

## THE DIONYSUS IN AENEAS

CLIFFORD WEBER

*But Aeneas is not just Augustus. There is also the possibility of his being Augustus' bitter enemy, Marc Antony. Such is the identification we are led to make when, in the fourth book, he has become the consort of Dido, queen of Carthage.*

Adam Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*"<sup>1</sup>

FROM TIME TO TIME, a Dionysiac element has been noted in Virgil's portrayal of Aeneas at Dido's court. For example, Brooks Otis, writing in 1964, called attention to "a nuance of Bacchic frenzy" in Aeneas as he is compared to Apollo in *Aeneid* 4.146–50.<sup>2</sup> Some years later, in an article published in the early 1970s, E. L. Harrison observed that the metaphor of the hunt in Books 1 and 4 "changes direction," just as the same metaphor does in Euripides' *Bacchae*.<sup>3</sup> Finally, in a recent book, published in 1997, Michael Paschalis characterizes as "manifestly Bacchic" the features that Apollo's worshippers display in the aforementioned simile comparing Aeneas to Apollo.<sup>4</sup>

Isolated observations such as these raise a number of questions that ought to be considered individually and systematically. First, in Virgil's account of Aeneas' dalliance in Carthage, precisely where is this "Bacchic motif," as Otis calls it, to be found? Secondly, does this motif appear only sporadically, or does it undergo a sustained and continuous development? Finally, if an uninterrupted link can be shown to exist between Dionysus and Aeneas at Dido's court, what literary ends might this linkage conceivably serve? The pages that follow will address each of these questions in turn.

As Otis and Paschalis have previously noted, a link between Dionysus and Aeneas in Carthage is first intimated in a most unlikely place, that is, in the simile that likens Aeneas not to Dionysus but to that god's antitype, Apollo.<sup>5</sup> To my knowledge, the degree to which Bacchic elements pervade

This paper was written to honor the seventy-fifth birthday of my mentor, William S. Anderson, to whom I am pleased to dedicate it *pietatis causa*.

1. Parry 1963, 73.

2. Otis 1964, 74, 76.

3. Harrison 1972–73, 15, and p. 23, n. 34.

4. Paschalis 1997, 153.

5. As one of the referees reviewing this paper has reminded me, the common opinion followed here, that Apollo and Dionysus are polar opposites, is not always taken for granted. Indeed, it has recently been

this simile has never been adequately elucidated. There is thus a good reason for beginning with just this topic. The lines in question (*Aen.* 4.143–50) are these:

Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta  
deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo  
instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum  
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;  
ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem  
fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,  
tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat  
Aeneas, tantum egre gio decus enitet ore.

Just as when, in winter, Lycia and the streams of Xanthus  
are left behind, and his mother's Delos visited, by Apollo,  
and he renews dances, and, mingled round the altar,  
Cretans and Dryopians and painted Agathyrsians roar;  
the god himself walks on the ridges of Cynthus, and with soft  
frondage he controls his flowing hair, putting it in place, and entwines it with gold.  
Weapons rattle on his shoulders. Not slower than he was Aeneas going,  
and as much splendor radiates from his handsome face.

This simile first compares Aeneas—*ante alios pulcherrimus*<sup>6</sup> *omnis*—to someone of whom it is said, before he is named, *hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta / deserit ac Delum maternam invisit*. The names Lycia, Xanthus, and Delos would imply Apollo, who in fact proves to be the subject of *deserit* and *invisit* when this subject is finally identified at the end of *Aeneid* 4.144. At the same time, the god who, after an absence abroad in Asia, returns to the Greek land of his mother and there sets his votaries to dancing (*instauratque choros* in 4.145)—this god is first and foremost Dionysus. Indeed, Euripides' *Bacchae* begins with this theme, and it recurs throughout the play.<sup>7</sup> The connection, moreover, between the god's mother and his destination stands out because of its absence from the simile of Apollonius that Virgil is recalling here. In Apollonius, Delos is not "maternal" but ἡγάθη (Argon. 1.308).

Virgil's sole alteration to the next line in Apollonius' simile is to change the modifier of Lycia from εὐρεῖα to *hiberna*. If anything, this detail suits a Bacchic context better than it does Apollo's Lycia. The climate of Lycia is

examined in Detienne 2001. Yet Detienne acknowledges a priori that points of contact between the two gods do not vitiate their fundamental opposition, already present "at the origins of Greek religion" (147). When the Apollo worshiped at Magnesia on the Meander causes his votaries to "act as if possessed" (153), this Detienne analyzes as an instance of Apollo's "borrowing" from Dionysus "his apparently most specific trait" (154), and not as a case of the blurring of the contrast between the two gods. Likewise, when ancient iconography depicts Apollo "enveloped in the vine and the bacchanal," for Detienne he "appears completely Dionysiac" (149). This comes very close to my own characterization of Apollo as appearing "remarkably Dionysiac" in Virgil's simile (p. 332 below).

6. Although *pulcher* applies to gods in general (Skutsch 1985, 197), youthful and seductive beauty is routinely ascribed to Apollo and Dionysus in particular. See Bömer 1969–86, 2.20–21, and Williams 1978, 41, both of whom cite many primary sources. Among these, Diod.Sic. 4.4.2 (of Dionysus) and [Tib.] 3.4.25–26 (of Apollo) closely resemble what is said of Aeneas here in *Aen.* 4.141.

7. Viz., in lines 13–20, 55–61, 64–65, 86–87, 234, and 464–65. The suggestion that Apollo's migration in Virgil resembles that of Dionysus in Euripides I owe to the ingenuity of my student, Mr. Bryan Doerries, Kenyon College '98.

temperate;<sup>8</sup> indeed, in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.339–42, it is hot and dry. Therefore, applied to Lycia in *Aeneid* 4.143, *hibernus* cannot mean “wintry.” Out of thirteen other occurrences in Virgil, *hibernus* carries the meaning “in winter” in all cases but two (*Ecl.* 10.20, *G.* 2.339). This usual meaning of *hibernus* is the meaning in *Aeneid* 4.143 as well. Lycia is not Apollo’s “winter home” (so R. G. Austin, 1955, ad loc.); on the contrary, it is the place in Asia that in winter the god *leaves behind* for Greece.<sup>9</sup> Yet it is an unfamiliar Apollo who joins his worshipers in the dead of winter. As T. E. Page and Arthur Pease remark (1894–1900 and 1935 respectively, ad loc.), the presence of the visitors named in 4.146 actually rules out winter rites on Delos. The god whose epiphany coincides with winter is rather Dionysus, winter being the season when this god renews his biennial dances on Parnassus and, probably, on Cithaeron as well.<sup>10</sup> Thus, no less than the god’s journey from Asia to the Greek land of his mother, the winter setting of this journey suits Dionysus above all.

After leaving Asia and arriving in his mother’s land, Apollo is said to “renew dances” (*instauratque choros*) in *Aeneid* 4.145. Dances in honor of Apollo are attested elsewhere,<sup>11</sup> yet they differ in several respects from the dances described here in Virgil’s simile. For example, Apollo is elsewhere a spectator, but here he takes the initiative. Secondly, in the cult of Apollo, dancing is but one of several concurrent events,<sup>12</sup> but here it is the sole event. Finally, if the dances on Delos in Virgil’s simile reflect the historical Delian festival,<sup>13</sup> celebrated annually, then the simile is remarkably indifferent to the fact that at this festival, the dancers were girls and were led by a bard.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, *instauratque choros* suits Dionysus admirably. No mere spectator as others sing and dance in his honor, Dionysus is “the dance god *par excellence*.”<sup>15</sup> In Dionysiac religion, moreover, dance does not share the stage with other, equally prominent forms of worship; rather, it is “the central and essential feature of Dionysiac rites.”<sup>16</sup> Finally, the verb *instaurat* in Virgil’s simile implies the god’s personal renewal of dances performed at regular intervals. Applied to Dionysus, this verb would denote not only the god’s participation in his votaries’ dances, but in particular the

8. Cary 1949, 155.

9. Apollo thus replicates Aeneas’ abandoning Carthage in winter: see Lewis 1961, 12. Promoting this implication is Virgil’s substitution of *deserit* for straightforward εἰσιν in the corresponding part of Apollonius’ simile (*Argon.* 1.307). Likewise, in *Aen.* 1.745–46, the same action of Aeneas in the same season is anticipated by Apollo when, in his celestial manifestation as the sun, he hastens to dip himself in Ocean in winter (see Lee 1988, 10–12). As for Dionysus, not only does he travel in winter, but he further parallels Aeneas in traveling by sea (Otto 1965, 63, 93, 156, 163, 198).

10. Dodds 1960, xiii–xiv, 159–60; Farnell 1895–1909, 5:198–200.

11. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 149–50; Thgn. 775–79; Callim. *Hymn* 2.8; *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 1.538–39. Dionys. *Per.* 527 and Paus. 4.4.1 are inconclusive.

12. Lonsdale 1994–95, 28–32.

13. So Kerényi (1983, 28), who takes Virgil to be referring to the Hellenistic Delian festival. Kerényi notes, though, that Virgil describes the festival “as if primordial peoples were the attendants.”

14. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 166–73.

15. Firron 1973, 263. For Dionysus leading his worshipers’ dances and participating in them, see Eur. *Bacch.* 62–63 and the sources cited in Dodds 1960, 82–83; Clausen 1994, 162; and Leinieks 1996, 102–4. When Apollo leads a group of dancers, these are the Muses or the Graces (Firron 1973, 256).

16. Leinieks 1996, 58–63; see also Dodds 1960, xiii–xvi.

regular celebration of Dionysiac rites in alternate winters. Indeed, this biennial regularity of Dionysiac ritual underlies the technical term *τριετής*,<sup>17</sup> to which Virgil himself refers in *Aeneid* 4.302–3.

In summary, then, the dances renewed by Apollo in Virgil's simile are less than perfectly congruent with the usual form of Apollo's worship; much more do they resemble the dances reinstituted by Dionysus in alternate winters.

In *Aeneid* 4.146, Apollo's votaries are a motley crew. This is explicitly acknowledged in the participle *mixti* (4.145), which Virgil employs elsewhere as well to denote comminglings of heterogeneous groups.<sup>18</sup> Apollo's Cretan worshipers are mainstream Greeks, but the Dryopians are "a rude and predatory Greek tribe."<sup>19</sup> The Agathyrsians are obscure barbarians who here make their debut in Latin poetry, never to be mentioned again by any poet except Juvenal, who, contradicting Herodotus 4.104, thought them uncivilized (*immanes*, 15.125).

Polyglot devotees such as these are out of place in the cult of Apollo, "the most characteristically Greek of all the gods,"<sup>20</sup> and a god who "moved only in the best society," withholding his epiphanies from all except the nobility.<sup>21</sup> Dionysus, on the other hand, is a famously ecumenical god whose worship is open to all, Greeks and barbarians alike.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, whatever may be the analogue in Aeneas' career of the Cretans, Dryopians, and Agathyrsians who roar round Apollo's altar,<sup>23</sup> this heterogeneous mélange of mainstream and marginal Greeks mingling with outlandish foreigners has

17. Dodds 1960, xiii–xiv; Pease 1935, 280–81. In *Stat. Theb.* 7.94, *instaurare* occurs together with *abl. trieteris*, which there, however, refers to the biennial celebration of the Nemean Games.

18. Cf. *Ecl.* 10.55; *Aen.* 5.293; 11.134. In *Ov. Met.* 3.529 and *Livy* 39.13.10, the same participle is applied to women who join men in celebrating Bacchic revels. Similarly, for Aeschylus the dithyramb is *μυζοβόας* in *TGF* 3.355.

19. Pease 1935, 193. For these Dryopians, see now Strid 1999.

20. Rose 1958, 134. Walter F. Otto is quoted to the same effect in Burkert 1985, 143. That the peoples named in *Aen.* 4.146 are, taken together, unexpected in Apollo's company has even attracted the notice of those whose focus is not literary, e.g., Kerényi in n. 13 above. The qualification "taken together" is important. Individually, a connection between Cretans and Apollo can be traced as far back as the god's prehistory (Burkert 1985, 144–45), and Pausanias 4.34.9 gives to the Dryopians reasons of their own for being specially devoted to Apollo (particulars in Strid 1999, 37–40). Still other Dryopian connections with Apollo are listed in Pease 1935, 193. On the other hand, only the Virgilian scholia ad loc. (and each for different reasons) claim that the Agathyrsians are devotees of Apollo. To others their name rather suggested an affinity with Dionysus, for which see p. 328 below.

21. Callim. *Hymn* 2.9, Dodds 1951, 76. William Batstone has reminded me that the Hyperboreans are an exception. One of the referees reviewing this paper objected that the Hellenocentric elitism claimed for Apollo by Dodds and others is refuted by "the international appeal and cosmopolitan atmosphere" of the oracle at Delphi and of the trading post on Delos, not to mention the early and widespread diffusion of Apollo's cult throughout the Mediterranean in general (Burkert 1985, 143–44). In reply, I would stress the important fact that the Apollo of Virgil and Callimachus is not necessarily identical to the historical Apollo in all respects. Nevertheless, even if one adopts a narrowly historical point of view, it does not follow from the internationalism of Delphi and Delos that Greeks and non-Greeks alike worshiped Apollo there. Similarly, in a modern cosmopolis like Manhattan, Jews, Muslims, Christians, and unbelievers interact constantly, yet this interaction has little influence on the religious practices of any of these several groups. As for the diffusion of Apollo's cult in Mediterranean lands, this was due to the migrations of Greek colonists, whose religion cannot be assumed to have won over their non-Greek neighbors. To quote Burkert (loc. cit.), "the worship of Apollo is spread throughout the Greek world." The qualifier "Greek" deserves emphasis.

22. *Eur. Bacch.* 482; *Ov. Met.* 3.529–30. For this distinguishing feature of the Bacchic cult, see Liefnieks 1996, 59, 68, 124–25, 327, 330–31, and 345.

23. For this see Lewis 1961, 12.

no place in the elitist cult of Apollo. Such a retinue of polyglot worshipers would rather be at home in the ecumenical milieu of Dionysus.

The same applies to the tripartition of Virgilian Apollo's votaries into Cretans, Dryopians, and Agathyrsians. Just as Bacchic rites were celebrated every three years (reckoned inclusively) and dubbed *τριετηρίδες* accordingly, so was a community of the god's devotees divided into three *θίασοι*. Even if not universal, this was at least the custom in Thebes<sup>24</sup> and so became well known in antiquity. Therefore, when Apollo's devotees fall into three groups in *Aeneid* 4.146, this tripartite organization is consonant with other features that give to these worshipers of Apollo a distinctly Bacchic quality.

Before we turn from the content to the diction and the poetic style of *Aeneid* 4.146, the final two words (*altaria circum*) in the preceding line deserve comment. The specific detail that Apollo's retinue circles the god's altar finds precedent in Theognis and Apollonius.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, as "one of the most ancient types of dance . . . especially associated with springs and altars,"<sup>26</sup> a ring dance such as this is by no means confined to the cult of Apollo (or even, for that matter, to Graeco-Roman antiquity). Indeed, arguably its most familiar realizations in Greece are all connected with Dionysus. In Greek theaters, the orchestra contained an altar to Dionysus (the so-called *θυμέλη*) at its center, and, in the earliest Greek drama, the chorus danced round this altar.<sup>27</sup> Correspondingly, at the City Dionysia in Athens, the dithyramb was performed by a chorus dancing in a ring around the altar in the orchestra.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, Aristophanes routinely treats the circular formation of its chorus as a distinguishing feature of the dithyramb, even as he dubs the dithyrambic poet Cinesias a *κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος*.<sup>29</sup> Thus, while Apollo's connection with singing and dancing round an altar would appear to be mostly confined to Greek poetry, the same practice in a Dionysiac setting was nothing less than a recurrent and, hence, familiar aspect of Greek cultural and religious life.

If the words *altaria circum* evoke the shape and the locus of the dithyrambic chorus, the meter and the diction of the following line (*Aen.* 4.146) bring to mind the dithyramb itself. Whatever the dithyramb was in fact, what Virgil's contemporaries perceived it to be—at least in its Pindaric realization—is clear from these lines of Horace (*Carm.* 4.2.10–12):

seu per audacis **nova** dithyrambos  
**verba** devolvit **numerisque** fertur  
*lege solutis*

24. Dodds 1960, 161–62, as opposed to Henrichs 1978, 138 ("may have been a Theban specialty"). See also Theoc. 26.2 (tripartition of worshipers emphasized); and Prop. 3.17.24 (Dionysus' *triplices greges*).

25. Thgn. 779 (not cited in Pease), where shouting (*ἰαχῇ*) around Apollo's altar is one of the events honoring the god; and Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 1.538–39, where young devotees of Apollo gather round his altar and, rather than shout, dance to the accompaniment of the lyre.

26. West 1966, 152.

27. Haigh 1907, 107–8.

28. Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 77.

29. Ar. *Av.* 1403, with which cf. *ibid.* 1378–79, and frag. 149.10 Demiańczuk (from the *Gerytades*); for the dithyramb characterized as a *κύκλιος χορός*, Ar. *Nub.* 333, Ar. 917–18, *Ra.* 366; Xen. *Oec.* 8.20; and Aeschin. 3.232. See Zimmermann 1992, 25–26 and the bibliography cited there.

For Horace, then, the salient attributes of the dithyramb were neologism and metrical license.<sup>30</sup> That Horace's contemporaries shared this view would seem to follow from the Roman poetry dating to the period of roughly seventy years between the floruit of Catullus and Lucretius and the composition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In the verse surviving from this period, passages having to do with Dionysus, either directly or indirectly, seem to contain more than their share of unprecedented words coupled with metrical mannerisms that, in mimicking Greek practice, violate neoteric and Augustan norms.<sup>31</sup> To cite only a few examples chosen more or less at random, in Catullus 64.252, the epiphany of Bacchus and his retinue is described in a spondaic hexameter containing the compound *Nysigenus*, which is otherwise unattested and quite possibly a neologism:<sup>32</sup>

cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis

In Virgil, *Georgics* 2.5 is a spondaic line in which, moreover, the final syllable of *gravidus* is lengthened in arsis:

muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumnno

Coming from an invocation to Bacchus, this line also contains the epithet *pampineus*, which for us is a Virgilian neologism. It occurs four times in Virgil, and always in connection with Dionysus.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, in *Aeneid* 4.302, comparing Dido to a maenad, the epithet *trietericus* makes its debut in Latin poetry:

Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho

In Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.530 belongs to a description of a Bacchanal and features *-que* scanned long in the second arsis:

vulgusque proceresque ignota ad sacra feruntur

*Metamorphoses* 3.669 is a spondaic line describing the animals that surround Dionysus:

pictarumque iacent fera corpora pantherarum

The most extreme example of all is to be found in *Metamorphoses* 4.10–13:

telasque calathosque infectaque pensa reponunt  
turaque dant Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque  
ignigenamque satumque iterum solumque bimatrem:  
additur his Nyseus indetonsusque Thyoneus

These four lines belong to a description of Bacchic rites and include *-que* scanned long in the second arsis, one hypermeter, and three words (two of them compounds) attested only here: *ignigena*, *Nyseus*, and *indetonsus*.

30. In actual fact as well, these were distinguishing characteristics of both the Pindaric and the "new" dithyrambs, in which neologism tended to assume the form of unprecedented compound adjectives. See Zimmermann 1992, 60, 121.

31. I do not know of any inquiry into a possible link in Roman poetry between Bacchic content on the one hand and, on the other, neologism and metrical license. Such a study would be useful.

32. So Thomson 1997, 422.

33. See Austin 1977, 247.

With these lines that are connected in some way with Dionysus, *Aeneid* 4.146 shares both the neologism and the metrical license that Horace associates with dithyrambs. In *Aeneid* 4.146, both Dryopians and Agathyrsians make their debut in Latin verse, the latter to appear only once again in verse, as was mentioned above, as the *immanes Agathyrsi* in Juvenal 15.125. As far as anomalous prosody is concerned, *Aeneid* 4.146 mimics Greek norms in concluding with a Greek word of ionic-a-minore scansion. In the same line, *-que* is scanned long in the second arsis, just as it is in two of the lines (*Ov. Met.* 3.530, 4.10) quoted above. To be sure, if they occurred in isolation, even these four idiosyncrasies might not suffice to imbue *Aeneid* 4.146 with a dithyrambic coloring. Combined, however, with the other intimations of Dionysus that have already been identified in the preceding lines, two apparent neologisms coupled with two metrical anomalies, all of them Greek,<sup>34</sup> and all concentrated in a single line—these impart to *Aeneid* 4.146 not only a note of generalized “Bacchic frenzy,” as Otis observed, but specifically a strong suggestion of the style of the dithyramb.

The resemblance between *Aeneid* 4.146 and dithyrambic style is not the only way in which the meter and the diction of this line acquire a distinctly Bacchic cast. *Aeneid* 4.146 is also composed of words that, in the aggregate, allude to Dionysus as clearly as a comparison to Apollo will allow. Of these words, the most obviously suggestive must be the name *Agathyrsi*, the etymology of which, as it is explained by one Pisander in Stephanus Byzantius (s.v.), would make of these people “the right thyrsic ones.” It is difficult in any case to understand why these obscure outlanders are worshiping Apollo on Delos;<sup>35</sup> yet this enigma is compounded when account is taken of their name, which would connect them not with Apollo but with Apollo’s antithesis, Dionysus. These Agathyrsians Wilamowitz took for Hyperboreans and explained their name as due to Hellenistic preciousness.<sup>36</sup> That it may be, but it is also a name enhancing, as Paschalis has remarked,<sup>37</sup> the Bacchic coloring of a passage ostensibly concerned with Apollo.

The Bacchic connotations of the Agathyrsians’ name also shed light on their characterization as *picti*. Whether this word refers to tattooing or to some other means of coloring the skin or hair,<sup>38</sup> painted or tattooed devotees are out of place in the cult of Apollo. Tattooing the Greeks considered the mark of a slave and, hence, “ugly and dishonorable” (αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἄτιμον<sup>39</sup>). With this judgment “the most characteristically Greek of all the gods” may safely be presumed to have concurred. It is thus hardly surprising that no evidence would appear to exist of either Apollo or his votaries wearing tat-

34. For the Greek flavor of *-que* scanned long in the second arsis, see Clausen 1994, 143; Mynors 1990, 31; and Pease 1935, 192. It is also worth noting that in *Verg. G.* 2.456, where triple *-que* occurs in the same line positions as in *Aen.* 4.146, the context is Bacchic, and the name Rhoecus is unique in Latin verse.

35. “Why Virgil should introduce them into the worship of Apollo is not clear” (Pease 1935, 193).

36. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1903, p. 578, n. 2, followed by Clausen 1987, 133.

37. Paschalis 1997, p. 153, n. 18.

38. On this question, Pease (1935, 193–94) leaves no stone unturned, and there is much helpful detail in Dodds 1951, 163–64 as well.

39. *Sext. Emp. Pyr.* 3.202, cited in Pease 1935, 194; and Dodds 1951, 164 (see also 142).

toos or otherwise coloring their skin or hair. Yet quite the opposite applies not only to Dionysus himself, but especially to some of his devotees.<sup>40</sup> Thus, *picti* applied to Agathyrsians is, like their name, familiar in the realm of Dionysus but alien to Apollo's world.

To turn from the Agathyrsians to the action in which they engage, Theognis 779 and Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* 102 will not allow the claim to be made unconditionally that noisy worshipers are out of place in the restrained ambience of Apollonian ritual. Yet the roar that they here emit, though elsewhere unparalleled in the cult of Apollo, is one of the primary attributes of Dionysus and is reflected in this god's epithet "Bromius."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, ancient musicological sources contrast the restraint of the Apollonian paeon with the boisterousness of the Bacchic dithyramb,<sup>42</sup> which Aeschylus characterized as μῆξοβόας (*TGF* 3.355). For Pratinas too, noise (θόρυβος) was one of three attributes distinguishing a Bacchic θίασος (*TGF* 1.18).

In the realm of diction, Virgil's verb *fremere* is something of a *vox propria* for the Bacchic roar, recurring in this connection not only in the *Aeneid* (7.389), but also in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.528). Indeed, *fremere* is probably cognate with Greek βρέμειν and, hence, with Dionysus' epithet Bromius.<sup>43</sup> Together with *Agathyrsi*, then, *fremunt* would create another etymological link, real or apparent, between a word in *Aeneid* 4.146 and one of the hallmarks of Dionysus. Indeed, there may even be a third such case, for the Dryopians share with Dionysus nomenclature connecting them with trees in general and with the oak in particular. As their name contains the stem of Greek δρῦς ("tree," "oak"), so does Dionysus receive three epithets, all compounded with δένδρ-, that make him Lord of the Trees.<sup>44</sup>

Even if *Aeneid* 4.146 is the most ostentatiously Dionysiac of all the lines in the Apollo simile, intimations of Dionysus persist in the rest of the passage as well. In the phrase *ipse iugis Cynthi graditur*, for example, at the beginning of the next line, Apollo is so unfamiliar a traveler on mountain ridges that Pease, overlooking the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 141, cites no parallel for this detail. The noun *iugis* would in any case imply a mountain somewhat higher than the 118-meter hill that Cynthus is. Thus, while *Aeneid* 4.147 suggests both a mountain and a mountain deity, neither Cynthus nor its god meets either requirement particularly well. On the other hand, a mountain god<sup>45</sup> par excellence is to be found in Dionysus, who appears later in the *Aeneid* summoning his maenads to Mt. Cithaeron (4.302–3) and

40. Tib. 2.1.55–56 credits the farmer with being the first to have led dances in honor of Bacchus, and to have done so painted red. Thracian maenads are depicted wearing tattoos on several Greek vases (Dodds 1951, 163). Although the practice of applying red paint to statues is widespread, in Greece it was especially statues of Dionysus that received this treatment (Paus. 2.2.6–7, 7.26.11, 8.39.6, 9.32.1; and Versnel 1970, p. 79, n. 5).

41. For the essentials, see Leinieks 1996, 99–100; and Dodds 1960, 74.

42. Rutherford 1994–95, 117.

43. See Chantraine 1968–80, 194; Frisk 1960–72, 1.264–65; Pokorný 1994, 1.143; otherwise Winkens 1986, 49. Damien Nelis has pointed out to me in a letter that in Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1247 and *Aen.* 9.60, βρέμει and *fremunt* correspond in comparable passages.

44. For trees in Bacchic cult and nomenclature, see Detienne 2001, 153–54; Otto 1965, 157–58; Dodds 1960, 80–81.

45. Dionysus is so called in Nisbet and Hubbard 1978, 317.



driving his tigers down from Mt. Nysa (6.805). Anacreon has Dionysus “haunting” (ἐπιστρέφειν) mountaintops in *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* 2.4–5; Sophocles has him “dwelling” (ναίειν) there in *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1106; and Phanocles knows him as “mountain-roaming” (ὄρειφοίτης) in fragment 3 in *Collectanea Alexandrina*.<sup>46</sup> Cynthus, then, keeps the phrase *ipse iugis Cynthi graditur* firmly within Apollo’s orbit, but otherwise these words suggest a god whose mountain haunts are in general as atypical of Apollo as they are utterly characteristic of Dionysus.

If Apollo walking on mountain ridges is somewhat surprising, what comes next is hardly less so. The rest of *Aeneid* 4.147, and all of the following line, have to do with the god’s flowing and carefully coiffed hair. Long hair per se is completely in character for Apollo, as it is for Dionysus. Both gods are eternally young, and hence long hair is a familiar attribute of each of them.<sup>47</sup> Even if Athenians in the 400s B.C.E. contrasted the unrestrained locks of Dionysus with Apollo’s style of wearing his hair tied back in a bun,<sup>48</sup> Apollo’s untied locks (*crines soluti*) in both Horace *Carmina* 3.4.62 and Propertius 4.6.31 compel the conclusion that in *Aeneid* 4.147–48, Apollo’s flowing hair (*fluentem . . . crinem*) is completely appropriate for this god as Augustan poets represent him.

Neither can any significance be attached to *premit crinem*<sup>49</sup> in *Aeneid* 4.148, for elsewhere this expression is applied not only to crowns, helmets, and miters worn atop the head, but also to fillets worn around it (so Sen. *Phaedra* 651, Stat. *Theb.* 10.606). Therefore, although *premere crinem* is used five times of the crown and of the miter that Dionysus typically wears on his head (citations in *TLL* 10.2:1169.46–59), it suits equally well the wreath that Apollo wears around his head in *Aeneid* 4.148.<sup>50</sup>

At the same time, whatever may be the literal relevance of the epithet *mollis* to Apollo’s wreath in *Aeneid* 4.147,<sup>51</sup> this word is also virtually a *vox propria* for objects connected with Dionysus. Beginning in the late 400s B.C.E., an effeminate Dionysus becomes apparent both in art and in drama. In Euripides *Bacchae* 353, for example, Pentheus refers to the stranger in

46. Carl Hosius, followed by R. P. H. Green, was persuaded that in *Idyllia* 10.209–10, Ausonius has transferred *ipse iugis Cynthi graditur* to Dionysus (Hosius 1926, 53; Green 1991, 487). If that were so, it could be taken to imply that the later poet was alert to the Bacchic overtones of Apollo’s walking along mountain ridges. Nevertheless, a borrowing from Virgil is very much open to question here.

47. Tib. 1.4.37–38; Ov. *Am.* 1.14.31–32, and *Met.* 3.421; in all of these long hair is said to be common to both gods. See McKeown 1989, 376.

48. For men’s hairstyles in fifth-century Athens, see Leinieks 1996, 56; Fitch 1987, 240; Roux 1970–72, 2:405–6.

49. Paschalis (1997, p. 153, n. 18) notes that *crinem* in *Aen.* 4.148 is the last in a series of four words that reappear in the same order in the overtly Bacchic context of *Aen.* 7.390–91. The other three of these words are *choros* (145), *-thyrsi* (146), and *mollis* (147). Even if this recurrence is entirely coincidental, it shows how close to the surface of the Apollo simile Bacchic words and themes lie.

50. Conversely, crowns are said to encircle the head in passages too numerous to list. See *TLL* 4:979.23–27, 39–42, 57–60, 980.9.

51. Elsewhere, *frons* receives the epithet *mollis* thrice (Catull. 64.293 [cf. Prop. 1.20.22, another golden line from an epyllion]; Plin. *HN* 8.127, 12.1), *tenera* four times (Verg. *G.* 2.372, *Aen.* 3.449; Ov. *Fast.* 4.398; Columella, *Rust.* 6.9.1; Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.11). The difference between the two epithets would thus appear to be primarily stylistic, *mollis* occurring in verse in exclusively neoteric contexts, *tenera* never so. This distinction is also consistent with the claim advanced below, that *mollis* in *Aen.* 4.147 connotes some degree of finesse.

his city as having the shape of a woman (θηλύμορφος). This aspect of Dionysus' persona becomes universal in succeeding centuries,<sup>52</sup> and it explains why Latin poets so often apply the epithet *mollis* to the god's accoutrements. Indeed, Diodorus Siculus states in 4.4.4 that the delicacy of Dionysus' costume corresponds to the softness (μαλακότης) of the god himself. In Virgil alone, Bacchic objects receive the epithet *mollis* three times: the leaves on the thyrsus in *Eclogues* 5.30–31, the thyrsus itself in *Aeneid* 7.390, and the *oscilla* that Italians hang from pine trees to honor Bacchus in *Georgics* 2.389.<sup>53</sup> Thus, in *Aeneid* 4.147–48, even if Apollo no less than Dionysus can lay claim to long hair, headgear characterized as *mollis* would evoke Dionysus rather than Apollo.

The effeminacy implicit in *mollis* in *Aeneid* 4.147 is further suggested by *fungens* in the next line. This participle acquires a degree of emphasis from being somewhat superfluously appended to a clause that is already complete both syntactically and semantically. The nuance that *fungens* adds to the words preceding it can be inferred from the ten other passages in Latin verse (listed in *TLL* 6:772.20–30) in which *fungere* refers to setting the hair. In six of these, the subject is a woman. In the remaining four, the masculinity of the male in question is flawed in one way or another.<sup>54</sup> *Aeneid* 4.148 is thus unique in Latin verse for not applying *fungere* of setting the hair either to a woman or to a male of precarious masculinity. Here *fungens* combines with *mollis* in the preceding line to frame *fluentem / fronde premit crinem*, and both words together imbue the intervening expression with a strong suggestion of the effeminacy that is at once alien to Apollo and intrinsic to Dionysus.<sup>55</sup>

The gold in Apollo's hair in *Aeneid* 4.148 can be—indeed, routinely is—referred to the golden accoutrements for which Apollo, dubbed πολύχρυσος by Callimachus in *Hymn to Apollo* 34, is well known. Yet not every male who wears gold in his hair is a god. On the contrary, one such figure in Statius *Thebais* 5.228 is a weak and tender youth the gold in whose hair is put there by a doting sister. In *Aeneid* 4.148, moreover, the gold in Apollo's hair is combined with a type of headgear that for Virgil is *mollis* and, for Pentheus in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.542, betrays men who are men in name

52. See Diod.Sic. 4.4.2, 4.5.2; Ov. *Am.* 3.2.53, *Met.* 3.607, 4.20; Sen. *Hercules furens* 472–76; *Priap.* 36.3; Leinieks 1996, 50–54; Bömer 1969–86, 1.581–82; Otto 1965, 176; Dodds 1960, 133–34.

53. Elsewhere, *mollis* is used of the Bacchic tambourine in Prop. 3.17.33 and in Stat. *Achil.* 1.654–55; the god's garlands in Ov. *Met.* 3.555; Liber's feast in Varro, *Sat. Men.* 443.1 Bücheler-Heraeus; and the hand with which the god wields his thyrsus in Sen. *Hercules furens* 473. It is not always recognized that in all of these instances, *mollis* refers not so much to the objects themselves as to the nature of the god with whom they are associated. Even as early as Euripides, Dionysus' "love locks" (Dodds 1960, 139), soft in themselves, are likely to be called delicate (τρυφερός, *Bacch.* 150) and pretty (ἄβρός, *ibid.* 493) for the further reason that these words also apply to the effeminate god who wears such locks.

54. See Tib. 1.2.92 (*senex amator*); Manilius *Astronomica* 5.149 (degenerate voluptuaries); Mart. 6.57.1 (a bald counterfeiter of Apollo); Stat. *Theb.* 5.228 (a tender youth).

55. Similarly, the two materials adorning Apollo's hair frame *Aen.* 4.148 and enclose a corresponding chiasmus of two verbs. For the elegance of a framed line connoting an elegant appearance, cf. *Aen.* 1.593 (Aeneas beautified by his mother) and Ov. *Met.* 3.556 (Dionysus). Similar to Virgil's double chiasmus of nouns and verbs is Naevius *trag.* 54 Ribbeck, a maximally resolved septenarius (mimicking Dionysus' mincing minions?) framed by the exotic foreign names of the god's glamorous articles of clothing: *diabathra in pedibus habebat, erat amictus epicroco*.

only. To be sure, in being compared to an Apollo who wears gold in his hair, Aeneas is made to match the golden queen<sup>56</sup> who is herself compared to Apollo's twin sister in a matching simile. Indeed, Dido's gilt attire is highlighted in *Aeneid* 4.138–39, just before Aeneas is compared to an Apollo with gold in his hair. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Apollo's gold in *Aeneid* 4.148 is such as to evoke not primarily its divine associations, but rather gold as an emblem of luxury and supercivilization. Pease, for example, finds Apollo's "richness of dress" sufficiently striking to merit comment and to require explanation.<sup>57</sup> In a word, the Apollo of this simile exhibits more than a trace of the foppishness that is a hallmark of Dionysus.<sup>58</sup>

It is safe to say, then, that much of the simile comparing Aeneas to Apollo rather gives the impression of likening the Trojan king to Apollo's polar opposite, Dionysus. Nevertheless, the detail with which the simile concludes—*tela sonant umeris* in *Aeneid* 4.149—belongs to Apollo alone. Recalling Homer's description of Apollo bringing death to the Greek army in *Iliad* 1.46–47, weapons rattling on the god's shoulders are incompatible with the peace-loving nature of Dionysus.<sup>59</sup> On the rare occasions when this god appears armed, he and his maenads wield the thyrsus (an "ivied javelin" in Eur. *Bacch.* 25) rather than weapons carried on the shoulders.

Yet it remains a remarkably Dionysiac Apollo to whom Aeneas is compared in *Aeneid* 4.143–49.<sup>60</sup> In causing the polar duality of Apollo and Dionysus to coexist in the persona of his hero, Virgil creates a further correspondence between Aeneas and the Tyrian queen who is metaphorically Aeneas' twin; for Dido is simultaneously identified not only with the chaste Diana, but also with her sensual opposite, Venus. We will return to this point below.

In the pages that remain, limitations of space will allow only an outline of the manifold ways in which Aeneas' assimilation to Dionysus extends beyond the Apollo simile. Nevertheless, though necessarily brief, this outline will at least serve to adumbrate lines of inquiry that further study of this topic could conceivably follow.

Dionysus' aspect as a mountain god has already been documented above. He is also represented as a hunter both in his mythology in general and in Euripides' *Bacchae* in particular.<sup>61</sup> Thus, in *Aeneid* 4.151–59, immediately

56. Dido in *Aen.* 1.698, for which see Weber 1998–99, 317–25.

57. Pease 1935, 195.

58. For a similar Apollo in the Corpus Tibullianum, see [Tib.] 3.4.23–38.

59. See Ov. *Met.* 3.553–54 (Dionysus derided by Pentheus for being a "defenseless child" indifferent to wars, weapons [*tela*], and horsemanship); Stat. *Theb.* 7.168–73 (Dionysus protesting that his *θίασος* knows only revels and not war); Dodds 1960, 109–10, 170.

60. Such a conflation of Apollonian and Dionysiac elements within a single passage has a precedent in Greek in the so-called Ode 16 of Bacchylides, which salutes Apollo's return to Delphi in the poetic form of a dithyramb. See Rutherford 1994–95, 116–18 ("Apollo in Ivy"). For the same conflation in myth and ritual, see Detienne 2001. For Apollo assimilated to Dionysus in other ways, see nn. 77–78 below.

61. Though not attested as an epithet of Dionysus until the 500s C.E., "Zagreus" exhibits the traits of Dionysus as early as Eur. *frag.* 472.11–12 Nauck. The name was etymologized in antiquity as meaning "mighty hunter." In id. *Bacch.* 1189–92, Agave and the chorus praise Dionysus as an accomplished hunter. Finally, two Latin sources have him issuing a summons to the hunt: Plaut. *Men.* 835; and Verg. *G.* 3.43, which have the verb *vocare* in common. See Otto 1965, 109, 191; and Dodds 1960, 225.

following the Apollo simile, the dual role of Dionysus as both hunter and mountain god allows the description of the hunt in the mountains to sustain the link between Aeneas and Dionysus that the preceding simile has already established.

The setting of the hunt in the mountains—indeed, in high mountains (*Aen.* 4.151)—receives considerable emphasis, being mentioned in four out of nine lines (151, 153, 155, 159). Yet it is odd for several reasons that this hunt should be set in the mountains at all. First, hunters on horseback (lines 135, 156–57) are incompatible with hunting in the mountains for purely practical reasons.<sup>62</sup> Second, a mountain venue is difficult to reconcile with certain other details. These include the “open plains” (*patentis . . . campos*) in lines 153–54, and Ascanius on horseback “in the middle of the vale” (*mediis in vallibus*) in line 156. Indeed, in lines 153, 155, and 159, the animals being hunted are actually *leaving* the mountains, which has led J. K. Anderson and others to conclude that unmentioned beaters are “somewhere up there among the rocks,” while the hunters themselves are down on the plain.<sup>63</sup> Third, a mountain venue is at odds with Juno’s forecast in *Aeneid* 4.117–27, where the hunt is twice set in a grove (lines 118, 121), while mountains are never mentioned. For all these reasons, its setting in the mountains is an unexpected and, hence, striking aspect of Virgil’s hunting scene. Its effect is to sustain the parallelism between Aeneas and Dionysus. As Dionysus is a mountain god who hunts, Aeneas is a hero who hunts in the mountains.

An additional point merits brief mention in passing. In *Aeneid* 6.804–5, Dionysus drives tigers down from the peak of Mt. Nysa:

nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis  
Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris

Only the first of these lines requires that the god be driving a chariot. The second line, taken by itself, is ambiguous. It could refer to Dionysus hunting<sup>64</sup> and, so interpreted, would recall the similar effect that Aeneas and his hunting partners have on the animals running down from the mountain in *Aeneid* 4.152–59.<sup>65</sup>

Yet the most noticeable point of contact—and surely the most important—between Virgil’s hunt and the sphere of Dionysus resides in the fact that the hunting scene in *Aeneid* 4 parallels in both position and function the mountain hunt for Pentheus that is the climax of Euripides’ *Bacchae*. Indeed, the counterpoint maintained with this play, both here and in subsequent scenes, duplicates on a smaller scale the sustained allusion to the Homeric epics that characterizes the *Aeneid* as a whole. Beginning in *Aeneid* 1.184–93, where Aeneas goes hunting and kills seven deer, the motif of the hunt constantly reappears, sometimes as reality, sometimes as metaphor,

62. Anderson 1985, 10, 23.

63. Ibid. 91–92, contradicted by *Aen.* 4.151.

64. See the citations in *TLL* 1:1367.62–70 (hunting) and 1:1367.45–53 (driving a chariot).

65. It would be difficult to argue that *alia de parte* in *Aen.* 4.153 recalls *parte ex alia* in the Bacchic context of Catull. 64.251, because Catullus shares *parte ex alia* with Cicero in *Aratea* 367, where the topic is the constellation Orion.

until it culminates in the mountain hunt that leads to the death of the huntress Dido: *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / causa fuit* (4.169–70).<sup>66</sup> Likewise, the theme of the hunt has been called the “key metaphor” of the *Bacchae*, permeating the play as an image until the hunt ultimately becomes real and claims the life of the hunter Pentheus.<sup>67</sup>

The hunters in the *Bacchae* number three. The first is Dionysus, identified by Agave as her hunting partner in line 1146 and earlier characterized as a metaphorical hunter of sex (459) and of male spies (731–32). Later, in lines 1189–92, Dionysus is extolled as the actual hunter of Pentheus. Pentheus himself is the second hunter in the play. He hunts maenads (228) and Dionysus (352, 434–35), but for Agave he is inferior to the god as a hunter (1252–53, 1255). Finally, there are the maenads, who are represented as hunting for sex in line 688, but primarily as hunting Pentheus (817, 1183, 1199–1204, 1215, 1241). Toward the end of the play, Agave, as one of their number, boasts that she has renounced housework in favor of the higher calling of hunting with bare hands (1237). Earlier, in lines 731–32, the maenads are figured as Dionysus’ hunting dogs.

Aeneas is the Virgilian counterpart of Euripides’ Dionysus, as both the hunter who survives the hunt and a stranger newly arrived from Asia. His advent, like that of Dionysus, leads to the death of the reigning monarch. In her role as Aeneas’ hunting partner, Dido corresponds to one of Euripides’ maenads, together with whom Dionysus is said to hunt in *Bacchae* 1146. Even more salient, however, are the affinities between Dido and Pentheus. Both are reigning monarchs who fall victim to a hunt in the mountains. Indeed, it has not gone unnoticed that Dido and Pentheus play corresponding roles in tragedies in which hunters become the hunted, and vice versa.<sup>68</sup> Finally, it may even be the case that the sexual ambivalence of Euripides’ macho king dressed in women’s attire is mirrored in the tension between Dido’s femininity and her status as a stalwart leader of men. Dido’s dual correspondence with both the victim and the partner of Dionysus, contradictory though it may appear, is later confirmed in *Aeneid* 4.301–3 and 469–70, where similes declare that Dido resembles both Pentheus and a maenad respectively.<sup>69</sup>

At the same time, the common metaphor of love as hunting also plays a part in Virgil’s hunt in the mountains.<sup>70</sup> This too is paralleled in the *Bacchae*, where Pentheus unkindly represents both Dionysus (459) and the

66. For manifestations of the hunting motif from *Aen.* 1.184 through 4.159, see Nelis 2001, 129–35; Lyne 1987, 193–97; Anderson 1969, 43–44; Otis 1964, 75–76. Lyne writes of “Virgilian ‘signals’ to Dionysus and the *Bacchae*” (p. 197, n. 69).

67. For bibliography on the theme of hunting in the *Bacchae*, see Segal 1997, p. 32, n. 12.

68. For this reversal in the *Bacchae*, see Dodds 1960, 131; and Winnington-Ingram 1948, 70, 107–8. For the same reversal in the *Aeneid*, see Reckford 1995–96, p. 22, and p. 40, n. 38; Lyne 1987, 196; Harrison 1972–73, p. 15, and p. 23, n. 34 (adducing the parallel of the *Bacchae*). It can also be found in the *Argonautica*: Nelis 2001, 129.

69. There are also other similes that confirm prior intimations. For example, the Diana simile in *Aen.* 1.498–502 acknowledges the resemblance between Dido and Diana that is earlier intimated in Aeneas’ encounters with a virgin huntress (1.314–37) and with a picture of Penthesisilea (1.490–93), she too a virgin and carrying a moon-shaped shield. Likewise, equating storm winds with rioting citizens, the simile in 1.148–53 confirms the earlier implication that the land of the winds is a *patria* (1.51) with a constitution resembling Rome’s (1.54, 62) and a population exhibiting human passions (1.57).

70. See Lyne 1987, 197; and Harrison 1972–73, 15. For the trope of love as hunting, see Green 1996 and Kenney 1970, 386–88. For Dido in particular, see Thornton 1985, 621.

maenads (688) as hunting Aphrodite. In connection with Dionysus, moreover, this metaphor is exploited even more extravagantly in Nonnus' Book 16, devoted in toto to Dionysus' passion for the virgin huntress Nicaea.<sup>71</sup>

In taking to the mountains to hunt in the company of an Aeneas who resembles Dionysus, Dido assumes the role of one of Euripides' maenads. On the other hand, the similarity between Aeneas and Dionysus is further enhanced when the Trojan king withdraws to a cave and there takes part in a grotesque wedding. To be sure, the immediate precursor of this scene is Apollonius Rhodius 4.1128–69, where the marriage of Jason and Medea is consummated in a cave once occupied by Macris, Dionysus' first European nurse. Nevertheless, Virgil's episode in the cave also ties in with the complex of associations linking Aeneas to Dionysus, for in the myth, religion, and iconography of this god above all, caves are central.

The particular instances of Dionysus' connection with caves are too numerous to be presented here.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, one stands out as being especially relevant to the cave scene in Virgil. In *Orationes* 9.5, a prose epithalamium, Himerius sets the nuptials of Dionysus and Ariadne "in Cretan caves" (ἐν Κρητικαῖς ἄντροις). Here there is an exact correspondence with the quasi-wedding of Dido and Aeneas in an African cave. To be sure, Himerius is a late source (300s C.E.), but his account is consistent with earlier, graphic portrayals,<sup>73</sup> and Carl Kerényi considers it in any case "the earliest version" of Dionysus' marriage.<sup>74</sup> In addition, the brides Dido and Ariadne are linked once again in Dido's speeches, which repeatedly echo Ariadne's monologue in Catullus.

In Rumor's account of the self-indulgence and lewd behavior of Dido and Aeneas, the reference to the winter season in *Aeneid* 4.193 would apply as well to Dionysus and his women, who, as was mentioned above, stage their orgies in winter. After Rumor has worked her mischief, the correspondence between Aeneas and Dionysus persists, but the Virgilian counterpart of Euripides' Pentheus now ceases to be Dido and becomes instead the Numidian king Iarbas. As Dido's book moves inexorably forward, Virgil's engagement with the *Bacchae* proceeds in the opposite direction, moving backwards from the mountain hunt at the climax of the play to Pentheus' derisive inspection of Dionysus in lines 453–60, and then still farther back to lines 233–41, where Pentheus relates the alarming rumor he has heard.

Beyond the shared situation of a native king inflamed by hearsay and angry that a foppish interloper from the decadent East is seducing the local

71. Whether or not they indicate direct influence, the points of contact between Nonnus' and Virgil's narratives are many. They include, in addition to the metaphor in question (e.g., 16.232), not only Dionysus' fantasy of Nicaea as his hunting partner, but also the incongruity of Nicaea's embodying, like Dido, both Artemis and Aphrodite simultaneously (16.135).

72. See Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 2.907–10, 4.1131–38; Callixeinus *FGrH* 627, frags. 1–2; Socr. Rhod. *FGrH* 192, frag. 2.32–33; *Culex* 113; Hazzard 2000, 59–79; Leinieks 1996, 100–102; Merkelbach 1988, 63–66; Rice 1983, 16–17, 60, 81–82; Bérard 1976, 61–62; Roux 1970–72, 2.633–34; Otto 1965, 163–64; Webster 1964, 2, 163, pl. Ia; Boyancé 1960–61, 110–14, 126; Dodds 1960, xxxii, 84, 151, 213.

73. Viz., three sarcophagi cited in Merkelbach 1988, 58–59, 66. They date to the 100s and early 200s C.E. The prototype from which all artistic depictions of a cave-dwelling Dionysus derive is said to be the Chest of Cypselus described in Paus. 5.19.6 (Boyancé 1960–61, 108). For depictions of maenads in or near Bacchic caves, see Merkelbach 1988, pp. 64–65, n. 34; and Boyancé 1960–61, 109.

74. Kerényi 1976, 110.

women,<sup>75</sup> Dionysus and Aeneas as Iarbas represents him exhibit similarities that are remarkable for being both numerous and exact. Specifically, in *Aeneid* 4.215, Iarbas' allegation that the entourage accompanying Aeneas is male only in part (*cum semiviro comitatu*) applies quite literally to Dionysus, whose θίασος in fact consists partly of men, partly of women.<sup>76</sup> In the next line (*Aen.* 4.216), Aeneas is represented as wearing a miter, headgear so typical of Dionysus that in Propertius, the god Vertumnus claims that donning a miter will allow him to pass for Dionysus.<sup>77</sup> In the same line, Iarbas' mockery of Aeneas for hair damp with perfume is paralleled in Pentheus' ridicule of Dionysus for the same affectation.<sup>78</sup>

Finally, in *Aeneid* 4.215–17, Iarbas protests that Aeneas is a Paris redivivus seducing the local women. Pentheus brings a similar charge against Dionysus in the lines cited in note 75 above. Lexicography, moreover, backs Pentheus up, for the partiality that Paris and Dionysus share towards women is reflected in the lexical datum that they also share the epithet γυναιμανής, applied to Paris in *Iliad* 3.39, to Dionysus in *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 17 and Nonnus 16.229, 252. For this reason and others, Walter F. Otto finds the same similarity between Paris and Dionysus that Iarbas perceives between Paris and Aeneas.<sup>79</sup> Diodorus Siculus, though mentioning no connection with Paris in particular, nevertheless asserts in 4.4.2 that Dionysus is prone (εὐκατάφορος) to the pleasures of love (αἱ ἀφροδισιακαὶ ἡδοναί).

No less than in their propensity for love, Aeneas and Dionysus find common ground in the manner and in the object of their love. Unlike his satyr companions and his male kin on Olympus, whose amours tend to be numerous, short-lived, and carnal, Dionysus succumbs to a love that "is ecstatic and binds him to the loved one forever," she being Ariadne above all.<sup>80</sup> As this style of loving is reminiscent of Aeneas' predilections, so are the objects of Dionysus' love. The affinities between Ariadne and Dido are well known. Less familiar is the parallelism between Dionysus' couplings with either Aphrodite or a nymph<sup>81</sup> on the one hand and, on the other, Aeneas' affair with a queen who is figured as each of these women.<sup>82</sup> Dido can thus be connected with the women who play a part in the myth of Dionysus.

75. *Aen.* 4.203, 215–17; *Eur. Bacch.* 233–47, 454–59, for which see Dodds' notes.

76. *Diod.Sic.* 4.2.6 (α στρατόπεδον οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν); *Livy* 39.13.10 (*permixti viri feminis*); *Catull.* 64.252–64; *Ov. Met.* 4.25–29. For *comitatus* used of the Bacchic θίασος, cf. *Stat. Theb.* 4.661 (a *comitatus iners*, like that of Aeneas); and *Hyg. Fab.* 191. Corresponding to this is *comes* used of a member of a θίασος in *Varro, Ling.* 7.87; *Petron.* 133; and *Stat. Achil.* 1.646.

77. *Prop.* 4.2.31. See also *Diod.Sic.* 4.4.4; *Prop.* 3.17.30; *Stat. Achil.* 1.617; *Leinieks* 1996, 54–55; *Ashton* 2001, 48, 157. In *Nonnus Dion.* 4.106, Apollo is given the golden miter that belongs to Dionysus in *Soph. OT* 209.

78. *Eur. Bacch.* 235, *Ov. Met.* 3.555. Cf. [*Tib.*] 3.4.28, where myrrh-scented hair dripping with Syrian perfume belongs to a remarkably epicene Apollo.

79. *Otto* 1965, 175.

80. *Ibid.* 176–77.

81. Dionysus and a nymph in *Soph. OT* 1105–9; and *Strabo* 13.1.12; Dionysus and Aphrodite in *Anac.* 2; *Hedylus in Anth.Pal.* 11.414; *Diod.Sic.* 4.6.1; *Paus.* 9.31.2; *Hymn.Orph.* 55.7; and *Serv. ad Aen.* 1.720. See also *Otto* 1965, 176.

82. The parallelism between Dido and Homer's Calypso is the most obvious link between Dido and a nymph. Nevertheless, the same association also emerges from the correspondence between the nymphs' cave in *Book 1* and the conjugal cave in *Book 4*. Both are found in the context of Aeneas' taking refuge from storms that are themselves linked when *Aen.* 4.160 echoes 1.124. These caves also occupy essentially

These include not only the god's companions, the maenads, but also his exclusively female loves: primarily Ariadne, but nymphs, Aphrodite, and the huntress Nicaea (see n. 71 above) as well. In turn, Dido's resemblance to each of these women implies a corresponding link between her lover Aeneas and their consort Dionysus.

If Iarbas' description of Aeneas' appearance is liable to seem the distortion of a rival with an ax to grind, the same cannot be said of Aeneas' cloak (*laena*) in *Aeneid* 4.262–64. This the poet himself describes as cascading down from the shoulders (*demissa ex umeris*) and tailored with Tyrian crimson (*Tyrio . . . murice*) and with finely spun gold (*tenui . . . auro*). These particulars duplicate item for item the mantle worn by a statue of Dionysus in a grand procession organized by Ptolemy II Philadelphus.<sup>83</sup> According to the detailed account of this pageant given by Callixeinus of Rhodes (n. 83 above), the statue of Dionysus, like Virgil's Aeneas, was draped in "a crimson mantle spangled with gold" (ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν χρυσοποικίλον). In general, luxurious robes dyed crimson or yellow and trailing down to the feet are thoroughly typical of Dionysus and so figure repeatedly in descriptions of the god beginning with Cratinus and Aristophanes and extending down the centuries to Pausanias.<sup>84</sup> Dionysus' yellow robe even has a name all its own (κροκωτός), yellow being this god's color.<sup>85</sup> Thus, as he is dressed in *Aeneid* 4.262–64, Aeneas could pass for a mortal Dionysus.

the same lines in their respective books, viz., *Aen.* 1.166–68 and 4.165–66. There are thus solid contextual and structural bases for the suspicion of Pöschl and Kenney that the nymphs residing in the harbor cave prefigure the queen of Carthage: see Pöschl 1962, p. 206, n. 8; and Kenney 1973, p. 153, n. 122.

Dido is identified with Venus primarily through being prefigured in the disguised Venus whom Aeneas encounters in the wilderness, and whom E. L. Harrison has characterized as "a kind of stand-in for Dido" (Harrison 1972–73, 15; see also Reckford 1995–96, 22). This encounter unmistakably recalls the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and its narrative of the amour between Aphrodite and Anchises. Consequently, Aeneas' encounter with Venus in disguise casts Aeneas in the role of his seduced father, even as Venus as seductress prefigures Dido and her comparable effect on Anchises' son. Venus disguised as a huntress and resembling Diana (*Aen.* 1.329) also anticipates Dido likened to the huntress Diana in a simile (*Aen.* 1.498–502). Conversely, this simile itself recalls in several details the earlier scene with Venus (e.g., Sparta figures both in *Aen.* 1.498–99 and in 1.315–16; in 1.500 and 1.405, either a Greek proper name or Greek prosody creates a bucolic diaeresis coinciding with a sense pause and followed by *ille(-a)*). Then, in her exchanges with Ilioneus and Aeneas, Dido fills the interlocutor's role that Venus has previously assumed in her dialogue with Aeneas. Indeed, Ilioneus' speech to Dido concerning Aeneas (*Aen.* 1.522–58) differs in length by only one line from Venus' comparable speech to Aeneas concerning Dido (*Aen.* 1.335–70). As Venus is the golden goddess par excellence, Dido is the golden queen in *Aen.* 1.697–98 (Weber 1998–99, 322). Finally, like Venus in the wilderness, Dido is dressed for the hunt in *Aen.* 4.136–39, which replicates in subject and in order of accoutrements Venus' dress and equipment as these are described in *Aen.* 1.314–20. Even the extraliterary but overt connection between Aphrodite and Dido's epigone Cleopatra (see n. 87 below) enhances the parallelism that Virgil sets up between Venus and Dido herself.

83. Described in Callixeinus *FGrH* 627, frags. 1–2. Text and translation in Rice 1983, 8–25, esp. 16–17, 81–82, now augmented by Hazzard 2000, 59–79.

84. See Cratinus 38.2 Kock (the κροκωτός and the ποικίλον included among four attributes of Dionysus); Ar. *Ran.* 46, Callixeinus *FGrH* 627, frag. 2 (a crimson χιτών and ἱμάτιον worn with a transparent κροκωτός); Naev. *trag.* 54 Ribbeck (a garment called an *epicrocus*); Tib. 1.7.46–47 (Osiris-Bacchus wearing Tyrian *vestes* [cf. Aeneas in *Aen.* 4.262] and a yellow *palla* extending to his "tender" feet); Prop. 3.17.32 (a *vestis* touching the god's "bare" feet); Ov. *Met.* 3.556 (like Aeneas' cloak, a *purpura* and embroidered *vestes* interwoven with gold); Sen. *Hercules furens* 475 (a trailing garment called a *syma* and resplendent with gold called *barbaricum* [so too the gold of Aeneas' Troy and of Dionysus' avatar Antony in *Aen.* 2.504 and 8.685 respectively]); and Paus. 5.19.6 (a χιτών extending to the feet). In general, see *LIMC* 3.1, p. 414, col. 2, and p. 415, col. 1.

85. See Smith 1913, 336.



If it is the case that, as Adam Parry has written in the epigraph, Aeneas “is” Marc Antony throughout the Dido drama, it stands to reason that in the same episode, Aeneas will also resemble the Dionysus whose mortal counterpart Antony publicly claimed to be. Antony’s methods of representing himself in the East as Dionysus reborn are sufficiently well documented to require no summary here.<sup>86</sup> As of 37 B.C.E., when Antony became Cleopatra’s consort, two factors in particular furthered his identification with Dionysus. First, as consort of a queen who advertised her connection with Isis, Antony was cast in the complementary role of Osiris-Dionysus.<sup>87</sup> Second, as de facto joint ruler with a Ptolemaic queen whose father, like Antony in Athens, was proclaimed a “new Dionysus,” Antony effectively joined a dynasty whose kings claimed descent from Dionysus.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, this propaganda left its imprint on the culture of the entire age, Dionysus being “peculiarly the god of the Hellenistic age.”<sup>89</sup> Thus, viewed against the historical backdrop of the Ptolemaic dynasty professing a Dionysiac heritage, Aeneas’ assimilation to Dionysus reflects the parallel identification between Antony and the same god. The association between Aeneas and Antony’s divine prototype is, then, one of the ways in which Aeneas at Dido’s court “is” Antony and emerges by implication as Eastern, monarchical, and distinctly Ptolemaic.

Aeneas’ affinities with Dionysus also play a part in the metaphorical representation of Dido and Aeneas as twin sister and brother. This metaphor is based on the fundamental fact that Dido and Aeneas resemble each other in manifold ways. One of these resemblances—their similar fortunes—Dido herself acknowledges in *Aeneid* 1.628. Others have been catalogued by Nicholas Horsfall,<sup>90</sup> and, beyond these, still others exist. For example, justice is a salient trait of both Dido and Aeneas (*Aen.* 1.508, 523, 544–45).

86. For the principal sources, see Fraser 1972, 1:205 and 2:348–49, nn. 122, 124. Otherwise, Hölbl 2001, 243–45, 291–99; Meadows 2001, 86; Goudchaux 2001, 137, 139; Ashton 2001, 155; Williams 2001, 193, 238; Pelling 1988, 179–80, 189, 241, 265, 303–4; and Zanker 1988, 57–58. For the association between Antony and Dionysus as reflected in Hor. *Carm.* 2.19, see Stevens 1999, 285–95.

87. Antony’s identification with Osiris-Dionysus was in fact, however, utterly overt (see Dio Cass. 50.5, 50.25; Hölbl 2001, 291; Williams 2001, 194; Hazzard 2000, 153; Pelling 1988, 180), and it will have been promoted by Cleopatra’s association with Aphrodite (mentioned in n. 82 above and confirmed in Plut. *Ant.* 26.5), who figures as Dionysus’ consort in the god’s mythology. For the sources documenting the efforts of Ptolemaic queens (especially Arsinoë II, but including Cleopatra VII) to be identified with Aphrodite, see Hölbl 2001, 97–98, 103–4, 290; Higgs 2001, 111, 202; Goudchaux 2001, 134, 137, 139; Williams 2001, 193; Ciampini 2001, 331; Hazzard 2000, 152–53; Whitehorne 1994, 97, 129, 136, 146, 148; Gutzwiller 1992, 363–65; Fraser 1972, 1.197, 238–40; Taylor 1931, 103.

88. Dionysus was represented to be the divine prototype of Alexander the Great. In general, see Hölbl 2001, 283, 289; Hazzard 2000, 8–9, 107, 110, 116, 145, 154–55; Whitehorne 1994, 9; Rice 1983, 43, 48, 67, 83–86, 113, 191–92; Fraser 1972, 1.201–6. For a possible anagram in Callimachus alluding to Ptolemy II and Arsinoë as “dual Dionysians,” see Bleisch 1996, 461–68.

89. Webster 1964, 1.

90. Horsfall 1990, 134, which needs some modification. Dido and Aeneas are not only leaders; they are “specifically” reigning monarchs, this shared status reflecting their common Eastern heritage and its penchant for monarchy. The new city that each of them proposes to found is to be sited in the West, and Dido’s Carthage in *Aen.* 1.523 has a mission similar to that of Aeneas’ Rome in *Aen.* 6.853. Both Dido and Aeneas have recently lost a spouse, but there is more to this too: they are both bereaved in their homeland, and murder and mayhem are responsible in both cases. Finally, they both receive similar instructions from similar apparitions of their departed spouse, but the revelations of Sychaeus are paralleled not in the vision of Hector in *Aen.* 2.289–95, but rather in Creüsa’s speech in *Aen.* 2.776–89.

They are both wealthy (*Aen.* 1.119, 4.263), and so are Troy and Carthage in general. They both neglect their familial duty, Dido that to her dead husband (*Aen.* 1.719–21, 4.522), Aeneas his to a maturing son (*Aen.* 1.643–46 as opposed to 4.234, 272–76). Dido and Aeneas each present to the other costly things to wear (*Aen.* 1.647–55, 4.261–64), and they are both connoisseurs (*Aen.* 1.119, 455–56). As Dido is *pulcherrima* in *Aeneid* 1.496, Aeneas is *pulcherrimus* in *Aeneid* 4.141. Dido's compassion for a destitute stranger leads to the same ruinous result as the Trojans' compassion for a mendacious Greek: her city like theirs is burned to the ground. Compared to such numerous and wide-ranging similarities as these, not to mention others listed by Horsfall, the differences between Dido and Aeneas are few and insignificant.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, Virgil's foregrounding of Dido and Aeneas' mutual resemblance is later recalled when Plutarch highlights the comparable similarity between Antony and Cleopatra.<sup>92</sup>

The mutual identity of Trojan king and Tyrian queen is also expressed by means of a complex web of interrelated comparisons, images, and allusions. Chief among these are the dual similes that assert the resemblance of Dido and Aeneas to the twin deities Diana and Apollo. The theme of mutual identity is implicit not only in the genetic relationship of Diana and Apollo as twins, but also in the similarity between the similes themselves.<sup>93</sup> In addition to being twin brother and sister, Apollo and Diana are also god and goddess of the sun and of the moon respectively. Likewise, Dido and Aeneas too are linked with the moon and the sun: overtly in *Aeneid* 6.453–54, where a simile likens Dido to a fitful moon, but implicitly as well in *Aeneid* 1.490, 1.742, and elsewhere.<sup>94</sup> The figuring of Dido and Aeneas as sister and brother linked to the moon and the sun is enhanced by the same pair of connections linking their historical counterparts, Cleopatra and Antony. Ruling Egypt as de facto king and queen, Antony and Cleopatra belonged to a dynasty in which a tradition of joint rule was reflected in the appellation of king and queen as brother and sister, which they often were in fact as well.<sup>95</sup> It was assured, moreover, that this tradition would continue into the next generation when, in 40 B.C.E., Cleopatra gave birth to twins by Antony, a boy and a girl whom their names explicitly linked to the sun and the moon. The boy was called Alexander Sun. The girl's name was Cleopatra Moon and so replicated not only the mother's name, but also her public self-representation as the moon goddess.<sup>96</sup> From Olympus, therefore, to mythical Carthage to historical Alexandria, the same typologies persist: twin brothers and sisters, either figurative or real, and in each case their connection with the sun and the moon. The metaphor of Dido and Aeneas

91. Pace Horsfall 1990, 134–35. See Pöschl 1962, 69–72; and Otis 1964, 236–37, 265 (“Dido is obviously an *alter Aeneas*”).

92. See Pelling 1988, 17, 190.

93. See Pigoń 1991, p. 47, n. 6; Clausen 1987, p. 134, n. 34; Lewis 1961, 9–10; Pöschl 1962, 67–68.

94. See Weber 1999, 133–34, and the sources cited *ibid.*, nn. 21–23.

95. For sibling marriage among the Ptolemies, see Carney 1987, 435–39; and Hopkins 1980, 311–12.

96. Dio Cass. 50.5, 50.25.

as twin sister and brother is thus enhanced by exact parallels both in heaven and in contemporary history.

From the close resemblance between Dido and Aeneas—existing in fact but expressed for the most part metaphorically—it would follow that if a polarity of opposites is embodied in Dido, the same is likely to be found in Aeneas as well. In Dido, such a duality is present in the contrasting figures of Diana and Venus, and ultimately in the opposed principles that these goddesses represent. Correspondingly, as Diana's chastity competes with Venus' sensuality for domination of Dido's soul,<sup>97</sup> so does Diana's male twin, the god of restraint, coexist with—and, for a time, even succumb to—the god of abandon within the soul of Aeneas. To be sure, the possibility of Aeneas' "being" Marc Antony requires the concomitant possibility of his resembling Antony's divine archetype. At the same time, the Dionysus in Aeneas also corresponds to the Venus in Dido. On the level of the microcosm, Artemisian and Apollonian restraint vies with Venusian and Dionysiac abandon to control the individual psyche of Dido and Aeneas respectively. This conflict within individuals finds a macrocosmic analogue in the historical struggle of West against East, waged by Octavian against Antony, for domination of the Mediterranean world.<sup>98</sup> In short, if the complex of polarities to which Aeneas belongs is to be internally consistent, the Apollo in Aeneas requires a Dionysiac antithesis with which to compete for control. Therefore, among several reasons for there being a Dionysus in Aeneas, the most immediate may be the simple fact that Apollo needs a rival to match the Venus who vies with Apollo's twin sister for the soul of Dido. Indeed, when Dido, Aeneas, and their courtiers assemble in Dido's banqueting hall, if only the roles of guest and host were reversed, it could justly be said—as was said in fact when their historical epigones convened on the Cydnus—that "Aphrodite comes in revelry to the side of Dionysus."<sup>99</sup>

*Kenyon College*

97. The opposing principles represented by Diana and Venus are famously chastity and eros respectively. For a somewhat different view of the antinomy between these goddesses as it applies to Dido, see Hardie 1997, 322. For the same duality embodied in Apollonius' Medea, see Nelis 2001, 128–30.

98. The parallelism between Virgil's microcosm and macrocosm was pointed out long ago in Pöschl 1962, 18; and Otis 1964, 233.

99. Plut. *Ant.* 26.5. For Dido's banquet as prefiguring Cleopatra's entertainment of Antony and his Romans on the Cydnus, see Pelling 2001, 295, 298, and Pelling 1988, 17, 190.

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