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DAPHNIS AND CHLOE
PARTHENIUS
LOVE ROMANCES



Translated by
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S. GASELEE

LONGUS
DAPHNIS AND CHLOE

WITH THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
GEORGE THOMAS
REVISED AND AUGMENTED BY
J. M. EDMONDS

PARTHENIUS

LOVE ROMANCES
OTHER FRAGMENTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
S. GASELEE



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Editorial Note (1978): Those passages of the translation which in previous impressions appeared in Latin have now been replaced by English renderings. *G.P.G.*

Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou
feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon.

Song of Solomon, l. 7.

INTRODUCTION

I.—LONGUS

Nothing is known of the author of the *Pastoralia*. He describes Mytilene as if he knew it well, and he mentions the peculiarities of the Lesbian vine. He may have been a Lesbian, but such local colouring need not have been gathered on the spot, nor if so, by a native. His style and language are Graeco-Roman rather than Hellenistic; he probably knew Vergil's *Bucolics*¹; like Strabo and Lucian he writes in Greek and yet bears a Roman name. Till the diggers discover a dated papyrus-fragment, we can say provisionally that he may have written as early as the beginning of the second century after Christ, probably not much later than the beginning of the third.

Two of Longus' characters connect him, indirectly at least, with the New Comedy, Gnatho the parasite, and Sophrone the nurse who exposed the infant Daphnis.² It is to be noted that he and Horace, some of whose names are found like his in the

¹ Cf. 2. 7 ἐπὶ τὴν τὴν Ἑχὼ τὸ Ἀμαρυλλίδος ὄνομα μετ' ἐμὲ καλοῦσαν with *Buc.* i. 5. ² Cf. Terence *Eun.*, Menander *Epitr.*

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New Comedy, are the only literary users of the name Chloe.¹ He knows and loves his Sappho ; witness the crushed but still beautiful flowers in the ravaged garden, and the lovely apple left by the gatherers upon the topmost bough.² To Theocritus he plainly owes more than the locust-cage and the name Clearista.³ Not only has he numerous verbal imitations of Theocritus, but the whole atmosphere of the book is, in a sense, Theocritean. And there are passages reminiscent of the other Bucolic poets.⁴ In one place Longus definitely connects his rustic characters with the herdsmen of Bucolic poetry. When Lamo tells the Story of the Pipe, we are told that he had it from a Sicilian goatherd. And it is hardly going too far, perhaps, to see a similar intention in the name he gives to the old herdsman Philetas, who is second only to Pan in playing the pipe, and who tells Daphnis and Chloe the nature of love. For Philetas or Philitas was the father of Hellenistic poetry, the great man who taught the elegiac love-poet Hermesianax and the pastoral, epic, and lyric love-poet Theocritus, and was himself, perhaps, the first writer of love-tales in elegiac verse.

¹ Except Longus' Byzantine imitators. ² Cf. 4. 8, 3. 33 with Sapph. 94, 93 (Bggk.); and i. 17 *χλωρότερον τὸ πρόσ-ωπον ἢν πῶας* (ms. *χλόας*) with Sapph. 2.

³ Amaryllis, Chromis, Daphnis, Tityrus he *might* have got from Vergil.

⁴ Cf. 2. 5 with *Ep. Bion.* 16 (Wilam.), i. 18 with Mosch. *Runaway Love* 27, 2. 4 with *Bion Love and the Fowler* (and Theocr. 15. 121).

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This is the only Greek prose-romance we have which is purely pastoral, and the inclusion of this feature in its title may show that in this respect it was a new departure. It is by far the best of the extant romances. Rohde¹ saw the fore-runners of the prose-romance in two kinds of literature. The first is the erotic tale of the elegiac writers of the Hellenistic age, dealing with the loves of mythical personages. These poems formed the material of such works as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Three of Longus' names, Astylus, Dryas, and Nape, are the names of mythical personages in Ovid. The second literary ancestor Rohde believed to be the traveller's tale, such as the *Indica* of Ctesias, a type parodied by Lucian in the *True History* and not unconnected with the Utopias of Aristophanes, Plato, and others. A trace of this ancestry survives perhaps in the title of this book "The *Lesbian Pastorals* of Daphnis and Chloe."²

It is now generally thought that Rohde's pedigree hardly accounts for all the facts.³ In Chariton's *Story of Chaereas and Callirrhoe*, of which the date cannot be much later than 150 A.D. and may be a century earlier, the heroine is the daughter of Hermocrates, the Syracusan general of whom we read in Thucydides. The *Romance of Ninus*, of which

¹ *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*. ² The word *Λεσβιακῶν* occurs in the colophon of A, but appears to have been neglected. ³ See particularly W. Schmid *Neue Jahrb. für das Klass. Altertum*, 1904, p. 465.

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a few pages have been found in Egypt, and which was probably written in the last century before Christ, is in all probability the love-story of the famous Semiramis and Ninus the founder of Nineveh. The author of the Ninus-romance takes two historical personages and weaves a story—not the traditional story—around them; Chariton, showing perhaps a later stage of development, merely tells us that his fictitious heroine was the daughter of an historical personage. These are the only instances, in the extant romances, of the consistent employment of historical matter. But they may well be the evolutionary survival of a once essential feature. If so, our second forerunner will not be merely the traveller's tale, but what often, as in the case of Herodotus, included it, history; but history, of course, in the Greek sense. For even in Thucydides there is an element of what to us is fiction, and the line between history and myth was never firmly drawn.

The enormous preponderance, in the extant romances, of invented, and sometimes confessedly invented matter,¹ matter having no foundation either in history or in mythology, and involving invented persons as well as invented circumstances, points again to elements outside of Rohde's list. There may well be some connexion with the Mime, not only as we have it in the pages of Theocritus and

¹ Cf. Longus' Proem.

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Herodas, but in other forms for which we have scanty and fragmentary evidence.¹ There is almost certainly a relationship with the New Comedy. As we have seen, two of Longus' characters come ultimately from Menander; and there are instances, both in the *Pastoralia* and in the other romances, of the employment of two familiar dramatic devices, the περιπέτεια or sudden change of fortune, and the ἀναγνωρισμός or recognition.

But side by side with all these indications of a various ancestry in past forms of literature, there are certain considerations which betoken a very close—probably far closer—kinship with contemporary methods of education. The use of set speeches for “stock” occasions, of full-coloured descriptions of “repertory” scenes, of soliloquies in which the speaker debates with himself, and the frequently observed tendency of the narrative to arrange itself as a string of episodes—these considerations, combined with others of an external nature which are too long to be given here, point clearly to the schools of rhetoric, where Hannibal, according to Juvenal, “became a declamation,” and boys were taught to make speeches on imaginary themes.² This form of education, which was in vogue as early

¹ It is worth noting that Theocritus' poems were sometimes known as δράματα βουκολικά, and the word δράμα or δραματικόν is applied to these romances by Photius. ² See, for Longus, particularly Lamo's lament for the ravaged garden 4. 8, the description of the garden 4. 2, Gnatho's speech on Love 4. 17, and Daphnis' soliloquy, 3. 6.

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as the last century before Christ, produced, in the second and third centuries of our era, the rhetoricians, half advocate, half public entertainer, known as "sophists." Although there is no warrant in the manuscripts for describing him as "the Sophist," Longus, to judge by his style, language, and matter, is to be reckoned of their number. He is far then from belonging to the best period of Greek literature. But to admit this, is not to deny his claim to the lesser sort of greatness. The first eleven chapters of his third book—the hard winter, Daphnis' fowling expedition, the meeting of the parted lovers—are little short of a masterpiece. The truth is that the age which gave birth to Lucian was capable of much, and Longus has earned his fame by something more than a pretty story.

THE TEXT

The following account of the manuscripts can make no claim to finality; for I have not had the time or the opportunity to do more than examine the various readings as they are recorded in print. But a comparison of all the passages where the MSS. are said to vary—these number about two hundred and fifty—has enabled me to make a provisional *stemma codicum*, which I hope will not be without value to the future student of the text.

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For the readings of A and B, I have used (1) Seiler's edition of 1843, which was based ultimately, through Sinner's of 1829, upon Courier's of 1810, (2) Cobet's corrections of Courier's account of A, made from an inspection of the MS. and published partly in *Variae Lectiones* and partly in the preface to Hirschig's edition of 1856 (Didot), and (3) a few corrections of Cobet made by Castiglioni in *Rivista di Filologia* 1906; for the readings of the three Paris MSS. I have used Villoison's edition of 1778; for the readings of the MS. of Alamannius and the three MSS. of Ursinus, I have used a copy of the *Editio Princeps* of 1598;¹ for the readings of Amyot's translation published in 1559, nearly forty years before the Greek text was printed, I have used the double French edition of 1757, which gives Amyot's rendering side by side with a modern one. The weak point in this *materia critica* is the record of the readings of B; for there is good reason to believe that Courier's scholarship was not always above suspicion. Still I believe it will be found that his account of B is substantially correct.

About the year 1595 Fulvius Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini), the great scholar and collector of MSS. who from 1559 to his death in 1600 was librarian to the Farnese cardinals at Rome, appears to have made a MS. of the *Pastoralia* with marginal variants. This is the MS. mentioned by the scribe of

¹ Seiler was unable to find a copy of this book, and was led into mistakes on this account.

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Parisinus iii as having been collated by him in 1597,¹ and it was doubtless from this MS. that Ursinus answered Columbanus' request for variants on certain passages when he was preparing the Juntine edition of 1598. In compiling his MS. Ursinus used three MSS., known to editors as Ursiniani i, ii, and iii. These have not been identified, and their readings can only be gathered from the text and notes of the Juntine edition. Courier, however, speaks of the existence of other MSS. besides B in the Vatican Library; and since Ursinus is known to have bequeathed his collection to the Vatican, these may well prove to be the three Ursiniani.

The MSS. of the *Pastoralia* at present known either from Columbanus' edition or from the work of later editors, arrange themselves by means of the great lacuna comprising chapters 12 to 17 of the first book. This occurs in all the MSS. except A, which was discovered at Florence by P. L. Courier in 1809. The MSS. which have the lacuna arrange themselves further in two groups, one where it begins at § 13, which I call *p*, and the other where it begins in the middle of § 12, which I call *q*. The extension of the lacuna in the latter group was probably due to a clumsy piece of emendation; however it was caused, the former group, despite

¹ That this scribe was a Frenchman appears from the inadvertent use of the abbreviation *p* (*peut-être*) instead of *f* (*forte*) in a single passage.

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Courier's enthusiasm for B—an enthusiasm which B often deserves—must be considered as representing the older tradition.

I have identified the three Ursiniani as follows, the first two belonging to *p* and the third to *q* :—

Urs. i : a MS. used by Amyot ; this as well as Urs. iii was perhaps acquired by Ursinus on Amyot's death in 1593,

Urs. ii : a MS. from which Parisinus iii is partly derived,

Urs. iii : a MS. used by Amyot, ancestor of Parisini i and ii and (in common with Urs. ii) of Parisinus iii. It appears to have had one variant (^{ως} *δμοίους* 3. 34) derived from the common ancestor of itself and B, and four of its own, (^{μετὰ κράτους} *κατὰ κράτος* 1. 21, ^τ *πρεσβύτατός γε* 2. 15, ^ω *κατέχον* 2. 24, and ^ο *νεμήσετε* 2. 23), due to emendation or correction. It also seems to have contained several lacunae which it did not share with B ; some of these omissions, as appears from his translation, were regarded as correct by Amyot.

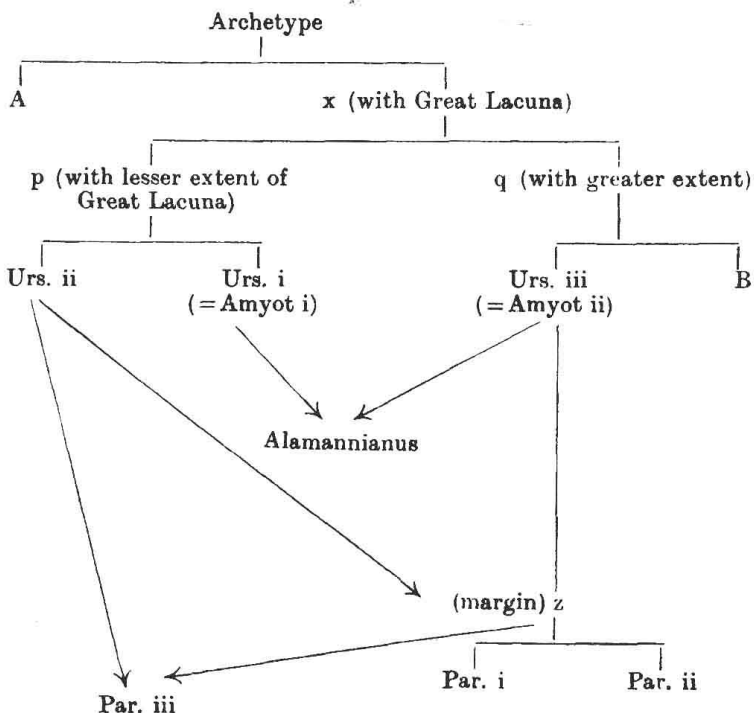
Columbanus, the editor of the Juntine edition, the *Editio Princeps* of 1598, used, as he tells us, (1) a MS. belonging to Aloisius Alamannius, which I take to have been a conflation of Urss. i and iii, with many but not all variations between these two MSS.

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added in the margin; (2) the readings sent him by Ursinus from the MS. Ursinus had copied and equipped with variants from his three MSS. (Urss. i, ii, and iii). Ursinus does not appear to have made any note of correspondences between his MS. and the text of Columbanus, and it is important too to remember that the variants recorded as his in the Juntine edition are only those belonging to the passages on which he was consulted. In his note on page 82 he says: "Is [Ursinus] enim antequam nos hunc librum impressioni subiiciendum traderemus, locos aliquot cum suis codicibus collatos, Roma ad nos remiserat." It is clear that Columbanus had but one MS. He refers to it in the singular in several places, notably in his preface. In the two passages where he speaks of *nostri libri*,¹ he means either the four "books" of the *Pastoralia*, or the MSS. from which both the text and the *marginalia* of his own MS. were derived. His note on p. 87 "τε] N. al. γε al. τότε" merely means that his MS. here had two marginal readings; and since all three readings were known to Ursinus, and he was asked only for variants, no note of Ursinus' readings is made by Columbanus. It is unfortunate that Columbanus' notes tell us neither which were the readings of Alamannius' text and which of the margin, nor make any distinction of name in recording the variants of the three Ursiniani.

¹ Both on p. 82,

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The Parisini are all of the sixteenth century. i and ii belong to group *q*, and were derived from a copy of Urs. iii which I call *z*. This contained the few variants of its parent, as well as about thirty derived from Urs. ii. The special minor omissions of Urs. iii, as well as those it shared with B, appear in Parr. i and ii. Par. iii, though, unlike them, it has the lesser extent of the Great Lacuna, shows many

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of the same minor omissions. It may be regarded as a conflation of Urs. ii and *z*. Its margin contains (1) variants between Urs. ii and *z*, (2) variants derived from no known source, perhaps readings of Urs. ii rejected both by Ursinus when he compiled the conflation of his three MSS. and by the scribe who added Urs. ii's variants to *z*. None of the latter are of the slightest value.

There remain the two MSS. unknown to Columbanus and Ursinus no less than to Amyot, and discovered by Courier in 1809, Laurentianus (A) and Vaticanus (B). It is well known how Courier, after copying the new part of A, obliterated it, whether by accident or design, by upsetting his inkpot. Courier's copy, upon which, as he perhaps intended, we are now almost entirely dependent, is probably correct enough in the main; but Cobet has shown, by comparing it with the few places still legible in the original, that the copy was unfortunately not altogether accurate. Apart from filling the Great Lacuna, A, though it contains many minor corruptions and some omissions, is of the greatest value as representing the oldest extant tradition. It is ascribed to the thirteenth century.

Of Courier's other discovery, B, I have found no description. His record of its readings is given by Seiler. It contains several special lacunae of minor importance and shares others with Urs. iii, and, as belonging to *q*, does not represent so old a tradition as Urss. i and ii; but it nevertheless fully deserves

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the position assigned it by Courier of second in value to A.

The text of the present edition is the result of my investigations into the recorded readings of the manuscripts. When the variation among the manuscripts lies merely in the order of the words, I have often followed A without recording the variant readings. Otherwise, the critical notes contain all the variants of any importance for the history of the text. But it should be remembered that the ascription of variants to the individual MSS. of Ursinus, is conditional upon the acceptance of my *stemma* and the identifications it involves. Emendations of previous editors I hope I have acknowledged in every case. Emendations which I believe to be my own, I have marked *E*. Sometimes an emendation appears from his translation to have been anticipated by Amyot. In these cases I have added his name in brackets. I have done the same where his translation indicates that the reading in question was the reading of one of his MSS. In the notes on the passage included in the Great Lacuna, I have given both Furia's and Courier's readings of A. It should be borne in mind that Furia saw the text only after the spilling of the ink.

III.—THE TRANSLATION

There is nothing on Thornley's title-page to tell us that his book is a translation, and if his "most sweet