EUPHORION'S *DIONYSOS*:
STRUCTURE AND HERMENEUTICS

1. *The mythical route.*

As a consequence of the discovery towards 1948 of twelve new fragments belonging to the *Dionysos* of Euphorion (1) – E. Lobel, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XIX, London 1948, n. 2211 and 2220 = fr. 22 de Cuenca = fr. 19 van Groningen – our knowledge of the poem is not so limited, and it can even be claimed that up to the present times it is the most useful in order to understand the structure of an epyllion of Euphorion (2).

Meineke (3) has considered Euphorion's *Dionysos* to be a group of Bacchic fables or tales which greatly influenced Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*. In fact, as we shall see further on, the Dionysian epic made by the poet of Panopolis helps a great deal in the reconstruction of the *Dionysos*.

The Dionysos was a group of Bacchic tales. Nevertheless, within this ample range of divine epic poems (πράξεις), two types of narration can be distinguished: on the one hand, that which comprises the fragments relative to the expedition (or mythical route) of Dionysos, and which sets apart because it mentions geographical names and mythical allusions as well as aitia; on the other hand, that which includes fragments relative to the birth of Dionysos, to the wrath of Hera, etc. (e.g. fr.18 de Cuenca, 14 de C., 20 de C.), and which are, therefore, brief mythical digressions that stop the narration of the geographical route of our god. In fact, critics have not established this distinction, and they subordinate the second type of narration to the first one.

The fact is that the "direct narration" of the poem – made in a quick man-

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(1) A. Barigazzi, *Il Dionysos di Euforione*, 'Miscellanea Rostagni', Torino 1963, 416-454, and L. A. de Cuenca, *Euforión de Calcis, Fragmentos y epigramas*, Madrid 1976, 73 ff. among some others, think that both writings (that is ns. 2219 and 2220) belong completely to the *Dionysos*. On the contrary, the publisher E. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part XIX, London 1948, 46-56 attributes n. 2219 and fr. 1 (and perhaps frs. 2-4) of n. 2220 to Euphorion's *Dionysos*, 2220.2 to the *Hesiod* of the same poet, n. 2220.10 to Euphorion's *Chiliades*.

(2) Cfr. for example A. Barigazzi (et alii), *Euforione e i poeti latini*, "Maia" 17, 1965, 164.

(3) See A. Meineke ed., *Analecta Alexandrina sive commentationes de Euphorione Chalcidensi...*, Berlin 1843, 21 ff.

ner and by means of brief allusions – is comparable to the god's real advance throughout Greece. Nevertheless, stopping all this great mythical and poetical avalanche, there are the digressions. They are not the long ἐκφράσεις, typical in other poems or in other historical tales written in prose during the Hellenistic period, but short and swift digressions. To this effect, the references to the birth-nourishment of god Dionysos and to Hera's wrath become conclusive evidence, as it has already been mentioned (4).

On the other hand, Euphorion was greatly interested in the "Greek places", specially those in Attica, that were related with the cult and the legends about Dionysos. This is a constant of the poet and it can be explained, to some extent, due to the citisen's rights he himself obtained from the Athenians and to his long stays in Athens... But in the *Dionysos* the geographical subject is not as evident as it is for instance, in the *Mopsopia* (or in the *Arai*). In fact, Attica is not the only region mentioned; Boeotia, Argos and even Nemea are also cited. Besides, Dionysos was worshipped, if we take into account Attica, in the northern part of this region, in the outermost parts of Boeotia, the god's fatherland (5).

Although Dionysos had taken root in Boeotia, he nevertheless found a great amount of items with an aetiological character which referred to the god's passage through Attica. According to A.Barigazzi, the poet was particularly interested in "il ricordo dei demi attici collegati col culto del dio" (6). Thus, most extant, refer to Attica; on the other hand, the *Hecale* by Callimachus provided him with certain geographical names of that region, as well as in the case of the *Arai*, as it has before been said, although the intentions and the descriptive particularities of these works were quite different (7).

As, to mythical route *stricto sensu*, it must be said that it was eminently a Greek one. In what we have of the poem by Euphorion, unlikely to that by Nonnos, there was no reference to the pre-Greek expedition of the god to the outermost parts of the earth (India, etc.). Neither can we include – in the missing part of the beginning of the fragment – any allusion to that expedi-

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(4) Euphorion takes into account an adjective which very well testifies the quick advance of the god across Greece. We refer to the εὐθύ of fr. 22 de Cuenca (= 40 fr. A), by guesswork of A. Barigazzi, *Il Dionysos*... 442 ff.

(5) A. Barigazzi, *ibidem* 434 ff.

(6) A. Barigazzi, *ibidem* 427 ff.

(7) The Euphorian mentioning of Melaenae, Limnae, Aphidnae come from *Hecale* and perhaps – going back to its original source – to Philochorus (cfr. A. Barigazzi, *ibidem* 422 ff.). On the other hand, apart from the topografic names already mentionated, there are certain terms such as ἀλοίτης, at the end of the hexametre, which are found again in fr. 271 Pf. of the *Hecale* (Euph. v. 12); and also the reference to Boreas, Erechtheus' son-in-law (fr. 321 Pf. of the *Hecale*=Euph. v. 13)

tion that other authors did actually pick up, as the publishers have so cleverly proved relying on numerical criteria (8).

Dionysos' location or mythical route is quite wide. Specifically, in the fragment 22 de C., the longest of the *Dionysos*, the following allusions can be found:

Attica	12 ff., 13, 15 ff., 21, 25
Nemea	36 ff.
Argos	41-44
Boeotia	fr. 22 G.

And talking into the rest of the fragments of the same poem, we have:

Lydia	fr. 15 de C.
Attica	fr. 16 de C.
Ὠρύχιον (from Attica)	fr. 17 de C.
Argos	fr. 18 and 19 de C.
Δυρραχίη (from Illyria)	fr. 21 de C.

Euphorion, as we have already stated, did not deal with the Indian expedition. None of the extant fragments with the title of the poem make reference to any Indian epic poems. Nevertheless, the mentioning of Δυρραχίη (from Illyria) – fr. 21 de C.– leads us to suspect that there was a brief allusion to the god's arrival in Greece on his way to some other remote places. Even so, it is better to suppose that the verses at the beginning of the poem were dedicated to recall Dionysos' quartering and his triple birth (fr. 13 de C.), or how Hera became angry with Dionysos (fr. 14 de C.). The god's nourishment at Ino's home, who was Semele's sister, can also be included in this group (fr. 20 de C.).

There is a detail, mentioned by B. A. van Groningen (9), which clearly shows the mood of these narrations. When Euphorion is talking about Hera's φάρμακα, which no other tradition mentions, he seems to be minimizing the divine sovereignty because he compares Hera's poisonous medicine to those used by lower rank women. The publisher adds: "Ceci prouve que tout ceci n'est que *littérature* et que toute notion de religiosité est absente de la manière dont Euphorion envisage les mythes" (10). Therefore, there is no intention to make a treatise of theological erudition about Dionysos, even

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(8) See A. Barigazzi, *ibidem* 420: "Della seconda colonna del pap. 2220 resta soltanto l'annotazione A sul margine sinistro all'altezza dell'ultimo verso. Dunque, come ha ben visto il Lobel, quel verso corrisponderà al centesimo dell'intero poemetto. In base a quell'indicazione, l'editore ha calcolato quanti versi mancano dall'inizio. Ha supposto la colonna del pap. 2220 di 31 versi, e così...".

(9) B. A. van Groningen, *Euphorion. Les témoignages. Les fragments. Le poète et son oeuvre*, Amsterdam 1977, 42 ff.

(10) B. A. van Groningen, *ibidem* 43 ff.

though we are actually given information about aspects of his personality and his heroic deeds; that is not the essential aim of such a literary poem as this one.

It is by virtue of their literary value that it is worthwhile reading the πράξεις of Dionysos. Euphorion gradually turns the text more and more literary, refering it to the literary tradition, and once he has achieved certain literary verisimilitude in what he is saying, once he has written metapoetry – that is, once he has stopped talking "credibly" about the literature continuous discourse of his poem, as if he were perhaps distorting the inveterate theory of the poetical lie (11). Euphorion *trivializes* after he has led to believe "credible" the αλήθεια of his poetic discourse... At least, that is what can be inferred from this brief allusion to the φάρμακα of Hera. A goddess who becomes envious and tragic towards Dionysos in many mythical versions, but not in our poem, as we have just seen. The last verses in the Θράξ showed a similar process, although the curse or *ará* as a ritual setting was present, but it is not something infrequent in the rest of Euphorion's poetry.

On the other hand, another constant in tne mythical route of this epyllion is the correspondence between the mythical allusions and the victorious route of the god throughout Greece. Many names of the places visited by Dionysos induce the poet to allude to myths linked to those topographic data. Thus, Melikertes' myth appears in the poem with regard to the mentioning of Nemea; and, vice versa, the recall of a festivity or *aition*, such as the celebration of *Dionysos Eleuthereus*, make the poet allude to the city of Athens; examples of this kind are very frequent in the *Dionysos*, even though it is not an innovation belonging to Euphorion, but typical of the so called epyllian genre (12), and for the Hellenistic poetry for the most part.

Dionysos is, in Euripides' *Bacchae*, a god who creates and destroys. He

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(11) See for instance, C. Miralles, *Para una lectura del Himno a Zeus de Calímaco*, "Argos" 5, 1981, 9-24, where he states: "Tampoco la verdad es atributo necesario del poeta... A él [Callimachus] no le importaría mentir, dice, a condición de que sus mentiras tuvieran el merito de la persuasión, o sea, habrían de ser verosímiles. Hay aquí implícita casi una teoria de la mentira poética – o de la no veracidad, siempre que comporte una justificación poética. En todo caso, mentira no tiene, como digo, un sentido moral, sino un sentido objectivo..." (11-12 ff.). See also M. Détienne, *Les maîtres de verité dans la Grèce archaïque*, Paris 1967 75 ff. It has to be said, nevertheless, that the comparison with the *Dionysos* by Euphorion is not exact. Callimachus suspects, in a much more clear way, this poetic Greek constant about the "no-verosimilitude".

(12) Cf. for example, G. Perrotta, *Poesia Ellenistica*, in: *Scritti minori* II, Rome 1978, 35-42, where a long catalogue of the characteristic features of the epyllion can be found.

is gentle and mild along the first part of the tragedy, but awful and disastrous at the end of it (13). In the *Dionysos* by Euphorion, and due to its fantastic and warlike character, we hesitate when formulating any conclusive hypothesis, not only about the tragic evolution of the main god, but also about the role performed by the μιμαλλόνες or *bacchae*, about the voyage ceremonies or the rituals, as Ch. Segal (14) has recently studied.

The most important common item between these works, that is to say between the tragedy of Euripides and the poem by Euphorion, is, as far as we are concerned, the Dionysian distortion of the order, of the limits and for the social and human categories which took place throughout the narration. An evidence of such a distortion and of the strength of the Dionysian καταποντισμός (contrary and opposed to an orthodox mythical route and exempt from πάθος) is Euphorion's treatment of the destruction of Argos (fr. 22 A, vv. 41 ff.), where the poet chose the least benign version: the city of Argos was conquerred by Dionysos, and according to the cite of the *Et. Magn.* 687.33 s.v. πρηνής ... ὁ δὲ Εὐφορίων οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγει, it was wrong, as it opposed the traditional and normal version – which is also mentioned in Nonnos 47.668 ff.– according to which Perseus and Dionysos became reconciled, and Hera, the goddess of Argos, accepted then to pay homage to Dionysos.

This question, that could be named under the epigraph "the relationships between the *Dionysos* of Euphorion and the Dionysian poetry", poses another question on the raison d'être of the poem and the election of that topic. Scholars have frequently spoken about "l'esaltazione della civiltà sulla barbarie per mezzo dell'opera di Dioniso inventore della viticoltura" (15), or about an "ideale [that of Dionysos] che era sentito, dopo le imprese di Alessandro Magno, come la conquista più alta e più duratura della Grecità su tutto il resto del mondo ed era celebrato [...] presso tutte le corti ellenistiche", and with this they have even linked "la calda natura di Euforione, come quella di Nonno, adatta a sentire la passionale epopea dionisiaca" (16). Psychological, social, merely extraliterary motives, to which we could even add some others of a religious or courtly nature: the religious synchretism around Dionysos, or the fact that Alexander or the Ptolomeus were descended from Dionysos.

It is more literary – and undoubtedly based on the extant fragments – to

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(13) See Ch. Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides Bacchae*, Princenton Univers. Press, 1982.

(14) Ch. Segal, *ibidem.*

(15) A. Barigazzi, *Il Dionysos...* 445 ff.

(16) A. Barigazzi, *ibidem.*

suppose that Euphorion chose this topic from the heroic deeds of Dionysos in the Greek world, as the festivities of this god offered him, as no other god did, a whole range of useful aetiological material. The *Aitia* can be found everywhere throughout the poem (cf. for example fr. 22A, v. 25), but particularly symptomatic in this sense is fr. 20 de C. , where two aitia can be found scattered in verses 3-5 respectively.

Besides, the long fragment of the *Dionysos* (fr. 22A) gives us another interpretative clue about the spirit of the poem. We are refering to vv. 19=20, which clearly revel the central subject of the epyllion:

        v. 19   ]α[...] ἀνδρείης

        v. 20   ὁ]μοκλή

Two words – in two rather fragmentary verses – which refer to Dionysos (and not to Heracles) express the concepts of "courage" and "call" (of exhortation). These are words which evidence the strength and the *páthos* of the god and the poem – we have already said something about its swiftness –, and that accurately define what A. Barigazzi has successfully called "la passionale epopea dionisiaca" (17). The fragments prove this to be so. But it is only bearing in mind the strictly verbal spirit of Euphorion's poetry that the election of the poet of Chalcis of such a subject as the mythical route of Dionysos can be understood; and, we think, the vast aetiological material made a greater impression on the poet of Chalcis than the god's fame in the Hellenistic period.

2 . The epyllion and the structure.

Some last century scholars – Schultze (18), Scheidweiler (19), etc. – thought the *Dionysos* belonged to the *Mopsopia*. Nevertheless, this opinion is not shared by many present critics who speak about different structures and different ἐπύλλια. To put it in other words: the term συλλογή (20) referred to Euphorion's work seems not to be quite accepted.

Although there are certain similar features between the *Dionysos* and the *Mopsopia*, derivative from their supposed epyllic genre – swift, brief and discontinuous narrations, *ex abrupto* beginnings and endings, etc. – the fact is that the *Dionysos* contains peculiar characteristics which show the stylistic and structural originality of the poem.

Firstly, it can be said that in the structure of the poem we are now handling there is a succession of names of places and of mythical names;

(17) A. Barigazzi, *ibidem*.
(18) G. Schultze, *Euphorionea*, Argentorati 1888, 25 ff.
(19) F. Scheidweiler, *Euphorionis Fragmenta*, Bonn 1908.
(20) Suggested principally by C. Cessi, *Euphorionea*, "RFIC" 93, 1915, 278-292.

heroic and god deeds are mixed with the narrations of their own births (Perseus, Dionysos...); there can even be found allusions relative to aitia, together with others relative to digressions about heroic πράξεις – linked to their respective geographical names –. The general spirit of the fragments is really heterogeneous.

Here are the basic plot features, and those that can be guessed, of the different fragments of our poem:

De Cuenca	van Groningen	basic plot features
fr. 13	fr. 14	Quartering of Dionysos. His triple birth.
fr. 14	fr. 15	Hera's rage against Dionysos.
fr. 15	fr. 16	Lycapsos, κώμη πλησίον Λυδίας (Dionysos' stay in Lydia?).
fr. 16	fr. 17	Attic Aegean (from Attica).
fr. 17	fr. 18	Orychios: τόπος τῆς 'Αττικῆς.
fr. 18	fr. 19	Dionysos makes war in Argos (Perseus Eurymedon).
fr. 19	fr. 19	Perseus Eurymedon (birth).
fr. 20	——	Nourishment of Dionysos at Ino's home.
fr. 21	fr. 90	Illyrian expedition.
fr. 22	fr. 19	Greek mythical route.

Besides these outlined plot features, it is worth remembering others that do not appear so straightforwardly throughout the poem, in the respective fragments.

Thereby, firstly, the allusion to Διόνυσος ἀπατήνωρ (fr. 22 de C. vv. 20-26) was only understandable to those who knew its connotations. The myth told by Euphorion followed a tradition favourable to Athens: Dionysos went to help the Athenians and gave them the possession of an enclave contended for by the Boeotians (21); the myth related the festivities 'Απατούρια and the enclave called Μελαιναί, which at the same time, was related with Μέλανθος and with Διόνυσος Μελαναιγίς. The similarity between these expressions leads us to think of a play of words: the god obtains for the Athenians the place called *Blacks*, so that they will always remember that *black skin*, by means of which Διόνυσος Μελαναιγίς awarded the victory to Μελάνθιος (aition).

On the otherhand, a fragment of the *Hesiod* by Euphorion has been related to the quartering of Dionysos (22). It is the fr. 29 de C., and it can

(21) Cfr. Nonnos *Dion.* 27.302; Suidas, s.v. 'Απατούρια and *Sch. Aristoph Ach.* 146, cited by B. A. van Groningen, *op. cit.* 53.

(22) Possible ownership of this fragment to the *Dionysos*, proposed by C. García

throw new light about the epyllian structure of the poem, as it contains a verb, ἐλευκαίοντο, which belongs to the quartering ritual of Dionysos by the Titans.

In a work dedicated to Dionysos' death and to the history of sacrifice and nourishment in the Greek world, M. Détienne has stated that "le term spécifique pour désigner la chaux vive, c'est *títanos*, ou "titan", qui signifie la poussière blanchâtre, l'espèce de cendre (*téphra*) de couleur blanche que produit la crémation de toute espèce de calcaire. Dès lors ces meurtriers couverts de gypse ne seraint-ils pas cachés par cela même qui révèlerait le mieux leur identité?" (23).

Thus, we are interested in this fragment because it corroborates that the mythical subject of the quartering of Dionysos had some extension and a well detailed development. We have some specifical information about the quartering of the god's members, which were cooked before they were eaten – ἐν πυρὶ Βάκχον δῖον ὑπὲρ φιάλης ἐβάλοντο (in the φιάλη) (24) –, and if the fragment 29 de C. really belongs to the *Dionysos*, then (25) we also have some information about the omophagie ritual and the whitening of the Titans.

Besides, it is worthwhile indicating certain peculiar stylistic features of the poetic structure of the Dionysos; some features that show the concentration, in just a few verses, of poetic figures and, above all, of small *metamorphosis* in the course of tbe narration:

1. Use of patronymics and process of metamorphosis:
Patronymics: fr. 14 de C., v. 2: Ῥειώνη (Rhea's daughter) (26);
            fr. 22 de C., v. 42: Ἀκρισιώνη (Acrisios' daughter).
Process of metamorphosis:

Gual, deriving from the verb ἐλευκαίοντο "they became white", and from the omophagic ritual propitiated by the Titans, of which the act of becoming white was a part (see also A. Meineke, *op. cit.* 155 ff., and above all L. A. de Cuenca, *op. cit.* 86 ff.).

(23) Cfr. M. Détienne, *Dionysos mis à mort ou le boulilli rôti*, "ASNP" 1974, 1193-1234 (see exactly p. 1213), or *Dionysos mis à mort*, Paris 1977.

(24) B. A. van Groningen, *op. cit.* 40 ff. thinks that the form ὑπὲρ φιάλης has to be understood in some other sense: "la φιάλη, "vase à libation", ne se prête pas à l'usage que Tzetzès attribue au λέβης "marmite"; la conjecture de O. Müller, ὑπερφίαλοι se racommande en tout cas en vertu de la violente démesure dont les Géants font preuve...".

(25) F. Nietzsche, *Der Florentinische Tractat über Homer und Hesiod, ihren Wettkampf*, "RhM" 28, 1873, 236 though that the characters of the poem were Hesiod's killers: "Hier wird der Schreck geschildert, der einen der Mörder ergreift, als er merkt, dass er getäuscht durch die Nacht, einen Falschen erschlagen hat – nämlich Hesiod".

(26) B. A. van Groningen's comment (*op. cit.* 41 ff.) about the patronymic Ῥειώνη is very accurate: "Euphorion n'est pas le seul à avoir employé le patronymique, puisque Suidas le donne à l'accusatif".

fr. 20 de C., v. 4: παῖδα Μήνης (lion of Nemea);

fr. 20 de C., v. 4 γενετείρη Ἀσωποῦ (Nemea);

fr. 22 de C., v. 41: (πόλιν) δορυσσόου Εὐρυμέδοντος (Argos).

2. Non-coordinated epithets: e.g. ὑῆ ταυροκέρωτι fr. 14 de C., 1.

3. Frequent catacresis: e.g. fr. 22 de C., v. 29: instead of προφῆται, ἱερεῖς, οἰωνοσκόποι, διάκονοι...

4. Plays of words: e.g. god Dionysos Μελάναιγις – ἀπατήνωρ wins Μελάνθιος in the area called Μελαιναί (fr. 22 de C., v. 25 ff.).

5. Rare words instead of the common poetic terms: e.g. δέκασσι instead of τάξεσι; δορυσσόος instead of κλύτη (fr. 22 de C., vv. 40-41).

6. Direct apostrophes: e.g. τοι = σοι of the fr. 22 de C., v. 28, where the poet, thinking about the celebrations in Athens of Dionysos *Eleuthereus*, makes a passionate plea, which he directly adresses to somebody, interrumping the speech.

7. Change or *variatio* of grammatical person: e.g. the second singular pronoun (fr. 22 de C., vv. 28 ff.) relative to the god or the poet.

On the other hand, a constant and repetitive element of the whole of this epyllon has not been properly treated by the critics and publishers of Euphorion: the recall of some mythical births (cf. Dionysos' [fr. 12 de C. and 20 de C.?] or Perseus' [fr. 22 de C., vv. 42 ff.]). At least, the analysis of the fragments allows us to catch a glimpse of these mythems, and makes us show as a characteristic feature of this poem the digression based on the earliest elements of the myth and not only in its main characters' future heroic deeds.

Although there are some heroic deeds by Dionysos, Perseus or other heroes in this poem, the concrete allusion to our god's birth was something necessary. In fact, his birth – a consequence of the union of a god and a human being, Semelè –, as well as his threatened childhood, were heroic *per se*, and so were his πράξεις and his future mythical routes. And due to this, to his capacity to become "... unter der Götter der Heros" (27), and besides "divinità vicina alla sfera eroica" (28), Euphorion described – in a compulsory manner – all and each one of his heroic characteristics, including his birth. Consequently, and as belonging to the beroic subject of Dionysos we con also mention the possible reference by Euphorion to Dionysos' paradigmatic marriage to Ariadna (29), or his *katábasis* in Hades.

(27) K. Kérenyi, "Saeculum" 7, 1956, 382, cited by A. Brélich, *Gli eroi greci. Un problema storico-religioso*, Roma 1978, 368 ff.

(28) A. Brélich, *op. cit.* 365 ff.

(29) Cfr. A. Barigazzi, *Il Dionysos...* 450-454, who uses some pages so as to show this possible Euphorian narration and the imitation of poet Catullus (64.52-264).

On the other hand, the long allusion to Heracles in the poem (fr. 22 de C., vv. 16 ff.) is motivated, according to *communis opinio*, by a mention of an episode in the life of this hero in relation to some other stage of Diony-sos' victorious route. Nevertheless, with regard to the appearance of this myth in the poem we have met some eclecticism. Thus, for instance, B. A. van Groningen states that "... à tout moment les allusions mythologiques d'Euphorion ménagent des surprises; Héraclès ne joue auccun rôle dans la marche victorieuse de Dionysos" (30). That is to say, nevertheless, that the Greek tradition linked Heracles and Dionysos in a highly significant way. They appear together in the figurative arts (31), they have certain myths in common (32), and both of them grow mad because of Hera's action (33). Apart from this, Heracles is a ἥρως θεός and Dionysos a θεός ἥρως. Heracles has, thereby, a very important role in any "marche victorieuse de Dionysos".

His appearance is not accidental, and we can even infer tbe possible mythical vicinity between the λίς murdered by Heracles (34) and some possible geographical datum of the Dionysian mythical expedition.

To conclude, it can be said that the Dionysos is a typically Hellenistic epyllion, with a literary structure based on the graded mentioning of geographical data, which belong to the god's mythical route across Greece. This topographic series contains, at the same time, the habitual digressions, which are short and addressed only to the experienced readers, that generally refer to heroic deeds or births, or otherwise, to aitia of any other kind. As to the structure that could call *internal*, that is to say that it is *stuffed* with many verbal παίγνια, with puns and with small *variationes* that produce a sort of metamorphosis in the course of the narration. Such changes do not just occur by means of direct apostrophes or alterations in the gramatical pronoun, but also by means of unexpected constructions or stylistic features (uncoordinated epithets, catacresis, rare words instead of the common poetic ones, patronymics, original metaphors, etc.). Perhaps the plot variations make the structure of our poem fluctuate instead of making it flow straight-

(30) B. A. van Groningen, *op. cit.* 52 ff.

(31) See Hoppin, *Handb. black.-fig. vases* 40, or Furtwängler-Reichhold, tav. 47, cited by A. Brélich, *op. cit.* 362: "In un vaso a figure nere di Amasis essi stanno in piedi e si stringono la mano; in un altro, a figure rosse, sdraiati l'uno accanto all'altro, banchettano".

(32) Cfr. A. Brélich, *op. cit.* 363: "è lui [Dionysos] che affida ai Kentauroi il recipiente di vino che essi dovranno aprire soltanto all'arrivo di Herakles".

(33) Cfr. A. Brélich, *ibidem*.

(34) It is a *hapax legomenon*, composed of Ἀργεϊφόντης (fr. 22 de C., v. 17). Cfr. A. Barigazzi, *Il Dionysos...* 436, or B. A. van Groningen, *op. cit.* 52.

forwardly as it should be expected of a narration with such a few *rifts* as
Dionysos' mythical route had in itself. Notwithstanding this, we have to
state that by plot variations we mean "variations in relation to traditional
mythical versions", as well as those poetic means that impel and provide
with originality the narration (omophagy rituals, connotations difficult to
guess in relation to the Διόνυσος ἀπατήνωρ, Heracles' appearance in the
poem, certain narrative "constants" such as the heroic birth, etc.).

3. *Euphorion- Nonnos.*

Nonnos of Panopolis is, as far as the literature about Dionysos is con-
cerned, the last milestone in an evolutive process which has one of its
starting points in Euphorion. In fact, the long eulogistic poem ty the Pano-
politan poet – forty-eight ἔπη – follow closely the structure and the them of
Euphorion, which dates eight centuries back (35): introduction, birth and
forefathers, childhood, war deeds (with some differences), etc. On the other
hand, Dionysos figure becomes more and more trivial from the *Dionysos* by
the poet of Chalcis, growing more and more novelettish. His heroic deeds
have been compared to those by Alexander.

Besides the respective treatment of the heroic deeds of Dionysos by
Euphorion as well as by Nonnos, we believe that the existence of more es-
sential fragments would show that the Panopolitan poet borrows from
Euphorion much more lexic than any other poet does, and that the former –
and not really Callimachus – turned out to be the starting point from which
Nonnos developed his style (his style, not the metrics technique, in which
he was a real innovator). Nevertheless, an evident proof of how both
metrics are related, and above all both ways of writing poetry (36), is the
whole verse borrowed by Nonnos (13.186) = Euph. fr. 113 de C.:

<div align="center">ἀγχίαλον Βραυρῶνα, κενήριον 'Ιφιγενείης</div>

A verse which has posed serious topographic problems, as Euphorion
chose the least common version, moving away from the tradition of Euripi-
des emerging in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Some scholars (37) have spoken of
"chauvinisme local (dans ces traditions opposées)", "weil das Mädchen bei
der Opferung entrückt wurde" (38). Some others, on the contrary, keep

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(35) Important works of a general character on Nonnos poetry are: R. Keydell,
Dionysiaca, Leipzig, 1959; G. Giangrande, *Studies in the languages of Nonnus*, Cam-
bridge, 1960; G. D'Ippolito, *Studi Nonniani*, Palermo, 1964; D. Gigli Piccardi, *Metafora
e poetica in Nonno di Panopoli*, Florencia 1985.

(36) Cfr. A. S. Hollis, *Some allusions to earlier Hellenistic poetry in Nonnus*, "CQ",
1976, 142-150, who claims that Nonnos has absorbed Euphorion (see 146).

(37) Cfr. B. A. van Groningen, *op. cit.* 162 ff.

(38) See for example J. F. Schultze, *op. cit.* 27.

silent about this question and elude any explanation (39). It is not so much the philological question *per se* what we want to remark – which is something important, at least, because it once more shows how Euphorion chooses not too common versions –, but the literary structure. A brief structure, consisting of four members, symmetrical and far more poetical than any other structure of the epic verses of the *Dionysiaca* by Nonnos. Thus, we believe that this verse is not so much a borrowing of an erudite and verbal tinge, as one of a comparative structure.

A. Barigazzi is who has best studied the relationships between the poem about Dionysos of Euphorion and this of Nonnos. In one part of his long article about *Il Dionysos di Euforione* (40), he mentions the basic plot features of Nonnos' work, something which we would now like to review here, though schematically: "Dopo lo spedizione contro l'India e la sua vittoriosa conclusione, l'argomento che occupa la maggior parte del lungo poema, Dioniso, di ritorno verso l'Occidente, scioglie l'esercito (40,275 ss.) e, seguito soltanto dai satiri e dalle baccanti, entra in Arabia e conquista quel popolo al suo culto (*ib.* 292 ss.), visita con cura Tiro, la città natale del nonno Cadmo (*ib.* 298-578), pianta la vite sui pendii del Libano (41,1 ss.), passa in Lidia, in Frigia, indi in Europa (43,440 ss.). Qui, lasciata l'Illiria e la pianura tessalica, Dioniso penetra nella Beozia (44,1 ss.) e la conquista nonostante la forte resistenza di Penteo; infine il poeta (...) fa entrare il dio nell'Attica, la quale l'accoglie pacificamente e con gioia (47,1 ss.). (...) Narra a lungo l'episodio di Icario e della figlia Erigone, ma non passa in rassegna, come Euforione, i demi attici. Oltre Atene col Cefiso, sono ricor-date solo Acarne (v. 23) e la zona di Maratona (vv. 16-18), ma senza troppo rilievo, in una bella descrizione generale che vuole riprodurre la gioia di tutta la terra attica, la quale rosseggia ad un tratto di grappoli, fiorisce di rose e viole, echeggia di canti e suoni e danza (...)".

Nonnos, unlike Euphorion, does not mention a great deal of Attic *demoi* and he just describes in a rather general way the god's passage across Attica, as if it were any other region of the mythical route, nevertheless, he often stops at concrete episodes (Icaros and Erigone, etc.). On the contrary, the poet of Chalcis, as we have already mentioned, delights in the narration of *demoi* and Attic aitia festivities, together with the respective digressions. But we can even find some other distinctive features among the narrations of Dionysos in both poets: the beginning of the Euphorian poem (Dionysos'

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(39) Cfr. A. Barigazzi, *Il Dionysos...* 429, and also A. S. Hollis, *Some allusions...* 146; see also H. Lloyd-Jones–P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin-New York 1983, ns. 413-454 about the main fragments of Euphorion.

(40) Cfr. A. Barigazzi, *ibidem* 423.

passage throughout northern Greece and Boeotia), was in correspondence with a much nore advanced narration in Nonnos' poem (vol. XLIY, first verses).

Even Dionysos' route across the Greek lands was quite different in relation with form in both authors. In fact, the formal structure of Euphorion's route had some characteristics which were actually closer to the catalogic genre (41), unlike Nonnos' narration, which is much more "distesa" and "lussureggiante" (42).

On the other hand, when we refer to the stucture of the *Dionysos*, the 'aridity' of the narrative flow (catalogical genre) must not be confused with some possible absence of *pathos*. In fact, what has frequently been called "arid" narration and catalogical genre (43) is perhaps no more than lack of effective *pathos*; Nonnos received the influence of tragedy with her *pathos*, but he received, too, the influence of the Alexandrine trend in the treatment of *idyllic* questions or of the *enigmatic periphrasis*, and he echoed this in his work. Euphorion, on the other hand frequently refused ony kind of pathetic manifestation, despite his "calda natura" (44), and so does the later tradition show (45). Consequently, it should not seem strange that the Euphorian narration of Dionysos' trip is lacking in pathetism and that it is full, instead, of verbal elements, which are typical in the most strictly Hellenistic poetry, overcharching perhaps the narration, according to our aesthetic opinion.

In Euphorion's *Dionysos* the lines of action are on the verge of disappearing under the obscure tigh secrecy of the glosses, which sometimes remind us of Lycophron, or under incidental elements. Something similar occurs in Nonnos' work. Nevertheless, sometimes the poetic rigour succumbs to the thematic carelessness or to the trend to interweave along the main narration too many different legends. And that actually forms a contrast with the rigid construction of the hexametre.

Among the poems by Euphorion and Nonnos there is a latent, thematic and poetic evolution. Nonnos will try to explain Dionysos as a true σωτήρ of Humanity, along with a new ontological conception (46). On the other

(41) Cfr. A. González Senmartí, *El tema de Dioniso en la poesía prenonniana*, "BIEH" 7.1, 1973, 53-59 (see specially 54 ff.).

(42) Cfr. A. Barigazzi, *ibidem*.

(43) Cfr., for example, the jewel from Attica (47.1 ff.)

(44) See A. Barigazzi, *ibidem* 445.

(45) The opposition Ennius / *Cantores Euphorionis*, mostly based on the *páthos*, is taken by Cicero in *Tusc.* III 19. 45: *appositis Ennii locis nonnullis sic pergit: O poetam egregium! Quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur*, but it had been taken before by Lucian, *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 57.

(46) Cfr. J. Alsina, *Panorama de la épica griega tardía*, "EClás" 16, 1972, 139-167

hand, the pragmatic and rationalist poet of Chalcis will forget and despise the whole of this 'Weltanschauung', filling his verses with swift mentions of many myths, with brief and furious allusions, putting aside the religious connotations of the Dionysian theme.

This evident evolution took place gradually. There are some works with Dionysian content which are contemporary and posterior to the Euphorian poem (47). There is evident testimony or some Βακχικὰ ἔπη by Theolytos – a possible contemporary of Euphorion –, of the Διονυσιάς by Neoptolemus, of the *Dionysiaca* by Dinarchus, etc.

Many of these mentioned poems, not to say all of them, belong to the eulogistic genre, being their structural rules or precepts reminded to us by Menander (48), the orator: eulogy = προοίμιον (introduction to the theme); γένος (homeland and lineage of the praised person); ἀναστροφή (education received by the praised person); πράξεις (heroic deeds); σύγκρισις (comparison with other people); ἐπίλογος (final summary). The elaboration or these precepts had possibly taken as a reference Euphorion's work, where the πράξεις are undoubtedly the most important part.

Nonnos received many successful verses by Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius and Euphorion; he borrowed expressions, lexic and constructions of all kinds, but also introduced very personal innovations (49). As to the literary structure of his poem, the comparison with the *Dionysos* by Euphorion becomes absolutely necessary. Even though there are plenty similities, we have already seen how the thematic and stylistic differences increase even more the differences of conceptual tinge.

University of Barcelona   JOSÉ ANTONIO CLÚA

(see specially 155 ff.).

(47) Cfr. A. González Senmartí, *El tema de Dioniso...* 55 ff.

(48) Cfr. Nissen, *Historisches Epos und Panegyrikos in der Spätantike*, "Hermes" 75, 1940, 298-325, or Previale, *Teoria e prassi del panegirico bizantiño*, "Emerita" 18, 1949, 72-105.

(49) About the imitations and borrowings taken by Nonnos, see A. S. Hollins, *Some allusions...* 146-148, or A. Barigazzi, *Il Dionysos...* 452, and also A. Barigazzi (et alii), *Euforione e i poeti...* 164.