An Androgynous God: Beardless Dionysus in Ancient Greek and Roman Art

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Like all Greek gods, Dionysus fills a plethora of roles. To the ancient Greeks, he is the god of wine, teaching humans the wonders of the grape. But he is also a god of fertility, intoxication, and madness.[1] He is a god of contradictions; in one myth destructive and causing chaos, in another, an innocent child taken and dismembered by jealous titans. Dionysus is also considered a foreign god and relatively new god, hailing from the East, which increases his contradictory nature. According to classicist Christopher Faraone, Dionysus' name is mentioned in tablets dating from 1250 BCE.[2] These varying roles lead to a variety of representations. The two most common are a bearded, fully clothed, young man and the beardless, half-clad or naked, effeminate youth, with long locks. The common denominator is his iconography of an ivy crown and thyrsus staff, a ritualistic staff covered with ivy and topped with a pinecone. This essay investigates the origin and significance of his beardless depiction. It appears his beardless depiction originated from the depiction of him on the Parthenon's pediment and exploded in popularity during vase painting in fifth century BCE. The beardless Dionysus was also depicted in theatre plays, such as Euripides' *The Bacchae* published posthumously in 406 BCE.[3] The beardless Dionysus came to represent a variety of roles in fifth century pottery and theatre such as Dionysus as a son of Zeus, peaceful Dionysus, and effeminate Dionysus.

The *Terracotta Oinochoe: Chous* attributed to the Eretria Painter is one example of a bearded Dionysus (figure 1). The jug depicts the

procession of Hephaestus back to Olympus with Dionysus and two satyrs accompanying him. The two gods ride a donkey, one of the many animals Dionysus uses as his steeds, they are both crowned with ivy and fully robed. Both have beards, but Dionysus' is longer. Another way to tell the gods apart is by the drinking cup Dionysus holds and the trade tools Hephaestus clings to. This depiction is from 430 to 420 BCE Greece, and in depictions of this specific myth Dionysus remains unshaven. But after the construction of the Parthenon was completed in 432 BCE, something changes about Dionysus' appearance in fifth century pottery.

Prior to the construction of the Parthenon, Dionysus in Greek and Roman art was generally represented as an older, more paternal god, or an infant, yet in the east pediment he is seen as a young beardless man reclining in front of Helios' horses. And for what seems to be the first time, he is depicted as fully nude. According to classicist Cornelia Isler-Kerényi, the sculptor possibly wanted to emphasize the beauty of Dionysus.[4] His youthful nature defines him as the son of Zeus, and by association this means he is the brother of Apollo.[5] Various parallels can be made between the brothers, such as their roles as punishers in the stories of Dionysus punishing Pentheus and Apollo punishing Marsyas. Their similarities continue in their roles as enforcers of their father's rule. This role in particular was seen after the Persian Wars (499 – 449 BCE). This role for Apollo is represented by his presence on the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Phidias, the sculptor of the cult statue of Zeus for the temple, also created the statue of Athena at the Parthenon. Dionysus filled this role in Athens.[6] It would be easier to link the appearances of Dionysus and Apollo if the statue of Apollo on the east pediment of the Parthenon was not so degraded. However, it is possible his pediment statue was beardless because elsewhere on the Parthenon, on the frieze specifically, a beardless Apollo is shown sitting next to Poseidon. The beardless nature of the two brothers separates them from the father-like figures of Zeus and Poseidon who both sport beards. Another one of Zeus's sons, Hephaestus, retains his beard because he is the ancestor of the mythical kings of Athens, thus giving him the same patriarchal role as his father.[7] The iconography of Dionysus at the Parthenon is as interesting and diverse as the god himself. His presence at the birth of Athena goes back to the sixth century, but he is often at a distance

physically. Even during the birth scene of Athena on the eastern pediment, he turns away from the main event, expressing an inner distance. Aphrodite, who is on the north side of the same pediment, is also looking away from the scene towards her own sanctuary. Isler-Kerényi, in her 2015 book *Dionysus in Classical Athens: An Understanding Through Images*, offers this interpretation: "Perhaps both Aphrodite and Dionysos are so little impressed by the birth of Athena because the scope of their power is larger and their influence on the world and on human beings is older and reaches beyond Athens."[8] This representation of Dionysus embodies his more peaceful epithet, lysios. Another element of his iconography that reinforces this is his panther skin, which represents Dionysus as a hunter. The hunter who defeats the predator, the panther, which is a symbol for the eastern empire of Persia. This depiction fits the socio-political context of Pericles' peace policy and the end of the war with Persia; this peace policy was strictly anti-Persian. [9] This is evidenced by two military campaigns he sent to Persian controlled Cyprus and Egypt in 460 BCE.[10] If a peace treaty between Athens and Persia was indeed previously established around 465 BCE, then Pericles violated it.[11] Dionysus is represented as a heroic figure vanquishing Persia. Along with embodying the ideal of peace and being the son of Zeus, this beardless depiction of Dionysus embodies an idealized young male body. The perfect mix of beardless immaturity and muscular maturity, conjures up images of the idealized body of the young athlete often depicted in Greek art.[12]

While this depiction of Dionysus did not immediately impact Greek art, especially sculpture, it did have a lasting impact on his form a couple decades later in vase painting around and after 430 BCE. One of the best examples of this switch comes from a work attributed to the Dinos Painter, a Calyx Krater, depicting Dionysus sitting relaxed and half-naked (figure 2). The reverse side depicts Hera waiting to be released by Hephaestus. The direct contrast between these two scenes continues to show Dionysus as a peaceful liberator. A panther cub below him has a playful posture conveying peace. The cub possibly stands for a tamed Asia, a metaphor not lost on the fact that the war with Persia ended a couple decades earlier. This suggests the idea of peace befalling the Aegean, a peace that in Dinos's time, who was active 430 to 400 BCE, would have been disturbed by the Peloponnesian War started in 431 BCE.[13] Of

course, youthful Dionysus still appeared alongside the mature more father-like bearded Dionysus, as seen with the Calyx Krater by the Kadmos Painter made between 450 – 400 BCE. A bearded, chiton-wearing Dionysus shakes hands with the beardless Apollo wearing a himation. Around them satyrs dance and play music. There is an omphalos, a stone representing Delphi, and above it is a palm tree representing Delos, both major sanctuaries of Apollo. Dionysus wears distinct boots signifying that he has traveled far. The boots and chiton would have been the perfect clothes for traveling, so it is implied he was returning from his travels in the East. Clearly, Dionysus represents the non-Greek world and Apollo, dressed like an Athenian citizen in his himation, represents the Greek world. The two shaking hands represents a peace between Greece and the East.[14] The various versions of the peaceful Dionysus indicate that the image of the god was altered by various artists based on their needs, an ironic alteration considering his role as the god of transformation. [15]

Dionysus has been depicted as a liberator, a peace maker, and executor of his father's will. He is also depicted in a state of pure bliss, as seen in a Calyx Krater by the Pronomos Painter made in 400 BCE, which shows Dionysus surrounded by his followers, the maenads and satyrs. Maenads are fervent female followers of Dionysus who are often depicted in his entourage. Also a part of Dionysus' entourage, Satyrs are Greek mythological figures who are men with the ears and tail of a horse. The work by the Pronomos Painter is indicative of changes made to Dionysian subject matter. After the fifth century BCE, a bearded Dionysus on pottery would only appear escorting Hephaestus to Mount Olympus, perhaps because in this myth Dionysus and Hephaestus are both affirmed as part of the Pantheon. [16] Similar to how beardless Dionysus in the Parthenon represented Dionysus as a son of Zeus, the bearded version distinctly separates him from his status as a son by showing him as an older man. Blissful Dionysus is often depicted half or even completely naked, and when the god is standing, he is often supported by Ariadne, Heracles, a satyr, or Eros. When he is depicted under the influence, it is not referencing a specific myth, but rather his drunken, happy, and liberated characteristics.[17] The depiction of drunk Dionysus came with repercussions: the procession of Dionysus and his followers disappeared. After around 450 to 430

BCE, his followers engaged in other activities like playing music; satyrs could not be mistaken for citizens or actors and women were no longer human.[18] The transition from showing to not showing the procession can be seen in one of the earliest beardless depictions of Dionysus, an Athenian Calyx-Krater. This vessel is from the second half of the fifth century BCE. It is an earlier depiction because the satyrs likely represented actors based off their actions on the krater. Around 430 BCE, the figures shown with Dionysus ceased acting as stand-ins for real people and instead acted as the personification of Bacchic revelry.[19] Possibly, fifth century BCE vase painters wanted to move away from the depiction of a god who acts as a punisher or as keeping order. They wanted a god who embodied hope and joy, an apt subject matter for the symposium.

The Greek symposium was a gathering reserved for upper-class men and was usually saved for special occasions such as athletic victories. This tradition started around 700 BCE but remained popular for hundreds of years afterwards.[20] Men laid around drinking, listening to music, and engaging in intellectual debate. Women were excluded from participating unless they provided entertainment. These women, often prostitutes known as hetairai, were trained in dance, music, and the intricacies of aristocratic culture.[21] The majority of pottery discussed in this study are kraters, large mixing bowls for water and wine. Kraters come in all shapes and sizes; the two shapes mentioned here are bell, aptly named for it looks like an upside-down bell, and calyx, named after the part of a flower that opens. Kraters were often too heavy to move once filled, so they were often centerpieces in symposiums themselves and were used as a sort of refill station for amphorae.[22] Much of the pottery depicting Dionysus was used to store or serve wine at symposiums. The oinochoe mentioned earlier functioned as a jug. Dionysus was often depicted as a symposiast himself because of his role as the god of wine (figure 3). *The Dinos*, a drinking cup, painted by the Dinos painter, active from 430 to 400 BCE, is one of the earliest examples of the young and beardless Dionysus represented as a symposiast. This was also a common motif in southern Italian vase painting.[23] The symposiast Dionysus was another representation of Bacchic bliss.[24]

The *Terracotta Bell-Krater* attributed to Python, 350 to 325 BCE, shows one example of the relaxed symposiast Dionysus (figure

4). The krater depicts Dionysus sitting on one side, held up fantastically by a decorative tendril. While he is not laying down like the typical symposiast, any position where Dionysus sits represents the symposiast Dionysus. This Dionysus has a bare chest and a robe almost pulled down to his waist, furthering his casual manner. He has long hair and no beard. He is identified as Dionysus through his crown and staff. This krater is from a Grecian culture in Southern Italy. Red-figure pottery was made by Greek colonists in southern Italy; this particular bell-krater is from a region called Lucania.[25] The iconography of Dionysus was brought to Italy through vases imported by Etruscan farmers.[26] The Etruscan deity Fufluns is regarded as the Etruscan Dionysus.[27] The depiction of Fufluns remains as a beardless, effeminate youth. As seen on an Etruscan bronze mirror, engraved with a scene of Semele embracing Fufluns as a satyr and Apulu (Apollo) look on, Fufluns is short and beardless compared to the stately Semele and Apulu. According to classicist Larissa Bonfante, "The youth, effeminacy or ambiguous quality of Dionysus is, of course, a Greek tradition."[28] This claim is supported by the linguistic interpretation of a Homeric hymn in which the name Dionysus literally means son of Zeus, showing that his youth is an important characteristic.[29] This indicates the Etruscan religion was heavily inspired by the Grecian religion and the spread of beardless Dionysus. Elsewhere in Italy, specifically in a Roman context, Dionysus also represented the ideal of Bacchic bliss presented by the symposiast Dionysus. The depiction of a youthful, beardless Dionysus in Roman imperial period sculpture, starting in 27 BCE, is sometimes nude. Not only does his nudity show that Dionysus is completely relaxed, but it also shows that he is a seductive character, enamoring not just Ariadne, but all those who look upon him.[30] One example of this Dionysus from the Roman imperial period is the *Marble Statue of Dionysos Seated on a Panther* from first to third century CE (figure 5). This statue shows a young beardless Dionysus who is nude, with a short animal pelt draped over his shoulder. He has long hair and is sitting on top of a panther reclined ever-so-slightly, while holding grapes. There is an inscription on the base that reveals this four-foot-tall statue sat upon an altar to Serapis and Isis.[31] Possibly, the Dionysus depicted in this statue is similar to the Dionysus seen on Roman sarcophagi, meaning that this Dionysus represents the mysterious and wild nature of the afterlife.[32] Another example of

beardless Dionysus from the Roman imperial period is the *Hope Dionysos* from 27 BCE to 68 CE (figure 6). Interestingly, this Dionysus is a Roman adaptation of a Greek bronze work from the fourth century BCE. Dionysus is beardless, young, and standing contrapposto with one arm outstretched. This outstretched arm seems to be supported by a smaller female figure modeled after an archaic maiden. It is unknown whether the original had this figure too or if she was added later for support. This sculpture is large and made of marble, standing close to seven feet tall. Dionysus wears animal skin, a short chiton, and boots. This outfit represents his return from his travels in the East. The spread of chiton-wearing Dionysus from Greece to Rome centuries later would attest to the popularity of beardless Dionysus. This version of Dionysus also appears in the iconic play *The Bacchae.*

Beardless Dionysus appears in theater plays as well. The audience must have recognized beardless and youthful Dionysus on the stage, attesting to the popularity of the iconography observed so far.[33] Only three examples exist of how Dionysus would have been represented in theatre from the fifth century BCE: Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros,* Aristophanes' *The Frogs*, and Euripides' *The Bacchae*. The most important of these three is the Dionysus of Euripides' *The Bacchae* because the god's androgyny is important to the message of the play. *The Bacchae* has become one of the most famous examples of Greek theatre still taught routinely in universities across the world. It is a retelling of the punishment of Pentheus, a topic seen in vases before. Dionysus' appearance in the play was surely influenced by the iconography of the day. Then, the sheer success of the play likely influenced the imagery in the centuries following.[34] Of course, the imagery on a vase painting of Pentheus' death is different than what is on stage; Dionysus is young and naked, but we cannot assume he was also naked on stage. The Dionysus on stage likely had long hair and wore a short chiton and boots, perfect for acting and traveling.[35] He also would have worn an animal skin to indicate his return from Asia. For the purposes of this essay, the most important part of this representation of Dionysus is his femininity. In the play, Pentheus directly calls the god effeminate: "Your curls are long. You do not wrestle, I take it. And what fair skin you have—you must take care of it—no daylight complexion; no, it comes from the night when you hunt Aphrodite with your beauty."[36] Additionally, Dionysus appears

effeminate as he is the only son of Zeus to wear a short chiton with animal skin similar to the goddess Artemis.[37] *The Bacchae* conjured up a variety of other associations with the audience, such as the animal skin which would have reminded them of gigantomachic Dionysus , a heroic role from Gigantomachy, the historic battle between the Titans and Olympians for control over Mount Olympus. This reference adds a layer to the drama of *The Bacchae* because the audience would have immediately recognized gigantomachic Dionysus, who fought for the order of Zeus. This Dionysian role justifies the punishment of Pentheus for the greater good.[38]

Euripides' *The Bacchae* represents a series of dualities between Dionysus and Pentheus. Dionysus represents wilderness and femininity, while Pentheus represents civilization and masculinity. Pentheus displays a strict world view, fueled by hubris, which he is warned about at the beginning of the story by the prophet Tiresias. One of Pentheus' first observations of Dionysus is his femininity, and he takes notice of Dionysus' long curly hair, soft body, and pale skin, all markers of femininity in this time and context.[39] Shortly after meeting him, Pentheus suggests that Dionysus, who is disguised as a follower of Dionysus, deserves punishment. Dionysus asks what the punishment will be and Pentheus replies, "First of all I shall cut off your girlish curls."[40] In *The Bacchae*, Dionysus is the god of metamorphosis. He transforms Pentheus and Thebes, as the former wants to see what the maenads on the mountain are doing. Dionysus convinces Pentheus that he must dress up as a woman in order to safely spy on the women. Pentheus is not convinced without being put into a trance by Dionysus. Dionysus enacts his revenge plot because no matter what, the women will attack Pentheus, and he will die dressed shamefully as a woman.[41] To quote classicist Charles Paul Segal's interpretation of Pentheus' crossdressing, "The robing transforms Pentheus from king to scapegoat, male to female, human to beast-victim."[42] This act reveals that although the two are opposites, Dionysus is actually a mirror to what lies below Pentheus' mask of civilization and masculinity. Segal suggests that this scene is Dionysus putting a mirror to Pentheus' face and revealing a core truth about him.[43] At the core, Dionysus is Pentheus' alter ego.[44] Interestingly, Pentheus' death reflects the way that, in another myth, Dionysus was torn limb from limb by Titans.[45] This mirror argument is strengthened by the fact that Pentheus puts on a blonde wig during

the cross-dressing scene, which is the same hair color Dionysus has in the opening scene, "On his head he wears a wreath of ivy, and his long blonde curls ripple down over his shoulders." [46] Euripides possibly wanted to draw attention to the multiplicity of identity and how every person has sides that may contradict and which they might want to conceal. By depicting Pentheus appearing similar to Dionysus and even dying like him, Euripides shows that there is a side to Pentheus that is closely related to Dionysus. Interestingly, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was finished a couple of centuries later, around 8 CE, makes no mention of the cross-dressing scene.[47] This seems odd considering the book's theme of transformation. Instead, Ovid focuses on the transformation of who rules the city. The section ends with the worship of Dionysus enveloping Thebes, a successful usurp of Pentheus.[48] However, in Ovid's retelling, Dionysus' femininity is mentioned in passing by Pentheus saying, "the dragon's part was to kill brave settlers. Yours is to banish effeminate eunuchs and save your inherited honor," and "His gleaming armor is perfumed locks and womanish garlands.[49] In these examples, the youthful form is just a disguise, and in *The Bacchae*, Dionysus specifically states that he is taking the form of a mortal.[50] To Dionysus, gender presentation is another thing he can bend and transform to his own will.

Clearly, Dionysus' androgyny is integral to his role as a god of transformation. He transverses gender and sex roles with ease, perhaps because of the myths involving his childhood when Hermes gave infant Dionysus to the Nymphs and he was raised as a girl in order to protect him from Hera's wrath.[51] Possibly, this young feminine depiction represents an initiation motif. His childhood disguise as a girl, and thus transition to a masculine adult, may have mirrored boys' puberty rituals. In one version of this myth, Dionysus was handed to his aunt Ino, who was eventually transformed into Leucothea and was associated with puberty rituals in Boeotian tradition.[52] Rituals like these were used to symbolize a boy's transition from feminine boyhood to masculine adulthood.[53] One such ritual, said to have happened in Crete, involved boys wearing feminine clothes and then taking them off. The casting off of these clothes symbolized their entrance into society and the affirmation of gender roles in society.[54] These rituals also involved the boys' coming of age as hunters. They were transitioning from a vulnerable position

of prey to a power position of hunter.[55] Specifically in Boeotian myth, the story of Actaeon is illustrative. Actaeon fell in love with his aunt Semele and wanted to marry her. Artemis stopped this by turning him into a stag, and he was devoured by his own hunting hounds. Actaeon was thus emasculated by becoming prey. A similar emasculation happens when Pentheus is dressed up as a woman and ripped apart by the maenads. In *The Bacchae* Dionysus presents himself as a feminine adolescent, a sign to the audience that he is about to display a great deal of power.[56] He also is the only male god historically to have a vast array of female worshippers with his cult giving women power in the religious sphere of fifth century Athens. This power was not in the domestic sphere like Hestia and Hera because the maenads are often depicted engaging in revelry and abandoning their traditional roles as they do in *The Bacchae*. Priestess was the most prestigious role granted to women in the religious sphere of Ancient Greece, and it granted them great power and authority not usually afforded to women.[57] Dionysus may have been worshipped by these women not only because of his androgyny but also because of his role as a liberator. He may have symbolized the repressed emotions a woman in this time period would hold, caused by a rigid, sexist society.[58] By following Dionysus, the maenads and the women of Thebes put under his trance in *The Bacchae* are freed from these societal expectations.

Importantly, Euripides was not the first writer to depict a young and feminine Dionysus, and in the play *Edonoi* by Aeschylus, the king inquires about the identity of Dionysus by asking, "who is that effeminate fellow?"[59] This play was performed over a century before *The Bacchae*, showing that it was not unheard of to depict Dionysus as effeminate; it also suggests that perhaps the origin of a beardless Dionysus was theatrical in nature. Nevertheless, the beardless depiction of Dionysus did not explode in popularity for fifth century vase painting until after the creation of the Parthenon and hit play *The Bacchae*.[60] What was perhaps a one-off line in *Edonoi* was expanded on in *The Bacchae* into a powerful metaphor of man versus nature, the masculine versus the feminine. The popularity of this depiction is solidified by the fifth century pottery mentioned earlier. The plays and pottery both took inspiration and subject matter from the same mythic and ritualistic sources. These rituals involved young men being dressed femininely, and at their core,

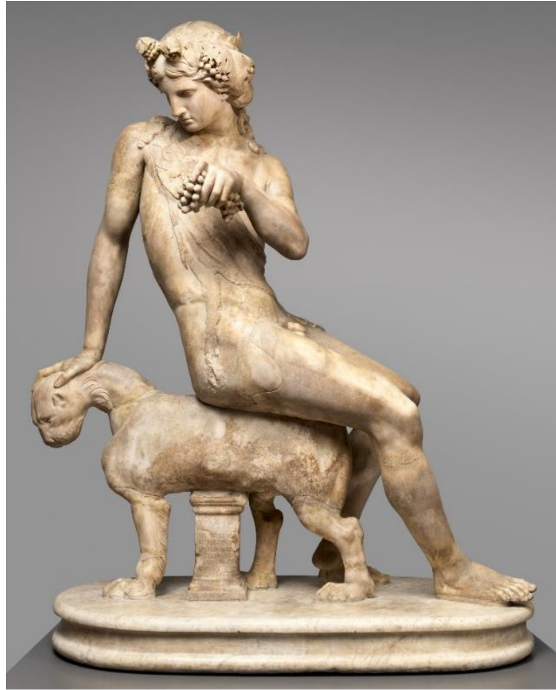
represent the transition from boyhood to adulthood. Beardless Dionysus represents this transition to adulthood, furthered by his role as Zeus' son and as a liberator. Dionysus takes on many roles that have been ignored by the general public for the sake of simplicity. He has proven to be much more than just the god of wine and madness.

Terracotta Oinochoe: Chous
(Image Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public Domain)

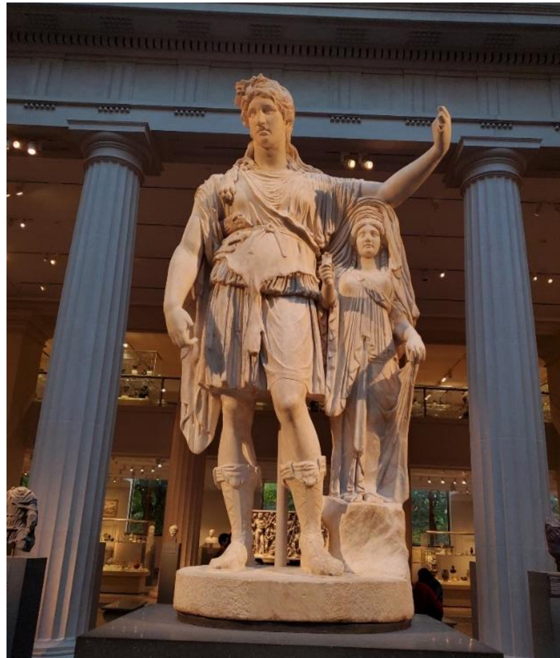
Terracotta calyx-krater
(Image Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public Domain)

Symposium recreation at the Baltimore Museum of Art
(Image Courtesy: Dr. Galliera)

Terracotta bell-krater attributed to Python (Image Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public Domain)



Marble statue of Dionysos seated on a panther
(Image Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public Domain)



Hope Dionysos at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Image Courtesy: Dorian Hansen)

Notes

[1] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 1.
[2] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks*, 1.
[3] Euripides, *Complete Greek Tragedies,* 530.
[4] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 166–67.
[5] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 168–71.
[6] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 171.
[7] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 173.
[8] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 175.
[9] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 177.
[10] Aird, *Pericles* 52.
[11] Badian, *Peace*, 3–6.
[12] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 177.
[13] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 188–90.
[14] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 193–95.
[15] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 201.
[16] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 208.
[17] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 201.
[18] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 209.
[19] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 223.
[20] Cartwright, *Symposium*.
[21] Cartwright, *Symposium*.
[22] Cartwright*, Visual Glossary*.
[23] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 186.
[24] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 226.
[25] Heuer, *Five Wares*.
[26] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 223.
[27] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 221.
[28] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 230.
[29] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 230.
[30] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos,* 222.
[31] The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Marble Statue*.
[32] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 224.
[33] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 211.
[34] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 213.
[35] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 214.
[36] Euripides, *Complete Greek Tragedies*, 560.
[37] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 213–14.
[38] Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 217.

[39] Euripides, *Complete Greek Tragedies*, 560.
[40] Euripides, *Complete Greek Tragedies*, 563.
[41] Euripides, *Complete Greek Tragedies*, 581.
[42]Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics*, 223.
[43] Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics*, 223.
[44] Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics*, 223, 259.
[45] Apollodorus*, The Library,* 330.
[46] Apollodorus*, The Library,* 543, 583.
[47] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 126.
[48] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 126–28.
[49] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 118–19.
[50] Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 205.
[51]Apollodorus, *The Library*, 77.
[52] Bremmer, "Transvestite Dionysos," 183, 187.
[53] Leitao, *'Measure of Youth'*, 194.
[54] Leitao, *'Measure of Youth'*, 197, 198.
[55] Leitao, *'Measure of Youth'*, 132.
[56] Bremmer, "Transvestite Dionysos," 195.
[57] McClure, *Women in Classical Greek Religion*.
[58] Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics*, 159.
[59] Bremmer, "Transvestite Dionysos," 184.
[60] Bremmer, "Transvestite Dionysos," 185.

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