INTRODUCTION

1 THE TEXT AND THE STORY

Two Greek manuscripts, one of them written in the second half of the thirteenth century and now in Florence (F),[1] the other written in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and now in the Vatican (V), preserve a text they entitle Longus' *Shepherd Tales concerning Daphnis and Chloe*: Λόγγου ποιμενικῶν τῶν κατὰ Δάφνιν καὶ Χλόην (V), Λόγου [sic] ποιμενικῶν περὶ Δάφνιν καὶ Χλόην (F). Like three other texts in F, those of Xenophon, Chariton, and Achilles Tatius, Longus' work *prima facie* belongs to the literary form which we now call 'novel' or 'romance', but which apparently had no ancient generic name.

Longus, however, is very different from these other novels in two important ways. First, he miniaturises the setting and plot. In the other novels, and in the later novel of Heliodorus, a teenage couple fall in love and then for diverse reasons are launched on travels around the eastern Mediterranean Greek world and beyond, travels in which they are soon separated and survive pirates, shipwreck, and other near-death situations, as well as the attentions of ardent and powerful suitors, fired by their stunning beauty. Only at the work's end are they reunited and able to resume or achieve marital union. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, by contrast, the narrative begins with the couple's exposure as babies by their élite parents, and it is set almost entirely in the pastoral hinterland of a single city on Lesbos, Mytilene – apart from a short-lived kidnapping of Chloe by Methymnans which takes her some 20 miles further north, an even briefer kidnapping of Daphnis by pirates, and a short period in Mytilene itself. Its major theme is the children's implausibly slow discovery of ἔρως, sex, as they enter puberty, herding the goats and sheep for which their pastoral foster-parents are responsible. Relocation in distant and often non-Greek lands is replaced by the intensely described cycle of the seasons over two years: during that period the attempt of a cowherd Dorcon to get Chloe for himself, a discourse on the nature and power of Eros by the retired cowherd Philetas, and a practical lesson in the sexual act given to Daphnis by a city-girl Lycaenion, combine to advance the couple's (and especially Daphnis') understanding, so that by the time of their wedding at the end of the fourth and last book Daphnis is able to teach Chloe what he has learned.

[1] For the problems of using F, both difficult to read and peppered with errors of all sorts, see Reeve 1982: xi–xii and (for Chariton) Reardon 2004: xii. For the hypothesis that its archetype was dictated, not copied, see Kaïris 1932: 34–6, Biraud 2017: 239.

2 LONGUS' POETIC INTERTEXTS

The second way in which Longus differs significantly from other novelists is that in constructing his couple's universe Longus makes extensive use of the bucolic world best known – to ancient as to modern readers – from Theocritus' poetry. Longus knew bucolic poems composed by Theocritus in the first half of the third century BC and other poems which were probably already circulating as part of the Theocritean corpus in his time, as indeed they are transmitted among genuine works of Theocritus by our medieval manuscripts. He also knew the bucolic poetry of Moschus and Bion. Especially influential on Longus was the first poem in ancient editions of Theocritus, *Idyll* 1, in which a shepherd Thyrsis sings to an unnamed goatherd his famous song *The pains of Daphnis* (τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγεα) – a song about the death of a mythical cowherd Daphnis, a death that is mysteriously the consequence of his desire, ἔρως. Longus also knew *Idyll* 6, a friendly singing contest between two youthful cowherds, Daphnis and Damoetas, that ends with them kissing, and *Idyll* 27, perhaps but not certainly non-Theocritean, in which a cowherd Daphnis seduces a not wholly unwilling girl. Longus relocates the Theocritean pastoral world from Sicily, south Italy and Cos to Lesbos – where in the generation before Theocritus a pastoral world may already have been situated by the influential but largely lost poetry of Philitas of Cos, perhaps evoked by his naming his wise old cowherd and ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος Philetas – and he repeatedly alludes to it in general and refashions particular passages. But he makes two significant changes. First, Longus' young herdsman Daphnis looks after goats, not cows, and this allows a persistent symmetry between him and the girl two years his junior, Chloe, who herds sheep. Among many cases of intertextuality with Theocritus that Longus will have expected educated readers to appreciate, and which are noted in the commentary, is the foster-parents' decision to call the baby they had discovered 'Daphnis' 'so that the baby's name might seem pastoral' (1.3.2) and his foster-father Lamon's claim that he was sung the myth of Syrinx by 'a Sicilian goatherd for the payment of a he-goat and a syrinx' (2.33.3, a clear reference to the herdsmen of *Idyll* 1). Second, Theocritean characters' experiences of ἔρως have predominantly unhappy outcomes, with *Idyll* 27, if by Theocritus, a striking exception. By contrast Longus, like the other novelists, allows his young couple's trials to conclude with their living happily ever after.

Longus enriches the pastoral world based on these Theocritean refashionings by drawing on Hellenistic and early imperial epigram. Some epigrammatists favoured scenes from pastoral life, and indeed Theocritus himself composed epigrams. Longus' knowledge of epigram ranges from apparent reworking of poems – e.g. that of Myrinus at 1.11.2

(*Anth.Pal.* 7.703 = *GP* 2768–73) – to picking out and re-contextualising striking phrases, such as the description of prostitutes as τὰ λῃστρικὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης by (?) Asclepiades (*Anth.Pal.* 5.161.5 = *HE* 1000 = 40 Sens), arguably fused at the end of Book 1 (1.32.4n.) with Meleager's book-end "Ἔρωτος ὅρα, ξεῖνε, μιαιφονίαν" (*Anth.Pal.* 5.215 = *HE* 4277). Several other epigrammatists, especially of the imperial period, may be drawn upon for thematic or lexical details.[2]

The epigrams and other works of another major Hellenistic poet, Callimachus, seem also to have an impact on Longus. The ἕλκος of 1.14.1n. may echo the figurative ἕλκος of Callimachus, *Anth.Pal.* 12.134.1 (= *HE* 1103), the simultaneous death of two siblings at 4.24.2n. that lamented in *Anth.Pal.* 7.517 (= *HE* 1193–8). Longus' ἕλκος comes shortly before his first use of ἀρτιγένειος (1.15.1n.), a term perhaps drawn from the *Aitia*. Some other details (ἐπτοηθεῖσαι 1.22.2 ~ πτοιηθεὶς ὑπ' ἔρωτι *Hymn to Artemis* 191, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν 2.18.1 ~ πολλὰ δ' ἀσυχία *Hymn to Athena* 72–4) and the recondite myth of Branchus (4.17.6 cf. Call. fr. 229 Pfeiffer) may also come from Longus' reading of Callimachus. We may then wonder if Longus' four-book work exploring the αἴτια of ἔρως in some way reflects Callimachus' four-book *Aitia*, which open with Hesiod shepherding on Helicon, and if his description of its opening painting as ἱστορία ἔρωτος is a nod to Callimachus calling his novel-like story of Acontius and Cydippe a ἱστορία (fr. 75.7 Pfeiffer).

Shepherds were one feature of the famous seventh/sixth-century BC poet from Lesbos, Sappho, that caught Longus' eye (see 3.33.4–34n.). But her chief claim on his attention was her incomparable primacy as poet of desire, ἔρως, and Longus' recurrent verbal echoes of her much-read poetry, as well as some, albeit fewer, echoes of her contemporary from Mytilene, Alcaeus (see 3.31–3n.), give depth to his depiction of Lesbos as a place especially fitting for a narrative of ἔρως. In the commentary some 30 places are noted where Longus evokes Sappho, from the trees, flowers, and water of his preface's ἄλσος (picking up those of Sappho fr. 2) to the evocation of the phrase 'so that we may see less sleep than the

[2] See the commentary for Longus' possible exploitation of Adaeus at 2.20.1, Antipater of Sidon at 2.6.2, Antipater of Thessalonice at 2.1.2, Antiphanes at 3.34.2, Anyte at 1.14.4, 4.19.4, Archias at 2.4.1, Asclepiades at 1.32.4, Bassus at 4.7.1, Bianor at 4.13.1, Callimachus at 1.14.1, 4.24.2, Crinagoras at 4.16.3, Diodorus at 1.8.2, 13.2, 15.1, Erucius at 1.11.1, 12.1, Euenus at 1.25.3, 26.1, Hadrian at 2.31.3, 3.23.4, Heraclitus at 4.8.1, Leonidas at 1.4.3, 29.2, 31.3, 2.31.3, 3.12.1–2, 4.26.2, Lucian at 4.11.2, Lucillius at 2.37.3, Maccius at 1.32.4, 2.1.1, Meleager at 1.13.2, 6, 3.18.4, 23.4, 4.13.1, Myrinus at 1.11.2, 4.39.2, Philip at 1.2.1, 21.3, 2.34.1, Philodemus at 1.25.1, 4.14.1, [Plato] at 1.30.1, 2.39.3, Rufinus at 1.17.3, 30.1, 32.4, Scaevola at 1.9.1, Simonides at 3.5.1, 4.8.1, Thallus at 3.5.1. Several epigrammatists may have influenced Longus at 1.14.3.

clear-voiced bird' (Sappho fr. 30.8–9) in his last sentence (4.40.3).[3] In one case (1.17.3) allusion to a passage in Theocritus *Idyll* 11 that itself alludes to Sappho enables Longus to construct an archaic Lesbian pedigree for his own characters' language. Alcaeus is less prominent, but is arguably drawn upon on some 14 occasions.[4] If we had complete texts of the early Lesbian poets it is likely we would see many more echoes, though it is unlikely to be accidental that many passages of their poetry apparently known to Longus were also known to imperial Greek readers.[5]

Many other poets are of course evoked in different ways. Some details of Longus' presentation of Eros seem to derive, though perhaps not directly, from Ibycus and Anacreon, just as the name Daphnis goes back to Stesichorus. Aristophanic comedy contributes much to Longus' lexicon, especially, but not only, in describing the countryside. Menander's *Epitrepontes* is among the ancestors of Longus' exposure plot; the leisured Methymnan youths of Book 2 and the parasite Gnathon of Book 4 are both drawn to some extent from New Comedy.

When we turn to the two highest genres of poetry, epic and tragedy, the picture becomes more complex. The *Odyssey*, the chief ancestor of the other novels, and Greek poetry's earliest presenter of a noble rustic in the important figure of Eumaeus, is evoked with only occasional hints that Longus' characters move in a different world.[6] Some allusions to the *Iliad*, on the other hand,[7] above all in similes, draw attention to the distance between the events on Lesbos and the battles on the plain of Troy, though on a lexical level a huge number of words in Longus are first found in the *Iliad*. And in the case of tragedy the difference between the tragic world and that of *Daphnis and Chloe* is suggested even more strongly, whether by evocations of canonical tragic cases of ἔρως whose outcome was disastrous (e.g. Sophocles, *Antigone* 787–9 and Euripides, *Hippolytus* 528–9 at pr. 4; *Hippolytus* 135–7 and 275 at 1.13.6), by the use of a tragic intertext to give a humorous slant to a character's words or actions (e.g. Sophocles, *Ajax* 462–4 at 2.22.3), or by the punning phrase τραγικὴ δυσωδία at 4.17.2. Such sorts of evocation can be seen to contribute to a recurrent feature of Longus' text,[8] an implicit insistence that, however its motifs and words may be related to those found in epic and tragedy, the bucolic novel

[3] For reworkings or evocations of Sappho see the commentary on pr. 1, 4; 1.2.3, 13.5–6, 14.1, 16.1, 17.2–3, 18.1–2, 22.2, 26.1, 27.1, 32.4; 2.2.6, 7.5, 20.3, 30.1; 3.1.2, 12.4, 33.4–34.1; 4.8.1, 13.1, 33.4, 40.2–3.
[4] See the commentary on 1.2.3, 9.1, 20.3, 22.3, 26.1, 28.2; 2.3.1, 14.2, 15.1, 25.2; 3.3.1–3, 12.1, 4; 4.18.3.
[5] Cf. e.g. 3.33.4n., 4.40.3n.
[6] Cf. e.g. 4.13.2n.
[7] Cf. e.g. 4.34.3n.
[8] See Bowie 2003, 2007.

presents a happier universe than they did, as also than did Theocritean pastoral.

3 LONGUS' EXPLOITATION OF EARLIER PROSE TEXTS

Longus' repeated use of all these earlier poetic texts – Theocritus, epigram, Callimachus, Sappho, and Alcaeus – sets him apart from his novelistic predecessors, even from the often allusive Achilles Tatius. But another prose text is much exploited by both novelists: Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus*, in which Socrates unusually leaves the city of Athens for the *locus amoenus* of the Ilissus valley, just outside its walls, and there exchanges speeches on ἔρως with Phaedrus.[9] Also predictably reworked by both is Plato's other dialogue on ἔρως, the *Symposium* (e.g. 1.15.1n., 2.5.2n.), whose great speech by Diotima is one of the ancestors of Philetas' speech in Book 2.[10] This exploitation of Plato brings Longus closer to Achilles Tatius than to any of his known predecessors, though Heliodorus, who is certainly later, has much Platonic material.

Other canonical texts had contributed to the novel ever since its earliest surviving writer – and perhaps its inventor – Chariton:[11] Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Longus too draws repeatedly on all these. Most striking in stylistic terms is his switch to a different, albeit not quite Thucydidean, style for his narrative of the Methymnan navy's abduction of Chloe and of the war that never happened between Mytilene and Methymna (2.20–9; 3.1.1–3.1).

Longus thus sets himself in a tradition of Greek literature that by his time was almost a thousand years old. But just as he ostentatiously refashions Theocritean bucolic, so too in several places he invites us to appreciate his reworking of earlier novels. Already in the preface his account of the Nymphs' grove whose paintings constitute his own story takes readers to Achilles Tatius' anonymous narrator's encounter with his protagonist Cleitophon in front of a painting in or near Astarte's precinct at Sidon, and they are brought back to that painting by Longus' description of the Nymphs themselves (1.4.2n.).[12] Longus' gardens evoke those of Achilles Tatius (1.1.5, 1.15), while his miniature pseudo-scientific excursuses poke fun at Achilles' longer digressions, and Longus upstages him

[9] See pr.n., 1.22.4n., 1.25.1n., 4.23.1n., Ach.Tat. 1.2.3.
[10] For arguments in favour of extensive and constructive intertextuality with both *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* see Repath 2011.
[11] For a powerful case for the invention of the novel by Chariton see Tilg 2010.
[12] For the evidence for dating Achilles Tatius to the first half of the second century see below §11 with n. 47.

by providing a more appropriate context for his tale of Syrinx (2.34; cf. Ach.Tat. 8.6.7–11).[13]

The other novelist predecessor whom Longus certainly evokes is Chariton. The clearest case is the phrase ταχείας δὲ φήμης at 4.25.3: φήμη is a major player in Chariton's narrative, appearing 15 times, three of these with the epithet ταχεῖα (2.3.8, 3.3.2, 3.4.1);[14] the word φήμη never appears in Xenophon of Ephesus or Heliodorus. Longus asks us to set his climactic recognition scene of Daphnis and his father Dionysophanes at 4.20–5 alongside Chariton's recognition scenes of Chaereas and Callirhoe and of Chaereas and his father in Syracuse. Longus gestures in a different way to Chariton by introducing Tyrian pirates (Τύριοι λησταί, the reading of V) who kidnap Daphnis (1.28.1) using a light Carian boat (Καρικὴν ἔχοντες ἡμιολίαν). He thus reminds his readers that they should read his work in the novelistic tradition, descending ultimately from the *Odyssey*, in which Phoenician pirates made regular appearances; and at the same time, by mentioning Carians, that Chariton, the earliest Greek novelist known to us, was from Caria's great city, Aphrodisias.

Any reference to Aphrodisias' other novelist, Antonius Diogenes, probably also of the mid-first century, is harder to establish; but since alone of the other novelists known to us he seems likely to have stated at the beginning of his work its length in books (a massive 24), Longus' advertisement in his preface of a four-book work may both allude to and stress contrast with Antonius' *The incredible things beyond Thule*. The other blockbuster novel attested, Iamblichus' late-second century *Babyloniaca*, may be evoked by the detail of Chloe's bra being used to rescue Daphnis from the wolf-pit (1.12.4–5), perhaps reworking a scene in which Iamblichus' heroine Sinonis cut her long hair so that it could be used to winch up water.[15] As for the other first-century novel to survive, Xenophon's *Anthia and Habrocomes*, two phrases close together in Book 4 may suggest that Longus knew it: at 4.23.1 πλῆθος ἐπέρρει, used at Xenophon 5.7.3, and 4.24.1 χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγου, used at Xenophon 1.10.3 (cf. χρόνου διελθόντος at 5.7.1) but nowhere else in the novels. It is therefore possible that the γραφή narrating all Xenophon's couple's adventures that accompanied their dedications in the Artemisium on their return to Ephesus (5.15.1) played some part in Longus' imagining a love story narrated in dedicatory paintings in a shrine on the island of Lesbos.

[13] For fuller discussion of these and other evocations of Achilles Tatius by Longus see Whitmarsh 2018: 125–9.
[14] For φήμη in Chariton see Tilg 2010: 240–70, Hardie 2012: 115–16.
[15] Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 94, 74b9–10; cf. 1.12.4n.

4 POETIC ELEMENTS IN LONGUS' PROSE?

Longus, then, asks to be read against at least two traditions, that of pastoral poetry and that of prose narrative fiction. His style too has been seen by some as balanced between poetry and prose. Moving away from the Herodotean and Xenophontic λέξις εἰρομένη of Chariton of Aphrodisias and Xenophon of Ephesus, Longus' recurrent exploitation of short parallel κῶλα (see further below §8), especially for descriptions of landscapes and seasons, puts him closer to Achilles Tatius. This style, descended ultimately from that of the fifth-century BC sophist Gorgias, categorised by Cicero in the first century BC as one variety of 'Asianism', and described by Philostratus in the third century AD as 'Ionian', was much used in the epideictic oratory of the imperial period, especially for 'laments'/θρῆνοι: one of our best examples is Aelius Aristides' μονωιδία of ca. AD 177 for earthquake-struck Smyrna (*Or.* 18). It can also be found in the writings of Aelian (ca. AD 190–230) and of Philostratus himself (ca. AD 190–250). Following the lead of Gorgias, Longus repeatedly builds up longer units from two or three short κῶλα often of equal length, often rhyming, sometimes alliterative, sometimes combined with other linguistic games. But whether or not Longus saw this style as poetic is harder to tell. Such works as Aristides' μονωιδία fulfilled a function earlier more commonly served by poetry, but the other places we find this style did not, and some works that set out to replace poetry, like Aristides' prose hymns, did not adopt this style at all. Tempting though it is to set out a translation as if what Longus wrote were lines of poetry, as was done, for example by Hägg and by McCail and Cikán,[16] this may not be the impression that Longus was trying to give.

That doubt is reinforced by the low proportion of words that are clearly poetic in a general sense. Valley 1926 greatly exaggerated the number of words that to a second- or third-century reader would have seemed poetic. Much of Longus' vocabulary is indeed first documented in archaic and classical poetry, but in the five hundred or so years since the deaths of Demosthenes and Alexander many of these words had become common in prose. Other cases in Valley's lists are of words whose function in Longus' narrative is to take the reader to a particular poetic intertext, i.e. they signal his reworking in prose of a detail he can expect his readers to recognise from poetry.[17]

[16] Hägg 1983: 37–8, McCail 2002: 3–4, 11–12, etc., Cikán and Danek 2018. A case is made for the strong presence of poetic rhythms based on both the quantitative and the accentual system by Biraud 2017, arguing in particular for the use of traditional quantitative rhythms to give a poetic aura to Philetas' speech in Book 2.

[17] See Bowie 2017.

In purely lexical terms, then, Longus offers a narrative whose medium is prose, of the semi-Atticist sort that some contemporaries, e.g. Lucian, also wrote. Linguistic 'Atticism', the attempt to limit vocabulary (and in some cases syntax) to what could be documented in classical Attic prose, seems to begin under Hadrian[18] and to have gathered pace in the second century AD, partly because it was favoured by the influential magnate and sophist Herodes Atticus and some of his many pupils. Its importance can be judged from the number of Atticist lexica that were written, e.g. two by Phrynichus (published between the late 140s and early 180s) and one by Moeris (whose date is later but uncertain). Quite often Longus chooses a form approved by one of these lexica or found in the less rigorous and more comprehensive lists of acceptable words offered by Pollux, a close contemporary of Phrynichus: some examples are discussed below in §9. Often, however, he seems to ignore their restrictions, and a very large number of his words or usages are first found in Hellenistic or imperial Greek writers.[19]

5 RELIGION

The narrator we encounter in the preface presents himself as sincerely religious. Although he presents hunting as his reason for being in the part of Lesbos where the grove of the Nymphs is located, he too visits that grove; like others who come to admire its painting and to supplicate the Nymphs, he prays for σωφροσύνη in his writing about others' ἔρως, and he figuratively dedicates his work to the divinities Eros, the Nymphs and Pan. That request to be σώφρων can be taken in different ways. On one hand it sets Longus' narrator apart from those who took their religion to excess, like the δεισιδαίμων of Theophrastus of Lesbos, or like Hippolytus with his total commitment to Artemis and chastity in the Euripidean play whose chorus' similar request (528–9) is evoked here. But more obviously it presents the narrator as keen to resist the power of Eros about which he writes, recalling likewise the claim of Hippolytus (like the narrator, a hunter) to be σώφρων.[20] But unlike Achilles Tatius' anonymous narrator (1.2.1), Longus' does not advertise himself explicitly as ἐρωτικός, nor does he focus so much on the erotic qualities of the painting, for all that he describes its content as πάντα ἐρωτικά. Only as his narrative proceeds will readers encounter descriptions of the couple's discovery of sex that hint

[18] See Kim 2017, *contra* Dihle 2011, who claimed linguistic Atticism already for Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the later first century BC.
[19] These are tabulated and discussed in Bowie 2019.
[20] E.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1007, 1035.

at a voyeuristic narrator who is far from σώφρων.[21] In the preface, however, he is a connoisseur of art: the painting's κάλλος is as important to him as worshipping the Nymphs, appropriately in a work exploring the link between ἔρως and the perception of human κάλλος, a work that itself strives for κάλλος in writing.

The close association of Eros with the Nymphs and Pan, not found in cult in the historical Greek world, reflects the fusion Longus offers between the prose literature of ἔρως – the novels – and the rural world of pastoral. Some cults of Pan and caves of the Nymphs could be found in cities, often together, but the great majority of these cults were in rural locations, as too were myths concerning them.[22] Few places had an official cult of Eros, and the best known, that at Thespiae, was a city cult with a major festival, the *Erotidia*. Likewise in *Daphnis and Chloe* cult of Eros is not prominent. We only discover at the end of Book 4 that the couple's grateful commemoration of their happy-ending experiences included an altar of 'Eros the Shepherd' (Ποιμένος Ἔρωτος, 4.39.2), which must be assumed to be in or near the preface's grove of the Nymphs if the cave and images (εἰκόνας) of 4.39.2 are indeed the same as those of the preface and 1.4: but the preface says nothing of it.

Eros' function is not to receive cult but to act as a script-writer for the plot, prescribing a herding life for the couple when they reach puberty (1.7), catalysing their perception of ἔρως by having Daphnis tumble into a wolf-trapping pit (1.11–13), and acting as their invisible shepherd (2.5.4). Eros manifests himself to Philetas in his garden, but never to Daphnis and Chloe. Their communication with the divine is always with the Nymphs, and always in dreams, as too are the instructions given to their foster-fathers (1.7.2) and to Daphnis' real father Dionysophanes (4.34). It is by making regular offerings to the Nymphs that the couple display their piety. Only after Chloe's abduction does Daphnis discover from the Nymphs (again in a dream) that they have wrongly been neglecting Pan, but that the Nymphs have already asked him to save her (2.23.2–4).

From that point Pan, in Book 1 only a semi-mythical goatish god to whom Daphnis compares himself (1.16.3) and a cameo character in the tale of Phatta (1.27), becomes an agent in the narrative, terrifying the Methymnans so that they release Chloe. It is only after this that Pan receives cult from the couple – first and most strikingly the sacrifice of a billy-goat that Daphnis has promised in one of the very rare vows in the extant corpus of the novels.[23] That cult culminates in construction of a

[21] See Goldhill 1995: 8.
[22] Larson 2001: esp. 96–8 on joint cults of the Nymphs and Pan.
[23] Bowie 2012b.

temple of 'Pan the Soldier' (Πὰν Στρατιώτης) to house the cult-image that had previously stood under a pine tree (4.39.2). Other than his crucial intervention to save Chloe, Pan's only appearances are in the three inset tales (2.27, 2.34, 3.23), where he represents a self-assertive male sexuality that Daphnis neither aspires to nor imitates.

In the narrator's religious universe, then, the stage-managing function which Chariton gave to Aphrodite is divided between Eros (always kept well in the background) and the Nymphs: Pan responds to the latter's appeal on Chloe's behalf, but he has no direct connection with Eros, except in so far as in the mythical world of the inset tales (picked up by Chloe in her rejection of an oath Daphnis offers to swear by Pan, 2.39.2–3), he is himself an extreme case of the ἐρωτικός. That, we are to imagine, is why Philetas calls on him for help in his unsuccessful pursuit of Amaryllis (2.7.6).

Quite different from the rural Nymphs and Pan are Dionysus and Demeter, in the real world gods who had major civic cults both in cities and in their agricultural territories. Demeter appears only once, when on the first day of his inspection of his estates Dionysophanes sacrifices to her along with Dionysus, Pan, and the Nymphs as gods who preside over the countryside (ὅσοι προεστᾶσιν ἀγροικίας, 4.13.3). This description conceals the marginal role of Pan and the Nymphs in Dionysophanes' world and of Demeter and Dionysus in that of the couple. For them Demeter has no claim to cult, even if they eat bread made from grain grown somewhere on their master's estates (cf. 1.1.2 πεδία πυροφόρα). Dionysus has more impact. Like all workers on Dionysophanes' estate, Daphnis and Chloe are needed for the labour-intensive vintage, and their participation in the festival marking its completion allows men verbally to harass Chloe and women to kiss Daphnis, a mark for readers of the couple's very slowly advancing understanding of sexuality (2.2.1–2). Dionysus is also celebrated in a mid-winter feast in Dryas' house (3.9.2–10.2), with the unusual sacrifice of a ram symbolising the transplantation of a major civic festival (where oxen were sacrificed) to the pastoral world. Like the vintage festival, it is an opportunity for kissing – by now for the couple to kiss each other (3.10.3) – but Dionysus has no active role in making this possible. Only in Book 4 does he acquire greater importance. We now hear for the first time of his temple in the ornamental garden (παράδεισος) that Lamon and Daphnis tend for their master Dionysophanes, whose name adequately explains why it is Dionysus that he particularly worships. But though the temple offers a location for Gnathon first to supplicate Astylus to let him have Daphnis (4.16–17) and then to take refuge after his assault on him has been revealed (4.25.2), Dionysus, so active in his temple's paintings (4.3.2), never intervenes in the narrator's story, nor is he given any credit in the dedications at its end. These paintings have