

A. Heinrich, “Dionysos” in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford, 2003<sup>3</sup>), pp. 479-482 [[online version](#)]

## Dionysus

(Linear B *Diwonusos*, Homeric Διώνυσος, Aeolic Ζόνυσος, Attic Διόνυσος) is the twice-born son of [Zeus](#) and [Semele](#). His birth alone sets him apart. Snatched prematurely from the womb of his dying mother and carried to term by his father, he was born from the thigh of Zeus. Perceived as both man and animal, male and effeminate, young and old, he is the most versatile and elusive of all Greek gods. His myths and cults are often violent and bizarre, a challenge to the established social order. He represents an enchanted world and an extraordinary experience. Always on the move, he is the most epiphanic god, riding felines, sailing the sea, and even wearing wings. His most common cult name was *Bakch(e)ios* or *Bakchos*, after which his ecstatic followers were called *bakchoi* and *bakchai*. Adopted by the Romans as *Bacchus*, he was identified with the Italian [Liber Pater](#). Most importantly, while modern scholars regard Dionysus inevitably as a construct of the Greek imagination, in the eyes of his ancient worshippers he was a god—immortal, powerful, and self-revelatory.

Throughout antiquity, he was first and foremost the god of [wine](#) and intoxication. His other provinces include ritual madness or [ecstasy](#) (*mania*); the [mask](#), impersonation, and the fictional world of the theatre; and, almost antonymically, the mysterious realm of the dead and the expectation of an after-life blessed with the joys of Dionysus. If these four provinces share anything in common that illuminates the nature of this god, it is his capacity to transcend existential boundaries. Exceptionally among Greek gods, Dionysus often merges with the various functions he stands for and thus serves as a role model for his human worshippers. In the Greek imagination, the god whose myths and rituals subvert the normal identities of his followers himself adopts a fluid persona based on illusion, transformation, and the simultaneous presence of opposite traits. Both ‘most terrible and most sweet to mortals’ in Attic tragedy (Euripides *Bacchae* 861), he was called ‘Eater of Raw Flesh’ (Ὠμηστής, on [Lesbos](#), Alcaeus fr. 129. 9 L–P, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 53. 3711) as well as ‘Mild’ (Μειλίχιος, on [Naxos \(1\)](#), *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 499 F 4) in actual cult.

The name Dionysus appears for the first time on three fragmentary Linear B tablets from [Pylos](#) and [Khania \(Crete\)](#) dated to c.1250 bc. The tablets confirm his status as a divinity, but beyond that they reveal little about his identity and function in Mycenaean religion. One of the Pylos tablets may point to a tenuous connection between Dionysus and wine; on the Khania tablet, Zeus and Dionysus are mentioned in consecutive lines as joint recipients of libations of honey. But, thus far no physical remains of his cult have been identified with absolute certainty. A Dionysiac connection has been claimed for several archaeological discoveries; none convinces. The most spectacular is the discovery in the early 1960s of a large number of terracotta statues in a late Cycladic shrine at Ayia Irini on [Ceos](#). Tentatively dated to 1500–1300 bc, these fragmentary, nearly life-sized figures represent mature women who stand or, perhaps, dance. A much later deposit of Attic drinking-vessels was found in the same room; among them is a

scyphus of c.500 bc inscribed with a dedication to Dionysus by Anthippus of Iulis (*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum* 25. 960). According to the excavators, the temple was in continuous use from the 15th to the 4th cent. bc. This remarkable find does not prove, however, that Dionysus was worshipped on the site before the Archaic period, let alone continuously from the bronze age to the Classical period. Given the prominence of women in [Minoan](#) religion generally, it is equally far-fetched to identify these figures as Dionysus' female attendants, whether [nymphs](#), nurses, or [maenads](#). Yet typical features of Dionysus and his religion—including wine and ivy; divine epiphanies and ecstatic forms of worship; women dancing, handling snakes, or holding flowers; the divine child and nurturing females; and bulls with and without anthropomorphic features—are all prominent in Aegean, especially Cretan religion and art. The earliest Dionysus may indeed be sought in the culture of Minoan Crete (see [religion, Minoan and Mycenaean](#)).

If we had more information on the bronze age Dionysus, he would probably turn out to be a complex figure with a substantial non-Greek or Mediterranean component. Absolute 'Greekness' is a quality that few, if any, Greek gods can claim. This is especially true of their names. If Dionysus signifies '†*nysos* (son?) of Zeus', as some linguists believe, the god's name would be half Greek and half non-Greek (not [Thracian](#), however, as its occurrence in Linear B demonstrates). But such etymological neatness is just as improbable as a divine name derived from the god's genealogy. Hardly more plausible is the derivation from *nysai*, the dubious designation for three nymph-like figures on a vase fragment by Sophilos (Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase Painters* 39. 15). Attempts to derive the name Semele from [Phrygian](#), *bakchos* from [Lydian](#) or [Phoenician](#), and *thyrsos*—the leafy branch or wand carried by the god and his followers—from [Hittite](#), though highly speculative, reflect the wide spectrum of potential cross-cultural contacts that may have influenced the early formation of Dionysus and his cult.

In Archaic epic, Dionysus is referred to as a 'joy for mortals' (*Iliad* 14. 325) and 'he of many delights' (Hesiod *Theogonia* 941). The source of all this pleasure is wine, the god's ambivalent 'gift' (Hesiod *Opera et Dies* 614) which brings both 'joy and burden' (Hesiod fr. 239. 1). Dionysus 'invented' wine, just as [Demeter](#) discovered [agriculture](#) (Euripides *Bacchae* 274–83; see [culture-bringers](#)). By a common metonymy, the wine-god is also synonymous with his drink and is himself 'poured out' to the other gods as a ritual liquid (*Bacchae* 284). [libations](#) of mixed or, occasionally, unmixed wine accompanied every animal [sacrifice](#); wineless libations were the exception. In vase-painting, Dionysus is never far from the wine. Surrounded by cavorting [satyrs and silens](#), nymphs or maenads he presides over the vintage and the successive stages of wine-making on numerous black-figure vases. Holding in one hand a grapevine and in the other one of his favourite drinking-vessels, either a cantharus or a rhyton, he is often depicted receiving wine from a male or female cupbearer such as Oenopion, his son by [Ariadne](#), or pouring it on an altar as a libation, or lying on a couch in typical symposiast posture (see [symposium](#)). Yet he is never shown in the act of consuming his own gift. His female followers, too, keep their distance from the wine, at least in maenadic iconography. While maenads may carry drinking-vessels, ladle wine, or pour it, they are never shown drinking it.

[Longus'](#) Dionysiac love story of [Daphnis](#) and Chloe culminates in the celebration of the vintage on the Lesbian estate of Dionysophanes, whose name evokes the divine [epiphanies](#) of Dionysus. Wine festivals were celebrated in many regions of the Greek world; in [Elis](#) as well as on [Andros](#),

[Chios](#), and Naxos, they were accompanied by wine miracles. The oldest festival of Dionysus, the Ionian-Attic [Anthesteria](#), was held each spring. In Athens, the highlight consisted of the broaching of the new wine followed by a drinking-contest. On this occasion, as on others, citizen women were excluded from the ceremonial drinking of wine. The admixture of wine and water was allegorized as the nurturing of Dionysus by his mythical nurses (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 325 F 12, 328 F 5), or more ominously, as the ‘mixing of the blood of *Bakchios* with fresh-flowing tears of the nymphs’ (Timotheus, *Poetae Melici Graeci* fr. 780). In Attica, myths were told which connected the arrival of Dionysus and the invention of wine with the murder of [Icarius](#) (scholiast *D Iliad* 22. 29; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* Dionysos/Bacchus no. 257). Here and elsewhere, Dionysiac myths emphasize the darker aspects of the god, and the perversion of his gifts.

Of Dionysus' four provinces, wine is the most dominant; it often spills over into the other three. Drunkenness can cause violence and dementia (Plato *Leges* 2. 672d, 6. 773d, μαινόμενος οἶνος). Yet the ritual madness associated with Dionysus in myth and cult had nothing to do with alcohol or drugs. Seized by the god, initiates into Bacchic rites acted much like participants in other possession cults. Their wild dancing and ecstatic behaviour were interpreted as ‘madness’ only by the uninitiated. As numerous cultic inscriptions show, the actual worshippers did not employ the vocabulary of madness (*mania*, *mainesthai*, *mainades*) to describe their ritual ecstasy; rather, they used the technical but neutral language of *bakcheia* and *bakcheuein*. The practitioners of *bakcheia* were usually women; the exception is Scyles, the ‘mad’ Scythian king who danced through the streets of [Olbia](#)—an early centre of the Dionysus cult—as a *bakchos* (Herodotus 4. 79). While men, too, could ‘go mad’ for Dionysus, they could not join the bands (thiasoi) of maenadic women who went ‘to the mountain’ (*eis oros*) every other year in many Greek cities to celebrate their rites. Their notional leader was always the god himself (Euripides *Bacchae* 115f., 135ff.; Diodorus Siculus 4. 3. 2–3), who appears already in the Homeric version of the [Lycurgus \(1\)](#) myth—the earliest reference to maenadic ritual—as Dionysus *mainomenos*, ‘the maddened god’ (*Iliad* 6. 132). Known mainly from post-classical inscriptions and prose authors like [Plutarch](#) and [Pausanias \(3\)](#), ritual maenadism was never practised within the borders of Attica. Athenian maenads went to [Delphi](#) to join the Delphic Thyiads on the slopes of [Mt. Parnassus](#) (Sophocles *Antigone* 1126–52; Plutarch *De mulierum virtutibus* 13. 249e–f; Pausanias 10. 4. 3). Halfway between Athens and Delphi lies [Thebes \(1\)](#), the home town of Dionysus and ‘mother city (*mētropolis*) of the Bacchants’ (Sophocles *Antigone* 1122), from where professional maenads were imported by other cities (*I. Magn.* 215). Erwin Rohde and E. R. Dodds were the first scholars to take a comparative approach to the psychological and anthropological aspects of maenadic ritual and behaviour, but they ignored the fundamental distinction between myth and ritual.

In poetry and vase-painting, Dionysus and his mythical maenads tear apart live animals with their bare hands (*sparagmos*) and eat them raw (*ōmophagia*). But the divinely inflicted madness of myth was not a blueprint for actual rites, and the notion that maenadism ‘swept over Greece like wildfire’ (Rohde, Nilsson, Dodds) is a Romantic construct that has to be abandoned along with the suggestion that the maenads sacramentally consumed Dionysus in the shape of his sacred animal. The ‘delight of eating raw flesh’ (Euripides *Bacchae* 139, ὠμοφάγον χάριτι) appears in maenadic myth, where it can escalate into [cannibalism](#). In the entire cultic record, however, omophagy is mentioned only once. In a maenadic inscription from [Miletus](#), the

following directive occurs: ‘Whenever the priestess performs the rites of sacrifice on behalf of the [entire] city, no one is permitted to “throw in” (deposit?) the *ōmophagion* (ὀμοφάγιον ἐμβάλειν) before the priestess has done so on behalf of the city’ (*Lois sacr ées de l’Asie Mineure* 48, 276/5 bc). Although the ritual details escape us, a piece of raw meat was apparently deposited somewhere for divine or human consumption. The mere reference to eating raw flesh is significant, given that sacrificial meat was normally roasted or cooked. In this instance, the perverted sacrifice, a mainstay of Dionysiac myth, has left its mark also on Dionysiac cult.

Dionysiac festivals were ubiquitous throughout the Greek world; in Athens alone there were seven such festivals in any given year, five of which were dedicated chiefly to Dionysus—[Oschophoria](#), Rural [Dionysia](#), [Lenaea](#), Anthesteria, and City [Dionysia](#). The name Oschophoria commemorates the ritual carrying of vine branches hung with bunches of grapes. The Lenaea and both Dionysia featured performances of [tragedy](#) and [comedy](#). Apart from the new wine, the Anthesteria celebrated the spring time arrival of Dionysus from across the sea. Less is known about two other Dionysiac festivals at Athens, the *Theoinia* and the *Iobakcheia* ([Demosthenes] 59. 78). Festivals of Dionysus were often characterized by ritual licence and revelry, including reversal of social roles, cross-dressing by boys and men (see [transvestism, ritual](#)), drunken comasts in the streets, as well as widespread boisterousness and obscenity. In Athens as throughout Ionian territory, monumental [phalli](#) stood on public display, and phallographic processions paraded through the streets ([Semos](#) of Delos, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 396 F 24). But, unlike [Pan](#) or the [Hermes](#) of the [herms](#), Dionysus himself is never depicted with an erection. The god's dark side emerged in rituals and aetiological myths concerned with murder and bloodshed, madness and violence, flight and persecution, and gender hostility (as during the Agrionia). Throughout the Athenian Anthesteria festival, merrymaking predominated, but it was punctuated by ritual reminders of a temporary suspension of the normal structures of daily life—the invasion of the city by spirits of evil, or by the dead, or by strangers called ‘Carians’; the silent drinking at separate tables, explained by the myth of the matricide [Orestes](#)' arrival in Athens and the fear of pollution it provoked; the ‘sacred marriage’ (*hieros gamos*) of the wife of the *basileus* to Dionysus (see [marriage, sacred](#)); and the cereal meal prepared on the festival's last day for the dead or for Hermes Chthonios (see [chthonian gods](#)) and the survivors of the Great Flood.

Tragedy and comedy incorporate transgressive aspects of Dionysus, but they do so in opposite ways. While comedy re-enacts the periods of ritual licence associated with many Dionysiac festivals, tragedy dramatizes the negative, destructive traits of the god and his myths. [Aristotle](#) connected the origins of tragedy and comedy with two types of Dionysiac performance—the [dithyramb](#) and the phallic song respectively. Yet, in his own analysis of the tragic genre, he ignored not only Dionysus but also the central role of the gods in the drama. In addition to the mask worn by the actors in character, including the disguised god himself in both *Bacchae* and *Frogs* (see [Aristophanes \(1\)](#)), the choral dance is the most palpable link between Attic drama and Dionysiac ritual. Tragic and comic choruses who refer to their own dancing invariably associate their choral performance with Dionysus, [Pan](#), or the maenads. Despite Aristotle's silence, tragedy in particular has a lot to do with Dionysus. The tragedians set individual characters, entire plays, and indeed the tragic genre as a whole in a distinct Dionysiac ambience (see [comedy \(Greek\); tragedy, Greek](#)).

The god so closely associated with exuberant life is also connected with death, a nexus expressed as ‘life–death–life’ in one of the Dionysiac-[Orphic](#) bone inscriptions from [Olbia](#). ‘Hades and Dionysus are the same’ according to [Heraclitus](#) (fr. 15 H. Diels and W. Kranz). On an Apulian funerary crater by the Darius painter, Dionysus and Hades are shown in the Underworld each grasping the other's right hand while figures from Dionysiac myth surround them (Toledo 1994.19). A sacred tale ascribed to [Orpheus](#) and modelled on the [Osiris](#) myth describes the dismemberment of Dionysus Zagreus by the [Titans](#) and his restoration to new life; his tomb was shown at Delphi (Orphica Fragmenta 35 O. Kern; Callimachus fr. 643 Pf.). According to another myth, Dionysus descends to the Underworld to rescue Semele from Hades (Iophon, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 22 F 3); Aristophanes' comic parody of the god's catabasis (descent) has Dionysus retrieve [Aeschylus](#) (Aristophanes *Frogs*). In a related ritual, the Argives (see [Argos \(2\)](#)) summoned Dionysus ceremonially ‘from the water’ with the call of a trumpet hidden in thyrsi ‘after throwing a lamb into the abyss for the gatekeeper’, i.e. for Hades (Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* 35. 364f). Dionysus loomed large in the funerary art and after-life beliefs of Greeks and Romans alike. In many regions of the ancient world, tombs were decorated with Dionysiac figures and emblems like the maenad, the cantharus, and the ivy, or bore inscriptions with a Dionysiac message. The tombstone of Alcmeionis, chief maenad in Miletus around 200 bc, announces that ‘she knows her share of the blessings’ (καλῶν μοῖραν ἐπισταμένη)—a veiled reference to her eschatological hopes (*Griechische Vers-Inschriften 1: Grab-Epigramme* 1344). Found in tombs from southern Italy to [Thessaly](#), the so-called Orphic gold tablets contain ritual instructions and Underworld descriptions for the benefit of the deceased. Two ivy-shaped specimens refer to a ritual rebirth under the aegis of Dionysus, and to wine-drinking in the after-life; a third identifies the dead person as a Bacchic initiate (*mystēs*) (see [death, attitudes to; Orphic literature; Orphism](#)).

No other deity is more frequently represented in ancient art than Dionysus. Until about 430 bc, Dionysus is almost invariably shown as a mature, bearded, and ivy-wreathed adult wearing a long chiton often draped with the skin of fawn or feline, and occasionally presenting a frontal face like his satyrs; later he usually appears youthful and beardless, effeminate, and partially or entirely nude. From his earliest depictions on Attic vases by Sophilos and Clitias (c. 580–570 bc) to the proliferating images of the god and his entourage in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times, Dionysiac iconography becomes more varied while remaining remarkably consistent in its use of certain themes and motifs. Major mythical subjects comprise the Return of [Hephaestus](#) and the Gigantomachy (see [Giants](#)); Dionysus' birth and childhood; his punishments of [Lycurgus \(1\)](#), [Pentheus](#), and the impious sailors whom he turns into dolphins; and his union with Ariadne (as on the Derveni crater of c.350 bc from Macedonia). Cult scenes in vase-painting include those on the so-called Lenaea vases, which show a makeshift image of Dionysus—fashioned from a mask attached to a pillar—surrounded by women carrying or ladling wine. It is unclear whether these settings refer to a single festival or represent an artistic montage of authentic ritual elements. The Hellenistic friezes of his temples at [Teos](#) and [Cnidus](#) displayed the [thiasos](#) of satyrs, maenads, and [Centauris](#); in the theatre at [Perge](#), we find scenes from the god's mythical life. Most conspicuously, [sarcophagi](#) of the imperial period abound with scenes from Dionysiac mythology such as the god's birth and his Indian triumph—the theme of [Nonnus](#)' monumental epic.

The very existence of Dionysus in the Mycenaean pantheon came as a complete surprise when it was first revealed by Michael Ventris in 1953 (see [religion, Minoan and Mycenaean](#)). Already in

antiquity Dionysus was considered a foreign god whose original home was Thrace or [Phrygia](#) and who did not arrive on the Greek scene until the 8th cent. bc. The Thracian origin of Dionysus achieved the status of scholarly dogma with the second volume of Rohde's *Psyche* (1894). In Rohde's view, the Thracian Dionysus invaded Greece, where his wild nature was ultimately civilized and sublimated with the help of the Delphic [Apollo](#), a process commemorated in the myth of Dionysus' exile abroad, the resistance with which his cult was met upon its arrival in Greece, and his ultimate triumph over his opponents. Rohde's Dionysus—[barbarian](#) but happily Hellenized, occasionally wild but mostly mild—appealed to successive generations of scholars from Jane Harrison to Dodds. Wilamowitz derived Dionysus from Phrygia and Lydia rather than Thrace, while Nilsson adopted a theory of multiple foreign origins. As early as 1933, however, Walter F. Otto dissented, emphasizing instead the Greek nature of Dionysus as the epiphanic god who comes and disappears. According to Otto, the myths of Dionysus' arrival—with their dual emphasis on resistance to his otherness as well as on acceptance of his gifts—articulate the essential aspects of the god's divinity rather than the historical vicissitudes of the propagation of his cult. Otto's version of a polar and paradoxical Dionysus categorizes the diversity of Dionysiac phenomena, thus making them more intelligible. It has been argued, after Otto, that the 'foreign' Dionysus is a psychological rather than a historical entity which has more to do with Greek self-definition and the 'Dionysus in us' than with the god's actual arrival from abroad. More recently, Dionysus has emerged as the archetypal 'Other'—in a culturally normative sense—whose alterity is an inherent function of his selfhood as a Greek divinity. However, if such abstractions are pushed too far, Dionysus ceases to be the god he was to the Greeks—present in his concrete manifestations, and in the perplexing diversity of his myths, cults, and images—and becomes a modern concept.

## Bibliography

### General

O. Kern, *Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1903), 1010–46, 'Dionysos', and *Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 16 (1935), 1210–1314, 'Mysterien';

W. F. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth and Cult* (1965; Ger. orig. 1933);

H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (1951);

M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 1<sup>3</sup> (1967), 564–601;

A. Henrichs, "Changing Dionysiac Identities", in B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (eds.), *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World* (1982), 137–60, 213–36;

W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (1985), 161–7, 222–5, 293–5;

M. Daraki, *Dionysos* (1985);

E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, 3rd edn. (1985), 269–94;

M. Detienne, *Dionysos at Large* (1989; Fr. orig. 1986);

H. S. Versnel, *Ter Unus* (1990), 96–205;

T. H. Carpenter and C. A. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus* (1993);

J. N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion, Greece and Rome New Survey* 24 (1994).

#### Bronze age

M. E. Caskey, *Keos 2* (1986), esp. 39–42 (Ayia Irini);

M. S. Ruipérez, ‘The Mycenaean Name of Dionysos’, *Opuscula selecta* (1989), 293–97;

Khania tablet: L. Godart and Y. Tzedakis, *RFIC* 1991, 129–49, E. Hallager and others, *Kadmos* 1992, 61–87.

#### Dionysus in literature

G. A. Privitera, *Dioniso in Omero e nella poesia greca arcaica* (1970);

A. Henrichs, ‘Greek and Roman Glimpses of Dionysos’, in C. Houser (ed.), *Dionysos and his Circle: Ancient Through Modern* (1979), 1–11;

L. Käppel, *Paian* (1992), 207–84 (Philodamus, Paean to Dionysus = J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* pp. 165–71).

#### Tragedy/Comedy

*Dramatic Festivals of Athens* <sup>3</sup>;

W. Burkert, ‘Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual’, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 1966, 87–121;

J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to do with Dionysos?* (1990);

K. Dover, *Aristophanes: Frogs* (1993);

A. Bierl, *Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie* (1991);

R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual* (1994);

C. Sourvinou-Inwood, ‘Something to do with Athens: Tragedy and Ritual’, in R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (eds.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics* (1994), 269–90;

A. Henrichs, ‘“Why Should I Dance?” Choral Self-Referentiality in Greek Tragedy’, *Arion* 1995.

### Arrival and resistance myths

K. Kerényi, *Dionysos* (1976), 129–88;

D. Flückiger-Guggenheim, *Göttliche Gäste* (1983);

T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (1993).

### Regional cults and festivals

L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* 5 (1909);

M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste v. religiöser Bedeutung m. Ausschluss d. attischen*;

L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*;

W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1983; Ger. orig. 1972);

A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1 (1981);

E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (1983);

F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (1985);

*L'Association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes. Colloque 1984* (1986);

A. Henrichs, in M. Griffith and D. J. Mastrorarde (eds.), *Cabinet of the Muses* (1990), 257–77 (Dionysus in Attica);

S. G. Cole, in R. Scodel (ed.), *Theater and Society in the Classical World* (1993), 25–38 (phallic processions);

G. Casadio, *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide* (1994).

### Periods of licence

F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (1985), 81–96;

R. J. Hoffman, *Athenaeum* 1989, 91–115;

C. Auffarth, *Der drohende Untergang*, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 39 (1991), 15–34, 249–65.

### Maenadism

E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae*, 2nd edn. (1960);

J. Bremmer, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 55 (1984), 267–86;

M.-C. Villanueva Puig, *Revue des études anciennes* 1988, 35–53 (wine), 1992, 125–54 (iconography);

A. Henrichs, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1978, 121–60, in H. D. Evjen (ed.), *Mnemei: Classical Studies in Memory of Karl K. Hulley* (1984), 69–91, and *Antike u. Abendland* 1994, 31–58;

R. Osborne, in C. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (1997).

#### Mystery cults and after-life

M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (1957), and *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 2<sup>2</sup>. 358–67;

M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (1983);

R. Merkelbach, *Die Hirten des Dionysos* (1988);

W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (1987), and ‘Bacchic Teletai in the Hellenistic Age’, in T. H. Carpenter and C. A. Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus* (1993), 259–75;

P. Borgeaud (ed.), *Orphisme et Orphée* (1991);

S. G. Cole, ‘Dionysus and the Dead’, in *Masks of Dionysus*, 276–95; gold tablets: C. Segal, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 1990, 411–19, F. Graf, in *Masks of Dionysus*, 239–58;

Dionysus in the Underworld: J.-M. Moret, *Revue archéologique* 1993, 293–318.

#### Iconography

C. Gasparri and others, ‘Dionysos, Fufluns, Bacchus’, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 3 (1986), 1. 414–566, 2. 296–456 (plates), S. Boucher, ‘Dionysos Bacchus (In Periph. Occid.)’, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 4 (1988), 1. 908–23, 2. 612–31 (plates);

F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, 4 vols. (1968–75);

T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (1986);

A. Henrichs, in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World* (1987), 92–124;

A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos* (1987);

C. Bérard and others, *A City of Images* (1989; Fr. orig. 1984), 121–65;

F. Berti and C. Gasparri (eds.), *Dionysos, mito e mistero* (1989);

F. Lissarague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet* (1990; Fr. orig. 1987);

F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le Dieu-masque* (1991);

R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria* (1992);

G. M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting* (1992).

#### Modern reception

P. McGinty, *Interpretation and Dionysos: Method in the Study of a God* (1978);

A. Henrichs, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1984, 205–40, and in *Masks of Dionysus*, 13–43;

G. Maurach, 'Dionysos von Homer bis heute', *Abh. Braunschweigische Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft* 1993, 131–86;

*Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s* (1993).