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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JESSICA HOPE FISHER

B.A., College of the Holy Cross, 1996

M.A.T., Simmons College, 1998

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JESSICA HOPE FISHER

Major Professor: T. Keith Dix

Committee: Nancy Felson
Sarah Spence

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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DEDICATION

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my family for their constant support over the past two years. Although the work load has certainly been challenging, the most difficult part of this program for me has been being so far from home. To Tina, I would like to thank you for never holding it against me that I was so far away in your moments of need, and still being there for me at my lowest point. To Jenn and Dennis, thank you for all the emails, wonderful care packages and most importantly the Red Sox updates. The constant thoughtfulness you showed for your prodigal sister was appreciated more than you will ever know. Finally, to mom and dad, there is no end to the thanks I owe to both of you. Because of you I have the confidence to pursue my goals, as well as the intelligence and drive to attain them. I love you all.

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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."[10] 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.[11] 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."[12] 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 Phoebo liventia terga draconem,/ occupat aversum, neu saeva retorqueat ora, squamigeris avidos figit cervicibus ungues* ("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:

> ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περσέμεναι μεμαῶσιν,
> αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων,
> φοινήεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον
> ζωὸν ἔτ᾽ ἀσπαίροντα; καὶ οὔ πω λήθετο χάρμης;
> κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στῆθος παρὰ δειρὴν
> ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω; ὁ δ᾽ ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἧκε χαμᾶζε
> ἀλγήσας ὀδύνῃσι, μέσῳ δ᾽ ἐνὶ κάββαλ᾽ 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."[13]

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

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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.

[13] 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[14] 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.[15]

The Ἐρωτικὰ 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:
ἤχθη δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην, ληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου, ὅτε κατεπολέμησε Μιθριδάτην, τὸν Πόντου βασιλεύσαντα ("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.[16] Of the many elegies composed by Parthenius, only titles and fragments remain. The Ἐρωτικὰ Παθήματα is his only extant work.[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[18] or the son of Sparte and Lakedaimon, himself the son of the Pleiad, Taugete.[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 *Metamorphoses* 3), Daphne and her maidens forcibly strip the reluctant Leucippos

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[16] *Sorrowful Love Stories*: Μάλιστα σοὶ δοκῶν ἁρμόττειν, Κορνήλιε Γάλλε, τὴν ἄθροισιν τῶν ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων, ἀναλεξάμενος ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν βαραχυτάτοις 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).

[17] Lightfoot (1999), 303.

[18] Gantz (1993), 216. This attestation of Amyclas' genealogy is only found in a fragment of lyric poetry: κατὰ δὲ Τελέσιλλαν ἐσώθησαν Ἀμύκλας καὶ Μελίβοια ("Amyclas and Meliboia were saved by Telesilla," *PMG* 721.3).

[19] Gantz (1993), 217. In this version, recorded by Apollodorus (*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]

Pausanias[22] 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* (Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις) 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.[23]

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 οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ ποταμῷ παρίημι ("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.[24] 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.[25]

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.
[24] Kondoleon (1995), 171-2. The story is preserved in Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*, Libanius' *Oration XI* and Flavius Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*.
[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.[26] 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 ἀνυμφεύτοιο ποδήνεμα γούνατα νύμφης, πῶς ποτε Φοῖβον ἔφευγε, Βορηίδι σύνδρομος αὔρη ("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: πῶς διερὸν παρὰ χεῦμα τιταινομένου ποταμοῖο παρθένιον πόδα πῆξε παρ᾽ εὐρυρέεθρον Ὀρόντην, ὁππότε 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:

Φοῖβου ἔκλυε μελπομένοιο καὶ οὐ φρένα θέλγετο 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

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[27] Downey (1961), 83.

[28] Including the two passages cited above, Nonnos makes ten references to Daphne throughout the *Dionysiaca*. The other examples are: ὄφρα θάνω πρὸ γάμοιο καὶ ῎Αιδι παρθένος ἔλθω, εἰσέτι νῆις ῎Ερωτος, ἅ περ Πίτυς, οἷά τε Δάφνη ("so that I may die before wedlock and I, a virgin, may got to Hades, just as Pitys and Daphne," 2.107-8); ὅττι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκ Δάφνης γεγαυῖα διώκομαι, οἷά τε Δάφνη ("since I was also born of laurel, I am pursued like Daphne," 2.113-4); οὐ μὲν ἐγώ ποτε Φοῖβον ἀναίνομαι, οἷά τε Δάφνη ("I never spurn Phoebus like Daphne," 4.98); εἰ δέ σοι οὐρανόθεν πόσις ἤλυθε καλὸς ᾿Απόλλων καὶ Σεμέλης ὑπ' ἔρωτι λελασμένος ἔπλετο Δάφνης ("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); ὡς 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 πρῶτον ἄειδε ("first sing of Daphne," 42.256); Δάφνη, τί κλονέεις με... ὡς ἄρα Δάφνη, σὸν δέμας ἀλλάξασα τεὸν νόον εὗρες ἀμεῖψαι ("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.[30]

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).[31]

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.[32] In previous versions of the story, Daphne is characterized as born of mother Earth and fathered by the Arcadian river Ladon.[33] 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.

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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.[34] Pindar names Hypseus as the child of Peneus and Creusa.[35] Diodorus Siculus writes that Creusa bore two children to Peneus.[36] Pausanias lists an Andreus as the son of Peneus.[37]

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 Pthiotum terris occuluisse ferunt* ("They say that even you, Peneus, hid Creusa, promised to Xuthus, in the lands of the Pthiotes,").

[35] *Pyth.* 9.13-17: Ὑψέος εὐρυβία ὃς Λαπιτᾶν ὑπερόπλων τουτάκις ἦν βασιλεύς, ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ γένος ἥρως δεύτερος; ὅν ποτε Πίνδου κλεενναῖς ἐν πτυχαῖς Ναῖς εὐφρανθεῖσα Πηνειοῦ λέχει Κρείοισ' 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] οὗτος δὲ μιγεὶς νύμφῃ τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Κρεούσῃ παῖδας ἐγέννησεν Ὑψέα 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: Ἀνδρέα πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα Πηνειοῦ παῖδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγουσιν ἐποικῆσαι ("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.[38] The intervention of Cupid may in fact reflect a line from Callimachus' *Aetia*: ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ τόξου αὐτὸς ὁ τοξευτὴς ἄρδιν ἔχων ἑτέρου ("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.[39]

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.[40]

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.[41]

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.

CHAPTER 3

OVID'S APOLLO AND DAPHNE, *METAMORPHOSES* 1.438-567

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.[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.[43] He did so in the plains beneath Mt.

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[42] Vergil, *Ecl.* 6.31-40.

[43] *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 300-304: ἔνθα δράκαιναν/ κτεῖνεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπὸ κρατεροῖο βιοῖο/ ζατρεφέα μεγάλην, τέρας ἄγριον, ἣ κακὰ πολλά/ ἀνθρώπους ἔρδεσκεν ἐπὶ χθονί, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτούς, / πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναύποδ᾽, ἐπεὶ πέλε πῆμα δαφοινόν, "there Lord Apollo, son of Zeus, slew the great,

Parnassus by a fair-flowing stream,[44] precisely where Ovid locates his story. In both

Euripides, in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (1239-54), and Hyginus, the infant Apollo

slays the Python.[45] Epigram 3.6 in the *Greek Anthology* combines elements of both

versions as a full-grown Apollo shoots arrows at the Python in defense of his mother.[46]

The *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.[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.[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.[49] Thus Apollo slaying the Python is parallel to Zeus subduing

Typhoeus. In the *Theogony*, Zeus officially becomes supreme deity following his defeat

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fat serpent from her mighty life, a savage beast who harmed men upon the earth with many evils, on the one hand many evils against men themselves, on the other hand many evils against the long-shanked flocks, since she was a bloody bane."

[44] *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 282: ἵκεο δ᾽ ἐς Κρίσην ὑπὸ Παρνησσὸν νιφόεντα ("and you arrived at Crisa beneath snowy Parnassus"); 300: ἀθχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίροος ("near a lovely-flowing spring").

[45] Gantz (1993), 88-89. In Hyginus (*Fabulae* 140), Apollo kills the Python in retaliation for its pursuit of Leto during her pregnancy.

[46] *Greek Anthology*, 3.6: Γηγενέα Πυθῶνα, μεμιγμένον ἑρπετὸν ὁλκοῖς,/ ἐκνεύει Λατώ, πάγχυ μυσαττομένη;/ σκυλᾶν γὰρ ἐθέλει πινυτὰν θεόν; ἀλλά γε τόξῳ/ θῆρα καθαιμάσσει Φοῖβος ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς;/ Δελφὸν δ᾽ αὖ θήσει τρίπον ἔνθεον; ἐκ δ᾽ ὅδ᾽ ὀδόντων/ πικρὸν ἀποπνεύσει ῥοῖζον 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").

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

[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, *Theogony*, 820-822: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Τιτῆνας ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ ἐξέλασε Ζεύς,/ ὁπλότατον τέκε παῖδα Τυφωέα Γαῖα πελώρη/ Ταρτάρου ἐν φιλότητι διὰ 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").

[49] *Theogony*, 824-6: ἐκ δ᾽ δέ οἱ ὤμων/ ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος δεινοῖο δράκοντος,/ γλώσσῃσι δνοφερῇσι 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.[50] 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;[51] 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 *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*[54] 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 engraved readying his weapons for use: *Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo/ desuper; omnis eo terrore 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] *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 12-13: χαίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ,/ οὕνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν ("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 Iove prognatus Pythius Apollo* ("Then the well-known archer, powerful with arrows, hallowed Pythian Apollo born of Jove"). The text of Naevius is from Warmington (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.[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.[59] During this reorganization, the prize for victory became the laurel branch.[60] Ovid notes that since laurel had not yet come into existence (*nondum laurus erat*, 450), the prize for winners at the earliest Pythian games was the oak branch (*hic iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusque rotave/ vicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem*, 448-9). This detail is apparently an Ovidian invention[61] which provides a smooth transition to the first story of desire in the *Metamorphoses*. In addition, the oak was sacred to Zeus;[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.[63] Propertius describes Apollo standing over the ship of Augustus "as he appeared when he slew the creeping Python with slackened coils" *(qualis flexos soluit Pythona per orbis/ serpentem*, 4.6.35-6). Miller notes that the Propertian deity, like the Ovidian Python-slayer, uses up the entire contents of his quiver: *et pharetrae pondus consumit in arcus* ("and he used up the weight of his quiver

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[58] *Metamorphoses* 1.446-7: *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").

[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 *manu, pedibus(que), rota(ve)* (448).

[60] Raschke (1988), 125. The laurel branch replaced money prizes.

[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.

[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.

[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).[64]

Nicholl asserts that the Python episode serves to break up a common literary

pattern of creation myths followed by amatory epyllia.[65] 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.[66] Just as in *Amores* 1.1, Cupid in the

Metamorphoses is the driving force behind the poem's change in genre.[67]

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.[68] Daphne and

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Nicholl (1980), 181-2.

[66] Callimachus' *Aetia* 1.22-24: Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος/ ...] ἀοιδέ... τὴν Μοῦσαν δ' ὡγαθὲ λεπταλέην ("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 Iovem, 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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only male lover of Apollo is killed by a discus (Book 10); both Apollo and Mercury deceive and overcome Chione who gives birth to twins (Book 11); and Apollo woos the Cumaean Sibyl in vain (Book 14).
[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,[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: *vicit Amor* ("Love conquered [me]," *Met*. 10.26).

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

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

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[72] While Ovid lists Minerva and Diana as unaffected by the wiles of Venus (5.375), the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* lists Hestia in addition to Athena and Artemis (21-2).

[73] Callimachus composed a *Hymn to Delos*, Hymn 4 in his collection.

[74] The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* addresses the deity with the following titles: Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο ("Apollo the Far-shooter," 1); Φοῖβε ("Phoebus," 20, 120, 127, 146); Ἐκηβόλον ("the Far-shooter," 45); Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος ("Phoebus Apollo," 52, 130, 201, 254, 294, 362, 375, 388, 399); Φοῖβος Ἑκατηβόλος ("Phoebus the Far-shooter," 134); ἀργυρότοξε ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον ("Lord Silverbow, Apollo the Far-shooter," 140); Ἀπόλλων ("Apollo," 158, 165); ὦ ἄνα ("O Lord," 179); ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον ("the Far-shooter Apollo," 215, 222, 229); Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου ("Phoebus Apollo of the golden sword," 395); Δελφινίωι ("the Dolphin god," 495); ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων ("Lord Apollo son of Zeus," 514). Lines 30-44 of the *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).

[75] The idea of Cupid as serpent may arise from a fragment of Sappho: Ἔρος δαὖτέ 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,[76] 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

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γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον ("Love the limb-loosener delights me again, a bittersweet, irresistible, creeping beast," fr. 130). Cupid as serpent is later employed by Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses* where the oracle of Apollo informs Psyche's father that her bridegroom will be something "savage, beastly, evil and serpent-like" (*saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum*, 4.33.4).

[76] *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.[77] 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.[78]

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*: ὅθι δὴ/ δίδυμ᾿ Ἔρως ὁ χρυσοκόμας/ τόξ᾿ ἐντείνεται χαρίτων,/ τὸ μὲν ἐπ᾿ εὐαίωνι πότμῳ,/ τὸ δ᾿ ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς ("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 δ᾿.

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,[79] 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.'[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 *Phoebus amat* (490).

Much like *primus amor* (452), *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 *fugit ocior aura* (502). These two liminal phrases mimic the

preceding correlative structure of *protinus alter amat, fugit altera* (474).

What Apollo desires of Daphne is *conubia* (490), recalling the *conubia* (480)

which do not concern Daphne (*Phoebus amat visaeque cupit conubia Daphnes,/

quodque cupit, sperat*, 490-1; *nec, quid Hymen, quid Amor, quid sint conubia, curat*,

480). While Daphne's conception of *conubia*, linked with Hymen in the same line,

clearly involves marriage rites, for Apollo, on the other hand, *conubia* (linked with the

repetition of *cupit* in 490-1), may well refer strictly to sexual gratification.[81]

Like "desires," "hope" appears twice in this passage and then recurs as the god

is about to grasp the maiden. Hope (*sperat*, 491) accompanies desire in the wounded

god. The hope of finally seizing the nymph (*tenere/ sperat*, 535-6) causes the god to

strain forward (both metrically across lines and physically with his nose[82]) and makes

the god swift (*est hic spe celer*, 539). As the reader is well aware, however, this hope

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[80] Anderson (1997), 193.

[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.

[82] A dog strains forward to catch a hare in a simile representing Apollo and Daphne: *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).[83] 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 abiit,*

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

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[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 come./ 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).[86] 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).[87] 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: ἁ αἲξ τὰν κύτισον, ὁ λύκος τὰν αἶγα διώκει,/ ἁ γέρανος τὤποτρον, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὶν 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 scorned 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,[88] 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] γινώσκω χαρίεσσα κόρα τίνος ὤνεκα φεύγεις;/ ὤνεκά μοι λασία μὲν ὀφρύς ἐπὶ παντὶ μετώπῳ/ ἐξ ὠτὸς τέταται ποτὶ θὤτερον ὡς μία μακρά,/ εἷς δ' ὀφθαλμὸς ὕπεστι, πλατεῖα δὲ ῥὶς ἐπὶ χείλει ("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;[89] 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).[90] 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*.[91]

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[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 ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο,/ Νικία, οὔτ᾽ ἔγχριστον, ἐμὶν δοκεῖ, οὔτ᾽ ἐπίπαστον,/ ἢ ταὶ 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: κὰδ᾽ δ᾽ ἄρα οἱ κεφαλῆς χέ᾽ ἀυτμένα δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς /

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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 ῾ρίμφα θέων ("and noble Odysseus, always running swiftly, pours his breath down upon his head," 23.765-6).[94]

      Daphne's plea for help presents "one of the most notorious textual problems in the *Metamorphoses*."[95] 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.[96] 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.[97] In addition, Vergil's *Georgics* lists the laurel as a tree which springs from its mother: *etiam Parnasia laurus/ parva sub*

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[94] Ovid repeats this image in *Metamorphoses* 5, where the river Alpheus chases Arethusa: *et ingens/ crinales vittas adflabat anhelitus oris* ("and the great panting of his mouth was flapping the fillets for her hair," 616-7). Another connection between the stories of Daphne and Arethusa comes in the next line when Arethusa, wearied by the chase, calls out to Diana for aid: *fessa labore fugae 'fer opem, deprendimur,' inquam* ("tired from the labor of her flight, 'bring help, we are captured,' she says," 5.618). Compare 1.544 and 546: *victa labore fugae* and *'fer, pater,' inquit 'opem.'*

[95] Musgrove (2000), 113.

[96] Anderson (1997), 199. Slater (1919) explains that the M[1] manuscript contains the text *victa labore fugae…*[erasure] (544), *qua nimium placui mutando perde figuram* (545). The N[1] manuscript contains just the half line: *victa labore fugae* (544).

[97] Anderson (1997), 199. Homer provides two examples of the earth gaping open to receive: τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών ("then the broad earth would yawn open for me," *Iliad* 4.182 and 8.150). Vergil also provides three examples in the *Aeneid*: *sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat* ("but I might wish beforehand that either the deepest earth might gape open for me," 4.24); *aut quae iam satis ima dehiscet/ terra mihi* ("or that now the deepest earth might gape open enough for me," 10.675-6), *o quae satis ima dehiscat/ terra mihi* ("o that the deepest earth might gape open enough for me," 12.883-4).

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).

[102] Suet. *Aug.* 29: *Templum Apollonis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant; Res Gestae* 19: *templum… Apollonis in Palatio cum porticibus… feci.*

Williams notes that Apollo typically bestows upon his female victims the power of prophecy,[103] and Daphne receives the gift of prophecy in both Phylarchus and Nonnos.[104] 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 μεταβαλοῦσαν εἰς τὸ φυτόν, ἐν τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ μαντικὴν λαβεῖν δύναμιν ("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, ἔμπνοα συρίζουσα, καὶ ὀμφήεντι 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.[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 *Metamorphoses*, his allusions to Vergil's *Eclogues* and his exploration of the pastoral genre are especially important. Those allusions are the subject of Chapter 4.

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[105] 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,[106] 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

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[106] Thomas (1986) 175. For a brief discussion of Thomas' categories of references see my Introduction.

pastoral poet.[107] 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.[108]

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.[109]

Pastoral appealed to readers because it offered them an escape from urban life
through the characters' communion with nature.[110] 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* 1and 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.[111] Vergil changes Callimachus' "slender Muse"[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

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[111] *Ecl*. 6.3-8: *Cynthius 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").

[112] Callimachus, *Aetia* 1.22-24: Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν ὅ μοι Λύκιος/ μέμνεό μοι, φίλ᾽] ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον/ θρέψαι τὴν Μοῦσαν δ᾽ ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην ("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 laurea 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,[113] 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 Phoebo quodam meditante beatus/ audiit 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,[114] 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.[115] 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*,[116] 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 respexit 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.[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 inquire tamen* ("ask nevertheless whom you delight," *Meta*. 1.512).

Corydon then describes what he has to offer Alexis:

> nec, 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…

"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

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[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.[120] 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,[121] 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.[122] 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.
[121] Van Tress (2004), 10.
[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*

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

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."[123] 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,[124] 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").

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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*, ΙΕ′ Περὶ Δάφνης[125]

Ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Διοδώρῳ τῷ Ἐλαΐτῃ ἐν ἐλεγείαις καὶ Φυλάρχῳ ἐν ιε′

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀμύκλα θυγατρὸς τάδε λέγεται Δάφνης. αὕτη τὸ μὲν ἅπαν εἰς πόλιν οὐ κατήει, οὐδ’ ἀνεμίσγετο ταῖς λοιπαῖς παρθένοις, παρασκευασαμένη δὲ πολλο ὺς κύνας ἐθήρευεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπιφοιτῶσα εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὄρη, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν μάλα καταθύμιος ἦν Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ αὐτὴν εὔστοχα βάλλειν ἐποίει (ταύτης περὶ τὴν Ἠλιδίαν ἀλωμένης Λεύκιππος, Οἰνομάου παῖς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἦλθη καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλως πως αὐτῆς πειρᾶσθαι ἀπέγνω; ἀμφιεσάμεν ος δὲ γυναικείας ἀμπεχόνας καὶ ὁμοιωθεὶς κόρῃ συνεθήρα αὐτῇ. ἔτυχε δὲ πως αὐτῇ κατὰ νοῦν γενόμενος, οὐ μεθίει τε αὐτὸν ἀμφιπεσοῦσά τε καὶ ἐξηρτημένη πᾶσαν ὥραν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παιδὸς πόθῳ καιόμενος ὀργῇ τε καὶ φθόνῳ εἴχετο τοῦ Λευκίππου συνόντος καὶ ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτῇ βάλλει σὺν ταῖς λοιπαῖς παρθένοις ἐπὶ κρήνην ἐλθούσαις λούεσθαι. ἔνθα δή, ὡς ἀφικόμεναι ἀπεδιδύσκοντο καὶ ἑώρων τὸν Λεύκιππον μὴ βουλόμενον, περιέρρηξαν αὐτόν, μαθοῦσαι δὲ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ ὡς ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐταῖς, πᾶσαι μεθίεσαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰς αἰχμάς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ θεῶν βούλησιν ἀφανὴς γίνεται; Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ Δάφνη ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἰόντα προϊδομένη μάλα ἐρρωμένως ἔφευγεν. ὡς δὲ συνεδιώκετο, παρὰ Διὸς αἰτεῖται ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπ αλλαγῆναι; καὶ αὐτὴν φασι γενέσθαι τὸ δένδρον τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἀπ’ 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-aimed arrows.[126] 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

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[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[127]

ὁ δὲ Λάδων ποταμῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὕδωρ παρέχεται κάλλιστον, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην Δάφνης τε εἵνεκα καὶ τὰ ἀδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην. τοῦ λόγου δὲ τοῦ ἐς Δάφνην τὰ μὲν Σύροις τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ ποταμῷ παρίημι, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἠλείων. Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυναστεύσαντι ἐν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός. οὗτος ἐρασθεὶς Δάφνης ὁ Λεύκιππος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ εὐθέος μνώμενος γυναῖκα ἕξειν ἀπεγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἅτε ἅπαν τὸ ἄρσεν γένος φεύγουσαν; παρέστη δέ οἱ τοιόνδε ἐς αὐτὴν σόφισμα. ἔτρεφεν ὁ Λεύκιππος κόμην τῷ Ἀλφειῷ; ταύτην οἷα δὴ παρθένος πλεξάμενος τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνδὺς γυναικείαν ἀφίκετο ὡς τὴν Δάφνην, ἐλθὼν δὲ Οἰνομάου τε ἔλεγεν εἶναι θυγάτηρ καὶ ὡς συνθηρᾶν ἐθέλοι τῇ Δάφνῃ. ἅτε δὲ εἶναι παρθένος νομιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβλημένος παρθένους γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὰ κυνηγέσια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ θεραπεί α περισσῇ χρώμενος, ἐς φιλίαν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπάγεται τὴν Δάφνην. οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ἐς αὐτὴν ἄδοντες καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα Λευκίππῳ νεμεσῆσαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα εὐδαιμονίας. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ἡ Δάφνη καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι νήχεσθαι καὶ τὸν Λεύκιππον ἀποδύουσιν ἄκοντα; ἰδοῦσαι δὲ οὐ παρθένον τοῖς ἀκοντίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειριδίοις τύπτουσαι διέφθειραν.

"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."

APPENDIX B

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF *METAMORPHOSES* 1.438-567[128]

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,
perdidit effuso per vulnera nigra veneno.
neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,
Pythia de domitae serpentis nomine dictos.
hic iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusve rotave
vicerat, aesculeae capiebat 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 possumus hosti,
qui modo pestifero tot iugera ventre prementem
stravimus innumeris tumidum Pythona sagittis.
tu face nescio quos esto contentus amores
inritare tua nec laudes adsere nostras.'
filius huic Veneris 'figat tuus omnia, Phoebe,
te meus arcus' ait, 'quantoque animalia cedunt
cuncta deo, tanto minor est tua gloria nostra.'
dixit et eliso percussis aëre pennis
inpiger umbrosa Parnasi constitit arce
eque sagittifera prompsit duo tella pharetra
diversorum operum: fugat hoc, facit illud amorem;
quod facit, auratum est et cuspide fulget acuta,
quod fugat, obtusum est et habet sub harundine plumbum.
hoc deus in nympha Peneide fixit at illo,
laesit Apollineas traiecta per ossa medullas:
protinus alter amat, fugit altera nomen amantis
silvarum latebris captivarumque ferarum
exuviis gaudens innuptaeque aemula Phoebes;
vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos.
multi illam petiere, illa aversata petentes

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[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 crimen 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, votoque tuo tua forma repugnant.
Phoebus amat visaeque cupit conubia Daphnes,
quodque cupit, sperat, suaque illum oracula fallunt;
utque leves stipulae demptis adolentur aristis,
ut facibus saepes ardent, quas forte viator
vel nimis admovit vel iam sub luce reliquit,
sic deus in flammas abiit, sic pectore toto
uritur et sterilem sperando nutrit amorem.
spectat inornatos collo pendere capillos
et 'quid, si comantur?" ait; videt igne micantes
sideribus similes oculos, videt oscula, quae non
est vidisse satis; laudat digitosque manusque
bracchiaque et nudos media plus 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 quaeque 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 inhibe: 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, ideoque fugis. mihi Delphica tellus
et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit;
Iuppiter 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 quae vulnera pectore fecit.
inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
dicor, et herbarum subiecta potentia nobis:
ei mihi, quod nullis amor est sanabilis herbis,
nec prosunt domino, quae prosunt omnibus, artes!"

Plura locuturum timido Peneia cursu
fugit cumque ipso verba inperfecta reliquit,
tum quoque visa decens; nudabant corpora venti,
obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes,
et levis inpulsos 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 conprensus, et ipsis
morsibus eripitur tangentiaque ora relinquit):
sic deus et virgo; est hic spe celer, illa timore.
qui tamen insequitur, 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 crescunt;
pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus haeret,
ora cacumen habet: remanet nitor unus in illa.
hanc quoque Phoebus amat positaque 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 citharae, 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."