

The Influence of New Comedy on the Narrative of Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*

by

Kyle M. Rutherford

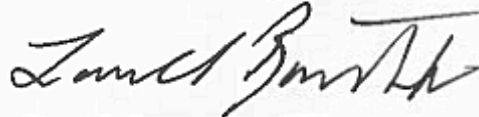
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Christopher Eckerman, Chair



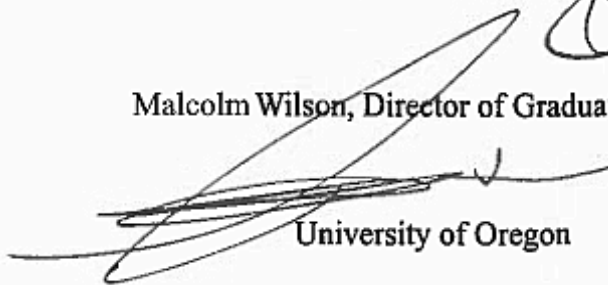
Lowell Bowditch, Member



David Chamberlain, Member



Malcolm Wilson, Director of Graduate Studies



University of Oregon

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Kyle M. Rutherford

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Much effort has been spent on interrogating the origins of the Ancient Greek Romance novel, focusing primarily on genres from which the novel may have arisen. Scholars such as Thomas Hägg, B.P. Rearden, and Kathryn Chew have explored the general influence of New Comedy on the development of the novel. I argue that, beyond the general influence of New Comedy in *Daphnis and Chloe* that has been well attested, specific Menandrian plays, namely *Dyskolos*, *Epitrepontes*, and *Perikeiromene*, can be said to be the likely origin of Longus's treatment of specific new comedic tropes. Some of these allusions have been discussed in prior scholarship examining the influence of New Comedy on the Ancient Novel, but some have seen little scholarly attention. I suggest that the preponderance of specific Menandrian influence in *Daphnis and Chloe* comports with Hägg's conjecture that the Greek romance novel arose as a more accessible replacement for the romantic drama of increasingly inaccessible new comedic plays.

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Introduction

Much effort has been spent on interrogating the origins of the Ancient Greek Romance novel, focusing primarily on genres from which the novel may have arisen. Prose history, pastoral song, Alexandrian elegy, travel narrative, and Platonic dialogue have all been proffered as possible progenitors of the ancient novel.¹ While there has been compelling evidence presented in support of these possibilities by scholars such as Erwin Rohde, Eduard Shwartz, and Giuseppe Giangrande, it is impossible to say for certain whence the novel sprang. As Ben Perry puts it, in *Ancient Romances*, any single genre or combination of genres presented as an answer to this line of inquiry will be unsatisfying because literary genres are not analogous to biological species, evolving from genre to genre with clearly defined parents and offspring.² It is possible, however, to say that the ancient novelists were aware of these genres and were consciously influenced by them as they developed and innovated within this new form. Such influence can be tracked by the presence of large amounts of allusive and intertextual material in the surviving novels.³

Thomas Hägg, in *The Novel in Antiquity*, writes of this phenomenon, “It would be possible to write a history of almost the whole of Greek literature from the point of view of the novel, so eagerly did the novelists gather their flowers in the most widely different localities.”⁴ In this thesis, I will focus on the allusions, both direct and indirect, of Longus in his *Daphnis and Chloe* to the corpus of Menander’s New Comedy. Hägg, briefly touching on this potential, asserts, “New Comedy with its intrigues, characterization, and function of entertainment is the nobler half-sister of the novel.”⁵

¹ Bruce D. MacQueen, *Myth, Rhetoric, and Fiction: A Reading of Longus’s Daphnis and Chloe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), p. 204-224

² Ben Edwin Perry, *Ancient Romances* (Berkeley: University of California, 1967), p. 5

³ For all Greek and Latin texts save *Daphnis and Chloe* and Donatus’s commentaries, I have used the Loeb editions listed in the bibliography, for *Daphnis and Chloe* and Donatus I have used the Teubner editions listed in the bibliography. All translations are my own.

⁴ Tomas Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 122

⁵ *ibid.*

Longus and the Ancient Greek Romance Novel

Before Longus' textual allusions can be discussed, the context of his authorship must first be established.. Little is known about Longus beyond his name, given on manuscripts of *Daphnis and Chloe*, and a date, an approximation based on style, content, and allusion, around 200 CE.⁶ He was certainly aware of Lesbian geography, so he had probably at least visited the island, and, based on his name, was probably a Greek-speaking Roman citizen or freedman, and, based on his work, was well educated and well read.⁷ It seems quite likely as well, based on his treatment of New and Old comedic genre conventions, that he was familiar with numerous plays in his time.

Menander and New Comedy

The primary points of comparison here will be the plays of Menander, written in the late fourth and early third centuries B.C.E. Menander wrote in a genre called New Comedy, or Νέα, which developed out of the well-attested Old Comedy of the fifth century. Unfortunately, of the sixty or so attested new comedic playwrights, there is only one complete play by Menander, *Dyskolos*, discovered in the early 1950s, and a handful of nearly complete plays. The rest are incredibly fragmentary or survive in quotes by later authors. Up until that discovery, and another in 1905, most of what was known about Greek New Comedy came from the surviving texts of Roman Comedy by Terence and Plautus, which, though closely related to and largely adapted from Greek New Comedy, shows the influence of local Italian theater.⁸ Their plays are still

⁶ Bruce MacQueen, p. 202; Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, ed. Ewen Bowie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 20

⁷ Ibid., p. 191

⁸ Richard L. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 20-21

useful evidence for New Comedic tropes and characterizations but are less valuable to the arguments I will make than the works of Menander.

The primary differences between the Old Comedy of Aristophanes and the New Comedy of Meander are twofold: first, “New Comedy characters are placed in situations which are within the possible experience of the audience, whereas those of Old Comedy are not,” and second, New Comedy plays:

“deal, for the most part, with the private lives of a small range of characters drawn (except for slaves, cooks, and so on) from the relatively prosperous middle- and upper-middle-class[es]...No theme is more persistent in these plays than the mutability of fortune and the external limits which are placed upon human action...In Aristophanes, characters know no such constraints; they make their own luck and forge their own world.”⁹

A short summary of *Daphnis and Chloe*'s plot, introduced by Longus' remarkable ekphrastic proem, will illuminate many of the new comedic conventions present in the novel to those familiar with the genre.

Plot

The narrative in earnest begins with the dual exposure of the title characters along with recognition tokens suggesting a high status. The characters are discovered and nursed, at first, by animals, then by two respective childless rural couples. Daphnis, nursed by a goat, is discovered by the goatherd Lamon and raised by him and his wife, Myrtale. Chloe, nursed by a sheep, is discovered by the shepherd Dryas and raised by him and his wife, Nape. The children's true heritage is hidden, and as they reach marriageable age, they fall in love. However, the young adults, ignorant of love, must learn its ways from various teachers, particularly an old cowherd and a woman from the city, and they face various threats, including troublesome leisured youths, aggressive suitors, and a lecherous parasite. Daphnis and Chloe, with the help of rural divinities, are able to overcome these obstacles and be betrothed. However, before the marriage occurs,

⁹ Hunter, *New Comedy*, 10-12

Dryas' master arrives and is revealed to be Daphnis' father through recognition of the tokens. Chloe's father is revealed to be a wealthy and otherwise childless old man from the city. The story ends happily ever after with a wedding feast.

I will explore the intertextual relationship between Longus's novel and Menander's New Comedies by examining the presence of New Comedy's genre conventions in Longus' work, focusing on allusions to specific plays. Some of these allusions have been discussed in prior scholarship examining the influence of New Comedy on the Ancient Novel, but some have seen little scholarly attention. I will argue that, beyond the general influence of New Comedy in *Daphnis and Chloe* that has been well attested, specific Menandrian plays can be said to be the likely origin of Longus's treatment of a new comedic trope. In the first chapter, I will examine the plot elements of New Comedy as they appear in the novel, focusing on specific examples from the plays. In the second chapter, I will look at how Longus' characterization is influenced by the conventional characterization practices of New Comedy.

Chapter 1: Narrative Tropes

Introduction

In this first chapter, I would like to explore the narrative tropes common in New Comedy that appear in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*. The plot of a new comedy by a Greek or Roman author is fairly standard and predictable, playing out in the same ways with different stock characters. An oft-recounted anecdote about Menander, commenting on this similarity, goes that a close friend of Menander says to him, *ἐγγυς οὖν Μένανδρε τὰ Διονύσια, καὶ σὺ τὴν κωμωδίαν οὐ πεποίηκας*, "The Dionysia is near, Menander, and you have not written the comedy," to which Menander replies, *νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγε πεποίηκα τὴν κωμωδίαν: ὠκονόμηται γὰρ ἡ διάθεσις, δεῖ δ' αὐτῇ τὰ στιχίδια ἐπᾶσαι* "By the gods, I have certainly written the comedy: the plot is arranged, but it is still necessary to fit the lines to it."¹⁰ Sidney G. Ashmore, in the introduction to his *Comedies of Terence*, describes the common elements of a New Comedic plot, both Greek and Roman:

"The central theme was usually the course of true love, and the action depicted the efforts of a youth to obtain possession of his mistress -- often in the face of determined opposition of a parent or guardian -- and with the assistance of a tricky slave. The heroine, who at the start was supposed to belong to the class of courtesans or *hetaerae* (regarded as aliens), was eventually discovered to be a well-born maiden and an Athenian citizen, and her marriage to the hero of the play was the necessary and suitable conclusion."¹¹

David Konstan, in the introduction to his *Roman Comedy*, commenting on Ashmore's plot summary, writes, "It is undoubtedly a mistake to reduce all the plays to manifestations of this basic form. All the same, the pattern he identifies is a fundamental one."¹² Konstan is correct that many of the New Comedies depart from this pattern, but nearly all begin from it,

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Moralia* 347f ;

¹¹ Sidney Gillespie Ashmore, *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae. The Comedies of Terence. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Sidney G. Ashmore* (New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1908), p. 5

¹² David Konstan, *Roman Comedy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 26

save some of Plautus' more adventurous plays, which seem to have no Greek new comedic original, such as *Amphitruo*.¹³

A cursory comparison between Ashmore's generic summary of a new comedy and the plot summary of *Daphnis and Chloe* provided in the introduction of this work reveals certain commonalities. The hidden identity of the heroine, mistakenly thought to be a slave but later revealed to be an elite freeborn citizen, is applied to both protagonists through the also-common-to-comedy (though neglected by Ashmore) exposure and recognition plot. The novel's goal, as it is in many comedies, is for the youthful male protagonist to secure the hand of his beloved in marriage, in which he succeeds. Both Daphnis' and Chloe's foster parents stand in the way of the protagonists' union, as they each believe that their child is destined for something greater than farmwork.

These plot elements, however, did not originate with New Comedy but instead grew out of the tradition of fifth-century Athenian theater. In Euripides' *Iphigenia* and *Helen*, there is token recognition of family members, and in Euripides' *Ion*, that recognition leads to a happy ending where a slave is revealed to be a king.¹⁴ Bernard Knox writes in "Euripidean Comedy," "the presentation of the recognition not as catastrophe, not as the prelude to tragic action or escape, but the happy ending seems to have no precedent in drama, but becomes, from this point on through Plautus, Menander, [and] Terence...the stock comic solution."¹⁵ This does not diminish the importance of New Comedy as a reference point for these plot elements -- it is their form as present in New Comedy to which Longus refers.

¹³ For the idea that the *Amphitruo* was a result of experimentation with Greek tragedies, see Schmidt, Ernst A. "Die Tragikomödie 'Amphitruo' Des Plautus Als Komödie Und Tragödie." *Museum Helveticum* 60, no. 2 (2003): 80–104. pp. 87-88

¹⁴Bernard Knox, "Euripidean Comedy," essay, in *Oxford Readings in Menander, Plautus, and Terence* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3–26, p. 11

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 19

This chapter will examine the treatment of three of the major plot elements of New Comedy in Longus' novel -- the exposure of infants, the recognition scene, and the marriage rites -- by comparing scenes from Menander's plays to analogous scenes in the novel. A fourth element, the presence of the traditional Athenian betrothal formula in both the plays and the novel, is explored in relation to the marriage rites. As will become apparent, *Daphnis and Chloe* was not only influenced by the form of New Comedy but, in the case of specific plays, the substance as well.

Exposure Plot

The first element of the plot that would stand out to one familiar with New Comedy would be the exposure of the children, followed, eventually, by their recognition by their true parents. In the seven or so best-preserved plays of Menander, an exposure and recognition plot factors into *Epitrepontes* and *Perikeiromene*, while recognition plots are the hinges on which *Samia* and *Misoumenos* turn. Of the other, less complete plays of Menander, *Synairistosai*, based on what can be gleaned from the text based on its Latin adaptation, Plautus's *Cistellaria*, involves an exposure and recognition plot, while *Phasma* and *Heros* include cases of unknown identities and recognition. *Encheiridion* also seems to contain elements of an exposure and recognition plot, though what is known about this play comes from quotations, a scrap of papyrus and a mosaic. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the evidence of exposure is presented thusly:

Ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγρῷ νέμων αἰπόλος, Λάμων τοῦνομα, παιδίον εὔρεν ὑπὸ μιᾶς τῶν αἰγῶν τρεφόμενον... Δόξαν δὴ κάκείνη, τὰ μὲν συνεκτεθέντα κρύπτουσι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον αὐτῶν νομίζουσι, τῇ δὲ αἰγί τὴν τροφήν ἐπιτρέπουσιν. (1.2-1.3)

On this estate, a goatherd named Lamon found a baby being nourished by a goat while pasturing his herd... It having seemed right to her, too, they hid the things exposed together with the baby, called the baby their own, and entrusted nursing to the goat.

For comparison, in Menander's *Epitrepontes*, the circumstances surrounding the discovery of Pamphile's child and the recognition tokens, which serve as the central "MacGuffins" of the plot, are narrated:

Ἀπηλλάγη. μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς περιτυχὼν μοι νῦν, ἄφνω τὰ τότε συνεκτεθέντα τούτω, μικρὰ δὲ ἦν ταῦτα καὶ λῆρός τις, οὐθέν, ἀξιοῖ ἀπολαμβάνειν... ποιμὴν τις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι, πρὸς ὃν οὐτοσί ἐλάλησε, τῶν τούτω συνέργων, ἅμα τινὰ κόσμον συνευρεῖν αὐτό[ν]

276-300

He vanished. Now, he, meeting me with his wife, thinks he has a right to take the things exposed with the baby, these were small things, trifles, nothing... a shepherd explained to me, one who spoke with him, working together, that he had found some ornament with the baby.

In both the play and the novel, rural men, in the play, a shepherd and a charcoal burner, and in the novel's dual exposure plot, a shepherd and a goatherd discover an abandoned baby in the countryside. In both, the recognition tokens are named with the same aorist passive participle, τὰ συνεκτεθέντα, the things exposed together.¹⁶ This participle occurs only once prior to *Daphnis and Chloe*, in this passage from Menander's *Epitrepontes*, though it recurs in Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*, written, by whatever reckoning, after *Daphnis and Chloe*.¹⁷ In both, a nurse named Sophrosyne is sent to abandon a child in the country.¹⁸

Recognition Tokens

Further evidence of Longus' specific adoption of the New Comedic exposure plot element comes from the *γνωρίσματα* themselves. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Daphnis is found with a *χλαμύδιον ἀλουργές*, a "cloak dyed purple," a *πόρπη χρυσή*, a "golden brooch," and a *ξιφίδιον ἐλεφαντόκωπον*, an "ivory-hilted little sword."¹⁹ In the same work, Chloe is found with *μίτρα*

¹⁶Bowie, p. 104

¹⁷Reardon, p. 5

¹⁸ W. Geoffrey Arnott, *Menander*, vol. 1, 3 vols., of *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 387 ; It is worth noting as well that Sophrosyne is the name of the nurse in two of Terence's plays dealing with recognition plots.

¹⁹ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.2; **Bold** text is used throughout to emphasize similarity

διάχρυσος, a “miter adorned with gold,” *ὑποδήματα ἐπίχρυσα*, “sandals with gold on them,” and, “golden anklets,” *περισκελίδες χρυσαῖ*.²⁰ In Menander’s *Perikeiromene*, or *The Girl With Her Hair Shorn*, Glykera reveals that she was (along with her brother) exposed with *δέραια*, “necklaces,” and a *β[ρ]άχυς τις [δι]άλιθ[ος] κόσμος*, a “small ornament with stones,” a *[πορφυρ]ᾶ ζώνη*, a “purple belt,” a *δ[ιαφαν]ές χλ[ανί]διο[ν]*, a “diaphonous cloak,” and a *μίτρα χρυσῆ*, a “golden miter”.²¹

Regarding the recognition tokens in *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Perikeiromene*, some similarities can be noticed immediately. Most obviously related are Glykera’s *μίτρα χρυσῆ*, her golden miter, and Chloe’s *μίτρα διάχρυσος*, her miter adorned with gold. Glykera has her *χλανίδιον* and Daphnis his *χλαμύδιον*, both of which are diminutive cloaks.²² Both of them also have an object of purple, indicating to those who found them that the child with the tokens is of particularly high status.

The recognition objects in two more of Menander’s plays are less directly relevant but still worth noting due to Daphnis’s recognition dagger. First, in *Misoumenos*, Krateia refuses to marry the man who loves her because she believes he is responsible for her brother’s death. He is proven to be alive by her father’s recognition of his son’s sword, here, a *σπάθη*.²³ Second, in *Encheiridion*, based on mosaic and fragmentary evidence, it seems that one or more *ἐγχειρίδιᾶ*, daggers, serve as recognition tokens in the play.²⁴ Though neither of them is a *ξιφίδιο*, there is a new comedic precedent for swords and daggers to serve as recognition tokens. For comparison, in Plautus’ *Rudens*, a handful of the recognition tokens are diminutive weapons: an *enisculus*

²⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.5

²¹ Menander, *Perikeiromene*, 822

²² LSJ, *χλαμύδιον*, *χλανίδιον*

²³ Menander, *Misoumenos*, 680

²⁴ W. Geoffrey Arnott, *Menander*, vol. 3, 3 vols., of *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 360

aureohus, a little golden sword, a *securicula*, a little ax, and a *sicilicula argenteola*, a little silver sickle or spear.²⁵

Concerning the details of the exposure plot and the wealth of intertextual material between *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Epitripontes*, it seems reasonable to conclude that Longus was consciously alluding to Menander's play, not just the general New Comedic convention of the exposure plot, but this specific play's treatment of it. While it also appears that the items of clothing among Longus's recognition tokens are drawn from Menander's *Perikeiromene*, the other items may be simply conventional or drawn from lost comedies.

Recognition Scene

An exposure plot with recognition tokens demands a recognition scene, an *anagnorisis*. In order to save Daphnis from the advances of a parasite accompanying their master's son, Dryas and Myrtale reveal the recognition tokens found with Daphnis to their master, Dionysophanes. It turns out that Daphnis had been herding his father's goats -- Dionysophanes recognizes the tokens as those exposed along with his son. Only two of Menander's recognition scenes, those from *Epitripontes* and *Perikeiromene*, survive in any great capacity. Compare the situations in the recognition scene between Menander's *Perikeiromene* and *Daphnis and Chloe* in the tables below (Tables 1 and 2).

²⁵ Plautus, *Rudens*, 113-125

Table 1. Greek text of recognition-scene comparison

Situation	<i>Perikeiromene</i>	<i>Daphnis and Chloe</i>
The parent (or parents) have reason to suspect that their child lives	Glykera: “ἐγ[ὼ δ’ ἐκεῖν’ ἐ]λάμβα[νον· γνωρίσματ’ ἦν τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς” 742	“Ἄλλοι πατέρες ἐξέθησαν τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον... Εὗρον αὐτῷ καὶ γνωρίσματα συνεκκείμενα ὁμόλογα.” 4.19
They question the person or persons who have knowledge of this fact	Pataikos: “πόθεν] λαβοῦσα ταῦτα κέκτησαι φράσον.” 781	τὸν δὲ Λάμωνα πάλιν ἀνέκρινε καὶ παρεκελεύετο τάληθῆ λέγειν” 4.20
They ask for proof	[Lost or not present, it seems that Glykera has broached the subject and is showing the tokens already]	“Ἐδόκει μὴ μαντεύεσθαι ἐπὶ πλέον, ἀλλὰ ἤδη τὰ γνωρίσματα σκοπεῖν 4.21
The tokens are recognized	Pataikos: “κέρ]ατ’ ἔχει, τοῦτ’ οἶδα... τῆς [γ]υναικὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ποικίλ]ματ’ ἐστὶ ταῦτα καὶ μάλ’ ἀθλίας” 771-773	“οὐ ταῦτα ἡμεῖς συνεξεθήκαμεν ἰδίῳ παιδί;” 4.21
The parent (or parents) call upon the gods	Pataikos: “νῆ τὸν Δία τὸ]ν Σωτήρα” 759 Pataikos: “ὦ Ζεῦ” 779	“ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα” “φίλοι Μοῖραι” 4.21
The parent (or parents) admit that the child is theirs		“Φίλε ἄνερ, ἡμέτερόν ἐστὶ τὸ παιδίον;” 4.21
The parent (or parents) cry	Glykera: “τί κ]λαίεις, ἀθλία;” 758 (Glykera’s father can not be the object as ἀθλία is feminine, but her old maidservant, who may be aware that she is about to be recognized)	τοῦ Διονυσοφάνους τὰ γνωρίσματα φιλοῦντος καὶ ὑπὸ περιττῆς ἡδονῆς δακρύνοντος 4.22
The parent (or parents) and child embrace	Pataikos: “οὐκέτι καθέξω. φιλτάτη, χ[αῖρ’ .]” 823 Moschion: “τί προσέχεσθ’;” 824	Ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα ... καὶ ὡς πάλαι εἰδὼς προσεστερνίζετο καὶ ἐξελεθῆν τῶν περιβολῶν οὐκ ἤθελεν 4.23
The parent (or parents) explain themselves	Pataikos: “πένης ἐγενόμην, βίον ἔχειν [εἰθισμένος.” 806	“ὦ μὴν ἰκανὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος, καὶ γενόμενον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἐξέθηκα, οὐ γνωρίσματα ταῦτα συνεκθεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐντάφια.” 4.24

Table 2, Translation of recognition-scene comparison

Situation	<i>Perikeiromene</i>	<i>Daphnis and Chloe</i>
The parent (or parents) have reason to suspect that their child lives	“I received these; they were tokens from my father and mother.”	“Other parents exposed this child...I found correspondent tokens lying beside him.”
They question the person or persons who have knowledge of this fact	“Tell me where you got these things you have.”	He interrogated Lamon again and ordered him to speak the truth
They ask for proof	[Lost or not present, it seems that Glykera has broached the subject and is showing the tokens already]	It seemed best to no longer make guesses at the truth but to examine the recognition tokens right away
The tokens are recognized	“It has horns, I know that...These are the embroideries of my very miserable wife.”	“Did we not expose these with our child?”
The parent (or parents) call upon the gods	“By Zeus Sotor” “O Zeus!”	“O, Lord Zeus” “O, dear Fates!”
The parent (or parents) admit that the child is theirs		“Dear husband, this is our child.”
The parent (or parents) cry	“Why do you cry, miserable one?”	While Dionysophanes kissed the tokens and wept from great joy
The parent (or parents) and child embrace	“I can’t constrain myself anymore, dearest one.” “Why do you embrace?”	And, as though knowing them for a while, he clasped his father and mother to his breast, and he did not wish to leave the embraces.
The parent (or parents) explain themselves	“I had become poor, having been accustomed to wealth.”	“I thought this child to be sufficient, and I exposed the child born after the other children, not having placed these things as tokens, but as funeral offerings.”

The recognition scene begins with the suspicion of a parent that their exposed child may yet be alive and that a character they have been interacting with thus far *is* that child. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Dionysophanes and Cleariste, hearing that the boy had been exposed from Lamon, suspect that this child could be their own. In Menander's *Perikeiromene*, the exposed daughter herself reveals the existence of the tokens to her father, both previously unsuspecting of a possible familial relationship. In both texts, the suspecting father presses for more answers, Dionysophanes from Lamon and Pataikos from Glykera. In Longus' novel, the parents ask directly to see the tokens; however, in *Perikeiromene*, there is a lacuna present between Glykera's revelation of the tokens and her command to the slave Doris to bring them out, where such a demand could have been made by Pataikos.

In both texts, the tokens are recognized immediately by the parent (or parents) as the things abandoned along with their child, by the things themselves in the case of *Daphnis*, and by embroideries on the things in the case of *Glykera*. Following the recognition of the tokens, Dionysophanes and Cleariste invoke the gods, expressing surprise and gratitude for the preservation of their child, Dionysophanes calling out to *Ζεῦ δέσποτα*, Lord Zeus, Cleariste calling out to the *φίλαι Μοῖραι*, the dear Fates. In *Perikeiromene*, Pataikos calls out to *Δία Σωτήρα*, Zeus the Savior, upon hearing that such tokens exist, and again to Zeus once his suspicions have been confirmed. Of note, the newly reunited family in *Daphnis and Chloe* make offerings to *Δία Σωτήρα*, though no character exclaims or calls out to Zeus in this capacity in the novel. Following these exclamations, Dionysophanes "wept with great joy," while in *Perikeiromene*, it seems to be Glykera's maid crying based on the gender of the person addressed as *ἀθλία*. While the tears in Menander's play do not come from a parent, it is possible that Doris' tears are related to her suspicion at the imminent discovery of her mistress's parentage, though a

short lacuna following Glykera's question, "τί κ]λαίεις;" precludes such surety. At some point during the recognition scene, the parents and child will embrace. In the present comparison, Menander and Longus have used similar verbs for this moment of embrace. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Daphnis **προσεστερνίζετο**...τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα," while in *Perikeiromene*, Moschion, Glykera's also-exposed brother, watching from the shadows, asks "τί **προσέχεσθ**;" indicating that the characters have embraced.

The parent also attempts to explain to their child the parent's reason for exposing them. In Longus' novel, Dionysophanes tells Daphnis, Ὡ,μην ἱκανὸν εἶναι τὸ γένος, that he thought a third child was sufficient, though two of his three children have now perished. Menander's Pataikos says, πένης ἐγενόμην, βίον ἔχειν [εἰθισμένος, that he had "become poor, having been accustomed to wealth," and thus could not afford to raise children. Notably, this is the same excuse given by Chloe's father, Megacles, in *Daphnis and Chloe*, that ἦν ὀλίγος μοι βίος τὸν πρότερον χρόνον: ὃν γὰρ εἶχον εἰς χορηγίας καὶ τριηραρχίας ἐξεδάπανησα, "There was little wealth for me at that former time: for that which I had, I spent on choruses and triremes."²⁶ Megacles' excuse comes across as a bit humorous, as is apt for an element (perhaps) drawn from comedy: he was so wealthy that he was subject to liturgy, but (he claims) that he was too poor to raise a daughter. Both *Perikeiromene*'s Pataikos and *Daphnis and Chloe*'s Megacles give the same excuse for child abandonment: having lost their previous wealth, they felt as though they could not afford to raise a child.

Perikeiromene, like *Daphnis and Chloe*, contains a double-exposure plot, but in the play, both *anagnorises* occur in the same scene. In the novel, Chloe's recognition scene comes later and is much compressed, lacking many of the elements present in Daphnis' and Glykera's recognition scenes. The recognition scene in *Perikeiromene* is Menander's longest and appears to

²⁶Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.35

share many elements with the recognition scene presented by Longus in his novel. I am hesitant to argue that Longus was *specifically* referencing this play's recognition scene, as other New Comedic recognition scenes (Plautus' *Cistellaria*, *Epidicus*, Menander's shorter seen in *Epitrepontes*) contain similar moments, though it seems quite possible based on the conjunction of similar moments in both texts, and the similarity between their recognition tokens as noted above.

Marriage Rites

At the end of the novel, a second conventional plot point from New Comedy is apparent: the wedding and associated feast. Of Menander's seven best-preserved plays, five of them (*Epitrepontes*, *Misoumenos*, *Perikeiromene*, *Samia*, and *Sikyonioi*) end with at least one wedding, while *Dyskolos* conclusively ends with a wedding and a feast. Of Menander's largely fragmentary plays, at least *Heros*, likely *Karchedonios*, *Kitharstes*, *Georgos*, and *Phasma*, end with weddings, as well. To examine this similarity, compare the wedding scene from *Daphnis and Chloe* to the wedding scenes from *Dyskolos* and *Samia* and the formulaic ending of Menander's other marriage plays. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the wedding scene plays out like this:

Ὁ δὲ Διονυσοφάνης, εὐήμερίας οὔσης, αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἄντρου στιβάδας ὑπεστόρεσεν ἐκ χλωρᾶς φυλλάδος καὶ πάντας τοὺς κωμήτας κατακλίνας εἰστία πολυτελῶς... Φιλητᾶς ἐσύρισε, Λάμπις ἠΰλησε, Δρύας καὶ Λάμων ὠρχήσαντο, Χλόη καὶ Δάφνις ἀλλήλους κατεφίλουσαν... τότε δὲ νυκτὸς γενομένης πάντες αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, οἱ μὲν συρίττοντες, οἱ δὲ αὐλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δᾶδας οἱ δὲ μεγάλας ἀνίσχοντες.

Dionysophanes, with the weather being fine, set under them beds of green grass in front of the cave and, all the villagers lying down, he entertained them richly...Philetas played the pan pipe, Lampis played the flute, Dryas and Lamon danced, and Daphnis and Chloe embraced one another... With night coming on, everyone escorted them to the bed chamber, some playing the pipe, some playing the flute, some holding large torches.²⁷

²⁷ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.38-40

In *Dyskolos*, a feast precedes a wedding in much the same way as it does in *Daphnis and Chloe*. First, there are tables and grass couches arrayed, though, in the play, the work is done by a servant rather than by the master. Sikon, the chef, says, *ἐστρώννυον χ[α]μαὶ στιβάδα τραπέζας ἔγωγε*, “For my part, I was spreading a straw bed and tables on the ground.”²⁸ Then, *ἄλλος δὲ χερσὶν Εὐϊον γέροντα πολὺν ἤδη ἔκλινε κοῖλον εἰς κύτος, μειγνύς τε νᾶμα Νυμφῶν*, “one man tipped a venerable old wine into the hollow jug, mixing the spring water of the Nymphs”²⁹ Finally, with the couches laid and the wine mixed, the dancing begins, *καὶ τις βραχεῖσα... χορεῖον εἰσέβαινε ρύθμον... ἄλλη δὲ συγκαθῆπτε ταύτη χεῖρα κάχόρευεν*, “and a certain maid stepped the rhythmic dance... another joining hands with her danced.”³⁰ Especially pertinent to current interest in the play, the wedding scene in *Dyskolos* takes place within a cave sacred to the Nymphs and Pan. While most New Comedies utilized only two doors on stage, the new permanent stone theaters being built in Greece now regularly had three doors in the *skene*.³¹ In a handful of plays, the third entrance was used to represent a different type of building; in the case of *Dyskolos*, this was a *νυμφαῖον*, a grotto in which a spring sacred to the nymphs flowed.³² The word could also refer to structures and fountains built around a natural spring, but the shrine in *Dyskolos* was certainly a cave. At the beginning of the play, Pan, in a divine prologue, refers to the setting of the play as Φυλή, and the *νυμφαῖον* as *ἱερὸν ἐπιφανὲς πάνυ*, “a holy place famous all over.”³³ While Menander has changed its topography (now situated between two farms rather than on a steep cliff for plot reasons), there was, in fact, such a famous cave sacred to Pan and the nymphs at Phyle.³⁴ Based on the fact that events taking place in the buildings on stage are

²⁸ Menander, *Dyskolos* 943

²⁹ Menander, *Dyskolos* 947-948

³⁰ Menander, *Dyskolos* 951-953

³¹ Hunter, p. 11

³² *ibid.*, Plautus’ *Aulularia* has a third door on stage, also a shrine

³³ Menander, *Dyskolos*, 4

³⁴ W. Geoffrey Arnott, *Menander*, vol. 1, p. 185

narrated rather than seen, the details of the wedding being described are taking place within the *νυμφαίον*.³⁵ One must imagine the *στιβάδα* spread out on the ground of the cave around or in front of the *νᾶμα Νυμφῶν*.

In *Samia*, the entire play is strewn with preparations for Moschion and Plagnon's continually stalled wedding. Moschion, daydreaming about the wedding early in the play says, *ἔθρον· ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον [ἐκάλουν τοὺς φίλ]ους· ἐπὶ λούτρ' ἔπεμπον τὰς γ[υναῖκα]ς... ἦδον*, "I sacrificed, I called friends to dinner. I sent the women to the baths...I sang."³⁶ After many stops, starts, schemes, and revelations, the wedding finally occurs. Demeas, Moschion's father, calls out for the ritual implements, *Χρυσί, πέμπε τὰς γυναῖκας, λουτροφόρον, ἀύλητρίδα. δεῦρο δ' ἡμῖν ἐκδότω τις δᾶδα καὶ στεφάνους, ἵνα συμπροπέμπωμεν.*, "Chrysis, send the women, the water vase, and the flute player. Someone give to us here torches and garlands, then we can escort them off."³⁷

Most striking for the present purposes are the similarities between the wedding scenario in *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Dyskolos*. Both have wedding feasts with *στιβάδας*, straw beds, for guests to lay on as they eat and are entertained. Both weddings take place in or near a cave in which flows a fountain associated with the Nymphs, and both weddings have paired dancing. In *Samia*, Moschion daydreams of a wedding feast involving bathing and song, and Demeas calls for a *λουτροφόρον*, a water-bearer, and an *ἀύλητρίδα*, a flute-player. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the wedding feast is accompanied by flute and, rustically, pan pipes. The mention of bathing and the water-bearer have to do with the *νᾶμα Νυμφῶν* mentioned in *Dyskolos*.

In the Athenian wedding custom, portrayed in Menander's plays, "both bride and groom prepared for the wedding by bathing...The water was drawn from a spring or a river specifically

³⁵ Hunter, *New Comedy*, 36

³⁶ Menander, *Samia* 124-126

³⁷ Menander, *Samia* 729-733

designated for religious use (at Athens, the spring of Kallirhoe [a nymph] was used), and it was carried home in the vase designed for this purpose, the *loutrophoros*.”³⁸ In *Samia*, they mention only bathing with the water from the spring, but in *Dyskolos*, the water is used for the mixing of wine. The water carried in the *λoutροφίρος* could be used for both purposes, as is shown in a fragment from an unknown play of Menander’s in which *ο[ί]νοχο[ῶν] τις ἔρχετ’ ἠφέρων*] τὰ λουτρά· τοῦτο γὰρ [νομίζεται τὰ λουτρ]ὰ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν ἀπ[ὸ κ]ρή[ν]ης φέρειν, “someone comes bearing bath water for the winemaker. For the custom is to bring bath water to those getting married from a spring.”³⁹

In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the couple does not seem to receive any bath water from the Nymphs’ grotto, but just prior to the wedding, Chloe’s father *Παρέδωκε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ταῖς Νύμφαις τὴν Χλόην*, “handed over Chloe in the presence of the Nymphs,” in whose cave Chloe, *ἐλούσατο πολλάκις*, “bathed many times.”⁴⁰ Chloe, pouring a libation for the Nymphs, *ἐκέρασε δὲ καὶ τὴν πηγὴν οἴνω τὴν ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ*, “mingles the spring with wine in the cave” mixing the wine with the water in the spring as it flows, an interesting subversion of the expected wedding ritual depicted in Menander’s plays, in which still water taken from the spring is mixed with wine.⁴¹ In a moment that takes on new significance, considering the association between water from the Nymphs’ spring and marriage, Daphnis and Chloe bathe together in the spring. In Book 1, Chloe bathes Daphnis in the spring after he has taken a tumble. It is at this moment, as they stand together in the Nymph’s spring, that Chloe falls in love with Daphnis, finding him handsome for the first time. Considering the new nuptial associations with the spring, it is interesting that she

³⁸ Rebecca Hague, “Marriage Athenian Style.” *Archaeology* 41, no. 3 (1988): 32–36, p. 33

³⁹ *P.Oxy* 3966 7-9 (Menander, *Fabula Incerta* 9)

⁴⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.37.2, note the use of *παρέδωκε*, a derivative of *δίδομι*, which will be seen used below in the traditional Athenian betrothal formula

⁴¹ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.32.3, the verb *κεράννυμι* is of particular note as its primary use is to denote the dilution of wine for drinking (LSJ)

τὸ λουτρὸν ἐνόμιζε τοῦ κάλλους αἴτιον, “thought the bath the source of the beauty.”⁴² In Book 2, when Daphnis and Chloe, μετ’ ὀλίγον εἰς ὄρκων πίστιν προῆλθον, “little by little advanced to guarantee their love by oaths,” they are near the grotto.⁴³ Chloe herself, τὰς Νύμφας εἰσελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἄντρον τὸν αὐτὸν Δάφνιδι ἔξειν καὶ θάνατον καὶ βίον, “entering into the cave of the Nymphs [swore] to have the same death and life as Daphnis” standing next to the nuptial spring.⁴⁴ Immediately after swearing her oath before the spring and the nymphs, she δεύτερον ἡξίου λαβεῖν ὄρκον παρ’ αὐτοῦ, “thinks it worthy for him to take a second oath,” on his goats rather than on Pan as he had previously sworn.⁴⁵ Though the couple does not bathe in the Nymphs’ spring water during the nuptial rituals as expected, bathing in the spring’s water with Daphnis seems to awaken her love for him. It is before the grotto of the spring that Daphnis swears love to Chloe, and before the Nymphs and the spring’s water, that Chloe swears her love to Daphnis. This is not a marriage, to be sure, but the oath to solidify their bond invokes religious ritual. They had been participating in the pre-nuptial bathing ritual all their lives, and, as intended, it was preparing them for marriage.

The next marriage rite of interest is the wedding procession. Menander’s wedding plays end with some variation of the phrase ἀλλ’ ἐκδότω στεφάνους τις ἡμῖν, δᾶδα, “Someone, give us crowns and a torch” as can be seen in *Dyskolos*, indicating that a wedding procession is about to begin.⁴⁶ This is confirmed by the similar phrase in *Samia*, δεῦρο δ’ ἡμῖν ἐκδότω τις δᾶδα καὶ στεφάνους, ἵνα συμπροπέμωμεν, “someone give to us here a torch and garlands, so that we may escort them” with the verb συμπροπέμωμεν describing the journey to the groom’s home and the bridal chamber.⁴⁷ Rebecca Hague describes the procession thusly, “The procession began with

⁴² Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.13.2

⁴³ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.39

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Menander, *Dyskolos*, 963

⁴⁷ Menander, *Samia*, 731

the bride's mother holding high the bridal torches....The magnificence of the whole entourage [was] resplendent with torchlight and enlivened by songs and dancing...Some procession scenes depict the goal of the procession, the house of the groom."⁴⁸ In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the same procession is seen, torches, music, and all, *τότε δὲ νυκτὸς γενομένης πάντες αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, οἱ μὲν συρίττοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀβλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δᾶδας οἱ δὲ μεγάλας ἀνίσχοντες*, "With night coming on, everyone escorted them to the bed chamber, some playing the pipe, some playing the flute, some holding large torches." In all three texts, the noun *δᾶς*, "torch," is used in the accusative to represent the torches associated with the marriage procession, and in two of them, *παρέπεμπον* or a close derivative (*συμπροπεπωμεν*) is used to describe the procession from the wedding feast to the house of the groom.

It is unclear if Longus' choice of the word *δᾶς*, a contraction of *δᾶϊς*, is an intentional reference to Menander's language, though, as it is commonly used in reference to ritual torches.⁴⁹ What is clear, however, is that Longus in *Daphnis and Chloe* includes a wedding feast fit for the finale of a New Comedy, with all the trappings one would expect to find in a depiction on the stage, with plenty of lexical similarity to boot. While it is possible that both authors are simply depicting facets common to wedding feasts, Longus' inclusion of one is significant in assessing the level of narrative allusion in the novel. The wedding feast is certainly the most common ending of the extant Menandrian comedies, and Longus has located his at the end of a story whose major plot elements closely mirror those of New Comedy. It is particularly interesting to note the similarities between the wedding scene in *Daphnis and Chloe* and that of *Dyskolos*. Both the play and the novel feature a rural wedding with guests spread out on grass couches in front of or within, in the case of *Dyskolos*, a nymphine grotto, entertained by song, music, and

⁴⁸ Rebecca Hague, "Marriage Athenian Style." *Archaeology* 41, no. 3 (1988): 32–36, p. 34

⁴⁹ LSJ, *δᾶϊς*

dance. It is tempting to consider that *Dyskolos* was on Longus' mind during the composition of his novel, and it seems possible that elements of the play found their way into the romance.

There are other elements of *Dyskolos*' plot that are worth considering in relation to *Daphnis and Chloe*, which will strengthen such a claim, but this consideration will have to be postponed until the discussion of characters and characterization in the following chapter. Another important element of the romance plots in the plays and the novel, one without which the wedding could not occur, bears mentioning: the betrothal.

Betrothal Formula

Daphnis and Chloe lacks the exact traditional Athenian betrothal formula present in many of Menander's works, consisting of assent to marriage, a specific agricultural metaphor for the bearing of children, *παιδων ἐπ' ἀρότω γνησίων*, "for the harvest of lawful children," and a promise to pay a dowry.⁵⁰ In Menander's *Dyskolos*, Gorgias receives permission to marry his friend's sister from the girl's father in the following words, *ἀλλ' ἐγγυῶ παιδων ἐπ' ἀρότω γνησίων τὴν θυγατέρ' ἤδη, μαιράκιον, σοί, προῖκά τε δίδωμ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ τρία τάλαντ,* "But I now betroth my daughter to you, young man, for the harvest of lawful children, and I give for her dowry three talents."⁵¹ In his *Samia*, Nikeratos betroths his daughter Plagnon to Moschion, saying, *μαρτυρων εναντιον σοι τηδ' εγω διδωμ' εχειν γνησιων παιδων επ' αροτω, προικα ταμα πανθ* "Facing witnesses, I give this girl to you as wife to have for the harvest of lawful children, as dowry all my things."⁵²

Although lacking the formula, *Daphnis and Chloe* contains its components and essence. When assent is initially given by Dryas for the marriage of Daphnis and his adoptive daughter,

⁵⁰ Harrison A. R. W. and Douglas M. MacDowell, *The Law of Athens: Family and Property*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 3

⁵¹ Menander, *Dyskolos*, 841

⁵² Menander, *Samia*, 725-727

he (and his wife), *δώσειν ἐπιγγέλλοντο τὴν Χλόην*, “promise to give Chloe as wife,” though seemingly Daphnis is paying a bride-price rather than Dryas providing a dowry in this situation.⁵³ Lamon gives his assent the other way as well, saying, *Τότε ἔσονται ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή*, “then let them be man and wife,” which Ewen Bowie notes, “seems to constitute [the legal agreement of] betrothal.”⁵⁴ When Chloe is betrothed to Daphnis a second time by her birth father, Megacles, he is urged by Dionysophanes, *ἀπόδος Δάφνιδι νόμφην*, “you give [her] to Daphnis as a bride,” after which *Ἐπὴναι ... ὁ Μεγακλῆς*, “Megacles agreed.”⁵⁵ No direct mention of a dowry is made here, though Chloe would be Megacles’ heir upon his death as he has no other possible heir, and he gives Dryas even more money as a wedding gift.

Between the Athenian formula present in Menander’s comedy and the betrothals in *Daphnis and Chloe*, there is at least one lexical similarity. Note the usage of the verb *δίδωμι* in the betrothal statement in Menander’s *Samia* and the future infinitive of the same verb, *δώσειν*, in Dryas’ assent to Daphnis and Chloe’s marriage. *Δίδωμι* is the appropriate term for “to give in marriage” in the ritual betrothal formula; the Liddel-Scott-Jones *Greek-English Lexicon* has this definition as 2.II, citing passages from Homer (*Iliad*, 6.192) and Herodotus (1.107).⁵⁶

Beyond the verbal similarity, it is difficult to draw a direct comparison between the Athenian betrothal formula and the so-called betrothal scenes in *Daphnis and Chloe*, though a discussion of what similarities are present is merited. While neither the word Menander uses for dowry, *προίξ*, nor the other common term for a dowry *φερνή* is present in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the phrase *νόμφης φερούσης*, “a bearing bride” is used by Daphnis’s father in reference to a preferable match for his child.⁵⁷ The unconjugated form of *φερούσης*, *φέρω*, is the root of *φερνή*,

⁵³ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 3.30.1

⁵⁴ Ewen Bowie, p. 254

⁵⁵ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 4.36.3

⁵⁶ LSJ, *δίδωμι*

⁵⁷ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 3.26.4

another common noun for “dowry,” and one can assume that what the bride is bearing in this situation is a dowry, considering that Lamon has just told Daphnis, *Πένητες ἐσμέν*, “we are poor people.”⁵⁸ However, the lack of explicit references to a dowry does not mean that on Longus’ Lesbos the exchange of money was not part of the betrothal custom.

Longus explicitly references the concept of a bride price, an antique custom even to Longus, which became generally obsolete with the pre-Solonic introduction of the dowry.⁵⁹ R. Drew Griffiths, in his article, “In Praise of the Bride,” temporally situates the custom of the bride price and Longus’ peculiar use of it in the heroic age and its attendant epics.⁶⁰ Longus describes this practice when Daphnis presents his case to Chloe’s father for their union, *Ἐκεῖνοι δώσουσιν αἴγας καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ζεύγος ψωραλέων βοῶν καὶ σῖτον μηδὲ ἀλεκτορίδας θρέψαι δυνάμενον: παρ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ αἴδε ὑμῖν τρισχίλια*, “These will give goats and sheep and a yoke of scabby oxen and grain insufficient to feed hens: as for me, I offer you three thousand drachma.”⁶¹ Though the Homeric term for this practice, *εδνα*, is not present in the text, the expectation for Daphnis and the other suitors of Chloe is that they would have to offer some quantity of material goods to Chloe’s father to marry her. This practice would have been replaced in the Classical period by the dowry and is thus anachronistic even to the fabricated past of Longus’ setting and especially to the age in which he was writing. Bruce MacQueen argues that *Daphnis and Chloe* is an example of mythopoesis, in which Longus has used pre-existing myths and history to make a myth of his own.⁶² I would argue that Longus’ inclusion of this obsolete practice is intentional

⁵⁸ LSJ, φερνη, 3.26.4

⁵⁹ *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. William Smith, LLD. William Wayte. G. E. Marindin. (Albemarle Street, London: John Murray, 1890), *Dos*, προίξ, φερνη

⁶⁰ R. Drew Griffiths, “In Praise of the Bride: Sappho Fr. 105(A) L-P, Voigt.” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 119 (1989): 55–61, p. 61

⁶¹ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 3.29.4

⁶² Bruce D MacQueen, “Longus and the Myth of Chloe.” *Illinois Classical Studies* 10, no. 1 (1985): 119–34, pp. 133-34

and contributes to the constructed antiquity of the novel.⁶³ By including a practice associated with the mythical heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Longus imbues his novel's setting with the same mythical cast. Whatever Longus' intention, I contend that on Longus' Lesbos, the payment of the bride prices fulfills the role that the payment of the dowry plays in the traditional Athenian betrothal formula.

The third component of the formula, the agricultural metaphor, is not present in either of the betrothal statements in *Daphnis and Chloe*, but the novel's setting allows for many connections between marriage, children, and agricultural life to be made. There is a clear relationship in Longus' novel between rustic life, including the harvest, and sexuality and procreation. The most obvious connection is made when Daphnis and Chloe consummate their marriage. After the party guests have escorted the newlyweds to the bed-chamber, *ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἦσαν τῶν θυρῶν, ἤδον σκληρᾶ καὶ ἀπηνεῖ τῇ φωνῇ, καθάπερ τριαίναις γῆν ἀναρρηγνύοντες, οὐχ ὑμέναιον ἄδοντες*, “when they were near the door, they sang with a harsh and rough sound, just as though they were breaking the earth with a three-pronged fork, not singing the bridal song.”⁶⁴ At the moment when an attempt at the *ἄροτρον παίδων γνησίων* described in the traditional betrothal formula is first taking place, the country folk attending this part of the wedding ceremony are singing outside the door as though they themselves are preparing for an eventual harvest. Rebecca Hague writes of this moment in the wedding rites, saying, “the friends of the bride remained outside the door during the night, singing songs and beating on the walls” so as to drown out the sounds of the couple's intimacy.⁶⁵ The parallel between Longus' consummation scene and the traditional Athenian marriage, formula and all, as presented in our new comedies, is solidified by the interaction of the agricultural metaphor of the formula and the agricultural

⁶³ See MacQueen, p. 197 for a discussion on Longus' setting

⁶⁴ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 4.40.2

⁶⁵ Rebecca Hague, “Marriage Athenian Style,” 36

milieu of *Daphnis and Chloe*. Unfortunately, there is no analogous scene in an extant new comedy to which the *επιθαλαμιοσ* scene in *Daphnis and Chloe* can be compared. However, many of Sappho's wedding hymns are believed to be *επιθαλάμια*, hymns sung outside the bed chamber, which Bowie suggests Longus may be referencing and which Hague notes have a decidedly rural and agricultural bent.⁶⁶

Longus is clearly aware of the elements that make up a valid legal betrothal: assent from the father of the bride and the exchange of money attendant upon ancient marriage. Longus has his father's assent in the same language as Menander's, though his fascinatingly anachronistic setting has his young suitors offering up their goods for the hand of a bride. Though the betrothal formula's agricultural metaphor, present in Greek New Comedy, is absent from his novel, Longus cleverly connects his rural setting to the sense and intention of the phrase by invoking the formula in the epithalamic simile, *καθάπερ τριαίναις γῆν ἀναρρηγνύντες*, "as though they were breaking the earth with a three-pronged fork."

Conclusion

From the evidence presented above, it seems likely that not only was Longus enough aware of the narrative conventions of New Comedy to recognizably incorporate them into his novel, but that he specifically was consciously making reference to plot elements of *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromene*, and *Dyskolos*. In the following chapter, I examine Longus' use of the character development techniques of New Comedy. Some of these appear to be general allusions to the techniques of Comedy broadly, but others draw from specific characterizations in Menander's plays.

⁶⁶ Ewen Bowie, 306; For the agricultural bent in Sappho's poems, Hague, Rebecca H. "Ancient Greek Wedding Songs: The Tradition of Praise." *Journal of Folklore Research* 20, no. 2/3 (1983): 131–43, 105

Chapter 2: Characters

Introduction

A significant feature of New Comedy, both Greek and Latin, is the presence of stock characters filling familiar roles on the stage, with R.L Hunter noting that “to a very considerable extent New Comedy relied upon stereotyped plots and stock characters.”⁶⁷ These stock characters represented archetypes familiar to their audience so that, from a brief introduction, the character’s name, and their mask, the audience would get a grasp of who a character was, especially if that audience was familiar with other New Comedic plays.⁶⁸ Erich Segal recounts the most common types of characters expected to appear, writing, “There is a delimited cast of familiar characters: cranky old fathers, hyperventilating young lovers, blustering soldiers, and scurrying slaves. The women belong to either one of two distinct groups: virgins or prostitutes.”⁶⁹ This list is certainly not exhaustive. As will be seen, Longus incorporates aspects of the aforementioned stock characters into his *Daphnis and Chloe*’s cast but also plays with the broader array of archetypes present in New Comedy that failed to make Segal’s list. One notices hyperventilating young lovers in the eponymous pair, blustering Methymnean soldiers, a wealthy city boy vacationing in the countryside in Astylos, and a parasite in Gnathon. Longus, like Menander, uses these stock characterizations only as a familiar jumping-off point from which more complex characters can be developed.⁷⁰

This chapter will first examine the importance of a character’s name in quickly communicating information about them to the audience, both in New Comedy and in *Daphnis*

⁶⁷ Hunter, *New Comedy*, p. 59

⁶⁸ W. Thomas MacCary, “Menander’s Characters: Their Names, Roles and Masks.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101 (1970): 277–90. p. 278

⁶⁹ Segal, *Menander, Plautus, and Terence*, p. xiii

⁷⁰ For Menander’s expert use of stock characters, A.W. Gomme, “Menander.” *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford 1937), p. 286

and *Chloe*. Then, characters in *Daphnis and Chloe* will be compared to those New Comedic stock characters to whom they are most similar, exploring the ways in which Longus makes use of New Comedy's archetypes in developing his *dramatis personae*.

Names

In New Comedy, a character's name (generally) reveals their personality to the audience. Aelius Donatus, an ancient scholiast commenting on the works of Terence, writes about the name "Storax" in his commentary on *Adelphoe*, *nomina personarum, in comoediis dumtaxat, habere debent rationem et etymologiam, etenim absurdum est comicum, cum apte argumenta confingat, uel nomen personae incongruum dare uel officium, quod sit a nomine diuersum*. "the names of people, in comedy at least, ought to have reason and etymology. It is comically absurd, although the author devises an apt argument, either to give an incongruent name to a person or an office, which is different from the name."⁷¹ Terence has named this slave Storax, according to Donatus, *ab odore*, "from the smell."⁷² Segal calls these "*redende Namen*, which, although in some cases real names, tend to bespeak general personality types."⁷³

As one would expect from their aforementioned ubiquity, Menander's plays are full to bursting with these so-called "speaking names." Sticking primarily to the plays that have had the most occasion to be explored, a list of examples can be generated. In *Samia*, there is Demeas, whose name is related to *deme*, a division of the *polis*, and who is an upstanding and wealthy citizen, praising Athens and gladly paying the liturgy. Moschion, whose name perhaps means something like "young bull" or "young sprout," from *μόσχος* is the play's amorous protagonist and has sexually assaulted his bride-to-be. Parmenon, a slave whose name is derived from

⁷¹ Donatus, in *Adelphos Terenti commentum*, I.I

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ Segal, *Menander; Plautus, Terence*, p. xv-xvi

παρμένω, “I stand beside,” is faithful to his master. Chrysis, whose name is from χρῦσός, “gold,” has shackled up with the wealthy old Demeas, presumably for his money. In the *Dyskolos*, there is Gorgias, a farmer whose name is related to γεωργία, “farming.” Two slavevees in the play bear names indicative of foreign physical characteristics, namely red hair: Daos, from δᾶος, “torch,” and Pyrrhias, “red-headed.” The third slave in this play, Getas, perhaps indicates that all three slaves were taken from the Getae in Dacia.⁷⁴ Red hair is also associated with πᾶνουργία, “knavery,” with masks sporting such a hair color being speculated to belong to clever or mischievous slaves.⁷⁵

Longus names his characters in the vein of New Comedy’s speaking names, with each name relating to an important characteristic of the character who bears it, sometimes humorously. He gestures to the significance of a few of his names as soon as they are told, confirming that his choice of names has meaning. When Lamon and Myrtale find Daphnis, they decide to name him thus, Ὡς δ’ ἂν καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ παιδίου ποιμενικὸν δοκοίη, “so that the name of the child should seem pastoral.”⁷⁶ Likewise, when Dryas and Nape name Chloe, they do so because a ποιμενικὸν ὄνομα, a pastoral name, would lend credence to their cover story.⁷⁷ In the novel's final book, the parasite Gnathon and the slave Eudromus are introduced, visiting the countryside with the son of Lamon and Daphnis’ master and as a messenger for their master, respectively. Shortly after each of them is introduced, Longus would make Donatus proud by providing *ratio et etymologia* for their names. Eudromus was so called because, ἦν ἀπότῳ ἔργον τρέχειν, “it was work for him to run.”⁷⁸ This explanation is related to the root of his name δρόμος,

⁷⁴ Vincent Rosivach, “Enslaving ‘Barbaroi’ and the Athenian Ideology of Slavery.” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 48, no. 2 (1999): 129–57. p. 156

⁷⁵ W. Thomas MacCary, “Menander’s Slaves: Their Names, Roles, and Masks.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 100 (1969): 277–94. pp. 285–286

⁷⁶ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1.3

⁷⁷ *ibid*, 1.6

⁷⁸ *ibid*, 4.5

“racetrack” or “path,” augmented with the prefix “εν” to indicate that he does this well. Of Gnathon Longus writes, *Ὁ δὲ Γνάθων, οἷα μαθὼν ἐσθίειν ἄνθρωπος καὶ πίνειν εἰς μέθην καὶ λαγνεύειν μετὰ τὴν μέθην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὧν ἢ γνάθος καὶ γαστήρ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γαστέρα,* “Gnathon, as the sort of man who knew how to eat and to drink to drunkenness and to have sex while drunk and nothing besides, being a jaw and a stomach and the things below the stomach.”⁷⁹ Longus provides an etymology for the name, saying that Gnathon was *ἢ γνάθος*, “a jaw,” and connects an evocative personality to his speaking name, giving a reason for the appellation. As Longus was clearly conscious of this New Comedic characterization technique, a look is warranted at the many names for which he does not provide an etymology in the story itself. The etymology and rationale of these character names, though certain characters will receive a more significant nominal analysis in the following section, focused on stock characters.

Daphnis’ father’s name, Lamon, does not seem to be commonly attested or etymologically pastoral, but his mother’s name, Myrtale, certainly comes from Aphrodite’s sacred plant *μυρτος*, “myrtle,” and is a common woman’s name.⁸⁰ Chloe’s father, Dryas, is named from *δρῦς*, “oak,” though Ewen Bowie notes that the name Dryas also has mythological connections to Dionysias, an important agricultural deity, being the name of the father and the son of Lycurgus, who is depicted on the local shrine to Dioynisias described in 4.3.2.⁸¹ Chloe’s mother also has a straightforward nature name, Nape, from *νάπη*, “vale” or “glen.” The next major character met, Dorcon, a rival suitor to Daphnis, has a name perhaps derived from the noun, *δορκων*, “roeibuck. Seeing as Dorcon attempts to sexually assault Chloe, there is an interesting comparison to be made between the character of Dorcon, whose name is derived from a small deer, and Moschion, whose name perhaps means something like “young bull,” as

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 4.11.2

⁸⁰ Bowie, p. 103

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 105

Moschions often assault freeborn girls in New Comedy (in at least *Samia*, *Sikyonioidi*, *Koneizomenai*, and *Kitharistes*.)⁸² Philetas, the young couple's first teacher in the arts of love, is said by Bowie to recall the famous Hellenistic love poet Philetas of Cos, an apt name for a teacher of love.⁸³ Bryaxis, the commander of the Methymnian army, is given a name related to the verb βρῦάζω, "I swell, I act wantonly." This is an apt name for his character, especially if it is understood that he "swells" with pride as he violently attacks the countryside and kidnaps Chloe until his pride is broken by the interference of a god. Tityrus, the son of the aforementioned Philetas whose movements are likened to those of goats, shares a name with the shepherd protagonist of Vergil's first *Eclogue*.⁸⁴

The Mytilenean general is named Hippasus, a common name in both the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica*, as either a warrior or the father of a warrior, which is related to the straightforwardly militaristic ἵππος, "cavalry," and ἵππεύς, "horseman."⁸⁵ Chromis, an old freeholder and neighbor to the couple, has a name that "evokes Theocritus 1.24, τὸν Λιβυαθε... Χρομῦν, with whom Thyrsis [the protagonist of Theocritus' first Idyll] had once competed" in song."⁸⁶ His γυναιον, Lycaenium, a diminutive of, λύκος, "wolf," has a name that immediately sounds threatening in a pastoral setting, a reminder of the wolf-threat to the herds in *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.10 and of Dorcon's wolf disguise as he threatened Chloe in 1.20 and foreshadowing the sexual threat that she poses to the chastity of Daphnis and Chloe's relationship. Her name may also suggest that she was a prostitute brought from the city to the country, calling to mind the Roman association between wolves and female sex workers.⁸⁷ Lampis is another herdsman who

⁸² W. Thomas MacCary, "Menander's Characters: Their Names, Roles and Masks," pp. 278-279

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 170

⁸⁴ Vergil, *Eclogue I*, 1; Daniel Jolowicz uses the inclusion of this name as an example of Longus' engagement with Vergil's poetry in a chapter from his book (p. 320), *Latin Poetry in the Ancient Greek Novels*, though whatever the case, the name has pastoral association.

⁸⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, 13.402; Quintus of Smyrna, *Posthomerica*, 10.126

⁸⁶ Bowie, p. 236

⁸⁷ Lewis and Short, *lupa*; See MacQueen p. 73 for this reading, though there is little textual evidence to support this

has his sights set on Chloe and is willing to use mischief and violence to get his hands on her. Lampis was not an uncommon name, though a Lampis is mentioned in Lucian's *Dialogues with the Dead*, saying that he, δι' ἔρωτα Μυρτίου τῆς ἑταίρας ἀποσφάξας ἑαυτὸν, "cut his own throat for the love of the hetaira Myrtium."⁸⁸ Bowie suggests that this has a connection to New Comedy, and Kate Gilhuly, in a chapter for "Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World," suggests that both the courtesans and their lovers in Lucian's dialogues are drawn from Menander's plays.⁸⁹

Astylus, the master's son and Daphnis' secret brother, comes from the city early to hunt hares. His name is one of Longus' most straightforward speaking names, derived from ἄστυ, "city," marking him clearly as a "city boy". The play's remaining characters are Daphnis and Chloe's birth parents. Daphnis' father, Dioynsophanes, "appearing like Dionysus," does not seem like Dionysus at all, but the name could be read as rural, as Dioynisus was associated with the country and grape cultivation. His wife's name, Cleariste, has no pretensions of the countryside about it, though it reveals that she is urbane and upper class. Her name sounds literally aristocratic, with the *-ariste* suffix coming from ἀρίστος, "best." Chloe's father, Megacles, has a similarly aristocratic name, with the root μέγας, "great," or "mighty."⁹⁰ His wife, Rhode, has a simple and common Greek woman's name from ῥόδον, "rose," which, like Dioynsophanes' name, could be read as rural. Perhaps the city-dwelling parental pairs of Daphnis and Chloe have names split between urban and aristocratic-sounding names and vaguely rural names to emphasize the interposition of city affairs into the country, which began the plot in the first place.

⁸⁸ Lucian, *D.Mort.* 27.7

⁸⁹ Kate Gilhuly, "The Phallic Lesbian," essay, in *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (Madison, W.I.: University of Wisconsin, 2006), 274–94, p. 277"; Bowie, p. 267

⁹⁰ c.f. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 46

Some of these names are more notable for their allusive properties than their etymological or rational meaning. In the case of those characters whose names allude to other idylls, they are mentioned along with those that have stronger *redende namen* to emphasize the length to which Longus has gone to impute his novel with a pastoral ambiance. Another of the names, Lampis, does not have a pastoral etymological association but is perhaps drawn from the roster of stock names for herders in New Comedy. Longus's names, just as Menander's and those of the other comic poets, "speak" to the characteristics or role that their bearer will play in the story, but some of them "speak" louder than others. As in New Comedy, those characters whose names "speak" the loudest fill stock roles central to the plot, particularly the character of Astylus and Gnathon.

Stock Characters

Astylus

Though it has already been established that Astylus's name immediately calls the city to mind, a handful of passages in which he is introduced clarify what role he can be expected to play in the story. The corpus of New Comedy is full of leisured youths from the upper classes who divert themselves in every which way. A common pursuit of these wealthy city boys was to go out into the country in order to experience its pleasures. Right away, Astylus appears to fit that mold. Notably, the characters possessing these attributes are usually also *adulescentes*, the romantic main characters of the plot, but Astylus is not in that position in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

Astylus is introduced in the following way:

ἼΗκε μὲν ὁ Ἀστύλος ἐπὶ ἵππου καὶ παράσιτος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὗτος ἐπὶ ἵππου: ὁ μὲν ἀρτιγένειος, ὁ δὲ Γνάθων· τουτὶ γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸν πάγονα ξυρώμενος πάλαι... καὶ περὶ θήραν εἶχε λαγῶν, οἷα πλούσιος νεανίσκος καὶ τρυφῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀφιγμένος εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ζένης ἡδονῆς.

Then Astylus arrived upon a horse, and his parasite also, also upon a horse. Astylus's beard was just beginning to grow, but Gnathon (for so was he called) had been shaving his beard for a while...and he was busy in the hunt for rabbits, in as much as he was a wealthy young man and lived always in luxury and had come into the country for the enjoyment of alien pleasure.⁹¹

In two of the plays examined above, *Samia* and *Dyskolos*, the *adulescens* is also the “sophisticated urbanite out hunting,” as Ruffel puts it in, and in Terence's *Eunuchus* the *adulescens* also removes himself to the country for a time, though it is not always the case that the wealthy city-boy-in-the-country is always the main character.⁹² In fact, *Daphnis and Chloe*, along with Menander's *Dyskolos*, gives a glimpse at what happens when characters go off into the country in these plays, where they usually simply vanish from the stage until the action calls them back. Hunter writes that “In both Greek and Roman comedy, however, the countryside can represent the antithesis of normal ‘comic’ life...city-country contrast in comedy is [present] between the frivolity and luxury of the city and the virtue and stern morality of the country.”⁹³ Ewen Bowie comments on the similar tensions in *Daphnis and Chloe*, “Longus offers an idealized, city-dwellers version of rural life...That idealization involves attribution to country folk of more virtuous codes of conduct than those that pertain in the corrupt city.”⁹⁴ In the example plays and in Longus' novel, the contrast between city luxury and country simplicity when it comes to hunting city boys can be seen though upon examination, Gnathon, the parasite, and rowdy youths from another city provide a contrast between city and country morality.

In *Samia*, Moschion tells the audience that his wealthy father, *κύνας γὰρ ἔτρεφέ μοι, ἴππο]υς*, “kept hounds for me, and horses,” accouterments for the affluent young hunter.⁹⁵ In Terence's *Eunuchus*, adapted from Menander's play of the same name, when Phaedria decamps

⁹¹ *Daphnis and Chloe*, 4.10-11

⁹² Ian Ruffell, “Character Types.” Chapter. In *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*, edited by Martin Revermann, 147–67. *Cambridge Companions to Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 159

⁹³ Hunter, *New Comedy*, p. 110

⁹⁴ Ewen Bowie, p. 11

⁹⁵ Menander, *Samia*, 14-15

to the country so that his girlfriend can win freedom for one of her friends from an old boyfriend, he says *Rus ibo*, “I will go to the country,” specifying later that he makes for his family’s *villa*.⁹⁶ Hunter notes that it was common by the time in which Greek New Comedy was being produced that “Residence in the city away from one’s landholdings seems to have become more and more regular.”⁹⁷ It is for this reason, to visit their father’s country estate, that both *Daphnis and Chloe*’s Astylus and *Dyskolos*’s Sostratos find themselves in rural environs for the time in which the audience knows them.

The introduction of Sostratos in *Dyskolos* is remarkably similar to that of Astylus above. Pan describes him in the prologue, saying, *νεανίσκον δὲ καὶ μαλ’ εὐπόρου, πατ[ρ]ῶς γεωργοῦντος τάλαντων κτήματα [έντα]ῦθα πολλῶν, ἀστικὸν τῆ διατριβῆ, [ἦκο]ντ’ ἐπὶ θήραν μετὰ κονηγέτου τινὸς [φίλο]υ*, “A young man, with his father being wealthy and farming land here worth many talents, comes from the city for amusement to hunt with one of his hunting friends.”⁹⁸ His hunting friend, Chaereas, is described in the cast list as *ὁ παράσιτος*, “a parasite.”⁹⁹ Both Astylus and Sostratos come to the country from the city to a place where his father owns farms, with a *παράσιτος* in tow. Both men are there for the hunt, *ἐπὶ θήραν* in the case of Sostratos, *περὶ θήραν* in the case of Astylus, seeking amusement, *διατριβή* for Sostratos, and *ἡδονή* for Astylus. Clearly, both are cut from the same cloth. While Astylus and Sostratos represent city luxury in a rural setting by hunting for fun, bringing parasites along, and riding horses (c.f. Moschion from *Samia*) and provide contrast to the simple country world around them in their respective settings, they both seem to be morally upstanding and worthy of the respect of country folk. Longus

⁹⁶ Terence, *Eunuchus*, 699

⁹⁷ Hunter, *New Comedy*, 110

⁹⁸ Menander, *Dyskolos*, 40-43

⁹⁹ W.G. Arnott, Menander Loeb, vol 1, p. 182

provides a counterexample in *Daphnis and Chloe* in city youths representing luxury and moral inadequacy:

Νέοι Μηθυμναῖοι πλούσιοι διαθέσθαι τὸν τρυγητὸν ἐν ξενικῇ τέρψει θελήσαντες, ναῦν σμικρὰν καθελκύσαντες καὶ οἰκέτας προσκώπους καθίσαντες, τοὺς Μυτιληναίων ἀγροὺς παρέπλεον, ὅσοι θαλάττης πλησίον... ποτὲ μὲν ἀγκίστροις καλάμων ἀπηρητημένοις ἐκ λίνου λεπτοῦ πετραίους ἰχθῦς ἀλιεύοντες ἐκ πέτρας ἀλιτενοῦς, ποτὲ δὲ κυσὶ καὶ δικτύοις λαγῶς φεύγοντας τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις θόρυβον λαμβάνοντες.

Wealthy Mythemnian youths wishing to spend the harvest in foreign delights, launching a small boat and sitting slaves at the oars, they sailed to the fields of Mytilene, such as were near the sea. At one time, with hooks hanging from the lines on fishing rods, they fished up fish from rocks jutting out into the sea, at another time, with dogs and nets, they caught rabbits fleeing from the uproar in the vines.¹⁰⁰

After the youths have amused themselves, they make their way to the estate on which Daphnis and Chloe live. They tie their boat up with a rope of grass as their rope of twine had been stolen. The youths release their dogs into the countryside to hunt for game, but in doing so, they scare Daphnis' goat to the beach, where there is no food save the rope of grass. A goat eats the rope, and before they can save it, the Methymnian youths' ship floats away. They seek out the goatherd, *καὶ εὐρόντες τὸν Δάφνιν ἔπαιον, ἀπέδνον*, "And, having found Daphnis, they beat him, and they strip him."¹⁰¹ The local council acquits Daphnis, but the damage to him has already been done.

While the Methymnian youths resemble Astylus at first, *λαμβάνοντες λαγῶς*, "catching rabbits," and *διαθέσθαι τὸν τρυγητὸν ἐν ξενικῇ τέρψει θελήσαντες*, "wishing to spend the harvest among foreign delights" (note the use of *ξένη* in both places to describe the pleasures), they reveal themselves to be unconscientious guests, disrupting local agriculture and beating up locals. In a story where the relative morality of the country and the city are constantly at odds, Longus provides both an example and a counter-example of the dangers associated with wealthy

¹⁰⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 4.12

¹⁰¹ *ibid*, 4.14

urbanites in the country, playing into the new comedic trope, described by Hunter, of the tension between the two opposing realms.

Gnathon

Another player in the conflict between the urban and the rural is the parasite Gnathon, perhaps the figure in the novel who has the most in common with the stereotypical stock characters of New Comedy. Gnathon is identified as *παράσιτος*, a parasite, by Longus the first time he appears in the novel, immediately calling to mind the multitude of stock parasites in Greek literature. George Duckworth, in *The Nature of Roman Comedy*, describes the parasite thus, “Living by his wits and always on the lookout for a free meal, he is at times a professional jokester eager to amuse his prospective host, at times a “handyman” anxious to win favor by running errands and willing to accept both insult and abuse, at times a flatterer who points up the stupidity of others by his cynical asides. The parasite had a long history in the Greek theater.”¹⁰²

The parasite as a stock character as present in New Comedy developed, like the others, out of Old Comedy and through Middle Comedy before reaching its final form. Antoni Petrides writes in *Menander, New Comedy, and the Visual*, “In Old Comedy, *kolax* was an umbrella term covering both politically minded flatters...but also early manifestations of the common parasite type...The terminological demarcation between *kolax* and *parasitos* was gradually established in the period of Middle Comedy when the parasite emerged as a distinct type.”¹⁰³ However, by the time of New Comedy, once again *parasitos* and *kolax* stood in as names for the same characters.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² George E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment* (Princeton, NJ: Univ. Press, 1971), p. 265

¹⁰³ Antonis K. Petrides, *Menander, New Comedy and the Visual* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 221

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

The period of time the characters spent as distinct archetypes was not wasted, though: Petrides argues that the character distinctions remained, represented by differing masks, such that there were two types of parasite the corpus of New Comedy. The mask called “the *kolax*” is associated with the parasites of New Comedy that are “cunning, aggressive, and manipulative.”¹⁰⁵ The mask called “the *parasitos*” is associated with the parasites who are “a passive and needy lot, whose hunger remains unsatisfied or is granted satisfaction by a stroke of luck.”¹⁰⁶ I argue that Gnathon’s portrayal in *Daphnis and Chloe* blends elements from both characterizations at various times throughout the novel.

Theophrastus, writing in the last quarter of the third century, around the same time as Menander, included in his *Characters* a portrait of *κολακείας*, flattery, which matches in broad strokes the behavior of the parasites in surviving comedies.¹⁰⁷ Diogenes Laertius records that Theophrastus was a teacher of Menander, and Segal writes, “If Aristotle’s discussion of character in the *Nicomachean Ethics* did not directly influence Menander, Theophrastus -- Aristotle’s successor as head of the Lyceum, and Menander’s teacher -- certainly did... Theophrastus’ vignettes seem like sketches for Menadrian men and women.”¹⁰⁸ Theophrastus’s *kolax*, τῶν ἐστιωμένων πρῶτος ἐπαινέσαι τὸν οἶνον καὶ παραμένων εἰπεῖν, ‘ὡς μαλακῶς ἐσθίεις,’ “praises the wine of the feast-giver first and standing beside says, ‘What delicious food you eat,” and τὸν κόλακα ... θεάσασθαι πάντα καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα, ᾧ χαριεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει, “the flatterer looks for everything, both saying and doing, by which he thinks to be favored”¹⁰⁹ Even if Theophrastus’ character portraits were only minimally influential on the development of

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, p. 225

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*.

¹⁰⁷ Jeffrey Rustin and I.C. Cunningham, trans., *Theophrastus: Characters. Herodas: Mimes. Sophron and Other Mime Fragments.*, 2nd ed., vol. 255, of Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1993). 82

¹⁰⁸ *Daphnis and Chloe*, 5.36

¹⁰⁹ Theophrastus, *Flatterer*, 10,13

Menander's characterization practices, it is possible to see that both of them were working from the same tradition of Old and Middle comic stereotypes, drawn from the *dramatis personae* of the world around them.

In *Daphnis and Chloe*, Gnathon, as has been seen above, “was the sort of man who knew how to eat and to drink to drunkenness and to have sex while drunk and nothing besides, being a jaw and a stomach and the things below the stomach.” Gnathon, in an attempt to flatter Daphnis into sleeping with him, *αὐτὸν τὰς τε αἴγας ἐπήνει καὶ συρίσαι τὸ αἰπολικὸν ἤξιωσε καὶ ἔφη ταχέως ἐλεύθερον θήσειν τὸ πᾶν δυνάμενος*, “praised his goats, and asked him to play a shepherd song on the pipes, and he said that he, having power in everything, would quickly make Daphnis free.”¹¹⁰ When Daphnis rejects him, Gnathon, *βιάζεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρων*, “laid hands upon him to do violence,” but Daphnis pushes him away, and he falls to the ground.¹¹¹ This Gnathon, the one slimily flattering Daphnis to have him sexually, and then resorting to violence when his first plan goes awry, is a reminder of Dorcon in his attempts to seduce Chloe first with words (1.16-17), then with violence (1.22). Gnathon's characterization this way also puts him in line with Petrides's aggressive, manipulative *kolax*.

While Gnathon's actions mirror that of Dorcon to an extent, his pederastic proclivity marks him as distinct. Gnathon comes on to Daphnis by asking, *ὄπισθεν παρασχεῖν τοιοῦτον οἶον αἰ αἴγες τοῖς τράγοις*, “to offer himself backward such as she-goats do to he-goats.”¹¹² Daphnis rebuts Gnathon, saying, *ὡς αἴγας μὲν βαίνειν τράγους καλόν, τράγον δὲ οὐπόποτε εἶδέ τις βαίνοντα τράγον*, “that it was fine for a he-goat to mount a she-goat, but never yet had anyone seen a he-goat mounting a he-goat.”¹¹³ Daphnis' father expresses his distaste with Gnathon, *ὃς ἐς*

¹¹⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 4.11

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, 4.12, the verb *βιάζω* has a connotation of sexual assault

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³ *ibid.*

Μυτιλήνην αὐτὸν ἄγειν ἐπὶ γυναικῶν ἔργα σπουδάζει, “who is hastening to lead him to Mytilene for the deeds of a woman.”¹¹⁴ Daphnis’ unfamiliarity with the proposition displays his rustic naivety, as Bowie calls it, and Lamon’s reaction associates pederasty with the city. This interaction between Gnathon and Daphnis adds to the tension between city and country present in the novel, situating pederasty firmly in the realm of the city, making it something that rural folks are unfamiliar or uncomfortable with (though one would expect Daphnis and Lamon to be uncomfortable with the prospect of sex slavery), and contributing to a polar tension deeply rooted in New Comedy as well.

With his first attempts at sex with Daphnis failed, he flees to Astylus, and he, *νεῶν πόδας καὶ χεῖρας κατεφίλει*, “kisses the hands and feet of the young man,” begging his master to give him Daphnis for sexual gratification.¹¹⁵ Gnathon waxes poetic, using flowery language when begging his master for Daphnis as his own. Using melodramatic language to express extreme emotion is a hallmark of New Comedy, and it often feels parodic of the tragic poets. Hunter notes that, in New Comedy, “The link between the use of tragic language and emotional or melodramatic situations is a very close one,” suggesting a link between the most emotional scenes of comedy and the register of tragedy.¹¹⁶ Gnathon performs the role of the melodramatic lover impressively:

‘οἴχεται σοι Γνάθων’ ἔφη ‘δέσποτα. Ὁ μέχρι νῦν μόνης τραπέζης τῆς σῆς ἐρῶν, ὁ πρότερον ὀμνύς ὅτι μηδέν ἐστὶν ὠραιότερον οἴνου γέροντος, ὁ κρείττους τῶν ἐφήβων τῶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ τοὺς σοὺς ὀψαρτυτὰς λέγων, μόνον λοιπὸν καλὸν εἶναι Δάφνιν νομίζω... ἠδέως δ’ ἂν αἰξ γενόμενος πόαν ἐσθίωμι καὶ φύλλα, τῆς Δάφνιδος ἀκούων σύριγγος καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου νεμόμενος. Σὺ δὲ σῶσον Γνάθωνα τὸν σὸν καὶ τὸν ἀήττητον ἔρωτα νίκησον. Εἰ δὲ μή, σὲ ἐπόμνυμι, τὸν ἐμὸν θεόν, ξιφίδιον λαβὼν καὶ ἐμπλήσας τὴν γαστέρα τροφῆς ἐμαυτὸν ἀποκτενῶ πρὸ τῶν Δάφνιδος θυρῶν.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 4.19

¹¹⁵ ibid, 4.17

¹¹⁶ Hunter, *New Comedy*, p. 121

“Your Gnathon is lost, O master,” he said, “One who loved, up until now, only your table, one who formerly swore there was nothing other than old wine at the season, saying your cooks were better than the youths of Mytilene, now I deem only Daphnis to remain beautiful... it would be pleasant, becoming a goat to eat green grass, hearing his Syrinx, and being nurtured by him. Save your Gnathon, and conquer a love that is unconquerable. If not, I swear by you, my god, taking a sword and filling my stomach with a meal, I will kill myself in front of the door of Daphnis.”¹¹⁷

Gnathon gives a fervid lover’s plea, both passionate and (a bit) pathetic. His plea begins with the use of the verb οἶχομαι, which is typical of moments of a lover’s despair in New Comedy.¹¹⁸ He then gives a reminder of the traits associated with his archetype in a strikingly poetic tricolon (Ὁ μέχρι, ὁ πρότερον, ὁ κρείττους) followed by an example of homoioteleuton (μόνον λοιπὸν καλὸν). The image of Gnathon desiring to be a goat is humorous, as is the claim that he will kill himself only after filling his belly one last time.

His promise to kill himself if he must be without his love is reminiscent of both the more melodramatic scenes of New Comedy, but also of similar scenes in tragedy that are not played for laughs. In Plautus’ *Cistellaria*, Acelsimachus threatens to kill himself if he can’t be with Selenium, saying, *Recipe me ad te, Mors, amicum et benivolum...Utrum hac me feriam an ab laeva latrum*, “Accept me, a friend and well-wisher, to yourself, Death... Should I kill myself from this side or from the left?”¹¹⁹ In Menander’s *Perikeiromene*, Polemon threatens to kill himself if Glykera does not return to him with the words, ἴν’ ἐμαντὸν ἀποπνίξαιμι, “So I will strangle myself.”¹²⁰ As for tragedy, a similar sentiment is expressed more seriously by Menelaos in Euripides’ *Helen*, when it seems that Helen’s hope of escape from Theoklymenus is slim, *τύμβου πὶ νώτοις σὲ κτανὼν ἐμὲ κτενῶ*, “I will kill myself, having killed you, upon the tomb.”¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 4.16

¹¹⁸ εἰ μὴ γὰρ οὗτος δοκιμάσει με, κυρίως δώσει τε ταύτην, οἶχεται Θρασονίδης, “If he does not approve of me, if he does not give her to you in marriage, Thrasonodies is lost!” Menander, *Misoumenos*, 664 (c.f. *Pereo* and *Perdo* in Roman Comedy)

¹¹⁹ Plautus, *Cistellaria*, 640-42

¹²⁰ Menander, *Perikeiromene*, 977

¹²¹ Euripides, *Helen*, 842

Gnathon's melodrama also echoes the scene in 3.34 in which Daphnis promises to kill himself in response to Chloe asking him to kill her if they can't be together, playing off of the same comic and tragic associations. This side of Gnathon, in which he begs pitiably at his master's feet for the satisfaction of his sexual appetite, plays more into the whiny and needy *parasitos* than the manipulative *kolax* as described by Petrides, though Gnathon certainly knows what he is doing. A useful *comparandum* for Gnathon's needy behavior is Gelasimus' suicide threat in Plautus' *Stichus*, who has finally reached the end of their rope in being turned away from the dinner table, saying, *numquam edepol me uiuom quisquam in crastinum inspiciet diem; nam mihi iam intus potione iunceae onerabo gulam neque ego hoc committam ut me esse homines mortuom dicant fame*, "By Pollux, no one will see me alive on the morrow; for already inside will I load my throat with a rush potion, I shall not commit this in such a way that men say I am dead from hunger."¹²²

The most apt comparison to Gnathon is a namesake, as a parasite by the same name is present in Menander's fragmentary *Kolax*. The fragments are not enough to determine a plot, but Terence famously appended two characters from Menander's *Kolax*, one of them Gnathon, to *Eunuchus*, on which Donatus commented, being aware of both plays.¹²³ In *Eunuchus*, Gnathon is Thraso's (also imported from *Kolax*) servant and yes-man, and, as usual, always seeking dinner invitations. He recounts the art of the parasite to a slave, saying:

Quicquid dicunt laudo: id rursus si negant, laudo id quoque. Negat quis? nego: ait? aio. Postremo imperavi egomet mihi Omnia assentari. Is quaestus nunc est multo uberrimus... Concurrunt laeti mihi obviam cupediarum omnes, Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores; Quibus et re salva et perdita profueram, et prosum saepe. Salutant; ad coenam vocant; adventum gratulantur.

¹²² Plautus, *Stichus*, 637-640

¹²³ Donatus, in *Eunuchum Terenti commentum*, 1.12

I praise whatever they say; if they deny it again, I praise it also. Does a person deny? I deny: Does he say yes? I say yes. In the end, I myself have ordered myself to agree with everything. It is now the most fruitful business by much...All of the confectioners, all of the fishmongers, all of the butchers, all of the cooks, all of the poulterers, all of the fishermen ran up to meet me gladly; I was useful to them both in safe times and in dangerous times, and I was useful often. They greeted me, called me to dinner, and rejoiced at my coming.¹²⁴

Terence's Gnathon, true to the character and the name of the play from which he is drawn, falls on the *kolax*-side of Petrides' dichotomy, but as with Longus' Gnathon, the satisfaction of an appetite, whether gastronomic or sexual, is the ultimate goal.

It is fitting now to compare Longus' parasite to a parasite from a play of Menander. Recall the arrival of Astylus and Gnathon in *Daphnis and Chloe* and the arrival of Chaereas and Sostratus in *Dyskolos*. Both arrive alongside their master, who has visited the country estate owned by their father in pursuit of rural leisure, and both express violent tendencies when attempting to acquire a slave lover. Gnathon laid hands on Daphnis when he couldn't smooth talk him, and Chaereas describes what he would do to a slave girl his master had fallen in love with thusly, *πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, Σώστρατε, οὕτως ἔχω· παραλαμβάνει τις τῶν φίλων ἐρῶν ἑταίρας· εὐθὺς ἀρπάσας φέρω, μεθύω, κατακάω, λόγον ὄλως οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· πρὶν ἐξετάσαι γὰρ ἥτις ἐστί, δεῖ τυχεῖν*, "I act thus regarding these things, Sostratus. A certain friend of mine has associated himself as a lover of a hetaira. Straight away, when she's snatched, I carry her off, I could be drunk, I could burn something down, I suffer no logic at all. Before she is examined, it is necessary to obtain her."¹²⁵ This aggression would imply that Chaereas represents Petrides' *kolax*, just like Gnathon.

Many characters that Petrides associates with the *kolax* mask also endeavor to help their patron achieve their romantic goals. Among these characters, Gnathon from Terence's *Eunuchus*,

¹²⁴ Terence, *Eunuchus*, 320-327

¹²⁵ Menander, *Dyskolos*, 57-61

Phormio from his play of the same name, the parasites from Plautus' *Asinaria* and *Bacchides*, and *Curculio* from his play of the same name all work as helpers to the marriage of their patron.¹²⁶ They are successful if their patron is the play's young lover and unsuccessful if their patron is a braggart soldier. *Dyskolos*'s Chareas can be counted among this number, if only briefly, as he offers to go speak to the eponymous grouch about his daughter on behalf of Sostratos before vanishing from the play.¹²⁷ Another of Menander's parasites, Theron from the fragmentary *Sikyonioi*, who, like Longus' Gnathon, has a love interest for himself in the play, seems to be involved in some intrigue to secure a marriage for his patron, Stratophanes and Philoumene.¹²⁸

Daphnis and Chloe's Gnathon does not work to secure the marriage of his patron, but he unexpectedly leaps to the aid of the novel's young lover, Daphnis, whom he had previously made advances upon. After Daphnis' parentage has been revealed, but before Chloe's has been, another local herdsman, Lampis, decides that since she is no longer worthy of being Daphnis' bride, she might as well be his. He snatches her by force and carries her off, but her screams are heard, and Daphnis finds out she has been kidnapped. He laments, saying, ὦ τῆς πικρᾶς ἀνευρέσεως ... πόσον ἦν μοι κρεῖττον νέμειν; Πόσον ἤμην μακαριώτερος, δοῦλος ὢν; Τότε ἔβλεπον Χλόην, τότε, νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν Λάμπις ἀρπάσας οἴχεται, νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης συγκοιμήσεται, "Oh, painful discovery, how much better was it for me to herd; How much happier was I, being a slave. Then I saw Chloe, now, she is gone, Lampis carried her away, and when it becomes night, he will sleep with her."¹²⁹ While Daphnis is despairing, Gnathon decides he has a chance to make amends with his patron's new brother, and, seeking out Lampis, he finds her, καταλαβὼν ἄρτι

¹²⁶ Petrides, p. 225

¹²⁷ Menander, *Dyskolos*, p. 134

¹²⁸ W.G. Arnott, *Menander Loeb* vol. 3, 208

¹²⁹ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, p. 4.28

εἰσάγοντα τὴν Χλόην, ἐκείνην τε ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ἀνθρώπους γεωργοὺς συνηλόησε πληγαῖς,

“Catching Chloe just as she was being lead inside, he snatched her away and threshed the farm men with blows.”¹³⁰

It is only with Gnathon’s timely intervention that Daphnis and Chloe’s marriage can take place, putting him in the company of the other *kolakes* who take more proactive roles in the plot to assist their patrons. Though Daphnis is not the person to whom the parasite is attached, there is an element of “symbiosis” in helping his host’s brother. While Gnathon is by far the character most indebted to comedy and who, as has been demonstrated, interacts with many of its norms, Longus has used the two poles of parasitical behavior, as identified by Peridites, to construct an interesting character somewhere in between the two types of parasite found in New Comedy. Like the *kolax*, he is both threat and salvation, and he uses the desperation and neediness of the *parasitos* to further his goal of achieving sexual satisfaction.

Conclusion

Longus’ development of complex characters from the basis of simpler stock characters is also quite Menandrian. Although Menander’s characters begin their plays as stereotypes, “Even those who criticize New Comedy for its use of stock characters admit that Menander’s characters have personality...Menander understood the human heart and delineated his characters with vigor and charm.”¹³¹ Both authors start off each character with a recognizable basis, an archetype, and a speaking name, then build off of it so that each of his characters is complex and vivid, more apt to appear as a real person in the setting of their story. Drawn both from more specific plays and the broader traditions inherited from Old Comedy, Longus’ most complex characters appear to be actors on a stage of his own creation. Daphnis and Chloe themselves

¹³⁰ Ibid, 4.29, the use of the verb συναλοάω with γεωργοὺς ἀνθρώπους as it’s object is suitably rustic

¹³¹ Duckworth, 33

appear to be drawn from comic stereotypes as well, the rustic youth and the innocent heiress, respectively, though an analysis of their incredibly varied characters, much more than their stock archetype, is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Conclusion

As Stephen Hinds notes in *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* -- a book that, while being particular to Latin poetry, is useful for the study of other works in other genres and languages -- even the most objectively verifiable allusion cannot reveal what the alluding author intended by such an allusion. “However,” he writes, “it would be a mistake to take this as a reason to lose our curiosity about what poets mean to do when they allude.”¹³² One must then wonder what Longus meant to do with his allusions to New Comedy. Thomas Hägg suggests that since “New Comedy had been the early Hellenistic platform for a romantic and easy entertainment,” but “theatrical performances of that kind were rare, available only on special occasions for the privileged city audience,” and “the popular drama, the mime, developed towards an increased coarseness and towards a pure, wordless pantomime,” there was a desire for similarly romantic entertainment for the increasingly literate population outside the cities.¹³³

Hägg further suggests that “in a milieu where true literacy was not common,” there was likely an obligation for the literate to read to those around them who could not: “members of the household, a circle of friends, perhaps even to a wider audience. This would mean that the novel could reach not only below the ruling classes but also outside the towns and beyond the households of the rich landowners.”¹³⁴ B.P. Rearden further suggests that *Leucippe and Clitophon* could have been meant to be read aloud due to its internal summaries spread throughout.¹³⁵ Similarly, the specular structure of *Daphnis and Chloe*, as identified by Bruce MacQueen in his monograph on the topic, reminds one of the ring composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which, famously, were works of oral performance. Perhaps, considering Hägg’s

¹³² Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry, of Roman Literature and Its Contents* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 144

¹³³ Hägg, p. 90

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93

¹³⁵ Kathryn Chew, “Achilles Tattius and Parody.” *The Classical Journal* 96, no. 1 (2000): 57–70, p. 58

connection of the decline of New Comedy and its inherent unavailability to the origin of the novel, his and Rearden's suggestions that the texts were read aloud, and the specular structure of Longus' novel noticed by Bruce MacQueen, the ancient greek novel was meant as a portable drama on a more personal scale. The readers could keep the story to themselves or share it with those around them. While not all of the ancient romances seem to fit this mold, *Daphnis and Chloe* certainly does, with its preponderance of New Comedic influence. Based on the evidence collected above, narrowing down a trio of New Comedies from which Longus seemingly worked is possible.

Menander's *Dyskolos* provides elements of Longus' core plot, while his *Epitrepontes* and *Perikeiromene* provide elements of the exposure-and-recognition plot. First, Menander and Longus share the use of a unique (up to Longus' day) participle used to describe recognition tokens, τὰ συνεκτεθέντα. In both the play and the novel, the exposed child(ren) is found in the countryside by a pair of rural workers, and in both, they have been exposed by a nurse named Sophrosyne. Daphnis and Chloe, in their double exposure, are exposed with the same items as Glykera and her brother from *Perikeiromene* in theirs, and their recognition scenes are closely hewn.

However, the play with the most plot similarities is the most complete. As noted above, both the novel and *Dyskolos* contain weddings in or in front of caves sacred to nymphs; both feature a wealthy urbanite visiting the country along with his parasite for the hunt. While Astylus is not the romantic hero of the novel, the play provides a secondary hero whom Daphnis resembles, the farmer Gorgias, who provides a rustic foil, with country morals, to the "well-to-do young man with nothing better to do than fall in love on a hunting trip," Sostratos, in the same way, that Daphnis does for his unknown brother.¹³⁶ In both, the narratives begin in truth with the

¹³⁶ Hunter, *New Comedy*, p. 111

intrusion of the city in the country: in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the exposure of the eponymous pair, and in *Dyskolos*, with the arrival of Sostratos and his love-at-first-sight. However, the cause of this love provides another through-line between the two texts.

In both the play and the novel, the nymph and Pan take a special interest in the outcome of the central romance. In *Dyskolos*, Pan simply says that since the daughter of the eponymous grouch cares for Pan and the Nymphs, they care for her, and he has made Sostratos fall in love with her.¹³⁷ In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the deities are more involved. Both Daphnis's and Chloe's adoptive parents receive dreams from the Nymphs telling them that their children are meant to be together (1.7), the Nymphs reveal to Daphnis where to find enough gold to pay Chloe's bride price (3.27), and Pan rescues Chloe from the Methymnians who have captured her (2.25). A final piece of evidence suggesting a strong connection between *Dyskolos* and *Daphnis and Chloe* is the three doors of *Dyskolos*' comic stage. While Kathryn Chew notes, "By virtue of their plastic form, novels enlarge upon the scope of action of New Comedy," and Daphnis and Chloe venture farther than the New Comedic stage would allow, there are only three real interiors in the novel: Chloe's house, Daphnis's house, and the cave of the nymphs.¹³⁸ The three doors on *Dyskolos*' stage were two homes, the cave of Pan and the nymphs. At its core, *Daphnis and Chloe* is a neighborhood romance spread out across a broader stage.

I would argue that this particular possibility -- that Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe* was developed as a sort of personal and portable drama -- has merit and bears consideration. When reading the script of a play, one is missing information about stage action and character and set appearance. On the New Comedic stage, scenes that take place indoors or in one of the off-stage locations are narrated after the fact to the audience by a character who was present, though the

¹³⁷ Menander, *Dyskolos*, 37

¹³⁸ Chew, p. 58

action has already happened, and the tension is lessened by this fact. The reader of a novel would not only read dialogue but setting description (see Longus' seasonal vignettes: Spring in 1.9, Summer in 1.23, Autumn in 2.1, Winter in 3.3) and character description that would have been conveyed to the theatre-going audience visually, and narration which reveals a character's internal thoughts, conveyed to the theatre audience, partially, by tone of voice. The indoor and off-stage scenes, which are hidden from the theatre-going and play-reading audience by the conventions and limitations of the stage, are revealed in real time to the reader of the novel. Taken in sum with the preponderance of evidence that points towards specific plays of Menander, it would be reasonable to conclude that the novels, and *Daphnis and Chloe* in particular, were meant to emulate, and even improve upon, New Comedic plays for a literary audience.

The presence of specific textual allusions and broader narrative and thematic parallels to Menander's *Epitrepontes*, *Perikeiromene*, and *Dyskolos* in *Daphnis and Chloe* reveals a deliberate engagement with these plays and with New Comedy as a whole. Longus' novel also engages with the same kind of tensions present in many of Menander's plots: tensions between city and country, rich and poor, slave and free. The possibility that Longus's engagement with the comedic stage, pastoral song, and lyric poetry works to create a more accessible personal and portable drama cannot be ignored. Even if it was not what Longus intended to do with his allusion, the experience of reading *Daphnis and Chloe* gives the impression of an unfolding New Comedic play, complete with vibrant characters, intrigues, dramas high and low, comedy, and - most importantly - romance.

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