SILENS, NYMPHS, AND MAENADS^{*}

ONE of the most familiar traits of the part-horse, part-man creatures known as silens is their keen interest in women.¹ In Athenian vase-painting, the female companions of the silens are characterized by a variety of attributes and items of dress, and exhibit mixed feelings toward the attentions of silens. The complexities of the imagery have resulted in disagreement in modern scholarship on several points, including the identity of these females, the significance of their attributes, and the explanation of a change in their receptivity to the advances of the silens.² One of the reasons for the lack of consensus in the scholarship is the fact that the imagery raises not one question but many: questions concerning iconographical method, mythology, ritual, and poetry. In what follows I have attempted to separate some of these entangled issues. I hope to show that the companions of the silens are nymphs and not maenads, and that a major change in the iconography of silens and nymphs, occurring in late sixth-century red-figure Attic vase-painting, reflects in some way developments in the Athenian dramatic genre of satyr-play.

NYMPH OR MAENAD?

By what name would the ancient viewer have referred to the female companions of the silens? An answer may be found in the representation of the Return of Hephaistos on the François vase (PLATE I (a)).³ Three silens and four women accompany the procession to Olympos. The women wear heavy, embroidered *peploi* and are identified collectively by way

³ For the François vase, see n. 1 above.

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¹ I refer to these creatures as silens, or *silenoi*, because that is how they are labelled on the François vase (PLATE I (a)), Florence 4209, volute-krater, Kleitias and Ergotimos, *ABV* 76,1, E. Simon and M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* [Munich 1976] pls. 51-57), the only known vase with an inscription identifying these creatures as a group. The name *satyr* is used for the same type of creature in classical literature, and it seems likely that the names *silen* and *satyr* were synonymous in the Archaic period. But since the name *silen* is attested on Athenian vases and the name *satyr* is not, it seems best to use the former when referring to these creatures as they appear on these vases. For the use of the two names see E. Reisch, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie', in *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* (Vienna 1902) 451-473, esp. 460-464.

² The bibliography on the iconography of these female figures is extensive. The best short study remains M.W. Edwards, 'Representation of maenads on Archaic red-figure vases', *JHS* 1xxx (1960) 78-87. For the iconographical problems see also A. Rapp, 'Mainaden', in W.H. Roscher *et al.*, *Ausführliche Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1894-97) ii, 2243-2283, esp. 2266-2267; L.B. Lawler, 'The Maenads: a contribution to the study of the dance in ancient Greece', *MAAR* vi (1927) 69-112; E. Simon, 'Menadi', *EAA* iv (1961) 1002-1013, esp. 1003-1007; S. McNally, 'The maenad in early Greek art', *Arethusa* xi (1978) 101-135; E.C. Keuls, 'Malefemale interaction in fifth-century Dionysiac ritual as shown in Attic vase painting', *ZPE* Iv (1984) 287-297; E.C. Keuls, *The reign of the phallus* (New York 1985) 357-379; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian imagery in Archaic Greek art* (Oxford 1986) 79-86; C. Bron, 'Porteurs de thyrse ou bacchants', in C. Bérard *et al.* ed. *Images et société en Gréce ancienne* (Lausanne 1987) 145-153; A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos* (Göteborg 1987); A. Henrichs, 'Myth visualized: Dionysos and his circle in sixth-century Attic vase-painting', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his world* (Malibu 1987) 92-124, esp. 100-106.

of an inscription as 'nymphs'.⁴ The only characteristic of these nymphs emphasized by Kleitias is their relationship with the silens: one of the nymphs is carried in the arms of a silen, which suggests that the relationship is a close one. The earliest surviving reference to silens in Greek poetry also speaks of intimacy between silens and nymphs: '[the mountain nymphs] rank neither with mortals nor with immortals: long indeed do they live, eating heavenly food and treading the lovely dance among the immortals, and with them the Sileni and the sharp-eyed Slayer of Argus mate in the depths of pleasant caves'.⁵

Silens appear together with female companions in many subsequent representations of the Return of Hephaistos. In these scenes, the attributes of the female figures are not uniform. In the picture on a column-krater by Lydos of around 550 BC (PLATE I (*b*)), the women wear fawn-skins.⁶ One of the women in Lydos' picture also has a snake, an attribute that reappears in representations of the Return in late Archaic red-figure vase-painting.⁷ Beginning around 530 BC, the female figures in scenes of the Return wear ivy crowns.⁸ Later still, but before 500 BC, they appear wearing panther-skins and carrying ivy-tipped wands, thyrsi.⁹ After *c*. 500 BC, they sometimes carry torches.¹⁰

The few surviving literary accounts of the myth of the Return of Hephaistos do not mention the women or the silens who accompany the procession in art.¹¹ The labeler of the François vase (presumably Kleitias) thought that the women were nymphs, and it would seem reasonable to assume that the female figures in later representations of the myth are also nymphs. Most scholars, however, refer to these women not as nymphs but as 'maenads'. The collective name *maenads* is not inscribed on any surviving Athenian vase. It is known from poetry and has been transferred by scholars from literature to the visual arts.

⁴ The inscription is best viewed in fig. 244 of M. Cristofani *et al.*, *Materiali per servire alla storia del vaso François (BdA* serie speciale 1, Rome 1981). The nymphs do not differ from other female figures on the vase except that one plays a small pair of cymbals, perhaps part of the musical program that must have been featured at the drinking party at which Hephaistos was made drunk.

⁵ HHymnAphr 256-263. Trans. after H.G. Evelyn-White, Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica (Cambridge, MA 1982 repr.).

⁶ New York 31.11.11, column-krater, Lydos, *ABV* 108,5, *MMS* iv (1932-1933) pl. 1. The fawn-skin is worn by women in several later representations of the Return, such as New York 17.230.5, band-cup, *Para* 78,1, Oakeshott Painter, *CVA* New York 2, pl. 19; Boston 95.62, hydria, *ABV* 249,9, Elbows Out, *CVA* Boston 2, pl. 72,1; Munich 1526, neck-amphora, *ABV* 282,6, Group of Toronto 305, *CVA* Munich 8, pl. 420; Paris, Louvre F3, amphora type B, ABV 297,12, Painter of Berlin 1686, *CVA* Louvre 3, pl. 10,3 and 6; London B427, cup type A, *c*. 525-500 BC, *CVA* British Museum 2, pl. 20,2; Fiesole, Constantini, column-krater, recalls Leagros Group, *CVA* Fiesole 1, pl. 29; Tarquinia 1553, neck-amphora, *c*. 525-500 BC, *CVA* Tarquinia 2, pl. 34,2-3.

⁷ E.g., Louvre G162, calyx-krater, Kleophrades Painter, ARV^2 186,47, CVA Louvre 2, pls. 12,8 and 13,2, 5 and 8.

⁸ E.g., London 1908.1-1.1, cup type A, 525-500 BC, CVA British Museum 2, pl. 19,2; New Milton, Hattatt, neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, OJA i (1982) 140-143, figs. 1-6.

⁹ With the panther-skin: Agrigento C1535, column-krater, Leagros Group, CVA Agrigento 1, pl. 6,1; Leipzig T59, lekythos (compare the Kleophrades Painter), CVA Leipzig 2, pl. 39, 3-5; Louvre G162, cited above, n. 7; Louvre G135, cup, Colmar Painter, ARV^2 355,45, E. Pottier, Vases antiques du Louvre (Paris 1897-1922) iii 172. With the thyrsus: Indianapolis 31.299, stamnos, Group of London E445, ARV^2 217,3, Studies presented to David Moore Robinson ii (St. Louis 1953) pl. 51,a-b. Cf. also Frankfurt, VF β286, neck-amphora, Para 176, manner of the Kleophrades Painter, CVA Frankfurt 1, pls. 30 and 33; New York 41.162.175, neck-amphora, ABL 240,150, Diosphos Painter, CVA Hoppin and Gallatin, pl. 7,7 and 9: on both of the vases, Hephaistos is shown on one side of the vase (with a silen or Dionysos), a female figure with panther-skin and thyrsus on the other (with a silen or Dionysos), in what appears to be a continuation of the representation of the Return.

¹⁰ E.g., Indianapolis 47.34, hydria, Agrigento Painter, ARV² 579,83, F. Brommer, Hephaistos: Der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst (Mainz am Rhein 1978) pl. 4,2; Louvre G135, listed in n. 9.

¹¹ The best discussion of the literary sources for the myth remains U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Hephaistos', NGG 1895, 217-245 (rpt. in *Kleiner Schriften* ii [Berlin 1971] 5-35). See also Carpenter (above n. 2) 13-15.

Who are the maenads? The word *mainades* is best known from the *Bakchai* of Euripides, written at the end of the fifth century BC.¹² In the play Dionysos has come to Thebes to establish his religion in Greece: 'Thebes here was the first in this Hellenic land that I made shriek in ecstasy, that I clothed with the fawnskin, and gave the thyrsus into their hand, the ivy spear (23-25)'. Dionysos aims to punish as well as to enlighten:

So *them* [the sisters of Semele] I stung in madness from their homes and they dwell on the mountain stricken in their wits; I compelled them to wear the apparel proper to my rites, and all the female seed of the Cadmeians, all of the women, I maddened from their homes; together with the children of Cadmus, mingled with them, under the green firs they sit on rocks, with no roof above. For this land must learn to the full, even against its will, that it is uninitiated in my bacchic rites (Eur. *Bak.* 31-40).

The women of Thebes, driven into the mountains by Dionysos, are called *mainades*.¹³ From the lines above, one can form an image of these women: they wear fawn-skins and carry thyrsi, emblems of the cult of Dionysos. They occupy mountain forests, outside of the city, and their activities include cries in honor of the god. Additional information about the Theban maenads comes from the first messenger speech in the play (677-774): they wear their hair loose, crowned with ivy and other foliage; their attire includes snakes worn as belts; they hold in their arms and suckle fawns or wolf cubs. According to the messenger they do not drink wine and are chaste. When provoked by herdsmen they attack a herd of cattle and dismember the animals with their bare hands. The second messenger informs us (1043-1152) that in their madness the maenads even dismembered a human being, Pentheus, the king of Thebes and the son of Agaue, a sister of Semele and one of the leaders of the maenads.

There are other Dionysiac myths which follow closely the pattern of the Theban myth. The daughters of King Proitos of Argos, in one version of their story, refused to accept the rites of Dionysos and were driven mad by the god. In their madness the women wandered the countryside of the Argolid, much like the women of Thebes roamed the mountains around Thebes, except that in their madness the Proitides believed that they were cows.¹⁴ The daughters of King Minyas at Orchomenos also refused to worship Dionysos. The god drove them, insane, from their homes, and in their madness they dismembered one of their children, just as Agaue and her sisters dismembered her child Pentheus.¹⁵ The characteristic element in all of these myths is the insanity of the kings' female kin: the word *mainades*-'mad women'-is an appropriate collective name for the women so long as they are in a state of madness.

Maenads are not the only group of female worshipers of Dionysos in Greek mythology. One particular group of nymphs worshipped Dionysos, the nymphs of Nysa. These nymphs raised

¹² For the name *mainades* see also A. Henrichs, 'Changing Dionysiac identities', in B.F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders ed. *Jewish and Christian self-definition* iii: *Self-definition in the Greco-Roman world* (Philadelphia 1982) 146, n. 89; Rapp (above n. 2) 2243. Translations from the *Bakchai* are after G.S. Kirk (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1970).

¹³ The word *mainades* is used of the Theban women in the following lines of the play: 829, 956, 981, 984, 1023, 1052, 1060, 1062, 1075, 1107, 1143, 1191, 1226. The term is used generically, for women other than the Theban women, only three times: 103, 570, and 601 (on the last, see below). It is noteworthy that the word is concentrated in the latter part of the play, where the consequences of the madness of the Theban women, the murder of Pentheus, are of greatest concern. On the use of the term bakchai for the female followers of Dionysos, see below.

¹⁴ Apollod. ii 2.2 (citing Hesiod as one source for the story); iii 5.2; Virg. Ecl. 6.48. See G. Radke, 'Proitides', RE xxiii (1957) 117-125 for other sources. The many variations of the tale of the Proitides are analyzed by K. Dowden, Death and the maiden: Girls' initiation rites in Greek mythology (London 1989) 71-95.

¹⁵ Ovid, *Met* iv 1-415. See S. Eitrem, 'Minyaden', *RE* xv (1932) 2010-2014 for other references. The resistence myths, as they are called, are discussed at length by W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their gods* (London 1950) 165-174.

the infant god Dionysos on Mount Nysa and, when he was full-grown, became his followers.¹⁶ The activities of the nymphs of Nysa are similar in some ways to those of the maenads in the *Bakchai*. In the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*, one reads that 'the boundless forest was filled with their outcry'.¹⁷ In the *Iliad* (vi 134), the nurses of Dionysos carry 'thysthla'. The word is obscure, but seems to be related in sound, and perhaps also in sense, to the word thyrsus.¹⁸

Scholars have taken the similarities in the poetic descriptions of the nymphs of Nysa and the maenads of Thebes, Argos, and Orchomenos as evidence that nymphs and maenads are more or less the same thing.¹⁹ There are, however, important differences between them. First, the two groups belong to different stories. The nymphs of Nysa belong to the myth of the infancy of Dionysos, while maenads belong to stories of the arrival of the mature god at various towns in Greece. The nurturing quality of nymphs is important in the former myth. In the stories of maenads, the position of the women within the ruling families is emphasized: the madness of these women imperils the civic structures of the towns. Second, the nymphs of Nysa honor Dionysos willingly, whereas the maenads are forced to worship the god against their will in a state of madness. It is misleading to refer to the nymphs as 'maenads' because it is not clear that the nymphs were mad. Third, 'maenadism' is not a permanent state of being but a temporary experience. In their madness maenads become briefly like nymphs: they abandon their homes and their children in the city and dwell, like nymphs, in the mountains and forests. But the behaviour of these women who have been driven mad by Dionysos is a temporary deviation. In the end they return to their former lives, or become something else. That is clear from the conclusion of the Bakchai, in which Agaue returns to her senses and comes to know fully the extent of her destructive actions as a maenad.²⁰

There is an echo of the distinction between nymphs and maenads in the *Bakchai* itself. In the play, there is another group of female followers of Dionysos besides the women of Thebes, namely, the chorus. The chorus-members come from a foreign land; they have no families; they do not live in a polis; their existence is devoted to the service of Dionysos (65-67, 71-75). They are similar to nymphs in that their existence is radically different from that of ordinary Greek women, such as the women of Thebes.²¹ They implicitly contrast their own voluntary worship of Dionysos with the madness which Dionysos sends to those who reject him (386-390). As if to underscore these differences, Euripides did not refer to the chorus-members as maenads; they are called *bakchai*. The word *maenads* is reserved for the women of Thebes.²² The chorus-

¹⁶ *HHymnDion* (26) 3-10. *Cf.* Hom. *Il.* vi 130-135, where Dionysos is accompanied by 'nurses' on Nysa, presumably nymphs; Tyrtaios *fr.* 20.1 West for the 'nurse' of Dionysos; Soph. *OC* 678-680, where Dionysos leads the revels of the goddesses who were his nurses. Female figures labelled *Nysai* appear on fragments of an early sixthcentury vase by Sophilos (Athens Acr. 587, dinos frags., *ABV* 39,15, B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Acropolis zu Athen* [Berlin 1925-1933] i, pl. 26). Carpenter (above n. 2, p. 9) argues that the inscription is simply a misspelling of *Mosai*, Muses, but one cannot rule out the possibility that Sophilos meant what he wrote.

 17 Cf. Pratinas fr. 1: 'to cry aloud, running in the hills with the naiads'. The speakers are probably silens, and the context is the proper way to honor Dionysos.

¹⁸ Cf. G.S. Kirk, The Iliad: A commentary ii (Cambridge 1990) 174 on Il. vi 132-137.

 19 Cf. Guthrie (above n. 15) 161; Rapp (above n.2) 2244-2245; Simon (above n. 2) 1003-1007; A. Henrichs, 'Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', HSCP lxxxii (1978) 121-160, esp. 141, n. 61.

²⁰ Eur. *Bak.* 1280-1296, esp. 1296: 'Dionysus destroyed us, now I realize it!' The daughters of Proitos were cured by Melampus, but the daughters of Minyas underwent a more radical transformation, being turned into birds.

 21 Cf. C. Segal, Dionysiac poetics and Euripides' Bacchae (Princeton 1982) 242: '[the chorus] embodies the very antithesis of everything for which the Greek polis stands'.

²² See Rapp (above n. 2) 2255; Henrichs (above n. 12) 146; J.-P. Vernant, 'The masked Dionysus of Euripides' *Bacchae*', in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and tragedy in ancient Greece* (New York 1988) 381-412, esp. 405. The name *maenads* is used only once for the chorus-members, when they are mad with fear after Dionysos has shaken the palace of Thebes (line 601). In lines 51-52 Dionysos speaks of his army of maenads: one assumes that

members have many of the same emblems as the maenads: ivy crowns and thyrsi (80-81); perhaps also fawn-skins and various kinds of branches (105-114). But the distinction between willing and unwilling worshipers of Dionysos remains a fundamental part of the *Bakchai*, and is not diminished by the similarities in external attire.

We learn one further thing about maenads from the *Bakchai*: they have nothing to do with silens. The silens are mentioned only once in the play, in a learned allusion to the origins of the tambourine (120-135). In this passage, the silens are a distant and shadowy group, having no part in the action at Thebes. Furthermore, it is significant that they are mentioned by the chorus-members, professional followers of Dionysos who might be expected to know intimately the myths and rituals of the god, and not by the Theban maenads.²³

To return to the imagery, there is nothing in ancient literature to suggest that maenads had a place in the myth of the Return of Hephaistos or in the company of silens, and thus no obvious reason why we should not trust the inscription on the François vase as a guide to the identity of the silens' companions. Nevertheless, the term *maenads* is used for female figures who appear in representations of the Return on vases which are not much later than the François vase. The column-krater by Lydos shows Dionysos and Hephaistos accompanied by silens and female figures (PLATE I (b)). The subject matter is the same as on the François vase (PLATE I (a)), yet some scholars have identified the women not as nymphs but as maenads.²⁴ Why maenad, rather than nymph, in this context? Because the female figures have two attributes that are not present in the Return of Hephaistos on the François vase, namely, fawn-skins and a snake. Edwards formulated the most commonly-cited iconographical distinction between nymph and maenad: "nymph" I use for a female figure, clothed or not, accompanying satyrs but not having any Dionysiac attribute such as the nebris, pardalis, snake, or thyrsos'.²⁵ The distinction is not simply a matter of convenience: 'nymphs have appeared sufficiently often before this for the change [the appearance of fawn-skin and snake on Lydos' krater] to be quite striking, and [the appearance of these attributes] must have some significance'.²⁶

Does the significance of these attributes lie in the identity of the figures who carry them or in some other aspect of the imagery? Edwards and others assume that the occurrence of the attributes, familiar from Euripides' *Bakchai*, identifies the figures who bear them as maenads. Henrichs argues that this is so regardless of the context in which the figures appear: 'it is not

 23 Henrichs (above n. 19, p. 135-136) and McNally (above n. 2, p. 105) also call attention to the absence of the silens from the story of the *Bakchai*.

he is referring to the chorus-members, but as the play unfolds it becomes clear that the ones who do his bidding, who fight his battle against Pentheus, are the Theban women and not the chorus-members. For the term *bakchē* in literature postdating Euripides, see M.-Chr. Villanueva-Puig, 'A propos du nom de "bacchante", *REA* lxxxii (1980) 52-59.

²⁴ J.D. Beazley, *The development of Attic black-figure* ([1951] Berkeley 1986) 41 uses both nymph and maenad to refer to these women. Simon (above n. 2, p. 1005) suggests that they are the first maenads in Athenian vase-painting. Edwards (above n. 2, p. 81) calls them maenads; so too Schöne (above n. 2, pp. 28-29), Henrichs (above n. 2, p. 102 n. 49). Only Carpenter (above n. 2, p. 84) prefers to call these women nymphs. Some scholars use the word *maenads* as a matter of convenience, to refer to female figures in Dionysiac contexts generally. McNally uses the word virtually throughout her study of Archaic Athenian imagery of the followers of Dionysos because the word *nymph* 'is too general a term' (McNally, above n. 2, p. 104). But this approach to nomenclature tends to obscure rather than clarify the imagery, because it creates a distinction where none may be intended. For example, McNally writes elsewhere: 'unlike the François vase, where satyrs are followed by nymphs, the later vases show them alternating with the maenads' (McNally 110). The intended distinction is between two different compositional schemes, but the nomenclature inevitably suggests that certain companions of the silens were distinct and different from others.

²⁵ Edwards (above n. 2) 80 n. 11.

²⁶ Edwards (above n. 2) 80-81.

the company she keeps that distinguishes the maenad, but her appearance'.²⁷ Edwards and Carpenter note, however, that the fawn-skin is sometimes worn in vase-painting by figures who cannot be maenads (Hermes, for example), and Carpenter points out that snakes appear in scenes of Dionysos fighting the giants, not a 'maenadic' narrative context.²⁸ Furthermore, snakes are handled not just by women on Lydos' krater, but also by a silen. Thus, the contexts in which these attributes appear are not limited to myths about women driven mad by Dionysos. Female figures on intimate terms with silens, such as the women in Lydos' picture, call to mind the poetic and iconographic tradition about nymphs as lovers of silens.²⁹ For this reason, the ancient viewer may have identified the female figures in Lydos' scene as nymphs. These nymphs have been outfitted with new accouterments, but the character of the new accouterments is not incompatible with the rustic life of nymphs. The context of the scene, the narrative context as well as the presence of silens, reveals the significance of the attributes in this instance.³⁰ The viewer would not mistake the identity of these differently-attired female figures.

The Return of Hephaistos is only one of several types of scenes featuring silens and nymphs in Archaic Athenian vase-painting. Many scenes of the followers of Dionysos are less easily identifiable as to their narrative context,³¹ and therefore the identification of the figures involves greater uncertainty. Nevertheless, the approach to the interpretation of the meaning of attributes taken above provides insights into this imagery as well. For example, on an amphora by the Amasis Painter in Berlin Dionysos is surrounded by two silens and four female figures (PLATE I (c)).³² Two of the women are nude and walking arm in arm with the silens. The intimacy with the silens suggests that they are nymphs. The other two female figures are draped and one carries a dead hare. Henrichs argues that the hare identifies the figure as a maenad, and that the picture 'appears to be unique ... in that it juxtaposes nymphs and maenads, two groups of Dionysiac women that are normally kept separate in art as well as literature'.³³ But in the work of the Amasis Painter the hare is not exclusive to figures who can plausibly be called maenads. Hares are carried by young men who accompany Dionysos on several vases.³⁴ Hares even appear in scenes which do not seem to have anything directly to do with Dionysos, scenes of hunting and of courtship.³⁵ The hare signifies different things in these different contexts (the object of the hunt versus the love-gift); on the Berlin amphora the hare may connote a closeness

²⁷ Henrichs (above n. 2) 101.

²⁸ Edwards (above n. 2) 81; Carpenter (above n. 2) 83-84.

²⁹ Edwards (above n. 2, p. 81) acknowledged that the female figures on Lydos' krater, whom he calls maenads, behave no differently with respect to the silens than the nymphs.

³⁰ The importance of context in the interpretation of the meaning of attributes in visual images has been stressed in several recent studies: see esp. C. Bérard, 'Iconographie-iconologie-iconologique', in C. Bérard ed. *Essais sémiotiques* (Lausanne 1983) 5-37; C. Bérard and J.-L. Durand, 'Entering the imagery', in A city of images (trans. D. Lyons, Princeton 1989) 23-37; L. Morgan, 'Idea, idiom and iconography', in *L'iconographie minoenne (BCH* suppl. xi (1985)) 5-19; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Myth in images: Theseus and Medea as a case study', in L. Edmunds, ed. *Approaches to Greek myth* (Baltimore 1990) 395-445.

 31 I do not believe that it is prudent to speak of Dionysiac scenes as if they had no narrative context (as, e.g., Carpenter, above n. 2, p. 30). Our inability to recognize the mythological background to a particular scene on a vase should not be transferred to the ancient viewer. *Cf.* D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his world* (Malibu 1985) 45.

³² Berlin inv. 3210, type A amphora, ABV 151,21, S. Karouzou, The Amasis Painter (Oxford 1956) pl. 27.

³³ Henrichs (above n. 2) 102.

 34 Cf. Munich inv. 8763, type B amphora, *Para* 65, and Geneva I4, type B amphora, *ABV* 150,8, both illustrated in Bothmer (above n. 31) nos. 4 and 15. There is reason to think that these youths may be the mythical sons of Dionysos: see Bothmer 45.

³⁵ Hunting: London B52, olpe, *ABV* 153,31, Bothmer (above n. 31) no. 26; courtship: Louvre A479, cupskyphos, *ABV* 156, 80, Bothmer (above n. 31) no. 54.

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to nature that is characteristic of nymphs, but its presence does not, by itself, signify that the female figure holding it is a maenad.³⁶

An examination of other Dionysiac scenes in Archaic Athenian vase-painting leads to a similar conclusion: the female companions of the silens are not maenads but nymphs. This conclusion is supported by inscriptional evidence besides that on the François vase. In a study of the inscribed names of the followers of Dionysos in Greek vase-painting, Charlotte Fränkel wrote: 'anyone who expects to find a reflection of *orgiasmos* in the names [of female figures] will be disappointed: the names remain predominately generalized nymph- and female names'.³⁷ Even in scenes that include attributes of maenads as described in literature, the female figures, when labelled, have the names of nymphs.³⁸ On a late fifth-century red-figure aryballos, for example, Dionysos is accompanied by ten female figures and two silens.³⁹ The female figures have fawn-skins, thyrsi, an *aulos*, and a tambourine. All are identified by name; one is called Nymphē, another is named Naia. The female personal name Mainas occurs in a few Dionysiac scenes included in Fränkel's study, but the name itself does not guarantee that the female figure is drawn from one of the myths about maenads.⁴⁰ Even the silens could be called mainomenoi (Eur. Bak. 130). Moreover, one occurrence of the name Mainas in vasepainting is in connection with a female figure who must be a nymph. On an Early Classical bell-krater Hermes is bringing the baby Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa; one of the nymphs is named Mainas, the other is called [Te]thys.⁴¹ It is true that Mainas holds a thyrsus, but other representations of the story show the nymphs of Nysa with various attributes that, in poetry, are also associated with the maenads: ivy crown, thyrsus, panther-skin, small panther.⁴² Following

³⁶ Only one vase by the Amasis Painter that includes a hare seems likely to show maenads, the well-known neck-amphora, Paris, Cab. Méd. 222, ABV 152,25, P.E. Arias and M. Hirmer, A history of 1000 years of Greek vase painting (trans. and rev. by B.B. Shefton, London 1962) pls. XV and 57. On this vase Dionysos is approached by two female figures arm in arm. One carries a hare, the other carries a little stag not very lovingly and wears a panther-skin. In this case a combination of elements, rather than any single attribute, suggests that the female figures may be maenads: the panther-skin and the animals carried in the hand recall the description of the maenads in the Bakchai; more significantly, the absence of male figures of any kind other than Dionysos recalls the all-female character of the maenads in myth, a point emphasized by Carpenter (above n. 2, p. 90). An earlier black-figure Dionysiac scene is also characterized by an absence of male figures other than Dionysos (Louvre E831, ABV 103, 108, Tyrrhenian Group, LIMC iii, pl. 333, no. 325). In this scene, female figures wave panthers or snakes in the air and dance in a very unrestrained manner, surrounding the god Dionysos. Whether this scene and the scene on the Amasis Painter's neck-amphora are representations of the women of Thebes, the nymphs of Nysa, or some other story is difficult to say because they include no obvious indications of the underlying narrative context. But they stand apart from other Dionysiac scenes in Attic black-figure for the peculiar attributes of the women as well as for the absence of male figures such as silens. These two characteristics, together, may have been enough to call to mind myths about maenads. Cf. Edwards (above n.2) 80 n. 17; Schöne (above n. 2) 90-92.

³⁷ C. Fränkel, Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern (Halle 1912) 43. See now A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern des Getty-Museum und der Sammlung Cahn (Basel), mit Addenda zu Charlotte Fränkel, Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern (Halle 1912)', Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum v (1991) 131-199.

³⁸ Fränkel (above n.37) 43-44.

³⁹ Berlin 2471, squat lekythos, *ARV*² 1247,1, Eretria Painter, A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler: Werke und Weggefährten* (Mainz 1988) pls. 143-145.

⁴⁰ Letters i, l, p, θ , π , and possibly e in Fränkel's catalog. See also A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Mainas', *LIMC* vi, 340-341.

⁴¹ London E492, ARV^2 619,16, Villa Giulia Painter, LIMC iii, 479 no. 682; Fränkel (above n. 37) 60 letter i. This vase figures in F. Frontisi-Ducroux's definition of the visual image of the maenad ('Images du ménadisme féminin: les vases des "Lénéennes", in *L'association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes* [Rome 1986] 173-174 with n. 48 and fig. 11). But the narrative context of the scene is not given enough consideration.

⁴² In addition to the bell-krater in London, cf. Rome, Vatican 559, calyx-krater, ARV² 1017,54, Phiale Painter, LIMC iii, pl. 378 no. 686; New York X.313.1, hydria, ARV² 623,69, Villa Giulia Painter, LIMC iii, pl. 379 no. 691; Naples Stg. 283, calyx-krater, ARV² 1080,3, Clio Painter, LIMC iii, p. 481 no. 697; Paris, Cab. Méd. 440, kalpis, ARV² 252,51, Syleus Painter, LIMC iii, pl. 380 no. 701; Ferrara 2737 (T. 381), column-krater, ARV² 589,3, Altamura

Edwards' guidelines, we would identify these figures as maenads; but the narrative context of the scenes assures us that they are the nymphs of Nysa.⁴³

MYTH OR RITUAL?

One distinction between nymphs and maenads is frequently emphasized in studies of Dionysiac imagery: nymphs are mythical beings whereas maenads are mortals.⁴⁴ This distinction is not one of life expectancies, between the 'long lives' of the nymphs and the presumably normal life-spans of the women of Thebes and other legendary maenads. It is a distinction between figures who are mythical or imaginary and those who reflect historical personalities, actual worshipers of Dionysos. It is widely held that Dionysiac rituals, bearing some relation to the activities of the maenads described in Euripides' *Bakchai*, actually took place in Greece and that these rituals were a source of inspiration for vase-painters as well as tragic poets.⁴⁵

Of course, the supposition that contemporary female worshipers or priestesses of Dionysos were represented in vase-painting side by side with the mythical silens cannot stand on its own. It is necessary to suppose that the characteristics of these worshipers, their dress and demeanor, were transferred from the realm of cult practice to the realm of myth in the imagery: as mortals worship Dionysos, so do the god's own mythical followers. It is true that a relationship exists between creatures of myth and participants in cult in the case of the silens. Men dressed as silens appeared during the City Dionysia in satyr-play (discussed in greater detail below). But there is a fundamental distinction between the ritual of satyr-play and the rituals of women envisioned by scholars: in satyr-play the participants *represented* mythical creatures, and their costumes disguised the fact that they were contemporary Athenian worshipers of Dionysos. In the women's rituals thought to underlie the visual and poetic images of maenads, the participants do not represent anyone. The object of the ritual is not *mimesis* but *ekstasis*, an authentic loss of identity rather than a conscious role-playing.⁴⁶ As I hope to show, if some form of Dionysiac worship underlies the visual imagery, it is not ecstatic religion but the mimetic ritual of drama.

In point of fact there is no unambiguous evidence to support the hypothesis that ritual activity resembling what is described in the *Bakchai*, or what is illustrated on Athenian vases,

Painter, *LIMC* iii, pl. 380 no. 702; Paris, Louvre MNB 1695, stamnos, *ARV*² 508,1, Painter of the Florence Stamnoi, *LIMC* iii, pl. 380 no. 703.

⁴³ Edwards (above n. 2, p. 82) speaks of maenads taking over the nymphs' duties of raising the child Dionysos. But Eur. *Cycl.* 3-4 unambiguously speaks of nymphs: 'when, on account of madness inflicted on you by Hera, you [Dionysos] fled the mountain nymphs, your nurses'.

⁴⁴ Carpenter (above n. 2, pp. 79-80) speaks of the replacement of 'semi-divine' nymphs by 'mortal' maenads on vases postdating the François vase. Edwards (above n. 2, p. 86) refers to a gradual change in the depiction of the female associates of Dionysos 'from nymphs to mythical maenads to maenads with realistic traits'. Schöne (above n. 2, p. 29) states that 'from now on [i.e., from the time of Lydos' krater on] the female part of the Dionysiac company is always made up of mortal women'.

⁴⁵ Cf. H. Bulle, Die Silene in der archaischen Kunst der Griechen (Munich 1893) 62: 'red-figure scenes show the beginning of awareness of the reality of Dionysiac worship in the appearance of new attributes: thyrsus, torches, snakes, tympana'; Lawler (above n. 2) 78-79; Edwards (above n. 2) 86; Henrichs (above n. 19) 144; McNally (above n. 2) 130, with reservations; Carpenter (above n. 2) 80. Cf. esp. E.R. Dodds, Euripides: Bacchae² (Oxford 1960) xxxv: 'what does ... emerge from a study of fifth-century paintings of Dionysiac subjects is that some at least of the painters had seen women in religious ecstasy'.

⁴⁶ For the psychology of *ekstasis*, see E. Rohde, *Psyche* (tr. W.B. Hillis, repr. Chicago 1987) 253-334, esp. 259-266. For the influence of Rohde's account on later scholarship, see A. Henrichs, 'Loss of self, suffering, violence: the modern view of Dionysos from Nietzsche to Girard', *HSCP* lxxxviii (1984) 205-240, esp. 224-226.

actually occurred at Athens during the Classical period.⁴⁷ The earliest evidence for Dionysiac rituals of this type dates to the Hellenistic age, as Henrichs has demonstrated.⁴⁸ These historically attested rituals included all-female congregations of worshipers, trips to the mountain, ritual cries, and the carrying of the thyrsus. But the state of mind of the women who participated in the activities, the degree of their ecstasy or madness, remains uncertain.⁴⁹ Moreover, there is no compelling reason to believe that rites of this type were practiced at Athens in any period.⁵⁰

Several scholars have posited the existence of 'maenadic' ritual in the Classical period, despite the absence of hard evidence for such, on the basis of parallels in the religions of other cultures. Dodds wrote: 'there are ... certain resemblances in points of detail between the orgiastic religion of the *Bakchai* and orgiastic religion elsewhere, which are worth noticing because they tend to establish that the "maenad" is a real, not a conventional figure, and one that has existed under different names at widely different times and places'.⁵¹ But the authenticity of individual aspects of the portrayal of the followers of Dionysos in poetry or art is not enough to establish the existence of ritual 'maenadism' in the Classical period. Myths about Dionysos often concern religion, especially the communal reception of a deity, and any portrayal of these myths is likely to include aspects of real religious ritual. The Bakchai has been interpreted by some commentators as an authentic account of the arrival of the cult of Dionysos in Greece, and of resistance to the new religion.⁵² But this is not the only possible interpretation. As Otto put it, '[the resistance myths] contain much more that is real than if they were reporting that which had once occurred.... They do not refer to events which happened in a time when the god was still a stranger, but they refer to that which always occurs when he appears-in fact, to the tremendous efficacy of his being and his epiphany'.⁵³ Many elements in the Bakchai have meaning as metaphors of the Dionysiac experience, and are not necessarily representative of actual ritual practice. The flight of the Theban women into the hills, their abandonment of homes and children, and their prowess at hunting mark an inversion of the normal sex roles in

 47 This was first established by A. Rapp, 'Die Mänade im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie', *RhM* xxvii (1872) 1-22 and 562-611. *Cf.* McNally (above n. 2) 130; R.S. Kraemer, 'Ecstasy and possession: the attraction of women to the cult of Dionysus', *HThR* 1xxii (1979) 55-80, esp. 60-61; Keuls (*Phallus*, above n. 2) 359 and 367. In his article of 1978 (above n. 19, pp. 121-160: see esp. 121), Henrichs stated that inscriptions discovered since 1872 tended to invalidate Rapp's firm distinction between maenads of myth and maenads of cult. But a review of the article as a whole reveals no fundamental incompatibility between Rapp's main points and Henrichs' views. Indeed, Henrichs himself seems less inclined to assume that mythical maenads have some basis in real Dionysiac ritual in his more recent studies: *cf.* 'Changing Dionysiac identites' (above n. 12) 143 and esp. n. 53.

⁴⁸ Henrichs (above n. 19) 121-160.

⁴⁹ Henrichs (above n. 12) 146. Jan Bremmer's argument that the women experienced an altered state of consciousness, presented in 'Greek maenadism reconsidered', ZPE lv (1984) 267-286, is undermined by his own insightful assessment in the same article of the problem of differentiating fiction from reality within the maenadic myths.

 50 A point that is acknowledged even by Dodds (above n. 45, xxii). In Roman times, a group of women, the so-called Thyiades, left Athens every two years and went to Mt. Parnassos in order to practice maenadic rites, as if rituals of this kind were foreign to Athenian worship of Dionysos. *Cf.* Henrichs (above n. 19) 154-155; M. Detienne, *Dionysos at large* (trans. A. Goldhammer, Cambridge, MA, and London 1989) 40.

⁵¹ E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 273. Dodds singled out the use of flute and tambourine, the tossing back of the head during dancing, and the handling of snakes as some of the characteristics in the artistic representation of maenads that probably derived from real ritual. See also the studies of Kraemer (above n. 47) and Keuls ('Male-female interaction', above n. 2). Some reservations about this comparative approach may be found in Bremmer (above n. 49).

⁵² E.g., Rohde (above n. 46) 282-283; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* ii (Berlin 1932) 66.

⁵³ W.F. Otto, *Dionysus: myth and cult* (trans. R.B. Palmer, repr. Dallas 1981) 75-76. *Cf.* Guthrie (above n. 15) 172.

Greek society.⁵⁴ The blurring of gender roles in the play is also illustrated by the feminine appearance of Dionysos and the cross-dressing of Pentheus in the costume of the female devotee.⁵⁵ This imagery need not be interpreted literally but may be understood as a representation of the ability of the god to efface conventional distinctions.⁵⁶

The poetic, as opposed to anthropological, significance of maenads in Greek literature is illustrated above all by the occurrence of the word *maenad* in metaphors and similes.⁵⁷ In epic poetry and tragedy, the image is appropriate for emotional extremes. In *Iliad* xxii, Andromache is compared to a maenad as she runs out of her house, 'her heart racing', in order to determine if the wailing she hears from the walls of Troy is for her husband Hektor.⁵⁸ The simile is appropriate not only because Andromache is fleeing from her home, just as the women of Thebes abandoned their homes in the *Bakchai*, but also because the thought of Hektor's death has pushed Andromache beyond the limits of self-control.⁵⁹ The comparison occurs in a different context in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Upon seeing Persephone safely returned from the underworld, Demeter darted from her temple to greet her daughter, 'like a maenad on a tree-covered mountain'.⁶⁰ Again, we are reminded of the Theban women, rushing from their homes. Here, however, Demeter is in the grip of joy rather than grief.⁶¹

In three plays of Euripides, Kassandra is likened to a maenad or *bakchē*.⁶² The comparison is appropriate not simply to the maddened state of mind of Kassandra but also to the cause of it, because it is a form of punishment from Apollo.⁶³ The image is especially appropriate to the staging of the entrance of Kassandra in the *Troades*: she dances into the orchestra with torches, singing a wedding song but evoking in the minds of the audience and the other characters in the play the disquieting image of the nocturnal torch-dances of *bakchai*.⁶⁴ In Euripides' *Hippolytos* (545-555), a vivid simile is used to describe Iole. As she runs through the wreckage of her home-town, sacked and burned by Herakles, she is compared to a naiad or *bakchē* amid the smoke and the blood of a nocturnal *bakcheia*. An even more powerful image occurs in the poet's *Hekabe* (1077): blind Polymestor imagines that the bodies of his children

⁵⁴ See esp. Eur. *Bak.* 1202-1215, where Agaue boasts of her hunting skills in comparison to those of the Theban men.

⁵⁵ Eur. Bak. 452-459, 810-861, and 912-977.

 56 Cf. Vernant (above n. 22) 398. The imagery of the *Bakchai* highlights another conceptual distinction, that between human and animal life. Many aspects of the characterization of the maenads—their natural habitat, animal skins, and leafy crowns and branches, their ability to kill with their bare hands, and the implication (at lines 136-139) of eating raw flesh—point to Dionysos as the god who effaces the distinction between the realms of humans and animals. Note that Dionysos himself takes the form of both man and animal in the play (e.g., 921-923).

⁵⁷ The word *bakchē* is sometimes used as a synonym in these contexts. The use of the maenad in Greek poetry as a metaphor was the subject of two papers presented at a conference, 'Masks of Dionysus', held at Virginia Tech on Oct. 11-13, 1990: R. Seaford, 'Dionysus as destroyer of the household: Homer, tragedy and the polis'; R. Schlesier, 'Maenads as tragic models'. The papers have been published in T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone, ed. *The Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, NY 1993). See also Rapp (above n. 47) 18-19.

⁵⁸ Hom. *Il.* xxii 460.

⁵⁹ Euadne's song of grief in Eur. *Hik.* 1001 contains a similar comparison: Euadne runs from her home, 'maddened like a *bakchē*', to the funeral pyre of her husband. In Eur. *Phoin.* 1489 Antigone refers to herself as a '*bakchē* of corpses', an ironical allusion to the funerary ritual as well as to her grief-stricken state of mind. In these passages the distinctions between maenad and *bakchē* maintained in the *Bakchai* are blurred.

⁶⁰ HHymnDem 386.

⁶¹ In Soph. Trach. 205-224, the exuberant chorus also likens its dance for joy to a bacchic dance.

⁶² Eur. El. 103; Eur. Hek. 121; Eur. Tro. 170, 306, 341, and 349.

 63 See Eur. *Tro.* 42. *Cf.* the statement of Teiresias (Eur. *Bak.* 298-299): 'he [i.e., Dionysos] is a prophet, too, this deity; since that which is bacchic and that which is manic possesses great mantic powers'.

 64 Cf. Eur. Bak. 144-146. In this passage of the Troades, Kassandra is referred to as a maenad no less than three times.

will be ripped to shreds, eaten, and strewn on the hillside by their killers, the women of Troy, whom he calls '*bakchai* of Hades'. The image calls to mind the fate of Pentheus, torn apart and scattered over Mount Kithairon by the women of Thebes.⁶⁵

In tragedy, allusions to maenads are effective above all in contexts of kin-killing. In the *Orestes* (411), Euripides used the verb *bakcheuō* ('make mad like a *bakchē*') to describe the actions of Orestes: '[the Erinyes] drive you, mad like a *bakchē*, to family murder'.⁶⁶ In Aischylos' *Choephoroi* (698), the house of Atreus is spoken of as experiencing a *bakcheia*, an allusion to the family's striking propensity to kin-killing. In the *Eumenides*, the modifier has passed from the killers of kin to the supernatural beings who punish crimes of this sort, the Erinyes, 'mortal-watching maenads'.⁶⁷ Most appropriate of all is the use of the verb *bakcheuō* for Herakles in Euripides' *Herakles* (966), because the hero, in his madness, kills his own children, just as Agaue and Leukippe kill their own children in the myths of the Theban women and the daughters of Minyas. The appearance of the maenad in these poetic contexts is significant because the contexts have nothing to do with Dionysos or with ecstatic religion. In them, the mythical figure of the maenad has transcended any ritual basis.⁶⁸

If Archaic and Classical poetry provides no unambiguous evidence of regular maenadic practices at Athens, what about art? Keuls called attention to the general character of the activities of women in some Dionysiac scenes: '[f]or Maenadic customs in Athens during the fifth century BC, we have no solid evidence. Yet it is hardly conceivable that the Attic vase paintings reflect only fantasy. Too many of them include elements that indicate organized ceremonies'.⁶⁹ It is probably true that some representations on Athenian vases depict actual Athenian festivals, just as the frieze of the Parthenon appears to depict the Panathenaic procession.⁷⁰ But the argument that seemingly realistic details in an image, by themselves, guarantee that the entire scene is real or historical and not imaginary is questionable. For example, a stamnos in Warsaw shows six women engaged in preparations for wine-drinking and in a procession (PLATE II (*a*)).⁷¹ The stamnos is one of the so-called 'Lenaia vases', a group of fifth-century Athenian vases that depict women participating in wine-rituals and ecstatic dances, often in the presence of a cult statue of Dionysos.⁷² The cult image is not included on

⁶⁶ Cf. Eur. Or. 338: the blood of his mother whips Orestes up into a bakchic frenzy (anabakcheuei).

⁶⁷ Aisch. *Eum.* 500. Perhaps the metaphor is appropriate to the Erinyes in this passage also because of their threat to engage in random killing.

⁶⁸ Maenads may have been popular in tragic poetry also as symbols of the experience of viewing or participating in drama. Nietzsche may have had this idea in mind when he wrote: 'the form of the Greek theater recalls a lonely valley in the mountains: the architecture of the scene[-building] appears like a luminous cloud formation that the Bacchants swarming over the mountains behold from a height' (F. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* [trans. W. Kaufmann, New York 1967] Section 8, p. 63). On the occasion of the City Dionysia, the Athenians, actors as well as spectators, find themselves in a situation comparable to that of the Theban women at the beginning of Euripides' *Bakchai*: Dionysos has arrived and intends to make his awesome powers known through the use of costumes and role-playing. The self-referential qualities of the *Bakchai*, its concern with the nature of drama, have been discussed at length by H. Foley, 'The Masque of Dionysos', *TAPA* cx (1980) 107-133, and Segal (above n. 21) 215-271.

⁶⁹ Keuls (*Phallus*, above n. 2) 367.

⁷⁰ Although the precise interpretation of the frieze is still disputed. See A. Stewart, *Greek sculpture: an examination* (New Haven and London 1990) 155-157 and 344 with further bibliography.

⁷¹ Warsaw 142465, ARV² 1019,82, Phiale Painter, CVA Goluchow pl. 26.

⁷² The basic publication is A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen (BWPr* no. 72, Berlin 1912). See also M.P. Nilsson, 'Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult', *JdI* xxxi (1916) 309-339, esp. 328-332; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Rpt. of the 1932 ed., Berlin 1956) 127-132; E. Coche de la Ferté, 'Les ménades et le contenu réel des représentations de

⁶⁵ The Dionysiac imagery of the play also bears close comparison to the story of Lykourgos in the *Iliad*, as shown by R. Schlesier, 'Die Bakchen des Hades: Dionysische Aspekte von Euripides' *Hekabe*', *Métis* iii (1988) 111-135.

the stamnos in Warsaw, but the women's activities are similar to those carried out in the presence of the statue on other vases in the series. The picture on the stamnos is highly realistic, like the scenes on other 'Lenaia vases', so it comes as a surprise to note that one of the women holds a baby silen. The presence of the silen suggests that the scene actually takes place in the realm of myth. The degree of realism in this scene is not necessarily a sign of the scene's ontological status—its historicity—but may be a means whereby the artist heightens the interest of his myth, by making it seem plausible.⁷³ While representations on Athenian vases may well include elements of real rituals, we have no infallible criteria whereby the real and historical can be completely distinguished from the imaginary. Therefore, the hypothesis that actual maenadic rites were held at Athens rests on shaky foundations so long as it is based on vase imagery.

Bron has also argued that a ritual process of transformation, in which a woman becomes a maenad, is depicted on Athenian vases.⁷⁴ Bron's approach differs from that of many other commentators because the images are not treated as if they were photographic documents of actual rituals. Instead, they seem to be viewed as artists' perceptions of the nature or significance of ritual initiations: 'through the rites of possession and of trance, by their mediation, the human thiasos is identified with the mythical thiasos: men and women aspire to become maenads and satyrs. Having become bacchants through the power of the rite, they are perceived as the mythical adepts of the god and represented by the vase-painters under the appearance of satyrs and maenads'.⁷⁵ This interpretation of Dionysiac imagery has the merit of recognizing the complex interrelations between myth, ritual, visible reality, and artists' intentions in Athenian vase-painting. But it does not overcome the main obstacle to interpreting the imagery as reflections of real maenadic ritual, namely, the complete absence of any unambiguous evidence, literary or artistic, attesting to the existence of such rituals at Athens in the fifth century BC.⁷⁶

In ancient literature there is one explicit statement about the relationship between myths and rituals concerning maenads. Diodoros (iv 3.3) says that in the Hellenistic period women worshipped Dionysos 'in imitation of the maenads who are said to have been associated with the god in the old days'. This statement may be historically accurate. Rituals intended to induce *ekstasis* in groups of women are historically unattested at Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods; the arguments in favor of the hypothesis that such rituals are represented in the art and literature of these periods remain inconclusive. Prior to the Hellenistic Age, maenads are attested only in poetry and art; to see live maenads, it seems, one had to go to the theater.

'JUST SAY NO'

To return to the imagery of silens and nymphs, a significant change in the nature of the interactions between the two groups occurs in the late sixth century BC. Cordial, intimate, and even carnal relations between silens and nymphs are depicted on many sixth-century Athenian

⁷⁶ As Bron admits (above n. 2, p. 145), Dionysiac religious associations, in which men and women associated in thiasoi, 'are relatively well attested in the Hellenistic period, but very obscure in the Classical period'.

scènes bachiques autour de l'idole de Dionysos', RA 1951, 12-23; E. Simon, Festivals of Attica (Madison 1983) 100-101; and, most recently, F. Frontisi-Ducroux, Le Dieu-masque: une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes (Paris and Rome 1991).

⁷³ As A. Stewart put it ('Narrative, genre, and realism', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his world* ([Malibu 1987] 33), 'the painter pursues an ever more powerful and evocative naturalism in order to seduce the viewer with the illusion of reality, and so to enhance the truth-value of his image'.

⁷⁴ Bron (above n. 2) 145-153.

⁷⁵ Bron (above n. 2) 146.

black-figure vases.⁷⁷ The most commonly represented activity is dancing, but in some scenes the relations heat up. For example, on vases attributed to the Amasis Painter silens and nymphs walk arm in arm, embrace, and even kiss (e.g., PLATE I (c)),⁷⁸ and on black-figure vases of the last quarter of the sixth century the image of the silen walking arm in arm with a nymph is frequent.⁷⁹ More intimate still is the Dionysiac scene on a late sixth-century neck-amphora in Boston (PLATE III (a)). On the left a silen kisses a nymph; on the right a silen carries a consenting female, who wears nothing but a hair band, to a couch.⁸⁰ In all these scenes, the nymphs fully consent to the silens' interests and desires.

Some black-figure scenes even depict sexual intercourse between silens and nymphs. Two pairs of silens and nymphs making love are included on the Phineus cup.⁸¹ An amphora in Würzburg shows a silen lowering a nude female onto the erect phallos of another silen (PLATE III (b)).⁸² The nymph holds the shoulders of her partner and bends her head towards his as if to kiss it—she appears to be a willing participant. Several earlier neck-amphorae attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group also depict erotic encounters between silens and nymphs. In these scenes the silens hold their erect phalli with one hand while gesturing towards (propositioning?) the nymphs with the other hand. The nymphs are usually clothed, but not infrequently they are nude, and occasionally they lift their skirts as if to entice or encourage the silens.⁸³

Some Athenian black-figure scenes appear to depict silens chasing after nymphs who seem unwilling to be caught. In pictures of this type, a silen moves quickly to the right while a nymph runs to the right and looks back (occasionally the direction of movement is reversed—right to left). An early example occurs in the tondo of a Siana cup dating to the second quarter of the sixth century BC.⁸⁴ Several examples date to the third quarter of the sixth

⁷⁷ The changing relations between silens and nymphs were plotted by McNally (above n. 2) 101-135. I have avoided unnecessary repetition of her perceptive analysis.

⁷⁸ Samos K898, type A amphora frag., *ABV* 151,18, Karouzou (above n. 32) pl. 30; Berlin inv. 3210, type A amphora, *ABV* 151,21, Karouzou pl. 27 (PLATE I (c)); Basle Kä 420, type B amphora, *Para* 65, *AntK* i (1958) pl. 19. These vases by the Amasis Painter date to the third quarter of the sixth century BC.

⁷⁹ E.g., Boston 01.17, neck-amphora, Painter of Boston 01.17, *ABV* 319,2, *CVA* Boston 1, pl. 54; Chiusi 1812, type A amphora, Chiusi Painter, *ABV* 368,97, *BdA* xxxv (1950) 333 fig. 3; Berlin 1845, neck-amphora, Painter of Wüzburg 210, *ABV* 370,136, *CVA* Berlin 5, pl.32; Paris, Cab. Méd. 343, skyphos, Krokotos Painter, *Para* 93,1, *CVA* Cab. Méd. 2, pl. 69; Montpellier 144 (SA 54), olpe, Leagros Group, A.-F. Laurens, *Société archéologique de Montpellier, Catalogue des collections* ii: *Céramique attique et apparentée* (Montpellier 1984) pl. 21; Aachen, Ludwig, neck-amphora, Leagros Group, *Aachener Kunstblätter* xxxvii (1968) 64; New Milton, Hattatt, neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Lagoret, and culture: Greek vases from southern collections (New Orleans 1981) 44-45 no. 14.

⁸⁰ Boston 76.40, Dayton Painter, Para 144,1, CVA Boston 1, pl. 39.

⁸¹ Würzburg 164, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) pl. 26. This late sixth-century black-figure cup is probably not Attic in origin, but the artist seems to have been familiar with Athenian black-figure iconography. *Cf.* the love-making scene on the 'Caeretan' hydria in Vienna (3577, M. Robertson, *Greek painting* [rpt. New York 1979] 74).

⁸² Würzburg 252, amphora type B, Painter of Würzburg 252, ABV 315,1, Langlotz (above n. 81) pl. 69.

⁸³ Leipzig T3322, ABV 96,10, CVA Leipzig 2, pl. 8,3-4; Rome, Villa Giulia (M. 453), ABV 100,73, P. Mingazzini, Vasi della Collezione Castellani (Rome 1930) pl. 55,2; Brussels A715, ABV 103,109, CVA Brussels 1, pl. 1,2a; Leipzig T4225, frags., Para 40, CVA Leipzig 2, pl. 9; Venice market, Para 41, Auktion xxvi (Oct. 1963) pl. 29,87. I have not seen illustrations of the following, which may also be relevant: Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711, frags., ABV 95,8, described in A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium (Berlin 1885) 253; Louvre C10696, Para 40, which, according to Beazley, shows silens making love to maenads; Louvre C10700, frag., Para 4, which, according to Beazley, shows silens with a naked maenad. For the motif of lifting the skirt, see McNally (above n. 2) 117, with further examples.

⁸⁴ New York 12.234.3, Painter of the Boston C.A., ABV 69,3, CVA New York 2, pl. 5.

century, but most belong to the last quarter of the century.⁸⁵ It is not certain, however, that these black-figure scenes illustrate actual resistance or aversion to silens on the part of the nymphs. In several cases, the movements of the two figures are so similar that they suggest a formal dance. The most interesting and carefully painted example is a cup-tondo by the Oakeshott Painter (PLATE IV (*a*)): a hairy silen, decked out in festive fillets, high-steps to the left; ahead of him a nymph high-steps to the left, and, raising both arms in greeting or in mock alarm, turns round toward the silen.⁸⁶ A silen follows a nymph on both sides of the neck of a neck-amphora from the Geneva market.⁸⁷ The nymph moves away from the silen while looking back. On the body of the vase, a silen and nymph walk arm in arm, and a second silen dances with another nymph in his arms. Neither woman seems displeased by the attentions of the silens. The juxtaposition of scenes on this vase suggests that the 'pursuit' scenes sometimes illustrate nothing more than a moment in the friendly dance of silens and nymphs.⁸⁸

Few sixth-century Athenian black-figure vases depict explicit resistance to the silens on the part of the nymphs. On an early sixth-century dinos from the Athenian Agora, a nymph appears to be throwing a rock at an approaching silen, but, at the same time, she seems to beckon the silen with her other hand.⁸⁹ In general, relations between silens and nymphs in sixth-century Athenian black-figure vase-painting are friendly and often intimate. To the extent that the vignettes considered above tell a story, they reflect the mythological tradition, preserved in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and other sources, wherein the nymphs are the lovers of the silens.⁹⁰

Nymphs are much less responsive to the desires of the silens in Athenian red-figure vasepainting of the late Archaic period.⁹¹ One of the earliest examples of a new, less friendly attitude occurs on a neck-amphora attributed to Oltos (PLATE IV (b)).⁹² On one side of the

⁸⁵ A band-cup fragment by the Oakeshott Painter (Frankfort, Liebieghaus 528, CVA Frankfort 2, pl. 57,3); a fragmentary tondo of a type A cup in the Castellani collection (*Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei*, E. Böhr and W. Martini, eds. [Mainz 1986] pl. 8,1), and a black-figure lekythos by the Dolphin Painter (Athens, Keramikos, *AthMitt* 1xxxi [1966] Beil. 66,1, left), are among the earliest examples of this type of scene, probably dating before 525 BC. The motif also occurs on a few vases that should not date much later than *c*. 520, such as Paris, Petit Palais 303, neck-amphora, *ABV* 221,38, Painter N, *CVA* Petit Palais pl. 10,1; Tübingen D39, lip-cup, *ABV* 189,8, Centaur Painter, *CVA* Tübingen 3, pl. 27,1-4; Civitavecchia 1297, lip-cup, *AA* 1981, 336 fig. 9. The motif is common on later black-figure vases, e.g., Rhodes 12327, cup, *ABV* 213,20, Segment Class, *CVA* Rhodes 1, pl. 15,1; Leyden PC9 (xv i 76), type B amphora, Dot-ivy Group, *ABV* 448,28, *CVA* Leyden 1, pl. 25,2; Gela, small neck-amphora, Light-make Class, *Para* 299, *NSc* 1956, 322 fig. 6; Boston 98.885, lekythos (Six's technique), Diosphos Painter, *ABL* 236,81, *ABL* pl. 38,6.

⁸⁶ Boston 69.1052, lip-cup, CVA Boston 2, pl. 90,1. Cf. Harvard 1963.69, hydria, c. 550-530 BC, D.M. Buitron, Attic vase painting in New England collections (Cambridge, MA 1972) 32, on the neck of which there are four pairs of silens and nymphs. The figures are arranged according to the scheme discussed above—silen moving right, nymph moving right while looking back—but it is clear that the context is a dance and not a hostile male-female encounter.

⁸⁷ Cited above, n. 79.

⁸⁸ Compare also the scenes under the handles of Orvieto 594, neck-amphora, Affecter, ABV 242,32, H. Mommsen, Der Affecter (Mainz 1975) pl. 106.

⁸⁹ Athens, Agora P334, connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, ABV 23, Hesperia iv (1935) 431 fig.
1. See McNally (above n. 2) 107-108 with fig. 1.

⁹⁰ Cf. E. Buschor in A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei (Munich 1904-1932) i, 218, in reference to the scenes of silens and nymphs on the Phineus cup. There are many references in ancient literature to offspring of the union of silens and nymphs, e.g., Strabo xii 4.8; Apollod. Bibl. ii 5.4. For further references see Hedreen, Silens in Attic black-figure vase-painting: myth and performance (Ann Arbor 1992) 71-73.

⁹¹ This is true of red-figure vase-painting from shortly after its inception until well into the Classical period, but in this article I have confined the analysis of silen-nymph relations to the Archaic period.

 92 Louvre G2, ARV^2 53,2, Arias and Hirmer (above n. 36) pl. 99, who date the vase to c. 520-510 BC. Schöne (above n. 2, p. 134), who dates the vase to c. 530-520 BC, believes this to be the earliest surviving example of tension between silens and female figures in red-figure.

vase, a silen has hold of a nymph by the forearm, but she pulls his hair and knocks him to his knees. Several other red-figure vases dating between c. 520 and 500 BC illustrate resistance to the silens.⁹³ On a cup by the Chelis Painter, a silen has caught hold of the hem of a nymph's chiton and she raises her thyrsus to strike him (PLATE IV (c)).⁹⁴ In addition to the thyrsus, females use other means of defense against impertinent silens, including snakes. On a fragmentary cup by Oltos, a silen advances towards a nymph with his arms out; she moves away but turns and thrusts a snake towards him.⁹⁵ Nymphs yank the beards of silens on several other vases.⁹⁶

The image of the nymph actively repelling an advancing silen becomes common in redfigure vase-painting dating to c. 500-480 BC. One of the best-known examples from this period is the pointed amphora in Munich by the Kleophrades Painter, which shows Dionysos accompanied by three silens and four nymphs (PLATE V (a)). One of the silens has seized the hem of a female's chiton, but she pushes his arm away with one hand and takes aim at his genitalia with the thyrsus she carries in the other hand.⁹⁷ In a well-known tondo-scene by Makron, a nymph makes effective use of the spiky-leafed end of her thyrsus against the sex organs of a desirous silen.⁹⁸ The nymphs' refusals appear to lead to frustration and, sometimes, even anger on the part of the silens, as on a cup by Douris where, in the midst of a melee of silens and nymphs, one of the silens prepares to throw a rock.⁹⁹ On one exterior side of Makron's cup in Baltimore, a silen grasping the wrist of a female is repelled by the butt of her thyrsus. Another silen swings his wineskin as if it were a club, his ardor seemingly changing to frustration and anger, as his female opponent prepares to jab him with her thyrsus. A third silen has picked a nymph up in his arms and she fights to free herself.¹⁰⁰

 93 In addition to the vases mentioned in the text, cf. Orvieto 1049, cup, Oltos, ARV^2 64,103, CVA Umbria 1, pl. 2; Providence 25.077, cup, Epiktetos, ARV^2 73,34, CVA Providence 1, pl. 14; London E14, cup, Nikosthenes Painter, ARV^2 125,21 (according to the description of Smith). Slightly later, around 500 BC or just after: Amsterdam inv. 1313, pelike, Nikoxenos Painter, ARV^2 221,12, CVA The Hague 1, pl. 3,3. The new, less friendly female figure is not restricted to red-figure, but appears occasionally in black-figure scenes of silens postdating c. 520 BC: e.g., on an amphora by the Euphiletos Painter, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.14, ABV 323,20, JWalt iii (1940) 118 fig. 9: the silen has hold of the chiton of a nymph who seems to be trying to elude him.

⁹⁴ Munich 2589, cup, Chelis Painter, ARV² 112,1, J.C. Hoppin, A handbook of Attic red-figured vases by or attributed to the various masters of the sixth and fifth centuries BC (Cambridge, MA 1919) i, 185.

⁹⁵ Florence 1 B 21, plus other fragments, *ARV*² 59,55, J.D. Beazley, *Campana fragments in Florence* (Oxford 1933) pl. X.

⁹⁶ Copenhagen inv. 13407, cup, Oltos, *ARV*² 59,57, *CVA* Copenhagen 8, pl. 335,1; Ferrara 898 (T. 323), calyxkrater, Painter of Goluchow 37, *ARV*² 271,1, *CVA* Ferrara 1, pl. 15,1: the silen has hold of the nymph's ankle and she has hold of his beard.

⁹⁷ Munich 2344, ARV^2 182,6, CVA Munich 4, pl. 201. Another silen on the amphora pursues a nymph who appears to be preparing to use her snake against him. Other images of a nymph warding off a silen with her thyrsus from the late Archaic period include: Leningrad 682, rhyton, circle of the Brygos Painter, ARV^2 391 (a), AntK Beiheft 11, pl. 10,3a; Chicago 05.345, rhyton, Douris, ARV^2 445,259, W.G. Moon and L. Berge ed. *Greek vase-painting in Midwestern collections* (Chicago 1979) 191. Of nymphs using snakes as defensive weapons in late Archaic red-figure: Munich 2645, ARV^2 371,15, Brygos Painter, F.W. Hamdorf, *Attische Vasenbilder der Antikensammlungen in München* ii: *Bilder auf Schalen* (Munich 1976) 43: a silen lunges toward a female who thrusts her snake into his face and prepares to jab him with her thyrsus; Paris, Cab. Méd. 576, cup, Brygos Painter, ARV^2 371,14, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich 1923) fig. 427: a silen reaches up a female's chiton and she brings her snake around perhaps to threaten him.

⁹⁸ Munich 2654, ARV² 462,47, J. Boardman, Athenian red figure vases: the Archaic period (London 1975) fig.
313.

⁹⁹ Paris, Cab. Méd. 539, ARV² 438,134, C. Lenormant and J. de Witte, Élite des monuments céramographiques (Paris 1844-1861) i, pl. 45.

¹⁰⁰ Baltimore, Johns Hopkins B10, ARV² 463,51, CVA Robinson 2, pl. 16,1b. Other relevent cups by Makron include: Munich 2644, ARV² 461,37, MAAR vi (1927) pl. 21,5; New York 06.1152, ARV² 463,52, G.M.A. Richter and L.F. Hall, Red-figured Athenian vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven and London 1936) pls.

The motif of the silen grasping a nymph around the waist is popular in both black- and redfigure vase-painting, and the development of the motif is instructive. In sixth-century blackfigure examples, the nymphs do not appear to resist the silens.¹⁰¹ On a hydria in Paris, one silen grasps a nymph around the waist, but another nymph dances unmolested, side by side with a silen.¹⁰² On the neck-amphora from the Geneva market discussed above, a similar juxtaposition of motives occurs: one silen grasps a nymph around the waist and lifts her off the ground while another silen walks arm in arm with a female.¹⁰³ The 'arm in arm' motif is difficult to construe as anything other than a friendly gesture, and its presence in this scene encourages us to think that the nymphs do not object to physical contact with the silens in this instance. But in red-figure, especially in the period from 500-480 BC, nymphs are more resistant to intimacy of this kind with silens. On a cup fragment by Skythes, for example, a nymph raises one hand as if to strike the silen who holds her.¹⁰⁴ On another cup the nymph extends both hands in a gesture of alarm.¹⁰⁵

In the period in which occur scenes of nymphs warding off lusty silens, there is also an absence of visual evidence of intimacy between the two groups. The image of the silen walking arm in arm with a nymph, one of easy-going friendship, does not appear in Athenian vasepainting of the late Archaic period. After c. 510 BC, one no longer sees silens kissing nymphs or ceremoniously carrying them around on their shoulders.¹⁰⁶ Altogether, the late Archaic imagery suggests that nymphs are not receptive to any kind of physical contact with silens. Given this new state of affairs, it is not surprising that a new type of scene becomes popular in the last two decades of the sixth century BC: silens attempting to take advantage of a nymph who is asleep.¹⁰⁷ That sex is the objective is clear from several examples in which the silens

¹⁰¹ E.g., Paris, Cab. Méd. 257, hydria, Antiope Group, ABV 363,47, CVA Cab. Méd. 2, pl. 62,2; Würzburg 211, neck-amphora, Nikoxenos Painter, ABV 392,8, Langlotz (above n. 81) pl. 41; Munich 2051, type A cup, Krokotos Painter, Para 94,6, JHS 1xxv (1955) pl. 11,2.

¹⁰² Louvre F289, c. 530-510 BC, CVA Louvre 6, pl. 69,5; there are restorations on the figures, but the general composition seems ancient.

¹⁰³ Bibliography cited above, n. 79.

¹⁰⁴ Boston 10.201, cup fragment, Skythes, ARV^2 85,22, L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic vase paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford 1931-1963) iii, pl. 69,120. *Cf.* Ferrara, Museo Schifanoia 277, cup, Schifanoia Group, ARV^2 387,1, *BdA* v (1911) figs. 3-4 opp. p. 344; Louvre G144, cup, Makron, ARV^2 462,43, Hoppin (above n. 94) ii, 76: the silen has one arm around the nymph's neck and another up her chiton; the nymph has thrown one arm around the silen's neck, but, as McNally notes (above n. 2, p. 125), it is unclear whether this is a gesture of affection or one of surprise. *Cf.* the well-known white ground cup-tondo by the Pistoxenos Painter (Taranto, ARV^2 860,3, Simon and Hirmer [above n. 1] pl. xli) for another silen with his hand up a nymph's chiton. *Cf.* also Boston 00.343, cup, Douris, ARV^2 438,141, Pfuhl (above n. 97) fig. 470, where the silen has wrapped one leg all the way around the waist of a nymph, as in other Dionysiac scenes by Douris. McNally (p. 127-28, with fig. 14) suggests that the nymph in this scene is pulling the silen's ear as a means of dislodging him. *Cf.* also the fragmentary late sixth-century red-figure cup once in Munich, ARV^2 87, J.C. Hoppin, *A handbook of Greek black-figured vases* (Paris 1924) 464: the silen has heavy eyebrow and brow ridge, a rather large eye, and a slightly open mouth, all perhaps emphasizing his animal side; his victim expresses her alarm by raising her right hand and opening her mouth as if to cry out.

¹⁰⁵ Oxford 307, cup, Painter of Munich 2676, ARV² 393,37, CVA Oxford 1, pl. 2,7.

¹⁰⁶ The motif of a silen carrying a nymph on his shoulders appears in Athenian black-figure vase-painting as late as the work of the Nikoxenos Painter (e.g., Athens 1037, kalpis, *ABV* 393,18) and the Gela Painter (e.g., Basle market, M.M., lekythos, *Auktion* lvi [Feb. 1980] pl. 34 no. 85), but it does not appear in red-figure at all as far as I know.

¹⁰⁷ The earliest surviving example is Berlin inv. 3232, cup, Epidromos Painter, ARV^2 117,2, CVA Berlin 2, pl. 63,2. Part of the motif may be preserved on the Samos fragment by the Amasis Painter (ABV 151,18, mentioned above, n. 78), which is earlier than the Berlin cup, but only the legs of a reclining figure and one leg of a silen are preserved. For the series as a whole, see Caskey and Beazley (above n. 104) ii, 96-99.

^{57, 59,} and 60, no. 55. Perhaps also Rome, Villa Giulia, ARV^2 464,67, and London E134.3, ARV^2 477,293, which I have not seen.

are reaching up the chitons of the sleeping women.¹⁰⁸ It would seem that the silens are no longer able to find willing sexual partners among their former companions, and so must resort to subterfuge.¹⁰⁹

The change in silen-female relations in Athenian vase-painting has been noted by many scholars.¹¹⁰ It is generally explained according to the hypothesis discussed earlier, namely, that female figures in late Archaic Dionysiac iconography were modelled on actual priestesses or female worshipers of Dionysos; a greater degree of public respectability was expected of Athenian matrons than of nymphs, and this respectability was transferred from the ritual sphere to the realm of art. That interpretation rests on questionable assumptions, as we have seen, chief among them the assumption that Dionysiac rituals involving women, comparable to what is shown on the vases, actually existed at Athens in the Archaic period. But one observation on the icongraphical changes by McNally warrants more attention than it has received: the appearance of resistance to silens on the part of nymphs seems to be related to the appearance of a group of new attributes.¹¹¹

Many of the attributes mentioned in the *Bakchai* in connection with maenads begin to appear regularly in scenes of silens and nymphs only after 520 BC. One of the earliest examples is the Nikosthenic neck-amphora by Oltos, described above, that shows on each side a silen grappling with a female figure (PLATE IV (b)).¹¹² The nymphs have three attributes which are rare or unattested in earlier Athenian Dionysiac iconography, the panther-skin, the snake, and the branch.¹¹³ Two further items associated with the female followers of Dionysos in art and poetry, the thyrsus and the wild animal carried in the hand, appear together first in the red-figure work of Oltos. The wild animals are attested on only two earlier black-figure vases; the thyrsus does not appear on any earlier vases.¹¹⁴ These attributes, the panther-skin, branch, thyrsus, snake or other wild animal, are carried by nymphs on at least eight vases by Oltos.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ E.g., Warsaw, rhyton, Brygos Painter, ARV² 382,185, J.D. Beazley, Greek vases in Poland (Oxford 1928) pl. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Schöne (above n. 2) 137-138.

¹¹⁰ See Bulle (above n. 45) 62-64; Rapp (above n. 2) 2266-2267; Simon (above n. 2) 1007; Edwards (above n. 2) 82; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ (Munich 1967) 572 n. 6; O. J. Brendel, 'The scope and temperament of erotic art in the Greco-Roman world', in T. Bowie and C.V. Christenson ed. *Studies in erotic art* (New York and London 1970) 17; K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) 125; Shapiro (above n. 79) 44; Keuls (*Phallus*, above n. 2) 362-367; Schöne (above n. 2) 133-142.

¹¹¹ McNally (above n. 2) 130.

¹¹² Louvre G2, n. 92 above.

¹¹³ The branch does not appear in earlier Dionysiac scenes at all. The snake appears in the company of the followers of Dionysos on three vases that predate the work of Oltos: on the column-krater by Lydos (PLATE I (*b*)), n. 6 above; on a type A amphora by Exekias in Budapest (50.189, *Para* 61, *BullMusHong* xxxi [1968] 17-25), and on the Tyrrhenian amphora mentioned above (Louvre E831, above n. 36). The fawn-skin first appears in Dionysiac scenes around 550 BC on vases by Lydos, and appears regularly thereafter. The panther-skin, however, appears only once in Athenian black-figure vase-painting with Dionysiac subjects predating the work of the red-figure painter Oltos, on the neck-amphora by the Amasis Painter discussed earlier (Paris, Cab. Méd. 222, above n. 36). After *c*. 520 BC, the panther-skin becomes the dress of choice among the female followers of Dionysos, appearing in numerous red-figure and late black-figure scenes, and is also worn by some silens: see Edwards (above n. 2) 80 n. 18 and 83.

¹¹⁴ The wild animal carried by the female devotee of Dionysos is a motif that appears on the neck-amphora by the Amasis Painter and the Tyrrhenian amphora, both discussed above, n. 36.

¹¹⁵ In addition to the neck-amphora in the Louvre see: London E437, stamnos, ARV^2 54,5, CVA British Museum 3, pl. 19,1; Naples 2615, red-figure cup, ARV^2 57,43, J.D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London 1946) pl. 6; London E40, red-figure cup, ARV^2 59,54, Hoppin (above n. 94) i, 154; Florence 1 B 21, plus other fragments, cited above n. 95; Tarquinia RC 6848, red-figure cup, ARV^2 60,66, Arias and Hirmer (above n. 36) pl. 100; London E16, red-figure cup, ARV^2 61,75, A. Bruhn, *Oltos and early red-figure vase painting* (Copenhagen 1943) fig. 40; Brussels R253 and Naples Astarita 306, red-figure cup, ARV^2 64,104, CVA Brussels 1, pl. 2,2. These vases

Moreover, some of the earliest instances of tension between silens and nymphs occur on these same vases. On the Nikosthenic neck-amphora, one of the silens is being pushed away by a nymph. On the fragmentary Florence cup, a nymph uses her snake to ward off a fresh silen.

The new attributes appear on several cups predating c. 500 BC besides those of Oltos.¹¹⁶ Two cups by Skythes include the new attributes. On the cup fragment described earlier, a silen grasps a nymph who wears a fawn-skin and holds a snake.¹¹⁷ The nymph raises her hand as if to strike. Two fine Dionysiac scenes decorate the cup in Munich signed by the potter Chelis (PLATE IV (c)).¹¹⁸ One scene includes a nymph with thyrsus. The other scene includes two nymphs, one with thyrsus and snake, the other with branch and panther-skin. This scene is one of the earliest depictions of a silen pursuing a nymph who clearly seems displeased by the attention. The silen has caught hold of the hem of her chiton, while she prepares to use her thyrsus and perhaps also her snake to defend herself. The mood of the encounter is further clarified by the arrival of the second nymph, who gestures emphatically and assertively. Many cups by the Nikosthenes Painter include nymphs with thyrsi and snakes, and some show the nymphs defending themselves against advancing silens.¹¹⁹ On a cup in Philadelphia, the Painter of Berlin 2268 depicts nymphs with thyrsi and a silen with a panther-skin. One of the nymphs prepares to swat a pursuing silen with her thyrsus.¹²⁰

In sum, early red-figure vases document two iconographical changes in the depiction of silens and nymphs in Archaic Athenian art: a change in the attitude of the nymphs to the attentions of the silens—from friendly and consenting to aloof and resistant—and a change in the appearance and attributes of the nymphs. The iconographical analysis shows that the one change occurs at the same time as the other change, and that the new less friendly attitude of the

¹¹⁶ In addition to the examples cited in the text, see Providence 25.077, cup, Epiktetos, ARV^2 73,34, CVA Providence 1, pl. 14; Louvre G94 ter, cup, near Epiktetos, ARV^2 80,2, CVA Louvre 19, pl. 71; Louvre G68, cup, near the Thalia Painter, ARV^2 113, Pottier (above n. 9) ii, pl. 96. A puzzling scene on a cup near the Carpenter Painter (Louvre G11, ARV^2 180, *MonPiot* ix [1902] pl. 15) includes nymphs with thyrsi and panther-skins, silens, Herakles, and youths.

¹¹⁷ Boston 10.201, above n. 104. Cf. Louvre S1335, signed by Skythes, ARV² 83,4: according to Beazley's description, the nymphs have branches and, one, a panther-skin.

¹¹⁸ Munich 2589, cited above n. 94.

¹¹⁹ Rome, Villa Giulia 27250, ARV^2 124,8, CVA Villa Giulia 2, pl. 24,3; London E815, ARV^2 125,15, Hoppin (above n.94) ii, 295; Melbourne 1730.4, ARV^2 125,20, A.D. Trendall, *The Felton Greek vases in the National Gallery of Victoria* (Canberra 1958) pl. 7; London E14, ARV^2 125,21, as described by Smith (one of the silens, in addition to a nymph, has a thyrsus: the nymph uses hers to repel an advancing silen); Tarquinia RC 2066, ARV^2 126,23, CVATarquinia 1, pl. 6,1: a silen tackles a running nymph, who prepares to use her snake against him; Tübingen E11, wider circle of the Nikosthenes Painter, ARV^2 133,8, C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* (Reutlingen 1924) pl. 17.

date from c. 520-500 BC: see the comments of Bruhn on each piece. Cup fragments near Oltos (London E812.1, ARV^2 68,10; *BSA* v (1898-1899) 64 fig. 2) show a nymph, with panther-skin, snake and branch, tightly grasped around the waist by a silen.

¹²⁰ Philadelphia 5695, ARV^2 156,47, AJA xxxviii (1934) pl. 35b and c. The new attributes appear in several scenes of silens and nymphs on red-figure vases from the period c. 520-500 BC attributed to the Pioneer Group: Louvre G33, calyx-krater, Euphronios, ARV^2 14,4, CVA Louvre 1, pl. 1,3 and 6 (much of the painting is modern); Louvre G43, stamnos, Smikros, ARV^2 20,2, B. Philippaki, *The Attic stamnos* (Oxford 1967) pl. 4,2; Tarquinia RC 6843, type A amphora, Phintias, ARV^2 23,2, Furtwängler and Reichhold (above n. 90) ii, pl. 91; St Petersburg 624, hydria, Euthymides, ARV^2 28,15, M.A.B. Herford, A handbook of Greek vase painting (Manchester 1919) pl. 1e; Naples Stg. 5, cup, Pezzino Group, ARV^2 32,4, according to the description of Heydemann; London E253, type A amphora of the type usually used by the Pioneer Group, ARV^2 35,2, J.C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and his fellows* (Cambridge, MA 1917) pl. 37. Cf. Boston 10.221, fragmentary psykter, ARV^2 16,14, Euphronios, Boardman (above n. 98) fig. 28: the dismemberment of Pentheus by the women of Thebes, one of whom holds a thyrsus; of course, no silens are present. The attributes in question also appear in a few black-figure scenes of silens and nymphs postdating 520 BC, such as Naples inv. 128333, amphora type A, Antiope Painter, ABV 367,93, J.D. Beazley, Attic black-figure: a sketch (London 1928) pl. 13. In red-figure Dionysiac scenes post-dating 500 BC, the motifs appear regularly.

SILENS, NYMPHS, AND MAENADS

nymphs is probably related in some way to their possession of new attributes. It seems that, in these scenes, the new attributes are more than mere ornament: they indicate why the nymphs are no longer friendly to the silens. As noted above, these attributes find their closest parallel in Euripides' *Bakchai*, where they signify a complete and total devotion to Dionysos. For the women of Thebes as well as the chorus-members, this entails the flouting or renunciation of traditional Greek sex roles.¹²¹ In our scenes, these attributes appear to denote a comparable renunciation of the accustomed roles of nymphs. Nymphs who have these emblems no longer engage in sexual relations with silens, as was their wont in earlier imagery and poetry. They have been transformed into virtuous soldiers of Dionysos.¹²²

A LATE SIXTH-CENTURY SATYR-PLAY?

In these red-figure scenes, the distinction between nymphs and maenads is blurred and the traditional image of the nymphs has been subverted. One contemporary Athenian poetic institution provides especially close parallels for the transformation of the imagery of silens and nymphs outlined above, namely, satyr-play.¹²³ Satyr-plays consisted of two or three actors and a chorus of men dressed as silens. One satyr-play followed each of the three sets of tragedies performed at the annual festival of Dionysos Eleuthereus.¹²⁴ It is not merely the fixed role of the silens as the chorus of satyr-play that recommends the genre to our attention. In the surviving literary remains of satyr-play, there are close parallels in both theme and plot for the new imagery of nymphs.

First, blurring or collapsing conventional mythological distinctions was the *modus operandi* of satyr-play. This characteristic is well illustrated in the one satyr-play that survives in its entirety, Euripides' *Cyclops*, in which the silens have infiltrated the legend of Odysseus and Polyphemos. The titles of many other satyr-plays by themselves suggest the pervasiveness of the motif of mythological travesty in the genre: *Kirke, Prometheus, Proteus*, and *Sphinx* of Aischylos; *Amphiaraos* and *Pandora* of Sophokles; *Busiris, Sisyphos*, and *Skiron* of Euripides, to name only a few examples.¹²⁵ Silens are otherwise unattested in the surviving accounts of these mythological figures, and one of the sources of humor of the plays will have been the disruptive effect of the unexpected presence of silens in well-known narratives. In the vase-images discussed earlier, not only does the new attitude of the nymphs have a humorous effect on the longstanding, intimate relationship between silens and nymphs; the new accouterments of the nymphs also suggest that the distinction between the nymphs and the legendary 'mad women' of Thebes and elsewhere has been deliberately blurred for comic effect.

Part of the humor in the vase-images lies in the sexual frustration of the silens, who are thwarted by their former playmates. Sexual frustration was a source of humor in many satyr-

¹²¹ In the *Bakchai*, Pentheus obsessively imagines that the Theban women engage in extramarital trysts in the mountains. But that is not in fact the case, as an eyewitness assures him. See Eur. *Bak.* 223-225, 260-262, 314-315, 354, 453-459, 487-488, 686-689, 957-958. The Theban women are hostile to any kind of contact with men: Dionysos warns Pentheus that the maenads will kill him once they spot him as a man. See Eur. *Bak.* 823; *cf.* lines 731-733.

¹²² For the 'soldiers' of Dionysos, see Eur. Bak. 52.

¹²³ The possibility that Athenian drama had something to do with the iconographical changes examined in this paper has been suggested before, but has not received much elaboration. *Cf.* Edwards (above n. 2) 86; McNally (above n. 2) 130; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*³ (Munich 1985) 292; Schöne (above n. 2) 142.

¹²⁴ Cf. E. Simon, The ancient theatre (trans. C.E. Vafopoulou-Richardson, London and New York 1982) 2 and 15-17. The date of the establishment of the relationship between satyr-play and tragedy is uncertain but probably no later than c. 500 BC: see A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, tragedy and comedy*² (ed. by T.B.L. Webster, Oxford 1962) 65-66. Silens are also referred to as satyrs in the literary remains of dramatic poetry.

¹²⁵ See the survey of literary evidence for satyr-play by D.F. Sutton, *The Greek satyr play* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980).

plays.¹²⁶ In the *Amymone* of Aischylos, the silens desire to have their way with the heroine and are thwarted in the end.¹²⁷ In Aischylos' *Diktyoulkoi*, Papposilenos tries to persuade Danae to marry him; at the end of the surviving portions of the play, the satyr-chorus appears to be on the point of forcing the situation: 'I see that already the bride [Danae] is eager to enjoy our love to the full'.¹²⁸ But it is unlikely that the silens succeed in the end.¹²⁹ In Sophokles' *Lovers of Achilles*, the silens are scolded by Phoinix for taking a renewed interest in females and losing interest in pederasty, suggesting perhaps that in their roles as male lovers the silens were unfulfilled.¹³⁰ In a fragmentary account of Euripides' *Skiron*, the satyrs appear to have captured a group of hetairai; but Papposilenos may intend to pimp them for profit rather than share them with the satyrs.¹³¹ In Euripides' *Cyclops* (69-72), the silens sing to Aphrodite about their longing for the nymphs, their erstwhile companions, and they fantasize (177-187) about a gang-rape of Helen after the capture of Troy. Silens' thoughts are never far from sex, and the writers of satyr-play seem to have delighted in frustrating them.¹³²

One particular satyr-play, the *Theoroi or Isthmiastai* of Aischylos, is very close in plot structure to the scenario that underlies the red-figure scenes.¹³³ In this play, the silens abandon their usual activities and take up athletics (lines 33-34). One of the characters, almost certainly Dionysos, complains that the silens have broken their oath of allegiance (37). The silens respond defiantly that they intend to remain in their new home, the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia (79-83). Dionysos also notes that the silens are now wearing pine-wreaths in place of their old ivy-crowns (75-76), and calls attention to the ironic state of infibulation of the silens' genitalia (29). These remarks indicate that the silens' change in vocation is marked not only through dialogue but also through the costuming of the play. The new attributes of the chorus-members include not only items of dress and personal adornment but also objects made out of metal, possibly javelins, with which they intend to compete in the Isthmian Games.¹³⁴ The situation in our red-figure scenes is similar to the *Theoroi* in two ways. First, the nymphs appear to have taken up a new vocation, that of crazed female devotees of Dionysos, and to have abandoned their old allegiances; second, the change in vocation is emphasized by new items of dress and new props, including animal skins and thyrsi.

The parallels between the new vase-imagery of silens and nymphs and aspects of the poetic

¹²⁶ See R. Seaford, *Euripides: Cyclops* (Oxford 1984) 39.

 127 For the story of Amymone, see Apollod. *Bibl* ii 1.4, where the silen's desire to rape the girl is explicit. *Amymone* fr. 13 Radt suggests that perhaps Papposilenos tried to reason with her (unless the line is spoken by Poseidon): 'it is your fate to be my wife, and mine to be your husband'. On the play generally, see D.F. Sutton, 'Aeschylus' *Amymone*', *GRBS* xv (1974) 193-202.

¹²⁸ Lines 824-826. For the text, see H. Lloyd-Jones in H.W. Smyth, *Aeschylus* ii (Cambridge, MA 1963) 531-541; M. Werre-de Haas, *Aeschylus' Dictyulci* (Leiden 1961) esp. 70.

¹²⁹ As Werre-de Haas put it (above n. 128, p. 73), 'it is quite unthinkable that a Silenus should carry off Zeus' bride as his wife'; *cf.* Sutton (above n. 125) 20. It appears that in Sophokles' *Marriage of Helen* the silens attempted to rape Helen: see Seaford (above n. 126) p. 137 on lines 177-187 of Eur. *Cycl.*

¹³⁰ Fr. 153 Radt. For the play, see Sutton (above n. 125) 36-38.

¹³¹ See Sutton (above n. 125) 62-63.

 132 The sexuality of the silens figures prominently in representations of these creatures in art and poetry of all periods. The many depictions of masturbating silens in black-figure vase-painting of the early and mid-sixth century BC suggest not only that the silens are oversexed but also that their female companions do not copulate with them often enough for their tastes; on these depictions, see Hedreen (above n. 90) 159 n. 24; on the sexual frustration of the silens in art generally, see Brendel (above n. 110) 16-17; F. Lissarrague, 'De la sexualité des satyres', *Métis* ii (1987) 63-79, esp. 65. It is only in the remains of satyr-play and in the red-figure vase-paintings examined above, however, that the image of the silens rebuffed by women is explicit.

¹³³ See Lloyd-Jones (above n. 128) 541-556; Sutton (above n. 125) 29-33.

¹³⁴ Lines 85-94. See Lloyd-Jones (above n. 128) 545.

genre of satyr-play suggest that there was some connection between the two. There are, however, several different ways to envision the nature of that connection. One possibility is that the new imagery derives from an actual satyr-play, now lost, in which nymphs, the traditional companions of silens, wish to become (or are compelled to become) maenads comparable to the women of Thebes.¹³⁵ Many scholars have assumed that some scenes of silens on Athenian vases depict the plots of satyr-plays.¹³⁶ The difficulty in positively identifying such pictures is that only a handful include explicit visual indications that theatrical performances were the basis for the pictures.¹³⁷ Several pictures indicate, however, that the costumes worn by the chorus-members of satyr-plays were not always explicitly rendered in representations based on satyr-plays. These scenes include a formally-dressed *aulos*-player, or show silens in a highly regimented order suggestive of choral dancing.¹³⁸ For example, a volute-krater in Padula shows silens stealing the weapons of Herakles while he sleeps (PLATE V (b)).¹³⁹ The formallydressed aulos-player at the left end of the picture suggests that the scene is a performance of a satyr-play even though there is no trace of costuming on the silens. Moreover, a hydria in Salerno is decorated with a similar picture of silens robbing Herakles as he sleeps (PLATE V (c)).¹⁴⁰ It seems likely that this scene is also related to the performance depicted on the krater in Padula, because the subject is not a traditional one in Athenian vase-painting and the two vases were painted at roughly the same time.¹⁴¹ But no trace of theatrical realia (i.e., costumes, accompanists, choreography) is included on the Salerno hydria. Such explicit, visual indications are necessary for us to identify a picture as a representation of a story presented in a satyr-play, but they were not necessary in antiquity, because painters and customers shared information about the popular plays of the day, and could exchange ideas verbally about the

significance of a picture. Thus, one cannot assume that all representations of the plots of plays will be explicitly indicated as such by some visual sign. One can say that some scenes of silens

 135 The full range of 'maenadic' activities familiar from the *Bakchai* is included in these scenes. *Cf.* Paris, Cab. Méd. 357, amphora, Achilles Painter, *ARV*² 987,2, Bérard (*City*, above n. 30) fig. 204, which shows a silen together with female figures carrying parts of animals, the victims of sparagmos.

¹³⁶ See E. Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama* (Munich 1943); F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² (Berlin 1959); E. Simon, 'Satyr-plays on vases in the time of Aeschylus', in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes ed. *The eye of Greece* (Cambridge 1982) 123-148, with further bibliography. I speak of plots of plays, rather than of plays themselves, since vase-painters seem to have represented the purely theatrical aspects of the plays, the precise staging and props, only exceptionally. The plots of the plays, however, the situations or stories in which the silens may be found in the narratives, appear to have been very popular with the vase-painters and presumably also their customers.

¹³⁷ Lissarrague goes too far in claiming that direct connections between scenes of silens on vases and satyr-plays exist only in the cases where these explicit, internal clues are present (F. Lissarrague, 'Why satyrs are good to represent', in J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin ed. *Nothing to do with Dionysos?* [Princeton 1990] 228-236). It is no less arbitrary to assert that vase-painters regularly invented novel imagery about silens than it is to assert that they regularly represented plots of satyr-plays. We have no independent evidence for the degree of inventiveness of Athenian vase-painters. We have only the pictures themselves, which are generally open to more than one interpretation because, most often, we do not know precisely why they were created in the first place or in what context they were intended to be viewed.

¹³⁸ E.g., Ferrara 3031 (T. 579), volute-krater, Painter of Bologna 279, *ARV*² 612,1, A.D. Trendall and T.B.L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek drama* (London 1971) 34 no. II,7.; Compiègne 1068, psykter, Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*² 188,66, *CVA* Compiègne pl. 16. On the formally-dressed *aulos*-player, see J.D. Beazley, 'Hydria-fragments in Corinth', *Hesperia* xxiv (1955) 305-319. I have discussed these and similar pictures in Hedreen (above n. 90) 110-112.

¹³⁹ Padula, volute-krater, late sixth century, ARV^2 1699, *Apollo* (Salerno) iii-iv (1963-1964) 3-14. The relationship between the picture on this vase and satyr-play is also discussed by I. Gallo, 'Un dramma satiresco arcaico in testimonianze vascolari del territorio salernitano', *Atene e Roma* xxxiv (1989) 1-13.

¹⁴⁰ Salerno inv. 1371, Kleophrades Painter, ARV² 188,67, Apollo (Salerno) iii-iv (1963-1964) 8.

¹⁴¹ There are later representations of this subject (e.g., Brussels A 1312, black-figure psykter, CVA Brussels 3, pl. 27,4a-b; Montpellier, Musée Fabre 836.4.339, lekythos, *Apollo* [Salerno] iii-iv [1963-1964] 9 fig. 6; Vatican, hydria, Villa Giulia Painter, ARV^2 623,72), but no earlier ones as far as I know.

undoubtedly depicted the plots of satyr-plays. In addition, the hypothesis that other scenes may represent such plots has the ability to explain the popularization of novel ideas about silens, such as the transformation of their former female companions into fanatical followers of Dionysos.¹⁴²

If the new imagery of silens and nymphs reflects an actual play, one further question arises: would the nymphs have been present on stage in the form of a second chorus (or half-chorus), or would the story have been described to the audience through song and dance by the satyr-chorus alone? In support of the latter possibility one may cite the poetic descriptions in Euripides' *Cyclops*, which effectively convey images of the activities of the silens through word alone. Consider the lament for the good old days in the parodos of the satyr-chorus:

Oh dear! no sign of Bacchus nor his Bacchanal array! There's no clashing of cymbals, no dances reel and sway, nothing trickling from a wine-jar in droppings honey-sweet, nor beside the gushing fountains trip the Mountain-maidens' feet. O Aphrodite! and O the mighty spell of the chant that thrilled the air, when to its cadence I chased the maidens, the bacchanal girls, and the feet snow-fair!¹⁴³

The passage illustrates the evocative potential of the songs of satyr-play, the ability of the poetry to incite the spectator to conjure up images of the silens in the mind. Presumably, the imagery of the songs was also conveyed through the choreography of the chorus.

It is possible, however, that nymphs (that is, men dressed as nymphs) actually appeared in the orchestra together with the silens. The visual evidence in favor of this possibility includes a late fifth-century red-figure head-vase in London that bears a picture of a nymph, dressed in a fawn-skin and carrying a thyrsus, and a male figure wearing the costume of a chorus-member of a satyr-play.¹⁴⁴ The picture seems unambiguous, juxtaposing a satyr-chorusman and a nymph, although the setting or occasion of the picture is not necessarily a satyr-play (we would need the rest of the chorus, and the musical accompanists, to be certain). There is also visual evidence in sixth-century Athenian vase-painting suggesting that choruses of men dressed as nymphs appeared together with choruses of silens in early satyric performances.¹⁴⁵ While not without ambiguity, these scenes of silens and nymphs are suggestive because the figures are organized in regimented lines, as if participating in organized choral dances and not in the familiar Dionysiac free-for-all. In addition, Seaford has argued on the basis of literary evidence that early satyric drama may have been characterized by confrontations of rival choruses or half-choruses.¹⁴⁶ The red-figure scenes of silens thwarted by nymphs might reflect the type of play imagined by Seaford.

A lost satyr-play is not the only conceivable explanation of the similarities between the new vase-imagery of silens and nymphs and the genre of satyr-play. It is also possible to imagine an indirect relationship between the two. Vase-painters may have catered to a taste for

¹⁴² It might seem implausible that a single play could have been responsible for the iconographical changes in the imagery of silens and nymphs examined earlier. It is virtually certain, however, that one or two satyr-plays inspired no less than twenty-four surviving late Archaic red-figure depictions of silens bearing peltas. See Hedreen (above n. 90) 109-110.

¹⁴³ Eur. Cycl. 63-72. The translation is after A.S. Way, Euripides ii (London and Cambridge, MA 1939 repr.).

¹⁴⁴ London E790, ARV² 1550,1, Class W, Bérard (City, above n. 30) fig. 197.

¹⁴⁵ See Hedreen (above n. 90) 125-140 and 160-161.

¹⁴⁶ R. Seaford, 'The "Hyporchema" of Pratinas', *Maia* xxix-xxx (1977-1978) 81-94, esp. 85-87. Seaford's argument is largely based on the form and content of a fragment of Pratinas. Most scholars assume that this fragment is by the early tragic playwright named Pratinas, and that it is the earliest surviving fragment of satyr-play, dating roughly to the period of the vase-paintings considered in this study. Several scholars have recently suggested, however, that the fragment actually dates to the late fifth century BC and that it was written by another poet named Pratinas; see B. Zimmermann, 'Überlegungen zum sogenannten Pratinasfragment', *MH* xliii (1986) 145-154 with further bibliography.

mythological travesty involving silens—a taste created or fostered in the late sixth century BC by satyr-plays—in novel ways that playwrights never imagined.¹⁴⁷ Consider, for example, the panel-painting by Timanthes, described by Pliny, that showed silens measuring the thumb of the cyclops Polyphemos.¹⁴⁸ Presumably, the *Cyclops* of Euripides was the original source of inspiration for the picture, because there is no reason to think that the silens were traditionally associated with Polyphemos. The particular scene represented by Timanthes, however, does not occur in the text of the satyr-play. Instead, the idea that the silens might measure the cyclops while he slept, and marvel at his great size, appears to be the original invention of the painter. The story of silens being thwarted by the nymphs may have originated in a lost satyr-play, or may have been created by a vase-painter with a feeling for parody. The important point is that, whatever the precise nature of its origins, the story has the hallmarks of a typical satyr-play plot; the painters of the new imagery were thinking along the same lines as the playwrights, if not sketching an actual performance.

To summarize, the iconographical changes occurring in Athenian imagery of silens and nymphs in the late sixth century BC reflect a new story; they do not represent a substitution of maenads for nymphs as companions of silens. The parodic quality of the story—silens rebuffed by their former companions—can be explained by the hypothesis that the new story is related in some way to satyr-play, in which parody is well attested. Like previous interpretations of this imagery, my hypothesis suggests that there is indeed a connection between the imagery and one particular aspect of Athenian Dionysiac religion; this practice, however, is not ecstatic ritual but drama.

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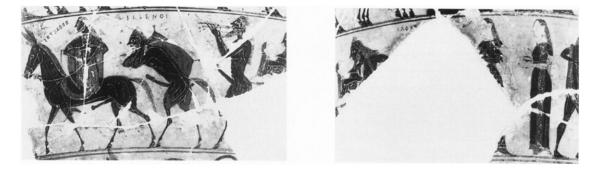
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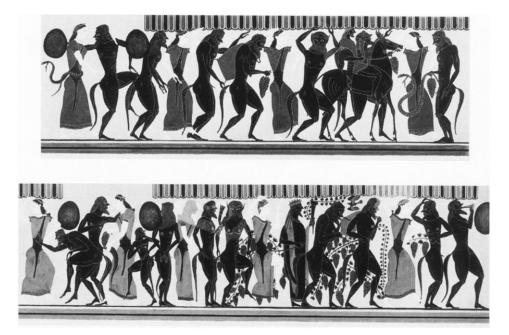
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¹⁴⁷ Cf. Lissarrague (above n. 137) 234.

¹⁴⁸ Pliny, HN xxxv 73-74.



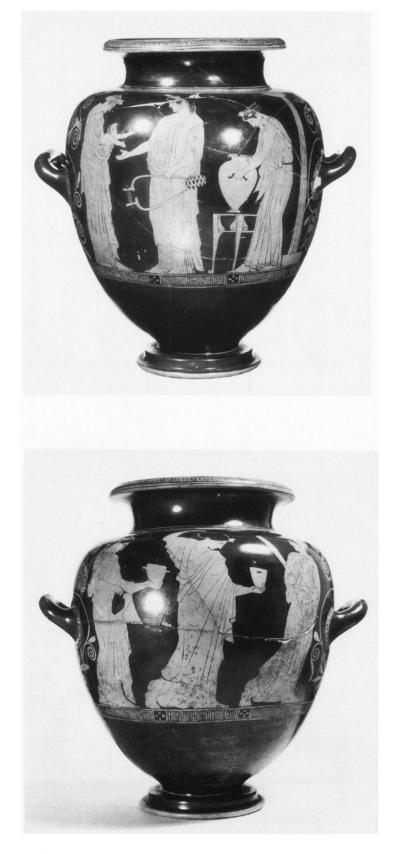
(a) (i, ii) Volute-krater, Kleitias and Ergotimos, Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209. After M. Cristofani et al., Materiali per servire alla storia del vaso François (BdA serie speciale 1, Rome 1981) figs. 92 and 93.



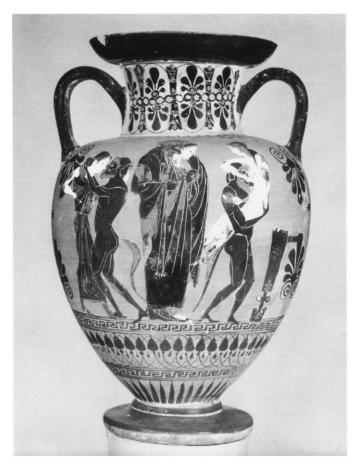
(b) (i, ii) Column-krater, Lydos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.11 (Fletcher Fund, 1931). After the drawing of L.J. Longley, MMS iv (1932-1933) pl.1.



(c) Amphora, Amasis Painter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. 3210.



(a) (i, ii) Stamnos, Phiale Painter, Warsaw, National Museum 142465.



(a) Neck-amphora, Dayton Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 76.40 (gift of T.G. Appleton).



(b) Amphora, Painter of Würzburg 252, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum L. 252.

PLATE IV



(a) Lip-cup, Oakeshott Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 69.1052 (Otis Norcross Fund).



(b) (i, ii) Neck-amphora, Oltos, Paris, Musée du Louvre G 2.



(c) Cup, Chelis Painter, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2589. After the drawing of Karl Reichold in A. Furtwängler, K. Reichold *et al. Greichische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1904-32) pl. 43.

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(a) Pointed amphora, Kleophrades Painter, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2344. After the drawing of Karl Reichold in A. Furtwängler, K. Reichold et al., Griechische Vasenmalerei (Munich 1904-32) pl.44.



(b) Volute-krater, unattributed late sixthcentury Attic red-figure, Padula, Museo Archeologico della Lucania Occidentale.









(c) Hydria, Kleophrades Painter, Salerno, Museo Archeologico inv. 1371.