

BACCHUS IN LATIN LOVE-ELEGY

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is, by means of a close examination of the evidence presented by the texts, to analyse the ways in which Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid treat the god Bacchus and, by so doing, to discover why Bacchus becomes for them a patron of poetry.

Chapter I, the introduction, deals briefly with the literary background and sets the limits of the study.

Chapters II, III and IV analyse the appearances of the god in the poetry of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid respectively: the Tibullan Bacchus is primarily a patron of viticulture and is associated with poetry and Amor because of this basic rôle; Propertius is more concerned with the god's relationship with Ariadne and the Maenads and develops a complex exemplum for his affair with Cynthia using these as major characters; Ovid makes frequent use of ideas concerning Bacchus developed by the other two poets but adds nothing really new to the concept of the god as patron of poetry.

Chapter V, the conclusion, summarizes the findings of these three chapters and on the basis of this information, first, makes a general statement about the use of myth in each of the three poets and, second, answers the original question: Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid are personally involved in their poetry, not only as poets but also as lovers; thus Bacchus, because of his relationship with Ariadne and the Maenads, because of his powerful and avenging nature and

because of his ability (through wine) to free them from the pain of an unhappy love affair, is their special patron. An appendix dealing with Bacchic iconography in Latin love-elegy is added.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CJ Classical Journal

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

TAPA Transactions of the American Philological
Association

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to discover and analyse the ways in which Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid employ the figure of Bacchus in their elegies, and, in so doing, to ascertain why, for these three, Bacchus becomes a patron of poetry.

The method used is to deal only with the texts of the three poets. The history of erotic elegy, from Greece through Alexandria to Rome, is long and complex; however, concern for the development of the form is outside the sphere of this study.

The very nature of Latin love-elegy makes an exclusive method particularly valid. It is certain that Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid were in some ways the heirs of the Alexandrian elegiac poets, particularly of Callimachus and Philetas, as well as of earlier Greek writers such as Mimnermus. Propertius and Ovid themselves speak of these as their masters: Propertius in 2.1.39-42 (Callimachus); 2.34.31-32 (Philetas and Callimachus); 3.1.1-6 (Callimachus and Philetas); 3.3.51-52 (Philetas); 3.9.43-44 (Callimachus and Philetas); and Ovid in Amores 2.4.19-20 (Callimachus); Ars Amatoria 3.329-331 (Callimachus, Philetas, Anacreon and Sappho); Remedia Amoris 381 (Callimachus) and 759-762 (Callimachus, Philetas and Anacreon); Tristia 1.6.1-3 (Philetas and Antimachus) and 2.363-368 (Anacreon, Sappho and Callimachus); Epistulae ex Ponto 3.1.57ff. (Philetas).

A study of these passages does not, however, clearly reveal in what respect the Latin poets considered themselves indebted to the Alexandrians.

In discussing Propertius' references to Callimachus, Luck remarks,

...whenever Propertius mentions Callimachus, he sees in him either a model of style, or the elegiac poet, or...a love poet in the vaguest sense of the word. Never, as with others (see 2.34.85ff.) does he connect Callimachus with one woman.¹

After examining Ovid's references to the same poet, Luck states his conclusion, a conclusion that could safely be applied to the other Alexandrian poets as well:

Whatever Callimachus' influence on the Latin elegiac poets may have been - and it should not be underestimated - he became more and more a "great name," a "classic" whom one praised almost mechanically...Callimachus may have written personal love elegies, but if there was one thing he could not supply, it was the fresh experience that makes the Latin elegy what it is.²

Thus, it is clear that, although there were links between the Alexandrian and the Roman elegiac poets, nevertheless, because we know so little about the former, and because the references in the latter are vague, an approach that considers the Latin love-elegy almost a separate phenomenon is justifiable.

Our knowledge of the Roman predecessors of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid is also extremely scanty. There is, of

1 Georg Luck, The Latin Love Elegy (London, 1959), p. 27.

2 Ibid., p. 29.

course, one exception to this statement. The importance of Catullus' role in separating Roman from Alexandrian erotic elegy, in "making Latin elegy what it is," is difficult to overestimate. Kenneth Quinn's term, "the Catullan revolution,"³ is most apt. Although the poet was thoroughly familiar with the elegies and epigrams of the Alexandrians, nevertheless he lived and wrote in a Roman environment. This environment made no small contribution to the new direction imparted to Latin poetry by Catullus and his associates.

Catullus' society was a changing one: Greek influence in literature, increasing prosperity and the consequent extension of leisure time among the upper classes in Rome made possible the kind of fashionable literary circle that produced the nugae. The poetae novi adopted these "trifles"⁴ and made them the basis of a new and serious kind of poetry. In so doing, the new poets were going against the mainstream of Latin poetry: their predecessors and most of their contemporaries held the opinion that worthwhile poetry must be, if nothing else, useful, i.e., it should have a patriotic or moral basis of some kind.

Prosperity and the influence of Greek culture, combined with the increasing independence of women and early, arranged marriages, brought about a change in the Roman attitude to love. Among the upper classes, love affairs outside marriage became more and more common and were treated more and more seriously.

3 The Catullan Revolution (Melbourne, 1959).

4 Cf. Quinn, op. cit., p. 24.

It is necessary to understand these changes in Roman society as well as "the unique stature of a single very individual poet"⁵ in order to appreciate the reasons behind Quinn's

...three ingredients involved in the reshaping of tradition that produced the Catullan revolution. Firstly, the poet becomes an independent personality who forces his personality into his poetry. Secondly, the poet abandons the service of the community for a more esoteric, more purely poetic kind of poetry. Thirdly, the unit becomes the short poem, intensely personal and structurally sophisticated.⁶

The love elegists who followed Catullus were, then, a discrete group: like the Alexandrian poets, they wrote elegiac poetry about love. But, whereas Callimachus and Philetas dealt with the loves of mythological characters or perhaps with their own affairs in an almost objective way, the intensely personal and autobiographical quality of the Latin poetry set it apart. The profound influence of the poet Catullus and the changes taking place in his society succeeded in bringing about a revolution in Latin poetry that made Latin love-elegy something quite different from its Greek "models."⁷

5 Quinn, op. cit., p. 85.

6 Ibid., p. 26.

7 Cf. Brooks Otis, Virgil, a Study in Civilized Poetry (Oxford, 1963), p. 32. Otis emphasizes the rôle of Gallus as innovator. He states here that Gallus "fused Catullus' subjective passion, the poet's own love experience, with the stock themes of Hellenistic amatory epigram and the mythological learning of Alexandrine verse." In view of our lack of direct evidence, however, I think it dangerous to suppose that Gallus "invented" and the others merely followed his lead. Surely Tibullus and Propertius were just as capable of innovation as he.

Finally, a study of these poets as a definite "group" is justified by the very fact that Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid were practically contemporaries, belonged to approximately the same social class and consequently, lived and worked in a similar atmosphere. During the amazingly short period of about sixty years, these poets began, experimented with and "perfected" Latin love-elegy: Catullus died about 54 B.C., Propertius began to publish about 29 B.C. and Tibullus probably published between 23 and 19 B.C.; the first edition of Ovid's Amores appeared soon after 16 B.C. Ovid's exile in 7 A.D. marked the end of love-elegy in Rome. ⁸

It might be argued that a consideration of the rôle of Bacchus in Latin love-elegy is merely a review of common-places. Among the predecessors of the Latin poets, Bacchus ⁹ appears, often with Ceres, as a patron of viticulture; very frequently he is associated with wine, and as such hailed ¹⁰ as a source of good cheer and release from care; likewise,

⁸ Note that Ovid himself thought of the Latin elegiac poets as a discrete group. See Amores 3.9.61ff.; Tristia 4.10.45ff. and Tristia 5.1.17-20.

⁹ Cf. Callimachus, Hymn 6.69-71, translated by A.W. Mair (Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams; Lycophron, Aratus, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1960). Lucretius, De Rerum Natura 4.1168; 5.14; 5.742-743, translated by W.H.D. Rouse (The Loeb Classical Library, London and New York 1924).

¹⁰ Cf. Ion of Chios, Elegiac Poems 1, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Elegy and Iambus...with the Anacreontea, v.1, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1961). Greek Anthology, Bk. 9.403, 524; Bk. 11.55, 57, translated by W.R. Paton (The Greek Anthology, v. 3 and 4, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958).

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the wine god often appears in a context involving love.

Finally, the earlier poets connected Bacchus with poetry a) because as the god of wine he was thought capable of bringing about the kind of "madness" that the ancients associated with both poetry and prophecy and b) because of his association with drama and the dithyramb.

So it might seem that the Latin elegiac poets, in making use of all these identifications of Bacchus, are merely repeating clichés handed down to them by their pre-

11 Cf. Anacreon, Bk. 1.2, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Lyra Graeca, v. 2, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958). Euenus, Elegiac Poems 2, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Elegy and Iambus..., v. 1, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1961). Bacchylides 70. 6-10, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Lyra Graeca, v. 3, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958). Anacreontea 4, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Elegy and Iambus..., v. 2, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1961). Ion of Chios 1, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Lyra Graeca, v. 3, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958). Solon 26, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Elegy and Iambus..., v. 1, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1961). Greek Anthology, Bk. 10.18, translated by W.R. Paton (The Greek Anthology, v. 4, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958).

12 For a study of this sort of reference in both Greek and Latin literature see Arthur P. McKinlay, "Bacchus as Inspirer of Literary Art," CJ 49 (1953) 101-110. See also Alice Spierduti, "The Divine Nature of Poetry in Antiquity," TAPA 81 (1950) 209-240. Note especially pp. 221-223.

13 Cf. Archilochus 77, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Elegy and Iambus..., v.2, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1961). Callimachus, Epigram 10, translated by A.W. Mair (Callimachus..., The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1960). Simonides 177, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Lyra Graeca, v. 2, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958). Bacchylides, 14.48-51, translated by J.M. Edmonds (Lyra Graeca, v. 3, The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958). Callimachus, Epigram 9, translated by A.W. Mair, (Callimachus..., The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1960). Lucretius, De Rerum Natura 1.923.

decessors. My purpose is to show that this is not entirely so, that Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid see in this god and in the legends surrounding him a unique significance for them, as Roman elegiac poets writing of love.

The importance of Catullus in directing the course of Latin love poetry in general has been stressed. Likewise, in particular, Catullus' treatment of the legend of Theseus, Ariadne and Bacchus (64. 50-264) affected the later poets. However, whereas Catullus merely observes the distraught Ariadne (although the poet's personality is by no means absent from his description),¹⁴ Tibullus, Ovid and especially Propertius apply this legend to themselves and to their own love affairs.

The influence of environment upon a poet can easily be exaggerated. It is noteworthy however, that in Italy during the first century B.C. Bacchus became an increasingly familiar deity. He was especially popular in the vine-rich area of Campania, as the god of wine, the protector of wine-merchants and of viticulture in general.¹⁵ In addition, a more Hellenic Bacchus made his appearance in Italy during this century, due primarily to growth in Graeco-Oriental prestige, more direct contact between Rome and the East and the influx into Rome of thousands of oriental artisans and slaves.¹⁶ It is probable that groups of devotees to the cult

14 Cf. Quinn, op. cit., p. 50, and Otis, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

15 Cf. CIL 1.281; 5.5543; 6.467 and 8826.

16 Cf. Adrien Bruhl, Liber Pater (Paris, 1953), p. 122.

of this Hellenic deity existed at Rome during the Augustan age and were known to the elegiac poets.¹⁷

Most important, however, is the fact that during the lives of the elegiac poets Rome was filled with Bacchic works of art. Bruhl states,

Ses statues, chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art hellénique, achetées ou pillées en Grèce, ornent les édifices publics, les jardins, les demeures des particuliers. Des peintures murales représentent les épisodes du mythe dionysiaque.¹⁸

Introducing his chapter "Bacchus dans l'art decoratif de Pompéi et de Rome," he claims,

Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que beaucoup de Romains, à Rome et dans les cités provinciales vivaient dans une ambiance dionysiaque.¹⁹

It is obvious that the elegiac poets, especially Propertius and Ovid, were familiar with such works of art.²⁰ In this connection, a study of Bacchic iconography found in the works of the three poets is appended to this paper.

Thus, we have placed the Latin elegiac poets in a "setting:" they were in some ways the heirs of the Alexandrian poets, but were separated from them by the "Catullan revolution," a revolution involving both profound social changes and the outstanding genius of one man; they were

17 Bruhl, op. cit., p. 136, considers it unlikely that in the time of Augustus there was a temple to Bacchus on the Via Sacra. Note, however, the suspicious evidence of Amores 3.8.51-52: [qua licet, adfectas caelum quoque: templa Quirinus, / Liber et Alcides et modo Caesar habent]. Kenney, following Ehwald, brackets these lines precisely on archaeological grounds.

18 Ibid., p. 119.

19 Ibid., p. 142.

20 See, for example, Propertius 3.9.9-16.

contemporaneous, and in their hands Latin love-elegy developed, was perfected and died; in their treatment of Bacchus, they were preceded by a long line of writers using the various rôles of the god in such a way as to make them almost commonplace; finally, in the Rome of Augustus, all three poets must have been familiar with Bacchus both as a deity worshipped by devout followers and as the subject of numerous works of art.

With regard to this "setting," however,

There is no such thing as an "influence" in the abstract, and any particular "influence" of tradition, of environment, or of personal experience, exists only in the individual influenced and is determined by his personality, which is passive only in grammar and in histories of literature, but in fact is the active element in a complex in which the brute event is the passive material that gains form, significance and efficacy only according to the way, in which the particular individual fashions it.²¹

The aim of this paper is, then, through a close examination of the evidence presented by the poems themselves, to analyse the ways in which Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid treat the god Bacchus. By means of this examination of their various approaches to a narrow area of mythology, it is hoped that a broader understanding of the poetic principles of each of these three poets may be achieved.

21 H.F. Cherniss, "Me ex Versiculis meis parum Pudicum," Critical Essays on Roman Literature. Elegy and Lyric, ed. J.P. Sullivan (London, 1962), p. 25. Italics are mine.

CHAPTER II

BACCHUS IN THE CORPUS TIBULLIANUM

1

In the Corpus Tibullianum, the figure of Bacchus appears in several different forms. For Tibullus (Books 1 and 2) his primary rôle is that of an agricultural god, a patron of viticulture. This Bacchus occupies a position among the simple and very Roman deities who appear so often in Tibullus' rustic "dream world." Frequently the god is seen in combination with Ceres, the two acting as co-patrons of the most important branches of Italian agriculture, viticulture and grain-growing.

Closely connected with this agricultural god is a less Roman Bacchus, whom the poet thinks of as a craftsman: Bacchus invented viticulture and the science of wine-making and taught these to mankind. Then, as its inventor and propagator, the god is identified with wine and with its effects on human beings. In this rôle, Bacchus has certain powers in the realm of Amor.

The Bacchus of Greek myth is also present in the Corpus. Adventures of the Hellenic Dionysus are used to parallel or to illustrate points in several poems.

In his basic rôle, as Roman god of viticulture, Bacchus is seen first in 1.9.33-34, a poem addressed to the boy Marathus, in which the poet chides him for his faith-

1 With the exception of the Panegyricus Messallae, the whole of the Corpus will be considered in this paper. Besides the works of Tibullus, the collection probably includes poems by various members of the circle of Messalla.

lessness:

non tibi si pretium Campania terra daretur,
non tibi si Bacchi cura Falernus ager.

In 2.1.3-4, a prayer to agricultural gods on the occasion of the Roman Ambarvalia, Bacchus and Ceres are invoked together:²

Bacche, ueni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uua
pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres.

Finally, in 2.3.63-64, the poet, lamenting the fact that Nemesis has gone away to the country, curses the countryside:

et tu, Bacche tener, iucundae consitor uuae,
tu quoque deuotos, Bacche, relinque lacus.

Tibullus thinks of this Bacchus almost as one of those simple Roman deities, like the Lares and Penates, whom he contrasts with foreign gods in 1.3.27-34:

³
nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi (nam posse mederi
picta docet templis multa tabella tuis)
ut mea uotiuas persoluens Delia uoces
ante sacras lino tecta fores sedeat
bisque die resoluta comas tibi dicere laudes
insignis turba debeat in Pharia.
at mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates
reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari.

The "Roman-ness" of this Bacchus is further illustrated in 1.10. Tibullus (lines 15-16) prays to the Lares to deliver him from the horrors of war, then adds that faith was stronger when a wooden figure of the god stood in a simple shrine. Lines 21-22, because of their similarity to 2.1.3-4, suggest that, for the poet, some kind of association exists

² Note how often Tibullus distinguishes between the agricultural pursuits of grain-growing and viticulture, and so between the patrons of each: see 1.10.21-22 and 35; 2.1.45-48; 2.3.61-64; 2.5.84-86.

³ I.e., Isis.

between Bacchus and the Lares:

hic placatus erat, seu quis libauerat uuam
seu dederat sanctae spicea serta comae.

For Tibullus, then, Bacchus is basically a simple, rustic deity who, along with other Roman gods of the countryside, watches over the farmer and his labours.⁴

The birthday poem to Messalla (1.7) illustrates the poet's concept of Bacchus as craftsman and shows the development from this idea to the identification of the god with wine and its effects. Tibullus, in order to demonstrate the vastness of his patron's conquests, begins with a list of rivers, countries and cities. His list culminates with the Nile, and he is thus prompted to tell, in lines 29-36, about the Egyptian god, Osiris:⁵

primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris
et teneram ferro sollicitauit humum,
primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae
pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.
hic docuit teneram palis adiungere uitem,
hic uiridem dura caedere falce comam:
illi iucundos primum matura saporis
expressa incultis uua dedit pedibus.

Thus, Osiris-Bacchus is, for the poet, a craftsman who invented the plough, agriculture, viticulture and, finally, wine-making, and who taught these skills to men. Note, however, that, although the god retains many of his rustic

4 Note also the association between Bacchus/wine and the Roman shepherd god, Pales, in 2.5.87-88 and between Bacchus and the rustic Priapus in 1.4.7.

5 The equation Osiris-Bacchus had been established by the time of Herodotus. See 2.42: θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι.

characteristics, Tibullus here considers him not one of the gods of the Italian countryside, but a foreign deity from Egypt.

In lines 37-38, the poet states that wine, the final issue of Bacchus' kindness to mankind, in turn taught men new skills:

ille liquor docuit uoces inflectere cantu,
mouit et ad certos nescia membra modos.

Bacchus, then, by means of his gift of wine, was the originator of poetry and of the dance.

Lines 39-42 illustrate the final step in this development:

Bacchus et agricolae magno confecta labore
pectora tristitiae dissoluenda dedit:
Bacchus et adflictis requiem mortalibus adfert,
crura licet dura compede pulsa sonent.

"Bacchus" in lines 39 and 41 can mean only the effect of wine upon care-worn men, i.e., to release them from sadness, distress and pain.

6 Here is demonstration of a technique common in the literature of the Augustan Age. Names of deities who had long since ceased to have religious significance become, in literature, "equal" to that area or commodity over which they preside. Thus Apollo becomes a synonym for poetry, Mars for war, Minerva for craftsmanship, and so on. Cf. W.W. Fowler, Roman Ideas of Deity in the Last Century Before the Christian Era (London, 1914), p. 134 ff. Other illustrations of this technique applied to Bacchus are seen in 2.5.87-88:

ac madidus baccho sua festa Palilia pastor
concinet: a stabulis tunc procul este lupi,
and in 3.6.57-58:

Naida Bacchus amat: cessas, o lente minister?
temperet annosum Marcia lympha merum.
where Naida is simply "water" and Bacchus "wine." The process is carried to such an extreme that among the elegiac poets

The poem celebrating the Ambarvalia at the beginning of Book 2 also reveals, although less explicitly, the rôle of Bacchus as inventor-teacher. Here, however, the god appears in a more Roman guise, in the midst of a Roman religious ceremony.

The poet describes the rustic festival: the laying aside of work, the necessity of sexual abstinence preceding the ceremonies, cleansing rites and, finally, the bringing out of wine. A toast to Messalla follows, and Tibullus asks his patron to inspire him while he pays tribute to rustic gods. Then begins a kind of "history of mankind," in which the poet states that man learned all his skills from rustic gods (lines 37-50):

rura cano rurisque deos. his uita magistris
desuevit querna pellere glande famem:

a kind of metrical formula for "wine" develops: an adjective (usually multo) with an epithet of Bacchus in the ablative: Tibullus 1.2.3:

neu quisquam multo percussum tempora baccho.

Propertius 1.3.9:

ebria cum multo traherem uestigia Baccho.

2.33b.35:

me miserum, ut multo nihil est mutata Lyaeo.

3.5.21:

me iuuat et multo mentem uincire Lyaeo.

Ovid, Ars Amatoria 3.645:

fallitur et multo custodis cura Lyaeo.

Similarly, Tibullus 3.2.19:

et primum annoso spargent collecta lyaeo.

Propertius 2.3.17:

quantum quod posito formose saltat Iaccho.

Ovid, Amores 2.11.49:

illic adposito narrabis multo Lyaeo.

illi compositis primum docuere tigillis
 exiguam uiridi fronde operire domum:
 illi etiam tauros primi docuisse feruntur
 seruitium et plaustro supposuisse rotam.
 tum uictus abiere feri, tum consita pomus,
 tum bibit inriguas fertilis hortus aquas,
 aurea tum pressos pedibus dedit uua liquores
 mixtaque securo est sobria lympa mero.
 rura ferunt messes, calidi cum sideris aestu
 deponit flauas annua terra comas.
 rure leuis uerno flores apis ingerit alueo,
 compleat ut dulci sedula melle fauos.

Following this, in lines 51-58, as in 1.7.35-38, is
 a description of the beginnings of music, poetry and drama:

agricola adsiduo primum satiatus aratro
 cantauit certo rustica uerba pede
 et satur arenti primum est modulatus auena
 carmen, ut ornatos diceret ante deos,
 agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti
 primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros.
 huic datus a pleno memorabile munus ouili
 dux pecoris curtas auxerat hircus opes.

Thus, in both 1.7 and 2.1, Tibullus associates the
 god Bacchus with poetry, drama and the dance. This associa-
 tion is based not so much on the complex link between the
 Greek Dionysus and highly developed Athenian drama as on
 the simple fact that these art-forms had their origins in
 rustic festivals and were aided in their development by the
 unsophisticated god who invented viticulture, taught it to
 men and offered them wine, the final product of that science.

The notion arrived at in 1.7, that Bacchus is capable
 of releasing men from their cares by means of his gift of
 wine, appears also in 1.2 and in the sixth poem of the group
 by "Lygdamus." In both, it is important to note that Bacchus
 is invoked by the poet-lover who has been wronged in some

way, and who seeks release from the consequent pain.

1.2 begins as a paraclausithyron. Lines 1-4 are noteworthy:

Adde merum uinoque nouos compesce dolores,
occupet ut fessi lumina uicta sopor:
neu quisquam multo percussum tempora baccho
excitet, infelix dum requiescit amor.

Here there seems to be a kind of progression, from merum, pure, unmixed wine, through uino, in this instance perhaps wine-drinking, to baccho, the effects of that drinking. It is bacchus, then, the effect of that commodity over which the god presides, that releases the poet from his unhappiness at being separated from his mistress.

Similarly, in 3.6.1-6, Lygdamus calls upon Liber, the god of the vine, to relieve his love-sorrows by means of the fruit of that vine:

Candide Liber ades: sic sit tibi mystica uitis
semper, sic hedera tempora uincta feras:
aufer et ipse meum patera medicante dolorem:
saepe tuo cecidit munere uictus Amor.
care puer, madeant generoso pocula baccho,
et nobis prona funde Falerna manu.

Liber is capable of overcoming Amor (the pain caused by an unhappy love affair) by means of his patera medicante, his munere, his generoso pocula baccho. This idea is strengthened in lines 13-20, where the poet speaks of ille deus, i.e., Amor, as a god who tames the soul of the lover and makes him submit to the will of a girl. Now, however, it is Amor who is to be conquered by an even stronger power.

In addition to his identification with wine, the

legends surrounding Bacchus are used in 3.6 to bring the god into the realm of Amor. In lines 23-24, the poet warns his friends that, unless they drink wine rather than pocula sicca (line 18), the same vengeance may fall on them as fell on Pentheus at the hands of Agave. Then, in lines 25-28, he impulsively prays that this vengeance be brought upon his false mistress, but quickly revokes his prayer:

quales his poenas qualis quantusque minetur,
 Cadmeae matris praeda cruenta docet.
 sed procul a nobis hic sit timor, illaque, si qua est,
 quid ualeat laesi sentiat ira dei.
 quid precor a demens? uenti temeraria uota,
 aeriae et nubes diripienda ferant.

The poet uses the myth of Ariadne, Theseus and Bacchus in lines 37-44 as an exemplum of his own situation:

quid queror infelix? turpes discedite curae:
 odit Linaeus tristia uerba pater.
 Gnosia, Theseae quondam periuria linguae
 fleuisti ignoto sola relictata mari:
 sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus
 ingrati referens impia facta uiri.
 uos ego nunc moneo: felix, quicumque dolore
 alterius disces posse cauere tuom.

Lygdamus relapses into complaints about his sad lot, but Pater Linaeus loathes sad words such as he, abandoned by Neaera, and Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus, have used. Bacchus brought joy again to Ariadne, and will also to Lygdamus. The poet then warns his friends not to be deceived by false lovers, as he and Ariadne were.

In these two poems we see Bacchus as the god of wine, the releaser from cares and as the Dionysus of Greek myth, first as avenger of those who refuse to partake of his munus, then as the rescuer and lover of Ariadne. In all these,

he is closely connected with the figure of the poet as lover: he releases the poet from the sorrows that unhappy love affairs bring, and he acts as the patron and avenger of the poet as the wronged lover.

The connection of Bacchus with the lover-poet appears, although superficially, in 1.4. Here the poet, unsuccessful in his affair with the boy Marathus, addresses Priapus, the rustic god of fertility, and, in line 3, asks him,

quae tua formosos cepit sollertia?...

In line 7 Priapus is called Bacchi...rustica proles. It is notable that Priapus is here a praeceptor amoris, an expert in the affairs of love, and in this context is addressed as Bacchi...proles.

Later in the same poem (lines 37-38) Priapus warns the poet not to delay in his courting, for youth is gone quickly:

solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuuentas:
nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum.

The mere fact that Bacchus and Phoebus, the usual patron of poetry, are associated with each other, and that this association occurs in a poem about love, is noteworthy. Here they are cited as the conventional representations of eternal youth and are held up to the poet as a contrast to his own mortality.

It is, however, in the fourth poem of Book 3 that the most interesting association between Bacchus and Phoebus is seen. Lygdamus describes a dream in which Phoebus has

appeared to him, telling him that Neaera prefers another man. The god gives the poet a warning to take to Neaera (lines 79-80):

hoc tibi coniugium promittit Delius ipse;
felix hoc alium desine uelle uirum.

The opening lines (43-48) of Phoebus' speech are especially remarkable:

"salve, cura deum: casto nam rite poetae
Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque fauent:
sed proles Semelae Bacchus doctaeque sorores
dicere non norunt quid ferat hora sequens:
at mihi fatorum leges aeuque futuri
euentura pater posse uidere dedit."

The poet is addressed as cura deum because (nam) Phoebus, Bacchus and the Muses rightly (i.e., customarily, traditionally) watch over (favour, incline towards, help, protect) the casto poetae, perhaps, in this case, the "innocent" poet, in that he is being wronged by the girl who, because she has given herself to another man, has broken the foedus between the lovers, and is therefore no longer casta.

The atmosphere of the poem is such that the poet must have been thinking of himself only secondarily as a poeta, and primarily as a wronged lover, the idea implicit in the adjective casto. Further, it is said that Phoebus, Bacchus and the Muses "poetae fauent." The essential meaning of fauent, that of protecting and helping, expresses more appropriately the attitude of these gods towards an innocent victim than their attitude towards the poet as creator and craftsman.

The same sentiment, in a more general form, appears in 2.5, a poem written on the occasion of Messalinus' installation

as a priest of Apollo. Near the end of the poem (lines 105-106) Tibullus prays to Apollo to let bows and arrows disappear and unarmed Love wander free over the earth. He is then reminded of the fact that, since Cupid took to carrying arrows, many have suffered from these weapons. In lines 109-112, we learn that the poet has been especially afflicted:

et mihi praecipue, iaceo cum saucius annum
 et (faueo morbo cum iuuat ipse dolor)
 usque cano Nemesim, sine quo uersus mihi nullus
 uerba potest iustos aut reperire pedes.

The following lines (113-116) warn Nemesis to beware of hurting the poet-lover:

at tu, nam diuum seruat tutela poetas,
 praemoneo, uati parce, puella, sacro,
 ut Messalinum celebrem, cum praemia belli
 ante suos currus oppida uicta feret.

In both these poems, then, the gods are considered not really the sources of a poet's inspiration and technical skill, but his particular patrons as a wronged lover. It is in this context in 3.4.43-44 that Bacchus joins the usual patrons of poetry, Apollo and the Muses. A link exists between this Bacchus and that of 3.6, where the poet beseeches the god to take vengeance upon his mistress for her deceit (lines 25-26) and uses the analogy between the Bacchus-Ariadne myth and his own situation (lines 37-44).

Thus, in the Corpus Tibullianum, the figure of Bacchus is associated with the poet in two ways: besides the fact that he, Bacchus, through his gift of wine, is the inventor of poetry, he is especially the patron of the poet as lover, in

that, again through this gift, he provides a release from the cares of an unhappy love, and appears, in the two episodes selected from his mythical adventures, as the saviour and avenger of the wronged lover.

CHAPTER III
BACCHUS IN THE POETRY OF PROPERTIUS

In the poetry of Propertius, various facets of the complex figure of Bacchus are more successfully fused than in the Corpus Tibullianum. The poet rarely uses Bacchus to mean simply wine, or that god who is patron of viticulture, or that god who loved Ariadne; in almost every instance, Propertius seems to have had in mind a single personality who is at once the god of wine, the lover of Ariadne and the leader and "hypnotizer" of the Maenads.

Nevertheless, a certain change and expansion in the poet's concept of the god are noticeable as one reads through the poetry. As the affair with Cynthia progresses and as at the same time Propertius gains awareness of himself as a poet, a change appears in his poetry: Books 1 and 2 deal almost entirely with his love for Cynthia; near the end of Book 2, however, as their liaison starts to dissolve, Propertius combines his philosophy as a lover with his theories as a poet. This combination of topics occupies the poet's mind to an increasing degree throughout Book 3, until finally, in Book 4, Cynthia has been all but discarded, and the poet, having worked through to another area of interest, turns to entirely new subject-matter.

As Propertius' poetry changes and develops, his concept of the god Bacchus does likewise. In the first two books, while the poet is completely involved with his mistress,

Bacchus appears chiefly as the god of wine and the lover of Ariadne, although even here there are hints of a deeper significance. Near the end of Book 2, when Propertius becomes more concerned with the poetical side of his rôle as lover-poet, a complex synthesis takes place: just as Bacchus makes his "mistress," Ariadne, leader of the Maenads, so now Propertius admits Cynthia to the front ranks of the chorus of Muses. Bacchus, leader of the Maenads, furthermore, fuses with Apollo, leader of the Muses and patron of poetry; this composite figure of Bacchus/Apollo leading and having power over the Maenads/Muses serves Propertius well in the development of his theories as a poet of love.

Finally, in Book 3 and especially in Book 4, where Propertius realizes that the elegiac metre may be put to uses other than love poetry, Bacchus is retained as a kind of abstract patron of elegy, no longer in union with, but in contrast to, Apollo, the patron of more "serious" poetry.

In order to understand the Propertian Bacchus, and how this complex figure grows and changes, it will be necessary to discover and to analyse the ways in which Propertius uses Bacchus in individual poems.

In 1.3, the poet describes his return from a drinking party and his discovery of Cynthia asleep. The atmosphere of the first part of the poem is one of desire heightened by intoxication, an atmosphere in which the figure of Bacchus is present just below the surface as a kind of motivating

force. The poem opens with three similes, two of which involve Bacchic legend:

Qualis Thesea iacuit cedente carina
 languida desertis Cnosia litoribus;
 qualis et accubuit primo Cepheia somno
 libera iam duris cotibus Andromede;
 nec minus assiduis Edonis fessa choreis
 qualis in herboso concidit Apidano.¹

Neither the reference to Ariadne nor that to the Maenad mentions Bacchus directly, yet he is implicit in both: the next step in the Ariadne-Theseus legend is the arrival of Bacchus; likewise, Bacchus is the cause of the Maenad's frenzy and her consequent exhaustion. The deliberate choice of these two episodes displays aspects of Bacchus that are particularly appropriate to this poem: first, and most simply, he is the lover of Ariadne; second, his ability to inspire a kind of release from inhibitions similar to that caused by intoxication is implied in the picture of the Maenad exhausted by constant dancing. So also has Propertius, Cynthia's lover, been released from his inhibitions by Bacchus. In line 9, however, it becomes clear that the god has wielded his power over Propertius not by means of his thyrsus, as with the Maenad, but by means of his identification with wine:

ebria cum multo traherem uestigia Baccho,
 et quaterent sera nocte facem pueri.

1 The most obvious connection among Ariadne, Andromeda, the Maenad and Cynthia is the fact that all are sleeping the sleep of the exhausted. Propertius is led from Ariadne to Andromeda, however, by the underlying theme of rescue: Bacchus is about to rescue Ariadne, Perseus has already freed Andromeda (and, like Bacchus, has fallen in love with her whom he saves), and Propertius is on the verge of "rescuing" Cynthia. For a similar association between Andromeda and Ariadne cf. Heroides 18.151-154.

In these two lines, the Bacchic images used thus far in the poem fall into one: as Bacchus, leading the thyrsus-bearing Maenads, who have become "intoxicated" because of his power over them, came in triumphal procession to Ariadne, deserted by the hard-hearted Theseus, so Propertius, under the influence of Bacchus/wine, comes, accompanied by the troop of young boys with torches, to Cynthia, whom he himself had "abandoned" earlier. The fact that Propertius here and elsewhere identifies himself with the figure of Bacchus will be dealt with in greater detail later in this chapter.

In lines 13-16,

et quamuis duplici correptum ardore iuberent
 hac Amor hac Liber, durus uterque deus,
 subiecto leuiter positam temptare lacerto
 osculaque admota sumere † et arma † manu,

the poet refers to Liber. The reader associates with this name all the attributes brought to mind by the imagery of the previous lines. Now, however, Propertius emphasizes the fact that Bacchus' primary rôle in the poem involves his identification with wine and his consequent ability to produce intoxication. The meaning of these lines is, then,² that desire (Amor) is intensified by intoxication (Liber).

The connection between Bacchus, the god of wine, and Amor is explored from two points of view in 2.33b. Here Propertius scolds Cynthia for drinking and gambling far into the night, and so paying little attention to him. He blames wine

2 Cf. Ovid, Amores 1.6.59-60.

for this, and in lines 27-28 curses its inventor:

a pereat, quicumque meracas repperit uuas
corrupitque bonas nectare primus aquas!

That the poet has Bacchus in mind is indicated by the first of the following three examples of beings who have been destroyed or injured because of wine:

Icare, Cecropiis merito iugulate colonis,
pampineus nosti quam sit amarus odor!

The mythical Icarus, an Athenian, received Dionysus graciously, and so was given the vine. He made wine and gave it to some of his countrymen, who, becoming intoxicated, believed they were poisoned and killed him.³

In the following couplet, Eurytion the centaur and Polyphemus are cited as examples of the harmfulness of wine-drinking. Finally, in lines 33-34, Propertius sums up the reasons why he, as a poet-lover, considers wine injurious:

uino forma perit, uino corrumpitur aetas,
uino saepe suum nescit amica uirum.

At line 35, however, the poet abruptly changes his tone: after preaching about the harmfulness of wine, he suddenly realizes that, in the case of his Cynthia, wine is hurting her not at all, and that she is as beautiful as ever:

me miserum, ut multo nihil est mutata Lyaeo!
iam bibe: formosa es: nil tibi uina nocent,
cum tua praependent demissae in pocula sertae,
et mea deducta carmina uoce legis.

Here Lyaeus, an epithet of Bacchus, is synonymous with uinum and merum used elsewhere in the poem.

3 Cf. Apollodorus, The Library 3.14.7.

Lines 37-38 perhaps indicate why the poet has changed his mind so suddenly: Cynthia has turned from casting dice to reading his poetry. The sense seems to be, "wine is bad when it takes your attention from me, but good when it prompts you to read my poetry." Thus wine, instead of being an enemy, as it was in the first half of the poem, becomes an ally to the lover as poet.

Lines 39-44,

largius effuso madeat tibi mensa Falerno,
 spumet et aurato mollius in calice.
 nulla tamen lecto recipit se sola libenter:
 est quiddam, quod uos quaerere cogat Amor.
 semper in absentis felicior aestus amantis:
 eleuat assiduos copia longa uiros,

seem at first glance to be unconnected with what has gone before. However, the same alliance between Liber (intoxication) and Amor (desire) that was seen in 1.3 is implicit here. The lines mean: let Cynthia enjoy her wine; the consequent intoxication, together with Amor (desire), will bring her to me sooner or later. I shall cease to "nag" her as I have been doing, since women are less favourable to excessively persistent suitors.

In 2.33b the poet has explored two facets of the figure of Bacchus in his identification with wine: first, with a kind of tongue-in-cheek attitude, the notion that Bacchus/wine is an enemy to Love, second, and more sincerely, the idea that Bacchus is in reality an ally to Amor (a) because, under the influence of wine, his mistress has pleased him by reading his poetry, and (b) because, as in 1.3, desire is intensified

by intoxication.

In 3.17 we find yet another demonstration of the fact that for Propertius, Bacchus is very much involved in the sphere of Amor. The poem is in the form of a prayer addressed to Bacchus in which the poet pleads to be set free from the pain that his mistress has apparently caused him by some arrogant action (cf. line 3: insanae Veneris...fastus; and line 41: seruitio...superbo). Line 4,

curarumque tuo fit medicina mero,
line 6,

tu uitium ex animo dilue, Bacche, meo,
in which dilue must refer to wine, and lines 9-11,

hoc mihi, quod ueteres custodit in ossibus ignis,
funera sanabunt aut tua uina malum.
semper enim uacuos nox sobria torquet amantis,

make it clear that the poet has in mind the Greek Dionysus, the inventor and propagator of viticulture, and that he expects relief to come through the god's gift of wine. In lines 13-20 Propertius states that, if the god grants him sleep, he will, in his honour, plant vines and make wine. As a poet, he will also tell of the heroic adventures of Bacchus. In the following list (lines 21-28), with the exception of the allusions to his birth and to his triumphant journey to India, all the legends mentioned have to do with Dionysus as the god of the vine. Lines 29-38 describe the appearance of the god and some of the aspects of his cult; this description, together with lines 21-28, makes it still more obvious that Propertius

has in mind the Hellenic god who introduced viticulture to mankind.

Besides addressing Bacchus as the god of viticulture, however, Propertius prays to him because, as the lover of Ariadne, he should be especially sympathetic to the suffering poet: as Ariadne was abandoned by the cruel and arrogant Theseus, and subsequently rescued by Bacchus, so Propertius has been badly treated by his mistress, and pleads for comfort from that god (lines 3-8):⁴

tu potes insanae Veneris compescere fastus,
curarumque tuo fit medicina mero.
per te iunguntur, per te soluuntur amantes:
tu uitium ex animo dilue, Bacche, meo.
te quoque enim non esse rudem testatur in astris
lyncibus ad caelum uecta Ariadna tuis.

However, whereas Ariadne was freed from her pain by the arrival and love of Bacchus, Propertius asks for deliverance from his pain by the god's gift of wine. Thus, in these lines, Bacchus has a double identity: that of wine and that of the lover and rescuer of Ariadne. In both these rôles, he is appropriately addressed by the suffering poet.

Line 5 is noteworthy: the idea that wine joins lovers is seen also in 1.3.13-18, where Liber is an ally of Amor. Bacchus also sets lovers free, however, (a) from the hurts which they inflict upon each other and (b) from attachment

⁴ It is remarkable that Propertius here compares himself to the female partner in a mythological love affair. Similar reversals appear at 2.27.13-16, where the poet is comparable to Eurydice, his mistress to Orpheus; and at 1.11.23, where the poet, addressing Cynthia, uses Andromache's words to Hector (cf. Iliad 6.429).

to each other, since, as we saw in 2.33b.34,

uino saepe suum nescit amica uirum.

2.33b indeed seems an expansion (in reverse) of 3.17.5:

per te iunguntur, per te soluuntur amantes. In that poem, Propertius first dwells on the fact that wine is harmful to Love; in the second half of the poem, however, he implies that it is in truth an ally.

Analysis of the manner in which Propertius uses the figure of Bacchus in these three poems makes clear the fact that the poet is here concerned with Bacchus primarily insofar as that god has certain powers in the realm of Amor and is therefore an appropriate "patron" of the poet as lover. In all three poems, the god appears in his identification with wine: we learn that wine often intensifies desire, and in some circumstances prompts the poet's mistress to please him by reading his poetry; on the other hand, it may also cause a girl to ignore her lover; finally, wine is capable of releasing lovers from the distress that an unhappy affair involves.

It is obvious in 1.3 and in 3.17 that Bacchus' rôle as lover of Ariadne is important to the poet's understanding of the god's relationship to Amor. Indeed, Ariadne alone is an important figure. She is used several times as an example of the "jilted" lover: in 2.24b.43, where Propertius warns Cynthia that only he is trustworthy, in 1.3.1-2, where Cynthia, abandoned by Propertius, is compared to Ariadne abandoned by Theseus, and implicitly in 3.17, where Propertius,

treated harshly by Cynthia, is comparable to the mistreated⁵ heroine.

Ariadne is an important figure in the transition in Propertius' poetry from pure and simple love-elegy to poetry in which he combines his rôle as lover with that as poet. In order to understand this transition, and Ariadne's place in it, it will again be necessary to consider individual poems.

2.30 presents several textual problems. P.J. Enk divides the poem into 1-12 (30a) and 13-40 (30b). 30b is of great significance to this inquiry. Lines 19-22 contain⁶ difficulties that have been much discussed; Enk's solution is most plausible. He accepts the reading of N for line 19 (non tamen immerito) and takes the following infinitives as infinitives of exclamation. He then understands the poem in this way:

5 Perhaps of less significance are 2.14.7-8, where Ariadne's joy at seeing Theseus safely through the labyrinth is equated with the poet's joy in his mistress, and 3.20.17-18, in which Ariadne is called upon to witness a lovers' oath. Nevertheless, these last two instances add to the evidence that for Propertius, as a poet of love, the myth of Ariadne is significant.

6 See P.J. Enk, Sex. Propertii Elegiarum. Liber Secundus, v.2 (Leyden, 1962), pp. 381-382. H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber, The Elegies of Propertius (Oxford, 1933), p. 245, claim that the reading of N (non tamen immerito) "has been declared unintelligible by the majority of editors." Then, taking the reading nunc tu (or nunc iam) dura paras (LPf and the majority of later MSS), they state, "...it is at least possible to secure some sense by two very slight changes, num (Scaliger) for the opening nunc, and dure (ç) for dura. The poet addresses someone (perhaps himself): 'Hard-hearted, do you make ready to cross the Phrygian seas?' &c. The lines will then refer to a lover, perhaps the poet himself, who meditates joining the Parthian campaign."

13-18 Per me licet morosi senes ista nostra
convivia vituperent, nos, mea vita, nostro modo
vivamus. 19-22 Quae non sine causa dico. Debeone
Phrygias per undas ire et alterna caede communes
spargere Penates? 23-24 Pudeatne me amica mea con-
tentum vivere? 25-36 Libeat tibi, Cynthia, mecum
rorida antra tenere. Illic videbis Musas in scopulis
haerentes, audiesque eas amores Iovis et ipsarum
Musarum canentes. 37-40 Et cum Musae tibi locum
dabunt in parte choreae suae et Bacchus μεσοχόρος
erit, mihi ex hedera coronam imponi sinam, nam sine te,
Cynthia, ingenium nihil valet.⁷

A closer study of lines 13-25 reveals a three-fold contrast.

Lines 13-14,

ista senes licet accusent conuiuia duri:
nos modo propositum, uita, teramus iter,

contrast the harshness of stern old men with the chosen
way of life (conuiuia) of Propertius and Cynthia. Lines
15-18,

illorum antiquis onerantur legibus aures:
hic locus est in quo, tibia docta, sonos,
quae non iure uado Maeandri iacta natasti,
turpia cum faceret Palladis ora tumor,

contrast the sounds that fall on the ears of these old
men (i.e., legal disputes, senatorial debates) with the
sounds appropriate to the lover's way of life (i.e., music
of the tibia). Finally, lines 19-23,

[non tamen immerito! Phrygias nunc ire per undas
et petere Hyrcani litora nota maris,
spargere et alterna communis caede Penatis
et ferre ad patrios praemia dira Lares!]
una contentum pudeat me uiuere amica?

contrast the way of life that sterner men follow - mili-
tary or commercial activities in far-off places - with that
of the lover - a quiet existence with only one concern: his
mistress.

7 Enk, op. cit., p. 386.

The reader is thus immediately introduced to two elements present in the life of the poet: love, and things appropriate to love, music and poetry (the origins of which are implied in the legend about Minerva).

Lines 25-40 continue and explore the association between poetry and love:

... libeat tibi, Cynthia, mecum
 rorida muscosis antra tenere iugis.
 illic aspicias scopulis haerere Sorores
 et canere antiqui dulcia furta Iovis,
 ut Semela est combustus, ut est deperditus Io,
 denique ut ad Troiae tecta uolarit auis.
 quod si nemo exstat qui uicerit Alitis arma,
 communis culpa cur reus unus agor?
 nec tu Virginibus reuerentia moueris ora;
 hic quoque non nescit quid sit amare chorus;
 si tamen Oeagri quaedam compressa figura
 Bistoniis olim rupibus accubuit.
 hic ubi te prima statuent in parte choreae,
 et medius docta cuspide Bacchus erit,
 tum capiti sacros patiar pendere corymbos:
 nam sine te nostrum non ualet ingenium.

First, the poet asks his mistress to live with him in dewy caverns on mossy ridges, i.e., Mount Helicon. Then he speaks of the Muses, the patronesses of poetry, whom they will see clinging to the crags, singing of the secret loves of Jove. The poet then tells his mistress that she will not disturb the decorum of the Muses, since they also are no strangers to love. The poem reaches its climax with the statement that the Muses will place Cynthia in the front ranks of their dance; the poet's love and the source of his inspiration are one, and, with Cynthia's admittance to the number of the Muses, a synthesis is achieved. It is at this point that Propertius will allow himself to assume

the badge of the poet: the crown of ivy, a plant sacred to
⁸
 Bacchus.

In this context, i.e., a kind of synthesis of poetical theory with the philosophy of the lover, it is Bacchus who appears as leader of the Muses. It will be remembered that in legend Bacchus became the fosterling of the Muses after ⁹ his second birth, from the thigh of Zeus. However, the epithet *Μουσαγέτης* is usually applied to Apollo, and it is Apollo whom Propertius associates with the Muses in most other instances (e.g., 1.2.27-28; 1.8b.41-42; 2.1.3-4). The epithet is transferred to Bacchus probably because of ¹⁰ the ancient association of the two gods at Delphi. Here the festal year was divided between Apollo and Dionysus; Apollo, surrounded by the Muses, appeared on the east pediment of the temple, Dionysus, surrounded by the Maenads, on the west. ¹¹

Propertius has, however, chosen Bacchus as *μουσαγέτης* for reasons more subtle than these. We noted that at 2.3.17-18,

quantum 'quod posito formose saltat Iaccho,
 egit ut euhantis dux Ariadna choros,

⁸ Cf. 2.5.25-26.

⁹ Cf. *Iliad* 6.132: the Muses are *μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας*.

¹⁰ Cf. L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v.5 (Oxford, 1909), p. 145.

¹¹ Farnell, *loc. cit.*, cites a Naxian inscription of the Roman period in which Dionysus is called *Μουσαγέτης*. Note also that Plutarch, *Is. and Os.* 35, and *E at Delphi* 9, speaks of the association between Apollo and Dionysus.

the poet refers to Ariadne as leader of the Maenads. Thus a kind of extended simile develops: as Ariadne, the "mistress" of Bacchus, is made leader of the chorus of Maenads, so Cynthia, the mistress of Propertius, is made leader of the chorus of Muses. Between Bacchus and the Maenad, Ariadne, there exists the same relationship as exists between Propertius and the Muse, Cynthia: love. No such relationship between Apollo and a Muse is evident in the poetry of Propertius. The poet has deliberately confused Bacchus with Apollo and Maenads with Muses in order to achieve his purpose: the combination of his rôle as a lover with that as poet.

There is additional evidence in 2.30b for the synthesis between Maenads and Muses. Cuspide in line 38 is the thyrsus, by means of which the god struck divine madness into his followers. In this case, however, it is called docta, perhaps because the chorus that Bacchus leads is one not primarily of frenzied Maenads, but one composed also of the Learned Sisters.

The most noteworthy evidence, however, is found in 3.3. Here Propertius imagines himself on Mount Helicon, and describes his plan to attempt serious poetry (lines 1-12). Phoebus, the usual patron of poetry, appears, ridicules his decision and tells Propertius to confine himself to his customary love poetry (lines 13-26). He then conducts the poet to the dwelling of the Muses; the following description (lines 27-36) is remarkable:

hic erat affixis uiridis spelunca lapillis,
 pendebantque cauis tympana pumicibus,
 orgia Musarum et Sileni patris imago
 fictilis et calami, Pan Tegeaeae, tui;
 et Veneris dominae uolucres, mea turba, columbae
 tingunt Gorgoneo punica rostra lacu;
 diuersaeque nouem sortitae iura Puellae
 exercent teneras in sua dona manus:
 haec hederas legit in thyrsos, haec carmina neruis
 aptat, at illa manu texit utraque rosam.

There are several Bacchic elements present here: first, tympana are instruments more often associated with or-¹²giastic cults, such as those of Cybele and Bacchus, than with the more restrained cult of Apollo and the Muses. Next, the basic meaning of the word orgia is nocturnal¹³ rites in honour of Bacchus. The poet, furthermore, speaks of Sileni patris imago/fictilis. Silenus, about the middle of the sixth century B.C., becomes associated with Dionysus, and accompanies him on his adventures along with the rest of his entourage. He is often portrayed as an excessively drunk and somewhat lecherous old man. In the Satyr-plays, however, he develops intellectual talents and becomes the¹⁴ teacher of Dionysus.

The fact that Silenus is here called pater indicates

12 Cf. 3.17.33 and Ovid, Heroides 4.48, Ars Amatoria 1.538.

13 A Latin Dictionary, edited by Lewis and Short (Oxford, 1962), s.v. orgia. What Propertius means by orgia Musarum is, however, difficult to determine. Cf. similar puzzling expressions in Catullus 64.259: obscura cavis... orgia cistis; Tibullus 1.7.48: occultis conscia cista sacris. Both these expressions appear in Bacchic settings. Cf., however, Georgics 2.476: quarum (i.e., Musarum) sacra fero.

14 The Oxford Classical Dictionary, edited by Cary, Denniston, Duff, Nock, Ross, Scullard (Oxford, 1949), s.v. Satyrs and Sileni. Cf. Virgil, Eclogue 6.

that the poet has in mind his identity as a respected member of the Bacchic entourage, and as teacher of Dionysus, rather than as a drunken and lecherous old man.

Propertius tells us, finally, that among the Muses one is occupied in gathering ivy for the thyrsus, the staff of Bacchus.

Thus it becomes still clearer that the poet has fused Muses with Maenads;¹⁵ indeed, the dwelling he describes resembles a Maenad "camp" more than it does the home of the Muses.

3.13.61-62 should be noted in connection with the synthesis between Bacchus and Apollo and the Maenads and Muses:

certa loquor, sed nulla fides; neque enim Ilia quondam
uerax Pergameis Maenas habenda malis.

Here the point of comparison is primarily one of frenzied appearance. Traditionally, however, Cassandra received her ill-fated gift of prophecy from Apollo; it was he who made her uerax. Thus we see again the fusion of Bacchus and Apollo: Cassandra, made a seer by Apollo, the god of prophecy as well as of poetry, is compared to the frenzied Maenad, disciple of Bacchus.

We have seen that Propertius, to achieve his own purposes, has used the Bacchus-Ariadne-Maenad combination as an exemplum of his own position with Cynthia and the Muses.

¹⁵ Note that other ancient authors confuse Muses with Maenads. Cf. Sophocles, Antigone 962; Plutarch, Symposiacs 8, Proem. Propertius, however, fuses the two for a very definite artistic purpose.

That the poet takes the next logical step, i.e., identification of himself with the figure of Bacchus/Apollo, can also be demonstrated.

In the first five poems of Book 3, Propertius states his credo as a poet-lover. This suite, particularly the first three poems, is in many ways an expansion of 2.30b, a kind of synthesis of poetical theory with the philosophy of the lover. Here, however, the poet becomes more and more aware of his rôle not merely as a poet of love but as a writer of elegy.

In 3.1 Propertius is concerned primarily with his identity as a poet. He declares that he is writing in the tradition of the Alexandrian elegiac poets, Callimachus and Philetas. He contrasts the fineness of elegy (e.g., tenuastis in line 5, exactus tenui pumice in line 8, mollia in line 19) with the heaviness (implied in moratur in line 7 and dura in line 20) of heroic poetry that deals with military affairs. The image that follows in lines 9-12 is noteworthy:

quo me Fama leuat terra sublimis, et a me
nata coronatis Musa triumphat equis,
et mecum in curru parui uectantur Amores,
scriptorumque meas turba secuta rotas.

Here the poet pictures himself as god-like, and bearing certain resemblances to Bacchus/Apollo, leader of the triumphal procession of Maenads/Muses.¹⁶ The a me...nata Musa is perhaps Cynthia, whom he has made his tenth Muse (2.

16 Cf. 1.3.9-10 (see p. 25 above) and 4.1.136.

30b.37). The presence of Amores in the next line lends weight to this interpretation. Thus these lines carry out the synthesis put forward in 2.30b: Bacchus/Propertius leads a band of Maenads/Muses, one of whom is his mistress, Ariadne/Cynthia.

In the second half of the poem, Propertius declares that, although his contemporaries refuse to grant him recognition, nevertheless, after he has died, he and his poetry will become famous. He uses Homer as an example and cites tales that would be unknown but for the Iliad and Odyssey and that, with the passage of time, have brought fame to their author. So also will he, Propertius, by means of his poetry, gain immortality.

In 3.1 then, the poet states that he is a writer of elegy; he goes on to claim that poetry has the power to bring fame to its author, if not at once, then certainly after his death.

3.2 continues with the idea that poetry is of use to its author, but narrows it down to the realm of the poet as lover (carminis...nostri...in orbem, line 1), i.e., poetry is useful in winning the favour of a girl. Propertius, in lines 3-8, cites examples of the power of poetry. Lines 9-10 return to the notion that poetry is especially useful to him in the sphere of love:

miremur, nobis et Baccho et Apolline dextro,
turba puellarum si mea uerba colit?

Again Propertius has united Bacchus with Apollo, the major

reason for the union being that both gods are in control of a turba puellarum, Bacchus of the Maenads, Apollo of the Muses. The poet has, moreover, identified himself with these two: as Bacchus/Apollo leads and is worshipped by the crowd of Maenads/Muses, so he, Propertius the poet, because these gods favour him, is worshipped by a crowd of girls.

In lines 15-16,

at Musae comites et carmina cara legenti,
et defessa choris Calliopea meis,¹⁷

the poet moves directly into the sphere of the god, and, instead of being surrounded merely by a crowd of girls, he is, like Apollo, accompanied by the Muses.

Thus, besides adopting the figure of Bacchus/Apollo, which, because of its relationship to Ariadne and the Maenads/Muses, is one particularly appropriate to him as a poet of love, Propertius has also identified himself with this figure because it is surrounded by a crowd of wor-¹⁸shippers, just as he is, or at least would like to be.

In 3.4 and 3.5 Propertius makes use of his synthesis of Muses and Maenads in a different way. These form a

17 Cf. line 16 to 1.3.5: nec minus assiduis Edonis fessa choreis. Though here the Maenad/Muse is wearied by dancing presumably inspired by Bacchus, in 3.2.16 the Muse/Maenad is not wearied by dancing inspired by Propertius.

18 Cf. 3.17.22 where a third turba puellarum is connected with Bacchus, the nymphs from Mt. Nysa, who, according to one legend, were his nurses and who here become his followers, i.e., Maenads.

pair within the suite of poems at the beginning of Book

3. 3.4, a propempticon addressed to Augustus Caesar before the Parthian campaign of 20 B.C., begins:

arma deus Caesar dices meditatur ad Indos,
et freta gemmiferi findere classe maris.

The contrast between these two lines and the beginning of 3.5,

pacis Amor deus est, pacem ueneramur amantes,
makes clear the point of the two poems: Caesar the god is concerned with war and booty, but, since Amor is a god of peace, and the poet is a follower of Amor, his concern is peace.

At 3.5.19-22, after he has "preached" on the foolishness of war and plundering, Propertius states:

me iuuat in prima coluisse Heliconae iuuenta
Musarumque choris implicuisse manus:
me iuuat et multo mentem uincire Lyaeo,
et caput in uerna semper habere rosa.

Here again we see the union in the poet's mind between the Muses and the Maenads: he claims that it pleases him to take part in the dance of the Muses, and that it also pleases him to "fetter his mind with much Lyaeus." Line 21 is usually taken to mean: it pleases me to become intoxicated, i.e., wine befuddles one's mind, "puts it in chains," and so makes it difficult for a man to think clearly. However, the expression mentem uincire is strange; usually (cf. 1.3 and 3.17) wine is thought of as a releaser of tension - the opposite of the idea in uincire. Might this line not mean: it pleases me to have my mind under the control of Bacchus

as a god of poetry, just as the Maenads (whose dance I join) are spellbound by him? Mentem uincire implies a loss of the power of reason, and, as happens to the Maenads, an abandonment to the emotions and passions. Propertius is perhaps saying here that, whereas the writing of heroic epic requires calm rational thought, his kind of poetry, i.e., love poetry, is written more under the influence of just such passion as overcomes the Maenads.¹⁹

The poet's idea of the kind of influence the god Bacchus has over the Maenads is shown also in 3.8, in which Propertius states that he prefers an angry mistress because the degree of a woman's violence is a measure of her love. Lines 11-18 list examples of behaviour that indicates true passion; line 14 contains a simile of interest:

seu sequitur medias, Maenas ut icta, uias.

Here the choice of the participle icta indicates that the poet thinks of the Maenad as "smitten" by the power of Bacchus, and so spellbound, witless.

Thus far it has been shown that Bacchus in his identification with wine and as the lover of Ariadne is a figure especially appropriate to Propertius the lover. Next we saw how Propertius combines Bacchus with Apollo as leader of the Muses in order to create an appropriate patron for himself as a poet who combines poetical theories with his philosophy as a lover; the resulting synthesis between

19 Cf. 3.24.19-20, where Propertius, finally renouncing Cynthia, declares himself a disciple of Mens Bona. Cf. also Ovid, Amores 1.2.31.

Muses and Maenads has been demonstrated. Propertius also identifies himself with the figure of Bacchus/Apollo because these two gods are surrounded by, and exercise control over, a turba puellarum, as he also does by means of his poetry. A further development of this idea is the comparison that Propertius makes between himself and the Maenad: both are influenced by the power of Bacchus - the Maenad by means of a blow from the thyrsus, and he, the poet/lover, by means of Bacchus/wine.

It is thus clear why Propertius, in Books 1,2 and 3, has adopted Bacchus as his patron. In these books he has first of all dealt exclusively with love. He has then developed a fusion between his identity as a lover and his identity as a poet.

In Book 4, Propertius almost completely discards his rôle as a lover. Nevertheless, Bacchus is retained as his patron. The figure of the god appears, however, in a different light.

At the beginning of Book 4, Propertius declares that he has decided to write a different kind of verse. 4.1.1-54 deal with the legendary history of Rome: its rustic beginnings, its early simple government and religion and, "un-chronologically," its Trojan origins. The legends enumerated in these lines are confused and often unrelated; probably the poet means them as a list of topics that he intends to pursue in his new rôle as a "serious" poet.

At the end of the first section of the poem (lines 69-

70), he sums up his intentions:

sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum:
has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.

These lines, together with line 64, in which the poet refers to himself as the Roman Callimachus, indicate that Propertius plans to write poetry similar to the Aetia of Callimachus, i.e., he does not intend to devote himself to serious epic, but will continue to write elegiac poetry that will, however, differ in subject matter from what he has formerly written; instead of dealing with love, his new poetry will investigate "holy rites and days, and the ancient names of places."

In the light of this intention, the meaning of lines 55-64 becomes clearer:

optima nutricum nostris lupa Martia rebus,
qualia creuerunt moenia lacte tuo!
moenia namque pio coner disponere uersu:
ei mihi, quod nostro est paruus in ore sonus!
sed tamen exiguo quodcumque e pectore riui
fluxerit, hoc patriae seruiet omne meae.
Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria libris,
Umbria Romani patria Callimachi!

Thus Propertius, still an elegiac poet, contrasts his "fine" poetry to the "rough" verse of Ennius, a writer of epic. He uses as a metaphorical point of comparison the kind of crown appropriate to each of them: the "prickly" garland (of laurel or myrtle?) to Ennius, the soft, pliable crown of ivy to himself.

Here, then, it seems that the poet invokes Bacchus primarily because ivy, the kind of plant he needs for his

comparison, is sacred to that god. Hertzberg apparently agrees that it is the nature of ivy rather than the god Bacchus with which the poet is concerned:

Hirsutae coronae dum mollius folium opponere
poeta vult, sponte se praebuit hedera, cujus sequax
natura vel in proverbium abiit. Hederam suam
Bacchus sequutus est. Quem deum - ut poetarum
et elegiacorum patronum hic quoque, quamvis²⁰
majora ausurus, jure Propertius veneratur.

It is noteworthy that in Horos' reply to the poet's declaration, it is Apollo, not Bacchus, who is cited as the patron of serious poetry (see lines 73 and 133-134).

Lines 135-136,

at tu finge elegos, fallax opus: haec tua castra! -
scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo,

together with the following lines, make it clear that Propertius is to continue to write elegy that deals with love. It is implied, then, that Apollo, whose sphere of influence is primarily serious poetry, has forbidden Propertius entrance to his realm, and that Propertius must return to that kind of poetry over which a less severe god (Bacchus?) presides.

4.6 is the third of Propertius' aetiological poems. It was probably written in conjunction with a celebration²¹ of the ludi quinquennales established by Augustus in 28B.C.

²⁰ Guil. Hertzberg, Sex. Aurelii Propertii Elegiarum, v.3 (Halle, 1845), p. 404.

²¹ K.P. Harrington, The Roman Elegiac Poets (New York, 1914), p. 355: "As the submission of the Sycambri (v. 77) took place in 16 B.C., it appears probable that Propertius timed this poem to be a part of the fourth celebration of these games."

to honour Apollo, under whose patronage the victory at Actium had been won.

The poem opens with a formula traditional at the beginning of a sacrifice:

Sacra facit uates: sint ora fauentia sacris,
et cadat ante meos icta iuuenca focos.

Here the uates is Propertius himself, and the sacrifice he is about to offer is his poem. Probably other poets were composing works in various metres for the occasion. In view of this, lines 3-4,

serta Philiteis certet Romana corymbis
et Cyrenaeas urna ministret aquas,

mean that he, writing elegy, intends to compete with poets who are writing in metres more commonly used for poetry of this kind, i.e., poetry containing elements of epic: invocation (lines 11-14), heroic subject matter, a speech of the god (lines 55-68), and description of a celebration involving poets who sing of the great deeds of Augustus (lines 69-86).

Line 10 lends weight to the idea that Propertius intends to use the elegiac metre for a purpose not usual in Rome. He is thus travelling a nouum iter.

The poet has thus identified himself with Callimachus and Philetas, elegiac poets who have for their insignia the ivy wreath of Bacchus.

At line 69, having completed his explanation of how Phoebus won his temple, Propertius launches on a description of the festivities that follow the sacred ceremonies.

Apollo sheds his rôle as war-like patron of Augustus, and is identified with music and poetry:

bella satis cecini: citharam iam poscit Apollo
uictor et ad placidos exuit arma choros.

The banquet then begins, and wine is served to a company that apparently consists only of poets. Propertius then prays (lines 75-76),

ingenium positis irritet Musa poetis:
Bacche, soles Phoebos fertilis esse tuo.

H.E. Butler, reading potis in line 75, translates: Let the Muse stir poets that are now fired with wine. If, however, positis is retained, line 75 must mean: Let the Muse stir poets who have seated themselves (at the banquet), i.e., who are in attendance here. With either reading, the primary meaning of Bacche in the following line is wine, intoxication, or, more broadly, the revelry connected with a drinking party, and Phoebos means simply "the writing of poetry." Line 76 is then a kind of metaphorical paraphrase of line 75, and the two together mean that wine/intoxication/revelry acts as a spur to the ingenium of the poet.

A more subtle interpretation of these lines is to be found by a return to the beginning of the poem. Could not Bacche be an echo of Philiteis...corymbis (line 3), and the line mean: the poets whose badge is the ivy, and

22 Propertius, translated by H.E. Butler (The Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1962). I disagree with Butler, Sexti Properti. Opera Omnia (London, 1905), p. 370, where he states that "positis NLF is meaningless." Butler and Barber, op. cit., p. 359, make no comment on the reading of the line.

whose patron is Bacchus, i.e., the elegists, are "able" to produce verse that meets with the requirements of Phoebus, the patron of more serious poetry. Propertius is stating that he has succeeded in what he started out to do, i.e., produce an elegiac poem in a serious vein, praising Apollo on the occasion of one of his festivals.

CHAPTER IV

BACCHUS IN THE POETRY OF OVID

Bacchus' appearance in the poetry of Ovid is similar to that in the Corpus Tibullianum. Whereas Propertius explores the legends surrounding the god and emerges with a complex figure peculiarly adapted to a certain rôle in his poetic scheme, both Tibullus and Ovid, although aware of various facets of the god, use these facets exclusive of one another: Bacchus is at one time simply equal to wine, at another simply the patron of viticulture or the lover of Ariadne. The repeated use of these one-sided identifications of the god make his appearances seem trite. In Ovid's poetry, since its volume is so much greater than that of the Corpus, these identifications become almost formulaic: the frequent use of the Maenad as an illustration of frenzied madness is an example.

Except for Propertius' unique development of ideas concerning Bacchus, almost all the basic concepts involving the god that are used by the other two poets appear and reappear in Ovid's verse: Bacchus is identified with wine and as such considered both an ally and an enemy of Amor;¹ he is the lover of Ariadne and so the patron of the poet as lover; he is the patron of viticulture; he is the leader

¹ It is noteworthy, however, that, whereas both Tibullus and Propertius discuss the ability of wine to relieve the pain of an unhappy love affair (see Tibullus 1.2 and 3.6; Propertius 3.17), Ovid never does so. Perhaps this is because he was never so deeply involved as to be really injured by a cruel mistress.

of the Maenads; finally, he becomes a patron of poetry: the power of his thyrsus over the Maenads is compared to his power over poets, and, in association with Apollo and the Muses, he becomes the peculiar patron of the poet as lover. It is significant that Bacchus' only real appearance as patron of poets is in Ovid's love poetry.

Ovid, perhaps because he is the last in the line of Latin love elegists, states many of these ideas explicitly, whereas Tibullus and Propertius merely imply them. An example is the notion that, since Bacchus loved Ariadne, he is therefore a god who favours lovers.

In order to discover how Ovid understands the figure of Bacchus, it will again be necessary to analyse the appearance of the god in individual poems.

An epithet of Bacchus meaning simply "wine" appears in Amores 2.11. Ovid laments the fact that Corinna is about to leave on a sea voyage. He warns her of the dangers involved, pretends that she has already gone and, in lines 37-56, anticipates her return. Imagining a "reception" on the shore, he states in lines 49-50,

illic adposito narrabis multa Lyaeo
paene sit ut mediis obruta navis aquis.

The basic meaning of adposito...Lyaeo is simply "the wine having been served." The ablative absolute, however, perhaps contains a causal sense. If this is so, then the notion that wine relaxes a person and loosens his tongue is also present. The choice of the epithet Lyaeus (*Λυαίος*, Deliverer,

from $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega$) is then particularly appropriate.

Amores 1.6 is a paraclausithyron addressed to Corinna's doorkeeper. In lines 33-38 the poet tells the ianitor that he should be admitted because he has not come accompanied by soldiers or under arms; his escort, he explains in lines 37-38, is a harmless one:

ergo Amor et modicum circa mea tempora uinum
mecum est et madidis lapsa corona comis.

The poet has come to Corinna's door from a drinking party. The association between wine and love that is implied here is mentioned again in lines 59-60: the poet, so far unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade the ianitor to open the door, has just threatened him with violence, and explains to him that,

nox et Amor uinumque nihil moderabile suadent:
illa pudore uacat, Liber Amorque metu.²

Here Liber is practically synonymous with uinum in the previous line. Perhaps the idea of intoxication is added.

For Ovid as well as for Propertius, then, an alliance exists between Amor and Bacchus/wine. Ovid has, however, broadened the terms of the alliance: Propertius thinks of Bacchus as an ally of Amor primarily because intoxication intensifies desire; Ovid states that desire assisted by intoxication makes the poet fearless in obtaining the object of that desire.

In Ars Amatoria Ovid frequently finds occasion to deal with the place of the wine god in the realm of Amor. In

2 Cf. Propertius 1.3.13-16.

Book 1, lines 229-230, he states that banquets offer opportunities to the lover: besides wine, Love may be found there.

Lines 231-236 are a pictorial development of this notion:

saepe illic positi teneris adducta lacertis
 purpureus Bacchi cornua pressit Amor,
 uinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas,
 permanet et capto stat grauis ille loco.
 ille quidem pennas uelociter excutit udas,
 sed tamen et spargi pectus Amore nocet.

Cupid embraces the horns of Bacchus, i.e., Love and wine are both present at convivia; when wine drenches Cupid's wings, the god of love is forced to stand still, i.e., under the influence of wine, Love remains present and takes possession of the banqueters; although Cupid quickly shakes the wine from his wings, nevertheless, in so doing, he "sprinkles" the guests with his "power" and so captures them.

Lines 237-246 list other influences of wine over men:

uina parant animos faciuntque caloribus aptos;
 cura fugit multo diluiturque mero.
 tunc ueniunt risus, tum pauper cornua sumit,
 tum dolor et curae rugaque frontis abit.
 tunc aperit mentes aeuo rarissima nostro
 simplicitas, artes excutiente deo.
 illic saepe animos iuuenum rapuere puellae,
 et Venus in uinis ignis in igne fuit.
 hic tu fallaci nimium ne crede lucernae:
 iudicio formae noxque merumque nocent.

Here Ovid summarizes ideas about wine that are found scattered throughout the works of Tibullus and Propertius.³ By so listing them, he makes these seem conventional and almost

3. For lines 237 and 243-44 cf. Propertius 1.3.13ff., lines 245-46 cf. Propertius 2.33b.33-34, lines 237-240 cf. Propertius 3.17.4-7, Tibullus 1.7.39-42, 1.2.1-4 and 3.6.1-8, although here, whereas Ovid is concerned simply with the release from sorrow and cares in general, the other two are seeking release from pain caused by love.

formulaic. Ovid's main point is, however, that at banquets one finds wine, which, because it intensifies desire (lines 237, 243-44), and releases men from cares (238-240) and from craftiness (241-42), is an ally of Amor. Nevertheless, he warns his reader, that under the influence of wine, he may misjudge feminine beauty.

Book 3 of Ars Amatoria is addressed to the poet's feminine audience. Here also Bacchus/wine has a part to play. In lines 645-646 Ovid explains that Bacchus in his identification with wine is useful in deceiving husbands:

fallitur et multo custodis cura Lyaeo,
illa uel Hispano lecta sit uua iugo.

Wine, even inferior Spanish wine, befuddles the wits of a girl's bodyguard, and so enables her to escape his custody. In lines 761-762 the poet returns to the theme of Book 1.
231-252:

aptius est deceatque magis potare puellas:
cum Veneris puero non male, Bacche, facis.

For girls as well as for men, then, Bacchus/wine is an ally of Amor. Again, however, as in l.245-246, Ovid warns, in lines 765-766, that wine may also be harmful to a girl who wishes to make a good impression upon a prospective lover:

turpe iacens mulier multo madefacta Lyaeo:
digna est concubitus quoslibet illa pati.

In the instances discussed above, Ovid has used Bacchus and Lyaeus to mean simply uinum or merum. As such, the god is involved in the realm of Amor, both as ally and as enemy.

For both Tibullus and Propertius the association of

Bacchus with Ariadne is significant to the connection between Bacchus and Amor. Whether or not this association has the same significance for Ovid is now to be investigated.

In Amores 1.7 the poet repents of having struck Corinna. He states that he tore at her hair, and that even so dishevelled she was beautiful. He then compares her to three figures of mythology, the second of whom is Ariadne (lines 15-16):

talis periuri promissaque uelaeque Thesei
fleuit praecipites Cressa tulisse Notos.

The comparison is based primarily on the fact that both Ariadne and Corinna, although they appear tearful and dishevelled, are nevertheless appealing. Also, however, Ovid mistreating Corinna is implicitly compared to the cruel Theseus. Ariadne, then, is here an example both of beauty and of an abandoned woman.

The goddess appears similarly in Ars Amatoria 3.35-36, where Ovid explains that, although men are deceitful, women are not; Ariadne again serves as an example:

quantum in te, Theseu, uolucres Ariadna marinas
pauit in ignoto sola relictæ loco.

The most detailed portrayal of this Ariadne, i.e., a distraught, almost wild looking girl, cruelly deserted and frantically lamenting her loss, appears in Heroides 10, Ariadne to Theseus.

Another version of Ariadne, however, also appears in the poetry of Ovid.

Heroides 6 is addressed by Hypsipyle to Jason. In lines 113-116, she pleads her cause by citing her distinguished

ancestry:

si te nobilitas generosaque nomina tangunt -
 en, ego Minoo nata Thoante feror!
 Bacchus avus; Bacchi coniunx redimita corona
 praeradiat stellis signa minora suis.

Hypsipyle has mentioned her grandmother, Ariadne, the Bacchi coniunx, in order to contrast the situation of the goddess with her own. Whereas she, Hypsipyle, has been deceived and abandoned by Jason, Ariadne was loved and rewarded with immortality by Bacchus.

In Heroides 18, Leander to Hero, Ariadne appears in a similar light. Leander claims, in lines 147-160, that he needs no guidance from the stars to find his way to Hero: his love will keep him on course. Lines 151-154 list three constellations that he discards as navigational aids:

Andromedan alius spectet claramque Coronam
 quaeque micat gelido Parrhasis Ursa polo;
 at mihi, quod Perseus et cum Iove Liber amarunt,
 indicium dubiae non placet esse viae.

Because Bacchus loved Ariadne, he made a constellation of
 4
 her crown.

Likewise, in Heroides 15.23-26, Sappho to Phaon, the poetess notes that Bacchus loved Ariadne, even though she was unfamiliar with lyric poetry:

sume fidem et pharetram-fies manifestus Apollo,
 accedant capiti cornua-Bacchus eris:
 et Phoebus Daphnen, et Gnosida Bacchus amavit,
 nec norat lyricos illa vel illa modos.

Thus for Ovid, Ariadne, besides being an example of beauty and of desertion, because of her relationship with Bacchus,

4 Further reference to Ariadne's crown in this connection is seen at Fasti 5.345-346 and Metamorphoses 8.176-182.

is also an example of a well-treated and well-loved mistress.

These two facets of Ovid's Ariadne are combined in Ars Amatoria 3.157-158. Here, as in Amores 1.7.15-16, the example of the goddess is used primarily to demonstrate that even a careless appearance can be attractive:

talem te Bacchus Satyris clamantibus 'euhoe'
sustulit in currus, Cnosi relictā, suos.

The fact that Ovid sees Ariadne from these two points of view, a) as a distraught, forsaken woman and b) as the well-treated "mistress" of Bacchus, is further illustrated in Fasti 3.459-516, where the poet explains the origin of the constellation called Ariadne's crown: Bacchus, returned from his conquests in the East, has "taken up" with a captive Indian princess. Ariadne laments that she has again been deceived, and, as before, tearfully paces the shore with dishevelled hair (lines 469-470). Bacchus, hearing her complaints, consoles her by granting her immortality, by allowing her to share his name, i.e., she will now be called Libera,⁵ and by making a constellation from her crown.

A similar combination of the two Ariadnes appears, in detailed fashion, in Ars Amatoria 1.525-564. The poet begins, in lines 525-526, by stating explicitly and succinctly what was implicit in Tibullus and Propertius, i.e., that Bacchus loved Ariadne, and, having felt love, therefore favours lovers:

5 It is noteworthy that in this passage Bacchus is associated with the same kind of love-games dealt with in the Amores and Ars Amatoria. He is here hardly a god, but simply a lover faced with a jealous and demanding mistress.

ecce, suum uatem Liber uocat; hic quoque amantis
adiuuat et flammae, qua calet ipse, fauet.

In lines 527-536 Ovid pictures Ariadne as in Heroides 10: a girl abandoned, dishevelled and frantically tearful. Here, however, the story progresses. Lines 537-564 tell of the arrival of Bacchus in his tiger-drawn car with his colourful entourage of Maenads, Satyrs and the drunken old Silenus. The god embraces Ariadne and tells her she shall be his wife; her wedding gift shall be the metamorphosis of her crown into a constellation.

At line 565 the poet returns to his theme of advising the lover; Bacchus remains, but in a different rôle:

ergo, ubi contigerint positi tibi munera Bacchi
atque erit in socii femina parte tori,
Nycteliumque patrem nocturnaque sacra precare
ne iubeant capiti uina nocere tuo.

From Bacchus, then, the lover of Ariadne, Ovid has turned again to Bacchus in his identification with wine. There follows a discussion of the ways in which wine may be useful or harmful to the lover's campaign.

The poet has thus stated clearly what Tibullus and Propertius merely imply: that Bacchus has a place in the realm of Amor a) because he loved Ariadne and b) because of his identification with wine.

Ovid makes use of the "adventures" of the Hellenic Dionysus in all his poetry. Since, however, the main concern of this study is love-elegy, his treatment of these legends in his other poetry is not of primary importance here. Particularly in Fasti and Metamorphoses, when the poet is merely

telling a story for its own sake, there is no need to search for depths of meaning in his treatment of Bacchus. Nevertheless, it will be profitable to consider the way in which Ovid handles these legends, in order to discover the characteristics of the figure that emerges. It may then be easier to understand how and why, in Ovid's love-elegies, Bacchus becomes a patron of poetry.

In Amores 1.2 Ovid states that he has fallen in love: he is a victim of Cupid. He describes a triumphal procession, led by the god of love (lines 23-48), in which he, Cupid's prisoner-of-war, takes part. As the procession moves along, Cupid wounds spectators with his arrows and so overcomes them with love. This picture brings to the poet's mind the triumphant procession of Bacchus into India (lines 47-48):

talis erat domita Bacchus Gangetide terra:
tu grauis alitibus, tigribus ille fuit.

Another comparison involving Bacchus' triumph over India appears at Ars Amatoria 1.189-190. Here Ovid has been explaining that public spectacles, such as Augustus' staging of the battle of Salamis in 2.B.C., are appropriate places for mistress-hunting. He is then reminded that Augustus is about to launch a campaign against the Parthians, led by the youthful Gaius Caesar. The combination of youth and conquest brings to mind first the infant Hercules crushing the snakes, and then the young Bacchus triumphing over India:

nunc quoque qui puer es, quantus tum, Bacche, fuisti
cum timuit thyrsos India uicta tuos?

Similarly, in Fasti 3.713-790, where Ovid deals with a festival of Bacchus, it is this forceful, conquering side of the god's personality to which the reader is first introduced. Lines 715-718 describe his fiery, unnatural birth, lines 719-724 allude to his triumphs in the East and to the legends of Pentheus, Lycurgus and the pirates who were turned into dolphins. In explaining that Bacchus was the first to offer sacrifice to Jupiter, the poet again has occasion (lines 729-732) to mention his conquest of India. The derivation of libamina and liba from Liber and their connection with sacrifices are then discussed; the amusing story of the discovery of honey follows.

Here Bacchus appears first as a dutiful subject of Jupiter, in that he initiates sacrifice to him, and, secondly, as a kindly sort of father figure, when he laughingly shows Silenus how to treat his bee-stings (759-760).⁶

Lines 771-790 attempt to explain why the toga libera is given to boys on the occasion of the Liberalia. Bacchus appears here first as an example of eternal youth (lines 773-775), then, again, as a father who naturally protects sons (lines 775-776), then in association with libertas (lines 777-778) and finally, in lines 789-790, again addressed as pater as a kindly figure who favours the poet.

In Metamorphoses, more than in Fasti, in which Bacchic episodes are used to explain various natural or religious

⁶ For the kindness of Bacchus cf. Metamorphoses 7. 359-360, 9.132-135 (here note also his paternity) and 7. 294-296.

phenomena, Ovid narrates these adventures per se and in much greater detail. In Book 3, lines 261-315, the poet tells of Juno's wrath because of Semele's pregnancy, the revenge she obtains by contriving her destruction, the encasement of the unborn child in the thigh of Jove and Bacchus' infancy, first under the protection of Ino, then under that of the nymphs of Nysa.

In the following lines (316-510) Ovid moves through a succession of tales, each linked with the other; the whole section displays a kind of ring composition by means of which the poet returns to a Bacchic adventure in line 511.

After the safety of the infant Bacchus is assured, Jove relaxes and enters into a good-humoured argument with Juno (lines 316-322). The prophet Tiresias is asked to arbitrate the dispute, and there follows the story of how he obtained his gift of prophecy (lines 322-338). Tiresias' foretelling of the fate of Narcissus is then mentioned, and the poet goes on to narrate in detail the story of Narcissus (lines 339-510): the love that the nymph Echo had for him, his infatuation with his own reflection, and finally his death and Echo's pity and lamentation for him. At line 511 the reader is reminded that the preceding tale was prompted by mention of Tiresias' prophecy; from here the poet moves to another of the seer's warnings: the one given to Pentheus. In this way Ovid returns to Bacchus. The section might be diagrammed in this way:

1. Bacchus' birth (he is the child of Semele) (lines 261-315).
2. Argument between Jove and Juno (lines 316-322).
3. Tiresias' gift of prophecy (lines 322-338).
4. Narcissus/Echo (lines 339-401).
5. Narcissus' infatuation with himself (lines 402-501).
6. Narcissus' death and Echo's sorrow (lines 502-510).
7. Tiresias (lines 511-512).
8. Pentheus (lines 513-527).
9. Bacchus (proles Semeleia, Liber) (lines 528-end)

The story of Pentheus, together with the "enclosed" episode of Bacchus changing the pirates into dolphins, displays two seemingly contradictory characteristics of the god.

First, Pentheus, learning of the arrival of Bacchus and his throng, characterizes the god as noisy but fraudulent, effeminate, soft and youthful; he contrasts these traits with the customary down-to-earth militarism, courage, patriotism, adventurous spirit, experience and general manliness of the Theban populace (lines 531-563). He then sends his servants to bring Bacchus to him. They return with a votary of the god, Acoetes, who tells how he became devoted to the new cult (lines 582-691): on his way to Delos he was driven off course and landed on the island of Chios. There one of his crew discovered a youth whom Acoetes believed to be more than mortal. The crew scoffed at this idea, and, when the boy asked to be taken to Naxos, deceived him by pretending to make for that island, but really sailing in another direction. When Bacchus discovered the deception,

he displayed his true nature: the ship was made to stand still, ivy appeared on the oars, the decks and the sails, and the god assumed his customary insignia - the garland of ivy, the thyrsus and his feline companions. The sailors were changed to dolphins, with the exception of Acoetes, who had remained loyal to Bacchus throughout.

In Acoetes' tale, Bacchus appears first almost as Pentheus has pictured him in the preceding speech: youthful, effeminate, beautiful and weak (note especially lines 607-609). However, when it becomes obvious that the boy is in reality a god, his powerful and demanding nature comes to the fore.

It is this latter facet of Bacchus' nature that dominates the rest of Book 3. Pentheus imprisons Acoetes, with the intention of torturing him, but the prisoner escapes miraculously. No longer trusting his servants, Pentheus then goes to Cithaeron in search of the god. He is there torn to pieces by the Maenads, maddened by the power of Bacchus and led by Pentheus' mother, Agave.

In this whole episode, Ovid has made the reader aware of two aspects of the "personality" of Bacchus. The story of his birth (lines 261-315) is one of both violence (Juno's wrath, Semele's destruction, Bacchus' second birth from the thigh of his father) and gentleness (his infancy with Ino, the care that the nymphs of Nysa bestowed upon him by hiding him in their cave and nourishing him with milk). Likewise, in the speech of Acoetes, Bacchus appears first to be soft,

youthful and effeminately weak. However, the end of Acoetes' tale and the cruel fate of Pentheus make clear the supernatural power, the demanding nature and the ruthlessness of the god.

A similar combination of traits appears in Ovid's treatment of the god in Book 4 of Metamorphoses. Here too there appears a kind of ring composition, although less complex than that noted in Book 3:

1. A priest announces that everyone is to cease work in order to celebrate a festival of Bacchus. The daughters of Minyas refuse (lines 1-10).
2. List of Bacchus' epithets, characteristics and accomplishments (lines 11-32).
3. The daughters of Minyas amuse themselves as they weave by telling stories (lines 32-388):
 - i. Pyramus and Thisbe (lines 55-166).
 - ii. The Sun and Leucothoe (lines 167-270).
 - iii. Cupid and Salmacis (lines 271-388).
4. Alcithoe and her sisters continue to weave (lines 389-390).
5. Bacchic miracle: because they will not submit to him, Bacchus changes the sisters into bats. The divinity of the god is then acknowledged throughout Thebes (lines 391-418).

In lines 18-30, a list of the god's characteristics and accomplishments, indeed almost a prayer, both facets of the god's personality are mentioned: he is deceptively young and weak, but, in reality, powerful and ruthlessly
7
cruel to those who refuse to submit to him:

tu puer aeternus, tu formosissimus alto
conspiceris caelo; tibi, cum sine cornibus adstas,

7 Cf. Metamorphoses 4.604-614.

virgineum caput est; oriens tibi victus, adusque
 decolor extremo qua tinguitur India Gange.
 Penthea tu, venerande, bipenniferumque Lycurgum
 sacrilegos mactas Tyrrhenaque mittis in aequor
 corpora, tu biugum pictis insignia frenis
 colla premis lyncum. bacchae satyrique sequuntur,
 quique senex ferula titubantis ebrius artus
 sustinet et pando non fortiter haeret asello.
 quacumque ingrederis, clamor iuvenalis et una
 femineae voces impulsaque tympana palmis
 concavaque aera sonant longoque foramine buxus.

As at the end of Book 3, it is the latter side of the
 god's character that comes to the fore in lines 391-418,
 where he changes the sisters to bats and so commands the
 respect of all Thebes.

At the beginning of Book 11 Bacchus appears in a dif-
 ferent light. Lines 1-66 tell how the Maenads cruelly mur-
 dered Orpheus. The savagery and ruthlessness of these
 followers of Bacchus, presumably maddened by him, at first
 seems a reflection upon the character of the god. It has
 been shown, after all, that Ovid's Bacchus is a god unmerci-
 ful towards those who refuse to submit to him. However, in
 lines 67-70 it becomes clear that Bacchus had no part in the
 slaying of Orpheus, that Orpheus indeed was himself a follower
 of the god:

non inpune tamen scelus hoc sinit esse Lyaeus,
 amissoque dolens sacrorum vate suorum
 protinus in silvis matres Edonidas omnes,
 quae videre nefas, torta radice ligavit.

The fact that Orpheus is here referred to as sacrorum vate
suorum, i.e., poet/prophet of the sacred rites of Bacchus,
 and in lines 92-93 as he who taught the rites of Bacchus
 to Midas, indicates some link in the poet's mind between

Bacchic legend and the myth of Orpheus that involves the origins of music and poetry.

The almost human sensitivity combined with divine justice that Bacchus displays in grieving over Orpheus and punishing his slayers are further shown in the following episodes: in lines 100-101 he rejoices that Silenus, his foster-father, has been returned to him and rewards Midas with a divine gift. In line 105 he again grieves that Midas has asked for such a foolish gift and, in lines 135-136, shows kindness and mercy by relieving the king of his terrible power.

The figure that emerges from this investigation into Ovid's use of Bacchic adventures is one that combines many qualities. Bacchus is a conquering, triumphant god, supernaturally powerful and ruthless towards those who remain unresponsive to this power. His youthful and effeminate appearance is, however, deceptive. In addition, the Ovidian Bacchus possesses several very human qualities: he is just, kind, merciful, paternal and capable of feeling both joy and grief.

Closely associated with the god's identification with wine and with his adventures as the Greek Dionysus, the inventor and propagator of viticulture, is his appearance in the poetry of Ovid as simply an agricultural god, a protector of the vine. In this connection, the Ovidian Bacchus bears many resemblances to the figure so often seen in the works of Tibullus (cf. 1.9.33-34, 2.1.3-4, 2.3.63-64).

In Amores 3.2.43-57 Ovid describes a procession in which figures of the gods are carried around the course immediately before a race. Bacchus appears in this procession (line 53) in association with Ceres, the goddess who protects grain crops:

ruricolae Cereri teneroque adsurgite Baccho,

Similarly, in Ars Amatoria 3.101-102 the poet, advising his feminine readers to care for their physical appearance, cites as a parallel well-cared-for vineyards, which Liber will favour with good vintage, and well-cultivated soil, which will bear high-standing crops:

ordior a cultu: cultis bene Liber ab uuis
prouenit, et culto stat seges alta solo.

Bacchus appears, again in association with Ceres, as patron of viticulture in Fasti 1.353-360. Ovid, dealing with the origins of animal sacrifice, has just explained that the sow is sacrificed to Ceres because that animal rooted up her newly planted grain; likewise, the goat is slaughtered in honour of Bacchus because he nibbled at the vine:

sus dederat poenas: exemplo territus huius
palmite debueras abstinuisse, caper.
quem spectans aliquis dentes in vite prementem
talìa non tacito dicta dolore dedit:
"rode, caper, vitem! tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram
in tua quod spargi cornua possit, erit."
verba fides sequitur: noxae tibi deditus hostis
spargitur adfuso cornua, Bacche, mero.

The association of Bacchus with wine is implied in the episode involving Priapus, the nymph Lotis, and the ass

⁸ For this association between Bacchus and Ceres in Metamorphoses see 8.274 and 13.639.

of Silenus, described in Fasti 1.391-440. The occasion of the incident is festā corymbiferi...Bacchi (line 393) and at line 403 the god is said to have provided wine for the celebration:

vina dabat Liber, tulerat sibi quisque coronam.

A similar association is mentioned at Fasti 3.407-414, where Ovid describes the origin of the constellation Vindemitor:

at non effugiet Vindemitor: hoc quoque causam
unde trahat sidus, parva docere mora est.
Ampelon intonsum satyro nymphaque creatum
fertur in Ismariis Bacchus amasse iugis:
tradidit huic vitem pendentem e frondibus ulmi,
quae nunc de pueri nomine nomen habet.
dum legit in ramo pictas temerarius uvas
decidit: amissum Liber in astra tulit.

Likewise, at Fasti 3.765-766, where Ovid explains why it is that an old woman makes the honey-cakes sacrificed to Bacchus on the occasion of the Liberalia, the reason he gives involves the god's connection with wine:

cur anus hoc faciat, quaeris? vinosior aetas
haec est et gravidæ munera vitis amat.

So, then, in all these instances Bacchus appears as a patron god of viticulture, not, as before (see above pages 49-53), identified with wine, but now invoked as inventor, propagator and protector of the vine and so of wine-making and wine itself.

For Propertius the relationship between Bacchus and the Maenads proved to be an important one with regard to that poet's adoption of Bacchus as his patron. In the

9 Cf. Metamorphoses 11.125.

poetry of Ovid the treatment of this relationship is not nearly so complex, but it is nevertheless significant.

First of all, Ovid makes use of the Maenad alone, simply on the basis of appearance, to serve as an example of a woman dishevelled yet lovely.¹⁰ In both cases a comparison is made primarily on the basis of loose, streaming hair. Amores 1.9 explores the similarities between the life of the lover and that of the soldier. In lines 33-40 the poet cites examples of legendary military figures who have been influenced by love; lines 37-38 tell of Cassandra and Agamemnon:

summa ducum, Atrides uisa Priameide fertur
Maenadis effusis obstipuisse comis.¹¹

The Maenad appears similarly in Amores 1.14.21-22, where Ovid chides Corinna for so treating her hair that it has fallen out. He recalls that, although her hair was of no definite colour, yet it was fine and very long, easy to dress and attractive when loose. This last brings to mind the picture of the weary Maenad:

tum quoque erat neglecta decens, ut Thracia Bacche,
cum temere in uiridi gramine lassa iacet.

The loose hair of the Maenad, which provides the basis for comparison in these two similes, is mentioned as the only attribute of the Bacchanals in Ars Amatoria 1.541, where Ovid describes the arrival of Bacchus and his troop on

¹⁰ Cf. his use of Ariadne for the same purpose (see pp. 53-54 above).

¹¹ Cf. Propertius 3.13.61-62.

12

Naxos:

ecce, Mimallonides sparsis in terga capillis.

Ovid's most frequent use of the figure of the Maenad, however, involves the fact that she has been smitten by the power of Bacchus and so maddened and forced to rush about frenzied. In each of the following instances the Maenad appears in a simile; the frequent use of the participle concita and verb forms with similar meanings such as actae (Heroides 4.47), egit (Heroides 13.34) and icta (Ars Amatoria 2.380), and the metrical similarities in these lines also indicate that for Ovid the Maenad is merely a type, to be used almost formulaically, whenever frenzy or madness is mentioned in connection with a woman:

Heroides 4.47-48:

nunc feror, ut Bacchi furiis Eleleides actae,
quaeque sub Idaeo tympana colle movent.

Heroides 10.47-48:

aut ego diffusis erravi sola capillis,
qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo.

Heroides 13.33-34:

ut quas pampinea tetigisse Bicorniger hasta,
creditur, huc illuc, qua furor egit, eo.

Ars Amatoria 1.311-312:

in nemus et saltus thalamo regina relicto
fertur, ut Aonio concita Baccha deo.

Ars Amatoria 2.379-380:

in ferrum flammisque ruit positoque decore
fertur, ut Aonii cornibus icta dei.

Ars Amatoria 3.709-710:

nec mora, per medias passis furibunda capillis
euolat, ut thyrso concita Baccha, uias.

A line similar to these occurs at Fasti 3.764 where Ovid explains why it is that a woman should knead the cakes sacrificed to Bacchus:

femineos thyrso concitat ille choros.

Again, note the verb concitat.

The Maenads, aroused to an extreme form of this Bacchic frenzy, appear in Metamorphoses 11.1-66. Here they cruelly murder Orpheus and are subsequently punished by Bacchus. The kind of madness that possesses the Maenads is described in lines 13-14:

... sed enim temeraria crescunt
bella modusque abiit insanaque regnat Erinyes.

Thus for Ovid, the Maenad is, first of all, an example of dishevelled beauty. More important, however, is that she appears as an archetype of the person made witless and frenzied by the power of a god over her.

In Ovid's treatment of the adventures of the Hellenic Dionysus the powerful, triumphant and ruthlessly demanding nature of the god stands out. These characteristics, combined with his ability to exercise a profound influence over the minds of his followers, the Maenads, are significant to the poet's adoption of that god as a patron of poetry.

At the beginning of Book 3 of Amores Ovid describes his "interview" with Roman Tragedy, who urges him to abandon love-poetry and take up more serious work. Elegy, on the

other hand, reminds the poet of her usefulness to him in the past and insists that he owes allegiance to her. Ovid beseeches Tragedy to grant him a short time in which to continue with love-poetry; after this he will devote himself to a grandius...opus (lines 70).

In lines 23-24 Tragedy states,

tempus erat thyrsus pulsum grauiore moueri;
cessatum satis est: incipe maius opus.

The most obvious meaning of these lines is this: the thyrsus... grauiore is the staff belonging to the Hellenic Dionysus with whom the origins of drama are associated; the Muse is here advising the poet to stop wasting his time with love-poetry, to yield to the power of the god of drama and to begin writing tragedy.

However, in view of Ovid's concept of the power of Bacchus over his followers (a power exercised by means of his thyrsus), an additional and simpler meaning becomes clear. The poet is comparing the vocation of the poet with the madness induced by Bacchus in his followers. As a poet he has ipso facto been smitten by the thyrsus, perhaps even by a thyrsus grauis. The comparative of the adjectives is thus explained: all poets are under the power of the Bacchic thyrsus, but in order to write a serious work, i.e., a maius opus, in this case, a tragedy, one must be touched by a thyrsus grauior.

At the end of Book 3, his respite ended, Ovid bids farewell to the poetry of love and announces that he is now

determined to begin writing more seriously. Lines 17-18
answer 3.1.23-24:

corniger increpuit thyrsos grauiore Lyaeus:
pulsanda est magnis area maior equis.

In the first poem the Muse states that the time has come for him to be smitten by a thyrsus grauior; here Ovid confesses that he has been touched by such a thyrsus, that he has now yielded to its power and must therefore begin a more serious task. The meaning of thyrsos grauiore in line 17 is thus exactly that of 3.1.23. There is perhaps, in addition, an implied comparison between this and the aurea...signa of Venus, mentioned in line 16.

In Fasti Ovid invokes Bacchus three times, apparently as patron of poetry:

3.713-714:

Tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho:
Bacche, fave vati, dum tua festa cano.

3.789-790:

mite caput, pater, huc placataque cornua vertas
et des ingenio vela secunda meo.

and 6.483-484:

Bacche, racemiferos hedera redimite capillos,
si domus illa tua est, dirige vatis opus.

In each of these instances the poet prays to Bacchus before or just after he has dealt with material concerning that god: 3.714-715 and 3.789-790 come at the beginning and end of a series of Bacchic adventures, the central story being Bacchus' discovery of honey and Silenus' subsequent misadventure; 6.483-484 preface a long explanation of the feast and temple

of Mater Matuta, whom Ovid identifies with Ino, sister of Semele and foster-mother of the infant Bacchus.

In several other instances in Fasti Ovid prays for inspiration to the god whose story he is about to tell or has just told: 1.467-468 (Carmentis); 4.1-18 (Venus); 4.723-724 and 729-730 (Pales); 4.807-808 (Quirinus); 5.377-378 (Flora); 6.249-250 (Vesta); 6.652 (Minerva). This fact lessens the probability that in the three examples above Bacchus is being invoked as a special patron of poetry.

However, there is direct evidence elsewhere in his poetry that Ovid does think of Bacchus as a god who presides over his art. First, as does Propertius in Book 4 (cf. above pp. 43-48), Ovid considers the ivy wreath as an insigne belonging to the poet.¹³ This is clear from Fasti 5.79-80:

tunc sic, neglectos hedera redimita capillos,
prima sui coepit Calliopea chori,¹⁴

Amores 3.9.61-62:

obuius huic uenies hedera iuuenalia cinctus
tempora cum Caluo, docte Catulle, tuo,

and Ars Amatoria 3.411-412:

nunc hederæ sine honore iacent operataque doctis
cura uigil Musis nomen inertis habet.

However, whereas Propertius (cf. 4.1.61-62 and 4.6.3-4) seems to think of ivy as the particular badge of the elegiac

¹³ That he associates this plant with Bacchus is obvious from Fasti 1.393, 3.767-770 and 6.483.

¹⁴ The words neglectos...capillos together with the fact that the Muse wears the Bacchic ivy are perhaps an echo of the Muse-Maenad combination found in the poetry of Propertius.

poet, Ovid considers it the mark of poets in general: he speaks of it in association with Calliope, a Muse whose sphere is usually epic poetry, with Tibullus, an elegiac poet, and with Ennius, a writer of Roman epic.

More significant is that Bacchus appears in Ovid's poetry in association with Apollo and the Muses.

In Heroides 15, Sappho to Phaon, the poetess claims in her favour the fact that she is skilled in her art. In lines 23-28 she speaks of Daphne and Ariadne, both lacking this skill, but nevertheless loved by Apollo and Bacchus:

sume fidem et pharetram - fies manifestus Apollo,
 accedant capiti cornua - Bacchus eris:
 et Phoebus Daphnen, et Gnosidā Bacchus amavit,
 nec norat lyricos illa vel illa modos;
 at mihi Pegasides blandissima carmina dictant;
 iam canitur toto nomen in orbe meum.

The association here among Apollo, Bacchus and the Muses as patrons of poetry is a loose one. Nevertheless, Ovid implies that all three are connected in some way with lyricos...modos, the blandissima carmina that Sappho wrote.

Most important, however is that Bacchus appears with the two customary patrons of poetry in a context that involves love: the love of Apollo for Daphne, of Bacchus for Ariadne and, in the background, the unrequited love of Sappho for Phaon.

Bacchus appears similarly in Amores 1.3. Here Ovid pleads his case before his mistress, just as Sappho does before Phaon in Heroides 15. In lines 5-10 the poet states that he lacks distinguished ancestry and wealth. However,

in lines 11-12, he claims that he has other qualities:

at Phoebus comitesque nouem uitisque repertor
hac faciunt et me qui tibi donat Amor
....

Bacchus, the uitis...repertor, again appears with Apollo and the Muses in a setting that involves Amor.

Both these instances recall Corpus Tibullianum 3.4.43-44:

"salve, cura deum: casto nam rite poetae
Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque fauent."

Here fauent is very similar in meaning to hac faciunt in Amores 1.3.12: both imply that these gods do not so much inspire and teach the poet as they "incline towards" him as a lover.

Thus in all three instances, Bacchus appears in association with Apollo and the Muses in a context that involves love. Furthermore, in each the poet identifies himself not only as a lover but as a lover who has either been wronged or must prove himself in some way to his would-be partner.

In Ars Amatoria 3 Ovid again invokes Bacchus as his patron together with Apollo and the Muses. It can be shown that the god appears here in a context similar to that described above. In lines 329-338 the poet urges his feminine readers to become familiar with poetry in order to impress prospective lovers. He lists suitable poets and their works and in lines 339-346 expresses a wish that he may be included among these:

forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis
nec mea Lethaeis scripta dabuntur aquis

atque aliquis dicet 'nostri lege culta magistri
 carmina, quis partes instruit ille duas,
 deus tribus libris, titulo quos signat AMORUM,
 elige, quod docili molliter ore legas,
 uel tibi composita cantetur EPISTULA uoce;
 ignotum hoc aliis ille nouauit opus.'

Ovid thus pictures himself not only as a poet of love, but also as praeceptor amoris. In this context, then, he prays to his patrons in lines 347-348 to grant his wishes:

o ita, Phoebe, uelis, ita uos, pia numina uatum
 insignis cornu Bacche nouemque deae!

The context of this invocation is one that involves the poet not simply as lover but as a teacher of love. In this instance it is not the poet who must prove himself to his mistress, but his feminine readers who are being taught how to please prospective lovers.

Thus, for both "Lygdamus" and Ovid, Bacchus is peculiarly associated with Apollo and the Muses in situations that involve these gods not so much as the sources of poetic inspiration and skill but as patrons of the poet as the lover (or, for Ovid, as the praeceptor amoris) who has either been wronged or must prove himself to his partner (or, again for Ovid, who is teaching others how to prove themselves).

The conjecture was put forward (cf. above p. 20) that for "Lygdamus" this Bacchus is linked to the figure that appears in 3.6.23-26:

quales his poenas qualis quantusque minetur,
 Cadmeae matris praeda cruenta docet.
 Sed procul a nobis hic sit timor, illaque, si qua est,
 quid ualeat laesi sentiat ira dei.

Here Bacchus, who took vengeance upon the unsubmissive Pentheus, is asked to punish the poet's unfaithful mistress.

Later in the poem, in lines 37-40, a parallel is implied between the situation of Ariadne and that of the poet:

quid queror infelix? turpes discedite curae:
 odit Lenaeus tristia uerba pater.
 Gnosia, Theseae quondam periuria linguae
 fleuisti ignoto sola relictā mari.

Bacchus, then, because he traditionally takes vengeance upon those who refuse to submit to him and also because he rescued Ariadne, cruelly abandoned by Theseus, is an appropriate patron for the poet as a wronged lover: his mistress refuses to comply with his wishes and has apparently forsaken him.

In the poetry of Ovid both the vengeful nature of Bacchus and his identity as the lover of Ariadne are stressed much more strongly than in the Corpus Tibullianum. These, together with other characteristics of the Ovidian Bacchus, may, as in the Corpus, be linked to that figure that appears with Apollo and the Muses as patron of the lover-poet.

The forceful, conquering nature of the god and his ability to influence the minds of his followers emerged from our investigation into Ovid's use of Dionysiac adventures and the relationship of Bacchus with the Maenads. Surely these characteristics are appropriate to a god who favours poets wishing to impress or prove themselves to prospective lovers? In addition, the god's justice, kindness, mercy, paternalism and sensitivity, which emerged from the same investigation, are fitting traits for a patron of wronged lovers.

It is necessary, before concluding this chapter, to consider briefly a poem completely outside the sphere of love-elegy, but nevertheless important with regard to Ovid's conception of Bacchus.

Tristia 5.3 is addressed to Bacchus on the occasion of the Liberalia. Ovid recalls that on this day poets customarily meet to praise Bacchus; he laments that he is no longer among them (lines 1-8):

illa dies haec est, qua te celebrare poetae,
 si modo non fallunt tempora, Bacche, solent,
 festaque odoratis innectunt tempora sertis,
 et dicunt laudes ad tua vina tuas.
 inter quos, memini, dum me mea fata sinebant,
 non invisa tibi pars ego saepe fui,
 quem nunc suppositum stellis Cynosuridos Ursae
 iuncta tenet crudis Sarmatis ora Getis.

The poet then contrasts the ease of his former life with the hardship of his present existence; he wonders about the cause of his punishment, and, in lines 15-16, complains that, whatever the cause, Bacchus should have supported him:

tu tamen e sacris hederæ cultoribus unum
 numine debueras sustinuisse tuo.

However, Ovid continues, perhaps what the Fates decree is outside the power of even the gods. He reflects that Bacchus, at first mortal, earned immortality by his far-flung conquests, and that this lot was ordained for him by the Parcae at his birth. A comparison follows between the hardship that Bacchus endured and what the poet is now enduring. Lines 31-34 reiterate the complaint that the god has failed to provide assistance:

ut tamen audisti percussum fulmine vatem,
 admonitu matris condoluisse potes,

et potes aspiciens circum tua sacra poetas
 "nescioquis nostri" dicere "cultor abest."

The poem continues with a prayer for aid, a list of "benedictions" involving Bacchic adventures and, in lines 43-44, a final request for assistance:

huc ades et casus releves, pulcherrime, nostros,
 unum de numero me memor esse tuo.

Ovid then pleads with his fellow poets to make the same petition and to remember him at their feast, provided that he has injured none of them in any way. He concludes with two wishes (lines 57-58):

sic igitur dextro faciatis Apolline carmen:
 quod licet, inter vos nomen habete meum.

Adrien Bruhl, using this poem as primary evidence, states, "...il apparaît que de véritables confréries dionysiaques ont existé à Rome parmi les poètes de cette époque."¹⁵ He examines various instances in which Ovid cites Bacchus¹⁶ "...comme le dieu qui inspire les poètes:" Ars Amatoria 3.347-348, Amores 3.15-17, Fasti 3.714 and 6.483.¹⁷ He then works through Tristia 5.3 and concludes, from the religious nature of its language, "Il est donc clair que les poètes¹⁸ ont formé un groupement de cultores Liberi."

Bruhl makes clear in his conclusion to this chapter that,

15 Bruhl, op. cit., p. 141.

16 Loc. cit.

17 In connection with these last two citations cf. above p. 72.

18 Op. cit., p. 142.

although the poets may have formed such a group, they were not necessarily initiates of the Bacchic cult. He states:

Plusieurs d'entre eux voyaient en Bacchus le dieu qui les inspirait avec Apollon et les Muses et rendaient hommage à sa puissance. Ils se réunissaient pour chanter sa gloire en vidant des coupes le jour des Liberalia, ainsi qu'en témoigne Ovide. En ce sens, les poètes sont bien des cultores Liberi, des fidèles du dieu au thyrses, leur protecteur, mais il ne faudrait pas les prendre pour de véritables initiés.¹⁹

Even though Ovid twice refers to himself as a cultor of Bacchus (lines 15 and 34) and once simply as unum de numero...tuo (line 44), it is difficult to infer from these lines, as Bruhl seems to do, that the poets have united in order to worship the god as the source of their inspiration, or as the patron of their art in any way. The Liberalia seem originally to have been a festival devoted to an Italian agricultural deity and may, even at this time, have displayed few characteristics of the worship of the Hellenic Dionysus other than those connected with his identity as a god of viticulture.²⁰ Indeed, in Ovid's own description of the Liberalia, in Fasti 3.713-791, the poet begins by "declining to tell of" exploits of the Hellenic deity in order to explain the peculiar customs belonging to the Roman festival.

Perhaps the poets, along with many other "worshippers," were attracted to the festivities involved because they included, as Ovid implies in lines 3-4 of Tristia 5.3 ,

19 Op. cit., p. 144.

20 Cf. W.W. Fowler, The Roman Festivals (London, 1925), pp. 54-55 and J.G. Frazer, The Fasti of Ovid, v. 3 (London, 1929), pp. 131-133.

revelry and wine-drinking, pursuits dear to such poets; the mere fact that they participated in these may have prompted Ovid to refer to himself and his companions as cultores of the god.

Whatever the nature of the god in whose honour the Liberalia were celebrated, Ovid, in Tristia 5.3, has in mind not an Italian god of viticulture, but the Greek Dionysus. In addition to the fact that for Ovid there is some connection between himself as a poet and this god, he addresses Bacchus here because a) he is writing on the date of the Liberalia,²¹ a festival that he associates with the Greek Dionysus, and b) Bacchus is a particularly powerful god²² whose intercession he desperately needs. These last two motives are perhaps the stronger ones, and Ovid is exaggerating the link between Bacchus and poet in order to make his plea even more compelling.

The thesis that Ovid is not addressing Bacchus here as a special patron of poetic art is strengthened by lines 9-10,

21 Cf. Ovid's invocation of gods whose feast days he is dealing with in Fasti. See above p. 73.

22 Cf. above p. 65 for Ovid's conception of the power of Bacchus and note the use of adventures here that involve force and power, e.g., conquests in the East (lines 21-24) and the legends of Lycurgus (line 39) and Pentheus (line 40). Cf. also Ovid's notion that Bacchus is patron of poets who have been wronged (see above pp. 75-77). In this case he has been wronged not by a deceitful mistress but by the Emperor Augustus.

quique prius mollem vacuumque laboribus egi
in studiis vitam Pieridumque choro,

in which he associates his (presumably poetic) studies with the Muses, and line 57,

sic igitur dextro faciatis Apolline carmen,
where he prays that his fellow poets may compose under Apollo's favour.

M. Bruhl is perhaps correct in postulating the existence of a kind of Bacchic fraternity among the poets at Rome. However, I deny that, on the evidence of Tristia 5.3, we can state that the purpose of this fraternity was to worship " le dieu du vin couronné de lierre dont ils recevaient
23
l'inspiration."

23 Bruhl, op. cit., p. 142. Italics are mine.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

We have discovered and analysed the ways in which Bacchus appears in the poetry of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. Some general conclusions may now be stated both about the Latin elegiac poets as a group and about each of the poets in that group.

All three poets associate the figure of Bacchus with wine, and it is in his rôle as wine-god that he most frequently appears. Tibullus arrives at this association from his basic concept of the god as a patron of viticulture. Bacchus for him is a rustic and Roman deity who not only protects the vine and the farmer who tends that vine, but who also invented viticulture and taught it to mankind. The Tibullan Bacchus is thus a craftsman, a rôle assigned to him by neither of the other two poets. The final product of the god's craft is wine. Once this link is created, Tibullus' Bacchus takes on two more rôles: a) he becomes the inventor of music, poetry and the dance, since it is under the influence of wine that men first attempted these and b) through his gift of wine he releases men from pain and distress and, in particular, frees the lover from sorrow caused by an unhappy love affair.

In the poetry of Propertius and Ovid we find no such logical progression of ideas. Both simply adopt the conventional identification of Bacchus as the god of wine and

make him, as such, assume various functions in the realm of Amor: as in the poetry of Tibullus, wine has the power to release men from their cares. Whereas Tibullus and Propertius, however, apply this power of release particularly to that kind of pain caused by a cruel mistress, Ovid never does so.

Propertius and Ovid think of Bacchus/wine as an ambiguous figure who is both an ally and an enemy to Amor. He is an ally because intoxication intensifies desire and (for Ovid) makes the lover fearless in obtaining the object of that desire. Ovid also considers wine useful in deceiving husbands. On the other hand Bacchus opposes Amor because (for Propertius) wine mars beauty and makes his mistress inattentive; Ovid believes that too much wine is harmful to Amor because it dulls one's power to judge beauty. The absence of all these ideas from the Corpus Tibullianum is perhaps an indication that for these poets the proper setting for love is a natural and innocent one, free from any artificial aid or detraction.

The elegists make selective use of the many legends surrounding the figure of Bacchus. From the mass of Bacchic myth they abstract three motifs that are particularly significant for them as poets of love: a) the relationship between Bacchus and Ariadne, b) the conquering, vengeful nature of the god and c) his control over his female companions, the Maenads.

All three poets, Ovid explicitly, the others implicitly,

state that, because Bacchus rescued and loved Ariadne, he is therefore sympathetic to the lover, especially if he (the lover) has been abandoned or hurt in any way, as Ariadne was by Theseus. In the Corpus and in the poetry of Ovid the link between Bacchus and Ariadne is combined with the rôle of the god as avenger. Thus he becomes a particularly suitable patron of the poet as the wronged lover.

Whereas in the Corpus Tibullianum Bacchus is patron of the poet only as lover, for Propertius and Ovid Bacchus has a part to play in the sphere of poetry per se: both compare the relationship between themselves and their vocation as poets with the relationship between a Maenad and Bacchus. Ovid, perhaps with the Greek Dionysus, patron of drama, in mind, thinks of himself as smitten with the thyrsus of Bacchus; Propertius goes slightly farther and implies that, whereas the Maenad is icta because of a blow from the thyrsus, he is so because of the influence of wine.

Both Propertius and Ovid state that ivy, a plant sacred to Bacchus, is the insigne of poets; Ovid claims it as the badge of all poets, Propertius as that of only the elegiac poet. In Book 4, where ivy is several times connected with elegiac poets and poetry, Propertius implies a distinction between Bacchus as patron of elegy and Apollo as patron of more serious poetry.

In the above comparison of the various Bacchic rôles as seen in each of the three poets no mention is made of

Propertius' unique synthesis of Bacchus and Apollo, Maenad and Muse, Ariadne and Cynthia, because, obviously, there is nothing in the other two poets with which it may be compared. The complex processes involved in the synthesis and Propertius' motives for developing it defy condensation here.¹ Certain conclusions will be drawn below, however, from the very existence of the phenomenon in his poetry.

Using the knowledge gained from the analysis of the ways in which each of the three poets employs the figure of Bacchus, we may now make certain observations on their use of mythology in general.

Tibullus' mythological allusions are sparse, mainly decorative and very often based on Roman rather than Greek myth; the Tibullan Bacchus, for example, is much more Roman than the same figure in either of the other two poets. The paucity and nature of the allusions are due not to an inferior knowledge of mythology but simply to the very nature of Tibullus' poetry: it is lucid, develops logically, and expresses quite simple emotions; the reader is able to penetrate Tibullus' thought at one glance because he says everything he has to say on the surface of his poetry. Likewise, Tibullus' allusions to myth can be understood with little effort. They "offer no particular puzzles...lack depth, and fail to suggest extensions."² The overt development

1 The reader may return to pp. 34-37.

2 J.P. Elder, "Tibullus: Tersus atque elegans," J.P. Sullivan, ed., Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Elegy and Lyric (London, 1962), pp. 69 and 74.

of the figure of Bacchus from his rôle as a god of viticulture to his rôle in the spheres of poetry and love is an illustration of the clarity and logic with which Tibullus presents his mythological allusions. Thus, because of the nature of his poetry, there is simply no need for Tibullus to display the erudition that we find in the poetry of Propertius and Ovid.

In some respects, Ovid's poetry in general and his use of myth in particular bear certain resemblances to those of Tibullus. In comparison to Propertius, both are facile reading; Ovid's wit and urbanity, of course, differ radically from Tibullus' rusticity and placid clarity. Both, however, use mythology primarily for decoration; here the simplicity, sparseness and lucidity of Tibullus' allusions differ from the abundance and erudition of Ovid's. Nevertheless, in both poets, the kernel of the allusion is usually close to the surface and rarely involves more than a superficial understanding of the myth. Unlike Tibullus, Ovid makes use of certain aspects of the same myth so often that he develops what are almost formulas. The use of the Maenad as a stock illustration of frenzied madness is an example.

Like Ovid's, Propertius' mythological allusions are frequent and often obscure. But whereas Ovid and Tibullus use mythology primarily as a means of decoration, Propertius employs it for a different purpose.

In our examination of Propertius' treatment of Bacchic

myth, we noted two phenomena not found in the works of the other two poets. First, Propertius' allusions usually operate on various levels of significance; for example, in 1.3.9-10,³

ebria cum multo traherem uestigia Baccho,
et quaterent sera nocte facem pueri,

although at first glance Baccho in line 9 seems to mean only "wine," we discovered that underlying this dominant idea is the whole complex of the god's relationship to Ariadne and the Maenads. Second, only Propertius changes and expands the rôle of the god as his poetry changes and expands.

These unique characteristics of Propertius' use of Bacchic myth are symptoms of the fact that mythology, instead of being merely decorative, is, for him, truly functional.

A.W. Allen, using 1.3 as the basis for his remarks, explains Propertius' technique in this way:

In this elegy, the mythological examples have been used to establish a contrast between two elements in a situation - between the temporary impulses of the poet and the overriding factors which determine his conduct. Realism provides terms for describing what is temporary, mythology for describing what is permanent. In using myth as a symbol of what has more than merely temporary validity, Propertius is exploiting the central artistic value which mythology presented to the poet writing of personal experience.

Propertius very frequently presents an example as parallel to his own situation, and thus shows that his private experience is consonant with, or justified by, universal human experience.⁴

³ Cf. above pp. 24-25.

⁴ "Sunt Qui Propertium Malint," J.P. Sullivan, ed., Critical Essays on Roman Literature. Elegy and Lyric (London, 1962), p. 134.

Allen also states,

The reader has to perceive in the mythological example not only the particular fact but also the general idea which is implicitly contained in it, and further, he has to realize the application of this general idea to the case before him.⁵

Thus, Propertius, the only one of the three poets who discusses the nature and principles of his art, uses Bacchic myth (expanding and varying it slightly as his ideas emerge) as a kind of all-pervasive exemplum of his philosophy as a poet-lover. He combines the figures of Apollo and the Muses with his major characters, Bacchus, Ariadne and the Maenads, and superimposes the whole complex upon his own situation as a poet in love with Cynthia. Once this synthesis has been achieved, Propertius then explores various aspects of it, shifting its components to achieve several kinds of emphasis; for example, the poet himself, at different times, takes on the rôles of Bacchus, of Ariadne, of Theseus and of the Maenad.

Besides giving it permanent validity, Propertius' technique lends a religious atmosphere to his poetical philosophy. "His idea of the poet is a sacerdotal one"⁶ and his constant fusion of myth and reality serves to underline this idea.

We have thus discovered variations among the three poets in their manner of treating myth. A common element

5 Op. cit., p. 137.

6 Luck, op. cit., p. 115.

is present, however. The fact that all three adopt Bacchus as their patron for more or less the same reasons will serve to demonstrate this.

Whereas Apollo and the Muses had been the conventional patrons of poetry from time immemorial (and no one seemed to wonder why), for the elegiac poets, Bacchus, because of his personal characteristics and his actions, had earned his position; he is thus a much more human deity than the others. The whole question of Bacchus' rôle as their patron revolves around the fact that these poets are personally involved in their poetry, and are involved not only as poets but as lovers. Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid are aware that traditionally Bacchus has a place in the realm of poetry because of his links with drama and with wine as a source of inspiration.⁷ Nevertheless, he is their special patron because of his relationship with Ariadne and the Maenads, because of his powerful and avenging nature and because of his ability (through wine) to free them from the pain caused by an unhappy love affair.

Thus we see that, unlike those who preceded them, the Latin elegists, because of the very personal nature of their poetry, apply myth directly to themselves. The Alexandrian poets and Catullus place themselves in their poetry as (sometimes sympathetic) observers of myth. But the later poets, especially Propertius, place themselves inside the

7 Cf above p. 6.

myth so that they become participants in its action: they, with Ariadne, receive from Bacchus help, vindication or release from pain.

So, then, although these poets inherited from their predecessors a mass of mythological conventions,⁸ they use these conventions in a new way, by consciously selecting from certain myths those aspects applicable to their own situations. To what extent this fusion of personal and conventional motifs permeates Latin love-elegy has been partially demonstrated by this study of Bacchus. Although Propertius uses the technique most advantageously, it may be said of all three poets that their "excellence lies in their lively personal realization of convention."⁹

8 Cf. above pp. 5-6.

9 Allen, op. cit., p. 146.

APPENDIX

BACCHIC ICONOGRAPHY IN LATIN LOVE-ELEGY

The Latin elegists are fairly consistent in their descriptions of the physical appearance of Bacchus. The most detailed picture is, of course, found in the poetry of Ovid, and the least detailed in that of Tibullus.

Frequently mentioned aspects of the god's appearance are the thyrsus that he carries and the garlands (of either ivy or vine leaves) that he wears. Propertius speaks of the thyrsus twice: at 2.30b.38, where he calls it docta cuspidē, and at 3.3.35, where, describing the various tasks of the Muses-Maenads, he states that one of them hederas legit in thyrsos.

At Amores 3.1.23 and 3.15.17 Ovid refers to the thyrsus as part of the equipment of Bacchus, patron of drama. It appears also at Ars Amatoria 3.710, Fasti 3.764, and Metamorphoses 3.542. Ovid twice speaks of the thyrsus as a¹ spear or javelin covered with vine leaves: Heroides 13.33, pampinea...hasta; and Metamorphoses 3.667, pampineis...velatum frondibus hastam.

It is clear that both Propertius (3.3.35) and Ovid (Ars Amatoria 1.190 (note the plural, thyrsos); Metamorphoses 3.542, 3.712, 4.7 and 11.28) picture the thyrsus as the property not only of the god, but also of his followers.

1 Cf. Propertius' cuspidē, 2.30b.38.

Three terms recur in the poets' descriptions of the garlands that Bacchus wears round his head. All refer to wreaths made of hedera, ivy (Tibullus 3.6.2; Propertius 4.1.62; Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.664 (here the ivy is not worn by Bacchus, but covers the oars of the ship whose crew the god changes to dolphins); and Fasti 6.483). Ovid describes the garlands as racemifer, cluster-bearing (Metamorphoses 3.666; Fasti 6.483). This term could refer to either clusters of grapes or clusters of ivy berries. A similar word, used by all the poets, is corymbus, a cluster of flowers or fruit, in this case, probably a cluster of ivy berries: Tibullus 1.7.45; Propertius 2.30b.39 and 3.17.29 (where the garland seems to be worn on the neck); Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.665 (where the clusters cover the sails of the ship) and Fasti 1.393 (festas corymbiferi...Bacchi). The poets use several less specific terms to refer to these garlands: uarii flores (Tibullus 1.7.45), molles coronae (Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.555) and simply frons (Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.542 and Fasti 3.481-82).

Propertius alone mentions the mitra as Bacchus' headgear: 3.17.30 and 4.2.31. Both Tibullus and Ovid describe the god as unshorn: Tibullus 1.4.38, intonsus crinis; Ovid, Metamorphoses 4.13, indetonsus Thyoneus.

Besides garlands, long hair (for Tibullus and Ovid), and perhaps a mitra (for Propertius), all three poets tell us that Bacchus has horns on his head: Tibullus 2.1.3; Propertius 3.17.19; Ovid, Heroides 13.33 (Bicorniger) and

15.24; Amores 3.15.17 (corniger); Ars Amatoria 1.232, 2.380 and 3.348; Metamorphoses 4.19; Fasti 3.499 and 3.789.

Each of the poets makes one reference to some kind of garment worn by Bacchus: Tibullus in 1.7.46-47,

fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes
et Tyriae uestes...

Propertius in 3.17.32,

et feries nudos ueste fluente pedes,

Ovid in Metamorphoses 3.556,

purpuraque et pictis intextum vestibus aurum.

If we combine these three descriptions, the outcome is a barefoot figure, dressed in a long, flowing, gold-embroidered (hence Tibullus' lutea?) robe.

It is noteworthy that all the poets, perhaps with a marble statue in mind, refer to Bacchus as candidus (Tibullus 3.6.1; Propertius 3.17.29 (although he speaks only of his neck); and Ovid, Fasti 3.772). This adjective is perhaps connected, however, with the youthful, almost effeminate appearance of the god emphasized in the poetry of Ovid and mentioned briefly in that of Tibullus. For both poets he is tener (Tibullus 2.3.63; Ovid, Amores 3.2.53); Tibullus speaks of his aeterna...iuuentas (1.4.37), while Ovid claims at Fasti 3.773-774 that

...ipse puer semper iuvenisque videris,
et media est aetas inter utrumque tibi.

Ovid describes the god as puero...inermi (Metamorphoses 3.553), puer aeternus...formosissimus (Metamorphoses 4.18) and simply puer (Ars Amatoria 1.189 and Metamorphoses 3.607).

He goes even further and refers to Bacchus' virginea...forma (Metamorphoses 3.607) and virgineum caput (Metamorphoses 4.20).

Ovid pictures the god riding in a currus (Ars Amatoria 1.549 and 559; 3.158). The chariot is sometimes drawn by tigers (Ars Amatoria 1.550 and 559) or lynxes (Metamorphoses 4.25) who are controlled by reins (Ars Amatoria 1.550, aurea lora; Metamorphoses 4.24, pictis frenis). Whether being used to pull the chariot or not, tigers (Amores 1.2.48; Metamorphoses 3.668), lynxes (Propertius 3.17.8; Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.668) and panthers (Metamorphoses 3.669) are associated with Bacchus.

Of the three poets, Ovid gives the most complete description of the followers of Bacchus. Tibullus makes no mention of them at all.

Propertius uses only three words to describe the Maenad, none of which are visually specific: she is fessa (1.3.5), icta (3.8.14) and saeua (3.22.33). He refers to the Maenads as a group only as turba puellarum (3.2.10).²

Besides the Maenads, Bacchus' entourage includes the satyrs and Silenus. Ovid describes his satyrs only as leues (Ars Amatoria 1.542) and in Venerem...prona iuventus (Fasti 1.397).³ Silenus is ebrius and senex (Ars Amatoria 1.543; Metamorphoses 4.26; note also senior, Fasti 1.399). Because of his drunkenness, senility and wild pursuit of the

2 For Ovid's picture of the Maenad see above pp. 67-70.

3 Note also Ars Amatoria 1.548 and 3.157; Metamorphoses 4.25.

bacchae (e.g., Ars Amatoria 1.545-548), he has difficulty keeping his seat on his asellus (e.g., Ars Amatoria 1.543-547; Metamorphoses 4.27). The unfortunate asellus is once described as long-eared (aurito, Ars Amatoria 1.547), but is invariably pandus, "sway-backed" (Ars Amatoria 1.543; Metamorphoses 4.27; Fasti 1.399 and 3.749).

Propertius does not mention the satyrs, and Silenus appears only as Sileni patris imago/fictilis (3.3.29-30), a sort of wall-plaque in the dwelling of the Muses-Maenads. In this same passage (3.3.30), the poet rewrites calami, Pan Tegeaeae, tui. Ovid also associates Pan, or rather Pans, with Bacchus. They, along with the satyrs, some rather vague river-goddesses, Silenus and Priapus, gather to celebrate festa corymbiferi...Bacchi (Fasti 1.393-400).

It is worthwhile to note the various kinds of musical instruments that the followers of Bacchus use. Those that appear most frequently are tympana, defined as drums, timbrels, tambours, tambourines⁴ (Propertius 3.17.33 (they are mollia...tympana) and 3.3.28; Ovid, Ars Amatoria 1.538 (adtonita...pulsa manu); Metamorphoses 3.537 (inania), 4.29 (inpulsaque...palmis), 4.391, and 11.17) and cymbala, cymbals, "an instrument consisting of two hollow plates⁵ of brass, which emit a ringing sound when struck together"

4 Lewis and Short, op. cit., s.v. tympanum.

5 Ibid., s.v. cymbalum.

(Propertius 3.17.36 (rauca); Ovid, Ars Amatoria 1.537).⁶

In addition, we hear of the tibia, a pipe or flute⁷ (Tibullus 1.7.47; Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.533 (adunco tibia cornu, a flute of crooked horn), 4.392 (where exactly the same phrase recurs) and 11.16 (infracta Berecynthia tibia cornu). Propertius twice associates with Bacchus the calamus, reed pipes belonging to Pan (3.3.30 and 3.17.34). A boxwood pipe or flute appears at Metamorphoses 4.30: longo foramine buxus.

6 Ovid, perhaps with cymbala in mind, remarks that in Bacchus' entourage, aerane tantum/aere repulsa valent (Metamorphoses 3.532-533); concavaque aera sonant (Metamorphoses 4.30) and, in the same metrical position, tinnulaque aera sonant (Metamorphoses 4.393). He speaks also of aeriferae... manus (Fasti 3.740). In these instances the poet is probably thinking of a brassy sound rather than of a specific instrument.

7 Lewis and Short, op. cit., s.v. tibia.

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