

Abduction or performance? A re-interpretation of scenes depicting satyrs carrying maenads in black-figure vase-painting¹

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On some black-figure vases are depicted scenes that can be closely connected with festival practice, particularly processions.² I would argue that close analysis of other black-figure scenes from the last third of the sixth century reveals that festival practice is evoked in many more depictions than previously thought.³ In this paper, one scene-type will be examined to show that a large number of scenes draw their inspiration from the visual aspects of festivals, such as the *pompe*. The scene-type of a satyr⁴ or komast carrying a woman on his shoulders⁵ appears in the last third of the sixth century and continues until just after 500.⁶ In the earlier period (before c.530) this action of carrying a companion – male or female – on the *shoulders* is not apparent in any examples I am aware of. There are indeed depictions of komasts and satyrs carrying others from before c.530, but they are usually carried in the *arms* of the reveller or satyr (either on his back or held in front),⁷ not on his *shoulders*.⁸ More

¹ Abbreviations used in this paper are *ABL* = Haspels (1936) *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*; *ABV* = Beazley (1956) *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*; *ARV²* = Beazley (1963) *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters²*; *Para.* = Beazley (1971) *Paralipomena*; *Add.²* = Carpenter *et al.* (1989) *Beazley Addenda*; *LIMC* = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981-1999); *CVA* = *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*; *BAD* = Beazley Archive Database (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm>). For each reference to a vase-painting, I have endeavoured to include a reference to an illustration; if the vase is pictured in the *BAD*, the *BAD* vase number is followed by *. All dates are BC unless stated otherwise.

² The procession of Dionysos in the ship-cart associated by most scholars now with the Anthesteria is shown on some late black-figure vases: see the Theseus Painter's skyphos: Bologna 16516 (130); *ABL* 253.15; *BAD* 4321*. Simon (1983) 93-4 places the ship-cart procession during the first day of the Anthesteria; see also Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 12. Hamilton (1992) 57-8, on the other hand, notes that the testimonia are late and only associate the ship cart procession with the month of Anthesterion rather than the festival. See below, n.33.

³ Mackay (2010) 2-3 has suggested this, particularly with scenes of Dionysos.

⁴ For a discussion of the naming of the followers of Dionysos as silens or satyrs see Hedreen (1992) 1, 10n2; Padgett (2003) 29-30; see also Edwards (1960) 80n11 on the term nymph instead of maenad. I use the term satyr throughout, and similarly maenad (in preference to nymph).

⁵ Scheffer (1996) 177 outlines the four ways a figure can be shown carried in Greek art: grabbed from behind in a violent manner, usually with a sexual intent; held in front in the arms or on the shoulders with the one being carried a willing partner; carried on another's back, again usually a willing participant; or as a dead warrior draped over the back and shoulders of another. This paper focuses on some of those from the second group (namely those carried on the shoulders). Scheffer's article is concerned with those from the third group.

⁶ This is much more apparent in Dionysian scenes; there are at least 31 illustrated examples of satyrs lifting and carrying maenads in the *BAD*; and another twenty further examples that are not illustrated. A good example can be seen on a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group: Malibu 86.AE.84; *Para.* 166.189bis; *BAD* 351229*.

⁷ Scheffer (1996) esp. 172-77 discusses the motif of the *ephedrismos*, a game that involves the carrying of a person on one's back with the aim of throwing a ball at a goal, and is particularly found in the Dionysian and

importantly, the satyrs carrying maenads after c.530 are frequently placed in a line, each prancing, or rather as I suggest dancing,⁹ with his woman perched on his shoulders. One dance that is illustrated on vases is the pyrrhic. Pinney describes the steps associated with the pyrrhic dance as shown by Athena on Panathenaic prize amphorae, one of which shows Athena on her toes. The pyrrhic itself seemed to consist of leaps, side-steps and crouching, as well as mimicking battle positions.¹⁰ That the satyrs in the scenes I will be discussing are shown frequently crouching, on their toes, or with one leg high in the air (this step relates particularly to the satyr dance, the *sikinnis*), suggests that their actions can be taken as dancing.

In order to explain the appearance of these scenes of satyrs or komasts carrying women on their shoulders around 530 and their disappearance at the end of the archaic period, a brief discussion of the political situation and festival practice is needed. In the middle of the sixth century the tyrant Peisistratos encouraged the flourishing of many festivals in Athens including the City Dionysia.¹¹ As Boardman has argued, Peisistratos' activities had an impact on what was important and popular in Athens,¹² and the vase-painters responded to these trends which seem to have influenced (even if only partially) the paintings on the vases. This focus on promoting the festivals in Athens translated into more extravagant and perhaps more frequent *visual* spectacles associated with cult and ritual – processions, for instance. And the more prominence and exposure a festival has, the more likely it is to be represented, or at least evoked, through the art and literature of the society for that time

erotic spheres. This type of carrying of a companion is different from the ones discussed here; however, the carrying of another person can therefore have a playful meaning and is a part of the celebration of Dionysos.

⁸ Occasionally a komast may be carrying a companion in his arms, but not on his shoulders as the later scenes show. For example a komast carries his fellow reveller, who is defecating, to right on an oinochoe signed by Xenokles: Athens NM 1045; *ABV* 186; *Add.*² 51; BAD 302454*; Scheffer (1996) 172. The François Vase does show a satyr carrying a nymph in the Return of Hephaistos scene, but he is carrying her in his arms rather than on his shoulders: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAD 300000*.

⁹ The recurrent layout of these scenes is quite different from the varied positions of the figures on earlier vases, a fact that argues for seeing the images on these vases as a new introduction rather than a continuation of a past scene-type. Moore (2006) 39-40 also comments on the difference between komasts and the images of men or performers in a line.

¹⁰ Pinney (1988) 468-69.

¹¹ Simon (1983) 101 states that Peisistratos added the dramatic competitions to the City Dionysia; see also Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 58 and Deubner (1966) 139. That Dionysos became much more popular in the middle of the sixth century is certainly apparent: Mackay (2010) 234; Shapiro (1989) 85-6.

¹² Boardman (1972); id. (1975) and (1984); see also Mackay (2010) 381-84 and Shapiro (1989), who outlines the growth of architecture and art in the sixth century (5-12) and puts the Peisistratids in charge of the establishment and embellishment of many cults in Athens (12-14). However, Shapiro (1989) 15-16 warns that because of the nature of the evidence the conclusions are speculation. For a discussion *contra* Boardman's views see Blok (2000). On Peisistratos' stable popularity during his final tyranny see Lavelle (2005) 157; Blok (2000) 31; Shapiro (1989) 3; that the Athenians approved of him for much of the second half of the sixth century gives credence to the idea that his actions would have been mostly accepted and those painting and buying the vases would not have been offended by scenes reflecting those activities.

period. The Panathenaia is a good example of the influence cult can have on art. For instance, the Gigantomachy, celebrated at the Panathenaia, appears in art about the same time as the reorganisation of the Panathenaia in 566.¹³

There were a number of processions and spectacles during festivals in honour of Dionysos.¹⁴ For instance, an average Athenian male may have witnessed or been a part of the komos at the City Dionysia: a kind of drunken procession,¹⁵ although very little is known about it.¹⁶ The Anthesteria encouraged heavy drinking as carousing is prominent in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, which is our best source for this festival,¹⁷ and there is some evidence for the honouring of Dionysos through choruses and mockery, and perhaps even full-scale comedy. Certainly, some form of spectacle seems to have been expected.¹⁸ The Rural Dionysia, according to Pickard-Cambridge, were based in performance, definitely from as early as the middle of the sixth century,¹⁹ and this performance was probably dramatic in nature.²⁰ The *pompe* quite probably also included taunts or jokes, as there is evidence to suggest that Dikaiopolis, in his song to Phales in the *Acharnians*, ridicules a couple of

¹³ As Pinney (1988) 473 explains, the Gigantomachy seems to have been associated with the tyranny and 'the Gigantomachy was particularly stressed at the time of the creation of the Great Panathenaia and of the grand celebrations of the Peisistratid period'. See also Hurwit (1999) 30-31. The Gigantomachy appears in vase-painting around the time of the reorganisation of the festival in c.566 and its continued popularity exemplifies the influence of festival practice on art.

¹⁴ The evidence we have for festivals in the sixth century is meagre and mostly late. However, we can piece together a little of what occurred during festivals by using a wide range of sources.

¹⁵ Deubner (1966) 140 contrasts the revelling of the komasts with the solemnity of the *pompe* proper. It was probably held on the evening of the 10th Elaphebolion.

¹⁶ Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 44. The komos is related to the City Dionysia, but not to the Rural Dionysia, as far as can be ascertained from analysis of the sources available to us as Pickard-Cambridge points out.

¹⁷ *Ar. Ach.* 959-1234.

¹⁸ Hamilton (1992) 38-42. Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 15-16 follows [Plut.]'s *X Orat.* (841f) which maintains that Lycurgus, in the fourth century, introduced (or re-introduced) comic contests to the celebrations on the Anthesteria day known as Chytroi; these comic contests Pickard-Cambridge interprets as competitions between comic actors. The victor of the comic *agon* would perform at the City Dionysia. While Hamilton sees these performances (whatever form they might take) as quite important to the Chytroi, Pickard-Cambridge suggests that they were placed there simply for convenience. Burkert (1983) 240-41 comments that the performances were always 'hopelessly overshadowed by the Dionysia and the Panathenaia.'

¹⁹ The earliest 'theatre' space from the demes of Attica is the one in Thorikos dated to about 550, which indicates that an audience gathered to watch some form of performance probably well before this time: Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 52-3.

²⁰ Travelling actors went from place to place and there is evidence that at the end of the fifth century Aristophanes and Sophocles went to Eleusis to present their plays: Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 43, 48. See also Simon (1983) 101. However, the drama may not have been presented in all of the demes, more likely the plays were put on only in the larger demes, particularly Peiraeus: Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 45-6. We know, for instance, that Socrates went to Peiraeus to see plays of Euripides: *Ael. VH* 2.13. Deubner (1966) 136-37 discusses the importance of these rural performances to comedy and choruses.

characters,²¹ and Aristotle claims that comedy arose from iambic verse (which also included the lampooning of various people) and from phallic songs.²²

It is clear then, that festivals in honour of Dionysos included visual performances or spectacles, processions, and humour or mockery. If one looks at the vases that depict the god, a large number include satyrs; these hybrid followers of the god are generally shown revelling.²³ Green and Hedreen have focused on the suggestion that the very identity of a satyr in vase-painting is based in performance.²⁴ This concept does seem to be borne out by the evidence on the vases, as there are some depictions of men dressing up in situations usually associated with satyrs, as can be seen on a Corinthian amphoriskos.²⁵ In a scene of the representation of the Return of Hephaistos, the figure in front of the mule wears a padded costume with large phallos.²⁶ Satyrs were the usual companions of this procession escorting Hephaistos back to Olympos and frequently they are depicted with erect phallos.²⁷ Significantly, there is also an important amphora in Berlin that presents a clear comparison between a chorus in a comedy and a satyr chorus.²⁸ On the obverse a youth plays the pipes for helmeted youths who are carried on the shoulders of men dressed as horses, while the reverse shows satyrs and maenads waiting in line for their satyr piper to begin. Both scenes are most likely evoking choruses²⁹ and therefore performances: one is obviously human, the other mythological.

²¹ Ar. *Ach.* 263-279; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 43.

²² Arist. *Poet.* 1449a1-14; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 43. Rusten (2006) esp. 39-40 discusses the origins of comedy, one theory is that it arose from phallic songs.

²³ For instance, on a Type A amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter, satyrs and maenads dance arm in arm around Dionysos: Berlin 3210 (lost); *ABV* 151.21; 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAD 310449*. Likewise the jovial nature of the satyrs is clear on a refresher-amphora attributed to Lydos: London 1848.6-19.5; Isler-Kerényi (2007) Fig.63. On an unattributed amphora in Basel ithyphallic satyrs dance around the god: Basel Ludwig L21; Isler-Kerényi (2007) Fig.46.

²⁴ Green (2007) 102; Hedreen (2007) 153. *Contra* Padgett (2003) 34.

²⁵ Corinthian amphoriskos: Athens NM 664; Isler-Kerényi (2007) Fig.13.

²⁶ For a discussion of komasts in early scenes of the Return of Hephaistos see Smith (2010) 28-9.

²⁷ For instance on the François Vase signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAD 300000*.

²⁸ Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686: Berlin 1697; *ABV* 297.17; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 78; BAD 320396*.

²⁹ This vase has understandably appeared in many publications. Rusten (2006) 45-6, 52-3 associates it with dithyramb perhaps showing some signs of very early comedy; Green (1985) 100, Fig.6, cat.3 includes this vase in his catalogue of choruses, although only the 'knights' are mentioned; Moore (2006) 39 too uses the vase to illustrate an early chorus. Brijder discusses a Siana cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter (Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAD 300600*) on which men are shown wearing headbands with vertical attachments. Brijder convincingly argues that this headgear represents 'satyr ears' (1986) 75. These men are involved in a performance, and appear to be dancing in a manner suggestive of a chorus. See also the scene on the shoulder of a hydria possibly by a painter from the Circle of Lydos (see Moore [2006] 45-9 on the attribution) in New York on which is depicted a line of four men wearing what might be satyr ears dancing for a piper: New York MMA 1988.11.3; BAD 12278. Moore (2006) discusses this vase in detail, concluding that the dancers are a part of a chorus although no firm conclusion is reached as to the identity of the participants (40). Green (1985) 100, Fig.5, cat.2 comments that apart from the 'ears' (which also adorn the headband of the piper)

This parallelism between satyrs and human performers is reflected in the way both satyrs and mortals worship the god of wine. The mythological followers of the god of wine are famous for their love of wine and their response to it: dancing, singing, playing instruments, and chasing maenads or nymphs.³⁰ The popularity of satyrs on vases and their frequent proximity to Dionysos suggest that they be seen as ideal worshippers of the god – vessels through which his power can be viewed and appreciated as the mortals themselves partake. And when men drink they respond in the same way, and thus they can be aligned with the satyrs as worshippers of Dionysos.³¹ During festivals the separation between mortal and immortal is reduced as the deity is represented in the procession by a statue or image; the vase-painters tend to depict these occasions within the realm of the divine, but occasionally the human aspect is also revealed.³² The most well-known example of this is in depictions of the ship-cart procession where the wheels of the cart disguised as a ship are painted in, but the characters riding in the ship-cart are all mythological (satyrs and the god).³³ Presumably the ship-cart was accompanied by ‘satyrs’ (men dressed up as the creatures) and the god (perhaps a statue or a priest of Dionysos). Another example of this substitution of satyrs for mortal worshippers can be seen on a skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter which shows a satyr and a maenad dancing around the mask of the wine-god as mortals did at the Lenaia.³⁴ There are examples of men dressed as satyrs in the presence of the god in other situations, as on a skyphos in Rhodes.³⁵

there are no other signals that these men are intended as satyrs, although he draws a connection between this and the Siana Cup in Amsterdam. Brijder (1986) 72 also draws a comparison between the Amsterdam cup and this hydria in New York.

³⁰ For example Silenos in Eur. *Cyc.* laments that without Dionysos’ gift of wine the land knows no dancing (123-124) and the chorus of Eur. *Bacch.*, although human rather than satyr, sing and dance for the god and shout of the wine, the dance, and the flute (140-165), and Dionysos claims that as he passes through the lands the people dance (23).

³¹ Isler-Kerényi (2007) 59-63 discusses the rituals associated with drinking, suggesting that the symposion is a part of this series of transitions; in the process of drinking and revelling the mortal man turns into a satyr, another ritual transition.

³² This phenomenon in black-figure has been recognised in a variety of scenes, especially those that include the chariot, a conveyance used sometimes as the transportation for deities in black-figure. In black-figure, hoplites are shown in chariots, as well as newly-married couples, neither of which would be the case in reality. For a discussion of this aspect with regard to the chariot see Sinos (1998) 75-8, and with regard to the wedding see Oakley and Sinos (1993) 44.

³³ See for instance a fragmentary skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter: Athens NM Akr. 1.1281; *ABL* 250.29; BAD 465*. Exekias’ magnificent cup in Munich has also been connected with the Anthesteria: Munich 8729; *ABV* 146.21; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAD 310403*. For a discussion of Exekias’ cup and the ship-cart procession see Mackay (2010) 232-34.

³⁴ Athens NM 498; *ABL* 251.44, 142; BAD 4318*.

³⁵ The men on the skyphos are obviously dressed as satyrs (their beards and ears seem to be attached to a headband and they wear tight body-suits) and they dance around Dionysos and Ariadne: Rhodes; *ABV* 90.1; *Add.*² 54; BAD 350968; Brijder (1988) Fig.6. For other examples of men dressed as satyrs see the Siana cup

Thus from the placement of satyrs in ‘human’ and festival situations, it is evident that satyrs on vases frequently take the place of (or possibly represent or evoke) mortal worshippers of the god. The presence of satyrs therefore makes two suggestions useful for our purposes: a) they are worshippers of Dionysos, in place of the mortal drinkers; and b) they are performers. Both of these aspects can be placed firmly in a festival context. So with these points in mind, we can address the question: why do satyrs carry maenads on their shoulders after about 530, frequently in a line of several satyrs at once?

The carrying off of a woman in some situations in vase-painting is a strong indicator of abduction; can the satyrs perhaps be interpreted as carrying off a maenad? When abduction scenes are compared to the scene-type in question, however, there are some clear differences.³⁶ Firstly they are not negative like Ajax the Lesser approaching to carry Cassandra off, where she is clearly distressed by the process.³⁷ Neither are they quite the same as the more playful abduction scenes that become popular in archaic red-figure, such as on a Type A amphora attributed to Euthymides,³⁸ where a named Theseus carries off a woman identified as Korone who appears to be unperturbed and plays with his hair.³⁹ Theseus holds her firmly around the waist rather than placing her on his shoulders, Perithoos holds a spear and his sword in its sheath, and Helen strides towards Theseus, grabbing Korone’s arm. In black-figure, two of the most famous abductions – the capturing of Thetis and the abduction of Helen⁴⁰ – are not represented in the same schema as the satyrs and maenads. Peleus is shown reaching forward to grab Thetis around the waist as she struggles, trying to avoid his clutches, on an oinochoe attributed to the Key-side Class.⁴¹ Helen is carried off in Theseus’ arms on a hydria attributed to the S Painter.⁴² She reaches back to the other

attributed to the Heidelberg Painter (Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAD 300600*) discussed above in note 29. Brijder (1986) 76-8 discusses the similarities between the dancers on the Siana cup and those on the slightly later skyphos from Rhodes.

³⁶ Scheffer (1996) 177 does not see sexual intent in the images which fall into her group B, and the scene-type under discussion here fits within that group; see above note 5.

³⁷ A Type B amphora attributed to Lydos exemplifies her helpless desperation. Cassandra runs to the statue of Athena, but turns back to look at Ajax who approaches with drawn sword brandished above his head. She reaches one hand up towards him in appeal: Louvre F29; *ABV* 109.21, 685; *Para.* 44; *Add.*² 30; BAD 310167*.

³⁸ Munich 2309; *ARV.*² 27.4, 1620; *Para.* 323; *Add.*² 156; BAD 200157*.

³⁹ The other woman in the scene is labelled Helen; either this is a deliberate joke of the story of the abduction of Helen, or Euthymides inadvertently switched the names of the two women.

⁴⁰ In addition to Peleus’ fight with Thetis and the kidnapping of Helen, the attempted rape of Deianeira by Nessos the centaur was also popular, especially in the early black-figure period and with the Tyrrhenian Group. When Nessos is holding Deianeira, he usually holds her across his chest with one arm rather than on his shoulders. See for instance a neck-amphora attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group: Leipzig T3324; *ABV* 98.36; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; BAD 310035*. She is also sometimes held on his back, but that does not concern us for this particular scene-type.

⁴¹ Malibu 86.AE.122; BAD 16778*.

⁴² London B310; *ABV* 361.12, 355, 695; *Add.*² 95; BAD 302007*.

women in the scene while Perithoos waits in the chariot; forcible abduction is evident. There are some depictions of satyrs who do appear to be abducting maenads, but the way the satyrs carry the maenads is closer to the schema of the abductions and the sexual intention is clear. On a neck-amphora attributed to the Dayton Painter, a satyr carries a naked maenad to a couch.⁴³ He carries her in his arms and she puts her arms around his head.

In summary, satyrs carrying maenads on their shoulders differ from abduction scenes as follows: a) the satyrs hold the maenads on their shoulders; b) they are dancing as is indicated by their raised heels and lightness of step despite the weight of the maenad on their shoulders;⁴⁴ and c) they are often in a line or group. The distinction from abduction scenes allows us to seek another reason for the depiction of satyrs carrying maenads. I believe we can see festival performance reflected here.

The most convincing argument for seeing this action as part of a performance is the repetition in the same scene of several satyrs carrying maenads, many of whom frequently play musical instruments. It seems unlikely that a synchronised abduction is being attempted on a Type B amphora⁴⁵ near the Priam Painter, for example.⁴⁶ Four satyrs are carrying maenads; three have their women held up on their shoulders while the satyr at the right edge of the scene seems to be lifting his up. The maenads are of interest however, since they are calmly playing their instruments despite being carried along by the lusty satyrs.⁴⁷ Even when no musical instruments are depicted, as on a neck-amphora near the Acheloos Painter,⁴⁸ the repetition of the same movement suggests dance and performance. The idea of carrying the maenad off may indeed be there, as McNally suggests,⁴⁹ but the maenads, once they have been taken, are not at all perturbed. This indicates that the satyrs are performing, and while an abduction may be a part of the presentation, the dance is the crucial element of the scene.

⁴³ Boston 76.40; *Para.* 144.1; *Add.*² 88; BAD 351068*.

⁴⁴ Having one foot or one heel off the ground signifies dance; see above on Pinney's explanation of dance, note 10. Frequently, musical accompaniment is evident too.

⁴⁵ The shapes on which these scenes occur include amphorae (most common), oinochoai, olpai, and cups. In a study such as this, when dealing with Dionysian subjects, it is of course relevant that these vessels were probably intended to be used in the symposium (whether or not they were discovered in graves, it is clear from Lynch's work [2011] that these types of vases were in use during drinking parties by Athenians and so not necessarily decorated specifically for funerary use). A detailed discussion of the significance of the shape beyond the observation that the subject matter is Dionysian and they are on sympotic vessels, however, is outside the parameters of this paper. Similar studies, such as Scheibler's discussion of belly-amphorae (1987), and Shapiro's work on the pelike (1997), tend to gather their evidence based on a common shape rather than a common scene-type and rely on larger numbers of vases.

⁴⁶ Philadelphia 2462; *Para.* 147.6; BAD 351086*.

⁴⁷ Three maenads play their instruments; two play pipes and one the kithara.

⁴⁸ Malibu 86.AE.84; *Para.* 166.189bis; BAD 351229*.

⁴⁹ McNally (1984) 118-19.

Directionality and repetition of position and stance all contribute to the suggestion of a chorus line as Hedreen points out.⁵⁰ On a hydria attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter in the Athens National Museum, Dionysos is framed by two satyrs lifting maenads onto their shoulders.⁵¹ Both satyrs are dancing left in a low position, legs widely spaced with their back heels off the ground. Rather than have the dancers (maenads included) on the right looking towards the god in the centre, as is usually the case in the symmetrical layout of many black-figure scenes,⁵² they all look back the way they have come – to the right of the scene. The maenad on the left holds her hands with *krotala* high, encroaching on the border of the scene; the maenad on the right does likewise (although without *krotala*). This similarity in movement and directionality from right to left is an indication that these satyrs are moving in tandem, very suggestive of a performance rather than an abduction which by its very nature suggests disarray and extreme emotions.⁵³ In addition, in this scene, there is a goat standing behind Dionysos. The goat's association with the festivals of Dionysos⁵⁴ adds an extra element to the evidence for seeing this depiction and others like it as performances, perhaps even choruses.

One vase worthy of note shows the dance in progress, with the satyrs picking the maenads up on one side and dancing with them on their shoulders on the other. This neck-amphora is attributed to the Dot-Band class, and while the quality is dubious the intention is quite clear.⁵⁵ On the obverse two satyrs are crouching having hoisted the women onto their shoulders. Their identical movement suggests they are moving together in a dance. On the reverse the satyrs are standing and have a firm grip on the maenads, who are gesturing to each other. The satyr in front looks back at his companion, who seems to be more obviously

⁵⁰ Hedreen (2007) 171-72.

⁵¹ Athens NM 1037; *ABL* 92, 106, 145, 163; *ABV* 393.18; *ARV*² 1598.5; *Para.* 507; *Add.*² 390; BAD 302934*.

⁵² In the vast majority of scenes, the central figure will be the focus of gaze of the framing figures, particularly if there are only three characters or character-groups in the scene. Symmetry was favoured by black-figure artists as can be seen by the examples of heroic action enclosed by inward-facing bystanders. On symmetry see Scheibler (1960).

⁵³ The scenes of Peleus grabbing Thetis provide good examples of the distress exhibited by others in the scene. For instance, on a neck-amphora attributed to the Group of Würzburg 199, two nereids run from the central fight with their hands in the air in dismay: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.18; *ABV* 288.13; *Add.*² 75; BAD 320316*.

⁵⁴ At the Rural Dionysia there was a procession which according to Ar. *Ach.* (241-279) included at the very least a basket-bearer or *kanephoros*, a large wooden phallos, and revellers who sang songs to the god and Phales. Plut. in *de cupiditate divitiarum* (527d) claims that it also included a wine-jar, a branch of vine, a goat, and a basket of dried figs. Simon (1983) 100, 102 sees the goat as the sacred animal at the Lenaia and at the Rural Dionysia; Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 77, 123 places the goat in the procession (or as prize) for the City Dionysia and in the *pompe* at the Rural Dionysia, although this may be a Boiotian rather than Attic custom: Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 43-4. Deubner (1966) 136 sees the phallos and the figs as the older aspects of the procession and the wine-jar, grape branch, and goat as later Dionysian additions.

⁵⁵ Wellington 1957.1; *Para.* 221; *Add.*² 122; BAD 360902*.

bowed under the weight of the maenad, as if to check on the latter's readiness. The leading satyr is already beginning his dance step as his front foot has left the ground. This kind of high-stepping can be associated with both the *sikinnis*, the typical dance of satyrs,⁵⁶ and of leading the dance, as Apollo is described as high-stepping as he leads the Cretans up to Delphi in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.⁵⁷

One other recommendation for seeing these scenes as musical performances is the use of krotala. Despite the relative rarity of other musical instruments in these scenes, the krotala are depicted frequently. The krotala are associated with dancing,⁵⁸ and so when they are used there is an emphasis on rhythm and movement. For instance, the krotala are held by a maenad on the shoulders of a satyr on an unattributed neck-amphora in Tarquinia.⁵⁹ The satyr is depicted in the centre of the scene flanked by two other krotala-playing maenads providing the accompaniment for the dance.

Komasts are sometimes shown carrying a woman on their shoulders, indicating that this kind of dance or performance was a part of mortal worship of the god. On a neck-amphora near the Acheloos Painter in Munich are depicted four men, the central one carrying a woman on his left shoulder.⁶⁰ All the other three men are wreathed, while the woman being carried and the man carrying her are wearing fillets. He holds ivy branches in his right hand while she plays the krotala, as many maenads do. Two of the men are partially clothed, although one of these has an extremely hairy belly⁶¹ while the other two including the one in the centre holding the clothed woman are naked. All are dancing vigorously, including the

⁵⁶ Castaldo (2009) 289.

⁵⁷ This is reflected in the *Hom. Hymn to Apollo* when the god leads the Cretans up to Delphi: 'And when they had satisfied their appetite for food and drink, they set off, and Zeus' son, lord Apollo, led the way with his lyre in his hands, playing delightfully, stepping fine and high, while the Cretans followed to Pytho, dancing in time, and singing Ie Paieon' 513-18; West (2003) 110-11.

⁵⁸ Michaelides (1978) 179; Wegner (1949) 62. One of the many examples which show maenads dancing with krotala can be found on a skyphos in the manner of the Krokotos Group; here a satyr plays the pipes and maenads with krotala dance vigorously: Athens NM 15372; BAD 15285*. Recently Castaldo (2009) 287 concludes, krotala were associated with women (especially hetairai) and with the komos or the Dionysian sphere, used in the images to stress rhythm and dance, and perhaps to evoke or encourage the ecstasy inspired by Dionysos and Cybele.

⁵⁹ Tarquinia 670; BAD 13825*.

⁶⁰ Munich 1547; *ABV* 385.3; *Add.*² 102; BAD 302880*.

⁶¹ There is the possibility that this may be an indication of this particular reveller's state as approaching that of the satyr. Isler-Kerényi's (2007) ch.2, esp. 62 suggestion that drinkers may turn into satyrs is based on a handful of vases that include satyrs and komasts in the same scene, an idea that is rejected by Smith (2010) after her exhaustive analysis of the scenes of komasts. However, in this instance the Acheloos Painter may be suggesting that wine encourages less 'civilised' behaviour and this drinker is well on the way to showing his more 'animalistic' side.

man carrying the woman: he raises his front foot off the ground and his back heel is also lifted from the floor.⁶²

A neck-amphora in the Villa Giulia attributed to the Leagros Group creates a convincing connection between komasts and satyrs.⁶³ On the obverse Dionysos (kantharos, ivy wreath, and grapevine) is framed by two satyrs who lunge forward to grab two maenads. While the maenads are not yet seated on the shoulders of the satyrs, the satyrs are not ithyphallic, and the maenads are holding krotala. On the reverse of this neck-amphora is a komos, with one of the men carrying a woman on his shoulder. This juxtaposition of the two scenes which illustrate this movement in a similar context, but performed by satyrs on one side and komasts on the other, shows that at least in the mind of this painter the two were closely connected.

In the brief discussion of Dionysian festivals at the beginning of this paper, humour seems to have been a prominent part of the celebrations in honour of the god.⁶⁴ The vase-painters were more than capable of playing with the traditions of black-figure painting for humour as can be seen on an olpe attributed to the Painter of Jena Kaineus. Two satyrs clasp the tear-ducts of the large eyes which frame Dionysos, straining under the decorative motifs as if they were bulging wine-skins.⁶⁵ Satyrs are often represented in humorous and bawdy situations,⁶⁶ when shown in a more 'serious' scene, therefore, their very presence may be intended to add humour.⁶⁷ Hedreen notes that 'the vase-paintings of silens lifting nymphs suggest that competence in the civilized art of choral performance and animal desire for copulation are indissolubly fused together in the persona of the silens'.⁶⁸ These disparate views of 'civilised' and 'animal' behaviour brought together in these representations of the satyr create a figure of contrasts, and a humorous one at that. Using just the images related to

⁶² Another neck-amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter shows a very similar scene: London, Market (prev. New York, Kevorkian; New York, Royal Athena); *ABV* 383.10; *Para.* 168; *Add.*² 101; BAD 302403*.

⁶³ The painting of this vase recalls the Group of Würzburg 210 and can be compared to the Acheloos Painter: Rome, Villa Giulia 50619; *ABV* 374.193; BAD 302188* (obverse only).

⁶⁴ See Lawler (1963) for the humour and fun found in the dancing at ancient Greek festivals.

⁶⁵ Berkeley, Hearst Museum 8.3379; *ABV* 436.2, 445.11; *Para.* 188; *Add.*² 112; BAD 320471*.

⁶⁶ Hedreen (2006) analyses scenes of satyrs in vase-painting with the intention of discovering what kind of humour is evoked by the excessive sexuality of these creatures. He concludes that the vase-paintings frequently draw the symposiast into the world of Dionysos, aligning them with the satyrs, eliciting a form of (slightly unsettled) laughter based on the drinker's realisation that there is some similarity between himself and the hybrid satyr.

⁶⁷ Mitchell (2009) 4-5 writes, 'The centrality of satyrs in visual humour is dealt with at different stages of this book. They were used by painters to parody mythological *topoi* in vase-painting, but, in the realm of the Polis, they also mocked 'religion', politics, and ethical conduct.' Mitchell (2009) 150-234 goes on to discuss and catalogue the instances in which the vase-painters, both black-figure and red-figure, use satyrs to create funny visual puns and to parody citizens, heroes, and gods. See also Mitchell's earlier article on the same topic (2004).

⁶⁸ Hedreen (2007) 173.

the scene-type discussed in this paper, the humorous characteristic of satyrs is evident, and it ties in well with the comic aspect of Dionysian festivals. On a type B amphora once on the New York market, Dionysos is flanked by two *maenads* who carry *satyrs* on their shoulders.⁶⁹ As with the other scenes discussed above, there does not seem to be any sort of sexual aspect to this scene so the reversal of the maenads carrying the satyrs creates humour based on inversion. That the maenads are dancing is indicated through the depiction of their feet, and this highlights another contrast in the scene: that of the disparity between the god and his followers. The god appears in a role similar to the apparently sober parent overseeing the mischievous children, though as the god of wine he is of course encouraging the antics. He himself is a god of contrasts and inversion; his calm exterior depicted on vases in contrast to the excessive behaviour he engenders in the satyrs and komasts is in itself a source of humour.

The satyrs also take over and make fun of heroic and mythological scenes. Herakles, the great hero, sometimes cavorts with satyrs and maenads in ways that might poke fun at some of his labours. There is one example on a Type A cup near the Krokotos Painter which shows (between eyes) Herakles bowed under the weight of a white-haired, lyre-playing, bellowing satyr (his mouth is depicted open widely).⁷⁰ The singing satyr has perhaps become another labour of Herakles; a singing, probably drunken weight on our hero's back. That the satyr has taken this position creates a parody which encourages laughter when one looks at the scene. This does not necessarily mean that satyr-play is depicted, but rather that this behaviour, the making fun of others, especially those that have value in the everyday life of the Athenians, is in the nature of a satyr.⁷¹

From this particular type of action, the carrying of a maenad on the shoulders, one can infer several things; firstly that the satyrs and maenads are engaged in some kind of performance, possibly a choral one. Secondly that the maenads are not perturbed by their 'abduction' if that is what is evoked; rather they continue with the dance or the music. Thirdly, there is a link between satyrs who carry maenads and komasts who carry women, although the satyrs are much more popular.⁷² The humour is also clear through the inversion in some scenes, and the ithyphallic satyrs in some depictions bring their own humour to the scene. Finally the scene-type is found between c.530 and c.480, perhaps a reflection of

⁶⁹ Type B amphora (cf. the Antimenes Painter): New York, market; BAD 24084*.

⁷⁰ Attributed to the group of Walters 48.42: Malibu 85.AE.462; BAD 41328*.

⁷¹ See Lissarrague (1990) esp. 232-33.

⁷² This may mean that the vase-painters saw the satyrs as uninhibited by morals and therefore more appropriate for the role of dancing with women and 'carrying them off' if that is what is implied, even in fun. On this view see Mitchell (2009) 4-5.

Peisistratos' embellishment of some of the festivals in honour of Dionysos, such as the City Dionysia, or indeed an expression of the beginnings of some form of early choral drama which then gives way, in the medium of red-figure, to other methods of representing satyr performance. All of these reasons point towards the conclusion that the satyrs and komasts in this scene-type were performing a kind of dance associated with the worship of Dionysos at his festivals at this time. While the specific festival or celebration is unclear, that these scenes evoke *a* festival is evident. With closer analysis of other scene-types like this one, perhaps more vase-paintings can be re-interpreted as evocations of the processions, performances, and spectacles of festivals.

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