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Apollo and Dionysus in Virgil

Introduction: Reading Apollo and Dionysus

The poetry of Virgil constructs a particular relationship between Apollo and Dionysus. In the present article I examine this relationship, which features in the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*. I take into account a variety of relevant contexts, modern as well as ancient, in which Apollo and Dionysus are found together. The pairing of the two gods was well established centuries before Virgil; the two gods were both widely used in the political propaganda of Virgil's lifetime and beyond; and their pairing has been prominent in modern classical scholarship, which affects the ways in which ancient culture is now understood, including those contexts in which the two gods are paired from before and during Virgil's time. Undoubtedly, Nietzsche's visionary 1872 work, *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music* (in German, *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*, and hereinafter *BT*), represents the most critical moment for modern perceptions of the Apollo-Dionysus relationship. Nietzsche argued that the Apollonian and the Dionysian were two contrasting artistic drives which were harmonized in the tragedy of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and in his own day in the music of Wagner. I use Nietzsche's compelling amplification of the Apollo-Dionysus pairing here to articulate a reading of the two gods' relationship in Virgil's poetry. In his *Attempt at Self-Criticism*, appended to the second edition of *BT* (1886), Nietzsche rues that he had not expressed what he had to say in poetry: «What a pity that I did not dare to say what I had to say then as a poet: then I might have managed it!» (§3). My position throughout this paper is that Virgil went part of the way towards saying what Nietzsche had to say in *BT*, working as he did with some of the same source material, and that Nietzsche's Apollo-Dionysus paradigm is therefore a useful heuristic tool in reading Virgil.

My aim is not to debate how 'right' or 'wrong' Nietzsche was about the ancient deities Apollo and Dionysus, though this question has indeed been the subject of dispute since Wilamowitz penned his hostile review within months of *BT*'s publication¹. One of the

¹ It was entitled *Zukunftsphilologie!*. Gründer 1969 reprints the public correspondence between Wilamowitz, Wagner, and Rohde; Serpa 1972 gives these documents in Italian translation; for Wilamowitz's review in English see Babich 2000. For criticism of the Apollo-Dionysus formulations in *BT* see Vogel 1966; in Nietzsche's favour see Lloyd-Jones 1979; Albert Henrichs, who is sympathetic to Nietzsche's undertaking, writes 2004, 125: «To be frank, I do not believe that anything Nietzsche says about the origins of tragedy, about Apollo and Dionysus as polar

harshest critics of *BT* was Nietzsche himself, but also one of the most perspicacious, in the same *Attempt at Self-Criticism*; I quote again from section 3:

To say it once again, today I find it an impossible book – I find it badly written, clumsy, embarrassing, furious and frenzied in its imagery, emotional, in places saccharine to an effeminate degree, uneven in pace, lacking in a will to logical hygiene, a book of such utter conviction as to disdain proof, and even to doubt the *propriety* of proof as such, a book for initiates, ‘music’ for such as are baptized in music, for those are from the very beginning bound together in a strange shared experience of art, a password by means of which blood relations *in artibus* can recognize one another - an arrogant and infatuated book which from the outset sought to exclude the *profanum vulgus* of the ‘educated’ even more than the ‘people’, but which, as its influence proved and continues to prove, must be capable enough of seeking out its fellow infatuated enthusiasts and of luring them in a dance along new secret paths.

In the spirit of Nietzsche’s appreciation of both the book’s flaws and its value, I offer here a reading of Virgil as Nietzsche’s blood brother *in artibus*, drawing on what Silk and Stern call Nietzsche’s «uniquely productive distortion»², his abstraction of the two Greek gods as moral and aesthetic symbols and artistic principles relevant to his own age. A strand in the discussion will be Nietzsche’s pervasive influence on modern culture and scholarship: *BT* has profoundly coloured our perception of Dionysus and Apollo even as we examine their role in the poetry of Virgil, but it and Nietzsche’s later works also had an explosive impact on how Classical scholarship is conducted.

My reading rests on the paradox of using a modern critical and aesthetic paradigm with ancient pedigree to reflect on antiquity itself, or rather on the paradox of using a modern paradigm which, though born from antiquity, adapts and even distorts the ancient media, to reflect not only on antiquity itself, but specifically on the complex from which it arose. To some extent, then, my argument is a test case in methodology, and in the critical value of a healthy and «piquant circularity» between theoretical model and the ancient object of study which is the origin of that theoretical model³.

The present metacritical movement in Classical scholarship recognizes that the disagreement between Nietzsche and Wilamowitz is emblematic of wider debates in liter-

opposites or cultural icons, or about the identity of the suffering Dionysos with the tragic hero stands up to scrutiny». Billings 2009, 267 concludes on Nietzsche’s distortions that we «should understand them, not as sloppiness or as blindness on Nietzsche’s part, but as an attempt to flaunt the conventional, and misleading, assumptions of philology».

² Silk - Stern 1981, 166. See Hunter 2011 for a neo-Nietzschean reading of Euripides’ *Ion*.

³ The phrase in quotation marks is from Duncan Kennedy’s discussion (1993, 15) of the co-dependent relationship between ‘reality’ and its ‘representation,’ or ‘text’ and ‘context’ in Roman love elegy.

ary and cultural criticism⁴. The debate revolves partly around questions of authority: who decides what is an appropriate way to study ancient media? How and why, and in whose interest, are these decisions reached? And what is the basis of the authority of those who decide? But academic opposition to creative distortions which extend the boundaries of a scholarly discipline was hardly a new phenomenon at the time Nietzsche was writing *BT*. Daniel Selden has discussed Wilamowitz's and others' resistance to Nietzsche in the broader historical context of a tension between 'philological' and 'imaginative' criticism that stretches back to the scholarly practices of antiquity itself, at least as far back as the Alexandrian critics⁵. The irony that the mixed reception of *BT* echoes hostility to arrivals of Dionysus in Greek myth will not have escaped Nietzsche. In recent decades, Nietzsche's relationship to classical antiquity has received considerable attention, with particular focus on two related issues: first, the intellectual roots of his later philosophy in his study of the classics – erroneously these phases of his intellectual life had often been considered discrete – and secondly, the influence which his philosophy has exerted through various channels on the study of antiquity: these channels include structuralist, post-structuralist and deconstructionist criticism, and to some extent also psychoanalytic criticism⁶. A fairly consistent emphasis in this literature is that Nietzsche most certainly did not invent (or re-invent) the oppositional pairing of Apollo and Dionysus in modern theory. As Max Baeumer and Barbara von Reibnitz have richly documented, the polarity was ubiquitous in the intellectual culture of the 18th and 19th centuries: in the aesthetic criticism of Winckelmann, Schlegel, and Schelling; in the mythological handbooks of the age, such as those of Creuzer and Welcker; and in intellectual and popular literature⁷. It was the power of Nietzsche's rhetoric and his critical vision that swept aside or at least eclipsed similar formulations of his contemporaries and predecessors. Cornelia Isler-Kerényi has written vividly about how the polarity belonged, «even though in subconscious forms, to the cultural humus of [Nietzsche's] time», and about the «subterranean roots» by which Nietzsche's ideas about an Apollo-Dionysus polarity further infused scholarly and intellectual culture⁸. A few years after the publication of *BT*, Walter Pater published his own essay, *A Study of Dionysus: the Spiritual Form of Fire and Dew*⁹. It is quite plausible that Pa-

⁴ See e.g. Porter 2011, who uncovers a delicious irony in Wilamowitz's many misquotations of *BT* in his review.

⁵ Selden 1990.

⁶ Nietzsche and antiquity: Arrowsmith 1963 and 1973-4; O'Flaherty et al. 1979; Silk - Stern 1981; Henrichs 1984; Selden 1990; Reibnitz 1992; Porter 2000, 2002, and 2011; Bishop ed. 2004; Müller 2005; Isler-Kerényi 2007, 235-254; Billings 2009; and Lecznar 2013.

⁷ Baeumer 1979; Reibnitz 1992.

⁸ Isler-Kerényi 2007, 235; see also Castriota 1995, 118.

⁹ Pater (1876/1895); occasionally throughout this essay I draw on Pater to offer a complementary and contemporary perspective on Nietzsche's view of Apollo and Dionysus.

ter was working quite independently of Nietzsche when he wrote about the Apollonian and Dionysian: «These two tendencies, then, met and struggled and were harmonised in the supreme imagination, of Pheidias, in sculpture – of Aeschylus, in the drama¹⁰. Albert Henrichs has also examined the influence of Nietzsche, often unacknowledged as he saw it in 1984, on the foundational studies of Greek religion by Harrison, Nilsson, Rohde and Guthrie, all of whom worked to a greater or lesser extent with a distinction between the ‘rational’ religion of Apollo and the ‘irrational’ religion of Dionysus¹¹. This distinction even pervades Wilamowitz’s last scholarly book, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, despite the author’s disagreements with Nietzsche, and his general lack of enthusiasm for Dionysus¹². E.R.Dodds’ important 1951 *The Greeks and the Irrational* responds to Nietzsche and to his view of Greek religion¹³.

Further studies have revealed the Nietzschean underpinnings of much modern cultural and aesthetic theory, popular as well as academic. John Carlevale has written about the extensive use of Dionysus and the Apollo-Dionysus pairing in the thought, culture, and particularly the fiction of 1960s America¹⁴. A key figure for his analysis of Dionysus as a symbol of 1960s liberation is Norman O. Brown (whose writings combined Nietzsche and Marx), and he discusses many notable artists and intellectuals including Ayn Rand, William Golding, Saul Bellow, and Richard Schechner. Even those who find that the pairing has been utterly trivialized still find it useful for understanding contemporary experience. Here is an example from Camille Paglia¹⁵:

The Apollonian and the Dionysian, two great western principles, govern sexual personae in life and art. My theory is this: Dionysus is identification, Apollo objectification. Dionysus is the empathic, the sympathetic emotion transporting us into other people, other places, other times. Apollo is the hard, cold separatism of western personality and categorical thought. Dionysus is energy, ecstasy,

¹⁰ Pater 1876/1895, 35; Henrichs 1984, 237-9 examines the possibility that *BT* exerted direct influence on Pater.

¹¹ Henrichs 1984; for Rohde, who wrote in Nietzsche’s defence, but then did not cite *BT* in his *Psyche*, see also Cardew 2004; for Harrison, who acknowledged her admiration for Nietzsche warmly, see also Robinson 2002.

¹² See Wilamowitz 1931-2, II, 66, n. 4 for a sarcastically worded footnote which restates his disagreement with the Apollo-Dionysus polarity. Silk - Stern 1981, 129 express surprise that Wilamowitz returned to the controversy in his autobiography, which they find remarkable for «the rancour towards Nietzsche which after more than half a century (and despite the embarrassment) still found him looking to score points, rather than cultivating an elder statesman’s detachment».

¹³ See Henrichs 1984.

¹⁴ Carlevale 2005 and 2005-6.

¹⁵ Paglia 1990, 96-97.

hysteria, promiscuity, emotionalism – heedless indiscriminateness of idea of practice [...]. In the west, Apollo and Dionysus strive for victory. Apollo makes the boundary lines that are civilization but that lead to convention, constraint, oppression. Dionysus is energy unbound, mad, callous, destructive, wasteful. Apollo is law, history, tradition, the dignity and safety of custom and | form. Dionysus is the *new*, exhilarating but rude, sweeping all away to begin again. Apollo is a tyrant, Dionysus a vandal. Every excess breeds its counterreaction.

It would be difficult to decide where exactly to draw the lines between scholarly (defined in an elitist sense), parascholarly, and popular perceptions of the Apollo-Dionysus pairing. As such the terms of the dispute between Nietzsche and Wilamowitz remain live issues, especially as regards the question of scholarly authority. But one incontrovertible implication of Nietzsche's influence on the scholarship about Greek gods (not to mention on popular conceptions) is that 'Apollo' and 'Dionysus' come to us moderns inflected with Nietzschean undertones, especially when paired. To use a psychoanalytic term, then, recently foregrounded by Oliensis, one might say that Nietzsche informs the «intertextual unconscious» of the modern critical imaginary¹⁶. This is one important reason why Nietzsche cannot be bypassed in a modern study of Apollo and Dionysus in Virgil.

1. *Apollo and Dionysus in Antiquity*

Some of our ancient evidence for perceptions of Apollo and Dionysus and their relationship suggests that we should think carefully before dismissing Nietzsche's formulations or their heuristic value out of hand. As Silk and Stern note, even Wilamowitz admitted towards the end of his life that there was some foundation to Nietzsche's pairing: «Apolline and Dionysiac are aesthetic abstractions like naïve and sentimental poetry in Schiller, and the old gods only supplied sonorous names for the contrast, in which there is some truth, however many trivial stupidities half-educated derivative prattle dishes up with the words¹⁷». It will be useful to glance very selectively at a few of Nietzsche's forerunners to show that the two gods were widely available as versatile symbols with diverse functions. Across various Apollo-Dionysus juxtapositions, a number of different relationships between the two gods come into relief, ranging from a blend of strong or weak contrast and complementarity, to close alignment¹⁸. First, we have a fragment of

¹⁶ Oliensis 2009; for the term's origins see Riffaterre 1987.

¹⁷ In Silk and Stern's translation 1983, 130.

¹⁸ Massa 2006-7 is the most informative and useful discussion of these ancient pairings which I have read; in his *multum in parvo* paper he scrupulously contextualizes a wide range of (mostly Greek) sources from the classical period to late antiquity, material, poetic, and philosophical; most valuably, he illuminates the internal and external rhetoric of the sources considered. Further

Philochorus from the fourth century BCE, which contrasts the styles of the two gods' worship:

Φιλόχορος δέφησιν (*FHG I 387*) ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ [σπένδοντες] οὐκ αἰεὶ διθυραμβοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σπένδωσι, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες.

Ath. *Epit.* XIV628a = *FHG I 387* = *FrGHist.* 328 fr. 172; Kaibel brackets σπένδοντες.

Philochorus says that the ancients did not always sing dithyrambs [when pouring libations], but that when they did pour libations they celebrated Dionysus with drunken revelry, whereas they celebrated Apollo with orderly calm.

Whatever may be the focalization of οἱ παλαιοὶ in this fragment, which is preserved by Athenaeus, whether Philochorus was writing about his own time or earlier, the 4th century is an early explicit testimony for this pairing. It is significant that he is attesting not to some arcane tidbit from the scholarly or philosophical tradition, but commenting on what would have been integral to the actual experience of worshippers. Nietzsche (*BT 8*) similarly contrasts the worship of the two gods; the reader may be amused by the apparent amplification: «The virgins who ceremonially approach the temple of Apollo bearing laurel branches and singing a procession song remain who they are and retain their names as citizens: the dithyrambic chorus is a chorus of people who have been transformed, who have completely forgotten their past as citizens their social position: they have become the timeless servants of their god, living outside all spheres of society¹⁹». The ancient testimony which comes closest to Nietzsche's version is a famous passage from Plutarch's dialogue, *On the E at Delphi* 388e-389b, of which Nietzsche shows knowledge in *BT*²⁰, where Plutarch refers to the fact that both gods are at home in Delphi. Here he contrasts the paian and the dithyramb, and also the iconography of the two gods: a broad-spectrum contrast involving music and imagery as in *BT*:

contributions on the Apollo-Dionysus polarity, sometimes with reference to Nietzsche, include (with emphasis on Greek sources): Otto 1965, 202-208; Silk - Stern 1981, 209-216; Stewart 1982; Burkert 1985, 222; Detienne 1985; Reibnitz 1992, 61-64; Clay 1996; Graf 2009, 169-171; Hardie 2012; and Suárez 2013; (and with emphasis on Roman sources): Immisch 1931; Mannsperger 1973; Kellum 1990, 282-283; Castriota 1995, 106-123; Miller 2009, 26-28; Fuhrer 2011, Sauron 2000, 81s. and 183-189. esp. 375-381; and Cucchiarelli 2012a, to which I return below.

¹⁹ *BT 8*, translation here as throughout, Smith 2000.

²⁰ Henrichs 1984, 222, n. 35.

ἐὰν οὖν ἔρηται τις, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, φήσομεν οὐχὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, ὃ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν. [...] καὶ ἄδουσι τῷ μὲν διθυραμβικὰ μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς πλάνην τινὰ καὶ διαφόρησιν ἐχούσης· «μῆξοβόαν» γὰρ Αἰσχύλος φησὶ «πρέπει διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν σύγκωμον Διονύσω», τῷ δὲ παιᾶνα, τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μούσαν, ἀγήρων τε τοῦτον αἰεὶ καὶ νέον ἐκέεινον δὲ πολυεῖδη καὶ πολύμορφον ἐν γραφαῖς καὶ πλάσμασι δημιουργοῦσι· καὶ ὅλως τῷ μὲν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τάξιν καὶ σπουδὴν ἄκρατον, τῷ δὲ μειγμένην τινὰ παιδιᾶ καὶ ὕβρει καὶ μανίᾳ προσφέροντες ἀνωμαλίαν [...].

So if anyone asks «What do these matters have to do with Apollo?» we will reply that they matter not only to Apollo but also to Dionysus, who has no less a share in Delphi than does Apollo [...] And they sing to Dionysus [τῷ μὲν] dithyrambic songs full of suffering and changes of stage which contain wanderings and dispersal. For Aeschylus says: «it is fitting that the dithyramb, with its mixed cry, should be the revelling companion of Dionysus». But to Apollo [τῷ δὲ] they sing the paian, an orderly and sober music. When they make paintings and statues, Apollo is always ageless and young, while Dionysus has many shapes and forms; to Apollo they attribute uniformity and order and untainted gravity, while to Dionysus an inconsistency mixed with playfulness and boundary-crossing and madness [...].

Massa draws salutary attention to the fact that within the philosophical economy of the dialogue, the wise and aged Ammonius will shortly refute some of the arguments put forward in this passage by a young and ambitious Plutarch, moving the emphasis away from and undermining Plutarch's pairing of the two gods in favour of other configurations²¹. The refutation suggests that while the polarity may be constructed opportunistically, it can just as easily be challenged. Half a millennium before Plutarch's *Pythian dialogues*, Delphi had afforded contexts in which the two gods could be paired in the musical and iconographic spheres. These are especially concentrated in the fourth century, suggesting perhaps the increasing worship of Dionysus in Delphi at this time. Philodamus of Scarphaea's *Paeon to Dionysus* was inscribed on stone along the sacred way leading to the Delphic temple in around 340. A paeon was usually sung to Apollo, and a dithyramb to Dionysus, and so a paeon to Dionysus, one which combines invocations to Paeon and Dionysus, may represent (as it does for Ian Rutherford) a «generic syncretism» which «suggests in turn a religious syncretism²²» The disembodied head of a statue from the west pediment

²¹ Massa 2006-7, 83.

²² Rutherford 2001, 132. For the text see Powell 1925: 165ff., Käppel 1992: 222ff., Stewart 1982, and commentary in Furley - Bremer 2001; the poem intermingles invocations to Paeon and Bacchus.

of the fourth-century Delphic temple of Apollo is now ‘identified’ as that of Dionysus, but it was long identified as Apollo, not least since it undoubtedly resembles many other statues of Apollo (figure 1)²³. In this case the scholarly indeterminacy is a function of the paired gods’ alignment. The two gods are often found paired on pots of the fourth century²⁴. Perhaps the most famous and detailed of these is reproduced in figure 2, a red-figure calyx krater now in the Hermitage Museum which depicts Apollo and Dionysus extending their hands to one another in a gesture of unity over the Delphic *omphalos*. Apollo is recognizable from his laurel, and Dionysus is bearded and holds the thyrsus. Also in the frame are Apollonian tripods and the palm tree, *silenoí* playing the *aulos*, and a maenad with a tambourine. A number of scholars have read this and other such vases in the context of Athens’ political interests in Delphi in the fourth century²⁵. Examples could be multiplied, from tragedy, from Latin literature, and from Greek literature of the imperial period, but the key point which I would like to emphasize is that while none of these instances of the pairing can lay any claim to universality for how we should understand the Apollo-Dionysus relationship in particular, or Greek myth or religion in general, what they do tell us is that the pairing was widely available to ancient thinkers and artists from early on, ready to acquire contextual meaning from its rhetorical function, be that philosophical, religious, ritual, or political. The same malleable symbols were available to Nietzsche, and as we shall see to Virgil.

The instantiation of the pairing most immediate to Virgil and his first readers will have been the prominence of Apollo and Dionysus in the propaganda of the second triumvirate²⁶. From a Nietzschean perspective it would be tempting to imagine a binary system in which Octavian’s Apollo stood in opposition to Antony’s Dionysus, but there are reasons why this temptation should be resisted. Apollo was a particularly contested symbol, used by Brutus at the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE, and early on by Antony as well as by Octavian. Octavian’s first identification as Apollo may have been in 38 BCE, when he allegedly dressed up as the god at a banquet which took place during a food shortage²⁷. The dating of this event is

²³ Stewart 1982; Clay 1996.

²⁴ See Metzger 1951, 177-190.

²⁵ St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum St. 1807. See Stewart 1982, 208; Massa 2006-7, 80; Baringer 2008, 154.

²⁶ For the sources see Immisch 1932; Cerfaux - Tondriau 1957; Mannsperger 1973; Zanker 1988; Pelling 1996; and Fuhrer 2011. Further on the use of Apollo, especially by Octavian, but also by Antony and the Republicans, see Moles 1983; Gosling 1986; Hekster - Rich 2006; Lange 2009; Miller 2009; and Levick 2010. Further on Antony as Dionysus see Scott 1929; Woodman 1983, 213-215; and Smith 2007.

²⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 71; see Osgood 2006, 237-8 and Levick 2010, 203.

contested: Hekster and Rich find that the «evidence for Octavian's association with Apollo before 36 BCE is in fact quite weak»²⁸.

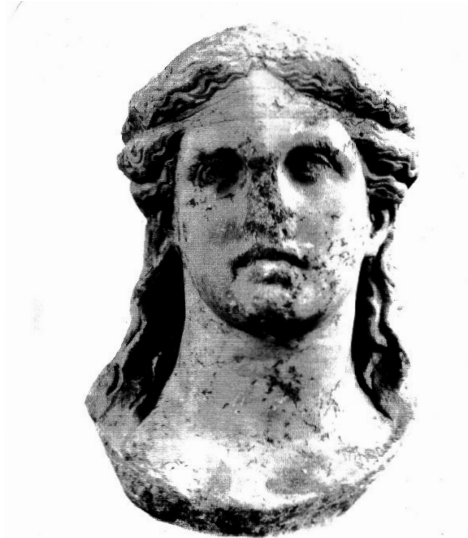


Figure 1 (Stewart 1992, facing page 205)



Figure 2 (Baringer 2008, 154)

²⁸ Hekster - Rich 2006, 160-161, with further bibliography. Louis 2011, 452 speculates that the banquet could have been as late as 32/31, a time of vigorous anti-Octavianic counterpropaganda.

On the other hand, Antony's self-promotion as a New Dionysus is securely dated to as early as 41 BCE, as he enters Ephesus, and he appears to have intensified this identification in the years 39-37²⁹. But there were other gods and heroes in play too: Antony's Dionysus and Octavian's Apollo jostled for position in a polytheistic system alongside Sextus Pompey's Neptune, the Julians' Venus, Antony's Hercules and (in the East) his Osiris, and Cleopatra's Venus and Isis. These alignments sometimes originated in claims of genealogical heritage, but are also to be read more squarely in the tradition of Hellenistic god-ruler associations³⁰. In the 30s BCE Octavian minted coins depicting not only Apollo, but also Venus, Jupiter, Hermes and Victoria³¹. As Renate Schlesier has emphasized recently in a discussion of Dionysus in relation to other gods, the logic of polytheism was, *pace* structuralism, not a binary one³², and so for the diversity of evidence from this period the model used in *BT* is too simplistic: even if in quantitative terms the triumviral propaganda seems dominated by Apollo and Dionysus, they operate in a system of relations with other gods³³.

While Walter Pater's essay does focus on the Apollo-Dionysus polarity, it also examines Dionysus' interactions with Pan, Demeter, Persephone, Hermes, and others. But if we turn from Nietzsche to Pater for a more rounded perspective on polytheism, we may turn back to *BT* for inspiration to read the symbolic use of Dionysus and Apollo in the triumviral period as endowed with an ethical dimension. A number of scholars have in fact seen Octavian's Apollo as a calculated response to Antony's Dionysus³⁴. Even though this may run counter to established chronology (notably the early use of Apollo by the Republicans), and even though no ancient historian appears to have made the ad-

²⁹ See Plut. *Ant.* 24,4 with Pelling 1998, *ad l.* and Pelling 1996, 9-19. Reinhold 1988, 95 on D.C. 50,2 speculates that Antony may have been hailed as a New Dionysus already in the winter of 42/41, while Michel 1967, 126-129 distinguishes between *others* celebrating Antony as Dionysus on his arrival in Ephesus and *his own* adoption of the identity, which he does not see evidenced before 39.

³⁰ Octavian harangues Antony at Appian, *BC* III 2,16, claiming that Julius Caesar had been hesitant about adopting him: Antony's reluctance to exchange Aeneas as a successor for Hercules created doubt in Caesar's mind as to Antony's viability as a successor.

³¹ Pelling 1996; see Cucchiarelli 2012, 240 with further references.

³² Schlesier 2011, xii.

³³ Scholarship which focuses on Nietzsche's 'accuracy' points out that the formulations of *BT* take insufficient account of Greek polytheism, as well as regional diversity. See *e.g.* Reibnitz 1992 and Massa 2006-7, 78. For Nietzsche's own brand of polytheism in *BT* and elsewhere, see Henrichs 2004, who observes (133) that the notes for Nietzsche's lectures on Greek religion in 1875-1876 make no use of the duality of Apollo and Dionysus.

³⁴ References in Miller 2009, 26-8; see also Reinhold 1988, 96; Pelling 1996, 43 («Octavian countered with more comfortable gods, especially Apollo with | his civilized order, discipline, calm and restraint»); Führer 2011, 380. Kienast 1969, 447, with *reff.* on Octavian's cultivation of Apollo «Und speziell der Dionysosverehrung und –imitation des Antonius stellte Oktavian sein eigenes Verhältnis zu Apollon gegenüber».

versarial link, the Apollo-Dionysus pairing does seem to stack up consistently with the perceptions that emerged from the propaganda war about Octavian's classical restraint and abstemiousness as against Antony's Dionysian bibulousness and moral laxity³⁵. These surviving perceptions are testimony to the enduring power of Octavian's counter-propaganda: Antony's identification with Dionysus may have been expedient while he was in the East, but it left him open to the unsympathetic counter-spins of Octavian and his opinion mongers, especially in Italy³⁶.

2. Reading Apollo and Dionysus in the Eclogues

Andrea Cucchiarelli's excellent new commentary on the *Eclogues* gives greater and more judicious prominence than any of its predecessors to the religious propaganda of the triumviral period and the political leaders' use of divine models. His 2012 article, *Ivy and Laurel: Divine Models in Virgil's Eclogues*, presents a synthesis of his arguments on these two gods' roles in the collection, reading them alongside the historical backdrop as well as the literary tradition, but eschewing a narrow or crude allegorical identification of Bacchus with Antony or of Apollo with Octavian³⁷. Cucchiarelli's choice of Apollo and Dionysus arises from their prominence and connectedness in the *Eclogues* rather than any explicit scholarly preoccupation with Nietzsche's constructs³⁸. Their prominence in the *Eclogues* amplifies their presence in Theocritus' *Idylls*, in which they appear at programmatic junctures, though without any special connection between them³⁹. As we shall see, their importance in Virgil's collection owes much to their role as poetic di-

³⁵ See Immisch 1932; Mannsperger 1973; and Zanker 1988. For Octavian's abstemiousness see Suet. *Aug.* 77. For Antony's bibulousness see e.g. Scott 1929 on Antony's *De sua ebrietate*. See Sen. *epist.* 83,25 on Antony's drunkenness and evils, notably his affair with Cleopatra. For a discussion of the co-dependent relationship between Antony's Dionysian persona and literary representations of the life of luxury, especially Propertius, see Griffin 1977.

³⁶ Antony's *De sua ebrietate* (Plin. *nat.* XIV 148) was most probably apologetic. For an example of Octavian's counterpropaganda see D.C. L 25,4 on Antony's having 'gone native' in the East, with reference to his self-identification as Dionysus. Scott 1929, Immisch 1932, and Pelling 1996 remain essential on the religious counterpropaganda, while Scott 1933 is excellent on the mud-slinging and pamphleteering between Antony and Octavian during the years 44-30 (not including the religious propaganda).

³⁷ Cucchiarelli 2012 and 2012a. I am greatly indebted to both of these works, and to the author for allowing me to read 2012a before its publication.

³⁸ Cucchiarelli 2012a, 155, «The result is a specific divine language that is dominated especially by two great gods, Apollo and Dionysus».

³⁹ For example, the ivy on the cup in *Id.* 1,29-31 could be read as Dionysian, and the mysterious stranger of the seventh *Idyll* has been identified as Apollo; see Hunter 1999 *ad l.* For the Apollonian and Dionysian origins of Theocritean pastoral see also Karakasis 2011, 159.

vinities, but also to their symbolic importance in what Zanker calls the «war of images» between Antony and Octavian⁴⁰. The precise dating of the *Eclogues* is a difficult matter, but they will have been composed in the late forties and early thirties BCE, and so early on in the period when Apollo and Dionysus were being vigorously appropriated by political factions⁴¹. A politically engaged collection, the poems should be read as integrally participant in the politico-religious discourse, rather than as passive and merely reflective bystanders⁴². They are quintessentially *triumviral* as distinct from ‘late-Republican’ or ‘Augustan’ poems insofar as they emerge from a time when political circumstances were especially turbulent, and the likely outcome of present power struggles extremely uncertain⁴³. Virgil inherits a pastoral pantheon from Theocritus, which he leaves largely intact⁴⁴. However, in almost the first lines of the collection, Tityrus’ divinization of the *iuuenis* who granted him his freedom hints at the Roman adoption of another Hellenistic practice, the tradition of god-ruler identification. The programmatic force of this key note entails that subsequent references to gods or their attributes (*e.g.* plants or animals) may be charged with contemporary political resonances. *Si canimus siluas, siluae sint consule dignae*, sings the poet at the metapoetically loaded start of the fourth eclogue (4,3), and as we shall see, these *siluae* include plants associated with Apollo and Dionysus. Politicized readings of the *Eclogues* are common, especially of the first and ninth, which frame the collection by addressing the land confiscations and their aftermath, and which dramatically represent the experience of those affected by the upheaval which the land confiscations caused. The pastoral fiction of the *Eclogues* is partly a projection screen which reflects on recent and contemporary history⁴⁵. Apollo and Dionysus are part of its fabric, contributing to Virgil’s vision of the present. Virgilian pastoral resembles the Schillerian concept used by Nietzsche to define the satyr and the idyll of modern poetry as «products of a longing [*Sehnsucht*] for the original and natural⁴⁶». Such a conception of the idyll is essential contrapuntal background for Nietzsche’s discussion of modern opera and its relationship with classical song (*BT* 19), but «longing for the original and natural» would be a fair description of Meliboeus’ sentimental attachment to the turf

⁴⁰ See Zanker 1988, cited, in the original German version, in the second footnote of Cucchiarelli 2012a.

⁴¹ Cucchiarelli 2012, 158, n. 8.

⁴² Osgood 2006 integrates poetic representations, including especially Virgil’s, into his historical analysis alongside epigraphic, historiographical and biographical sources. See also Powell 2008.

⁴³ For this periodization and its implications see the introduction to Nelis and Farrell 2013.

⁴⁴ See Karakasis 2011, 18-19 on the pastoral pantheon.

⁴⁵ See Martindale 1997.

⁴⁶ *BT* 8, with Reibnitz 1992, 204-205 for the Schillerian background.

he has to leave behind, which he represents in idealized terms at 1,46-58⁴⁷. Virgil's idyll is more explicitly and heavily politicized than Nietzsche's: from the anaphora of *patria* in the first lines of the collection (1,3-4) to the intrusion of political buzz words such as *discordia* and *ciuis* (1,71), extending to the emphasis on contemporary political figures such as Pollio, Octavian, and Julius Caesar. Interwoven with these political resonances, some explicit and some implicit, are numerous references, not only to Apollo and Dionysus, but to other divine figures from contemporary religious discourse, such as Venus and Hercules. Let us turn now to examine the central four poems, *Eclogues* 4-7, which juxtapose Apollo and Dionysus in suggestive ways.

Apollo presides over the golden age heralded by the fourth eclogue. This is clear from the reference to Cumaean prophecy in line 4, and confirmed by line 10, *tuus iam regnat Apollo. Tuus... Apollo* might suggest that Apollo is a figure who may be appropriated, but whose is he? The god is mentioned once again towards the end of the poem in line 57 in a catalogue of experts in poetry alongside Pan, Orpheus and Linus. Within this frame of Apollonian references, however, attendant upon the birth of the unnamed child, we find a cluster of Bacchic motifs (18-23):

at tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu
errantis **hederas** passim cum **baccare** tellus
mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet **acantho**. 20
ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
ubera nec magnos metuent armenta leones;
ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.

Ivy, *baccar*, and acanthus are all connected with Dionysus⁴⁸. Nonnus provides parallels for the spontaneous sprouting of flowers around Bacchus' cradle, *nullo munuscula cultu*⁴⁹. There may be a parallel between this cradle and the Dionysian *liknon*. If, as the poet urges, the child smiles at birth (60-64), he will be among but a small number of

⁴⁷ {M.} *Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt | et tibi magna satis, quamuis lapis omnia nudus | limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco: | non insueta grauis temptabunt pabula fetas, | nec mala uicini pecoris contagia laedent. | fortunate senex, hic inter flumina nota | et fontis sacros frigus captabis opacum; | hinc tibi, quae semper, uicino ab limite saepes | Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti | saepe leui somnum suadebit inire susurro; | hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras, | nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes | nec gemere aëria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.*

⁴⁸ Ivy for Bacchus: Eur. *Phoen.* 649-654; Prop. III 3,35; Eur. *Ba.* 31 with Dodds 1960; see also Coleman 1977, 136; Nisbet 1978, n. 79; Karakasis 2011, 66; and Cucchiarelli 2012, 256-257, and 2012a, 161. For Bacchus and acanthus see Castriota 1995.

⁴⁹ Nisbet 1978, 65 and Cucchiarelli 2012, 259 citing Nonn. *D.* VII 344-345 and X 171-174; admittedly Nonnus was writing centuries later, but he had access to the pre-Virgilian literary tradition.

precocious notables to have done so, including Dionysus⁵⁰. These Bacchic associations of the golden age are unprecedented in and therefore conspicuous additions to the Hesiodic prototype, but golden age motifs such as peace, bounteous plenty, and harmony between humans and wild animals do feature in Euripides' *Bacchae* in the beatific representations of Dionysian worship, where women suckle animals, where other women use the *thyrsus* to strike streams of wine and milk from the ground, and where honey drips from another woman's *thyrsus*⁵¹. Cucchiarelli emphasizes the pacific dimensions of the Bacchic experience and his reading of the commingling of Apollonian and Dionysian elements in these poems is conciliatory: the fusion points to the possibility of harmonizing political factions which might previously have seemed irreconcilable⁵²:

This deliberate syncretism between two divine models reflects, I think, the particular moment of political equilibrium that the diplomatic action of Pollio helped to bring about. Or, rather, Virgil, when he wants to prophesy a world of peace, founded on the agreement between the East of Antony and the West of Octavian, has recourse to images that could express such agreement in mythical terms.

Nietzsche offers a less explicitly political synthesis of Apollonian, Dionysian, and Golden Age elements. Doubtless with reference to the golden age scenario in the *Bacchae*, he celebrates Dionysus' golden age credentials at the beginning of *BT* (1), invoking the connection between man and nature which is renewed in the worship of Dionysus: «Under the spell of the Dionysian it is not only the bond between man and man which is re-established [...]. The earth voluntarily gives up its spoils while the predators of cliffs and desert approach meekly. The chariot of Dionysus overflows with flowers and wreaths: beneath its yoke tread the panther and the tiger [...]. Now the slave is a free man, now all the inflexible and hostile divisions which necessity, caprice, or 'impudent fashion' have established between men collapse». Nietzsche's mythic imagination envisages political harmony and the liberation of slaves within a complex of golden age and Dionysian imagery, almost as though Dionysus' status as liberator entailed that liberation and harmony were the logical and necessary outcome of a Dionysian state. Nietzsche's vision may prompt us to look beyond the *Eclogues*' concerns with concord to the representation of the master-slave relationship, which comes across in sharpest focus in Tityrus' narrative of his encounter with the *iuuenis*, Octavian (1,41-46)⁵³:

⁵⁰ Nisbet 1978, 70 and Coleman 1977, 149, each with further examples.

⁵¹ Eur. *Ba.* 699-711; see Segal 1982, index s.v. 'Golden Age.'

⁵² Cucchiarelli 2012a, 162; see also 2012, 241.

⁵³ Cf. also Tityrus at 1,32, *nec spes libertatis erat nec cura peculi*.

Quid facerem? neque **seruitio** me exire licebat
 nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere diuos.
 hic illum uidi iuuenem, Meliboee, quotannis
 bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.
 hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti: 45
 «pascite ut ante boues, pueri; summittite tauros».

Even if there are notes of political harmony in the collection, other passages, notably the whole of the first and the beginning of the ninth eclogue, afford glimpses of powerplay.

An ecumenical tale may also be told about Bacchus and Apollo in the fifth *Eclogue*⁵⁴. Here, however, the divine cast is more extensive, including a number of other rustic gods: Ceres, Pan, and the Nymphs, along with Pales, the Dryads, and after his apotheosis, Daphnis. The first three of these feature in Pater's bucolic landscape, and it is fair to say that Pater's low-key representation of joyful Dionysian worship and of Dionysus as a god of the vine and the countryside is much more in tune with the representation of the god in the *Eclogues*, and indeed with Roman religion in general, than is Nietzsche's ecstatic and exalted vision. In the first song Mopsus celebrates Daphnis' devotion to Bacchus and notes that Apollo mourned his passing (29-35):

Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris
 instituit; Daphnis thiasos inducere **Bacchi**, 30
 et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.
 [...]

postquam te fata tulerunt,

 ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit **Apollo**. 35

The Bacchic references in lines 29-31 are conspicuous for their addition of the vine to the Theocritean (or pseudo-Theocritean) model, 8,79-80⁵⁵, and in the literary tradition Daphnis has many other Dionysian associations⁵⁶. Menalcas' song responds to the mourning of Mopsus' song with joyful celebration of the apotheosis of Daphnis, and in contrast to the pathetic fallacy of Mopsus' song, a golden age scenario obtains in lines 60-64:

nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia ceruis 60
 ulla dolum meditantur: amat bonus otia Daphnis.

⁵⁴ See Simon 1962, 149-153 on the fusion of Apollo and Dionysus in the fifth eclogue.

⁵⁵ τᾷ δρυϊ ταὶ βάλανοι κόσμος, τᾷ μαλιδι μάλα, | τᾷ βοῖ δ' ἄ μόσχος, τῷ βουκόλῳ αἱ βόες αὐταί.

⁵⁶ Karakasis 2011, 160, and Cucchiarelli 2012, 288-289 and 285-286, who both suggest that the poem's setting in a grotto (*antrum*) could be Dionysian.

ipsi laetitia uoces ad sidera iactant
 intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
 ipsa sonant arbusta: «Deus, deus ille, Menalca!».

This joyous and peaceful scenario recalls motifs from Apollo's golden age in the fourth eclogue, which were closely intertwined with the Bacchic motif of the sprouting cradle (4,8-10, 21-5):

tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
 desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
 casta faue Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo. 10
 [...]
 ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
 ubera nec magnos metuent armenta leones;
 ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.
 occidet et serpens et fallax herba ueneni
 occidet; Assyrium uulgo nascetur amomum. 25

Also in Menalcas' song the Dionysian Daphnis is to be worshipped alongside Apollo (65-66):

sis bonus o felixque tuis! en quattuor aras: 65
 ecce duas tibi, **Daphni**, duas altaria **Phoebo**.

Once again, comparison with the Theocritean model, *Id.* 26,5-6, brings into relief a connection between Apollo and Dionysus via Daphnis⁵⁷. Daphnis and Apollo have been substituted for Dionysus and Semele, but in Virgil's version both honorands have an equal number of altars⁵⁸. Daphnis is distinguished from Bacchus in lines 79-80:

ut Baccho Cererique, tibi [*sc.* Daphnidi] sic uota quotannis
 agricolae facient: damnabis tu quoque uotis.

Despite this, he retains his Dionysian associations from the first song (esp. 29-31) as well as his connection with Apollo⁵⁹. Though rarely indulgent of historical allegory,

⁵⁷ Nine altars for Dionysus and three for his mother Semele: ἐν καθαρῷ λειμῶνι κάμον δυοκαίδεκα βωμῶς, | τῶς τρεῖς τᾶ Σεμέλα, τῶς ἐννέα τῶ Διονύσῳ.

⁵⁸ Karakasis 2011, 176-7; Cucchiarelli 2012, 310-312. Castriota 1995, 112 points out that Daphnis' name (*daphné*) also connects him to Apollo; see also Peraki-Kyriakidou 2010, 566-567.

⁵⁹ Cucchiarelli 2012a, 166 stresses further Dionysian motifs in Menalcas' song at 5,69-80.

Servius endorses the identification of Daphnis as Julius Caesar, and it is very difficult to imagine that such a reading would not have occurred to a contemporary reader of a poem about Daphnis' *crudele funus* and apotheosis. Supporting 'evidence' for Servius (5,29) is the otherwise unattested tradition that Caesar had introduced the rites of Bacchus to Rome: *hoc aperte ad Caesarem pertinet, quem constat primum sacra Liberi patris transtulisse Romam*⁶⁰. Clearly this originates in the tradition of Bacchus as a culture hero, and it is as a civilizer of the world that he is invoked as a near-comparand for Augustus at *Aeneid* VI 804-805⁶¹. When Julius Caesar is recalled by the mention of the *Caesaris astrum* in the ninth eclogue, his role is that of a beneficent spirit who makes the crops grow, the aspect of Dionysus which Pater emphasizes most:

«**Daphni**, quid antiquos signorum suspicis ortus?
 ecce **Dionaei** processit Caesaris astrum,
 astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
 duceret apricis in collibus uua colorem.
 insere, Daphni, piros: carpent tua poma nepotes». 50

Daphnis in line 46 looks back to Daphnis in the fifth eclogue, validating the suggestion of historical allegory, but as in the fifth eclogue it could also imply Apollo (<*daphne*>); and while 'Dionaei' (line 47) is a matronymic of Venus, the ancestress of the *Gens Iulia*, it could also point to Dionysus. A fusion of Apollonian and Dionysian elements in and around Julius Caesar could point to the possibility of a fruitful and beneficent union between those who quarreled over the mantle of Caesar after his death⁶².

If the play of characters in the fourth and fifth eclogues points to the chance of harmony between factions, tentatively suggesting the political ramifications of a coalescence of Apollonian and Dionysian elements, the focus of the sixth eclogue seems more narrowly poetic and poetological. As with the fourth eclogue, the poem is framed by references to Apollo, cast as a directing agent, with interplay of Dionysian content in between. Cynthian Apollo begins by imposing restrictions, chastising the poet for singing

Peraki-Kyriakidou 2010, 574 sees Daphnis as both a type and a successor of Dionysus whose name represents the Apollonian and thus Callimachean spirit.

⁶⁰ See Jones 1961 for Servius' chariness of historical allegory. On Caesar's supposed introduction of the rites of Bacchus to Rome see Pailler 1988, 728-723, DuQuesnay 1976-7, and Turcan 1977.

⁶¹ In the scribblings of a mental breakdown, Nietzsche would sign himself off with such aliases as Caesar and Dionysus; see Henrichs 1984, 220.

⁶² See Cuchiarelli 2012, 308 and 2012a, 166: «Perhaps *Ecl.* 5 links such a unity to the authoritative figure of the "father" Julius Caesar: that is, to a time when Octavian and Antony had not yet begun to compete for the political and divine inheritance of *Diuus Iulius*».

about *reges et proelia*, and harking back to Apollo in Callimachus' *Aetia* prologue; the bulk of the poem is then taken up with the song of a hungover Silenus, «the hierophant of the Dionysiac mysteries»⁶³, who ranges through an unfettered diversity of poetic subjects, including the Apollonian poetic initiation of Virgil's contemporary Gallus; finally and mysteriously we learn that in fact Apollo was the author of the song which Silenus sang (3-5, 13-15, 64-66, 82-84):

cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
uellit et admonuit: «pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ouis, deductum dicere carmen».

[...]

Pergite, Pierides. Chromis et Mnasyllus in **antro
Silenum** pueri somno uidere iacentem,
inflatum hesterno uenas, ut semper, **Iaccho**;

[...]

tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum,
utque uiro **Phoebi** chorus adsurrexerit omnis;

[...]

omnia, quae **Phoebo quondam meditante** beatus
audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere laurus,
ille canit [...].

Modern criticism has interpreted the eclogue in Nietzschean terms. In Michael Putnam's view «The poem as a whole is a fluctuation between – and ultimately a combination of – Dionysiac emotionality and Apolline order»⁶⁴. A.J. Boyle identifies in the poem's poetic ideal «the fertile union of Bacchus and Apollo, emotionality and thought, daimonic inspiration and controlling, ordering intellect»⁶⁵. Thus, for Boyle, «the significance of the binding scene (*E.* 6.18-26) is transparent: Silenus' Bacchic inspiration and poetic energy have to be fettered, i.e. controlled, before he can produce the ideal *deductum carmen*». The possible etymological nod in Silenus' words, *soluite me pueri* (6,24) to Dionysian loosening, λύειν, would support this view⁶⁶, which sees Apollo as a sponsor of Callimachean poetic order. Clifford Weber documents literary-critical resonances in many of the words used to describe Silenus, convincingly arguing for an

⁶³ Rostovtzeff 1927, 74; on Silenus' Bacchic credentials see Cucchiarelli 2012, 334 and Peraki-Kyriakidou 2010, 576-577, who notes that Dionysus was born in an *antrum* (13). At his first appearance in *BT* (3) he is the attendant (*Begleiter*) of Dionysus.

⁶⁴ Putnam 1970, 218.

⁶⁵ Boyle 1986, 24, citing Segal 1969, 420 and Putnam 1970, 201-203, 217-218 esp. 218.

⁶⁶ Cucchiarelli 2012, 337-338.

antithesis between Gallus' *ars* and Silenus' *ingenium*⁶⁷. As Cucchiarelli has noted⁶⁸, we are in the realm of the ancient antithesis between wine drinkers and water drinkers, one which has a long history, along with the idea that a mixture of wine and water is an ideal combination⁶⁹. It is worth noting that at least one scholar has suggested a contrast between Apollonian and Dionysian styles of poetic composition in the *Aetia* prologue to which the sixth eclogue is closely related⁷⁰.

But if Virgil's light-hearted binding and loosening of Silenus provokes an object lesson in the poetic creed to which Virgil will faithfully adhere throughout his poetic career, Nietzsche gives us a macabre version of the binding scene near the beginning of *BT* (3) which comes close to summing up his pessimistic view of the Greek experience of life. Midas asks Silenus to reveal the secret of «what is the very best and most preferable of all things for man», to which the bound Silenus replies: «Miserable ephemeral race, children of chance and toil, why do you force me to tell you what it is best for you not to hear? The very best of all things is completely beyond your reach: not to have been born, not to *be*, to be *nothing*. But the second best thing for you is – to meet an early death»⁷¹. Silenus' sombre wisdom becomes a leitmotif in *BT*, which in its second edition was entitled *Die Geburt der Tragödie oder Griechenthum und Pessimismus* (1886). Indeed Silenus' pessimistic dictum is something which had attracted Nietzsche's scholarly attention prior to the publication of *BT*, and it became an essential elements in his later philosophy⁷².

The amoebean exchange between Corydon and Thyrsis in the seventh eclogue contains the densest concentration of references to Apollo and Dionysus in the collection. Scholarship on the eclogue is dominated by the question of why Corydon defeated Thyrsis, and some have read the poem as a touchstone for understanding the whole

⁶⁷ Weber 1978, 55, commenting on Silenus' wine drinking, *inflatus, grauis, attrita, senex*, and *hesterno*.

⁶⁸ Cucchiarelli 2012a, 167.

⁶⁹ The primary testimonies to the antithesis include the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*; Antipater of Thessalonica, *AP XI* 20; and Hor. *ep.* I 19, 6 *uinosus Homerus*; see Gale in Hardie - Gillespie 2009, 70-74; for Horace see Batinsky 1990-1991. For the history of mixing wine and water, see Hunter - Russell 2011, 80-81 on Plut. *Aud. Poet.* who cite Plat. *Lg.* VI 773d (the mixing bowl metaphor) and Stoicizing allegorical comments on the Lycurgus story in *Il.* VI. Cf. the epigram ascribed to Goethe: *Wasser allein macht stumm, / Das zeigen im Bach die Fische; / Wein allein macht dumm, / Siehe die Herren am Tische; / Da ich keins von beiden will sein, | Trink' ich Wasser mit Wein.*

⁷⁰ The sweet song (λιγὺς ἤχος) of the cicada is contrasted with the ass's bray (θόρυβος) at *Aet.* fr. 1,29-30 Pf.; Ambühl 1995 marshals evidence which associates the cicada with Apollo and the donkey with Dionysus.

⁷¹ Aristotle fr. 44 Rose (from *Eudemus* or Περὶ ψυχῆς), on which see Davies 2004, 682-683, with reference to Nietzsche. See also Porter 2002, 217 and 421.

⁷² See Reibnitz 1992, 127-130.

book⁷³. Apollo and Bacchus are mentioned directly by cult titles (Phoebus, Liber), and evoked indirectly through the mention of an associated deity or attribute⁷⁴. The distribution is significant, as there is a distinct pattern. I quote here most of the exchange, with the Apollonian and Dionysian references in bold type (1-40, 57-70):

{C.} Nymphae noster amor Libethrides, aut mihi carmen,
 quale meo Codro, concedite (proxima **Phoebi**
 uersibus ille facit) aut, si non possumus omnes,
 hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu. 25

{T.} Pastores, **hedera** crescentem ornate poetam,
 Arcades, inuidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro;
 aut, si ultra placitum laudarit, **baccare** frontem
 cingite, ne uati noceat mala lingua futuro.

{C.} Saetosi caput hoc apri tibi, **Delia**, paruus
 et ramosa Micon uiuacis cornua cerui. 30

si proprium hoc fuerit, leui de marmore tota
 puniceo stabis suras euincta **coturno**.

{T.} Sinum lactis et haec te **liba**, **Priape**, quotannis
 expectare sat est: custos es pauperis horti. 35

nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu,
 si fetura gregem supplauerit, aureus esto.

{C.} Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,
 candidior cycnis, **hedera** formosior alba,
 cum primum pasti repetent praesepia tauri,
 si qua tui Corydonis habet te cura, uenito. 40

[...]

{T.} Aret ager, uitio moriens sitit aëris herba,
Liber pampineas inuidit collibus umbras:
 Phyllidis aduentu nostrae nemus omne uirebit,
 Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri. 60

{C.} **Populus Alcidae gratissima**, **uitis Iaccho**,
formosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebos;
 Phyllis amat corylos: illas dum Phyllis amabit,
nec myrtus uincet corylos, nec laurea Phoebi.

⁷³ See Fantazzi - Querbach 1985, who engage with previous readings by Paratore and Pöschl.

⁷⁴ Associated deities: Delia (29), the sister of Apollo; Priapus (33), the son or otherwise an associate of Bacchus; attributes: *hedera* (25, 38), *baccar* (27), *pampineas* (58), Dionysian plants; *coturno* (32), Dionysus' tragic buskin; indeed line 32, which is modelled on Laeuus fr. 16,5 Schauer = 32,1 Morel, is very closely echoed at *Aen.* I 337, where *coturnus* has metapoetic significance, on which see Harrison 1972-3; *liba* alongside Priapus (34) may point to *Liber*, as it does at *georg.* II 394, the sacrifice of the goat in honour of Bacchus.

{T.} Fraxinus in siluis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis, 65
 populus in fluuiis, abies in montibus altis:
 saepius at si me, Lycida formose, reuisas,
 fraxinus in siluis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis.
 {M.} Haec memini, et uictum frustra contendere Thyrsin.
 ex illo Corydon Corydon est tempore nobis. 70

Corydon begins by invoking the Nymphs and appealing to Phoebus Apollo (22); Thyrsis, whose name recalls the Dionysian *thyrsus*, responds with an appeal to the shepherds to crown him with ivy (25); he further mentions *baccar* (27), which along with ivy we identified as Dionysian in the fourth eclogue. Ostensibly it would appear that Corydon has allied himself with Apollo and that Thyrsis has adopted Bacchus in response. In search of reasons for Corydon's victory over Thyrsis (69-70), scholars have offered stylistic evaluations, arguing that Corydon's pure, even, and Apollonian (and/or Callimachean) style trumped Thyrsis' more boisterous and abandoned Dionysian aesthetic⁷⁵. Thyrsis is certainly brusque and obtuse in comparison to Corydon (compare, for example, Corydon's modest *si non possumus omnes*, with Thyrsis' *ornate... inuidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*), but tone aside, it is difficult to sustain a stylistic distinction throughout the whole exchange. In addition, Apollo and Dionysus are both gods of poetic inspiration, and as such often paired⁷⁶, and it is hardly to be imagined that an ancient poet would subordinate one to the other in a poetic contest. Ancient biographical criticism saw Corydon's victory over Thyrsis as representing Octavian's victory over Antony at Actium⁷⁷. Such an allegorical interpretation is anachronistic, or it credits Virgil with the gift of prophecy, since the battle of Actium happened at least several years after the composition of this poem, but it does accord well with the agonistic form of the amoeban song. But a more obvious challenge to the binary 'Apollo versus Bacchus' reading is that the 'Apollonian' Corydon makes several reference to Bacchus too. He cites the *coturnus* (32) at the end of his second quatrain, as if to observe that Thyrsis had responded to his own Apollo by an appeal to Bacchus, and he cites *hedera* (38) in his third quatrain, as if to deny Thyrsis any exclusive possession of his assumed divine patron. Recent critics have focussed especially on Corydon's last quatrain, 61-64, in which he not only invokes a wide range of gods from the pastoral pantheon, but as Cucchiarelli stresses, by linking

⁷⁵ See Sullivan 2002, Peraki-Kyriakidou 2010, and Karakasis 2011, 55-57, 65 for a doxographically rich discussion, with stylistic emphases, of why Corydon wins; see also Cucchiarelli 2012, 373-375 and 2012a, 169-170.

⁷⁶ Karakasis 2011, 68 cites Call. *Iamb.* 1; Tib. III 4,43-44; Prop. III 2,9; Ou. *ars* III 347-348; Hor. *carm.* I 32,9-13.

⁷⁷ See Starr 1995, esp. 134-135 for this and competing historical readings.

gods with plants, he shows that he is adept in using the rhetoric of divine models⁷⁸. The gods are among those that feature in the triumviral propaganda: Hercules, Bacchus, Venus, and Apollo, each with their signature plant. Thyrsis responds, almost as if to seal his loss, referring to plants and trees only, with no sensitivity to their religious dimension, seemingly unaware that if we are to sing of woods, then these woods should be worthy of a consul, and thus unaware of his own inferior political sophistication.

I would suggest that the seventh eclogue mirrors the politics of the age in more ways than through its agonistic form. With reference to the divine models used in the propaganda of the second triumvirate, Pelling remarks that Octavian had more gods in his armoury than Antony: «If the gods were taking sides, no one could doubt which divine entourage was the weightier»⁷⁹. It is noteworthy that the four gods mentioned by Corydon in his last quatrain were all in Octavian's entourage by the later 20s BCE (Venus and Apollo much earlier), and all are on the Trojan side in the *Aeneid*⁸⁰. Most remarkably, Octavian came to appropriate the imagery and symbolism of Bacchus-Liber, divesting him of the associations which had accrued under Antony, as a number of scholars have documented. Alden Smith has charted this process with particular reference to book two of the *Georgics*, putting his argument in the context of the triumviral propaganda⁸¹. A number of contributions on Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* have examined how the poet uses Bacchus to negotiate the transition from the politics of civil war to integration into the new imperial regime⁸². On the art-historical register David Castriota has told a similar story, culminating in the mixture of Apollonian and Dionysian images on the *Ara Pacis*⁸³; while Stéphanie Wyler has examined the careful integration of Dionysus in private art, such as in the Frescos from the 'Auditorium of Maecenas' and art in various media from the Villa Farnesina, which may have belonged to Agrippa⁸⁴. Plutarch's story about the supposed desertion of Antony by Dionysus after the Battle of Actium fits into this narrative, whether or not it was invented and circulated by Octavian's counterpropaganda-mongers⁸⁵. We see a similar politics of appropriation in Corydon's choice of

⁷⁸ Karakasis 2011, 66-69; Cucchiarelli 2012, 375, 401, 2012a, 171-173.

⁷⁹ Pelling 1996, 44.

⁸⁰ This needs no defence for Hercules, Venus, or Apollo; for Bacchus in the *Aeneid* see below.

⁸¹ Smith 2007.

⁸² On Horace see Betinsky 1990-91; Schiesaro 2009; Feldherr 2010; and Giusti 2014.

⁸³ Castriota 1995.

⁸⁴ Wyler 2005, 2006, and 2013.

⁸⁵ See Fuhrer 2011, 387, Scott 1929; the passage runs: «During this night, it is said, about the middle of it, while the city was quiet and depressed through fear and expectation of what was coming, suddenly certain harmonious sounds from all sorts of instruments were heard, and the shouting of a throng, accompanied by cries of Bacchic revelry and satyric leaping, as if a troop of revellers, making a great tumult, were going forth from the city; and their course seemed to

divine idiom. It is pleasing to think that Octavian, the *iuuenis* of the first *Eclogue*, may have learned something from Corydon of the seventh. As Barbara Levick puts it in her recent book on Augustus, «This is the man who wanted to be identified with Apollo, but who did not shrink from allowing other identifications, even with deities associated with his rivals, appropriating Hercules, Antony’s ancestor, and even his special patron Dionysus»⁸⁶. Interestingly, Pater includes a passing reference to Augustus visiting the tomb of Dionysus in Pangaeus in Thrace⁸⁷.

3. Reading Apollo and Dionysus in the Aeneid

The Dionysian remains a leitmotif right up to the end of Nietzsche’s philosophical career and personal journey, deepening and developing in meaning and complexity⁸⁸. Something similar could be claimed of Virgil, though on a smaller scale. In Nietzsche’s case Apollo fades into the background after *BT*, while for Virgil he continues to feature, briefly in the *Georgics* and ever more prominently in the *Aeneid*. The remainder of this article will look at the interactions of Apollo and Dionysus in the epic.

When P. Vergilius Maro turned to compose heroic epic he naturally looked to the Homeric poems for inspiration, and he may have smiled on reading his own name in book IX of the *Odyssey*, at line 197:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κρίνας ἐτάρων δυοκαίδεκ' ἀρίστους	195
βῆν· ἀτὰρ αἶγεον ἄσκον ἔχον μέλανος οἴνοιο,	
ἠδέος, ὃν μοι δῶκε Μάρων, Εὐάνθεος υἱός,	
ἱρεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, δὲ Ἴσμαρον ἀμφιβεβήκει,	
οὐνεκά μιν σὺν παιδι περισχόμεθ' ἠδὲ γυναικί	
ἄζόμενοι· ᾤκει γὰρ ἐν ἄλσει δενδρήεντι	200
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος.	

but I chose twelve of the best of my companions and went off. Indeed I had a goat-skin of the dark, sweet wine, which Maro, son of Euanthes, had given

lie about through the middle of the city toward the outer gate which faced the enemy, at which point the tumult became loudest and then dashed out. Those who sought the meaning of the sign were of the opinion that the god to whom Antony always most likened and attached himself was now deserting him». Plut. *Ant.* 75,3-4, tr. Perrin. On Octavian/Augustus and Bacchus see also Becher 1976, Schmitzer 1990,147-166, and Fuhrer 2011.

⁸⁶ Levick 2010, 14-15.

⁸⁷ Pater 1895, 39; this may be a misunderstanding of Suet. *Aug.* 94, in which Octavius, Octavian’s natural father, receives an oracle at an altar of Liber in Thrace; see Louis 2010, 534 and Becher 1976, 94-6.

⁸⁸ See Jaggard in Bishop 2004.

me, the **priest of Apollo**, the god who protected Ismarus, since we had spared him together with his child and his wife, out of respect: for he was living in the wooded grove of **Phoebus Apollo**⁸⁹.

In the lines that follow, Homer/Odysseus lingers over the description of the wine and its special properties, emphasizing it for the audience, as it will soon be instrumental in befuddling Polyphemus. Scholars searching for the roots of an Apollo-Dionysus pairing in Greek culture located it in this passage, reading ‘Dionysus’ under ‘wine’ through association, not least since Homer and Hesiod recognized wine as the gift of Dionysus, a charm for mortals (*Il.* XIV 325, *Op.* 612-614), and since other Greek authors, from Hesiod onwards, had connected Maron with Dionysus⁹⁰. Picking up on these traditions, and again of special interest to Virgil, a dramatic fragment of Ennius refers to a Thracian temple built by Maro and dedicated to Liber: *o terra T<h>r<a>eca ubi Liberi fanum inclutum | Maro locauit<t>*⁹¹. Virgil could have seen himself reflected in his namesake in Homer and the later tradition, a fusion of Apollonian and Dionysian, as he set about composing his epic⁹².

Dionysus does not feature prominently in the Homeric poems. Until the decipherment of Dionysus’ name on Linear B tablets, his near-absence from Homer was generally ascribed to his widely assumed ‘late’ arrival in the Greek pantheon; this assumption, now untenable, was informed by the stories of his arrival and rejection, such as we find in Euripides’ *Bacchae*.⁹³ Emily Kearns has suggested that his low profile in Homer may be because he did not lend himself to heroic treatment⁹⁴. Malcolm Davies has argued that Dionysus would have been difficult to accommodate since his cult offered release

⁸⁹ Raper 1913, 14 suggests that Maron will have struck Virgil since it was his own name. Miller 2009, 162 n. 153 calls this «an astonishing bit of psychohistory» and cites Warde Fowler 1913. On the Maron episode as early evidence of the Apollo-Dionysus pairing see Suárez 2013, 74-77.

⁹⁰ The Hesiodic catalogue (fr. 238 M. - W.) gives Maron as a grandson or great-grandson of Dionysus. In Euripides’ reworking of this explanation at *Cyclops* 139-142, Odysseus calls the wine *πῶμα Διονύσου* and once again gives Maron as its donor, this time calling him *παῖς θεοῦ* (141) and *ὁ Βακχίου παῖς* (143); cf. Seaford 1984, 128. See Eustathius on the *Iliad* I 333.40 (van der Valk). The scholars in question were Newcomer 1907 and Guthrie 1952, 46 (see also Guthrie 1950); neither declared a debt to Nietzsche, but both were influenced by him through Harrison and Rohde, whom they cite.

⁹¹ *Inc.* 167 Manuwald (=388-389 Vahlen, 352-353 Jocelyn).

⁹² Ennius himself only write epic when drunk (*Hor. epist.* I 19,7).

⁹³ See e.g. Rohde 1950, Ch. 9 «Dionysiac Religion in Greece». Pater 1895, 29 assumes that Dionysus was a late arrival while Nietzsche works throughout with the primordial existence of both tendencies, the Apollonian and the Dionysian (e.g. *BT* 4).

⁹⁴ Kearns 2004.

from mortality, and that his presence would accordingly have undermined the absolute boundary between life and death that is so fundamental to Homer's tragic vision of heroism⁹⁵. But some of Dionysus' appearances in the Homeric poems are significant. In the Lycurgus story in *Iliad* VI, he serves to mark for Diomedes the boundary between man and god; while we learn in *Odyssey* XXIV that he gave Thetis the two-handled golden urn in which the bones of Achilles and Patroclus were placed⁹⁶. The maenadic metaphor applied to Andromache is striking, if fleeting. In book VI she begins to grieve prospectively for Hector, *μαινομένη ἔϊκυῖα* (VI 389), which is echoed when she runs outside after his death, *μαινάδι ἴση* (XXII 460)⁹⁷. Some scholars have posited intertextuality between the *Iliad* and 'Dionysian' texts. Martin West has recently detected traces of the *Iliad* in the first and fragmentary Homeric hymn to Dionysus⁹⁸, while Christos Tsagalis has amplified to their loudest the Dionysian references, including the maenadic metaphor applied to Andromache, by arguing for allusion to the Theban cycle in the *Iliad*⁹⁹. This subtle Dionysian presence and the delicate intertextual connections between Homer and Dionysian poems could provide a basis for reading the presence of Dionysus in the archetypal epic under erasure. As Michael Silk puts it, «From the epic we would never dream of the power exercised over ordinary people in all periods of Greek history by mystery religion, by the 'chthonic' powers of the soil, or the realms beneath the soil, by everything that Nietzsche called the 'Dionysiac' in contradistinction to Homer's 'Apollonian' pantheon [...]. The popular cults offered mystical hope or comfort, they paid less heed to social distinctions, they might even subvert them. Religion is central to the *Iliad*, and the tacit suppression of these cults is central to the poem's religious orientation»¹⁰⁰. Nietzsche's forerunner Friedrich Creuzer had little difficulty seeing the Dionysian in Homer. He detected in Lycurgus' persecution of Dionysus in *Iliad* VI a possible reflection of Lycian Apollo's hostility to Dionysus, and cited this as evidence for the old antithesis between the two gods¹⁰¹. When Chryses calls on Apollo at the beginning of the *Iliad* (I 39), addressing him by his cult-title Smintheus, it is not lost on anyone familiar with Rhodian cultic worship that this title was shared between Apollo and Dionysus, and that they also shared a festival, the Smintheia¹⁰². Out of context

⁹⁵ Davies 2000.

⁹⁶ *Il.* VI 132, *Od.* XXIV 74; see Privitera 1970; Taisne 1976 and Heslin 2005 for Bacchic motifs surrounding Statius' Achilles in the *Achilleid*.

⁹⁷ On the maenadic metaphor in Homer see Seaford 1994, 336.

⁹⁸ West 2011.

⁹⁹ Ch. 1 of Tsagalis 2008 is entitled «Ἀνδρομάχη μαινομένη: The Dionysiac Element in the *Iliad*».

¹⁰⁰ Silk 2004, 27.

¹⁰¹ Creuzer 1820, III, 156ff. For allusion to the Lycurgus myth in the *Aeneid* see Casali 2005.

¹⁰² Morelli 1959, 41-42, 122-124, Detienne 2001.

and depending on one's hermeneutic horizons, «Sminthian one» could be an appeal to Dionysus. The interactions between Apollo and Dionysus which became pointed in the classical period and later can, then, be read back into Homer. Virgil's allusion in the *Aeneid* to the maenadic metaphor suggests that he recognizes Homer's Dionysian energy to exploit and magnify it in the *Aeneid* across various characters and plot movements.

In his history of early Greek literature, Nietzsche extended the Apollo-Dionysus polarity to embrace Homer and Archilochus, the archetypal Apollonian and Dionysian poets, one epic and one lyric, one objective, the other purely subjective (*BT*, Ch. 3, 5). In Nietzsche's vivid representation, the drunken Archilochus is touched in his sleep by Apollo's laurel¹⁰³: «The sleeping poet, enchanted by Dionysian music, now begins as it were to spray sparkling images around him, lyrical poems which at the height of their development are called tragedies and dramatic dithyrambs» (*BT* 5). Nietzsche's construction grafts Apollo and Dionysus onto Hegel's configuration of the relationship between epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry, in which epic is 'objective', lyric is 'subjective', and dramatic poetry is a «conciliation of the epic and lyric principles» (*Lectures on Aesthetics*, III, 3, emphasis original). Hegel in turn was indebted to Schiller's distinction between 'naïve' and 'sentimental' poetry. Nietzsche alludes covertly to Hegel and explicitly cites Schiller's distinction several times in *BT* as one of the main stimuli to his argument¹⁰⁴. These same aesthetic categories inform modern interpretations of Virgil. A powerful and influential reading of the *Aeneid* by Gian Biagio Conte is framed in terms of a refined and adjusted version of Schiller's distinction between 'naïve' and 'sentimental' poetry. Conte sees in Virgil's poetics a fusion of Homeric objectivity and the pathetic subjectivity of the tragic voice¹⁰⁵. Nietzsche too had drawn an analogy between Virgil and Greek tragedy. In *BT* he compares Virgil guiding Dante to the gates of Paradise and Greek tragedy as a source of inspiration for the Renaissance to reconnect with idyllic nature. «The Renaissance man of culture allowed himself to be led back through his opera-like imitation of Greek tragedy to such a harmony of nature and ideal, to an idyllic reality, he used this tragedy, as Dante used Virgil, as a guide in order to reach the gates of Paradise: while he from that point on made his own way, the transition from an imitation of the highest Greek art-form to a «restoration of all things,

¹⁰³ The picture alludes to Archilochus' Dionysian fr. 120 West *ὡς Διωνύσου ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος | οἶδα διθύραμβον οἶνωι συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας*, but not to the as yet undiscovered tradition of Archilochus' poetic initiation; see Reibnitz 1992, 167, with references.

¹⁰⁴ The probable allusion to Hegel is that «modern aesthetics could only add by way of interpretation that [the meeting of Homer and Archilochus] was the moment when the 'objective' artist first confronts his 'subjective' counterpart». See Reibnitz 1992, 159-160, who does not cite Hegel and Schiller here, but rather traces the idea back to F. Schlegel's notebooks of 1799. Hegel's lectures were first published in 1835.

¹⁰⁵ Conte 1999, esp. 32 [=2007, 44]; see also Conte 1986, esp. 158; and for a different view which gives more space to subjectivity and less to objectivity, *The Strategy of Contradiction* in Conte 2007.

to an imitation of the original artistic world of man» (*BT* 19)¹⁰⁶. If Virgil is tragic, then in Nietzschean terms he is a fusion of Apollonian and Dionysian, objective and subjective, but also a fusion of stylistic and linguistic freedom and restraint. In a later essay, *Anatomy of a Style*, Conte approaches the issue of tragedy in Virgil from a different angle¹⁰⁷. The essay discusses Virgilian *enallage*, a feature of Greek tragic language, interpreted as a vector of the sublime. Conte defines his topic in relation to Friedrich Klingner's view of Virgil's style, as remembered from seminars in Munich in the 1960s, «maximum freedom in maximum order»¹⁰⁸. The Nietzschean resonances of this view are clear enough, and indeed the scholarly method of Klingner was formed partly under the influence of the debate between Nietzsche, Wilamowitz, and others about *BT*¹⁰⁹. Freedom and order are key themes of the didaxis of the *Georgics*, but they are relevant too in assessing Virgil's style. To quote Monica Gale, «the poet in the *Georgics* is a figure who seeks to recommend order, control, disciplined obedience, while himself experiencing poetic inspiration as something irrational, uncontrollable and disturbing»¹¹⁰.

When we turn finally to the *Aeneid*, we see a poem fuelled, if not ignited like the *Iliad*, by the agency of Apollo, archetypal god of foundations. John F. Miller has recently given us a fine study of Apollo in Augustan poetry, with comprehensive coverage of all of Apollo's appearances in the *Aeneid*, broadly contextualized with reference to state ritual, Augustus' and others' cultivation of Apollo, the Homeric, Hellenistic, and other backgrounds, and contemporary poets' receptions of Virgil's Apollo¹¹¹. One of Miller's main contentions is that Apollo's Augustan connection «helped to shape Virgil's epic vision of the god»¹¹². My own smaller concern is with tracing the relationship between Apollo and Bacchus in the epic, and so I focus here on passages and movements in which they come into contact with one another.

It is easy to posit an antithesis between the forward-march ethic of Apollo, propelling the Trojans to Italy¹¹³, and the resistant thrust of the poem's two major scenes of

¹⁰⁶ This, by the way, is the only reference to Virgil in Nietzsche's published 'philosophical' works, but there are more than half a dozen references to or quotations of Virgil, and a great many references to other Latin authors, in the *Jugendschriften* of 1854-1869 and in the *Nachlass*. In a letter to his sister Elisabeth dated November 1861 Nietzsche mentioned Virgil among other authors he was then reading.

¹⁰⁷ Conte 2007, 58-122.

¹⁰⁸ Conte 2007, 60.

¹⁰⁹ Klingner lived from 1894 to 1968: we could perhaps call him a *Zukunftsphilologe*!

¹¹⁰ Gale 2000, 191.

¹¹¹ Miller 2009.

¹¹² Miller 2009, 97.

¹¹³ Apollo drives Aeneas forward at II 318; III 94, 155, 182, 250, 374; IV 345; VI 59; and VIII 336; see Miller 2009, Ch. 3 and Horsfall 1989.

Dionysian madness, those of Dido in book IV and Amata in book VII, both clinging to past or passing states, obstinately but impotently refusing to countenance the inevitable. The structural arrangement of the middle of book IV would seem to foreground this contrast. The book as a whole could be classified as ‘Dionysian’, being the epic’s most tragic movement, and the *agon* between Aeneas and Dido is flanked by two Dionysian similes: Dido is compared first to a maenad, and secondly to an infatuated Pentheus and Orestes¹¹⁴. In between these two, almost at the mathematical mid-point of the book we find Aeneas’ speech, in which he appeals to the authority of Grynean Apollo, in opposition to Dido’s Dionysian onslaught (300-303, 345-346, 465-473):

saeuit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem bacchatur , qualis commotis excita sacris Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho orgia nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron . [...]	300
sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo , Italiam Lyciae iussero capessere sortes; [...]	345
agit ipse furentem	465
in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui sola sibi, semper longam incommitata uidetur ire uiam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra, Eumenidum ueluti demens uidet agmina Pentheus et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas, aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes, armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.	470

In the first simile, the maenadic metaphor is reprised from Andromache in the *Iliad*¹¹⁵. The evocation of Andromache is especially effective here, as she embodies many themes which are relevant to Dido’s situation: resistance as well as lamentation, motherhood and bereavement, the tension between male and female spheres, and between war or public duty and the needs of a family. Amata will revive this role in the second half of the epic, cloaked in a web of Dionysian motifs, as Laura Boccioni Palagi has shown with learned precision¹¹⁶. Dido and Amata both speak out freely against the male inter-

¹¹⁴ On the theatrical simile see the penetrating study of Fernandelli 2002 and 2002-3, esp. 30-37 and Schiesaro 2008, 194-206; for the similes’ models see succinctly Pease 1935 and Fernandelli 2002, 164-181.

¹¹⁵ For Dido as a maenad see Krummen 2004.

¹¹⁶ Boccioni Palagi 2007, Ch. 2; see p. 182 for Andromache as the archetypal maenad to

est, reminding us of the connection between Liber, the patron god of their madness, and *libertas*, a capacious political concept which can include freedom of speech¹¹⁷. The double simile applied to Dido in her distraction is doubly Dionysian¹¹⁸. The lines on Pentheus famously quote Euripides' *Bacchae* (918-919, *καὶ μὴν ὄραν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίουσ δοκῶ, | δισσὰς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπτάστομον*) and according to Servius, a play by Pacuvius involving, and perhaps entitled, *Pentheus*¹¹⁹. The comparison to Orestes being dragged across the stage almost certainly looks back to Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, most probably through a Roman version, but it also carries a Dionysian charge in that it evokes dramatic productions, in light of the well established connection, also present in Virgil's own poetry, between Dionysus and the stage¹²⁰. Aeneas' appeal to Grynean Apollo in the midst of Dido's Dionysian outburst not only introduces an Apollo–Dionysus tension, it also looks back to a similar complex in the sixth eclogue, to Linus' instructions to Gallus to write about Apollo's Grynean grove, in the context of a song song sung by the Dionysian Silenus.

There may be a contrast, albeit a more distant one, between Apollonian and Dionysian energies several books later in *Aeneid* IX. The weeping and wailing of the mother of Euryalus threaten to destabilize the Trojans' strength in battle (IX 499 *torpent infractae ad proelia uires*). Her maenadic credentials are secure, even though there is no direct reference to Bacchus or Bacchism¹²¹. Her incendiary grieving, like Dido's, must be silenced¹²². She recalls Homer's Andromache at her most maenadic, and even Virgil's own

which Latin epic looks back, usually through Virgil. See also Panoussi 2009, Ch. 4 and Hershkowitz 1998, 35-48 for maenads in the *Aeneid*.

¹¹⁷ On *libertas* in politics see now Arena 2012. Key reference points for the connection between Liber and freedom of speech include Naeuius *inc.* 27 W = II.113 R², *libera lingua loquimur ludis Liberalibus*; Hor. *sat.* I 4,5; Ou. *fast.* III 771-778; Seru. *Aen.* VII 371. See Wiseman 2008, 84. For the Greek background see the rich collection of data in Leinieks 1996, 302-325 and Seaford 1996, 190. Paschalis 1997, 53-54 connects the Dido-as-maenad simile with Venus' reference at *Aen.* I 686 to Bacchus as Lyaeus, the 'loosener,' and with Dido's prayer to Lyaeus at IV 55. It is in his commentary on this line that the Servian augments connects Bacchus with the Greek: PATRIQVE LYAEŌ *dictus Lyaeos ἀπὸ τοῦ λύειν, quod nimio uino membra soluantur.*

¹¹⁸ See Fernandelli 2002, 180.

¹¹⁹ See Fernandelli 2002, 164-167.

¹²⁰ See the Servian commentary: *SCAENIS AGITATVS famosus, celebratus tragoediis, qualiter a Graecis in scaena inducitur. et 'agitatus', quia et furuit, et multae sunt de eo tragoediae: quasi frequenter actus.* For the connection between Dionysus and the dramatic festival see *georg.* II 380-388.

¹²¹ See Panoussi 2009, 234-235; Boccioni Palagi 2007, 180-181.

¹²² Cf. Aeneas to Dido IV 360 *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis* with IX 500-502 *illam incendente[m] luctus... corripunt.*

Andromache in *Aeneid* book III¹²³. She evokes elements of Euripides' *Bacchae*, principally Agave mourning Pentheus¹²⁴. She also harks back to Virgil's Amata, yet another descendant of the Euripidean Agave. Iulus (Ascanius) stands by, crying copiously, as the unfortunate woman is dragged indoors. We next see him on the threshold of manhood, praying to Jupiter that he may lay low the verbose and bombastic Numanus Remulus. After his successful bowshot Apollo restrains him from further participation in the war (653-656):

«**sit satis, Aenide**, telis impune Numanum
 oppetiisse tuis, primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
 concedit laudem et paribus non inuidet armis; 655
cetera parce, puer, bello».

Apollo's role here suggests his Delphic connection with restraint. Hardie cites μηδὲν ἄγαν, «the most famous of the Delphic precepts», and dubs *sit satis* «an eminently appropriate injunction from the god of moderation». Kühn reads this scene in the tradition of the Homeric Apollo who prevents mortals from overstepping boundaries¹²⁵. Miller endorses these connections and adds that Apollo in his Delphic aspect also directs Ascanius away from excessive warfare, pointing to the recent excesses of civil war¹²⁶.

J.D. Reed sees Apollo pitted against Dionysus in the final book of the poem, with a critical focus which is more geographical than psychological. He reads *ferit ense grauem Thymbraeus Osirim* (XII 457) for its religious resonances – Thymbraeus was a cult-title of Apollo, and Bacchus was identified with Osiris, and so Reed argues that the death of Osiris was emblematic of victory in a struggle between overlapping pairs: «Rome versus Egypt, Tiber versus Nile, Apollo versus Bacchus, Octavian versus Antony»¹²⁷. Reed's embedding of Apollo and Dionysus within a system of «overlapping pairs» suggests the possibility of mapping the Apollo-Dionysus binary onto other dualistic and tensioned oppositions which govern the structure of the *Aeneid*. The most important of these is the unstable triumph of *pietas* over *furor*, or of concord over discord¹²⁸. The Apollo-Dionysus binary fits well with such global binary readings

¹²³ See Hardie 1994 on IX 476-502.

¹²⁴ Huyck 2012.

¹²⁵ Kühn 1971, 131 with reference to *Il.* V 436-444 (Diomedes), XVI 702-709 (Patroclus) and XX, 375-378 (Hector). Casali 2009 adds that Apollo here evokes his Callimachean self from the *Aetia* prologue, who debarred the poet from writing martial epic, and advertizing here Virgil's departure from alternative traditions in which Ascanius was more prominent in the fighting.

¹²⁶ See Miller 2009, 158 and 1994, 176-178.

¹²⁷ Reed 1998, 407.

¹²⁸ Proponents of this view, occupying a spectrum that ranges from optimism to pessimism,

to the extent that we ‘gender’ *furor* as Dionysian and *pietas* as Apollonian¹²⁹. Indeed *furor* often is Dionysian, and in the *Aeneid*’s scheme of values, Apollo’s instructions foster *pietas*. Laura Bocciolini Palagi has discussed the frequent connection between *furor belli* and *furor Bacchi*, illuminating the detailed Bacchic motifs in *Aeneid* VII in the three great scenes which spark the war, involving Amata, Turnus, and the Latin peasants. On the basis of her findings the entire war, and therefore most of the second half of the poem, could be considered a fugue on the theme of Dionysian *furor*, and so it is figured in Venus’ complaint, *Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbes* (X 41)¹³⁰. It is possible to read the second half of the *Aeneid* as containing a subtle reworking of the plot of Euripides’ *Bacchae*, principally a hospitality plot, where Aeneas plays Dionysus, Amata plays Agave, and the death of Turnus replays the death of Pentheus¹³¹. Aeneas’ last act would then fuse the Apollonian and the Dionysian as both a replay of the death of Pentheus and a foundational act (*condit*), a fusion of *pietas* and *furor*, or an act of *pious furor* as Mackie has put it¹³².

These largely antithetical binary readings may be complemented by others which suggest a synthesis of Apollonian and Dionysian in one figure. The existence of such figures is in accordance with what we would expect on perusing the ancient sources, where there is more concord and complementarity than outright antithesis between the two gods, and it is consistent too with the Nietzschean model which has it that Apollonian and Dionysian sometimes exist in tension, and sometimes in harmony with one another. A minor example of this phenomenon is the Cumaean Sibyl of book VI. Although she is a priestess of Apollo, her prophetic ravings are imagined as maenadic in lines 78-81 (see also 98-101):

At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in **antro**
bacchatur uates, magnum si pectore possit
excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat 80
 os rabidum, **fera corda domans, fingitque premo.**
 [...]
 Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
 horrendas **canit ambages antroque** remugit,
 obscuris uera inuoluens: ea **frena furenti** 100
 concutit et **stimulos** sub pectore uertit **Apollo.**

include Otis 1964, Thornton 1976, Pöschl 1977; for concord and discord see Cairns 1989, Ch. 4 and Nelis 2001, 111-112, and 348.

¹²⁹ At the very beginning of *BT* Nietzsche draws a parallel between his Apollonian-Dionysian antithesis and the struggle of the sexes.

¹³⁰ Bocciolini Palagi 2007, *passim* & 152.

¹³¹ Mac Góráin 2013.

¹³² Mackie 1988.

The visual alignment of *At Phoebi* and *bacchatur* at the beginning of consecutive lines strikingly underlines the Sibyl's combination of Apollonian and Dionysian. While *At Phoebi* may be construed with *nondum patiens*, it may also belong with *uates*, and it begins a syntactic sequence that is not resolved until *bacchatur uates* in the next line, strengthening the connection between Phoebus one word from the start and Bacchus one word from the end of the sentence which describes the Sibyl's prophetic fury. There are plenty of precedents for the application of Bacchic metaphor to a priestess of Apollo¹³³. A tragic example is Cassandra from Euripides' *Trojan Women*, dubbed a bacchante by four characters including herself¹³⁴. The last of these allusions, spoken by Talthybius, also juxtaposes Apollo and the *bacch-* root, εἰ μὴ σ' Ἀπόλλων ἐξεβάκχευσεν φρένας [...] (408) and may have served as a model for Virgil here. Especially noticeable in the two passages from *Aeneid* VI just quoted is the cluster of juxtapositions of Apollo with Dionysus, or of words denoting madness or explosion (*excussisse*) with words for domination and restraint: *fera corda domans, frena furenti; canit ambages antroque* (if we read the *antrum* as Dionysian as we did in the fourth and fifth eclogues), and *stimulos... Apollo* (if once again we consider the connections between *stimuli* and Bacchus in Virgil's poetry, and honour the tradition which connected *Stimula* with Semele, the mother of Dionysus)¹³⁵. The Sibyl is Apollonian in that she is one of the many characters who propel Aeneas forward; her Dionysian aspect may look to the Dionysian quality of the war in Latium, which she prophesies.

But chief among those who synthesize Apollonian and Dionysian elements is the character of Aeneas himself. In an inspired article entitled *The Dionysus in Aeneas*, Clifford Weber has detected significant Dionysian colouring in the simile which compares Aeneas to Apollo at *Aeneid* IV 143-150¹³⁶. Over ten vigorously and meticulously argued pages, Weber shows that virtually every detail in the simile would be as appropriate of Bacchus as it is of Apollo, if not more so. The densest cluster of these occurs in line 146, *Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi*¹³⁷. One does not need to endorse every detail of

¹³³ For other Apollonian priestesses who experience Bacchic madness see Hershkowitz 1998, 41, n. 165 and in general 35-48 «Maenads and Prophetesses». At Eur. *Ba.* 298-299 Tiresias makes an etymological connection between Dionysian mania and the mantic arts.

¹³⁴ Eur. *Tr.* 170 Hecuba at 170 ἐκβακχεύουσαν Κασσάνδραν; the chorus at 341 βασιλεια, βακχεύουσαν οὐ λήψῃ κόρη; Cassandra herself at 366-7 ἀλλ' ὅμως | τοσόνδε γ' ἔξω στήσομαι βακχευμάτων; and finally Talthybius at 408, above.

¹³⁵ See Ou. *fast.* VI 503 *lucis erat: dubium Semelae Stimulaene uocetur; | maenadas Ausonias incoluisse ferunt* with Littlewood *ad loc.* and Cazanove 1983. Cf. IV 302 *stimulant trieterica Baccho*; VII, 405 *reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi*. Norden 1957 and Austin 1977 identify a horse-taming metaphor throughout these lines.

¹³⁶ Weber 2002.

¹³⁷ A denuded synopsis of some of Weber's most compelling points: here *Agathyrsi*, «the right-thyrsc ones», points to the Dionysian *thyrsos*; their body-paint evokes votaries of Dionysus;

Weber's dionysianization to agree that the simile may function as a «paradigm of subsequent interpretation»¹³⁸, that it suggests that Aeneas has a Dionysian aspect as well as an Apollonian one. In Freudian terms one might venture to say that the simile is programmatic of Aeneas' struggle to reconcile his Apollonian super-ego with his latent Dionysian id. Such a dualistic conception would account for the inconcinnity between the celebrated «taciturnity of Aeneas», his repressed silences, and his occasional furious outbursts¹³⁹. Aeneas' complex and dualistic self is another characteristic which he shares with Dido, who follows Phaedra in the *Hippolytus* and Penelope in the *Odyssey* in combining aspects of Aphrodite and Artemis, psychological and experiential symbols available to the poets to express these women's choice between erotic indulgence and chaste restraint¹⁴⁰.

The Nietzschean reading of the *Aeneid* threatens to unravel, because its schematic neatness does not do justice to the complexity of the ancient contextual data about Apollo and Dionysus. From the *Iliad* onwards Apollo is prone to furious eruptions, and he may rejoice in dancing, as he does in Callimachus' second hymn; Dionysus too can be anything other than furious, as attested by the lexical field of ἡσυχία applied to Dionysus and his votaries in the *Bacchae*. Much later than Virgil's time, the Archpoet was to put Dionysus in charge of the mind, and make Apollo responsible for inspired irruptions, which would overturn the configuration entertained in this paper¹⁴¹:

Mihi nunquam spiritus poetrie datur,
nisi prius fuerit venter bene satur.
Cum in arce cerebri Bacchus dominatur,
in me Phoebus irruiet et miranda fatur.

This difficulty with the Nietzschean reading of the *Aeneid* is one of the very problems which troubled philologically-minded readers of *BT*: straining to uphold the antithetical polarity on which his thesis depended, Nietzsche shrank from exploring the dualisms which operate *within* the figures of Apollo and Dionysus¹⁴². Walter Pater, by contrast, was expansive on the god's dualism, which he ascribed partly to his double birth,

fremunt alludes to Dionysian βρέμειν; the motley crew of worshippers is more Dionysian than Apollonian; and the *-que* irrationally lengthened in the second arsis suggests a Dionysian poetic license.

¹³⁸ Conte 1986, 193, of the Pallas-Lucifer simile at VIII 589-591.

¹³⁹ Feeney 1983; cf. e.g. I 208-209, *Talia uoce refert curisque ingentibus aeger | spem uultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*, and IV 331-332, *ille Iouis monitis immota tenebat | lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat*.

¹⁴⁰ For Dido see Hardie 1997, 332 and Weber 2002, 340. For Artemis and Aphrodite in Eur. *Hipp.* see Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 326-332. For Penelope «like Artemis or golden Aphrodite» (*Od.* XVII 37; XIX 54), see Felson 1994, 36-37.

¹⁴¹ Archpoet, ed. Adcock 1994, IV 15 and X 19.

¹⁴² See Reibnitz 1992, 267-8.

once from fire and once from dew; but Pater was aiming at a rounded representation: he had nothing to lose by presenting a Dionysus more faithful to the ancient sources¹⁴³. As we have seen briefly in relation to counterpropaganda in the triumviral period, the complexity of both gods became relevant when Antony and Octavian wanted to challenge the other's appropriation of Apollo or Dionysus. When Octavian allegedly appeared as Apollo at the infamous Banquet of the Twelve Gods, there happened to be a famine in the city, and so (presumably) Antony's counterpropaganda machine dubbed him Apollo *Tortor*¹⁴⁴. Similarly when Antony appeared at Ephesus as Dionysus he was the Giver of Joy and Benign to some (*Χαριδότην καὶ Μελίχιον*), while for others, on account of his extortionate cruelty, he was Dionysus the Raw-Eater and the Savage (*Ὠμηστῆς καὶ Ἀγριώνιος*)¹⁴⁵. After Actium, the dualism of Apollo was renewed as a motif in itself, as bow was exchanged for lyre¹⁴⁶. Bacchus too is dualistic in the *Georgics*, not least in the second book, addressed to him, which represents him as a god of madness as well as a god of civilization¹⁴⁷. In one of Horace's hymns to Dionysus we find the address *pacis eras mediusque belli* (*carm.* II 19,28). But without a doubt, the brotherly closeness of the two gods is part of what makes them suitable vehicles for reflecting on the troubled history of Virgil's time. Part of my point is that when Aeneas explodes into *furor*, whether or not we choose to read this as a reflection on Augustus, we may see it as an outbreak of the Dionysian through Aeneas' Apollonian skein, or as a manifestation of warlike (bow) rather than peaceful (lyre) Apollo. The choice which the text offers between two interrelated heuristic models (Apollo versus Dionysus or complex versions of Apollo and Dionysus) arises from the interrelations between these two gods and within them between their various aspects. As Propertius put it in a post-Actian narrative context, *Bacche soles Phoebos fertilis esse tuo* (IV 6,76)¹⁴⁸.

This reading of Apollo and Dionysus in Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Aeneid* has privileged Nietzsche's framework over other potential heuristic models. But why Nietzsche, rather than, say, Marsilio Ficino, who had preceded Nietzsche in pairing Apollo and Di-

¹⁴³ Pater 1895, 25-28, 42-3.

¹⁴⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 70 *auxit cenae rumorem summa tunc in ciuitate penuria ac fames, adclamatumque est postridie: omne frumentum deos comedisse et Caesarem esse plane Apollinem, sed Tortorem, quo cognomine is deus quadam in parte urbis colebatur.*

¹⁴⁵ Plut. *Ant.* 24,4-5 [...] Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων Χαριδότην καὶ Μελίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς Ὠμηστῆς καὶ Ἀγριώνιος.

¹⁴⁶ See Prop. IV 6 and Hor. *carm.* IV 6; see Miller 2009, index s.v. 'lyre or cithara, alternating with bow.'

¹⁴⁷ See *georg.* II 455-457 *Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis | Centauros leto domuit, Rhoecumque Pholumque | et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.* See Pater 1895, 48: «the best wine itself has its treacheries».

¹⁴⁸ See DeBrohun 2003, 101.

onysus as symbols of complementary ethical principles in his *De vita libri tres*¹⁴⁹? The critical choice is in fact more or less imposed by the central importance of Nietzsche and *The Birth of Tragedy* in the modern tradition of Classical studies. Nietzsche's complex reception by the academy, from dismissal and rejection to profound influence, entails that it is as necessary as it is valuable to conduct any enquiry into Apollo and Dionysus in antiquity in a metacritical fashion, by examining Nietzsche's influence on modern perceptions of Apollo and Dionysus, and by balancing our reading against competing and complementary perspectives. Virgil's historical circumstances and his poetic and cultural inheritance provided him with Apollo and Dionysus as malleable symbols, whose complex interaction with one another had already involved modalities of contrast and complementarity. The same is true of Nietzsche, with the difference that his inheritance also included Virgil. As such, Virgil's poetry already embodies a Nietzschean element *avant la lettre*, and this legitimates the circularity of feeding Nietzsche's paradigm directly back into Virgilian criticism. But do we really need the Nietzschean model to arrive at the same conclusions, especially in light of the pre-(Virgilian) existence of the pairing? And have not scholars such as Clifford Weber and Andrea Cucchiarelli illuminated our understanding of Apollo and Dionysus in Virgil without direct reference to Nietzsche? Well, I would argue that even those scholars who do not mention Nietzsche still work with his legacy, partly because a text as compelling and influential as *The Birth of Tragedy* continues to direct our attention to matters Apollonian and (especially) Dionysian, and partly because the text and its reception had a revolutionary impact on Classical studies, including the study of the two gods and of Virgil. In our reading then, Nietzsche's seductive constructs are a nodal point in a tradition that includes Virgil, and that can be used to illuminate his poetry, not least as they have already informed Virgilian criticism, and more broadly Classical literary criticism, and even more broadly the modern cultural consciousness. The exercise should remind us that while we usually follow the German philosophers' lead in privileging their regard for Greece over that for Rome, we should remember that they too read their Greek authors in close proximity to Latin authors, who were also responding to the earlier Greek authors. Undoubtedly more work remains to be done on Nietzsche and his debt to Rome¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁹ *De uita libri tres*, I, proemium, and III, XXIV; Boenke 2012, 40-41, 378-81.

¹⁵⁰ This paper has had a long gestation, and I have been fortunate in my advisors and interlocutors. For their various contributions I thank especially S.Alexander, V.Cazzato, G.B.Conte, A.Cucchiarelli, A.Dale, M.Fernandelli, N.Goldschmidt, A.Hardie, P.Hardie, K.Harloe, S.J.Harrison, R.Jenkyns, E.Kearns, E.Kechagia, D.Kennedy, K.Kyrtata, M.Leigh, M.Leonard, M.Marshall, J.F.Miller, Ll.Morgan, D.O'Rourke, R.Parker, F.Quiviger, J.Rich, A.Schiesaro, A.Teffteller, C.Weber, and audiences at St Andrews, Bristol, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. I thank also the journal's two anonymous referees for their helpful suggestions.

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