Thomas A. Schmitz

Euripides' *Bacchae* in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*

Abstract: This contribution examines the reception of Euripides' *Bacchae* in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. Books 44–46 of Nonnus' sprawling epic form a self-contained narrative, the “Penthiad,” which relates the same events as Euripides' tragedy. A comparison of both texts shows that Nonnus chooses a different approach in his epic version of the fight between Pentheus and Dionysus. He is careful to connect this episode with the overarching narrative of Dionysus' exploits, thus providing a cosmic vision for the god's victory. This becomes particularly clear in the prominence he gives to Semele's sister Autonoe: her lament opens up intertextual references to book 5 of the *Dionysiaca*, but also to Callimachus and Euripides. This peculiar epic and Dionysiac transformation is thus paradigmatic of the diverse ways receptions can take.

1 Euripides' *Bacchae* and its Reception

As reception studies have amply demonstrated, every interpretation, every creative rewriting, every adaptation or transformation of a classical text tells us something about its potential. By the same token, classical receptions also tell us something about ourselves, about the bias, the partiality, and the nearsightedness of our readings of classical texts. When we look at the variegated history of authors and works, at the way they become canonized and decanonized, when we see that certain problems and questions dominate scholarly activity for a while and then simply fade away, we should become modest about the validity and longevity of our own approaches: themes and aspects that we consider central and important about certain texts will look marginal and quaint in a few decades. “Classical traditions” is a *plurale tantum*, and looking at the transformation of classical texts helps us avoid “both crude presentism [...] and crude historicism.”¹ In other words, studying classical receptions helps us relativize our own position and should teach us humility.

The history of the reception of Euripides' *Bacchae* is a case in point. It is probably safe to say that no Euripidean tragedy has attracted as much attention as the *Bacchae*,² both within the scholarly community and with the general public of readers and theatergoers. Karl Reinhardt's famous aphorism that “people are puzzling over it to this day”³ still holds true, but exactly what problem people are puzzling over has changed over time. Well into the twentieth century, critics were divided about the question whether Euripides was “‘for’ Dionysus or ‘against’ him”: was

1 Martindale 2006, 5.

2 See Dodds 1960, V; Hose 2005, 591.

3 Reinhardt 1957, 46.

the drama testimony to the poet's conversion to traditional religion, a palinode against his former skepticism against the Olympian gods, or much rather an accusation of religious fanaticism and divine cruelty?⁴ After the middle of the century (and motivated to a large extent by Dodds' forceful argument in his 1949 Sather lectures⁵), a large strand of the scholarly discussion was dominated by the fascination with the powerful irrationality of Dionysiac religion that is visible in the play. This approach has had a strong influence on the creative reception of the drama; as examples, I refer readers to Hans Werner Henze's opera *The Bassarids*, first performed in 1966, and Donna Tartt's surprise bestseller *The Secret History*, published in 1992.⁶ Meanwhile, the scholarly reception has increasingly focused on aspects of metatheatricality⁷ and gender boundaries⁸.

Modern interpreters who study these and similar questions are convinced that they are looking at central aspects of the text, issues that Euripides himself and his contemporary audience would have identified as vital and important. Yet in this paper, I want to analyze a text that is a reception of Euripides' drama, but neglects the questions outlined above. In books 44–46 of his expansive epic *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus does not merely use the same mythological material as Euripides' *Bacchae*, he enters into a sustained intertextual dialog with his predecessor, across boundaries of genre and a temporal divide of nearly one millennium. Yet he appears profoundly uninterested in questions of metatheater or gender, of divine justice and Dionysiac frenzy. His aims in depicting the unequal fight between Dionysus and Pentheus were different, as I will try to show in the following pages.

2 Nonnus' "Penthiad" and Euripides

Nonnus is not a household name for many classicists, let alone for the general public, so we have to begin with a few reminders about his life and works.⁹ As is often the case for late antique Greek writers, the information we possess about his life is scanty and uncertain. He is mentioned by the sixth-century historian Agathias (*Hist.* 4,23,5–6) as belonging to the "recent poets" (νεοὶ ποιηταί); this *terminus ante quem* has led most scholars to date Nonnus into the fifth century CE.¹⁰ Under

⁴ See the overview in Dodds 1960, XXXIX–XLVII; the quotation p. XLV (Dodds calls the question "flat-footed").

⁵ Published as Dodds 1951; see esp. 270–82; cf. Dodds 1960, XI–XXVIII.

⁶ On Henze (and two other twentieth-century operas) and Euripides, see Cowan 2010; on Tartt and Euripides, see Arkins 1995 and Melvin 1996.

⁷ See Segal 1997 and the skeptical discussion of this approach in Radke 2003.

⁸ See Zeitlin 1985; for modern receptions of Euripides' deconstruction of gender roles, see Hersh 1992.

⁹ There is an excellent overview of the relevant material and the scholarly discussion in Accorinti 2016b.

¹⁰ Accorinti 2016b, 30: "one can assume that [he] lived approximately between 400 and 470."

his name, two quite different works have been transmitted: the epic *Dionysiaca*, in 48 books, narrating the birth, adventures, and triumph of Dionysus, and a *Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel* that offers a version of the Gospel, in 3660 Greek hexameters and epic style. The relation between these two works has been the subject of lively debates among students of Nonnus: is it possible that a Christian would write such a huge epic poem celebrating a pagan god? Or can we imagine a pagan author trying his hand at transforming the scripture of a foreign religion? While scholarship in the nineteenth and early twentieth century mostly favored a biographical solution (with Nonnus writing one of these texts, then converting either to or from Christianity), more recent contributions have either pointed to syncretistic tendencies in late antique Egypt or tried to discover Christian allusions in the *Dionysiaca*, thus favoring the idea of a Christian author writing a pagan text.¹¹ The question whether we can discover Christian tendencies in the *Dionysiaca* is directly relevant to our interpretation of Nonnus' version of the Pentheus episode. Most recently, Schramm 2016 has argued that many of the changes that Nonnus introduced into Euripides' version of the myth can be explained by his Christian background.¹² Even though this problem will not be at the center of my paper, I should admit that I rest unconvinced by the arguments of the proponents of such a Christian interpretation; I would still adhere to the view formulated succinctly by Vian 2003, 94–95: the *Dionysiaca* is a work that should be seen in the tradition of Greek epic and Greek culture; there is no recognizable Christian subtext to it.¹³

Books 44–46 of the *Dionysiaca* form a self-contained entity that scholars have often termed the “Penthiad”; they narrate Pentheus' resistance against Dionysus, his defeat and punishment.¹⁴ A brief overview of the three books will allow us to understand the way in which Nonnus organizes his narrative.

44 1–133 Dionysus arrives in Thebes. Agaue's dream and its interpretation.

134–187 Pentheus' impious speech against Dionysos; his army departs from Thebes.

¹¹ One of the most important contributions is Shorrock 2011. Late antique works of art have been crucial in this debate, especially an Egyptian wall hanging that appeared on the European market in 1986 and that may originate from Panopolis, Nonnus' hometown; there is a useful summary of the scholarly discussion at Kristensen 2016, 464–471.

¹² Schramm 2016, esp. 204: “Weit wichtiger für die Bewertung des Nonnos als Autor sind jedoch die Änderungen gegenüber Euripides, die vermutlich auf seine christliche Konfession zurückgehen. Zwar dürfte es zu weit gehen, in Dionysos Christus und in der ‘Pentheide’ eine Art Passionsgeschichte zu sehen. Aber es sind doch die Anspielungen und intertextuelle Bezüge auf christliche Kontexte, die einige Änderungen gegenüber Euripides mit sich gebracht haben, zu bedeutsam, um nicht anzunehmen, dass Nonnos die Möglichkeit zu einer *interpretatio christiana* oder zumindest christlichen Assoziationen geben wollte.” A similar approach can be found in Tissoni 1998, 71–79.

¹³ See the quotation and critical discussion of Vian's remarks in Accorinti 2016b, 42–4. I fully accept the arguments made by Simon 2004, 133–134 against the thesis that these books should be read as a “passion.”

¹⁴ For books 44–46 as the “Penthiad” and their place in the structure of the poem as a whole, see Simon 2004, 3–4; cf. Chuvin 2006, 257–258 on the symmetrical structure of books 41–43 and 44–46.

- 188–277 Dionysus' prayer to the Moon is answered; the powers of Hades take his side.
 278–318 Dionysus appears to Autonoe in a deceptive dream.
 45 1–65 Bacchic frenzy in Thebes; Tiresias and Cadmus dance.
 66–94 Pentheus scolds Tiresias and Cadmus.
 95–215 Tiresias tells Pentheus to abandon his resistance against Dionysus.
 216–358 Pentheus begins his fight against Dionysus and captures a bull.
 46 1–144 The fight continues; Pentheus is driven insane and disguises himself as a woman.
 145–220 Pentheus is killed by his mother Agaue in her Bacchic frenzy.
 221–369 Agaue regains her senses and mourns; she is consoled by her sister Autonoe.

After Dionysus has been defeated by Poseidon, his rival for the nymph Beroe (books 41–43), he leaves Asia and reaches Greece in the first lines of book 44. These lines demonstrate a feature that is characteristic of Nonnus' narrative style, the extreme variation of narrative speed or rhythm: Dionysus prepares to leave Phrygia at the end of book 43 (446–449), reaches northern Greece at the beginning of 44 and the banks of the Asopus river near Thebes at 44,8. After this swift movement, however, the narrative becomes static; the lengthy catalogue of omens and dreams, Pentheus' anger, Agaue's anxiety and dream (9–133) constitute a long description that does not cover a specified amount of story time. This non-linear, highly irregular, and thus disorienting narrative progression must be considered part of Nonnus' *poikilia*, the variety and polymorphy that is an expression of his Dionysiac poetics.¹⁵

Another feature that slows down narrative speed is the high percentage of character speeches; in books 44–46, it reaches 54%.¹⁶ Older scholarship has often criticized these speeches for their declamatory, highly artificial style.¹⁷ A case in point is Pentheus' speech at 44,134–183:¹⁸ it is unclear who is the addressee of these lines; Pentheus first addresses anonymous servants who are told to arrest Dionysus (134: κομίσσατε, 148: ἄξατε πῦρ, θεράποντες; cf. the speech introduction 133: δμώεσσιν); he then goes on to address the (personified) city of Thebes (173: ἴλατε, Θῆβαι), and finally he addresses the absent Dionysus himself (180: τεῖν Σεμέλην). It is clear that Nonnus uses a number of ideas and expressions from Pentheus' first speech in Euripides' *Bacchae* (215–262), yet he omits one of the central features of

15 On Nonnian *poikilia*, see Fauth 1981, Bannert 2008. A narratological analysis of the *Dionysiaca* is a desideratum of Nonnian scholarship; Camille Geisz's Oxford DPhil thesis has been published as *A Study of the Narrator in Nonnus of Panopolis' Dionysiaca. Storytelling in Late Antique Epic* in 2017; a few important insights can be found in Geisz 2016; cf. also Schmiel 1998 for a close reading of two passages; Agosti 1995 for an interesting attempt to view Nonnian disunity as an example of a baroque style.

16 Or 564 out of 1045 lines. The numbers for the single books are: book 44: 154 out of 318 = 48%; book 45: 186 out of 358 = 52%; book 46: 224 out of 369 = 61%. On speech in the *Dionysiaca*, see now the careful study in Verhelst 2016, who emphasizes that not only is the percentage of direct speech higher in the *Dionysiaca* than in other Greek epic texts, his speeches also tend to be longer and spoken as "monologues," without reply.

17 See, e.g., Wifstrand 1933, 140–154; Keydell 1936, 911–912.

18 Tisconi 1998, 123–124 and Simon 2004, 19 quote a number of critical remarks about the speech.

his predecessor: in Euripides, Pentheus is as yet ignorant about the true identity of the “wizard conjuror from Lydia” (234) who contends that Dionysus is a god (242–245). The play with the stranger’s masks and identities will dominate the entire drama, yet Nonnus is not interested in this aspect at all: Pentheus is perfectly aware against whom he will be fighting.

While Pentheus’ speech adapts and expands the corresponding part of Euripides’ tragedy, the following sections depart from the tragic text:¹⁹ Dionysus utters a prayer to the goddess of the moon that corresponds to Pentheus’ speech. The introduction to this prayer again shows a number of characteristics of Nonnus’ style:²⁰

ὄφρα μὲν ἐνναέτησιν ἄναξ ἐπετέλλετο Πενθεύς,
τόφρα δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος ἀφεγγέα νύκτα δοκεύων
τοῖον ἔπος πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀνίαχε κυκλάδι Μῆνι·

But while Pentheus was giving his commands to the people, Dionysus waited for darksome night, and appealed in these words to the circling Moon in heaven: (*Dion.* 44,188–190)

Nonnus makes full use of the rhetorical opportunities presented by this prayer to the Moon, a goddess that appears in multiple forms and thus allows him to compose an extraordinary hymn.²¹ While such speeches, prayers, hymns, and addresses form self-contained set pieces, Nonnus remains profoundly indifferent to a coherent and orderly narrative progression: while the correlative adverbs ὄφρα – τόφρα²² gesture towards a strong cohesion between Pentheus’ speech and Dionysus’ prayer, its precise circumstances remain completely mysterious: where is Dionysus when he utters it? Have he and Pentheus already met? This discontinuity is typical of Nonnus’ narrative manner.²³

The moon goddess promises to assist Dionysus, and a number of chthonic deities march against Thebes to prepare the fight against Pentheus. Book 44 concludes with a deceptive dream, in which Dionysus appears before his aunt Autonoe and tells her that her son Actaeon has not been killed by his own dogs, as false rumors claim (291–292), but is now Artemis’ immortal husband. The effect of this speech becomes

¹⁹ This tells against Keydell 1932, 192–193, who tries to distinguish different textual layers because of the fact that imitation of Euripides does not begin until 45,52: the text does not allow a neat separation of “Euripidean imitation” and “later (and inferior) additions.”

²⁰ The *Dionysiaca* is quoted after the edition in the Collection des Universités de France by Francis Vian et al., Paris 1976–2006; the translation is taken from Rouse’s Loeb, London 1940, with slight adaptations where necessary.

²¹ See the careful analysis in Simon 2004, 23–28; for hymnic elements in the *Dionysiaca*, cf. Lasek 2009, 15–70; a shorter version of her argument can be found in Lasek 2016, 416–420.

²² As Simon 2004, 23 notes, they are a favorite of Nonnus (22 occurrences in the *Dionysiaca*). They seem somewhat careless in our passage: while Pentheus appears to address his servants during the day, Dionysus must wait for the night to address the Moon (ἀφεγγέα νύκτα δοκεύων), so it is difficult to see how the adverbs ὄφρα – τόφρα apply to this situation.

²³ See Geisz 2016, 192: “What the story loses in linearity, it gains in variety and diverseness.” See above, p. 242 with n. 15.

clear at the beginning of book 45: Autonoe, gripped by madness, leaves home, heads for the mountains to worship Dionysus, and takes her sister Agaue with her. Agaue is seized with Dionysiac frenzy as well (5–7); she announces that she will follow Dionysus and fight against her son, “ridiculous Pentheus” (8: οὐτιδανῶ Πενθήϊ). While there are no Euripidean pretexts for this entire sequence,²⁴ Nonnus follows his tragic model for the structure of the ensuing scene, which depicts Tiresias and Cadmus dancing (52–65),²⁵ and a lengthy debate between Pentheus and Tiresias (66–215),²⁶ even if there are relatively few close verbal echoes. When the fight between Pentheus and Dionysus begins in earnest, Nonnus again transforms the tragic text by using motifs and elements from Euripides, but adapting them freely.²⁷

Book 46 shows Pentheus lapsing more and more into insanity. Dionysus persuades him to disguise himself as a woman and hide in a tree to watch the women perform Dionysiac rites. He is detected by the maenads and torn apart, despite his begging for mercy. In a dialogue with Cadmus, Agaue regains her sanity, sees what she has done, and laments her fate. In what the narrator labels a consolatory speech (321: παρήγορον [...] φωνήν), Autonoe replies that Agaue is blessed when compared to her own destiny: at least she can mourn her son in his own shape while Actaeon, her son, was transformed into a stag and then torn apart by his own dogs. Dionysus takes pity on the women (357: ἐλέαιρε), presents them with wine, and “showed them oracles of god to tell of coming hope” (363).²⁸ The book (and the entire Penthiad) ends with Dionysus setting out for Athens.

3 Nonnus’ Transformation of his Model

It is obvious that Nonnus follows Euripides for the general development of the storyline. He departs from his predecessor in a number of important details, yet the main plot is identical. Furthermore, it is clear that he was not working from some sort of

²⁴ In Euripides, Agaue’s sisters are said to be hostile and refuse to believe in Dionysus’ divine origin (*Ba.* 26–29).

²⁵ Cf. *Ba.* 178–214.

²⁶ Cf. *Ba.* 215–369.

²⁷ See especially the capture of the bull that Pentheus takes for Dionysus (231–272, cf. *Ba.* 616–622) and the fire in Pentheus’ palace (335–358, cf. *Ba.* 622–626).

²⁸ Nonnus does not give details about these oracles, and we know of no version of the myth in which Agaue and Autonoe received any recompense for their suffering; cf. Tisconi 1998, 348. We find information about the future of Agaue (9,76–78: she will be exiled; on the problems of understanding these lines, see Chrétien 1985, 105–106), and of Autonoe (9,74–75: she will be buried on mount Cithaeron, in the same tomb as her son Actaeon) in other books of the *Dionysiaca*. However, Nonnus is not concerned about consistency within his text, so it is probably useless to ask whether these passages can be reconciled. At any rate, Simon 2004, 129 is right to emphasize that in book 46, Nonnus never mentions any sort of immortality or posthumous heroization.

summary or hypothesis of the Euripidean play,²⁹ but had access to the text itself. The notes and commentaries in Tissoni 1998 and Simon 2004 provide a full account of the details; here, I want to mention just one example to demonstrate some important aspects of Nonnus' transformation. In his altercation with Tiresias in book 45 (66–215), Pentheus accuses the seer of being in league with the Lydian stranger, and threatens him:

αἰδέομαι σέο γῆρας, ἀμετροβίων δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν
μάρτυρα σῶν ἐτέων πολιὴν πλοκαμίδα γεραίρω·
εἰ μὴ γὰρ τόδε γῆρας ἐρήτυε καὶ σέο χαίτη,
καὶ κεν ἀλυκτοπέδησιν ἐγὼ σέο χεῖρας ἐλίξας
δέσμιον ἀγλυόεντι κατεσφρήγισσα μελάθρῳ.

I respect your old age, I honor the hoary locks that witness to the years of your life, as old as theirs. But if this old age and this your hair did not save you, I had twisted galling bonds about your hands and sealed you up in a gloomy cell. (*Dion.* 45,73–77)

Nonnus is here clearly using a passage from the Euripidean tragedy:

εἰ μὴ σε γῆρας πολιὸν ἐξεργρύετο,
καθῆσ' ἂν ἐν βάκχαισι δέσμιος μέσαις,
τελετὰς πονηρὰς εἰσάγων·

If you weren't protected by your gray hair, you would be sitting in prison surrounded by bacchants for introducing these wicked rites. (*Bacch.* 258–260)³⁰

Nonnus' method of transposing Euripides' text is quite similar to the way he treats the Gospel of John in his *Paraphrase*.³¹ He expands the pretext and adds detail. Where Euripides has just the metaphoric expression “gray age” (258: γῆρας πολιόν), Nonnus concretizes, removes the metaphor, and repeats the main ideas: 73–75 “your old age [...] the hoary locks that witness to the years of your life [...] this old age and this your hair” (σέο γῆρας, ἀμετροβίων δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν μάρτυρα σῶν ἐτέων πολιὴν πλοκαμίδα [...] τόδε γῆρας καὶ σέο χαίτη). The Euripidean Pentheus is vigorous and succinct; his threat visualizes the effect of his action (259 “you would be sitting in prison,” 259: καθῆσ' ἂν [...] δέσμιος), where his Nonnian equivalent follows the rules of rhetorical *ethopoiia*, adds vivid detail, emphasizes his own actions, and is thus more violent (76–77 “I had twisted galling bonds about your hands and sealed you up in a gloomy cell,” ἐγὼ σέο χεῖρας ἐλίξας δέσμιον ἀγλυόεντι κατεσφρήγισσα

²⁹ See the contributions by Rosa Maria Piccione and Eva Wöckener-Gade in this volume.

³⁰ Euripides is quoted after Diggle's OUP text, Oxford 1994; the translation is from Kovacs' Loeb, Cambridge (Mass.) 2003.

³¹ The secondary literature on Nonnus' technique in paraphrasing the Gospel is huge; by way of example, I refer readers to Golega 1930; Smolak 1984; Hilhorst 1993, 68–78, Johnson 2016.

μελάθρῳ). This highly pathetic, abundant style is as typical of Nonnus as is his predilection for certain rare words.³²

When we compare these two passages, we see that Nonnus has a tendency to be more verbose than Euripides; he has five lines and 33 words to Euripides' two and a half lines and fifteen words. Nonetheless, the overall length of his account is approximately equal to Euripides (if we take into account the fact that his epic hexameter contains more syllables and thus more words than most of the tragic meters):³³ books 44–46 amount to 1045 lines, compared to Euripides' 1390 lines (there are some lacunae in the transmitted text of the *Bacchae*, so the version that Nonnus used was somewhat longer). Nonnus is thus more expansive in individual blocks while retaining the overall length. He achieves this effect by concentrating on the main scenes while neglecting transitions between these blocks. Nonnus emphasizes the rhetorical exchanges between the protagonists and gives lengthy descriptions of Bacchic miracles in and around Thebes; other aspects of the narrative are merely adumbrated, but not fleshed out. In a number of places, this narrative discontinuity seems to presuppose knowledge of the salient features of the storyline. As an example, I quote a passage from the beginning of the Penthiad. After Dionysus' arrival in Thebes and Agaue's prophetic dream, Pentheus makes his first appearance with an aggressive speech against Dionysus:

καὶ κενεῆς προχέων ὑπερήνορα κόμπον ἀπειλῆς
τοῖον ἔπος δμῶεσσιν ἀτάσθαλος ἴαχε Πενθεύς·
“Λυδὸν ἐμὸν θεράποντα κομίσσατε, θῆλυν ἀλήτην,
δαινυμένου Πενθῆος ὑποδρηστῆρα τραπέζης,
οἰνοδόκῳ ποτὸν ἄλλο διαστάζοντα κυπέλλῳ,
[...].”

Then Pentheus uttered proud boasts and empty threats to his servants in these insulting words: “Bring here my Lydian slave, that womanish vagabond, to serve the table of Pentheus at his dinner; let him fill his winebeaker with some other drink [...].” (*Dion.* 44,132–136)

In Euripides' tragedy, Dionysus introduces himself to Pentheus as a Lydian (*Ba.* 464); in his description of his journey to Thebes, Lydia is the first name he mentions (13). In Nonnus' text, Lydia is less prominent: it is briefly mentioned as one stop in Dionysus' travels (*Dion.* 43,441–442), but it is unclear why Pentheus should refer to Dionysus as his “Lydian slave.” No encounter between Pentheus and Dionysus has been mentioned, so it is equally unclear why he describes Dionysus as “womanish” (θῆλυν). Readers are supposed to supplement Nonnus' account with their recollection of Euripides' drama. The same mechanism seems to be at work in the scene

³² This is the case for ἀλυκτοπέδαι, which occurs once in Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, and Oppian, and eleven times in the *Dionysiaca*.

³³ See Simon 2004, 131.

that describes the fire in Pentheus' palace:³⁴ in Nonnus' narrative, readers are left wondering if this is a real fire: the flames cannot be extinguished by water, but they do not appear to do any real damage to the palace. Readers are expected to remember Euripides' text, in which the fire is part of the divine madness that Dionysus has inflicted on Pentheus and is thus merely a figment of the king's imagination.³⁵

The transformation of Euripides' storyline from drama into epic narrative entails a number of variations that change the character of the episode. A particularly striking example is the end of the entire conflict. In a development that is admirable for its psychological insight, its dramatic effectiveness, and its stylistic subtlety, Euripides lets Agaue come to her senses in a long stichomythia; spectators witness her slow realization of what she has done and to whom: far from killing a dangerous lion, she has torn apart her own son. Nonnus' epic style cannot produce this extended exchange and close contact between characters; he transforms the stichomythia into two lengthy speeches, which provide ample occasion for rhetorical elaboration. Cadmus informs Agaue about what has happened to her in a pathetic speech (46,241–264); Agaue's return to sanity is described in two lines (46,272–273). Nonnus thus focuses on the emotional amplification that the longer speeches facilitate and disregards the psychological niceties of Euripides' dramatic enactment.

The same observation can be made when Dionysus persuades Pentheus to don female attire. Again, Nonnus does not seem to be interested in the gradual revelation of Pentheus' psychological state, in his irrational curiosity that is provoked by seemingly rational arguments, in the gender fluidity, or in the sexual connotations of this act of cross dressing, all of which is prominent in Euripides' scene (*Ba.* 788–861).³⁶ In his version, the suggestion to wear female clothing is made without any preparation, and Pentheus accepts without any hesitation:

“εἰ δὲ μαθεῖν ἐθέλεις χοροτερπέος ὄργια Βάκχου,
φάρεα καλλείψας βασιλῆα τέτλαθι, Πενθεῦ,
θήλεα πέπλα φέρειν, καὶ γίνεο θῆλυς Ἀγαυή·
[...].”

ὥς εἰπὼν παρέπεισεν, ἐπεὶ νόον ἀνδρὸς ἰμάσσων
φοιταλέης ἐδόνησε κατάσχετον ἄλματι λύσσης.

“And if you are willing to learn the mysteries of dancedelighting Bacchus, put off your royal robes, Pentheus, condescend to wear the garments of a woman and become the woman Agaue [...]” Thus he persuaded Pentheus, since he lashed the man's mind, and shook him, in the clutches of throbbing madness and distraction. (*Dion.* 46,81–98)

Nonnus' interest in psychology, then, is fundamentally different from Euripides': he depicts the frenzied, Dionysiac, abnormal states of mind, but he is eager to show ex-

³⁴ Modern interpreters disagree about the nature of this fire; cf. Tissoni 1998, 282–283; Simon 2004, 83–85; Schramm 2016, 183–185.

³⁵ See 624 δώματ' αἴθεσθαι δοκῶν.

³⁶ See Zeitlin 1992, 63–65.

treme emotions, not subtle and gradual changes.³⁷ In a nutshell, one could argue that his Protean poetology is more about dazzling surface than about psychological depth. This may help explain why Nonnus disregards the ambivalence and uncertainty of Euripides' play that has dominated the discussion for several decades. As interpreters emphasize, there can be no doubt about the moral superiority and the control of Dionysus in Nonnus' epic: from the outset, Pentheus' actions and words are marked by hubris; his utter defeat is never in doubt.³⁸

Another aspect of Euripides' play that Nonnus chooses to neglect is the uncanny play with identities and recognitions.³⁹ For the dramatic economy of the *Bacchae*, these features are paramount: Dionysus' disguise as a Lydian stranger and the acknowledgment of his divine status, Agaue's madness and her gradual perception of what she has done, Pentheus' complete lack of understanding and his sudden insight into his situation – all these elements make the *Bacchae* a tragedy about human understanding and its limits. Nonnus does not make use of these aspects: in his text, the problem is the acceptance of Dionysus' divinity, not his identity; Agaue's madness and Autonoe's dream are mere vehicles for Pentheus' downfall.

I conclude this list of Euripidean features that Nonnus chose to neglect by looking at the metatheatrical aspect of the *Bacchae*. As is well known, Nonnus is extremely fond of playing with different literary genres and their stylistic markers in his text; the *Dionysiaca* integrates and quotes such diverse literary registers as bucolic poetry and Hellenistic epyllia, hymns and lyric, even the novel and, of course, rhetoric.⁴⁰ An especially visible example of this generic interplay can be found in the Penthiad: at the end of her lament for Pentheus, Agaue announces that she will build his tomb with her own hands and engrave a funerary inscription on it.

σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ φιλόδακρυς, ἄωριε, τύμβον ἐγείρω
 χερσὶν ἐμαῖς ἀκάρηνον ἐνικρύψασα κόνιῃ
 σὸν δέμας· ὑμετέρῳ δ' ἐπὶ σήματι τοῦτο χαράξω·
 “εἰμὶ νέκυς Πενθῆος, ὁδοιπόρε· νηδὺς Ἀγαύης
 παιδοκόμος με λόχευσε καὶ ἔκτανε παιδοφόνος χεῖρ.”

For you, untimely dead, I will build amid my tears a tomb with my own hands. I will lay in the earth your headless body; and on your monument I will carve these words: “Wayfarer, I am the body of Pentheus; the cherishing womb of Agaue brought me forth, and the murdering hand of Agaue slew her son.” (*Dion.* 46,315–319)

³⁷ There are a number of astute observations in Newbold 2016, yet I find his tendency to explain psychological tensions in the *Dionysiaca* as signs of its creator's “fixations and unresolved conflicts” (211) problematic.

³⁸ Tissoni 1998, 66–9; Schramm 2016, 172.

³⁹ See above, p. 242–243.

⁴⁰ See Lasek 2009; Lasek 2016.

With brilliant literary playfulness, Nonnus here evokes the generic conventions of epitaph:⁴¹ the address to the passer-by (ὁδοιπόρε), the epigrammatic brevity that encapsulates an entire life in just two lines, the rhyming antitheses παιδοκόμος – παιδοφόνος all remind an educated readership of inscriptional and literary epigram.

Given Nonnus' predilection for such generic play, given that the entire Penthiad transforms drama into epic, given the metatheatrical quality of Euripides' play, one could thus expect similar allusions to tragedy as a genre, to its stylistic peculiarities and its theatricality. There is one passage in Nonnus' text that seems to suggest such a reading: when Pentheus sends out his servants to capture Dionysus, the god confuses and frightens them. Dionysus then takes on a deceptive role and transforms himself into one of Pentheus' soldiers:

καὶ Βάκχος ὁμοίος ἀσπιδιώτῃ
ἄζυγα ταῦρον ἔχων ἐδράξατο χειρὶ κεραίης,
ὡς θεράπων Πενθῆος ἀπειλείων Διονύσῳ
ψευδομένῳ κερόεντι, καὶ ὡς κοτέοντι προσώπῳ
Πενθέος ἐγγὺς ἵκανε μεμηνότος, ἐζομένου δὲ
λυσσαλέου βασιλῆος ἀγήνορα κόμπον ἀθύρων
φρικαλέην ἀγέλαστος ἐπίκλοπον ἴαχε φωνήν·

And Bacchus in the likeness of a soldier with shield in hand, seized a wild bull by the horn, making as if he were one of the servants of Pentheus, crying out upon this false horned Dionysus. He put on a look of rage and came near to mad Pentheus where he sat, and mocked at the proud boasts of the frenzied king as he spoke unsmiling these deceitful threatening words. (*Dion.* 45,239–245)

Nonnus emphasizes the “theatrical” aspect of this episode when he refers to Dionysus' disguise (ὁμοίος, ὡς θεράπων), his false threats and anger against Dionysus (ἀπειλείων Διονύσῳ, ἀγήνορα κόμπον ἀθύρων), and his “deceitful speech” (ἐπίκλοπον φωνήν). Moreover, the scene involves role-playing and illusions on several levels: Dionysus pretends to be one of Pentheus' soldiers; the bull he brings is mistaken for the real Dionysus by Pentheus.⁴² Nevertheless, the passage lacks any clear signs of generic play or metatheatricality, or, to be more precise: in the universe of the *Dionysiaca*, gods, people, animals, or plants are often not what they appear to be; illusions, mistaken identities, or deceit are regular features of Dionysus' adventures, and words such as μμηλός (“imitated,” occurs 54 times) or νόθος (“counterfeit,” occurs 137 times) are favorites of Nonnus'. The theatrical elements in our scene can be found in many episodes of the epic; they are not sufficient to claim that it refers to Euripides' play as drama.

⁴¹ For more examples, see Tissoni 1998, 341.

⁴² Cf. 45, 265: ὡς Σεμέλης θρασὺν νῖα καὶ οὐ τινα ταῦρον ἐέργων.

4 Nonnus' Intertextual Engagements

So far, then, the results of our investigation have mainly been negative: we have seen a number of Euripidean elements that Nonnus neglects or omits in his own version of the Penthiad. This in itself is a significant part of his reception of Euripides: what Nonnus saw in Euripides' play is not what we, as readers and spectators of the *Bacchae*, would have expected. But of course, we do not want to stop here. What are the specific qualities of Nonnus' Penthiad? How did he read Euripides' play?

As we have seen,⁴³ books 44–46 form a unity whose beginning and end are clearly marked by Dionysus' arrival in and departure from Thebes. However, Nonnus is careful to integrate this episode with his narrative of Dionysus' adventures. There are numerous analepses and prolepses that connect this Theban episode to other important stages of the god's life. One of the most important analepses can be found in Tiresias' speech (45,96–215): he cites the example of the Tyrrhenian pirates to deter Pentheus from fighting against the god (45,105–168).⁴⁴ This story is mentioned several times in the *Dionysiaca*, yet this is the only passage where readers receive a detailed account of it. A prominent prolepsis is the portent of two serpents that presage the depart of Cadmus and Harmonia (44,107–120); again, the episode is mentioned elsewhere in the text.⁴⁵ These references to other parts of Dionysus' saga serve to anchor the Penthiad in the epic's overall architecture. What was important for Nonnus, then, was that the victory over Pentheus is just one important step in Dionysus' triumphant journey from India to Greece. This particular place of the episode in the universal history of Dionysus' legend is also emphasized in the peroration of Dionysus' prayer to the Moon:

ἀλλὰ σὺ φῶτα δάμασσον ἄθέσμιον, ὄφρα γεραίρης
ἀρχηγόνου Ζαγρήος ἐπωνυμίην Διονύσου.
Ζεῦ ἄνα, καὶ σὺ δόκευε μεμνηνός ἀνδρὸς ἀπειλήν·
κλυθι, πάτερ καὶ μήτερ· ἐλεγχομένου δὲ Λυαίου
σὴ στεροπὴ γαμὴ Σεμέλης τιμήορος ἔστω.

I pray thee, master this impious creature, to honor the Dionysus who revived the name of primeval Zagreus. Lord Zeus, do thou also look upon the threat of this madman. Hear me, father and mother! Lyaïos is contemned: let thy marriage lightning be the avenger of Semele! (*Dion* 44,212–216)

Zagreus, the “first Dionysus,” occurs several times throughout the *Dionysiaca* to highlight the cosmic dimension of the events depicted in the narrative.⁴⁶ The con-

⁴³ See above, p. 241–242.

⁴⁴ For this episode, see Vian 2000; Simon 2004, 65–70.

⁴⁵ See Tissoni 1998, 117–118.

⁴⁶ See Chuvín 1992, 12–16.

cluding prayer to Zeus evokes the very beginning of the epic,⁴⁷ again drawing readers' attention to the fateful scope of this episode. For Nonnus, Dionysus' victory over Pentheus is one of a number of stages that secure his cosmic domination. This may help us understand why the conflict between these two is so one-sided: Euripides' dramatic architecture needs at least a semblance of uncertainty about the outcome of the contest. For Nonnus, there can be no doubt because cosmic fate has ordained that Dionysus will win.

An aspect that is important for both Euripides and Nonnus is the fact that in Thebes, Dionysus connects with his human family. However, Nonnus highlights areas of this family dynamic that are neglected in Euripides' text. Semele's sisters, Agaue, Autonoe, and Ino, are mentioned several times in the *Bacchae*.⁴⁸ They antagonize Dionysus by refusing to accept his divine origin (*Ba.* 26–31). As Pentheus' struggle and death is at the center of Euripides' play, only Pentheus' mother, Agaue, has a speaking role, in the last 230 lines of the drama. The case is different for Nonnus: in his version Autonoe, Dionysus' aunt, plays a much more prominent role. Her deceptive dream concludes book 44; she has the last speech at the end of the entire Penthiad (*Dion.* 46,322–351). We can certainly read this new prominence as a way of emphasizing Dionysus' return to his native city and to his family. The fate of Autonoe, Ino, and Agaue had already been narrated in book 5 (190–563); Nonnus' narrative thus prepares us for narrative closure by focusing on the same characters as earlier in his huge epic.

However, Autonoe's function in the narrative is also controlled by other considerations. In order to discuss these, I begin with the somewhat peculiar "consolation" that Autonoe addresses to her sister Agaue after Pentheus' death:

ζῆλον ἔχω καὶ ἔρωτα τεῆς κακότητος, Ἀγαύη,
ὅττι περιπτύσσεις γλυκερὴν Πενθήος ὀπωπὴν
καὶ στόμα καὶ φίλον ὄμμα καὶ υἱέος ἄκρα κομάων.
γνωτὴ, ἐπολβίζω σε, καὶ εἰ κτάνες υἷα μήτηρ·
ἀντὶ γὰρ Ἀκταίωνος ἀμειβομένης ἀπὸ μορφῆς
νεβρὸν ἐγὼ δάκρυσα, καὶ υἱέος ἀντὶ καρήνου
μηκεδανὴν ἐλάφοιο νόθην κτερέιξα κεραῖην.
σῆς δ' ὀδύνης ἐλάχεια παραίφασις, ὅττι θανόντος
οὐκ ἴδες ἄλλοῖον τύπον υἱέος, οὐ τρίχα νεβροῦ,
οὐ χηλὴν ἀνόνητον ἐκούφισας ἤν' κεραῖην·

I envy and desire your unhappiness, Agaue; for you kiss the sweet face of Pentheus, his lips and his dear eyes and the hair of your son. Sister, I think you happy, even if you the mother slew your own son. But I had no Actaion to mourn; his body was changed, and I wept over a fawn – instead of my son's head I buried the long antlers of a changeling stag. It is a small consolation to

47 Cf. *Dion.* 44,216 στεροπὴ γαμῖν Σεμέλης with 1,2–3 νυμφιδίῳ σπινθῆρι [...] καὶ στεροπὴν Σεμέλης θαλαμηπόλον.

48 *Ba.* 229–230 (Diggle accepts Collmann's deletion of the lines, Dodds in his commentary is more cautious). 681–682. 925–926. 1092. 1129–1130. 1227–1229.

you in your pain, that you have seen your dead son in no alien shape, no fawn's fell, no unprofitable hoof, no horn you took up. (*Dion* 46,322–331)

It may strike us as bizarre that Autonoe praises her sister happy (ἐπολβίζω σε) when she has just discovered that she killed her own son, and considers her words a “consolation” (παράφασις) for Agaue, yet the narrator appears to agree with this judgment when he characterizes her speech as “solacing words” (παρήγορον ἴαχε φωνήν, 321).

Autonoe here evokes a scene that is narrated in detail in book 5 (287–369): the hunter Actaion watches Artemis as she is taking a bath;⁴⁹ he is transformed into a stag and killed by his own dogs. When readers take a closer look at this earlier scene (or when their memory is good enough to retain its details), they will see that in book 5, at the moment of his death, Actaion does exactly what Autonoe does here to solace her sister: he calls another victim of divine wrath happy.

ὑπὸ βροτέῃ δὲ μενοινῇ
 πότμον ἔδον στενάχων κινυρῇ βρυχήσατο φωνῇ·
 “ὀλβιε Τειρεσία, σὺ γὰρ ἔδρακες ἔκτος ὀλέθρου
 γυμνὸν ἀναινομένης οἰκτίρμονος εἶδος Ἀθήνης·
 οὐ θάνες, οὐκ ἐλάφοιο δέμας λάχες, οὐδὲ μετώπῳ
 ὑμετέρῳ προβλήτες ἐπηώρηντο κεραῖαι.”

So he with a man's feeling groaned for his own fate, while he cried aloud in a lamentable voice: “Happy Tiresias! You saw without destruction the naked body of Athena, reluctant but pitiful. You did not die! you did not get the shape of a stag, no poking horns raised themselves on your brow.” (*Dion* 5,335–340)

I would argue that the verbal echo between Actaion's calling Tiresias “blessed” (ὀλβιε, 5,337) and Autonoe eulogizing her sister (ἐπολβίζω σε, 46,325) is strong enough to make readers aware of an intertextual connection that both passages share. Mount Cithaeron as the place where both Tiresias and Actaion are punished for seeing a goddess taking a bath, the comparison of their sufferings, and above all the praise for another victim as “blessed” all refer to a well-known passage from Callimachus' fifth *Hymn*.⁵⁰ A number of allusions and intertextual engagements in book 5 of the *Dionysiaca* show that Nonnus was quite familiar with this text.⁵¹ In Callimachus' *Hymn*, it is Athena who tries to console Chariclo, Tiresias' mother, by prophesying that one day, Autonoe will call her “blessed” (ὀλβίσταν):

καὶ τήνος μεγάλας σύνδρομος Ἀρτέμιδος
 ἔσσεται· ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸν ὃ τε δρόμος αἶ τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι

⁴⁹ Unlike most other versions, Nonnus describes Actaion as a “greedy voyeur” (θηητὴρ ἀκόρητος, 5,305); on voyeurism in the *Dionysiaca*, see Newbold 2008.

⁵⁰ On this passage in Callimachus, see Schmitz 2013.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Chuvin 1976, 185 on *Dion.* 5,326 and 337–345.

ῥυσεῦνται ξυναὶ τᾶμος ἑκαβολίαι,
 ὁππότεν οὐκ ἐθέλων περ ἴδῃ χαρίεντα λοετρά
 δαίμονος· ἀλλ' αὐταὶ τὸν πρὶν ἄνακτα κύνες
 τουτάκι δειπνησεῦντι· τὰ δ' υἱέος ὅστέα μάττηρ
 λεξεῖται δρυμῶς πάντας ἐπερχομένα·
 ὀλβίσταν δ' ἐρέει σε καὶ εὐαίωνα γενέσθαι
 ἐξ ὁρέων ἅλαόν παιδ' ὑποδεξαμέναν.

And he will be the co-hunter of great Artemis. But neither the hunting-course nor the common skill in archery in the mountains shall save him, when, even though inadvertently, he sees the fair bath of the goddess. But his own bitches shall dine upon their former master. And his mother shall collect her son's bones traversing all the coverts. She will declare you to be utterly happy and blessed, since you got your son back from the mountains blind. (Callim. *Hymn* 5,110 – 118; tr. Stephens)

By highlighting the role of Autonoe in his account of Pentheus' death, Nonnus has thus created an intricate web of intertextual relations. In the first place, readers are referred to book 5 of the *Dionysiaca*, where Actaion's death is depicted. The fact that Actaion, at the moment of his death, calls Tiresias "blessed" creates a window reference⁵² to Callimachus' fifth *Hymn*, where both characters are connected in Athena's consolatory speech. Nonnus' text thus fulfills Athena's prophecy in Callimachus's *Hymn* ("[Autonoe] will declare you to be utterly happy and blessed," 117) in two stages: at first Actaion (and not his mother Autonoe) calls Tiresias "blessed" (ὄλβιε Τειρεσία: 5, 337), then Actaion's mother Autonoe calls Agaue (and not Chariclo) "blessed" (ἐπολβίζω σε: 46,325).

Nonnus draws a number of connections between these punishments: Tiresias, Actaion, and Pentheus all belong to Theban myth. They are all killed on mountains near Thebes. Actaion and Pentheus are cousins; their mothers are sisters. All three are punished by divine actors. This is another fundamental difference between Nonnus' epic and Euripides' drama: Nonnus carefully integrates Pentheus' fate into the wider world of Greek myth and emphasizes its connection with the canonical texts of the Greek poetical tradition. Referring to Callimachus through Euripides is characteristic of what we may call his late antique Neo-Alexandrianism.

In the opening paragraphs of this contribution, I have emphasized the dynamic nature of every act of reception: neither the receiving text nor its classical pretext are completely stable entities; they gain their status and intellectual depth in the process of engaging with each other. When we look at Nonnus' way of reading Euripides' tragedy, we may deplore the dramatic and psychological aspects that he has neglected and omitted. 1600 years before Harold Bloom, Nonnus knew that strong poets have to misread their predecessors in order to make place for themselves in the poetic tradition, and his emulation (25, 27: ἐρίζων) of "father Homer" (25, 265: πατὴρ Ὅμηρου) closely resembles an Oedipal struggle. If his Penthiad can be called a misreading of the *Bacchae*, it is a very successful misreading.

52 I borrow the term "window reference," albeit in a slightly modified sense, from Thomas 1986, 188.

Bibliography:

- Accorinti 2016a: Domenico Accorinti (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis*, Leiden.
- Accorinti 2016b: Domenico Accorinti, "The Poet from Panopolis: An Obscure Biography and a Controversial Figure", in: Accorinti 2016a, 11–53.
- Agosti 1995: Gianfranco Agosti, "Poemi digressivi tardoantichi (e moderni)," *Compar(a)ison* 1, 131–151.
- Arkins 1995: Brian Arkins, "Greek Themes in Donna Tartt's *The Secret History*," *Classical and Modern Literature Quarterly* 15, 281–287.
- Bannert 2008: Herbert Bannert, "Proteus und die Musen. Nonnos von Panopolis, Dionysiaka I, 1–45: Ein Proömium der besonderen Art", *Wiener humanistische Blätter* 50, 46–70.
- Chrétien 1985: Gisèle Chrétien, *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, Tome IV: *Chant IX–X*, Paris.
- Chuvin 1976: Pierre Chuvin, *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, Tome II: *Chant III–V*, Paris.
- Chuvin 1992: Pierre Chuvin, *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, Tome III: *Chant VI–VIII*, Paris.
- Chuvin 2006: Pierre Chuvin, "Nonnos de Panopolis et la 'déconstruction' de l'épopée", in: Egbert J. Bakker, Franco Montanari, and Antonios Rengakos (edd.), *La Poésie épique grecque* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 52), Geneva, 249–270.
- Cowan 2010: Robert Cowan, "Sing Evohe! Three Twentieth-Century Operatic Versions of Euripides *Bacchae*", in: Peter Brown and Suzana Ograjensek (edd.), *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage*, Oxford, 320–339.
- Dodds 1951: Eric R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley.
- Dodds 1960: Eric R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae*, Edited with Introduction and Comments, ²Oxford [reprint 1986].
- Fauth 1981: Wolfgang Fauth, *Eidos poikilon. Zur Thematik der Metamorphose und zum Prinzip der Wandlung aus dem Gegensatz in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Hypomnemata 66), Göttingen.
- Geisz 2016: Camille Geisz, "Narrative and Digression in the *Dionysiaca*", in: Accorinti 2016a, 173–192.
- Golega 1930: Joseph Golega, *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibeldichtung im Altertum* (Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 15), Breslau.
- Hersh 1992: Allison Hersh, "'How Sweet the Kill': Orgiastic Female Violence in Contemporary Re-visions of Euripides' *The Bacchae*", *Modern Drama* 35, 409–423.
- Hilhorst 1993: Antoine Hilhorst, "The Cleansing of the Temple (John 2, 13–25) in Juvenius and Nonnus", in: Jan den Boeft and Antoon Hilhorst (edd.), *Early Christian Poetry: A Collection of Essays* (Vigiliae Christianae Suppl. 22), Leiden, 61–76.
- Hose 2005: Martin Hose, "XVII. Euripides, *Bakchen* 1970–2000", *Lustrum* 47, 591–650.
- Johnson 2016: Scott F. Johnson, "Nonnus' Paraphrastic Technique: a Case Study of Self-Recognition in John 9", in: Accorinti 2016a, 267–288.
- Keydell 1932: Rudolf Keydell, "Eine Nonnos-Analyse", *Antiquité classique* 1, 193–202 [reprinted in: R. K., *Kleine Schriften zur hellenistischen und spätgriechischen Dichtung*, Leipzig 1982, 458–514].
- Keydell 1936: Rudolf Keydell, "Nonnos 15", *RE* 17.1, 904–920.
- Kristensen 2016: Troels M. Kristensen, "Nonnus and the Art of Late Antiquity", in: Accorinti 2016a, 460–478.
- Lasek 2009: Anna Maria Lasek, *Nonnos' Spiel mit den Gattungen in den Dionysiaka* (Veröffentlichungen des Philologischen Komitees 62), Poznań.
- Lasek 2016: Anna Maria Lasek, "Nonnus and the Play of Genres", in: Accorinti 2016a, 402–421.

- Martindale 2006: Charles Martindale, "Introduction: Thinking through Reception", in: Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas (edd.), *Classics and the Use of Reception*, Malden, MA, 1–13.
- Melvin 1996: Barbara A. Melvin, "Failures in Classical and Modern Morality: Echoes of Euripides in *The Secret History*", *Journal of Evolutionary Psychology* 17, 53–63.
- Newbold 2008: Ronald F. Newbold, "Curiosity and Exposure in Nonnus", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 48, 71–94.
- Newbold 2016: Ronald F. Newbold, "The Psychology in the *Dionysiaca*", in: Accorinti 2016a, 193–212.
- Radke 2003: Gyburg Radke, *Tragik und Metatragik. Euripides' Bakchen und die moderne Literaturwissenschaft* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 66), Berlin.
- Reinhardt 1957: Karl Reinhard, "Die Sinneskrise bei Euripides", *Die Neue Rundschau* 68, 615–646 [quoted after "The Intellectual Crisis in Euripides", transl. by Judith Mossman and J. M. Mossman, in: Judith Mossman (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Euripides*, Oxford 2003, 16–46].
- Schmiel 1998: Robert C. Schmiel, "The Style of Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*. The Rape of Europa (1.45–136) and the Battle at the Hydaspes (22.1–24.143)", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 141, 393–406.
- Schmitz 2013: Thomas A. Schmitz, "Blindness and Insight in Argos: Narrators and Audiences in Callimachus' Fifth Hymn (*The Bath of Pallas*)", in: Ute E. Eisen and Peter von Möllendorff (edd.), *Über die Grenze. Metalepse in Text- und Bildmedien des Altertums* (Narratologia 39), Berlin, 174–196.
- Schramm 2016: Michael Schramm, "Nonnos als Euripides-Leser: *Bakchen*-Rezeption in der 'Pentheide' (*Dionysiaka* 44–46)", *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 40, 169–207.
- Segal 1997: Charles Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides Bacchae*, Princeton.
- Simon 2004: Bernadette Simon, *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, Tome XVI: *Chant XLIV–XLVI*, Paris.
- Shorrock 2011: Robert Shorrock, *The Myth of Paganism. Nonnus, Dionysus and the World of Late Antiquity*, London.
- Smolak 1984: Kurt Smolak, "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Metabole des Nonnos", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 34, 1–14.
- Thomas 1986: Richard F. Thomas, "Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 90, 171–198.
- Tissoni 1998: Francesco Tissoni, *Nonno di Panopoli. I Canti di Penteo* (Dionisiache 44–46). *Commento* (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano, 177), Florence.
- Verhelst 2016: Berenice Verhelst, *Direct Speech in Nonnus' Dionysiaca: Narrative and Rhetorical Functions of the Characters' "Varied" and "Many-Faceted" Words* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 397), Leiden.
- Vian 2000: Francis Vian, "Dionysos et les pirates tyrrhéniens chez Nonnos", in: Maria Cannata Ferà and Simonetta Grandolini (edd.), *Poesia e religione in Grecia. Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera*, Naples, 683–692 (reprinted in Vian 2005, 597–608).
- Vian 2003: Francis Vian, *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, Tome XVIII: *Chant XLVIII*, Paris.
- Vian 2005: Francis Vian, *L'Épopée posthomérique. Recueil d'études* (Hellenica 17), Alessandria.
- Wifstrand 1933: Albert Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos: metrisch-stilistische Untersuchungen zur späteren griechischen Epik und zu verwandten Gedichtgattungen* (Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund 16), Gleerup.
- Zeitlin 1992: Froma I. Zeitlin, "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama", *Representations* 11, 63–94.