

of Accius. The allowance that Quintilian makes for Accius also serves to increase our confidence in Horace's criticism, to highlight his objectivity, and even to demonstrate a degree of generosity towards the object of his disapproval, when we discover that he has allowed precisely the same grounds for charity to operate in Lucilius' case.

Horace, then, in these four concessions appears to retreat from his standpoint, but it is only a question of *reculer pour mieux sauter*, and his denunciation, when it comes, falls with the greater force, though it is directed not so much at Lucilius himself as at his too partial *fautores*. Granted, he says, that Lucilius was all of these things that are claimed for him; none the less, were he alive to-day, the more rigorous standards of literary taste now prevailing would compel him to stop indulging his bent for facile and hastily improvised composition, to take the trouble to write properly, to curb his natural garrulity and scratch his head and gnaw his fingernails to the quick in his anxiety to trim away everything that stood between him and perfection: *detereret sibi multa...*

University of Liverpool

William Barr

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BUCOLIC-LYRIC  
MOTIFS AND DRAMATIC NARRATIVE  
IN LONGUS' DAPHNIS AND CHLOE

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The second century A.D. pastoral Greek love romance, *Daphnis and Chloe* comes at the end of a rather long tradition of bucolic literature in classical antiquity and occupies a kind of mediatorial position in the history of Western European literature thereafter. Longus' prose romance has influenced more than a few prominent writers and artists working in the pastoral tradition from the Renaissance to modern times: Torquato Tasso, Guarini, J. Sannazaro, Rodrigo de Cota, Jorge de Montemayor, Alonzo Perez, Lope de Vega, Philipp Sidney, Robert Greene to mention several<sup>1)</sup>.

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1) For Longus influence on the pastoral tradition in Western literature,

No attempt will be made in the following study to go into the pastoral tradition this side of Longus, but rather to deal with certain aspects of the tradition, already ancient in his own times, to which he made original contributions. Only one side of a twofold problem, however, will be treated here, for Longus, while having introduced the pastoral element, was still consciously writing his novel in the tradition of the ancient Greek love romance<sup>2</sup>).

By omitting irrelevant material, adapting to his purposes material traditional in the Greek romances, and introducing new motifs Longus in effect created a new art form: the pastoral romance. His work remains unique among the extant Greek love romances for the aesthetic improvements he introduced. The two major and most important of these, the pastoral setting and the theme of erotic naïvete, largely account for the success of his work, one so highly praised by poets such as Goethe<sup>3</sup>). Even if Longus had not improved in other ways, the use of the pastoral background would still have given his novel a distinctive place in the history of European literature. This is without a doubt the real unifying principle of the work and the one which more than any other sets it apart from all the other extant Greek love romances. No ancient author, so far as can be determined from existing sources, wrote a prose love romance with a complete pastoral setting. It is significant that not a single pre-Byzantine author or critic mentions or alludes to any other such work, and we may assume that such a voracious bibliophile as Photius would certainly have mentioned one had it existed.

This is not to say that Longus had no precedent for the combination of pastoral with erotic or other elements, for such combinations do appear here and there in ancient literature. His original contribution, however, was to make use of such motifs by skillfully adapting, combining and weaving them into an extended prose narrative with a plot based on erotic naïvete.

art and music see O. Schönberger, *Longos*, (Berlin, 1960), p. 27. For Longus' influence on Elizabethan prose writers see especially S. Wolff, *The Greek Romances and Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, Columbia University Press, 1912.

2) See B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances*, University of California Press, 1967.

3) Cf. Goethe, *Gespräche mit Eckermann* (vom 20.3.1831). Edition F. Kiehr (Leipzig, 1907). A convenient discussion of Goethe's deep admiration for Longus can also be found in E. Grumach, *Goethe und die Antike*, I. Band, (Potsdam, 1949), p. 316ff.

This theme of pastoral innocence in respect to the erotic emotions seems to have been his own imaginative creation. A localized pastoral milieu immediately gave him many advantages for unifying and controlling his plot, structure and material, but Longus was working with a long and well developed tradition of pastoral poetry behind him.

To understand Longus' literary heritage and the unique way he made use of it a brief sketch of the pastoral tradition before him, especially in respect to poets who seemed to have introduced special combinations of the pastoral with other motifs, will afford some perspective<sup>4</sup>).

Pastoral themes in Greek literature have a very long history. Association of shepherds with poetry and music is very ancient. Homer describes music-loving shepherds playing the syrinx (*Iliad*, 18. 525). The story of Anchises and Aphrodite is certainly pastoral and is a very early example of the combination of erotic and pastoral elements (*Iliad* 5. 313 and especially *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*). The Eumaeus episode of the *Odyssey* bears distinct traces of bucolic sentiment as opposed to heroic or aristocratic sentiment. Hesiod, of course, especially in *Works and Days*, is a forerunner of the pastoral poet.

Concerning the actual origins, however, of the ancient pastoral conceived as an independent genre one can only conjecture. Stesichorus of Himera (c. 600 B.C.) is the first known writer to have introduced the figure of Daphnis into poetry<sup>5</sup>). He portrayed Daphnis' love so vividly and intensely that from his time on the shepherd-in-love became a common theme of poetry. Here the union of the pastoral and the erotic was made complete. Early satyr drama also more than likely contained many bucolic motifs. (E.g., the first chorus of Euripides' *Cyclops*.)

The Sicilian story of the Cyclops Polyphemus and his love for Galatea is a further example of the erotic-pastoral motif, one which Philoxenus of Cythera (435-380 B.C.) seems to have introduced into literature<sup>6</sup>). Philoxenus described the transfor-

4) The following historical sketch is based on that of O. Schönberger, *op. cit.*, p. 8 ff.

5) Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, RE 3, 1003. See also A. Lesky, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* (Bern, 1957/58), p. 146. Also J. Vurtheim, *Stesichoros. Fragmente und Biographie* (Leyden, 1919).

6) On Philoxenus cf. Lesky, *op. cit.*, p. 391, p. 658; Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, II, 26. For fragments cf. T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, iii, p. 601.

mation of the savage Cyclops into a loving shepherd. Here is a theme which Theocritus, and later Virgil and Ovid were to take up<sup>7</sup>).

The dithyrambic poet Lycophronides treated shepherd life in a sentimental way<sup>8</sup>). Very often, too, New Comedy reflects idealistic praise of the countryside. Finally, perhaps about the end of the fourth century B. C., bucolic poetry as an independent genre may have emerged in Arcadia. Its chief proponent may have been Anyte of Tegea. We have a number of her epigrams in which nature is described idyllically<sup>9</sup>). Longus surely knew her work and imitated her. She may have been the model he followed in uniting religion with pastoral<sup>10</sup>).

Philetas of Cos (before 320, after 270 B. C.) seems to have been the leader of a society of young poets about 290 B. C. who dressed in shepherds' garb and used poetic pen-names<sup>11</sup>). His writings were very important for Theocritus, who probably belonged to his society. It is significant that Longus calls his oldest and most venerable shepherd by the name Philetas (2. 15. 1). In addition, he colored his description of Eros (2. 4. ff) with certain motifs definitely traceable to Philetas of Cos<sup>12</sup>).

Theocritus (310–250 B. C.) became for posterity the pastoral poet par excellence. He is, of course, Longus' most frequently used model—indeed, to such a degree that many of Longus' pastoral episodes are expanded and modified Theocritean motifs. Longus borrowed not only the bucolic apparatus of Theocritus, but also many of the names of his characters: Amaryllis, Daphnis, Cleariste, Tityrus, Philetas, Chromis, and he even makes a point of emphasizing this close relationship to Theocritus. When

7) Cf. Theocritus, XI; Vergil, *Eclogue* II; Ovid, *Metam.* XIII, 741 ff.

8) Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, RE 3, 1004. See also Lykophronides in Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.* For fragments T. Bergk, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 633.

9) Cf. especially *The Greek Anthology*, Bk. 16, nos. 228, 231, 291. Ed. W. R. Paton, The Loeb Classical Library, Vol. V (New York, 1917). Also Bk. 7, no. 215. On Anyte, cf. A. Lesky, *op. cit.*, p. 675.

10) *Anth. Pal.* 16, 291.

11) Cf. Theocritus VII and commentary on this idyll in A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, Vol II, Oxford University Press, 1952. Theocritus makes Sicily the scene of the pastoral, thus establishing the convention that it produces the most poetic shepherds, as well as some of the best cattle and sheep. Cf. V. M. Scramuzza, *Economic Survey of the Roman Empire*, III, pp. 278–280.

12) Cf. J. Hubeaux, *Acad. Roy. de Belgique, Classe de Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, Ser. 5, 39, 1953, p. 263 ff (Article: 'Le Dieu Amour chez Propertius et chez Longus').

Lamon recounts the history of the syrinx (2. 33. 3), he says that he once had heard it from a "Sicilian shepherd".

Theocritus portrays his world of Sicilian shepherds in varying degrees of realism. Virgil, by idealizing shepherd life and introducing mythical elements, completely transformed this Theocritean pastoral world, infusing it with deep sentiment and delicacy of feeling. He created a kind of utopian never-never land far removed from the harsh realities of this earthly existence. This dreamland Virgil called Arcadia, the home of singing shepherds, of the pastoral god Pan, the inventor of the syrinx. Though we find traces of the hardships of his own times in Virgil's *Eclogues*, the loudness of his complaints is almost completely muffled by the hope he voices for the pure life of a new Golden Age<sup>13</sup>).

There is no indication that Longus read Virgil's poems or any Latin literature, but he too has his own "Arcadia" which he calls Lesbos. It too is an idealized world in which man is portrayed in very close harmony with nature and with the gods. Longus' rustic characters also live in a pastoral fairyland which offers hopes of the pure life of a Golden Age.

Undoubtedly Longus was heavily indebted to his predecessors for his conception of country life and for pastoral poetic motifs. But he probably borrowed from the pastoral tradition, too, a considerable amount of his plot material. Daphnis, the shepherd par excellence, was the embodiment of the ideal shepherd life<sup>14</sup>). According to legend, he was the son of Hermes and a nymph who placed him after his birth in a laurel grove (hence the name). Shepherds found him, nymphs reared him, Pan himself taught him to play the pipes. He became a cowherd and the cattle he watched over were from the same stock as the famous cattle of Helios. (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18. So at 4.4. 5 in Longus we find the animals of Daphnis compared to the sacred goats of Pan.) Daphnis is supposed to have composed many original songs. Artemis hunted with him and enjoyed hearing him sing. As her protégé, he swore never to yield to

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13) For studies on Vergil and his adaptation of Theocritus, see especially G. Rohde, *De Vergilii Eclogarum Forma et Indole* (Berlin, 1925); F. Klingner, 'Wiederentdeckung eines Dichters' in *Römische Geisteswelt* (Munich, 1956); Bruno Snell, 'Arkadien', in *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, Hamburg 1948. Perhaps the best up to date treatment is Brooks Otis' *Vergil; A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oxford University Press, 1963.

14) On Daphnis cf. Pauly-Wissowa, RE 4, 1901, 2141, 2146.

love and thereby roused the wrath of Aphrodite who fired him with a burning passion for a certain maiden. He tried in vain to suppress his love but in the end succumbed. (This is the legend Theocritus follows in *Idyll I.*) A variant of the story tells of the love of Daphnis for the nymph Echenais to whom he had sworn perfect fidelity. When he broke his oath he was blinded and fell from a cliff to his death. From this traditional material Longus borrowed the name, perhaps the exposure motif, and the pastoral milieu.

Perhaps the Daphnis drama of Sositheos (between 310 and 230 B.C.) influenced Longus in his mingling of the pastoral with the romantic element<sup>15</sup>). In this drama Pan was the judge in a contest between Daphnis and Menalcas for the hand of Thaleia. He decided in favor of Daphnis, but Thaleia was seized and carried off by robbers and forced to serve as a house slave of the king Lityerses. With the help of Heracles Daphnis found her, rescued her, and eventually triumphed over his adversary to become king himself<sup>16</sup>). From this drama probably come the following episodes in Longus: Daphnis' contest with Dorcon (1. 15 ff), the seizure of Daphnis (1. 28.), and of Chloe (2. 20).

There is no question that Longus made use of the pseudo-Theocritean poem *Oaristys* (*Idyll XXVII*), a highly erotic conversation between a shepherd named Daphnis and a girl<sup>17</sup>).

Kerenyi thinks that Longus may also have been influenced by the Ninus romance<sup>18</sup>). In it the two children were probably nursed by animals and later found by shepherds. The girl in this romance may have grown up in a pastoral environment with the royal steward of the flocks. Here we may have the beginnings of a bucolic idyll in prose. The model for Chloe may well have been the maiden of the Ninus romance.

Finally, Longus may have known Dion of Prusa's *Hunter* (*Orat. VII*). It has some definitely pastoral characteristics, but in no sense of the word could it be called a love romance. It is

15) Cf. A. Nauck, *TGF*<sup>2</sup> p. 821. Also scholia (ed. Wendel) on Theocritus X. 42. See also F. Schramm, *Tragicorum Graec. Hellenisticae quae dicuntur aetatis fragmenta etc.* Diss. Münster, 1931. Also Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, II 172, 6.

16) Cf. Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, Buc. 8, 68, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen, Leipzig, 1878-1902.

17) Cf. M. C. Mittelstadt, *Longus and the Greek Love Romance*, diss. Stanford University, 1964, Chapter III, p. 83 ff.

18) K. Kerényi, *Die Griechisch-Orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Tübingen, 1927), p. 147.

really more of a comment upon the evils of life in the town as opposed to the virtues of the countryside, and in fact is told from the viewpoint of a city dweller (Dion himself), who betrays certain escapist tendencies.

But in spite of what has been pointed out above Longus' debt to the pastoral tradition, the bucolic apparatus he employs is borrowed almost wholly from the Hellenistic poets Moschus, Bion, and above all Theocritus. One of Longus' outstanding skills, in fact, is his ability to adapt and transform single verses or groups of verses into a prose narrative. Georg Rohde has demonstrated the techniques of such adaptation<sup>19</sup>). For instance, Longus makes no attempt to conceal the fact that he is borrowing. In fact, much of his success in adapting motifs depends upon how well the reader *knows* his Theocritus. The Philetas episode illustrates well this deliberate evocation of Theocritean reminiscences. Philetas ends his instructions on love with the following advice (2. 7): "Ἐρωτος γὰρ οὐδὲν φάρμακον, οὐ πινόμενον, οὐκ ἐσθιόμενον, οὐκ ἐν ᾠδαῖς λαλούμενον, ὅτι μὴ φίλημα καὶ περιβολὴ καὶ συγκατακλιθῆναι γυμνοῖς σώμασι. A reader familiar with his Theocritus will readily recall the beginning of the Cyclops (Id. XI):

οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο  
Νικία, οὐτ' ἔγχριστον, ἐμὴν δοκεῖ, οὐτ' ἐπίπαστον  
ἦ ταὶ Πιερίδες...

The negation of *ἦ ταὶ Πιερίδες* to *οὐκ ἐν ᾠδαῖς λαλούμενον* followed by Philetas' realistic advice is evidently intended to be ironical. Sometimes, above all in descriptions, Longus carefully combines several individual lines or phrases gathered from various passages in different poems: — e.g., in the description of the beginning of summer: *ἡδεῖα μὲν τεττῶν ἡχῆ, γλυκεῖα δὲ ὀπώρας ὄδμη, τερπνὴ δὲ ποιμνίων βληχῆ.*

The corresponding Theocritean passages are:

XVI 94–96 *ἀνίκα τέττιξ / ... ὑπόθι δένδρων / ἀχεῖ...*  
VII 143 *πάντ' ὥσθεν θέρεος μάλα πίονος, ὥσδε δ' ὀπώρας*  
XVI 92 *ἄμ πεδίον βληχῶντο...*

These lines contain verbs which Longus changes into three rhyming substantives, a substitute, no doubt, for the meter

19) G. Rohde, 'Longus und die Bukolik', *Rheinisches Museum*, 86, 1937, pp. 23–49.

which he could not maintain in prose<sup>20</sup>). Similarly in 3. 18 where Daphnis promises gifts to Lykainion for her love instruction, we find a direct imitation of Theocritus I. 10 and I. 57. Longus (3. 18.): *καὶ ἔριπον αὐτῇ σηκίτην δώσειν ἐπηγγελατο καὶ τυροὺς ἀπαλοὺς πρωτοροστού γάλακτος καὶ τὴν αἶγα αὐτῆν.*

Theocritus: *ἄρα τὸ σακίταν λαψῆ γέρας. αἰ δέ κ' ἀρέσκη... (I. 10)*  
*τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ πορθμῆι Καλυδνίῳ αἶγά τ' ἔδωκα*  
*ᾧνον καὶ τυρόεντα μέγαν λευκοῖο γάλακτος. (I. 57/58)*

At the end of the romance Longus describes the wedding of Daphnis and Chloe. It is to be a true shepherd's wedding – *ποιμενικοί* –, and here Longus models directly upon the end of Theocritus VI: the conclusion of a contest between Damoitas and Daphnis (VI 42; 44/45).

*τόσσ' εἰπὼν τὸν Δάφνιν ὁ Δαμοίτας ἐφίλησε·*  
*αὔλει Δαμοίτας, σύρισδε δὲ Δάφνις ὁ βούτας·*  
*ὠρχεῦντ' ἐν μαλακᾷ ται πόρτιες αὐτίκα ποία.*

The verbal reminiscences of Theocritus in Longus are unmistakable (4. 38): *Φιλητᾶς ἐσύρισε, Λάμπις ἠὔλησε, Δρύας καὶ Λάμιον ὠρχήσαντο, Χλόη καὶ Δάφνις ἀλλήλους κατεφίλων. ἐνέμοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ αἶγες πλησίον, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐταὶ κοινωνοῦσαι τῆς ἐορτῆς.* Here is an expression of the pastoral joy and felicity so characteristic of Longus' work – the flute playing, piping and the participation of even the animals in the festivities. Longus changes here only the attitude of the animals. In Theocritus they actually dance to the music and song; in Longus they merely graze nearby, as evidence of the close relationship they hold to Daphnis.

So far Rohde's analysis is adequate. But he asserts that since the bucolic apparatus is mainly Theocritean, with some borrowing from Moschus and Bion, the pastoral world which Longus creates resembles exactly, both in tone and spirit, the pastoral world of these poets. Nothing could be further from the truth. Longus does not preserve the same bucolic atmosphere of these poets. His conception of the pastoral life, as we have already mentioned, is much more akin to that of Virgil.

20) Besides the obvious Theocritean reminiscences, there are phrases in the longer passages which suggest iambic trimeter. This is true of Longus phraseology as a whole. It suggests, of course, the influence of New Comedy on Longus.



It is quite true as Rohde shows that Longus re-creates in general the *externals* of a shepherd's world just as it is described in Theocritus. He covers the entire realm of the pastoral world: the driving out of flocks in the spring, their return, their pasturing and rest, the milking, the preparation of rustic meals from the frugal produce of the countryside, the lives of shepherds, their dress, competition in song and piping – everything, in short, that has a precedent in the bucolic poets. But as close as this relationship appears, there is a clearly discernible point of departure. Theocritus, for instance, though he idealizes nature to some extent, especially in his Thyrsis, portrays his Sicilian shepherds with a good deal more realism – or at least a feigned realism. Here I agree with Gow who states that some of his pastoral idylls, for example IV and V, differ from his urban mimes only in theme<sup>21</sup>).

In addition to this, as Bruno Snell puts it, "Theocritus takes some pains to present a realistic picture of the life led by Sicilian shepherds. But in one respect they are anything rather than countryfolk: their mood is a literary one."<sup>22</sup>) Snell also sees the Theocritean pastoral idyll as a kind of masquerade in which the poet wishes us to recognize the poets of his own circle behind the rustic disguise. The most famous of these, of course, and one full of literary problems, is Idyll VII, the so-called harvest poem. Theocritus uses the classic theme of singing and playing shepherds and develops the scope of the pastoral poem by voicing the literary themes of the day. Consequently there is much good-natured humor in Theocritus. Striking examples of this are III and XI, both of them full of irony. Snell states it aptly, "The dissonance between the bucolic simplicity of the pasture and the literary refinement of the city is never completely resolved, nor was it ever intended to be, for the whole point of Theocritus' humor lies in this dissonance."<sup>23</sup>)

Snell also points out that at times Theocritus puts into the mouths of his shepherds diction so erudite and removed from the simplicity you would expect that it appears most inappropriate, unless, of course, one sees the humorous intention. For example: (Id. VII 74ff)

21) A.S.F.Gow, *Greek Bucolic Poets*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953, p. xv.

22) B.Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, Harper Torchbooks, Harper and Bros., New York, 1960, p. 285.

23) *Ibid.*, p. 286.

χῶς ἄρος ἀμφ' ἐπονεῖτο καὶ ὡς δρύες αὐτὸν ἐθρήνηεν  
 Ἰμέρα αἴτε φρόντι παρ' ὄχθαισιν ποταμοῖο  
 εὔτε χιῶν ὡς τις κατετάκετο μακρὸν ὑφ' Αἴμον  
 ἦ ἢ Ἀθῶ ἦ Ῥοδόπαν ἦ Κανάκασον ἐσχατώωντα.

With deliberate irony he puts his shepherds into an intellectual climate far above what would normally be expected.

Longus distinctly changes this Theocritean world. He elevates considerably the tone and sentiment in his adaptation of Theocritean motifs. Can we account for this change? The process is somewhat difficult to describe, first because of the very close-knit, organic nature of *Daphnis and Chloe* in which all elements are inextricably fused. And second because Longus is no slavish imitator and borrows only general motifs for adaptation. There are, indeed, many easily recognizable verbal reminiscences of Theocritus, as we have already indicated<sup>24</sup>). But they are scattered throughout the narrative and there is no one extended passage which has any point-to-point correspondence with a poem or long passage from Theocritus. We shall show later, furthermore, that Longus uses these Theocritean motifs only as the basis for extended dramatic narrative.

There are two essential reasons which, though separable in theory but indistinguishable in fact, account for this difference in tone and sentiment. First, though there are precedents for the bucolic-romantic motif in Greek literature, nowhere is it used as *the basis of an extended narrative*. Longus thus employs, as will be demonstrated, the Theocritean pastoral apparatus *solely as the basis for a dramatic narrative*, the theme of which is always love. Second is Longus' peculiar combination of the pastoral with a romance in which he stresses the innocence and naïvete of the lovers. The focal point of the novel remains fixed upon Daphnis and Chloe and their intimate relationship. They are always to be found at the center. Each episode ends with them together, alone and in an idyllic atmosphere of delicate feeling and charm.

The romance of Longus thus represents a radical departure from the other Greek love novels, essentially because of its completely different treatment of the love theme – i.e., the

24) A convenient list of most known Theocritean verbal reminiscences is to be found in G. Valley, *Über den Sprachgebrauch des Longus*, Diss. Upsala, 1926. These reminiscences are also cited *passim* in the commentary of O. Schönberger, *op. cit.*

steady growth of the erotic instinct in two sexually naive adolescents. The love element in the other romances, though essential to the outcome of the plot, is more often than not merely a handle for the motivation of melodramatic episodes. This is only to be expected where the chief emphasis falls upon adventure and surprise, both of which Longus keeps to a bare minimum<sup>25</sup>).

Did Longus get his theme of pastoral innocence or erotic naïveté from some other source? More than likely it is his own invention, for existing ancient literature prior to his time reveals no traces of such a theme. There are to be found, as we have mentioned, erotic-pastoral motifs, but none of these even so much as hints at erotic naïveté. Perhaps the Cupid and Psyche tale in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* comes closest, but here again, in spite of the delicacy and charm, the pastoral atmosphere, and the elevated tone and sentiment of the narrative, there is nothing in the erotic motif to indicate that Apuleius wished his readers to believe that Psyche was naively innocent of sexual love. Besides, it would be very difficult to show that Longus knew Apuleius or his sources.

Long before Apuleius, the Latin elegist Tibullus had united pastoral with love motifs. He, too, especially in I. 1, idealizes country life, longing for a place of refuge and escape from the frenzied activity of the city<sup>26</sup>). He would take with him his beloved Delia to live the pure and simple, rustic life enriched with untrammelled love. But here again, Delia is a sophisticated woman of the world. Pastoral innocence is the very last thing one could expect of her.

Virgil also united the pastoral with the erotic, especially in Eclogue X in his address to Gallus<sup>27</sup>). But Lycoris, too, is a sophisticated woman of the world. A woman who has run off with a soldier is not exactly naively innocent of the ways of love.

The Palatine Anthology, though containing a few epigrams of a pastoral-erotic nature, reveals no such motif of innocent naïveté, nor anything even to suggest such a theme<sup>28</sup>). It appears, then, that this motif was entirely the invention of Longus, and he uses it throughout in combination with pastoral motifs as the basis of an extended narrative.

25) Cf. M. Mittelstadt, *op. cit.*, ch. II.

26) Cf. also Tibullus I, 10; II, 1. 37-80; II. 4. 95-104.

27) Cf. *Vergilii Opera*, Eclogue 10.

28) Cf. *Pal. Anth.*, Bk. VII, 195 (Meleager), 196. Also Book IX, 437 (Theocritus).

A typical motif of pastoral poetry is the singing match. Description of such contests includes the choice of a judge, the determining of prizes, the banter of opponents, a defense, final judgment and the award of the prizes followed by a description of the feelings of both rivals. A good example of this in Theocritus is Idyll V, where a goatherd, Comatas, encounters Lacon, a shepherd. The latter challenges Comatas to a singing contest; after further bickering the two summon Morson, a nearby wood-cutter, to act as judge, and the contest begins. Comatas and Lacon vie with each other in alternating couplets which contain themes ranging from affairs of the heart to the ways of animals, insect pests and personalities. Morson awards the prize to Comatas, who thereupon exalts in his victory.

Longus introduces such a motif into his story and Georg Rohde has indicated how it has been transformed into a kind of pastoral drama by making some rather bold substitutions: a girl as judge and a kiss as prize. Rohde has not, however, explained how Longus used the traditional pastoral elements as a basis for his narrative, nor how he has distinctly elevated the tone and sentiment of the whole by other striking innovations. In the following analysis we shall attempt to show these.

Let us first describe the episode. Chloe has already fallen in love with Daphnis, although she does not as yet understand this new emotion. (This is an important point to keep in mind.) After the wolf-pit incident she had seen Daphnis bathing and was instantly struck by his beauty. In the meantime the young cowherd, Dorcon, having fallen in love with Chloe, has emerged as Daphnis' rival. As Longus says: (I. 15) *Δόρκων δὲ ὁ βοσκός, ὁ τὸν Δάφνιν ἐκ τοῦ σιροῦ... ἀνιμῆσάμενος, ἀρτιγένειος μειρακίσκος καὶ εἰδῶς ἔρωτος καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοῦνομα, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐρωτικῶς τῆς Χλόης διετέθη, πλειόνων δὲ διαγενομένων μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξεπυρσεύθη καὶ τοῦ Δάφνιδος ὡς παιδὸς καταφρονήσας ἔγνω κατεργάσασθαι δώροις ἢ βίᾳ.*

One day the inevitable argument breaks out between Dorcon and Daphnis. It takes the form of a contest of self-praise with Chloe as judge. The prize is to be a kiss, the kiss which sets Daphnis aflame with love. The scene is a mosaic of Theocritean verbal reminiscences, and its structure resembles a typical amoeban singing match. But what makes it more than just an imitation of Theocritus, other than the fact that it is in prose?

First of all, Longus has made the contest one of personal eulogy; secondly, he has substituted a girl for judge and a kiss for prize as we have already indicated. Ingenious as these innovations are, they still do not explain the essential differences. The episode must therefore be discussed within the total context. Up to this point in the narrative several important aspects of the relationship between Daphnis and Chloe have been stressed emphatically, chief among them the fact that they are destined to become lovers. This fact, of course, is obvious from Longus' prologue. Both have been constantly together at work and at play. Only night has separated them. The intimacy and mutual affection have gradually increased until Chloe finally falls in love with Daphnis. Now it is Daphnis' turn, and it will be the kiss which will inflame him.

How does Daphnis win the kiss? His self-eulogy is in structure essentially the same as Dorcon's. Both speeches fall into two parts: first, praise of the good qualities of self; second, disparaging remarks about the rival. It is true that Daphnis introduces a mythico-religious element by comparing himself with the gods: with Zeus because of his having been nursed by animals, with Pan because of his being a goatherd, and with Dionysus because of his youthful beauty. But two elements of his speech distinguish it from that of Dorcon and allow him to win Chloe's kiss. First, his beauty, up to this point only dimly perceived by Chloe, is here described for her in his own words. As a result she is probably reminded of the bath, her feelings for him are intensified and brought into focus. Secondly, he stresses the one thing Dorcon ought not to have neglected: Chloe's own beauty. Notice the difference in endings of the two speeches:

Dorcon: *καὶ ἔστι πένης ὡς μηδὲ κίνα τρέφειν. Εἰ δ', ὡς λέγουσι, καὶ αἷξ αὐτῶ γάλα δέδωκεν, οὐδὲν ἐρίφου διαφέρει."*

Daphnis: *πάν δέη σε φιλεῖν, ἐμοῦ μὲν φιλήσεις τὸ στόμα, τούτου δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ γενείου τρίχας. Μέμνησο δέ, ᾧ παρθένε, ὅτι [καὶ] σὲ ποιμνιον ἔθρεψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ [ὡς] εἰ κολή."*

These last few words, simple as they are, because they appeal directly to Chloe and her feminine instinct, are very eloquent and persuasive. They are the very words she had been waiting to hear: (I. 17) *Οὐκέθ' ἢ Χλόη περιέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἡσθεῖσα τῷ ἐγκωμίῳ, τὰ δὲ πάλαι ποθοῦσα φιλήσαι Δάφνιν, ἀναπηδήσασα αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν, ἀδίδακτον μὲν καὶ ἄτεχρον, πάνυ δὲ ψυχὴν θερμᾶναι δυνάμενον.*

The tone and sentiment of this episode are distinctly higher than anything in the pastoral idylls of Theocritus. The elevation is largely accounted for simply by its place within the context of the whole novel. The relationship of the young lovers, warm and intimate to begin with, now becomes closer. But there is more in the passage to explain the grace and charm of Longus. Let us examine, in Longus' Greek, what follows the kiss. (I 17f.) Δάφνης δὲ ὡσπερ οὐ φιληθεῖς, ἀλλὰ δηχθεῖς σκυθρωπός τις εὐθὺς ἦν καὶ πολλάκις ἐψύχετο καὶ τὴν καρδίαν παλλομένην κατειχε καὶ βλέπειν μὲν ἤθελε τὴν Χλόην, βλέπων δὲ ἐρυνθήματι ἐπίμπλατο. τότε πρῶτον καὶ τὴν κόμην αὐτῆς ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι ξανθὴ, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὅτι μεγάλοι καθάπερ βοός, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὅτι λευκότερον ἀληθῶς καὶ τοῦ τῶν αἰγῶν γάλακτος, ὡσπερ τότε πρῶτον ὀφθαλμοὺς κτησάμενος, τῶν δὲ πρότερον χρόνων πεπηρωμένος. οὔτε οὐδὲν τροφήν προσεφέρετο πλὴν ὅσον ἀπογεύσασθαι. καὶ ποτόν, εἴ ποτε ἐβιάσθη, μέχρι τοῦ ἂν διαβρέξαι τὸ στόμα προσεφέρετο. σιωπηλὸς ἦν ὁ πρότερον τῶν ἀκριδῶν λαλίστερος, ἀργὸς ὁ περιττότερα τῶν αἰγῶν κινούμενος. ἡμέλητο καὶ ἡ ἀγέλη. ἔρριπτο καὶ ἡ σῦριγξ. χλωρότερον τὸ πρόσωπον ἦν πῶς θερυνῆς. εἰς μῶν Ἥλῳν ἐγίνετο λάλος. καὶ εἴ ποτε μόνος ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελήγει.

Τί ποτέ με Χλόης ἐργάζεται φίλημα; χεῖλη μὲν ῥόδων ἀπαλώτερα καὶ στόμα κηρίων γλυκύτερον, τὸ δὲ φίλημα κέντρον μελίττης πικρότερον. πολλάκις ἐφίλησα ἐρίφους, πολλάκις ἐφίλησα σκύλακας ἀστιγεννήτους καὶ τὸν μύσχον, ὃν ὁ Δόρκων ἐχαρίσατο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο φίλημα καινόν. ἐκπηδᾷ μου τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐξάλλεται ἡ καρδία, τήκεται ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ ὅμως πάλιν φιλῆσαι θέλω.

The alert reader will readily notice echoes, both verbal and descriptive, of the poetess Sappho<sup>29</sup>). There is little question

29) Many of these reminiscences are undoubtedly from the famous φαίνεται μοι κῆρος ἴσος θεοῖσιν. (Fr. 31, Lobel & Page). e. g., πολλάκις ἐψύχετο – ἀλλ' ἄκαν μὲν γλώσσα πέπαγεν; καρδίαν παλλομένην κατειχε – καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπίτῳαισεν; χλωρότερον τὸ πρόσωπον ἦν πῶς θερυνῆς – χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίης ἔμμι. Expressions such as καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον (ἐθαύμασε), ὅτι λευκότερον ... καὶ τοῦ τῶν αἰγῶν γάλακτος (I. 18. 1.), χεῖλη ῥόδων ἀπαλώτερα ... are reminiscent of Sappho, too. Cf. Gregory of Corinth on Hermogenes, *Rhetores Graeci* 7, 1236, Walz: Τὰ Ἀνακρέοντος, τὰ Σαπφοῦς, ὅσον „γάλακτος λευκοτέρα“, „ὑδατος ἀπαλωτέρα“, „ῥόδων ἀβροτέρα“ ... Cf. E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Vol. I, fasc. IV, 2nd edition, Leipzig 1935, p. 79 on Sappho fr. 138.

The statement of Demetrius (3. 132) concerning *χαρὰ κτῆρ γλαφυρός* is certainly applicable to the style of Longus, too: εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, ὅσον νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφοῦς ποιήσις.

On this Sapphic coloring in Longus, see also E. Rohde, *Griechischer Roman*, p. 552.

that Longus had a strong liking for her poetry, for reminiscences from her works are frequent in *Daphnis and Chloe*. This deliberate use of Sappho reflects a very important aesthetic intention of Longus, and he used her to color his narrative with a sentiment decidedly different from that found in any of the other Greek love romances, the authors of which relied upon poetic models of another type<sup>30</sup>). The Sapphic coloring in combination with Theocritean motifs does show Longus' aim to maintain as completely and as consistently as possible throughout the work the fusion of pastoral with romance. It shows also his technique of adapting lyrical *descriptive* passages to dramatic *narrative* episodes.

Another example of Longus' skillful adaptation of pastoral motifs by which he expresses lyrically the very tender and intimate relationship of Daphnis and Chloe in a dramatic narrative is to be found at the end of Book III, chs. 33-34.

The scene begins with a passage modeled upon a well-known verse of Sappho (Diehl, fr. 116. Lobel-Page 105 a):

οἶον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρω ἐπ' ὕσσω  
 ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ· λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδροῦπες,  
 οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι...

Longus, in his usual manner, not only expands this motif but builds a whole incident out of it.

Longus: (III. 33-34) καὶ ἐν μῆλον ἐπέτετο ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄκροις ἀκροτάτον, μέγα καὶ καλὸν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν εὐωδίαν ἐνίκα μόνον. ἔδεισεν ὁ τρυγῶν ἀνελεθεῖν, ἠμέλησε καθελεῖν. τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐφυλάττετο (τὸ) καλὸν μῆλον ἐρωτικῶ ποιμένι.

Chloe had become piqued at Daphnis for ignoring her when she tried to prevent him from climbing the tree to fetch the lone, beautiful apple. But the scene ends tenderly. "ὦ παρθένε, τοῦτο τὸ μῆλον ἔφρυσαν ὦραι καλαὶ καὶ φυτόν καλὸν ἔθρυσεν πεπαίνοντος ἡλίου, καὶ ἐτήρησε Τύχη. Καὶ οὐκ ἐμελλον αὐτὸ καταλαπεῖν ὀφθαλμοῦς ἔχων, ἵνα πέσῃ χαμαὶ καὶ ἡ ποιμνιον αὐτὸ πατήσῃ νεμόμενον ἢ ἐρπετὸν φαρμάξῃ συρόμενον ἢ χρόνος δαπανήσῃ κείμενον, βλεπόμενον, ἐπαινούμενον. Τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλους ἔλαβεν ἄθλον. τοῦτο ἐγὼ σοὶ δίδωμι νικητήριον. Ὅμοίως ἔχομεν τοὺς σοὺς μάρτυρας. ἐκεῖνος ἦν ποιμήν, αἰπόλος ἐγώ." Ταῦτα εἰπὼν

30) See M. C. Mittelstadt, *op. cit.*, Appendix B on style of Longus. See also Giuseppe Giangrande, 'On the Origins of the Greek Romance', *Eranos*, LX, 1962, pp. 145 ff.

ἐντίθησι τοῖς κόλποις. ἡ δὲ ἐγγὺς γενόμενον κατεφίλησεν, ὥστε ὁ Δάφνης οὐ μετέγνω τολμήσας ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τοσοῦτον ὕψος. ἔλαβε γὰρ κρεῖττον καὶ χρυσοῦ μήλου φίλημα.

The foregoing passage serves more than merely to show Longus' skill at the adaptation of Sapphic elements. True, Longus expands the lyric passage into a longer episode. But there are other aspects of this passage worth mentioning. For one thing Longus is here consciously using symbolism. The context of Sappho's lines quoted on the preceding page is given by Himerius, *Or.* 9, 16: the girl, like the apple, remains intact despite the zeal of her pursuers. We may definitely assume that Longus had the context in mind. Chloe's virginity does remain intact despite zealous attempts made upon her by Dorcon, by Daphnis himself, and by Lampis in Bk. IV. The apple thus becomes symbolic of Chloe and of her whole life – born at a beautiful time of the year (presumably spring), nursed by a beautiful tree (an allusion to nature herself), ripened by the sun (another allusion to nature, especially the seasons, or perhaps to the emotion of love), and protected by fortune (an allusion to Eros and the pastoral divinities). She is a girl too beautiful to be merely thrown upon the world and used to sate someone's lust – just as the apple is too beautiful to be trampled underfoot, poisoned by a snake, or merely stared at. The allusion to Aphrodite points up not only the fact of Chloe's beauty. She is also to be Daphnis' prize, just as the apple is her prize. She is also to be won only after a struggle – a competition in which Daphnis must engage not only with others, but also with himself if her virginity, symbolized again by the apple, is to be preserved until the end of the story. This single passage also becomes symbolic of the whole story. The apple is at once Chloe, her beauty and virginity, and the prize itself.

The whole episode in which this passage occurs, from beginning to end, is a particularly good example of Longus' skill at adaptation through both *expansion* and *synthesis*. The first part of the scene (III. 33), which describes Daphnis and Chloe performing their chores together, contains echoes of Homer, *Odyssey* Bk. 9, where the Cyclops is described going about his daily tasks: καὶ ἐκοινῶνει τοῦ πόνου. "Ἡμελεγε μὲν εἰς γαυλοὺς τὸ γάλα, ἐνεπήγγνυ δὲ ταρσοῖς τοὺς τυρούς, προσέβαλλε [δὲ] ταῖς μητράσι τοὺς ἄρνας καὶ τοὺς ἐρίφους. Καλῶς δὲ ἐχόντων τούτων ἀπελούσαντο, ἐνέφαγον, ἐπιον, περιήεσαν ζητοῦντες σπῶραν ἀκμάζουσαν.



The second part, a description of the fruit trees, is modeled directly upon Theocritus, (VII. 143 ff).

Longus: (III. 33) ἦν δὲ ἀφθονία πολλή διὰ τὸ τῆς ὥρας πάμπορον. πολλαὶ μὲν ἀχράδες, πολλαὶ δὲ ὄχραι, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα. τὰ μὲν ἤδη πεπτωκότα κάτω, τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἐπὶ τῶν φρυτῶν. τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εὐωδέστερα. τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων εὐανθέστερα. τὰ μὲν οἶον οἶνος ἀπῶξε. τὰ δὲ οἶον χρυσὸς ἀπέλαμπε. μία μηλέα τετρῦγγητο καὶ οὔτε καρπὸν εἶχεν οὔτε φύλλον. γυμνοὶ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ κλάδοι.

Theocritus: (VII 143 ff)

πάντ' ὄσθεν θέρεος μάλα πίνος, ὥσδε δ' ὀπώρας.  
ὄχραι μὲν παρ ποσσὶ, παρὰ πλευραῖσι δὲ μάλα  
δαυιλέως ἅμῃν ἐκυλίνδετο. τοὶ δ' ἐκέχυντο  
ὄρπακες βραβίλοισι καταβρίθοντες ἔραζε.

The whole passage, than, is another example of the method Longus uses to develop through dramatic and descriptive narrative his central theme: the ever-growing tender and intimate relationship of Daphnis and Chloe. Other idyllic scenes similar to the two here discussed are 1. 23-24, springtime activities; 1. 25-26, Chloe's sleep and the grasshopper incident; 1. 27, Daphnis' tale of the ring-dove; 2. 32-37, the interlude in which pastoral entertainment is described; 3. 3-11, Daphnis' visit to the cottage of Dryas in wintertime; 3. 31, Daphnis' tale of Echo. It is in these scenes, where the feeling displayed is at its most delicate, that Longus reaches his highest degree of poetry. Actually, most of these scenes are pastoral interludes quite unconnected with the *external* action of the plot. Though one of their functions is aesthetic, to color the narrative with a graceful and charming atmosphere, their primary purpose is to advance the inner or psychological movement of the plot, the gradual development of love in Daphnis and Chloe.

Longus' pastoral novel is thus unique in the history of Greek literature. The pastoral setting for a love romance in prose is partly accountable, but the author's originality lies more in the methods of both expansion and synthesis he used in adapting traditional motifs from bucolic and lyric poetry to build his dramatic narrative.

State University of New York  
Binghamton

Michael C. Mittelstadt