

Laetitiae Bacchus Dator? – The Virgilian Wine God

Lee Fratantuono

The National University of Ireland – Maynooth

The wine god Bacchus is cited often in the works of Virgil, not least in his epic *Aeneid*. Detailed examination of the references to Bacchus in Virgil's works reveals a carefully arranged, coherent progression of images. Virgil utilizes Bacchus as a key divine figure in his poetic commentary on the history of the nascent Augustan regime, not least with respect to its vanquishing of the disgraced triumvir Antony and his foreign consort Cleopatra. The ambivalent depiction of the epic hero Aeneas reflects in part the problems inherent to the depiction of the eastern, Trojan elements of the Roman identity, elements that took on particularly acute significance during the last of the civil wars.

Keywords: Virgil, Bacchus, Dionysus, Aeneas, Antony, Cleopatra

Bacchus is among the many divinities cited a number of times in Virgil's poetic works. The references to him (especially in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*) have been the subject of a modest bibliography.¹ Close consideration of the progression of these "Bacchic citations" from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* through to Virgil's epic of Aeneas and his Hesperian destiny reveals interesting, carefully crafted references to the god that reflect the poet's concerns not only with the question of the religious and cultural composition of Rome, but also with the contemporary struggle between Octavian and Antony in the last of the civil wars before the establishment of the Augustan regime.² Virgil's employment of Bacchic imagery will be shown to serve as a key element in his epic's reflection on the victory of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra, and on the propaganda regarding the Augustan conquest of the East. Said victory is presented

¹ Note especially the encyclopedic entries of G. A. Privitera in Della Corte 1984: 449–452 and A. Henrichs in Thomas and Ziokowski 2014: 163–164; also Bailey 1935: 147–152, Mac Góráin 2013, and Panoussi 2009: 118 ff. There is also useful material in Buchheit 1977. Mac Góráin 2014 offers a sensitive appraisal of relevant passages from the *Georgics*; cf. Gowers 2016, and the material found in the classic study of Harrison 1903. I am indebted to the much appreciated corrections and suggestions of the two anonymous referees, which greatly improved this study.

² Our scope is thus broader than that of Bocciolini Palagi 2007, with an effort to link together more closely a set of allusions across Virgil's poems. We do not engage with Virgil's reception of Euripides' *Bacchae* (as at IV, 470), or of the Bacchic imagery of republican tragedy.

ultimately by Virgil as the crowning achievement of a conflict between west and east that dates back to the war at Troy.

Many of Virgil's citations of the wine god are metonymical, where "Bacchus" simply means wine.³ Our method will be to consider all the passages in which the god is named in the poem, either as Bacchus or under one of the other names by which Virgil refers to him: Lenaeus, Liber, and Lyaeus, as well as "Iacchus" (originally a separate figure, it would seem, who was assimilated with Bacchus).⁴ We shall see that in the *Aeneid* in particular, the more formulaic, metonymical mentions of Bacchus = wine serve not only as mere poetic ornament, but also as periodic reminders of the positive associations of the god, in contrast to the darker side of the god that makes dramatic manifestation in both Carthage and Italy.

We begin our closer examination of these references with the *Eclogues*, where the wine god is mentioned in three poems. Bacchus figures first in the fifth eclogue, where he is named three times, first in connection to the mysterious Daphnis, who is linked closely to the institution of Bacchic rites:

*Daphnis et Armenias curru subiungere tigris
instituit, Daphnis thiasos et ducere Bacchi
et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.* (V, 29–31)⁵

This is the celebrated poem in which some since antiquity have seen in Daphnis a figure of Julius Caesar, assassinated and soon enough the recipient of divine honors.⁶ Daphnis had power over the animal kingdom; even Punic lions mourned his passing, and he was able to yoke Armenian tigers to a chariot.⁷ The detail has occasioned reasonable comment about the hazards of pressing allegories too far.⁸ The dead and deified pastoral hero Daphnis is credited with a signal role in the rites of the wine god.⁹ The exact nature of that role has been disputed, and hinges on the reading of 29 *et*

³ So at *E.* V, 69; VI, 15; VII, 58 and 61; *G.* II, 2, 37, 143, 191, 228–229, 240, 275 and 455; III, 510 and 526; IV, 102, 129 and 279; *A.* I, 216 and 686; III, 354; IV, 207; V, 77; VIII, 181, as catalogued by Privitera in Della Corte 1984: 449.

⁴ Thus we do not consider every occasion in which wine is mentioned, nor every instance where some particular devotee of the deity is named (e.g., Silenus in *E.* VI). Virgil never makes reference to the god's ill-fated mortal mother Semele.

⁵ Passages from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are taken from Ottaviano and Conte 2013.

⁶ The alleged allegory appears as early as the Servian commentary tradition. Drew 1922 offers a modern case in support of the old interpretation. Kronenberg 2016 offers another solution of the perceived cypher; in response vid. Van Sickle 2017. Salvatore 1988: 216 ff. offers a convenient overview of the question; note also García Jimenez 1984: 295–301.

⁷ "Wenn alle Tiere, selbst ... die Löwen, und die ganze Natur Daphnis betrauern, so muß dieser eine Hirte von überirdischen Kräften gewesen sein. Daß er armenische Tiger ... gebändigt hat, ist seine größte Leistung" (Holtorf 1959: 179). The Punic lion image is recalled in the opening of *Aeneid* XII, where Turnus is compared to a lion in Punic fields. That feline is depicted as being wounded, but its discomfiture comes in the immediate wake of the death of the pastoral Camilla, and so in some sense it recalls too the mourning of the Punic lions for Daphnis.

⁸ Gleii 1991: 53.

⁹ On the perceived oddity both of the association of the accoutrements of Bacchus with war, and of attribution of the "introduction of Bacchic rites" to Daphnis, see Coleman 1977: 161–162.

ducere, which is Ottaviano's emendation of the *inducere* of the codices.¹⁰ Is Daphnis being hailed as a bringer of Bacchic revelry and worship, indeed as an inaugurator of the cult of the god?¹¹

Certainly there is a military subtext to the Daphnis-Bacchus connection, with its mention of the subjugation of Armenian tigers (for the god's chariot), and the (oxymoronic) reference to *lentas hastas*.¹²

Mopsus' praise of Daphnis is succeeded by Menalcas'; Bacchus is mentioned here too, in a decidedly religious pair of contexts that reference libations and annual offerings, in particular those made to the traditionally linked dyad of Bacchus and Ceres. We may cite both passages:

*et multo in primis hilarans convivia Baccho
(ante focum, si frigus erit; si messis, in umbra)
vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar.* (V, 69–71)

"Pride of place in the celebrations will be given to the produce of the god whom Daphnis introduced to his people (29–30)."¹³

*ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quotannis
agricolae facient: damnabis tu quoque votis.* (V, 79–80)

Significantly, these lines about the cult tribute that will be paid to Daphnis are preceded immediately by a verse that will be repeated in the *Aeneid* as Aeneas makes homage to Dido: *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt* (V, 78 = *Aeneid* I, 609). The repetition prompts the intertextually alert reader to recall the fifth eclogue and Daphnis.

We may note at this juncture that Menalcas' Bacchic references have a different emphasis from those of Mopsus. Rather than mentioning tigers and spears, the singer highlights life before the hearth or in the summer shade, and the liturgical rites associated with the pastoral calendar and rustic worship. This dichotomy is presented subtly, and yet leaves a striking impression, with geographical import: we have moved from east to west, from the evocation of a yoked Armenia to the idyllic, romanticized world of rural Italy. We have moved from the image of war to that of peace. Menalcas takes care to remind us that Daphnis is, after all, a lover of peace and leisure: ... *amat bonus otia Daphnis* (V, 61).

These Daphnis passages offer the only appearances of Bacchus' name in the *Eclogues*; there are two passing references to "Iacchus" at VI, 15 and VII, 61.¹⁴ The

¹⁰ See further here Clausen 1994: 162.

¹¹ Cf. Cucchiarelli 2012: 298–299 on ... "il ruolo di Dafni come vero e proprio iniziatore del culto, visto qui nel suo aspetto aggregativo e orgiastico ..."

¹² Readers of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* may have their fill of militarily themed Bacchic scenes.

¹³ Coleman 1977: 168.

¹⁴ "Iacchus, perhaps in origin an independent Eleusinian figure, is merged with Dionysus or Bacchus from the middle of the fifth century ..." (Thomas 1988: 96).

first is metonymical: *inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho* (of the intoxicated Silenus). The second comes amid a miniature catalogue of trees and plants, where the vine is sacred to the god (*vitis Iaccho*).

To sum up: in the *Eclogues* Bacchus is a key figure in the depiction of the enigmatic pastoral figure Daphnis. The god is associated with Armenia and the East, and there are military undertones to his presentation that are contrasted with his connection to pastoral peace. If there is any echo of Julius Caesar in Daphnis, we may think of the hero's luxurious stay with Cleopatra, as well as of his conquests in the East (including his planned expedition to Parthia). If Daphnis recalls not so much Caesar as he does a traditional idyllic figure, than Virgil draws a close connection between pastoral and the rites of Bacchus, a theme to which he will return in the *Georgics*. And, too, there may be a hint of the succession of the Julian *gens*, as we move from Caesar to Augustus. Both men were involved in eastern wars, and Augustus has restored rural repose and an irenic, idyllic Italy.

Georgics

Bacchus is more prominent in the *Georgics* (not surprising given the subject matter, especially in Book II).¹⁵ The name occurs twenty-one times (including one use of the adjectival form); Iacchus, Liber, and Lyaeus, appear once each; Leneaenus four times – a total of twenty-eight references. Most of these are metonymical or incidental citations.

The first georgic has three “Bacchus” passages. Liber figures in the invocation, in conjunction with Ceres:¹⁶

*Liber at alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista
poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis* (I, 7–9)

Liber and Ceres are associated with each other as early as Lucretius;¹⁷ the same sort of collocation, we have seen, occurs at *E. V*, 79.

The *mystica vannus Iacchi* is listed among farming implements at I, 166; Bacchus is metonymically referenced as part of the rustic vernal rites in honor of Ceres at I, 344 *cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho*). Given the Eleusinian import of I, 166 (*i.e.*, its mention of the “mystic” winnowing fan), all of the Bacchic allusions of Book I come in close conjunction with Ceres, fittingly enough for the rustic themes of the poem. These are the classic, even conventional references to the god, with celebration of Roman viticulture and the world of the farm.¹⁸

¹⁵ On the god in the poem note Frenzt 1967: 5 *ff.* and 17 *ff.* The Virgilian treatment of viticulture is a vast topic; for a detailed introduction see Maggiulli 1995: 87–99.

¹⁶ On the various deities invoked at the start of the work, note the sensitive analysis of Armstrong 2019: 96–112.

¹⁷ *De Rerum Natura* V, 14–15. Cf. here Mynors 1990: 5

¹⁸ It is beyond the scope of this study to consider the significant shifts in Roman economic and agricultural life as relate to the wine and olive oil trade; close study of Cato's *De Agricultura* in particular is profitable in this regard.

The second georgic is the veritable book of Bacchus. He is powerfully invoked in threefold address in its proem: *nunc te, Bacche, canam* (II, 2); *huc, pater o Linaee* (II, 4, and repeated at II, 7). After the book's proem, we find a mention of celebrated Ismarian wine at II, 37–38 (with metonymical “Bacchus”); of Bacchus' love for open hills (II, 112–113); of Massic wine (II, 143, again with the god serving to name his signature product)¹⁹ – and, amid a description of ideal soils for viticulture, allusions to Etruscan sacrifice ritual:

*hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis
sufficiet Baccho vitis, hic fertilis uvae,
hic laticis, qualem pateris libamus et auro,
inflavit cum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,
lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta.* (II, 190–194)

This is the world of religious rubric and cult practice, which is presented as part of the pious execution of agricultural life.

There are further, conventional uses of “Bacchus” and “Lyaeus” as Virgil describes the testing of soils (II, 228–229, with the varied names of the god at line-ends; compare additional metonymical occurrences of “Bacchus” at 240 and 275). But of greater significance is the description of the sacrifice of goats and the performance of tragedy in connection with Bacchus. The goat is sacrificed because it is harmful to the vine:²⁰

*non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
caeditur ...* (II, 380–381)

There are goat offerings to the god, and dramatic compositions to mark his festival worship (II, 381 ... *et veteres ineunt proscenia ludi*). The children of Theseus set up prizes for genius, and there was rejoicing and relaxation amid cups of wine (II, 382–384 *praemiaque ingeniis pagos et compita circum / Thesidae posuere atque inter pocula laeti / mollibus in pratis unctos salvere per utres*). The Greeks were not alone in these Bacchic enterprises: Italy too saw the arrival of the god's worship. Rude, unpolished verses are composed by Ausonian *coloni*:

*nec non Ausonii, Troia gens missa, coloni
versibus incomptis ludunt risuque soluto* (II, 385–386)

We shall not pursue the vexed question of Virgil's thoughts on the origin of tragedy, nor of Fescennine verse. Rather, we shall focus on considering the juxtaposition of *Ausonii* and *Troia*, a passage that looks forward to the poet's epic. Richard Thomas notes here that “Ausonian” is attested first here, in preface to its frequent citation in

¹⁹ Cf. G. III, 526–527 ... *atqui non Massica Bacchi / munera ...*

²⁰ For the notoriety of caprine depredation see Mynors 1990, and Erren 1985–2003, *ad loc.*

the *Aeneid*. “... in the *Aeneid* they are definitely not identified with the Trojans.”²¹ In the present passage Virgil offers a brief allusion to the narrative according to which Trojan exiles founded a new realm in Italy.²² This narrative is clarified and further delineated in the reconciliation of Juno scene from *Aeneid* XII, in which we learn from Jupiter that the Teucrians are to be mingled with the Ausonians in body only.²³ The picture offered here of rural rites in honor of the wine god, complete with literary composition and the practice of the arts, will be refined as Virgil addresses more closely the Trojan, eastern element in the settlement and development of Ausonia.

The whole passage is crowned with a summary description of Bacchic worship: *et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta ...* (II, 388); *ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem* (393). This is the summit of the poet’s positive presentation of the god, to whom honor is owed not least because of his generous gift of wine, with its economic and physical pleasures.

But the darker side of Bacchus is revealed as the book draws near its end.²⁴

*quid memorandum aequae Baccheia dona tulerunt?
Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis
Centauros leto domuit, Rhoecumque Pholomque
et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratera minantem.* (II, 454–457)

Wine is responsible for violence and the outbreak of conflict, as once was the case for the Lapiths and the centaurs. Bacchus subdued the raging centaurs, sending them to their deaths. We have moved already quite some distance from the world of dramatic composition and rustic festivals.

Soon enough, the poet introduces an interesting choice of options for his own artistic and intellectual pursuits. He hopes that he might understand the mechanisms of nature, the workings of the universe and the natural world (II, 475–482).²⁵ But if his intellect is not sufficient for this task, then he wishes for a pastoral world, one that includes Bacchic revels:

*rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
flumina amem silvasque inglorius. o ubi campi
Spercheosque et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis
Taygeta! o qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi
sistat et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!* (II, 485–489)

²¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 227. Mynors ad loc. argues that the point is to emphasize that the Romans have origins of the same venerable antiquity as the sons of Theseus; he does not address the question of inconsistency with the revelation of the future Trojan-Ausonian relationship as expounded by Jupiter to Juno in *Aeneid* 12.

²² For Aeneas’ understanding of his mission with respect to Troy versus Italy, see Schauer 2007: 173–181. Cf. Cairns 1989: 125–128 (with balanced appraisal of the problem).

²³ XII, 835 ... *commixti corpore tantum*.

²⁴ For how the second georgic moves from a rather uncomplicated, straightforward invocation of the wine god to a more ambivalent picture of creation and destruction, see Gale 2000: 36–38. Cf. the more positive reading of Smith 2007.

²⁵ In other words, one might say, pride of place would be given to composing a *De Rerum Natura*.

“These lines hardly constitute reference to the *Georgics*, as some would wish; they rather suggest pastoral, and look specifically to the *Eclogues*.”²⁶ Bacchus, we were reminded, has the power to engender violence and war: intoxication sometimes has deadly consequences. Not long thereafter, Virgil associates Bacchus with frenzied inspiration and the “irrational aspect of poetry.”²⁷ The reference to maenads at 487–488 is tinged with military connotations via the evocation of a Spartan scene.

But after introducing such negative associations of the vine god, the poet seemingly shifts his tone for one interlude. Virgil notes that the man who understands the nature of things is happy (II, 490), but that fortunate too is the man who lives the rustic, pastoral life (II, 493). Such a man is not concerned with power, glory, and the deeds of war. As the poet expounds on the joys of such an idyllic life, he makes interesting associations with the world of old Italy:

*ipse dies agitat festos fususque per herbam,
ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera coronant,
te libans, Lenaeae, vocat pecorisque magistris
velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo,
corporeaque agrestic nudant praedura palaestra.
hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruriae crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.* (II, 527–535)

Strange world: it is the Saturnian, Golden Age, as Virgil comments next (II, 538) – and yet there is a mention of Remus, whose very name recalls internecine strife; there is image not of decadent Etruscan mores, but of the strong kingdom that posed so grave a threat to early Rome. There is a walled city, and even the *velocis iaculi certamina* carry a hint of the threat of conflict.²⁸ The joys of the rustic life are thus tinged with the reality of civil war and fratricide, of violence and the menace thereof.

In the third georgic we are reminded that along with the rest of nature, Bacchus’ spotted lynxes are susceptible to the passions of *amor* (III, 264 *quid lynces Bacchi* ...). More disturbingly, we learn that in the great plague at Noricum, wine seemed to be the only remedy for the sick horses (III, 509–510 *profuit inserto latices infundere cornu / Lenaeos: ea visa salus morientibus una*) – only for the sense of relief to be shattered by the revelation that the wine served only to increase the mad fury of the patients, such that soon they were gnawing their own limbs (511–514 *mox erat hoc ipsum exitio, furiisque refecti / ardebant ipsique suos iam morte sub aegra / (di meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum!) / discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus*).²⁹ Together

²⁶ Thomas 1988: 252.

²⁷ So Freer 2019: 84–85.

²⁸ On these oddities see Thomas 1988: 261–262.

²⁹ The rending of one’s own members offers a gory evocation of civil war.

with the horse, the bullock dies too – and it had drunk pure water, not Massic wine or luxurious repasts (III, 526–527 ... *atqui non Massica Bacchi / munera, non illis epulae nocuere repostae*). The high quality Massic vintage is used here as an emblem of decadence, so as to underscore the pathetic innocence of the plague-stricken draught animal. But the plague does not discriminate, as it were: the guilty and the innocent are both liable to infection.

The fourth georgic devotes its final mention of Bacchus to an ominous theme that surpasses the dark Dionysiac imagery from Books II and III: the grisly slaughter of Orpheus at the hands of maenads:

... *spretae Ciconum quo munere matres
inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi
discerptum latos iuvenem sparsere per agros.* (IV, 520–522)

Horses gnawed their own limbs in the agony of the plague; now crazed women tear the consummate poet and singer limb from limb. This was done amid the rites of the god, where the *sacra deum* and especially the *nocturna orgia*³⁰ are not at all like the previously referenced sacrificial and religious rituals that mark the shepherd's calendar.

When one traces the references to the wine god through the *Georgics*, then, one sees a marked shift that emerges as Book II draws near its close. Book II introduces the violent effects of alcohol, using the example of the Lapiths and the centaurs. Book III relates the horrifying effects of wine on sick horses, as it inspires violent frenzy. Book IV gives the grisly aftermath of the story of Orpheus and his failed quest for Eurydice, as the singer is torn to pieces amid the nocturnal, orgiastic rites of Bacchus. In the fifth bucolic Virgil emphasized the association of the pastoral Daphnis with Bacchus and Bacchic rites; in the latter half of the second georgic he makes the same association of Bacchus and the idyllic life with its revels in honor of the wine god.³¹ But in the second georgic and its two successor books, we are left with a more disturbing portrait of the god. There had been no negative undertones to his depiction in the *Eclogues*,³² but now we have been introduced to elements of fury and madness that carry over into Virgil's epic of war.

Aeneid

As we move from the *Georgics* to the *Aeneid*, already in the first book we find that Bacchus plays a subtle yet significant role in the drama. The wine god is mentioned a dozen times in the *Aeneid* under the name Bacchus, with two references (one

³⁰ Theme and variation: *sacra deum* is a vague expression, which is crowned by the decidedly darker *nocturna orgia*.

³¹ We may note that *E. V* and *G. II* mark the midpoints of their respective works.

³² The military connotations of the yoking of tigers and the mention of spears in *E. V* refer to eastern conquest, not to anything that a Roman audience would find troubling.

adjectival) to Lyaeus, and one each to Liber and (adjectival) Lenaeus, for a total of sixteen occurrences. Nine of these citations come in the poem's first half, and seven in the second. He figures by name in three circumstances in the first book, including in a parallel pair of meals:³³

*tum victu revocant vires fusique per herbam
implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae.* (I, 214–215)³⁴

Aeneas and his men enjoy a makeshift banquet on North African shores, in the aftermath of the devastating consequences of the Junonian inspired storm. This meal with its old wine (a gift from King Acestes in Sicily) is balanced by the invocation of the god of the vintage that Dido utters in the context of the far more lavish meal in her palace later in the book:

*adsit laetitia Bacchus dator et bona Iuno;
et vos o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes.* (I, 734–735)

Juno is called upon here because she is the Carthaginian patroness; there is an ominous import to the address given the goddess' inveterate persecution of the Trojans.³⁵ Perceptively, Enzo Marmorale connects the description of Juno as *bona* with the reference earlier in the book to the *bonus Acestes* who had given wine to the Trojans in Sicily for their journey.³⁶ Bacchus is referenced metonymically at I, 215; at I, 734 Dido calls on the god to be present with Juno.³⁷ Significantly, it is the sole summons of the god in the epic in a ritual setting; we may compare the more ominous cry of *euho Bacche* at VII, 389 that we shall consider below. We may consider how much *laetitia* is bestowed by the god, at least in comparison with *maestitia*.³⁸

The invocation of Bacchus and Juno is of particular interest in light of later developments in the epic, most especially the outbreak of war in Italy in Book VII at the direct instigation of Juno, a war whose initiation, we shall see below, will be cast in decidedly Bacchic terms (and in association with another queen).

The other reference to Bacchus from Book I comes as part of Venus' instructions to Cupid regarding the execution of her plan to have Dido fall into passionate love with Aeneas. Not surprisingly, one might argue, the setting for the commencement of the would-be affair is to be wine-drenched:³⁹

³³ Note also I, 636 *munera laetitia dei*, if that is the correct reading (*contra* "dii" < "dies"); see further Binder 2019: 82. The reading does not affect the arguments made herein. Dei would be an obvious enough correction if one did not understand dii.

³⁴ Quotes from the *Aeneid* are cited from Conte 2019. For commentary on passages from *Aeneid* 1 see Weidner 1869, Marmorale 1946, Austin 1971, and Stégen 1975 *ad loc.*

³⁵ "The invocation must have rung strangely in Trojan ears ..." (Austin 1971: 219).

³⁶ Marmorale 1946: 176.

³⁷ Lehr 1934: 18 *ff.* is foundational to the study of Virgilian prayer language of this sort.

³⁸ *Cf.* the somewhat different import of Tibullus, c. I, 7.41 Bacchus et adflictis requiem mortalibus adfert, where it is repose that Bacchus grants to mortals, not joy.

³⁹ On this scene note the detailed analysis of Kühn 1971: 35–40.

*ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido
regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.* (I, 685–688)

The liquid alliteration (*laetissima...laticemque Lyaeum*) enacts the pouring of the wine, as Virgil manages in short compass to make allusive foreshadowing of the suicides of both Dido (*ignem*) and of her allegorical counterpart from Augustan history, Cleopatra (*veneno*).⁴⁰ Dido stabs herself on a pyre, the flames from which haunt Aeneas and his men as they make their escape from her realm.⁴¹ Cleopatra would fall by the venom of an asp. Both Dido and Cleopatra are associated by Augustan poetic propaganda with fondness for alcohol.⁴² *Lyaeus* is a semantically appropriate appellation for the god here, since the goddess' intent is to see to it that Dido's heart is loosened in love, an amatory obsession that will end in violent, untimely death. Further, the Carthaginian banquet scene evokes the storied repasts of Caesar and Cleopatra in Ptolemaic Alexandria, as well as Cleopatra's later luxurious living with Antony.⁴³ Bacchus is the *laetitia* dator (I, 734); the god is a key reason why Venus refers to how Dido will be *laetissima* at the banquet.⁴⁴

The next allusion to the god comes at Buthrotum, at the site of the miniature Troy that Helenus and Andromache preside over in humble, resilient witness to the past.

*aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi,
impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant.* (III, 353–355)⁴⁵

As at I, 215, this is a metonymical reference to the deity, conventional and quasi-formulaic.

We may return to the scene at Carthage. Fittingly, when Dido makes prayers to the gods on account of her all-consuming love for Aeneas, the very name of the god who was mentioned amid the planning for her passion recurs:

*legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,
Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.* (IV, 58–59)⁴⁶

“Lyaeus” occurs in the *Aeneid* only in the two parallel passages of I, 686 and IV, 58, thus connecting the scenes that describe the genesis and the consequences of

⁴⁰ On the association of Dido and Cleopatra note Astorino 2020.

⁴¹ Cf. A. V, 1 ff.

⁴² See here Nisbet and Hubbard 1970, and Mayer 2012, *ad c.* I, 37.12; Heyworth and Morwood 2011 *ad c.* III, 11.56. For Dido depicted as drinking and challenging Bitias to the draining of a bowl cf. *Aeneid* I, 736 ff.

⁴³ Decadent dinners serve to enhance the natural link between food/drink and amatory affairs – a commonplace as old as comedy (cf. Terence, *Eunuchus* 732 sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus).

⁴⁴ On this concept and topos in the poet note especially Wiltshire 2012.

⁴⁵ Passages from *Aeneid* III are well served by the commentary tradition; cf. here *ad loc.* Williams 1962 (serviceable), Horsfall 2006 (exhaustive), Heyworth and Morwood 2017 (reliable and informative).

⁴⁶ On passages from *Aeneid* IV see *ad loc.* Pease 1935 (encyclopedic), Austin 1955 (sympathetic to literary concerns and to the depiction of Dido), Fratantuono and Smith 2022.

the queen's amatory obsession. Ceres and Bacchus are often associated, as we have noted; Juno appears here not only as Carthage's principal divine patron, but also in her capacity as nuptial goddess. Phoebus may be here because of the morning hour of the rituals; there is also a foreshadowing of how Aeneas will be compared to the god at the fateful hunt that will witness the union of the lovers. What is interesting is that the line moves alliteratively from *legiferae* (of Ceres) to *Lyaeo*, or, we might say, from lawfulness to the image of loosening and the disorder occasioned by wine. The emphasis on unraveling is then succeeded in turn by a verse devoted to Juno as the patroness of the marriage yoke, the exact opposite of the semantic import of *Lyaeus*.

Dido's aggrieved suitor Iarbas attests to how Jupiter is honored with libations by his people:

*Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
gens epulata toris Lenaenum libat honorem,
aspicis haec? ... (IV, 206–207)*

Liquid alliteration again (*Lenaenum libat*), as Iarbas alludes to the god of the wine press. The African monarch and scion of Jupiter Ammon describes what we might label a “sober” use of wine, with the fruit of the vine poured out at banquets in the cause of honoring the omnipotent, supreme god. This is the unique occurrence of *Lenaeus* in the *Aeneid*; the son of Jupiter Ammon attests to the religious devotion of the Maurusians.

Iarbas' comment recalls Dido's invocation of Jupiter at the libations she poured at her fateful dinner for Aeneas (I, 728–740a). She called on the god in his capacity as the patron of the guest-host relationship, with explicit reference to the coming together of Tyrians and Trojans. Iarbas criticizes Dido for violating such laws of hospitality, by condemning her treatment of her host in comparison to her reception of the *dominus* Aeneas (IV, 214), who himself abuses the status of a guest by acting like Paris (215 *ille Paris*) and abducting a would-be bride (217 *rpto potitur*).

Jupiter listens to Iarbas, and Mercury will be commissioned to see to Aeneas' departure. Soon enough, Carthage's queen will be reduced to the status of a Bacchant, crazed with rage and frustration as she learns that Aeneas is planning to depart from her shores:

*saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron. (IV, 300–303)*

There is a neat balance here between *bacchatur* at the start of one verse, and *Baccho* at the close of the next.⁴⁷ The verb *bacchatur* in this simile is echoed at IV, 666 ...

⁴⁷ On the “Bakchantenmetapher” of this passage note Hübner 1968: 61 *ff.*

concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem, of Rumor spreading abroad the report of the queen's suicide – a fitting crown to the imagery inaugurated earlier in the book.⁴⁸

The three references to Bacchus in Book IV thus balance the three in Book I, with both books highlighting Dido in framing order around the first third of the epic and the sojourn in Carthage. Quite different in context are the next Bacchic allusions in the epic, one from near the start of Book V, and one toward the end of Book VI. Both of these references have associations with the dead Anchises, first as Aeneas makes offerings in his honor in Sicily, and then amid the grand exposition of the Roman future in Elysium, as the hero's shade unfolds the revelation of nothing less than Augustan glory and eastern conquest.

Aeneas' libation at the *tumulus* of his father is of a piece with Iarbas' mention of Maurusian offerings to Jupiter, with some differences:

*hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro* (V, 77–78)⁴⁹

Iarbas' libation reference was in the context of a banquet, while Aeneas' action here is part of a graveside ritual. Neat wine is poured alongside milk and blood in propitiatory sacrifice, as the Trojan hero honors his dead sire. "Bacchus" appears again metonymically.⁵⁰

But the crowning allusion to the god comes in the underworld *Heldenschau*, where first Hercules and then Liber are cited as heroic comparands for the future Augustus.⁵¹

*nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.* (VI, 804–805)

Significantly, this reference to the wine god comes near the end of the epic's first half, and it recalls the Bacchic passage from the midpoint of the poet's pastoral book, the *Daphnis* eclogue. Augustus will surpass the achievements of Liber, and of Hercules too (*cf.* VI, 801–803).⁵² Liber comes from his traditional birthplace of Mount Nysa; it was no doubt useful to the poet that the location of the fabled mount was disputed, with candidates as diverse as Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia, Asia, and India.⁵³ This Bacchic reference from the Parade of Heroes depicts the god in his personal capacity, in an image of triumphant action.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *Cf.* XII, 593–594, of the situation in Latinus' capital before the parallel suicide of Amata.

⁴⁹ For commentary here see especially Williams 1960, and Fratantuono and Smith 2015, *ad loc.*

⁵⁰ Elsewhere in Book V, some have seen a pronounced connection between the Junonian-inspired frenzy of the Trojan women and the madness of raving Bacchants, with Ascanius as a Pentheus figure; so Rogerson 2017: 96 *ff.*

⁵¹ On Hercules and Bacchus as pacifiers of unrest, see Basson 1975: 69–70.

⁵² On the connection of the "traveller" god to Alexander, and on "the low parody by Mark Antony" that "will hardly have been forgotten," see Horsfall 2013: 548–549. Octavian's rival and foe traced his mythic descent from Anton, the son of Hercules; in the besting of the storied hero and the god, Augustus' victory over Antony is doubly underscored.

⁵³ See further here Austin 1977: 247. Bacchus is associated with India in Augustan poetry; on this see Benaissa 2018: 42–43.

⁵⁴ The unique status of this citation serves to highlight its significance.

Strikingly, five of the sixteen Bacchic allusions in the epic come in Book VII, the book in which the war in Italy and the poet's reimagining of the Homeric *Iliad* commences.⁵⁵ Just as the queen Dido was compared to a raving Bacchant, so is the Latin queen Amata in the wake of the Junonian inspired assault of the fury Allecto that serves to stir up conflict in Latium.⁵⁶ Like some maniacal maenad, Amata absconds with her daughter Lavinia.⁵⁷ The description of Amata's furious rage is the most extended Bacchic passage in the epic, twenty-one verses that begin and close with lines that end with the genitive form *Bacchi* to mark off the *tour de force*. It merits quotation at length:

*quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi
 maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem
 evolat et natam frondosis montibus abdit,
 quo thalamum eripiat Teucris taedasque moretur,
 'euhoe Bacche' fremens, solum te virgine dignum
 vociferans: etenim mollis tibi sumere thyrsos, 390
 te lustrare choro, sacrum tibi pascere crinem.
 fama volat, furiisque accensas pectore matres
 idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere tecta.
 deseruere domos, ventis dant colla comasque;
 ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent 395
 pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas.
 ipsa inter medias flagrantem fervida pinum
 sustinet ac natae Turnique canit hymenaeos
 sanguineam torquens aciem, torvumque repente
 clamat: 'io matres, audite, qui quaeque, Latinae: 400
 si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae
 gratia, si iuris materni cura remordet,
 solvite crinalis vittas, capite orgia mecum.'
 talem inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum
 reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi. (VII, 385–405)*

The description commences with a notorious ambiguity.⁵⁸ Are we to imagine that the *simulato numine* of VII, 385 refers to simulation on the part of Juno's avatar

⁵⁵ The Bacchic madness that is displayed in Book VII is, like that of Book IV, manifested in the world of queens. For an argument that sees Dionysiac imagery in Aeneas, see Weber 2002, and cf. Giusti 2018: 144–147. The tiger has associations with Bacchus: Dido accuses Aeneas of being suckled by a tigress (IV, 367); elsewhere in the poem Turnus is compared to a tiger as he assaults the Trojan camp at IX, 730; the young Camilla has a tiger pelt (XI, 576–577); cf. Aeneas' Etruscan ally Massicus at X, 166, whose vessel is the Tigris (his name also recalls the wine god's Massic vintage).

⁵⁶ The aforementioned Bocciolini Palagi 2007 is devoted to the Bacchic themes of Book VII, with treatment of Amata in particular.

⁵⁷ For the evocation of Dido – another maenadic figure in Virgil – see Krummen 2014.

⁵⁸ See here Horsfall 2000: 266–267.

Allecto, or of Amata herself? This much is certain: the Bacchic imagery of Book I came in the context of Venus' employment of Cupid with the Carthaginian queen; in Book VII – the first book of the epic's second half – the Bacchic imagery is far more pronounced and intense, and it comes as Juno employs Allecto to deal with a Latin queen. The balance is striking and deliberate, as Virgil explores the engendering of the strife that has exploded in central Italy. On the referent of *simulato numine* Nicholas Horsfall argues in favor of a deliberate ambivalence here: "The Latin clearly admits either option ... we can avoid expressing any betrayal of the poet's evident indirection."

The passage has affinities with scenes both earlier and later in the epic. The image of the women who are set aflame metaphorically with madness and fury will be echoed at the very close of the poem, of Aeneas with Turnus: compare *furiisque accensas* (VII, 392) of the Latin *matres* and *furiis accensus* of Aeneas (XII, 946). Amata's bloodshot eyes at VII, 399 *sanguineam torquens aciem* recall Dido's at IV, 643 *sanguineam volvens aciem*, before her suicide.⁵⁹ Amata is enraged about the idea of Lavinia marrying Aeneas;⁶⁰ Allecto drives on the queen with the *stimulus Bacchi* or goad of Bacchus. An argument could be made that the *numen Bacchi* that is simulated in this scene is an artifice of Juno's avatar. Juno makes use of Allecto's services, and Allecto simulates Bacchic frenzy as her method for inflicting madness on Amata.⁶¹ This is far deadlier, we might think, than the parallel case from Book I where Venus employed Cupid, who employed – at least in part – the intoxicating effects of Bacchus as a means to securing the mad passion of Dido. The divine machinations of Book I were aimed at securing Aeneas' union with Dido (at least as a temporary expedient); the parallel efforts of Book VII are aimed at fomenting a war, part of the instigation of which comes from the goading of Amata to oppose Aeneas' union with Lavinia, and to seek the handing over of her daughter to Turnus in marriage. The fact that this is by far the longest Bacchic passage in the poem serves to emphasize dramatically the key role of Dionysiac frenzy in the start of the war.

Venus, for her part, understands the whole game: at the divine council at the start of Book X, she comments on ... *et superis immissa repente / Allecto, medias Italum bacchata per urbes* (X, 40–41).⁶²

The powerful description of the horrifying expression of madness of the queen and her attendants is recalled as Turnus responds to the early clashes after the first outbreak of hostilities:

⁵⁹ For an argument that Dido's wrath is transferred at the end of the epic to the enraged Aeneas, see Newman and Newman 2005: 166.

⁶⁰ VII, 388 quo thalamum eripiat Teucris taedasque moretur of Amata's intention has a marked dental alliteration that enacts the queen's seething.

⁶¹ On whether the madness was always there, note Horsfall 1995.

⁶² See here Harrison 1991, *ad loc.* Elsewhere the verb occurs at III, 125 of Naxos, where Dionysus met Ariadne; cf. G. II, 487–488.

*tum quorum attonitae Baccho nemora avia matres
insultant thiasis (neque enim leve nomen Amatae),
undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant.* (VII, 580–582)

Amata's example inspires the women of Latium, and they demand war. Dido's madness is never described as having such an effect on her people.⁶³ Parallel to this scene, however, is XI, 891–895, where the death of Camilla serves as an *exemplum* that stirs the women of Latium to fight in defense of their capital.

There are but two further references to Bacchus in the *Aeneid*, one in Book VIII and one in Book XI (the second and penultimate books of Virgil's *Iliad*). These allusions are in a sense opposites: the first is metonymical and devoid of any negative import whatsoever, while the second is an exercise in studied, brilliant intratextual allusion to previous passages in the poem.

In Book VIII a meal is shared between Aeneas and his Arcadian hosts in Pallanteum. It is a relaxed yet solemn moment of convention and of a familiar, indeed quasi-ritualistic pattern:

*tum lecti iuvenes certatim araeque sacerdos
viscera tosta ferunt taurorum onerantque canistris
dona laboratae Cereris Bacchumque ministrant.* (VIII, 179–181)

Bread and wine are again described metonymically. This is the fourth meal in the epic in which Bacchus/Lyaeus is named (all of them involving Aeneas): we proceed from the North African coast to Dido's palace, with a backward glance in the hero's story to a repast at Buthrotum, and now the sharing of food in Pallanteum. Three of the meals are in comparatively humble circumstances (one, indeed, in a time of serious discomfiture). Iarbas alludes to the banquets of his people, meals where Jupiter is highly honored. Throughout, there is a sense of the dichotomy between appropriate and excessive uses of wine, of proper libation (either at a banquet, or as we saw done at Anchises' *tumulus*), and of overindulgence of the sort seen at Dido's palace, a hazardous *milieu* whose usefulness to her machinations is all too well known to Venus.

There is a Herculean context to the repast at Pallanteum, as Evander's Arcadians prepare to celebrate an annual observance in honor of the celebrated hero.⁶⁴ Aeneas in Book VIII takes on significant typological associations with Hercules, even as we recall from the climactic revelations of Book VI that another hero is destined to come who will surpass the achievements of Hercules and Bacchus alike.⁶⁵ We are given a

⁶³ Indeed, her calls for frenzied action against the Trojans are ignored; cf. e.g. IV, 593–594.

⁶⁴ See further here the notes *ad loc.* of Eden 1975, Gransden 1976, and Fratantuono and Smith 2018.

⁶⁵ Fratantuono and Smith *ad loc.* note, "The mention of Bacchus in the context of a Herculean festival may recall 6.801–805, where the two are closely associated." The commentators argue that the passage may echo the opening of Lucretius' fifth book, where the poet notes that Ceres and Bacchus are not necessary for life, with the observation that Epicurus was greater than Hercules (cf. Virgil's similar tribute to Augustus).

scene of that hero in the depiction of Actium on the shield of Aeneas in the parallel grand epiphany of Book VIII. Bacchus does not figure in that description, but Antony is portrayed as the *victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro* (VIII, 686). Antony is like Hercules (his divine ancestor) and Bacchus in returning as a victor from the land of the dawn.⁶⁶ Augustus conquers him, and thereby secures a crown of greater renown than even Hercules and Bacchus. The fact that Antony was a notorious drunk helps to secure the point that Augustus has surpassed the achievements of Bacchus.⁶⁷ So too the fact that Antony willingly took on associations with the god Dionysus.⁶⁸ Augustus has surpassed the deeds of Bacchus by conquering the Dionysian Antony, the descendant of Hercules via Anton.⁶⁹

The last reference to Bacchus in the *Aeneid* comes in the wake of the zenith of the Volscian heroine Camilla's aristeia in the cavalry battle before the walls of Latinus' capital. Camilla's astonishing success causes the direct intervention of Jupiter in the fray. The supreme god stirs up the Etruscan Tarchon, who is inspired to upbraid his men for perceived effeminacy and enjoyment of the Bacchic pleasures of luxury and decadence:

*at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaue bella,
aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi:
expectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae
(hic amor, hoc stadium) dum sacra secundus haruspex
nuntiet ac lucos vocet hostia pinguis in altos!* (XI, 735–740)⁷⁰

Tarchon's insults are addressed to his fellow Etruscans, to allies of Aeneas whose lines have been scattered and are being vanquished by Camilla and her Volscians.⁷¹ They are sluggish in war, but not in the pursuit of Venus and nocturnal battles, or when the flute of Bacchus sounds the note for the dance.⁷² Venus is referenced metonymically, and she is associated with Bacchus. We may recall the situation

⁶⁶ Antony had a checkered career in the East, though he did win a victory in Armenia in 34. "This was the only province that Antony added to the Roman Empire" (Huzar 1978: 182).

⁶⁷ Virgil crafts complex typological associations. Aeneas is reminiscent of Hercules, and (in terms of his dalliance with Dido) also of Antony. At the very close of the epic his rage is reminiscent of Hercules' notorious anger, and of some aspects of Dido's frenzy. There are Aeneas-Augustus connections, to be sure, but whatever ambivalence we encounter may be attributed to the ultimate suppression of Trojan mores in the future Rome.

⁶⁸ On this see further Pelling 1988: 180.

⁶⁹ Useful here (especially on the religious implications) is Jeanmaire 1930: 119–155.

⁷⁰ There are more or less detailed observations on this passage in Gransden 1991 (brief), Alessio 1993 (idiosyncratic and insightful), Horsfall 2003 (the editor especially good on the Etruscan elements), Fratantuono 2009 (with emphasis on the Jovian intervention), and McGill 2020 (sober and judicious). Inexplicably, the present scene is not considered in Privitera's EV entry on Bacchus.

⁷¹ The Bacchic element of the Tarchon scene is interesting in light of G. II, 454–457, where Bacchus' subduing and slaughter of the furious centaurs is referenced. The cavalry battle recalls centauric combat, but in the case of the Lapiths and their equine opponents, drunkenness was the cause of conflict. In the present instance, Tarchon attacks his men for being slow to fight because of their pursuit of sex and banquets.

⁷² Cf. here Nielson 1984 (with a different perspective than that taken herein); more generally, Bittarello 2009.

of Aeneas in Carthage, where under the influence of Venus and amid the cups of Dido's table the Trojan hero assumed something of the mantle of Caesar or Antony in Alexandria with Cleopatra, to an uncomfortable degree of parallelism. Tarchon criticizes his Etruscans for their fondness for succumbing to exactly the sort of pleasures for which Iarbas condemned Aeneas and Dido in his (successful) appeal to Jupiter.⁷³

The threat in the epic's first third was from the passionate love of a queen; in its penultimate book, the peril is from a very different woman, a virgin devotee of Diana who has entered the realm of war. Jupiter's intervention (occasioned by the appeal of Iarbas) set into motion the departure of the Trojans from Carthage; Jupiter's intervention here spells the beginning of the end of Camilla's mastery of the battlefield (and no mortal needs to alert him this time to the dangers to the Trojans engendered by a woman).

In the depiction of Actium on the shield, there was no overt association of Antony's unnamed Egyptian paramour with Bacchic imagery. Rather, Virgil emphasized the image of Augustus' vanquishing of the victor over the East (*i. e.*, Antony), the same focal point from the parallel presentation of Augustus in the Parade of Heroes, the Augustus who surpasses Hercules and Liber. Similarly, in Book XI there is no Bacchic flavor to the deeds of Camilla. Here, the god of wine is mentioned as part of a *deterior* comparison of lovers of luxury and those who are stalwart in the crucible of war.⁷⁴

We may trace a clear pattern, then, in the Bacchic allusions in the *Aeneid*. In Book I Bacchus is associated primarily with the perils of indulgence in wine. Wine is part of the deliberate efforts of Venus and Cupid to secure Dido's disastrous passion for Aeneas. The terrible effects of the fateful wine of the queen's banquet are made manifest in Book IV, as Dido is rendered nothing less than a raving Bacchant, consumed by her fatal obsession. The historical background for this consequential love affair is the union of first Caesar and then (especially) Antony with Cleopatra.

By the climactic close of the first half of the *Aeneid*, we have heard of the coming of Augustus, whose achievements will rival and indeed surpass those of Hercules and Bacchus. Whatever the possible allegorical associations of the deified Daphnis (with his own Bacchic associations) of the close of the first half of the *Eclogues*, Augustus is implicitly greater.

As the second half of the epic commences, Bacchic imagery takes on decidedly graver overtones in the outbreak of war in Latium. As Venus manipulated Dido via Cupid, so Juno manipulates Amata via Allecto. The first manipulation occurred amid ample cups of wine; the second comes with the queen being possessed of a simulated Bacchic fury that inspires the women of Latium to demand war for the sake of saving Lavinia from union with Aeneas.

⁷³ We may recall here Aeneas' ally Massicus (X, 166), who has a Tigris vessel and a name that evokes quality wine.

⁷⁴ What Tarchon upbraids the Etruscans for is not dissimilar to the negative image of Aeneas with Dido that prompts Jupiter's sending of Mercury to Carthage.

We have noted that Bacchus is mentioned but twice in the course of Books VIII–XII. In the second of these citations – the last time that the god is named in the epic – Tarchon shames his men with the twin images of their overindulgence of wine and carnal pleasures, the questionable pursuits that seem to inspire such zeal, in contrast to their lack of passion for the arts of war. Tarchon fittingly proceeds to triumph over the Latin Venulus, whose name evokes the goddess of passion and love. Tarchon is compared to an eagle – the bird of Jupiter – which carries off a serpent (XI, 750–756). Tarchon carries off his prey in triumph, and he is the apparent victor – though significantly, we never learn of the fate of Venulus, or of Tarchon.

Virgil's imagery has Homeric roots: at *Iliad* XII, 200–210, there is a portentous image of an eagle with a serpent, where the serpent is cast down by the bird of prey after it smites its would-be abductor. Polydamas warns Hector not to proceed to the fight, interpreting the omen as he does as a baleful sign for the Trojans. Hector disregards the warning, and proceeds to the attack; Zeus rouses a cloud of dust to bewilder the Achaeans. "Hector's disregarding of Polydamas' advice is not yet catastrophic in itself, since Zeus had in fact promised him victory, though with restrictions that Hector does not yet understand."⁷⁵ In Virgil's reimagining of the Homeric model, Tarchon seems to win a victory over Venulus, but ultimately the Latin side will win a substantial victory in the final Jovian–Junonian agreement as to the makeup of the future Rome. There are limits, in other words, to the victory of the Trojans and their Etruscan allies, and part of the distinction between the Trojans/Etruscans on one side and the Latins/Italians on the other is the question of the stereotypical pursuit of luxury and decadence.⁷⁶

In brief, Bacchus is linked closely with the start of the Aeneas-Dido affair, and with its momentous, deadly outcome. Similarly, the god is connected strongly to the commencement of conflict in Latium. Aeneas may recall certain aspects of Bacchus as well as of Hercules, but in the end Augustus will surpass the achievements of both of those renowned figures. Lastly, when Jupiter is concerned that Camilla will succeed in routing the Trojans, he spurs the Etruscan Tarchon to action, with Tarchon criticizing his men for indulgence in sexual activity and banqueting, and of dancing when they hear the notes of Bacchus' instrument. In consequence, Camilla will be vanquished, but the cause for which Turnus and she fought will be triumphant, with the luxuries associated with eastern pomp forsaken in favor of the traditional glories of Italy and Ausonia.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Bakker 2017: 67.

⁷⁶ Cf. Cairns 1989: 125–128.

⁷⁷ Etruria in the Aeneid is divided, with some supporting Mezentius and Lausus, and others Aeneas. The tradition of a Lydian origin for Etruria explains something of the notorious, quasi-eastern love of luxury with which the Etruscans were sometimes charged; acclimation over time to Italy may have resulted in a hardening such as is referenced at G. II, 533–535. Cf. Cairns 1989: 125–128 on how climate and a new home can alter one's culture (with reference to the suppression of Trojan mores).

Can we say which side Bacchus favors in the war in Latium? Throughout the *Aeneid*, Bacchus is associated with forces of disorder and decadence. His role in the epic is a natural development of the themes Virgil elucidated in the *Georgics*: with Bacchus there is the danger of violence and extreme passion and frenzy, as occasioned by overindulgence in wine. Bacchus is never depicted in the epic overtly as favoring the cause of either Troy or Italy. He represents the spirit of joy alongside that of irrationality. Augustus surpasses Liber's achievement because Augustus is a bringer of order and restorer of peace. The Virgilian depiction of Bacchus offers more than a commonplace comment on the perils of the bottle, because Augustus' foes Antony and Cleopatra were notorious libertines and lovers of luxury and the fruit of the vine. In short, the issue was a key element in the Augustan presentation of the disgraced triumvir and his foreign paramour. To the degree that Daphnis may recall Caesar, his association with the rites of Bacchus accords with his own experience with Cleopatra. To the degree that Daphnis recalls the world of traditional pastoral, here too the Bacchic realm is fittingly evoked, with its darker as well as more lighthearted associations.

Virgil thus underscores that the line between pleasant indulgence in wine and the beginning of perilous passion and fatal frenzy is difficult to chart. Certainly Antony – Virgil's *quondam* victor over the East – crossed the line, ultimately to his doom. It has been argued that Aeneas has affinities with Bacchus, and certainly he will surrender to the hazards of wine and passion in his Carthaginian sojourn, in a dalliance that evokes all too uncomfortably the recent memory of the triumvir with his foreign queen. Unlike Antony, Aeneas will escape his wine-drenched affair, though its consequences will be enduring and appreciable.⁷⁸ Despite this successful flight, in the closing verses of the epic the Trojan hero will be set on fire with rage and anger (XII, 946 *furiis accensus et ira*), in a furious ending to a war whose commencement came amid a dramatic, explicit outburst of Bacchic mania. Aeneas' madness is not occasioned by overindulgence in wine, but the resolution of the Latin war is marked nonetheless by the same spirit of fury with which it began, with the abrupt, disquieting depiction of the victorious, Bacchic Aeneas as a vision of frenzy and rage.

⁷⁸ *I.e.*, in the lasting import of Dido's curse on Aeneas and his descendants, as manifested in the three Punic Wars.

Bibliography

- Alessio, Maria. 1993. *Studies in Vergil: Aeneid Eleven, An Allegorical Approach*. Québec City: Montfort & Villeroy.
- Armstrong, Rebecca. 2019. *Vergil's Green Thoughts: Plants, Humans, & the Divine*. Oxford.
- Astorino, P. 2020. Dido como alusión a Cleopatra en la *Eneida*. *Myrtia*. 35: 275–292.
- Austin, Roland. 1955. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Oxford.
- Austin, Roland. 1971. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*. Oxford.
- Austin, Roland. 1977. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Sextus*. Oxford.
- Bailey, Cyril. 1935. *Religion in Virgil*. Oxford.
- Bakker, E. 2017. "Hector (and) the race horse: The telescopic vision of the *Iliad*. *The Winnowing Oar: New Perspectives on Homeric Studies (Studies in Honor of Antonios Rengakos)*. C. Tsagalis and A. Markantonatos, eds. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH.
- Basson, W. 1975. *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
- Benaissa, E. 2018. *Dionysius: The Epic Fragments*. Cambridge.
- Binder, Gerhard. 2019. *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis: Ein Kommentar, Band 2, Kommentar zu Aeneis 1–6*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.
- Bittarello, M. 2009. The Construction of Etruscan 'Otherness' in Latin Literature. *Greece & Rome*. Second Series, Vol. 56, No. 2: 211–233.
- Bocciolini Palagi, L. 2007. *La trottola di Dioniso: motivi dionisiaci nel VII libro dell'Eneide*. Bologna: Patròn.
- Buchheit, V. 1977. Der Dichter als Mystagoge. *Atti del convegno virgiliano sul bimillenario delle Georgiche, Napoli 17–19 Dicembre 1975*. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale: 203–219.
- Cairns, Francis. 1989. *Virgil's Augustan Epic*. Cambridge.
- Claussen, Wendell. 1994. *Virgil Eclogues*. Oxford.
- Coleman, R. 1977. *Virgil: Eclogues*. Cambridge.
- Conte, G.B. 2019. *Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis*, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter GmbH.
- Cucchiarelli, A. 2012. *Publio Virgilio Marone Le Bucoliche*. Roma: Carocci Editore.
- Della Corte, F., ed. 1984. *Enciclopedia virgiliana I*. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana.
- Drew, D. 1922. Virgil's Fifth *Eclogue*: A Defense of the Julius Caesar-Daphnis Theory. *The Classical Quarterly*. Vol. 16, No. 2: 57–64.
- Eden, P. 1975. *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid VIII*. Leiden: Brill.
- Erren, M. 1985–2003. *P. Vergilius Maro Georgica*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

- Fratantuono, Lee. 2009. *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid XI*, Bruxelles: Editions Latomus.
- Fratantuono, Lee, and Smith, Riggs Alden. 2015. *Virgil, Aeneid 5: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Fratantuono, Lee, and Smith, Riggs Alden. 2018. *Virgil, Aeneid 8: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Fratantuono, Lee, and Smith, Riggs Alden. 2022. *Virgil, Aeneid 4: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Freer, N. 2019. Virgil's *Georgics* and the Epicurean Sirens of Poetry. *Reflections and New Perspectives on Virgil's Georgics*. Xinyue, B., and Freer, N., eds. London-New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Frentz, W. 1967. *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie Heft 21). Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain.
- Gale, Monica. 2000. *Virgil on the Nature of Things: the Georgics, Lucretius, and the Didactic Tradition*. Cambridge.
- García Jimenez, M. 1984. Dafnis y la estructura de las *Bucolicas* en el pensamiento de Virgilio. *Simposio virgiliano: Conmemorativo del Bimilenario de la muerte de Virgilio*. F. Moya del Baño, ed. Murcia.
- Giusti, Elena. 2018. *Carthage in Virgil's Aeneid: Staging the Enemy under Augustus*. Cambridge.
- Glei, R. 1991. *Der Vater der Dinge: Interpretationen zur politischen, literarischen und kulturellen Dimension des Krieges bei Vergil*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.
- Gowers, Emily. 2016. "Bacchus and Maecenas in Virgil's Second *Georgic*." *Augustan Poetry and the Irrational*. P. Hardie, ed. Oxford.
- Gransden, Karl Watts. 1976. *Virgil: Aeneid VIII*. Cambridge.
- Gransden, Karl Watts. 1991. *Virgil: Aeneid XI*. Cambridge.
- Harrison, Jane Ellen. 1903. Mystica Vannus Iacchi. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vol. 23: 292–324.
- Harrison, Stephen. 1991. *Vergil: Aeneid 10*. Oxford.
- Heyworth, S., and Morwood, J. 2011. *A Commentary on Propertius, Book 3*. Oxford.
- Heyworth, S., and Morwood, J. 2017. *A Commentary on Vergil, Aeneid 3*. Oxford.
- Holtorf, H. 1959. *P. Vergilius Maro: Die Grösseren Gedichte I, Einleitung – Bucolica*. Freiburg-München: Verlag Karl Alber.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. 1995. *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. 2000. *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. 2003. *Virgil, Aeneid 11*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. 2006. *Virgil, Aeneid 3*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. 2013. *Virgil, Aeneid 6, A Commentary, Volume 2: Commentary and Appendices*. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH.

- Hübner, Ulrich. 1968. *Elegisches in der Aeneis*. Dissertation Gießen.
- Huzar, Eleanor. 1978. *Mark Antony: A Biography*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.
- Jeanmaire, H. 1930. *Le messianisme de Virgile*. Paris: Libraire Philosophique J. Vrin.
- Kronenberg, Leah. 2016. Epicurean Pastoral: Daphnis as an Allegory for Lucretius in Vergil's *Eclogues*. *Vergilius* Vol. 62: 25–56.
- Krummen, Eveline. 2014. Dido als Mänade und tragische Heroine. Dionysische Thematik und Tragödiendition in Vergils Didoerzählung. *Poetica* 36: 25–69.
- Kühn, W. 1971. *Götterszenen bei Vergil*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Lehr, Heinrich. 1934. *Religion und Kult in Vergils Aeneis*. Dissertation Gießen.
- Mac Góráin, Fiachra. 2013. Virgil's Bacchus and the Roman Republic. *Augustan Poetry and the Roman Republic*. J. Farrell and D. Nelis, eds. Oxford: 124–145.
- Mac Góráin, Fiachra. 2014. The Mixed Blessings of Bacchus in Virgil's *Georgics*. *Dictynna* [en ligne]. 11
- Maggiulli, G. 1995. *Incipient silvae cum primum surgere: Mondo vegetale e nomenclatura della flora di Virgilio*. Roma: Gruppo Editore Internazionale.
- Marmorale, E. 1946. *Virgilio Eneide Libro I*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice.
- Mayer, Roland. 2012. *Horace: Odes Book I*. Cambridge.
- McGill, Scott. 2020. *Virgil: Aeneid Book XI*. Cambridge.
- Mynors, R.A.B. 1990. *Virgil Georgics*. Oxford.
- Newman, J., and Newman, F. 2005. *Troy's Children: Lost Generations in Virgil's Aeneid*. Hildesheim–Zürich–New York: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Nielson, K. 1984. Tarchon Etruscus: Alter Aeneas. *Pacific Coast Philology*. Vol. 19, No. 1/2: 28–34.
- Nisbet, Robin, and Hubbard, Margaret. 1970. *A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book I*. Oxford.
- Ottaviano, S., and Conte, G. 2013. *P. Vergilius Maro: Bucolica* (Ottaviano), and *P. Vergilius Maro: Georgica* (Conte), Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH.
- Panoussi, V. 2009. *Virgil's Aeneid and Greek Tragedy: Ritual, Empire, and Intertext*. Cambridge.
- Pease, Arthur Stanley. 1935. *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Pelling, Christopher. 1988. *Plutarch: Life of Antony*. Cambridge.
- Rogerson, Anne. 2017. *Virgil's Ascanius: Imagining the Future in the Aeneid*. Cambridge.
- Salvatore, A. 1988. Lettura della quinta bucolica. *Lecture Vergilianae, Volume Primo, Le Bucoliche*. M. Gigante, ed. Napoli: Giannini Editore.

- Schauer, M. 2007. *Aeneas dux in Vergils Aeneis. Eine literarische Fiktion in augusteischer Zeit*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck.
- Smith, Riggs Alden. 2007. In *Vino Civitas: The Rehabilitation of Bacchus in Vergil's Georgics*. *Vergilius*. Vol. 53: 52–86.
- Stégen, Guillaume. 1975. *Le livre I de l'Énéide*. Namur: Wesmael-Charlier.
- Thomas, Richard. 1988. *Virgil Georgics Volume I, Books I-II*. Cambridge.
- Thomas, Richard, and Ziolkowski, Jan. 2014. *The Virgil Encyclopedia, Volume I*. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Van Sickle, John. 2017. *Daphnis, Daphnoid, and Lucretius in the Liber Bucolicon*. *Vergilius*. Vol. 63: 141–152.
- Weber, Clifford. 2002. The Dionysus in Aeneas. *Classical Philology*. Vol. 97, No. 4 (2002): 322–343.
- Weidner, Andreas. 1869. *Commentar du Vergils Aeneis Buch I und II*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.
- Williams, Roger Derryck. 1960. *P. Vergili Maronis Liber Quintus*. Oxford.
- Williams, Roger Derryck. 1962. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius*. Oxford.
- Wiltshire, David. 2012. *Hopeful Joy: A Study of Laetus in Virgil's Aeneid*. Dissertation North Carolina.

Laetitia Bacchus Dator? – Vergilijevski bog vina

Sažetak

Bakho se spominje u nekolicini ulomaka Vergilijevih *Ekloga*, većinom u vezi sa zagonetnim likom pastira Dafnisa. Isto se božanstvo, u skladu s temom vinogradarstva, češće navodi u Vergilijevom drugom djelu *Georgike*, u kojem se pjesnik upušta u znakovito razmišljanje o kontrastu između pozitivnih i negativnih aspekata vina i posljedica koje je božanski dar vinove loze imao nad smrtnicima. U *Eneidi* se Bakho javlja u važnim ulomcima iz prve i druge polovice epa, osobito u vezi s bijesom i ludilom kojem su podlegle na samoubojstvo osuđene nesretne kraljice, Didona u Kartagi i Amata u Laciju. Pažljivo istraživanje svih ovih relevantnih ulomaka otkriva vješti raspored bakhičkih aluzija u Vergilijevim djelima, s vergilijanskim komentarom, ne samo o općenitim pitanjima povezanim s vinom i njegovim posljedicama za onoga tko ga konzumira, već i o namjernom prihvaćanju dionizijskih i bakhičkih slika od strane trijumvira Marka Antonija, te korištenju navedenih slika opijenosti i veselja u Augustovoj propagandi. Vergilije oblikuje bakhičke reference u pažljivoj ravnoteži s apolonskim aluzijama, kao ključnim božanskim elementima u portretiranju protagonista Eneje: njegovo pak trojansko podrijetlo nudi izazovnu točku za razmatranje i obrazloženje njegova lika u svjetlu prikaza prirode Italije u Augustovom svijetu, svijetu nakon građanskog rata i nakon Antonija i Kleopatre. U konačnoj analizi Bakho služi kao polazišna točka u razumijevanju Vergilijeve prezentacije novog Rima obnovljenog dobroćinstvom princepsa Augusta.

Ključne riječi: Vergilije, Bakho, Dioniz, Eneja, Marko Antonije, Kleopatra