Received: May 7, 2026 | Accepted: June 20, 2026

# THE LONG PATH OF THE GODS: DIONYSUS/BACCHUS

Filomena Barata[1]


## Abstract

From the book "*O longo caminho dos deuses: Dioniso/Baco*" (The Long Path of the Gods: Dionysus/Bacchus), published by Editora Lema d'Origem, 2026

Dionysus/Bacchus, one of the most complex and multifaceted deities of Classical Antiquity, has accompanied humanity to the present day, consecrating Nature. He is both the god of celebration and festivity and a violent, vengeful deity. He also acts as a mediator between the living and the Underworld through death and regeneration, embodying the continuous cycle of life. Dionysus thus emerges as the god of transition, transgressing the boundaries between life and death, and between the human and the divine. "An immortal born of a mortal; now both are gods," as stated in Hesiod's *Theogony* (941–942).



## Keywords

Dionysus/Bacchus; myth.



## Resumo

A partir do livro "*O longo caminho dos deuses: Dioniso/Baco*", publicado pela editora Lema d'Origem, 2026.

Dioniso/Baco, uma das divindades mais complexas e multifacetadas, acompanha-nos até hoje, sagrando a Natureza. Tanto é deus das festas, como um deus violento e vingativo. É ainda mediador entre vivos e o mundo inferior, através da morte e da regeneração, afinal, o ciclo contínuo da vida. Dioniso afirma-se como deus da passagem, da transgressão dos limites entre vida e morte, humano e divino, "Um imortal nascido de uma mortal; agora são ambos deuses", como refere a Teogonia (941-942).



## Palavras-chave

Dioniso/Baco; mitologia.


[1] Researcher at the Center for Classical Studies – University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal. Email: mbarata@letras.ulisboa.pt

The paths of the gods are undoubtedly long! Not only because of the passage of time, which has consolidated or altered their characteristics and attributes, but also because of the multiple narratives that have been woven around them over centuries, or even millennia.

The gods, by mirroring humans, point us toward their own characteristics: feelings, emotions, desires, and beliefs, but also to models of social interaction and organization.

Hence, there is something profoundly psychological, sociological, and anthropological that connects us to mythology. Its narratives belong to the sphere of the sacred and direct us to an ancestral imagination that continues to captivate people of all ages and educational backgrounds. Myths persist thanks to their extraordinary ability to tell stories, to reinvent themselves, but also to create models and patterns for interpreting the world.

Narrating, explaining, and giving meaning to experience are fundamental human strategies, both individually and socially. Over time, these forms of organizing discourse have helped construct coherent structures of thought and have even been integrated into modern interpretive and therapeutic practices, as occurred with psychoanalysis.

Mythological plots—starring gods and heroes—the power struggles on Olympus, or the great trials faced by mortals continue to arouse curiosity and fascination. Even the youngest recognize names, stories, and attributes, a sign that these narratives remain alive in the collective imagination.

Myth is, after all, a great tapestry full of color and nuances, which is woven and unraveled, a theme indeed so present in many of its narratives, such as the myth of Arachne, or Penelope's patient wait. It is, therefore, a web of understanding and complexities.

Myths still reach us through their social and cultural messages, almost as if they were part of us. But they also unsettle us by exposing cruelties, abuses of power, and profound inequalities. Perhaps that is why they accompany us to this day: they tell us of gods so deeply humanized and, thus, so close to us—as it both captivates and distances us. And, undoubtedly, they remain with us in the most diverse forms; one needs only to look at the recent controversy surrounding the mythological and religious staging of the 2024 Olympic Games, where criticisms directed at the represented scene (Last Supper or a Bacchic "feast of the gods"?) sparked a wave of protests from some, and consequent reactions from

others, with an equal level of passion. But Bacchus was, nevertheless, present, honoring the festivity! The series Kaos, created by Charlie Covell and premiered on August 29, 2024, introduces humor and the rhythms of contemporary culture to mythological episodes. We find a Zeus obsessed with the idea of human abandonment, while Hera uses every stratagem to sustain the power of the divine couple. Reflected there are our greatest qualities and flaws, the anxieties that have always dominated Humanity, and the fear of death that Orpheus tries to overcome on the path to finding "his" Eurydice.

In this series, Bacchus, a constant presence, is a braggart, but simultaneously supportive and profound, willing to accompany the suffering and desires of Orpheus to rescue his Eurydice from the world of Hades.

In myths, both heroes and ordinary mortals—even if descended from divinities—are frequently subjected to long paths of trial, which may or may not result in elevation to a new status. Just as in real life, these journeys are more arduous for those who start from less privileged conditions. And their labors are not always successful.

However, Dionysus, as Hesiod already points out, was "an immortal born of a mortal; now both are gods" (*Theogony*, 941–942), as well as his wife Ariadne – "Golden-haired Dionysus made auburn Ariadne, Minos' daughter, his fertile wife, and the son of Kronos made her immortal and ageless for him" (*Theogony*, 947–949).[2]

Myths also provoke us when they present disproportionate punishments, such as the eternal torment imposed on Prometheus for having offered fire to humankind, or when they narrate the violence inflicted on women. They also torment us by showing figures driven to ritual madness, such as the mother of the king of Thebes, who, under the influence of the rites of Dionysus, ends up killing her own son because he refused to recognize the deity.

It is within this horizon of exemplary punishment and sacralized violence that the myth of Pentheus, king of Thebes, is inscribed, offering, through the poetic voice of Ovid, a particularly clear formulation of Dionysus's revenge against the one who refuses to recognize the divine.

> "For soon the day will come, and even now I predict that it is not far off, when the new God Liber, the son of Semele, shall come

[2] p. 31 *Theogony and Works and days* traduçao de M.L. West disponível em https://archive.org/details/theogonyandworks00hesi/mode/2up

> hither. Unless thou shalt vouchsafe him the honor of a temple, thou shalt be scattered, torn in pieces, in a thousand places, and with thy blood thou shalt pollute both the woods, and thy mother and the sisters of thy mother. These things will come to pass; for thou wilt not vouchsafe honor to the Divinity; and thou wilt complain that under this darkness I have seen too much." Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book III, vv 520–525[3]

Our journey will be long, although much [4]simpler than that of the deity. Let us not be deterred by the complexity of his path, which we attempt to address here through an approach that also reflects a personal journey toward Bacchus, whose path is made of much suffering, but also of revenge, conquest, and apotheosis.

Nor do we think it possible, through this work, to encompass the complexity of the narratives surrounding Dionysus, as was already recognized by several authors of Antiquity, as we shall see, but we hope that our contribution paves the way for other journeys and searches, beyond the countless works already produced about the deity.

We propose, therefore, to accompany Dionysus/Bacchus, in interaction with other deities, in his long mythical wandering, and following the multiple faces the god assumes in ancient sources and in the readings that have been made of them.

Undoubtedly, this long path of Bacchus points not only to a set of beliefs and representations, situated in a specific social and political time, which are modified over the centuries (Barbosa, 2010, p. 8), but also to something much deeper: the paths of our own lives, permeated by tests, pains, and sorrows, but equally by fleeting moments of ecstasy and "fulfillment."

God of the vine and wine—but also of the mask, which transforms according to the occasion, of theater, of poetry, of transgression, of epiphany and pain, and of life and death – Dionysus crosses geographical, cultural, and symbolic borders and forces us to rethink categories such as order and excess, reason and madness, being, in a sense, "the metaphor of our madness, of the human species" (Marques, 2010, p. 29; our translation).

In revisiting Dionysus' myths, rites, and representations, we do not intend to establish any definitive image of the god, but rather to try to understand his permanent mobility and the way it continues to challenge humanity,

---

[4] Pg. 69 *Metamorphoses of Ovid* translated by Henry T. Riley. 2009 Available at: https://archive.org/details/metamorphosesofo0000ovid_m6d5/page/1/mode/1up

yesterday as today. “Dionysus is the lord of the many-faced mask, sometimes laughing, sometimes gasping in suffering, like life itself. Dionysus is the very meaning of metamorphosis, in a movement that is expressed not only by geographical variety where their epiphanies occur, as well as by physical transformations that his divine body suffers.” (Marques, 2010. p. 62; our translation).

Ultimately, he is “a kaleidoscopic god.” In different regions and different eras, the god takes on a form distinct from the previous one and “changes his mask” (Barbosa, 2020, p. 38, our translation).

The study of the god’s trajectory also presents difficulties, since there are a myriad of accounts surrounding Bacchus, all of which present different aspects or varying levels of detail. Thus, we have focused more on some than on others, given the impossibility of addressing them all.

After all, Diodorus Siculus already noted, regarding mythological accounts: “but the greatest and most disconcerting obstacle of all consists in the fact that those who have recorded the deeds and myths of the earliest times are in disagreement among themselves.” (Diod. Bilbl. IV. 1)[5]. Some authors even point to the existence of more than one Dionysus. Let us look at the example of Diodorus, who writes in the 1st century BC, in a context where the figure of the god already concentrated centuries of divergent interpretations, originating from different regions, cults, and schools. Attentive to the syncretic nature of Greco-Roman religion and the plurality of materials to which he had access, he seeks to systematize this vast corpus, presenting it in an orderly and critical manner. His approach is marked by Hellenistic universalism and a systematic tendency to gather, compare, and, when possible, reconcile diverse cultural traditions.

With the territorial expansion since Alexander, who, in 327, reaches the Indus Valley, the circulation of knowledge between the Mediterranean and the Near East, and the coexistence of local cults with philosophical readings of the myth lead compilers to deal with profoundly heterogeneous sources[6]. Dionysus, as a deity associated with plant life, wine, mysteries, and cultural alterity, proved to be especially prone to the proliferation of etiological narratives.

With Diodorus (c. 90 BC – 30 BC), we will see the consolidation of the

[5] g 339 "Diodoros of Sicily (Diodorus Siculus), Library of History (Loeb Classical Library in 10 volumes)" book II translation by C.H. Oldfather. Available at: https://archive.org/details/DiodorosOfSicily034.598/Diodoros%20of%20Sicily%2002%20%282.35-4.58%29/mode/2up

[6] Alexander, as is well known, wished to go to the Ocean.

"civilizing" version of Dionysus, who teaches the planting of the vine, founds cities, and institutes laws and rites (Diodorus III, 62–65). The *Historical Library*, Book III (1st century BC) notes that "Dionysus went on an expedition throughout the inhabited world and was also the one who introduced the mysteries, rites, and bacchanalia" (Diodorus III, 62. 4).

Let us use again the words of Diodorus Siculus, and forgive us for the long quotation, but it synthesizes a large part of the issues surrounding the god:

> "But since the early composers of myths and the early poets who have written about Dionysus do not agree with one another and have committed to writing many monstrous tales, it is a difficult undertaking to give a clear account of the birth and deeds of this god. For some have handed down the story that there was but one Dionysus, others that there were three, and there are those who state that there was never any birth of him in human form whatsoever, and think that the word Dionysus means only 'the gift of wine' (*oinou dosis*). For this reason we shall endeavour to run over briefly only the main facts as they are given by each writer." (Diodorus, Library of History, Book III. 62.[7]).
>
> "This, then, is their account: The most ancient Dionysus was an Indian, and since his country, because of the excellent climate, produced the vine in abundance without cultivation, he was the first to press out the clusters of grapes and to devise the use of wine as a natural product […] Now this Dionysus visited with an army all the inhabited world and gave instruction both as to the culture of the vine and the crushing of the clusters in the wine-vats (lenoi), which is the reason why the god was named Lenaeus. […]
>
> The second Dionysus, the writers of myths relate, was born to Zeus by Persephone, though some say it was Demeter. He is represented by them as the first man to have yoked oxen to the plough, human beings before that time having prepared the ground by hand. Many other things also, which are useful for agriculture, were skilfully devised by him, whereby the masses were relieved of their great distress[…].
>
> The third Dionysus, they say, was born in Boeotian Thebes of Zeus and Semele, the daughter of Cadmus. The myth runs as follows: Zeus had become enamoured of Semele and often, lured by her beauty, had consorted with her, but Hera, being jealous and anxious to punish the girl, assumed the form of one of the women who was an intimate of Semele's and led her on to her

[7] g 285-287 "Diodoros of Sicily (Diodorus Siculus), Library of History (Loeb Classical Library in 10 volumes)" book II translation by C.H. Oldfather. Available at: https://archive.org/details/DiodorosOfSicily034.598/Diodoros%20of%20Sicily%2002%20%282.35-4.58%29/mode/2up

ruin; for she suggested to her that Zeus should lie with her while having the same majesty and honour in his outward appearance as when he took Hera to his arms. Consequently Zeus, at the request of Semele that she be shown the same honours as Hera, appeared to her accompanied by thunder and lightning, but Semele, unable to endure the majesty of his grandeur, died and brought forth the babe before the appointed time. This babe Zeus quickly took and hid in his thigh, and afterwards, when the period which nature prescribed for the child's birth had completed its growth, he brought it to Nysa[8] in Arabia. There the boy was reared by nymphs and was given the name Dionysus after his father (Dios) and after the place (Nysa); and since he grew to be of unusual beauty he at first spent his time at dances and with bands of women and in every kind of luxury and amusement, forming the women into an army and arming them with thyrsi, he made a campaign over all the inhabited world. He also instructed all men who were pious and cultivated a life of justice in the knowledge of his rites and initiated them into his mysteries, and, furthermore, in every place he held great festive assemblages and celebrated musical contests; and, in a word, he composed the quarrels between the nations and cities and created concord and deep peace where there had existed civil strifes and wars."

Now since the presence of the god, the myth goes on to say, became noised abroad in every region, and the report spread that he was treating all men honourably and contributing greatly to the refinement of man's social life, the whole populace everywhere thronged to meet him and welcomed him with great joy. There were a few, however, who, out of disdain and impiety, looked down upon him and kept saying that he was leading the Bacchantes about with him because of his incontinence and was introducing the rites and the mysteries that he might thereby seduce the wives of other men, but such persons were punished by him right speedily. For in some cases he made use of the superior power which attended his divine nature and punished the impious, either striking them with madness or causing them while still living to be torn limb from limb by the hands of the women […]"
(Diodorus, Library of History, III. 62–65; "The myth of Dionysus according to the Greeks")[9].

[8] Mount Nysa, a distant and mythical place associated, according to various sources, with Ethiopia, Libya, Tribalia, India, or Arabia, where the rain nymphs, the Hyades, are said to have raised Bacchus.
In the Homeric Hymns. I. vv. 8-9. it is said that "There is a certain Nysa, mountain high, With forests thick/ in Phoenice afar, Close to Aegyptus' streams."

[9] Pg 291-297 "Diodoros of Sicily (Diodorus Siculus), Library of History (Loeb Classical Library in 10 volumes)" book II translation by C.H. Oldfather. Available at: https://archive.org/details/DiodorosOfSicily034.598/Diodoros%20of%20Sicily%2002%20%282.35-4.58%29/mode/2up

With Dionysus, in addition to the complexity regarding his origin, treated in broad strokes by Diodorus, as well as his incursions into unknown territories, we will be confronted with multiple states of soul, ages, and ambivalences and sexualities.

Let us recall, among other episodes on which we will dwell throughout this work, the loves of Bacchus for Ampelus, according to the words of the poet Ovid (43 BC – 18 AD), in his work *Fasti* (Book III, vv. 409–410): III vv. 409-410):

> "Tis said that the unshorn Ampelus, a son of a nymph and satyr, was loved by Bacchus on the Ismarian hills. Upon him the god bestowed a vine that trailed from an elm's leafy boughs, and still the vine takes from the boy its name"[10]

Also in the late version by Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca* (X–XI–XII), it is mentioned that Ampelus is a young satyr of extraordinary beauty and grace, associated with the natural and pastoral world, who awakens in Dionysus a profound and singular affection.

Ampelus embodies ephemeral youth, lightness, and the exuberance of nature still untamed. Dionysus, in turn, appears as an intensely emotional god, capable of tenderness, care, and suffering—a deity who loves and who exposes himself to loss.

The premature death of Ampelus, who, in a gesture of imprudent audacity (juvenile hubris), climbs to a high place to pick grapes, loses his balance, and falls, dying as a result of that fall, causes profound mourning in Dionysus. Ampelus is metamorphosed into the vine, and from his body, wine is born, an ambiguous gift that brings pleasure, forgetfulness, ecstasy, and also danger. Dionysus/Bacchus also points us to the idea of wandering, marked by his endless travels. "He is the most itinerant of the gods. He does not seem to be well anywhere, given his need to travel. And yet, he does not feel constrained in any circumstance, even if he is taken prisoner by the orderly Pentheus or by the abominable pirates" (Marques, 2010, p. 18; our translation).

His displacements are treated extensively both by Diodorus Siculus, in Book II and Book IV of the *Historical Library*, and in the work traditionally attributed to Apollodorus, datable between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD. Centuries later, they were further detailed in the *Dionysiaca* of

[10] Ovid, Fasti (Ov.Fast.) https://topostext.org/work/143 § 3.403

Nonnus of Panopolis (late 4th / early 5th century).

According to Apollodorus, the deity was taken by Hermes to the nymphs in Nysa (III, 4.2), a mythical place frequently situated in Asia or Arabia. Driven mad by Hera, he "wandered through Egypt and Syria." Welcomed by Proteus, king of the Egyptians, he then arrived in Cybela, where he was purified by Rhea. Initiated into her mysteries and receiving the ritual vestment from her, he then crossed Thrace on an expedition

> "[against the Indians]" (III, 5.1). Later, "Dionysus took refuge in the sea with Thetis, daughter of Nereus" (III, 5.1). "[…] he came to Thebes, and forced the women to abandon their houses and rave in Bacchic frenzy on Cithaeron […]. And having shown the Thebans that he was a god, Dionysus came to Argos, and there again, because they did not honor him, he drove the women mad" (Apollodorus, Bibl., III, 5.2)[11].

These narratives refer us to a diverse, complex world, simultaneously real and imaginary, which generated multiple interpretations over the centuries, some of which see in them a symbolic representation of the history of wine itself and the zones where its cultivation spread; others associate them with the propagation of the cult and initiatory rites. It is, therefore, almost impossible to map out, in a linear or coherent way, the travels of Dionysus.

It may have been on one of his journeys, returning from India, that Dionysus encountered Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus on the island of Naxos, and took her as his wife, her crown being immortalized as a constellation, as Ovid narrates to us.

> "Her, in time, lamenting and deserted, Bacchus found and for his love immortalized her name. He set in the dark heavens the bright crown that rested on her brows. Through the soft air it whirled, while all the sparkling jewels changed to flashing fires, assuming in the sky between the Serpent-holder and the Kneeler the well-known shape of Ariadne's Crown." Ovid (Met. VIII vv. 176-182).[12]

In turn, Lucian of Samosata (125 – 190 AD?) portrays Dionysus as "half-

[11] Apollodorus Library, translated by James George Frazer (1854-1941), Loeb Classical Library edition of 1921 available at https://topostext.org/work/150

[12] Ovid, Metamorphoses, translated by Brookes More (1859-1942), from the Cornhill edition of 1922, **§ 8.169** available at: https://topostext.org/work/141

man," foreign in appearance, "effeminate and half-witted,"[13] and "reeking of strong liquor," being thus mentioned in the "Assembly of the Gods":

> "I refer, in fact, to Dionysus. Although the mother of this truly estimable demi-god was not only a mortal, but a barbarian, and his maternal grandfather a tradesman in Phoenicia, one Cadmus, it was thought necessary to confer immortality upon him. With his own conduct since that time, I am not concerned; I shall have nothing to say on the subject of his snood, his inebriety, or his manner of walking. You may all see him for yourselves: an effeminate, half-witted creature, reeking of strong liquor from the early hours of the day. But we are indebted to him for the presence of a whole tribe of his followers, whom he has introduced into our midst under the title of Gods. Such are Pan, Silenus, and the Satyrs; coarse persons, of frisky tendencies and eccentric appearance, drawn chiefly from the goat-herd class. The first-mentioned of these, besides being horned, has the hind-quarters of a goat, and his enormous beard is not unlike that of the same animal. Silenus is an old man with a bald head and a snub nose, who is generally to be seen riding on a donkey; he is of Lydian extraction. The Satyrs are Phrygians; they too are bald, and have pointed ears, and sprouting horns, like those of young kids. When I add that every one of these persons is provided with a tail, you will realize the extent of our obligation" Lucian of Samosata, VIII. 4. "Assembly of the Gods"[14]

Dionysus/Bacchus is, therefore, considered mortal and immortal, a multiform, complex deity without a clear definition; he is as much a god of festivities as a violent and vengeful god. Sometimes he appears to us as an attractive, "effeminate ephebe," sometimes as a wild and brutal man.

He also appears to us as a rustic god, who grew up, as a result of Hera's persecution, hidden in the fields of Nysa, where he cultivated the vine.

He is sometimes the "goat-disguised son of Semele", but also the vagabond god who is always passing through or traveling, who never puts down roots, as Jean-Pierre Vernant defines him, although acknowledging his moments of sedentarism.

He is, furthermore, the god of the mask, as he is often represented, and the god of "mania," wandering aimlessly with a retinue of men and women in a state of trance. All this ambiguity makes Dionysus a deity with unique

[13] In the Classical Era, Dionysus/Bacchus had a more masculine aspect. From Hellenism onwards, he adopts a feminine air, accentuated by the use of the tunic (Coixão, Oliveira & Correia, 2016, 80).

[14] The Works of Lucian of Samosata, Volume IV. tr. by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler. Oxford: The Clarendon Press [1905] . The Gods in Council Available at : https://sacred-texts.com/cla/luc/wl4/wl430.htm

characteristics, capable of appearing on religious occasions and at rural or other celebrations, sacralizing wine and fertility in general, just as his cult expands in political moments and during great social transformations, as in the case of the Athenian tyranny.

The story of Dionysus, as narrated to us in *The Bacchae*, by Euripides (480–405 BC), also confronts us with intolerance or rejection towards the different, what has distanced itself from Hellas, which the reaction of King Pentheus of Thebes mirrors. Dionysus represents here the "other," the different, the unknown, with orientalizing characteristics, given the vicissitudes of his upbringing and his travels, or even his possible distant origin[15], as some authors argue. Nevertheless, his cult spreads like a contagious disease when he appears where he is unknown—"no sooner does he arrive than he imposes himself, and his cult spreads like a wave"(our translation), as Jean-Pierre Vernant stated in The Universe, the Gods, and Men.

Euripides had already explored, in the 5th century BC, in *The Bacchae*, the ambiguity concerning the origin and identity of Dionysus, presenting him as if he were a "foreigner," a "barbarian," upon his return home, to Thebes. And he thoroughly explores this idea of the "foreigner" through his vengeful or "savage" characteristics.

It is a fact, however, that his adventures and travels, specifically to India, have always fascinated us, perhaps due to the interest transmitted to us by the work of Nonnus of Panopolis (late 4th and early 5th century?), *Dionysiaca*, which details many of the earlier narratives about the Indian adventures of Dionysus, such as the one described to us by Apollodorus, in the *Library*, dated between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD, and, satirically, by Lucian of Samosata (c. 120 – between 180 and 192), in "Dionysus"[16]. On this victorious journey, he is accompanied on his return by a retinue, which includes Silenus, Bacchantes, Nymphs, Satyrs, and even the god Pan.

This is how Lucian of Samosata presents him:

> "1. When Dionysus invaded India—for I may tell you a Bacchic legend, may I not?—it is recorded that the natives so underrated

[15] "For many Hellenes, Dionysus is a Thracian god who was originally Phoenician, who in any case had lodged himself in primitive Thrace, in the hidden places of the lunar cults of Hecate, the three-headed goddess; young, mature, and old, a sower of discord and who was meant to represent the most chaotic and disturbed side of existence; she who appropriated misfortune." (Marques, 2010, p. 33, our translation)

[16] Luciano (ed. 2007). Obras, vol. VI Dioniso. Tradução do grego, introdução e notas de Custódio Magueijo. Edições 70 / Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

him that his approach only amused them at first; or rather, his rashness filled them with compassion; he would so soon be trampled to death by their elephants, if he took the field against them. Their scouts had doubtless given them amazing details about his army: the rank and file were frantic mad women crowned with ivy, clad in fawn- skins, with little pikes that had no steel about them, but were ivy-wreathed like themselves, and toy bucklers that tinkled at a touch; they took the tambourines for shields, you see; and then there were a few bumpkins among them, stark naked, who danced wildly, and had tails, and horns like a new-born kid's.

2. Their general, who rode on a car drawn by panthers, was quite beardless, with not even a vestige of fluff on his face, had horns, was crowned with grape-clusters, his hair tied with a fillet, his cloak purple, and his shoes of gold. Of his lieutenants, one was short, thick-set, paunchy, and flat-nosed, with great upright ears; he trembled perpetually, leant upon a narthex-wand, rode mostly upon an ass, wore saffron to his superior's purple, and was a very suitable general of division for him. The other was a half-human hybrid, with hairy legs, horns, and flowing beard, passionate and quick-tempered; with a reed-pipe in his left hand, and waving a crooked staff in his right, he skipped round and round the host, a terror to the women, who let their dishevelled tresses fly abroad as he came, with cries of Evoe—the name of their lord, guessed the scouts. Their flocks had suffered, they added, the young had been seized alive and torn piecemeal by the women; they ate raw flesh, it seemed.

All this was food for laughter, as well it might be, to the Indians and their king: Take the field? array their hosts against him? no, indeed; at worst they might match their women with his, if he still came on; for themselves such a victory would be a disgrace; a set of mad women, a general in a snood, a little old drunkard[17], a half- soldier, and a few naked dancers; why should they murder such a droll crew? However, when they heard how the God was wasting their land with fire, giving cities and citizens to the flames, burning their forests, and making one great conflagration of all India—for fire is the Bacchic instrument, Dionysus's very birthright—, then they lost no more time, but armed; they girthed, bitted, and castled their elephants, and out they marched; not that they had ceased to scorn; but now they were angry too, and in a hurry to crush this beardless warrior with all his host.

4. When the two armies came to sight of one another, the Indians drew up their elephants in front and advanced their phalanx; on the other side, Dionysus held the centre, Silenus led his right, and Pan his left wing; his colonels and captains were the satyrs, and

[17] This refers to Silenus, of whom we will speak later.

> the word for the day *evoe*. Straightway tambourines clattered, cymbals sounded to battle, a satyr blew the war-note on his horn Silenus's ass sent forth a martial bray, and the maenads leapt shrill-voiced on the foe, girt with serpents and baring now the steel of their thyrsus-heads. In a moment Indians and elephants turned and fled disordered, before even a missile could carry across; and the end was that they were smitten and led captive by the objects of their laughter; they had learnt the lesson that it is not safe to take the first report, and scorn an enemy of whom nothing is known."[18]

The references to the moments of ecstasy and this cry "evoe," uttered in the cults of Dionysus[19] and the theme of the "Indian Triumph of Bacchus" will be treated countless times in both literature and the plastic arts throughout the centuries.

Dionysus, due to his relationship with fertility and the renewal of life, also represents a profound intimacy with nature, just like Demeter, with whom he intersects in the context of the Mysteries, particularly in the Eleusinian Mysteries, where both participate in the same ritual logic of death and regeneration. As Burkert observes, "Dionysus can be associated with Demeter, just as the fruit of a tree to that of the field, wine to bread" (Burkert, 1993, p. 431, our translation).

Herodotus in *Historie*[20]*s*, II, 123, even mentions that: "It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus."

Thus, Dionysus also manifests himself as a psychopomp[21], mediating between the living and the Underworld, and reaffirming, through death and regeneration, the continuous cycle of life and fertility. He is, therefore, a god of vegetation, a deity who dies and is reborn, thus possessing a close relationship with the subterranean world, the world of the dead—the reason why some rites of the Dionysian celebrations are consecrated to the deceased—and with the notion of rebirth or resurrection, thereby

---

[18] The Works of Lucian of Samosata — Volume 03. Translator: F. G. Fowler, H. W. FowlerAvailable at: https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6829/pg6829-images.html

[19] Dionysian ritual cry of invocation and exaltation, uttered in the cults of Dionysus/Bacchus, to celebrate the presence of the god, mark collective ecstasy, and stimulate "enthusiasm" or sacred possession.

[20] Herodotus' Histories, translated by A.D. Godley. Available at: https://archive.org/details/herodotus-histories-loeb/Herodotus_Histories_Loeb/page/n1/mode/2up

[21] Psychopomp – a deity or entity that guides the souls of the dead to the Underworld.

integrating himself into the scope of the so-called "Mystery Religions," as pointed out by several authors, including Tatiana Kuznetsova-Resende.

Also in the *Argonautica*, by Apollonius of Rhodes (c. 295-c. 215 BC), Dionysus appears associated with "secret sacred rituals", being designated as "the Nysean son of Zeus, when he had left the tribes of the Indians and came to dwell at Thebes, held revels and arrayed dances in front of a cave, wherein he passed unsmiling sacred nights" (Apollonius of Rhodes, Argonautica, II, 905–908;)[22]. Dionysus is, in fact, part of the group of mythological entities, like Orpheus, Heracles, and Persephone, who descended into the underworld—in this specific case, to rescue his mother, Semele.

Heracles, like Dionysus, achieves immortality through a process of apotheosis, joining the group of immortalized deities.

Diodorus Siculus[23] mentions that, for the ancients, these gods belonged to the concept of earthly beings who attained, through their deeds, immortal honors and fame.

In fact, several ancient traditions tend to recognize a common divine filiation, as descendants of Zeus, for various deities and heroes, such as:

> –Dionysus (HH, *Hymn to Dionysus*; Hesiod, *Theogony,* vv. 940 ff. and Euripides, *The Bacchae*)
>
> –Heracles (Hesiod, *Theogony*, vv. 943–944; Apoll., *Bibl.*, II.4; Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library*, IV)
>
> –Alexander (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*: 2–3 (Olympias' dreams, snakes, Dionysian association) 27 (oracle of Ammon-Zeus). Alexander's ancestry is primarily built on the genealogical plane on his father's side. On her part, Olympias, Alexander's mother, was associated with practices and beliefs linked to Dionysian mystery cults.

Regarding Dionysus' descent into Hades, Apollodorus is one of the authors who refers to the episode, in the following manner: "having brought up his mother from Hades and named her Thyone[24], he ascended

---

[22] g.163 The Argonautica, translated by R.C.Seaton. Available at https://archive.org/details/apollonius-rhodius-argonautica-loeb/page/n1/mode/2up

[23] Diod. Sic. 6.1.2, 6.2

[24] In the "Great Hymn to Dionysus," Semele is also named thus (HH, 1).

up with her to heaven" (Apoll., Bibl., Book III 5.3.).[25]

Diodorus again alludes to this episode (HL, Book IV. 25), drawing a parallel with Orpheus' descent into Hades to rescue Eurydice, as well as the katabasis[26] of Heracles (HL, Book IV, 26). Book IV. 26).

In Pausanias (c. 110–180 AD), in the *Description of Greece*[27], Book II (Argolis), chapter 37, §§ 5–6, we also find mention of Dionysus' descent "to Hades to fetch up Semele, for Polymnus showed him the descent"[28].

Knowledge of the beyond, power over death, and the capacity for mediation between worlds constitute fundamental attributes of the deities associated with the "mysteries", that is, cults that promise the initiate a privileged relationship with the divine and hope, or even victory, beyond death. In this context, Dionysus offers, through ritual ecstasy, an experience of passage that implies the temporary suspension of individual identity, functioning as a liminal experience, symbolically comparable to death.

In many traditions, especially those of an Orphic matrix, Zagreus/Dionysus appears as the god who dies and returns to life, allowing the initiate to recognize and liberate the divine portion they carry within themselves. Thus, the Dionysian Mysteries would constitute paths of purification, courage, and spiritual renewal, in which the participant imitated the god's trajectory.

In the *Orphic Hymns*, a collection of ritual poems probably composed

---

[25] § 3.5.3. Apollodorus Library, translated by James George Frazer (1854-1941), Loeb Classical Library edition of 1921 available at https://topostext.org/work/150

[26] Katabasis is the descent, symbolic or mythical, to the subterranean world, to Hades or to a lower plane of existence, frequently associated with trial, symbolic death, knowledge, or transformation.
In the classical tradition, it designates above all the descent into the beyond (such as that of Orpheus, Heracles, or Dionysus), in contrast to anabasis, the movement of ascent.
After descending to Hades to rescue Semele, his mother, Dionysus performs the anabasis, that is, the return to the world of the living, leading her to the divine sphere, where she comes to be called Thyone.
Dionysus asserts himself as a god of passage, of the transgression of the limits between life and death, human and divine, reinforcing his initiatory, salvific, and mystery character.

[27] Pg. 165-166. Pausanias' Description of Greece. Vol.I Translated by Arthur Richard Shilleto. Available at: https://archive.org/details/pausaniasdescrip01pausuoft/page/n5/mode/2up

[28] According to tradition, Polymnus, a shepherd from the region of Lerna, revealed the path to Hades to Dionysus in exchange for an amorous promise. After Polymnus's death, the god is said to have symbolically fulfilled this promise through a fertility ritual, employing a wooden phallus (cf. Maria de Fátima Silva, ad Paus. Descr. Gr.).

between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD[29], in Asia Minor, intended for the invocation and praise of deities, possibly heirs to a much older Orphic tradition, we find compositions that directly address the gods. "Being prayers, it is natural to think that such compositions occurred amidst a ritual or initiation", that is, they would be texts aimed at propitiating the deities and attracting their favor for the one invoking them (Antunes, 2018, 9–10; our translation).

Given the complexity surrounding their possible filiation in Orphism and the question of their authorship, we will not dwell excessively on the *Orphic Hymns*. However, let us remember that the Orphic tradition was a mystical belief system in Ancient Greece, centered in the teachings attributed to the mythical Orpheus[30]. This current was based on the divine origin of the soul, spiritual purification, and salvation after death. It reinterpreted the myths of creation and divine hierarchies.

In the specific case of Zagreus/Dionysus, assumed to be the son of Zeus and Persephone, Orphism centers on the god's suffering and death at the hands of the Titans, when, while still a child, he is killed, but also torn apart and consumed. One of the foundational myths of the Orphic Mysteries says that, shortly after his birth, Zagreus/Dionysus was the target of Hera's fury, who set a trap for him, attracting him with toys and a mirror, close to the Titans, who allegedly tore him apart and devoured him, leaving only his heart, which would have been rescued by Hermes or Athena and taken to Zeus.

Furious with the Titans, the father of Men and Gods strikes them down, and from their ashes, human beings were molded, in whom, therefore, a Dionysian part would remain.

This myth, besides explaining the symbolic origin of humanity, underlies the structure of the Dionysian initiatory rituals, which symbolically reproduce the death and rebirth of the deity.

---

[29] Although attributed to the poet Orpheus—a legendary figure, said to be the son of one of the nine Muses, generally identified as Calliope or Polyhymnia, and of Oeagrus, a Thracian king, or, according to other traditions, of Apollo—the poems would have, in reality, been composed by an anonymous author. Their composition would thus date, not from the archaic or classical period, when the first mention of the name Orpheus is recorded, but, judging by the language and vocabulary, from the 2nd or 3rd century AD, according to the currently most accepted opinion.

[30] Orpheus himself appears, in some versions, as having been torn apart by a group of Thracian women (just as Dionysus/Zagreus was by the Titans, an episode that brings them closer).

The *Orphic Hymns* highlight, therefore, his ancestry, establishing him as the son of Zeus and Persephone, and his attributes.

They also reveal the close relationship of the deity—as well as his mother—with the mysteries and nocturnal initiations during rituals. The narrative surrounding Zagreus/Dionysus proves to be particularly complex: Zeus, transformed into a snake, unites with Persephone, from whom Dionysus is born, presented as the "ultimate ruling god of the cosmos." His reign is threatened by the Titans, who dismember him while still a child, and devour parts of his flesh. However, they are struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt, and from their ashes, humans are born.

Dionysus' heart is rescued by Athena. Subsequently, Zeus causes Semele to conceive the god again, completing the gestation in his father's thigh. Semele dies, however, in the sixth month of pregnancy, when Zeus manifests himself to her in the form of a thunderbolt, Dionysus is then sewn into his father's thigh to complete the gestation (Antunes, 2018, 18).

One of the "*Orphic Hymns*" is dedicated to Semele, mother of the "joyous Dionysus, bearer of the thyrsus." To the god himself, seven distinct hymns are dedicated (HH 30; 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53), revealing the centrality and complexity of his figure in the Orphic context, and evidencing his multiple nature—'blessed, many-named' (HH 52).

To Semele[31] – Storax incense

> I call upon daughter of Kadmos, / Queen of all / fair Semele of the lovely tresses, / of the full bosom, / mother of thyrsus-bearing, / joyous Dionysos. / She was driven to great pain / by the blazing thunderbolt, / which, through the counsels of Kronian Zeus, / the immortal god, burned her. / Noble Persephone / grant her honors / among mortal men, / honors given every third year. / For all mortal men reenact your travail / for your son Bacchos: / scared ritual of the table, / the ritual of the holy mysteries.[32]

[31] Translation by Pedro Barbieri Antunes, 2018.

[32] HH 44. To Semele. "The Orphic Hymns. Translated by Apostolos N. athanassakis and Benkamin M. Wolkow. The Johnd Hopkind University Press. Available at: https://ia600803.us.archive.org/27/items/orphic-hymns-num/Orphic%20Hymns%20%5Bnum%5D.pdf

44. Orphic Hymn, 44, To Semele[33].

> 52. "To the (Dionysus) Biennial – Aromatic herb incense / I call upon you, blessed, many-named,/ frenzied Bacchos, / bull-horned, Nysian, Lysios,/ Lenaios, conceived in fire. / Nourished in the thigh, Liknites, / you lead torch-lit processions, / you lead them in the night, O filleted, / O thyrsos-shaking Eubouleus. / Your nature three-fold, your rites ineffable, / O secret offspring of Zeus, / primeval, Erikepaios, / father and son of the gods, / you take raw flesh, and sceptered you lead us / into the madness of revel and dance, / into the frenzy of triennial feasts / that bestow calm on us. / You burst forth from the earth in a blaze ..., / O son of two mothers,/ horned and clad in fawn skin, you roam the mountains, / O lord worshipped in annual feasts. / Paian of the golden spear, / nursling, decked with grapes, / Bassaros, exulting in ivy, / followed by many maidens ..., / joyous and all-abounding, come, / O blessed one, to the initiates."[34]

We also highlight, as already mentioned above, Dionysus' connection with agriculture and the rebirth of nature. Therefore, it is natural that his cult mixed, at a given moment, with the "Eleusinian Mysteries," initiation rites into the cult of the agricultural goddesses Demeter and Persephone, which were celebrated in Eleusis, promoted by the polis of Athens. They were considered of the greatest importance among those celebrated in Antiquity.

The cults of Eleusis have been known since the 6th century BC, and were the most widely practiced type of "mysteries." "In Eleusis, the initiation (*myesis*) normally culminated in the autumn festival called *Mysteria*."[35] (Burkert, 2005, 27; our translation).

The rituals of Dionysus appear documented later (Burkert, 2005, p. 17). Unlike the cults of Eleusis, centered in a specific place, the so-called "Bacchic mysteries" seem to have developed in multiple geographical

---

[33] HH 44. To Semele. "The Orphic Hymns. Translated by Apostolos N. athanassakis and Benkamin M. Wolkow. The Johnd Hopkind University Press. Available at: https://ia600803.us.archive.org/27/items/orphic-hymns-num/Orphic%20Hymns%20%5Bnum%5D.pdf

[34] "The Orphic Hymns. Translated by Apostolos N. athanassakis and Benkamin M. Wolkow. The Johnd Hopkind University Press. Available at: https://ia600803.us.archive.org/27/items/orphic-hymns-num/Orphic%20Hymns%20%5Bnum%5D.pdf

[35] Our translation from the Spanish edition.

contexts, from the Black Sea to Egypt and from Asia Minor to southern Italy.

However, the "5th-century historian Herodotus (2.48–49), who knew Egypt well, considered that the Dionysian processions in Greece had Egyptian origins, including the transport, by women, of articulated images about a cubit high, accompanied by flute players. Later, the historian Diodorus also derived the Dionysian procession of the phallus from Egypt" (Boardman, 2014, 6; our translation).

Adopted later by the Roman Empire, the most famous ended up being the Bacchanalia, suppressed by the Roman senate in 186 BC (Burkert, 2005, p. 20; our translation).

The rites and beliefs associated with these cults were kept secret, being transmitted only to new initiates, or neophytes.

In the *Apology* (LXV, 9), Apuleius (c. 125–170 AD) declares himself an initiate in the mysteries of Liber—one of the Roman denominations for the god Bacchus.

The following words of the author are elucidative:

> "I have been initiated into various of the Greek mysteries, and preserve with the utmost care certain emblems and mementoes of my initiation with which the priests presented me. There is nothing abnormal or unheard of in this." (*Apology*, 55.8)[36].

The so-called Mysteries of Dionysus, geographically widespread from the Black Sea to southern Italy, constituted initiatory rituals based on this narrative of death and rebirth, offering the initiate a symbolic experience of approaching the divine (Burkert, 2005, 17–27). Inspired by the trajectory of the deity himself—wandering, persecuted, but victorious—these rituals, although largely unknown, offered the initiate a privileged way of approaching the divine.

Knowledge of the Mysteries of Dionysus rests on a diversified and fragmentary body of ancient sources, complemented by contemporary bibliography that has been consolidating their historical, ritual, and symbolic interpretation. Among the primary sources, Euripides' *The Bacchae* remains central, for the most developed literary description of

[36] "The Apologia and Florida of Apoleius od Madaura. Translated by H.U. Butler. Available at: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/26294/26294-h/26294-h.htm#THE_APOLOGIA

Dionysian "enthusiasm." Authors such as Plutarch, in *On Isis and Osiris*, and Diodorus Siculus (IV, 2–6) contextualize mythical traditions and cultic elements, while Orphic documentation—namely the *Orphic Hymns*—contributes to the understanding of the Dionysian cycle of death and rebirth.

The *Dionysiaca*, by Nonnus of Panopolis, although a late work, constitutes a kind of repository of dispersed traditions, often of an archaic character.

Centuries later, Saint Augustine, in *The City of God* (Vol. I, Book IV, Chapter X), synthesized the approximation of the cults dedicated to the Great Mother and Liber/Bacchus in the following way:

> "Liber and Ceres they set over seeds—the former over the seeds of makes, the latter over the seeds of females ; or the one over the fluid part of seed, but the other over the dry part. And all this together is referred to the world, that is, to Jupiter, who is called "progenitor and mother," because he emitted all seeds from himself, and received them into himself. For they also make this same Ceres to be the Gret Mother, who they say is none other than the earth, and call her also Juno. And therefore they assign to her the second causes of things" (The *City of God*, Vol. I, Book VII, Chapter XVI, p. 645)[37].

Bacchus is, therefore, a very complex and multifaceted deity and constitutes one of the most "fascinating metaphors of life that the universe of Mythologies can offer us" (Marques, 2010, p. 29; our translation).

> "And throughout this long course of more than fifteen centuries of variations, incorporations, and transformations of his myths, traditions, rites, and legends — from the dawn of Hellenic civilization to the decline of the pre-Christian world — the god of wine, known by his principal attribute, received countless epithets, titles, and appellations, of which today we possess only a vague knowledge. And with each new denomination bestowed upon him, a new aspect of his divine nature manifested and came to the fore, revealing his appearance, the places of his worship, his power, his divine essence, or the forms through which he was invoked. Thus, a journey through these names, even if undertaken in a superficial and inevitably fragmentary manner, may in some way help bring us

[37] Pg. 222. The City of God. Translated by Marcus Dods. Available at: https://archive.org/details/cityofgodbysaint0000marc/page/n5/mode/2up

closer to this god, along the 'Long Road of Bacchus" (Gouvêa, 2026, p. 10)[38].

## Ancient Sources


APOLODORO. *A Biblioteca de Apolodoro*. Introdução, tradução, notas e índices de Abel N. Pena. Prefácio de José Pedro Serra. Lisboa: Espaço Ulmeiro, 2025.

APOLÓNIO DE RODES. *Argonáutica: livros I e II*. Estudo introdutório, tradução e notas de Ana Alexandra Alves de Sousa. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2021. Disponível em: https://books.uc.pt/book/argonautica-books-i-and-ii-literary-study-translation-and-notes/. Acesso em: 19 jul. 2026.

APULEIO. *O burro de ouro*. Tradução de F. A. de Campos. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1978.

APULEIO. *Asno de ouro: conto de Amor e Psique*. Tradução de D. Leão. Lisboa: Biblioteca Editores Independentes, 2010.

ARISTÓTELES. *Obras completas*. Introdução geral de António Pedro Mesquita. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2025.

CAMÕES, Luís de. *Sonetos*. Direção literária de Álvaro Júlio da Costa Pimpão. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1969.

CAMÕES, Luís de. *Os Lusíadas*. Lisboa: Edição Expresso, 2003.

CÍCERO. *Da natureza dos deuses*. Tradução de João Gomes. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2019.

CLAUDIANO. *O rapto de Prosérpina*. Lisboa: Editorial Inquérito, 1991.

DIODORO DA SICÍLIA. *Biblioteca histórica*. Livros I-III e IV-VIII. Introdução, tradução e notas de Francisco Parreu Alasà. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 2001-2004. Disponível em: https://archive.org/details/diodoro-de-sicilia.-biblioteca-historica-libros-iv-viii-g-2004. Acesso em: 24 set. 2024.


[38] Introducion from the book "*O longo caminho dos deuses: Dioniso/Baco*" (The Long Path of the Gods: Dionysus/Bacchus), published by Editora Lema d'Origem, 2026

ERATÓSTENES. *Mitología del firmamento (Catasterismos)*. Introdução, tradução e notas de Antonio Guzmán Guerra. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999.

ESTRABÃO. *Geografia*. Tradução de Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2007.

EURÍPIDES. *As Bacantes*. Tradução de Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira. Lisboa: Edições 70, 2018.

HERÓDOTO. *Histórias*. Livro II: *Euterpe*. Introdução de Francisco R. Adrados. Tradução e notas de Carlos Schrader. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1992.

HERÓDOTO. *Histórias*. Livro IV: *Melpómene*. Tradução e notas de Carlos Schrader. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 2007.

HESÍODO. *Teogonia e Trabalhos e Dias*. Introdução e tradução de Ana Elias Pinheiro e José Ribeiro Ferreira. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2014.

HIGINO. *Fabulae*. Introdução e tradução de Javier del Hoyo e José Miguel García Ruiz. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 2009.

HIGINO. *Astronomica*. Tradução e comentários dos livros I e II de Robson Lucena Carneiro. 2023. Dissertação (Mestrado em Letras) – Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, 2023.

HOMERO. *Odisseia*. Tradução, notas e comentários de Frederico Lourenço. Lisboa: Quetzal Editores, 2018.

HOMERO. *Ilíada*. Introdução, tradução e notas de Frederico Lourenço. Lisboa: Quetzal, 2022.

HOMERO. *Hinos Homéricos*. Lisboa: Imprensa da Universidade de Lisboa, 2018.

HORÁCIO. *Odes*. Tradução de Pedro Braga Falcão. Lisboa: Livros Cotovia, 2008.

LUCIANO DE SAMÓSATA. *Obras*. Introdução e notas de Custódio Magueijo. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012-2013.

MACHADO, R. C. M. Submersão, subversão trágica de Baco n'*Os Lusíadas*. *Revista do Núcleo de Estudos de Literatura Portuguesa e Africana da UFF*, v. 8, n. 16, p. 149-165, jul. 2026.

MACRÓBIO. *Saturnalia*. Edição bilíngue. Tradução de Robert A. Kaster. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.

NONO DE PANÓPOLIS. *Dionisíacas*. Tradução de W. H. D. Rouse. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940.

NONO DE PANÓPOLIS. *Dionisíacas: cantos I-XII*. Tradução de S. D. Manterola e L. M. Pinkler. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1995.

OVÍDIO. *Metamorfoses*. Tradução de Paulo Farmhouse Alberto. Lisboa: Livros Cotovia, 2007.

OVÍDIO. *Metamorfoses*. Apresentação e comentários de Rafael Falcón. Madrid: Editora Concreta, 2016.

OVÍDIO. *Fastos*. Tradução de Márcio Meirelles Gouvêa Júnior. Lisboa: Autêntica Editora, 2015.

RESENDE, André de. *As antiguidades de Lusitânia*. Introdução, tradução e comentário de R. M. Rosado Fernandes. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1996.

SANTO AGOSTINHO. *A Cidade de Deus*. Tradução, prefácio e notas de Dias Pereira. 5. ed. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2016-2018. 3 v.

SÓFOCLES. *Édipo Rei*. Lisboa: Editorial Inquérito, 1999.

VERGÍLIO. *Geórgicas*. Tradução, introdução e notas de Gabriel A. F. Silva. Lisboa: Livros Cotovia, 2019.

VERGÍLIO. *Bucólicas I*. Tradução de Gabriel A. F. Silva. Lisboa: Livros Cotovia, 2019.

VERGÍLIO. *As Geórgicas*. Livro IV. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1948.

## References

ANTUNES, P. B. *Hinos órficos: edição, estudo geral e comentários filológicos*. 2018. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2018. Disponível em: http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8143/tde-31082018-103727/. Acesso em: 19 jul. 2026.

BARATA, M. F. *O longo caminho dos deuses: Dioniso/Baco*. [S.l.]: Editora Lema d'Origem, 2026.

BARBOSA, L. M. *De selvagem a efeminado: as representações de Dioniso no imaginário ático (séculos VII a V a.C.)*. 2010. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Universidade Federal de Goiás, Goiânia, 2010.

BOARDMAN, John. *The Triumph of Dionysos: convivial processions, from antiquity to the present day*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014.

CERQUEIRA, F. V. Apolo e Mársias: certame ou duelo musical? Abordagem mitológica da dualidade simbólica entre a *lýra* e o *aulós*. *Classica*, v. 25, n. 1/2, p. 61-78, 2012.

COIXÃO, A. S.; CORREIA, V. H.; OLIVEIRA, C. F. O *thiasos* báquico rumo ao *paradeisos*: o exemplo do mosaico de Vale do Mouro (Coriscada, Meda). In: **IMAGENS do Paradeisos nos Mosaicos da Hispania**. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert Publisher, [s.d.].

GERALDO, L. G.; OLIVEIRA, F. R. Ditirambo: culto e louvor a Dioniso. *Hélade*, v. 2, n. 3, p. 59-69, 2026.

GONÇALVES, L. J. Dioniso/Baco na Lusitânia Ocidental através da escultura. *Anas*, n. 27/28, p. 157-171, 2014/2015.

GONÇALVES, L. J. A vinha rugosa de Dionísio/Baco, sem vida, no inverno… desperta na primavera! A propósito dos sarcófagos com Erotes a Vindimar e das Quatro Estações. In: VII REUNIÓN SOBRE ESCULTURA ROMANA EN HISPANIA. Santiago de Compostela, 2013.

GOUVÊA JÚNIOR, M. Introdução. In: BARATA, M. F. *O longo caminho dos deuses: Dioniso/Baco*. [S.l.]: Editora Lema d'Origem, 2026.

KUZNETSOVA-RESENDE, T. Reflexos da cultura e da religião no Portugal romano do início do séc. IV: o mosaico das Musas e da procissão báquica de Torre de Palma. *A Cidade: Revista Cultural de Portalegre*, série nova, v. 13, p. 39-52, 1999.

KUZNETSOVA-RESENDE, T. O triunfo imperial de Dioniso na mosaística da Hispania romana. In: ALVAR, Jaime; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA, Liborio (coord.). *Jerarquías religiosas y control social en el mundo antiguo: actas del XXVII Congreso Internacional GIREA-ARYS IX*, Valladolid, 7-9 nov. 2002. Valladolid, 2004. p. 333-336.

KUZNETSOVA-RESENDE, T. Iconographies et allégories: essai de classification des triomphes bachiques de la péninsule Ibérique. In: *La*

*mosaïque gréco-romaine IX*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2005. p. 1023-1032.

KUZNETSOVA-RESENDE, T. Religião e viticultura na Hispânia Romana. *Cadmo: Revista de História Antiga*, Lisboa, n. 16, p. 275-284, 2006. Disponível em: https://digitalis.uc.pt/pt-pt/artigo/cadmo16_artigo13. Acesso em: 19 jul. 2026.

KUZNETSOVA-RESENDE, T. Sexualidade e rituais báquicos. In: *A sexualidade no mundo antigo*. Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 2009. p. 457-468.

MARQUES, J. M. G. *Dioniso, entre cena e mito*. 2010. Dissertação (Mestrado em História e Cultura das Religiões) – Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2010.

MOREIRA, E. D. *A mitologia dos astros na tradução dos Catasterismos de Eratóstenes de Cirene*. 2021. Monografia (Graduação em Letras) – Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2021.

PATROCÍNIO, M. O vinho, a videira e o cacho em tradições da Antiguidade: contextos simbólicos, de culto e representação. In: CASTRO, Carla Ferreira de; ESTEVES, Elisa Nunes; PINA, Margarida Esperança (org.). *Ensaios sobre Literatura e Enoturismo: venha mais e dêem-mo vezes cento*. Évora: Imprensa da Universidade de Évora, 2023. p. 13-27.

RIBEIRO, J. C. (coord.). *Religiões da Lusitânia: Loquuntur saxa*. Lisboa: Instituto Português de Museus, 2002.

SERIGNOLLI, L. V. G. *Baco, o simpósio e o poeta*. 2017. Tese (Doutorado em Letras Clássicas) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras Clássicas, Departamento de Letras Clássicas e Vernáculas, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2017.

SERRA, J. P. *Aspectos do dionisismo na literatura grega*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1989.

SILVA, F. N.; FUNARI, P. P. O vinho, o sagrado e o profano. In: *Encantos de Baco: vinho e cultura no Sul de Minas*. São Carlos: Pedro & João Editores, 2021. p. 65-72. Disponível em:

https://www.academia.edu/63999183/O_vinho_o_sagrado_e_o_profano. Acesso em: 19 jul. 2026.