

Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* and Achilles' Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* appear to be distinctly different works. The former stresses childhood innocence and the life of the lowly, has few journeys or real adventures, posits a close communion of the human and the divine, and provides a happy ending which points toward a continuation of the beneficent state through the central couple's children. The latter has sophisticated, if not slightly degenerate, urban protagonists who undertake a long journey and endure rather grotesque adventures. What divine apparatus exists has an ironic cast and the abrupt conclusion; this aspect, along with the hero's initial appearance, make the reader wonder if Clitophon has really enjoyed a substantial happy ending. Nevertheless, I would argue that these jarring differences mask very significant points of comparison. I shall first consider various elements which allow *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Leucippe and Clitophon* to be cast as complementary (and sometimes congruent) answers to the challenge of adapting the romance to practices of the Second Sophistic and its changing cultural milieu. These romances engage themselves with many of the same issues and contain many similar themes and imaginings, especially regarding the value of *paideia*, the possibility of a beneficial education in love and its transformational power, and the creation of new conceptions of the amatory bond and of proper erotic behavior. These points being covered, I shall produce readings of these two romances based upon their employment of such elements. As we shall see, reading the two romances in tandem produces a mutual illumination useful for scholars and teachers of the ancient novel.

To begin with Achilles Tatius and Longus were near-contemporaries of such innovative writers as Apuleius, Lucian, Iamblichus, all who worked within an environment conducive to literary experimentation.<sup>1</sup> While the earlier Chariton had possessed some serious literary pretensions<sup>2</sup> and many elements of the romance already appear in place in his romance, a perceptible divide exists between the 'pre-sophistic' and 'sophistic' romance<sup>3</sup> whose writers employed all the advanced tools of rhetoric, who took delight in surprise, mystification and irony and significantly problematized the relationship between literary art and its content and conventions, expressed and latent meanings, and the reader.

Clearly more would be expected, but along what lines might second sophistic romance-writers innovate? First, the romance's customary travels and episodes provide considerable opportunity for sophistic digressions and rhetorical display, a potential all authors use — if not abuse. Parody offered another avenue, but one need not consider Achilles Tatius' romance a parody<sup>4</sup> any more than Longus'.<sup>5</sup> This new quasi-genre still allowed

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<sup>1</sup> Reardon (1994B) 81.

<sup>2</sup> For a summation, see Reardon (1996) 317-325 with bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> Although this can be overstressed; see Ruiz-Montero (1996) 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> On *L & C* as parody, see Chew (2000) 57-70; Durham, (1938) 1-19; Anderson (1982) 23-32.

<sup>5</sup> One obvious example appears in *Daphnis*' escape from the pirates (1.30); the captured cows, obedient to call of the shepherd's flute, cause the boat to capsize. The cows swim to shore and the narrator, without obvious irony,

considerable variation; the protagonists of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus differ from each other and from near-contemporary works, and subsequent novel-like productions varied considerably.<sup>6</sup> The romances of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus contain a humorous dimension, probably derived from New Comedy as well as from folktale. Longus and Achilles Tatius develop this comic dimension but along different lines; Achilles Tatius locates his humor in a more ironic/satiric vein; Longus' comedic elements are more gentle, arising from the contrast between the absolute innocence and ignorance of the protagonists, the crudeness of their rustic company and the reader's superior knowledge, condescension and inferior virtue.<sup>7</sup> Since the romances are, to some extent, adventure stories with heroes, some writers (Iamblichus, Apuleius, Achilles Tatius) increased the self-consciously ironic and satiric elements; comedy often contains a 'realistic' aspect and, as in Frye's taxonomy, naturally shades off into the (sometimes bitterly) satiric.<sup>8</sup> Correspondingly, the romantic heroes develop more anti-heroic elements, and their adventures become more lurid or absurd. Alternatively, Longus (and to some extent Heliodorus) build upon on the ideal and archetypal themes and elements inherent in heroic romance; thus their iconically noble heroes have marvelous births, are exiled and lose their birthright, experience a childhood in some innocence, and then regain their true status, a restoration which brings about a substantial benefit for their society.<sup>9</sup>

Characterization was an obvious avenue for innovation. The protagonists of Chariton and Xenophon lacked a certain color and depth – both their fair and their foul aspects could profitably be complicated. Already Xenophon of Ephesus, who to some degree adapts Chariton,<sup>10</sup> had made his Anthia more aggressive, sexual and

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notes that cows are excellent swimmers, although they have a tendency to lose their hooves if they become waterlogged!; see Morgan (2003) 180.

<sup>6</sup> The early novel *Metiochus and Parthenope* may not have ended in reunion and marriage; Parthenope could have stayed a virgin; the earlier *Ninus Romance* was probably more 'historical' than *C & C* and its hero seems more active. This romance was probably more like the *Sesonchosis Romance*, which in turn influenced the *Alexander Romance*. Novels such as *Babylonica*, the *Calligone Romance*, the *Phoenicica*, the *Iolaus Romance* and the *Tinouphis Romance* have decidedly non-ideal protagonists and even more lurid events, as does the unique *Wonders Beyond Thule*; see Stephens (1996) 655-683; Stephens and Winkler (1995).

<sup>7</sup> Goldhill (1995: 13-14) discusses how easily *D & C* allows a 'smutty' reading, a potential which so revolted Rohde (1914) 549.

<sup>8</sup> Frye (1957) 177 ff. ; see also Denham (1978) 84.

<sup>9</sup> Such components of the hero of traditional romance, especially as manifested through the six phases of Frye's *muthos* of romance, are discussed in Frye (1957) 186-206, Frye (1976) 65-93; for discussion in respect to ancient romances, see Alvares (2002) 1-30.

<sup>10</sup> Papanikolaou (1964); Gärtner (1967) 2055-2084.

cunning.<sup>11</sup> Habrocomes actually contemplates union with Kyno and takes up with the *über*-bandit Hippothoos. Achilles Tatius has made Clitophon and Leucippe substantial and recognizable comic/satiric versions of aristocratic youth, figures who embody many practices and attitudes which provoked outrage and anxiety in his own era. Further, Achilles Tatius' narrative concerns Phoenicians, easterners, not mainline Greeks, and thus has more leeway for comic exaggeration of character.<sup>12</sup>

In this period attitudes and actions toward social behavior, private life and the personal were being vigorously contested. The Greek romances, narratives concerning the intersection of the personal and public spheres, would naturally reflect this conflict. An increased stress had developed among the Greco-Roman aristocracy on the presentation of the self, an activity linked to matters of status, authority and fitness to rule.<sup>13</sup> Increased energies were focused by aristocrats on civic life as well as on the family, and an intense, competitive, mutual inspection<sup>14</sup> of an aristocrat and his family was commonplace.<sup>15</sup> Young men were trained and expected to advance their families, and elite Greco-Roman women could receive enough education for them appreciate the higher strata of art and society. Wives could share more of their husband's public life, have notable official functions, and even demonstrate significant autonomy, although some of this might be more show than substance.<sup>16</sup> The reception of the character of Achilles Tatius' Melite should be considered in this context.

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<sup>11</sup> Desperately in love, she despises the usual modesties, speaks for Habrocomes to hear, and tries to reveal as much of her body as possible (1.3.2); the pleasures of their wedding night are vividly narrated (1.9); and she seems, in her use of cunning to have become a veritable Odysseus; see Hunter (1996) 191.

<sup>12</sup> There were many novel-like works with titles like *Babyloniaca*, *Ephesiaca*, *Milesiaca*, *Aethiopica*, as well as *Phoenicia*. Achilles Tatius' romance might be considered a collection of sensational 'Phoenician Tales'; see Morales (2001) xvii-xix. The cultivation of Greek *paideia* was not limited to those of obvious Greek ancestry, but was taken up by Romans, Syrians, Gauls and others (*e.g.* Favorinus, Lucian, Heliodorus), who challenged the Hellenocentric bias of this *paideia*. Achilles Tatius' text plays with non-Greek perspectives, as observed in the conflation of Europa and Zeus and Selene/Astarte and Baal, the Phoenician story of the discoveries of murex dye (2.11) and of wine (2.2), not to mention the story of the phoenix (3.25), with its interesting additional details discussed by Morales (2003) 43-9.

<sup>13</sup> See especially Veyne (1987) 5-254; Foucault (1986); Swain (1999) 89.

<sup>14</sup> Galen, in *On Precognition* (XIV.624 Kühn), writes that his first priority is to 'know the families each of us come from;' see Swain (1999) 89. For more on this intense mutual inspection and presentation, see Gleason (1995), Kaster (1988), Bartsch (1994); Barton (1995); also Brown (1988) 11. Such intense inspection was not new to the Greeks; see Winkler (1990) 40.

<sup>15</sup> On the role of the family as indicator of fitness to rule, see Swain (1999) 88-91; Cooper (1996) 94-5.

<sup>16</sup> See Marshall (1975) 109-27; MacMullen (1980) 215-6; Lefkowitz (1983) 56-7; Haynes (2003) 27-8.

While hardly universal, a more ‘companionate’ view of the marital union was in evidence; there was a spiritualization of the bonds of marriage and married life,<sup>17</sup> which could be presented as a space wherein the couple (the male, of course, taking the lead) provide each other considerable emotional support and forge a harmonious unity based on mutual respect and restraint, which brought a greater equality between husband and wife. Women could be more readily depicted as capable of profound thought, bravery and virtue as men. Further, perhaps as part of an emerging emphasis on self-control, the firm fidelity and even virginity expected of women was being demanded of men.<sup>18</sup> Correspondingly, both romances make the hero’s attitudes and treatment of the heroine and their own erotic behavior a more complex matter than do earlier romances.

Nevertheless, even fairly ‘progressive’ thinkers such as Plutarch worried about the seductions of pleasure and the exercise of female power. Conservative attitudes still largely prevailed; For example, Plutarch strongly disliked the independence Romans allowed their elite women, preferring that wives, at most, serve as bolsters for their husbands.<sup>19</sup> The romances, while seeming to condone transgressive behavior, themselves largely promulgate a conservative, and sometimes even archaic, view of women’s roles.<sup>20</sup> Cooper has called the romances a ‘rhetorical echo chamber’ for the anxieties and fears of the elite class concerning marriage, which had potentially grave repercussions for the economic, social and even political welfare of the extended families involved, as well as for their city.<sup>21</sup> We could also say that the romances echo more general concerns about all areas of proper social conduct. In this context one should consider how the behavior of Clitophon, Leucippe and their friends crosses the line into the scandalous and disreputable.<sup>22</sup>

First, Leucippe’s actions and transgressions make her a more realistically engaging character than Anthia or Callirhoe. Leucippe has quite considerable *paideia*, being a skilled musician (2.1), and learned enough to appreciate Clitophon’s rhetoric-driven erotic pursuit. She is strong willed, proud (as is Callirhoe), and, notoriously *unlike* Callirhoe and Anthia, seems willing to be seduced. Later she even begs to run away from home. All these actions would have been seen as a substantial defiance of familial control and potentially a very serious blow to her family’s repute and status. Clitophon, in turn, in some ways recalls Petronius’ Encolpius<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Plutarch’s *Eroticus*, *Advice to the Bride and Groom*, and *Consolation to his Wife*; for discussion and bibliography, see Nikolaidis (1997) 27-88; Goessler (1999) 97-115; Patterson (1999) 129-137.

<sup>18</sup> Musonius, Hierocles, Plutarch and Dio of Prusa all strongly advocate such male fidelity and chastity; see Goessler (1999) 111-2.

<sup>19</sup> Swain (1999) 93.

<sup>20</sup> Egger (1994) 260-80; Egger (1990).

<sup>21</sup> Cooper (1996) 20-44.

<sup>22</sup> The first part of Callisthenes’ story, which culminates in his suit for Leucippe being rejected with contempt by her father Sostratus due to his reputation (2.13), illustrates exactly the consequences of such public and scandalous behavior.

<sup>23</sup> On the comparison between Clitophon and Encolpius, see Anderson (1997) 2285.

and Apuleius' Lucius. Like Lucius he belongs to a leading family of his city; like Lucius and Encolpius he plots seduction and uses all opportune circumstances to achieve his goals and is something of a sophistic voyeur. While Clitophon falls quickly for Leucippe, it is more a matter of lust, not love, and virtuous marriage is not his goal. Clitophon is less naïve in matter of love than his narrative openly admits.<sup>24</sup> He has two expert *praeceptores amoris* who would not be out of place in the *Satyrica*; first his *servus callidus* Satyrus, who engineers the means to his erotic ends; second is Clinias, more experienced than Clitophon in erotic matters, who prefers boy-love, is a slave to erotic pleasure (δοῦλος ἐστὶν ἐρωτικῆς ἡδονῆς, 1.7.2) and whose conduct clearly borders on the scandalous. Melite, a 'widow of Ephesus,' will be his third instructor. Clitophon overuses rhetoric and is by turns foolishly hapless and unobservant, grotesquely passive, hyper-emotive and self-pitying, as if he saw himself (again, rather like Encolpius) as a figure in a tragedy or a declamation — or as a character in a romance.<sup>25</sup> Whitmarsh further suggests that the discerning reader can observe how Clitophon recasts the events he relates due to this tendency to sophistry and melodrama, and that he misunderstands the true profoundness of the events he has participated in, and that Achilles Tatius lets the reader discern the story that Clitophon is *not* telling.<sup>26</sup> Due to such attitudes and behaviors, little seems either natural or noble in Clitophon.

Yet Clitophon cannot bring himself to defy his father in respect to the arranged marriage (2.5.2, 2.12.1), and the narrative of his doubts, hesitation, guilt (especially concerning his responsibility for Leucippe's sufferings) and even self-loathing demonstrate Clitophon's potentially better nature. Leucippe seems too complaisant in Clitophon's seduction, yet there is little indication that her feelings for him at this stage are particularly deep, as they become later; Leucippe is easily read as a bright, headstrong girl who has discovered the pleasure and real excitement of being romanced and chafes at parental control, and that her elopement was as much about adolescent rebellion as love. Yet the real shame Leucippe feels at her mother's accusations indicates a capacity to appreciate the values inherent in chastity and marriage, which will occur when Leucippe realizes the seriousness of the course she has entered upon.

*L & C*'s narrative relates how these potentials for better conduct are realized in both protagonists; such a positive reading helps explain how later legends made Achilles Tatius a bishop and Leucippe and Clitophon the parents of the martyr St. Galaction.<sup>27</sup> Goldhill states that a 'central move' in a moralizing reading of Achilles Tatius is 'policing the digressive turn' as epitomized by epigram *A.P.* 9.203, which suggests the reader, if he desires to remain *sôphron*, should not focus too closely the episodes but concentrate on the outcome.<sup>28</sup> While it

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<sup>24</sup> He has had sex with prostitutes (2.37.5), and, after he has given an impassioned (and graphic) defense of girl-love, Menelaus proclaims him a 'old man' in Aphrodite (2.38.1).

<sup>25</sup> Morgan (1996) 185.

<sup>26</sup> Whitmarsh (2003) 191-205.

<sup>27</sup> MacAlister (1996) 110-1; Morales (2001) xxx-xxxii.

<sup>28</sup> Goldhill (1995) 100-102.

is a stretch to call *L & C* a ‘panegyric of chastity,’<sup>29</sup> such a rigorous policing is unneeded to produce a more ideal reading. The romances have many characteristics of Frye’s genre of comedy, which often feature heroes who succeed, despite their stupidity or failings, because they are fundamentally either lucky, basically good or both. Clitophon is not an exemplar of *sophrosyne* like Theagenes, but Leucippe and he can be viewed as somewhat comic characters who succeed because they have ‘desired rightly’ in the sense of ‘finally having proved themselves able to desire the right thing’ – which does not exclude them still being able to desire and do quite improper actions as well.

Whereas Achilles Tatius has given his protagonists comic-realistic failings, Longus has done nearly the opposite – his protagonists have comparatively little real character;<sup>30</sup> instead they are so ideal, iconic and wish-fulfilling that they draw the reader by embodying deeply mythic and persistent dreams of the paradise of youth, nature and eros. Longus’ narrator has come to country to escape the city and its harsh realities, and his stylized narrative accentuates the unreality of the pleasant rural world, making it conform to traditions of the pastoral paradise and urban nostalgia for the countryside’s simple life.<sup>31</sup> Correspondingly, the narrator idealizes the couple and their *sôphrosyne*. As was the case with *L & C*, Longus’ narrator appears not to fully grasp the account he was told, and his version of the story is skewed due to his impulse for sentimental idealization,<sup>32</sup> a powerful temptation for the sentimentally inclined reader and critic as well.

The acquisition and demonstration of expensively acquired *paideia* had become an ideologically powerful component of upper class social life. The possession of such *paideia*, demonstrated by public conduct, served to define the elite Greco-Roman social class and justify their social and political preeminence over the masses and separated them from barbarians, slaves, and social inferiors. It was an important assertion of Greekness and of

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<sup>29</sup> Gaselee (1917) xi.

<sup>30</sup> Reardon (1994A) 140.

<sup>31</sup> Morgan (1994) 65; Morgan (2003) 176.

<sup>32</sup> The narrator’s idealized description of the countryside and its events allows many naturalistic details: Lampon nearly takes the tokens and abandons Daphnis; Dorkon tries to rape Chloe and Lampis abducts her; local farmers overcharge urban visitors and think nothing of stealing a rope from an unguarded ship; even friends like Dryas and Lamon, due to the harshness of country life, cannot drop their guard; Chloe must watch out for aggressive rustics (1.28.2); Chloe’s parents think about the wealth her marriage can bring rather than her happiness, and master possess unrestricted power over servile bodies. And there are more mundane evils, such as hungry wolves and poor harvests. Yet the narrative generally underplays any details which jar with the overall idyllic tone, as if the narrator were contemptuous of rustic realities that interfere with this sentimental reverie. In this he resembles Dionysiophanes’ compatriots, for whom the ornamental garden is spruced up, the farmyard filth hidden, a few grapes left on the vines, and a display of sheep control through music orchestrated so that the urban vacationers can have a more satisfying rural holiday; see Pandiri (1985) 116-41; Morgan (2003) 178-9; Morgan (1994) 65; Winkler (1990) 107-112; Reardon (1994A) 135-147.

Hellenic cultural superiority as a counter to Roman political power and pressures to assimilate.<sup>33</sup> Precisely because of the immense social and ideological weight of such applied *paideia*, attitudes toward its value and application were complex and ambivalent. Both our romances problematize the value of *paideia* even as they demand it of the reader.

As do Petronius, Apuleius, Lucian (and, I would argue, even Heliodorus), Achilles Tatius reveals how Greek *paideia* does not necessarily ennoble, but gives depravity the gloss of refinement. Thus Clitophon and Charmides (4.3-5) use sophistry for seduction, as authors such as Ovid had recommended.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, everything Clitophon sees, thinks and does appears filtered through and infused with the devices of sophistry.<sup>35</sup> Clitophon is hardly alone in this; all the major characters seem to have part-time careers as sophists.<sup>36</sup> Such excessive and inappropriate use of rhetoric is an important source of humor, but a more important point is that the habits of sophistry appear to have distorted natural forms of love and other personal relations. The dramatic arc of *L & C*'s romantic narrative concerns how Leucippe and especially Clitophon manage to act like a proper and devoted lovers despite such *paideia* and its distorting effects.

While Achilles Tatius' protagonists are belabored by too much *paideia*, Longus' protagonists have exactly the opposite problem; raised as slaves in the country, they lack any aristocratic education or experience of the city.<sup>37</sup> At the romance's beginning, they are nearly pure children of nature, imitating the sounds and even practices of the natural world – even in respect to sex.<sup>38</sup> They are so naïve that they do not even know what love or its symptoms are. Whereas Leucippe slyly goes along with Clitophon's pursuit, Daphnis and Chloe imagine Dorkon, in his attempted rape, was really just playing a country jest (1.21). Instead of being reflexive sophists,

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<sup>33</sup> For further discussion of the role of *paideia* and the *pepaidumenos* see Swain (1996); Bowersock (1969); Anderson (1989); Brown (1992) 35-70; Whitmarsh (2001 B).

<sup>34</sup> Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* 1.219-228) advised giving descriptions of foreign marvels to prolong time with the beloved, and Menander Rhetor likewise recommended using stories of the loves of animals, plants, rivers, *etc.* as encouragement for sex; see Morales (2003) 42-3; Goldhill (1995) 86 –7.

<sup>35</sup> Morgan (1996: 185) considers that Clitophon's thoughts betray their origins in 'book-leaning, recycled experience, empty rhetorical commonplace;' see also Anderson (1997) 2291. Yet Hunter (1996: 192) points out that, while there is certainly comic value in such episodes, such an ability to use prior texts was a 'significant and privileged way of ordering experience and was respected and highly valued.' Zeitlin (1994: 154) notes that the whole Second Sophistic project was a 'renewed creative energy directed toward highly skilled mimetic reorderings and ambitious emulations of Classical and Hellenistic types....' citing Bompaire (1958) 1-154.

<sup>36</sup> Consider Melite's sophistic orations to win over Clitophon, Menelaus' rant against women (2.36 ff.), the deliberations over the oracle's meaning (2.14). The lament of Clinias and the boy's father over Charicles (1.13-14), is presented as a rhetorical competition; on the latter, see also Anderson (1982) 26.

<sup>37</sup> Although they are given a better than average education for inhabitants of the countryside (1.8).

<sup>38</sup> Morgan (1994) 70; Deligiorgis (1974) 3; Epstein (2002B) 31.

Daphnis and Chloe are maddeningly straightforward.<sup>39</sup> The fact that those individuals endowed with the most *paideia*, such as the young men from Methymna, the original parents of Daphnis and Chloe, or the parasite Gnathon,<sup>40</sup> commit such jarring evils makes suspect the value of such *paideia*.<sup>41</sup>

In the complex cultural milieu described above, Eros was less easily depicted as simple given, a force that fell upon individuals, who had limited (usually tragic or comic) means to deal with this condition. In the romances of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus the couple fall in love, are quickly married, then undergo their adventures; as with the *Odyssey's* protagonists, their trials prove the endurance of initial bond rather than describe how that bond developed and demonstrate the importance of loyalty and commitment as opposed to the sheer erotic attraction that brought them together.<sup>42</sup> In Longus, Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus the marriage occurs at the conclusion; the preliminary adventures are a transformational *rite de passage*, a period during which the protagonists are moved from one condition to a more mature state and then wed.

Longus and Achilles Tatius reject the convention of fully formed passion at first sight, devoting considerable narrative space to the development of the couple's love. It requires four books for Daphnis and Chloe to first feel the stirrings of sexual desire, to realize that they *are* in love, to find out exactly who and what Love is, get an inkling of what to do about this condition, and, finally, to learn that eros is about more than sex and how to unite love with the demands of society. In the process they lose their original equality, innocence and comprehend the pains that come with true adulthood.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, the development of the couple's love takes most of *L & C's* narrative. The couple do not begin their real adventures until Book three, the first two books being preoccupied with the stages of Clitophon's wooing of Leucippe, leading up to their interrupted attempt at uncommitted sex. I would argue that at 5.9, immediately after the narrative leaps head to two months after Leucippe's second false death and Clitophon's reunion with Clinias, the narrative has left the realm of adventures proper<sup>44</sup> and return to what resembles New Comedy with melodramatic overtones.<sup>45</sup> The erotic tango and trials involving Clitophon, Leucippe, Thersander and Melite, as I discuss below, comprise several important stages of the couple's amatory progress.

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<sup>39</sup> For example, when they ask Philetas whether Eros a kind of bird (2.7) or take his advice about lying together naked on the ground literally (2.8, 3.14).

<sup>40</sup> Gnathon is called *pepaideumenos*, having learned the complete *erotica muthologia* at the symposia of the debauched (4.17); see Goldhill (1995) 47.

<sup>41</sup> Dio of Prusa similarly created a picture of simple rural folk and country life in the *Hunters of Euboeia* as a contrast to contemporary practices, especially amatory habits; Jones (1978) 55-64; Swain (1996) 125-6.

<sup>42</sup> Konstan (1994) 45-6.

<sup>43</sup> Chalk (1960) 45-6.

<sup>44</sup> According to Sedelmeier's analysis, books 3 and 4 are primarily devoted to adventures, with books 5 and 6 describing the Melite affair and books 7 and 8 describing the trials and conclusions; Sedelmeier (1959: 113-14).

<sup>45</sup> Reardon (1994B) 90; Pandiri (1985) 127-130.

Both romances emphasize the purposeful teaching and learning of love and its habits and the problem of finding correct sources for such knowledge. Longus' narrator declares his whole literary offering to be didactic, able to remind the erotically experienced reader and to prepare the inexperienced one. Longus' couple desperately require an education in love and seek instruction from nature and from wiser heads such as Philetas. Daphnis gets a private lesson in erotic technique from Lykainion and in turn instructs Chloe; in a somewhat similar (if less satisfactory) fashion, Clitophon is advised by Clinias and given his lesson by Melite. And, at a higher level, Longus' Eros wishes to make a didactic myth out of Chloe, and Clitophon himself becomes an exegete of Love's productions. *L & C*'s references to amatory education are obviously more ironic, with Clitophon, Clinias and Charmides practicing an Ovidian *ars amatoria* and casting Eros as a sophist in their own image.

It is an informing conceit of *D & C* that, cocooned within the pastoral world, beyond the city's corrupting influence, Daphnis and Chloe will 'naturally' begin to learn to love correctly. Nature is presented as the first, but not only, educator. As soon as Daphnis and Chloe begin their pastoral careers they become 'imitators of the things heard and seen' (1.9). Their education is coordinated with the progression of the seasons and aided by nature spirits such as Pan and the nymphs. Even at the climax of Lykainion's sexual tutorial the final steps are taught by *phusis* (3.18.4). Yet in fact *D & C* indicates that 'human nature' is hardly something either 'natural' or even fixed.<sup>46</sup> Further, Chloe and Daphnis are shown as being at one hand godlike,<sup>47</sup> and other hand rather close to the animals they imitate. The fact that Daphnis and Chloe cannot succeed at sex merely by imitating sheep (3.14) suggests that human culture is indispensable.<sup>48</sup> Pan looks half-human, half-goat and yet is also a full-fledged god,<sup>49</sup> and is a particularly important figure for Daphnis and closely connected to him; Daphnis, who is assimilated to the goats he tends, must confront and rehabilitate the Pan-like side of his erotic nature.

Consistent with a view of human nature as something created out of the natural, Longus insists nature can be improved upon when art is correctly applied to the proper object. As noted, these young people spontaneously

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<sup>46</sup> For Winkler (1990: 103) *D & C* underscores how it is cultural conventions that give shape and meaning to the raw material of nature, not mere instinct.

<sup>47</sup> Daphnis is the son of Dionysiophanes (= 'Dionysos manifest'), is suckled by a goat as Zeus was, and declares he is beardless like Dionysos (1.16.4), and is even compared to the young Apollo (4.14); Chloe's name may recall Demeter Chloe; see Winkler (1990) 126.

<sup>48</sup> Morgan suggests that Longus stresses that, to become adults, Daphnis and Chloe must abandon an essentially sterile imitation of the natural (and non-human) world; but, as Epstein implies, the imitation of nature is not only sterile, but dangerous; Morgan (1994: 70)

<sup>49</sup> Pan is in many respects Daphnis' 'tutelary deity'; note, for example, how Daphnis' herd is so well kept that said to resemble Pan's sacred flock (4.4); how he dedicates his own small pipes to Pan and receives the pipes of Philetas which look like Pan's own (2.35.2); Philetas, the mentor of Daphnis, is likewise connected to Pan; Daphnis also takes Pan's part in the mime and tries to swear by him; see Epstein (2002B) 25-39.

enact many of the standard practices of lovers (especially pastoral ones) and erotic discourse, such as the erotic slanging match (1.15-16), pelting each other with apples, and Daphnis' pursuit of the overlooked apple (3.33-4), implying that these literary conventions also reflect something natural, that nature can imitate art.<sup>50</sup> For Longus the highest art succeeds in bringing out beauties potential within nature, and is not merely a sterile imitation of it.<sup>51</sup> This higher art is epitomized by the ornamental garden of book 4, wherein one cannot tell what is natural and artificial,<sup>52</sup> although all is beautiful, as one cannot quite separate what is imitation and what is innovation in Longus' text itself.

Despite all the technical erotology, several passages in *L & C* suggest innate guides to love beyond artificial technique or brute passion.<sup>53</sup> The references to Eros as sophist and to Melite's successfully philosophizing due to Love's instruction may seem simply duplicitous rhetorical tropes, like Clitophon's description of his conversation on techniques of seduction as 'doing philosophy (1.12.1),' but these passages also recall Diotima's speech in the *Symposium*, which makes the Eros the ultimate improviser also the ultimate sophist (*Symp.* 203d7), who is always 'doing philosophy.'<sup>54</sup> As Whitmarsh notes, the text invites the careful reader to observe that Clitophon does not understand how fully Leucippe and he have been divinely guided to a better form of amatory behavior. This is understandable, since his acquaintances, education and environment would seem to be obstacles to that very knowledge, and thus Clitophon's religious and philosophic tropes could be truer than he understands.

Morgan and Hunter<sup>55</sup> have argued that the romances cannot be considered as *Bildungsromane* in the same sense as Dickens' *David Copperfield* was, because such a genre was a creation of more individualist-bourgeois world which promoted notions of individual growth and freedom, whereas the ancient world tended to view individuals as much more bound by society and fate.<sup>56</sup> It is often declared the romantic couple's love does not

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<sup>50</sup> Zeitlin (1994) 149.

<sup>51</sup> Thus, when Chloe is given a makeover, the narrator declares 'and then one might learn what beauty was, when it had gotten its adornment' (4.32.1).

<sup>52</sup> See 4.3: ἐδόκει μέντοι καὶ ἡ τούτων φύσις εἶναι τέχνης.

<sup>53</sup> Clinias declares love is self-taught, and that a lover will know what to do automatically (1.10.1); Satyrus assures Clitophon that Love will dictate his letter to Leucippe (5.20.4); Melite successfully philosophizes, taught by Eros (5.27.1), who helps them successfully improvise intercourse the jailhouse floor (5.27.4); Morgan (1996) 180.

<sup>54</sup> Goldhill (1995) 78.

<sup>55</sup> Morgan (1996) 163-190; Hunter (1996) 191-205.

<sup>56</sup> In a similar vein Selden has noted how some critics tie the superior value now given to physiologically realistic and coherent characters who can 'develop' are connected to various post-Classical ideologies which stress individualism and personal development; see Selden (1994) 45-47.

substantially change during their travels in ‘adventure time.’<sup>57</sup> Yet *L & C*’s adventures do not begin until Book 3 and Longus really does not provide full-fledged adventures. Further, love is more than a matter of feelings — understanding and behavior are also factors. While Clitophon does not fully understand the true development of his own story, there seems little indication that Daphnis does either, yet there is wide agreement that *D & C* describes a substantial education in love. The evidence that Clitophon and Leucippe receive an education in love and its habits is best found in their actions, which have real consequences, not their understanding.<sup>58</sup> Further, a *Bildungsroman* need not be restricted to the erotic career; the protagonists’ development as social beings would have seemed as important, and perhaps more so, for themselves and their society, and to the readers as well. Chariton’s Chaireas becomes a fitting successor to Hermocrates and has achieved impressive victories, not to mention a wife.<sup>59</sup> Heliodorus’ Charicleia and Theagenes become priest of the Sun and priestess of the Moon and heirs to the rule of Meroë. *D & C*’s couple not only learn of love, but assume their proper places as urban aristocrats who merge the best of the world of city, country, the natural, human and divine together and provide a better model for life. They also make important benefactions, such as the shrine and painting which the narrator views and is inspired by. If the story of Callisthenes is meant to be a parallel to Clitophon’s, there are grounds to think the reader is intended to see that Clitophon is not only well married, but has been reformed into a member of good standing in society.<sup>60</sup>

The ‘adventures’ of these romances taste of parody. Structurally, such adventures are an important part of the archetypal pattern of romantic adventure, wherein a hero must leave his homeland, visit the ‘lower world’ and face multiple challenges to his sanity, identity and life before he can return with new adult status, thematized by the possession of a bride and kingdom. The adventures of *D & C* appear especially incongruous because, to use Frye’s taxonomy, *D & C* is really more comedy than romance, a genre whose central concerns involves the dispelling of illusion, the breaking of baleful social situations and the formation of a new society, epitomized by the concluding wedding.<sup>61</sup> The pastoral genre provides an interpretive frame for Longus’ readers, and pastoral’s ability to absorb and translate the contents of other genres causes a certain suspension of the consequences of its realistic elements, so that the narrative does not become either fairy tale or refined pornography.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Usually with a citation Bakhtin (1981) 89.

<sup>58</sup> In reference to Chariton’s romance, I have argued (see Alvares 1997: 613-29), due to what he has endured, Chaireas’ behavior toward Callirhoe, does change – he comes to control his jealousy better and to have absolute trust in her. The same is true, in different ways, for the characters in Achilles Tatius, Longus and Heliodorus; their experiences change their amatory behavior and knowledge of each other.

<sup>59</sup> Alvares (1997) 613-29.

<sup>60</sup> Morgan (1996) 195-6.

<sup>61</sup> Frye (1957) 163-171.

<sup>62</sup> As noted Longus comes close to introducing realistic and violent elements incompatible with ‘soft’ pastoral; see Reardon (1994A) 135-147; also Pandiri (1985) 116 and note 3.

*L & C* has more or less proper romantic adventures; tasteless and stylized as are, *L & C*'s scenes of mutilation, slavery, madness, murder, mistaken identity,<sup>63</sup> abundant paradoxes and the confusion generated by the narrative's embedded sophistries conforms nicely with the requirements of Frye's 'lower world,' where traditionally violence, loss of self, madness and confusion reign and nothing is quite what it appears. *L & C* shares with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* a graphic depiction of how illicit sex equals death and an erotization of death,<sup>64</sup> all which Lucius and Clitophon are saved from.

The narratives of both authors, Longus' especially, are complexly posited regarding the depictions of violence toward women customary in erotic narratives as well as in life and even language. In *D & C* the violence of the inserted myths of Pitys, Phatta, Echo and Syrinx epitomize male aggression against and oppression of independent females as social beings in marriage and in society at large. The violent events depicted on the altar of Dionysos at the heart of Book 4's ornamental garden likewise suggest that struggle, violence and pain are part of the natural order, in which even the gods partake.<sup>65</sup> The pain is ameliorated by Daphnis's sensitive treatment of Chloe, legitimizing social structures and knowledge of the natural order which make the remaining pains meaningful.<sup>66</sup> There is not such obvious reconciliation of evils in *L & C*. The faux disemboweling and decapitation of Leucippe, her drug-induced madness, the shaving of her head, the whipping

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<sup>63</sup> Themes of mistaken and altered identity abound; as when Kalligone, mistaken for Leucippe is kidnapped, Clitophon thinks Leucippe has become disemboweled, and later laments over what he believes is her headless corpse and later does not recognize the shaven haired slave as Leucippe. As Frye (1976: 104-116) points out, such losses of identity are also common elements of the 'underworld' of romance. Melite, from this perspective, can also be viewed as a type of Kalypso figure, the mistress of a type of Venusburg that Tannhäuser escapes from.

<sup>64</sup> Morgan (1996) 183.

<sup>65</sup> Chalk (1960) 42.

<sup>66</sup> I agree with Winkler (1990:101-126) that, to a considerable extent, *D & C* narrates how the young and ideal protagonists are socialized into the less forgiving realities of the urban and adult world. I do not accept that Chloe's fate is quite as brutal as Winkler imagined, for, along with the male dominance also comes male devotion. I think the coarseness of the rustics outside the wedding chamber corresponds to the oppressive expressions of eros seen before; but here it is not symbolic of what happens inside as Chloe loses her virginity, but rather a contrast. Their wedding night is joyful (they get less sleep than the owls) because Daphnis approaches Chloe's person with respect and self-restraint, having taken Lycainion's lesson to heart. I am sensitive to Winkler's complaint that such a reading sanctions 'patriarchal oppression,' but this view must be considered in the light of the question of whether oppression and a certain loss of self-integrity is the inescapable price of civilization, an issue of great importance to thinkers such as Marcuse or Freud. Longus would say yes, and thus Daphnis makes for Chloe the best of an imperfect situation.

and other abuse she receives,<sup>67</sup> the fate of the prostitute and the women in ecphrases of Philomela, Procne and Andromeda, along with the scopophilic luxuriation of their description, indicate that *L & C*'s narrative world is a place dangerous for women. As Chloe to some extent is identified with Phatta, Syrinx, Pitys and Echo and must avoid their fates, so Leucippe's lurid adventures likewise mirror the histories of Europa, Andromeda, and even Philomela. As in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika* and later Christian romance, such a world provides the opportunity for Leucippe to show that unbreakable will to virtue which so attracted the writer of *A.P.* 9.203. As noted above, what saves Leucippe and Clitophon from being basically comic characters (as are Daphnis and Chloe) is that they can rise, on occasion, to near-heroic choices and action.

Artisans of the Second Sophistic emphasized the rhetorical art's ability to capture and express physical reality and even help the reader imaginatively enter into scene described.<sup>68</sup> This was the age of allusion and allegory, where the world and its objects were viewed as texts waiting to be deciphered.<sup>69</sup> Both romances begin with an ecphrasis, a common literary element of the era, which, as in works by the Philostrati, Lucian, Cebes and Callistratus, offer themselves for analysis to the exegete/interpreter/reader who fashions a narrative which goes far beyond what is clearly depicted in the painting or text, one that often has a pronounced ethical, moral meaning or allegorical significance. Such ecphrases can also serve to foreshadow a subsequent themes.<sup>70</sup> This being the case, the sophisticated reader expects to find items, such as *L & C*'s paintings and dreams or Longus' gardens, which demand to be interpreted. This is always a risky, complex business, and both works play an elaborate game with interpretation and interpreters, seemingly possessing narrators who do not fully grasp the story they tell and inviting the reader to write his own fuller narrative, as Longus' narrator does of the story he hears.

Passages in both romances foreground the problem of the relation between nature, art, human life, imitation and education. Clitophon's narrative appears processed through the machinery of sophistry, producing an air of the artificial and overdone. Such sophistic elements connect to the author's own playful and paradoxical literary goals, and are a formative component of *L & C*'s comic/satiric dimensions. Yet *L & C*'s ironies are not truly bitter, and its text permits the reader to perceive the existence of another world behind Clitophon's narrative, one under-appreciated by this the sophist-narrator, where the power of a true Eros dwells and opposing gods work to serve its purposes. Longus' text is a much more difficult case; there art versus nature is a major theme, as is the educative power of art, and it is clear that the idealizing narrator takes his inspiration from art, not nature.<sup>71</sup> Like

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<sup>67</sup> One suspects that Leucippe's sufferings are greater, not only so that Clitophon might have more to overreact to, but because she, a female who has willingly transgressed parental authority, has more to suffer and atone for.

<sup>68</sup> An important theme suggested by Philostatus *Imagines*; see Zeitlin (2001) 215; who cites Pollitt (1974) 53.

<sup>69</sup> Cooper (1996) 33.

<sup>70</sup> See Bartsch (1989) 14-32, 41-43; Harlan (1965) 56-59.

<sup>71</sup> Morgan (2003) 181.

other notable sophists-spectators, Longus' narrator wishes to produce a verbal response to the painting<sup>72</sup> whose beauty is worthy of the beautiful object,<sup>73</sup> and which, as noted above, contains elements which the discerning reader must interpret. Further, Longus' text, as felicitously described by Zeitlin, is 'almost entirely mimetic, a hallucinating echo text<sup>74</sup>..' This textual world, made out of imitations, functions because the imitated elements combine together to reinforce the sentimental vision which is strengthened by the readers' sentimental desire.<sup>75</sup> Because of their smooth, almost inevitable interworking, Longus has 'renaturalized' these conventional elements.<sup>76</sup> In addition, rhetorical and philosophical theories of *phantasia* and *energia* as represented by pseudo-Longinus and Philostratus, for example, suggested that the artist's imagination, combined with intellect, might intuit and represent deeper realities, intuitions validated by the sheer power of the image (literary or visual) to make the reader to 'see' what it represents.<sup>77</sup> Both texts (especially Achilles' Tatius<sup>78</sup>) powerfully showcase the power of sight to transform spirit and behavior. Thus the didactic power of Longus' narrator and his sophistic rhetoric arises from its ability, though its *energia*, to make the reader imaginatively and sympathetically accept the vision of Eros contained in the text.

The artisans of the Second Sophistic habitually employed philosophy, whether seriously (Plutarch) or ironically (Lucian). Such elements could be a form of coloring, being so evocative that they easily produced the impression of deeper issues being addressed.<sup>79</sup> But there is an utopian potential in such conventional elements, which fit naturally with the ideal orientations of romance and comedy.<sup>80</sup> Philosophy and mystery religion had been two avenues by which individuals could find relief from the world's horrors and even obtain some

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<sup>72</sup> πῶθος ἔσχευ ἀντιγράψαι τῆ γραφῆ (1.2).

<sup>73</sup> See Goldhill (2001) 160-167; Zeitlin (1994) 151-2, who both stress how, according to the attitudes of the Second Sophistic, it is only the untutored man who is mute before beauty; it is the mark of *paideia* to make such an elegant response, one which can seem to be in rivalry with its object.

<sup>74</sup> Zeitlin (1994) 154.

<sup>75</sup> *D & C* describes how the protagonists come to understand and manage their erotic desires. Its narrator stresses the narrative is the product of his own desires in response to a veritable *historia erotos*. The text's 'implied reader' is likewise a desirer. Desire in Longus is presented as a constitutive state for the human condition; to be human is to desire. On modern literature's focus on desire as constitutive, see Goodheart (1991) 1-22; also Carson (1996).

<sup>76</sup> Zeitlin (1994) 155.

<sup>77</sup> Zeitlin (2001) 215 who cites in particular Manieri (1998); Watson (1994).

<sup>78</sup> Longus uses the Platonic topos of beauty capturing the soul through the eyes (*Symp.* 209d-3; *Phaedrus* 249d-252c); Pandiri (1985) 118, note 13. On this theme in *L & C* see Goldhill (2001) 167-177; Morales (2003) 39-49.

<sup>79</sup> Perry, for example, will consider Apuleius' use of such religious themes as 'ballast' to give more weight to an ultimately trivial work; see Perry (1967) 244.

<sup>80</sup> In Frye's understanding of the *mythoi* of comedy and romance; see Frye (1957) 158-62.

transcendence or salvation, a hope strongly implied in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. This desire was fulfilled (however well) by Christianity's ability improve upon aspects of salvation familiar from mystery religion and make them compatible with Greek philosophy, especially later forms of Platonism. Language and images recalling Plato, especially the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*<sup>81</sup> occur frequently in Longus and Achilles Tatius.

Longus' text significantly engages and plays against Plato's writing.<sup>82</sup> The contrast between *muthos* and *logos* features prominently as Chloe and Daphnis learn to make the world of *logos*, of definition and action in the world, as emblemized by the city, compatible with the world of *muthos*, the erotic pastoral world Eros presides over.<sup>83</sup> The protagonists of *D & C* must learn in the countryside, a *locus amoenus* more suited to pleasant allegories rather than precise knowledge, exactly where Socrates declares he is unable to learn (*Phaedrus* 230d3). The narrator's story, a rendition of the exegete's narrative of the painting of a past event, is, by Platonic reasoning, at a quadruple remove from reality.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless the work is declared a *ktêma*. This reference to Thucydides 1.22 is complex, for this *ktêma* is *terpnon*, possessing a pleasure which Thucydides rejects since it arises from the sort of *muthoi*-making that historians such as Herodotus promulgated.<sup>85</sup> Just as Longus underscores the combination of art and nature, so he also stresses the union of utility (the text will educate) and pleasure (the text will please). The *muthos* that is *D & C* is a fiction which tells the truth of human experience in love, which is best grasped in the form of an artistically arranged narrative,<sup>86</sup> for art's artifice can claim to portray the 'really real' by making more obvious the essential patterns of human experience.

The Platonic Eros was also closely associated with a sexless, paiderastic love which supposedly aimed more at philosophical and spiritual improvement than at emotional fulfillment.<sup>87</sup> *D & C*'s Gnathon embodies such practices, being πᾶσαν ἐρωτικὴν μυθολογίαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀσώτων συμποσίοις πεπαιδευμένος (4.17), a mocking phrase recalling the *Symposium* of Plato as well as the symposium as a supremely aristocratic setting. Gnathon can represent the distorted, unnatural eros produced in a city detached from the country.<sup>88</sup> But even heterosexual love can be problematic. As Hunter observes, Aristophanes' myth in the *Symposium* illustrates the problem of an ideal common to the erotic romances; all the couple want is each other, which does not lead to

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<sup>81</sup> The *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* were an part of the rhetorician's stock, and allusions to were common; see Hunter (1997) 16; Trapp (1990) 143-73.

<sup>82</sup> See Hunter (1997) 15-28 with discussion and bibliography.

<sup>83</sup> Hunter (1997) 18-23.

<sup>84</sup> Morgan (2003) 181.

<sup>85</sup> For more discussion of this recollection of Thucydides, see Valley (1926) 102; Hunter (1983) 47-50; Pandiri (1985) 117-9 and note 9 with bibliography.

<sup>86</sup> Morgan (1994) 73-77. Carson (1986) details the necessary connection between Eros and fiction.

<sup>87</sup> This conception that was being increasingly contested and ridiculed; for example, in Plutarch's *Eroticus* (752a-b) Daphnaeus had ridiculed the hypocrisy of such views, which were also a frequent target of Lucian.

<sup>88</sup> Chalk (1960) 50-1.

philosophic enlightenment or spiritual improvement.<sup>89</sup> But philosophers and authors such as Plutarch granted a spiritual and philosophic dimension to the sort of heterosexual, common love which the romances glorify and demonstrated how family life could be training ground for virtue.<sup>90</sup> More than the characters of other Greek romances, Daphnis and Chloe simply want to be with each other, like Aristophanes' lovers. Accordingly, it is a major objective of *D & C* to demonstrate the way the pair learn exactly how complex, given persistent social structures and individual differences, it is to 'be with' another person, and how the couple manages to achieve this and to be improved spiritually in the process.

Longus' engagement with philosophy, in accordance with the practice of the Second Sophistic, provides his romance greater depth and seriousness, while Achilles Tatius' romance presents nearly a total ironic inversion of Longus's methods. The love of Daphnis and Chloe is connected to a level of profundity they barely comprehend and never articulate with any sophistication. Clitophon, on the other hand, can give impressive philosophic and medical disquisitions, such as on the connection between sight and love (1.4), the increased power of disease at night (1.6), on the varieties of love in the natural world (1.16-18), and on the kiss (2.8), recalling motifs in *D & C*. But here the employment of philosophy is heavily ironized, as when, for example, Clitophon and Clineas' discussion about strategies of seduction is termed philosophizing (1.12.1).<sup>91</sup> Especially in its first two books, the work resembles the anti-*Phaedrus* of a Plato *eroticus*.<sup>92</sup> Such a treatment accords with the *L & C*'s other elements of satire and parody. But, as we shall see, both romances stress that the ability to love properly is not really a matter of sophisticated knowledge but of experience and the correct choices and actions.

The language of mystery religion figures prominently in Longus as well as in Achilles Tatius. As noted, Longus' constructed narrator, predisposed to the erotic, presents the erotic plot as driven by Eros with the help of Pan and the Nymphs. Evocations of Plato and of Dionysios-Orphic mystery religion, elements permeating *D & C*,<sup>93</sup> give seeming substance to an imaginative vision of a world wherein nature, the divine, the physical and the human are watched over by a cosmogonic eros. *L & C*'s references to divine activity seem much more

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<sup>89</sup> Hunter (1996) 193-194.

<sup>90</sup> Foucault (1986) 198-209.

<sup>91</sup> Later Clitophon tells Melite that they should play the philosopher and stay chaste until they reach land (5.16.7) and informs Leucippe's father that he and Leucippe have been philosophers (8.5.7) and compares his passiveness during Thersander's beating to behaving like a philosopher (5.23.7).

<sup>92</sup> Anderson (1982) 25. The setting for Clitophon's narrative recalls the *Phaedrus*; also Martin (2002) 147-8. Clitophon's dream of being split apart from a woman recalls Aristophanes' myth in the *Symposium*; Melite's comments on Clitophon's unwillingness to consummate their marriage (5.22.5) alludes to Alcibiades' remark on how he rose from sleeping with Socrates as if 'from a eunuch.' In the debate, Menelaus' comments on boy-beauty recall common and heavenly love describe by Pausanias in the *Symposium*. The narrator's failure to return to the frame narrative may arise from the precedent set by Plato's *Symposium* and *Protagoras*.

<sup>93</sup> See Chalk (1960) 32-5 1; also Merkelbach (1960) 47-60.

ironic,<sup>94</sup> since Clitophon constructs his narrative according to standard rubrics of earlier romances and tragic declamation, making him the victim of Tyche and Eros.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, *L & C*'s chaotic, horrific, and mystifying world, like that of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, virtually demands such beneficent supernatural elements to enable the necessary happy-ever-after conclusion. And, as we shall see, a more robust story gods who direct and protect the couple can be discerned within Clitophon's narrative.

The preliminaries done, in what follows I shall produce readings of these two romances (with the greater focus on *L & C*) which demonstrate how both present a story of a rediscovery and reeducation in a love which is tied to the couple's place in society. This love, a fundamental and even ennobling force within nature, leads the protagonists of both romances from their original condition of ignorance to a proper *sophrosyne*, a more adult Eros and to the assumption of adult roles and responsibilities.

The prologue of each romance<sup>96</sup> suggests that the initial narrator needs, seeks and receives an education/revelation about Erôs. Longus' narrator has come to the country to find a pleasurable escape from the city; as a hunter he resembles the youths of Methymna, whose hunting party, initially tolerant, abuses the countryside and even prompts a senseless war (2.12-19). His mood is conducive to love and pleasure, and he finds the painting more delightful (*terponotera*) than the natural setting. The grove and its picture comprise a shrine which attracts a substantial following of the devout. The narrator does not quite know what story the picture tells, but, projecting his amatory interests,<sup>97</sup> thinks it obviously a love story. Seized by desire to tell that tale, he locates an exegete (such as are found at formal religious sites) to reveal the full narrative. The narrator, further inspired, writes *D & C*'s four books as a dedication to Love, the Nymphs and Pan, whose prologue presents Eros as universal and inescapable, as does the subsequent story. While such reinterpretations are common to Second Sophistic practice, the narrator can also be viewed as one who has had reimpresed on his soul by the power of the sight those truths which earlier, in his aggressive career symbolized by his hunting, he had forgotten, and this work sums up that lost knowledge. Indeed, the work is a dedication (*ἀνάθημα*) such as one who had been rescued or otherwise benefited by the god would set up. Such dedications are also testaments, and thus the narrator's carefully crafted *ktêma* will have a didactic function, being a revelation of the god's power. The beauty and allure of this amatory topic is a powerful stimulant, and thus he begs for himself and his reader (*ἡμῖν*) to maintain *sophrosyne*, which in Morgan's interpretation, means to stay true to an idealized and pure vision of eros, but may also be a plea not to fall into an *enthusiasmos* generated by sort of nympholepsy which Socrates falls prey to (*Phaedrus* 238c-241C).<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *L & C* 1.2.2, 1.7.1, 1.9.7, 2.19.1, 5.15.6, 5.26.3.

<sup>95</sup> Whitmarsh (2003) 197.

<sup>96</sup> For some comments on the similarity of the two prologues, see Morgan (2003) 174.

<sup>97</sup> Morgan (2003) 175-7.

<sup>98</sup> Morgan (2003) 177-8, Hunter (1997) 26-7. Here the narrator recalls Philetas, who, having a close encounter with Eros, is warned that even an old man is not immune to the trials of love (2.5.2); also Pandiri (1985) 119.

The narrator of *L & C* has been saved from a terrible storm at sea.<sup>99</sup> The storm-world symbolizes the violent environment the narrator inhabits. He makes a dedication to Astarte, an eastern goddess of love and conflict, two forces ruling this storm-world. While viewing the city and the god's dedications he comes upon the picture of Europa/Selene and the bull. In his description of this artwork he reveals himself very much like Clitophon, a sophistic fellow with interests in voyeuristic and aggressive sex and violence.<sup>100</sup> He is ἐρωτικός (1.2.1) and is particularly impressed with portrayal of Erôs' cosmic power, which confirms his own intuitions. In Lucian's *Heracles*, Lucian does not understand what he sees in the shrine until some local Celt comes up to decode the work for him.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, Clitophon, a local, reveals himself as having special knowledge of the painting's subject matter and thus, in a sense, plays a role similar to the exegete in *D & C*'s prologue. The frame-narrator seems only to want entertaining lovetales from Clitophon, rather like Lucius at the beginning of the *Metamorphosis* or Knemon as listen to Calasiris' story of the couple's history. Clitophon the exegete also corresponds to the *aretalogi* who declared the true miracles of the deity and were known as being able to produce entertaining stories.<sup>102</sup> At this point, the narrator leads Clitophon to a grove (not a meadow) for the dialogue that, with its ice-cold water, plane trees and bench, reflects the cooler, more objective setting of a philosophical discourse.<sup>103</sup>

Clitophon's status as an exegete is in accord with the romance's final episodes during which the couple are saved and Leucippe vindicated by various miracles produced by the gods;<sup>104</sup> and thus his whole life story serves, to some extent, as an exegesis of the painting.<sup>105</sup> Longus' Eros wanted to make a *muthos* out of Chloe (2.27), one illustrating a history of love superior to the three narrated myths.<sup>106</sup> Clitophon declares his adventures are like *muthoi* (1.2.2). These *muthoi* can be pleasurable yet reveal deeper truths, some which may escape their narrator. Relating this first painting directly to Clitophon's subsequent narrative (as *D & C*'s initial ecphrasis relates to the subsequent narrative), puts Clitophon in the role of an aggressive abductor humbled by Eros just as Zeus

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<sup>99</sup> A noted connection exists between the sea and Aphrodite, and the love affair as a storm is also a common simile.

<sup>100</sup> Note how the narrator luxuriates over Europa's quasi-nudity, her terror, and how beautiful all these images are, just as Clitophon make sure to point out the transparency of the chained Andromeda's gown (3.7.5) and the raped Philomela trying to cover herself (5.3.6) .

<sup>101</sup> Bartsch (1989) 42.

<sup>102</sup> Edsall (2002) 120-1.

<sup>103</sup> Martin (2002) 147-8.

<sup>104</sup> Note how, after Clitophon and Sostratus have met again and told their stories, the crowd bless the name of Artemis (7.16.1); during the trial priest declares that Artemis has saved them both (8.9.13), and of course, Leucippe passes the test of the Pan's pipe; see Edsall (2002) 119-121.

<sup>105</sup> Martin (2002) 155-6.

<sup>106</sup> MacQueen (1985) 119-134,

was, and Leucippe as a not unwilling Europa taken at a spot near where the couple eloped.<sup>107</sup> As *D & C*'s inserted myths portray the egoistic, repressive sexual aggression that Daphnis ameliorates, so within the playful productions of Achilles Tatius, Clitophon and Leucippe find a history of love superior to the one implied in the Zeus-Europa myth.

In Longus, after Daphnis and Chloe's parents send them out upon their erotic career by making them shepherds,<sup>108</sup> their adventures and development are structured by the progress of the seasons and the participation of the gods to produce an increasing knowledge of each other, of proper love and its forms, and to initiate them into adult life and their necessary social responsibilities. The conflict and crises in *D & C* complement this process fairly well. *L & C*'s events are likewise structured to display the couple's amatory progress, with Leucippe's three false deaths, so often derided by critics, providing useful road markers.

The first two books describe how Clitophon falls in lust and proceeds in his seduction of Leucippe, who, strong willed and sophisticatedly educated, is cooperative.<sup>109</sup> The books also contain warning examples of improper eros which are ignored.<sup>110</sup> Yet the language of mystery religion and Clitophon's erotic disquisition on Love's universal power, one which can remove the poison of a venomous snake (1.18.4-5), alludes to the possibility of a provident eros which, as it transforms fierce animals, will transform them also.<sup>111</sup> The couple's interrupted attempt at sex is in some sense a critical sin which leads to their self-expulsion from the safety of their home into the 'lower world' where they will be tested, beginning with the storm and shipwreck, events which signals their entry into this world. The fearful dream of Leucippe's mother underscores the gravity of

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<sup>107</sup> On how this ephrasis trickily foreshadows the subsequent narrative, see Bartsch (1989) 48-50, 63-65, who notes that Europa does not seem particularly disturbed by her abduction. Nakatani (2003: 8) has further argued that, since Zeus and Europa's story parallels that of Leucippe and Clitophon, the fact that they were united and had children is a further hint that we should consider that Clitophon enjoyed a true happy ending.

<sup>108</sup> Rather like the parents of Xenophon of Ephesus send out their children due to the oracle; parents (especially wicked parents) sending out children for one reason or other is a fairly common occurrence in folktale.

<sup>109</sup> From its descriptions it is clear Clitophon woos Leucippe within an erotic garden, similar to the garden Europa played in prior to her abduction; walled gardens as symbolic of the female body is a common trope, all elements suggesting Leucippe's receptiveness to amatory activity; see Bartsch (1989) 53-55.

<sup>110</sup> Thus Clitophon seeks and follows the advice of Clineas who is 'slave of sexual pleasure,' and delivers a vicious diatribe against the love of women, an excessive character whose own love relationship ends horribly. The fact that Clitophon goes directly from boy's funeral to his seduction (1.15.1) reminds one of Apuleius' Lucius, who, having been given many warnings, nevertheless even more vigorously pursues his quest for knowledge of magic, with terrible consequences.

<sup>111</sup> Daphnis and Chloe go beyond imitating animals and engage in a particularly human eros; but Achilles Tatius, contrariwise, stresses how a humanlike eros pervades even the natural world.

Clitophon's crime, whatever other meanings the dream also contains,<sup>112</sup> as does the way Clitophon leaps out the window like a bandit or rapist.

The first stage of the couple's trials culminate in Leucippe's pseudo-disembowelment, Clitophon's thoughts of suicide (3.16) and Leucippe's bizarre 'resurrection.' The couple have learned from this ordeal. Note how, soon after, when Clitophon suggests that they have sex, Leucippe surprisingly describes a dream from Artemis ordering her to keep herself chaste and declaring they would be married in time. Clitophon suddenly remembers his own dream; – a woman, resembling a statue of Aphrodite, barred his way into Aphrodite's temple, yet promised she would make him Aphrodite's priest. Such congruent dreams signal that their amatory careers, like those of Daphnis and Chloe, are under divine supervision. Further, Leucippe's recent horrific pseudo-death plausibly would have made her aware that more was at stake in her elopement with Clitophon than adolescent rebellion against her mother. She has given up nearly everything for Clitophon, a sacrifice that, to be meaningful, must have meaningful sanction. Thus virginity, and its protectress, Artemis, and marriage become important for her. At this point Clitophon no longer pressures Leucippe for sex. His dream underscores his new commitment (to marriage, not just sex) and the new sense of responsibility he has acquired. With responsibility must come self-restraint.

But more development and maturation are needed. The second stage of their adventures culminates in Leucippe's second false death and enslavement. These adventures, more than the earlier ones, expose the couple to the dangers of aggressive eros, as Leucippe becomes the target of Charmides, Gorgias, Chaireas and suffers madness and its embarrassing results, and, finally, fairly brutal servitude, a displacement of self symbolized by Leucippe's adoption of the name Lakaina. But consider how, during this period, when he believes Leucippe dead and has the beautiful and rich Melite wanting him, Clitophon is still loyal to Leucippe, and has almost to be dragged into marriage with Melite. Leucippe learns from Melite's own mouth of this surprising loyalty. But, as Clitophon's intercourse with Melite reveals, his development is incomplete. Leucippe in turn, kidnapped and put into Thersander's power, demonstrates an even greater moral fortitude in her forceful taunting of him (6.21), which echoes the protests of a Christian martyr.

The end of this cycle of trials comes with Leucippe's third false death. Clitophon's 'confession,' (7.7) is markedly different from that of Chariton's Chaireas (*C & C* 1.4.4). Chaireas plausibly believes he has killed Callirhoe, however accidentally. Clitophon has not murdered Leucippe, but he has grounds to think that his disloyalty to Leucippe, committed by encouraging Melite, has contributed to her pitiful death. Clitophon paints himself as willing to murder Leucippe simply for security – which, for him, was the central reason for the marriage. This confession is Clitophon's vindication – not that he is now without faults. After this episode comes the reunion with Leucippe's father and the final triumphant tests of Leucippe and Milete. The conclusion, with its strong emphasis on *anagnorsis*, recognition, its double marriage and Thersander's simple expulsion,

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<sup>112</sup> For example, predicting Leucippe's later disemboweling; see Bartsch (1989) 87-89; McAlister (1996) 76-77.

presents an essentially comic ending, which, as Frye notes,<sup>113</sup> often concerns the breaking of unjust laws and powers and the recognition of the truth, which in turn leads to a new form of society as epitomized by marriage.

While both romances narrate the erotic education and reformation of their protagonists, their depictions of love, its duties and actions, play against the formal moral code and suggest more complex views of eros, and in both romances such transgressions can bring positive results. Longus' Daphnis and Chloe at first engaged in sex-play more earnest than the narrator seems willing to admit.<sup>114</sup> They are initially quite equal, children of nature imitating nature; but once they begin to see sexual behavior for what it is, especially in its aspects of domination and aggression, evidence of shyness, hesitation and even shame sets in and their equality diminishes. Chloe does not tell Daphnis of the kiss she gave to Dorkon and they are too shy to try Philetas' suggested cure. After she has heard the myth of Syrinx, Chloe refuses to permit Daphnis to swear by Pan, who is no role model (2.39). When Spring rolls around again, Chloe initially objects to Daphnis' proposal to fully try out Philetas' advice (3.14). Once Daphnis has learned the secret of intercourse, he is ready to run off and teach Chloe, having no idea that premarital sex could be wrong. Lykainion informs Daphnis about the pain and the blood to prepare him for the lovemaking she presumes he will immediately engage in. But Lykainion through her seduction granted Daphnis the opportunity to show a more sympathetic eros, and thus Daphnis chooses freely to deny himself sexual pleasure out of the desire to avoid anything that suggested hostile violence to Chloe.<sup>115</sup> Lykainion's exaggerated description of a maiden's loss of virginity can suggest Lykainion's desire to forcibly impress Daphnis with the need for sensitivity at this moment; it is not hard to imagine that Lykainion's first experience was particularly gentle.<sup>116</sup>

Longus is much concerned with themes concerning the reconciliation of the loss of childhood and female innocence with the demands of males, marriage and society. Once he has learned of sex, Daphnis is now more clearly in the position of *praeceptor amoris*, as he relates the myth of Echo to Chloe.<sup>117</sup> But there is a further loss of innocence and equality, as he avoids being naked with her as before, he even displays some aggression, climbing to get the apple against Chloe's protests.<sup>118</sup> While Philetas' *muthos* reveals eros as a cosmic principle, the text itself suggests that human love, which is a matter of far more than sex, is very much a human and social construct, like Sappho's poem. The cyclic progress of human life is observed in Eros's account of Philetas'

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<sup>113</sup> Frye (1957) 163-171.

<sup>114</sup> Chloe is aroused by the sight of Daphnis bathing and unashamedly tries to see him naked again; Daphnis takes advantage of the situation to put his hands down Chloe's clothing to retrieve the cicada, later they 'wrestle' with their animals; see Morgan (2003) 186.

<sup>115</sup> Note that Daphnis did not wish Chloe to cry out as 'if against an enemy' (3.20); The males in the inserted myths were, of course, enemies of the women whom they destroyed.

<sup>116</sup> Pandiri (1985) 128.

<sup>117</sup> Hunter (1997) 20-1.

<sup>118</sup> Winkler (1990) 123. This scene's evocation of Sappho serves to soften and obscure this aggression.

personal history, in the transfer of his pipes to his successor Daphnis and in the narrator's description of how the couple and their children will maintain the pastoral mode. Such natural cycles were often emphasized in religion, especially in the rites of Eleusis, which presented pain, death and a better rebirth as all parts of one great, necessary and divine movement. *D & C*'s three myths of increasingly violent male sexuality delineate the silencing and destruction of women, who, somewhat like Persephone, are nevertheless reborn into something which produces a newer and beneficent harmony.<sup>119</sup> Pain and even loss must be inflicted, but this pain is ameliorated when it has meaning and purpose and compassion is employed. The male violence of the myths served only male desire and pride, elements certainly potential in the relationship between Daphnis and Chloe<sup>120</sup> but which Daphnis circumvents by imagination and by waiting for the sanction of marriage. Daphnis marries Chloe not only for himself, but for her, for their families and for the wider community, who correspondingly participate in the wedding. As noted earlier, Winkler has suggested that the harsh noises the shepherds make while the couple make love suggests violence,<sup>121</sup> yet the last lines strongly suggest their mutual pleasure.<sup>122</sup>

Both romances demonstrate how power of love and erotic devotion not only improves the central characters, but also other persons. In *D & C* Lykainion's name, 'Miss Little Wolf' suggests the danger implicit in her; note how she 'ambushes' Daphnis (λοχήσασα, 3.15.3) out of need, like the female wolf of Book 1. Her relationship with her mate Chromis, the reader suspects, had been deteriorating due to his age and his consequent lack of sexual prowess. Yet subsequently she appears at the wedding with him. Morgan suggests that her encounter with Daphnis has made her able to see another, affective side to love, knowledge through which she can love Chromis again.<sup>123</sup> Note too how Lykainion not only felt sexual hunger for Daphnis, but also pity for the couple (3.15.5). Daphnis's ability to love Chloe without sex, and even deny himself out of compassion for her can be read as a having provided her a paradigm for new relationship with Chromis. Gnathon too shows up

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<sup>119</sup> See Morgan (1994) 64-79. Music is a major motif of *Daphnis and Chloe*; see Maritz (1991) 56-67.

<sup>120</sup> As Epstein (2003 B: 25-40) details, Daphnis is linked to the aggressively sexual goats he tends, as indicated when Daphnis falls into a pit with a goat who has just had a sex-motivated battle. Daphnis is pulled up by Chloe's breastband, with Dorkon's help, which symbolizes how Chloe will raise Daphnis to a higher level. At the beginning of his account of Phatta, Daphnis says "There was such, O maiden, a maiden beautiful, and she thus herded many cattle in the woods." (1.27.2) underscoring the similarity between Chloe and Phatta, both real or potential victims. Chloe also wishes that she could be Daphnis' pipes (1.14.3), and later Chloe and Daphnis mime the myth of Syrinx and Pan, suggesting that it is potentially their story, among other correspondences.

<sup>121</sup> Winkler (1990) 101-126.

<sup>122</sup> Daphnis resembles the husband of Plutarch's *Advice to the Bride and Groom*, who should take the lead and be the educator, but do all he can to spare his partners feelings and make her happy.

<sup>123</sup> Morgan (2003) 183-4.

at the wedding,<sup>124</sup> who had gone from trying to make Daphnis his sexual play-thing to Chloe's rescuer. Somewhat more puzzling Lampis' attendance, who even plays the *aulos* for the couple. This last detail may be telling, for the ability to play music is always linked to some nobility. Earlier Dorkon, whose aggression against Chloe was worse, died, but not before helping save Daphnis and getting a kiss from Chloe; indeed his funeral (1.3.1-2.4), where even his cattle lament, presents Dorkon something of a pastoral hero.<sup>125</sup>

Melite recalls the somewhat transgressive Ismenadora of Plutarch's *Erotikos*, a rich, experienced widow who has taken up with a younger man. Milete's vindication on a technicality, another seemingly parodic element, can be justified on grounds similar to those in the case of Lycainion. Melite is the only woman in the text referred to as an ἄγαλμα (5.11.5), and thus she is probably the woman referred to in his Clitophon's dream who promised that, if he would only wait a bit longer, she would make him a priest of the goddess Aphrodite. Melite does this in the prison cell in a scene evoking the language of mystery religion.<sup>126</sup> Melite, the servant of Aphrodite's purposes, gives Clitophon knowledge of sex not as mere physical technique, but as a type of emotional interchange, a cure for a sick spirit as well as for a lusty body, as Lykainion allowed Daphnis to demonstrate a love that went beyond intercourse.<sup>127</sup> Clitophon's statement that Eros taught Melite how to properly philosophize may sound like a sophistic rationalization for sex — especially coming from him — but it is truer than he knows, as was Lycainion's claim to have been sent by the nymphs. The status of the two women as partners in the operations of gods further sanctions their acquittal. Melite, in tempting Clitophon earlier, also gave him an chance to understand the depths of his own loyalty to Leucippe, as well as for Leucippe to learn more about Clitophon's deep devotion to her.

The history of *L & C*'s Callisthenes shows an even more radical rehabilitation achieved through love. Callisthenes is a young reprobate of degraded repute, an *akolastos* more dissolute even than Clinias, and also more violent. That Calligone can be mistaken for Leucippe suggests the potential equivalence of the two girls — who will both reform their men. And not only does Callisthenes respect Calligone's virginity, but turns himself completely around, becoming a model of social respectability. Morgan has suggested the narrative's linking of Callisthenes and Clitophon indicates Clitophon has in fact had his happy ending. I would see two other parallels. At *D & C*'s conclusion, as part of their assumption of civic duty, the couple make dedications to the gods that have helped them, dedications which tell their story. Perhaps Clitophon has come to Sidon to make a similar dedication and confession to the goddess. Clitophon's somberness in this initial episode corresponds to the very last scene in *Chaireas and Callirhoe*, where Callirhoe, alone before Aphrodite's statue, is hardly happy, but resigned to her new knowledge, and merely prays to never be separated from Chaireas.

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<sup>124</sup> Plato makes a connection between physical eros and philosophic enlightenment, and it has been also suggested that Gnathon is redeemed because he is a *theates* of Daphnis' beauty; see MacQueen (1990) 170.

<sup>125</sup> Pandiri (1985) 122.

<sup>126</sup> Bartsch (1989) 91-92.

<sup>127</sup> See Morgan (1996) 181.

More than humans are rehabilitated. It has been suggested that *Daphnis and Chloe* was written in response to the supposed proclamation that ‘Great Pan is dead!’,<sup>128</sup> which asserts the fatal decline of an archaic paganism incompatible with more developed Greco-Roman world. But, as now with the narratives of Christianity, Judaism and Islam, efforts were made to rehabilitate the old gods, and even make them cooperative workers in a higher purpose. Thus at the beginning of *D & C* Eros, god of the protected pastoral world, sets the plot in motion, aided by the nymphs, more beneficent nature spirits. It is in Philetas’ garden, where neither Dionysos or Pan are represented, that Daphnis and Chloe get their first revelation about love. But as the less gentle, more mature world increasingly intrudes, the presence of Pan and Dionysos is increasingly felt. Daphnis must learn about Pan, to appreciate his own Pan-potential as it were, which is a preliminary to the full discovery of the deeds of Love.<sup>129</sup> But here Pan, unlike the murderous violator of Echo, Pitys and Syrinx, now protects the love-career of Daphnis and Chloe. Similarly, when Daphnis and Chloe mime the myth of Syrinx, they enact no real rape, but rather Daphnis’ Pan plays love tunes for Chloe (2.37), after which performance Philetas hands him his pipes. Daphnis has passed his test as a master-musician, and, like Philetas, is now a muscian-*vates*, whose artistic productions present this new Pan. Pan’s assault on the Methymnaeans has Dionysic overtones, and at consequent celebration Dryas, having called for a Dionysic tune, enacted the grape harvest and wine making (2.36). As noted before, Dionysos, accompanied by images of his violent history, lies at the center of the garden of Book 4, a four part *ktêma* symbolic of the entire work, but there nothing of the Eros or the Nymphs, nor is music heard in the garden.<sup>130</sup> Further Daphnis’s father, Dionysiophanes, recognizes Daphnis when he comes to his estate to enjoy the grape harvest, again underscoring Dionysos’ centrality. Dionysos’ operations are more mysterious and disturbing, and are linked to the movement of the young lovers from the protected, musical realm of eros (one rather like Philetas’ garden) to more problematic world of the city. And this agrees with Dionysos’ role in myth and ritual as a god who incorporates the violent natural world into the realm of civilizing order; comedy and tragedy, which Dionysos also rules, provide intellectual spaces for the reconciliation of these opposites.

The myth of Syrinx likewise has an important place in *L & C*, and, although Clitophon worries about Leucippe’s safety in the realm of such a notably lustful being (8.13.2-3), Pan’s pipes in fact celebrate her virginity. In this version of the tale, Pan, after slicing up the reeds, *feels regret* and cries because he believes he chopped up his beloved (8.6.9). Later Pan made an agreement with Artemis that the cave could become a place where virginity was vindicated.<sup>131</sup> Both romances, in effect, show a ‘rehabilitation’ of Pan, which corresponds to the rehabilitation of the male heroes, for Pan and the Nymphs also can symbolize the masculine and the feminine sides of sexuality.

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<sup>128</sup> McCulloh (1970) 13-15.

<sup>129</sup> Zeitlin (1994) 161.

<sup>130</sup> Zeitlin (1994) 162.

<sup>131</sup> Notice too the sweetness of the music Pan makes when vindicating Leucippe, which echoes the theme of musical harmony seen in *D & C*.

As Segal noted, *L & C* also posits a reconciliation of Artemis and Aphrodite.<sup>132</sup> In *D & C*, while Aphrodite herself does not appear, the whole story of Longus' Daphnis rewrites Theocritus' *Idyll I*, in which Aphrodite destroyed a rebellious Daphnis. Longus' Daphnis, of course, loves successfully. Leucippe holds within herself the potentials of Artemis and Aphrodite; she resembles Calligone in her virginity and purity, but also recalls Melite in her transgressive sexuality. Romances frequently possesses 'light' and 'dark' heroines;<sup>133</sup> Leucippe mediates between these two poles, being a relatively 'light' heroine as compared to Melite, but a somewhat 'darker' heroine when compared to Calligone. Leucippe participates in two double vindications; she and Melite are proven at the same time in Ephesus and Calligone and Leucippe are wed on the same day. The waters of the Styx arose from a former conflict between Aphrodite and Artemis; Rhodopis swore eternal virginity in faithfulness to Artemis, but due to Aphrodite's machinations, had illicit sex and was turned to water by Artemis, who now acquits the 'loose' Melite — and, by implication, Clitophon.<sup>134</sup> Melite's triumph suggests that virtue is not defined narrowly by matters of sex. The dual triumph of Melite and Leucippe also suggests a certain equivalence between them. Later the vindicated Leucippe, no longer observing customary *aidôs*, shows pity for the murdered prostitute (8.16)<sup>135</sup>, a similar broadening of sensibilities concerning virtue. As noted, a familiar motif of comedy is the breaking of irrational rules, and Melite's acquittal fits this theme.<sup>136</sup> Further, Artemis was traditionally the protectress of young girls before marriage, yet Ephesian Artemis was almost certainly a version of an eastern fertility goddess, not a goddess of strict chastity. Note how her priest in *L & C* indulges in the coarse Aristophanic invective (8.9.1), a humor connected with fertility ritual. Further, Menelaus' earlier comments about the two types of beauty, *pandemon* and *uranion* (2.36) although defending homosexual love, in their echoes of Pausanias' two Aphrodites (*Symp.* 180D) and hints at a more spiritualized Aphrodisian love. This desire to ennoble Aphrodite and sexual pleasure in marriage is observed in Plutarch *Eroticus*'s where a character declares that there is no Eros without Aphrodite (*Eroticus* 752B).<sup>137</sup> Artemis appears to Leucippe in a dream vowing that she herself would 'decorate her as bride.' In Clitophon's dream Aphrodite promised to make him priest of the goddess — suggesting how Clitophon, like Daphnis, would provide his mate's final lessons in love (4.1). Finally, the romance begins with a focus on Astarte/Aphrodite, but ends with their triumph at the city and shrine of Artemis, who works the people bless (7.16.1) and who has sent a dream to Leucippe's father

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<sup>132</sup> Segal (1984) 83-91.

<sup>133</sup> See Frye (1976) 83; Segal (1984) 83.

<sup>134</sup> Segal (1984) 88.

<sup>135</sup> The fact that the prostitute is a virtual double of Leucippe shows also suggest their equivalence.

<sup>136</sup> Clitophon, in the omission of his love-making with Melite from his account to Leucippe's father, recalls Odysseus' omissions to Penelope during their reunion; Odysseus, whatever his problems with strict chastity, is portrayed by Homer as deeply committed to Penelope, and in part gives up immortality for her.

<sup>137</sup> Plutarch recommends regular intercourse (*Eroticus* 769A) and even suggests that Aphrodite should be applied to dissolve quarrels (*Praecept* 38).

Sostratus. Thus Artemis and Aphrodite are reconciled and cooperate in events leading to the marriage of Clitophon and Leucippe, a process demonstrating a broader view of the requirements of love than is prescribed in their myths and in conventional morality.

In the above I hope I have shown how *Daphnis and Chloe* and Leucippe and Clitophon, although so different, share very similar concern about such matters as *paideia*, art and rhetoric, education (especially the education in love), social transgression, the growth of young people into their proper adult roles and the imaginative possibilities of Love as a divine force which can guide basically good individuals to a success beyond their capabilities or circumstances. Both romances contain a story of a couple who, guided by love, become proper lovers and proper members of society despite their education, understanding or circumstances. And due to such similarities, studying and teaching these two romances in tandem provides a significant and mutual illumination.

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