurel tree.²¹

Pausanias²² recounts a story very similar to Parthenius with many minor details embellished. In his description of Arcadia, Pausanias weaves the tale of Daphne into his narrative of the Ladon River, famous as the most beautiful river in Greece.

Leucippos falls for Daphne who avoids men entirely. Leucippos then conceives of a plan to trick Daphne into accepting him into her confidence. He grows his hair long,

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²⁰ See Appendix A for the text and translation of Parthenius 15, Περὶ Δάφνης.
²¹ Some scholars argue that Ovid was influenced by the poetry of Gallus and therefore certainly would have been familiar with Parthenius’ story. Apollo’s connection to the laurel is also attested by the tradition of the Daphnephoria. Every nine years, the city of Thebes celebrated a festival in honor of Apollo, the Daphnephoria. The Daphnephoria involved a procession featuring the bearing of the laurel branch. Burkert (1985) describes one central feature of the procession, a piece of olive wood adorned with a large bronze globe with smaller globes hanging down (meant to signify the sun and the planets). The upper portion of the olive wood was hung with purple ribbons, while the lower portion was wrapped in saffron cloth. The entire staff is garlanded with laurel sprigs and flowers. The procession was led by a boy from a prominent family whose parents were both still living. Second in the procession, the boy’s nearest relative bore the responsibility of carrying the olive staff. The third member of the procession was the actual daphnephoros, or laurel-bearer who wore special garments and sandals and had unshorn, unadorned hair. The procession was capped off by a chorus of young, chaste women carrying twigs. The tradition of the Daphnephoria arose from the story that Apollo, after slaying the Python (the point at which Ovid begins his version of Apollo and Daphne), brought the laurel to Delphi (from the Tempe) to purify himself (100).
²² Hutton (2005), 9. Not much is known about Pausanias other than that he was probably a native of Lydia in Asia Minor and lived during the second century CE. His Description of Greece (Ἐλλάδος Περιηγήσις) is a topographical description covering the regions of Attica, Central Greece and the Peloponnesus with frequent historical and mythological digressions.
braids it as if he were a young woman and dons women’s clothes. Leucippos’ plan works and he is soon a hunting companion of Daphne. Apollo’s intervention again spoils Leucippos’ trick. Apollo grows jealous at the friendship between Leucippos and Daphne. Rather than bathing, the desire to swim seizes Daphne and her female coterie. In their haste they disrobe the reluctant Leucippos. Upon discovery of his deceit, Leucippos is brutally slain. While his story is similar to Parthenius, Pausanias connects Daphne with the river Ladon and omits any mention of Apollo’s pursuit of Daphne and her eventual transformation.  

Pausanias also notes the existence of an alternate version of the story of Daphne which was common among the Syrians: τοῦ λόγου δὲ τοῦ ἐς Δάφνην τὰ μὲν Σύροις τοῖς ὀίκοισιν ἐπὶ Ὀρῶντη ποταμῷ παρήμι ("But I pass over the story about Daphne among the Syrians who dwell along the Orontes River," 20.2.1-4). The Syrian version is preserved in three sources and describes Daphne as the daughter of the river Ladon in Arcadia.  

It omits the detail of Daphne praying to her father for escape from Apollo’s amatory advances. Bouchier summarizes the story thus:

The sons of the Gentiles tell how Daphne, daughter of the River Ladon, fleeing from Arcadia before her lover Apollo, changed into a plant named from her; and how he, not even then quit of his passion, clasped her about though now a tree, and honored the place, above any that he favoured, by making his abode there.

Sozomen’s tale, written circa the first half of the fifth century CE, may have been influenced by the Ovidian version, with the detail of setting changed to explain the

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23 See Appendix A for text and translation of Pausanias’ version of Apollo and Daphne.
25 Bouchier (1921), 49. Bouchier’s source for the story is Sozomen (V.19), an ecclesiastical writer.
importance of Apollo in the area of Antioch. Nevertheless, the Syrian version of the myth does not differ markedly from the Arcadian version.

Nonnos, an epic writer of the fifth century CE who recounts the exploits of Dionysus in the forty-eight books of the *Dionysiaca*, preserves a few alternate traditions regarding Daphne. Nonnos incorporates one mention of Daphne within a story of a young woman who entices a lovesick suitor with mythological stories. One such story is that of an unnamed, unwed nymph who fled from the love of Apollo: εἶπεν ἄνυμφεύτοιο ποδήμα γούνατα νύμφης, πώς ποτε Φοῖβον ἔφευγε, Βορηίδι σύνθρομος αὐρή (“She spoke of how the swift as the wind knees of the unwed nymph, running along with the North wind, once fled Apollo,” 33.210-211). Rather than being transformed into a tree, the nymph is swallowed by the Earth before Apollo can grasp her: πώς διερὸν παρὰ χεῦμα τιτανομένου ποταμοίο παρθένιον πόδα πῆξε παρ᾿ εὐρυρέθρον Ὀρῶντην, ὄππότε γαῖα χανοῦσα παρ᾿ εὐύδρου στόμα λίμνης παῖδα διωκομένην οἰκτίρμονι δέξατο κόλπῳ (“how she planted her maidenly foot alongside the swift stream of the extended river, near the broad-flowing Orontes, where the Earth gaping open near the mouth of a well-watered swamp, received the pursued girl into her compassionate fold,” 33.212-215).

Commentators have assumed that the unnamed nymph is Daphne due to the mention of the Orontes River which flows by Antioch in Syria and its suburb Daphne. Accounts of the founding of Daphne, reported by Libanius (*Orations* 11.94), Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius*, 1.16), and Eustathius (*Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* 916), say that the town was built at the very spot where Apollo pursued Daphne and where

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26 Gantz (1993), 90.
the maiden either disappeared or was transformed into a laurel tree.\(^{27}\) Upset by her disappearance, Apollo shot all of his golden-tipped arrows. In the very spot where he found a golden arrowhead with Apollo’s name inscribed upon it, Seleucus I, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, designated a shrine to Apollo.

In another story, Nonnos describes Apollo singing to an indifferent Daphne:

Φοίβου ἐκλευ μελπομένοιο καὶ οὐ φρένα θέλετο Δάφνη (“Daphne heard Apollo singing and was not charmed in her thoughts,” 15.309-310). Nonnos’ inclusion of this detail suggests a version of the story in which Apollo serenades Daphne (as he does in Ovid).\(^{28}\)

Mosaics from Syria depict both a version of the story in which Apollo chases Daphne and she is transformed into a laurel tree and a version where the singing and lyre-playing of the god seduce Daphne.\(^{29}\) The details of the Daphne mosaic in the

\(^{27}\) Downey (1961), 83.
\(^{28}\) Including the two passages cited above, Nonnos makes ten references to Daphne throughout the Dionysiaca. The other examples are: ὅφρα βάνω πρὸ γάμοιο καὶ “Ἀδι παρθένος ἐλθὼ, εἰςέτι νῆς Ἐρωτος, ἀ περ Πίτυς, οία τε Δάφνη (“so that I may die before wedlock and I, a virgin, may get to Hades, just as Pitys and Daphne,” 2.107-8); ὅτι καὶ αὐτῇ ἐκ Δάφνης γεγαυεί διώκομαι, οίᾳ τε Δάφνη (“since I was also born of laurel, I am pursued like Daphne,” 2.113-4); οὐ μὲν ἐγὼ ποτε Φοίβον ἀναίνομαι, οίᾳ τε Δάφνη (“I never spurn Phoebus like Daphne,” 4.98); εἰ δὲ σοι οὐρανόθεν πόσις ἠλυθε καλὸς Ἀπόλλων καὶ Σεμέλης ὑπ’ ἑρωτό λελασμένος ἐπέτερ Δάφνη (“but if handsome Apollo came from heaven for you as a husband and having forgotten Daphne he went because of his love of Semele,” 8.226-7); ὅς ποτε Δάφνην Λητοΐδης ἐδίωκε (“just as the son of Leto once pursued Daphne,” 16.179-80); καὶ οὐκ ἐφλέγξατο Δάφνη (“and Daphne did not sound out,” 16.363); Δάφνην πρώτον ἀειδε (“first sing of Daphne,” 42.256); Δάφνη, τί κλονείς με… ὅς ἀρα Δάφνη, σῶν δέμας ἀλλάξασα τεῦν νόσον εὐρέσ ἀμείψαι (“Daphne why do you confound me… Daphne, having altered your body, did you discover how to change your mind,” 48.291, 295-6).

\(^{29}\) Levi (1947), 211-212. The earliest surviving mosaic depicting Daphne and Apollo comes from Antioch and is located in Room 16 of the House of Menander. Levi describes the mosaic: “In the emblema, Daphne seems to stop in her race to the left, her body still inclined in this direction but twisted almost to a full view, her head turned backwards toward her pursuer, her arms brought forward, bent at the elbows, indicating her anxiety to steal away and her invocation to Ge. The girl wears a grey-violet tunic fastened on both shoulders, and a brown-yellow mantle, draped around her thighs, the folds of which fall in wavy lines. The lower hem, reaching the ground, seems to have assumed the hardness of the bark of a tree into which the girl is about to be transformed. Braches and twigs of an olive tree rise from the soil along her legs and around her hips. Her hair, parted in the center, is collected in a cluster at the nape of her neck. Bracelets adorn her arms and wrists. Her agitated anxious eyes look at the god. The latter moves
House of Menander confirm the pursuit by Apollo and Daphne’s imminent transformation into the laurel tree.  

Artifacts discovered in Asia Minor also provide evidence of Daphne. A glass ewer found in Kertch in Crimea, believed to have been crafted in Antioch around the same time as the aforementioned mosaics, depicts four figures (named in Greek letters): Apollo, Daphne, Ladon and Pothos (Desire).

Ovid’s story of Apollo and Daphne differs from Greek versions in a number of fundamental ways. The Greek story is set in the Peloponnese, but Ovid makes Thessaly the setting for Daphne’s transformation. Knox points to another alteration: that of Daphne’s parentage. In previous versions of the story, Daphne is characterized as born of mother Earth and fathered by the Arcadian river Ladon. Ovid makes Daphne the daughter of the Thessalian river god Peneus. It is not just the figure of Peneus that is unique to Ovid, but Daphne’s close relationship with Peneus and his role as the force behind her transformation.

forward in a broad stride, bent in the same direction as the girl, but not so greatly inclined, extending his right arm to catch her. His violet-reddish mantle, fastened on his right shoulder, is draped from his back and his left arm around his waist and legs, and a hem of it is raised by the god’s left arm, which also holds a laurel spray between the fingers. The god’s torso, bare between the right shoulder and the waist is crossed by the red strap of the baldric; above the right shoulder can be seen the top of the quiver. Black buckskins with red laces cover his feet. His hair is adorned with a sumptuous diadem, which seems to imitate rings of pearls or jewels, over which a grey nimbus surrounds the head. Grey shadows are cast by the figures on the ground.”

30 Kondoleon (2000), 75. Kondoleon suggests a thematic link between the Apollo and Daphne mosaic and a mosaic in the dining room of the river deities Ladon and Psalis. The Ladon mosaic lies in close proximity to a mosaic of Tryphe, or Luxury. Together these mosaics represent the importance of the nearby water sources as conduit of wealth via the fertility of the land (the city of Daphne itself) and the conduct of sea trade. The pairing of these mosaics suggests that it is the Syrian version of the myth that makes river Ladon Daphne’s father. In her description of the Apollo and Daphne mosaic, Kondoleon suggests that Daphne is transforming herself into the laurel tree.

31 Kondoleon (1995), 170-1. Both the ewer and the mosaics are dated to the first half of the third century CE. Daphne has a trunk in place of legs and sprouts branches from her torso.

32 Knox (1990), 194.

33 Gantz (1993) notes that both the Palaiphaetean corpus (Pal. 49) and the Lykophron Scholia (Σ Lyk 6) provide this genealogy for Daphne who is swallowed by the earth which sends forth a laurel tree to replace the girl (90).
While Ovid is the earliest extant author to note Peneus as the father of Daphne, other authors mention children by a nymph named Creusa. Ovid himself writes that Creusa was betrothed to Xuthus before being whisked off and hidden by Peneus. Pindar names Hypseus as the child of Peneus and Creusa. Diodorus Siculus writes that Creusa bore two children to Peneus. Pausanias lists an Andreus as the son of Peneus.

In Pindar’s Pythian 9, Peneus’ son, Hypseus, has a virgin daughter named Cyrene who, like Daphne, shuns womanly tasks for the hunt. Apollo spies her wrestling a lion and falls in love. According to the Centaur’s prophecy, Apollo will be successful in his wooing of Cyrene, he will settle her in Libya where he will name a prosperous city after her, and she will bear the god a son. Although Cyrene’s tale ends far differently than Daphne’s, the details of her origins bear a close resemblance; that resemblance, and Cyrene’s descent from Peneus, may have influenced Ovid’s choice of Peneus as the father of Daphne.

Perhaps the most significant innovation in the story is the intervention of Cupid who inflames Apollo’s desire for Daphne in response to Apollo’s taunts. Although Ovid’s version is not a love triangle, Cupid’s interference mimics Apollo’s interference with Leucippos in Parthenius’ tale. The rivalry between Cupid and Apollo in archery

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34 Amores 3.6.31-32: te quoque promissam Xutho, Penee, Creusam Phthiotum terris occuluisse ferunt (“They say that even you, Peneus, hid Creusa, promised to Xuthus, in the lands of the Phthiotes,”).
35 Pyth. 9.13-17: ῥυμέος εὐρυβία ὀς Λαπιτήπνα ὑπερόπλων τοιτάς ἢ βασιλέος, ἐξ ὶκεανοῦ γένος ἥρως δεύτερος; δὲ ποτὲ Πινδοῦ κλεεναι ἐν πτυχαῖς Ναἰς εὐφρανθείσα Πνεείου λέχει Κρεοίσσα ἔτικτεν, Γαίας θυγάτηρ (“… widely-powerful Hypseus who was at that time king of the exceedingly armored Lapiths, a hero of the second generation from Oceanus; whom Creusa, the Naiad, daughter of Gaia, delighting in the bed of Peneus once bore among the well-known glens of Pindus”).
36 οὕτος δὲ μεγίς υψίφι τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Κρεοίσσῃ παῖδας ἐγένησαν ῥυμέα καὶ Στίλβην (“And [Peneus] having mingled with the nymph called Creusa, begat children Hypseus and Stilbe,” 4.69.1.5-7)
37 Paus. 9.34.6.7-9: Ἄνδρεά πρώτον ἐνταύθα Πνεείου παῖδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγουσιν ἐποϊκήσαι (“They say that Andreus, son of the river Peneus, first settled there”).
represents a facet of Parthenius’ tale which is notably absent in Ovid: Daphne’s proficiency with the bow. The intervention of Cupid may in fact reflect a line from Callimachus’ *Aetia*: ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τόξου αὐτὸς ὁ τοξευτής ἀρδὶν ἔχων ἔτέρου (“But the archer himself having the point from the bow of another,” 3, frag. 70). Although this fragment refers neither to Cupid nor Apollo, the connection to Ovid is evident.

Another unique element of Ovid’s version is Apollo’s speech (or song) to Daphne during the chase. Knox notes that this detail may arise from other tales about Apollo’s paramours who were wooed through song by the god of poetry and music.

Finally, Ovid provides a distinctive aetiology for the laurel tree and its connection to Apollo. While Callimachus offers an aetiology for the festival of the *Daphnephoria* and for the practice of providing winners at the Pythian games with laurel garlands in *Aetia* 4 (where he connects Apollo, the laurel and the slaying of the serpent), Ovid alters this aetiology with the insertion of the chase of Daphne.

In this chapter, I have recounted versions of the myth of Apollo and Daphne that were available to Ovid as well as how he deviated from these versions. It is essential for the reader to understand such alterations in order to interpret the text appropriately. In the following chapter, I will offer a close reading of the text of *Metamorphoses* 1.438-657 with special attention upon Ovid’s use of allusion to a variety of Greek and Latin texts.

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38 Williams (1999), 47.
39 Trypanis (1958), 52-53. According to Trypanis, the archer referred to here is Acontius, who is “wounded by the beauty of Cydippe” (53).
40 Knox (1990), 186. Knox notes that Apollo’s song may have been taken from a different story of courtship by Apollo, that of Hyacinthus.
41 Knox (1990), 195.
One inspiration for the creation myth in Book 1 of the Metamorphoses is Vergil’s sixth Eclogue. In the “Song of Silenus” Vergil describes in Lucretian terms the growth of the earth from the seeds of the four elements gathered together and gradually shaped into recognizable elements of the natural world such as mountains, clouds, and rain.\textsuperscript{42} Ovid deviates from “Song of Silenus” with the slaying of the Python and the tale of Apollo and Daphne. These episodes also mark the dividing line between cosmogony and amatory tales and thus they constitute a noteworthy point of transition for the poem whose significance has been much debated in scholarship.

In this chapter, I will present a reading of the most important elements of the Apollo and Daphne episode and consider how these elements inform our understanding of Ovid’s inclusion of this particular tale at this juncture in the work.

The story of the Python is a brief transition between the creation myth and the tales of transformation, but these few lines are rife with references to previous literature, the cumulative effect of which is to reinforce the archaic nature of the story. The Python myth first appears in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. According to the hymn, Apollo slew the Python because it was a bane to mortals.\textsuperscript{43} He did so in the plains beneath Mt. Parnassus.

\textsuperscript{42} Vergil, Ecl. 6.31-40.
\textsuperscript{43} Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 300-304: ἔνθα δράκαιναν/ κτείνειν ἄναξ Δίος νιότο αὖ κρατεροῖ βιοῦ/ ζατρεφέα μεγάλην, τέρας ἄγριον, ὡς κακά πολλά/ ἀνθρώπους ἔρεσσεν ἐπὶ χθονί, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦς/ πολλὰ δὲ μὴλα ταναύτῳ, ἐπεὶ πέλε πῆμα δαφοινών, “there Lord Apollo, son of Zeus, slew the great,
Parnassus by a fair-flowing stream,\textsuperscript{44} precisely where Ovid locates his story. In both Euripides, in \textit{Iphigenia among the Taurians} (1239-54), and Hyginus, the infant Apollo slays the Python.\textsuperscript{45} Epigram 3.6 in the \textit{Greek Anthology} combines elements of both versions as a full-grown Apollo shoots arrows at the Python in defense of his mother.\textsuperscript{46}

The \textit{Homeric Hymn to Apollo} (300-74) offers the additional detail that Hera chose Pytho to rear Typhaon, another bane for mortals, to which Hera gave birth out of anger at Zeus.\textsuperscript{47} The Python myth in Ovid bears a certain resemblance to the Typhoeus myth as related by Hesiod. In both cases, it is Gaia who gives birth to the monstrosity as the last of her offspring.\textsuperscript{48} In both stories, the mythical beast is a force of disorder that must be overcome by a god and his mighty weapons. Hesiod describes Typhoeus as partially serpentine.\textsuperscript{49} Thus Apollo slaying the Python is parallel to Zeus subduing Typhoeus. In the \textit{Theogony}, Zeus officially becomes supreme deity following his defeat

\textsuperscript{44} Homeric \textit{Hymn to Apollo}, 282: \textit{ικε δ’ ἐς Κρήσιν ὑπὸ Παρνησίους νυφέντα ("and you arrived at Crisa beneath snowy Parnassus"); 300: \textit{άθροι δὲ κρήνη καλλίροος ("near a lovely-flowing spring").

\textsuperscript{45} Gantz (1993), 88-89. In Hyginus (\textit{Fabulae} 140), Apollo kills the Python in retaliation for its pursuit of Leto during her pregnancy.

\textsuperscript{46} Greek Anthology, 3.6: \textit{Γηγενέα Πυθώνα, μεμιγμένον ἐρπετὸν ὀλκοῖς, ἐκενεῖ Λατώ, πάγχυ μυσαττομένης;} // κοιλὰν γὰρ ἐθέλει πινυτάν θεόν; ἀλλὰ γε τὸξω/ θηρὰ καθαιμάσει Φοίβος ἀπὸ σκοπίης; // Δελφὸν δ’ αὐθεῖο τρίτον ἐνθέουν: ἐκ δ’ ὀδόντων/ πικρὸν ἀποπνεύοσε ροίζου ὀδυρόμενος ("Leto turns away especially loathing the earth-born Python, a snake mixed up in coils, for it wishes to vex the wise goddess; but Phoebus from the mountain top indeed bloodies the beast with his bow; and he will make the Delphic tripod divinely-inspired; and wailing it [the Python] breaths out a small fluttering from its teeth").

\textsuperscript{47} Hera is angry at Zeus for giving birth to Athena by himself (\textit{Homeric Hymn to Apollo}, 307-9). This alternate tradition also survives in Stesichorus (PMG 239).

\textsuperscript{48} Ovid does not say that Python is the last of Earth’s children, but Earth does not give birth to any other children following this episode. Hesiod, \textit{Theogony}, 820-822: \textit{αὐτάρ ἐπεὶ Τιτήνας ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἐξέλασε Ζεὺς, ὁ πολέστατον τέκε παῖδα Τυφώνα Χαία πελώρη/} // Ταρτάρου ἐν φιλότητι δία χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην (‘But after Zeus drove the Titans from the sky, monstrous Gaia bore Typhoeus, her youngest child, in intercourse with Tartarus through golden Aphrodite’).

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Theogony}, 824-6: \textit{ἐκ δ’ ὑμών/ ἣν ἐκατὸν κεφάλαιο ὄριος δεινοῦ δράκοντος,/ γλώσσησι δινοφερής λελιχμότες ("and from its shoulders there were one hundred heads of a dread serpent snake, licking with dark tongues").
of Typhoeus. At this point, the *Theogony* turns to the amatory adventures of Zeus. In like fashion, Ovid, having established Apollo’s power, weaves in a story of Apollo’s first love, although the author completely undermines the authority of Apollo in the process.

In Ovid, a story is not just a story. Augustus had adopted Apollo as a patron deity and employed the god in his program of propaganda; so Ovid’s substitution of Apollo for Hesiod’s Zeus suggests that Ovid’s comical treatment of Apollo and his incorporation into a tale of frustrated love is a political commentary on the Augustan regime. The image of Daphne (as the laurel tree) witnessing Augustus’ monumental triple triumph following his victory at Actium at the close of the tale supports this conclusion.

After accounting for the origin of the Python, Ovid twice addresses the serpent directly in the vocative at the close of two consecutive lines (438-9) distancing Gaia’s most monstrous creation from herself while at the same time placing the beast in close proximity to the mortal men (*populisque novis*, 439) it afflicts. Ovid emphasizes the immense size of the serpent in two ways: first, he describes it as taking up the space of a mountain; second, he separates the demonstrative (*hunc*, 441) and adjective (*gravem*, 443) used to describe the slain serpent by two full lines, making the beast more than twelve feet long. Lee asserts that the reader must imagine Apollo as of

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50 Nicholl (1980), 181-182. Nicholl notes that a creation myth followed by amatory epyllia is a common combination in ancient literature noting Vergil’s sixth *Eclogue* (where the story of creation turns to the escapades of Pasiphae) and the ‘Song of Clymene’ in Vergil’s *Georgics* (4.435) as examples. Nicholl asserts that Ovid’s insertion of the Python myth is a deliberate break from this familiar pattern dating back to Hesiod, but fails to note that in the *Theogony*, the two episodes (creation and amatory adventures) are interrupted by the Titanomachy and Typhonomachy, which establish a divine order.

51 Augustus commissioned Horace to compose a hymn (*Ode* 1.31) for the dedication of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which was included in the complex of his imperial residence, as well as a hymn (*Carmen Saeculare*) for the Secular Games held in 17 BCE which featured Apollo as one of its three primary deities. Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, 70) writes that Augustus threw a dinner party where his guests were required to dress as Olympians: Augustus attended in the guise of Apollo.
impressive size in opposition to this creature; on the other hand, the compressed
description of the god, *deus arquitenens* (441), in comparison with the length of the
Python, may indicate the remarkable nature of his accomplishment rather than his
actual size, particularly for the knowledgeable reader who recalls that Apollo
accomplished this task as an infant.⁵²

Depicting the god as archer, Ovid employs one of Apollo’s standard epic
epithets, “bow-bearer,”⁵³ *τοξοφόρος*. This epithet first appears in the *Homerid Hymn to
Apollo⁵⁴ and is first translated into the Latin, *arquitenens*, by Naevius in *Bellum
Poenicum*.⁵⁵ Vergil employs the epithet at *Aeneid* 3.75: *pius Arquitenens*.⁵⁶ Ovid
emphasizes the ancient nature of the tale with the archaic spelling of *arquitenens*, as
well as with the institution of games to remember the deed.⁵⁷

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⁵² Lee (2003), 118. Lee implies that the reader infers the size of Apollo from his ability to handle a quiver
that holds more than a thousand arrows. His main point, however, is that the reader should compare this
mental image of Apollo with that of Apollo as the diminished lover in the next tale.

⁵³ Despite his epithets as “bow-bearer and “the archer god,” Apollo rarely appears in literature using his
famed weapons. The most famous example, aside from the slaying of the Python, occurs in *Iliad* 1 where
Apollo rains shafts of plague down upon the Greek army in response to Agamemnon’s disrespect towards
Chryses, Apollo’s priest. Another instance is *Aeneid* 8 (704-6) where, on the shield of Aeneas, Apollo is
ingraved readying his weapons for use: *Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo/ desuper; omnis
terae Aegyptus et Indi,/ omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei* ("Actian Apollo, witnessing
these things stretched forth his bow from above; all Egypt, all the Indians, every Arab, all the Sabaeans
turned their backs in terror"). I will discuss below the connection between Actian Apollo and Apollo the
archer.

⁵⁴ *Homerid Hymn to Apollo*, 12-13: *καίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ, / οὐνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερόν ιῶν
*έτικτεν* ("And mistress Leto rejoices because she bore a mighty son and an archer").

⁵⁵ Naevius, *Bellum Poenicum*, 2.20: *dein pollens sagittis inclutus arquitenens/ sanctus love prognatus
Pythius Apollo* ("Then the well-known archer, powerful with arrows, hallowed Pythian Apollo born of
Jove"). The text of Naevius is from Warmingston (1979), 58.

⁵⁶ This mention of the ‘pious Bow-bearer’ is a reference to the myth of Apollo’s birth on Delos, the
wandering island fixed by Apollo which offered Aeneas and his companions a safe harbor during their
voyage from Troy to Italy.

⁵⁷ *Arquitenens* also appears at *Metamorphoses* 6.265, where Apollo is depicted on the tapestry of
Arachne in pursuit of the maiden Isse.
The entire Apollo/Python episode provides an aetiology for the Pythian Games.\textsuperscript{58} The Pythian games at Delphi originally included only musical contests. Reorganized by Cleisthenes in 585 BCE as a festival to be held every four years, the games grew to include athletic events.\textsuperscript{59} During this reorganization, the prize for victory became the laurel branch.\textsuperscript{60} Ovid notes that since laurel had not yet come into existence (\textit{nondum laurus erat}, 450), the prize for winners at the earliest Pythian games was the oak branch (\textit{hic iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusque rotave/ vicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem}, 448-9). This detail is apparently an Ovidian invention\textsuperscript{61} which provides a smooth transition to the first story of desire in the \textit{Metamorphoses}. In addition, the oak was sacred to Zeus;\textsuperscript{62} thus the replacement of the oak by the laurel is another facet of Ovid's substitution of Apollo for Hesiod's Zeus.

Propertius had already established a connection between the Python-slaying and Augustus’ victory at Actium.\textsuperscript{63} Propertius describes Apollo standing over the ship of Augustus “as he appeared when he slew the creeping Python with slackened coils” (\textit{qualis flexos soluit Pythona per orbis/ serpem}, 4.6.35-6). Miller notes that the Propertian deity, like the Ovidian Python-slayer, uses up the entire contents of his quiver: \textit{et pharetrae pondus consumit in arcus} (“and he used up the weight of his quiver

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Metamorphoses} 1.446-7: \textit{instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos/ Pythia perdomitae serpentis nomine dictos} (“because of the well-known struggle he established sacred games called Pythia after the name of the conquered snake”).

\textsuperscript{59} Morgan (1990), 136, based on Pausanias 10.7.4-5. Such athletic events would have included boxing, wrestling, discus, javelin, running, jumping and chariot-racing events, all of which are intimated in Ovid’s \textit{manu, pedibus(que), rota(ve)} (448).

\textsuperscript{60} Raschke (1988), 125. The laurel branch replaced money prizes.

\textsuperscript{61} Both Lee (2003, 118) and Hill (1985, 182) assert that Ovid includes this detail in order to provide a smooth transition to the story of Daphne’s metamorphosis.

\textsuperscript{62} Morgan (1990), 148-9. Zeus was thought to speak directly through the rustling of leaves of his sacred oaks at the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. In ancient times, there was a rivalry between the oracle of Zeus at Dodona and that of Apollo at Delphi.

\textsuperscript{63} Miller (2004-5), 173. Miller credits Buchheit (1966) for first noting this connection.
upon his bow,” 4.6.55). Just as he had done after slaying the Python, Apollo establishes games in honor of the victory at Actium: Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta quod eius/ una decem vicit missa sagitta ratis (“Actian Apollo henceforth created memorials because one of his cast arrows conquered ten ships,” 4.6.67-68).

Nicholl asserts that the Python episode serves to break up a common literary pattern of creation myths followed by amatory epyllia. He posits that Ovid interjects a myth, strongly epic in tone, precisely at the point of transition from creation myth to amatory escapades, and thus creates the pretext for a Callimachean recusatio. The appearance of Cupid, who effectively transforms the Metamorphoses from epic to elegiac poetry, constitutes a parallel to Callimachus’ “Reply to the Telechines,” where Apollo advises the poet to create ‘slender’ poetry. Just as in Amores 1.1, Cupid in the Metamorphoses is the driving force behind the poem’s change in genre.

Cleverly, Ovid begins his very first tale of desire in the Metamorphoses with the words primus amor. Not only is this phrase a clear signal to the reader of Ovid’s change of subject matter, but it also implies that, while Daphne may have been Apollo’s first love, she will by no means be his last. In fact, throughout the course of the Metamorphoses, Apollo will pursue seven other women and one man. Daphne and

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64 Ibid.
66 Callimachus’ Aetia 1.22-24: Απόλλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος/ [...] ἀστεῖ... τὴν Μοῦσαν δ’ ὑγαθὲ λεπταλέπν (“Lycian Apollo spoke to me, ‘Poet… lead on the slender Muse’”).
67 In Amores 1.1.1-4, Cupid steals the last foot of Ovid’s second hexameter line, thus transforming the epic Ovid was preparing to write into elegy: arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam/ edere, materia conveniente modis./ pars erat inferior versus – risisse Cupido/ dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem (“I was preparing to display weapons and violent wars in a serious meter, with material suited for those rhythms. A part of the line was shorter – Cupid is said to have laughed and to have stolen one foot”).
68 Phaethon is described as the child of Phoebus by Clymene (Book 1); Apollo slays his love Coronis (and her unborn child) upon finding out that she has cheated on him (Book 2); Venus enacts revenge upon Apollo by making him fall in love with Leucothoe who, overpowered by the god, is then buried alive by her father (Book 4); Apollo is depicted on Arachne’s tapestry as using deceit to woo Isse (Book 6); Dryope is raped by Apollo and after giving birth to a son is transformed into a lotus tree (Book 9); Hyacinthus, the
the Sibyl, however, are the only two unwilling female characters who escape being raped by Apollo. While Daphne willingly endures transformation into a tree, the Sibyl endures near-perpetual old age.\(^{69}\)

Following the introduction of amor as the theme of the epyllion of Apollo and Daphne, Ovid introduces the main characters, immediately juxtaposed in word order, but divided metrically by the principal caesura. In the second line, Ovid identifies the origin of the conflict in the story, saeva Cupidinis ira. Epics often began with wrath and Ovid’s audience would have recognized this as an epic opening.\(^{70}\)

Cupid’s appearance may signify more than a transition from creation myth to amatory episode. Stephens identifies Cupid’s arrival as a philosophical bridge between the Empedoclean beginning of the poem and the Pythagorean ending. Cupid’s advent represents a shift towards ‘Orphism,’ a philosophy which touted Eros “as the supreme deity, the oldest of the gods and creator of all.”\(^{71}\) Venus asserts the ultimate superiority of Cupid later in the Metamorphoses, when she herself must seek her son’s help. In seeking his aid, Venus says to Cupid: illa, quibus superas omnes, cape tela, Cupido/… tu superos ipsumque lovem, tu numina ponti/ victa domas ipsumque, regit qui numina ponti (“Cupid, seize those shafts with which you overwhelm all… you tame the gods and Jove himself, you tame the conquered divinities of the sea and he himself who reigns over the divinities of the sea,” 5.366, 369-70). While Venus in this same passage

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69 Stephens (1958), 288, links Ovid’s use of primus amor to Tacitus’ use of primus facinus (Annales 1.6) which begins his description of the principate of Tiberius. While the reader can view the Metamorphoses (from 1.452 on) as a series of love stories, Tacitus presents the reign of Tiberius as a series of crimes.

70 E.g., the Iliad, the Argonautica, and the Aeneid (saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram, 1.4).

71 Stephens (1958), 293.
acknowledges that it is beyond the scope of her powers to affect certain goddesses.\textsuperscript{72} Ovid’s Cupid is truly omnipotens. While in the Underworld to plead for the return of his beloved wife, Orpheus cites the powerful effects of Eros: \textit{vicit Amor} (”Love conquered [me],” \textit{Met.} 10.26).

In the first few lines of the story, Ovid refers to Apollo both as \textit{Phoebus} (452, 463, 490, 553) and \textit{Delius} (454), an epithet arising from his birth on the island of Delos. \textit{Delius} suggests not only the archaic nature of the god and hence the tale, but also gives an epic tenor evoking Alexandrian literature.\textsuperscript{73} Within the episode, Apollo is called \textit{deus arquitenens} (441), \textit{Apollineas} (473), \textit{deus} (539, 557) and \textit{deus iuvenis} (531). The variety of address evokes the genre of hymn, as does the list of places (515-6) where Apollo is worshipped.\textsuperscript{74}

Ovid immediately juxtaposes the Delian god of epic and hymn with his rival in the passage, Cupid, referred to only with the demonstrative \textit{hunc}. Notably, \textit{hunc} is the same word used to refer to the recently deceased Python, also directly juxtaposed with Apollo (\textit{hunc deus arquitenens}, 441). Thus, Cupid is likened to the conquered serpent, a comparison highlighted by the neighboring ablative absolute, \textit{victo serpente}.\textsuperscript{75} Ovid

\textsuperscript{72} While Ovid lists Minerva and Diana as unaffected by the wiles of Venus (5.375), the \textit{Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite} lists Hestia in addition to Athena and Artemis (21-2).
\textsuperscript{73} Callimachus composed \textit{a Hymn to Delos}, Hymn 4 in his collection.
\textsuperscript{74} The \textit{Homeric Hymn to Apollo} addresses the deity with the following titles: ‘\textit{Απόλλωνος ἑκάτοι} (“Apollo the Far-shooter,” 1); Φοιβε (“Phoebus,” 20, 120, 127, 146); ˈΕκηβόλον (“the Far-shooter,” 45); Φοιβοῦ ‘Απόλλωνος (“Phoebus Apollo,” 52, 130, 201, 254, 294, 362, 375, 388, 399); Φοιβος Ἐκατηβόλος (“Phoebus the Far-shooter,” 134); ἀργυρότεξε ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ’ Ἀπολλον (“Lord Silverbow, Apollo the Far-shooter,” 140); Ἀπόλλων (“Apollo,” 158, 165); ὥ ἄνα (“Ο Lord,” 179); ἑκατηβόλο Ἀπολλον (“the Far-shooter Apollo,” 215, 222, 229); Φοιβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσσάρου (“Phoebus Apollo of the golden sword,” 395); Δελφινίωι (“the Dolphin god,” 495); ἄναξ Διός υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων (“Lord Apollo son of Zeus,” 514). Lines 30-44 of the \textit{Hymn} “give a catalogue of sites where Apollo’s cult was actually established, but at the end (line 45) we learn that the list also details the many places Leto visited in her effort to find a birthplace for her son” (Shelmerdine 1995, 64, note at line 29).
\textsuperscript{75} The idea of Cupid as serpent may arise from a fragment of Sappho: ‘Ερος δαιτε μ’ ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει/
reinforces this initial suggestion of Cupid’s inferiority to Apollo with his description of Cupid stringing his bow. The image is that of the god in mid-act, with the process not yet complete. Although Cupid must be capable of stringing the bow which he is about to use, the depiction of his performance recalls the Homeric suitors unable to string the bow of Odysseus (Od. 24.167-71) thus indicating their inferiority to Odysseus.

Apollo emphasizes Cupid’s supposed inferiority with his arrogant taunts. His first speech reflects his sense of superiority over Cupid by presenting the Python-slayer in heroic terms. Apollo’s use of epic diction with its concentration of battle terminology (armis, 456; gestamina, 457; vulnera, 458; hosti, 458; pestifero, 459; stravimus, 460) presents him as the embattled war hero. As in the previous passage (441-3), Ovid emphasizes the impressive length of the Python by stretching its description over nearly two full lines (pestifero… Pythona, 459-60). The verb stravimus (460) here serves double duty, indicating the act of slaughter as well as Apollo spreading the fame of his deed.

At the same time, Apollo’s words serve to denigrate Cupid. Although puer can be used to address one’s comrades,\(^7^6\) it is clear from the modifier, lascive, that Apollo does not consider Cupid a comrade or an equal. In fact he underscores his superior age by referring to Cupid as a non-adult male. In addition, lascivus is an adjective more commonly found in elegiac poetry. Thus Apollo is disparaging Cupid by relegating him from the world of epic. Apollo is also slighting Cupid metrically, as lascive puer is the

\(^7^6\) Puer used in the vocative plural connotes “comrades” while puer in other contexts can mean “son” (Oxford Latin Dictionary, s.v. puer).
only weak caesura (known in Greek meter as the “feminine” caesura) in Apollo’s entire first speech, engendering the love god as less than manly. Apollo’s use of the imperative, *esto* (461), in conjunction with dismissive phrases such as *nescio quos* (461), assert his dominance.

In contrast, Cupid’s speech is much shorter (only two and a half lines as opposed to Apollo’s seven) and less epic than that of Apollo. Cupid does mimic the grammatical construction of Apollo’s speech. Apollo employs an *apo koinou* clause in line 458; Cupid follows suit with an *apo koinou* clause in lines 463-464. While compressed and therefore seemingly humbler in nature, Cupid hints at his belief in his own superiority. First, Cupid lists only animals as under the sway of Apollo, while Apollo, although a god himself, is inferior to Cupid. Second, Cupid places his vocative address of Apollo at the end of the line, furthest from himself and in the same position as the address of the Python (438-439), thus foreshadowing Apollo’s imminent subjugation. Finally, Cupid’s need for only two arrows to achieve his task, as opposed to the thousand shafts expended by Apollo to kill the Python, indicates the superior power of Cupid’s weapons.

Even Cupid’s next action, flying off and settling himself on Mt. Parnassus, signifies his imminent conquest of Apollo. Parnassus was the site of Apollo’s most famous oracle, the Delphic or Pythian oracle, established on the very spot where Apollo

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77 In Apollo’s speech (‘*qui dare certa ferae, dare vulnera possumus hosti*’; 458) the words *dare* and *certa* (458) must be shared with the second clause and the words *vulnera* and *possumus* (458) must be shared with the first clause. In Cupid’s speech (‘*figat tuus omnia, Phoebe/ te meus arcus* ait, 463-4) it is *figat* (463) in the first clause and *arcus* (464) in the second which must be shared.

78 The inspiration for the two arrows of Cupid with their different effects come from Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*: ὦθι δὴ/ δίδυμον Ἔρως ὁ χρυσοκόμας/ τὸς ἐνεῖνται χαρίτων,/ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ εὐδίαις πότιμω,/ τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτάς (“Wherefore golden-haired Love stretches out bows of two-fold favors, one for a blessed fate, the other for a confounding of life,” 547-551). The *hoc illud* construction in Ovid mirrors Euripides’ τὸ μὲν/τὸ δὲ.
had slain the Python. By alighting at the very spot where Apollo had expended a thousand shafts and established his power and a seat for his own worship, Cupid thumbs his nose at the hubristic Apollo. By beginning Daphne’s flight in the area of Delphi and placing its terminus and her consequent transformation in Thessaly, Ovid depicts the nymph as heading north, in the opposite direction from Arcadia, the traditional setting of the story of the Apollo and Daphne tale.

Apollo is not the first wounded god in literature. Diomedes strikes Aphrodite in the wrist in *Iliad* 5 and the spear of Heracles wounds Ares in Hesiod’s *Aspis* (459-61). The *Metamorphoses* offers many examples of gods wounded by Cupid. Pluto falls in love with Persephone after being struck by Cupid’s arrow (5.384, 395). Venus herself is accidentally grazed by her son’s shaft in Book 10 (525-6), causing her to fall for Adonis. While the wounds caused by Cupid’s arrows in the *Metamorphoses* inspire a kind of amatory madness, the wounded gods in Greek literature are just that, wounded.

Daphne is the object of desire for many suitors before Apollo. The image of the young woman sought by many men is a trope in ancient literature and is found in both Vergil and Catullus. Lavinia is desired by many: *multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant/ Ausonia; petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis Turnus* (“Many from great Latium and all of Ausonia sought her; most handsome Turnus sought her before all others,” *Aen.* 7.54-5). Catullus employs the same phrase of an unsullied flower sought by men: *multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae* (“many boys, many girls desired it,” 62.42). Catullus continues that, like the flower, a maiden is desirable while she is chaste, but

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79 Immediately following the Apollo and Daphne myth, Ovid employs three proper names (*Haemonia*, 1.568; *Tempe*, 1.569; and *Pindo*, 1.570) to describe where the other rivers have come together to console Peneus for the loss of his daughter Daphne. While *Haemonia* is an alternate name for Thessaly itself, *Tempe* refers to a well-known valley in Thessaly and *Pindus* refers to a mountain range in the same region.
once she has been defiled, she is no longer pleasing to young men. In like fashion, as long as Daphne desires to remain chaste, men will continue to seek her. Thus, as Ovid says later, her wish is ironically incompatible with her desirability (488-9).

In response to her father’s request for a son-in-law and grandchildren, Daphne blushes: *illa velut crimen taedas exosa iugales/ pulchra verecundo subfuderat ora rubore* (“she, having hated the marriage torches as if a crime, had infused her lovely face with a modest blush,” 483-4). This recalls a description of Phoebe in the *Georgics*: *at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem, ventus erit; vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe* (“But if she will have spread forth a maidenly blush on her face, there will be wind; golden Phoebe always flushes with the wind,” 1.430-1). Not only does Daphne blush like Artemis, the object of her emulation, but she imitates her speech patterns as well. In a suppliant pose, Daphne addresses her father Peneus in a manner closely resembling Artemis’ address to Zeus in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Artemis*. As a child, Artemis asks her father for many favors, but her first request is to remain a virgin: *δόσ μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν* (“Papa, allow me to guard lasting maidenhood,” 4.6). Daphne’s first two words (*da mihi*) are a Latin translation of the first two words of Artemis’ speech. While Artemis plans to ‘guard’ her chastity, Daphne asks to ‘enjoy’ it. Ovid then calls attention to this intertext with the phrase, *dedit hoc pater ante Dianae*, recalling the Callimachean moment. Ovid anticipates these intertexts when he describes Daphne with the phrase, *innuptae aemula Phoebes* (476).

Anderson points out that *aemula* here does not connote ‘rival’ in a negative sense but
has the derivative meaning of ‘one who emulates.’\textsuperscript{80} Ovid’s Daphne indeed emulates earlier literary accounts of Phoebe (Artemis).

One notable element of the passage which describes Apollo gazing upon Daphne (490-502) is the repetition of vocabulary from other parts of the story. This passage is clearly set off from what comes before by the phrase \textit{Phoebus amat} (490). Much like \textit{primus amor} (452), \textit{Phoebus amat} marks a change of subject and therefore a transitional point in the story. The beginning of the next segment of the story, the flight of Daphne, is marked off by \textit{fugit oior aura} (502). These two liminal phrases mimic the preceding correlative structure of \textit{protinus alter amat, fugit altera} (474).

What Apollo desires of Daphne is \textit{conubia} (490), recalling the \textit{conubia} (480) which do not concern Daphne (\textit{Phoebus amat visaeque cupid conubia Daphnes,/ quodque cupid, sperat, 490-1; nec, quid Hymen, quid Amor, quid sint conubia, curat}, 480). While Daphne’s conception of \textit{conubia}, linked with Hymen in the same line, clearly involves marriage rites, for Apollo, on the other hand, \textit{conubia} (linked with the repetition of \textit{cupit} in 490-1), may well refer strictly to sexual gratification.\textsuperscript{81}

Like “desires,” “hope” appears twice in this passage and then recurs as the god is about to grasp the maiden. Hope (\textit{sperat}, 491) accompanies desire in the wounded god. The hope of finally seizing the nymph (\textit{tenere/ sperat}, 535-6) causes the god to strain forward (both metrically across lines and physically with his nose\textsuperscript{82}) and makes the god swift (\textit{est hic spe celer}, 539). As the reader is well aware, however, this hope

\textsuperscript{80} Anderson (1997), 193.
\textsuperscript{81} Dido and Aeneas provide an earlier example of how male and female characters view intercourse differently. While Ovid attributes to Apollo the same notions as Aeneas, he portrays the god in language reminiscent of the love-sick Dido.
\textsuperscript{82} A dog strains forward to catch a hare in a simile representing Apollo and Daphne: \textit{alter inhaesuro similis iam iamque tenere/ sperat et extento stringit vestigia rostro} (“He hopes to grasp her now and again as if clinging upon her and stretches forth his tracks with extended snout,” 535-6).
has already been foiled: *et sterilem sperando nutrit amorem* (“and he nourished a barren love by hoping,” 496).

In addition, the simile of the burning stalk and hedges contains two previously employed terms, *facibus* and *forte* (493). While *fors* is *not* the cause of Apollo’s desire, (*quem non/ fors ignara dedit*, 452-3), here it is merely by chance (*forte*) that a careless traveler has ignited local vegetation. Likewise the instrument of arson in this case is the torch which had been cited by Apollo as an appropriate weapon for Cupid’s arsenal (*face*, 461) but which Ovid had discarded in favor of the arrow. The simile employed here is actually intertextual with Book 1 of the *Georgics*. Vergil’s advice to increase the fertility of fields is to burn the stalks: *saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros/ atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis* (“Also it often helps to scorch the barren fields and burn the light stalk with crackling flames,” 1.84-5). Ovid employs textual references to Cupid from earlier in the passage to connect him with the unnamed traveler (*viator*, 493). Unlike the nourishing flames of the *Georgics*, the burning that Apollo experiences renders his love sterile.

Another word that recurs in this passage is *capillos* (497). The first mention of Daphne’s hair indicates both her rustic nature and her marital status: *vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos* (“a headband was controlling her unarranged hair,” 477). No doubt due to his pride in his own hair, noted by Ovid at line 450 (*longo… crine*) and 564 (*intonsis… capillis*), the first physical attribute of Daphne which Apollo notices is her hair. Ovid repeats that her hair is unkempt, and he comically presents Apollo as hairdresser, contemplating the effect of arranging it (*spectat inornatos collo pendere*

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83 Lee (2003), 121. Lee notes that both freeborn girls and married women wore the fillet, but the two groups wore the headband differently. Ovid makes it clear in the following lines that Daphne is an unmarried maiden.
capillos/ et ‘quid, si comantur?” ait, 497-8). While it is a moment of humor, Apollo’s
daydream of a perfectly coiffed Daphne may also represent his desire to civilize her and
render her more open to his advances.84 Daphne’s hair is then described as flapping in
the breeze (529) which increases her attractiveness, and finally as it is being
transformed into leaves (550).

Daphne’s hair is only the first in a series of body parts noted by Apollo. While
peering at her hair, Apollo also notes Daphne’s neck upon which her hair rests (spectat
inornatos collo pendere capillos, 497). Apollo’s gaze then moves downward from
Daphne’s hair to her eyes which sparkle with fire (videt igne micantes/ sideribus similes
oculos, 498-9), quite possibly a reflection of himself on fire (sic deus in flammas abii,
sic pectore toto uritur, 495-6). The description of Daphne’s glimmering eyes and the
earlier description of the slain Python (effuso per vulnera nigra veneno, 444; tumidum
Pythona, 460) come together in the description of the serpent which Cadmus faces in
Metamorphoses 3: igne micant oculi, corpus tumet omne veneno (“its eyes glitter with
fire, its whole body swells with poison,” 33). This connection transforms Daphne into an
enemy that needs to be subdued.

In objectifying Daphne, not only does Apollo break her down into parts to be
viewed (only those that are bared by her clothing), but he even subdivides those parts
further, praising her lips, fingers, hands, lower arms and upper arms (500-1). Apollo’s

84 Ovid’s Amores contain a number of references to his mistress’ coiffure, indicating a link between city
life, women’s hairstyling and sexual impropriety. In Amores 1.7, Ovid, after striking his mistress, says that
even with her hair now disordered, she is still beautiful (nec dominam motae dedecuere came./ sic
formosa fuit, Am. 1.7.12-3). Ovid employs his mistress’ hair stylist, Nape, as his messenger in Amores
1.9. In Amores 1.14, Ovid recounts how, despite his repeated warnings, his mistress has lost her hair
due to over-coloring and over-styling. Finally in Amores 2.7, Ovid presents himself as innocent of the
charge of cheating on his mistress with her hairdresser, Cypassis. In the next poem (2.8), however, Ovid
threatens to tattle on Cypassis to his mistress if she does not give in to his desires.
concentration on Daphne’s individual body parts and her outer beauty casts the god as the elegiac lover interested primarily in gratifying his sexual impulses.

At the beginning of the passage, Apollo, blinded by love, is deprived of the power of prophecy: *suaque illum oracula fallunt* (“and his own oracles deceive him,” 491). Apollo soon concedes that the power of medicine, which he discovered (*inventum medicina meum est*, 521), also fails him (523-4). The god further seems to lose his power to compose effective poetry as his speech to Daphne utterly fails to persuade.

While the phrase *fugit ocior aura/ illa levi* (502-3) marks a change in subject from Apollo to Daphne, it also indicates that Daphne has become not only an object of desire but also the prey sought by the hunter Apollo. A similar phrase occurs twice in the *Aeneid*, describing Cacus (*fugit ilicet ocior Euro*, 8.223) and Turnus (*fugit ocior Euro*, 12.733), each one at the point at which he turns from his attacker in fear and flees.

Apollo’s address to Daphne is a confusing mass of ill-fitted elements. Apollo combines formal pleading (*precor*, 504; *oro*, 510) with forceful direct commands (*mane*, 504-5; *curre* and *inhibe*, 510; *inquire*, 511). His polite address to the nymph (*Nympha… Penei*, 504) turns to barely concealed frustration, as Apollo calls the maiden *temeraria* (514). The speech as a whole is littered with feminine caesuras, which point to Apollo as the emasculated elegiac lover.85

Gross divides Apollo’s speech into three sections nearly equal in length: Apollo’s presentation of himself as a gentle lover (504-11), his description of his own good

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85 Weak caesuras fall at 504, 505, 508, 512, 515, and 521, six lines out of twenty-one. Lee (2003, 123) and Anderson (1997, 195) assert that the weak caesuras imitate the breathless panting of the god Apollo as he chased the nymph. Two of the weak caesuras fall in the first two lines when Apollo has just begun his pursuit. Having a little more faith in the youthful god’s stamina, I have interpreted these caesuras differently.
qualities (512-518), and his appeal to Daphne for pity (519-524).

Ovid subverts the reader’s expectations in two ways, according to Gross. First, the speech demonstrates a clear organization, which is unexpected not only because of the lover’s frenzy, but also because the god delivers it during the amatory chase. Second, the organization of the speech anticipates an impassioned plea at its conclusion, but Ovid makes that plea at the beginning of the speech, leaving the address without a climax.

While Apollo organizes his speech in a rhetorically unsatisfying fashion, he does include other elements of rhetoric, some perhaps to excess. His rhetorical device of choice is the tricolon crescens, which he employs three times. In all three instances Apollo defines who he is not (up to 514), before he finally decides to informs Daphne who he is (515 ff.).

In the first tricolon crescens, Apollo does not pursue as an enemy or predator (non insequor hostis, 504). He then presents three predator/prey combinations from the animal kingdom: wolf and lamb (505), lion and deer (505), eagle and dove (506). These examples mimic those of the shepherd-poet Corydon in Vergil’s second Eclogue. Corydon sings: torva leaena lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,/ florentum cytisum sequitur lasciva capella,/ te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas (“The savage lioness pursues the wolf, the wolf himself pursues the she-goat, the playful she-goat pursues the blossoming clover, Corydon pursues you, Alexis: their own desire draws each,” Ecl. 2.63-5).

Ovid playfully inverts the image from pursuit to flight by making the prey the subject and the predators the object (sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem,/ sic

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86 Gross (1979), 306.
87 Vergil’s text is a near translation of Theocritus’ Idyll 10.30-31: ἄ αἴξ τὰν κύτισσιν, ὁ λύκος τὰν αἰγά
dιώκει,/ ἀ γέρανος τῷπτρον, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπὶ τίν μεμάνημαι (“The goat pursues the clover, the wolf pursues the goat, the crane pursues the plow, but I am crazy for you”).
aquilam penna fugiunt trepidate columbae, 505-6). Ovid encloses these three images of flight within the repeated image of pursuit (insequor, 504; sequendi, 507).

In the second tricolon crescens, Apollo defines himself not only as not an enemy, but also as one who means Daphne no harm. Sandwiched between narcissistic concern for himself (me miserum… et sim tibi causa doloris, 508-9), Apollo expresses his concern that Daphne may hurt herself during her flight.

Finally, Apollo employs the third tricolon crescens in an attempt to convince Daphne that he is not poor, rustic and unattractive. Here Ovid sets his suitor apart from Polyphemus in Theocritus’ Idyll 11 and Corydon in Vergil’s second Eclogue. Both earlier suitors, Polyphemus and Corydon, employ song to ease their lovesick hearts, although both characters address their songs to the beloved whom they seek to persuade to accept their advances. Corydon is upset that Alexis has not inquired who the songster/suitor is before rejecting him: despectus tibi sum nec, qui sim, quaeris, Alexi (“I was scornered by you Alexis, nor do you ask who I am,” Ecl. 2.19). Apollo employs an imperative to demand that Daphne inquire about his identity: cui placeas, inquire, tamen (512). While Theocritus’ Cyclops admits that Galatea flees him because he is ugly, Vergil’s Corydon describes himself as not deformed (nec sum adeo informis, Ecl. 2.25). Both suitors offer their beloved the benefits of a prosperous rustic life. Just as Corydon seeks to differentiate himself from the beastly Cyclops, Ovid’s Apollo differentiates himself from both of his predecessors: non incola montis, non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque horridus observo (“I am not an inhabitant of the

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88 γνώσκω χαρίεσσα κόρα τίνος ὄνεκα φεύγεις; / ὄνεκα μοι λασία μὲν ὄφρυς ἐπὶ παντὶ μετώπῳ/ ἕξ ὡτὸς τέταται ποτὶ βώτερον ὡς μία μακρά,/ ἐῖς δ’ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπεστὶ, πλατεία δὲ ῥίς ἐπὶ χεῖλεί (“I know, lovely girl, on account of what you flee; because upon my whole forehead I have one long, shaggy eyebrow stretched from one ear to the other, and there is one eye beneath, and a broad nose upon my lip,” Idyll 11.30-33).
mountain, I am not a shepherd, nor bristled do I watch over the herds and flocks here,” 512-4). Likewise, Apollo’s speech is an exercise in persuasion and exhibits no indication of serving the purpose of consolation for the rejected Apollo.

The last portion of Apollo’s speech, the hymnic section, falls into three sections: a catalogue of Apollo’s places of worship, an account of his lineage, and a description of his areas of expertise. Apollo supplies a list of four geographic locations where his own worship is central, Delphi, Claros, Tenedos and Patarea; the last three in Asia Minor which, in combination with Delphi, stretch Apollo’s sphere of influence, thereby increasing his importance. Whereas most hymns contain an account of Apollo’s birth from Leto, Apollo seeks to impress Daphne with the mention of his paternal lineage (Iuppiter est genitor, 517). Finally, Apollo discusses his particular areas of expertise (prophecy, music, archery and medicine). Ovid skillfully arranges the order of these τέχναι to end with Apollo’s defeat in archery, wounded by Cupid’s arrow, and his inability to obtain a cure from his own art of medicine. This inability should come as no surprise, for the idea that love is incurable by medicine is found in Euripides’ Hippolytus, Theocritus, Propertius and Ovid’s Heroides.

89 Anderson (1997), 196. Tenedos, an island near Troy, was cited as the home for a cult of Apollo in Iliad 1 (452). Patarea in Lycia is also a cult-site. Claros, on the Ionian coast, is the site of an oracle of Apollo. Vergil connects the oracle of Claros with the laurel tree, sacred to Apollo in Aeneid 3: Troiugena, interpres divum, qui numina Phoibi/ qui tripoda ac Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis (“One born of Troy, interpreter of the gods, you who feels the godhead of Phoebus, who senses the tripod and the laurels of the Clarian, you who feels the stars,” 359-60).

90 Callimachus lists the same four τέχναι in Hymn 2.

91 Theocritus Idyll 11.1-3: οὐδὲν ποτὶ τὸν ἔρωτα περὶκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,/ Νικία, οὔτε ἑγχριστον, έμίν δοκεῖ, οὔτε ἐπίπαστον,/ ἣ τὶ Πιερίδες (“It seems to me, Nicias, that there was no other cure for love, neither anointed nor sprinkled on, than the Muses”). Propertius 2.1.57-8: omnis humanos sanat medicina dolores:/ solus amor morbi non amat artificem (“Medicine heals all human woes: love alone does not respond to the skill of illness”). Ovid, Heroides 5.149: me miseram, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis (“wretched me, because love is not treatable with herbs”).
Apollo’s actions after his speech make the god a liar. Before contemplating her bared arms (501), Apollo ponders how a tidy hairstyle might increase Daphne’s beauty (498). As the wind whips through her hair during flight, Apollo finds her even more attractive: *et levis inpulsos retro dabat aura capillos, auctaque forma fuga est* ("and the light breeze was sending back her whipped hair, and her beauty was increased by her flight," 529-30). Although Apollo had professed that he would agree to pursue more slowly, out of concern for her well-being (511), he actually speeds his steps, in the language of horses bounding with loosened reins:92 *admisso sequitur vestigia passu* ("he pursues her tracks with headlong tread," 532). Following the extended simile of the hunting dog and the hare, the god increases his pace again: *pennis adiutus amoris ocior est* ("aided by the wings of love he is swifter," 540-1). Apollo has just promised Daphne that he is not her enemy, but the extended simile transforms the god and the nymph into a pair of animals that are natural enemies. Daphne in the simile becomes prey (*praedam*, 534) for the newly bestial god.

The simile of dog and hare recalls Homeric and Vergilian similes which occur when one character flees the battlefield before a final, fatal confrontation. Both Homer and Vergil paint pursuer and prey as hunting dog and deer (Achilles/Hector and Aeneas/Turnus respectively).93 At 535 (*iam iamque tenere*), Ovid alludes to the language of the Vergilian passage (*iam iamque tenet*, 12.754). Ovid’s description of the dog panting upon the neck of the hare also recalls the footrace during the funeral games for Patroclus in *Iliad* 23. Odysseus is so close behind Ajax in the race that his breath brushes the neck of Ajax: καὶ δ´ ἄρα ὁ ἄντιμενα δίος Ὄδυσσεύς/92

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92 Anderson (1997), 197. Anderson notes that *admisso* is usually paired with *equo* to mean “at full speed.”
93 *Iliad* 22.189-92; *Aeneid* 12.750-1.
αἰεὶ ἰρήμαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ("and noble Odysseus, always running swiftly, pours his breath down upon his head," 23.765-6).  

Daphne’s plea for help presents “one of the most notorious textual problems in the Metamorphoses.” Anderson notes that in the earliest extant manuscripts, M and N, the text following victa labore fugae in lines 544-546 was erased in an attempt by the scribe to substitute a reference to Peneus for the address to Tellus, in order to make the end of line 544 compatible with Daphne’s later appeal to her father for help. Many editors prefer the Peneian emendation, as it avoids the sudden mention of Earth and the debate about whether Tellus is Daphne’s mother. Anderson favors the restoration of Tellus to the text at 544 for three reasons. First, there is not a single example in the Metamorphoses of a river with the power to transform, so an appeal to Peneus would be illogical. Second, Peneus’ need for consolation in 1.578 suggests that he did not play a role in his daughter’s transformation. Finally, the numerous examples in literature of individuals in distress wishing that the earth would gape open and receive them make Daphne’s appeal not at all far-fetched. In addition, Vergil’s Georgics lists the laurel as a tree which springs from its mother: etiam Parnasia laurus/ parva sub
*ingenti matris se subicit umbra* ("The Parnassian laurel also sprouts itself under the great shade of its mother," 2.18-9).\(^{98}\) Daphne’s appeal to her father, *fer opem* (546), is itself formulaic, occurring seven times in the *Metamorphoses*.\(^{99}\)

Apollo’s final speech to Daphne also contains hymnic elements. The god notes both her location and her importance as adornment for not only his own hair, lyre and quiver, but also for future Roman leaders and the house of Augustus. The repetition of *te* and *tu* in this speech (559, 560, 565) also points to the hymnic nature of the speech.\(^{100}\) The image of a god hymning a tree is unmistakably ironic.

The traditional location of Daphne’s transformation into the laurel tree was either at Daphne in Syria or in Thessaly, where embassies were sent to harvest laurel branches for the festival of the *Daphnephoria*.\(^{101}\) In Ovid, however, upon Daphne’s transformation, the setting shifts abruptly from ancient Thessaly to Augustan Rome. Thus, at the conclusion of Ovid’s story, Daphne seems to have taken root at the summit of the Palatine hill, where Apollo himself had only recently taken root with the dedication of the Temple of Apollo as a part of Augustus’ new Palatine complex.\(^{102}\)

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\(^{98}\) The mother mentioned here is the mother tree, nevertheless, it serves as a precedent for Daphne’s sprouting to occur as a result of her mother’s will rather than her father’s. The reference to Parnassus connects the laurel to Delphi and Apollo. In addition, the mention of the laurel immediately follows a description of the oaks, which are sacred to Jove and are imbued with oracular powers.

\(^{99}\) The phrase *fer opem* recurs in the following places: Pyrrha praying to Themis at 1.380; Daphne’s appeal to Peneus at 1.546; Mercury attempting to deceive a herdsman at 2.700; Actaeon’s appeal to Autonoe at 3.719; Arethusa’s appeal to Diana at 5.618; the daughters of Anius cry out to Bacchus at 13.669; and Acis’ cry to Galatea at 13.880.

\(^{100}\) Hill (1985) cites Callimachus 1.6-9 (*Hymn to Zeus*), Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 1.6-8 (hymn to Venus), Catullus 34.13-17 (*Hymn to Diana*), and *Aeneid* 8.293-9 (hymn to Hercules) as examples of this practice (186).

\(^{101}\) In myth, Apollo himself obtained from the Tempe valley in Thessaly the laurel branch to purify himself after he slew the Python (Aristonous 1.17-24 in Powell, 1925, 100).

Williams notes that Apollo typically bestows upon his female victims the power of prophecy, and Daphne receives the gift of prophecy in both Phylarchus and Nonnos. In Apollo’s speech, however, it is Apollo himself who offers a prophecy of Daphne’s future significance to the Romans.

Apollo makes an odd comparison between the youthful fullness of his own hair and the verdant leaves that the laurel tree will always bear. While Apollo’s hair will always remain intonsis (564), Daphne’s very function is to provide branches to be shorn for the decoration of others. The perpetua virginitate for which Daphne entreated her father (486-7) has been transformed to the perpetuos honores of repeated violation (by cutting) in order to supply her foliage to Roman leaders.

In his version of Apollo and Daphne, Ovid shows his willingness to mix elements of different genres, epic, elegy, hymn, and pastoral, while at the same time he selectively combines elements of prior versions of myths with his own embellishments. In this respect, Farrell posits that Ovid is merely a product of a time period in which major change was taking place in both political and artistic arenas. Farrell cites the design of the complex of the Theater of Pompey, a combination of a theater for social events (including a temple for religious purposes) with a curia for political functions, as

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103 Williams (1999), 48. Cassandra is one example of a female love interest of Apollo who received the gift of prophecy.
104 The account of Phylarchus is found in Plutarch: καὶ μεταβαλόοσαν εἰς τὸ φυτὸν, ἐν τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μαντικῆν λαβεῖν δύνασθαι (“and having been changed into a plant, she was held in honor by the god and received prophetic power,” Agis and Cleomenes 9.2). After recounting two alternative origins for the cult of Pasiphae at Thalamae, Plutarch gives more space to the story that Daphne becomes Pasiphae upon her transformation. Nonnos writes: δενδρώσατο Νύμφη, ἐμπνεύσα συνίζουσα, καὶ ὁμιλήντει κορύμβῳ Φοίβου λέκτρα φυγοῦσα κόμην ἐστέψατο Φοίβου (“the nymph turned into a tree, hissing breaths, and having fled the bed of Apollo she crowned the hair of Apollo with prophetic clusters,” Dionysiaca, 42.387-90).
an architectural example of the kind of artistic experimentation that may have inspired a writer such as Ovid.\textsuperscript{105}

Ovid frequently refers to his literary inspirations, including Homer, Callimachus, and Vergil. While his references to previous epic are important to any discussion of the genre of the \textit{Metamorphoses}, his allusions to Vergil’s \textit{Eclogues} and his exploration of the pastoral genre are especially important. Those allusions are the subject of Chapter 4.

\footnote{Farrell (2004-5), 33-38.}
CHAPTER 4

OVID AND THE ECLOGUES

As my examination of Ovid’s Apollo and Daphne episode has demonstrated, Ovid employs multiple allusions to earlier literature, both Greek and Latin. In this chapter, I will explore specific allusions to Vergil’s *Eclogues* within the tale of Apollo and Daphne. By categorizing each allusion according to the standards established by Thomas, I will gauge the nature of Ovid’s *arte allusiva* in this story. In addition, by comparing each textual allusion with its Vergilian predecessor, I hope to elucidate how an investigation of Ovid’s allusions to the *Eclogues* provides new possibilities for interpretation of the Apollo and Daphne story.

First, I will provide a brief overview of the *Eclogues*, their composition and organization in order to provide a foundation for my discussion. Then, I will discuss individual allusions by theme. Finally, I will draw some conclusions about how Ovid’s allusions to the *Eclogues* show his attitudes towards the poetry of the late Republic and early empire and toward his own contribution to that poetry.

A Brief Overview of Vergil’s *Eclogues*

Vergil’s *Eclogues* are a collection of ten pastoral poems composed circa 42-38 BCE. Although the surviving *Idylls* collected under the name of Theocritus number over thirty, only ten poems have achieved the status of a canon attributed to the Greek

106 Thomas (1986) 175. For a brief discussion of Thomas’ categories of references see my Introduction.
pastoral poet. Only two _Eclogues_ (2 and 3) closely follow their Theocritean models. _Eclogues_ 5, 9 and 10 employ typical Theocritean settings and motifs but with new associations and _Eclogues_ 1, 4 and 6 are original compositions.

While the poems were first published either individually or in pairs, the collection in its final form demonstrates a careful and purposeful organization. While the odd-numbered _Eclogues_ involve poetic competitions or conversations, the even-numbered poems for the most part are monologues. Each poem has a counterpart of like theme: 1 and 9 discuss the land confiscations of the Second Triumvirate; 2 and 8 involve the pain and peril of love; 3 and 7 depict poetic competitions; 4 and 5 cover political themes; 6 and 10 discuss poetry itself.

Pastoral appealed to readers because it offered them an escape from urban life through the characters’ communion with nature. Composed in the years following the assassination of Julius Caesar, the battles of Mutina and Philippi and the continuing nautical exploits of Sextus Pompey, the _Eclogues_ provided readers with a literary refuge from the devastating struggle for political power, and in the case of _Eclogue_ 4, an optimistic view of the near future and the possibility of peace.

Specific Allusions to the _Eclogues_

As I noted in Chapter 2, the beginning of _Metamorphoses_ 1 alludes to both Lucretius and the “Song of Silenus.” In _Eclogue_ 6, Vergil employs a single reference to the “Reply to the Telechines” which begins the _Aetia_ of Callimachus. While the purpose

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107 Coleman (1977), 2. The canon of ten poems, described by Servius, includes _Idylls_ 1 and 3-11. At times the canon numbered twelve including _Idylls_ 20 and 27. Coleman notes that _Idylls_ 8, 9, 20 and 27 are currently believed to have been composed after Theocritus.
108 Coleman (1977), 17.
109 Coleman (1977), 18.
110 Alpers (1979), 5. Quintilian (10.1.55) says of pastoral poetry: _Musa illa rustica et pastoralis non forum modo verum ipsam etiam urbem reformidat_ (“That rustic and pastoral Muse shuns not only the forum but truly even the city itself”).
of Apollo’s visitation is, as in the Callimachean precedent, to encourage the poet to adopt a polished, Alexandrian style, Vergil uses the divine visit to offer Varus a *recusatio* of epic.\textsuperscript{111} Vergil changes Callimachus’ “slender Muse”\textsuperscript{112} to a “rustic Muse” that the poet will harmonize on a slender instrument, thus changing not only the writing style, but the content of the nascent poetry as well.

Ovid, in like manner, alludes to Vergil’s phrase, *deductum carmen* (“finely-spun song,” *Ecl.* 6.5) in the proem of the *Metamorphoses*, but alters it to represent the content and style of his composition. Ovid bids the gods who transform things to inspire his beginnings and to “spin an everlasting song” (*perpetuum deducite… carmen, Meta.* 1.4). *Deducite* indicates the polished writing style Ovid preferred as well as the manner in which Ovid wove together a mass of unrelated mythological tales to achieve a structural unity. *Perpetuum* suggests that Ovid is composing a poem epic in genre, but also memorable and lasting for his audience. Ovid’s reference, mimicking Vergil’s own use of allusion, calls attention to the text that served as one model for his cosmogony. Ovid’s allusion to the *Eclogues* in the proem of the *Metamorphoses* demonstrates how influential Vergil’s pastoral poetry was upon the author.

In the last line of the Apollo and Daphne tale, Ovid makes a casual reference to *Eclogue* 6. Bound with garlands by some mischievous boys, Silenus persuades them to loose him so that he may sing a song that will move nature to rejoice. Vergil’s Silenus

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textit{Ecl.} 6.3-8: \textit{Cynthiae aurem/ vellit et admonuit: “pastorem, Tityre, pinguis/ pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.”/ nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,/ Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella)/ agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam} (“Apollo nipped my ear and warned: ‘Tityrus, it is fitting to feed fattened sheep, it is fitting to sing a finely-spun song.’ Now I (for there are plenty who will desire to sing your praises to you, Varus, and to establish mournful wars) will ponder the rustic Muse on the slender reed”).}

\footnote{Callimachus, \textit{Aetia} 1.22-24: ‘Απόλλων ἔπειν ὧν μοι Λύκιος/ μέμνει μοι, φίλ’ Ἰσοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύσις ὅτι πάρχων/ θρέψαι τὴν Μοῦσαν δ’ ὄγαθε λεπταλένω (“Lycian Apollo spoke to me, ‘Be mindful of me, dear poet, rear the sacrifice as large as possible, but lead on the slender Muse’”).}
says: *tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres/ ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus* (“Then you would truly see the fauns and the beasts sport in rhythm, then you would see the rigid oaks move their peaks,” *Ecl.* 6.27-28). In response to Apollo’s final speech which prophesies her future importance at Rome, Daphne seems to nod her treetop in approval: *factis modo lauerae ramis/ adnuit, utque caput visast agitasse cacumen* (“when its branches had been created, the laurel nodded once and seemed to have moved its peak just as a head,” *Meta* 1. 566-7). Imitating the idea of trees moving in response to song, Ovid makes several significant alterations. First, the author substitutes the laurel tree associated with Apollo for the oak associated with Zeus. This substitution points to the ascendancy of Apollo as patron deity of the Augustan regime. Second, while Vergil’s oaks respond positively to the music of Silenus, Daphne only *seems* to nod in agreement. By employing *visast*, Ovid leaves Daphne’s movement open to interpretation by the reader who may decide that Daphne assents only in the eyes of the love-struck Apollo. Third, while the movement of Vergil’s oaks personifies the trees, Ovid furthers this personification by likening the laurel’s peak to Daphne’s head which had recently been transformed. In doing so, Ovid reminds the reader of the transformation, thus creating doubt about whether Daphne could possibly be offering her approval. Ovid’s reference to the *Eclogues* here creates irony: while Silenus is singing the very songs which Apollo had taught to the laurels, songs which (when sung by Silenus) make the oaks dance, Apollo’s ability to charm the trees is in question. This irony goes to the heart of the two themes that I will explore: power and subjugation and poetic composition.

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113 *Ecl.* 6.82-84: *omnia quae Phoebos quodam meditante beatus/ auditt Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros,/ ille canit* (“That man (Silenus) sings all the things which blessed Eurotas once heard with Apollo pondering and bid the laurels to learn”).
Eclogues 1, 4, 5, and 9 all share the theme of power and its exercise. Ovid alludes to Eclogue 5, a poetic competition between Menalcas and Mopsus, during the verbal exchange between Apollo and Cupid. Comparing the poetic prowess of Amyntas to Mopsus, Menalcas says: lenta salix quantum pallenti cedit olivae,/ puniceis humilis quantum saliunca rosetis,/ iudicio nostro tantum tibi cedit Amyntas (“as much as the pliant willow yields to the pale olive, as much as the modest wild nard yields to the purple rose beds, so much does Amyntas yield to you in my judgment,” Ecl. 5.16-8).

Cupid’s words to Apollo at Metamorphoses 1.464-5 recall the quantum/tantum construction combined with the use of cedo and personal pronoun/adjective (nostro and tibi): quantoque animalia cedunt/ cuncta deo, tanto minor est tua gloria nostra (“and by as much as all animals yield to your divinity, by so much is your glory lesser than mine”). While the plant imagery employed by Menalcas fits the context of a bucolic dialogue, Ovid employs a similar construction but alters the diction to reflect the different nature of the confrontation. Cupid’s mention of piercing (figat, 463), a bow (arcus, 464), animals (animalia, 464) and glory (gloria, 465) transforms the pastoral poem to the epic hunt, from a gentle competition between flora to a violent battle for domination. That Vergil, composing in a time of continued political upheaval, preferred to ponder battles between plants and friendly singing competitions between shepherds, while Ovid, writing in a time of peace, depicted the power struggles between the gods, speaks to the escapist nature of pastoral poetry.

Ovid makes a second casual reference to Eclogue 5 at the end of the Apollo and Daphne story. After mourning the death of Daphnis and declaring the deceased shepherd-poet a god, Menalcas says: semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque
manebunt (“Your honor, your name and your praise will always remain,” Ecl. 5.78).

Ovid employs a similar construction (semper combined with a future tense verb and a series of three subjects), but alters the diction. Apollo consoles Daphne: semper habebunt/ te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae (“Our hair, our lyres, our quivers will always have you,” Meta. 1.558-9). Daphne is therefore compared to the deceased shepherd Daphnis. Although Apollo implies the same type of honors that Daphnis will receive from Menalcas, the only “honor” that Daphne receives is the function of adorning Apollo for all time. While Daphnis will receive yearly rites to honor his memory, Daphne must render honors to others (tu quoque perpetuos semper gere frondis honores, 565). These allusions focus the reader’s attention on both the plight of the conquered and the arrogant perspective of the figure who subjugates.

Eclogues 1 and 9 both allude to the land confiscations of the Second Triumvirate. In Eclogue 1, Meliboeus contrasts his heart-breaking flight from his homeland (nos patriam fugimus, Ecl. 1.4) to the leisure of Tityrus. The fields of Meliboeus are to become the property of another. I have already noted that in describing Apollo’s pursuit of Daphne, Ovid alters the description by replacing verbs of pursuit with various forms of fugio, emphasizing the pursued rather than the pursuer. Meliboeus flees from his fatherland; Daphne flees from Apollo’s sphere of influence towards her father.

In contrast to Meliboeus’ somber tone, Tityrus expresses joy at his circumstances and wonder at the sight of Rome. Meliboeus then asks the reason for the shepherd’s

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114 Ecl. 5.79-80: tibi sic vota quotannis/ agricolae facient (“And so for you the farmers will make yearly vows”).
115 Ecl. 1.70-72: impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,/ barbarus has segetes? en quo discordia civis/ produxit miseros: his nos consevimus agros (“Will an impious soldier hold these field so well tilled, will a barbarian have these crops? Behold how strife produces wretched citizens: we sowed fields for these men”).
116 Meta. 1.469, 474, 502, 506, 515, 526, 556; in addition, Ovid employs the noun fuga twice (1.511, 544) as well as fugax (1.541).
visit to the city: *et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi* (“and what reason for seeing Rome was so great for you,” *Ecl.* 1.26). Ovid’s Apollo mimics Meliboeus’ question with his statement to Daphne: *amor est mihi causa sequendi* (“For me, love is the reason for pursuing,” *Meta.* 1.507). The personal pronoun combined with the *causa* and gerund construction occurs in the same metrical position as the Vergilian phrase. Tityrus replies that the *causa* was his emancipation.\(^{117}\) While Tityrus receives unexpected freedom, Daphne is the object of an unwanted love, and she is hunted down and forced into a kind of servitude. Ovid has inverted Vergil’s escape with the image of capture.

*Eclogue* 9 also tells the story of a displaced farmer. Moeris describes to Lycidas how another man claimed his land\(^{118}\) and attributes his misfortune to chance: *quoniam Fors omnia versat* (“since Chance may overturn all things,” *Ecl.* 9.5). While it may be safer for Moeris to blame his circumstances upon bad luck, Ovid acquits chance of responsibility for Daphne’s hardships and names the culpable party: *quem non/ fors ignara dedit, sed saeva Cupidinis ira* (“which unknowing chance did not grant, but the savage wrath of Cupid,” *Meta.* 1.452-3).

Lycidas was under the impression that Menalcas had saved the displaced farmers with his songs, but Moeris informs him that songs are ineffective against soldiers’ weapons: *sed carmina tantum/ nostra valent, Lycida, tela inter Martia, quantum/ Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas* (“but, Lycidas, our songs are as

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\(^{117}\) *Ecl.* 1.27: *Libertas, quae sera tamen respetit inertem* (“Freedom which belated nevertheless looked back at [me] a lazy man”).

\(^{118}\) *Ecl.* 9. 2-4: *O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri/ (quod numquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli/ diceret: “haec mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni” (“O Lycidas, We living have reached the point (which we never feared) when a stranger as owner of our little plot would say, ‘these are mine; move out old farmers’”).
powerful among Martial weapons as they say Chaonian doves are when the eagle comes," *Ecl.* 9.11-3). Ovid employs this same pair of birds in Apollo’s speech to Daphne: *sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae* ("just as the doves flee the eagle on trembling wing," *Meta.* 1.506). Ovid alters the reference to emphasize the fear and flight of the doves rather than the pursuit of the eagle. As I noted in Chapter 2, Ovid’s eagle/dove allusion is the third part of a *tricolon crescens*, *sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem, sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae, hostes quaeque suos* ("Just as the lamb flees the wolf, just as the deer flees the lion, just as the doves flee the eagle on trembling wing, each flees its own enemy," *Meta.* 1.505-7). *Eclogue* 2 contains a similar *tricolon*: *torva leaena lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam, florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella, te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas* ("the savage lioness pursues the wolf, the wolf himself pursues the goat, the playful goat pursues the blossoming clover, Corydon pursues you, Alexis: its own desire draws each," *Ecl.* 2.63-5). *Eclogue* 2 presents each prey as predator in its turn; each animal is a part of a cycle in nature. Ovid, however, changes the emphasis from pursuit to flight (*sequor* to *fugio*). In addition, Ovid presents three separate pairs of predator and prey. In doing so, Ovid again highlights the plight of the prey in the face of a more powerful predator. In addition, Ovid combines two allusions to the *Eclogues* which, although alike in idea, represent vastly different situations. *Eclogue* 2 relates the song of Corydon, composed to win the love of Alexis, while *Eclogue* 9 recounts the hardships of farmers affected by land confiscations. While the reference to *Eclogue* 2 makes perfect sense in a song designed to win over Daphne, a reference to *Eclogue* 9 alters Apollo’s message by inserting a sense of violence and hopelessness. Just as Moeris cannot
hope to fend off armed soldiers bent on appropriating his land, neither can Daphne hope to escape the archer god determined to appropriate her person.

Ovid also alludes to Eclogues involving love and poetry. I have already noted references to Eclogue 2, the song of Corydon to his beloved Alexis, and Ovid draws most heavily from Eclogue 2. One theme in particular adopted from the second Eclogue is love as a force which burns. At Eclogue 2.1, Vergil says of Corydon: formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin (“the shepherd Corydon burned for lovely Alexis”). As he sings to Alexis, Corydon later proclaims, me tamen urit amor (“love nevertheless burns me,” Ecl. 2.68). Using fire imagery again in Eclogue 8, Vergil says in the song of Alphesiboeus: Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum (“evil Daphnis burns me, I burn this laurel for Daphnis,” Ecl. 8.83). Sporting with names and aetiology, Vergil juxtaposes Daphnis, a name derived from δάφνη, the Greek word for laurel, with laurus, the Latin word for laurel. Vergil juxtaposes the imagery of Corydon burning with love for Daphnis and laurel being burned for Daphnis, setting up Corydon himself as a sacrificial offering.

Ovid draws upon this same imagery of burning to describe Apollo’s reaction to Daphne after Cupid’s arrow has struck him: sic deus in flammas abiit, sic pectore toto/ uritur (“Thus the god goes away aflame, thus he burns with his entire heart,” Meta. 1.495-6). Ovid expands this burning imagery by connecting it to the agricultural practice of burning grain stalks for fertility: utque leves stipulae demptis adolentur aristis (“and just as the light stalks are burned after the ears of grain have been removed,” Meta. 1.492). Ovid combines this simile of a purposeful act with an accidental one: ut facibus saepes ardent, quas forte viator/ vel nimis admovit vel iam sub luce reliquit (“just as the
hedges burn with the torches which the traveler by chance either moved too close or left behind at daybreak,” *Meta*. 1.493-4). Ovid’s inclusion of the accidental act is ironic, since Cupid intentionally caused Apollo’s love by leaving behind his “torch” in Apollo’s marrow (473). The intentional act of burning crops to produce a desirable effect closely resembles the burning of laurel for a love interest in *Eclogue* 8. Lee notes that *adoleo* is associated most commonly with religious rites.\textsuperscript{119} Thus Apollo’s internal fire is likened to religious sacrifice, agricultural practice and the ritual burning of laurel to win over the object of one’s desire, ironic since Apollo should be the recipient of burned offerings rather than the sacrifice and because Apollo is on fire rather than Daphne, who is soon to be transformed into the laurel tree.

The second idea from *Eclogue* 2 to which Ovid alludes is Corydon’s self-description to win the love of Alexis. Corydon first rebukes Alexis for rejecting him without knowing who his suitor is: “*Despectus tibi sum nec, qui sim, quaeris, Alexi*” (“I was scorned by you, nor do you inquire who I am, Alexis,” *Ecl*. 2.19). In a similar vein, Ovid’s Apollo commands Daphne to ask who pursues her: *cui placeas inquirere tamen* (“ask nevertheless whom you delight,” *Meta*. 1.512).

Corydon then describes what he has to offer Alexis:

\begin{verbatim}
nece, qui sim, quaeris, Alexi,
quam dives pectoris, nivei quam lactis abundans:
mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae;
lac mihi non aestate novum, non frigore defit.
canto, quae solitus, si quando armenta vocabat,
Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo Aracyntho.
nec sum adeo informis…
\end{verbatim}

“Nor do you ask, Alexis, who I am, how rich in flocks, how plentiful of snow-white milk I am: my thousand lambs wander in the Sicilian mountains; fresh milk is not lacking for me in summer, nor in the winter. I sing as Dircaean Amphion was

\textsuperscript{119} Lee (2003), 122.
accustomed when calling the herds on Actaean Aracynthus. Nor am I so ugly," 
*Ecl.* 2.19-25.

Apollo, by contrast, defines himself in opposition to Corydon: *non incola montis,/ non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque/ horridus observo* ("I am not an inhabitant of the mountain, I am not a shepherd, nor bristled do I watch over the herds and flocks here," *Meta.* 1.512-4). As if recognizing Corydon’s failed attempt, Apollo finds more persuasive the difference between himself and a common shepherd.

Corydon later exclaims: "*quem fugis, a! demens*" ("Ah, crazy man! Whom do you flee," *Ecl.* 2.60). Ovid’s Apollo employs similar phrasing: *nescis, temeraria, nescis/ quem fugias, ideoque fugis* ("you do not know, rash girl, you do not know whom you flee, and therefore you flee," *Meta.* 1.514-5). Ovid places *quem fugias* in the same metrical position as Vergil’s *quem fugis*, but radically alters the perspective of the speaker. While Vergil’s Corydon expresses hopelessness, Apollo remains arrogantly confident despite the continued pursuit.

Ovid also draws upon the speech of the lovesick Gallus in *Eclogue* 10. Gallus worries about the effect of the cold weather upon his beloved Lycoris: *a, te ne frigora laedant!/ a tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas* ("Ah, may the cold not harm you! Ah, may the bitter ice not cut your tender soles," *Ecl.* 10.48-9). Displaying a similar concern for Daphne, Apollo says: *me miserum, ne prona cadas indignave laedi/ crura notent sentes et sim tibi causa doloris* ("Oh wretched me, may you not fall forward or may thorns not mar your legs unworthy to be wounded and may I not be the cause of grief for you," *Meta.* 1.507-8). While Gallus’ concern is genuine and unqualified,
Apollo’s concern for Daphne comes between expressions of concern for himself. Again, Apollo appears arrogant and selfish in contrast with Vergil’s lovers.

At the close of Eclogue 10, Gallus proclaims what Apollo should have kept in mind before taunting Cupid: *omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori* (“Love conquers all: let us also yield to Love,” Ecl. 10.69). Ovid portrays Cupid as *omnipotens* in the *Metamorphoses* and even Apollo is subject to Love’s arrows.

Most of Ovid’s allusions to the Eclogues in the Apollo and Daphne story are “single references,” defined by Thomas as references which intentionally recall the context of the model and lead the reader to make a connection to a new situation. The significance of the allusion lies not primarily in the common ground between the texts, but in the difference between the new situation and the original context. In many cases, this difference, termed a “gap” by Van Tress, creates either irony or humor. A larger pattern is at work as well. Figure 1 (see page 53) charts the allusions discussed above according to their constituent parts. The chart demonstrates that Ovid leaves Vergil’s serene pastoral world and inserts elements of violence, subjugation and appropriation into his elegiac chase.

Most of Ovid’s allusions to the Eclogues come in Apollo’s speech. Ovid’s use of Vergil’s words as slightly altered by Apollo offers some interesting possibilities for interpretation. First, before his appropriation of the laurel tree, Apollo has already appropriated Vergil’s expressions and used them for his own purposes.

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120 Thomas (1986), 177.
122 Van Tress (2004), 9-10. The constituent parts of an allusion are: the tenor, or primary text under investigation (in this case *Metamorphoses* 1.452-567); the vehicle, or text alluded to; the ground, or similarity which the two texts share (diction, grammatical construction, metrics, etc.); and the gap, or the manner in which the tenor differs from the vehicle.
With the exception of the two allusions to Catullus and the *Georgics* noted in Chapter 3, the descriptions of Daphne prior to her transformation are original. While Apollo is burdened by allusions to prior literature, Daphne for the most part is free. She is described as preferring virginity (486-7), *inornatos* (with respect to her hair, 497), *micantes* (with respect to her eyes, 498), *nudos* (of her arms, 501), fleeing the name of lover (474), rejoicing in the woods (475-6), *sine lege* (describing her hair, 477), *impatiens* (479), *expersque viri* (479), *nemora avia lustrat* (479), and having no care for Love or union (480). Like pastoral, Ovid’s Daphne is simple, rustic, without boundaries. Daphne’s untouched beauty may represent pastoral poetry itself, a form of writing that offered the reader an uncomplicated and largely unexplored escape from urban concerns. Her concern for chastity then represents the desire to remain undiluted by elegy and epic.

In the process of her transformation, however, Daphne becomes weighted down by external trappings: a rough material covers her body (549) and her feet take root (551) while she assumes the outer trappings of nature (550). Daphne does retain her inner consciousness (554, 556) and despite the change in appearance, a singular beauty remains (*nitor unus*, 552). Following her transformation Daphne is embraced by the god of epic (in an elegiac manner) and addressed formally in epic and hymnic terms. Her assent is only assumed by the spectator and is expressed in an allusion to the *Eclogues*, perhaps Daphne’s own nostalgic reminiscence for her original form.

The most telling lines in the entire tale come when the narrator breaks from the story to address Daphne herself: *sed te decor iste quod optas/ esse vetat, votoque tuo tua forma repugnat* (“but that beauty of yours denies you to be what you wish, and your
attractiveness battles with your vow,” *Meta*. 1.488-9). Ovid’s warning to pastoral
Daphne foreshadows her necessary transformation. Exhausted by the chase, Daphne
realizes that she must change in order to retain something of herself and asks for a
change in shape. She has finally realized that change is necessary for any part of her
to survive.
Table 3.1: Ovid’s Allusions to the *Eclogues*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>Vehicle</th>
<th>Ground</th>
<th>Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.4</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 6.5</td>
<td><em>carmen</em></td>
<td>deductum/perpetuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.566-7</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 6.27-8</td>
<td>movement of trees</td>
<td>laurel substituted for oak; motivation for movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.464-5</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 5.16-8</td>
<td>yielding</td>
<td>peaceful competition vs. revenge for a slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.558-9</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 5.78</td>
<td>enduring</td>
<td>honoring the deceased vs. appropriating for oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passim</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 1.4</td>
<td>flight</td>
<td>land confiscation vs. subjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.507</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 1.26</td>
<td><em>causa</em> + gerund</td>
<td>freedom vs. servitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.452-3</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 9.5</td>
<td>role of <em>fors</em></td>
<td><em>fors</em> vs. wrath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.506</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 9.11-13</td>
<td>eagle/dove simile</td>
<td>desire draws each vs. each flees enemy (emphasis on flight not pursuit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.493-6</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 2.68; 8.83</td>
<td>burning imagery</td>
<td>burning laurel vs. burning for Daphne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.512-4</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 2.29, 20-5</td>
<td>self-description for the purpose of persuasion</td>
<td>rustic vs. refined and divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.514-5</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 2.60</td>
<td><em>quem fugis</em></td>
<td>hopeless tone vs. arrogant tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta. 1.507-8</td>
<td><em>Ecl.</em> 10.48-9</td>
<td>incurring wounds</td>
<td>feet vs. legs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

While earlier versions of the tale of Apollo and Daphne exerted an influence upon him, Ovid differentiated his story from existing accounts. One alteration is in the setting, with the action moved from Arcadia (or Syria) to Thessaly. This change may have been the consequence of another change, that of Daphne’s parentage. Ovid substitutes the river Peneus for the mortal father Amyclas (named by Parthenius) or the river Ladon (in Pausanias’ account). Perhaps even more surprising is Peneus’ role in Daphne’s transformation into the bay tree.

Ovid’s most significant alteration is the inclusion of Cupid as the driving force. Both Parthenius and Pausanias include a third character, Leucippos, an unsuccessful suitor brought to harm by the machinations of Apollo. Ovid’s Cupid, angered by arrogant taunts, replaces the cunning and jealous Apollo as the character who brings the suitor to grief. Apollo becomes the lovesick suitor, as well, helpless in the face of Cupid’s powerful weapon. In the course of the chase, Apollo loses many of his famed powers: Cupid bests him in archery; he fails to persuade Daphne through song; he does not seem to foresee the loss of the object of his desire; and he cannot cure himself of his lovesickness. Given Apollo’s prominence in Augustan propaganda (including the installation of a Temple of Apollo in Augustus’ new Palatine complex as well as Apollo’s
inclusion in the *Carmen Saeculare*), Apollo’s comical powerlessness in this episode suggests mockery of the *princeps* and the current regime.

Another prominent feature of Ovid’s tale of Apollo and Daphne is its playful mixture of genres. Ovid begins and ends the story on an epic note and mixes hymnic elements therein. Apollo appears and expresses himself in a lofty, elevated manner (one befitting a god) at these points in the story. Cupid, on the other hand, provides the driving force behind the change in genre as well as the action of the story. Following Cupid’s intervention, the tale naturally takes on an elegiac character. Apollo’s speech to Daphne, incorporating allusions to the *Eclogues* involving both love and conquest, adds pastoral elegy to the mix.

Ovid begins the *Metamorphoses* with a cosmogony based on three chief sources: Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*, and Vergil’s *Eclogues*. I have noted Ovid’s allusion to the sixth *Eclogue* in the proem of the *Metamorphoses* and how it connects the cosmogony to the “song of Silenus.” These particular allusions connect Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* to pastoral poetry and to explicit representations of poetic composition. Ovid’s tale of Apollo and Daphne, with its numerous allusions, furthers these connections.

In the tale of Apollo and Daphne, most of the references to the *Eclogues* come in Apollo’s speech. The allusions refer to two themes from the *Eclogues*: the expressions of the lovesick suitor, and domination and appropriation. While allusions to elegiac characters are entirely suitable for Apollo at this point in the story, expressions of power and subjugation point to the Apollo who slays the Python in the episode which precedes...

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123 In Chapter 4, I discussed the phrase *perpetuum deducite… carmen* (*Meta*. 1.4) as an allusion to Vergil’s *deductum carmen* (*Ecl*. 6.5). In addition, Ovid’s description of Chaos at *Metamorphoses* 1.5-75 as a confused mass later separated into distinct elements mimics Silenus’ cosmogony (*Ecl*. 6.31-40).
the story of Apollo and Daphne as well as to the Apollo who prophecies Daphne’s prominent role as a symbol of honor at the close of the story. Although he clearly seeks to differentiate himself from his pastoral predecessors (Corydon and even Polyphemus), Apollo’s use of allusion to those literary characters suggests that his attempts at wooing will also fail.

Two observations arose in the course of this investigation. First, Apollo, a deity associated with Augustus, speaks in the words of Vergil’s *Eclogues* while chasing Daphne. Apollo’s words are those of country shepherds singing to the accompaniment of rustic pipes. Apollo’s allusions to the *Eclogues* lack the grandeur of epic and clearly position Apollo as subject to Cupid.

A second observation concerns Ovid’s insertion of images of violence and subjugation into the pastoral world, a pattern the author continues throughout the *Metamorphoses*. Not only does Daphne lose her humanity as a result of Apollo’s lust, but immediately upon her transformation she is transported from a rural setting to the urban jungle of Rome to witness the ultimate display of power and subjugation, a Roman triumph. The event she witnesses is reminiscent of the triumph which Ovid imagines for Cupid in *Amores* 1.2: *inque dato curru, populo clamante triumphum,/ stabis et adiunctas arte movebis aves/…vulgus “io” magna voce “triumphe!” canet* (“and with the people crying out triumph, you will stand upon your given chariot and you will move the yoked birds with skill… the crowd will sing in a loud voice, ‘io triumph’,” 1.2.25-26). While Daphne will hear the same cry of triumph (*cum laeta triumphum/ vox canet, Meta.* 1.560-1), she will not stand upon a moving chariot as Cupid does in Ovid’s imagined triumph, but she will be fixed upon the Palatine (*ante fores stabis, Meta.* 1.563).
Capable only of moving her head, Daphne is rendered as helpless as the captive Ovid marching as a prisoner of war in his own imagination.

For Ovid and other poets of the Augustan age, poetry was inextricably linked with empire, conquest and victory. Daphne’s position at the close of the story embodies this connection: laurel, a symbol of poetic victory, also crowns military victors as they parade in triumph. Ovid crafts Daphne as the woman who, like the Python, pays the penalty after Apollonian conquest. Unlike Horace’s Cleopatra, who refuses to be humbled by participating in Octavian’s triumph, the conquered Daphne is fated to witness this same triumph, having been co-opted by her rejected suitor.

While allusions to Vergil’s political Eclogues and the focus upon the character of Apollo point to a political agenda behind the tale, Ovid’s allusions exhibit a greater emphasis on poetic composition and amatory pursuits. Ovid’s tale of Apollo and Daphne may well comment upon the cooptation of poetry as propaganda during the reign of Augustus. Ovid’s allusions render politics subordinate to elegy; at least for him, elegy is always superior.

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124 Od. 1.37.30-2: *invidens privata deduci superbo/ non humilis mulier triumpho* (“the proud woman begrudging to be escorted as a private citizen in his arrogant triumph”).
WORKS CITED


APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Text and Translation of Parthenius and Pausanias

APPENDIX B: Text and Translation of *Metamorphoses* 1.438-567
APPENDIX A

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF PARTHENIUS AND PAUSANIAS

Parthenius, *Sorrowful Love Stories*, IE’ Περὶ Δάφνης

‘Ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Διοδώρῳ τῷ Ἐλείτῃ ἐν ἐλεγείαις καὶ Φυλάρχῳ ἐν ΙΕ’

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀμύκλα θυγατρὸς τάδε λέγεται Δάφνης. αὐτὴ τὸ μὲν ἄπαν εἰς πόλιν οὐ κατήκ, οὐδὲ ἀνεμίσχετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς παρθένοις, παρασκευασμένη δὲπολλοὶ ύς κύνας ἐθήρευεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ἐστιν ὄτα ἐπιφοιτώσα εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου δρῆ, δὴ ἢν αἰτίαν μάλα καταθύμιος ἦν Ἀρτεμίδι καὶ αὐτὴν εὐστοχα βάλλει ἐποίει (ταύτης περὶ τὴν Ἡλιδίαν ἄλωμένης Λεύκιππος, Οἰνομάον παῖς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἡλθε καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλος πρὸς αὐτῆς πειράσθαι ἀπέγνω; ἀμφιεσάμεν οὐ δὲ γυναικείας ἀμπεχώνας καὶ ὀμοιωθεὶς κόρη συνεθήρα αὐτῇ. ἔτυχε δὲ πῶς αὐτῇ κατὰ νόους γενόμενος, οὐ μεθεὶ τε αὐτῶν ἄμφιπεσουσά τε καὶ ἐξηρτημένη πᾶσαι ὥραν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παιδὸς πόθῳ καἰόμενος ὅργῃ τε καὶ φθόνῳ εἰχέτο τοῦ Λεύκιππος συνόντος καὶ ἐπὶ νὸῦν αὐτῇ βάλλει οὐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς παρθένοις ἕπτα κρήσην ἐλθόμενα λούεθαι. ἔνθα δὴ, ὡς αφικόμεναι ἀπεδίδοκοντο καὶ ἐξώρων τὸν Λεύκιππον μὴ βουλόμενον, περιέρρηξαν αὐτῶν, μαθοῦσα δὲ τῇ ἀπάτῃ καὶ ὡς ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐταῖς, πάσαι μεθέσαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰς αἰχμὰς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ θεῶν βούλησθιν ἀφανῆς γίνεται: Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ Δάφνη ἐπ’ αὐτῆν ἰόντα προιδομένη μάλα ἐρρωμένος ἐφευγεν. ὡς δὲ συνεδώκετο, παρὰ Δίὸς αἰτεῖται ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀτρ αλλαγῆναι; καὶ αὐτὴν φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸ δένδρον τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἀτ’ ἐκείνης δάφνην.

“The story is from Diodorus the Elean in his *Elegies* and from Phylarchus in the fifteenth chapter.

“These things are related concerning Daphne the daughter of Amyclas. She would not at all descend to the city, nor would she mix amongst the other girls, but having prepared many dogs she hunted in Laconia, having wandered to the furthest mountains of the Peloponnese, for which reason she was especially dear to Artemis and (Artemis) instructed her to cast well-directed arrows. While she was wandering around Elis, Leucippos, son of Oenomaus, came upon the desire of her and gave up making an attempt on her otherwise; having donned womanly garments and having likened himself to a girl, he hunted with her. And he happened to become special to her in her mind, nor would she release him, having embraced and hung upon him all the time. But Apollo himself also burning with desire for the girl was held by both anger and envy of

125 The Greek text of Parthenius is taken from Lightfoot (1999).
126 Although this phrase may be interpreted otherwise, I have chosen to translate it as both Lightfoot and Gaselee (Loeb Classical Library) do, that is, that Artemis instructed Daphne.
Leucippos being close to her and [Apollo] cast it into her mind to bathe in a spring with the other maidens having come with her. There having arrived they stripped and seeing Leucippos unwilling, they stripped him; and, having learned his trick and how he planned against them, they all released their spears into him. And he, on the one hand, indeed according to the plans of the gods, was made unseen; but Daphne having spied Apollo coming after her fled especially swiftly. But just as she was being pursued, she begs Zeus to be changed from human form; and they say she became a tree named Daphne, after that girl.”

Pausanias, Description of Greece, 8.20: 1.7-4.8

“And the Ladon excels as the most beautiful water of all rivers in Greece, and otherwise also has fame among men on account of Daphne and those things being sung about Daphne. But I pass over the story about Daphne among the Syrians who dwell along the Orontes River, and other such things are recounted by the Arcadians and the Elians. Leucippos was a son to Oenomaus, the one ruling Pisa; this man, Leucippos, loved Daphne but wooing her immediately he gave up having her as a wife since she altogether fled the male race; and such a plan towards her seemed best. Leucippos grew his hair for the Alpheus river and having braided it like a maiden he put on womanly clothes he reached Daphne, but coming he said that he was the daughter of Oenomaus and that he wished to hunt with Daphne. And since he was considered to be a maiden, and surpassed the other maidens in both the esteem of his race and his skill at the hunt, was eager in his greater attendance, he led Daphne into lasting friendship. But those men singing of Apollo’s love for her also say these things that Apollo grew angry at Leucippos for his happiness with [Apollo’s] beloved. At once Daphne and the other maidens desired to swim in the Ladon River, and they stripped

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127 The Greek text of Pausanias is taken from Hutton (2005).
the unwilling Leucippos; and having seen that he was not a maiden, they slew him, striking with javelins and spears.”
illa quidem nollet sed te quoque, maxime Python,
tum genuit, populisque novis, incognite serpens,
terror eras – tantum spatii de monte tenebas.
hunc deus arquitenens, numquam letalibus armis
ante nisi in dammis capreisque fugacibus usus,
mille gravem telis, exhausta paene pharetra,
perdit effuso per vulnera nigra veneno.
neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,
Pythia de domitae serpens nomine dictos.
hic iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusve rotave
vicerat, aesculeae caelebat frondis honorem.
nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.

Primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia: quem non
fors ignara dedit, sed saeva Cupidinis ira.
Delius hunc nuper, victo serpente superbus
viderat adducto flectentem cornua nervo
‘quid’ que ‘tibi, lascive puer, cum fortibus armis?’,
dixerat, ‘ista decent umeros gestamina nostros,
qui dare certa ferae, dare vulnera possimus hosti,
qui modo pestifero tot iugera ventre prementem
stravimus innumeris tumidum Pythona sagittis.
tu face nescio quos esto contentus amores
iritare tua nec laudes adsere nostras.’
filius huic Veneris ‘figat tuus omnia, Phoebe,
tem deus in nympham Peneide fixit at illo,
laesit Apollineas traiecta per ossa medullas:
protinus alter amat, fugit altera nomen amantis
silvarum latebris captivarumque ferarum
exuviis gaudens inruptaeque aemula Phoebes;
vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos.

multi illam petiere, illa aversata petentes

128 The Latin text is taken from Anderson (1997).
inpatiens expersque viri nemora avia lustrat
nec, quid Hymen, quid Amor, quid sint conubia, curat.
saepe pater dixit 'generum mihi, filia, debes';
saepe pater dixit 'debes mihi, nata, nepotes':
illa velut crimem taedas exosa iugales
pulchra verecundo subfuderat ora rubore
inque patris blandis haerens cervice lacertis
'da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime,' dixit
'virginitate frui: dedit hoc pater ante Dianae.'
ille quidem obsequitur; sed te decor iste, quod optas,
esse vetat, voteo tuo tua forma repugnant.
Phoebus amat visaeque cupid conubia Daphnes,
quodque cupit, sperat, suaque illum oracula fallunt;
utque leves stipulæ demptæ adolentur aristis,
ut facibus saepes ardent, quas forte viator
vel nimis admovit vel iam sub luce reliquit,
sic deus in flammis abiit, sic pectore toto
uritur et sterilem sperando nutrit amorem.
spectat inornatos collo pendere capillos
et 'quid, si comantur?' ait; videt igne micantes
sideribus similès oculos, videt oscula, quæ non
est visisse satis; laudat digitosque manusque
bracchiaque et nudes media parte lacertos:
siqua latent, meliora putat. fugit ocior aura
illa levi neque ad haec revocantis verba resistit:
'Nympha, precor, Penei, mane! non insequor hostis;
nympha mane! sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem,
sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae,
hostes quæque suos; amor est mihi causa sequendi.
me miserum! ne prona cadas indignave laedi
crura notent sentes, et sim tibi causa doloris.
aspera, qua properas, loca sunt: moderatius, oro,
curre fugamque inibe: moderatius insequar ipse.
cui placeas, inquire tamen; non incola montis,
non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque
horridus observo. nescis, temeraria, nescis,
quem fugias, iodeque fugis. mihi Delphica tellus
et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit;
luppiter est genitor. per me, quod eritque fuitque
estque, patet; per me concordant carmina nervis.
certa quidem nostra est, nostra tamen una sagitta
certior, in vacuo quæ vulnera pectore fecit.
inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
dicor, et herbarum subiecta potentia nobis:
ei mihi, quod nullis amor est sanabilis herbis,
ec prosunt domino, quae prosunt omnibus, artes!'
Plura locuturum timido Peneia cursu
fugit cumque ipso verba imperfecta reliquit,
tum quoque visa decens; nudabant corpora venti,
obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes,
et levis impulsos retro dabat aura capillos,
auctaque forma fuga est. sed enim non sustinet ultra
perdere blanditias iuvenis deus, utque monebat
ipse amor, admisso sequitur vestigia passu.
ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
vidit, et hic praedam pedibus petit, ille salutem
(alter inhaesuro similis iam iamque tenere
 sperat et extento stringit vestigia rostro;
alter in ambiguo est, an sit comprensus, et ipsis
morsibus eripitur tangentiisque ora relinquit):
sic deus et virgo; est hic spe celer, illa timore.
qui tamen sequitur, pennis adiutus amoris
ocior est requiemque negat tergoque fugacis
inminet et crinem sparsum cervicibus adflat.
viribus absumptis expalluit illa citaeque
victa labore fugae ‘Tellus,’ ait, ‘hisce vel istam,
[victa labore fugae, spectans Peneidas undas]
quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram!
fer, pater,’ inquit ‘opem, si flumina numen habetis!
qua nimium placui, mutando perde figuram!’
[qua nimium placui, Tellus, ait, hisce vel istam]
vix prece finita torpor gravis occupat artus:
mollia cinguntur tenui praecordia libro,
in frondem crines, in ramos bracchia crescent;
pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret,
ona cum capere: remanet nitor unus in illa.
hanc quoque Phoebus amat postaque in stipite dextra
sentit adhuc trepidare novo sub cortice pectus
conplexusque suis ramos, ut membra, lacertis
oscula dat lingo: refugit tamen oscula lignum.
cui deus ‘at quoniam coniunx mea non potes esse,
arbor eris certe’ dixit ‘mea, semper habebunt
te coma, te cicurae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae.
tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta triumphum
vox canet et visent longas Capitolia pompas.
postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos
ante fores stabis mediamque tuebere quercum,
utque meum intonsis caput est iuvenale capillis,
tu quoque perpetuos semper gere frondis honores.’
finierat Paean: factis modo laurea ramis
adnuit utque caput visa est agitasse cacumen.
“She [Mother Earth] indeed was unwilling but also bore you at that time, Greatest Python, and you were a terror for the new peoples, unknown serpent – you occupied so much area of Mt. Parnassus. The bow-bearing god, having never before employed his deadly weapons except against the fleeing deer and roe, slew this one, weighted by a thousand shafts, with his quiver almost exhausted, with venom having poured out of black wounds. Lest the antiquity of the accomplishment be able to obliterate its glory, he established sacred games because of the well-known struggle, called the Pythia after the name of the conquered serpent. Whoever of young men had won here by hand, feet or wheel, he seized the honor of the oaken branch. For there was not yet laurel, and Apollo girded his temples, becoming with long hair, with any tree.

“The first love of Apollo was Daphne, daughter of Peneus: a love which blind chance did not grant, but rather the savage wrath of Cupid. The Delian, arrogant with the serpent conquered, recently had seen this one bending a bow with string pulled taut and he had said, ‘Playful boy, what business do you have with such strong weapons? Those burdens are suited for our shoulders, we who can grant sure wounds to the wild beast and we who are able to grant sure wounds to an enemy, we who just now laid low the bloated Python with countless shafts, pressing upon so many miles with its plague-bearing belly. You, be content to incite some kind of love with your torch, and do not claim our praise.’ The son of Venus said to him, ‘Apollo, your bow may pierce all things, but my bow may pierce you and as much as all animals yield to your divinity, so much is your glory lesser than ours.’ He spoke and having forced air through beaten wings, the ready god settled upon the shady peak of Parnassus and from his arrow-bearing quiver he produced two shafts of diverse effects: this one sets to flight, that one creates love; the one which creates love is golden and shines with a sharp point; the one which sets to flight is dull and has lead beneath its reed. The god drove this arrow into the Peneian nymph, and with that arrow, he wounded Apollonian marrow through the transected bone: at once the one loved, the other fled the name of lover, rejoicing in the hiding places of the woods and in the spoils of captive wild beasts, and a rival of unwed Artemis; a headband was controlling her hair arranged without restraint. Many men sought her; she, having turned away from those seeking, impatient and unskilled of men, she wandered the pathless groves, nor did she care what Hymen, what love, what marriage might be. Often her father said, ‘Daughter, you owe me a son-in-law,’ often her father said, ‘Daughter, you owe me grandsons.’ She having loathed the marriage torches as if a crime, had infused her lovely visage with a modest blush and clinging upon the neck of her father with charming arms, she said, ‘Dearest father, grant that I may enjoy everlasting chastity: the father of Diana granted this to her before.’ Indeed he yielded to her, but that beauty denied you to be what you wished, and your attractiveness battled with your vow. Apollo loves her and desires marriage with Daphne having been seen, and that which he desires, he hopes for, and his own oracles cheat him; and just as the light stalks burn after their ears have been removed, just as the hedges burn by the torches, which either the traveler by chance moved too close to or left behind beneath the moonlight, thus the god moves on
enflamed, thus he burned with his whole heart and he nourished a sterile love by hoping. He spies her unadorned hair hanging on her neck and says, 'What if it were combed?'; He sees her eyes sparkling with fire like stars, he saw her lips which are not enough to have seen; he praises her fingers and hands and arms and biceps bared more than half way: anything hidden he considers better. She flees swifter than a light breeze, nor does he halt at these words of him recalling her: 'Peneian nymph, I beg you, stay! Not as an enemy do I pursue; nymph, wait! Just as the lamb flees the wolf, just as the deer flees the lion, just as the doves flee the eagle on trembling wing, each flees their own enemy; love is the reason for me following. O wretched me, may you not fall forward or thorns mark your legs, unworthy to be wounded, and may I not be a cause of grief for you. The places to which you hasten are harsh: I beg you, more slowly run and restrain your flight: I myself will follow more slowly. Nevertheless, ask to whom are you pleasing; I am not an inhabitant of the mountain, I am not a shepherd, nor bristled do I watch over the herds and flocks here. You are unaware, rash girl, you don't know whom you flee, and therefore you flee. The Delphic earth, and Claros, and Tenedos and the Patarean kingdoms all serve me; Jupiter is my father. Through me, that which will be, and that which was, and that which is lies open; through me the songs harmonize on the strings. Indeed our arrow is sure, but one arrow is more sure than ours, which created a wound in my empty heart. Medicine is my discovery, and I am called a healer throughout the world, and the power of herbs is subject to me: alas for me because love is curable with no herbs, those skills which benefit all do not benefit their master!'

With timid step, the daughter of Peneus fled him about to say more things and she left behind unfinished words along with him, then also she seemed becoming; the winds were baring her body, and the gusts along her way were flapping her opposing garments, and a light breeze was whipping back her struck hair, and her beauty was augmented by her flight. But the youthful god would not endure to lose her charms any longer, and just as love himself advised, he follows her footprints with loosened tread. Just as when a Gallic dog catches sight of a hare in an empty field, and the former seeks its prey with its feet, the latter seeks safety (the one hopes to grasp her now and again similar to one about to cling and stretches forth its footsteps with extended snout; the other is in doubt, whether it will be grasped and from the very bites is snatched away and leaves behind the touching jaws): thus are the god and the maiden; he is swift out of hope, she out of fear. Nevertheless, he who pursues, aided by the wings of love, is swifter and denies rest and looms over the back of the one fleeing and pants upon her hair dispersed over her neck. She, having used up all her strength, grew pale and conquered by the labor of her swift flight she said, 'Earth, gape open or destroy by altering it that shapeliness, which causes that I am wounded! She said, 'Father, if your waters have divine power, bring me aid! Destroy the shapeliness with which I am too pleasing, by changing it!' With her prayer hardly finished, a heavy sluggishness settles upon her limbs: her soft breasts are surrounded by a thin bark, her hair grows into foliage, her arms into branches; her foot, recently so swift, clings with inert roots, her face has a peak: a singular beauty remains in her. Apollo still loves her and having placed his
right hand on her trunk, he feels her heart still beating beneath the new bark and having embraced her branches, just as if limbs, with his own arms, he gives kisses to the wood: however the wood flees from his kisses. The god said to her, ‘Since you are not able to be my wife, you will certainly be my tree, our hair, our lyres, our quivers will always have you, Laurel. You will be at hand for the Latin leaders when the joyous voice sings in triumph and the Capitoline witnesses lengthy processions. As a most faithful guardian you will stand by the Augustan lintels before the doors and you will gaze upon the oak in the middle, and just as my head is youthful with unshorn locks, you also bear always the perpetual honors of foliage.’ Paean had finished: the laurel at once nodded with its branches and seemed to have moved its peak just like a head.”