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Music and Society in Longus' Daphnis and Chloe and Alciphron's Epistulae

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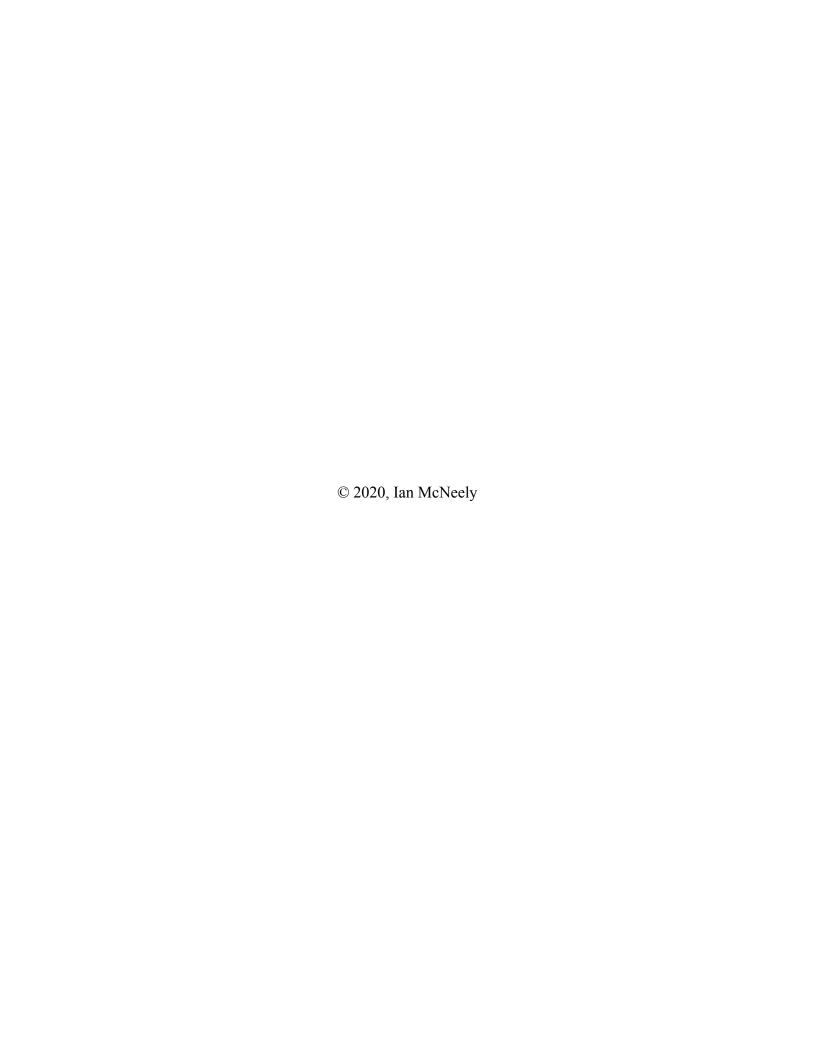WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

Department of Classics

Music and Society in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* and Alciphron's *Epistulae*

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Acknowledgments

Introduction

Music was present in most aspects of ancient life. It was a formal part of public celebrations, led armies in battle, helped workers pass the time during daily tasks, and accompanied more personal entertainment, such as weddings, birthdays, and symposia.[1] Extant descriptions of music, poems, and musical notation provide a decent understanding of the form and context of the music that was favored by the political elite from Classical Greece through the Roman Imperial period. Less well-understood is the "submerged" music produced and enjoyed by non-elite and non-urban members of society.[2] Alciphron's *Epistulae* and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* include musical performances by a common variety of non-elite fictional characters, namely herdsmen, farmers, fishermen, parasites, and courtesans. This non-elite music is central to Longus' and Alciphron's depictions of society in ways not shared by other fictional prose narratives of the Imperial period. A close examination of the music that is performed in the countryside in these two texts offers an anatomy of the social structures that underlie the narrative in each work of fiction.

My thesis, titled "Music and Society in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* and Alciphron's *Epistulae*," raises two interrelated questions: why should the texts of Longus and Alciphron be considered together, and how does music reflect the social structures that are present within these two texts? This thesis aims to explicate the function of music performed in a non-urban environment for the fictional societies within each text. While several attempts to interpret the function of music in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* have been published in recent decades, these analyses are incomplete.[3] All prior attempts to examine music in *Daphnis and Chloe* have shoehorned the fictional music under the vague category of "bucolic" music to the exclusion and minimization of other types of music and performers. In this thesis, I consider the music that is

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[1] West (1992): 13-38; Landels (1999): 1-23; Mathiesen (2000): 23-157, esp. 151-7.

[2] Using the term coined by L.E. Rossi to denote genres of text and speech known to have existed, but not published, in antiquity. I use this term to refer also to "common" literature that elite writers recorded, such as the scanty remains that D.L. Page collected as "Carmina Popularia" in his *Poetae Melici Graeci* (1962): 449-70. cf. Colesanti and Lulli (2016): 1-8.

[3] Liviabella-Furiani (1984): 27-43; Maritz (1991): 57-67; Amado (1998): 287-92; Bowie (2006): 69-76; Hubbard (2006a): 101-106; Montiglio (2012): 133-56; Kossaifi (2012): 573-600; Schlapbach (2015): 79-99; Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 696-708; Schlapbach (2018): 201-23; LeVen (2018a): 14-25.

produced and enjoyed by various figures, who are identifiable by their primary occupations and activities as herdsmen, agricultural laborers, fishermen, courtesans, parasites, and urban aristocrats. I argue that Longus illustrates his protagonists' social acculturation and maturity from adolescent herdsmen to married aristocrats over the course of his four-book novel by pairing these encounters with increasingly more elaborate and more identifiably urban styles of music and musical performance. I also argue that reading *Daphnis and Chloe* against the music presented in Alciphron's *Epistulae* as a control text is necessary for understanding both the rural and urban aspects of music within *Daphnis and Chloe*.

This Introduction seeks to answer the first question that is posed above. I first orient the reader regarding the content and narrative structure of these two texts, since neither one is part of the canon of Classical literature. The second section locates Longus and Alciphron with relation to each other temporally and to their shared Imperial culture, in order to clarify how aspects of their own culture influence their presentation of music in their fictional societies. The third section discusses the influence of Hellenistic literature on both texts, along with the definition of bucolic poetry, since modern conceptions of the bucolic genre have affected prior readings of music in *Daphnis and Chloe*. The Introduction closes with a summary of the scholarship on this topic, and with a summary of the argument of the thesis.

1.   Reading Longus and Alciphron

This thesis examines musical details within two fictional texts, with a focus on how the musical details within *Daphnis and Chloe* reveals the divergent musical proficiency and maturation of its two protagonists, Daphnis and Chloe. This section summarizes the content of *Daphnis and Chloe*, since the structure of the narrative and its focus on a rural setting mediate, to a large degree, which character types and activities appear within it. The section also discusses how Longus' and Alciphron's creation of fictional, rather than historical, narratives that are set in the past influences the interpretation of the musical examples that these authors include within their texts. I argue that Longus and Alciphron both stake a claim to believability in their narratives, such that musical performances within *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae* seem believable to his audience, but do not always necessarily reflect the real experience of either an

Imperial or a pre-Roman audience.[4] This is to say that, in the absence of most evidence about

the performance of music by rural and non-elite persons in antiquity, this thesis does not argue

that the musical performances in these narratives reveal historical musical practices. Instead, the

depiction of music within these texts is a reflection of what each author may believe to be a close

approximation to reality.

1.1.   Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*

Scholars classify *Daphnis and Chloe* as one of five extant "Greek novels," since all five

are extended prose fictional narratives.[5] As N. Holzberg has argued, *Daphnis and Chloe* does fit

the Imperial classification of a plausible prose fiction (*diegema plasmatikon*).[6] This novel is

presented as a continuous narrative from the point of view of an internal, omniscient narrator.

This presentation is complicated by the inclusion of embedded mythological narratives that

characters within the main narrative tell one another.[7] Longus produces a text that consists of a

preface that is by the narrator, followed by that narrator's story, which he divides into four books.

This basic framing of *Daphnis and Chloe* ensures that the story and its fictional characters

nevertheless maintain some claim to credibility in the mouth of this internal narrator. The

following summary of *Daphnis and Chloe* teases out this narrator's professed purpose in writing

the narrative. It also indicates the significant events within the story that show how Daphnis and

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[4] cf. Arnott (1994): 199-215 for one such analysis of Longus' depictions of the natural world. Arnott argues that in this respect, Longus writes largely accurate information, and attributes inaccuracies in depictions of such activities as bird-liming to the limitations of source material and personal experience. cf. Green (1982): 210-14; Mason (1979): 149-63.

[5] The five standard texts included within this modern category are Chariton's *Chaireas and Kallirhoe*, Xenophon's *Ephesiaka*, Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*. For the (various) characteristics of this genre, as well as the fragmentary and "fringe" texts included within it, see: Reardon (1969): 291-309 Philippides (1978); Anderson (1984); Grimal (1992): 13-20; Holzberg (1994): 1-52; Holzberg (1996a): 11-28; Morgan (1997): 130-52; Whitmarsh (2005b): 587-611; Futre Pinheiro (2006): 147-71; Reardon (2006): 227-38.

[6] For the possibility that the *Daphnis and Chloe* was categorized as a *diegema plasmatikon*, that is, a plausible prose fiction, cf. Holzberg (1996a): 15-17.

[7] In this respect, Longus' narrative does not bear the complications of either Achilles Tatius' unreliable first-person narrator in *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, or of the numerous flashbacks and unreliable narrators in Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*. That is, the main narrative does not raise questions of credibility, regarding the events of the story. while the embedded narratives are mythological fictions that do not attempt to obfuscate their respective narrators' experiences; cf. Fusillo (1997). For Achilles Tatius' narrator and narrative, cf. Nakatani (2004); Alvares (2006). For Heliodorus' narrators and narratives, cf. Anderson (1982): 33-40; Morgan (1992).

Chloe encounter figures from several walks of life and mature in their relationship through these encounters.

First, the preface reveals that the narrative is provided by an unnamed narrator, and that this narrative is set sometime in the distant past. This narrator appears in the preface and is not to be confused with Longus, the author.[8] The narrator reveals that he is a hunter who discovers a dedicatory image in a grove on Lesbos: "On Lesbos, while hunting, in a grove of the Nymphs I saw a marvel, the most beautiful of which I've seen: a depiction of an image (εἰκόνος γραφήν), a history of eros."[9] This εἰκόνος γραφὴν provides the *Beglaubigungsapparat* of the narrative, assuring the reader that the following narrative has a tangible, though still fictional, origin. This image depicts the following scenes: women giving birth, infants wrapped in swaddling clothes and exposed, flock animals feeding them, herdsmen adopting them, youths making oaths, an invasion of pirates, a foray of enemies, and "many other and erotic things besides."[10] This description of the image summarizes the contents of the first two books, although the preface leaves the outcome of the story as a surprise. This preface also emphasizes that the narrator sought an exegete of the image and has produced a finely-wrought, four-book dedication to Eros, the Nymphs, and Pan.[11] The narrator thus presents the main body of *Daphnis and Chloe* as an extended *ekphrasis* (detailed visual description) and elaboration of this image.[12] Moreover, the narrator casts this *ekphrasis* as a propaedeutic text for a reader who has not experienced *eros*.[13] These final details indicate the roles of Eros and education behind the scenes of the narrative.

The resulting four-book structure follows the lives of two abandoned Mytilenean infants, a boy and a girl. This narrative covers the period from their discovery and adoption by two herding families at the beginning of the first book, until their recognition by their respective

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[8] Paschalis (2005), esp. 50-52; cf. Pandiri (1984): 116-18; Morgan (2003).

[9] ἐν Λέσβῳ θηρῶν ἐν ἄλσει Νυμφῶν θέαμα εἶδον κάλλιστον ὧν εἶδον, εἰκόνος γραφήν, ἱστορίαν ἔρωτος (pr. 1).

[10] γυναῖκες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τίκτουσαι καὶ ἄλλαι σπαργάνοις κοσμοῦσαι, παιδία ἐκκείμενα, ποίμνια τρέφοντα, ποιμένες ἀναιρούμενοι, νέοι συντιθέμενοι, λῃστῶν καταδρομή, πολεμίων ἐμβολή, πολλὰ ἄλλα καὶ πάντα ἐρωτικά (pr. 2). This conceit of an *ekphrasis* of an image mirrors Achilles Tatius' effort at legitimizing his protagonist's story; cf. Bierl (2018): 8, 10; Forehand (1976): 108-10 connects the imitative nature of the narrative with the Platonic ideal; cf. Reeves (2007): 87-101 for a comparison to Achilles Tatius' narrative.

[11] καὶ ἀναζητησάμενος ἐξηγητὴν τῆς εἰκόνος τέτταρας βίβλους ἐξεπονησάμην, ἀνάθημα μὲν Ἔρωτι καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Πανί (pr. 3).

[12] cf. Kestner (1973): 166-71; Fowler (1991): 25-35; cf. Bartsch (1989): 40-42 for *Daphnis and Chloe*'s exegetical proem as an *ekphrasis* on parallel with the painting of Europa in *Leukippe and Kleitophon*. cf. Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016):

[13] τὸν οὐκ ἐρασθέντα προπαιδεύσει (pr. 3).

natural families and wedding to each other at the conclusion of the fourth book. A goatherd, Lamon, rescues the boy and names him Daphnis; a shepherd, Dryas, rescues the girl and names her Chloe. These herdsmen are the slaves of Dionysophanes, who is Daphnis' natural father. Eros appears to the fathers in a dream and tells them to raise Daphnis and Chloe like herdsmen, and they instruct them in the mechanics of herding. When each protagonist reaches puberty, Daphnis at fifteen and Chloe at thirteen, they begin to fall in love. The narrative follows their erotic development as they try and fail to find a remedy for their desire over the next two years.

During this adolescent development, Daphnis and Chloe are exposed to increasingly more mature and more urban elements of society. In the first book, they encounter pirates and a cowherd, Dorkon, who teaches Daphnis how to play melodies that summon cows. In the second book, Daphnis and Chloe work alongside vinedressers, are taught how to recognize love by a retired farmer and cowherd, Philetas, and fend off two waves of Methymnaean men. In the third book, a courtesan, Lykainion, who is married to a free farmer, teaches Daphnis how to complete the sexual act; the protagonists subsequently observe fishermen singing. By now, their marriage is agreed upon, but requires the approval of Dionysophanes. Dionysophanes and his train conveniently visit the countryside in the final book to check the damage to his estate. Daphnis encounters his natural brother, Astylus, and *his* parasite, Gnathon. Both children are recognized by their wealthy parents, the landholders Dionysophanes and Kleariste for Daphnis, and the Mytilenean elites Megakles and Rhode for Chloe, and a mixed urban and rustic wedding is held.

The preceding constitutes the basic outline of the narrative, and shows how the plot proceeds. Daphnis and Chloe encounter more elite and more urban elements of society over time, even as they mature in age and sexual knowledge.[14] That is, while the protagonists only encounter fellow herdsmen in the first book, the second book introduces them to adult agricultural laborers and aristocrats from Methymna. The final two books also introduce them to a courtesan from Mytilene, fishermen who row toward Mytilene, and a host of aristocratic elites from Mytilene. Several of these figures, including the cowherd Dorkon, the retired farmer and cowherd Philetas, and the courtesan Lykainion, all offer explicit educative lessons which accompany advances in the protagonists', but mainly Daphnis', knowledge about music and

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[14] cf. Levin (1977): 5-17; Pandiri (1985): es. 122-9; Epstein (2002): esp. 30-33.

performative ability.[15] I argue that these exposures and acculturation to different, increasingly more elite professions, is mirrored in the various styles of music that Daphnis and Chloe encounter among these groups of people, and in the growing complexity of Daphnis' musical skill.

While the narrative is straightforward, there are two additional complications which enrich the reader's interpretation of detail in *Daphnis and Chloe*. The first is that in addition to this primary narrative of *Daphnis and Chloe*, there is a secondary, mythological, tradition of storytelling within the narrative.[16] On three occasions in the novel, goatherds tell etiological stories about sound and instruments. Daphnis tells the first story, the origin (αἴτιον) of the ringdove's song (1.27). Lamon tells the second, the origin of the syrinx, which is the instrument that appears most frequently in the narrative (2.34). Daphnis also tells the final αἴτιον, the phenomenon of the echo (3.23). Each of these tales is musically significant, since they each describe a musical metamorphosis. Moreover, each one reveals the extent or, in Daphnis' case, the development of the storyteller's musical knowledge. These myths serve as miniaturized educative episodes, which each center around musical lore. This thesis argues that these mythological tales reflect on the state of the protagonists', but primarily Daphnis', social "metamorphosis" over the course of *Daphnis and Chloe*.

The second aspect of the narrative is its episodic nature. H.H.O. Chalk has divided the narrative into discrete scenes that are spread over several seasons.[17] In his analysis, the narrative generally obeys a threefold pattern: seasonal description (spring, summer, etc.), followed by a summary of Daphnis' and Chloe's activities in response to the season, followed in turn by a sequential series of remarkable events that occur during the season. These arrangements distinguish the protagonists' iterative musical actions in response to the season from individually significant musical events within the season. Such activities include the distinction between Daphnis' and Chloe's imitation of sounds of animals in the description of the first spring (1.9.1),

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[15] For the educative function of each of these characters, cf. Winkler (1989); Epstein (1995); Epstein (2002); Herrmann (2007); Morgan (2011); Repath (2011).
[16] cf. Philippides (1980): 193-200 for the centrality of these *aitia* to the fabric of the narrative; Létoublon (2013) for the connection between the "real" world of the narrative and the fictional world of the myths.
[17] Chalk (1960): 38-9.

and Daphnis' creation of his first syrinx within that season (1.10.2).[18] The iterative actions illustrate the stage of Daphnis' and Chloe's musical development, while the discrete episodes offer special encounters with society.[19]

The events themselves also often reflect each other within and between books. Some scholars, most extensively B. MacQueen, have schematized each book into complex, and admittedly arbitrary, chiastic structures that purport to show the emphasis of each book.[20] This thesis makes no attempt to reproduce these analyses, but notes the relevant contextual patterns for each of the three mythological tales. The distribution of particular words across and within individual books, such as βουκολικός in the first book, and ποικιλία in the second book, functions in the same way to emphasize different aspects of music and entertainment during the protagonists' adolescence. The presentation of individual and iterative musical activities, mirrored episodes, and repeated verbal echoes in *Daphnis and Chloe* offer examples both of the usual musical behavior that is relevant to the members of different occupations and of the protagonists' dynamic musical development with respect to this society.

1.2.   Alciphron's *Epistulae*

Alciphron's *Epistulae* are more difficult to approach than Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, principally because they do not form a continuous narrative. Instead, they consist of discrete letters which affect to be written in early Hellenistic Athens.[21] This aspect of Alciphron's text is intrinsic to the nature of the extant collection, including its current arrangement. Alciphron's letters survive in the manuscript tradition through collations of fictional letters, and because of this random distribution within the manuscript collections, the original presentation of the

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[18] The distinction holds true for nearly all of the musical scenes; the iterative musical actions form the standard for the music that Daphnis and Chloe ordinarily produce in their occupations as herdsmen. All of the music that is not produced by herdsmen are singular episodes that occur as significant events within their respective seasons.

[19] Amado (1998): 288 has argued that the majority of references to music occur in these descriptions of the season and the protagonists' reaction to them, but are not themselves the most detailed musical episodes in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

[20] MacQueen (1985): 119-34, and expanded in MacQueen (1990). cf. Philippides (1980); Schlapbach (2015) for the inverse patterning of mythological tales.

[21] For the ancient genre of fictional epistolography and Alciphron's relation to it, see: Rosenmeyer (1994): 146-65; Follet (2000): 243-49; Rosenmeyer (2001); König (2007): 257-82; O.D. Hodkinson (2007): 283-300; Morrison (2014): 298-313; O.D. Hodkinson (2017).

Epistulae is uncertain.[22] While concrete evidence concerning in what order Alciphron intended his audience to read his letters or whether the extant letters comprise the entirety of his collection is absent, the most recent scholarship supports the division of the text into four books.[23] This thesis recognizes the possibilities of lost letters and the separate publication of individual books of the present collection, but takes all the extant letters into consideration as a full body.

The current order is the result of Schepers' 1905 rearrangement of the 122 letters into four books based on the social position of the letter writers. These miniature narratives are presented in the form of mostly unanswered letters from various members of early Hellenistic Attic society.[24] As such, the *Epistulae* are divided into separate books of discrete letters, one each by fishermen, farmers, parasites, and courtesans. As G. Zanetto argues, "the definition of a coherent geographical setting in which the stories as well as the thoughts and feelings of the characters are located" both identifies the different social categories of the correspondents and mitigates the lack of unity which the disparate letters otherwise present.[25] This arrangement has given some scholars the misleading impression that Alciphron intended his audience to read these letters in the current order; that is, from the most marginalized members of society (fishermen) to the most "sophisticated" courtesans of Athens.[26] This thesis resists this reading of the letters. Unlike in *Daphnis and Chloe*, there is no internal or external narrator who explains the real or pretended purpose of the letters. For this reason, with the exception of letters which have a response, or which have a thematic progression in the present arrangement, this thesis assumes that the letters are distinct units. In keeping with Schepers' ordering of the letters, this thesis considers the social identities of the writer and addressee in conjunction with the spatial distribution of the action within the letters as the primary basis for reading and comparison.

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[22] The Aldine edition of 1499 included 44 letters by Alciphron in two books. These letters were supplemented by a further 72 in S. Bergler's 1715 edition, gathered as a third book and collected from various manuscripts. M.A. Schepers' 1905 rearrangement is the modern standard text. cf. Marquis (2018): 3-9.

[23] cf. König (2007); Morrison (2018). Marquis (2018): 16-20 analyzes the manuscript tradition and concludes that the initial arrangement was one of two possibilities: either books 1-3, or 1, 3, 2, 4.

[24] The letters with responses in the first two books are: 1.11-12; 1.17-19; 1.21-2; 2.6-7; 2.15-16; 2.24-5. The third book lacks replies; most of the letters of courtesans in the fourth book are enmeshed in a complex web of correspondents; cf. Morrison (2018): 37. In their form, Alciphron's *Epistulae* resemble Lucian's fictional dialogic texts, as well as the *Epistulae Rusticae* that are attributed to Aelian.

[25] Zanetto (2018): 126.

[26] Rosenmeyer (2001): esp. 268-9 reads the current constitution of the collection as revealing Alciphron's original intent.

Regarding the contents of the current ordering of the *Epistulae*, Alciphron's letters are, like *Daphnis and Chloe*, set in the distant past: Each letter presents fictional accounts of day-to-day activities in early Hellenistic Attic society. As a collective, Alciphron's *Epistulae* are better defined as an assemblage of mostly discontinuous vivid descriptions (*enargeia*), depictions of characters (*ethopoieia*), and other rhetorical exercises (*progymnasmata*), than as a continuous narrative.[27] The discontinuity of the separate epistles, however, also forestalls narrative development of the kind seen in the "epistolary novels," such as that of Chion of Heraclea, or, for that matter, the narrative development in *Daphnis and Chloe*.[28] Because nearly all of the letters in the collection are unanswered, they form complete units in themselves. Moreover, each letter describes a single event, in more or less detail, which serves as the focal point of the letter.[29] And yet, as J. König has argued, the lack of responses also encourages the reader to construct a narrative, however disjointed, from them.[30] As a result of this structural layout, music and instruments appear only in a few of the letters, but serve as part of the "main event" of those particular letters. Alciphron's *Epistulae* thus offer static snapshots of Hellenistic Athenian society, whereas Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* shows a dynamic social development within his narrative.

This thesis uses Alciphron's *Epistulae* as an ideal text for comparison to *Daphnis and Chloe* in part because of this static quality to his fictional Attica, and in part because of the broad range of situations and figures from a variety of social strata which he includes as correspondents of, and figures within, these letters. That is, Alciphron's text operates as one control against which to compare *Daphnis and Chloe*, and any similarities and differences between their presentation of music in shared contexts is illustrative of the different functions that music serves in these fictional texts. This thesis examines Alciphron's use of music in rural settings and by

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[27] cf. Matino (2014): 153. The vividness of many of these letters adds a special amount of liveliness (*enargeia*) to their contents; cf. Funke (2018): 139-44; Gallé Cejudo (2018): 157-80 shows how the writing of fictitious epistles was numbered among these progymnasmatic exercises, yet Alciphron reworks many of these exercises into epistolary form. For *ethopoieia*, cf. Rosenmeyer (2001): 259-63; König (2007). Alciphron's use of rhetorical topoi further ensures that the music conveys such comic aspects as the subversion of expected outcomes; cf. Gallé Cejudo (2018): 170. Anderson (1997): 2191-5 refers to the "subversion" of *topoi* in Alciphron through unexpected delivery.
[28] Holzberg (1996b): 645-53; Casevitz (2002): 247-8.
[29] cf. Rosenmeyer (2001): 255.
[30] König (2007): 271. To this end, the books of fishermen, farmers, and parasites obey a consistent "oscillation between abundance and shortage, hope and despair," as J. König phrases Alciphron's characterization of figures drawn from comedy; cf. König (2007): 272.

non-urban figures, rather than discussing in detail the music that is performed at festivals and symposia within Athens. Because I use the *Epistulae* as *comparanda* with *Daphnis and Chloe*, and because Longus does not describe musical performances within an urban setting, the few urban performances of music are less useful to explicate Longus' use of music, except by their absence. In this way, I examine first those occasions in which non-urban figures, namely herdsmen, farmers, and fishermen, produce their own music. Secondly, I examine the even fewer occasions when urban figures, namely parasites and courtesans, imagine or imitate rustic performance.

2.   Sophisticated Similarities: Longus and Alciphron

The depiction of fictional societies set in the past is not the only similarity between Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* and Alciphron's *Epistulae* which informs a reading of music within *Daphnis and Chloe*. Rather, both authors appear to have produced their narratives at nearly the same time and with a shared Imperial elite cultural background. An understanding of what the broader motifs of this cultural milieu were in turn indicates the effects that Longus' and Alciphron's contemporary society may have had in their constructions of fictional societies and the presentation of music within *Daphnis and Chloe*.

Several scholars have considered Longus' and Alciphron's texts together, but only to determine their relative chronology. While several Imperial authors with extant works, such as Lucian, Galen, and Aelian, can be dated with some degree of precision from external evidence, the same is not true for Longus or Alciphron. An elite Roman family with the name of "Longus" is known to have existed on Lesbos during the first few centuries CE.[31] Modern scholars assume that the author of *Daphnis and Chloe* was either a member of this family or closely associated with it; however, no ancient authors provide direct testimony to this author or text.[32] The

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[31] cf. Hunter (1996a): 367-70. The idea that "Longus" is a misprint for "*logos*" has now lost traction in preference to a connection with the family of Longi.

[32] Constantine of Sicily, in the ninth century, may offer the first allusions to *Daphnis and Chloe*; cf. McCail (1988): 112-22. Papyrus evidence is still absent for *Daphnis and Chloe*, although recent finds from Egypt have moved the dates of other novels from late antiquity to the first few centuries CE. cf. Hunter (1996a): 368-70. For the dating of Longus and the novelists, cf. Hägg (1983): 35-41; Hunter (1983): 3-6. Bernsdorff (1993): 35-44 argues for a pre-Lucianic date. For Achilles Tatius, cf. Hilton (2009): 101-12. Mittelstadt (1967): 752-61 argues for a second to third century date for Achilles Tatius and Longus based on the similarities between their descriptions of paintings and imperial styles of wall painting.

identification of Alciphron fares marginally better. Aristaenetus, another author of fictional epistles from the fifth or sixth century CE, includes an exchange of letters between Lucian and Alciphron.[33] G. Anderson has argued that three references to Imperial figures named "Alciphron," by Marcus Aurelius, Athenaeus, and the *Suda*, offer firmer evidence than Aristaenetus' fictional letters for placing Alciphron's *floruit* in the late second or early third centuries CE.[34]

Internal evidence for an absolute chronology is also piecemeal. Both texts are presented as belonging to the past, rather than the Imperial period. As such, references to historical figures and the economic value of objects is unreliable for placing either text within any particular decade.[35] Longus' references to certain architectural features of Mytilene, combined with physical dedications by the Longi which have been found, suggest a post-Hadrianic publication of *Daphnis and Chloe*.[36] Moreover, although much of the language used in *Daphnis and Chloe* is consciously archaizing, imitating the Attic Greek spoken during the Classical period, Longus includes a number of words which are otherwise unattested until the late second or early third centuries CE.[37] The current scholarly consensus on the dating of Longus and Alciphron thus places both authors in the decades on either side of 200 CE.

The relative chronology of Longus and Alciphron has been the primary focus of scholars who have considered *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae* together.[38] This effort stems from H. Reich's 1894 dissertation *De Alciphronis Longique aetate*, in which he compares rare words and

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[33] Dating Alciphron's *Epistulae* often depends on Aristaenetus' sixth-century fictional letters between Lucian and Alciphron. Starting from this piece of information, Alciphron is usually placed close to Lucian in temporal proximity, and imitation of Lucian's corpus offers a rough *terminus post quem*, the end of the second century CE. The *Epistulae Rusticae* of Aelian, if genuine and modelled on Alciphron's *Epistulae*, offer a *terminus ante quem* in the early third century CE. For a comparison with Lucian's epistolary texts, see: Carugno (1956): 347-8; Vieillefond (1979); König (2007): 257-9; Tomassi (2012): 231-49; Slater (2013): 207-19; for the parallels between Alciphron and Aelian's letters, see: Rosenmeyer (2001): 255-320; Drago (2013): 71-86.

[34] M.A. *Med*. 10.31; Ath. 1.31d; Suda s.c. Alkiphron. cf. Anderson (1997): 2189-90.

[35] cf. Hunter (1983): 3-6.

[36] Mason (2018) argues that the narrator's description of Mytilene (*DC* 1.1) matches a post-Hadrianic development of the city. Internal references to the statues of Memnon in Egypt (Alc. *Ep*. 4.19.7) have suggested that Alciphron was writing within a decade of their destruction, c. 202 CE; cf. Baldwin (1982).

[37] cf. Bowie (2018a), who argues that Longus uses words which are not otherwise attested until the early third century; Valley (1925) has also suggested that the language suits the later second century.

[38] H. Reich (1894), C. Bonner (1909), G. Valley (1925), G. Dalmeyda (1932), and G. Carugno (1955) comprise near the totality of scholarship dedicated to comparing Alciphron and Longus until R.L. Hunter (1983): 6-15 and G. Anderson (1997). cf. Morgan (1997a): 2229-31. Other scholars have used Alciphron solely as a point of comparison with Longus; cf. W. McCulloh (1970): 58-9, 87.

names that appear in Alciphron, Longus, Lucian, Aelian, and Aristaenetus. Reich concluded that Alciphron's use of rare Attic words and longer names, such as his Dryades to Longus' Dryas, meant that he postdated Longus. This conclusion was widely rejected and seen as insufficient evidence for Reich's project.[39] More interesting and directly relevant to understanding the presentation of music in Alciphron and Longus was his comparison of scenes that are similar in each text. Reich and his successors have shown that descriptions of bird liming (*DC.* 3.3; *Ep.* 2.27), courtesans (*DC.* 3.15; *Ep.* 2.7), and parasites (*DC.* 3.16; *Ep.* 3.13) use similar words and descriptions.[40] The most significant of these is the depiction of a musical herd of goats (μουσικὸν τὸ αἰπόλιον) in Alciphron's *Ep.* 2.9, which bears contextual similarities to the response of a herd of goats that are made "musical" (μουσικάς) by a "musical" goatherd (αἰπόλῳ καὶ μουκικῷ) in *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.14-15.[41]

While these analyses have produced a cautious consensus among scholars that Alciphron postdates Longus, the verbal similarities by no means offers proof on its own that Alciphron is familiar with *Daphnis and Chloe*, or that Longus was familiar with the *Epistulae*.[42] More recent treatments of the relationship between these two authors have considered the *context* of episodes between these authors that are similar.[43] Moreover, shared language and details within discrete events in *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae* also do not preclude independent invention or the use of a shared source. Accordingly, despite the present consensus, the relative chronology and the question of the relationship between Longus and Alciphron remains unproven. Considering the potential literary relationship between these two texts is, however, relevant to any reading of the two in tandem. Any intentional allusion in one text requires the reader to be familiar with the other text in order to fully understand the meaning of the allusion and its function within the new

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[39] Bonner (1909): 276-90, esp. 280 was particularly critical, including of Reich's "characteristic cocksureness" regarding Alciphron's minimal imitation of Theocritus; Hunter (1983): 6-7 more graciously takes Reich's comparison of names as an effort to show both authors' attempt to effect a rustic atmosphere.
[40] cf. Valley (1925): 91-5. Carugno (1955): 153 considers this comparative approach a more valuable method of dating.
[41] This passage has drawn the most attention in the comparison between Alciphron and Longus, and I discuss these episodes in Chapter 2. Scholars have also noted similarities with *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.24.4 and 2.35.2-3; cf. Reich (1894): 47-8; Bonner (1909): 277-9; Dalmeyda (1932): 281-2; Carugno (1955): 153-4; Hunter (1983): 8-9; O.D. Hodkinson (2012): 41-53.
[42] cf. Carugno (1955): 153 for early disagreements in the relative dating of Alciphron with Longus and Lucian; cf. Hunter (1983): 13-15 for a comparison of Alciphron with Longus. cf. Vieillefond (1979) and Anderson (1997), esp. 2194-7, for Alciphron's remodeling of Lucian; Anderson (1997): 2198 for the "cautious" agreement.
[43] Hunter (1983): 5-14; Anderson (1997), esp. 2198-9.

text. This thesis does not assume that any such intertextual link between these authors *can* be proven. Nevertheless, I make note of where other scholars have argued in favor of intentional allusions by Alciphron to Longus in my analysis of the function of music in these texts. On the whole, I adopt the cautious reading, wherein the depiction of similar musical experiences in these two texts is a product of Longus' and Alciphron's shared cultural knowledge.

Both Longus and Alciphron are recognized by modern scholars as members of the Greek cultural elite of the Imperial period, referred to in shorthand as the "Second Sophistic."[44] The precise characteristics of this Second Sophistic culture are still disputed, and the experiences of individual elite authors no doubt differed from one another.[45] Nevertheless, several characteristics of this elite literature and its authors are relevant to a reading of the music and fictional societies within *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae*. The two most prominent aspects of Second Sophistic literature for a reading of Longus' and Alciphron's texts are the process of linguistic and cultural archaizing, and the extensive education of elite figures.[46] The tendency of Greek writers to look for models in the pre-Roman Greek history and literature of the Classical and Hellenistic periods has been extensively treated by many scholars in recent decades.[47] Longus and Alciphron are among these authors who, for the most part, use the Attic dialect derived from the Classical canon.[48] As I discuss in the next section, they also draw mainly on much earlier Greek literature for allusions and images within their own texts, including Homer, Sappho, Thucydides, and Aristophanes, although Hellenistic literature appears to be the

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[44] For Longus, cf. MacQueen (1990): 175-85; Lauwers (2011): 53-75; Zeitlin (2017): 406-20. The persistent identification of Longus with the Second Sophistic remains in his Italian name, "Longo Sofista." For Alciphron, cf. Schmitz (2004): 87-104; O.D. Hodkinson (283-300); Vox (2013): 203-50. Alciphron is consistently called "Rhetor" in the manuscript tradition; cf. Marquis (2018): 8-14, 20-22.

[45] It is beyond the bounds of this thesis to define the precise limits and characteristics of the Second Sophistic. This term derives from Philostratus, writing in the early third century, who distinguished a group of primarily Imperial-era rhetors. Modern scholars, however, include many figures sidelined by Philostratus' biographical accounts, and other authors who are otherwise absent from the historical record, such as Achilles Tatius, Longus, and Alciphron, within this category; cf. Anderson (1989): 82-88; Schmitz (2017): 170-80. Abundant analyses in recent decades has produced a range of approaches and definitions of the Second Sophistic, including which authors and historical figures are to be included within it; for a brief selection of this debate, cf. Bowersock (1969); Jones (1978); Anderson (1989), esp. 82-102; Anderson (1990): 91-110; Bowersock (1994); Swain (1996); Bowie (2004); Whitmarsh (2005c).

[46] Anderson (1989): 118-36; cf. Swain (1996): 19-133; Webb (2009): 140-54.

[47] cf. Anderson (1989): 137-45; Whitmarsh (2005c).

[48] cf. Wallace (1968); Hunter (1983): 84-98 for the rhetorical structure of the narrative of *Daphnis and Chloe*; Zeitlin (1994) esp. 155-6.

prevailing source.[49] Finally, Alciphron's *Epistulae* are set in Hellenistic Athens, while Longus'
Daphnis and Chloe is set in some indefinite pre-Roman past on Lesbos.

These glances towards earlier literature and societies, if only imagined, informs some
attempt on these and other authors' part to separate their fictional texts from the Imperial society
which they and their audiences experienced. In this respect, Longus' depiction of mostly rural
figures is sometimes connected with an idealization of the past and of rural "simplicity."[50] The
education (παιδεία) that many Imperial authors commend is closely linked to their archaicist
tendencies, since a considerable portion of elite education focused on the knowledge of prior
texts. Moreover, the ready ability to refer to appropriate *exempla*, in written texts or in public
speeches, was another distinguishing feature of the Imperial literary elite.[51] Yet another term in
use, *poikilia* (variation), refers to variety of literary style, urban complexity, and cultural
sophistication.[52] This education and knowledge of the past distinguished these writers from their
less educated, less elite contemporaries.

This emphasis on education is most visible in *Daphnis and Chloe*. As the summary in the
previous section showed, this novel is presented as, among other things, a propaedeutic text for
those who have not experienced *eros*. Several characters play the role of teachers, including
Dorkon, Philetas, Lykainion, and on multiple occasions, Daphnis himself. Other characters are
also presented as educated, including a sophisticated wolf (1.11), and the educated parasite
Gnathon (4.17). Longus consistently, though not always, ties education to Eros; the narrator
presents these more knowledgeable figures as also being familiar with mature rural and urban
aspects of Longus' fictional society that his audience may recognize for themselves.[53] I argue
that these erotic instructions are closely associated with musical developments within *Daphnis*

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[49] For a full consideration of such passages in *Daphnis and Chloe*, cf. Valley (1925): 79-104; Hunter (1983): 59-83.
For Alciphron's *Epistulae*, cf. Anderson (1997): 2190-99.
[50] cf. Dio of Prusa 7, the *Euboian Oration*, and Philostratus' *Heroicus*. cf. Whitmarsh (2005c) for the frequent
"glorification of the past" by Imperial Greek writers. The "idealization" of rural society has especially influenced
modern interpretations of *Daphnis and Chloe*; cf. Cresci (1981); Effe (1982); cf. Pandiri (1985) for the inclusion of
unpleasant elements in *Daphnis and Chloe*. Scholars have noted that Alciphron's letters frequently provide
disarmingly negative depictions of society; cf. Rosenmeyer (2001); König (2007).
[51] cf. Jones (1986); Branham (1989); Borg (2004): 157-78; Schmitz (2017): 170-80.
[52] It likewise finds its way into the titles of Imperial miscellanies, e.g. Aelian's *Poikile Historia*. cf. Briand (2006):
42-52.
[53] cf. Stephens (1994): 405-18 for an argument that the authorship and readership reflects high Imperial culture, but
one which is not necessarily co-extensive with the readership of the Classical "canon." For the depiction of elite
concerns towards a civic and social elite, cf. Saïd (1999): 97-107; Whitmarsh (2008) esp. 76-9.

and Chloe, and this education is one prism through which I consider Longus' presentation of music.

This section has underscored the primary reasons for considering Longus' and Alciphron's texts in tandem, since both *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae* seem to have been written within a generation of each other, and in the same Imperial Greek cultural milieu. Both authors likewise describe a subset of similar episodes within their fictional stories. How Longus and Alciphron present music among different professions and settings is instructive for both their similarities and how they differ from one another. I argue that while Longus and Alciphron offer narratives that are set in the past, an awareness of their own status as members of the literary elite within the Imperial period informs their own constructions of their fictional narratives. Thus, all depictions of non-elite figures and their musical interactions in *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae* should be understood as filtered through the pen of an elite author, and written for the enjoyment of a predominantly elite audience.[54]

3.   Source Material and the Bucolic Question

As the summary of these texts shows, both *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae* describe a range of characters who are predominantly, though not exclusively, non-elite. This variety of social positions expands the range of music that is operable within the texts, since different settings, contexts, and performers call for different types of musical melodies, subjects, and instruments. The music which these different elements of society use in turn depends partially on Longus' and Alciphron's allusions to earlier material. The most pervasive sources for the two texts, however, are Hellenistic poets, many of whom depicted non-elite alongside elite figures.[55] The apparent mixture of generic forms and content is particularly apt for Longus' text, which has always stood apart from the other Greek novels for its focus on herdsmen and only passing

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[54] cf. Bowie (1994): 451-3 for the audience of *Daphnis and Chloe* consisting of a narrow elite familiar with both the conventions of other fictional narratives and the specific topography of Lesbos. cf. Schmitz (2004) for Alciphron's rhetorical complexity and social status of his audience.

[55] W. Kroll famously observed the expansion in subject material in this period, considering it an intentional mixture of generic forms, a "Kreuzung der Gattungen," that marked a novelty in literary production. Kroll (1928): 202-24.

inclusion of other novelistic tropes.[56] Two particular genres, bucolic poetry and Greek New Comedy, appear to have the greatest influence on the variety of topics treated by Longus and Alciphron.

In one respect, the debt of these two authors to Greek New Comedy is obvious.[57] Comedy deployed character stereotypes, depicting fishermen, farmers, parasites, courtesans, slaves, young aristocratic lovers, and the like. Many of Alciphron's and Longus' characters bear stereotypical names which identify the figure by social standing; names such as Gnathon and Hedydeipnos emphasize parasites' gluttony; Dryas and Nomios identify rural figures; Astylos and Pamphilos denote young aristocrats, and so on.[58] But while several comedic scenes likely also originate in one or another comic play, the fragmentary nature of nearly all Greek comic poets makes tracing any particular subject to a corresponding inspiration in New Comedy rather futile.[59] Until more extensive fragments of other plays resurface, the direct tracing of Alciphron's and Longus' musical elements to New Comedy is rather difficult. As such, any music which appears in these texts that does not rework bucolic poetry may allude to a lost text; because the putative originals are lost, however, this thesis considers these descriptions of music solely on the social structures within the *Epistulae* and *Daphnis and Chloe*.

It is to bucolic poetry that the greatest number of allusions in *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae* combined can be traced. Theocritus' *Idylls* are the single most significant extant text that offers similar descriptive material for rural society. While Theocritus is often treated as distinct from New Comic poets, his *Idylls* similarly depict a broad range of elite and non-elite figures, although his herdsmen attract most of scholars' attention.[60] The literary origins of

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[56] The intergeneric qualities of *Daphnis and Chloe* have been linked to both its linguistic *polyphonia* and sophistic *poikilia*; cf. Briand (2006): 42-3. Anderson (1982): 41-2 has argued for Longus' "miniaturization" of novelistic tropes.

[57] For Alciphron's dependency on New Comedy, cf. Bretzigheimer (1988); Anderson (1997): Rosenmeyer (2001): 267; Drago (2014); cf. Vox (2014) for an analysis of Alciphron's depiction of Menander. For Longus' use of New Comedy, cf. Hunter (1983): 67-72; Zeitlin (1994) esp. 257ff. Valley (1925): 90 noted the generic affinities in *Daphnis and Chloe* with New Comedy, including recognition scenes, infant exposure, and speaking names, before the recovery of much of the present Menandrian corpus.

[58] cf. König (2007): 277-80 for how the absurdity of Alciphron's names signals "ostentatiously the sophistic unreality of Alciphron's characters;" O.D. Hodkinson (2018) esp. 202-8. cf. Casevitz (2002): 254 for the appropriateness of the fishermen's names.

[59] Only with Menander's *Dyskolus* can a clear line be drawn to Aelian's *Epistulae Rusticae*, which parody the characters of that play. cf. Ael. *Ep*. 13-16.

[60] For an extensive treatment of Theocritus' non-pastoral figures, cf. Burton (1995); Lambert (2001); Belloni (2003); Kirstein (2007); Payne (2007).

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bucolic poetry stand outside the bounds of this thesis, but it is necessary to define precisely a few adjectives which other scholars use interchangeably in reference to Theocritus, Longus, and Alciphron. The terms "bucolic" and "pastoral" have entered English with overlapping connotations, which in turn overlap with their original Greek and Latin applications.[61] This semantic complexity has allowed scholars to use these terms interchangeably to refer to any particular motif which that scholar deems ideal or a representation of country life from an urban viewpoint.[62] A precise understanding and usage of these terms is necessary to accurately describe aspects of rural music.

　　"Pastoral" is easiest to define, since it is simply the Latin term for shepherd (*pastor*).[63] In both Latin and modern usage, however, "pastoral" has had a much broader meaning. The extended meaning of the word applies to all other varieties of herdsmen, including goatherds and cowherds. In a literary context, pastoral refers to bucolic poetry that is written in Latin, namely Vergil's *Eclogues*, the *Bucolics* of Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus, and the Einsiedeln *Eclogues*.[64] Pastoral also includes later European, especially English, depictions of herdsmen. This thesis uses pastoral to refer to this Latin poetry, except for the occasional translation of ποιμενικός (of a shepherd) as "pastoral."

　　Bucolic, which derives from Theocritus' *Idylls*, is the most difficult of these terms to define, since the verb βουκολέω itself had several connotations in Greek, as K. Gutzwiller (2006) has shown.[65] The modern corpus of 31 poems includes genuine and pseudo-Theocritean material which varies in form and subject matter, from depictions of herdsmen's songs, to erotic sorcery, mythical *epithalamia* and *epyllia*, urban festivals, fishermen, and *encomia* of monarchs.[66] The title for the *Idylls* which prevailed from at least the first century BCE was τὰ βουκολικά, from which the term "bucolic" derives.[67] At its base, "βουκολέω" means "cowherding," and thus "βουκόλος" is the standard Attic term for cowherd. The adjectival form "βουκολικός" indicates

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[61] cf. Halperin (1983): 1-35.
[62] Sbardella (2016) for the developing distinction between the elite author and the view of the "submerged" culture that is filtered through Hellenistic poetry.
[63] *OLD pastor* s.v. 1.
[64] cf. Halperin (1983): 17-19; Karakasis (2011): 26-50.
[65] cf. Halperin (1983): 118-37.
[66] cf. Segal (1977 [1981]): 176-209.
[67] Gutzwiller (2006): 380.

by this primary meaning those actions that are related to cowherding, and yet was used to refer to poems which do not depict herdsmen.

This adjective only appears once in extant Greek before its use in Theocritus' *Idylls*.[68] Within Theocritus' poems, "βουκολικός" and all of its forms indicate the performance of competitive song competitions between herdsmen.[69] As recent scholarship on song in Theocritus' *Idylls* increasingly demonstrates, the verbal and adjectival forms of *boukolikos* refer explicitly to the production of spontaneous exchanged (amoebean) songs.[70] These terms, βουκολέω, βουκολιάζω, and βουκολικός, appear in Theocritus' *Ids*. 1, 5, and 7 as invitations to song competitions, and are even more prominent in [Theocritus] *Ids*. 8 and 9.[71] In these later poems, the terms provide a self-conscious generic marker for the kind of herding songs that are portrayed in the "bucolic" poems as a whole.[72] By an extension of the term, "bucolic" came quickly to denote the Theocritean corpus and genre as a whole, such that this term was applied by later writers to Theocritus' Greek imitators, Moschus and Bion, and to Latin pastoral.[73] While bucolic was used by later ancient writers to refer to the entire body of the extant *Idylls*, the term "bucolic" in modern scholarship on the *Idylls* primarily refers to the idealized rural subjects of Theocritus' *Ids*. 1, 3-7, and 11, and the pseudo-Theocritean *Ids*. 8, 9, 20, and 27.[74] This thesis uses "bucolic" to refer to bucolic poetry and details within the bucolic *Idylls*, rather than to idealistic descriptions of the countryside.

This discussion of the relative literary roles of New Comedy and bucolic poetry as inspiration for some of Longus' and Alciphron's material does not assert that either author merely copied from Theocritus, his successors, or a lost comic poet. As the next section shows,

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[68] The sole extant use of βουκολικός is found in Herodotus' name for the Bucolic mouth of the Nile (2.17). The novelistic convention of including a shipwreck by the Bucolic mouth of the Nile and subsequent kidnapping of the protagonists of Xenophon's *Ephesiaka*, Achilles Tatius, *Leukipe and Kleitophon*, and Heliodorus' *Aithiopika* by raiders (named *boukoloi*) has been used as a tenuous connection with Longus' *boukoloi*; cf. Rutherford (2000): 106-21.

[69] Th. *Id*. 1.20, 5.60, 5.67-8, 7.36-8, 7.49, 7.91-3; [Th.] 8.31-2, 9.1-2, 9.5-6, 9.58. I discuss this use of βουκολέω in Chapter 2.

[70] cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004): 141-2; Karakasis (2011): 11-16.

[71] Consensus by scholars agrees that *Ids*. 8-9. 19-21, 23, 25, and 27 are Hellenistic imitators of Theocritus; cf. Hunter (1996b); Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004): 133-190.

[72] cf. Barker (2010): 110-18.

[73] Gutzwiller (2006): 390-91; Karakasis (2011): 11-50. *Bucolica* was the original title of Vergil's *Eclogues*, and is referred to as such by Apuleius *Apol*. 10.5; Aulus Gellius *NA*. 9.9.

[74] Karakasis (2011): 11, 20.

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too many scholars have adopted that approach. Instead, this thesis recognizes the dependency of these prose narratives on Theocritus, while treating these connections as allusions, not as translation. This thesis argues that Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* consistently makes innovations regarding the images in extant Greek and Latin bucolic poetry to form his own presentation of herdsmen's and rural performance. At the same time, Longus includes musical material that has no clear inspiration in prior writers. These twin influences, Longus' contemporary world and the inheritance of prior Greek literature, both inform his construction of his own fictional world and the music within it. Where possible, I note where particular details may derive from either source; however, the primary thrust of my analysis centers on how music is depicted in *Daphnis and Chloe* and how Longus uses it to trace the development of Daphnis and Chloe.

4.   History of Scholarship

Several studies have attempted to analyze the function of music in *Daphnis and Chloe* in recent decades, whereas no focused study exists for Alciphron's *Epistulae*. This section aims to treat the history of the scholarship on music in these two authors, rather than account for a complete survey of scholarship on Longus and Alciphron.[75] Until P. Liviabella-Furiani, the discussion of music in *Daphnis and Chloe* was considered almost solely in terms of Longus' indebtedness to and utilization of imagery from Theocritus' *Idylls*.[76] Alciphron's use of music was particularly neglected; C. Bonner relegated the consideration of similarities between Alciphron and Longus strictly to the depiction of "bucolic" scenes in book 2 of the *Epistulae* and in letter 4.13.[77]

In the mid-twentieth century, from the influence of Kerényi and Merkelbach, scholars focused on the Dionysiac and Erotic elements of the novel.[78] While scholars quickly retreated from these notions, H.H.O. Chalk's examination of the role of Eros as a guiding principle in the

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[75] For a history of scholarship on *Daphnis and Chloe*, cf. Morgan (1997a): 2208-76; Swain (1999): 3-35. Alciphron has been almost wholly neglected by scholars, and is mostly treated in comparisons with other epistolary authors; cf. Rosenmeyer (2001); König (2007); König (2017); O.D. Hodkinson (2007); Vox (2013).
[76] Liviabella-Furiani (1984): 27-43. cf, Vaccarello (1935): 307-25; Rohde (1937): 23-49.
[77] Bonner (1909): 288.
[78] Chalk (1960); Amado (1998): 287-92, esp. 289. Kerényi (1927); Merkelbach (1962): 192-224 tenuously connected detail in *Daphnis and Chloe* with mystery religious, most prominently Bacchic rites. Even elements as essential to the description of herdsmen as βουκόλοι were linked to cultic titles, esp. 192-5.

novel sparked a renewed focus on the musical aspects of *Daphnis and Chloe*.[79] Chalk and his successors treated music in the narrative as an element of Longus' adoption of features from bucolic poetry.[80] Their definition of bucolic elements in this narrative, however, consistently identified "bucolic" with Longus' inclusion of deliberately idealizing features of rural life that contrasted with lived experiences. Chalk's comment that, through Longus' depiction of the countryside, "a tension is set up between real and ideal, which gives rise to a legitimate irony," is characteristic of many scholars' conception of bucolic elements within *Daphnis and Chloe*.[81] This is to say that scholars consistently label Longus' Theocritean allusions as a sentimental conflict between the real and the ideal.[82] Yet, considerations of Longus' bucolic material as recently as B. Effe and J.R. Morgan have failed to mention musical instruments entirely.[83]

After the 1980s, two separate trends emerged within the treatment of music in *Daphnis and Chloe*. The first considered rhythmic patterns and *clausulae* in Longus' prose.[84] These researches have been inconclusive regarding the role of music as a whole within the narrative; yet, they have shown that Longus presents rhetorically dense and rhythmical passages in lieu of lyrics and songs.[85] The other trend has examined actual musical sounds and performances that are described in the narrative. With two exceptions, namely K. Schlapbach and P. LeVen, these scholars emphasize the narratological, rather than musical, elements of *Daphnis and Chloe*.[86] Beginning with J. Maritz and T. Amado, general surveys of music within *Daphnis and Chloe* were published, associating music solely with the expression of order within the world of nature and the closely related world of herdsmen.[87] This early consideration of music recognized that

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[79] Chalk (1960): 32-51.
[80] cf. Cresci (1981): 1-25.
[81] Chalk (1960): 39.
[82] Thus Anderson (1982): 44-5 considers inconvenient events in Longus' countryside to be "*antibucolica*." cf. Mittelstadt (1966): 162-77; Pandiri (1985): 116-41; Billault (1996): 506-26; Saïd (1999): 83-108; Cusset (2005): 163-78; Kossaifi (2011): 71-90.
[83] Effe (1982): 65-84; Morgan (1994), esp. 64-5. Philippides (1978) is an early treatment of Longus as an innovator in the novelistic tradition, and who likewise altered the bucolic tradition of Theocritus for his own narrative purposes.
[84] Hunter (1983) esp. 84-93; Bernardi (1992):27-32; Biraud (2012): 447-60. Early remarks on Longus' prose include Chalk (1960); McCulloh (1970); and Mittelstadt (1971).
[85] Especially in significant passages; e.g. the *ekphrasis* of the first spring (1.9.1), the speech competition between Daphnis and Dorkon (1.16); and Lamon's myth of syrinx (2.34), which Philetas remarks is sweeter than song (ᾠδῆς γλυκύτερον, 2.35.1).
[86] Schlapbach (2015): 79-99; Schlapbach (2018): esp. 201-23; LeVen (2018a): 14-25.
[87] Maritz (1991): 57-67; Amado (1998): 287-92.

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the prose form of *Daphnis and Chloe* allows music to contribute to the development of the story and its characters.[88]

Only after 2000 have scholars of the bucolic poetry of Theocritus and Vergil paid closer attention to the *musical* inheritance of the *Idylls* in *Daphnis and Chloe*. In this period, some scholars, especially T.K. Hubbard and M. Di Marco, have also recognized references by Longus to Vergil in addition to references to Theocritus.[89] On the one hand, these recent arguments situate *Daphnis and Chloe* within a complex dialogue with its Hellenistic and Augustan poetic predecessors, and have recognized Longus' innovations in bucolic music.[90] E. Bowie has also drawn attention to the use of sounds within the Greek novels, although these examinations of both bucolic poetry and music in Greek fiction are still impressionistic concerning musical performance itself.[91] The most recent scholarship has taken social structures into consideration, viewing Daphnis as developing his musical skills while Chloe grows less musically significant as the novel progresses.[92] In this line of analysis, the three etiological myths have garnered the primary focus in establishing the correct musical role each gender performs in rural and aristocratic society.[93]

While this most recent scholarship has brought discrete musical performances into focus, and has considered the possibility that music signals emotional and social order and disorder in the narrative, it still suffers from the assumption that music in *Daphnis and Chloe* is solely bucolic in form. The modern understanding of bucolic music in *Daphnis and Chloe* is mainly linked to the ideas presented in *Ids*. 1, 3-9, 11, 20, and 27. Theocritus does, however, include musical performances that are not by herdsmen, or which mix urban and rural elements.[94] Just as the Theocritean corpus, along with Vergil's *Eclogues*, include descriptions of non-herdsmen and non-herding music, so too Longus includes a range of instruments and performances. Modern scholars have ignored these other forms of music because they have associated *Daphnis and*

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[88] Amado (1998): 292.
[89] Hubbard (2006a): 101-06; Hubbard (2006b): 499-514; Di Marco (2006a): 479-98. cf. Paschalis (2005): 50-67.
[90] cf. also Hubbard (1998) for the reworking of earlier bucolic poetry by later poets.
[91] Bowie (2006): 69-76.
[92] Montiglio (2012): 133-56.
[93] Kossaifi (2012): 573-600; Schlapbach (2015); Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 696-708.
[94] Pretagostini (2007): 41-60; Pretagostini (2009): 14-29. E.g. the goatherd's invitation of a *komos* in *Id*. 3, the *Adonia* festival of *Id*. 15.

Chloe's music solely with that of herdsmen. Thus, they only consider music produced by nature or on herdsmen's instruments as subjects of analysis.

Here, scholars have fallen into the trap wherein certain Classical Greek cultural distinctions between different instruments and melodies and their respective performers and contexts of performance are more stringent than are actually present in Longus and Alciphron. The clearest representation of the divide between urban and rural music is the dismissive remark by Plato's Socrates concerning the admittance of instruments into the ideal city (*Rep*. 399D):

> λύρα δή σοι, ἦν δ᾽ἐγώ, καὶ κιθάρα λείπεται καὶ κατὰ πόλιν χρήσιμα. καὶ αὖ κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς
> τοῖς νομεῦσι σύριγξ ἄν τις εἴη.

> I said: "then the *lyra* and the *kithara* remain for you as also useful in the city; and surely
> the herdsmen in their fields would have the syrinx."

Scholars have taken this dichotomy, presented by an elite Athenian at the tail end of the Classical period, to stand for the distinction in Greek literature throughout antiquity.[95] By this reading of *Daphnis and Chloe* as including strictly herdsmen's music, only music that is sung or played on the syrinx qualifies as music within the narrative. This stance, and the interpretative problems which ensue are clearest in Maritz' declaration of the limit of her survey:

> The salpinx is used specifically as a call to war (2.26) and the lyre also occurs (3.23) but
> the usual instrument is the syrinx, with the human voice in second place, and it is on these
> two that this paper concentrates.[96]

While this limitation of her subject matter is legitimate for emphasis on the role of music in the natural sphere, her dismissal of music which is neither performed on the syrinx nor by the voice distorts several of the conclusions she makes, perhaps most egregiously:

> Pipes are not mentioned in connection with the town, nor the feasts held in town. They
> are very much a countryman's instrument, a sign of social class, and not to be expected in
> an urban setting where the lyre for example would be more appropriate. Yet nothing
> takes their place, not even singing.[97]

This conclusion ignores the actual music performed and enjoyed by characters who are neither herdsmen nor agricultural laborers within the narrative. The most obvious performance of such music is by the Mytilenean fishermen who sing sea shanties (3.21), while the expenditures of

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[95] cf. Barker (2010): 106.
[96] Maritz (1991): 59.
[97] Maritz (1991): 64.

Megakles, Chloe's natural father, for the χορηγία in Mytilene constitutes a direct reference to urban performances. Yet other examples, such as the Methymnaean navy's recognition of Pan's music (2.26, 29), the courtesan Lykainion's gift of a syrinx to Daphnis (3.15), and the parasite Gnathon's lust for Daphnis' syrinx-playing (4.11), all demonstrate the range of musical interactions which are ignored by scholars within *Daphnis and Chloe*.

Unfortunately, scholars after Maritz have taken it as a given that urban characters do not perform music. As a result, studies as recently as Montiglio have declared:

> City dwellers, in contrast [to herdsmen], are not musical. They discover the syrinx when they journey to the country, and even then only as audiences; they never make music, any kind of music, themselves.[98]

While Montiglio is charitable enough to reference the Mytilenean elite's role as audience for Daphnis' concert during Dionysophanes' rural retreat (4.15), she nevertheless avoids these other forms of music. And of course, Daphnis and Chloe are themselves only herdsmen through adoption; they are children of the elite. It is for these combined reasons that no published scholarship has focused on the function of music in those parts of *Daphnis and Chloe* that include characters who are not herdsmen.

5.   Scope and Methodology

The preceding should clarify the two-fold purpose of this thesis. First, I aim to examine the entirety of non-elite music as it is presented in *Daphnis and Chloe*. For this purpose, I use Alciphron's *Epistulae* as the primary, although not the exclusive, control text to read Longus' musical performances against. I argue throughout that the less explicit musical performances in the narrative can only be understood within a broader literary context. In doing so, I hope to correct the prior assumptions about music in *Daphnis and Chloe*, namely that only rural characters perform music, and thus only rural music is performed in the novel. Second, and this follows from the first, this thesis will show that Longus pairs his musical descriptions with the introduction of various characters into the narrative, who are not herdsmen like Daphnis and Chloe are. These descriptions of musical performances, and the protagonists' reactions to them,

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[98] Montiglio (2012): 134.

reveal the progression of Daphnis' and Chloe's musical knowledge. This thesis argues that Longus' use of music shows Daphnis' musical education and sexual maturation over the course of the novel, which serves as a proxy for his acculturation into Longus' fictional elite society.

The thesis is arranged so that different social positions are discussed in each chapter. Each chapter progresses thematically, analyzing the music in Alciphron's *Epistulae* as a basis for examining the relevant episodes of Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe*. Throughout this thesis, I will emphasize this unique role which Daphnis and Chloe perform musically in contrast with the remaining characters in *Daphnis and Chloe* as the narrative progresses. As Daphnis' and Chloe's relationship develops, their familiarity with music matures and adopts more features of urban music. This development is most evident in Daphnis' professionalism and Chloe's silence by the novel's completion.

Since *Daphnis and Chloe* is a continuous narrative that depicts character development, the ordering of the chapter subjects follows the gradual acculturation of Daphnis and Chloe from rural herdsmen to aristocrats. The thesis itself is thus divided into two parts: chapters 1-3 primarily examine rural music, while chapters 4-5 examine the interactions that urban figures have with rural music. The first chapter includes more material that is external to Longus and Alciphron than the other chapters; the first section discusses the uses and connotations of Greek instruments so as to orient the reader in the symbolic function that instruments play in *Daphnis and Chloe*. The main part of the chapter lays out the distribution and description of instruments within *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae*, since understanding how each author presents rural musical performance is crucial to the remaining chapters. The final section argues that Longus constructs an economic hierarchy of his herdsmen which correlates to the musical instruments that his goatherds, shepherds, and cowherds possess, and to the types of performances they produce in the novel.

Chapters 2 and 3 offers separate examinations of the music that is performed by herdsmen and farmers, respectively. The second chapter analyzes the presentation of herdsmen's music in these texts, based on the models of performances in bucolic poetry. I argue that Longus conflates certain bucolic motifs within the first book of *Daphnis and Chloe* that depict Daphnis' musical development from that of a goatherd to a performer simultaneously of cowherd's

(*boukolikos*) music and of bucolic (*boukolikos*) poetry. I show how Longus accomplishes this not only by playing with the name of the genre of bucolic poetry, but also by utilizing the mythological cowherd "Daphnis," the prototypical performer of music in bucolic poetry, as a model for his own goatherd, Daphnis. The third chapter considers rural music from the perspective of farmers and other agricultural laborers and what elements constitute this agricultural music. In this chapter, I argue that Longus and Alciphron depict rural celebrations as socially and sexually mature performances. Over the course of the second book, Daphnis and Chloe are introduced to this more complex and mature music, so that by the end of the celebrations to Pan, Daphnis inherits the syrinx of Philetas, and produces erotically mature music of his own.

The fourth and fifth chapters comprise the second part of the thesis. In these, the topics depend on the location of performance and not exclusively on the social identity of the performers themselves. Chapter four examines music produced by and on the sea, and consists of two paired examples from Alciphron and Longus. In this chapter I argue that Alciphron's fishermen provide a negative example of the performance of music at sea, whereas Longus' Methymnaeans' interactions with music, and his Mytilenean fishermen's sea-shanties, show how the sea becomes a middle ground between the rural and urban spheres of Longus' society. That is, Longus' rationalizations of the echos of Pan's syrinx and of the fishermen's sea shanties cover for the first interactions of urban and rural characters in *Daphnis and Chloe*. At the same time, Daphnis' musical knowledge by the third book allows him to turn the fishermen's songs into tunes for his own syrinx. Chapter five examines the perception of music by urban subalterns, namely parasites and courtesans, as they interact with music in a rural setting. In this chapter, I show how Lykainion's instruction of Daphnis provides him with knowledge of urban music, especially of the music that defines courtesans' musical performances. I also argue that throughout the final book of *Daphnis and Chloe*, the reader is prepared for Daphnis' recognition as the natural son of Mytilenean aristocrats. This is done by repeated references to Apollo from the point of view of the elite narrator and several elite characters who idealize Daphnis' musical performances. In this way, I argue that Daphnis becomes a professional musician just before his acceptance into elite urban society.

Chapter 1: The Instruments

   This chapter examines the types of musical instruments that appear in *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae*. While the study of ancient music and instruments has been greatly improved over the preceding century through the comparison of archaeological finds with literary and visual depictions of music, these instruments are still relatively unfamiliar to the mainstream of Classical studies.[99] The first section of this chapter briefly describes the physical appearance and usual social and mythological associations of the instruments that appear within Longus' and Alciphron's texts, since the usual form and function of these instruments is crucial for contrasting how Longus marks his musical performances as variously rural and urban. An analysis of Alciphron's distribution of musical instruments follows the overview of the use of instruments in Greco-Roman society. I argue that Alciphron shows a normative distribution of musical instruments within his *Epistulae*. That is, although the letters are roughly evenly divided between rural and urban subjects, the music within the letters is normally performed by women, and mainly within the confines of Athens or Piraeus. The section on Longus also shows the distribution of instruments that rural and non-rural characters perform on and the types of performances they produce. It also discusses in detail the syrinx, the one type of instrument in *Daphnis and Chloe* whose physical appearance the narrator describes. I argue that Longus and Alciphron construct a social hierarchy among his herdsmen, a hierarchy which their bucolic models had not made. Finally, I argue that Longus creates a hierarchy of syrinxes and of the types of performances that herdsmen produce, which corresponds to this hierarchy of cowherds, shepherds, and goatherds.

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[99] cf. West (1992): 1-12; Mathiesen (2000): 7-13.

1.1   Greek Music and Instruments: The Function of Music in Society

The definition of music in the Classical period is broad, and includes both physical instruments (ὄργανα) that produce sound, and natural sounds, including the human voice (φωνή). The discussion below focuses on physical instruments, although human songs and sounds produced in nature appear throughout *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae*.[100] Several divisions of instruments existed in antiquity; this chapter divides instruments along the familiar distinctions of percussion, stringed, and wind instruments.[101] As the analysis of instruments within the bucolic corpus and in Longus and Alciphron will show, only wind instruments are described in any detail. For this reason, the descriptions of percussion and stringed instruments offer only the details that are necessary for understanding their performance and use in society.

Although several different percussion instruments are known, only the κύμβαλα (*kymbala*) appear as a distinct term for percussion instruments in these texts.[102] *Kymbala* are roughly equivalent to the modern cymbals, but are smaller and have a higher pitch. They were paired metal disks played by hand. These instruments appear infrequently in the visual and literary record, but *kymbala* are mainly performed on by women, and their piercing sounds supplement the music of the *aulos* or stringed instruments.[103] Outside of entertainment, percussion instruments accompany ritual *orgia* for Kybele, Dionysus, or Isis, and are hence most commonly associated with foreign and female performances.[104]

Stringed instruments produce sound by striking taut strings over a soundbox. In the relevant texts, two classes of stringed instruments appear: the λύρα (lyre) and the ψαλτήριον

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[100] The songs of birds, insects, farm animals, and the sounds of moving wind and water are the most prominent of these; cf. Leitmeir (2017): 219-30 for the description of cicada and cricket music; Mynott (2018): 43-63 notes that the soundscapes of the ancient world were far richer than today and more familiar to the daily experience of both urban and rural Greeks and Romans.

[101] The modern categories of chordophones, aerophones, idiophones, and membranophones more accurately define instruments by the method of sound production, but this distinction is alien to ancient music theory. Athenaeus 636c records Phillis of Delos' division of musical instruments into wind, string, and percussion instruments.

[102] The other instruments include the τύμπανον (similar to a modern handheld drum), the ῥόπτρον (often compared with the modern tambourine); the σεῖστρον (*sistrum*) and the ῥόμβος (rattle-like devices used in the cults of Isis and Kybele, respectively); and the κρόταλα (paired hollow blocks that were clapped together). The κρέμβαλα appear to be synonymous with either κύμβαλα or κρόταλα. cf. West (1992): 122-28; Landels (1999): 81-5; Mathiesen (2000): 162-76. Certain other verbs indicate similar clapping noises, including πλαταγέω and κροταλίζω (hand clapping, derived from *krotala*).

[103] Mathiesen (2000): 171.

[104] West (1992): 125; Mathiesen (2000): 160-64, 172-3.

(harp).[105] The *lyra* itself may be subdivided into two types by shape of the instrument and by the professionalism of the performer. The *khelys* (χέλυς) lyre has a round soundbox that is covered with animal hide, and two arms that rise up from it. The arms are connected by a crossbar and the strings stretch from the bridge over the soundbox.[106] This lyre takes its name from the tortoise (χέλυς), whose shell often formed this soundbox.[107] Performing on the lyre and other stringed instruments was ordinarily done by plucking the strings with either a plectrum or the hands alone.[108] The *khelys* lyre was used in schools for musical education and for amateur amusement, on account of its relatively simple style.[109] The word *lyra* alone often refers to this *khelys* lyre.[110]

The other main type of lyre, the κιθάρα (*kithara*), had a box-shaped soundbox.[111] This variety differed physically from the *lyra* because the soundbox and frame of the *kithara* comprise a single unit, rather than the separate *khelys*-shell, arms, and animal hide of the *lyra*.[112] Because the *kithara* was carved from material to a specific shape and bore complex tuning mechanisms, this instrument was reserved for professionals.[113] The professionalism of the *kithara* was closely associated with the performative elite under the patronage of Apollo, and symbolized poetic inspiration.[114] The other class of stringed instruments, the ψαλτήρια (*psaltēria*), are roughly equivalent to modern harps in appearance.[115] Although several varieties developed after the

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[105] A variety of stringed instruments similar to the lute is also represented by terracotta figurines, and the terms πανδοῦρα (*pandoura*) and σκινδαψός (*skindapsos*) likely refer to it. West (1992): 79-80; Landels (1999): 77-78; Mathiesen (2000): 234-7.
[106] Landels (1999): 47-54; Mathiesen (2000): 238-43.
[107] Landels (1999): 61.
[108] Mathiesen (2000): 237, 247-8.
[109] West (1992): 25-6; Mathiesen (2000): 248.
[110] The βάρβιτος (*barbitos*) was a larger variety of round-based lyre that had a deeper range of notes, which often accompanies revels (κῶμοι) in the Classical period. Mathiesen (2000): 251-3.
[111] The *kithara* is the main type of box-shaped lyre that appears in these Imperial texts, although other varieties, such as the Italiote and the Thracian or Thamyran *kithara* are also known to have existed. cf. West (1992): 50-6; Landels (1999): 67.
[112] Mathiesen (2000): 258-69.
[113] The shapes varied for the *kithara*; some have round or flat bottoms, which appears to affect whether the instrument is played while standing or sitting. The instrument also had complex tuning devices (*kollopes*), and some have soundholes and other, less well-understood contraptions which do not appear in Alciphron or in Longus. cf. Landels (1999):52-4, 61; Mathiesen (2000): 242-7.
[114] cf. Bundrick (2005): 142-50; Calame (2009): 169-70.
[115] West (1992): 70-5; Mathiesen (2000): 270-72.

Classical period, the *psaltērion* is the common name used for instruments of this shape in Alciphron.[116]

Several varieties of wind instruments appear in bucolic poetry and in Longus and Alciphron. The most basic instrument was the αὐλός (*aulos*), or in Latin, the *tibia*. As the name in Greek indicates, the *aulos* is a hollow tube that produces sound when blown into.[117] The *aulos* consists of a hollow tube normally made from reeds.[118] The *aulos* has a cylindrical, rather than a conical bore, and has perforations (τρήματα) that function as finger holes to vary the note.[119] A double-reed is inserted into a mouthpiece at one end; the vibration of this reed forms the music, and the distance to the first uncovered finger hole controls the note.[120] Although the *aulos* is still often called a flute, this is incorrect. In form and performance, the *aulos* is similar to a clarinet (cylindrical bore) or an oboe (double-reed). The main difference from these modern instruments is that the ancient *aulos* was almost always played in pairs by the same performer, such that each hand controlled one *aulos*.[121]

The remaining wind instruments predominantly refer to herdsmen's instruments. The simplest of these instruments is the σῦριγξ (*syrinx*), often called the panpipe, and is the most prevalent herdsman's instrument.[122] The word syrinx (Latin, *fistula*) means "hollow" or "channel," and describes hollow reeds.[123] The simple whistling sound of the syrinx is also used for the whistling noise produced by the *syrinx*, a device that is added to the *aulos* to modify its sound.[124] While there is early evidence that *fistula*/*syrinx* may refer to a single reed, called the κάλαμος (Latin, *calamus*) or δόναξ, it most commonly means a set of reeds that are bonded

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[116] The ordinary term for the harp in the Classical period was the *pēktis*. Confusion with the wax-compacted, or wax-coated syrinx produced confusions between wind and stringed instruments in the Hellenistic period onwards; cf. West (1997): 47-55; Landels (1999): 70, 75. The τρίγωνον (*trigonon*) had a triangular shape, while the ἐπιγόνειον (*epigonion*), invented by Epigonos, had a large array of strings; cf. Mathiesen (2000): 272-80.

[117] cf. West (1992): 31-2; Landels (1999): 24. Athenaeus makes this association explicit when he writes: "For a breathed-through place is called an *aulē*, and we say 'to admit a draft through' for a place that receives air from either side. Further, the instrument is the *aulos*, because air passes through it" (ὁ γὰρ διαπνεόμενος τόπος αὐλὴ λέγεται, καὶ διαυλωνίζειν φαμὲν τὸ δεχόμενον ἐξ ἑκατέρου πνεῦμα χωρίον. ἔτι δὲ αὐλὸς μὲν τὸ ὄργανον, ὅτι διέρχεται τὸ πνεῦμα, Ath. 5.189b-c).

[118] cf. Mathiesen (2000): 183. Fragments of *auloi* made of various materials, such as wood, bone, and ivory also exist; cf. West (1992): 86, 97-101.

[119] West (1992): 83; Mathiesen (2000): 183.

[120] Landels (1999): 27-32; Mathiesen (2000): 193-208.

[121] Mathiesen (2000): 218-22.

[122] cf. Bundrick (2005): 42, for the limited iconography of the syrinx outside of depictions of herdsmen.

[123] West (1992): 109-10; Landels (1999): 69-71.

[124] West (1992): 102-3; Landels (1999): 38-40; Mathiesen (2000): 213-18; Hagel (2010): 489-518.

alongside each other with wax.[125] The performer produces a whistling sound by blowing across the tops of individual *kalamoi*.[126] Syrinxes are also described as τρητός (pierced), because the fibrous connections between reed segments must be pierced to allow the passage of air.[127] The number of reeds in a syrinx is not fixed, although the usual number ranges between seven and ten.[128] The pseudo-Theocritean *Idyll* 8, however, describes the syrinx as having nine voices (ἐννεάφωνον), indicating the presence of nine reeds, and Vergil's *Eclogue* 2 refers to a *fistula* with seven reeds.[129]

Syrinxes were typically built in a box-shape until sometime in the Hellenistic period, when the Roman slanted syrinx shape predominates literary and visual evidence. The Greek box-shaped syrinx consists of several reeds of equal length.[130] Unlike for an *aulos*, the notes are differentiated not by finger holes (τρήματα), but by stopping the ends of reeds with varying amounts of wax.[131] The Roman style of syrinx, however, uses unblocked reeds of different lengths to produce the different notes.[132] When the shift in Greek literature and society between the box and slanted syrinxes occurred is uncertain, but appears to have occurred late in the Hellenistic period. The *Syrinx*, a pseudo-Theocritean *technopaegnion* of uncertain date, notably forms a syrinx of ten unequal reeds.[133] In either case, the performance is the same, since the player passes his breath over the reeds.

Certain other instruments appear in bucolic poetry that become associated with herdsmen.

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[125] cf. Diod. Sic. *Bib*. 3.58 for the invention of the πολυκάλαμος σῦριγξ, which implies that its mythic origin was as a single reed; cf. West (1992): 110-11 for the use of the plural in the Classical period; Mathiesen (2000): 214.

[126] West (1992): 112; Landels (1999): 69

[127] Th. *Ep*. 2 Gow = *AP* 6.177 thus refers to the syrinx as "those pierced *donakes*" (τοὺς τρητοὺς δόνακας, 2.3).

[128] cf. Mathiesen (2000): 22-3. Since each *kalamos* plays one note, most syrinxes include enough reeds to play notes across an octave. cf. Ach. Tat., *LC*. 8.6.4-5.

[129] [Th.] *Id*. 8.17-24, assumed by modern scholars to be a later Hellenistic insertion into the Theocritean canon; Verg. *Ecl*. 2.36-7: "a syrinx compacted with seven unequal reeds" (*disparibus septem compacta cicutis / fistula*); cf. Ov. *Met*. 2. 682 and Calp. Sic. 4.45 for the continued use of seven in Latin poetry. cf. West (1992): 111. Barker (2010): 109-11 observes that in [Th.] *Id*. 8, the point of the description of the instrument and the repetition of the term ἐννεάφωνον twice in four lines recalls the enumeration of Apolline instruments, such as the *khordai* of a *kithara*.

[130] West (1992): 111.

[131] Mathiesen (2000): 225. cf. [Arist.] *Prob*. 19.23: "In the *auloi*, the octave [lit. "that through the whole"] is obtained by a double distance…further, those who harmonize syrinxes stuff wax into the end of the last pipe, but fill the first pipe up to the middle" (ἐν ταῖς αὐλοῖς τῷ διπλασίῳ διαστήματι λαμβάνεται τὸ διὰ πασῶν…ἔτι οἱ τὰς σύριγγας ἁρμοττόμενοι εἰς μὲν τὴν πάτην ἄκραν τὸν κηρὸν ἐμπλάττουσι, τὴν δὲ νήτην μέχρι τοῦ ἡμίσεος ἀναπληροῦσιν).

[132] West (1992): 111; Landels (1999): 176. cf. Verg. *Ecl*. 2.35. Brem (2008): 3-7 describes a syrinx discovered in the remains of Swiss Tasgetium made from boxwood with seven unequal reeds.

[133] cf. White (1998): 213-15 for text and interpretation.

A third type of instrument that is associated with herdsmen, after the syrinx and the *aulos*, is the πλαγίαυλος or πλάγιος αὐλος (transverse flute).[134] This instrument is most similar to the modern flute in appearance and performance. The player blows across the end of the tube like a syrinx, but uses finger holes like an *aulos*, and holds the instrument sideways like the modern flute.[135] This instrument does not appear in literature until the ps.-Theocritean *Idyll* 20.[136] In this imitation of Theocritus, a cowherd brags (20.28-9):

> ἁδὺ μοι τὸ μέλισμα, καὶ ἢν σύριγγι μελίσδω,
> κἢν αὐλῷ λαλέω, κἢν δώνακι, κἢν πλαγιαύλῳ.
>
> My playing is sweet, whether I play on the syrinx,
> or speak through the *aulos*, or on the *donax*, or on the *plagiaulos*.

This mixture of *aulos* and *donax* has been taken to indicate that the author of this text lists instruments familiar to him in Alexandria.[137] Through 200 CE, the *plagiaulos* is called an explicitly Egyptian instrument.[138] Regarding less commonly performed instruments, the single reed is sometimes referred to as a μονοκάλαμος (single *kalamos*).[139] Specialized terms also exist for the δίαυλος (double *aulos*) and the μόναυλος (single *aulos*) to distinguish the rare performance on a single *aulos* from the usual paired instrument. This type of instrument was not native to Greece, however, and as late as c. 200 CE is perceived as unpleasant to hear and a distinctly Egyptian instrument.[140] While *monaulos* does appear infrequently in Greek drama, it is primarily an Egyptian instrument, and does not appear by this name in Greek bucolic or in Longus or Alciphron.[141] In Latin bucolic poetry, a variety of other wind instruments appear, all of which are types of reeds: *avena*, *calami*, *cicuta*, *hirundo*, *canna*, and *cannales*.[142]

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[134] Lucian once refers to it as the πλάγιος κάλαμος (*Bis acc.* 11).
[135] West (1992): 112-3; Landels (1999): 71-2.
[136] Landels (1999): 181.
[137] cf. Bettarini (2014): 39. Barker (2010): 112-13 attributes this usage to the imitator's clumsiness and attempt to separate the urban and rural instruments.
[138] Ath. 4.175e-f, where the *plagiaulos* is equated with the Egyptian *photinx*. The *plagiaulos* is wholly represented in the literary and mosaic tradition with herdsmen and bucolic settings; cf. Psaroudakes (2010): 521-3, 536.
[139] Ath. 4.176c, ὁ μόναυλος ἦν ὁ νῦν καλούμενος καλαμαύλης.
[140] In Athenaeus, Ulpian, in response to the sound of a *hydraulis* (water organ), says to the Egyptian musician Alkeides: "This is not like the *monaulos*, which is common among you Alexandrians, and which offers to its audience more pain than any musical pleasure" (καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὁ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολὺς ὁ μόναυλος ἀλγηδόνα μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀκούουσι παρέχων ἤ τινα τέρψιν μουσικήν, 4.174b).
[141] cf. Ath. 4.175e-176e.
[142] cf. Smith (1970): 498-501, 507-10; Karakasis (2011): 26-50. For Calpurnius Siculus' use of *cannales* as a metapoetic reimagination of the *canna*, cf. Scarborough (2017): 435-54.

The final class of instrument is the modern category of brass instruments. The main instrument of this type in Greek literature was the σάλπιγξ (*salpinx*).[143] This instrument was similar to a straight trumpet, although lacking keys. In the Classical period, the *salpinx* was almost exclusively used to signal military maneuvers.[144] Roman culture used brass instruments of various shapes in musical productions and concerts, and by the Imperial period, the straight tuba and the curved βυκάνη (*bucina*) were used as instruments.[145] Similar objects could also be used as sounding devices, such as an ox horn (κέρας) or the conch shell (κόχλος), although each object was more suited to sounding signals than musical scores.[146] The *salpinx* itself was most frequently made of metal shaped into a straight, cylindrical tube, often with a flare at the end. Visual and literary evidence is unclear as to whether there was often a mouthpiece or the lips were usually pressed against the tube.[147] Although the *salpinx* did not have keys like the modern trumpet, some variation in sound could be formed by changing the position and vibration of the lips or force of the air that was blown into it, in the manner of the modern bugle.[148]

The preceding constitute the types of instruments which appear in Longus and Alciphron, and a few which also appear in bucolic poets. In addition to different sounds, these instruments are performed in different social contexts. While distinct categories of musical performance are not absolute, the existence of normative categories, from an elite viewpoint, are made clear in the literary record by Plato's and Aristotle's writings.[149] As already mentioned, ancient music theorists and moralists favored stringed instruments over wind and percussion instruments, based on their belief that the latter categories were more appealing to less elite members of society and less institutionalized festivals and religious celebrations.[150] At its extreme, the distinction

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[143] Landels (1999): 78-81; Mathiesen (2000): 230-34.
[144] West (1992): 118-21 for other uses in Greek society, including in cultic worship. cf. Ael. *VH*. 8.7. In a specifically Roman context, swineherds are known to use the *salpinx* or *bucina* in rugged terrain (Polybius *Hist*. 12.2.4.11-13; Varro *Rust*. 2.4.20); cf. Cross (2017): 149-51.
[145] Landels (1999): 177-81; Mathiesen (2000): 234.
[146] cf. Mathiesen (2000): 230; Th. *Id*. 22.75 for the κόχλος.
[147] Landels (1999): 179-80.
[148] Mathiesen (2000): 232.
[149] Plato and Aristotle provide the best evidence for a construction of distinctions in proper venue, content, instrument, performer, and genre for the Classical period. These distinctions are not absolute, but are normative in Greek literature; cf. Rotstein (2012) esp. 114-5 for genre in musical *agōnes*. By the Hellenistic period, the genres and venues of performance were largely formalized.
[150] cf. Anderson (1966): 64-68, 132-41.

mirrors that between Apollo, on the *kithara*, and Dionysus, on the *aulos*.[151] In the case of percussion instruments such as the *kymbala*, their associations with women, foreigners, and mystery cults explain elite criticism.[152]

Ancient moralists criticized wind instruments partly on the grounds of the difference in the method of performance on reeds from playing on stringed instruments. Since musicians made sounds on the *lyra*, *kithara*, or *psalterion* by plucking strings with their hands or the plectrum, they were free to lend their voices to the music, such that they sang to the accompaniment of the strings. The terms *lyrode* (λυρῳδός) and *kitharode* (κιθαρῳδός) indicate this combination of song and strings, although playing the strings alone (ψιλοκιθαριστική) was not unknown.[153] Players of the *aulos* or syrinx, however, could not sing while playing, and thus these instruments robbed the performer of their vocal ability. While this early criticism is directed against popular musical innovations from c. 430 BCE into the Hellenistic period, these same critiques of wind instruments in favor of stringed instruments continued into the Imperial period.[154]

Another reason for the elite disdain towards wind instruments was that they were popular, especially among the non-elite. As mentioned above, the *kithara* was a professional instrument that required extensive training for the proper use of tuning strings and learning the three musical scales, chromatic, diatonic, and enharmonic. Even the ordinary *lyra*, however, required musical instruction, and this instruction in stringed instruments formed one aspect of ancient education, even once the basis of education expanded to a broader section of Greek and Roman society.[155] Wind instruments, however, were seen as basic instruments which any person could learn to play unregulated by formal instruction. Athenaeus records Aristotle's student, the music theorist Aristoxenus, admitting as much (Ath. 4.174e):

ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστόξενος προκρίνει τὰ ἐντατὰ καὶ καθαπτὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἐμπνευστῶν,

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[151] cf. Landels (1999): 26; Calame (2008): 169-70. Haldane (1966) stresses the distinction between Apollo and Dionysus and their respective instruments perhaps too far, but the basic dichotomy remains valid; cf. Bundrick (2005): 107-10, 142-48..

[152] cf. Liveri (2018): 44-5 for how *kymbala* appear not only in worship of Cybele, but also in more general descriptions of female worship and performance.

[153] Mathiesen (2000): 271.

[154] The division between the *aulos* and the *kithara* continues through the Hellenistic and into the Late Antiquity; cf. Barker (2014) for the moral condemnation of the *aulos* in Plutarch; Moro Tornese (2014) for the division in Neo-Platonic allegory.

[155] cf. West (1992): 36-8; Mathiesen (2000): 257.

ῥᾴδια εἶναι φάσκων τὰ ἐμπνευστά, πολλοὺς γὰρ μὴ διδαχθέντας αὐλῶν τε καὶ συρίζειν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ποιμένας.

Aristoxenus, meanwhile, prefers the stringed and percussion instruments over the wind instruments, saying that the wind instruments are easy, since many people play the *aulos* or syrinx untaught, just like the herdsmen do.

The elite argument assumes that since wind instruments require little other than hollow tubes, or equipped with double-reeds and finger holes in the case of the *aulos*, more people had access to the basic forms of the these instruments, even though the *aulos* was taught as part of musical instruction.[156] Professional *auletes* and *auloi* also existed, and from the late Classical period onwards, modifications to the *aulos* appear, such as rotating cuffs for finger holes which could alter the key of the *aulos* even during performance.[157] These innovations provided wind instruments with a greater range of sounds than stringed instruments, and this tonal variety contributed to the popularity of the *aulos*. A third aspect of playing the *aulos* is the sexual connotation produced from blowing into the tube, since it resembled the act of fellatio.[158] Many female prostitutes doubled as musicians, especially of the *aulos*, to the extent that "*auletris*" is sometimes synonymous with "*hetaira*."[159]

These popular aspects of wind and percussion instruments ensured that elite authors instituted a dichotomy wherein the *lyra* and *kithara* were native Greek instruments, congruent with elite males and urban performances; all other instruments belonged to rural populations or were foreign imports. This view is reflected in the mythological origins of the various instruments.[160] While many and contrasting stories abound for the inventors of each instrument, this fragment of the bucolic poet Bion summarizes the main allocation (Stob. 4.20.26 = Gow X):

ὡς εὗρεν πλαγίαυλον ὁ Πάν, ὡς αὐλὸν Ἀθάνα,
ὡς χέλυν Ἑρμάων, κίθαριν ὡς ἁδὺς Ἀπόλλων.

How Pan discovered the *plagiaulos*; how Athena, the *aulos*,
how Hermes, the *khelys* lyre; how sweet Apollo, the *kithara*.

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[156] cf. West (1992): 37-8.
[157] cf. Mathiesen (2000): 190-218.
[158] cf. Moretti (2012): 673-6; Bernston and Liljenstolpe (2018): 51.
[159] Goldman (2015): 29-60 for how *auletris* does not always mean *hetaira*, though some scholars take the terms to be synonymous; cf. Davidson (1997).
[160] cf. Landels (1999): 148-62.

Substituting the syrinx for the *plagiaulos*, these lines indicate that wind instruments are associated with female and bestial divinities. The music of rustic deities in fact often include the *aulos*, especially when Satyrs are described.[161] Athena is said to have rejected the *aulos* after she discovered it, since blowing into the reed, and thereby puffing up her cheeks, disfigured her appearance.[162] This story likely conceals a sexual innuendo, and the further tale that Marsyas, in Phrygia, played the rejected *aulos*, informs both the morally unsettling and foreign aspects of the *aulos*.[163] Marsyas' subsequent musical competition with, and loss to, Apollo, further emphasizes the superiority of the *kithara* to the *aulos*.[164] Of course, these distinctions are social constructions; the *aulos* and *syrinx* derive their names from Greek words. Moreover, the *aulos* accompanied urban sacrifices and dramatic productions, and the syrinx appears in wedding celebrations.[165] The constructions of such dichotomies were, however, useful and often applicable, such that the music performed in Delos switched from the lyre to the *aulos* when Dionysus annually replaced Apollo.[166]

While this summary is not intended to be exhaustive, it is meant to tease out the main cultural connotations of these instruments to compare and explain their appearances in Longus and Alciphron. The *lyra* and *psalterion* are urban instruments that are performed by hired musicians, and the *kithara* is reserved for professional musicians. The *krotala* are performed by women, and accompany other instruments when not used during ritual celebrations. The *aulos* is both an urban and rural instrument, and is played by men and women. The syrinx, *plagiaulos*, and instruments made from reed stalks are rural instruments, and are mainly associated with herdsmen.

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[161] Bernston and Liljenstolpe (2018): 51.
[162] cf. Landels (1999): 154-7.
[163] For the perceived obscenity of performance on the *aulos* in the Imperial period, cf. Moretti (2012): 673-6. For the continuation of this theme of rejecting the *aulos* by actual poets, cf. Wylucha (2019): 105-27.
[164] cf. Bundrick (2005): 131-40; Rocconi (2008): 112-13; Moro Tornese (2016): 307-24.
[165] Regardless of the elite criticism, the *aulos* was nearly omnipresent in society; cf. Bellia (2018): 90-91.
[166] cf. Angliker (2018): 26-32 for situations in which Apollo is treated with music on the *aulos*.

1.2   Musical Instruments in Alciphron's *Epistulae*

From this discussion of the different social roles and functions of music in antiquity, this section briefly lays out the distribution of musical instruments in Alciphron's *Epistulae*, before passing on to a detailed analysis of the musical instruments in *Daphnis and Chloe*. Alciphron describes no instrument in detail in his letters. Yet, the distribution of the instruments and their performers who do appear among the letters reveals some important divisions in the performance of music in Alciphron's fictional society. While these appearances of instruments are relatively few and thus provide a small basis for sampling, Alciphron's depictions of entertainment show that his performers are predominantly female and perform either as part of the entertainment at *symposia* and festivals, or in the course of their occupation as *hetairai*. Music and performances within a strictly rural setting, though few, are mainly performed by men. The distinctions among Alciphron's musical performers by gender and by instrument inform an analysis of Longus' distribution of instruments. The subsequent chapters analyze the full context of performance for the examples which occur among countrymen or within the country.

The simplest wind instrument that appears among the letters is the syrinx, and it is mentioned on three different occasions among the *Epistulae*. The parasite Limenteros recalls a dream he had, in which he had been briefly transformed into the shepherd, Ganymede, and was holding a syrinx (3.23.2). In 3.5, the parasite Oinopniktes advises his comrade Kotylobrokhthisos to bring a syrinx and *kymbala* and meet him at a courtesan's house to kidnap her. While these two references to the syrinx are made by parasites, only once does a herdsman use the syrinx. In 2.9, the goatherd, Pratinas, recalls the moment when his herd of goats was transfixed by his performance on the syrinx.[167] From this placement of these syrinxes among the extant letters, it is apparent that the syrinx is used in both an urban and a rural setting, although in 2.9 and 3.23 it conveys specifically bucolic overtones. Moreover, in each of these instances, men are the performers or bearers of the syrinx.

The *aulos* likewise appears in several different contexts, but always in the hands of a female performer, an *auletris*. In letter 2.14, the farmer Khairestratos accuses the *hetaira* Lerion of wasting his time by putting him to sleep through her *auloi* (τοῖς αὐλοῖς κατακοιμήσασα,

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[167] cf. Schoess (2019): 95 for Alciphron's use of Ganymede. cf. Drago (2019): 212 for Pratinas' syrinx performance.

2.14.1), since he was charmed by the *aulos* through the night (πάννυχος καταυλούμενος, 2.14.2).[168] Two other references to the *aulos* come through the correspondence of the courtesans themselves. Lamia enumerates to Demetrias Poliorketes her duties as his courtesan in 4.16. While she also sings and dances for him (τὰ δὲ ᾄδειν…τὰ δὲ ὀρχεῖσθαι, 4.16.6), the only instrumental performance that she mentions is the *aulos* (καταυλεῖς, 4.16.2; τοῖς αὐλοῖς, 4.16.3; τὰ δὲ αὐλεῖν, 4.16.6). These letters describe performance on the *aulos* alone, with no explicit lyrical songs accompanying the performers. In 4.13, however, the anonymous courtesan describes a pleasurable outing by a group of fellow courtesans and their lovers. After a symposium in the countryside, Kroumatium plays the *aulos* (καταυλοῦσα), while Simmikhe sings erotic songs to the music (ἐρωτικὰ μέλη πρὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ᾖδεν, 4.13.11). Among the *Epistulae*, the *aulos* played without another instrument may be accompanied by other performative arts, but is primarily associated with amatory encounters.

The *aulos* is also played in combination with other instruments as entertainment for parties. In 3.29, the parasite Pexankonos praises an Istrian merchant for hosting lavish parties, since this merchant was a connoisseur of performance on the *psalterion* and *aulos* (καὶ ψαλλόμενος καὶ καταυλούμενος ἥδεται, 3.29.2). The *aulos* is combined with the *psalterion* again in the farmer Philopoimen's complaint about a thievish slave in 2.21. This worker wastes Philopoimen's property at urban symposia where he is entertained by music on these two instruments (ψάλλεται καὶ καταυλεῖται, 3.21.2). In 1.15, the fisherman Nausibios describes the entertainment that the young aristocrat Pamphilos brings aboard his ship. While Nausibios also describes an urban party, Pamphilos outdoes the rest by including an *auletris* (αὐλητρίς), a woman who played the *psalter* (ψαλτήριον μετεχειρίζετο), and a *hetaira* who clashed the *kymbala* (κύμβαλα ἐπεκρότει, 1.15.4). These examples show that the combined performance of instruments only occurs in lavish settings in Athens or outside the city by wealthy patrons.

Alciphron also includes performers of stringed instruments alone. In 4.11, Menekleides laments the deceased Bacchis, who used to sing (μινυρίσματα) and play the *lyra* with her fingers for him (ἡ τοῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις δακτύλοις κρουομένη λύρα, 4.11.8).[169] All other references to

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[168] cf. Drago (2018): 213 for this musical activities in this letter instead as a sketch of "erotic games."
[169] cf. Gallé-Cejudo (2018): 166-8 for the encomiastic quality of these remarks on Bacchis.

instruments identify the performer of these instruments. In 1.21, the fisherman Euploos speaks of a rumor that his friend is enamored with a female singer to the lyre (λυρῳδοῦ γυναικός, 1.21.1), but one who is also identified with *psaltriai* (τῆς ψαλτρίας, 1.21.3). Another *psaltria* is mentioned in passing by a parasite in 3.9, but a *psaltria* (τὴν ψαλτρίαν) and a male *kitharode* (ὁ κιθαρῳδός) appear as sympotic entertainment along with a female singer (τὴν μουσουργόν) in 3.19, a parasite's description of an aristocratic birthday celebration. Finally, 2.31 contains the farmwife Anthylla's complaint to her husband that he is enamored with an exceptionally rare female *kitharode* (κιθαρῳδοῦ γυναικός, 2.31.1).[170] Since stringed instruments allow for both singing and playing at once, Alciphron's use of performative details are especially revealing for these urban performers. The *psalterion* is exclusively used by women in these letters, and women who sing on the *lyra* or *kithara* are labeled as women. The male *kitharode* is also the only other named male performer on an instrument, aside from handlers of the syrinx.

Alciphron's correspondents mention other sounds which imitate the noises made by instruments based on their etymological roots, and all occur in the context of an audience's response. The verb συρίττειν (whistle) is used by the parasite Philaporos to refer to the jeering calls of the city youths at his performances as part of the comic poet Lexiphanes' chorus (3.35.3). This same letter also uses τὸ κρότος, on the analogy of *krotala*, to refer to clapping. The other references to clapping and applause constitute percussion sounds. In 4.14, the courtesan Megara relates to Bacchis how an audience of fellow courtesans applauded (ἀνακροτῆσαι, 4.14.6) at Thryallis' erotic dance. In Glycera's response to her lover, Menander, she recounts how she provided the costumes for his comedies and waited until the theater would applaud at the performances (ἕως ἂν κροταλίσῃ τὸ θέατρον, 4.19.5). A final, humorous reference to instrumental performance occurs in the parasite Gymnokhairon's description of an unfortunate trip to the barber (3.30). On this occasion, the parasite refers to the barber as "striking up his shears to a rhythmic cymbal performance (τὸν ταῖς μαχαιρίσι κυμβαλισμὸν εὔρυθμον ἀνακρούοντα, 3.30.1). Since ἀνακρούω may mean the start of a musical phrase, the comparison of the shears to a harmonious performance on the cymbals increases the humor of the passage.[171]

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[170] cf. Power (2010): 57-71, esp. 65-6. Actual female *kitharodes* are scant in the historical record, and the most famous of them, the *auletris* Glauke, was only named a *kitharode* in imperial literature.
[171] cf. Th. *Id*. 4.31.

Each of these uses of words modeled on the terms for musical instruments are mentioned solely by courtesans and parasites, and on each occasion, have an explicitly urban context.

This brief summary of instruments that are mentioned in the *Epistulae* makes it clear that Alciphron only uses a select few instruments, the syrinx, *aulos*, *psalterion*, *lyra*, *krotala*. There are only two references to the *kithara*. The performers of these instruments are primarily women, and only the higher class courtesans are praised for their music; the music of the cheaper *hetairai* that Alciphron's fishermen, farmers, and slaves interact with forms the basis of criticism in these letters. Another feature of this organization of instruments is that no fisherman or farmer plays an instrument, and the only countryman who does so is the herdsman in 2.9. Most important for an understanding of the use of music and instruments in *Daphnis and Chloe* are the ready access of farmers to music on the *aulos* and to courtesans who play stringed instruments, and the equal distribution of the syrinx among herdsman and by urban parasites. This is to say that Alciphron's rural performers reflect the expected variety of instruments that would be available to rural communities in Greco-Roman society and the access of urban inhabitants to purportedly rustic instruments, such as the syrinx. These dichotomies of performance based on gender and social position characterize the function of the music and instruments which do appear in the letters that the remaining chapters examine.

1.3   Musical Instruments in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*

Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* offers a more strict distribution of instruments among his characters than Alciphron's *Epistulae* provides. In *Daphnis and Chloe,* the syrinx is the sole instrument on which herdsmen perform within the narrative and the letters. With the exception of the courtesan, Lykainion, only herdsmen and farmers explicitly wield musical instruments, although other characters in the narrative sing and appreciate music performed on instruments. Longus' attention to detail in his depiction of instruments and their performances shows some variation not only in the construction of these pastoral instruments, but also in the types of melodies that are performed on them. Although some scholars have noted the basic differences between the syrinxes in *Daphnis and Chloe,* there has been no examination of how these

differences in turn map onto the social fabric of Longus' herding society.[172] Longus is not

unique among Imperial Greek authors in distinguishing between different herdsmen by their

flock animals. This section, however, argues that Longus creates a well-defined hierarchy of

herdsmen that was not present in his Hellenistic models of bucolic poetry. This section also

shows that Longus creates a hierarchy of pastoral music and instruments in *Daphnis and Chloe*,

and arranges these different tunes and devices according to the distinctions between different

herdsmen's flocks. The first subsection examines the social hierarchy that exists among the

herdsmen in *Daphnis and Chloe* and the *Epistulae*, and the second subsection analyzes the

different instruments that appear in the narrative.

1.3.1   Hierarchies of Herdsmen

The roots of Longus' hierarchy of his herdsmen derive from Imperial interpretations of

herdsmen's society in Theocritean and Vergilian bucolic poetry. Longus and Alciphron,

however, create an explicit hierarchy among their herdsmen that is based on the economic

realities of different herd animals' needs and upkeep. Theocritus and Vergil do explicitly

distinguish between individual types of herdsmen on the basis of the animals each one herds,

whether cowherds (*boukoloi*), shepherds (*poimenes*), or goatherds (*aipoloi*).[173] Recent studies

have attempted to discern whether this bucolic poetry contains an explicit social hierarchy

among these herdsmen, but all have been inconclusive.[174] Rather, implicit social gradations may

have existed in this poetry, on the basis of comments within bucolic texts which characterize

goatherds as smelly and unpleasant.[175] One direct criticism in the first *Idyll* depicts the mythical

cowherd Dorkon derided by Priapus for acting like a goat (1.85-88):

> ἆ δύσερώς τις ἄγαν καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐσσί.
> βούτας μὲν ἐλέγευ, νῦν δ᾽ αἰπόλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.

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[172] cf. Maritz (1992); Morgan (2004).

[173] S. Hodkinson (1988), esp. 61 for the prevalence of mixed herds within pastoral society.

[174] Chief among these studies are Schmidt (1969): 184-200; and Berman (2005): 228-45. O.D. Hodkinson (2012): 41-53 examines Imperial prose pastoral depictions of pastoral society, chiefly in Alciphron's *Epistulae* and to a lesser degree in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*.

[175] Within Theocritus' *Idylls*, there are references to goats' smell at 5.52 and 7.16. cf. Berman (2005): 230. These differences should not be pressed too far in early pastoral poetry, for in *Idyll* 7, Theocritus depicts Lycidas, the apparent mouthpiece of the bucolic ideal, as a goatherd; cf. Di Marco (2006): 485-6. The more important point is that later readers of these Hellenistic texts seized on these patterns in the *Idylls* and *Eclogues* and perceived an actual difference in early representatives of the genre.

> ᾠπόλος, ὅκκ᾽ ἐσορῇ τὰς μηκάδας οἷα βατεῦνται,
> τάκεται ὀφθαλμὼς ὅτι οὐ τράγος αὐτὸς ἔγεντο.

> Ah! You are some lovesick and helpless man.
> You used to be called a cowherd, but now you resemble a goatherd.
> The goatherd, when he sees the bleating goats being mounted,
> he melts at his eyes because he was not born a goat.

This evidence indicates that some social difference between goatherds and cowherds could well have existed in these poems, on the basis that goatherds are more similar to bestial creatures than cowherds are.[176] These distinctions between herdsmen in bucolic poetry, only exists on this bases of comparative social evaluation. Despite these scattered comments, there is no explicit hierarchy, economic or otherwise, among herdsmen in Hellenistic and Augustan poetry.

In the Imperial period, however, divisions in the perceived social value of different herdsmen were correlated with actual economic differences that are associated with the care of different herd animals, since cows required the largest pastures, while goats could graze less useful *eskhatiai*.[177] As a result, cowherds are seen to stand at the top of the pastoral hierarchy on the basis of wealth and economic demand, followed by shepherds and goatherds. Elite readers of bucolic poetry make this distinction between different herdsmen explicit by grafting the economic hierarchy onto any social hierarchy which may have existed in bucolic poetry. The fourth-century CE grammarian Donatus clearly states in his *Vita Vergiliana*:

> *Tria genera pastorum sunt, qui dignitatem in bucolicis habent, quorum minimi sunt qui* αἰπόλοι *dicuntur a Graecis, a nobis caprarii; paulo honoratiores qui* μηλονόμοι ποιμένες, *id est opiliones dicuntur; honoratissimi et maximi qui* βουκόλοι, *quos bubulcos dicimus*.

> There are three categories of herdsmen who have distinction in bucolic poetry; the least of these are those called *aipoloi* by the Greeks, but goatherds by us; of a somewhat higher distinction are those called *mēlonomoi poimenes*, that is, shepherds; those of greatest distinction and the largest are called *boukoloi*, whom we call cowherds.[178]

It is this observed difference in socio-economic status which later readers pattern onto bucolic poetry's only clear distinction between herdsmen, which is according to their herded animals.

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[176] This is also an unusual scene, since the shepherd Thyrsis sings these words to an anonymous goatherd. cf. also Th. *Id*. 6.7, where Galatea derides Polyphemus as a goatherd, rather than a shepherd (αἰπόλον ἄνδρα καλοῦσα). Polyphemus is a shepherd elsewhere in the *Idylls*, cf. 7.151-2, 11.12.
[177] Berman (2005): 230; cf. O.D. Hodkinson (2012): 42
[178] Wendel (1967): 17.

Daphnis and Chloe observes this explicit economic difference between Longus' families of herdsmen.

Longus depicts his herdsmen with great detail, and includes representatives of all three bucolic herdsmen: Lamon and Daphnis, the goatherds; Dryas and Chloe, the shepherds; and Dorkon, Philetas, and Lampis, the cowherds. In *Daphnis and Chloe,* the herding lifestyle is reserved for youths, while adults tend to other agricultural duties: Lamon to farming (3.30.3) and tending Dionysophanes' garden (4.1.4), Dryas to his orchard (1.19.1), and Philetas to his own personal garden (2.3.3). Although the adults no longer tend their different flocks, the economic hierarchy still applies.[179] Lamon is the poorest: Dryas hesitates to marry Chloe off to Daphnis because Lamon has little money and cannot afford a dowry (3.26.2), and could barely reap more than was sown (3.30.3).[180] Dryas is comparatively well-off, since he can risk raising a son in addition to Chloe (3.25.2), and receives marriage proposals for Chloe from a range of wealthy herdsmen (3.25.3, 3.26.4). Though wealthier than the goatherd, Dryas is still relatively low on the economic and social totem pole, since Lamon considers Chloe a lowly match for the secretly aristocratic Daphnis (3.26.3). Similarly, Dryas is himself dazzled by the cowherd Dorkon's luxuriant proposal gifts (1.19.2-3). The cowherds have the greatest material possessions, not only with respect to animals. Philetas cares for his own personal garden, Dorkon offers expensive gifts to Daphnis and Chloe (1.15.2-3) and to Dryas, and Lampis is one of Chloe's suitors who offered cows and other such gifts (3.25.3, 3.29.4).

The gulf between cowherds and the other herdsmen is most prominent, however, in the fact that when referring to herd animals, the narrator consistently separates cows from other animals, but collectively terms Daphnis' and Chloe's flocks as ποιμνία (e.g. 1.7.2, 1.28.3, 2.28.3), except when he wishes to distinguish between the goats and sheep (e.g. 1.7.2, 1.12.5, 2.35.4, 4.6.1). The most explicit evidence of the economic divisions between different herdsmen is Dorkon's boast to Chloe within his speech-competition with Daphnis: "I am a cowherd, but he is a goatherd; I am greater than he to the same degree that cows are greater than goats….he is so poor that he does not even keep a dog" (κἀγὼ μὲν βουκόλος, ὁ δ᾽αἰπόλος, τοσοῦτον κρείττων

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[179] Pandiri (1985): 116-21; O.D. Hodkinson (2012): 44.
[180] Daphnis has, however, increased his flock of goats (3.29.2, 4.14.3), but seemingly to no economic gain.

ὅσον αἰγῶν βόες.…καὶ ἔστι πένης ὡς μηδὲ κύνα τρέφειν, 1.16.1-2). Further, Dorkon engages in

the standard denigration of goatherds by referring to Daphnis' unpleasant goatish aroma, a

criticism which Daphnis' natural brother, Astylus, also uses.[181] By including Dorkon's remark,

Longus repeats the implicit, but by no means standardized, denigration of goatherds by cowherds

in bucolic poetry. In this same section, however, Longus includes an explicit reference to the

difference in size between cows and goats, as well as a blatant remark on Daphnis' poverty in

comparison to Dorkon's wealth. As such, Longus joins the types of social distinctions which may

already be present in bucolic poetry with an explicit economic hierarchy.

Like Longus, Alciphron depicts an economic hierarchy of herdsmen. In both works, the

various herders rarely, if ever, practice pure transhumance (semi-nomadic herding); rather, they

are farmers who keep one or another flock on the side for children or slaves to tend. In

Alciphron's *Epistulae*, most of the references to flock animals concern the economic losses

accrued through theft and negligence (2.15.1, 2.18.2, 2.21.1-2), or as incidental features of

agricultural communities (2.13.1, 2.33.1). Only two letters mention flocks without also

clarifying that the correspondents are farmers (2.9, 2.39). In all of these examples, only goats

and sheep, not cows, are mentioned.[182] As O.D. Hodkinson has argued, Alciphron's focus on the

lower tiers of herdsmen mirrors his other tendencies to emphasize the hardscrabble aspects of

Attica's poor soil (λεπτόγεως, 2.33.2).[183] Alciphron's explanation for the lack of cowherds in his

Epistulae offers additional evidence for an Imperial construction of an economic hierarchy of

herdsmen in fictional literature.

Letter 2.33, from Thalliskos to Petraios, reveals why Alciphron excludes cowherds from

his society, and also establishes the relative hierarchy among herdsmen: When there is a drought,

all the local yokels (πάντες οἱ τῆς κώμης οἰκήτορες) contribute sacrifices to Zeus from their

respective means (καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος δυνάμεως εἶχε συνεισηνέγκατο, 2.33.1); someone sacrificed a

ram (κριόν), another sacrificed a billy goat (τράγον), while the poorest men (ὁ πένης…ὁ δὲ ἔτι

πενέστερος) sacrificed a cake or decaying frankincense gum.[184] Thalliskos also comments that

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[181] Dorkon references Daphnis' goaty smell (1.16.2), as does Astylus (4.17.2); cf. Lateiner (2018): 348
[182] cf. Hodkinson (2012): 47. A swineherd is depicted in 2.2.
[183] Hodkinson (2012): 47.
[184] cf. Drago (2018): 213 for the mundane detail which Alciphron's rustics record in descriptions of their rural
environment.

no one sacrificed a bull (ταῦρον δὲ οὐδείς) on account of the thin Attic soil (λεπτόγεων, 2.33.2). This detail ensures that no farmer can support large herd animals, since the infertility of the soil prevents the fattening of cattle (βοσκημάτων, 2.33.2).[185] This information clearly shows that Alciphron depicts the poorer elements of the Attic countryside, and classes cowherds as a wealthier order of rustics than are shepherds or goatherds. This same poverty may also explain the paucity of herdsmen's music among Alciphron's letters, since with the exception of the goatherd in 2.9, no herdsman performs music.

Alciphron does, however, include the term, βουκολέω, to refer to cowherding in a way that emphasizes this association between herding cows and economic security. In letter 2.22, Hyle writes to her husband, "Nomios." This speaking name indicates that he is a herdsman, since νόμιος means "pasture." Within the letter, Hyle chastises Nomios, because he wastes all his time and resources in the city (2.22.2). When she refers to how he has failed to rear his children, she uses the term βουκολέω (βουκολοῦσα) for herself, since she and her maid Syra are left alone to *pasture* their children (ἐγὼ δὲ οἰκουρῶ μόνη μετὰ τῆς Σύρας ἀγαπητῶς τὰ παίδια βουκολοῦσα, 2.22.1). Ironically, this verb for "cowherding" is not used for her husband, the actual rustic "herdsman."[186] Hyle tastefully does not spell it out, but she implies in her accusation that he hangs around in the neighborhood of Skiron and the Kerameikos to waste his time with the *hetairai* there.[187] This is to say that Alciphron understands the real constraints of herding particular animals, and thus he includes this economic hierarchy of herdsmen within his own fictional letters. Like Longus, he presents cowherds as wealthy figures who are wealthier and with access to better land than the actual herdsmen that he includes as correspondents.

This section has shown that Longus and Alciphron depict explicit and rigid hierarchies of herdsmen within their fictional texts. These authors thus include details observed from actual differences among herdsmen in the Imperial period. In this respect, the differences that Longus creates between his herding families is more extensive than any such hierarchy within bucolic poetry, where the only certain difference between herdsmen is in the animals they each herd. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the distinction between herdsmen exists in real material terms, and is

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[185] οὐ γὰρ εὐπορία βοσκημάτων ἡμῖν τὴν λεπτόγεων τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατοικοῦσιν.
[186] cf. Gutzwiller (2006): 382.
[187] cf. Davidson (1997): 84-6; Drago (2018): 216.

relative to the size and value disparity that is most severe between cows and goats. While the only representatives of goatherding and shepherding in the narrative are Daphnis' and Chloe's adoptive families, it is no accident on Longus' part that the goatherd and the several cowherds occupy opposite ends of the pastoralists' economic spectrum, whereas the shepherdess occupies a hazy middle position. This opposition between goatherds and cowherds is the primary background on which I argue that the novel's musical distinctions are based.

1.3.2 Hierarchies of Instruments

The economic divisions among Longus' herdsmen also apply to their music. The varieties of instruments that appear within *Daphnis and Chloe* are narrow in comparison to Alciphron's *Epistulae*, but Longus includes several detailed descriptions of his syrinxes which allow for a comparison between them. I argue that Longus innovates in his presentation of herdsmen's music, in comparison with his bucolic predecessors, by strictly categorizing certain instruments as belonging to herdsmen. Further, the narrator appears to limit the use of some instruments to certain types of herdsmen but not to others. The differences between his herdsmen regarding their instruments and the types of performances that the goatherds, shepherds, and cowherds make corresponds to the explicit economic hierarchy that Longus constructs.

The narrator provides a list of instruments used by herders of small flock animals in an *ekphrasis* of the cave of the Nymphs where Chloe is found.[188] This list of dedications to the pastoral gods is the first reference to musical instruments in the narrative: "*plagiauloi* and syrinxes and *kalamoi*, the dedications of older shepherds" (καὶ αὐλοὶ πλάγιοι καὶ σύριγγες καὶ κάλαμοι, πρεσβυτέρων ποιμένων ἀναθήματα, 1.4.3).[189] The *kalamoi* appear only here in the novel as distinct objects; they are elsewhere used for the collective body of reeds in the syrinx, and are not mentioned after the second book.[190] The *plagiaulos* functions only as an *anathema*

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[188] The presence of these dedicatory instruments also emphasizes the connections among nature, music, and the pastoral deities; see Liviabella Furiani (1984): 33, and Mittelstadt (1966): 175.

[189] Trzaskoma (2008): 479 suggests that *kalamoi* here is either a modifier of σύριγγες, such that the narrator specifies that these are representatives of the "authentic rural" syrinx, and not an urban imitation of one, or a corruption of *kalauropes*, such that the dedications to the pastoral gods in 1.4.3 match those which Daphnis makes to them at 4.26.

[190] cf. 1.10.2, 1.15.2, 1.24.4, 2.34.3, 2.35.2, 2.39.3. Longus reserves the term *kalamoi* for reeds that are intended for musical use, since the word *donax* for reed is used in this novel only in Lamon's *aition* of the syrinx (2.34.2, 34.3), and in this myth only before Pan conceives of the instrument (τὸ ὄργανον νοεῖ, 2.34.3). The sole exception is at 2.12.3, when the Methymnean aristocrats cut reeds for fishing lines. cf. Chapter 4.2.

in *Daphnis and Chloe*, appearing here and when Daphnis gives up his pastoral equipment to live as an aristocrat (4.26.2).[191] Cowherds never handle the *plagiaulos*, indicating that Longus has defined this instrument as one meant for herders of small animals.

In contrast, *auloi*, as large reeds and as the double-reeded instrument, only appear in the hands of cowherds. Philetas' syrinx is made from large *auloi* (2.35.1), and Lampis plays the *auloi* at Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding (4.38.3). These are the only instances in *Daphnis and Chloe* where the *aulos*, in any form, is used by characters in the main narrative. The first two references to the instrument accompany the description of Philetas' large syrinx, whose reeds consist of large *auloi* (μέγα ὄργανον καὶ αὐλῶν μεγάλων, 2.35.1), rather than small tubes, and whose sound resembles a chorus of *auloi* (αὐλῶν τις ἄν ᾡήθη συναυλούντων ἀκούειν, 2.35.3).[192] The second episode in which the *aulos* appears is as a *paronomasia*, when the sea shanties of fishermen echo off the mainland. The hollow glen (κοῖλος…αὐλών) received this sound into itself like an instrument (ὡς ὄργανον, 3.21.4), playing with the homonym and etymology of *aulos*. The instrument also appears in Daphnis' mythological *aition* of the echo, in which the Nymph learns to play the *aulos* (αὐλεῖν, 3.23.2). The last pastoral instrument, the syrinx, is the primary musical device which appears throughout the novel, and is used by all varieties of herdsmen.[193]

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[191] Although even here Daphnis blows into his syrinx, but not his *plagiaulos*.

[192] This text has been subject to textual emendations on account of this description, and the interpretation of καὶ αὐλῶν μεγάλων has depended on whether one approaches the text with a literary or a musical view. The first to amend the text was S. Naber, who disliked the repetition of *megas* without a separate noun in apposition to σύριγγα. Naber inserted κρεῖττον after αὐλῶν μεγάλων to supply a rhythmical balance. Naber (1877): 213 on a parallel with Longus' occasional use of comparatives to express admiration for something, such as Daphnis, who was larger or morally superior to what would be expected in the countryside. The other uses of this comparative which he provides, and indeed all of the uncontested appearances of κρείττων, have either a moral evaluative meaning, or directly contrast the size of a rural figure or object with the expected size disparity between the countryside and city. Naber, focusing on the verbal pattern rather than on the underlying meaning of the evaluation in context, rather unwittingly assigns Philetas' instrument with urban, rather than rural, qualities. Purely literary approaches to the text retain Naber's emendation for the sake of Longus' rhetoric. Bowie (2019): 214 *ad loc*. His retention of Naber's κρείττων is illustrative of the focus on Longus' language rather than on his meaning in this section, since he keeps the pleonasm of μέγα and μεγάλων with κρεῖττον. This emendation is based on a lack of understanding Greek instruments. Naber had thus also conjectured that the text should read αὐλῶν πλαγίων κρεῖττον, on parallel with 1.4.3 and 4.26.2. However, I argue that the πλαγίαυλος appears in the narrative as a dedicatory instrument, in homage to its appearance in prior bucolic poetry, but bears no function within the action of the narrative. This emendation is the minority view of scholars who treat the musical sense of the passage and interpret the genitive as one of material, rather than comparison. cf. Montiglio (2012); Schlapbach (2015); Schlapbach (2018). The simplest and most logical explanation for this passage, from a musical perspective, is that the narrator compares these *kalamoi* to the *aulos* itself. cf. Ach. Tat. *LC*. 8.6.3-4, where the priest Sostratus describes the *kalamoi* of the syrinx as being the same shape and size of *auloi*.

[193] Maritz (1991): 59.

These pastoral instruments are separate from correspondingly non-pastoral instruments, such as the *salpinx*, *lyra* , and *kithara*, which herdsmen in the novel do not use. Longus' inclusion of these instruments within the narrative occur under special conditions that are similar to those of most of the appearances of *aulos*. Pan's syrinx sounds like the *salpinx*, when he rescues Chloe from the Methymnaean navy (2.26.3).[194] In Daphnis' *aition* of Echo, the Muses teach her to play melodies for the *lyra* and *kithara* (3.23.2). These three types of instruments are accordingly not physically present within the narrative in the same way that the herdsmen's dedications and the instruments which they wield are present. The narrator mentions the *salpinx* to explain the sound of a deity's syrinx, while Daphnis mentions the instruments that Echo plays within an inset, mythological narrative. Each of these appearances of the *aulos*, *salpinx*, *lyra*, and *kithara* occur in situations that are outside of the usual performance of music by herdsmen, and each mark the presence or description of characters who are not strictly herdsmen. I discuss the significance of each of these instruments in the following chapters, but none of these instruments are described in detail regarding their appearance or construction. The final type of instrument in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the syrinx, is described in detail on multiple occasions. These descriptions of the syrinx show that differences between individual syrinxes correlate to the hierarchy of herdsmen, specifically, within the narrative.

The syrinx is the instrument which is named the most frequently in the narrative, and is the only instrument that herdsmen explicitly handle within the main narrative until Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding at the novel's conclusion. Syrinxes appear as dedications to the rural gods (1.4.3, 1.32.2, 2.22.1, 2.38.1, 4.26.2, 4.32.3), several are smashed at Dorkon's funeral (1.31.3), and they are given as gifts to Daphnis (1.15.2, 1.28.3, 2.37.3, 3.15.3) and to Chloe (1.30.1). Over the course of the narrative, four syrinxes are described with detail: the first syrinx that Daphnis makes (1.10.2), the syrinx that Dorkon gives to Daphnis as a gift (1.15.2), the syrinx that Pan creates in Lamon's *aition* of the instrument (2.34), and Philetas' syrinx that he gifts to Daphnis (2.34.1-3). Dorkon's gift to Daphnis has nine reeds (καλάμους ἐννέα, 1.15.2), in imitation of the pseudo-Theocritean "nine-voiced" (ἐννεάφωνον) syrinx; Pan's syrinx, meanwhile, is of the Roman slanted variety: "[Pan] blew into the reeds of unequal length after he

[194] cf. Meillier (1975): 124-5.

fastened them together with wax," (τοὺς καλάμους ἐμπνεῖ κηρῷ συνδήσας ἀνίσους, 2.34.3).[195] If these details are true for the remaining syrinxes in *Daphnis and Chloe*, then these particular syrinxes provide enough details to reconstruct the general shape of the instrument in *Daphnis and Chloe*.[196]

Of the four syrinxes that the narrator describes, two are goatherds' syrinxes: Daphnis' and Pan's first instruments, and two are cowherds' syrinxes: Dorkon's and Philetas'.   The fundamental difference between the syrinxes of goatherds and cowherds is one of material. The narrator's description of different syrinxes shows that there are two standard types of this instrument in the narrative; a simple one made from reeds and wax, and a fancy one decorated with bronze. There is also, however, a secondary distinction, between small children's syrinxes, and larger, adults' instruments. The following analysis of the four syrinxes that are described shows how the three syrinxes owned by herdsmen in the narrative differ from one another, based on their possessor's social status and musical skill.

First, the two goatherds' syrinxes. Daphnis creates his makeshift syrinx near the novel's beginning out of narrow reeds (*kalamoi*) that are fastened together with wax. The narrator offers a brief *ekphrasis* of the construction of this syrinx, which shows Longus' realism and Daphnis' partial technical proficiency (1.10.2):

> ὁ δὲ καλάμους ἐκτεμὼν λεπτοὺς καὶ τρήσας τὰς τῶν γονάτων διαφυὰς ἐπαλλήλους τε
> κηρῷ μαλθακῷ συναρτήσας μέχρι νυκτὸς συρίζειν ἐμελέτησε.

> After he cut down slender reeds and drilled through the interstices of the joints, and
> joined them together with soft wax, he would practice playing the syrinx until nightfall.

Daphnis spontaneously builds his syrinx in a manner which is flush with realistic detail, since he even provides the openings for his breath to pass through the reeds. This syrinx is a small

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[195] Morgan (2004): 197 *ad loc*. The syrinx which Achilles Tatius describes is likewise made of reeds of different lengths (καὶ ὅσοι εἰσὶ τῶν καλάμων βραχὺ μικρῷ λειπόμενο, *LC*. 8.6.4).

[196] Chloe's remark to Daphnis that his oath to his fidelity to Chloe on Pan is meaningless since he will not punish him even if he should come onto more women than the syrinx's reeds (κἂν ἐπι πλείονας ἔλθῃς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐν τῇ σύριγγι καλάμων, 2.39.3), may indicate that this higher number of nine reeds is Longus' standard. That this last remark accompanies the second transfer of a cowherd's syrinx to Daphnis, this time Philetas', may, however, restrict this number of reeds to cowherds' instruments.

instrument, since it is made of narrow (λεπτούς) reeds; as a result, this instrument will produce high-pitched notes.[197]

Lamon, a goatherd, provides the second description of a goatherd's syrinx, when he tells the *aition* of the instrument. He makes it explicit that he describes a goatherd's syrinx when he provides the origin of the tale (2.33.3):

> ὁ δὲ Λάμων ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῆς σύριγγος ἀφηγήσασθαι μῦθον, ὃν αὐτῷ Σικελὸς αἰπόλος ᾖσεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ τράγῳ καὶ σύριγγι.

> Lamon agreed to relate to them the story of the syrinx, which a Sicilian goatherd sang to him for the price of a billy-goat and a syrinx.

In addition, in this story, Syrinx was a goatherdess (αἶγας ἔνεμε, 1.34.1) before she is transformed. Since this myth is told through two layers of goatherds (Lamon, the Sicilian *aipolos*) about a goatherdess (Syrinx) and the invention of the goat-god's instrument (Pan), it is probable that this instrument also reflects the standard syrinx that a goatherd would wield. Lamon also describes Pan's construction of this first syrinx: "[Pan] blew into the reeds of unequal length after he fastened them together with wax," (τοὺς καλάμους ἐμπνεῖ κηρῷ συνδήσας ἀνίσους, 2.34.3). This syrinx thus resembles Daphnis' since both instruments are bound with wax and lack any other ornamentation.

The referent of "this" (αὕτη) at the start of Lamon's story ("this syrinx was not of old an instrument," αὕτη ἡ σῦριγξ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οὐκ ἦν ὄργανον, 2.34.1) should logically refer to "the story of the syrinx" (τὸν περὶ τῆς σύριγγος…μῦθον, 2.33.3) which he has agreed to tell, but within the enclosed world of the fictional narrative, the deictic pronoun, αὕτη, refers to a physical object.[198] Lamon can only point to Daphnis' syrinx, since this is the only instrument available while the party awaits the return of Philetas' son with the cowherd's instrument. Thus the first goatherd's syrinx that is described is Daphnis' first syrinx and it lacks ornamentation because of his lack of material. The second goatherd's syrinx is the same form as Daphnis' syrinx; that is, this shared structure of Pan's newly invented syrinx may indicate a physical

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[197] Longus' description of this syrinx as containing *auloi* may further reference Vergilian pastoral poetry, since Vergil's description of Tityrus' *tenui avena*, *Ecl.* 1.1, *may* be a *monoaulos* stand-in for the syrinx. cf. Smith (1970): 507.

[198] Bowie (2019) prints ἡ σῦριγξ αὕτη for the sake of avoiding a hiatus, and imagines that Lamon is physically holding a syrinx. cf. 212, *ad loc.*

consistency among these goatherds' syrinxes. Since both goatherds' syrinxes are simple instruments, these objects reflect their creators' humble means.

While goatherds' syrinxes are humble affairs, cowherds' syrinxes are ostentatious works of craftsmanship. Both Dorkon's gift to Daphnis (1.15.2) and Philetas' prodigious syrinx (2.35.1) are remarkable for being decorated with bronze. Dorkon's syrinx is explicitly a *cowherd*'s instrument (1.15.2):

σύριγγα βουκολικήν, καλάμους ἐννέα χαλκῷ δεδεμένους ἀντὶ κηροῦ.

A bucolic syrinx, having nine *kalamoi* bound together with bronze instead of wax.

Dorkon's gift to Daphnis is intended to be an ostentatious display of wealth meant to dazzle him and win him over, on par with his gift to Chloe of a Bacchic fawn-skin engraved with colors (1.15.2). This gift is remarkable precisely because Dorkon's instrument uses bronze instead of the normal wax to bond the reeds.[199] Philetas' instrument, meanwhile, is remarkable for its size and construction.[200] Philetas' wax-fastened syrinx is explicitly large, decorated with bronze, and contains *auloi* (2.35.1):

μέγα ὄργανον καὶ αὐλῶν μεγάλων, καὶ ἵνα κεκήρωτο χαλκῷ πεποίκιλτο.

A large instrument and [made] of large *auloi*, and in this way fastened together, dappled with bronze.

Like Dorkon's gift, this syrinx uses bronze, although it is only decorated with it, instead of being completely fastened together with the metal. This similarity between Dorkon's syrinx and Philetas' syrinx indicates that the cowherds' described instruments are alike in material wealth. While any incidence of metal was luxurious in the eyes of a meaner herdsman, Dorkon's was special with respect to a cowherd's possession since it was more metallic than usual.

Both Dorkon's gift to Daphnis (1.15.2) and Philetas' prodigious syrinx (2.35.1) are made from *kalamoi*, as expected, although Philetas' instrument is special, since it is a large instrument made of large *auloi* (αὐλῶν μεγαλῶν, 1.35.1). This use of *auloi* as a variant on *kalamoi* within this description may indicate that its reeds were especially large because Daphnis' and Dorkon's syrinxes were too small for Philetas' skill, and were designed to be played by a child (ἡ δὲ ἦν

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[199] Morgan (2004): 163 *ad loc*.
[200] cf. Bowie (2019): 211, 214 *ad loc*.

μικρὰ πρὸς μεγάλην τέχνην οἷα ἐν στόματι παιδὸς ἐμπνεομένη, 2.33.2).[201] In this respect, Longus attests to gradations of syrinxes according to size and tone on analogy to the reed instruments that are specifically termed as being for young girls and boys.[202] Philetas' syrinx is also orchestral in performance, sounding like sets of *auloi* in concert (αὐλῶν…συναυλούντων, 2.35.3), and gains this description which no other adult's syrinx has.[203] Beyond the variation in size and reed composition, Dorkon's and Philetas' syrinxes are both similarly remarkable instruments for the great expense required to produce and decorate them, a material avenue available only for or through cowherds.

While there are no comparable descriptions of shepherds' instruments, the narrative does fairly consistently pattern different elements of performance on the main representatives of goatherds, shepherds, and cowherds. Philetas is consistently a performer of bucolic music in his youth, singing songs and turning out tunes (πολλά…ᾖσα, πολλά…ἐσύρισα, 2.3.2). This activity recurs when he performs songs at the celebration for Chloe's return from the Methymnaeans (2.35.1-36.1), and when he, joined by the other cowherd, Lampis, provides the music for Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding (4.38.3). Lamon in turn embodies the role of a goatherd who relates pastoral myths. Although he does not himself sing, since Philetas says that the story of Syrinx was sweeter than any song, (μῦθον ᾠδῆς γλυκύτερον, 2.35.1), Lamon notes that the Sicilian goatherd had in fact sung the myth to him (ᾖσεν, 2.33.3). The shepherd Dryas, meanwhile, provides the dancing as the third element of musical celebration (ὄρχησιν ὠρχήσατο, 2.36.1). He dances again at Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding, along with Lamon (4.38.3). Shepherds elsewhere are associated with dancing and not with music, since the shepherds' *agalmata* of the Nymphs are posed like dancers (τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα χορεία, 1.1.2), and the dedicated instruments are conspicuously "soundless."[204] Moreover, while Dorkon boasted of defeating many cowherds and goatherds in song-competition (πολλοὺς ἐρίζων καὶ βουκόλους ἐνίκησα καὶ

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[201] The size of this syrinx may connote sexual maturity; see Maritz (1991): 64; Montiglio (2012): 144-45.

[202] cf. Ath. 4.174f, τοὺς παρθενίους καλουμένους καὶ παιδικούς (those called 'maiden's' and 'boys'' *auloi*). Since this discussion in the *Deipnosophistae* is embedded within a catalogue of reed instruments made from a single, rather than a paired, pipe, these gradations of *auloi* likely refer specifically to individual pipes.

[203] The details also emphasize the *enargeia* of the description, thus Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 706.

[204] Perhaps ironically so, since they are musical instruments. Bowie (2006): 69.

αἰπόλους, 1.29.3), shepherds are nowhere explicitly named as musical performers or tellers of myth, even within the mythological *aitia*.[205]

Although Daphnis and Chloe are aristocrats by birth and herdsmen only by upbringing, their activities, along with Dorkon's, roughly mirror these same distinctions. Dorkon teaches Daphnis how to play cattle-calling songs (1.29.2), defeats others in musical competitions (1.29.3), and engages Daphnis in a mock amoebean contest (1.16). While Chloe learns how to play on the syrinx (1.24.4, 1.29.2, 1.30.1), her primary musical activity after the first book is in her mimetic dance playing the part of Syrinx (2.37.1-2).[206] Daphnis, by contrast, produces the other two mythological *aitia*, although he, too, mimes the story of Pan along with Chloe (2.37.1-2), and performs songs in concert (2.37.3, 4.15.2-3). While it is certainly not a perfect correlation, Longus appears to classify both styles of instrument and aspects of performance according to type of herdsmen.

The final element of musical variation that is present within *Daphnis and Chloe* is in the music itself. Longus describes a range of melodies that are played on the syrinx and are appropriate for different occasions. Thus after Daphnis has borrowed Philetas' syrinx, he performs three types of melodies: "he played a mournful tune like a lover, an erotic tune like a persuader, a summoning tune like one seeking" (ἐσύρισε γοερὸν ὡς ἐρῶν, ἐρωτικὸν ὡς πείθων, ἀνακλητικὸν ὡς ἐπιζητῶν, 2.37.3).[207] At other occasions, other types of music are depicted, as when fishermen sing sea shanties after the boatswain (κελευστὴς ναυτικὰς ᾖδεν ᾠδάς, 3.21.2), which Daphnis tries to attune to his syrinx (3.22.1). Likewise, at Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding, a guest sang reaping rhythms to match the rustic nature of the celebration (ὁ μὲν ᾖσαν οἷα ᾄδουσι θερίζοντες, 4.38.3). Although neither melody is strictly pastoral, both are played to the syrinx.

Within the narrative, however, Longus notes that pastoral musical skill requires good tuning, as when Philetas shows his good harmony at his syrinx performance (ἐπιδεικνύμενος

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[205] Cowherds feature exclusively in the *aition* of the phatta's song (1.27), goatherds in the *aition* of the syrinx (2.34), and Echo is a Nymph whom I argue receives what resembles an urban musical education; see Chapter 4.
[206] Montiglio (2012): 143-44, 149: The sexual disparity between Daphnis and Chloe continues throughout the novel, so that Daphnis performs on instruments, whereas Chloe uses her voice, until she is eventually "silenced."
[207] cf. Briand (2006): 48.

εὐνομίας μυσικῆς, 2.35.4).[208] Performances which lack this harmony are, by contrast, unpleasant. Thus, in Daphnis' and Chloe's perception, the vintage-celebrators' shouts are arrhythmical (ἀμούσου βοῆς, 2.2.3), whereas the Dionysiac melody (Διονυσιακὸν μέλος, 2.36.1) which Dryas requests to dance along to, is pleasant. Similarly, the songs sung by the cowgirl, Phatta, in Daphnis' first *aition*, are bested by the better, louder male cowherd's song (μείζονα ὡς ἀνήρ, 1.27.3). The full range of these melodies is indicated by Echo's proclivity to "imitate the sounds of everything, just as when she was a maiden, including gods, humans, instruments, and wild animals" (μιμεῖται πάντα καθάπερ τότε ἡ κόρη, θεούς, ἀνθρώπους, ὄργανα, θηρία, 3.23.4), although her wide skill is due to her first-rate musical training. *Daphnis and Chloe* includes a range of melodies that can be performed on the syrinx, both those that are played for herd animals and not.

Most relevant to the categories of herdsmen, though, are the different songs that are played for different animals. Daphnis and Chloe early on reveal that animals may respond to different kinds of calls, when the narrator specifies that they use a call of return on their dogs as they attack Dorkon (ἀνακλήσει συνήθει, 1.21.4).[209] That different songs apply to different animals is revealed when Dorkon claims that he has taught Daphnis a melody for summoning his cattle (1.29.2).[210] The next clear description of zoological melodies occurs in Philetas' masterful performance (2.35.4):

> ἐσύριττεν οἷον βοῶν ἀγέλη πρέπον, οἷον αἰπολίῳ πρόσφορον, οἷον ποίμναις φίλον.
> τερπνὸν ἦν τὸ ποιμνίων, μέγα τὸ βοῶν, ὀξὺ τὸ αἰγῶν.
>
> He played such a tune on the syrinx as was fitting for a herd of cows, one which was relevant for a herd of goats, one which was dear to the sheep; the tune of the sheep was pleasant, that of the cows was loud, that of the goats was high-pitched.

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[208] The narrator also puns on the word *eunomia* in relation to Lamon's ewe, when he "wishes to chastise her and reestablish her prior *eunomia* (κολάσαι δὴ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν πρότερον εὐνομίαν καταστῆσαι, 1.5.1). *Eunomia* in this instance refers principally to the "good behavior" that this sheep had once observed, but it also plays with the extension of the meaning of *nomos* as "tune," since it occurs immediately after the first mention of the dedicated instruments. Hunter (1983): 89-90.

[209] Bowie (2018): 105-6 indicates that this song of recall is more appropriate for the military signals of the *salpinx* than for any known goatherds' usage.

[210] ἐπαίδευσα τὰς βοῦς ἤχῳ σύριγγος ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ διώκειν τὸ μέλος αὐτῆς κἂν νέμονταί ποι μακράν.

This detail clearly designates different tunes for different animals, corresponding to each one's *ethos*.[211] These musical *ethē* correspond partially to the types of syrinxes in the novel, since Daphnis' small syrinx of slender reeds ought naturally to produce songs of a shriller pitch (ὀξύ), suitable for an excitable goat, than the larger syrinx of a cowherd, which exudes a loud (μέγα) sound for the larger cow. Sheep, meanwhile, are mild, and have an appropriately pleasant (τερπνόν) tune.[212]

Both depictions of song varieties for different animals derive from cowherds. Dorkon and Philetas each use expensive, and in Philetas' case, professional syrinxes. These two cowherds are accomplished musical performers, since they each boast of defeating other herdsmen in song-competitions, and Philetas even claims to rival Pan (1.29.3, 2.32.3). Daphnis, too, demonstrates a high degree of musical skill by imitating other sources of music, such as the fishermen's sea shanties (3.22.1), and different varieties of erotic music (2.37.3). However, this only occurs *after* he possesses Philetas' mature, cowherd's syrinx, from which he had heard a range of herd animals' calls. Indeed, while Daphnis (1.29.2) and Chloe (1.30.1) separately learn and perform cow-calling music on cowherds' syrinxes, it is only when Daphnis possesses Philetas' syrinx, in the performance of which "one syrinx mimicked all syrinxes" (πάσας σύριγγας μία σῦριγξ ἐμιμήσατο, 2.35.4), that he can produce similarly complex animal songs.[213] His countryside concert on this instrument for Dionysophanes and Kleariste in fact includes the most complex series of herding calls in the novel, and displays Daphnis at his musical maturity. In this episode, he plays tunes which signal the goats variously to stay in place (ἔστησαν), lay down (κατακλίθησαν), flee danger (κατέφυγον), a *nomos* (melody) for the pasture (τὸ νόμιον), and a tune for summoning them back (ἀνακλητικόν, 4.15.2-3).[214] Thus, Longus' various musical distinctions culminate in virtuoso performances which illustrate that there are musical categories for herdsmen and their animals, and that the best performances, including the imitation of other animals and sounds, depend on professional, cowherds' syrinxes.

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[211] As Bowie (2006): 72 remarks, the narrator challenges the reader to imagine what this variety of sounds must be. So Herrmann (2007): 222, it is specifically the "technical sense" of musical character which constitutes the different modes of Philetas' syrinx, and which are representative of different tunes. cf. Montiglio (2012): 134 n. 41.
[212] Perhaps fittingly, this pleasant melody is reserved for the shepherding tune which is otherwise nowhere presented in the novel.
[213] For the allusive implications of Philetas' syrinx, cf. Hubbard (2006a): 101-106.
[214] cf. Herrmann (2007): 222.

1.4   Conclusion

The presence of pastoral instruments in *Daphnis and Chloe* and in Alciphron's *Epistulae* indicates that some instruments, especially the syrinx, retained their usual association in Greek literature and in bucolic poetry with herdsmen. Where Longus innovates in his prose narrative is his provision of various sounds and melodies to these instruments, rather than merely mentioning their performance. Not only are there differences between syrinxes related to size and decoration, but these variations are distributed among the different types of herdsmen. In *Daphnis and Chloe*, goatherds and cowherds are the primary performers, which is a significant aspect of Longus' reinvention of bucolic poetry, as I discuss in the next chapter. The material differences in the quality of individual syrinxes mirror the broader economic distribution of wealth between cowherds, shepherds, and goatherds. It is clear that cowherds are the wealthiest of Longus' herdsmen, and goatherds the poorest, mirroring what appears to be an Imperial understanding of real economic differences within herding society. Furthermore, in *Daphnis and Chloe*, cowherds possess the best-quality instruments, including the ones which seem to incorporate elements of other instruments, such as large reeds (*auloi*), into their description. These instruments show that there are hierarchies within Longus' herdsmen's music which closely match the economic hierarchies within his fictional society.

Chapter 2: Herdsmen's Music

This chapter builds upon the social hierarchy of herdsmen analyzed at the end of the previous chapter. It discusses Longus' construction of herdsmen's performances through his reception of how music is present within bucolic poetry. Alciphron's *Ep.* 2.9, his sole depiction of a herdsman performing music, provides an ideal representative of an Imperial author's conception of a herdsman's performance. I argue that while Longus' depiction of herdsmen's music largely matches Alciphron's depiction, Longus also plays with two motifs of bucolic poetry within the first book of *Daphnis and Chloe*. The first motif is that of the mythological figure of Daphnis, who is ordinarily a cowherd and the archetypal performer of bucolic music. The second is the adjective for the genre, "*boukolikos*," which is identical to the adjective for cowherd, "*boukolikos*." I argue that Longus conflates these terms within the first book of *Daphnis and Chloe*, and only within this book, in order to depict his goatherd protagonist, Daphnis, as a prototypical performer of bucolic and cowherd's music. Longus accomplishes this depiction of Daphnis' musical skill by means of his education in bucolic poetry from the cowherd Dorkon, his rival in *eros*. In doing so, Longus plays with the reception of bucolic poetry and provides the first indication of Daphnis' social and musical mobility, by having his male protagonist attain the musical knowledge of the highest echelon of his herding society.

2.1   Bridging Bucolic Boundaries: Alciphron's Pratinas

Alciphron only depicts one herdsman who performs music in his letters, and this performance includes elements of performances that are shared with *Daphnis and Chloe*. In *Epistulae* 2.9, a goatherd describes a marvelous event that transpired when he played his syrinx under a pine tree: his herd was transfixed by the instrument's music and was "musical" (μουσικόν). Several scholars over the preceding century have argued that Alciphron consciously reworks several musical episodes from Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* in this letter.[215] Yet none have discussed how this letter represents Alciphron's approach to depicting music,

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[215] cf. Reich (1894): 47-8, 53-5; Vaccarello (1935): 310; Carugno (1955): 154-5; Rosenmeyer (2001): 278; Hodkinson (2012): 46; Drago (2018): 212-13.

since he depicts his lone musical herdsman as a typical performer of music on the syrinx. This description is striking because it is isolated within Alciphron's corpus as a whole. Moreover, it is useful as a description of a herdsman's performance which is useful to compare with Longus' musical herdsmen.

The scarcity of references to pastoral society among Alciphron's *Epistulae* in comparison with Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* is due in part to Alciphron's focus instead on farmers within Attica. The rarity of depictions of herdsmen is also due in part to his attempt at verisimilitude by which comparatively few herdsmen would be writing letters.[216] Those herdsmen that are depicted, moreover, generally belong to the lowest rungs of this group — namely shepherds, swineherds, and goatherds — rather than cowherds, despite the known presence of such herders within Attica.[217] The few herdsmen Alciphron includes as correspondents largely enjoy the same music that other farmers enjoy, namely the stringed instruments and *aulos* music of city *hetairai*. Even Nomios' time among the disreputable neighborhoods of Athens in *Ep*. 2.22 is the extent of his interaction with actual music, since these *hetairai* would play the same music which Alciphron explicitly includes elsewhere (1.21, 2.14, 2.21, 2.31).[218] The herdsman in 2.9, however, offers an idealistic image of a herdsman's performances of music on a syrinx.

The most extensive exposition of musical themes from bucolic poetry occurs in 2.9. This letter is the only appearance of a musical herdsman within the text, and the specific use of musical and bucolic details is quoted in full (2.9.1-2):

Πρατίνας Ἐπιγόνῳ
Μεσημβρίας οὔσης σταθερᾶς φιλήνεμόν τινα ἐπιλεξάμενος πίτυν καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὔρας ἐκκαιμένην, ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τὸ καῦμα ἐσκέπαζον. καί μοι ψυχάζοντι μάλ᾽ ἡδέως ἐπῆλθέ τι καὶ μουσικῆς ἐπαφήσασθαι, καὶ λαβὼν τὴν σύριγγα ἐπέτρεχον τῇ γλώττῃ, στενὸν τὸ πνεῦμα μετὰ τῶν χειλέων ἐπισύρων, καί μου ἡδύ τι καὶ νόμιον ἐξηκούετο μέλος. ἐν τούτῳ δέ, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως, ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδυφωνίας θελγόμεναι πᾶσαί μοι πανταχόθεν αἱ αἶγες περιεχύθησαν, καὶ ἀφεῖσαι νέμεσθαι τοὺς κομάρους καὶ τὸ<ν> ἀνθέρικον ὅλαι τοῦ μέλους ἐγίγνοντο. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσαις τὸν Ἠδωνὸν ἐμιμούμην τὸν παῖδα τῆς Καλλιόπης. ταῦτά σοι οὖν εὐαγγελίζομαι, φίλον ἄνδρα συνειδέναι βουλόμενος ὅτι μοι μουσικόν ἐστι τὸ αἰπόλιον.

Pratinas to Epigonus:
When it was high noon, after I chose some breezy pine which was laying open to the winds, I sought refuge under it from the heat. And the thought occurred to me as I was

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[216] However, Alciphron also plays with the conventions of letter writing and depicts distinctly unreal episodes and characters; cf. König (2007): 257-9
[217] Jameson (1988): 93-96; O.D. Hodkinson (2012): 47.
[218] Alciphron may thus be ironically punning on Nomios' name as "herdsman" and as "grazing melody."

> chilling very pleasantly to try out something musical, and after I took the syrinx I ran it over my tongue, and was drawing a light breath over my lips, and I heard some sweet and pastural melody. In this moment — I don't know how — all my goats poured in from all around, charmed by the sweet sound, even stopping their grazing on the arbutus and asphodel; they all came under the melody. I myself mimicked the Edonian, the child of Kalliope, in the middle. So I bring you these things in good cheer, wishing that my friend know as well that my goatherd is musical.

This letter shares several details which Longus frequently uses to identify herdsman's performance of music in *Daphnis and Chloe*. The first significant details that appear in the letter are the time and location. Pratinas seeks shade from the noonday sun under a pine tree (πίτυς). Finding shade from the sun at high noon is a frequent occurrence in Theocritus.[219] Midday comes to symbolize the time sacred for Pan, and was the time when herdsmen rested and performed on the syrinx.[220] Longus also describes Daphnis playing the syrinx at noon (1.25.1). The *pitys* is a common tree in Theocritus, but is omnipresent in Longus.[221] The *pitys* is the tree that is sacred to Pan, through the myth of Pan and Pitys.[222] This myth of features prominently as the subject of Phatta's song in Daphnis' *aition* of the ringdove's song (1.27.2).

Pratinas explains that he decided to play something on his syrinx while he was reclining under the *pitys* in the midst of herding his goats. Longus, however, only includes one syrinx performance under the pine, when Phatta sings the tale of Pan and Pitys while seated under a *pitys*. More often in the novel, the *pitys* is identified as the location of Pan's statue (2.23.4, 2.24.2, 2.32.2, 3.12.2). The wind also whistles (συρίττειν) through the pines in the first summer *ekphrasis* (1.23.2), and Daphnis plays his syrinx to the pines in the second summer *ekphrasis* (3.24.2). Longus' single use of this combination of the *pitys* and syrinx performance, which appears in both bucolic poetry and in this letter by Alciphron, may thus identify this myth more closely with bucolic poetry than other herdsmen's performances of music do. Longus more frequently uses the oak instead as the choice tree for performing and reclining, either the φηγός

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[219] For shade, cf. Th. *Id*. 1.21, 3.38, 5.48, 5.61, 7.8-9, 7.88, 7.138;
[220] For the significance of noontime, cf. Borgeaud (1988): 111. cf. Th. *Id*. 1.15 as the time sacred for Pan, 6.4, 7.21 when Lycidas suddenly appears to Simichidas at noon.
[221] For the *pitys*, cf. Th. *Id*. 1.1, 1.134, 3.38, 5.49, 7.88; Long. *DC* 1.23.2-3, 1.24.1-2, 1.27.2, 2.23.4, 2.24.2, 2.26.2, 2.28.2, 2.30.3, 2.31.2, 2.31.3, 2.32.2, 2.39.1, 3.12.2, 3.24.2, 4.2.3, 4.8.4, 4.39.2.
[222] Borgeaud (1988): 57.

(2.5.3, 2.21.3, 2.30.2, 4.15.2), or the δρῦς (1.12.5, 1.13.4, 2.11.1, 2.38.3, 3.12.2, 3.16.1).[223] Pratinas' actions thus have some corresponding passages throughout *Daphnis and Chloe*, but more closely resembles a stereotyped performance from bucolic poetry .

The entire focus of this description is musical, and consists of an extended first-person *ekphrasis* of the performer's own syrinx performance. Pratinas explains that he produces a melody for the pasture (νόμιον…μέλος), language identical to the first of the melodies that Daphnis plays in his country concert in *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.15. After Pratinas begins playing, however, he is surprised, because the syrinx has seemed to bewitch all his goats (θελγόμεναι πᾶσαί μοι…αἱ αἶγες) from the sweet sound of the syrinx (ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδυφωνίας). The last lines, finally, enclose the reason for writing the description, which is so that this letter's recipient may learn that he has a musical herd (ὅτι μοι μουσικόν ἐστιν τὶ αἰπόλιον).[224]

The inclusion of these details about the pasturing melody and the musical herd of goats have encouraged scholars to assume that Alciphron is primarily referencing Daphnis' second public performance on the syrinx (4.14-5). The full context of both scenes indicates, instead, shared characteristics of herdsmen's performances to goats. In this scene, Lamon convinces Dionysophanes and Kleariste to hear Daphnis perform by claiming that Daphnis has "even made the goats musical" (πεποίηκε δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ μουσικὰς, 4.14.3). Daphnis then stands under an oak (στὰς ὑπὸ τῇ φηγῷ, 4.15.2) and gives an intentional public concert to mixed crowd of Mytileneans and countrymen (4.15.1-4). In this performance, he directs his goats to obey the instructions of his music.[225] Alciphron's Pratinas, however, performs his music in an entirely different context; he is alone, plays reclining under the pine, and accidentally charms his goats with his music. He even unintentionally summons all of the goats with this pastural melody, since they stop their grazing (ἀφεῖσαι νέμεσθαι), which is the opposite effect that the tune should have. Thus, the only real similarities that this performance bears with its model in 4.15 concern the name for the melody and the musical-responsive herd of goats.[226] A separate musical episode

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[223] Longus thus follows the Theocritean tradition of using the φηγός; cf. 1.23, 1.106, 5.45, 5.61, 5.102, 5.117, 7.74, 7.88. He may also be imitating Vergil's use of the similar-sounding *fagus*; cf. *Ecl*. 1.1, 2.3, 3.12, 3.37, 5.13, 9.9. cf. Karakasis (2011): 16, 29.
[224] Rosenmeyer (2001): 278-9.
[225] cf. Chapter 1.3.2, 5.2.
[226] For the musically responsive animals, cf. 1.19.3, 1.22.2, 1.27.3, 2.4.4, 2.7.6, 3.25.3, and 4.15.2-3

in *Daphnis and Chloe*, does, however, include other such details that Alciphron provides. In 1.13.4, Daphnis reclines at an oak in the morning (δρῦς) and plays the syrinx for his goats who were "lying down, as though they were listening to the melodies" (κατακειμένας καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν μελῶν ἀκροωμένας). This episode reflects the the musical elements in the first part of Pratinas' letter. Alciphron thus includes a number of details of Pratinas' performance, which appear throughout *Daphnis and Chloe*, to create this idealized bucolic performer.

Pratinas inserts another self-identifying detail, namely that he fancied himself as reenacting the part of Orpheus, the son of Kalliope.[227] Pratinas thus compares himself to the famous animal charmer, Orpheus, who was himself the son of a Muse. While this detail has been used to indicate that Alciphron misunderstood Longus, or attempted to "out-do" him in the musical description, another reason for including this detail may well rest in the names given to the correspondents, Pratinas and Epigonus.[228] These two correspondents lack farmers' or herdsmen's speaking names; that is, their names are "Pratinas" and "Epigonus," unlike the distinctly agriculturally-themed names Corydon (2.23), Nomios (2.22), or Ampelion (2.27), as some points of comparison.[229] Instead, the names of these correspondents are clear references to two famous musicians and inventors. Pratinas, of the early fifth century BCE, was a tragedian and dithyrambist, was reputedly the first to create satyr-plays, and was identified with the *kithara*.[230] Epigonus of Sicyon, of the late sixth century BCE, invented the eponymous *epigoneion*, another many-stringed instrument.[231]

If these two are the figures alluded to by the correspondents' names, then this detail provides some explanations of and motivations for the oddities within the letter. The first peculiarity is Pratinas' complete surprise at the goats' reaction (οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως, 2.9.2). If Pratinas is not *actually* a goatherd, then this reaction by the goats is novel to him, as he lacks the familiarity of long exposure to the animals.[232] His reaction is more appropriate to an urban dilettante who is playing the part of a goatherd for pleasure, as Dionysophanes does in *Daphnis*

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[227] Bonner (1909): 281-2. cf. Ver. *Ecl*. 8.3
[228] cf. Hodkinson (2012): 45-46. Hunter (1983): 30-31 suggests, however, that Alciphron is instead indebted to depictions of Orpheus in Roman wall painting.
[229] cf. Hodkinson (2019): 181-208.
[230] [Plut.] *de Mus*. 1142. cf. Mathiesen (2000): 92; Powell (2011): 399-400.
[231] Ath. *Deip*. 4.183d. cf. West (1992): 78-9; Power (2011): 133.
[232] cf. Drago (2019): 212-13.

and Chloe (4.13ff), and as the coterie of courtesans do in letter 4.13. Second, the name Pratinas in particular may be used because of the reader's association of the historical Pratinas with satyr plays and pastoral deities, and more indirectly, with the development of the bucolic mythology.[233] Third, both correspondents are associated with stringed or *aulos* music, but not the syrinx, which Pratinas uses in this letter. This replacement of one type of instrument with another of a very different sort may accord with Pratinas' unfamiliarity with its effects on goats. These discordances between the names and the content of the letter thus in turn emphasize why Pratinas includes such lively detail in the narrative, culminating in this big, Orphic, reveal. Pratinas may have started his afternoon with the intention of mimicking idyllic herdsmen, but he concluded it with an affectation for musical supremacy with his comparison to Orpheus, rather than a pastoral Daphnis or a Corydon.[234] Accordingly, we can take the letter writer's surprise and ignorance of pastoral as the result of neither correspondent being an actual herdsman. Instead, this letter is a clever illusion, as the correspondents are urban performers that are essentially in disguise.[235]

The Orphic detail in 2.9 does, however, also indicate a further aspect of *Daphnis and Chloe*'s herdsmen's performances which is prevalent throughout the novel's descriptions of animals' reactions to music on the syrinx. In Alciphron's *Epistulae*, Pratinas claims that his goats were "charmed" (θελγόμεναι) by the music of his syrinx. Charming animals in this way was one significant element of Orpheus' traditional mythological prowess.[236] Orpheus is never named in *Daphnis and Chloe*, although such scholars as H.H.O. Chalk have taken the narrative as an exemplar of an Orphic mystery text, reading seasonal elements of death and rebirth too far in the narrative.[237] Nevertheless, Longus also depicts his herdsmen as charming their animals by the music of the syrinx. For instance, in the first book, Daphnis' and Chloe's herd animals were "educated to obey the voice, the be charmed by the syrinx, and to be gathered by the clap of the

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[233] Contrast Casevitz (2002): 257; the use of real, as opposed to speaking names here actually undercuts the illusion of reality, if there was one at all.
[234] Hodkinson (2012):
[235] e.g. 3.5, in which a parasite dreams that he is briefly the shepherd Ganymede; 4.13, in which a group of courtesans and their lovers journey to a country estate for the purpose of sacrificing to the Nymphs and Pan.
[236] Carugno (1955): 155 argues that the Orphic elements of charming animals in *Daphnis and Chloe* and in the *Epistulae* is an element separate from the bucolic tradition. McCulloh (1970): 84, by contrast, asserts that Pan symbolizes the Orphic elements of nature and animals in *Daphnis and Chloe*.
[237] cf. Chalk (1960): esp. 34-38, and the connections with Dionysiac imagery.

hand" (ἐπεπαίδευντο, καὶ φωνῇ πείθεσθαι καὶ σύριγγι θέλγεσθαι καὶ χειρὸς πλαταγῇ συλλέγεσθαι, 1.22.2). Three other instances of "charming" occur in contexts that recall the performance of bucolic music. In 1.27, Daphnis' tale of the origin of the ringdove's "bucolic" (βουκολικόν) song, a male cowherd "charmed" (θέλξας) away eight of Phatta's best cows, effectively "de-cowherding" (ἀποβουκόλησεν) her. In the second book, when Philetas tells Daphnis and Chloe of his youthful exploits and of the apparition of Eros to him in his garden, he uses this same sense to note how Eros "charmed" (ἔθελγε, 2.4.4), and how he used to smash his syrinxes because they charmed his cows (μοι τὰς μὲ βοῦς ἔθελγον, 2.7.6), but not his beloved.[238] Longus also implicitly refers to the Orphic legend, when Daphnis tells Chloe the tale of Echo and her *sparagmos* at the hands of herdsmen by Pan's direction (3.23).[239] Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* accordingly contains several references to the Orphic elements of bucolic performance, including within mythological tales and biographical accounts of musical activity. It is only by reading Alciphron's *Ep*. 2.9, however, in which Pratinas explicitly connects Orpheus with the musical effects of herdsmen's performance on the syrinx, that this underlying element of herdsmen's music in *Daphnis and Chloe* can be read openly.

In this way, Alciphron's depiction of one, perhaps unprofessional, goatherd performing music on the syrinx to his herd of goats reveals the general aspects of the herding music that is performed in the narrative of *Daphnis and Chloe*. That is to say, Pratinas' performance under a tree in the presence of a herd of goats is emblematic of non-competitive bucolic music. Longus' herdsmen similarly perform to their animals under a variety of trees, and like Alciphron's herd of goats, many of Longus' herd animals are similarly responsive to music. Alciphron does not, however, depict a competitive musical exchange between two herdsmen, an aspect of Longus' herdsmen which only exists in the personal histories of individual cowherds.[240] Alciphron's singular musical herdsman thus offers a standardized depiction of herdsman's performance in Imperial literature against which Longus' performances throughout his narrative can be read.

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[238] The remaining three uses of the verb apply to Dryas being charmed with wedding gifts for Chloe (1.19.3, 3.25.3, 3.27.2).
[239] cf. Chapter 5.2.
[240] cf. Dorkon, 1.29.3; Philetas, 2.32.3. cf. below and Chapter 1.3.2.

These similar details between Alciphron's and Longus' texts inform the particular elements of bucolic poetry which Longus reinterprets within the first book of *Daphnis and Chloe*.

2.2   Bridging Bucolic Boundaries: Longus' Daphnis

Daphnis and Chloe depicts Daphnis' growing comprehension of this pastoral society's musical boundaries between cowherds and goatherds over the course of the first book. Musically, the first book shows Daphnis' development from imitating the music of nature to an ability to perform human music and relate stories in the genre of bucolic poetry.[241] In particular, Longus plays with the distinction between the term for a cowherd, βουκόλος, and the common name for the genre in the Imperial period, βουκολικός, an adjective which he uses twice within the first book, (1.15.2, 1.27.1) and nowhere else in the novel. Longus also uses the traditional myth of the bucolic performer, the cowherd Daphnis, to raise the reader's expectation that his goatherd, Daphnis, will become a bucolic performer. Longus casts the first book as a mostly self-contained narrative which shows the erotic competition between Daphnis, the goatherd but aristocrat by birth, and Dorkon, the cowherd and primary rival for Chloe's affection. Daphnis surpasses the bounds of the pastoral society which Longus throughout constructs for other characters, since he learns music which is appropriate for cowherds from Dorkon, and becomes a teacher of this bucolic music to Chloe. While Chloe also learns to play this music since she, too, is an aristocrat by birth, she learns only through Daphnis' musical instruction. After Dorkon's death in the wake of the pirate invasion at the end of the first book, Daphnis takes the position of that cowherd within this society as the main *bucolic* performer-in-training, a position which Longus develops through the remainder of the narrative.

Longus' presentation of Daphnis' musical and social development in the first book depends on Longus' use of the mythical Daphnis. This Daphnis was a cowherd who was abandoned as an infant near a cave to the Nymphs, and was renowned for his musical and herding abilities.[242] Diodorus Siculus calls him the inventor of the "bucolic poem and

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[241] cf. Alvarez (2006): 8 for the mimetic quality of Daphnis' musical development. For recent comprehensive lists of bucolic resonances in *Daphnis and Chloe*, cf. Effe (1982); Cresci (1981).
[242] cf. Diod. Sic. 4.84; Ael. *VH*. 10.18. cf. Hunter (1983): 22-31, esp. 23. For the creation and reception of the Daphnis myth, cf. Scholl (2014).

song" (ἐξευρεῖν τὸ βουκολικὸν ποίημα καὶ μέλος, 4.84.3). He appears frequently within the bucolic corpus, including as the subject of song three times in Theocritus' *Idylls* (1, 5, 7).[243] This Daphnis was also strongly identified with the syrinx, as Theocritus lists in Daphnis' dedications to Pan (*AP* 6.177 = *Ep*. 2 Gow):

> Δάφνις ὁ λευκόχρως, ὁ καλᾷ σύριγγι μελίσδων
> βουκολικοὺς ὕμνους, ἄνθετο Πανὶ τάδε,
> τοὺς τρητοὺς δόνακας, τὸ λαγωβόλον, ὀξὺν ἄκοντα,
> νεβρίδα, τὰν πήραν ᾇ ποκ᾽ ἐμαλοφόρει.
>
> White-skinned Daphnis, who plays bucolic songs
> on the lovely syrinx dedicated to Pan the following:
> the pierced *donakes*, the hare catcher, the sharp spear,
> a fawn-skin, the pouch in which he once carried apples.

Moreover, the myth of Daphnis was closely tied to erotic *pathos*, since he was blinded for betraying his lover.[244]

Scholars have long noted the correlations between Longus' Daphnis and the mythical cowherd.[245] Daphnis was abandoned as an infant, given a herdsman's name (τὸ ὄνομα… ποιμενικόν, 1.3.2), and dedicates his herdsman's equipment to the rustic gods at his recognition (4.26.2).[246] The analyses, however, have focused entirely on two opposite interpretations of Longus' use of the myth. Either Longus has badly attempted to graft the mythical Daphnis onto his goatherd so that he can have the best of two worlds: a famous protagonist, but one who, as a lowly goatherd, can fall in love with Chloe.[247] Or, Longus has made his Daphnis a goatherd so that the association of goats with copulation can amend the erotic conflict in the Daphnis legend.[248] Scholars have not, however, examined the musical implications of Longus' use of the mythical Daphnis for the goatherd. That is, Longus makes his goatherd into a producer of *bucolic* poetry like his namesake, by learning the music of *boukoloi* on a *boukolos*' instrument; this transformation comes about through Eros' beneficial role as a teacher for Daphnis and Chloe.

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[243] He is also mentioned in [Th.] *Id*. 8, and is one of the performers in 9; likewise, he appears in Th. *Ep*. 2-5.
[244] Ael. *VH*. 10.18 says that Daphnis was the first subject of bucolic songs because of this blinding.
[245] McCulloh (1970): 83; Hunter (1983): 22-31; Morgan (2004): 7-9.
[246] cf. Epstein (2002): 26-7.
[247] cf. Cresci (1981): 17-25 for this viewpoint taken to the fullest.
[248] Hunter (1983): 22-31.

At the start of the narrative, neither Daphnis nor Chloe are formally taught to play music. The pair are taught to use their voices, but not instruments, for herding their animals. The protagonists' foster-fathers, Lamon and Dryas, expect Daphnis and Chloe to be of a higher status than herdsmen on account of their *gnorismata* (tokens of recognition left by their natural families), and thus prepare their adopted children for elite society: "they taught them their letters and as many things as are lovely in rusticity" (γράμματα ἐπαίδευον καὶ πάντα ὅσα καλὰ ἦν ἐπ᾽ἀγροικίας, 1.8.1).[249] This education serves to mark out Daphnis and Chloe as special figures, since their adoptive fathers both expect to profit from their high birth.[250] Yet, the herdsmen do not teach their children how to play music of any sort, as would be expected of an elite education, even a fictional one.[251] The only musical education which Lamon and Dryas can provide for Daphnis and Chloe is in their instructions to manage their herd animals by either the crook or by the voice alone (μόνη φωνῇ, 1.8.2).[252] The narrator thus indicates that neither Daphnis nor Chloe is taught to perform music by their families.

Daphnis' and Chloe's musical development begins in the main part of the narrative, when Daphnis is fifteen and Chloe is thirteen. The protagonists' reaction to the music in the *ekphrasis* of spring displays their musical innocence through their attempts to imitate the natural sounds they hear. Daphnis and Chloe spontaneously imitate the buzzing (βόμβος) of bees and the sound (ἦχος) of musical (μουσικῶν) birds (1.9.1). The narrator presents Daphnis and Chloe as naturally imitative beings: "because they were delicate and young, they became imitators of the things they heard and saw (οἷα ἁπαλοὶ καὶ νέοι μιμηταί τῶν ἀκουομένων καὶ βλεπομένων, 1.9.2). Daphnis subsequently builds a syrinx out of slender reeds and connected with wax in response to

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[249] For Lamon's and Dryas' expectations of wealth, cf. 1.8.1, 3.25.3, 3.32.2.

[250] cf. Bowie (2019): 111-12 indicates that Longus adds a note of unreality by not explaining how the herdsmen themselves knew how to read or write.

[251] In contrast to this lack of musical education is Achilles Tatius' description of Leucippe in *Leucippe and Clitophon* as musically educated and capable of performing musical modulations when playing the *kithara* (τὰς καμπὰς τῆς ᾠδῆς, 2.1).

[252] The voice is similarly used as an accustomed call of return (ἀνάκλησει συνήθει) on their dogs (1.21.4).

this initial exposure to music.[253] Although Daphnis is not explicitly taught to play a syrinx, much less build one, his action shows that it is easy for herdsmen to imitate sounds on the syrinx.[254]

Dorkon's introduction into the narrative by name (Δόρκων δὲ ὁ βουκόλος) accompanies the first explicit reference to βουκολικός, when he gives Daphnis a syrinx. The nine-reeded syrinx (καλάμους ἐννέα) which Dorkon gives to Daphnis contrasts with Daphnis' instrument for its sophisticated construction from bronze and for its explicitly *bucolic* nature (σύριγγα βουκολικὴν, 1.15.2).[255] This adjective has a dual meaning: It underscores Dorkon's own occupation as a cowherd and refers to the "nine-voiced" (ἐννεάφωνον) syrinx of *Idyll* 8. By giving Daphnis this instrument, Dorkon introduces Daphnis to a simultaneously bucolic and cowherd's syrinx. The different gifts that Dorkon provides to Daphnis and Chloe, for him the syrinx (τῷ μὲν σύριγγα βουκολικήν) and for her a Bacchic fawn-skin (τῇ δὲ νεβρίδα βακχικήν, 1.15.2), also shows how Dorkon plays into the gendered dynamics of the pair: Dorkon expects Daphnis to play the syrinx, and for Chloe to dance like a Maenad. This "leading" role which Daphnis takes in learning music follows on Chloe's desire to be played like a syrinx by Daphnis (εἴθε αὐτοῦ σῦριγξ ἐγενόμην ἵν᾽ ἐμπνέῃ μοι, 1.14.3). Dorkon also teaches Daphnis cowherds' music on this syrinx at this point, since afterwards Dorkon pays Daphnis less attention (φίλος νομιζόμενος τοῦ μὲν Δάφνιδος ἠμέλει κατ᾽ ὀλίγον, 1.15.3). As a result, he has no other stated opportunity to teach him the cow-calling tunes which later save him from the pirates (1.29.2). It is by means of this gift, then, that Dorkon introduces Daphnis specifically to *bucolic* music, as opposed to *aipolic* music, as his first instance of formal musical instruction.

Some days following Dorkon's presentation of gifts to Daphnis and Chloe, Dorkon and Daphnis fall into a verbal argument (ἔρις) about love, with Chloe as the arbitrator (1.16). This speech competition has often been compared to a typical song-competition between herdsmen, as found in bucolic poetry.[256] The primary reasons for this comparison are that Dorkon and

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[253] ὁ δὲ καλάμους ἐκτεμὼν λεπτοὺς καὶ τρήσας τὰς τῶν γονάτων διαφυὰς ἐπαλλήλους τε κηρῷ μαλθακῷ συναρτήσας (1.10.2). Among the actions of the pair in response to this music, Daphnis builds his makeshift syrinx in parallel with Chloe's construction of a cricket-trap, offering the first indication of Daphnis' and Chloe's diverging musical interests. cf. Bowie (2006): 69. For the connections with Th. *Id*. 1, see Montiglio (2012): 136.

[254] cf. Ath. 4.174e. An even clearer opinion for the natural instruction of herdsmen to play on hollow reeds is found in Lucr, *DRN*. 5.1379-1435. cf. Van Sickle (2017).

[255] σύριγγα βουκολικήν, καλάμους ἐννέα χαλκῷ δεδεμένους ἀντὶ κηροῦ.

[256] cf. Valley (1925): 121; G. Rohde (1937): 36; Pandiri (1985): 120-21.

Daphnis in turn give speeches vaunting their own qualities for Chloe to judge and give a kiss as a prize. These speeches do not, however, include actual singing, nor do Dorkon and Daphnis compete on their instruments, as Dorkon reveals to Chloe that he has done many times in the past: "I defeated many cowherds *and* goatherds in competition" (πολλοὺς ἐρίζων καὶ βουκόλους ἐνίκησα καὶ αἰπόλους, 1.29.3).[257] The language of their respective speeches is, however, noticeably rhythmic, in the same way that Lamon's prose *aition* of the syrinx is rhythmical, but sweeter than song (μῦθον ᾠδῆς γλυκύτερον, 2.35.1).[258] While song competitions are prevalent within the bucolic tradition, no such competitive performances in song or music are acted out in the narrative; they are only related.[259] It is this lack of performed music in practice which better categorizes this speech contest as a mock bucolic competition.

This mock bucolic contest reveals Daphnis' new comprehension of bucolic performance, because it is Daphnis' first creation of bucolic poetry, following close upon his acquisition of a bucolic syrinx and the knowledge of cowherding tunes. In the bucolic tradition, the competitive amoebean exchange affirms the superiority of cowherds over herders of smaller animals.[260] Daphnis, however, wins this competition, even though Dorkon clearly shows that he is the larger and financially wealthier herdsman (1.16.1). The goatherd's unexpected victory over the cowherd is the obvious result of Daphnis' flattery of Chloe (1.17.1) and novelistic convention which ensures that the lovers succeed.[261] There is, however, an underlying implication that Daphnis' new familiarity with Dorkon's bucolic music has placed Daphnis on an equal competitive footing with Dorkon.

Daphnis' knowledge within the competition is surprising, and the erudite mythological content of his boasts provide the first indication that he is himself a bucolic poet, and perhaps a sophist, in training, in parallel with Dorkon. Daphnis calls attention to Dorkon's pale complexion, which is "white like that of an urban woman" (λευκὸς ὡς ἐξ ἄστεος γυνή, 1.16.5), and cites a series of mythological exempla, including Zeus', Pan's and Dionysus' relationships to

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[257] This lack of music has not prevented scholars from referring to it as a bucolic contest; see Pandiri (1985): 121.
[258] cf. Bernardi (1992): 29, for the rhythm of the competition between Daphnis and Dorkon.
[259] There are references to such competitions, mainly in Dorkon's dying boast (1.29.3), but also indirectly in Philetas' boasts among the gathered herdsmen of his youthful musical superiority (2.32.3). The other singing competition is inserted into Daphnis' *aition* of the ringdove's song (1.27).
[260] cf. Th. *Id*. 5, 6, and 8. Berman (2005): 231.
[261] Effe (1982 [1999]): 191 shows the bucolicization of the erotic and novelistic elements of *Daphnis and Chloe*.

goats (1.16.3-4). Daphnis' knowledge of mythology contrasts with the protagonists' unfamiliarity with the deities, and thus betrays a sophistic display on Daphnis' part.[262] The goatherd's sophistication and the unexpected outcome of the contest paint this episode as what G. Anderson calls a "sophisticated paradoxical encomium" within the narrative, and thus indicates that this conspicuously music-free contest is situated somewhere between the sophists' prose narrative and bucolic poetry.[263] As such, Daphnis exhibits a surprising level of knowledge in this "bucolic" contest with Dorkon, and this knowledge comes in the wake of his training to play a cowherd's syrinx.

The second seasonal *ekphrasis*, that of summer, reveals Daphnis' newfound position as an interpreter of bucolic poetry. The musical details within this *ekphrasis* reflect Daphnis' musical development during the spring, since the sounds produced by animals, namely the sweet sound of cicadas (ἡδεῖα μὲν τεττίγων ἠχή) and the pleasant bleating of sheep (τερπνὴ δὲ ποιμνίων βληχή), are no longer themselves explicitly "musical" (1.23.1).[264] Instead, the narrator intrudes with the suggestion (1.23.2):

> εἴκασεν ἂν τις καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ᾄδειν ἠρέμα ῥέοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους συρίττειν ταῖς πίτυσιν ἐμπνέοντας.

> One would imagine that the streams were singing while flowing softly, and that the winds were playing the syrinx while blowing in the pines.

This shift in the focus of the musical performance from the animals' noises onto the natural environment shows that while the animals may still be pleasant, the focus is now on instrumental performances. Specifically, the narrator's description presents nature itself as a musical performer, by noting the wind's whistling like a syrinx and the river's bubbling like singing. This comparison to human musical production reflects Daphnis' new familiarity with performance on the syrinx, and especially of his knowledge of bucolic music.[265]

A secondary element of the narrator's description, namely the allusion to Theocritus' first *Idyll*, reminds the attentive reader that in bucolic mythology, Daphnis was more often than not a *boukolos*, rather than an *aipolos*. Thus it is significant that this *ekphrasis* is also an allusion to the

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[262] Bowie (2003): 364. Elsewhere, the goatherds and shepherds do not recognize nor have a name for Eros (1.8.2, 1.15.1), and Daphnis later mistakes Chloe's Maenad costume for that of a Nymph (1.24.1).
[263] cf. Anderson (1982): 42.
[264] In contrast with the "musical" (μουσικῶν) birds of the springtime (1.9.1).
[265] Amado (1998): 288.

opening lines of Theocritus' first *Idyll*. This poem is an amoebean exchange which contains a lament for Daphnis, a cowherd (βούτας, 1.86).[266] The narrator, however, heightens the activities of the season, which W. McCulloh takes as "the pushing of descriptive metaphor into conceit," because Longus outperforms Theocritus in his natural setting's musical activity.[267] The emphatic allusion clearly positions Longus' *goatherd* Daphnis ironically within the usual tradition of the *cowherd* Daphnis, while indicating that his own Daphnis has the capacity to engage with bucolic material himself, despite his supposed social station as a goatherd. The narrator's allusion and the description of the summertime in general thus mark the new capacity of Longus' Daphnis to conceive of bucolic musical details of his own.

The protagonists' summer activities, moreover, provide evidence of Daphnis' usurpation of Dorkon's role as a bucolic musician. In parallel with the prior season, Daphnis' reaction to the summer includes teaching Chloe how to play the syrinx, which she, though a shepherdess herself, did not yet know how to play (1.24.4). Based on Dorkon's subsequent revelations, this is the presumed occasion in which Daphnis teaches Chloe to play cowherds' tunes on Daphnis' bucolic syrinx. Daphnis' musical activity, though in the service of cultivating Eros, shows his progression from a spontaneous creator of a goatherd's musical instrument to teaching Chloe how to perform on this instrument.[268] Daphnis has thus advanced from being a musical neophyte to becoming a teacher of music himself.[269]

Daphnis' interpretation of the ringdove's "bucolic" song (1.27) further demonstrates his skill in producing bucolic myths from his given material and to use that bucolic material to educate others. More than at any other moment in the first book, Daphnis' comprehension of bucolic music is in evidence in his *aition* of the ringdove's voice. The song of the ringdove spurs Chloe to seek to learn from Daphnis what the bird is saying (ζητούσης μαθεῖν ὅ τι λέγει), and Daphnis' resulting myth (μυθολογῶν) illustrates his musical development as one who is capable

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[266] "Even that pine, goatherd, the one by the springs, plays (μελίσδεται) some sweet whispering (τὸ ψιθύρισμα), and sweetly do you, too, play the syrinx (συρίσδες)." cf. Reich (1894): 56; Vaccarello (1935): 317.

[267] McCulloh (1970): 72-3. Cresci (1981): 17ff takes this magnification of nature's music as Longus' misunderstanding that the landscape in *Idyll* 1 prepares for the performance. Instead, Longus shows how his goatherd is becoming musically self-aware.

[268] Montiglio (2012): 141.

[269] The continued musical cultivation of Eros presents itself again in the next scene, when a chirring cicada hides under Chloe's clothing and provides Daphnis the opportunity to fondle Chloe (1.26.1-3).

of instructing (διδάσκει) Chloe in the origins and contents of the bird's song (1.27.1).[270] What is revealing, however, is the detail that this ringdove sings a *bucolic* (βουκολικόν) song.[271] The use of this term for the ringdove's song recalls the bucolic syrinx which Dorkon has given to Daphnis, since this is the only other use of this adjective in the novel. In this instance, however, there is nothing about the *ringdove*'s song which alludes to bucolic poetry *per se*; rather, the contents of the myth which Daphnis tells Chloe reveal the bucolic aspects of this song.

As some scholars have noticed, despite the narrator's assertion that this myth was often recounted (θρυλούμενα), Daphnis' *aition* of the ringdove's song is only extant in *Daphnis and Chloe*.[272] While the story's survival in *Daphnis and Chloe* alone is no certain evidence for Longus' invention, the narrator cleverly interacts with the reader by presenting this potentially new, but explicitly *bucolic*, myth in the guise of a commonly told narrative.[273] The bucolic aspect of the myth consists in its subject matter: It tells of the metamorphosis of the musically skilled (ᾠδική) cowgirl, "Phatta," and introduces a female cowherd who successfully enchants her cows with her music.   She is, however, bested in a musical competition by an anonymous male cowherd, who is similarly musical (ᾠδικός) and who charms (θέλξας) eight of her best cows away (1.27.3). Daphnis shows his remarkable ability to produce bucolic narratives by his narration of this story of the cowgirl's transformation. While Daphnis mirrors the ability of his fellow goatherds Lamon and the anonymous Sicilian goatherd to narrate tales, Daphnis diverges from these ordinary goatherds by telling a myth about two cowherds, and not about goatherds. Even more surprisingly, Daphnis engages with bucolic language by asserting that the young male cowherd de-cowherded (ἀπεβουκόλησεν, 1.27.3) Phatta while he was competing with her musically (φιλονεικήσας, 1.27.3).[274] The narrator thus presents the only example of a proper amoebean contest, though it is part of an inset story. Daphnis' knowledge demonstrates his

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[270] Létoublon (2013): 128-29.
[271] Maritz (1991): 62; Epstein (1992): 162-63.
[272] Bowie (2003): 465; Cueva (2004): 49-50; Kossaifi (2012): 576-78. Schlapbach (2018): 206-7 associates the term "θρυλούμενα" with the ringdove's chirping, rather than Daphnis' *aition*.
[273] Kossaifi (2012): 575-6. 578-81 notes that the ringdove is a "rather dull bird," which rarely appears in mythology, but which may have connections to Minoan or Near-Eastern cult.
[274] cf. Gutzwiller (2006): 389, for the further association of this verb with deceit.

ability to relate the performance of bucolic music, that is, a story about cowherds who compete in the style of bucolic poetry, in a narrative form, even though he is a goatherd.[275]

This narrative also associates, however imperfectly, Daphnis and Chloe with the participants in Daphnis' *aition*. While scholars have noted that this myth is an ill-fitting reflection of Daphnis' and Chloe's actual relationship, since neither one is a cowherd, nor do they compete against one another, Daphnis does attempt to equate the story's figures with their own activities.[276] Daphnis uses language to show the male cowherd's effect on the cows (θέλξας), which mirrors the narrator's previous remark that Daphnis and Chloe trained their herds to be charmed (θέλγεσθαι) by the syrinx (1.22.2). Along with Daphnis' assimilation of the cowgirl to Chloe ("there was a maiden, maiden": ἦν παρθένος, παρθένε, 1.27.1), this detail concerning the musically-responsive cows shows Daphnis' imperfect projection of himself and Chloe into the bucolic myth as *boukoloi* themselves. Daphnis' attempt to parallel himself and Chloe, though a goatherd and a shepherdess, onto these *bucolic* figures shows his new ability to assimilate himself to cowherds, rather than his own class of herdsmen. Specifically, Daphnis' ability to generate this *bucolic* story equates him with the mythical Daphnis, who invented the entire genre. Moreover, once Daphnis tells Chloe about the cowgirl's metamorphosis into the ringdove, he declares that "even now she reveals her distress by singing," (ἔτι νῦν ᾄδουσα μηνύει τὴν συμφοράν, 1.27.4). Daphnis interacts with the bucolic song of the ringdove to recount his own bucolic myth and apply it, however inappropriately, to his own situation. By thus interpreting the ringdove's bucolic song, he progresses from an imitation of nature to an interpretation of it.[277]

The last bucolic episode in the first book, Dorkon's dying speech in the wake of the Pyrrhan pirates' failed invasion (1.29-30), identifies Daphnis and Chloe as the inheritors of Dorkon's position as a bucolic performer and thereby anticipates Daphnis' future exposure to urban music. The appearance of pirates, predicted by the narrator in the prologue (*pr.* 2), is the

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[275] Philippides (1980-81): 195-96 notes that the bucolic nature of the ringdove's song colors the contest between the boy and the girl as a "traditional bucolic contest." See also Maritz (1991): 62, and Montiglio (2012): 151.
[276] cf. Pandiri (1985): 131; Bowie (2003b): 366-7); Montiglio (2012): 140.
[277] Kestner (1973): 169; Schlapbach (2015): 83-84.

first incursion of external figures in the novel after Daphnis' and Chloe's own discovery.[278] These pirates invade the pastoral countryside, seize Daphnis and Dorkon's herd of cows, and mortally wound Dorkon himself. Chloe discovers Daphnis' discarded syrinx and the dying Dorkon, who tells her how she may recover Daphnis through music.[279] It is at this point that Dorkon reveals the bucolic instruction which both the goatherd and the shepherdess possess at this point, when he gives Chloe his cowherd's syrinx and tells her the following (1.29.2):

> Λαβοῦσα τὴν σύριγγα ταύτην ἔμπνευσον αὐτῇ μέλος ἐκεῖνο, ὃ Δάφνιν μὲν ἐγώ ποτε ἐδιδαξάμην, Δάφνις δὲ σέ· τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τῇ σύριγγι μελήσει καὶ τῶν βοῶν ταῖς ἐκεῖ.

> Blow into it that melody which I at one point taught Daphnis, and Daphnis taught you; what comes after that shall be the province of the syrinx and the cows that are there.

In revealing to Chloe the cows' musical response, Dorkon shows that he had in fact taught Daphnis cowherds' music, and that Daphnis taught Chloe in turn. Chloe's success in summoning the cows, which "hear and recognize the melody" (ἀκούουσι καὶ τὸ μέλος γνωρίζουσι, 1.30.1), proves the efficacy of both Daphnis' teaching and the skill of Dorkon's syrinx, with which he, "in competition, defeated many cowherds and goatherds," (ᾗ πολλοὺς ἐρίζων καὶ βουκόλους ἐνίκησα καὶ αἰπόλους, 1.29.3).[280] Accordingly, in Dorkon's death, the narrator shows that Daphnis has inherited Dorkon's "bucolic" position. He has both learned bucolic music and become an effective bucolic instructor in his own right, in the model of the mythological cowherd, Daphnis.

2.3   Conclusion

   This analysis of the particular function of music that is derived in part from bucolic music has shown that Longus presents his goatherd, Daphnis, as a dynamic figure within the first book

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[278] Depending on whether the text reads Τύριοι or Πυρραῖοι, these raiders are either Phoenician *barbaroi*, or townsmen from the town of Pyrrha on Lesbos. In either case, the pirates are foreign to Daphnis' and Chloe's pasturelands. For the literary implications of the pirates in contrast to other novelistic conventions, see McCulloh (1970): 64; Bowie (2013): 192-3.

[279] Amado (1998): 290-291 stresses that this is the first appearance of the motif of the discarded syrinx, which is an indicator of pastoral distress. The syrinx likewise is discarded by Chloe when she is abducted by Methymnean noblemen (2.20.2), and by Daphnis when he fears he is about to become a plaything for the parasite, Gnathon (4.22.2).

[280] Montiglio (2012): 138-39. Only at the *bucolic* figure's death is there first a "reflection on the different *sounds* a pan-pipe might make;" thus Bowie (2006): 70.

of *Daphnis and Chloe*. In this part of his narrative, the narrator shows how Daphnis first learns to perform music on his syrinx spontaneously in response to natural sounds. It is only after his exposure to the cowherd Dorkon's musical instruction that Daphnis learns specific music for herding animals, namely, a tune for summoning Dorkon's cows. After this exposure to Dorkon's musical teaching, Daphnis takes on the role of being a teacher for Chloe, instructing her how to play the syrinx, how to play cattle-summoning songs on the syrinx, and how to interpret the bucolic song of the ringdove. Longus does not present Daphnis' musical knowledge as being that of any random herdsman's music, but rather that of *cowherds* specifically. Longus presents Daphnis, and through him, Chloe, as being familiar with *boukolikos* music, conflating the genre of bucolic poetry with the music and instruments associated with *Daphnis and Chloe*'s cowherds. These particular references to bucolic poetry show how Longus departs from the expected depiction of goatherding music, of which Alciphron's *Ep*. 2.9 provides a counterexample.

In this first book, Dorkon is the original performer of this bucolic music. Dorkon passes this knowledge on to Daphnis, when he gives him a bucolic syrinx and teaches him music that is appropriate for herding cows. As a result, Daphnis inherits Dorkon's position in society, a position vacated by Dorkon's death at the hands of pirates at the end of the first book. Although Daphnis remains a goatherd, his musical knowledge of cowherding music and his reproduction of bucolic poetic motifs allows the narrator to conflate this Daphnis with the prototypical musical cowherd, Daphnis. Longus accordingly imbues his goatherd with the musical characteristics of his more economically elite cowherds, who are the only herdsmen to play instruments in the narrative aside from Daphnis and his pupil, Chloe. By providing Daphnis with this instruction in cowherding music, Longus signals Daphnis' growing ability to perform music of various sorts, and prepares the reader for Daphnis' second musical instruction at the hands of the retired cowherd and farmer, Philetas, in the second book.

Chapter 3: Farmers and Festivities

This chapter shifts the focus from music performed in the course of herding to that performed in the course of agricultural labor, such as reaping or pressing grapes, or at rural festivals attended by farmers. This category of rural music differs from pastoral music by the change in the context of performance. I argue that this music, which has been overlooked by scholars on *Daphnis and Chloe*, differs from herding music not only in form, but also in content.[281] The inclusion of rural festivals in *Daphnis and Chloe* shows its protagonists' acclimation to more sexually and culturally mature music, beginning in the second book. In this chapter, I first analyze the performative characteristics that define agricultural music at the celebrations in Alciphron's *Epistulae* and in *Daphnis and Chloe*. I show that these festivals are linked to maturity, since they include performances by adults and frequently combine music, songs, and dances to an erotic or Dionysian theme. Alciphron's single rural party provides a basis for comparison with the rural celebrations throughout the second book and at the conclusion of the fourth book of *Daphnis and Chloe*. This chapter concludes with a close examination of the music that is performed at the festival that honors Pan at the end of the second book. I argue that Daphnis and Chloe begin the second book lacking the sexual and cultural maturity to fully comprehend agricultural music. After their fist exposure to vintage tunes, Philetas' lessons on Eros helps to acculturate the protagonists of *Daphnis and Chloe* to this more mature and technically complex music. By the conclusion of this festival to Pan, Daphnis' inheritance of Philetas' technically complex syrinx marks his maturity and ability to produce music that is appropriate for adult inhabitants of the countryside.

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[281] Maritz (1991): 60 succinctly, but perhaps inadvertently, marks the distinction between pastoral and more broadly rural music: "music with dancing makes a country celebration." *Idyll* 10 describes a harvesting scene, and the competitive music between Battus and Milon may be taken, according to Gow (1950): 2.193, as the "musical accompaniment to the work of the harvesting gang." Regarding *Daphnis and Chloe*, other scholars, such as Montiglio (2012) either attribute too much urban violence to agrarian festivities, or else ignore the difference in musical performance within pastoral and agrarian settings.

3.1   Alciphron's Farmers' Festival: *Epistulae* 2.15

Among Alciphron's farmers, there is precisely one description of a musical festival, which is detailed in a birthday invitation, 2.15. No other farmer interacts with music within the countryside; Alciphron's farmers mainly associate music with Athenian *hetairai*. Several of the farmers' letters emphasize their ease of access to Athens, and yet this proximity forms a tension between rural inhabitants and urban musicians.[282] This section will examine these tensions between Alciphron's farmers and the mostly urban music that they describe, before reconstructing Alciphron's conception of rural performances from the details included in *Epistulae* 2.15.

P. Rosenmeyer has argued that the second book of *Epistulae* is marked by a studied opposition between country and city, which is nevertheless mediated by the close proximity of many of Alciphron's farmers to Athens itself.[283] Several letters written by and for farmers emphasize their ease of access to Athens and the regularity of this communication. In *Ep.* 2.17, for example, Napaios relates how he visited the theater in Athens and watched the performance of a shell game master. Other remarks that are more relevant to musical experiences include references to *hetairai* from the city who use their rural patrons' time and money. In 2.14, Khairestratos curses Lerion for making him late in returning to the farm by charming him with her *auloi* (τοῖς αὐλοῖς) all night (καταυλέω, 2.14.1-2), and insists that she stick to clients in the city (2.14.2).[284] Similarly, in 2.21, the wife of the farmer Philopoimen complains about a thievish worker who wastes Philopoimen's estate by spending the stolen property at dinners where the *psalterion* and *aulos* are the entertainment on show. Other letters show that these farmers are familiar with *hetairai* who sing to the *kithara* (2.31). This particular letter shows Anthylla reprimanding her husband for becoming a toy (παίγνιον) for a "woman-kitharode" (κιθαρῳδοῦ γυναικός) which T. Power takes to be jeering in context.[285] These letters offer the impression that the farmers must escape from the sordid moral qualities of the city.[286]

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[282] cf. Drago (2018): 215-6.
[283] Rosenmeyer (2001): esp. 288 for the farmer's opposition to the sophistication of the city.
[284] Thus repeating the condemnation which recurs in orators concerning the easy access to and time wasted among the *auletridai* in the city; cf. Goldman (2015): 34-6.
[285] Power (2011): 65-6.
[286] Rosenmeyer (2001): 287-8.

An economic consideration accompanies two negative reactions to natural music among Alciphron's rustics. In the first, 2.2, Iophon complains to Erasto about his own rooster's crowing, because it disturbed him from a dream in which he had been a wealthy aristocrat (2.2.1).[287] In the second, 2.29, Komarkhides writes to Eukhaite about his new litter of pigs. Despite the joy at his sow's fecundity that one should expect from a poor swineherd, Komarkhides describes the piglets' grunting as unpleasant noises (γρύζουσι δὲ μάλ᾽ ἀηδές, 2.29.1). In addition to this disharmony, he offers to give them away because he cannot afford to feed them (2.29.2).[288] In both cases, the farmers' animals are, by their disharmonious voices, the cause of the rural denizens' "waking up" to the harsh realities of their collective penury. Unlike in *Daphnis and Chloe*, even natural sounds are no source of comfort for Alciphron's farmers.

Despite these several references to music, 2.15 includes the only such interaction in a rural setting described by the farmers, apart from the herdsman Pratinas' syrinx performance for his herd of goats in 2.9. This letter constitutes an invitation to a birthday party. In this letter, Eustakhys invites Pithaknion's household to this celebration, where he promises that there will be singing and lively dancing (2.15.1):

τοὐμοῦ παιδίου γενέσια ἑορτάζων ἥκειν σε ἐπὶ τὴν πανδαισίαν, ὦ Πιθακ[ν]ίων, παρακαλῶ…

Pithak[n]ion, I'm celebrating the birthday of my son, and I invite you to come to the banquet.

This letter obeys the standard rules for epistolary etiquette, since the request opens the letter and a rephrasing of the invitation closes the letter ("therefore don't delay, dear friend, for it is good to arrange the *symposia* (τὰ συμπόσια) in ideal festivals (ἑορταῖς) at dawn," 2.15.2).[289] The opening also identifies the birthday part as a festive celebration (ἑορτάζων), indicating that a ἑορτή embodies a particular kind of entertainment. Eustakhys continues, describing in vivid detail the ideal form of this future party (2.15.2):

ἑορτάσομεν δὲ μάλ᾽ ἡδέως, καὶ πιόμεθα εἰς μέθην καὶ μετὰ τὸν κόρον ἀσόμεθα, καὶ ὅστις ἐπιτήδειος κορδακίζειν, εἰς μέσους παρελθὼν τὸ καινὸν ψυχαγωγήσει…

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[287] ὅς με ἡδὺν ὄνειρον θεώμενον ἀναβοήσας ἐξέγειρεν. For the parallels with Lucian's *Gallus*, see Carugno (1956): 349; Anderson (1997): 2197-98; Rosenmeyer (2001): 270.

[288] μεταδίδωμι δῆτα καὶ σοὶ δύο τούτων ἔχειν οὔτε γὰρ πάντας οἷός τέ εἰμι τρέφειν τῶν κριθῶν ὀλίγων οὐσῶν. cf. Rosenmeyer (2001): 279-80 for the surprising logic of the swineherd.

[289] μὴ μέλλε οὖν, ὦ φίλτατε. καλὸν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κατ᾽ εὐχὴν ἑορταῖς ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ συντάττειν τὰ συμπόσια. For the epistolary convention, cf. König (2007): 262-4.

>We shall celebrate quite well, and we shall drink to drunkenness and we shall sing at surfeit, and whoever is ready to dance the *kordax*, after getting into the middle shall beguile us anew.

These details constitute a miniature typology of a rural celebration. In order to ensure that the party is successful, first the celebrants drink wine to their fill, and only after becoming drunk will they sing. This combination of drinking and singing clearly identifies this rural party as a symposium, as the closing exhortation indicates (τὰ συμπόσια). One of the partygoers will even add to the performative festivities by dancing the raunchy *kordax*. This combination of imbibing, singing, and dancing thus characterizes the only description of farmers' celebrations in the *Epistulae*.

Lacking from this party, however, are explicit references to instruments. The proximity of the farmers to Athens, and the affairs that Alciphron's farmers have with musical *hetairai* there, suggest that hiring or bringing entertainment on an instrument should be easy.[290] Instead, Eustakhys describes wine-induced singing and the performance of the *kordax* to the tune of these songs. This letter thus simultaneously describes ideal entertainment at a rustic party and continues the studied absence of instrumental performance by any rural inhabitant, with the exception of the goatherd in 2.9. Even the positivity of the party invitation is undercut by the fact that the invitee, Pithaknion and his dog must stay home, on guard against a thief (2.16.3).[291]

As with the presentation of pastoral figures in Alciphron's *Epistulae*, the farmers' interactions with music are few and associated almost exclusively with the urban *auletris*. As Rosenmeyer has indicated, there is a gender disparity between farmers' interactions with the city, since the women are focused on festival entertainment, whereas the men are engaged with prostitutes.[292] Letter 2.8, for example, offers the picture of a husband who writes to his wife, chastising her for abandoning her rustic way of life for the city.[293] This letter has its predecessor in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, and shows this farmer's wife desiring to become a courtesan in the

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[290] cf. Ael. *Ep. Rust.* 15, in which Kallipides suggests that the miser Knemon attend his sacrifice to Pan and listen to an *auletris* performing her music there.
[291] Rosenmeyer (2001): 279.
[292] Rosenmeyer (2001): 289.
[293] cf. Hodkinson (2018): 201-2, who gives this letter as an example of providing typecasting plural forms of names, in this context, critiquing the Athenian elite.

city.[294] The points of concern involve even the abandonment of their shared rural gods for those of the city, offering another example of the studied distinction between urban and rural manners and ritual. Accordingly, nearly all indirect references to music by Alciphron's farmers are tinged with a negative reception of urban inhabitants. Regardless, this sole birthday party in 2.15 offers details similar which reappear in the rural festivals in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

3.2   Longus' Rustic Rhythms: The Vintage Edition

The second book of *Daphnis and Chloe* introduces its protagonists to formal agricultural society, since they participate in the autumn vintage at the book's opening (2.2). Additional musical episodes recur in the remainder of the narrative that elaborate the implicit musical atmosphere of this vintage. Two celebrations in particular, the complex series of sacrifices and performances offered to the Nymphs and Pan following Chloe's rescue from the Methymnaean raiding party (2.30-37), and Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding at the conclusion of the novel (4.38, 40), provide detailed elaborations of the styles of music within the novel's agricultural society. While there are few detailed descriptions of rural styles of music in Greek literature, the lyrical subjects of certain songs identify their performance during aspects of rural labor or festival celebrations.[295] The narrator describes performances for harvesting grain (θερίζων) and for preparing wine in tubs (ἐπὶ ληνοῖς), which identify the content of the performances by the context of the labor. The agricultural music in the narrative is chiefly devoted to Dionysus, on account of the annual vintage which provides the context for Daphnis' and Chloe's experiences with agricultural laborers. It is during these festivities that an instrument other than the syrinx first appears within the narrative, namely the *aulos*.[296] These celebrations mark a turn towards

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[294] Anderson (1989): 114 connects this image to Daphnis' abandoning the Nymphs in 4.27, when he has been recognized as the other son of Dionysophanes.

[295] Athenaeus records a variety of different tunes, including those appropriate to different rural activities. Notable once include the *himaios* or *epimulios* (ἱμαῖος ἢ ἐπιμύλιος), which is sung while milling; harvesters sing the *Lityerses* (Λιτυέρσης); winnowing women likewise sing their own songs (τῶν πτισσουσῶν ἄλλη τις); similarly for hired laborers proceeding into their fields (τῶν μισθωτῶν δέ τις ἦν ᾠδὴ τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτώντων), *Deip*. 14.618c-619b. The literary tradition records agricultural songs extending back to Homer and the "Linos" song (*Il*. 18.570); cf. Sbardella (2016): 87.

[296] cf. Bundrick (2005): 107-10 for the use of the *aulos* at Dionysian festivals. Vergil notes that winter offers the most occasions for rural celebration (*Georg*. 1.300ff), and explicitly refers to songs in honor of Bacchus (*Georg*. 2.380ff). For wedding parties in the countryside, cf. Aelian *Ep*. 19, which mimics the substance, but not the musical detail, of Menander's *Dyscolus*. The *aulos* stands as Dionysus' instrument in contrast with Apollo's *kithara* in Delphi, according to Plutarch, *E apud Del*. 388e-89c. cf. Barker (2010): 117-8.

the final mixed rural and urban setting of the novel, and Daphnis' integration as a musician into this rustic society.[297]

The second book opens with the first celebration of the autumn vintage that is described in the narrative.[298] Daphnis and Chloe aid the local agricultural laborers as they prepare the grapes for the harvest and the festival of Dionysus, since they are both now old enough to be of assistance (2.1). They draw the attention of the older women and men respectively; while the women ogle and kiss Daphnis and compare him to Dionysus (2.2.1), the men in the vats catcall Chloe and play the parts of Satyrs set on a Bacchant (2.2.2). This scene is both the first description of the local laborers in their fields who interact with Daphnis and Chloe, and the first depiction of Daphnis and Chloe participating in agricultural labor.[299] The men's interaction with Chloe and the protagonists' response to the mature vintage activities offers the first description of rustic performance (2.2.2-3):

> οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς ποικίλας φωνὰς ἔρριπτον ἐπὶ τὴν Χλόην καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπί τινα Βάκχην Σάτυροι μανικώτερον ἐπήδων καὶ εὔχοντο γενέσθαι ποίμνια καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνης νέμεσθαι, ὥστε αὖ πάλιν ἡ μὲν ἥδετο, Δάφνις δὲ ἐλυπεῖτο. εὔχοντο δὴ ταχέως παύσασθαι τὸν τρυγητὸν καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀμούσου βοῆς ἀκούειν σύριγγος ἢ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτῶν βληχωμένων.

> The men in the vats hurled varied voices at Chloe and leaped around rather wildly as though at some Bacchant, and prayed to become flock animals and to be pastured by her, so that she, in turn, was pleased, but Daphnis was pained. But they prayed that the vintage would end quickly, and to hear the syrinx or their own flocks' bleating instead of the discordant shouting.

This first description of the vintage performance constitutes a celebration in miniature, since sounds, motion, and imitation combine in a festive atmosphere, although the narrator does not here describe this vintage as comprising a formal performance of song and mime.[300] Instead, the

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[297] After the first book, the musical activities which can be classified as strictly bucolic, rather than imitations of pastoral actions, consist of Daphnis' and Chloe's sacrifice to the Nymphs after the vintage (2.2.6); Philetas' autobiography (2.3.2, 2.5.3, 2.7.6); Pan's syrinx music which guides Chloe and their herds home away from the Methymnaeans (2.28.3-29.3); Daphnis' and Chloe's spring offerings of music (3.12.4); Daphnis' *aition* of Echo (3.23); the *ekphrasis* at the beginning of summer (3.24); and their respective final musical performances before dedicating their instruments to Pan (4.26, 4.32).

[298] In parallel with the opening of the fourth book (4.1-5), the following year.

[299] The narrator emphasizes the agricultural identity of these characters, specifically noting that they were in their field (κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, 2.1.1). Properly, the local villagers (οἱ κωμῆται, 1.11.2) who dig a pit to trap a wolf in vain are the first rural inhabitants who are not strictly herdsmen, and Dorkon offers marriage gifts to Dryas in exchange for Chloe's hand when he is laboring in his orchard (1.19.1-3).

[300] Montiglio (2012): 137 acutely observes a probable connection with the "tuneless shouting" (ἄμουσοι βοαί) of the mob in Plato *Laws* 700c, although she associates the behavior at the vintage with the violent "enemies of the musical order" which is separate from the idyllic pastoral atmosphere of the novel, since she assumes that this innocent pastorality is the norm within the novel.

narrator emphasizes the sexual undertones of the more experienced villagers' comments and actions, in addition to the negative reaction of Daphnis and Chloe to these sounds.[301]

The first acoustic feature which is relevant to the narrator's conception of agricultural music is the description of the men's varied voices (ποικίλαι φωναί). *Phōnē* is ambiguous in the narrative, and logically refers to jokes or catcalls if song is not considered.[302] A similar situation is described as entertainment at Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding, when "someone told the jokes made among the wine tubs" (ὁ δὲ ἔσκωπτε τὰ ἐπὶ ληνοῖς σκώμματα, 4.38.4). This repetition of the location of the wine tubs indicates that the narrator imagines a specific type of performance related to the vintage. Moreover, in Alciphron's *Ep*. 4.14, a number of courtesans hold a symposium and combine "songs, jokes, and imbibing" (ᾠδαὶ σκώμματα πότος, 4.14.3). Since these jokes at these occasions are both paired with songs, and at the wedding, the music of the *aulos* and the syrinx, they may possess some rhythmical, if not outright lyrical, aspect to them. At a first glance, then, the *poikilai* voices may be raunchy jokes in correlation with the class of jokes that Longus' vintage-laborers often tell. The narrator, however, does not call them jokes as such.[303] Moreover, Daphnis' and Chloe's own opinion of the vintage activities contrasts these "uninspired" sounds (τῆς ἀμούσου βοῆς) with their own familiar brand of music, the syrinx and the bleating of their flocks (σύριγγος ἢ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτῶν βληχωμένων, 2.2.3).[304] The protagonists thus contrast the sounds of the vintage-work with explicitly *pastoral* music and sounds.

While Daphnis and Chloe perceive the rustic banter at the vintage as nothing more than noise, this comparison indicates that the villagers' shouting at the vintage includes more than a cacophony of sounds. Vergil's *Georgics* includes a clear reference to technically crude songs and dances that the people perform among the harvest activities (*det motus incompositus et carmina*

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[301] Chloe is certainly familiar with the rough behavior of the older rural inhabitants of Lesbos, since her attempts to avoid the more "wild" older herdsmen (τῶν ἀγερώχων ποιμένων, 1.28.2) when leading out her sheep to pasture prevent the pirates from seizing her. Here, the laborers' further prayer to become Chloe's flock and be set to pasture by her (2.2.2) mirrors Chloe's own prayer to be Daphnis' syrinx and goats (1.14.3). Bowie (2019): 168 *ad loc*. treats the attempts on Chloe as a way to "highlight the possible threat to Chloe," a view which is symbolically relevant, but not harmful beyond stirring jealousy in Daphnis.

[302] Bowie (2019): 168 *ad loc*. interprets the voices strictly as sexual overtures.

[303] One may also consider the men acting like a chorus of Satyrs and in this way presenting a series of voices and comments.

[304] cf. Epstein (1992): 166.

dicat, 1.350), a description which captures the spontaneous and jocular atmosphere that is imagined here at the wine-pressing.[305] Since the narrator records Daphnis' and Chloe's reflection on sound, the unpleasantness of this interaction from their perspective may thus be one of unfamiliarity with the usual goings-on of adult estate workers and their crude styles of song, rather than pure jealousy at the old folks' flirtation. Yet, since the narrator does not include other explicit identifications of music at this vintage, he leaves it to the reader to consider how the men's voices may equate with shouting and music.

The laborers' paired activities of noise, through their voices, and movement, through the imitation of Satyrs, indicate the presence of a more complex musical atmosphere at this vintage. This combination of voices with imitation hints towards the general presence of song and imitative dance at rural gatherings in *Daphnis and Chloe*. The protagonists' limited perception of the men's activities at the wine-pressing nevertheless intimates the presence of tonal complexity in the laborers' interactions with Chloe. The adjective *poikilos* may be applied to a wide range of sensory descriptions and perceptions of objects and actions, but consistently indicates some form of complexity or variation. The narrator's use of *poikilia* to describe a strictly auditory phenomenon recalls not only the individual variety of voices, but also the *visual* associations that Greeks often made between color and music, such as the use of the term *chromatic* to refer to one variety of scales.[306] *Poikilia* may here refer to a visual act in addition to the voices, such as the nearly chorus-like aspect of the laborers' play with Chloe. The comparison of the men to Satyrs chasing after Chloe as though she were a Bacchant describes a sort of imitation which at least borders on dancing, such as a chorus, a *komos*, or a mime.[307] Moreover, this is the second reference to Bacchus in the narrative, after Dorkon's prior gift to Chloe of a particolored Bacchic fawnskin (1.15.2), in which Chloe danced (1.24.1).[308] A specific

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[305] Compare also the competitive singing of Theocritus, *Idyll* 10.

[306] cf. LeVen (2013): 232-4, 238-41 for a short catalogue of pre-Classical Greek extensions of the term, before a secure separation of *color* as a distinct point of terminology used in relation to music, concomitant with the elite reaction against New Music.

[307] cf. Luc. *Salt*. 79. For the frequency of the depiction of Satyrs among wine vats at *komoi*, cf. Bundrick (2005): 111-16.

[308] The narrator described the fawnskin's color as though inscribed with colors (αὐτῇ τὸ χρῶμα ἦν ὥσπερ γεγραμμένον χρώμασιν), a description of visual *poikilia* using other terms.

Dionysiac dance may have thus accompanied the sounds at this vintage, one that reappears in the festival to Pan.

The strongest indication that the men produce a song at this vintage is the existence of a dance that accompanies music during the pressing of the grapes. Pollux records the name of a specific song on the *aulos*: "The vintage tune for the *aulos*, when the grape clusters are crushed" (ἐπιλήνιον αὔλημα ἐπὶ βοτρύων θλιβωμένων, Poll. *On.* 4.55).[309] This reference to an *aulos*-tune is appropriate for a Dionysiac and rural performance, and the circumstance for this song suits the situation in *Daphnis and Chloe*. This is to say that while the men's imitative chase is rather overdone (μανικώτερον), and their voices are presumably crude, both the sound and the imagery have performative value. The narrator thus describes a series of activities which constitute an informal reenactment of Dionysiac festivals, such as Satyr plays and hymns to Dionysus or songs about wine.[310] That such songs are performed to the accompaniment of the *aulos* would indicate that this labor also implicitly exposes Daphnis and Chloe to this instrument, and is perhaps their first experience of it. At this point in the novel, the protagonists have little understanding of Dionysus, or for that matter of this association between dance and music in Dionysiac ritual.[311] In the previous season, when Dorkon gave Chloe a Bacchic fawn-skin, Daphnis misidentified Chloe as a Nymph when she subsequently dressed as a bacchant (1.24.1).[312] The protagonists are thus, in general, unaware of this more mature aspect of society and cultural tradition. The lack of explicit descriptions of music at this vintage, then, may depend on the narrative's focus on Daphnis and Chloe and their own unfamiliarity with mature society.

The final scenes in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the wedding celebration and wedding night (4.37-40), further elaborate the types of agricultural music that this society performs. The greater detail and specific agricultural attributes indicate Daphnis' and Chloe's full integration into adulthood. After their natural families recognize both Daphnis and Chloe and approve their marriage, all involved decide to hold the ceremony outside the cave of the Nymphs because

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[309] cf. Haldane (1966): 102.
[310] cf. Landels (1999): 20; Taplin (1999): 36-7
[311] Goldman (2015): 32-3.
[312] Cioffi (2014): 23-4.

Daphnis and Chloe could not bear the busyness of the city (4.37.1).[313] The narrator claims that they decided to have wedding celebrations of a *pastoral* sort (ἐδόκει δὲ κἀκείνους ποιμενικούς τινας αὑτοῖς ποιῆσαι τοὺς γάμους, 4.37.1). Yet, in his description he repeatedly points out the *agricultural* elements of the celebration. As part of the festivities, they invite the pastoral and agricultural characters in the novel, including all of the local villagers (πάντας τὰς κωμήτας, 4.38.1). The inclusion of these guests ensured that the celebrations imitated farmers' forms of entertainment (4.38.3):

> ἦν οὖν ὡς ἐν τοιοίσδε συμπόταις πάντα γεωργικὰ καὶ ἄγροικα. ὁ μὲν ᾖδεν οἷα ᾄδουσι θερίζοντες, ὁ δὲ ἔσκωπτε τὰ ἐπὶ ληνοῖς σκώμματα. Φιλητᾶς ἐσύρισε, Λάμπις ηὔλησε, Δρύας καὶ Λάμων ὠρχήσαντο.

> Thus everything was agricultural and rustic with these sorts of companions. One guy sang such songs as they sing while mowing, and another told the jokes made among the wine tubs; Philetas played the syrinx, Lampis played the *aulos*, Dryas and Lamon danced.

The two cowherds, Philetas and Lampis, provide the music, while the shepherd and goatherd dance. the presence of the *aulos* and the adjectives "agricultural" (γεωργικὰ) and "rustic" (ἄγροικα), however, indicate that the substance of these tunes and dances are rural rather than strictly pastoral. Moreover, the subject matter of the songs and jokes are appropriate to an agricultural setting, since mowing and grape-crushing are not the activities that young herdsmen in *Daphnis and Chloe* perform.[314] The explicit inclusion of the *aulos* may alter the form of the songs, rather than indicate the subject matter, since the *aulos* is capable of a wider range of sounds than the syrinx alone can produce.[315]

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[313] cf. Alvares (2006): 17 sees Daphnis' and Chloe's inability to bear the city for long indicates a "more pointed rejection of city-life and its status pretensions, and a partial refusal to accommodate to the *status quo*." Chalk (1960): 50 for the integration of urban and rural elements in harmony.

[314] As Oakley and Sinos (1993): 23 note, wedding festivals also included *skolia* at the feasts. The songs and jokes at this wedding may be related to *skolia*.

[315] Alvares (2006): 25 provides the intriguing observation that Lampis' performance on the *aulos* "may central [sic], for the musical ability is often linked to some nobility." The inclusion of the *aulos* and syrinx mirrors the celestial marriage at the conclusion of Apuleius' "Cupid and Psyche," inset within the *Metamorphoses*. When Cupid and Psyche hold their wedding ceremony, the gods perform their respective performances: "Apollo sang to the *kithara*, Venus stepped in to the sweet music and danced beautifully, with the scene thus made suited to her, so that the Muses surely sang the chorus, a satyr blew into the *tibiae*, and a little Pan breathed over the *fistula*" (*Apollo cantavit ad citharam, Venus suavi musicae superingressa formonsa saltavit, scaena sibi sic concinnata, ut Musae quidem chorum canerent, tibias inflaret Saturus et Paniscus ad fistulam diceret*, *Met.* 6.24). The combination of the *aulos* and syrinx played by rustic gods forms a neat parallel with the cowherds' music on the syrinx and *aulos* at this wedding.

Finally, the forms of entertainment are especially suited to the autumn season during which this celebration takes place. Dionysophanes' countryside excursion, which instigated the recognitions of Daphnis and Chloe, was timed to match the end of the vintage, including preserving visual imitations of the vintage to please the aristocrats (4.5.1). Athenaeus records a description of a Dionysiac festival held by Ptolemy II, in which imitation Satyrs acted out the vintage. During this performance, sixty Satyrs sang a vintage melody to the *aulos* (ἐπάτουν δὲ ἑξήκοντα σάτυροι πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες μέλος ἐπιλήνιον, 5.199a). The similarly idealistic entertainment at the wedding, in the company of aristocrats and countrymen, matches these kinds of vintage songs played to the *aulos*, and adds explicit songs of other varieties. Since Dryas performs a vintage dance (ἐπιλήνιον…ὄρχησιν) to Philetas' Dionysiac melody (Διονυσιακὸν μέλος) at the festival to Pan in the second book, which I discuss in the final section, the reader can imagine that the music and dances performed at this wedding resemble such specific forms of song.

The specifically agricultural basis of these songs and entertainments looks ahead to the symbolic nature of Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding and wedding night. In reaching this milestone, they effectively become adults, and are fully integrated into mature society.[316] It is thus natural that the narrator describes the *hymenaion*, the last piece of music referenced in the narrative once the party reaches the wedding suite, as specifically agricultural (4.40.1-2):

> οἱ μὲν συρίττοντες, οἱ δὲ αὐλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δᾷδας μεγάλας ἀνίσχοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ πλησίον ἦσαν τῶν θυρῶν ᾖδον σκληρᾷ καὶ ἀπηνεῖ τῇ φωνῇ καθάπερ τριαίναις γῆν ἀναρρηγνύντες, οὐχ ὑμέναιον ᾄδοντες.

> Some played the syrinx, others played the *aulos*, still others held up large torches, and when they were nearer the doors, they sang with a harsh and rough voice, as though they were breaking up the earth with pitchforks, not singing a *hymenaion*.

There are a few elements which make this passage stand out among *Daphnis and Chloe*'s musical episodes. First is that there is a sudden multiplication of both *auloi* and syrinxes; this wedding party now resembles a full musical procession, if not a proper *komos*. Second, when the narrator reaches the words of the *hymenaion*, the description of the sound of the voices passes directly into an agricultural image that *denies* the performance of a *hymenaion*. This

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[316] cf. Montiglio (2012): 138.

aspect of the wedding song can have two meanings. One indicates the crude nature of the agricultural performers; their voice is rough and this tonal form reinforces the earthy subject matter of the song.[317] This roughness may indicate physical violence, of the sort that Lykainion cautions Daphnis against when she teaches him how to complete the sexual act (3.19).

The second is that instead of singing the expected words of a *hymenaion*, the procession replaces these words with lyrics that are fitting for plowing songs. This topic is symbolically suited to Daphnis' and Chloe's activities that night, since plowing is an appropriate metaphor for penetration and the fulfillment of Eros in their wedding chamber.[318] It indicates Daphnis' and Chloe's maturity at the conclusion of the novel, since the references to agriculture only appear with respect to Daphnis' impending matrimony to Chloe.[319] However, this final appearance of violence is not physical but an auditory *mimēsis* of the act of plowing that integrates the protagonists into adult society.[320]

These depictions of countryside celebrations bear the markings of a mature agricultural society in *Daphnis and Chloe*, but one which the protagonists only infrequently encounter. The details regarding voices and jokes at the vintage and the existence of songs suitable for mowing, and capable of imitating plowing, show a range of musical material within the broader rural society in Longus' novel. Both celebrations include specific songs and dances that are performed to music, and the wedding celebrations explicitly include the presence of the *aulos* in the performance. This music differs from Daphnis' and Chloe's usual herdsmen's music in subject matter, performance, and sound, and require a number of participants to execute the performative complexity of this music. Finally, the details provided in these two episodes indicate the

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[317] cf. Bowie (2006): 76. Anderson (1982): 44 simply calls this song a "dreadful din."

[318] A further example of the *hymenaion* in an Imperial fictional narrative offers some corroboration for Longus' unusual description of the *hymenaion*. Achilles Tatius includes a reference to the blowing of the wind functioning as a *hymenaion* in a humorous passage of *Leukippe and Kleitophon* after Leukippe's purported decapitation, when the widow Melite attempts to sleep with Kleitophon aboard ship: "It seems to me that the *aulos*-playing of the winds sing a *hymenaion*" (ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑμέναιον ᾄδειν δοκεῖ τὰ τῶν ἀνέμων αὐλήματα, 5.16.5). This play with the sound of the winds in the sails as the instrument *aulos* and as the *hymenaion* shows that a writer of fiction can compare any suitable sound, however inappropriate, to the wedding song if need dictates it.

[319] cf. 3.29.2, when Daphnis requests Chloe's hand for marriage, and boasts: "I even know how to mow well and to prune the vine and dig holes for trees; I also know how to plow the land and to winnow to the wind" (ἐγὼ καὶ θερίζειν οἶδα καλῶς καὶ κλᾶν ἄμπελον καὶ φυτὰ κατορύσσειν. οἶδα καὶ γῆν ἀροῦν καὶ λικμῆσαι πρὸς ἄνεμον). cf. Saïd (1999): 106-7, who argues that Longus rarely mentions real agricultural work to distinguish his aristocratic protagonists from "real" rural inhabitants.

[320] Corsino (2018): 38.

protagonists' sexual and cultural maturity; at the first vintage, they perceive only tuneless (ἀμούσου) noises, and the narrator glancingly indicates the production of a festival performance. At Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding, however, the narrator provides an explicit account of dancing, song, and music that is performed on the *aulos*; The maturity of the newlyweds appears in the subject matter of the songs, which are fitting for adult labor. The festival of Pan at the midpoint of *Daphnis and Chloe* indicates how and when this shift occurs.

3.3   The Three-Fold Festival for Pan

The second series of rustic celebrations bookends the second book of *Daphnis and Chloe*, just as the vintage-labor opens the book. Unlike the vintage festivals for Dionysus, however, this second set of performances are ostensibly in honor of Pan and the Nymphs, in thanks for Chloe's miraculous rescue from the hands of the raiding party from Methymna. What is especially significant at this festival is the complex interrelation between song, music, and dance which these celebrations detail. This combination of music with other forms of performance and the content of the music itself fleshes out rural society and Daphnis' integration into it at the performance's conclusion. The successive sacrifices to the Nymphs (2.30-31) and to Pan (2.32) yield to a full rural celebration of three types of performance, one from each herdsman, Lamon (2.34), Philetas (2.35), and Dryas (2.36). These three performances mix pastoral subjects that are unaccompanied by music with horticultural topics that are accompanied by Philetas' syrinx. The maturity of these performers show how adults' agricultural music differs from the children's purely herdsmen's experiences. The festivities conclude with a mimetic dance and Daphnis' solo performance on Philetas' syrinx (2.37), an action which cements his role as a mature, culturally conversant rural performer in contrast with Chloe's literal disappearance from the musical scene. The significance of Philetas is established after his preliminary instruction in Eros (2.4-7). The cultural symbolism and musical significance of this set of performances is, throughout, guided by Philetas' education and his syrinx, which recalls the rustic *aulos* to the reader.

3.3.1 Philetas' Instruction in the Deeds of Eros: 2.3-7

The episode which immediately follows the vintage labor illustrates the protagonists'

need to be educated in non-pastoral terms, and prepares them for the performances after Chloe's

rescue.[321] A few days after the vintage, the retired cowherd, Philetas, abruptly appears to

them.[322] He recounts the epiphany of Eros in his garden, in a narrative which is marked by its

educative function.[323] In this story, he relates how his attempt to catch Eros in his garden was a

"complex" matter (ποικίλον, 2.4.3).[324] In his further exegesis to Daphnis and Chloe (2.7),

Philetas steers them away from a dependency on pastoral music, in favor of fulfilling their

natural sexual impulse.[325] He explicitly calls nature the "composition" of Eros (τὰ φυτὰ πάντα

τούτου ποιήματα, 2.7.3), allowing for the dual reference of *poiēma* to creation and to literary

production.[326] Philetas also reports how, although he called on Pan and Echo, he smashed his

syrinxes because they were good enough for his cows, but not for Amaryllis, indicating the

inefficacy of indulging in pastoral musical behaviors.[327]

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[321] Philetas' instruction of Daphnis and Chloe has been interpreted as a pastoral succession story; cf. Di Marco (2006a): 479-98; Hubbard (2006a): 101-6; Bowie (2013): 180.

[322] Philetas' abrupt appearance has been compared to an epiphany of a deity, in parallel with Lycidas' appearance to Simichidas in Theocritus' *Idyll* 7. cf. McCulloh (1970): 94. Per Pearce (1988): 287ff, the noontime appearance of Eros to Philetas also mirrors the noontime apparition of Lycidas to Simichidas, which signals the transfer of poetic art into Simichidas' possession. This similarity is somewhat imperfect, since Lycidas is a goatherd, whereas Philetas is a cowherd, which may signal Longus' "restoration" of the cowherd's status; cf. Berman (2005): 241-2.

[323] The use of παιδεύω at the close of the *mythos* and the exegesis (2.8.1) partially mirrors the educative succession of bucolic performers, as Herrmann (2006): 206-7, although the instruction is incomplete. Whitmarsh (2005a): 146 notes that this faulty teaching may be a note of Longus' parody of the historical Philetas, as much as a reference to pastoral tradition.

[324] Philetas describes his garden (κῆπος) as a simulacrum of a temple grove (ἄλσος), which is especially appropriate for an apparition of a deity; cf. Bonnechere (2007): 29-30; Philippides (1978): 191. A κῆπος alone, however, may constitute a sacred space, cf. Calame (2007): 45; Pandiri (1985): 118. The idyllic description of the garden emphasizes the narrative significance of Philetas' garden, creating a pastoral space within the pastoral space; cf. Forehand (1976): 105. The presence of an *ekphrasis* of music here, rather than for Dionysophanes' garden, precludes the repetition of these details for the latter garden; cf. Zeitlin (2013): 70-71. Philetas's description associates Eros with a bird, connecting the deity with natural music for Daphnis' and Chloe's understanding; cf. Maritz (1991): 60; the symbology of the bird connects Eros with music, and music was a common symbol of the ordering of the universe, which partially explains Eros' cosmogonic prowess in Philetas' narrative; cf. Chalk (1960): 37. The use of avian imagery also alludes to Moschos' *Eros Drapetes*; cf. Valley (1925): 88.

[325] Montiglio (2012): 136 interprets these expressions of Eros in contrast with music as an imitation of the production and "death" of bucolic music; Daphnis' and Chloe's laments in the first book provide a prelude to Philetas' teaching in the second, that satisfying Eros may require some silencing of bucolic music.

[326] Illustrating the "words" and perhaps not necessarily the "works" of Eros, which Whitmarsh (2011): 104-5 places within Lykainion's wheelhouse.

[327] Montiglio (2012): 137 notes that Philetas in his youth mirrors the syrinx smashing at Dorkon's funeral. Bowie (2006): 70 remarks that this is the first explicit connection between Pan and the syrinx, although there had been several indications in the text through this point.

As a retired horticulturalist with farmers and cowherds as children (2.3.3, 5.3), Philetas aims here to acculturate Daphnis and Chloe into a more mature society. His specific choice of *poikilos* in his visual description of Eros recalls the *poikilai* voices at the vintage labor a few days and chapters before his appearance to Daphnis and Chloe. This usage of *poikilos* to describe Eros strengthens the associations between this activity and mature behavior. While *poikilia* is not synonymous with the sexual aspects of maturity and and social complexity, an understanding of *eros* is required for Daphnis and Chloe to participate in mature activities. Meanwhile, Philetas' use of *poiēmata* is the first use of this word.[328] While it means physical workings, rather than musical production, *poiēma* appears only one other time, in the compositions that are sung in celebration of Chloe's return later in the book (2.31.2). Philetas' use of these terms in his education of Daphnis and Chloe underlines Eros' connections with education and eros' musical relevance that I argue is present in the novel. This story charms Daphnis and Chloe, but they fail to effectuate Philetas' precepts before the Methymnaeans' vacation in the countryside.[329] The erotic aspect of Philetas' education will not be fulfilled until Lykainion's instruction of Daphnis (3.17-19) and their wedding night (4.40), but it does prepare Daphnis for his musical showmanship at the thanksgiving to Pan.

3.3.2   Pastoral Preliminaries to the Festival to Pan: 2.30-31

This celebration occurs in the shadow of Chloe's rescue from the Methymnaeans, concluding a series of external incursions which separate Philetas' instruction of Daphnis and Chloe from the end of the second book. Over this intervening period, Philetas is shown as an able adjudicator, and Daphnis as an effective apologist, at the country court (2.15-17), and Chloe is captured by a Methymnaean naval contingent (2.19-20). Regarding the musical significance of this urban and military intrusion, Chloe is rescued when the sound of Pan's syrinx first blares out from the headland like a *salpinx,* and then leads Chloe and the protagonists' flocks away

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[328] Philetas' garden and narrative is also connected with the grove and narrator of the prologue (pr. 1-3), including the use of the verb ἐξεπονησάμην. This similarity further strengthens the sense of ποιήματα as "composition"; cf. Calame (2007): 51. As Kestner (1973) 170 indicates, Philetas' distinction between *mythos* and *logos* defines the narrative itself; as a result, as Cioffi (2014): 23 contends, this use of an internal narrative "shift[s] skepticism about epiphany from the external narrator to the internal audience."

[329] The charm of the story also mirrors the usual effects of the syrinx, but without musical performance; cf. Philippides (1980-81): 198; Calame (2007): 52.

from the Methymnaean ships (2.25-29), as though they were a chorus (ὥσπερ χορός, 2.29.1).[330] This performance provides the first appearance of the term *khoros* in *Daphnis and Chloe*, and foreshadows the multiple Dionysiac dances in the sacrifices which follow Chloe's return.[331]

Once Chloe and their flocks return from the Methymnaeans' ships and Chloe relates to Daphnis how she was rescued, Daphnis realizes that this miracle was the working of Pan and the Nymphs (2.30.4). Daphnis prepares the sacrificial meat and sends Chloe to fetch their respective families and supplies for the sacrifice (2.30.3).[332] The resulting sacrifices are thus attended by a small collection of farmers and herdsmen, who reenact "a pastoral sacrifice for a pastoral deity" (ποιμενικὸν ἀνάθημα ποιμενικῷ θεῷ, 2.31.3).[333] The two sacrifices, first that night for the Nymphs, and second, to Pan in the morning, offer two variant musical performances.

These expressions of music mirror the religious hymns which accompany sacrifices and serve as dedicatory offerings themselves.[334] The first is a series of hymns sung during the sacrificial meal: "they also sang some songs to the Nymphs, poems of prior pastors" (ᾖσάν τινας καὶ ᾠδὰς εἰς τὰς Νύμφας, παλαιῶν ποιμένων ποιήματα, 2.31.2). The celebrants honor the Nymphs with a fitting performance, namely sung compositions. This detail of *poiēmata* demonstrates the existence of an established ritual tradition within the narrative, since the narrator conceives of traditional hymns specifically composed for the Nymphs. Although the use of *poiēmata* may satisfy, on one level, Longus' penchant for alliteration (*palaiōn poimenōn poiēmata*), this second and final appearance of the term in the novel recalls Philetas' exegesis of nature as Eros' composition (ποιήματα). The narrative at this stage verbally echoes this initial teaching of Philetas.

The sacrifice for Pan the next morning offers a different pattern of musical detail. In this sacrifice, Chloe sings in company with Daphnis' syrinx (ᾖσεν ἡ Χλόη, Δάφνις ἐσύρισεν, 2.31.3)

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[330] cf. Chapter 4.2. Bowie (2019): 205 *ad loc*. takes this chorus as being purely visual, rather than the auditory chorus of the fishermen in 3.21-2.

[331] Epstein (1995): 28 notices the choral aspect of the flocks, but is cautious in referring to the goats and sheep as a chorus. The "chorus" of animals around Chloe essentially functions as a dithyrambic or comedic chorus.

[332] καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀποπέμπει κομίσουσαν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δρύαντα καὶ Λάμωνα καὶ ὅσα πρέπει θυσίᾳ.

[333] Properly, this narrative detail applies to the goatskin sacrificed to Pan in the morning, although pastoral (ποιμένων) songs are sung to the Nymphs the night before, and the sheepskin offered to the Nymphs would also be considered "pastoral."

[334] Bellia (2018): 89-90 for the near-constant presence of music at sacrifices. *Daphnis and Chloe* does not always include this detail, however, and so the presence of music at these sacrifices is particularly noteworthy.

between the first offerings of wine and meat and the main meal.[335] The narrator does not expressly indicate whether the musical patterning exists for narrative variation or because a ritual to Pan demands a different kind of musical accompaniment than the Nymphs. Given the performative distinction between the Nymphs and Pan, which Philetas refers to when he first meets the protagonists ("I sang many songs to these Nymphs, played many songs on the syrinx to that Pan," πολλὰ μὲν ταῖσδε ταῖς Νύμφαις ᾖσα, πολλὰ δὲ τῷ Πανὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐσύρισα, 2.3.2), it is not impossible that Longus envisions a ritual distinction between the Nymphs, in concert song, and Pan, in instrumental performance. Music accompanies the offering of the animal at no other sacrifices in the narrative.[336] The appearance of ritual music and the presence of dance emphasize the formality of these religious offerings, which are more complex than those produced by Daphnis and Chloe alone.[337] Since the performers at this morning sacrifice are Daphnis and Chloe, however, they use their respective accustomed instruments, the syrinx and the voice, instead of an *aulos*.[338] The presence of music in these circumstances depends on the large number of participants who share a knowledge of ritual song, and who may observe Daphnis and Chloe as they perform in turn.

3.3.3   Philetas the Performer: 2.32-38

Philetas' unexpected appearance on the scene, however, provides additional performative experience to the party. His skill on the syrinx turns the festival to Pan into one which also celebrates Dionysiac and other mature themes. Philetas appears with his youngest son, Tityros, to offer grapes and garlands to Pan, but joins the other older men at the sacrifice, including Lamon and Dryas.[339] His presence spurs the old men to boast to each other about their feats as

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[335] The only clear literary description of a sacrifice to Pan using the syrinx. cf. Haldane (1966): 105.

[336] The nearest analogues are at the funeral for Dorkon, at which several syrinxes are smashed (1.31.3), and Daphnis' and Chloe's separate dedications of their instruments (4.26, 4.32). In this latter instance, Daphnis' instrumental offerings follow sacrifices, as here. The sacrifice of the goat which is offered to Dorkon (1.12.5) is not related in the narrative.

[337] Bellia (2018): 89-90 indicates how the music and dancing themselves are one component of the ritual offering, in tandem with the physical offering

[338] cf. Haldane (1966): 99 for the *aulos* as the normative, but not exclusive instrument at religious festivals; Longus appears to emphasize the herdsman-like nature of this smaller gathering and the pastoral Pan by relating the only types of music which shepherds and goatherds in his narrative produce.

[339] Scholars' attention to the adults' performances in this festival are mainly drawn to the potential meta-literary allusions that Longus makes to prior bucolic poetry and the motif of poetic succession. cf. Hubbard (1998); Hubbard (2006a); Di Marco (2006).

young herdsmen: how they herded their flocks, escaped from pirates, or killed a wolf (2.32.3). The last boast is Philetas': "how he played the syrinx second to Pan alone" (ὡς μόνου τοῦ Πανὸς δεύτερα συρίσας, 2.32.3). This last reflection on the musical skill of the old man's former herding days causes Daphnis and Chloe to ask Philetas to not only share his musical skill with them, but also to "play the syrinx at the festival of a god who takes joy in the syrinx" (συρίσαι τε ἐν ἑορτῇ θεοῦ σύριγγι χαίροντος, 2.33.1). Thus far, the narrative seems to indicate that the celebration will continue with pastoral details.

The narrator, however, indicates in this passage that there are several social elements at this gathering which spur the series of performances to take a different, Dionysiac direction. The first is the addition of Philetas, a cowherd whose presence complements the retired goatherd and shepherd, and who is the only adult figure of the three who is known to have played music.[340] The second is the combination of adults with wine (ὑποβεβρεγμένοι, 2.32.2), which encourages the competitive boasts. These elements ensure that the resulting performances are not those of the children, but of the more experienced adult men. The final detail that ties the upcoming performances with rustic, rather than pastoral, celebrations is the use of the term "ἑορτή" to describe the honor they are giving to Pan. Every other use of this term in *Daphnis and Chloe*, as in the *Epistulae*, indicates the presence of either agricultural laborers or explicitly urban celebrants.[341] Philetas' appearance will accordingly add hints of rural society to the broadening festival to Pan.

Lamon's offer to relate the *aition* of the syrinx while Tityrus fetches Philetas' instrument comprises the first element of the performance. In this myth, Lamon includes an explicit account of the transfiguration of non-musical objects into musical ones. In this case, Lamon's phrasing of Pan's pursuit of Syrinx shows the semantic significance of "*kalamos*" for a reed instrument. When Syrinx flees Pan, she hides herself among *donakes* (δόνακας, 2.34.2), which Pan cuts down. These two appearances of "*donax*" are Longus' only uses of the word in the narrative. When, however, Pan thinks of the instrument (τὸ ὄργανον νοεῖ), he blows into the *kalamoi* (τοὺς

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[340] Per Philetas' lesson to Daphnis and Chloe (2.3.2). As noted in Chapter 1, Philetas is the only mature former herdsman who is depicted playing music; neither Dryas nor Lamon perform, they only dance or sing.
[341] cf. the vintage (2.2.1), the Methymnaeans' epinician celebrations (2.25.3), and the various celebrations hosted by Dionysophanes, including Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding (4.26.1, 33.1, 37.2, 38.4).

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καλάμους <ἐμπνεῖ>, 2.24.3) to create the syrinx. While "*donax*" and "*kalamoi*" are used interchangeably by other writers to refer to the reed on the syrinx, Longus appears to make a distinction between them, immediately before referring to a third term for the tube, the *aulos* (2.35).[342] The narrator thus carefully uses different words to distinguish the simple marsh reed, *donax*, from the reed that forms wind instruments, the *kalamos*, a precision which reappears in the description of Philetas' instrument.

Lamon's tale, however, is explicitly not a song; it is, like all of the mythological *aitia* in *Daphnis and Chloe*, a prose narrative rather than a song, since Lamon is described as having finished relating a myth (πέπαυτο τοῦ μυθολογήματος ὁ Λάμων, 2.35.1).[343] Lamon provides a bucolic origin for his narrative, though, when he tells everyone assembled that he had learned it as a song from a Sicilian goatherd (μῦθον, ὃν αὐτῷ Σικελὸς αἰπόλος ᾖσεν, 2.33.3).[344] The original Sicilian goatherd is likely to have sung this tale without musical accompaniment, as is the norm in bucolic poetry.[345] Lamon's story is a rough equivalent to song, however, since Philetas praises it for being sweeter than a song (μῦθον ᾠδῆς γλυκύτερον, 2.35.1).[346] Regardless, this story is considered as the first of the three old men's performances.

As some scholars have noticed, this *aition* of the syrinx, the middle myth at the center of the narrative, proceeds in the opposite manner as the *aitia* of the ringdove's voice and of the echo.[347] Both the first and third mythological tales are told in response to a question about an auditory phenomenon: the ringdove's "bucolic" song and the echoes of the fishermen's sea

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[342] cf. Th. *Id*. 5.7, ἀρκεῖ τοι καλάμας αὐλὸν ποππύσδεν ἔχοντι; *AP* 6.177 = Gow 2, τοὺς τρήτους δόνακας.
[343] Daphnis' telling of the *aition* of the ringdove's song and of the echo is described using μυθολογῶ (1.27.1, 3.22.4, 3.23.5); Dryas' family tells stories (μυθολογῶ) and sings songs to Dionysus (3.9.4).
[344] Schlapbach (2018): 212 notes that this external source for Lamon's *aition* not only secures this tale with a firm bucolic tradition within the fictional setting, but also separates the sound of Philetas' syrinx from the tale of Syrinx. Schlapbach makes this assertion because as Sbardella (2016): 89 also clarifies, Sicily is the reputed origin of bucolic poetry, in the form of Theocritus and the Daphnis-myth. cf. Cresci (1981 [1999]): 212; Morgan (2004): 195 *ad loc*.
[345] Taking into consideration the change in medium, that is, from the poetry of bucolic texts to the prose of *Daphnis and Chloe*, Longus is more likely to relate the song in a prosaic form. He is not, as an author, obligated to stick to a prose narration in relating song. His rough contemporaries in fictional narration, Achilles Tatius and Apuleius offer two such strategies for describing song. Achilles Tatius summarizes and uses comparisons for Leukippe's Homeric song (*LC*. 2.1), while Apuleius' internal narrator of the tale of Cupid and Psyche includes an oracle in verse (*Met*. 4.33). Lamon is also not obligated to speak in prose merely because Philetas provides no melody, since he could have sung *a capella* or to Daphnis playing his syrinx.
[346] The tale itself is full of rhetorical devices which Morgan (2004): 196 cannot ascribe to Lamon.
[347] Philippides (1980-1): 196; Schlapbach (2015): 92; Schlapbach (2018): 210-12. Montiglio (2012): 142 also describes the inversion in terms of the prior myth of the ringdove; the rescue precedes the Syrinx episode, whereas the ringdove preceded Daphnis' kidnapping.

shanties. Lamon relates this story not in response to an actual performance on the syrinx, but to

Pan's archetypal syrinx, and tells a story that is modeled on a goatherd's song. The actual

auditory experience follows the story; but does not elaborate or explain it. Rather, as K.

Schlapbach notes, because the myth of Syrinx does not explain the music of Philetas' syrinx,

Philetas' performance on the syrinx is separated from the *aition* of the instrument.[348] What is so

significant about Philetas' syrinx and his playing on it is this very independence from an exegesis

in herdsmen's terms; the second part of this festival to Pan instead adopts Dionysiac and

specifically *auletic* elements.

Philetas' piping is a complex musical performance that far outshines any music produced

thus far by Daphnis. Part of this wondrous performance is due to Philetas' own skill as a

musician, but partly also to the unique technical construction of this syrinx. When Tityrus

arrives bearing Philetas' syrinx, the narrator describes the instrument as follows (2.35.1):

> ὁ Τίτυρος ἐφίσταται τὴν σύριγγα τῷ πατρὶ κομίζων, μέγα ὄργανον καὶ αὐλῶν μεγάλων,
> καὶ ἵνα κεκήρωτο χαλκῷ πεποίκιλτο.

> Tityrus stood by, bringing to his father the syrinx, a large instrument and [made] of large
> *auloi*, and in this way fastened together, dappled with bronze.

As I argue in the first chapter, this cowherd's syrinx is similar to Dorkon's prior gift to Daphnis,

in that this instrument is also decorated with bronze.[349] On this occasion, however, the narrator

uses πεποίκιλτο to describe this decoration, rather than the δεδεμένους of Dorkon's syrinx

(1.15.2). The choice of a form of *poikilia* continues this the verbal theme of the second book,

and indicates that this instrument is to be compared with the vintagers (2.2.2), Eros (2.4.3), and

the Methymnaean men (2.12.3), who are each described with *poikilia*.[350] This reference to

poikilia connects Philetas' impending performance with the more civic-centered activities of the

prior appearances of this term, and specifically to music that is performed on the *aulos*. The

description of this syrinx being made from large reeds (*auloi*) further strengthens this connection.

The operation of Philetas' syrinx also includes musical references to a performance on an

aulos. Philetas' actions to produce songs on his instrument include the following set of details

(2.35.2-3):

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[348] Schlapbach (2018): 212.
[349] cf. Chapter 1.3.2
[350] For the Methymnaean aristocrats, cf. Chapter 4.2.1.

πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεπειράθη τῶν καλάμων εἰ εὔπνοοι. ἔπειτα μαθὼν ὡς ἀκώλυτον διατρέχει τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνέπνει τὸ ἐντεῦθεν πολὺ καὶ νεανικόν. αὐλῶν τις ἂν ᾠήθη συναυλούντων ἀκούειν, τοσοῦτον ἤχει τὸ σύριγμα. κατ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς βίας ἀφαιρῶν εἰς τὸ τερπνότερον μετέβαλλε τὸ μέλος καὶ πᾶσαν τέχνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος εὐνομίας μουσικῆς ἐσύριττεν οἷον βοῶν ἀγέλῃ πρέπον, οἷον αἰπολίῳ πρόσφορον, οἷον ποίμναις φίλον…ὅλως πάσας σύριγγας μία σῦριγξ ἐμιμήσατο.

First he tested the reeds [to see] if they were unobstructed. Then, once he learned that his breath ran across unhindered, he blew inside hard and vigorously. One would think he heard a symphony of *auloi*, so great was the whistling. After a bit, diminishing the force, he changed the melody into a more pleasant one, and, displaying every skill of musical harmony, he played such a tune on the syrinx as was fitting for a herd of cows, one which was relevant for a herd of goats, one which was dear to the sheep…In this way, one syrinx imitated all syrinxes.

This syrinx performance itself contains three interrelated elements which associate Philetas' syrinx with an *aulos*.[351] First, the narrator describes the loud sound that first comes out of Philetas' instrument. The noise of this syrinx, whose reeds are equivalent to *auloi*, is equivalent to a symphony of *auloi* (συναυλούντων). The stunning volume of this syrinx is suitable to the narrative, since Philetas' syrinx is a great instrument (μέγα ὄργανον) and is larger than Daphnis' child-sized (μικρά, 2.33.2) syrinx. The possible sexual connotations of the adult's instrument are relevant to the strength (νεανικόν) and force (βία) of Philetas' performance.[352] Following the sexual violence implied in the myth of Syrinx, these adjectives mark the maturity of Philetas, and until Daphnis plays these pipes at 2.37.3, contrasts it with Daphnis' youth. This description primarily compares the volume of Philetas' syrinx with a performance on several *auloi*. The postponement of the reference to volume (τοσοῦτον ἤχει) after the comparison to *auloi* also leaves the comparison to the sound of the *aulos* open in other respects.[353] This comparison of Phletas' syrinx to the *aulos* on account of its large reeds (*auloi*) recalls a similar comparison of

[351] Philetas' method of making sound from the instrument has puzzled other scholars about Philetas' syrinx display.cf. Morgan (2004): 197 *ad loc*.

[352] For the possible sexual connotations of Philetas' syrinx, cf. Maritz (1991): 64; Montiglio (2012): 144-5.

[353] That is, rather than only indicating the threat of sexual violence which the myth of Syrinx supplies, Philetas' first sounds also indicate a potential play between the instrument, syrinx, and the *syrinx*, which was a modification to the *aulos*. While the use of this *syrinx* is still somewhat uncertain, it appears to have been a band which could cover or uncover a speaker hole on the *aulos*. In moving this *syrinx*, the performer on the *aulos* can overblow the instrument and increase the range of notes which the instrument can play by accessing a different octave. If Philetas were to be playing a set of *auloi*, then blowing with enough force to sound like a set of *auloi* could be a description of the operation of this *syrinx*. Moreover, Hagel analyzes some evidence that some *auloi* included a speaking hole which was covered with wax, rather than a movable metal encasing, which would be fitting for a rustic version of the instrument. Which is to say that Longus would be toying with the image of a syrinx which includes *auloi* by reversing these two terms for the syrinx. This is entirely speculative, but an intriguing explanation for Philetas' action and the subsequent range of this syrinx, especially if this syrinx imitates all "syrinxes." cf. Mathiesen (2000): 212-15 for the function of the speaker hole; cf. Hagel (2010): 502-4 for the form of the *syrinx*.

the syrinx to the *aulos* in Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*.[354] In turn, the narrator may

play with the idea that a performance on a single set of *auloi* is an inversion, technically, of a

performance on a syrinx, because of the difference between playing two reeds (*auloi*) at once and

blowing across individual open reeds of the syrinx.

Philetas' ability to mimic the sounds of all syrinxes grants this syrinx the tonal

complexity of an *aulos*.[355] This syrinx can reproduce not only the tunes that are appropriate for

different herd animals, but also the *sounds* that various syrinxes produce. Philetas' songs

embody the collective musical expertise of the celebrants. That is, his performance displays

music of various kinds, offering three different tunes: one for cows, one for goats, and one for

sheep (2.35.4).[356] In doing so, he demonstrates his knowledge of the types of songs produced by

the three types of herdsmen that are gathered in the audience. By reproducing these various

syrinx-songs and tunes on this single syrinx, Philetas demonstrates the musical virtuosity that is

ordinarily associated with performances on the *aulos*. As such, Philetas' performance on his

syrinx mirrors Pan's imitation of the *salpinx* when rescuing Chloe, except that this mixing of

details from instruments includes physical, rather than only auditory, details, as is befitting for an

instrument which is indirectly associated with Pan's invented syrinx.[357]

Tityrus' name is a third illustration of the narrator's references to the *aulos* in this

celebration. Some scholars have recognized that Philetas' son Tityrus recalls the Tityrus of

Vergil's first *Eclogue*, who performs on a slender *avena*.[358] While this inclusion of Tityrus is

likely a meta-literary reference to Longus' Latin predecessor, it is also important that Vergil's use

of Tityrus plays with one Greek term for a herdsman's *aulos*, the τιτύρινος αὐλός, which was a

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[354] cf. Ach. Tat. *Leuk*. 8.6.3-10, for a similar blending of terms *aulos* and *kalamos* when describing the syrinx.
[355] Hubbard (2006a): 101-6 takes a different tack and insists that Philetas' mimicking syrinx mimics not other syrinxes within the narrative, but rather other bucolic poets.
[356] Ordinarily, *to oxu* refers to singing that is sharply out of tune (e.g. [Arist.] *Pr*. 19.46; cf. Kaimio (1977): 227.
[357] Bowie (2019): 214 for how Philetas' instrument is to be compared with Pan's, because of the narrator's intrusion of "one would imagine that this was that instrument which Pan first put together." However, as I note above, Philetas' syrinx is not directly compared with Pan's instrument; instead, Lamon's story is filler material until Philetas' instrument arrives, and Lamon seems more inspired by Daphnis' syrinx which is actually present. Rather, it is Philetas' skill and the singular nature of Philetas' syrinx which draws this comparison. Confusion appears to arise in some commentators who take Lamon's conclusion of the *aition* of the syrinx, "and who was then a lovely maiden is now a musical syrinx" (καὶ ἡ τότε παρθένος καλὴ νῦν ἐστι σῦριγξ μουσική, 2.34.3) to mean Philetas' syrinx, which Tityrus only brings in after Philetas has complimented Lamon's story. This reading of the myth is evident even in the translation of Morgan (2004): 79, which phrases the text as "these tuneful pipes."
[358] cf. Smith (1970): 507; Bowie (2013): 183 also connects Longus' combination of Daphnis, Tityrus, and the (myth of the) syrinx with the anonymous goatherd of Th. *Id*. 1, who encourages Thyrsis to sing the myth of Daphnis.

single *aulos* made of *kalamos*.[359] A careful reader of *Daphnis and Chloe* may well notice how fitting it is that a boy named after a type of *aulos* conveys a syrinx made of *auloi*. The narrator thus compiles a number of direct references to performance on an *aulos* in this episode, indicating that Philetas uses a modified syrinx, if not the *aulos* itself.

This is the first appearance of *aulos* in the narrative, and its incorporation into Philetas' instrument, and not among the pastoral offerings (1.4) or Dorkon's syrinx (1.15), indicates that these tubes are a feature of this adult's syrinx, who has retired from farming and herding cows. This description, rather than indicating Longus' careless attitude regarding instruments, as J. Morgan suggests, instead showcases his play with reality.[360] That is, the hints at the presence and sound of the *aulos* indicate not only the size and volume of Philetas' syrinx, but also the types of instruments that occur in rural celebrations, and eventually at Daphnis' and Chloe's own wedding.

Dryas' request for Philetas to play a Dionysiac melody and his own vintage dance makes explicit the implicit musical activity performed at the beginning of the book. Dryas specifically asked Philetas to "play a Dionysiac melody on the syrinx" (Δρύας δὲ…κελεύσας συρίζειν Διονυσιακὸν μέλος) and "danced for them a vintage dance" (ἐπιλήνιον αὐτοῖς ὄρχησιν ὠρχήσατο, 2.36.1). This spontaneous dancing after drinking wine mirrors the spontaneous *kordax* that Eustakhys projected would happen at the birthday party, except that in *Daphnis and Chloe*, Dryas dances to the syrinx instead of song. Dryas' specific request for a melody proper to labor at the pressing tubs (ἐπιλήνιον) is the only direct reference to this type of music in the narrative, although implicit references to performances among the wine vats occur at the first vintage and at the protagonists' wedding.[361] Philetas' performance of this melody also shows that his syrinx can imitate other types of music that are performed on other instruments, such as the ἐπιλήνιον αὔλημα. This combination of Philetas' syrinx and Dryas' mime also shows how

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[359] The only extant evidence for this instrument is found a citation from a glossary in Ath. 4.176c: "I am not unaware that Amerias the Macedonian in his *Glossary* says that the *monaulos* is called *tityrinos*" (οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι Ἀμερίας ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις τιτύρινόν φησι καλεῖσθαι τὸν μόναυλον); and in an extant glossary, Hesych. *Lex.* τ998 "*tityrinos*: *monaulos* or *aulos* made of *kalamos*" (τιτύρινος. μόναυλος ἢ αὐλὸς καλάμινος).
[360] Morgan (2004): 197, *ad loc*.
[361] Dryas' impulse to dance is typical of raucous auletic performances; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Conv*. 704c4ff; Barker (2014): 23-8 notes the moral disdain Plutarch shows for this excessive *aulete*.

Longus directly combines this visual image with auditory *enargeia*.[362] That is, Philetas' music is as important as the mime itself.[363] Dryas' dance continues in lively mimesis of the vintage acts (2.36.1-2):

> ἐῴκει ποτὲ μὲν τρυγῶντι, ποτὲ δὲ φέροντι ἀρρίχους, εἶτα πατοῦντι τοὺς βότρυς, εἶτα πληροῦντι τοὺς πίθους, εἶτα πίνοντι τοῦ γλεύκους. ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως εὐσχημόνως ὠρχήσατο ὁ Δρύας καὶ ἐναργῶς ὥστε ἐδόκουν βλέπειν καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους καὶ τὴν ληνὸν καὶ τοὺς πίθους καὶ ἀληθῶς Δρύαντα πίνοντα.

> He seemed to be like one harvesting grapes, and then one carrying baskets, then one stomping on the bunches, then one filling the jars, and then one drinking the sweet new wine. Dryas danced all these topics with such good form and liveliness that they seemed to see both the grape bunches and the tub and the jars and Dryas truly drinking.

Dryas carried out this imitation with such good form (εὐσχημόνως) and liveliness (ἐναργῶς) that he appeared not to be dancing, but actually performing each of these actions, thereby exhibiting an example of a pantomime performance.[364] Dryas' skill and wording to Philetas indicate that a class of both melodies and dances for the wine-pressing exist and are familiar enough among these adults for extemporaneous performance. This new direction for the festival is proper for the season, since the vintage has only just finished. Dryas' request transforms this celebration into one that is not only in honor of Pan, but explicitly includes Dionysiac elements.[365] The inclusion of this vintage dance and song for Dionysos, although appropriate for the just-completed grape harvest, yet appears out of place. Philetas' syrinx performance followed the myth of syrinx, and while it included songs that were relevant to an audience of herdsmen, Philetas does not explain the myth of Syrinx. Instead, it is Daphnis' and Chloe's reintroduction to the performances which explains the myth of Pan and Syrinx.

At the conclusion of Dryas' mime, Daphnis and Chloe provide a pantomime of their own. This act shows a return to the beginning of the festivities, since they got up and danced Lamon's

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[362] Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 707.
[363] This combination of song and dance also offers a secondary explanation of the narrator's use of συναυλούντων. Athenaeus records a definition of *synaulia* as an exchange between dance and song on the *aulos*, separate from singing (ἦν τις ἀγὼν συμφωνίας ἀμοιβαῖος αὐλοῦ καὶ ῥυθμοῦ, χωρὶς τοῦ προσμελῳδοῦντος, 14.618a). *Synauloi* here refers specifically to dance which is combined with the *aulos*; Philetas' and Dryas' combined performance effectively serves as a similar *synaulia*, but to a syrinx which has characteristics of the *aulos*.
[364] Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 706 note that this *enargeia* in the mime is a progymnasmatic exercise. cf. Schlapbach (2018): 212 for Dryas' dance as pantomime.
[365] cf. Schlapbach (2018): 212-3 for the close association between dance and Dionysus.

story (οἱ δὲ μάλα ταχέως ἀναστάντες ὠρχήσατο τὸν μῦθον τοῦ Λάμωνος, 2.37.1).[366] This ring composition returns the focus of the celebrants to Pan as the primary beneficiary of the festival. Their dance successfully imitates the main details of Lamon's story (2.37.1-2):

> ὁ Δάφνις Πᾶνα ἐμιμεῖτο, τὴν Σύριγγα Χλόη· ὁ μὲν ἱκέτευε πείθων, ἡ δὲ ἀμελοῦσα ἐμειδία. ὁ μὲν ἐδίωκε καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων τῶν ὀνύχων ἔτρεχε τὰς χηλὰς μιμούμενος, ἡ δὲ ἐνέφαινε τὴν κάμνουσαν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ.

> Daphnis imitated Pan, Chloe imitated Syrinx; he begged, while wooing, but she smiled, disregarding him. He pursued and ran on tiptoe, imitating the hooves, but she appeared like the girl who was tiring in flight.

Daphnis and Chloe thus appear to mirror their elders in providing a lively visual performance. The difference between the children's mime and Dryas' dance, however, is that Philetas has ceased playing his syrinx. On the one hand, since the subject of Daphnis' and Chloe's mime is not a Dionysiac dance, Philetas' tunes are no longer suitable. The lack of music mirrors the substance of the dance and myth; since their mime explains the *aition* of the syrinx, any musical performance before Chloe's disappearance undercuts the continuity of the story. On the other hand, just as Lamon's story lacked musical accompaniment, so, too, a return to a story about herdsmen initially lacks the accompaniment of a mature performer. When, however, Chloe disappears into the forest to mimic the disappearance of Syrinx, then Daphnis begins his musical performance (2.37.3).[367]

While Chloe hides like the disappeared Syrinx, Daphnis takes Philetas' syrinx and plays a series of tunes which indicate a familiarity with mature subjects. Daphnis' tunes are not the herdsman's fare which he has previously played. Instead, he offers erotic themes in the guise of Pan: "He played on the syrinx a mournful tune like a lover, an erotic tune like a suitor, a tune of recall like one seeking after something" (Δάφνις…ἐσύρισε γοερὸν ὡς ἐρῶν, ἐρωτικὸν ὡς πείθων, ἀνακλητικὸν ὡς ἐπιζητῶν, 2.37.3). Daphnis plays music with subjects and melodies which he has no experience or knowledge of himself. He has, however, been exposed to several opportunities to learn such music in the previous days.[368] Daphnis' musical experiences at the

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[366] Schlapbach (2015): 89 similarly notes the oddity that it is Daphnis' and Chloe's dance, rather than Philetas' performance on the syrinx, which exemplifies Lamon's myth.
[367] Despite Montiglio's (2012): 141 assertion that at this moment, Chloe "publicly and spectacularly" becomes Daphnis' syrinx, Chloe is only symbolically so: Daphnis physically takes Philetas' syrinx once Chloe has disappeared for the remainder of the performance.
[368] cf. Hubbard (2006a): 102, who intuits that Daphnis must have learned these melodies from others, rather than creating them of his own accord.

vintage, for example, included erotic themes, and Philetas' teaching of Eros offered instruction in the proper pursuit of lovers. Moreover, Philetas' performance on his syrinx to Dryas' vintage dance offers inspiration for the more erotic themes, if not the tunes, for Daphnis' performance.

What appears to have had the greatest effect on Daphnis' new musical abilities is his use of Philetas' syrinx. This instrument serves as Daphnis' gateway to more complex forms of music, and his acceptance of Philetas' professional syrinx symbolizes Daphnis' sexual maturity.[369] While Dorkon's gift symbolized Daphnis' ability to learn the music of cowherds, his use of Philetas' syrinx, with its comparison to the instruments of the farming community and performance of rustic tunes, symbolizes Daphnis' ability to perform more erotically and socially mature music.[370] This symbolic function of marking Daphnis' maturation explains the sudden transition from music for Pan to music for Dionysus during this festival; Philetas' and Dryas' examples were models from which he learned to create his own music. In this way, Daphnis performs his first concert in *Daphnis and Chloe*.[371]

3.4   Conclusion

The rural performances in *Daphnis and Chloe* and in Alciphron's *Epistulae* share several characteristics that help reveal Daphnis' and Chloe's maturity over the course of Longus' narrative. Throughout these rustic festivals, several themes appear: they involve mature laborers, include a number of people, and originate in a specified celebration, often related to Dionysus. But perhaps the most notable aspect of Longus' rural festivals is the predominance of male performance and performers over female characters during these festivities. Longus includes these celebrations to introduce Daphnis and Chloe to mature music and society. Philetas' teaching and these various adults' performances of farmers' dances and melodies acclimated Daphnis to this mature society in a pleasant way.[372] In combination with Philetas' Dionysiac tune, these celebrations greatly expand the types and occasions of music performed by rural figures in the novel. The celebration to Pan in particular solidifies Daphnis' role as a mature

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[369] Maritz (1991): 64.
[370] cf. Montiglio (2012): 134 n. 41.
[371] cf. Schlapbach (2015): 91.
[372] The educative note is again stressed at the fulfillment of Eros; Levin (1977): 16.

performer, since Philetas gifts him this syrinx, considering him a suitable successor (ὁμοίῳ διαδόχῳ, 2.37.3).[373] This new instrument prepares Daphnis for the urban music he encounters in the final two books of the narrative.

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[373] For the succession motif, cf.Th. 1.148-9; Reich (1894): 60; Epstein (1995): 34; Hubbard (2006a): 102; Alvares (2006): 28.

Chapter 4: He Sings Sea-Songs off the Seashore

This chapter explores the presentation of maritime music within Alciphron and Longus, and opens this discussion of the intrusion of urban music into non-urban localities. I focus on two scenes in *Daphnis and Chloe* in which characters from Methymna and Mytilene create music while on ships, the Methymnaean aristocrats and navy in 2.12-28, and the Mytilenean fishermen's sea shanties in 3.24. This chapter abstracts these two musical encounters from the chronological progression of the narrative, because I argue that the shared location of these musical activities serves as a proxy for revealing Daphnis' and Chloe's comparative musical knowledge and familiarity with music that is not composed by herdsmen. These two musical episodes reveal how the protagonists' familiarity with music changes before Daphnis' inheritance of Philetas' syrinx and after the courtesan Lykainion's instruction of Daphnis in Eros. The narrator's description of these scenes shows a rationalization of the musical phenomena produced at the water's edge, presenting Daphnis' technical ability to reproduce urban musical styles on Philetas' syrinx. I pair this analysis of *Daphnis and Chloe*'s music produced at sea with two encounters that Alciphron's fishermen have with purely urban music, *Ep*. 1.15 and *Ep*. 1.21-22. I argue that Alciphron's fishermen reject music as alien to their profession and to life at sea, and thus offers a contrast with Longus' depiction of fishermen who produce music of their own making.

4.1   Alciphron's Maritime Music

Alciphron presents two different interactions which his fishermen have with music. Both of these episodes depict music as an urban phenomenon that is distinct from the usual occupations of fishermen. While other Imperial authors provide evidence for the use of music while fishing, Alciphron's fishermen associate musical performance and enjoyment solely with Athens and its port.[374] These fishermen's rejection of music forms a basis for contrasting the musical behavior of Longus' aristocrats' and fishermen's enjoyment of music while at sea.

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[374] cf. Ael. *NA* 1.39, 2.6; Op. *Hal*. 5.294ff. Modern Sicilian fishing songs (*cialoma*) are amoebean and suited for specific parts of the catch. cf. Rocconi (2016): 344.

Epistulae 1.15 is especially useful for understanding the implicit musical activities that the Methymnaean aristocrats enjoy in *Daphnis and Chloe*, since G. Anderson has argued that the content of this letter bears several similarities to the Methymnaeans in *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.12.[375] In both letters, however, Alciphron's fishermen allow for a grudging acceptance of their interaction with music.

4.1.1   A Moral Motif in *Ep*. 1.15

Epistulae 1.15 clearly contrasts the social tension between the urban elite and the poor seamen, and how monetary concerns overcome the fisherman Nausibios' distaste for elite musical culture. This letter, addressed from Nausibios to Prumnaios, affects to be an expression of moral outrage at the luxuries enjoyed by a group of Athenian aristocratic youths who rented Nausibios' ship for a yachting expedition.[376] This aristocrat, Pamphilos, brings a party aboard ship, including a number of female musicians. After criticizing the aristocrats' need for such inconvenient luxuries as soft cushions and shade, Nausibios gets to the heart of his epistolary complaint. The focus of Nausibios' criticism centers on the noise and musical performance of the *hetairai* that Pamphilos brings with him (1.15.3-4):

> φερομένων δὲ ἅμα — οὐ μόνος οὐδὲ μετὰ μόνων τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ Πάμφιλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
> γυναίων αὐτῷ περιττῶν τὴν ὥραν πλῆθος συνείπετο, μουσουργοὶ πᾶσαι ἡ μὲν γὰρ
> ἐκαλεῖτο Κρουμάτιον καὶ ἦν αὐλητρίς, ἡ δὲ Ἐρατὼ καὶ ψαλτήριον μετεχειρίζετο, ἄλλη
> δὲ Εὐεπὶς καὶ αὕτη κύμβαλα ἐπεκρότει — ἐγένετο οὖν μοι μουσικῆς ἡ ἄκατος πλέα, καὶ
> ἦν ᾠδικὸν τὸ πέλαγος καὶ πᾶν θυμηδίας ἀνάμεστον.

> When all went off together — not alone nor with only his companions was Pamphilos,
> but a crowd of women, extraordinary in their elegance, followed him, all of them
> musicians. For one was called Kroumation and she was an *auletris*, while Erato handled
> the *psalterion*, but Euepis herself clashed the *kymbala* — therefore my boat became full
> of music, and the sea was musical and filled full with rejoicing.

While Nausibios mentions that Pamphilos brought along a number of male merry-makers, he singles out the female entertainers by name and description. Kroumation plays the *aulos*, Erato plucks the *psalterion*, and Euepis strikes the *kymbala*. These women bear typical courtesans' names, and Kroumation's name is especially appropriate, since a κροῦμα (musical phrase)

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[375] Anderson (1997): 2198, despite his caution, nevertheless may still go too far in saying that "there does seem an arguable connection of some sort" between these two episodes in the narratives.
[376] cf. Rosenmeyer (2001): 262 for this letter as an example of Alciphron's tendency to make urban and non-urban characters clash.

applies to the music of the *aulos*.[377] Moreover, each woman plays an instrument from the three

groupings of wind (*aulos*), string (*psalterion*), and percussion (*kymbala*). This combination of

instruments demonstrates the full range of musical activity that Pamphilos endorses, and which

the *hetairai* can produce. Although Nausibios notes the women's exceptional beauty, the entire

focus of his description is on their musical production.

Nausibios' musical description portrays this music wholly as an urban import, as befits

Pamphilos' Athenian origin. The fisherman calls the entertainers μουσουργοί, a term which

Alciphron uses only for urban entertainers. The musicians at the philosophers' symposium

(3.19) and the Istrian merchant's revels (3.29) are μουσουργοί, indicating the position of these

female musicians as professional entertainers. The final appearance of the term is in a sarcastic

remark by the fisherman, Euploos, in 1.21, in reference to an urban *hetaira*. This emphasis on

the musical skill of all the women underscores their urban origin. Nausibios' description of the

musical delight as θυμηδία also smacks of urban festivities. The extant letters include this word

only in the context of the philosopher's symposium in 3.19 and the parasite's demands for a

wedding celebration in 3.13. These correlations with terms that elsewhere appear only in urban

parties stress how foreign to his boat this aristocrat's party was from Nausibios' perspective. His

conclusion that the musicians' melodies made his ship "full of music" (μουσικῆς ἡ ἄκατος πλέα)

and that the "sea was songful" (ἦν ᾠδικὸν τὸ πέλαγος) underline how neither of those musical

aspects are the normal experience for this fisherman, since neither is treated as a normal state of

affairs.

Nausibios' musings at the conclusion of his letter indicate this social contrast between the

entertainment of fishermen and the urban elite depends on monetary concerns. He tells

Prymnaios that he did not enjoy any of these activities, and received nasty looks from other

fishermen for hosting the party (1.15.5):

> πλὴν ἐμέ γε ταῦτα οὐκ ἔτερπεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ὁμοβίων καὶ μάλιστα ὁ πικρὸς
> Γλαυκίας Τελχῖνος ἦν μοι βασκαίνων βαρύτερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν πολὺν κατέβαλε[το],
> τἀργύριόν με διέχει, καὶ νῦν ἐκείνου τοὺς ἐπιθαλαττίους ἀγαπῶ κώμους καὶ τοιοῦτον
> ἕτερον ἐπιστῆναί μοι ποθῶ δαπανηρὸν καὶ πολυτελῆ νεανίσκον.

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[377] Another Kroumation plays the *aulos* for a band of courtesans in 4.13.11. Casevitz (2002): 256 remarks that κροπυεσθαι πρύμνον is a naval maneuver, but disregards the application of κροῦμα to the *aulos* in addition to stringed instruments; cf. Poll. *On.* 7.88. Euepis is also corrected to Euepes or Euterpe, which are also musical.

However, these things did not please me, at least. For quite a few of my coworkers, and especially that bitter Glaukias, were maligning me more heavily than a Telkhinian. But after he [Pamphilos] threw down a lot of payment, the silver swayed me, and now I greet that man's marine merry-makings and I desire to bring such another lavish and extravagant young man to me.

This description illustrates how Nausibios now stands apart from the other fishermen in his positive reception of aristocrats' entertainment. The γάρ-clause does not exclude the possibility that Nausibios also found the music and aristocratic behavior irritating, but it does connect the other fishermen's envy with Nausibios' own failure to enjoy (τέρπω) the entertainment. Alciphron's inclusion of Τελχῖνος is an allusion to Callimachus' *Aitia*, a poem roughly contemporaneous with the fictional fishermen.[378] If this is the case, then Nausibios directly calls these fishermen critics of musical performance, who are disgruntled at the appearance of urban music on their surf.[379] The punchline, however, is that since Pamphilos has paid Nausibios lots of money, the fisherman looks forward to any such future sea-jaunts. In conjunction with this fisherman's other references to Pamphilos' entertainment, he connects these prospective clients to the creation of revels (κῶμοι) on the sea. This term is most commonly used to refer to wild celebrations, especially after *symposia*.[380] A fishwife uses this same word in 1.6 to refer to parties in Piraeus, the only other direct use of κῶμος among the *Epistulae*.[381] This focus on money thus establishes Nausibios as willing to look aside at urban extravagance in favor of economic gain, while his experiences directly associate this music performed on their boat with typically urban festivities that no other section of Alciphron's society refers to.

The contrast between Nausibios' and the aristocrat Pamphilos' tastes for music and celebration serves as the narrative function of music in this letter. Nausibios describes in detail the presence of urban musicians and their instruments on his skiff, as well as the effect that they had on making the atmosphere of the boat and surrounding sea musical. This fisherman offers descriptive details that identify Pamphilos' pleasures with other examples of aristocratic

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[378] cf. Call. *Aet*. 1-2: "I know that the Telkhines often grumble at me for my song, who are stupid and no friends of the Muse" (Πολλάκι μοι Τελχῖνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ἀοιδῇ, / νήδες οἳ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι). Casevitz (2002): 253 remarks on how Nausibios' name may mean either "life on boats" or "violence on ships." If the latter, then the other fishermen's envy points directly to a pun on his name.

[379] But cf. Zanetto (2018): 131 for the contrast being just one of sophistication and luxury.

[380] cf. Mathiesen (2000): 252.

[381] For Piraeus as a seductive location for Alciphron's fishermen, since it is a port and with ready access to mercantile and seedy trade, cf. Zanetto (2018): 128.

entertainment, most notably the θυμηδία which in Alciphron accompanies Athenian *symposia*, and the post-*symposium* κῶμοι that he will welcome in the future. This letter shows how the urban aristocratic party transposes this elite form of entertainment directly on to a fisherman's context, with no attempts on the part of the elite to adapt to the discomforts of being aboard ship.

4.1.2 Sophistic Seamen in Alciphron's *Epistulae*

The final two letters in the first book of Alciphron's *Epistulae* offer the other interaction which his fishermen have with music. The contempt for lavish entertainment which lies under the surface in *Ep*. 1.15 comes to the fore in this exchange.[382] This pair of letters consists of a conversation between Euploos and Thalasseros on Thalasseros' rumored love affair with an *auletris*. This pair of letters shows how fishermen's music is simple, whereas urban music is complex and again defined in terms of female performance.

The first of these two letters, 1.21, is addressed from Euploos to Thalasseros, and opens with a criticism of Thalasseros for wasting away his own property on a female performer. Euploos' complaint identifies the woman by her musical specialty (1.21.1):

> ὑπερμαζᾷς ἢ μέμηνας ἀκούω γὰρ σε λυρῳδοῦ γυναικὸς ἐρᾶν καὶ εἰς ἐκείνης φθειρόμενον πᾶσαν τὴν ἐφήμερον ἄγραν κατατίθεσθαι.

> You are wanton from surfeit or crazy; for I hear that you are in love with a woman lyre-singer, and that you put down as payment, seduced by her, your entire daily catch at her place.

Euploos specifies that Thalasseros' beloved sings while playing the lyre, but the first part of Euploos' complaint concerns how Thalasseros wastes his entire source of income on her. The instrument that this *hetaira* plays is the subject of Euploos' construction of a gulf between urban, sophisticated music, and the life of a fisherman, who has little to do with formal musical performances. Euploos continues, naming the three harmonic scales which the *hetaira* performs on her lyre (1.21.2):

> πόθεν οὖν, εἰπέ μοι, μουσικῆς σοι…διάτονον καὶ χρωματικὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον γένος ἐστίν; ὁμοῦ γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς παιδίσκης ἡρέθης καὶ τοῖς κρούμασιν.

> How, then, tell me, does the diatonic, and chromatic, and enharmonic scale of music have anything to do with you? For you are equally seized by the elegance of the prostitute and by her musical strains.

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[382] cf. Vox (2013): 227 for Euploos as the *irrisor amoris* in the tradition of Theocritus' Milon in *Id*. 10.

Throughout this letter, Euploos is somewhat inexact concerning this *hetaira*'s musical performances, since he variously refers to her as a female lyrode (λυρῳδοῦ γυναικὸς) and as a *psaltria* (τῆς ψαλτρίας), although both terms designate performances on stringed instruments. This very fact that Thalasseros is in love with a performer on stringed instruments serves as the point of distinction between the fisherman and the *hetaira*, since Thalasseros is entranced by her musical phrases (τοῖς κρούμασιν) just as much as he is in her beauty. Despite this vagueness, Euploos specifically names the three main Classical scales, the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic.[383] This detail shows that Euploos conceives of urban music as being formalized, since this *hetaira* is professionally trained to perform all varieties of melodies.

The reference to musical scales emphasizes both the fictional separation of fishermen from sophisticated music and the fishermen's ironic sophistication itself. Euploos repeatedly provides the source of his information as his neighbor Sosias, who does business in the city selling *opson* for the wealthy men there. Sosias has told Euploos that Thalasseros visits the lyre-singer (1.15.1), and Euploos indicates that Sosias is the source of the precise musical terms he uses to identify the *hetaira*'s scales and method of performance ("as he himself said when he told me": ὡς <ὁ> αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν ἀπαγγέλλων, 1.15.2).[384] Yet, Euploos' letter is filled with subtle sophisticated mythological references and argumentation. This fisherman uses both paradoxical examples and Homeric *exempla* to rhetorical effect, comparing the *psaltria*'s residence (τὸ τῆς ψαλτρίας καταγώγιον) to a shipwrecking sea, and the *mousourgos* herself to Scylla (καὶ Σκύλλα

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[383] Rosenmeyer (2001): 292 follows an interpretation wherein each of these terms may be a sexual double-entendre.
[384] cf. Vox (2013): 227-8 who also notes that the technical (im)precision of Euploos' references to the musical abilities of Thalasseros' girl comes straight from Sosias, not this fisherman.

ἡ μουσουργός, 1.21.3).[385] Euploos thus shows how he views Thalasseros' musical companion as a potential cause of the latter's ruin.[386]

Alciphron's fishermen constitute the social and economic margins of this fictional Athenian society. Many of the 22 letters explicitly describe the difficulties of maintaining a subsistence lifestyle by catching and selling fish to the Athenian elite.[387] For these fishermen, the sea is the source of their income, but they depend on the city for the exchange of fish for commercial goods.[388] *Epistulae* 1.9 and 1.13 illustrate this necessary and uneasy relationship between fishermen and the city; for while Aigialeus attempts to contract a trade deal that is a direct pipeline to the Athenian elite in 1.9, in 1.13 the banker Khremes fleeces Euagros through high interest loans for fishing equipment. These same economic concerns dominate both appearances of music and entertainment among Alciphron's fishermen.

In all, these two descriptions of fishermen's musical experiences highlight the complete lack of musical production by any fisherman. Although several mundane fishing activities are presented among these letters, not a single fisherman references music produced as part of their vocation. These two interactions with music both serve to contrast urban tastes with the comparatively simple lives of fishermen, who have no time or need to enjoy musical phrases played on stringed instruments. While these criticisms of formal and elite music do not preclude these fishermen's broader experience with traditional shanties or informal music produced by

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[385] πέπαυσο εἰς ταῦτα δαπανώμενος, μή σε ἀντὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἡ γῆ ναυαγὸν ἀποφήνῃ ψιλώσασα τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ γένηταί σοι τὸ τῆς ψαλτρίας καταγώγιον [ὁ] Καλυδώνιος κόλπος ἢ [τὸ] Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος, καὶ Σκύλλα ἡ μουσουργός, οὐκ ἔχοντί σοι Κράταιϊν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, εἰ δεύτερον ἐφορμᾷ.

[386] As Casevitz (2002): 280 remarks, this warning from Euploos about a sea-wreck perfectly puns on his own name, "good sailing." This sea-sophistry continues in Thalasseros' response; cf. Rosenmeyer (2001): 292-3. In this letter, 1.22, Thalasseros argues that Eros is really a mariner like themselves, since he was born from Aphrodite, and thus his natural habitat is the sea. Thalasseros also mentions two Nereids, Panope and Galateia. Schoess (2018): 102-4 notes that these two female names appear elsewhere among the fishermen's letters, establishing a sophisticated intratextual link among these letters. In 1.3, Glaukos writes to Galateia concerning his experience with the Stoics', and quotes a line of Aratus' *Phainomena* while he contrasts farming with fishing. In 1.6, Panope complains to her husband, Euthybolus, since he has been pursuing a female metic from Hermione, offering her gifts superior to his station. It is not impossible that Alciphron presents Thalasseros as citing these other fictional fishermen's epistles for the purpose of underscoring the shared urban familiarity and would-be sophistication among them. This possibility remains open, since Thalasseros' disquisition on Eros explains his own name, cf. Casevitz (2002): 250. It is also possible that there is an underlying reference to Polyphemus' pursuit of the Nereid Galateia spread among these references, cf. König (2007): 250.

[387] Alciphron seems to parody the attention to economic material in *Ep.* 1.7 and the fisherman's enumeration of his material gifts; cf. Rosenmeyer (2001): 278. This letter nevertheless mirrors actual Oxyrhynchus letters; cf. König (2007): 261-7.

[388] In this respect, Hodkinson (2012): 50 indicates that Alciphron's fishermen are closest to his farmers in economic and social position.

other fishermen, nowhere do they explicitly describe such practices. Rather, the fishermen consider music an elite activity which they will tolerate if it results in monetary rewards.

4.2   Longus' Technical Music at Sea

Longus presents the first two interactions that Daphnis and Chloe have with urban figures as urban incursions into the rural landscape, but both the Methymnaeans and the fishermen are paired with musical performances of various sorts. Scholars, however, have largely ignored the musical production of these two groups of fictional characters. In the descriptions of the music in these episodes, the narrator rationalizes the musical phenomena by describing how it interacts with the environment, and how various characters perceive these sounds. He contrasts the technical elements of these urban dwellers' music with the natural or supernatural production of music by the landscape. Longus also, however, shows that the Methymnaeans are willing to imitate rural music for their own pleasure, and that they recognize Pan's music as an element of rural performance. The fishermen in 3.24, meanwhile, sing sea shanties that the landscape echos back in the manner of an *aulos*. This section shows that by the third book, Daphnis' musical proficiency has improved enough for him to understand the difference between these human song and the natural phenomena, and even turn this music into rhythms for his performances on the syrinx.

4.2.1   Longus' Methymnaeans: The Syrinx and the *Salpinx*

The final two sections examine Longus' examples of characters who produce music on boats. In two episodes, the Methymnaean aristocrats who vacation on a yachting expedition during the autumn vintage (2.12-13), and a boat of fishermen who sing sea shanties the following summer (3.24), the narrator provides descriptions of music that is produced by urban characters. These two episodes are significant within the text itself for showing how Longus imbues the syrinxes in *Daphnis and Chloe* with characteristics of other instruments. In the first of these descriptions, the narrator depicts elite youths who make a yachting trip into the countryside. Some scholars have noticed the contextual similarities between the Methymnaean elites and

Pamphilos in *Epistulae* 1.15.[389] In this section, I draw on the explicit musical material in Alciphron's depiction of vacationing aristocrats to elicit how Longus' aristocrats understand musical production.

Over the course of the second book, a group of young aristocrats from Methymna enjoy the late autumn along the coast, but a local farmer steals their mooring rope, and one of Daphnis' goats eats the withy that they use to anchor their yacht (2.12-13). After the boat is lost and the youths fail to claim ownership of Daphnis as restitution at a trial, the city of Methymna gathers a naval expedition led by Bryaxis (2.19-20). In parallel with the pirates' kidnapping of Daphnis, the Methymnaeans capture Chloe, but release her when auditory portents from Pan warn them to obey him. Modern scholarship passes over the musical aspects of these two waves of seaborne Methymnaeans and have denied that these urban elites produce any music.[390] This section argues that Longus' use of detail presents the Methymnaean men as interactive with musical entertainment in a similar manner to Pamphilos' party in *Ep*. 1.15. It also teases out the narrative implications for the first appearance of an instrument that imitates the sound of another, namely Pan's syrinx which sounds like the *salpinx*.

These Methymnaean aristocrats participate in a similar leisurely activity as Pamphilos and his companions, since they cruise around the bay between Methymnaean and Mytilenean territory. They wish to celebrate the vintage with foreign entertainment (ἐν ξενικῇ τέρψει, 2.12.1), by imitating the behavior of hunters and fishermen.[391] The adjective "ξενικός" makes it explicit that the Methymnaeans have departed from their usual urban delights for the foreign, rustic life.[392] The "τέρψις" refers at base to the youths' attempts at fishing and hunting, but in *Daphnis and Chloe*, the word predominantly accompanies musical descriptions and performances.[393] The narrator also identifies the fishing poles they use as being made from

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[389] Anderson (1997): 2198 posits that there is an "arguable connection" between *Ep*. 1.15 and *DC* 2.12, but hesitates in assuming that Alciphron depends on Longus' depiction of Methymnaean elites for his own Pamphilos; cf. Zanetto (2018): 131.

[390] cf. Montiglio (2012): 134. Amado (1998): 291 is a rare exception, entertaining the notion that the Methymnaeans recognize Pan's syrinx as performing music.

[391] Pandiri (1985): 116, 123 for the similarity between these Methymnaeans' hunting excursion and the narrator's own in the prologue.

[392] cf. Effe (1982 [1999]): 206; that this excursion into the countryside is not an alternative lifestyle, but a foreign experience. Pandiri (1985): 122-24.

[393] cf. 1.27.1, 27.2 in the *aition* of the ringdove; 2.35.4 for Philetas' syrinx performance; 3.21.4 for the echo of the fishermen's sea shanties.

kalamoi (καλάμων, 2.12.3). This word is not unusual in reference to fishing poles, but this is the only appearance in *Daphnis and Chloe* of this word being used without a clear connection with a syrinx.[394] And as Lamon's myth of Syrinx (2.34) shows, the narrator can choose to refer to reeds as *donakes* when they are not yet musical. Although it is a minor observation, since Longus seems to make a distinction between musical and nonmusical reed terminology, these aristocrats' use of *kalamoi* here may recall that these reeds are also used for instruments. The phrase that immediately precedes this description of fishing, "they had pleasure in varied pleasures" (τέρψεις δὲ ποικίλας ἐτέρποντο, 2.12.3), is the most direct indication of the nature of the Methymnaeans' celebration. As we have already seen, Longus uses *poikilia* to indicate complexity in the context of culturally mature performances, such that *poikilia* corresponds to his audience's own cultural evaluation.[395] The descriptions of these pleasures accordingly integrate the Methymnaeans' activities with the musical actions of the men at the vintage (2.2) and the celebrations to Pan that follow Chloe's rescue (2.35), although they do not explicitly perform music during this outing.

While there is no explicit music performed by the Methymnaeans in their first excursion, the second Methymnaean venture inspires the second musical rescue in the narrative.[396] After the Methymnaeans capture Chloe and the protagonists' flocks, they sail ten stades before putting into a harbor and conducting an epinician celebration. Their commander settles them into a peaceful pleasure (εἰς τέρψιν εἰρηνικήν), which consists of the following characteristics: "They drank, they played, they mimicked an epinician festival" (ἔπινον, ἔπαιζον, ἐπινίκιον ἑορτὴν ἐμιμοῦντο, 2.25.2). The Methymnaean navy thus settles into the second ἑορτή of the narrative, after the agricultural festival in the vintage (2.2), and before the celebration to Pan for Chloe's impending rescue (2.33). This ἑορτή on ship is both *epinician* and itself a pleasure. It may well have included such symposiastic songs (they drank, they played) as they could spontaneously sing, as per the rural celebrations in the other ἑορταί. This celebration is interrupted by a series of auditory phenomena instigated by Pan. The reader learns that Daphnis has appealed to the

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[394] cf. Ael. *VH*. 1.5; but in *NH* 1.23 he specifies that fishermen do not hunt the sargue with *kalamoi*, but with goatskins. Opp. *Hal*. 3.74 uses *donax* instead.

[395] 2.2.2, 2.4.3, 2.35.1; cf. Chapter 3.1, 3.3. Since Ptolemy refers to "rather rustic music" played on the *aulos* as "rather foreign," one wonders whether Longus asks his readers to envision these city boys playing on wind instruments, or listening to their slaves (οἰκέτας, 2.12.1) performing for them; cf. García Pérez (2013): 360, 366-7.

[396] That is, after Chloe rescues Daphnis from the pirates (1.31). The turn towards a raiding expedition is a demonstration of the "escalation" of the "obstacles" which *Daphnis and Chloe* presents; Anderson (2017): 12.

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statues of the Nymphs for their aid in recovering Chloe as soon as he understands that she has been abducted.[397] While at the Cave of the Nymphs, Daphnis suddenly enters an incubatory state. In his dream, the Nymphs show him the statue of Pan whom the protagonists have thus far ignored, and tell Daphnis (2.23.4):

> τοῦτον [i.e. Pan] ἐδεήθημεν ἐπίκουρον γενέσθαι Χλόης. συνήθης γὰρ στρατοπέδοις
> μᾶλλον ἡμῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη πολέμους ἐπολέμησε τὴν ἀγροικίαν καταλιπών

> We have asked him to become an ally for Chloe; for he is more familiar with armies than
> we are, and has already waged many wars after he's left the countryside.

The Nymphs thus refer directly to Pan's dual nature as a god for battles and for herdsmen.[398] Further, they indicate that Pan will adopt this second, warlike nature, once he has departed the limits of the countryside.[399] It is in both of these roles that Pan appears when he arranges the rescue of Chloe.

The Methymnaeans perceive a series of visual and auditory marvels as their celebrations conclude: the land alights in flame, the sound of a great fleet (κτύπος δὲ ἠκούετο ῥόθιος κωπῶν, 2.25.3) is heard, and all preparations and appearances of a night battle ensue.[400] This classic manifestation of panic gives way to more supernatural sounds and symbols the next morning: Chloe's sheep howl like wolves (λύκων ὠρυγμὸν ὠρύοντο), and Dionysiac imagery appears around Chloe and the ships.[401] These phenomena exemplify the unnatural terror induced by Pan, combining his martial aspect with his influence over flock animals.[402] The most musically important signs, and the ones that show the Methymnaeans' understanding of music, however, are the noises which are heard over the headland itself (2.26.3):

> ἠκούετό τις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθίου πέτρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἄκραν σύριγγος ἦχος, ἀλλὰ οὐκ
> ἔτερπεν ὡς σῦριγξ, ἐφόβει δὲ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὡς σάλπιγξ.

> One also heard the sound of a syrinx above the high rock, the one above the headland, but
> it was not pleasant like a syrinx, but rather frightened those who heard it, like a *salpinx*.

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[397] cf. Anderson (1982): 43 for narrator's comic presentation of the invasion, since the worst thing that Daphnis can conceive of as happening to Chloe is that she will "have to live in a town." This sentiment which shows how far Daphnis has still to go in his maturity.

[398] cf. Borgeaud (1988): 96; Epstein (1995): 33.

[399] i.e. Epstein (1995): 33 Pan "functions as a key liminal character in the novel."

[400] cf. Borgeaud (1988): for Classical description of panic.

[401] Bryaxis is also a Dionysiac cult title; cf. Bowie (2019): 204 *ad loc*.

[402] cf. Maritz (1991): 61 for the link between Pan Stratiotes and Poimen in his episode.

This event emphasizes two different characteristics. First is the location of this sounding of the syrinx: It originates from a high rock above a bowl-shaped gulf. The narrator has already offered a miniature *ekphrasis* of the bay into which the Methymnaeans drop anchor: "he passed into a headland extending into the sea that was formed into a crescent moon shape (μηνοειδῶς)" (2.25.2).[403] This hollow shape offers the acoustics that magnify the sound of the syrinx, and is the first indication that the geographical precision that the narrator provides is significant for the musical performances in this episode.

The second characteristic is that this syrinx noise adopts the tonal characteristics of the *salpinx* in its effects on the Methymnaeans. This sound of the war trumpet is one that is familiar to the Methymnaean navy, since the *salpinx* is the instrument that is most often used to issue commands in battle. In fact, the narrator explicitly notes that the Methymnaean sailors recognized this music as Pan's (2.26.5):

> συνετὰ μὲν οὖν πᾶσιν ἦν τὰ γινόμενα τοῖς φρονοῦσιν ὀρθῶς, ὅτι ἐκ Πανὸς ἦν τὰ φαντάσματα καὶ ἀκούσματα μηνίοντός τι τοῖς ναύταις.

> The events were comprehensible to all who thought correctly, that the visions and sounds came from Pan being mad at the sailors over some matter.

The Methymnaeans' recognition of the noise as Pan's refutes the notion that city-folk have little or nothing to do with music.[404] Moreover, this combination of *salpinx* and syrinx shows the first explicit appearance of non-pastoral music, since Pan produces these sounds, as the Nymphs have told Daphnis, only once he has left the boundaries of the countryside (τὴν ἀγροικίαν καταλιπών).

This specific combination of two vastly different instrumental sounds provides the first occasion in *Daphnis and Chloe* in which the narrator mixes characteristics of different varieties of instruments. Longus paradoxically uses superficial similarities between the shape of the syrinx and *salpinx*, and plays on their similar names to play on Pan's dual roles. The Greek style of the *salpinx* is, like the syrinx, cylindrically bored, and only to this extent resembles the instrument, since the nature of the sounds is fundamentally different.[405] It is possible that the narrator envisions the types of noises that could be produced from a reed, rather than a metal,

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[403] ἄκρας οὖν ἐπεμβαινούσης τῷ πελάγει λαβόμενος ἐπεκτεινομένης μηνοειδῶς.
[404] Amado (1998): 291, however, claims that the Methymnaeans are ignorant of the origin of the music until after Pan's appearance to Bryaxis in a dream.
[405] Majnero, Stanco, Holmes (2008): 52.

salpinx. Eustathius offers the only evidence of such a thinly formed *salpinx*, but a narrow tube would, as Holmes suggests, provide a sound that is tonally similar to an *aulos*, rather than a brass horn.[406] The narrator also uses the alliteration between the words syrinx and *salpinx*, since σῦριγξ and σάλπιγξ share the same initial consonant and ending.[407] This is to say, Longus offers a linguistic joke based on the similar sounds of the words for these instruments, and a literary joke based on the dissimilar sounds that each one normally produces.

This syrinx also functions symbolically in the narrative as an emblem of Pan's own agency.[408] At midday, the Methymnaean admiral, Bryaxis, falls asleep.[409] Pan appears to him with the order to release Chloe and their flocks, since (2.27.2):

> ἀπεσπάσατε δὲ βωμῶν παρθένον ἐξ ἧς Ἔρως μῦθον ποιῆσαι θέλει….οὔτε τήνδε
> φεύξεσθε τὴν σύριγγα τὴν ὑμᾶς ταράξασαν.
>
> You've stolen from the altars a maiden from whom Eros intends to make a story….and
> you shall not flee this syrinx which perturbed you.

This reference to Eros recalls the meta-literary function that he performs and has performed thus far in Philetas' story.[410] Pan's warning also identifies his syrinx as the source of the sound of the *salpinx*, directly investing this instrument with this martial, rather than pastoral, aspect.[411] This is the only occasion where the syrinx plays a threatening noise, and Pan's performance on his instrument shows that he, as an expert, can provide his archetypal syrinx with the attributes of other classes of sounds.

In response to this threat, Bryaxis releases Chloe and her flocks. In turn, the syrinx plays a second time from the headland: "No longer polemical and frightening, but poemenical and such as leads the flocks to pasture" (οὐκέτι πολεμικὸς καὶ φοβερὸς, ἀλλὰ ποιμενικὸς καὶ οἷος εἰς νομὴν ἡγεῖται ποιμνίων, 2.28.3). The narrator thus engages in one last burst of linguistic games

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[406] cf. Eustathius on *Il*.18.219. cf. Holmes (2008): 243-4. There is a similar inference of Pan playing the *salpinx* instead of the syrinx at Pal. Anth. 4.1.57 by Antipater. Similarly, Pliny the Elder records herdsmen's construction of elderwood *tubae* (*Nat*. *Hist*. 16.179); f. Cross (2017): 151.

[407] Hagel (2010): 493 n. 6. While the name of several instrument is formed on the analogy of the ending -ιγξ, the similarity of σῦριγξ and σάλπιγξ allows for an especially clever association.

[408] Turner (1960): 121-22; Maritz (1992): 59-60.

[409] i.e. the parallel action of the Nymphs with Daphnis; cf. Borgeaud (111): for Panolepsy and noontime incubatory dreams sent by Pan; cf. McCulloh (1970).

[410] e.g. 1.11.1, 2.6-7. Whitmarsh (2011): 148 posits that Pan's message to Bryaxis is itself a "metanarrative exegesis of desire."

[411] Yet, Borgeaud (1988): 137 discusses statuary evidence of Pan holding the *salpinx* outstretched to show his separation from its performance and its role in battle.

by noting the verbal similarity between "warlike" and "shepherd-like," and the vastly different sounds and contexts that they indicate. This normal function of Pan's syrinx thus symbolizes not only the restoration of Chloe, but also the institution of harmonious relations between the pastureland and the city folk. Unlike in the aftermath of Daphnis' rescue from the pirates, the Methymnaeans hail Pan and are gently escorted away (2.29.2-3). The rescue of Daphnis from the pirates involved cattle-calling music that the pirates could not understand. This second rescue, of Chloe, involves frightening music from a syrinx that has the characteristics of a *salpinx*, an instrument and signal that the Methymnaean sailors understand and recognize as Pan's. After this manifestation of Pan, all encounters that Daphnis and Chloe have with urban figures are pleasant, indicating the active role that Pan has performed as a mediating force.[412]

In these two waves of Methymnaeans, one a group of aristocrats and one a martial band, Longus introduces his protagonists to the urban elite. The youths who entertained themselves during the vintage by taking a yachting trip do not explicitly play or listen to any instruments, unlike Pamphilos' similar excursion in *Epistulae* 1.15. However, the explicit rustic entertainment and delights that the Methymnaeans partake in indicate that they may imitate the rural musical customs that they come upon. Yet, the first appearance of a non-herding instrument is not at the hands of these urban elites, but performed by the rustic deity Pan himself. The technical approach to describing the physical environment where the syrinx sounded like a *salpinx* indicates the importance that the narrator's and Daphnis' understanding of acoustics performs in the perception of the second maritime melody.

4.2.2 Sea Shanties and Sea Sounds: *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.21-2

Daphnis and Chloe's most explicit description of non-pastoral music is of a group of fishermen who sing sea shanties. After Lykainion's love-lessons for Daphnis (3.17-20), the protagonists spy fishermen rowing by, singing sea shanties which echo from the nearby valley. This episode consists of a detailed series of *ekphraseis* that include auditory elements. The rhetorical features of this passage are the only component which scholars have noted in any

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[412] With the exception of Gnathon, who's attempted rape of Daphnis is forgiven when he recovers Chloe (4.29). cf. Liviabella Furiani (1984): 32 for this mediation between the natural and supernatural worlds as a musical display.

detail.[413] I argue that the rhetorical elements are secondary to the social and musical elements of

the sea shanties and this music's interaction with the countryside. Since this scene which

Daphnis and Chloe perceive offers their only encounter with fishermen, Daphnis ability to

understand their music and the phenomenon of the echo showcases his musical knowledge and

capacity to comprehend non-rural music.[414] This section will show how the narrator describes

nautical music and how this non-pastoral music is reflected in both the landscape and Daphnis'

increasing musical skill.

The narrator depicts the appearance of the fishermen such that he emphasizes the

economic relationship that his fishermen have with the urban elites (3.21.1):

> ἄνεμος μὲν οὐκ ἦν, γαλήνη δὲ ἦν, καὶ ἐρέττειν ἐδόκει καὶ ἤρεττον ἐρρωμένως. ἠπείγοντο
> γὰρ νεαλεῖς ἰχθῦς εἰς τὴν πόλιν διασώσασθαι τῶν τινι πλουσίων. οἷον οὖν εἰώθασι ναῦται
> δρᾶν ἐς καμάτων ἀμέλειαν, τοῦτο κἀκεῖνοι δρῶντες τὰς κώπας ἀνέφερον.

> There was no wind, the sea was calm, and it seemed right to row and they were rowing
> vigorously; for they were hastening to the city to preserve sea fish for one of the wealthy
> elites. Therefore, those men were doing what sailors are wont to do to take their minds
> off work, in taking up their oars.

This depiction shows how the fishermen are intrinsically dependent on Mytilene, as Alciphron's

fishermen depend on their wealthy Athenian clientele.[415] The narrator also provides the reader

with the context in which Longus' fishermen produce music: because the wind is calm, the

fishermen row, and because they wish to preserve their catch for the greatest financial windfall,

they must row in unison to hasten onwards. The narrator defines such behavior as ordinary

(εἰώθασι) for sailors to practice when attempting to take their minds off the hard labor of rowing.

This detail concurs with some other references to sailors singing sea shanties while rowing, such

as what Lucian includes in *The Downward Journey*, when Charon asks Kyniskos to pay the fare

for being ferried into Hades. Since Kyniskos has no money, he offers to do the rowing on this

trip, and asks Charon whether he will need someone to act the role of the boatswain. Charon

responds: "By Zeus yes, if you know some rowing song of the sailors" (Νὴ Δία, ἤνπερ εἰδῇς

κέλευσμά τι τῶν ναυτικῶν, *Cat*.19). Longus' fishermen in a similar manner prepare to sing

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[413] cf. Hunter (1983): 85-7; Montiglio (2012): 154; Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 703-4

[414] In 4.3.1, fishermen can be seen from Dionysophanes' garden.

[415] Bowie (2019): 242-3 notes that the Theocritean corpus references fishermen in *Idylls* 1 and [21], and that for this reason Longus is justified in including fishermen in his narrative. However, Longus is not obligated to include only material from bucolic poetry.

songs to keep the rhythm of their oars and take their minds off the rowing. This concept of fishermen singing sea shanties has no corollary in extant Greek literature before the Imperial period, and may indicate an example of where Longus imposes his contemporary society onto this fictional one.

The description of the fishermen's song identifies it as a sea shanty, a kind of melody often sung by fishermen in his fictional world.[416] As the sailors row by Daphnis and Chloe, their boatswain sings some songs, to which the rowers respond (3.21.2):

> εἷς μὲν αὐτοῖς κελευστὴς ναυτικὰς ᾖδεν ᾠδάς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καθάπερ χορὸς
> ὁμοφώνως κατὰ καιρὸν τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς ἐβόων.

> One man, the boatswain, sang nautical tunes to them, and the rest,
> like a chorus, shouted out in unison at the appropriate time of his voice.

This brief description offers a series of details which identify the form of these fishermen's songs. As the text describes them, they are *nautical* songs (ναυτικὰς ᾠδάς). The fact that fishermen at sea sing these tunes suffices to categorize them as sea-shanties. The narrator's description of the fishermen's songs indicates that there is a particular musical structure to Longus' conception of sea-shanties which does not appear among other musical episodes in his narrative. The performative elements of the fishermen's songs mirror urban features of formalized choral performance.

These songs are sung without the accompaniment of instruments, since the boatswain uses his voice, and the other fishermen shout in response. The narrator draws a contrast between the boatswain's performance and the crew's response by the words that he uses to describe them. The boatswain uses his voice (φωνή) and sang (ᾖδεν), whereas the crew shouts (ἐβόων) in response to the boatswain. This difference in the description of the manner of singing between these two parties presents the boatswain as a choir leader, while the other fishermen are made to resemble a less trained choral group. These songs are thus structured antiphonally. That is, the boatswain sings the nautical tunes, and in response, the fishermen shout in unison (ὁμοφώνως) like a chorus (καθάπερ χορὸς), and at the correct time in relation to the boatswain's voice (κατὰ καιρὸν τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς). This focus on words, even though the narrator does not give them, implies that the content is traditional and familiar enough for the sailors to respond to them.

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[416] cf. Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 703.

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Moreover, the combination of φωνή and βοή recalls the voices and shouting of the men at the first vintage (2.2.2-3).

Since words are not given, the narrator does not make explicit whether the boatswain calls out phrases which the fishermen repeat, or whether the two parts sing different verses or parts of verses. The detail "in time" (κατὰ καιρὸν), however, at least indicates that the interchange between call and response is rapid and likely tied to the rhythm of the oar-sweeps. Aside from revealing the form of the song, these details also present the fishermen as familiar with the music, to the extent that their singing in unison (ὁμοφώνως) appears nearly formal, and worthy of comparison to a chorus.[417] In referring to the seamen as a chorus, then, the narrator recalls the use of this comparison in the previous depiction of music performed by the sea, when Chloe's flocks frolicked like a chorus (ὥσπερ χορός, 2.29.1) to Pan's music on the syrinx. In the case of the fishermen, however, the choral nature of their performance is based on auditory unison, rather than circular dancing.

The reference to the fishermen's choral attribute is not the only similarity which this scene shares with the episode of Chloe's rescue. The geographic detail and technical description of the echo of the sea shanties offer two further parallels with the music that the Methymnaeans hear.[418] Just as the Methymnaeans sailed into a crescent moon-shaped (μηνοειδῶς, 2.25.2) bay that lay below a high rock before Pan's syrinx played, the narrator again emphasizes the physical location of these fishermen as they sing their songs (3.21.3):

> ἡνίκα μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀναπεπταμένῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταῦτα ἔπραττον, ἡφανίζετο ἡ βοὴ χεομένης τῆς φωνῆς εἰς πολὺν ἀέρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄκρᾳ τινὶ ὑποδραμόντες εἰς κόλπον μηνοειδῆ καὶ κοῖλον εἰσήλασαν, μείζων μὲν ἠκούετο βοή, σαφῆ δὲ ἐξέπιπτεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ τῶν κελευστῶν ᾄσματα.

> Therefore so long as they did these things on the open sea, the shout disappeared, with the voice poured out into a lot of air. But when they ran under some headland and drove into a crescent moon-shaped and hollow gulf, the shout was heard more loudly, and the songs of the rowers fell clearly onto the land.

This *ekphrasis* provides a ready rational explanation for the audible quality of these songs, since the open sea provided no means for an echo. Once the fishermen approach the land, however, they row into a crescent moon-shaped and hollow gulf (κόλπον μηνοειδῆ καὶ κοῖλον). This

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[417] cf. West (1992): 270.
[418] For importance of the land's shape in *Daphnis and Chloe*, cf. Elliger (1975): 407.

description recalls the crescent moon-shaped gulf into which the Methymnaeans row their ships before Pan's syrinx plays like a *salpinx* (2.25.2).[419] This near repetition of the prior scene prepares the reader for a similar musical encounter as with the Methymnaeans. Yet, Longus reverses the initial musical interaction between the marine and mainland portions of the landscape, since the sea shanties fell clearly onto the land (σαφῆ δὲ ἐξέπιπτεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὰ τῶν κελευστῶν ᾄσματα). The volume (μείζων…βοή) of the songs and the quality of its perception (σαφῆ) combine with the shape of the headland that Daphnis and Chloe are near, so as to produce an echo.

The echo is the primary reason for Longus' inclusion of the fishermen's songs in the narrative, because Chloe's confusion regarding the noise prompts Daphnis to invent a myth of Echo for the ostensible purpose of explaining the phenomenon.[420] What has gone unnoticed among scholars is the musical relationship between Daphnis, the fishermen, the landscape, and their songs. In this episode, the narrator describes the landscape in terms of its performance as an instrument (3.21.4):

> κοῖλος γὰρ τὸ πεδίον αὐλὼν ὑπερκείμενος καὶ τὸν ἦχον εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς ὄργανον δεχόμενος πάντων τῶν λεγομένων μιμητὴν φωνὴν ἀπεδίδου, ἰδίᾳ μὲν τῶν κωπῶν τὸν ἦχον, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ναυτῶν, καὶ ἐγίνετο ἄκουσμα τερπνόν.

> For the hollow glen was lying above the plain and, receiving the sound into itself like an instrument, returned a voice mimicking all the things that were said, the sound of the oars was separate, the voice of the sailors was separate, and the sound was pleasant.

As J.A. Fernández-Delgado and F. Pordomingo note, the landscape echoes back the sea shanties like an instrument (ὡς ὄργανον), but they only associate the echoing with the *enargeia* and the pleasure (ἄκουσμα τερπνόν) of the narration.[421] Which instrument the canyon imitates, however, is entirely ignored, despite the narrator's inclusion of an etymological wordplay in this description.[422] As the narrator describes the setting, he specifies that there was a hollow glen (κοῖλος…αὐλών) above the plain, and it was this αὐλών which received the sound into itself like

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[419] Morgan (2004): 214 *ad loc*. assumes that this is the same location for each episode, and Bowie (2019): 243 *ad loc* suggests the same.

[420] cf. Chapter 5.1.2; Elliger (1975): 408. cf. Hawes (2014) for the rationalization of myths by Hellenistic and Imperial authors, which speculate on the origin of myths.

[421] Fernández-Delgado and Pordomingo (2016): 703-4.

[422] To my knowledge, only Elliger (1975): 407 discerns any importance in the adjective αὐλὼν, but focuses entirely on its geographical meaning.

an instrument (ὡς ὄργανον). This word, "αὐλών," means "hollow," and is etymologically connected with "αὐλός." Athenaeus records, in the midst of a discussion of Homer's use of "αὐλή" to refer to a house, the following discussion: (5.189b-c, e):

> ὁ γὰρ διαπνεόμενος τόπος αὐλὴ λέγεται, καὶ διαυλωνίζειν φαμὲν τὸ δεχόμενον ἐξ ἑκατέρου πνεῦμα χωρίον. ἔτι δὲ αὐλὸς μὲν τὸ ὄργανον, ὅτι διέρχεται τὸ πνεῦμα….πᾶν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐλή τε καὶ αὐλὼν λέγεται.

> For a breathed-through place is called an '*aulē*,' and we say 'to admit a draft through' for a place that receives air from either side. Further, the instrument is the '*aulos*,' because air passes through it…Therefore everything of this sort is called an '*aulē*' and '*aulōn*.'

This explanation clearly shows that some Imperial era Greeks were conversant with the etymology of *aulos*. Accordingly, the narrator associates the landscape with an instrument on account of its shape and its echoing ability.

In presenting this sea shanty, echo, and hidden *aulos*, the narrator reveals both Daphnis' musical abilities and his familiarity with more urban culture, in contrast with Chloe. The sea shanties are the clearest example of the performance of non-herdsman's music in the narrative, since they are performed by fishermen and repeatedly identified as nautical melodies (ναυτικάς…ᾠδάς, 3.21.2, τὰ τῶν κελευστῶν ᾄσματα, 21.3, τῇ φωνὴν τῶν ναυτῶν 21.4, ναυτῶν κελευόντων, 22.2). This appearance is significant for the narrative, since Daphnis has just returned from the urban *hetaira* (γύναιον…ἐξ ἄστεος, 3.15.1) Lykainion's erotic pedagogy (3.17-20). Lykainion's pedagogy seems to familiarize Daphnis with urban music and customs.[423] This scene of the fishermen's songs and Daphnis' response constitutes the first opportunity for him to encounter urban music since he has newly acquired this knowledge. The glen's repetition of the songs in the manner of the *aulos* also shows the positive correlations between urban society and mature inhabitants of the countryside.

This episode also offers the narrator the ability to contrast Daphnis' and Chloe's musical abilities more strongly than in prior musical descriptions. On the one hand, Daphnis is knowledgeable and prepared to make the fishermen's songs into tunes for his syrinx, whereas Chloe is at a total loss for the reason for the echo (3.22.1-2):

> ὁ μὲν οὖν Δάφνις εἰδὼς τὸ πραττόμενον μόνῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ προσεῖχε καὶ ἐτέρπετο τῇ νηὶ παρατρεχούσῃ τὸ πεδίον θᾶττον πτεροῦ καὶ ἐπειρᾶτό τινα διασώσασθαι τῶν ᾀσμάτων ὡς

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[423] cf. Chapter 5.1.2.

γένοιτο τῆς σύριγγος μέλη. ἡ δὲ Χλόη, τότε πρῶτον πειρωμένη τῆς καλουμένης ἠχοῦς, ποτὲ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπέβλεπε τῶν ναυτῶν κελευόντων, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὕλην ὑπέστρεφε ζητοῦσα τοὺς ἀντιφωνοῦντας.

Therefore, Daphnis, knowing what was going on, paid attention to the sea alone, and was pleasured by the ship racing by the plain faster than a bird and he tried to preserve some of the songs so that they would become melodies for the syrinx. But Chloe, only then experiencing what is called the echo for the first time, at one moment looked to the sea when the sailors were calling the rhythm, and at another moment turned to the forest seeking the voices calling in return.

Daphnis is already aware of the effect that these human songs have on the landscape. Since Daphnis knows the technical phenomenon of the echo, he turns his whole attention to the fishermen's songs. Daphnis is still using Philetas' syrinx, which was previously compared to *auloi* in construction and volume (2.35). The *paronomasia* of *aulos* in the landscape's performative echo compliments Daphnis' own instrument. He does not, however, pay attention to the echo itself; his focus is solely on the sea so that he can try to preserve the sea shanties on his syrinx as melodies. By focusing only on the sea, however, Daphnis attempts to remember the words and tempo of the sailors' songs, rather than reproduce a musical phrase such as that produced by the glen as an echo. Daphnis is associated with the fishermen in this respect, since he attempts to turn their songs into tunes that he can reproduce. But in another respect, the narrator echoes the fishermen's attempts to preserve (διασώσασθαι, 3.21.1) their catch in Daphnis' actions to preserve (διασώσασθαι, 3.22.1) the songs. That is, Daphnis is positively associated with the fishermen, and is even pleased (ἐτέρπετο) by the ship's sailing. Chloe, however, is in a state of *aporia*, since this moment was her first experience of the phenomenon called "echo" (καλουμένης ἠχοῦς), and alternately looks to the fishermen and looks to the forest, thinking that there was a separate group of singers in her familiar landscape. The contrast between the two highlights Daphnis' musical knowledge. It also indicates that only in this liminal space between the rural and maritime atmosphere could herdsmen know of this acoustic process which the fishermen initiate, and thus that Daphnis has already crossed that boundary of technical and musical comprehension which the narrator shares with the reader.[424]

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[424] Hubbard (2006a): 101-106.

4.3   Conclusion

These two musical scenes in *Daphnis and Chloe* frame Daphnis' musical development from his inexperience with music other than herding music to his first instruction at the hands of an urban *hetaira*. At the time of the Methymnaeans' partying and their capture of Chloe, Daphnis had not yet learned the origins of his instrument, the syrinx, nor yet witnessed Philetas' professional instrument. The episode of Pan's rescue of Chloe, which she relates to Daphnis, prepares the reader for Philetas' own masterful display on his syrinx. It does so, since Pan's intervention offers the first example of a syrinx's music that is compared with that of another instrument. In this case, it is to the frightening tones of the *salpinx*, an instrument which recalls Pan's martial capabilities, and which the Methymnaeans understand for themselves. Alciphron's fishermen who describe music are instructive by their contrast with the function of music among Longus' fishermen. In Alciphron, fishermen seem to play the role that Daphnis occupies, experiencing music and being charmed by it, but otherwise defining music as an urban phenomenon. Thus, the Methymnaeans act the part of aristocrats who export their form of entertainment into the sea, while the fishermen of *Daphnis and Chloe* perform technically complex songs of their own. The fishermen's songs immediately follow on Lykainion's erotic instruction of Daphnis, and seems at first only included to inspire Daphnis' *aition* of the Echo. The actual form of the fishermen's songs, however, includes complex vocal performances that appear nowhere else in the narrative. These songs constitute the most explicit example of urban music that Daphnis and Chloe encounter, and the glen's echoing like an *aulos* underscores the more urbane and complex aspects of this music. This change in performance is in turn reflected in Daphnis' knowledge of the technical elements of this human music, and his readiness to preserve these urban songs on the syrinx which he inherited from Philetas.

Chapter 5: Prostitutes and Parasites

This final chapter examines the music that appears within the final two books of *Daphnis and Chloe*, as they secure their marriage and are recognized by their natural families as members of the Mytilenean elite. Within these books, the protagonists' performance of herdsman's music largely ceases, in favor of listening to and creating more urban styles of music favored by couretsans, parasites, and the elite. In the third book, Daphnis encounters the courtesan, Lykainion, and produces a myth of Echo which I argue depicts her as possessing a courtesan's musical abilities. In the fourth book, Daphnis interacts with the parasite, Gnathon, and holds a theatrical performance for an audience of these aristocrats. I argue that over these two books, Daphnis grows accustomed to urban music and its performance, and that he is associated symbolically with Apollo as the representative of this elite music. Alciphron's own depictions of courtesans' and parasites' interpretations of music offer ideal sources with which to compare Daphnis' portrayal of Echo as versed in courtesans' music, and the Mytilenean elite's visualization of Daphnis as an idealized rural performer.

5.1   Courtesans' Music in Longus and Alciphron

In the third book of *Daphnis and Chloe*, Daphnis assists a courtesan from Mitylene named Lykainion, who provides the third and final pedagogy in the narrative. This encounter with Lykainion is significant for Daphnis' cultural and musical development, since she is the only courtesan in the narrative, and the only urban character who educates either of the protagonists. I argue that it is this exposure to urban culture which allows Daphnis to understand the fishermen's sea shanties in the scene that immediately follows this education. More significantly, it is what prompts Daphnis to provide the figure of Echo in his *aition* of the shanties' echo with an urban education. In this section, I compare Alciphron's courtesans' musical abilities and experiences with Daphnis' representation of Echo to show how Daphnis uses typical examples of courtesans' performances and descriptions of their musical training to present Echo in the light.

5.1.1 Alciphron's Courtesans: Erotic Music in a Rural Landscape

With the exception of the male *kitharode* in 3.19 and the goatherd who plays a syrinx in 2.9, all characters who explicitly use musical instruments in Alciphron's *Epistulae* are female entertainers.[425] The various farmers and fishermen who mention musical performance talk about *hetairai*, but it is only in the fourth book of the *Epistulae* that Alciphron's female musicians speak about music and their enjoyment of it on their own terms. The focus on women among the courtesans' letters is readily apparent; sixteen of the nineteen letters are written from the point of view of women women, and eight of these also have a female addressee.[426] Many of these women are also famous courtesans of the Hellenistic period and were figures conversant with the Athenian social elite, including Phryne, Glycera, Leontion, and Thaïs.[427] Alciphron thus engages with the same topic of recording the real or fictional sayings and letters of courtesans that other Imperial Greek writers, including Lucian and Athenaeus, produce.[428] This section shows briefly how these courtesans present their social roles in musical and educative terms, before examining the music in 4.13, in which a sophisticated courtesan describes a rural retreat attended by fellow courtesans and their lovers.

Several scholars have observed that the character of the fourth book of the *Epistulae* differs from the letters collected in the other books.[429] These letters constitute fictional representations of historical figures, rather than the comic names suggested by the letters of fishermen, farmers, and parasites. K. Gilhuly has shown that other authors in the Imperial period used fictional depictions of courtesans as mouthpieces for the self-representation of sophists and the educative ideals of the elite in Imperial society.[430] Alciphron's courtesans also depict

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[425] cf. Chapter 1.2; However, the parasite in 3.5 dreams that he holds a syrinx, and the parasite in 3.23 is told to bring his *kymbala* and syrinx.

[426] cf. Vox (2018): 109-10. Courtesans' letters with a female recipient: 4.2, 4.4-6, 4.40, 4.13-14, 4.17. Courtesans' letters with a male recipient: 4.1, 4.3, 4.7, 4.9, 4.12, 4.15-16, 4.19. fr. 5 may also have a female sender and recipient. Rösch (2018): 228 suggests that 4.13 makes sense only as being written from one courtesan to another.

[427] e.g. Alciphron's courtesans in the fourth book mention or address letters to various elite or influential men in Athens: Praxiteles (4.1), Menander (4.2, 4.18-19), Hypereides (4.3-4), Epicurus (4.7), and Demetrias Poliorketes (4.16-17); cf. Rösch (2018): 236.

[428] cf. Luc. *Dial. meret.*; Ath. 13.577d-85f. cf. DAvidson (1997): 104-7, 201-5; McClure (2003a): 259-94.

[429] cf. Rosenmeyer (2001): 272-5; König (2007): 269-70.

[430] K. Gilhuly (2007): 83-90. This process is also visible in the portrayal of elite anxieties of other second sophistic writers within their texts; cf. Whitmarsh (2001); Whitmarsh (2011).

themselves as elite, educated figures who define their musical education and performative role in society. The comment which most stingingly associates Alciphron's courtesans with this view of the educated elite is Thaïs' remark to Euthydemus: "But do you think a sophist differs from a *hetaira*?" (οἴει δὲ διαφέρειν ἑταίρας σοφιστήν; 4.7.4). Thaïs comment refers primarily to the goals of their professions; namely, that both courtesans and sophists aim only to make profit (ἕν γε ἀμφοτέροις τέλος πρόκειται τὸ λαβεῖν, 4.7.4) from their clients.[431] While "sophist" in this sense refers ostensibly to the rhetors of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the remark also strikes close to the heart of the Imperial *pepaideumenoi*, since Thaïs directly equates her own profession with that of the Athenian educated elites.

This access to elite society is, nevertheless, mediated through the courtesans' musical abilities. *Epistulae* 4.16 most clearly states the typical musical performances expected of these courtesans. In this letter, Lamia writes to Demetrios Poliorketes that it is her duty to entertain him, "at times to sing, at times to play the *aulos*, at times to dance" (τὰ δὲ ᾄδειν, τὰ δὲ αὐλεῖν, τὰ δὲ ὀρχεῖσθαι, 4.16.6), such that she charms him with her *auloi* ("today I shall make him capitulate with my *auloi*," σήμερον αὐτὸν τοῖς αὐλοῖς ἐκπολιορκήσω, 4.16.3).[432] Lamia thus connects her musical skills directly with her power over her lovers, even as she engages in the same musical performances of singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments that identify many of the less well-connected *hetairai* of Books 1-3.[433] Courtesans also use this music to subtly show other courtesans their hold on particular characters. The same Thaïs complains to Thettale about the behavior of her friend Euxippe, since Euxippe deliberately "sang songs about a male lover who was no longer attached to" Thaïs (ποιημάτια ᾖδεν εἰς τὸν οὐκέθ᾽ ἡμῖν προσέχοντα ἐραστήν, 4.6.3).[434] Alciphron's courtesans thus deliberately use musical performances in competition with each other and relate these performances in terms of their own professional duties.

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[431] Rösch (2018): 235-6.
[432] Thus playing with Demetrios' nickname. Rosenmeyer (2001): 284 for the courtesan's rejection of the literary fictionality of the courtesan's lifestyle in this letter in favor of Lamia making this music a customary part of her activities.
[433] However, cf. Gallé-Cejudo (2018): 175-6 for Lamia's refusal to engage in sophism and forswears acting like a courtesan against Demetrias (οὐ ποιήσω τὸ ἑταιρικόν, 4.16.5).
[434] cf. Iovine (2013): 147-8.

These activities by high-society women culminate in the acephalous 4.13, in which a group of male and female elites have a rustic retreat to an Athenian aristocrat's country estate. As Rösch has shown, this letter is flush with rhetorical techniques, including technical details, justifications for the writing of the letter, and multiple *ekphraseis* of the locality. These characteristics identify this letter writer as a sophisticated epistolary composer.[435] The contents of this letter offer an example of a depiction of the country from the viewpoint of the urban social elite, since she describes an outing of courtesans and their lovers into the countryside to make sacrifices to the rural gods and to entertain themselves. As some scholars have noted, this letter makes an excellent comparison with *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.12-15, since Dionysophanes and the other Mitylenean elites similarly travel into the countryside and pay homage to the rural gods, Demeter, Dionysus, Pan, and the Nymphs (4.13.3).[436] The letter writer thus describes the countryside as a *locus amoenus*, replete with undertones of bucolic poetry (4.13.9):

> ἡδὺ καὶ κωτίλον ἀηδόνες ἐψιθύριζον, ἠρέμα δὲ οἱ σταλαγμοὶ καταλειβόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς οἷον ἱδρούσης σπιλάδος τρυφερόν τινα παρεῖχον ψόφον ἐαρινῷ πρέποντα συμποσίῳ.

> The nightingales were chirping sweetly and lightly, gently the drops that were falling from the ledge like sweat made some pleasant sound, fitting for a spring symposium.

These specific details recall the opening lines of *Idyll* 1 (ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα, 1.1; ἀπὸ τᾶς πέτρας καταλείβεται ὑψόθεν ὕδωρ, 1.8), and establish a deliberate idealization of the rural setting as fitting for bucolic poetry.[437]

Alciphron, however, presents a rural excursion which mainly focuses on the courtesans' activities.[438] The beginning of the extant letter describes the location of the rural estate: "it is some field or garden…in truth, the possession of an amorous man, not a farmer" (αὐτὸ δ᾽ ἐστὶ λειμών τις ἢ κῆπος…ἐρωτικοῦ, φίλη, κτημάτιον ὄντως, οὐ γεωργοῦ, 4.13.1). The use of "ἐρωτικός" casts the remainder of the letter in this erotic light, so that it emphasizes the courtesans' pleasurable interactions with nature. While this term refers to an aesthete, this

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[435] Rösch (2018): 216-36. The straightforward description of events in this letter maintains the qualities of literary *ekphrasis*, and in doing so, keeps the addressee and reader in suspense at the lurid details the writer excitedly reveals; cf. Konstan (2011): 331.

[436] οὗτος ἐλθὼν τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ θεοῖς ἔθυσεν ὅσοι προεστᾶσιν ἀγροικίας, Δήμητρι καὶ Διονύσῳ καὶ Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις. For the comparisons, cf. McCulloh (1970): 87; Rosenmeyer (2001): 298; Rösch (2018): 234-5.

[437] cf. Iovine (2013): 151 for the erotic and auditory qualities of this *locus amoenus*. cf. Bonner (1909): 280-81.

[438] cf. Konstan (2011): 324 for the qualities of the *ekphraseis* within this letter as representative of a "*locus amoenus* that is familiar from more recent bawdy literature, where country villas are often the scene of such rude activities."

association with Eros recalls the role which Philetas, in his erotic lesson, tells Daphnis and Chloe that this god has over all of nature (τὰ φυτὰ πάντα τούτου ποιήματα, 2.7.3). Alciphron likewise includes rustic material that is similar to that in *Daphnis and Chloe* to center the focus of *Ep.* 4.13 on the erotics of the courtesans' pleasure when the group sacrifices to Pan and the Nymphs. The party prepares an altar under a rock where statues of the Nymphs and Pan stand, surrounded by vegetation and with running water, a description similar to the Cave of the Nymphs in *Daphnis and Chloe* (1.4.1-3). This statue of Pan, however, is erotically inclined: "For you see how amorous he is; therefore eagerly would he see us getting frisky there" (ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὥς ἐστιν ἐρωτικός. ἡδέως οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα κραιπαλώσας ἴδοι, 4.13.6). This courtesan thus presents the countryside as amenable to the pleasures of her profession.

The music that these courtesans perform indicates how the musical performances of such characters are intrinsically connected to their female bodies. When the sacrifices are over, they all hold a miniature symposium, and the musical performances begin once the wine has been consumed (4.13.11):

> καὶ παρῆν Κρου[σ]μάτιον ἡ Μεγάρας καταυλοῦσα, ἡ δὲ Σιμμίχη ἐρωτικὰ μέλη πρὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ᾖδεν. ἔχαιρον αἱ ἐπὶ τῆς πίδακος Νύμφαι.

> And Megara's Kroumation was present, playing the *aulos*, and Simmikhe sang erotic tunes to the harmony. The Nymphs at the spring were pleased.

The performance consists of music played on the *aulos*, which is accompanied by erotic songs. As in 1.15, the name "Kroumation" appears for an *auletris*, although she is here explicitly identified as belonging to another, more socially elite courtesan. Simmikhe, meanwhile, sings appropriately erotic songs (ἐρωτικὰ μέλη). D. Konstan has noted that Alciphron makes a sexual pun in Simmikhe's performance, since ἐρωτικὰ μέλη may mean erotic songs or erotic dances.[439] This wordplay makes it appear as though Simmikhe both sings and dances to the *aulos*. It is Plangon, however, who provides the visual entertainment, when she "got up, danced, and shook her loins" (ἀναστᾶσα κατωρχήσατο καὶ τὴν ὀσφῦν ἀνεκίνησεν ἡ Πλαγγών, 4.13.11). Although Simmikhe is not the one who has the erotic limbs, the linguistic joke offers a clear indication that

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[439] Konstan (2011): 324 for the presentation of the pun.

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for a courtesan and her music, the connection between her melodies and physicality is a relevant point of description, if not the main joke.

The lush festivities that the courtesan in 4.13 describes thus offers a glance into how Alciphron represents a courtesan's perception of her profession's musical activities in an idyllic locality. As this occurs in the context of a rural retreat and festival to Pan, it is worth noting that in response to these erotic performances, the statue of Pan seemed eager to pounce on Plangon (4.13.13).[440] That is, these courtesans' songs not only encourage the sexual behavior of their human listeners (4.13.13-16), but also gains a favorable reception from Pan and the Nymphs.[441] Finally, as Rösch has recognized, this courtesan's sophisticated pretensions appear in her descriptions of the sexual play that these courtesans engage in (ἐπαίζομεν, 4.13.13), since this erotic activity is closely related to the παιδεία of a sophist, or, like Thaïs' remark to Euthydemus in 4.7, a courtesan.[442] These elements of erotic instruction, the depiction of courtesans in a rural environment, the explicit connection of these women's performance with their bodies, as L. McClure has noted, and the reception of this performance by rustic figures, dominate Daphnis' myth of Echo in *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.23.[443]

5.1.2   Longus' Courtesans: Lykainion and Echo

In the third book of *Daphnis and Chloe*, the narrator introduces two female characters who exemplify urban sophistication. One of these, the courtesan Lykainion, provides Daphnis with the necessary erotic instruction for him to consummate his relationship with Chloe. The other, Echo, is a mythological figure whom Daphnis imbues with a sophisticated musical ability in his story to Chloe. The inclusion of these two characters within *Daphnis and Chloe* illustrates Daphnis' growing musical knowledge and familiarity with urban society. This section argues that both characters are crucial to the narrative's progression toward Daphnis' and Chloe's

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[440] ὀλίγου ὁ Πὰν ἐδέησεν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τὴν πυγὴν αὐτῆς ἐξάλλεσθαι.There is evidence that such caves to the Nymphs and Pan had suitable flat space within or in front of them to permit dancing and other such festivities, cf. Peter (2013): 41-43 on this passage in Alciphron, with evidence drawn from Vari and Penteli caves in Attica, among other instances.

[441] However, after more sexual activity on the part of the courtesans, the correspondent perceived a hostile reception from the statues of the Nymphs (4.13.17).

[442] Rösch (2018): 235-6; cf. Iovine (2013): 150 for the *paidia* of 4.13.

[443] cf. McClure (2003b): 107-24, esp. 120-22.

impending recognition, since unlike all prior female musicians in *Daphnis and Chloe*, Daphnis'

Echo exhibits characteristics of courtesans' sophisticated music.

Following the winter, and after Daphnis and Chloe fail to effect Philetas' instruction once

more, the narrator introduces his audience to a new character. Daphnis had an old neighbor,

Khromis, who was an independent farmer. Khromis had a wife who was an urban transplant into

the countryside (3.15.1):

> τούτῳ γύναιον ἦν ἔπακτον ἐξ ἄστεος, νέον καὶ ὡραῖον καὶ ἀγροικίας ἁβρότερον. τούτῳ
> Λυκαίνιον ὄνομα ἦν.
>
> He had a wife, young and pretty and rather cultivated for the countryside, shipped from
> the city; her name was Lykainion.

As scholars have noted, her diminutive name, urban origin, and connotations of the name

Lykainion ("Wolfie"), indicate that she was a *hetaira* from Mytilene whom Khromis either

bought or brought into the countryside.[444] Since several farmers in the second book of *Epistulae*

likewise consort with *hetairai* (2.14, 2.21, 2.31), the social position of Lykainion mirrors that of

the farmers and female players of the *aulos*, *psalterion*, *lyra*, and *kithara* in Alciphron's

Epistulae.[445] In comparison with the musical *hetairai* in Alciphron, Lykainion ought to have

musical training in stringed and wind instruments along with these other performative arts. In

her interactions with Daphnis, while she sweetens him up to sleep with her, Lykainion does in

fact give him a syrinx as an erotic gift (3.15.3).[446] Lykainion does not perform music in her

interactions with Daphnis, but her gift of a syrinx echoes Dorkon's gift of a bucolic syrinx to

Daphnis (1.15), and was similarly tied to education.[447]

Lykainion's main interaction with Daphnis, however, is the lesson in *eros* that she

provides for him. After drawing Daphnis away with a false plea for him to rescue her missing

goose, she teaches Daphnis how to copulate, and thereby provides an explicit completion to

Philetas' lessons some months prior.[448] She directly tells Daphnis to become her student

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[444] Levin (1977): 7. Morgan (2003): 283 for the likelihood that she may not be a full wife, but rather more of a sexual slave to Khromis.

[445] cf. also Ael. *Ep. Rust*. 1.9, 1.19.

[446] cf. Maritz (1991): 63 for the presentation of the syrinx as an erotic emblem.

[447] Chloe attempts to give Daphnis a new syrinx, but discards it when she discovers that he has been kidnapped by pirates (1.28.3).

[448] Lykainion's claim that an eagle had stolen her largest goose is a clear reference to Penelope's dream *Od*. 19.536ff, cf. Bowie (2005b): 82, yet it is also an early reflection of Zeus' snatching of Ganymede, referenced by Gnathon in 4.17.6.

(μαθητήν) in order to please the Nymphs (χαριζομένη ταῖς Νύμφαις, 3.17.3), and he takes her teaching to heart.[449] In sexually pursuing and teaching Daphnis, Lykainion acts out the erotic education in an idyllic landscape which is developed in *Epistulae* 4.13.[450] The importance of Lykainion to the narrative for her educative role has previously been stressed by scholars, but what has been passed over is Daphnis' resulting cultural sophistication.[451] After this erotic instruction, Daphnis possesses musical knowledge which no other character in *Daphnis and Chloe* references. The musical effects of Daphnis' instruction by a courtesan are clear in the scene that immediately follows Lykainion's departure.

As noted in the previous chapter, the appearance of the singing fishermen follows Lykainion's instruction, and their echoing songs impel Daphnis to tell Chloe the *aition* of the echo (3.21-23), and reveals their divergent musical knowledge at this stage. Daphnis demonstrates his full knowledge of the musical phenomenon of the echo by focusing on the source of the songs, that is, the fishermen, in order to preserve them for use as tunes on his own syrinx (ἐπειρᾶτό τινα διασώσασθαι τῶν ᾀσμάτων ὡς γένοιτο τῆς σύριγγος μέλη, 3.22.1). Chloe, however, is presented as a musical neophyte. As with the first *aition* of the ringdove's voice (1.27), Chloe is unaware of the meaning and source of the sound. Yet, this is not the first time that Chloe has heard music that travels over the water: she had played Dorkon's syrinx to rescue Daphnis from the pirates (1.30) and heard the two sounds of Pan's syrinx while on the Methymnaeans' ship (2.26, 2.29). Furthermore, Chloe has herself echoed Daphnis within this book, since in their conversations during the winter, Chloe responded to Daphnis antiphonally (ἀντιφωνήσασα, 3.11.1). This is the first time, however, that she has heard music coming from the sea towards the land, and this is the first occasion in which she experienced the echo (τότε πρῶτον πειρωμένη τῆς καλουμένης ἠχοῦς, 3.22.2). This subtle difference in location of the music among these episodes shows that when the music is not performed by herdsmen, like Chloe and Pan, Chloe has no concept of the true source of the music. Daphnis, by contrast,

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[449] The narrator subsequently refers to Lykainion's instruction as an erotic *paidagogia* (3.19.1), which stresses the sexual and educative elements of Lykainion's role in the narrative. cf. Herrmann (2007): 209.

[450] cf. Rösch (2018): 234-5. Paschalis (2005): 60 compares Lykainion with a hunter, on account of her educative *technē*.

[451] Levin (1977): 13-4. cf. Mittelstadt (1971): 312, Corsino (2018): 34-5 for Longus' use of Lykainion as a departure from the fetishization of virginity in the other novels. cf. Alvarez (2006): 10 for the necessity of Lykainion as a human figure to complete Eros' mythos.

already knew (εἰδώς) what was happening, and his action in preserving the melodies shows that he is capable not only of recognizing the nature of this acoustic phenomenon, but also attempts to preserve these fishermen's songs on his instrument for his own performance.[452] After Daphnis' encounter with the woman from the city, then, he tries to accommodate culturally foreign music to his own instrument, whereas Chloe, who has not had this same tutoring, cannot separate the fishermen's songs from her rural environment.

Even more indicative of Daphnis' new musical knowledge is the content of the *aition* of the echo that Daphnis tells Chloe. The musical details in Daphnis' narration show how he presents the Nymph, Echo, as a courtesan, by describing her rich musical education. Daphnis' story first describes Echo's musical tutelage (3.23.1-2):

> Τρέφεται μὲν ὑπὸ Νυμφῶν, παιδεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Μουσῶν συρίζειν, αὐλεῖν, τὰ πρὸς λύραν, τὰ πρὸς κιθάραν, πᾶσαν ᾠδήν. ὥστε καὶ παρθενίας εἰς ἄνθος ἀκμάσασα ταῖς Νύμφαις συνεχόρευε, ταῖς Μούσαις συνῇδεν.

> She was raised by the Nymphs, but was taught by the Muses to play the syrinx, to play the *aulos*, those (melodies) for the *lyra*, those (melodies) for the *kithara*, every song; so that when she blossomed into the flower of maidenhood, she danced in company with the Nymphs, and sang along with the Muses.

Echo is singularly distinguished from the other figures in the previous *aitia* for her musical talent. In the first two myths, Phatta and Syrinx both sing, but without the accompaniment of instruments.[453] Echo, however, has a technical musical education at the hands of the Muses. Daphnis presents Echo's education as one based on the urban education of courtesans. First, he ascribes different performative styles to the Nymphs and the Muses. While he calls all the Nymphs "musical" (πᾶσαι μουσικαί, 3.23.1), within this *aition* they only raise Echo (τρέφεται) and dance with her (συνεχόρευε).[454] The Muses, by contrast, both sing (συνῇδεν) with Echo and teach (παιδεύεται) her to play musical instruments. Daphnis also lists the several instruments and types of melodies that Echo learns from the Muses. Echo learns how to play the *aulos* and

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[452] Bowie (2006): 73 interprets Daphnis' knowledge and attempts at the preservation of a sound which the readers have not heard as "a *mis-en-abyme* for the claimed activity of the Longan narrator, who had to remember (we must assume) the exposition of the painting in the grove of the Nymphs in order that his labour might turn it into a four-book narrative (*pr.*3)."

[453] cf. Kossaifi (2012): 583.

[454] But cf. Young (1968, 1971): 104 on the three varieties of Nymphs that Daphnis names, the Meliai, Dryades, and Heleioi: "Tree nymphs and marsh nymphs might be thought of as song-composers, because woodwind instruments, which come nearest to imitating the human voice, are made from woods and reeds."

the *syrinx*, in addition to the melodies for the *lyra* and the *kithara*.[455] Daphnis' enumeration of these instruments provides the only appearance within *Daphnis and Chloe* of these stringed instruments. It is also the first reference to the *aulos* as an actual instrument, rather than as an element of Philetas' syrinx (2.35) or a feature of the countryside of Lesbos (3.21-2). This myth emphasizes not only the origin of the auditory phenomenon of the echo, but more precisely the musical and instrumental variability which Echo once possessed.[456]

The presence of these instruments in this myth reflects on both Daphnis' characterization of Echo and the narrator's revelation of Daphnis' musical proficiency. The Muses are often associated with Apollo in poetry and in professional performances, and Apollo in turn is associated with these stringed instruments.[457] Daphnis' inclusion of the *lyra* and the *kithara* thus provides the first references to Apolline instruments within the narrative, and of Daphnis' awareness of them. In this way, Echo learns the variety of instruments which Alciphron's courtesans and *hetairai* also use. Echo's varied performances in this myth show that she displays the performative proficiency that Alciphron's Lamia records in 4.16.[458] That is to say, Daphnis' Echo plays instruments, especially the *aulos*, dances with the Nymphs, and sings with the Muses.[459] Daphnis thus depicts Echo as a professionally educated performer, on a par with Alciphron's elite female musicians.

Moreover, Daphnis innovates this myth of Echo in two ways.[460] First, in providing Echo with these musical abilities, he grants this figure a musical capacity which appears in no other version of the myth.[461] Echo is normally associated with the auditory phenomenon of the echo, and the myth of Echo ordinarily explains the repetition of the last words and sounds that are spoken under the appropriate condition for an echo to occur.[462] Daphnis, however, explicitly provides his version of Echo with an education in musical instruments. The second innovation

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[455] cf. Létoublon (2013): 131-2.
[456] Schlapbach (2018): 208-9.
[457] cf. Bundrick (2005): 52-4.
[458] τὰ δὲ ἄδειν, τὰ δὲ αὐλεῖν, τὰ δὲ ὀρχεῖσθαι.
[459] cf. LeVen (2018b): 215 for recognizing that Echo's musical ability is the primary focus of the myth.
[460] Mittelstadt (1970): 215 where the mythical Daphnis is supposed to have composed many original songs," and that it is possible that Longus alludes to this strain of the tradition by depicting Daphnis' apparent innovation of myth and knowledge of external music.
[461] Cueva (2004): 52; Montiglio (2012): 147.
[462] Corsino (2018): 33-4. A bilingual pun on a similar theme is found in Ovid, *Met*.398, where LeVen (2018a): 18-22 notes that *vox tantum atque ossa supersunt* plays on the verbal similarity between *ossa* and ὄσσα.

which Daphnis makes in his myth of Echo is the description of her *sparagmos*.[463] Daphnis

explains to Chloe that Echo shunned Pan's advances, and Pan grew jealous of her music

(3.23.3-4):

> ὁ Πὰν ὀργίζεται τῇ κόρῃ, τῆς μουσικῆς φθονῶν, τοῦ κάλλους μὴ τυχών, καὶ μανίαν
> ἐμβάλλει τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς αἰπόλοις. οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ κύνες ἢ λύκοι διασπῶσιν αὐτὴν καὶ
> ῥίπτουσιν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἔτι ᾄδοντα τὰ μέλη, καὶ τὰ μέλη Γῆ χαριζομένη Νύμφαις
> ἔκρυψε πάντα καὶ ἐτήρησε τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ γνώμῃ Μουσῶν ἀφίησι φωνὴν καὶ μιμεῖται
> πάντα καθάπερ τότε ἡ κόρη, θεούς, ἀνθρώπους, ὄργανα, θηρία.

> Pan became enraged at the girl, envying her musical ability, but not obtaining her beauty,
> and he cast a frenzy on the shepherds and the goatherds, who tore her to pieces just as
> dogs or wolves do, and all over the earth they cast her, still singing the melodies (τὰ μέλη),
> and Earth, to please the Nymphs, hid all these limbs (τὰ μέλη) and watched over the music,
> and by the will of the Muses, she sends off a voice and mimics everything — gods, men,
> instruments, beasts — just as the girl used to.

Daphnis uses Echo's *sparagmos* to show how the herdsmen differ from Echo on account of her

urban musical abilities. As Daphnis tells the story, Pan set his shepherds and goatherds against

Echo to rend her to pieces in jealousy of her musical ability. Echo's musical ability far exceeds

the rural deity's, since even when she is scattered across the earth, she can imitate the sounds

produced by any god, human, instrument, or animal (θεούς, ἀνθρώπους, ὄργανα, θηρία).

Daphnis repeats the process of musical imitation that is already present in Pan's syrinx that

sounds like a *salpinx* (2.26), Dryas' pantomime of the vintage (2.36), and the glen's imitation of

an *aulos* (3.21). The linguistic joke in this description of the *sparagmos*, in which μέλη can

mean either "limbs" or "melodies," is the same as that in *Epistulae* 4.13. In the context of

Daphnis and Chloe, the pun hints at the unity of Echo's music and her bodily form, and indicates

that Echo's musical ability enrages Pan (τῆς μουσικῆς φθονῶν) as much as her physical

appearance does.[464]

As scholars have noted, in each of the three *aitia*, music is the source of disadvantage for

the maidens; Phatta's songs are inferior to the male cowherd's. Syrinx's ability to sing

encourages Pan's pursuit. Echo's musical skill drives Pan and his herdsmen against her.[465] In

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[463] i.e. Echo's dismemberment links her to the traditional story of the *sparagmos* of the musical Orpheus, whose head, in extant Latin traditions floated to Lesbos (Ver. *Georg.* 4.525-6; Ov. *Met.* 11.55); cf. Schlapbach (2018): 209; McCulloh (1970): 66; LeVen (2018b): 215-17.
[464] LeVen (2018b): 216-7. Bowie (2003b): 371 argues that Pan's jealousy of Echo's musical gifts marks Pan's desire to assert his masculinity over Echo.
[465] Alvarez (2006): 12-13; Schlapbach (2015): 79-81; Corsino (2018): 33.

Echo's case, however, it is the specifically urban quality of her musical ability which encourages Pan's jealousy and rage. Daphnis thus reveals a conflict between an urban musical education and a rural society that is otherwise only indicated by the terror that Pan's syrinx instills in the Methymnaean navy (2.27.2). These conflicts arise from the herdsmen alone, rather than those characters who have training in urban music. In this respect, Daphnis thus relates the same conflict between urban and rural music that Alciphron's fishermen and farmers also repeatedly, although not exclusively, indicate in their criticisms of the *hetairai* and courtesans of Athens.

Echo's final function as an echo which imitates all noises is also a self-conscious reference to the mimetic nature of the text, and Daphnis' awareness of it shows his position as an internal sophisticated author himself.[466] Daphnis' language in his myth mirrors language in the immediately prior encounters with Lykainion and the fishermen's echoes. The focus on music after the destruction of Echo's physicality echoes, as P. LeVen acutely notes, the focus on the recollection and recording of music which dominated the episode of the fishermen.[467] Further, Daphnis concludes his myth with Pan's search for the source of the performer who echoes his syrinx, since Pan was "not desiring to chance upon anything other than learning who his hidden student is" (οὐκ ἐρῶν τυχεῖν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τοῦ μαθεῖν τίς ἐστιν ὁ λανθάνων μαθητής, 3.23.5). This use of "μαθητής" is the second, and final one, that appears in the narrative. The previous appearance had been in Lykainion's erotic instruction of Daphnis just prior to Daphnis' story (3.17.3). This particular repetition further shows how Daphnis has learned the necessary erotic and cultural information to include the urban courtesan's music in the myth of Echo. More importantly, it fully casts Daphnis into the role of a teacher of Chloe. His previous *aition* of the ringdove's voice (1.27) had also included educational themes, since Chloe sought to learn (μαθεῖν) and Daphnis taught (διδάσκει, 1.27.1) Chloe through the myth. At this moment, though, he formally vocalizes the relationship between student and teacher in the forms of Echo and Pan, even as he teaches Chloe what the origin of the echo is.

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[466] Bierl (2018): 23.
[467] LeVen (2018b): 217-22.

While the myth of Echo is often interpreted by scholars as the final and least appropriate mythological paradigm for Chloe.[468] Nevertheless, the linguistic similarities between the narrator's description of Daphnis and *his* depiction of Echo reflects Daphnis' and Echo's shared familiarity with music. Echo is most naturally connected with Chloe because of their shared gender and for the parallels in prior *aitia*.[469] Daphnis, however, in specifying Echo's musical education, depicts her as possessing an urban musical training, which Chloe lacks and which Daphnis appears to possess. Moreover, Daphnis' preservation of the fishermen's shanties as melodies (μέλη, 3.22.1) for his syrinx reflects the μέλη which constitute a significant element of this myth of Echo. Chloe, on the other hand, is ignorant of the musical phenomenon, just as Pan in the myth fails to discover Echo when she imitates the syrinx (3.23.5). This knowledge on Daphnis' part is the direct result of his encounter with Lykainion.

Since Lykainion is the only urban character to educate either of the protagonists, her education of Daphnis is what symbolically provides him with the knowledge of these urban instruments. This instruction superficially completes Daphnis' knowledge of Eros, but it also offers the first formative encounter that Daphnis has with any character from the city until Dionysophanes' train arrives in the final book. This encounter thus builds upon the education in Eros that Philetas offered in the previous book, an education which similarly prompted a surprisingly skillful erotic performance by Daphnis on Philetas' syrinx during the celebration of Pan (2.37). Daphnis' cultural familiarity is mirrored in the musical training he provides for Echo, and this knowledge of such urban instruments as the *kithara* and the *lyra*, knowledge that no other character in the narrative possesses, shows Daphnis' readiness to imitate an urban musician in the final book.

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[468] For the negative comparison, cf. Philippides (1980-1): 197; Bowie (2003b): 271; Montiglio (2012): 147-8; Schlapbach (2015): 85 takes Echo to be a negative mirror of Chloe because of Echo's musical ability; LeVen (2018b): 215-6.

[469] cf. Hunter (1983): 52-7; Cueva (2004): 53-4. That is, in the *aition* of the ringdove's voice, the verbal pattern (ἦν παρθένος, παρθένε, 1.27.1) equates Chloe with the *phatta*. After the *aition* of the syrinx, Chloe mimes the part of Syrinx (2.37).

5.3   Parasites and the Music of Myth

This section examines the musical events which populate the final book of *Daphnis and Chloe*. In this part of the narrative, Dionysophanes and his train travel into the countryside to assess the damage done to his estates and to enjoy an idealized sampling of the fruits of rural life (4.1-15). The main musical events in this book are Daphnis' rural concert (4.15) and the wedding ceremony at the end of the book (4.38-40). In addition to these two performances, however, there are several references to Daphnis in mythological terms which associate him both with urban characteristics of Apollo and an idealization of rustic elements of his performances. I argue that these references to urban music which begin with Lykainion's erotic lessons, and continue with the parasite Gnathon's mythological sophisms, prepare the reader for Daphnis' recognition as the natural son of Dionysophanes and Kleariste. Alciphron, meanwhile, seems to use these same mythological references within his *Epistulae* in a way that indicates the perception of Daphnis' performance as a professional musician by this fictional urban audience in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

The final book of *Daphnis and Chloe* opens with the development that Dionysophanes will travel to his country estate during the autumn vintage, and the various laborers subsequently prepare the area around Dionysophanes' garden for his arrival (4.1-6). In the meantime, the cowherd Lampis, one of Chloe's suitors who is thwarted by Daphnis' impending marriage to Chloe, tramples the garden in order to ruin Daphnis' chances at obtaining Dionysophanes' approval (4.7).   After the partial destruction of Dionysophanes' garden, Lamon laments that he will be strung up and flayed like Marsyas to a *pitys* (κρεμᾷ γέροντα ἄνθρωπον ἐκ μίας πίτυος ὡς Μάρσυαν) and that Daphnis will follow thereafter because he was in charge of the goats who must take the blame for the damage (4.8.4). At first, this remark seems like an ordinary reference to the flaying of Marsyas.[470] Scholars have taken this as a standard rustic threat that is repeated almost verbatim in Alciphron's *Epistulae* 2.18, when Eunape threatens that her husband will hang a neglectful goatherd from a *pitys* (2.18.3).[471] The full context of this remark,

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[470] cf. Reich (1894): 49; Bonner (1909): 278-9; Carugno (1955): 159.
[471] cf. Bowie (2019): 270 *ad loc*.

however, foreshadows the references to Daphnis as Apollo that shortly follow the arrival of Dionysophanes' train to the estate.

The flaying of Marsyas was the result of his loss to Apollo in their mythical musical contest.[472] This myth had been used in antiquity to illustrate the superiority of Apollo's concert *kithara* to Marsyas' foreign and rustic *aulos*.[473] This reference to the myth prepares the reader for Daphnis' own rural concert performance, since the tale of Marsyas recalls such public competitions. In Alciphron's *Epistulae*, the correlation is less certain; however, this remark in 2.18 is the only occasion in the *Epistulae* other than the goatherd Pratinas' performance on the syrinx in 2.9 in which the *pitys* is mentioned. Some scholars have argued that there is an association between the performing goats and goatherds in *DC* 4.15 and *Ep*. 2.9, and likewise between the references to Marysas hanging from a *pitys* in *DC* 4.8 and *Ep*. 2.18.[474] While the shared images offers no indication of intentional allusion on either author's part, these characteristics do show that the references to Marsyas are a motif in fictional depictions of rural inhabitants, while in *Daphnis and Chloe*, it immediately precedes references to Apollo.

The first direct reference to Apollo also compares Daphnis to the god, and instigates Daphnis' urban concert itself. Once Dionysophanes, Kleariste, and the other Mityleneans have arrived in the countryside, they partake in numerous imitations of rural delights (4.13-15).[475] With the aristocrats' arrival, Chloe disappears, as she had at Daphnis' first public performance in the mime of Pan and Syrinx (2.37.3), indicating her separation from the urban sphere in contrast with the other characters who remain (4.14.1).[476] Daphnis, in contrast, presents himself in his full goatherd's regalia.[477] The narrator intrudes with the comment: "If ever Apollo, while in the service of Laomedon, had played the cowherd, this was the same way that Daphnis seemed then" (εἴ ποτε Ἀπόλλων Λαομέδοντι θητεύων ἐβουκόλησε, τοιόσδε ἦν οἷος τότε ὤφθη Δάφνις, 4.14.2).

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[472] cf. Chapter 1.1.

[473] cf. Landels (1999): 153-9; cf. Bundrick (2005): 131-39 for interpretations of visual representations of Marsyas and Apollo.

[474] cf. Reich (1894): 47-8; Dalmeyda (1932): 284-7; Vaccarello (1935): 314-5; Carugno (1955): 154. *contra* Bonner (1909): 278.

[475] For the imitative nature of Dionysophanes' vacation, cf. Pandiri (1985): 124-7; Zeitlin (1994): 157-8; Saïd (1999): 97-107.

[476] Χλόη μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἔφυγον ὄχλον τοσοῦτον αἰδεσθεῖσα καὶ φοβηθεῖσα. cf. Bowie (2019): 276-7 *ad loc*.

[477] Daphnis thus appears like a stereotypical goatherd, as part of the "realism" of Dionysophanes' excursion. In doing so, however, Daphnis may be appearing in the same guise as Lycidas. cf. Th. *Id*. 7.12-19.

The narrator thus directly compares the goatherd Daphnis to the god Apollo, although an Apollo who served as a cowherd.[478] This comparison appears unsuitable to the occasion, but if Daphnis has already effectively adopted the musical position of the ideal *boukolos*, the bucolic Daphnis, then this comparison is especially apt.[479] Further, as W.E. McCulloh has noted, "*Daphnis* not only connotes the legendary proto-herdsman; in a context where other major names carry vegetation symbolism, the name also suggests the laurel."[480] The narrator's comparison of Daphnis to Apollo herding cattle, thus further associates him with both the god and bucolic performance.

Daphnis' appearance spurs Lamon to brag about his adopted son's musical abilities to the Mityleneans. Lamon boasts to Dionysophanes that Daphnis has now educated his goats, such that Daphnis "has even made them musical; indeed, when they have heard the music of the syrinx, they do everything" (πεποίηκε δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ μουσικάς. σύριγγος γοῦν ἀκούουσαι ποιοῦσι πάντα, 4.14.3). This specific detail about Daphnis' musical control over his goats is meant to show how extraordinary he is among herdsmen, and to impress the Mitylenean elite. This boast in turn spurs Kleariste to test whether Lamon was speaking the truth, and the performance that ensues bears all the hallmarks of an urban musical performance that is relocated into the countryside.[481]

This concert bears certain characteristic details which are similar to Philetas' performance at the festival to Pan the before. This performance, however, is not a mere repetition of Philetas' and Daphnis' performances in 2.35-7. Instead, Daphnis displays his full social and musical maturity in this performance. First, "he made them sit just like at a theater" (ὁ δὲ καθίσας αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ θέατρον, 4.15.2). Then, standing under an oak, he plays a variety of pasturing tunes to his herd of goats on Philetas' gifted syrinx (4.15.2-4). This detail that Daphnis made his mostly urban audience sit down as though they were at a theater is significant in a few interrelated ways. These Mytileneans are accustomed to observing musical and acting performances within theaters, and so the narrator's interpretation of Daphnis' command for them

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[478] For the positive association between cattle and Apollo, cf. Berman (2005): 232-3.
[479] Bowie (2019): 287 *ad loc*. takes the opposite reading, arguing instead that the elites' perception of Daphnis as Apollo is an example of Longus "stressing the gap between their world and his."
[480] McCulloh (1970): 83.
[481] cf. Montiglio (2012): 150.

to sit in this way suits his audience's tastes. Second, Daphnis' command shows that he has a knowledge of how theatrical performances operate; a theater appears nowhere else in the narrative, and the narrator's use of "θέατρον" reflects the professionalism of Daphnis' performance and the expectations of the audience. While of course rural theaters existed, there is no indication in *Daphnis and Chloe* that any of the herdsmen have ever gone to one.[482] Even the series of performances in thanks to Pan for Chloe's safe return include, at most, the audience "reclining in silence" (σιωπῇ κατέκειντο, 2.36.1). This seating arrangement also invites the reader to picture this performance as one which is arranged like a theater, the location for professional performances.

The narrator's description of Daphnis' performance also shows elements of Daphnis' imitation of professional musicians. First, by standing for his musical performance, Daphnis imitates a professional performer on the *aulos* or the *kithara*. This detail also draws a contrast between this performance and Philetas' at the end of the second book. That is, Philetas had sat down for his performance on the syrinx, in keeping with visual and written depictions of herdsmen reclining to play on the syrinx.[483] By standing in a makeshift theater, Daphnis mimics a professional performance on Philetas' professional syrinx. This syrinx has previously been compared with the *aulos* (2.35). Daphnis has attempted to fit fishermen's melodies to a performance on the instrument (3.22). Finally, he has displayed knowledge of performance on the *aulos*, *lyra*, and *kithara* (3.23). In this performance, Daphnis has also shown his complete mastery of his herd of goats by playing a variety of melodies which they promptly obey: to stay in place (ἔστησαν), lay down (κατακλίθησαν), and flee danger (κατέφυγον). Daphnis also plays a *nomos* (melody) for the pasture (τὸ νόμιον), and a tune for summoning the goats back (ἀνακλητικόν, 4.15.2-3).[484] This skill in visual and auditory stage managing makes Daphnis appear like a professional musician at this stage in the narrative.[485] Finally, the narrator

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[482] Bowie (2019): 278 *ad loc*. suggests that Longus may refer directly to the historical theater in the city of Mitylene.
[483] Bowie (2019): 214 *ad loc*.
[484] Herrmann (2007): 222 argues that this performance outshines even Philetas' and becomes his successor in deed. cf. Chapter 1.3.2.
[485] A further detail relates to Kleariste's promise to give Daphnis a *khiton*, a *klaina*, and sandals (4.15.2, 15.4) for his good performance. While the proper *skeuē* for a professional performer is far more elaborate than the clothing which Kleariste has promised to give him, they form a humanizing contrast with Daphnis' goatherding costume, and could serve as a rustic equivalent to a professional uniform in the eyes of the aristocrats. cf. Power (2010): 11-27, 81 for the proper *skeuē* of the *kitharode*.

appraises Daphnis' performance for his skill, which prepares for his recognition as an aristocrat. Regarding the goats' obedience to Daphnis' musical commands, the narrator says: "Nor would one see even human slaves be so obedient to the command of their master" (οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἰκέτας εἶδεν ἄν τις οὕτω πειθομένους προστάγματι δεσπότου, 4.15.4). Since the theatrical setting of this performance bears these hallmarks of urban performance, the repeated implicit and explicit references to Apollo and Daphnis' knowledge of his instruments have been leading up to this reveal of Daphnis as an Apolline performer, right on the cusp of his recognition as the son of these Mytilenean elites (4.21).[486]

The second reference to Apollo appears in the mouth of the parasite Gnathon, who encounters Daphnis for the first time when he accompanies Astylus into the country to prepare for Dionysophanes' arrival. He falls in love with Daphnis, and attempts to sway him through compliments, and even asks Daphnis to "play a goatherding melody on the syrinx" (συρίσαι τὸ αἰπολικὸν ἠξίωσε, 4.11.3), demonstrating the appreciation, even if insincere, which urban figures have of rural performance in *Daphnis and Chloe*.[487] This parasite accordingly views Daphnis as an ideal figure, who possesses a beauty which not even the city could produce (4.11.2).[488] After the concert, Gnathon's voyeuristic passions are inflamed again, and he appeals to Astylus directly to give Daphnis to him as his plaything. Gnathon turns to his own mythological exempla, which he has learned (πεπαιδευμένος, 4.17.3) from hanging around at Mitylenean symposia. Longus' use of πεπαιδευμένος here is a clear reference to the Imperial elite's self-identification as *pepaideumenoi*. And, as T. Whitmarsh argues, Gnathon's education "implicates the reader's implicit self-construction as *pepaideumenos* into the very narrative."[489] This education, however, consists of an idealization of the countryside, rather than of the urban elite.[490]

Gnathon uses three mythological *exempla*, one for each variety of herdsman; Anchises the cowherd, whom Aphrodite loved, Brankhos the goatherd, whom Apollo loved, and

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[486] Montiglio (2012): 150 specifically argues that this comparison with a theater "prefigures his recognition as a native of the city; and it gives his musical talent an institutional imprimatur."
[487] cf. Maritz (1991): 63 for the erotic implications of this.
[488] κάλλος οἷον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως εὑρών.
[489] Whitmarsh (2001): 101-3.
[490] cf. Dio Pr. *Or*. 7 and the idealization of rustic life. The placement of these words specifically in the description of the comic *parasite* contributes to the humor.

Ganymede the shepherd, whom Zeus claimed for his own (4.17.6). Gnathon's examples are well chosen, since they refer to mythological herdsmen, and the connection between Apollo and the goatherd Brankhos is appropriate for Daphnis' own status as a goatherd. The reference to Apollo again shows the close patterning of explicit and implicit references to him in the second half of *Daphnis and Chloe*, and indicates the close relationship which the narrator has with these elite characters. Even more pointedly, Gnathon plays on the themes of mimetic education by claiming to imitate the gods themselves.[491] In response to these remarks, Astylus grants Gnathon's request and jokes, saying how "Eros makes great sophists" (μεγάλους ὁ Ἔρως ποιεῖ σοφιστάς, 4.18.1).[492] Astylus thus repeats the connection between Eros and education, and his active role in the plot that the narrator makes throughout *Daphnis and Chloe*.[493] This remark also cuts into the audience in the same way that Thaïs' comment to Euthydemus in *Ep*. 4.7 does; in *Daphnis and Chloe*, however, the sophist is compared not with a courtesan, but with a parasite.

The second mythological *exemplum* that Gnathon uses, that of the rape of Ganymede, recurs among Alciphron's own parasites, indicating that Longus taps into a tradition of depicting humorously-learned parasites. In *Epistulae* 3.23, the parasite Limenteros recounts to Amasetos a pleasant dream-turned-nightmare about Ganymede (3.23.2):

> ἐδόκουν γὰρ κατ᾽ ὄναρ εὐπρεπὴς εἶναι νεανίσκος καὶ οὐχ ὁ τυχών, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνος εἶναι ὁ Ἰλιεὺς ὁ περίψυκτος καὶ περικαλλής, ὁ τοῦ Τρωὸς παῖς Γανυμήδης, καὶ καλαύροπα ἔχειν καὶ σύριγγα, καὶ τιάρᾳ Φρυγῷ σκέπειν τὴν κεφαλὴν ποιμαίνειν τε καὶ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Ἴδην.

> For by the dream I seemed to be seemly and not just an anybody, but that very Ilian,
> the beloved and beautiful son of Tros, Ganymede, and to hold a shepherd's crook and
> a syrinx, and to cover my head with a Phrygian cap and drive my sheep down Mount Ida.

This parasite describes the ideal mythical herdsman, Ganymede, including the appropriate accoutrements, both musical and not.[494] While this image in Alciphron is assumed to be an imitation of Lucian's *Ikaromenippos*, Alciphron's parasite includes the appropriate mythological detail to indicate that he is describing a faux idyllic scene.[495] To show that the contrast between a

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[491] cf. Herrmann (2007): 222 which he considers the ideal form of imitation.
[492] Astylus also makes a triple pun in the phrase τὴν τραγικὴν δυσωδίαν (4.17.2), which variously means "the foul smell of goats," and "the foul singing of tragedy;" cf. Bowie (2007): 352; Pandiri (1985): 129.
[493] cf. pr. 3-4; 1.7; 1.11; 1.15; 2.3-7; 3.18-19.
[494] Ganymede often is paired with the syrinx as his pastoral equipment; cf. Luc. *Iud. dear.* 6, where Zeus had snatched Ganymede while he was "playing the syrinx to his herd" (συρίζων πρὸς τὸ ποίμνιον).
[495] cf. Anderson (1997): 2196 for the comparison with *Ikaromenippos*.

parasite and an ideal herdsman is intended as the joke, Limenteros continues to describe the dream: after he is snatched up by Zeus' eagle, this eagle turns suddenly into a vulture, and he is returned to the form of the bare parasite (3.23.4), instead of Ganymede. Alciphron further shows how his parasites idealize herdsmen because of their knowledge of bucolic poetry in *Epistulae* 3.29. In this letter, when Pexankhonos relates to Rhigomakhos the pleasures which an Istrian merchant had brought to Athens, he quotes a line from Theocritus' *Idyll* 7. He praises the unnamed merchant partly for the benefits he himself gained, since this foreigner provided for all the parasites, quality courtesans, and the lovely singing girls (<τῶν> μουσουργῶν τὰς καλλιστευούσας, 3.29.2). Pexankhonos also details the Istrian's provision of pleasant performances on the *psalterion* and *aulos* (ψαλλόμενος καὶ καταυλούμενος ἥδεται, 3.29.2), and his devotion to the Graces. Pexankhonos tops off his praise, however, by quoting Theocritus' seventh *Idyll*, 7.82: "You'd say he jests suavely and chatters fluently, 'because the Muse pours sweet nectar upon his mouth'" (εἴποις ἄν, προσπαῖσαί τε γλαφυρὸς καὶ λαλῆσαι στωμύλος 'οὕνεκα οἱ γλυκὺ Μοῦσα κατὰ στόματος χέε νέκτωρ,' 3.29.3). Alciphron's parasite recontextualizes this line from Lycidas' bucolic song, when Lycidas predicts that Komatas' singing will be like that of the mythical Daphnis, who was shut away in a box but kept alive by the Muses for his devotion to them. This parasite's use of Theocritus' *Idylls*, and Limenteros' idealization of Ganymede as a shepherd, show how these Imperial parasites are versed in mythological and literary idealizations of herdsman's life.

With Gnathon's appeals to Astylus, the musical performances in *Daphnis and Chloe* largely come to an end. The protagonists respectively give their final musical performances when they play their syrinxes one last time before dedicating them to the gods (4.26, 4.32). This retirement from musical performance comes in the wake of Daphnis' and Chloe's recognitions by their aristocratic parents, and symbolizes the end of each character's herding activities, since they are both now adults. The music produced by Daphnis in the fourth book has prepared the reader for this retirement from musical production, since the urban elites perceive Daphnis' music in terms of their more familiar urban theatrical performances and urban deities. Although Dionysophanes, Kleariste, and Gnathon found Daphnis' musical performance on the syrinx to his goats delightful, this sentiment existed within a wholly artificial context. Much as the

agricultural laborers had worked to provide the elites with a semblance of rural life without the unpleasant smells and labor therein, so, too, Daphnis' rural concert served as the centerpiece of these countryside delights. In contrast, at Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding, the very presence of Daphnis' goats was "not entirely pleasant to the townsfolk" (τοῖς μὲν ἀστικοῖς οὐ πάνυ τερπνὸν ἦν, 4.38.4). Daphnis' professional musical skill effectively bridged the gap between the elite ideal of rural performance within the novel and their discomfort at being forced into too close quarters with its fictional reality.

Conclusion

This thesis began as an attempt to fully describe the use of instruments in musical performances within *Daphnis and Chloe*. In the course of these analyses, it has discussed musical episodes and performances that are both familiar to scholars of music in this novel, and some which have been ignored because they have not fit well into more limited discussions of musical performances within the three mythological tales or of the music that is produced by natural forces. Moreover, this thesis has encountered musical performances which have been ignored entirely by prior studies because they do not fall neatly into the category of "bucolic music," nor seem to draw their inspiration from bucolic poets. In order to examine these hitherto ignored examples of music, this thesis has done what none of these prior studies has done, that is, to read Longus' descriptions of musical performances in comparison with Alciphron's *Epistulae*, a second fictional text composed around the same time and within the same cultural milieu as *Daphnis and Chloe*.

This thesis first examined the distribution of instruments among the characters within these two texts. It found that Alciphron's performers were predominantly female and associated with urban *symposia*, celebrations, and *hetairai*, but in these respects, Alciphron mainly hews to standard descriptions of performers and their performative contexts for the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Longus, however, observes a more strict arrangement of instruments than what appears in Alciphron. Longus' herdsmen only perform on the syrinx and the *aulos*, and no other characters explicitly play instruments until Daphnis' and Chloe's wedding, when numerous performers play the *aulos* and the syrinx during the singing of the *hymenaion*. Other instruments occur, but are either physical objects that remain unplayed throughout the text, exist as comparisons to singing or the playing of the syrinx, or appear only within the mythological stories that are set within the narrative. Moreover, with the exception of Chloe's performances on the syrinx within the first book, all of Longus' characters who play music are male.

This thesis has observed that Longus' music closely correlates with the occupations and social status of each performer. The music played by young herdsmen to their animals differs form what is performed by adult farmers in the context of rural celebrations for the vintage,

harvest, or weddings. In this analysis of Longus' and Alciphron's fictional rural societies, I have shown how these two authors appear to have retrojected their understanding of their Imperial herding cultures onto their societies that are presented as belonging to the distant past. In this sense, both authors construct a hierarchy within their herding societies that is based on the different economic fortunes of real herdsmen. Longus takes this division a step further by also defining his goatherds, shepherds, and cowherds by different types of performances, varieties of herding music, and even by the size and quality of their syrinxes.

These different syrinxes also produce distinct melodies for the various herd animals. Accordingly, in Chapter 2, I showed how the goatherd, Daphnis, learns cowherds' tunes on a cowherd's syrinx. Longus reworks the Daphnis legend from bucolic poetry, such that his goatherd becomes the model cowherd "βουκόλος," and a performer of bucolic (βουκολικά) music, by the end of his first book. In this Chapter, I also examined how Alciphron creates his own ideal herdsman, whose performance correlates with several features of Longus' herdsmen's performances.

In the third chapter, I broadened the analysis of music in these texts from performances that recall bucolic poetry to celebrations hosted by farmers. Alciphron describes one party attended by farmers, and Longus describes three. All of these celebrations share certain characteristics, combining multiple varieties of performances and erotic or Dionysiac themes. *Daphnis and Chloe* further shows that these celebrations include repetitions of farmers' songs that are distinguished as such by their agricultural contexts and subject matter. Daphnis' and Chloe's reactions to the music at these celebrations also reveals the development of their cultural and sexual maturity through the musical knowledge that Daphnis, in particular, presents. Thus, by the end of the second book of *Daphnis and Chloe*, Daphnis inherits Philetas' syrinx, marking him as a mature, although not professional, performer on the syrinx.

In the final two chapters, I examined the musical encounters that Daphnis and Chloe have with non-rural fictional characters. The narrator presents a continuous development of Daphnis' musical ability after he obtains Philetas' syrinx at the end of the second book. Before this festival honoring Pan's rescue of Chloe, Daphnis found non-rural music unpleasant, and required the intervention of Pan to secure Chloe's rescue from the Methymnaean navy. After the second

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book, however, Daphnis learns how to become a performer of professional music. The most significant pair of episodes in *Daphnis and Chloe* that show Daphnis' renewed ability to master music that is not endemic to his origins as a goatherd follow his instruction by the courtesan Lykainion and the musical performance that he puts on for Dionysophanes and the other visiting Mytilenean elites. After Lykainion's lessons, Daphnis and Chloe observe a ship of fishermen rowing by, who sing sea shanties which the nearby glen echoes back in the manner of an *aulos*. Daphnis not only understands the technical phenomena that create this echo, but also begins to turn these fishermen's melodies into music for his syrinx. Chloe's confusion at the sound inspires Daphnis to relate the story of Echo, for whom he provides an extensive musical education that mirrors the musical abilities of Alciphron's *hetairai* and upper-crust courtesans. Daphnis not only names urban, stringed instruments in this myth, but he also produces an impromptu rural concert for the visiting city elites, a performance which impels the parasite Gnathon and the narrator to more explicitly compare Daphnis with Apollo.

This analysis of *Daphnis and Chloe* has mainly traced the musical development of Daphnis. As this thesis has indicated, there are several reasons for this focus on the male, rather than the female protagonist. One is the repeated stress on erotic *paideia* throughout the text. Several of Longus' characters serve as teachers; the most prominent of these are Dorkon, Philetas, and Lykainion. Their instruction is primary erotic, but as I have shown, each of these lessons is paired with a development in Daphnis' musical ability. Dorkon's gift of a bucolic syrinx and instruction in cowherding songs gives Daphnis the opportunity to relate his own bucolic tales. Philetas' instruction in the nature of Eros and his performance at the festival thanking Pan lead to Daphnis' performance of erotic tunes on Philetas' syrinx, which he then inherits. The pedagogy that Lykainion gives Daphnis in completing the sexual act is followed immediately by his attempts to preserve the fishermen's sea shanties and his knowledge of urban instruments in his myth of Echo. The education has thus been rather imbalanced; except for Philetas's lessons, these teachers centered their teaching on Daphnis.

In part, this is to be expected by Longus' recasting of the prototypical bucolic performer, the cowherd Daphnis, in the role of a goatherd. Throughout this narrative. Longus grants his Daphnis an extensive musical capability because the tradition calls for it. The Daphnis of

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Daphnis and Chloe is not any mere goatherd, however; he is the child of the Mytilenean aristocrats Dionysophanes and Kleariste. Over the course of Daphnis' development, then, he not only displays the musical abilities of the prototypical bucolic performer, but also displays the musical skill of an educated Greek aristocrat. The education is not one-sided however; Daphnis also serves the role of teacher for Chloe. He teacher her how to play the syrinx, and how to play cowherding tunes on that instrument. He also instructs her in the meaning of the bucolic song of the ringdove, and in the origin of the echo. By the end of the narrative, Chloe, too, is integrated into adult society, when she learns in the wedding chamber with Daphnis that their prior attempts at effecting Eros' story had been nothing but "the games of herdsmen" (ποιμένων παίγνια, 4.40), the last words in the novel.[496]

It is, nevertheless, worth briefly considering what Chloe's musical role in *Daphnis and Chloe* has been. As S. Montiglio has cogently argued, Chloe's musical performances decrease over the course of the novel, and she disappears entirely during Daphnis' two performances. She also seems to be clueless regarding basic aspects of acoustics, regarding the ringdove's song and the echo, whereas Daphnis demonstrates his ability not only to create his own mythical tales about these phenomena, but to adapt his musical performances to a range of social structures until his final performance before his natural parents. Montiglio concludes that Chloe becomes a musically silent figure because she is integrated into the domesticated elite, or to quote directly:

> Longus exploits music to graft cultural norms and expectations onto a "natural" order. In the beginning Daphnis and Chloe learn music spontaneously, in unison, from nature. But soon Daphnis takes over, while Chloe longs to become, and eventually "becomes," Daphnis' instrument…The control over music he exhibits in Book 2, when he performs with Philetas' pipe and earns it in recognition of his talent, is intertwined with, and perhaps even symbolizes, his attainment of sexual maturity, while the demonstration of his musical power over the flocks in Book 4 proves him authoritative enough to become the head of a family. In contrast, Chloe learns about the dangers for a girl of playing too loudly and too well.[497]

What is perhaps missing from this argument is the striking contrast that Chloe presents regarding her musical skills when compared with the women that Alciphron depicts, who play the *aulos*, *psalterion*, *krotala*, *lyra*, and can even be citharodes. The difference in these two texts which an

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[496] A reference to Gorgias; cf. *Hel.* 21; Herrmann (2007): 224 notes that a *paignion* may well be yet another form of *mimēma*, a final mimetic act in the narrative. Bierl (2018): 21 identifies the naiveté of these protagonists with the goal of this *antigramma* (writing in response to the image in the prologue) exercise.
[497] Montiglio (2012): 150-51.

analysis of them together provides, is that most of Alciphron's musical performances are by lower status women or "elite" courtesans, but these performances are primarily filtered through the eyes of various men and wives of all stations. Longus, on the other hand, primarily presents male performers throughout *Daphnis and Chloe*. Besides Chloe's singing and occasional performance on the syrinx, the only woman who even touches an instrument, Lykainion, is a courtesan. Various scholars have presented the mythological *aitia* of Phatta, Syrinx, and Echo in *Daphnis and Chloe* as cautionary tales that show how women in Longus' society risk harm if they perform music; thus, only female figures who are mythological within this fictional narrative participate in the musical development which Daphnis, above all other characters, experiences throughout his development.

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