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THE MAENADS:

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE DANCE IN ANCIENT GREECE ¹.

By LILLIAN B. LAWLER.

(PLATES 13—22).

THE proper interpretation of more or less static existing records of past civilizations in terms of normal, comprehensible human activities, is seldom an easy task, but in no field is it more difficult than in that of the dance; for the very essence of the dance is movement, and movement can be transmitted from antiquity, at least, only indirectly. We shall never, in all probability, be able to restore any ancient dance in its entirety. The best we can hope to do is to study all the evidence available, to bring to bear upon it not only archaeological method, but some first-hand knowledge of the technique of the dance as well, to acquire thereby familiarity with some certainly characteristic elements of each of several types of dance, and to deduce from these findings facts which shed light on the nature of the Greek dance in general. It is with this aim in view that the series of studies of which this is to be the first has been undertaken.

Interpretations of the Greek dance up to the present time have fallen, in the main, into three general categories: 1) Discussions, or more often demonstrations, by professional dancers, notably Isadora Duncan, Maude Allen, and the Denishawns, who aim avowedly at a restoration in visible form of the spirit of the Greek dance, and who make little or no attempt to use archaeological methods or to make any searching study of literary evidence ². 2) Brief and usually uncritical summaries, based largely on literary evidence, in histories of the dance ³

¹ I wish to thank the following scholars for reading and criticizing the manuscript of this paper: Professors David M. Robinson, Lily R. Taylor, C. R. Morey, A. W. Van Buren; and especially Professor B. L. Ullman, who assisted with advice and suggestions during the preparation of the paper.

² In this general group may be placed also the theory of Diana Watts, as expressed in her *Renaissance of the Greek Ideal*, New York, 1914 — a rather unconvincing

attempt to restore certain Greek gymnastic and dance movements by means of a highly developed system of muscle tension.

³ From a large number of such works may be mentioned: PERUGINI, *The Art of Ballet*, London, 1915; VON BOEHM, *Der Tanz*, Berlin, 1925; VUILLER, *La Danse*, Italian version, Milan, 1899; DELZANGLES, *La Danse*, Aurillac; KINNEY, *The Dance*, New York, 1914.

and in works on Greek private life. 3) Treatises by archaeologists¹, often very sound and scholarly in matters of theory, but displaying an obvious lack of familiarity with the technique of dancing, and a resultant scarcity of original contributions in matters of technical detail.

To these three categories one work has been more or less of an exception, viz., that of Maurice Emmanuel² — in that it makes some use of both archaeological method and technical knowledge, and definitely sets out to restore the technical details of several of the Greek dances. This work has had an almost incredible influence on all subsequent studies of the subject. The Daremberg-Saglio article on «*Saltatio*», for example, bases on Emmanuel what it presents of technique; so do the first three works cited in note 3; and the latest book on the dance in ancient art, WEEGE's *Der Tanz in der Antike*, 1926, takes Emmanuel's conclusions as self-evident — not a step forward in thirty-one years! Furthermore, during this period the work has been rather generally accepted not only by archaeologists, but by dancers as well. Accordingly, for the present, at least, any investigation of the Greek dance must be prefaced by a critical evaluation of Emmanuel's work.

His general method may be indicated briefly as follows:

1. A scrutiny of the sources of our information about the Greek dance. This yielded the conclusion that the literary evidence is meager, scattered, non-technical, and for the most part late; that the rhythms of the poets will be a valuable source when they are re-analyzed from this point of view, but that it is beyond the scope of his present work to analyze them; and that, on the whole, the representations of the dance in art, from Dipylon vases of the eleventh century B. C. to the archaistic reliefs of Augustan Italy, are done by artists who observed real life accurately and portrayed it well, and are accordingly our best sources for the study of the dance.

2. An analysis of the figures of ancient art. Convinced that «*le mouvement de la danse grecque peut être isolé du reste de son histoire*» (p. 26), Emmanuel states at the beginning that «*La danse moderne est notre terme de comparaison. Nous réduirons la danse antique, par une simplification voulue, à un art analogue*» (p. 27). After each of various important positions, steps, etc., of the French ballet has been described and illustrated, sketches of figures on antique objects of art are given which, in Emmanuel's opinion, show the ancient dancer in similar poses. Finally, conclusions as to the Greek dance are drawn, prominent among them being the statement, «*Nous avons constaté avec certitude que les danseurs grecs ont usé d'un grand nombre de mouvements identiques aux Temps et aux Pas de la danse moderne*» (p. 323).

¹ Again to mention only a few: FLACH, «*Der Tanz bei den Griechen*», *Sammlung Gemeinverständlicher Wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, xv serie, 1880, pp. 867-899; the article «*Saltatio*» in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, and in other classical dictionaries; LATTE, «*De Saltationibus Graecorum*», *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XII, 3, Giesse, 1913; also, certain specialized articles, such as HEYDE-

MANN, «*Verhüllte Tänzerin*», *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm* IV, 1897; the articles «*Meanades*», «*Curetes*», «*Corbyantes*», «*Hyporchema*», «*Chorus*», «*Thiasus*», etc., in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO.

² *Essai sur l'Orchestique Grecque*, Paris, 1895. Out of print now; available in a rather poor English translation by J. Beauley, New York and London, 1916.

As for Emmanuel's method in general, several features seem worthy of the highest praise, viz. —

1. His attempt to bring to the study of the Greek dance some technical knowledge of the subject. Unfortunately, however, Emmanuel seems to have obtained much of his technical knowledge at second-hand, as appears from some of his statements on matters of technique (see below).

2. His use of the figures of ancient art as evidence. As to the value of this sort of evidence in general there has been some question ¹, on the ground that artistic conventions and distortions, especially in the figures on vases, afford insurmountable barriers to detailed study. It is true that such conventions and distortions do exist ², and that the student must be able to recognize them and to interpret them sanely, not blindly and literally. This Emmanuel fails to do in many cases (see below), although he discusses them (pp. 22-25), and lists some of the more obvious. Furthermore, the figures examined should be classified as to date; Emmanuel's method of lumping together the works of art of twelve centuries, and of giving as much attention to the earliest as to the latest figures, assuming that the gymnastics of the dance did not change in that time, is certainly questionable ³. He recognizes the difficulty of his position (pp. 26, 27), but believes he is justified by the « *surprenante continuité* » of the gymnastics of the Greek dance, which makes it « *un ensemble homogène, en dépit de la diversité des éléments que le temps y a introduits* » (p. 27).

3. His extensive treatment of the subject. The chief things of importance omitted would seem to be discussions of the so-called « grotesque » dances (which he lumps together and passes over rather contemptuously), of poetic rhythms, and of the *indirect* evidence of literature (i. e., nuances and exact distinctions of meaning in words relating to the dance).

These, then, are Emmanuel's three strong points. Any further investigations of the Greek dance, to be effective, can hardly fail to follow him in these respects, to some degree, at least. In detail, however, Emmanuel's work leaves much to be desired. His reduction of the Greek dance to the same limits as those of the ballet, dispensing quickly with features not common to both, requires little comment — it is obviously a reversal of what is logical. The Greek dance must be studied in and of itself, with no forced comparison with a modern dance, the essential features of which may be diametrically opposed to it. A few illustrations may perhaps suffice to demonstrate the dangers of his method. On a vase of the sixth century B. C. (Pl. 13, Fig. 1), showing Komos dancers drawn in the crude convention of the period,

¹ E. g., in RAPP'S «*Die Maenade im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie*», Part II, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1872, pp. 562-611; and in BÖHME AND MORECK, *Der Tanz in der Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1925, pp. xx, xxi.

² They are discussed in: FECHNER, in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1884, pp. 252 ff., 283 ff.; LÖWY, *Die Naturwiedergabe in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, 1900; PERCY GARDNER, *Principles of Greek Art*, 1914; HAHR,

Bewegungsgestalten in der griechischen Skulptur, 1917; REICHHOLD, *Skizzenbuch griechischer Meister*, 1919.

³ We have literary evidence, of course, that there were specific changes in the dance as time went on, even before Hellenistic days; cf. ARISTOPHANES, *Wasps* 1474 ff.; ATHENAEUS, iv, 17; LUCIAN, *Περὶ Ὀρχήσεως*, 25 and 30; PLATO, *Laws*, ii, 660, etc.

he interprets the left-hand figure literally as showing with its right foot the lateral out-turned position common in ballet (especially in the formalized ballet positions known as Fundamental First and Fundamental Second), and with its left foot « *un très remarquable type* » (p. 76) of the raised position known as Grand Second. He here disregards the fact that ballet poses require stiff knees; that the feet of other figures on the same vase show that the lateral position is but a crudity on the part of the artist; and that the foot of the left-hand figure can no more be taken literally than can the round eyes in profile faces, the full front torso with profile face and legs, or any of the other familiar conventions of ancient art on the vase. To accept the figures as drawn is to assume technically impossible poses. On the other hand, he is puzzled by a dancer of the third or second century (Pl. 13, Fig. 2), representing a perfectly simple, possible, and comprehensible movement—a step on the right foot, followed by a hop on the same foot and a swing of the left leg across in front of the body, with a counterbalancing sway of the arms to the left, the right arm bent easily to balance the bent left leg—and twists it into « *une superposition conventionnelle* » (p. 170), « *la préparation de la pirouette par les bras et son exécution par la jambe d'appui... simultanées* »!

As evidence of the theory that the practice of toe-dancing among the Greeks « *n'est pas douteux* » (p. 136), Emmanuel cites several figures (e. g. Pl. 13, Fig. 3) the floor line under which he has himself inserted. In modern times, at least, toe dancing is practically a physical, anatomical impossibility without supporting shoes especially made for the purpose; and most of the Greek figures are barefooted! In such cases Emmanuel assumes the presence of shoes—and soft ones, at that: « *On devra faire la part de la convention et supposer la chaussure dans un assez grand nombre de cas. Mais il est probable que généralement la crépide du danseur avait la semelle mince et assez souple pour se prêter facilement à toutes les flexions de la plante. Les exemples de semelles épaisses et rigides à l'usage des danseurs sont exceptionnels* » (p. 136).

Of course, it is conceivable that the Greeks had powers beyond ours in this matter of dancing on the toes; yet the evidence for such dancing is so very slight that Emmanuel's « *n'est pas douteux* » must at least be qualified.

Various series of figures (e. g., Pl. 13, Fig. 4) which he claims illustrate different stages in ballet steps and preparatory exercises shown one after another in the manner of an instantaneous photograph, may show merely figures executing different kinds of hop. Furthermore, in various cases his illustrated figures are not dancing at all, but obviously standing (e. g., his Fig. 78, p. 76).

As a result of his study of the figures, Emmanuel asserts, on very slender evidence, that the Greeks used some of the foot positions of the French ballet; practiced the *fouetté*, the *glissé*, the *jeté*, the *assemblé*, the *changement*, and preparatory exercises; avoided the bent knee except as a symbol of a descent from a leap; and had a grammar of steps and movements which were learned in a sometimes painful course of training similar to, if simpler than, that of the French ballet dancer. It is true that Emmanuel qualifies his conclusions, and

recognizes, after all, that the Greek dance was not the formalized gymnastic that the ballet is; however, his work is much impaired by his adherence to an artificial comparison.

A renewed study of the Greek dance, then, might proceed as follows: In every case possible, there should be collected sure representations of the several known dances in the best period of the dance and of art, when the artists, in full possession of their technique, have relatively little difficulty in expressing what they wish to express, and when there is correspondingly little danger of mistaking a convention for a reality, and vice versa. The poses and movements depicted there should be analyzed and interpreted with care. Next, all the references to those dances in ancient literature should be collected, especially in writings contemporaneous with the art remains chosen, and used as a check upon the findings from the art remains. Finally, Greek songs or music written for those dances, insofar as they are preserved, should be examined, and with the meters and general movements of these should be combined the attitudes and movements found to be typical in the art representations. After such a study of the given dances in the best period of art, in the light of the results obtained one might pass on carefully to the same dances in later and more florid periods; and then, with even more care, to earlier phases as represented in archaic art.

Before beginning such a detailed study of a special dance, however, it might be well to consider briefly a few facts about the nature of the Greek dance in general ¹, as having possibly a cautionary bearing upon such study.

First of all, it is extremely important that care be taken to avoid modern concepts of the dance in dealing with ancient Greece. Although the dance obviously goes back ultimately to crude, instinctive bodily movements of joy, and the Greeks themselves recognized the fact ², yet the oldest known phases of the Greek dance as such trace their origin to religion ³. And though it later developed, alongside the ritual dances, pleasure forms more or less similar to some of those with which we are familiar, we must not forget that it continued to embrace other forms which we should not call dancing at all. On the other hand, our very common form of the « social » dance, performed by a man and a woman together, seems not to have entered the mind of the Greek of the classical period; or if it did, it does not seem to have pleased, for in none of the literature or art of this period which has come down to us is there any indication of anything like it.

¹ It is not intended at this point to give a general history of the Greek dance, for that must follow upon, and be derived from, the special studies outlined above. Neither is it intended here to list or discuss the large number of names of dances which have come down to us from the Greeks. Suffice it to suggest, for the present, that perhaps more of these names than we had supposed refer to *σχήματα*, or motives, rather than to dances proper. These dance-names are treated in: LATTE, *op.*

cit.; DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *op. cit.*, s. v. «Saltatio»; MEURSIUS, «Orchestra», in GRONOVIVS, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, Vol. VIII; FLACH, *op. cit.*; WEEGE, *op. cit.* One of the best sources for them is POLLUX, *Onomasticon*, iv, 95-112.

² PLATO, *Laws*, ii, 657.

³ PLUTARCH, *Theseus*, 21; LUCIAN, *op. cit.*, 8; STRABO, x, 466-7; XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, vi, 11.

Again, the dance was closely connected by the Greeks with not only music, as are our dances, but also poetry, sung or recited, all three being combined in the one word, ἡ μουσική¹.

The chief types of Greek dance may be summarized briefly thus²:

1. *Processional*. These, called dances by the Greeks themselves, seem to have consisted, in their simplest form, of mere walking steps in time to the music of an instrument or to the rhythm of verse, chanted or sung. As examples we may instance: The processions in honor of a god, and « danced », or walked, to his hymn, as, e. g., the dance at Amyclae at the festival of Hyacinthus³, and certain forms of the Dionysiac dance (see below); military processions, or drills, often also in honor of a god⁴; wedding processions⁵; and funeral processions⁶. One extension of the simple processional dance seems to have been the prototype of the two modern dances performed by the women of Megara and other Greek cities at Eastertime⁷. Another extension was the γέρανος⁸—gentle turnings and windings by a long line of dancers, instituted by Theseus in memory of, and to signalize his escape from, the windings of the Labyrinth.

2. *Mimetic*⁹. This group includes not only definitely pantomimed stories set to music¹⁰ (a form of dance which assumed greater and greater importance as time went on, and reached its height in Roman times), but also the favored Pyrrhic dance, with its play of offensive and defensive warfare¹¹; the gymnopaedic dances¹², with their imitation of wrestling and the pancration; the imitation of the actions of persons, beasts, or birds¹³, as whole dances or as parts of others; and the whole field of interpretative gesture accompanying music or recitation, especially the highly developed art of χειρονομία¹⁴. In this connection it must not be lost sight of for a moment that the Greek danced with his head¹⁵, his hands, his eyes¹⁶,—with his whole body¹⁷, or with any part of it¹⁸; and he could, in fact, dance without moving

¹ PLATO, *Laws*, vii, 795; ii, 656, 669, 670, 672; *Republic*, iii, 412; ATHENAEUS, i, 27, 39; iv, 17; xiv, 8, 25, 30. Cf. also PINDAR, fragments 71-82, and 87—hyporchemes written to be accompanied by the dance.

² As with most classifications, these sometimes overlap to a slight extent.

³ XENOPHON, *Agesilaus*, ii, 17.

⁴ POLYBIUS, *Hist.*, iv, 20, 21; XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, vi, 11; PLUTARCH, *Lycurgus*, 21.

⁵ EURIPIDES, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 676; 1036 ff.

⁶ THUCYDIDES, v, 34; EURIPIDES, *Alcestis*, 427 ff.

⁷ If they had an ancient prototype; such relationships are repeatedly denied; cf. WEEGE, *op. cit.*, p. 115. The matter will be discussed in a later article.

⁸ PLUTARCH, *Theseus*, 21; POLLUX, *Onomasticon*, iv, 101. A dance of the same name is still danced by the Greeks, notably on the island of Paros.

⁹ «Mimetic» is here not used in the Aristotelian sense, but in the narrower technical sense of «imitative».

¹⁰ XENOPHON, *Symposion*, ix, 2 to 7.

¹¹ PLATO, *Laws*, vii, 814; Strabo, x, 480.

¹² ATHENAEUS, xiv, 30.

¹³ PLATO, *Laws*, ii, 655; ATHENAEUS, i, 37, 38, 39; ix, 44, 45; x, 80; POLLUX, *Onomasticon*, iv, 103, 104, 105.

¹⁴ POLLUX, *op. cit.*, ii, 153; PLATO, *Laws*, vii, 815; HESYCHIUS, s.v. χειρονομος; *Anth. Gr.*, xvi, 283; ATHENAEUS, xiv, 26; iv, 12; see also SITTL, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1890.

¹⁵ POLLUX, *op. cit.*, iv, 96.

¹⁶ ARISTOPHANES, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 959; *Anth. Gr.*, xvi, 283.

¹⁷ XENOPHON, *Symposion*, ii, 15-22.

¹⁸ ARISTOPHANES, *Wasps*, 1487 ff.; POLLUX, *op. cit.*, iv, 101.

his feet. Mimetic dancing might be subsidiary to spoken or sung words ¹, or could tell its story with the aid of music alone ².

3. *Kinetic*, if we may so use the term. In this category we may place those dances in which emphasis and interest were centered on the bodily movements themselves, rather than on their significance; and in which, at the same time, the movements were not of a sufficiently distorted type to be termed acrobatic. It may include ritual dances not processional or mimetic ³; dances the chief aim of which was to give pleasure or satisfaction to the spectator or to the performer himself — e. g., most spontaneous, unstudied outbursts ⁴; non-mimetic dances designed to train the body or to demonstrate some special skill ⁵; and rhythmic games, notably ball-playing in time to music ⁶, which the Greeks regarded also as dances. Choral dancing seems to have been now processional, now mimetic, now kinetic.

4. *Acrobatic*. All of the these dances — juggling, sword-dancing, turning cart-wheels, walking on the hands, etc. ⁷ — we should call merely acrobatic performances in time to music. They were especially common as after-dinner entertainments.

Furthermore, we know both from art representations and from literature that though there certainly were professional dancers ⁸, yet the appeal of the dance was practically universal ⁹, and we read constantly of amateurs practicing it ¹⁰. Again, a study of the technical terms in POLLUX's *Onomasticon*, iv, 95-112, and other literary sources, direct and indirect ¹¹, would seem to indicate in general that we need not assume for the Greek dancer of the classical period a long course of difficult physical training. Such training was essential for the acrobatic dancer, it is true ¹²; but the ordinary Greek who danced on occasion, and even the ordinary professional dancer, though he may have had long training in *πομπή* and in *χειρονομία* ¹³, and much practice in moving quickly ¹⁴, rhythmically, and gracefully ¹⁵, as well as in devising

¹ ATHENAEUS, xiv, 27 — the *ἀνθεμα*; see also Page 74, Note 1.

² POLLUX, *op. cit.*, iv, 103-104; XENOPHON, *Symposion*, ix, 2, 7.

³ Of such a nature seem to have been the Caryatid dances: see POLLUX, iv, 104; PAUSANIAS, iii, 10, 7, and iv, 16, 9.

⁴ THEOPHRASTUS, *Characters*, ix; ATHENAEUS, iv, 12; xiv, 27; ARISTOPHANES, *Wasps*, 1474 ff.

⁵ E. g., the *ὄκλασμα* (POLLUX, iv, 100); the *βίβρασις* (POLLUX, iv, 102); the *ἐκλάκτισμα* (POLLUX, iv, 102), etc.

⁶ ATHENAEUS, i, 37; i, 14; HOMER, *Odyssey*, viii, 372-380.

⁷ LUCIAN, *op. cit.*, 13; XENOPHON, *Symposion*, ii, 11; ATHENAEUS, iv, 129; PLATO, *Euthydemus*, 294; *Symposion*, 190; HERODOTUS, vi, 129.

⁸ XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, vi, 12; *Symposion*, ii, 1; POLLUX *op. cit.*, iv, 95; LUCIAN, *op. cit.*, 25; PLATO, *Protagoras*, 347; *Republic*, ii, 373; *Euthydemus*, 294.

⁹ PLATO, *Laws*, vi, 672; ATHENAEUS, xiv, 22, 29, 33; LUCIAN, *op. cit.*, 14; PLUTARCH, *Lycurgus*, 21.

¹⁰ XENOPHON, *Agésilas*, ii, 17; LUCIAN, *op. cit.*, 25; ATHENAEUS, iv, 12, 42; xiv, 27.

¹¹ See, e. g., the authors cited in these notes. Indirect references to the dance occur in a surprisingly large number of authors, and are often of such a nature as to shed light on the tempo, characteristic step, or general movement, of the dance mentioned.

¹² PLATO, *Euthydemus*, 294. The wording here implies that the acrobatic dances were regarded as the higher branches, so to speak, of the dancer's craft.

¹³ PLATO *Laws*, vii, 810, 813. Cf. the training of a dancer in the days of LUCIAN, *Περὶ Ὀρχήσεως*, 35.

¹⁴ In many cases it is the dancer's swiftness which is commented upon: e. g., in SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 719. Cf. also POLLUX, iv, 97.

¹⁵ PLATO, *Laws*, ii, 654; 669-670.

patterns of movement, so to speak, to given rhythms, is not depicted to us as constantly executing set and complicated figures or steps according to mechanical rules of thumb¹. Furthermore, although it is dangerous to rely too much on the antiquity of Greek traditional dances as practiced today, and although such dances should by no means be taken as a starting point in studying the ancient dance, yet no one who has seen the Greek peasants dance can fail to be struck by similarities with ancient records; and in all of these dances there is a simplicity, a naïveté, a lack of hardness and precision, and a general absence of technical sophistication and polish, as we know it, which agrees well with the representations on monuments of ancient art; and it is just these qualities which are done away with completely by long training in the technique of the dance today.

In short, in studying ancient manifestations of the art of dancing, one must have enough technical training to be able to interpret poses logically and comprehensibly, but one must take care at all times not to let modern set forms of the dance influence his judgment; for the Greek ὀρχεῖσθαι seems to have meant, "to make any series of movements, however simple, provided they be rhythmical".

As the first phase of the Greek dance to be studied in detail, there has been chosen, because of the frequency with which it is represented in art and because of the ease with which it can be recognized and isolated for examination, the Maenad dance: i. e., the poses and actions of women who are obviously moving, and who give obvious evidence of participating in, or at least mimicking characteristic phases of, Dionysiac ritual. As "obvious evidence" of this participation there has been accepted the presence, in connection with the figures, of Dionysus himself for his eikon; of Satyrs or Silenes; or of any of the characteristic attributes of the Maenad (viz., the thyrsus or narthex; the nebris; the ivy or laurel branch; the rent limbs of animals or of human beings; the wine skin; the cantharus or crater; the mystic cista; the winnowing fan; the snake; the vine; and also laurel or ivy wreaths, tympana, and torches, if they appear in a connection possibly Dionysiac). Only the women's dances have been studied, though the general movements of accompanying satyrs have been considered incidentally, for example in the matter of choreography. Further, for this paper only the Maenad dance as represented in the best period was studied; hence only art representations dating from the Persian Wars to the death of Alexander were used; in the case of vases, only red-figured ware was considered, and preferably that of Attica. Material was sought at first hand in the museums of Athens, Berlin, Bologna, Boston, Brindisi, Chicago, Corneto, Delphi, Dresden, Florence, Karlsruhe, London, Munich, Naples, New York, Palermo, Paris, Rome, Thebes, Vienna, and Würzburg²,

¹ The lack of such rules of thumb is expressly indicated in PLATO, *Laws*, ii, 660. Cf. also *Laws*, ii, 673. We frequently find references to the introduction of novelties and individual fancies in dancing: e. g., *Laws*, vii, 802, 816.

² In practically all of these museums I met with a most friendly reception, and was accorded every courtesy and assistance, for which I wish hereby to express deep appreciation.

and was supplemented, to some extent, by published material from Adria, Baltimore, Brussels, Bryn Mawr, the Castle Ashby collection, the Coghill collection, Copenhagen, the Czartoryski collection (Cracow), the Hope collection (now scattered), Madrid, Odessa, Orvieto, Petrograd, and Ruvo.

Before the mass of material thus obtained could be analyzed it was necessary to consider the whole problem of the Greek Maenad as depicted in Greek literature, and of her existence or non-existence as a real personage during the best period of Greek art ¹. In brief, the following was accepted as the most plausible explanation of her origin and functions.

At an early period of Greek history, perhaps before the Ionic settlement in Asia Minor, there entered Greece, probably from Thrace direct and also from Thrace via Phrygia, a new deity — Dionysus, the vegetation god, bringing with him a ritual entirely different from anything Hellenic, and abounding in nocturnal vegetation magic, with ritualistic dances over the mountains, pursuits, scourgings, frenzies induced to evoke the fructifying powers of the earth, and blood-covenants with the deity involving sometimes, apparently, human sacrifices, more often the ceremonial rending and devouring of animals. In its Thracian home the cult ritual seems to have been carried out largely by women, as being more susceptible to the ecstatic enthusiasm of the cult, and more efficient in vegetation magic, than men; and these women, called by the Greeks Maenads or Thyiades, seem to have become associated in the Greek mind with the Nymphs, the mythical nurses of Dionysus, and regarded as their real or ritualistic descendants. The new religion seems to have taken hold of the Greek imagination instantly, and, becoming immensely popular, to have spread to all parts of Greece in spite of the violent opposition offered in various quarters, especially in Thebes. As time went on, the god became Hellenized, acquiring new functions, notably that of the vine- and wine-god, and of the patron of the theater; and his ritual was gradually sobered. Records of the actual cult practices of the classical period are by no means abundant; and the very existence of the frenzied Maenad dance or thiasus as part of Dionysiac ritual during this period has been seriously doubted ². It seems almost certain, however, that formal priesthoods of women called Thyiades continued to have charge of the ritual, and that the Maenad dance « existed in some form down to a late period » ³, notably in the celebration held in the dead of winter and by night on Mt. Parnassus, and in the similar Trieteric festival on Mt. Cithaeron, participated in by Theban and Athenian Thyiades alike, together with its prelude of dances

¹ For detailed discussions of the matter see: DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *op. cit.*, s. v. « Dionysia », « Maenades », « Thyiades »; RAPP, « *Die Maenaden im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie* », *Rhein. Mus.*, 1872, pp. 1-22, 562-611; PANOFKA, « *Dionysus und die Thyiaden* », *Abhandlungen der Akademie zu Berlin*, 1852, pp. 341-390; SANDYS, *The Bacchae of Euripides*, 1885, Introduction; PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*,

1894-, s. v. « Dionysos »; JAHN, *Pentheus und die Maenaden*, Kiel, 1841; and especially FARNELL, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1909, Vol. V, chapters iv-vi, upon which the summary here given is largely based, and to which the reader is referred for details.

² See notably DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, s. v. « Maenades », sections iv and v; also, RAPP, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³ FARNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

performed by the Athenian women in towns on the road from Athens to Delphi. « These Thyiades are the real counterparts of the Maenads of mythology, and as they doubtless waved torches in a real ritual-dance, so torch-bearing revellers of the unseen world [notably the Satyrs] were thought to be round about them, and the religious imagination would be stimulated by the phosphorescent exhalations which are still seen in thick weather on the slopes of the mountain » ¹.

In Hellenistic and Roman times the thiasus changed markedly, and, losing its strictly religious aspect, acquired a strong measure of immorality and degenerated into a pleasure-spectacle.

Granting, then, that there really existed at this period a ritualistic Thyiad or Maenad dance, we are confronted with the problem of determining whether the figures on the art objects can be relied upon as representing the actual dances. It has been said, « The monuments are mainly mythologic, rather than sacral, and comparatively few reproduce for us the actual scenes of ritual » ². What can be the criterion of reality in such scenes? Attributes are no test, even the presence of omophagia, the rending and devouring of animals; for real Thyiades might either actually perform such rites (though this may be doubtful in the late fifth and the fourth century) or else use cult symbols. Neither are the names of the dancers, as painted beside them on vases ³, any criterion of reality ⁴; for there were Thyiades whose families prided themselves on descent from the early Maenads ⁵, and may easily have perpetuated the tradition by giving mythological names to women members. Besides, a priestess may have adopted, or been given by others, a name suggestive of her office. Yet, even if the names are entirely imaginary, we are not necessarily compelled to assume that the figures bearing them have no background of reality. A third criterion, however, must be considered: it is quite clear that if a definitely *supernatural being* takes part in a scene on an art object, it cannot be a representation true to life in its entirety; and in at least two-thirds of the representations of Maenads of this period there are present either Satyrs, Silenes, or Dionysus himself. On the surface, then, the dancers seem to be unreal. If they are, we must seek the source from which the artist drew his models, so to speak. There have been suggested:

1. Imagination, pure and simple ⁶. But we cannot overlook the fact that imagination must be based on something concrete; and if there are a great many manifestations of a distinctive type of dance, and if the movements of that dance, as depicted, *can be reproduced to make*

¹ FARNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

² FARNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 240. The same idea is expressed in RAPP, *op. cit.*

³ The names are collected and discussed in HEYDEMANN, « *Satyr- und Bakchennamen* », *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, v, 1880, and FRÄNKEL, *Satyr- und Bak-*

chennamen auf Vasenbildern, Halle, Niemeyer, 1912.

⁴ As assumed in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *op. cit.*, s. v. « *Maenades* », section iv.

⁵ FARNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 153. See the inscription quoted in *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xv, 1890, pp. 331-332.

⁶ SANDYS, *op. cit.*, p. ciii.

a *real dance*, the supposition is that the source was not entirely imaginary. We shall see that the movements can actually be danced.

2. The Komos, or revel-dance¹. There are some features in common, to be sure, but only a very few. The step of the Komos dance is more like that of the Satyrs, for the rendering of which the Komos, together with the antics of professional acrobatic male dancers, may well have served as a model. The steps of the Maenad figures are essentially different.

3. The stage. The influence of the stage on the art of this period has, however, generally been decidedly denied². Certainly it was not the *Bacchae* of Euripides which set the type of Maenad in art, for the type was set long before the play was written.

We seem to be brought to the conclusion, then, that the model for the art representations was furnished by real women in Thyiad dances. The extent to which the copies are a true representation of the reality is modified, of course, by artistic conservatism and convention. Yet in the main, if there were Thyiad dancers at this period, as there seem clearly to have been, it is but natural that the artists, painting for a public familiar with the reality, would tend, at least, to make their figures somewhat consistent with the reality, and would have produced something that looked more or less like the real dance. Hence we shall proceed on the assumption that the Maenad dancers on the art representations, be they mythological or real, reflect the contemporary Thyiad dancers, and, with all due allowance for artistic conservatism and convention, give some idea of that dance.

THE ART REPRESENTATIONS.

Inasmuch as only originals of the period in question were used, to preclude the introduction of later or contradictory details³, and only those surely representing Dionysiac dancers, certain famous representations could not be included — e. g., the copy of the Skopas Maenad at Dresden; the so-called Maenad statue in the Glyptothek at Munich (No. 472); the Conservatori Maenad and her associates, the Madrid reliefs, with variants of each; and all the terra-cotta figurines with wreaths and tympana, which may possibly be Dionysiac dancers. As a matter of fact, these figures do not vary appreciably in characteristics from the figures used, and would change the conclusions obtained little, if at all.

A large number of figures in art are represented not as actually dancing, but as pursued by (Pl. 14, Fig. 1), or quarreling with (Pl. 14, Fig. 2, central group), Satyrs. These, of course, give no assistance in a discussion of the dance, and were disregarded.

A second group of the representations depict *processions*, pure and simple (Pl. 14, Fig. 5);

¹ As assumed in RAPP, *op. cit.*, Conclusion.

² GARDNER, *Principles of Greek Art*, p. 286 ff.

³ For example, the Conservatori Maenad wears sandals, the Terme copy none.

all the figures go in the same direction, walking sedately, carrying the usual Dionysiac attributes. This type of dance is so simple as to demand no further analysis. It merely yields the conclusion that one phase of the Maenad dance was a solemn, measured procession in honor of Dionysus, performed by his devotees, bearing his emblems.

A third group of the representations deal with the death of Pentheus¹. Though we may suspect strongly that some of these representations show mimetic dances portraying the scene, and though it is just possible that a mimetic dance commemorating the event may have formed part of the Thyiad dance on occasion, yet we have no literary authority for so believing. Furthermore, it is impossible to distinguish absolutely representations of the hypothetical mimetic dance telling the story of the event from representations of the actual scene itself. Hence, the Pentheus scenes have not been considered in this survey.

A few of the art objects show a Silene clad in Maenad garb, and apparently mimicking Maenad poses and steps. Such representations may echo the early custom of attiring the priest in female garb and permitting him to take part in the thiasus². In any case, the present representations are playful in tone, and add nothing to our knowledge of the dance proper.

Most of the figures, however, fall into the large group that yielded definite results.

NUMBER AND COMBINATIONS OF FIGURES.

There were used 167 art objects, of which 6 were gems, the rest vases³. No reliefs or statues undoubtedly of the given period were found depicting figures which were surely dancing Maenads. On these objects there were 187 separate dancing scenes, containing

¹ See JAHN, *op. cit.*

² FARNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 160, 161.

³ They are as follows: Adria, Mus. Bocchi 183; Athens, Nat. Mus. 1187, 1220, 1246, 1422, 1515, 1568, 1733, 1786, 12471, 12908, 14500, 15112; Baltimore, three unnumbered cylices; Berlin, Altes Mus., 2182, 2253, 2290, 2330, 2334, 2402, 2471, 2532, 2548, 2638, 2935, 2936, 4220, 4858, one unnumbered lekythos; Bologna 258, 283, 307, 309, 310, 316, 329, 370, the Valle Trebba crater, two unnumbered craters, two unnumbered kelebes, unnumbered crater in Palagi room; Boston 00.499, 01.8032, 95.33; Brussels 247; Bryn Mawr, fragmentary cylix; Castle Ashby, fragmentary cylix; Coghill collection, unnumbered vase; Copenhagen, unnumbered stamnos; Corneto, unnumbered cylix; Czartoryski collection, unnumbered stamnos; Dresden 372; Florence, Mus. Arch., 3990, 4016; Hope collection 141, unnumbered crater; Karlsruhe 208, 242, 259; Leyden 36; London, Brit. Mus. E 7, E 11, E 40, E 71, E 228, E 263, E 362, E 437, E 642, E 775, E 809, E 815, Gem 554, Gem 563; London, John Ford collection, unnumbered crater; Madrid 214; Munich 332, 2344, 2361, 2419, 2560, 2589, 2595, 2608, 2612, 2644,

2647, 2652, 2670, two unnumbered craters; Naples 206, 254, 286, 793, 1669, 1683, 2220, 2255, 3240, 81482, 81675, 82543, two unnumbered craters, unnumbered rhyton; New York, unnumbered cylix; Odessa, unnumbered lekani; Orvieto, Faina collection 36; Palermo, 2552, 2554; Paris, Cab. Méd. 697, 840; Paris, Dzialynska collection, unnumbered crater; Paris, Louvre, G 6, G 33, G 34, G 93, G 144, G 145, G 159, G 160, G 162, G 250, G 401, G 507, G 529, G 530, unnumbered aryballos; Paris, Bibl. Nat., unnumbered vase; Petrograd, 700, unnumbered cylix; Rogers collection, unnumbered vase; Rome, Poniatowski collection, unnumbered cista; Rome, Vatican, two unnumbered cylices; Rome, Villa Giulia, three unnumbered cylices, two unnumbered craters; Ruvo, Jatta collection, 1501; Tischbein collection, three unnumbered vases; Vienna, Oesterr. Mus. für Kunst u. Industrie, 341; Vienna, Kunstmus., 415, 432, 433, 447, 462, 466, 502, 617, two unnumbered craters; Würzburg, unnumbered stamnos, 1646, 4227; four gems, from FURTWÄGLER, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, plate x, 33 and 56; plate XIII, 7 and 11.

357 dancing Maenads. The period of the art objects used runs from the Persian Wars to the death of Alexander. Since the material used is largely derived from vase paintings, the classification into periods has been made on the basis of vase nomenclature¹:

1. Strong. Persian Wars-460 B. C. 73 Maenads. (Pl. 14, Figs. 3 and 4).
2. Free. 460-440 B. C. 161 Maenads. (Pl. 14, Fig. 2).
3. Fine. 440-400 B. C. 103 Maenads. (Pl. 15, Figs. 1 and 2).
4. Florid. 400-death of Alexander. 20 Maenads. (Pl. 16, Fig. 1).

The monuments are thus well distributed as to period; the majority are from the second half of the fifth century.

The number of dancing Maenads in any one scene ranged from one to eleven. Their distribution is as follows: 1 Maenad, 108 scenes; 2, 47 scenes; 3, 11 scenes; 4, 8 scenes; 5, 5 scenes; 6, 2 scenes; 7, 2 scenes; 8, 1 scene; 9, no scenes; 10, 2 scenes; 11, 1 scene. The preponderance of single dancing figures may be due to two causes:

1. Space limitations — The fact that the painter needs

(A) a single figure to fill the given space (in 30 of the 108 instances of a single Maenad dancer in the scene, she is the *only* figure in the scene); or

(B) two figures to fill the space, and wishes to show characteristic elements of the mythical thiasus, e. g., a Maenad and a Satyr (in 25 of the remaining 78 single Maenad dancers she is one of two figures in the scene, usually with a Satyr, less often with Dionysus or a musician).

Thus, about half of the 108 cases seem clearly due to space limitations. It is possible that in several other combinations the same limitations operated; and that, for example, in the combination Satyr, Maenad, Dionysus, or the combination Satyr dancing, Maenad dancing, Dionysus, and Satyr playing flutes, we have the same desire to show characteristic elements of the mythological thiasus in a somewhat less constricted space. In general, the preponderance of scenes with a small number of figures seems to point to space conventions.

2. Reality. If the individual Maenads danced independently, even in a large thiasus, it would be an easy matter for the artist to take one out and depict her as dancing alone, apart from the rest.

The large number of scenes (47) in which two dancing Maenads appear may be in part due to a desire on the part of the painter for balance. In 11 of the scenes, the two flank a central figure, usually Dionysus or a Satyr.

There are 11 scenes depicting large groups consisting of at least four dancing Maenads, with no male figures present. These scenes could possibly depict representations of the real Thyiad ritual dance as a whole, and as such will be of great importance in our analysis, especially in matters of choreography.

¹ Cf. WALTERS, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, Vol. I, p. 421. The matter of vase chronology

is by no means firmly settled, and throughout many almost arbitrary decisions have been made of necessity.

There seems to be no correlation between the date of the art object and the type of combination it represents — single figures appear both early and late, large groups likewise, etc. Groups in attempted perspective, of course, are of Polygnotan date or later; and in the fourth century examples we find the placing of figures all over the surface, one above the other.

TYPES OF DANCER.

The dancers are in general of three types:

1. Conventional (315 figures) — Dancers who show the characteristic features of the Maenad as described in literature, and seem to be engaged in a ritual dance. (Pl. 14, Fig. 2; Pl. 15, Fig. 1, etc.).

2. Ornamental (36 figures) — Dancers who either perform to spectators; have a musician seated at their side; step with a marked daintiness and prettiness; or show some characteristics not exclusively those of the thiasus. (Pl. 15, Fig. 3). Care has been taken in stating conclusions about ornamental dancers not to confuse with those conclusions criteria used in isolating this type of dancer

3. Extraordinary (6 figures) — Dancers unique as to costume, attributes, or bearing. (Pl. 22, Fig. 4, small Maenad).

Conventional figures appear on representations of all four periods. This may be due in part to the fact that such subjects were better suited to the technique, and appealed more to the artists, of those periods, than of the earlier and more austere ones; but it must also suggest, at least, that as time went on it became more and more common for women to perform pleasing ornamental dances showing the general characteristics of the Thyiad dance, but with less seriousness and abandon. Extraordinary figures are of the strong, free, and fine periods.

Within the two main groups, conventional and ornamental, certain special types are evident. The type *with the hand or hands sleeved by the tunic* (Pl. 14, Fig. 2; Pl. 16, Figs. 2 and 3; Pl. 17, Fig. 1), for example, a type of figure found almost exclusively in the Maenad dance, is represented by thirty-five cases in the conventional group, none in the ornamental. It appears almost always in the free period, suggesting that this feature of the dance was favored then, and died out subsequently. *Figures partly nude*, represented by six cases in the conventional group and six in the ornamental, occur predominately in the fine and florid periods. The nudity usually involves one leg (Pl. 17, Fig. 3), one breast (Pl. 17, Fig. 2), or, at most, nudity to the waist (Pl. 17, Fig. 4). *Heavily cloaked figures* (see Pl. 15, Fig. 2; Pl. 18, Figs. 2 and 3) often appear among Maenad dancers, and have aroused some interest among writers, being interpreted now as priestesses, now as deities, now as representations of a distinctive type of ritual dance not necessarily Dionysiac ¹. Among the scenes examined

¹ RAPP, *op. cit.*, Part. II; HEYDEMANN, « *Verhüllte Tänzerin* », *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, iv, 1879; HEUZEY, « *La Danseuse Voilée d'Auguste Titeux* », in *Bull.*

Corr. Hell., 1892, p. 73 ff.; also, « *Recherches sur les Figures de Femmes Voilées dans l'Art Grec* », in *Mon. Grecs*, 1873-4, p. 22 ff.

there were twelve such dancers in the conventional group, and five in the ornamental group, chiefly from the free period, but to some extent from the fine and florid periods as well. The significance of these dancers will be discussed under the various subheadings which follow. The dancers not included under these special types in each group we may term « ordinary conventional » and « ordinary ornamental » respectively.

All types of Maenad are shown both with and without supernatural beings. Their possible source and reality have already been discussed; we may add here a few words, chiefly with reference to the ornamental group; though we must take care not to generalize too much from artistic style, nor to put undue stress upon a specific artist's leaning towards realism, yet some of the figures are of such strikingly realistic types, even when they appear with Satyrs, as to lead to the conclusion that they are definitely drawn from real women, and perhaps in some cases even from professional dancers. The latter supposition may explain a few more of the seemingly mythological names (see page 78). However, the apparently real figures of the ornamental group do not differ essentially in dance movements from the less apparently real. The ornamental Maenad dance, then, may have been performed by professional dancers, by ordinary Greek women on special occasions, or by colleges of priestesses who also performed the conventional ritual dances. In any case, its source must ultimately have been the real Dionysiac thiasus.

AGE OF THE DANCERS.

Though we must be on our guard against the idealizing tendencies of the artists, yet a glance over the examples yields the general impression that in the conventional and ornamental types of dancer there are both mature and younger women ¹. The cloaked figures, in particular, are rather matronly than youthful. The extraordinary figures all seem to be young.

DEGREES OF FERVOR.

Contrary, perhaps, to what might be expected, all Maenad dance scenes are not wildly tumultuous and estatic. They seem to fall roughly into four degrees of fervor, viz., the tranquil, the restrained, the spirited, and the ecstatic. To be sure, such a division is bound to be more or less subjective; besides, such classifications often overlap, and there are always border-line cases. Nevertheless, the scenes containing Maenad dances may be classified somewhat as follows: Tranquil, 16; restrained, 55; spirited, 89; ecstatic, 27. Naturally, tranquil scenes (Pl. 19, Fig. 1), are very much in the minority. Restrained scenes, i. e., scenes neither tranquil nor spirited, but depicting a rather ordinary level of feeling somewhere

¹ This agrees with the words of Teiresias, in the *Bacchae* of EURIPIDES, lines 206-9—that Dionysus makes

no distinction of age, but expects honor from all, young and i, 1-3. old. Cf. DIOD. SIC., IV, iii, 1-3.

between the two (Pl. 18, Fig. 1), are rather common. Spirited scenes (Pl. 19, Figs. 2 and 3) predominate. They are often gay, playful, or carefree in tone. Definitely ecstatic scenes, with exaggeration of pose and movement and often in grouping and costume (Pl. 14, Fig. 2; Pl. 15, Fig. 1; Pl. 16, Fig. 3; Pl. 19, Fig. 4), are not nearly so numerous as we might expect.

There seems little correlation between the number of dancers in the scene and the degree of fervor of the scene as a unit, except that the large groups of women dancers without men tend to be ecstatic. As for individual dancers, the conventional ones are usually spirited, but often restrained, less often ecstatic; the ornamental ones are usually spirited, but often ecstatic, less often restrained.

The ecstatic type of dance is commonest in the fine period, is less common in the free and florid, and does not appear at all in the strong, probably because of the limitations of technique at that period. The Maenad dance, then, is seen at its greatest pitch of fervor in art representations in the years 440-400 B. C. — this in spite of the fact that the Greeks of the fifth century preferred the monumental and quiet to the restless or troubled! In view of this fact the number of ecstatic and spirited scenes becomes larger in proportion; and we must assume that the ecstatic element, when present, was very marked indeed, in spite of the relatively small number of art objects which so depict it. It is further worthy of comment that a dance of the Maenad type is not only represented frequently, but evidently very highly favored as an art object, even during the period of greatest restraint in art.

Throughout all this scrutiny of degrees of fervor, we must remember that matters of this sort are probably due in large part to the temperament of the artist, and to his preference for either restraint or freedom. The ultimate conclusion from the large number of figures of all degrees represented would seem to be that the Maenad dance during all periods had degrees of fervor—that it began, perhaps, calmly, and worked up to marked ecstasy; and that the artist might portray the dance at any stage, to suit his own taste, and still have a fairly true representation of the facts.

CLOTHING.

Although typically Dionysiac variations may be present, yet the basic costume of all the conventional and ornamental figures is the every-day dress of women of the day in which the art object was made. This may be due to convention, but may also point to a strengthening of the supposition that the artist chose his models from real women of his own day, doing real dances.

In addition to the basic costume, the commonest articles of clothing observed in the case of the *conventional* figures are the nebris (90 cases), the wreath (70 cases), the fillet (56 cases), and various forms of the κεκρύφαλος, notably the mitra, or Dionysiac cap (52 cases).

The nebris, or fawn-skin, is worn in a variety of ways: down behind the back like a

cloak, the two forepaws around the dancer's neck, 39 cases (Pl. 17, Fig. 1; Pl. 19, Fig. 5); around the breast, caught on the left shoulder, with a paw or the head or the tail hanging down front, 25 cases (Pl. 14, Fig. 2; Pl. 15, Fig. 1); the same, but caught on the right shoulder, 4 cases (Pl. 18, Fig. 1); around the back, with all four paws front, two at the neck, two at the waist, 2 cases, both in the strong period; covering one hand and arm to the shoulder, 9 cases (Pl. 20, Fig. 1); over and covering one hand, 4 cases; over one arm, leaving the hand free, 3 cases (Pl. 20, Fig. 2); and over both shoulders, covering the breast, 4 cases (Pl. 14, Fig. 2).

The wreath is of ivy or of laurel. Usually the fillet is plain, but in a few cases it is shown as twined with snakes. This may be a mythological detail added by the artist, or may point to the use of artificial attributes by the Thyiades of the classic period. Sometimes the fillet itself is a mere attribute, tied about the thyrsus or hung over the arm (Pl. 16, Fig. 1). The mitra appears in several forms, ranging from a fillet-like band to the developed cap-shape often seen on Phrygian figures in art (Pl. 20, Fig. 3). Both cloaked and uncloaked figures may wear it.

The long-sleeved chiton, if we may so call it, has already been mentioned (page 82). It is probable that the garment was very wide, and that the sleeve effect was made by fastening the opening from the shoulder clear down to the side fold. Often the wearer has the sleeve wrapped about the arm, or more often caught up and clutched by the hand inside ¹. Often only one hand is so covered, the wearer being at liberty, obviously, to let go the sleeve and permit it to slide up at will (Pl. 16, Fig. 3). One vase (Pl. 14, Fig. 2) by its technique seems to indicate that the sleeve-effect could be obtained at times by a garment over the chiton, and of a different material from it. It has been suggested that this characteristic phase of the Bacchic dance may be due to a religious desire to have the hands covered. It might be suggested also that the usage may have some connection with the fact that the Trieteric celebrations, at least, always took place outdoors, in the dead of winter. This fact may also have some bearing on the presence of cloaked figures ². In addition to the heavily muffled figures already mentioned (page 82), many figures show light mantles; and in four cases one hand is hidden under it.

Three figures show what may be termed «jumper chitons». One of the varieties is a slip-on, sleeveless, tabard-shaped garment, put on over the chiton, and hanging ungirt almost to the knee (Pl. 22, Figs. 2, 3). The other is similar, but is shorter and has bell-shaped sleeves to just above the elbow.

Only a very few figures show ungirt chitons. Often cords cross the chest, or even pass over the nebris around the waist. In length, the chiton usually reached to the ankles ³. Occas-

¹ Cf. HEUZEY, *Histoire du Costume Antique*, Paris, 1922, pp. 209-210.

² For the intense cold during the Trieteric celebrations

see, for example, PLUTARCH, *De Primo Frigore*, 18.

³ In accordance with the description of the typical Dionysiac dress, the bassara. See POLLUX, *op. cit.*, vii, 59.

ionally it works, or is held, up to the knee. Rarely it swirls on the ground. As for textiles, both heavy and light materials seem to be used.

Other features of the costume which appear from time to time are crowns and scarves. Jewels are abundant—earrings, necklaces, and bracelets especially. The latter are most common, and are usually of the “snake” type—perhaps a reminiscence of the sacred serpents of Dionysus, when real serpents were no longer carried. In representations of all periods, garments are often elaborately embroidered. In early periods, of course, the folds of the garments are undisturbed even by violent motion. In later periods, the effects of motion are depicted in great detail.

The whole matter of transparency of garments is a difficult one in dealing with vases, as one can seldom be sure that the lines of the body under the folds are real indications of transparency, and not the conventional representation of the modelling of the human form beneath the garment¹. Only in a very few vases, all of the florid style, where the flesh is painted white, and where the white continues up under the drawing of the garment, can we be sure of transparency. It seems likely that in general the garments of the conventional Maenad, though they displayed her form by folds as she danced, were not transparent.

The *ornamental* figures, as we should expect, show more adornment than the conventional, especially in the matter of more richly embroidered chitons. The commonest feature of the costume is the scarf (9 cases), the wreathing of which may have been used to represent the windings of the Dionysiac snakes, which do not themselves appear in ornamental dances. The mitra, the wreath, and the fillet are common, as in the conventional figures, and the crown appears occasionally. Figures muffled in cloaks have already been mentioned (page 82). The nebris as such appears but three times—down behind in cloak fashion, and caught on the left shoulder with the foot front; but a sort of over-chiton occurs, rather fanciful in appearance, spotted, and suggesting the nebris in its general effect. The nebris, then, has been reduced to a purely ornamental garment merely reminiscent of its origin. The chiton is sometimes shown very long, for the ornamental effect of the folds, apparently. Less often it reaches merely to the shin or knee. More usually it is to the ankles, as in the conventional group.

For transparency of garments, see the preceding discussion. As in the case of the conventional figures, a few late scenes may show transparency.

For a discussion of figures partly nude, see page 82. For shoes, see the discussion of feet, below.

The *extraordinary* figures are so few as to require little comment. Of the six, five show the chiton very short—above the knees. One wears a chlamys, one a “jumper chiton” over another chiton, a third a “jumper chiton” with no other chiton visible beneath it. One

¹ Cf. REICHOLD, *Skizzenbuch Griechischer Meister*, 5, 1.

is girt tightly around the waist in almost Cretan fashion. Three wear shoes (see ensuing discussion).

FEET AND LEGS.

Making all due allowance for conventions in the vase paintings, we still see clearly that the basic step in the Maenad dance, in all its phases, is, first of all, a rapid walk (Pl. 20, Fig. 4) — 185 conventional cases, 16 ornamental. In the conventional figures, the next important step is the run (Pl. 16, Fig. 3) — 102 cases¹. It seems highly probable that, just as the particular dance may have increased in fervor as it went on, so it may have begun in a swift walking step and developed into a run. In the ornamental type of dance, the dainty, mincing step in which the feet are held close together is second in importance (Pl. 15, Fig. 3; Pl. 21, Fig. 1) — 9 cases — and the run third — 6 cases. The mincing step is comparatively uncommon in the conventional figures — 8 cases. Steps are long, short, or medium at all periods, but with a strong tendency to shortness in later periods, especially in the ornamental dance.

The direction of the walking, running, or mincing step is usually forward; rarely backward (see discussion of choreography); frequently, especially in ornamental figures, turning in place (i. e., turning in a small space, without at the same time going forward or backward; see Pl. 15, Fig. 3²). It is often difficult to determine whether or not a dancer is turning, and some students, notably Emmanuel, seem to have erred in accepting too many figures as turning. As criteria we may accept the following:

1. A dizzy expression on the face or general instability of pose, and the feet in a plausible position, e. g., close together, with the weight on both. (Cf. Pl. 21, Fig. 1).
2. The back turned to the spectator, and the steps evidently not going straight ahead. (Cf. Pl. 16, Fig. 2).
3. A definite swirl of the garments so as to wrap around the legs, with the feet in a plausible position. (Cf. Pl. 16, Fig. 1). Emmanuel recognized this swirl as indicating a turn, but he confused with it the equally common swirl effect brought about not by turning, but by rapid forward motion against the wind, as in Pl. 19, Fig. 2. This criterion seems especially reliable if accompanied by backward bending of the head; for with the head in such a position it is extremely easy to turn or at least to swerve from the straight line of direction.
4. In fine style vases, a marked swing of the cloak, if accompanied by other indications.
5. Both arms raised out front or side, shoulder height, if accompanied by strong head bending and plausible positions of the feet (Pl. 21, Fig. 1).
6. General confusion in the group of dancers (see choreography).

¹ This is consistent with the frequent use of the word *δρόμος* to represent the course of the Maenad. Cfs. EURIPIDES, *Bacchae*, 136, 148, etc.

² Cf. the constant recurrence of descriptions of the «whirling Maenads,» as in the *Bacchae*, 569-570, etc.

7. In some cases, hair blown strongly back (see Pl. 15, Fig. 3, and discussion of hair).

Using these criteria, we find that something over one-tenth of the conventional figures, and almost one-half of the ornamental ones, are turning in place. Most of these use the walking or running step, but about four in all use instead a cross-step on the balls of the feet, passing one leg markedly across the other.

The above discussion refers of course only to turning in place. For a discussion of a circular or curving line of march see the section on choreography.

Other steps clearly visible are the spring into the air; the leap or bound¹, often seen in the case of a Maenad with sleeved chiton (Pl. 14, Fig. 2); the hop, raised foot rear; and the skip, raised foot forward. Occasionally the Maenad is shown either just on the verge of, or just in the act of, collapsing completely (Pl. 21, Fig. 1)².

The matter of *which leg is advanced*, and the relation of that leg to the arm advanced, etc., cannot be adequately discussed with the material at hand; for it is a known fact that in early vase painting the foot away from the spectator is always the one advanced; i. e., if the figure is moving to the spectator's right, the left leg is advanced, and vice versa. In the fine and florid periods this is not always true, though it does occur there, too. In the vases of Hieron (Pl. 19, Fig. 4; Pl. 20, Fig. 4) there is a strong tendency at times to advance the leg nearest the spectator—the reverse of the early tradition. But this can have no significance in this discussion. A line in the *Bacchae* of Euripides (943) seems to indicate that the Dionysiac ritual dance began with the right foot. Though the matter is by no means certain, there may very well have been some such observance. So far as the vases are concerned, the matter is purely one of painting technique. As a result, we are hampered in any attempt to study opposition of members (see discussion of arms).

As for the rendering of the *knee as bent*, it is true that it may be a convention of the painter; however, the chances are that it represents actual fact, especially if the gait has been correctly interpreted as a rapid walking or running step. It is probable, then, that we are justified in concluding that the bent knee is practically universal in the conventional type of Maenad dance (117 cases of both knees bent, 153 of one bent, 19 of neither bent, and 26 uncertain), and that it is very common, but varied with some use of the straight knee, in the ornamental type (Pl. 18, Fig. 2; Pl. 15, Fig. 3) — 13 cases of both knees bent, 11 of one bent, 9 of neither bent, and 3 uncertain.

Exceptionally strong knee bending, amounting almost to crouching in the case of the supporting leg and almost to a doubling back in the case of the raised leg, is found in four figures in the ornamental group and fifty-eight in the conventional (Pl. 19, Fig. 4; Pl. 22, Fig. 4). It is seen, as would be expected, only in ecstatic and spirited scenes, and especially in ecstatic ones.

¹ Cf. *Bacchae*, 307, 1093, etc.

² Cf. *Bacchae*, 138-40, 382-385; 600-601.

In all types of Maenad dance, the *weight* is shown predominatingly as on the forward foot, though in the ornamental type the small step with the weight about evenly divided increases in importance. However, the mere presence of the rendering of the weight as on the rear foot (Pl. 20, Fig. 4) — 36 cases in conventional, 6 in ornamental — is deserving of comment. It appears in all periods, and would seem to denote that at times the ordinary, normal walking or running step was varied by a step almost stealthy in appearance, in which the weight was held on the rear foot till the forward foot was well advanced, then shifted to that as the other foot, in turn, was advanced. In a very few cases this step seems not stealthy in nature, but tipsy (Pl. 21, Fig. 2).

In representations of all periods we find cases of feet placed *flat on the ground*. This is, of course, of no significance in the case of strong and early free vases, where the conventional method of drawing the foot would require it. The significant fact is that even in fine and florid representations we do find it, along with the much more frequent pose on the balls of the feet. Hence, it is probable that part of the Maenad dance in all periods was a swift walk on the whole foot, varied at times, in both ornamental and ritual dances, by the same step on the balls of the foot — the heel raised either high or half-high, though the high seems more common in ornamental than in ritual dances. As the step increased to a run, one foot seems to have been raised from the ground sometimes quite sharply, more often slightly. Frequently it is shown not entirely raised, but with the toes just leaving the ground, their tips still touching (Pl. 15, Fig. 1).

One figure rests the foot on the heel and raises the toe, in a playful ornamental dance.

The matter of *foot covering* is interesting. In only eight cases were shoes of any sort found: — One ornamental figure shows soft shoes to the ankles, as does also one of the extraordinary group and one of the conventional (Pl. 21, Fig. 2); two extraordinary figures and one conventional show high boots, extending to just below the knee, laced up the front, and with a turn-back flap at the top — boots similar to those seen on Dionysus when he is depicted in Eastern attire; and two conventional figures show sandals (Pl. 20, Fig. 2, left). It has been doubted that Greek dancers in general were really barefooted, and it has been suggested that the bare foot is a convention of vase technique for the shod foot (see page 72). Some color is lent to the suggestion by the fact that the Conservatori Maenad, the Madrid reliefs, and the Munich Maenad all apparently show sandalled feet. However, a variant, in the Terme at Rome, of the Conservatori and Madrid figures, shows bare feet; and there are instances of the presence of shod Satyrs or Dionysus on the same vase with unshod Maenads (see Pl. 14, Fig. 2; Pl. 16, Fig. 3; Pl. 19, Fig. 3), and even of shod Maenads together with others unshod (e. g. Louvre 6; see HOPPIN, *Handbook of Red-Figured Vases*, Cambridge, 1919, Vol. I, p. 329). Further, the frequent literary references to the gleaming white feet of the Maenads¹ would seem to postulate bare feet, or at most very low sandals. The Maenad

¹ E. g., EURIPIDES, *Cyclops*, 74; *Bacchae*, 664-5.

dance, then, both ritual and ornamental, was performed *probably* barefoot, but *possibly* in very light sandals. The steps must have been such as to accommodate themselves to the bare foot.

In no case, in any period, are the *toes* definitely and unmistakably pointed. One or two doubtful cases might be construed as suggesting a point; but they are not sure. In all other cases the toes are held naturally.

TORSO.

One must take great care in interpreting positions of the torso on art objects, because of the convention, in the early periods, of representing the torso always in its broadest aspect. If the head really turns back over the shoulder (see discussion of head), the torso must be swerved around into a three-quarter view with reference to the feet. If the arms are swung across the body into a position surely at right angles to the legs, the torso must also be swung around somewhat. If one arm is extended back surely, the torso must necessarily swing a little (see discussion of arms). Otherwise, the only torso poses of which we can be reasonably sure are bendings. Even here, the direction of the bend is not always easy to determine immediately. For example, the general circumstances of the scene often enable us to be sure that what looks at first like a side bend is really one forward (in the same direction as that in which the feet go), due to the convention of the torso in full front. We can usually be sure of a bend to the side only in fine and florid vases.

The general tone of the conventional scenes assures us that there was much freedom in the swing of the torso, with frequent marked bending. Of the 315 figures, 55 show bending — 21 forward a little, 5 forward deeply (Pl. 17, Fig. 2; Pl. 19, Fig. 4); 6 far to the side (Pl. 16, Fig. 2); 13 backward a little, 10 far back (Pl. 15, Fig. 1) — and 4 show the torso swung violently by a strong swing of the two arms around at right angles to the legs (Pl. 16, Fig. 3; Pl. 17, Fig. 1). The number of figures showing bending and swing would probably be larger if it were not for the working of artistic restraint.

More of the ornamental figures, in proportion, show bending than the conventional — 15 out of 36. As is the case in the conventional group, backward bending (8 cases of slight bending, 3 marked) is more common than forward (3 cases, slight). There is one case of strong bending to the side, none of strong torso swing.

HANDS AND ARMS.

As in the case of the torso, it is necessary to exercise the utmost caution in the interpretation of arm positions, owing to the convention of drawing the torso full front. It is often difficult, sometimes impossible, to determine whether the arms are stretched out at the sides or towards the front. In general, an arm pointing in the direction in which the feet are

advancing seems to be advanced forward; this is not always true, however, for sometimes the movement shows that it is clearly lateral (Pl. 19, Fig. 1, right hand figure). In a few cases almost arbitrary decisions must be made; but in every case the figure has been examined carefully, and interpreted with a view to greatest plausibility.

The arms appear to have the utmost freedom in the Maenad dance. In both conventional and ornamental figures, angular poses, with the elbow bent sharply, predominate (305 arms on conventional figures, 33 on ornamental, are angular). This may point to quick, sharp, decisive movement of the arms. Arms straight, with the elbow unbent (148 cases in conventional, 15 in ornamental), and arms curving softly, not bent sharply (155 and 23 cases, respectively), occur with about equal frequency; but the two combined hardly equal the frequency of the angular poses. This fact is not due to crude technique exclusively, for it appears on vases of all periods. It must be more or less a characteristic of the dance.

Of the *attributes* carried in the hands, the most common among conventional dancers are, of course, the thyrsus or the narthex, animals, vases, torches, and branches. Torn animals are not so common as whole ones; this may denote an adherence to actual fact — the Maenads may have carried about animals more often than they tore them! It may, of course, be due to the aversion of the artist to portraying omophagia, or sacramental rending and devouring. In any case, omophagia appears really to have formed a part of the ritual dance at times, though it was probably regulated as time went on, and ultimately disappeared.

The most common attribute of the ornamental dancer, likewise, is the thyrsus or narthex. Less common are vases and wine skins. The animal element, it is worth noting, has disappeared completely.

In both types of the dance, a single attribute is seen much more often than a combination of attributes. This is especially noticeable in the ornamental figures, where there is but one instance of a combination — a wine skin and a thyrsus — a fact which suggests that the hands were left free for gesture, and that such attributes as were used were introduced merely to hint at the Bacchic origin of the dance being performed. The favored combinations in the case of conventional figures are: — Thyrsus and an animal, especially a snake; thyrsus and a torch; thyrsus and a vase, either a cantharus or an oenochoë; thyrsus and a winnowing-fan; thyrsus and a branch; thyrsus and a horn; or torch and an oenochoë. Other combinations occur less often.

Among conventional dancers, the *narthex* and *thyrsus* are carried in every conceivable way. There is a hint in the *Bacchae* (lines 943-4) that the correct hand in which to hold it, at least at the beginning of the dance, was the right hand. The art representations show it now in the left, now in the right, in all periods; and the matter seems incapable of proof one way or the other. (See the ensuing discussion of opposition).

We may group the various representations of the thyrsus and narthex with conventional dancers roughly into the following classes:

1. Held vertically — 16 cases. (With the arm curving out, low, from the side, the thyrsus upright, Pl. 19, Fig. 2; the same with the arm out and to the rear; with the arm bent at right angles or curving, the forearm out front, the thyrsus upright; with the arm bent up at shoulder height, grasping the thyrsus near the top, and holding it upright front, Pl. 19, Fig. 2, etc.).

2. Held horizontally — 35 cases. (With the arm curving, or bent sharply, down at the side, the thyrsus at hip height and pointing straight front; held horizontally just above the head, with the top either to the front or to the rear, and grasped with two hands or with one, the arms bent or curved — often threatening; the same back of the head, Pl. 19, Fig. 5; the same beside the head, held with either hand or with both; the same back of or beside the neck; horizontally across the body, front or back, at about hip height, the point to the front or to the rear, Pl. 20, Fig. 3; resting on the shoulder and pointing straight out forward, etc.).

3. Held diagonally — 99 cases. (Across the front of the body on a slant, the arm straight, curved or bent, Pl. 19, Fig. 4; the same, rear; out at the side, slanting in or out; down at the side, slanting up or down; held out front, slanting in or out from the hand, the top up or down, Pl. 18, Fig. 1; the arm up high at the side, holding the thyrsus slanting up or down, in or out, the arm straight, bent, or curved, Pl. 15, Fig. 1; leaning against the shoulder, held by one hand or both, low, medium, or high, with arms straight, curved, or bent, Pl. 15, Fig. 2; propped against the thigh, Pl. 17, Fig. 1, etc.).

4. Falling from the hand, as if thrown away or let go, Pl. 21, Fig. 1 — 6 cases.

At times the thyrsus seems to touch the ground, and to be used as a sort of cane — *θύρσῳ χρυσῶν γῆν* (*Bacchae*, 188). This is in the tranquil scenes, always.

It is always in the ecstatic scenes that the thyrsus or narthex is brandished overhead. In a few cases it seems to be flourished as a weapon; this, however, is not very common in dance scenes proper, but is quite frequent in scenes of quarrels between Maenads and satyrs.

Usually the thyrsus is carried carelessly, as if the dancer were but half conscious of its existence; less often, with great precision — especially in cases where it is held out straight front, vertically, as if the top were to be a sign to indicate the line of direction to the dancers behind. Sometimes the thyrsus is so held that the back of the hand is towards the spectator, sometimes the front. Occasionally it is clutched in the fist; more often it is held loosely.

There is but one case of two thyrsi carried by one dancer.

The variety of pose in general would seem to denote a freedom of transition from one pose to another. Hence, it is likely that there was much swinging and brandishing of the thyrsus according to the whim of the dancer.

The thyrsus is not so common, in proportion, with ornamental figures as with conventional. It is held in the same ways, where it does occur.

Torches are confined almost exclusively to conventional figures. Sometimes one is held, sometimes two. They are carried (see Pl. 15, Figs 1 and 2) : —

1. Vertically — 3 cases. (Out at the side; out forward; with arm bent, curved, or straight).

2. Horizontally — 4 cases. (Straight over the head, with the top to the front or to the rear; or pointing straight out ahead).

3. Diagonally — 24 cases. (Resting against the shoulder; with the arm out front, the torch slanting out; with the arm down at the side, the torch slanting in or out, up or down; slanting across in front of the body; with the arm held front, the torch slanting out or up; with the arm to the side and rear, the torch slanting rear; slanting up or down over the head; with the arm held out at the side, etc.).

In a few cases the torch seems to be brandished as a weapon. The torch may or may not be lit, and in either case the flame end may be held up or down. In general, the abandon with which the torch is flourished would point to rather spectacular effects in the nocturnal Bacchic dance ¹.

Animals such as the fawn or the panther are usually held flat on the palm (Pl. 14, Fig. 3; Pl. 19, Fig. 4), but also over the shoulders, by one or two legs (Pl. 18, Fig. 1; Pl. 21, Fig. 2), by the tail, or by the neck; with both hands, two of the animal's feet in each; or by two dancers at once, pulling apart (Pl. 17, Fig. 2). Snakes wreath about the dancer's arm, and are held up close to the dancer's head, at the sides, or out ahead. Sometimes the dancer holds one snake, sometimes two. In vases denoting pursuit of a Maenad by a Satyr, the Maenad often uses a snake to terrify the Satyr; but in the scenes here examined, strictly dancing representations, the positions are quite varied, and seem to portray a mere shifting for variety.

Of the types of *vase* represented, one, the crater, always rests flat on the palm, sometimes with the other hand curving around just over the head to make a pouring gesture (Pl. 19, Fig. 4). The oenochoë is always held tilted, as if to pour out wine, sometimes forward, sometimes rear, and at waist or hip height (Pl. 14, Fig. 4). The cantharus is usually held out straight forward, side, or side rear.

Ivy or laurel branches are held vertically or slanting, with the arm bent, straight, or curved, and most often with the thumb and one or two fingers (Pl. 19, Fig. 1; Pl. 20, Fig. 2). The winnowing fan is held flat on the palm, out forward, side rear, or high over the head. The horn is held front, side, or side rear; the knife, always vertically; the wine skin, either over the shoulder or down low, side rear; the mystic cista, down side rear; the vine, always vertically, either out ahead or over the head. The child, when it appears as an attribute in omophagia ² scenes, is carried over the shoulders or on the shoulder, held by the hand.

Musical instruments are carried in characteristic ways. Crotala, or castanets, among conventional dancers, are held:

¹ Cf. ARISTOPHANES, *Clouds*, 603-606.

see APOLLODORUS, *Bibliotheca*, III, v, 2, fin.

² For omophagia involving the devouring of infants

1. With arms up or out. (Arm out straight at side, castanet up, elbow straight; arm curving out and up side, castanet in, Pl. 17, Fig. 1; arm out at side, elbow sharp, hand up by head, castanet in, Pl. 17, Fig. 3; same, castanet down, Pl. 20, Fig. 4; arm out at side, elbow bent, forearm straight up, castanet up; arm out front, curved up, castanet up, Pl. 17, Fig. 4; same, elbow sharp, forearm up, castanet up; same, castanet down, Pl. 19, Fig. 4).

2. With arms down. (Arm out at side, elbow sharp, forearm down, castanet slanting up in front of body, Pl. 20, Fig. 4; arm across body, waist high, elbow sharp, castanet up; same, castanet down; arm out at side, curving down, castanet down, Pl. 17, Fig. 1; same, curving front).

The sharp elbow is characteristic of castanet poses. The various poses of arms up and down are combined with a great deal of freedom. Sometimes one is up and one down, but often both are up, or out, or across the body. The only markedly common combination is that of the first pose mentioned under 1 with the first pose mentioned under 2.

Ornamental dancers use castanets much less often than do the conventional ones, and show but two castanet poses — one arm up, elbow sharp, hand close to head, castanet out; other hand down side, elbow sharp, castanet in; and both arms curving front, waist high, castanets up.

Tympana (Pl. 15, Figs. 1, 2; Pl. 18, Fig. 1; Pl. 19, Fig. 3; Pl. 22, Figs. 2, 3) are held, in both conventional and ornamental dances, usually flat on the palm, at either waist or shoulder height; leaning against the palm; or by the handle, either up and out at the side, hanging down front, or horizontally front. The hand striking is usually held relaxed, the fingers free; it may be held front, side, or side rear, at hip, waist, shoulder, or head height. The most frequent combination is that of the tympanum flat on the palm, out at the side, waist high, being struck by the other hand, front, elbow bent, at a point not much higher than the rim.

The pose used by the two dancers who play cymbals is the same (Pl. 22, Fig. 4), hands almost together, at breast height, in front, the elbows bent sharply.

Of *poses with the garments*, the outstanding are those of conventional figures with *sleeved chitons*. Of the forty-six, six show but one arm so covered (Pl. 14, Fig. 2). In two of these cases the free arm holds an attribute. The whole tendency of the figures seems to be to hold the covered arms out from the body. The commonest pose is with both arms out at the sides, shoulder height, curving up a little, (Pl. 14, fig. 2). This is often accompanied by the wildest of ecstatic head, body, and foot movements, especially strong bends front and side, leaps, and high knee flexion. Other favored combinations are: The same as the foregoing, but with one arm front, the other side rear, both arms slanting up (it is sometimes difficult to distinguish this pose from the foregoing, and one can be certain of it only on vases of the fine and florid periods); one arm slanting up, side, elbow straight, shoulder height, the other slanting out and down, side (Pl. 16, Fig. 3); one arm out and curving up side, the other curving

up to the head or over it (Pl. 16, Fig. 2)—usually accompanied by strong side and front body and head bending; one arm straight out side rear, or bent up at the elbow, in a deterring gesture to the dancer following, and the other arm low and out front; both arms slanting low down and out side, accompanied by much knee bending (Pl. 17, Fig. 1); a strong side swing of both arms, elbows straight, shoulder height (Pl. 16, Fig. 3), or one at shoulder height, the other waist height (Pl. 17, Fig. 1), accompanied by a turning of the torso; both arms held forward, shoulder height, curving up — the natural point of departure for the preceding pose. Poses of single arms that should be noticed are: — Straight ahead, elbow stiff, arm pointing in the direction of motion; curved up before the face; curving down forward, low.

Most of these covered arms appear in very swiftly moving scenes, with spirited and ecstatic steps. Often they give the effect of wings ¹.

In one case the dancer holds a thyrsus and a snake in covered hands; in two other cases the dancer has just dropped a thyrsus from the covered hand. Otherwise, the hand seems to have been uncovered when an attribute was to be held.

In thirteen cases, all conventional, we find one hand of the dancer completely covered with a *nebris* (Pl. 20, Fig. 1). In all these cases the pose is practically the same — the arm concerned is thrust out straight, with the elbow stiff. It is usually forward, less often side or side rear. Occasionally there is a faint suggestion that the *nebris* is thought of as a shield, but this is in only a very few instances. It is worn as often on the right hand as on the left. One explanation of the stiffness of the arm may be the fact that the *nebris* itself is rather stiff, and would not easily fall into folds or show a curved arm beneath.

In the case of *heavily cloaked figures*, arm movement is necessarily hampered, and restricted to: — Supporting or holding up the cloak from underneath (Pl. 18, Fig. 2); resting on the hip; falling relaxed at the side; holding a thyrsus under the cloak, the top protruding from the cloak; curving before the face; extending forward or sideward, the cloak covering it; supported by the cloak, the fingers protruding from the folds under the chin (Pl. 15, Fig. 2); supporting the cloak from the outside, the arm curving close to the body (Pl. 18, Fig. 3).

Poses with the chiton resolve themselves into:

1. Holding it up — either down low on one side, daintily, to get it out of the way of the feet (Pl. 22, Fig. 4); or low on both sides; or with the over-chiton gathered up just below the waist and held in in a pouch-effect.

2. Apparently tearing it off, or beginning to do so — either with the arm out straight side rear, the end of the chiton held in the hand, and the breast bare; or with the chiton clutched on the breast.

The latter group of poses is found only in conventional scenes of an ecstatic nature. In

¹ Maenads are compared to birds in *Bacchae* 749 and 1091.

general, the Maenad dancer does not clutch or hold up her chiton to any marked extent. Her garments usually fly free.

The garment poses most common among ornamental dancers, and found also among conventional figures, are those with the scarf. It is held almost invariably in both hands, in such a way that it curves gracefully between them. It is grasped either just at the end, in a point, or a few inches from the end, gathered up in the hand. It is held *at the rear* (with both arms curving out low at the sides, the scarf festooning rear — Pl. 17, Fig. 4; with one arm bent front, the other down low at the side, the scarf curving down rear; with one arm down low, hip height, the other bent up by the head, the scarf curving down rear; with both arms forward, low, hip height, the scarf curving up behind the neck and down again over the shoulders, Pl. 17, Fig. 4; with one arm up, bent in by the head, the other low down side rear, etc.); or *at the front* (looped across in front of the body, both arms curving down and out at the sides, Pl. 15, Fig. 3: over the face, one arm up and in, the other down low at the side, bent in at the waist). There must have been much graceful play of the scarf, the hands moving now up, now down, and the scarf swirling from front to rear, now high, now low. It is always accompanied by graceful bending of the torso front and back.

Poses of the *free hand* which are not strictly gestures may be grouped as follows:

1. Relaxed — With the arm swinging loosely forward, side rear, side front, or rear (Pl. 18, Fig. 1), with the palm slanting down, turned up, turned back, or front; the hand curving gracefully down at the wrist or with the wrist straight; the fingers together, apart, or curled up loosely; the index finger with the others or pointing carelessly down.

2. Resting easily on the hip. The other hand usually holds an attribute.

3. Pushing against another dancer, in a crowded scene, e. g., placed flat, with fingers spread, on the hip of a dancer moving just ahead.

4. Reflecting rapidity of motion. In most cases of this sort the arm is out straight ahead, with the elbow stiff; in some cases it stretches as stiffly rear; and in a few cases one arm is forward, one rear. Variants of the forward pose are: Curving up from the shoulder, palm down, fingers together; same, palm front; same, palm toward spectator; same, fingers curving in; same, fingers loosely together; same, fingers wide apart; slanting down a little from the shoulder, palm up; same, palm forward; same, palm down; same, palm turned almost towards the dancer herself. There are a few cases in which the elbow is bent sharply, and the forearm raised.

All these poses of the free hand, except 3, occur in both conventional and ornamental figures.

Gestures of conventional figures seem to be the following ¹:

¹ SITTL, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, though in it dancing gestures are not classified

with any degree of minuteness, has been of some assistance in the interpretation of the gestures shown here.

1. Pure abandon — Arm out straight side, shoulder height, palm up, fingers together, elbow stiff (Pl. 20, Fig. 1); same, palm down; same, palm to spectator; arm curved up and in to head by ear, palm up (Pl. 19, Fig. 4) — this pose is worthy of special comment, since it seems to be a revel pose, appearing frequently on representations of the Komos dance; same, palm down; same, but with arm over head and bending down on other side, palm up (Pl. 19, Fig. 4); arm curving up side rear, palm rear.

2. Caress (of an animal) — Arm bent at elbow, forearm across body, at waist height, other hand raised slanting a little, palm towards animal, fingers together.

3. Deference, apparently to Dionysus or his eikon (Pl. 19, Fig. 4) — Arm out and up side rear as the dancer looks over her shoulder, palm towards Dionysus, fingers loosely together; same, but fingers down, thumb up; arm sloping down low forward, out from body, hand up, palm forward; forearm swung across body to rear, elbow crooked, palm rear, thumb down, fingers loosely together, as dancer looks back at eikon.

4. Demonstration — Arm out straight front, shoulder height, palm towards spectator, fingers apart (the dancer evidently points out the central episode of the scene to the citharist, who follows, and at whom she looks over her shoulder — Pl. 21, Fig. 3); same, palm up and front (Pl. 19, Fig. 4); same, palm down or front, fingers together (pointing the direction of movement to the dancers behind — Pl. 14, Fig. 3); same, but with elbow bent a little, due to space limitations (Pl. 14, Fig. 3); arm out ahead and curving up above head, palm out; forearm out ahead, waist height, elbow bent, fingers together, palm towards spectator; same, fingers only loosely together. In several of the figures pointing out the line of direction we find also the thyrsus held vertically ahead as for a signal. These two poses seem to be characteristic of the leader of the group, when there is one. (See choreography).

5. Deterrence (See HOPPIN, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pages 78 and 79) — Arm out straight, slanting down front, hand up, palm front, fingers apart, with accompanying forward bend of the body; upper arm out straight front, shoulder height, forearm slanting up, fingers apart, palm towards another dancer, who advances directly towards this one; forearm bent up sharply front, hand before face, palm towards advancing Maenad, fingers apart; forearm raised side rear at forehead height, palm back and up flat, fingers together, as the dancer turns to look back at another who follows and crowds closely upon her; arm across body, waist height, palm up and back (Pl. 17, Fig. 3); one arm curving up at head height, palm almost in the face of another dancer, the other arm curving low front, hip height, palm out, fingers down and together, as the other dancer draws back markedly. There is a great deal of this sort of gesture, due perhaps to the fact that the Maenad dance takes place in the dark, often with large groups, and with much violent and turbulent motion. Collisions must have been not infrequent.

6. Greeting — Arm out straight front, shoulder height, slanting up, palm front, fingers

13*

apart (apparently a greeting to another Maenad, whom she is passing, and who turns to look); the same, but with the arm curving up.

7. Joy — Right arm side rear, curving up from shoulder, hand head height, thumb down, index finger apart from others, other fingers curving in a little — evidently waving (Pl. 19, Fig. 2).

8. Specific Mimicry — Arm out side, bent at elbow, forearm slanting down, apparently in imitation of another Maenad and Dionysus, who pour wine from vases (Pl. 14, Fig. 4). In this case, when pouring and the mimicking of pouring appear on the same scene, it is possible to see the symbolical gesture in the very act of developing, so to speak.

9. Offering — Both arms swung side rear, elbows stiff, crater on one palm, other arm stretched beside bowl, palm towards following Maenad, fingers loosely together (Pl. 21, Fig. 3). The gesture here is apparently teasing in tone, for the Maenad moves rapidly as she offers the wine.

10. Symbolical Pouring — Crater held on palm in front of body, waist height, other arm curving up over head, fingers held as if grasping an oenochoë, body bent far side, knees strongly bent (Pl. 19, Fig. 4); one arm bent in to front of body, waist height, as if holding a crater, other arm curved over head. See Specific Mimicry.

11. Startled Fear, momentary. See reference under Deterrence. Upper arm close to side, forearm vertical to side and rear, palm to spectator, fingers apart, other arm close at side, forearm slanting up and forward, palm to spectator, fingers apart; same, fingers together; upper arm close at side, forearm slanting down side rear, palm back, fingers together; upper arm close at side, forearm slanting up forward, palm to spectator, fingers together.

12. Summoning (cf. Louvre G 145, HOPPIN, *op. cit.*, II, p. 79) — Arm out side rear, slanting up, elbow stiff, palm towards spectator, fingers together, head turned to look at dancers following; upper arm close to body, forearm slanting up and side rear, palm towards spectator, fingers apart, head turned rear (Pl. 18, fig. 1); upper arm close to body, forearm vertical, palm towards spectator, fingers together, head turned rear. This pose is often seen in the case of a leader.

13. Surprise (Pl. 14, Fig. 4) — Upper arm straight out side, shoulder height, forearm bent in towards head, palm down and in, height of the eyes; upper arm out side rear, forearm bent up, palm towards spectator; same, but arm up front, palm up. One of the figures apparently expresses surprise at the fact that wine comes from the oenochoë which she is tilting with her other hand; there may be in this scene a reminiscence of the story told by PAUSANIAS (VI, xxvi, 1 f.) and others of the power of Dionysus and his ministrants to produce wine from empty jars.

14. Violence (See reference under Deterrence) — Hand being raised to strike, palm in, fingers together, from a position close at the side, crossing the body at the thigh as it is raised; arm swung around forcibly, at shoulder height, across the body, swinging the torso,

with the effect of aiming a blow at the Maenad who teasingly offers wine and moves off (Pl. 21, Fig. 3); both arms raised up at the elbows, fingers spread, apparently striking another Maenad, who bends low as she passes; arm swung up and rear, elbow by head, forearm down behind, palm up; arm swung out side and up above shoulder height. This element of violence, or threatened violence, to other participants in the thiasus, is noteworthy. The matter of collision may function here as well as in deterrence.

15. Indeterminate.

a) Arm behind back, elbow crooked; with a pointing gesture of the other arm.

b) Arm bent sharply at elbow, forearm in, over breast, palm on breast, fingers apart (Pl. 19, Fig. 4). This pose may be purely decorative, or may be merely an inward swing to balance the other arm, which shows a revel pose (see *Abandon*), or may denote the holding in of the chiton, to keep it out of the way.

c) Same, palm down, fingers together. Again, the pose may have as its purpose the mere holding in of the garment. The other hand seems to denote deference.

d) Same, palm in, fingers together, with a startled pose of the other arm.

e) Arm curving in from the side and down low, palm loosely in, fingers curving (Pl. 22, Fig. 2). The pose may be merely decorative, or may balance the other arm, which curves over the head.

The significance of the gestures, as indicated above, has been derived in large part from the context, so to speak, of the group. In some cases interpretations will probably vary; but the interpretations here indicated seem at least possible. Those labelled « Indeterminate » are apparently incapable of being interpreted from the group context.

Ornamental figures show similar poses to express abandon, startled fear, deference, and summoning. In addition, they display others: —

1. Coquetry — Arm side rear, forearm bent up, hand in, fingers loose, close to cheek; same, but palm up, fingers together, and hand at height of eyes.

2. Purely Decorative — Both hands up at either side of the head, slanting a little forward, elbows stiff, fingers curving in, index finger separate, the rest together (apparently with a turning step) — Pl. 21, Fig. 1; upper arm close at side, forearm bent in, close to the body at the waist, hand curving gracefully down, index finger separate, rest curving together (the other arm holds a scarf close at the side) — Pl. 18, Fig. 3; one arm out and up forward, elbow stiff, fingers relaxed (a figure surely turning; thyrsus in other hand) — Pl. 15, Fig. 3; upper arms close at side, forearms forward at waist height, one hand with palm in and fingers together, other with fingers relaxed (a figure surely turning) — Pl. 15, Fig. 3; upper arm slanting down side, forearm across waist-line, palm in, thumb up, fingers relaxed (summoning gesture with other arm).

The gestures of the ornamental dancers, then, though less varied, are much the same as those of the conventional dancers, except that there are far more apparently purely deco-

rative gestures quite of a sort similar to the scarf poses already discussed. Chief among these are graceful turning poses. There are no deterring nor violent poses.

In the extraordinary figures there is but one pose worthy of note — the two hands together with palms flat, the arms curving up front from shoulder height, with body bending forward — a pose which occurs frequently later than our period, especially with Eastern influence manifested in the costumes.

So far as we can determine from art representations, then, the gestures of neither the ritual nor the ornamental Maenad dance mimic the story of Dionysus, but are in large part of a rather disconnected nature, arising from the circumstances of the dance itself.

There has been much discussion¹ of the part played by the principle of *opposition* in the Greek dance — i. e., the principle that the right arm and the left leg, the left arm and the right leg, balance, and that when the left leg is advanced the right arm moves forward or up forward, and vice versa. The practice of opposition is a natural thing, enjoined by the laws of equilibrium, and is observed in all natural walking in which the arms swing freely. One would expect its presence as a matter of course in a dance the basic step of which is a walk or a run. On the contrary, we find that in the art representations of both conventional and ornamental Maenad dancers about half of the figures deliberately violate the principle. To be sure, many of these figures carry attributes, which naturally hinder free arm movement; yet this could not account for all the cases. The explanation is to be sought, for most of the figures, in the fact that the artist was unable to, or purposely avoided having to, portray the crossing necessary if right arm and left leg, for example, were to advance simultaneously; and in the fact that the wrong pose became conventionalized. Other cases, of later date, cannot be so explained — especially when they appear on the same vase with other figures showing opposition (Pl. 17, Figs. 1, 4; Pl. 19, Fig. 2; Pl. 20, Fig. 4, etc.). Emmanuel (*op. cit.*, pp. 108-9) has explained such violation as expressing tipsiness; this explanation might apply to but four of the Maenad figures here which violate opposition (cf. Pl. 20, Fig. 2; Pl. 21, Fig. 2); the rest are decidedly restrained and self-possessed. It is possible that the Greek artists were unconscious of the universality of the principle, but this is hardly probable. The poses may be merely for variety; but they may also be in part due to the fact that, though the arms were swung as the dance went on, yet the foot movements of the dancer may have been more rapid than the arm movements in these cases (the attribute which is present in most of the cases undoubtedly helps to slow up the arms a little), and that, as a result, opposition was really violated at some moments of the dance. A corollary of this explanation is the probability that at times the dancer desired to keep the arm or attribute pointing forward during several steps for some special reason (e. g., to indicate the line of march to those

¹ Notably in EMMANUEL, *op. cit.*, pages 47, 105, and 108-9.

following, etc.). In general, then, in the Maenad dance we see both adherence to, and violation of, the principle of opposition ¹.

HEAD AND HAIR.

Poses of the head involve bending and turning. Of the 315 conventional figures, 125 are shown as moving forward with the head turned to look back. This large number loses some of its significance in view of the fact that such a pose is conventional in early vase painting for rapid movement. However, since it is seen often in sure cases in the dancers of the fine period, it is safe to say that to some extent, at least, the Maenad dancer looked back over her shoulder in the course of her dance. It occurs not only in cases where her companions crowd closely upon her, but in others as well. Bending of the head forward, backward, or to the side, is shown by 96 figures. The strong backward bend (Pl. 21, Fig. 4) — 28 figures — is a little more common than the slight backward bend which amounts to a holding of the head well up (Pl. 15, Fig. 2) — 9 cases — and than the forward bend (Pl. 19, Fig. 4) — 20 cases of some bending, 11 of strong bending. It is to be noted that in both nature and art a bend of the head does not necessarily accompany a bend of the torso. Sideward bending of the head is of three sorts — side rear, 21 cases (Pl. 16, Fig. 2); side front, 4 cases (Pl. 19, Fig. 4); and, in later vases, three-quarters side front, 3 cases (Pl. 22, Fig. 2). A few of the figures (13) are uncertain as to head pose, as a result of cracks, restorations, or breaks; the remainder of the conventional figures (81) show the head erect, facing the direction in which the feet go.

Among the 36 ornamental figures, the bent head is most common (26 cases), especially bent backward (9 strongly, 6 a little, with the head well up). Only 9 show forward bending (Pl. 18, Fig. 3), 6 a little, 3 strongly; and 2 side rear bending. In general, strong bending is not so common as slight. The cases of looking back over the shoulder are few (6), but are sure ones. The head is erect and forward in 4 cases.

¹ In this connection a passage in the *Bacchae*, lines 941-4, is interesting. Pentheus asks in which hand to take the thyrsus; Dionysus replies, ἐν δεξιᾷ χερὶ χαῖμα δεξιᾷ ποδὶ αἰρεῖν νῦν. On the surface, this looks like a deliberate case of the violation of opposition. Sandys, in his edition of the play, page 202, observes, «In 114, we have some slight reference to the “reverent handling of the narthex», but I have observed nothing elsewhere, in literary or artistic representations of Bacchanals, to confirm the directions here given by Dionysus; it is probably a pure fancy of the poet, to put Pentheus into an attitude calculated to excite the pity, or the amusement, of the spectators.» He evidently takes the passage as meaning to advance the right foot and to hold the thyrsus forward at the same time — «Dionysus, for the sake of humouring

Pentheus in his fancy that the Bacchic wand must be held in some special manner, tells him to do just the opposite [to what is natural], and advance his right foot instead.» The humorous element may be present, it is true; but it should be noted that the passage does not necessarily have to be interpreted as violation of opposition, and that to raise the foot does not necessarily mean to advance it. Pentheus is instructed to raise the thyrsus up in his right hand, and at the same time to bend his knee, lifting the right foot up from the ground. We should naturally assume that his next move will be to swing the right foot forward for the first step; but for this step the text does not preclude our supposing a corresponding swing backward of the arm holding the thyrsus, and a forward swing of the other arm, in accordance with opposition.

The *face*, as is usual in Greek art, is usually expressionless, though a few cases of a definite smile ¹ (not the archaic smile), and a few cases of fear (in a crowded scene) occur. The open mouth, denoting the Bacchic shout ², or the hymn to Dionysus, is less common than we might expect — 20 conventional instances, 2 ornamental (Pl. 14, Fig. 2; Pl. 18, Fig. 1; Pl. 21, Fig. 4, etc.). It occurs almost always with bent head, and often in ecstatic scenes. A desire for restraint probably caused it to be shown less often than it might have been.

The *hair* is decorously coiffed in a large number (157) of the conventional figures. A few (10) show the hair either hanging down with the ends tied (5) or working loose and sliding down (5). The excitement of the dance seems to be suggested by 135 figures with loosened hair ³, the favored type of which (82 cases) seems to be short, touseled curls, reaching to the nape of the neck or a little below. Medium-length hair is also common (53 cases); but, as in Greek art in general, long hair does not appear ⁴. As in head poses, 13 figures are uncertain. In many cases the hair is blown back strongly by the wind, suggesting rapid motion forward, or, in most cases, rapid whirling.

The conventional dance, then, may have begun with the dancers' hair neatly arranged; and as the dance increased in tempo and fervor, the hair, if not confined tightly in a mitra, naturally slipped down ³ and was allowed to fly loose during the rest of the dance. This is seen in each of Pl. 15, Fig. 1; Pl. 17, Fig. 2; and Pl. 20, Fig. 2, where figures in varying degrees of fervor are seen respectively with the hair up, with the hair slipping, and with the hair down.

Ornamental figures show a similar situation (see Pl. 17, Fig. 4). The hair is up in half the cases; when down, it is practically always of the short, touseled type.

For wreaths, fillets, mitrae, etc., see Clothing. For combinations of movements of various parts of the body together, see Choreography, and also the dance in the Appendix.

CHOREOGRAPHY.

By «choreography» is meant the movements of the dancers with reference to other persons and to things.

Of course monuments on which a single dancer is shown, with no background nor associates, cannot help in the study of choreography. Accordingly the figures of this type, thirty in all, have been discarded for this section. Furthermore, scenes in which there is but one dancer and a following musician seldom give any information as to how the dancer moves.

¹ Laughter is often mentioned in accounts of the thiasus. Cf. *Bacchae*, 380.

² Bacchic shouts and hymns are mentioned again and again. We may cite merely PAUSANIAS, II, vii, 5; PLUTARCH, *Quaest. Graec.*, 299 B; EURIPIDES, *Bacchae*, 142, 163, 576, 580, 1133; DEMOSTHENES, *Corona*, 259-60.

³ The tossing of the head, with resultant loosening and shaking of the hair, also mentioned in ARISTOPHANES, *Lysistrata*, 1313, and in the *Bacchae*, 240, 928-31, 862-74, etc.

⁴ Contrary to the specific mention of the long hair of the Thyiades in *Anth. Pal.*, vii, 485.

These, too, have been omitted, except in the rare cases where the pose of either or both of the figures denotes the direction of motion, some peculiarity of march, etc.

The study of choreography from vase paintings is hampered by many considerations. In the first place, the vase painter may very easily take a dancer out of his position and turn him a different way, for mere artistic balance. This affects especially the ensuing discussion of « simultaneous circles ». However, the poses *can* be explained as they stand; and the best we can do in such cases is to say that if the artist is depicting reality, the interpretation may plausibly be regarded as so and so. In the second place, there is, of course, no perspective on most of the vases; and what there is in the Polygnotan period is very scanty. The figures are almost all flattened out, side by side. In the third place, there is an evident artistic desire on the part of the vase painter to alternate like figures, especially Maenads and Satyrs. In brief, the whole discussion of choreography is bound to be largely a series of conjectures. Such conjectures may be of varying degrees of probability; and one can only hope to attain, by careful sifting, those of greatest probability.

Among the conventional figures, we find, as we should expect, that from early times until late a very common form of the Maenad dance (35 scenes) is the *developed processional* type (Pl. 16, Fig. 3; Pl. 19, Fig. 2, 3, etc.)—i. e., a line of figures all moving in the same direction, but dancing as they go. The step is a run or a walk, accompanied by bends, turns, arm movements, and gestures. Sometimes Dionysus is represented in the center, as if actually present. Frequently one figure seems about to pass another, and the figures are often so close together that the garments of one fly back and cover part of another. In many cases one dancer seems much closer to the spectator than the others, as if the procession were by no means absolutely regular. Usually Satyrs are shown as taking part in the procession; in some cases musicians accompany the group, but go the other way, in front of, or behind, the line (Pl. 21, Fig. 5). Throughout, there seems to be a rather considerable amount of turning in place; and there are distinctively individual poses and gestures which mark each participant as dancing, while the line proper moves on. It is possible that the Maenad dance starts as an orderly procession, but as it increases in fervor becomes a *mêlée*.

From the representations it is usually almost impossible to determine whether the line of direction of the developed processional dance is straight, curving, or definitely circular. Occasionally, in vases of the fine style, the swerve of torso or feet, or a definite crossing of the feet as the dancer advances, clearly indicates a curving line of direction. In others, notably in the four scenes in which the ground is clearly represented as rocky, uneven, and hilly¹, and the dancers as actually climbing (Pl. 20, Fig. 2), the line of direction could not be definitely circular. There is literary evidence which might be interpreted as indicating

¹ Consistent with the frequent literary references to the dances as taking place in the mountains; cf. EURIPIDES, *Bacchae*, 560-1; PAUSANIAS, IV, xxxi, 4; X, xxxii, 5;

APOLLODORUS, *Bibliotheca*, III, v, 2; PLUTARCH, *De Primo Frigore*, 18; NONNUS, *Dionysiaca*, XIV, 250, etc.

the use of all three ¹. Accordingly, we may conclude that the line of direction was now straight, now curving, now definitely circular, according as the exigencies of place and circumstances demanded.

The largest number of conventional scenes, however, are those of a *kinetic* type. Among them are a large number of scenes which give evidence that the dancer often performed as an *individual* inside the group — that is, though she is associated with others, and though the general trend of the group is usually kept, she often dances quite independently of the others. Aside from the fact that no two Maenads on a scene dance alike except in rare cases, we are confronted in this group with quite wide variations — dancers in the same scene executing quite different steps, or dancing in different tempos, or displaying differing degrees of fervor. For example, we find a Maenad as the sole dancing figure in a procession; three figures on the same scene, but at different levels, one turning in place, another running forward, the third leaping high into the air; two figures in the scene, one stepping calmly, the other spinning rapidly, etc. The Valle Trebba Crater, in Bologna (Pl. 22, Figs. 1-4), shows eleven dancing figures, differing in steps, fervor, and tempo, though the general tone of the scene is ecstatic. The figures are of differing heights, face in different directions, and have no clearly marked leader. Some are apparently turning, others are walking or running, one with much knee flexion. There are three musicians, and, in addition, one dancer beats a tympanum, while another strikes cymbals. It has been assumed that such a scene does not represent actual fact, but is due to the desire of the artist to portray the dancers in different stages of the dance, for variety. It seems clear, however, that here the effect of the Dionysiac *τύρβη* is intentional — witness the differing heights, costumes, etc. — and that the scene is a rout, the dancers moving all over the dancing-place, just outside the temple of Dionysus (note the columns).

The difficult matter of the interpretation of figures in the same scene, *going apparently in opposite directions*, has been handled in various ways, according as the « context » of the scene seems to indicate. These interpretations are incapable of proof, of course; but at least it is worth while to suggest them as possibilities, especially since they can be put into practice with results similar to the scenes on the vases. They are:

1. The dancers moving in *simultaneous circles*, either concentric or tangent, and in opposite directions, either towards or away from one another. When but *two* figures are present, it is difficult to determine choreography; but there are a few cases which may represent one Maenad moving in a circle around to the right while another passes her in a circle to the left (Pl. 17, Fig. 1, the half showing the seated Dionysus). With *three* figures, the case seems

¹ AESCHYLUS, *Eumenides* 25, with its mention of Dionysus' leading of the Maenads as a general, implies a straight line; PAUSANIAS, X, iv, 2-3, with the description of the dances on the « dancing-floors » of Panopeus, implies

circular or curving lines of direction, since the space would naturally be restricted; PAUSANIAS, II, xxiv, 6, calling the Dionysiac dance a *τύρβη*, may imply circular motion.

clearer; Pl. 16, Fig. 2, top, seems to show three definite circles — the Maenad on the left circling out left, the Maenad on the right circling out right, and the Maenad in the center circling out rear. Similar formations are shown on ten other scenes. Simultaneous circles of *four* figures resolve themselves usually into a combination of two circling right, two left; of *five* figures, a combination of three circling one way, two the other. Simultaneous circles involving *large groups* may be illustrated by Pl. 19, Fig. 4. Here ten Maenads dance, accompanied by a flutist, around an altar and the eikon of Dionysus, four going in one direction, six in the other. The scene is not one large circle, seen from one side, with the dancers on the far side showing between those on the near side, for the dancers who would thus be in the rear are really with the others, winding in and out, in front of one and behind another. (Contrast Pl. 17, Fig. 4, which is probably a single circle). It seems highly plausible that the dancers go forward together for some distance, but that then some of the dancers circle in place, lose their direction in the ecstasy of the dance, and head back in the reverse direction. The result seems to be two rather disordered concentric circles, one moving right, one left, around the altar, with windings in and out. This scene, incidentally, seems to show a choregus, or leader, in the figure with vertical thyrsus.

It should be noted that the feet and the direction of motion of the individual figures treated as showing simultaneous circles preclude the possibility of interpreting them as moving in a single circle.

2. The dancers moving really in *one small circle*, and in the same direction. This formation Emmanuel recognized correctly (p. 242) in his interpretation of three figures, the two outer facing in, as often representing a single small circle. Such an interpretation does not always hold in the case of figures so arranged; often the direction of motion of one figure upsets the scheme, and forces the assumption of simultaneous circles. In fourteen scenes here studied, however, the formation of a single circle seems clearly recognizable. In Pl. 20, Fig. 1, for example, the Maenad figures are all apparently moving clock-wise in a small circle, the central figure being thought of as in the rear, on the far side of the circle. Pl. 18, Fig. 1 probably shows a similar circle of four, moving counter-clockwise. Often, as the dancers move in such a circle, they look at one another, look out over their shoulders, or bend in or out.

3. The central dancer apparently moving straight ahead or turning in place, the two outer figures either blocking her path (Pl. 19, Fig. 5), or apparently circling about her rapidly as she moves forward relatively slowly. This formation always involves two Satyrs, and to that extent is beside our point.

4. The rest of the scene of the developed processional type, one dancer apparently going backwards, weight on the rear leg.

5. The rest of the scene of the developed processional type, one dancer turning around to deter a following dancer, or to greet Dionysus before turning back and going on (Pl. 15, Fig. 1).

6. A standing figure opposing, to be understood as in front of, or in the rear of, the dancing figures, and therefore out of the way.

7. The opposing dancing figure to be thought of as dancing up to Dionysus, greeting him, and then dancing back — the scene representing the dancer in the pause just before the step back. (Cf. HOPPIN, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185).

8. A real, or narrowly-averted, collision — with deterring gestures. See Deterrence.

9. Often a central figure, sometimes Dionysus, sometimes a Maenad, seems to be understood as moving forward, the figures on either side of him to be understood as advancing, perhaps by twos, behind him (Pl. 20, Fig. 3).

10. Uncertain formations, involving especially merely two figures, shown facing each other or back to back (Pl. 16, Fig. 1). They may represent simultaneous circles; one circle, with turning in place; a « step forward, step back » movement; a « step in, step out » movement; or any one of a number of combinations. There seems to be no clue to a definite interpretation in these cases.

A Maenad seems only by exception to dance actually *with* another Maenad. In rare scenes two advance side by side (Pl. 19, Fig. 1). On occasion two Maenads or a Maenad and a Satyr (Pl. 17, Fig. 2) each hold a leg of a fawn, and, with their backs to each other, evidently move apart. It is clear from the scene that the dancers cannot go far apart, for not enough power is displayed actually to tear the animal. The pose may be interpreted perhaps as a violent « step apart, step together » movement, working up to a climax in which the animal is rent asunder. The turning swirl of the garments in such scenes seems to confirm the suggestion¹.

Often there seems to be no one person acting as leader. Occasionally there is one who stands out as leader, but she is as apt to be at the end or in the center as at the head of the line. Frequently she holds her thyrsus up vertically forward, or displays a summoning or pointing gesture (see « Gestures »). Often Dionysus is depicted as the leader of the group.

There seems little *mimetic* dancing in the Maenad dance proper. Occasionally there is a form of the dance which might be termed « developed pursuit », in which there is some hint of the mimetic; but since in this Satyrs dance in company with Maenads, it is not a purely Thyiad dance, and could not be a representation of actual ritual. More often the Satyrs are purely accessories, so to speak, of the Thyiad figures, and have little effect upon those figures. In general, they appear as watching the dance; trying to get into the dance and catch the Maenads; mimicking the dance from a safe distance, or close by the dancers; circling outside the dancers, often in the opposite direction; blocking the dancers; dancing indepen-

¹ Cf. the pose of the late representation of the Maenad and the Satyr carrying the infant Dionysus, in BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, Vol. 2, Pl. xviii, No. 932. If the dancers

really move as they seem to, the cradle of the young god will be torn in two !

dently; backing away from the Maenads, often in fear of the latter's thyrsus or snake; trying to attract the attention of the Maenads by means of an outstretched cantharus or by gay antics; playing the flute or the lyre; etc.

There is much less evidence for the choreography of the *ornamental* group than for the conventional dancers, of course; but such evidence as there is seems to be similar to that for the conventional type. Most of the figures evidently perform solo dances. When they dance in groups they seem to display only two forms of group choreography with any degree of frequency — the individual dance within the group, and the single circle (Pl. 18, Fig. 3). Pl. 17, Fig. 4 is deserving of a few comments, since it has been used¹, although purely of an ornamental type, and only incidentally Dionysiac, as a basis for the interpretation of the whole Maenad dance. The figures do not seem to represent successive stages of the dance with the dancers in pairs, as they have been interpreted, but rather a circle of six dancers seen from one side, the figures moving to the spectator's left being closest to him, the one on the extreme left turning the circle, those moving right being on the far side of the circle, and the third figure from the right turning the circle front as she herself turns in place. The two figures on the extreme right are not in the dance proper, but add a playful touch as the one flees with her light scarf from the torches of the other.

The question naturally arises as to whether the choreography points to a set type of dance in any case, or whether the whole thing was purely spontaneous. From the fact that it was performed to music and to set hymns we should assume that there was a certain amount of standardization. This seems to be confirmed by the appearance of such formations as simultaneous circles, and by the fact that there seem to be typical steps and gaits². It is fairly evident, then, that at least in the conventional type, the Maenad dance began decorously, with certain accepted steps, formations, arm, body, and head movements, and gestures; but that as the dance went on and increased in fervor it became almost a formless rout, and ended in exhaustion. The ornamental dance seems to have been largely a matter of individuality.

MUSIC.

Of the 187 scenes, 95 show the use of some musical instrument or instrument for beating time. The favorites seem to be the flute³, almost exclusively the double flute (38 scenes), and crotala⁴ or castanets (38 scenes). The tympanum⁵ (26 scenes) is much more common in the fourth century than earlier, though it does occur earlier. The castanet is more common early. The flute is played by either men or women, the tympanum by women only (usually they dance as they play), castanets by dancing women in every case but one, the cithara (14 scenes) usually by men, but sometimes by women. Cymbals⁴ occur

¹ In the DAREMBERG-SAGLIO article, «Maenades».

1342 a, etc.

² Cf. the use of *κατὰ συνήματα*, DIOD. SIC., IV, iii, 3.

⁴ Cf. STRABO, 468-470.

³ As evidenced by literature; cf. ARISTOTLE, *Politics*,

⁵ Cf. ARISTOPHANES, *Lysistrata*, 1, 2, and 387.

but twice, both times played by dancing figures. In five scenes instruments are depicted not in use. If more than one instrument is used in a scene, combinations of the same instrument are favored. Of different instruments, the tympanum and flute, castanets and flute, and cithara and flute are about equally favored. Combinations of three instruments are not favored — perhaps owing to space restrictions. Conventional figures show all the instruments mentioned; ornamental figures favor the tympanum, then the flute. Usually two castanets are carried at once, as we should expect; often, merely one. In general, the flutist and the citharist follow or mingle with the dancers (Pl. 16, Fig. 3; Pl. 19, Fig. 4). Tympanum players usually take part in the dance, or else sit down. Tranquil scenes seldom show the use of the castanet, never that of the tympanum, practically never more than one instrument. Ecstatic and spirited scenes, on the other hand, show frequent combinations of instruments; perhaps more musicians joined in as the dance became more frenzied (cf. the scenes in which unplayed instruments are depicted), or perhaps the very presence of several instruments helped to make the dance become more ecstatic. It is possible that in scenes of extreme confusion and rout, where the dancers show varying tempos, each musician played a different tune or beat a different time.

TEMPO.

In both conventional and ornamental figures, and in each sub-group of the conventional except that of the cloaked figures, dancers showing a *fast* tempo are in a decided majority¹; next come those showing a medium fast tempo; and, except in the ornamental figures and the cloaked conventional ones, there are a very small number of slow figures. This would point to three conclusions: 1) the usual step of the conventional Maenad dance was rapid; 2) the cloaked figures are perhaps more matronly and dignified, and may represent older women; 3) when used as an ornamental dance, the Maenad dance was refined and softened, and a slow step was used more often than in the real ritual dances.

A comparison of tempo and period yields the conclusion that at all periods the favored tempo was rapid, though it was varied somewhat at all periods by a medium fast tempo, and rather frequently in the florid period, somewhat less frequently in the fine period, and only rarely in the strong and free periods, by a slow tempo.

METRE.

The metrical accompaniment to dances of the Maenad type is preserved to us in the following kinds of song:

1. Choral passages in comedy, especially in ARISTOPHANES, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 987-1000. The rhythm here is Aeolic, with logaoedic variation.

¹ See Note 1 on Page 87.

2. Choral passages in tragedy, especially:

a. Throughout the *Bacchae* of EURIPIDES. The metres found here are Ionic a minore, choriambic, trochaic, iambic, anapaestic, paeonic, dactylic, dochmiac, Glyconic, Pherecratic, and metres irregular and incapable of classification. The lines are notably rich in resolved feet; in 950 verses there are 368 resolutions (see Sandys' edition, p. lxvii). More than one line consists entirely of short syllables.

b. SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, lines 150-154, chiefly Ionic a minore and choriambic; and lines 1115-1151, logaoedic.

3. Hymns and paeans to Dionysus. These may be represented by:

a. Orphic hymns, e. g. XXX, XLV, LII, LIII. These are short (9, 7, 13, and 10 lines, respectively), and are in dactylic hexameter.

b. ANACREON, Fragment II (Bergk) — eleven lines long, largely choriambic-iambic, the third, eighth, and eleventh lines shorter than the others, and balancing.

c. The fourth-century paean (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 400 ff.) — 149 lines long, in strophes of ten lines cut into, after the fourth line, by an interior refrain, and with the tenth line followed by another refrain, of three lines. The metres are choriambic-iambic, Glyconic, and Ionic a minore.

The sources combine to indicate the use of a great many metres in the Maenad dance. Choriambic seems a little favored, but not markedly so. This variety of metres seems to bear out the evidence of the monuments, viz., that the Maenad dance could be calm, restrained, spirited, or ecstatic; rapid, medium fast, or slow; furthermore, that it could be measured and dignified, or a wild, almost rhythmless rout, each dancer keeping his own rhythm.

As to *choreography*, we can not safely base any conclusions on the structure of the passages from the drama, because of the fact that the technique of the stage imposed certain restrictions upon choral dances which would not be present in an ordinary ritual dance. To be sure, those choruses must have had something in common with the real ritual dance; and we are tempted to make such suggestions as, for example, that a line of short syllables may represent quick, dizzy turning in place. Furthermore, the conclusions obtained from other sources apply to the dramatic ones, as well. However, the study of the choreography of the Bacchic dance as indicated by the structure of the choral passages of the dramatists belongs rather to the study of the chorus of the theater than to that of the Maenad dance.

The chief sources, then, so far as structure is concerned, must be such hymns and paeans as those mentioned under 3. The dactylic hymns, of course, help little; but the others give us a few suggestions: —

1. The Maenad dance apparently consisted at times not in a single, unbroken march ahead or in a circle, but in cycles of movement, so to speak, introduced for variety; i. e., the metre proceeds with some regularity for a few lines, and then is broken into by a refrain

(which would naturally mark the end of something definite in dance movement as well as in thought) or by other lines of a different rhythm scheme, then goes on with the first scheme again or a third, and so on. This fits in very well with our hypothesis of small circles, simultaneous circles, turning in place and in the line of direction, reversing the line of direction, etc.

2. The cycles of movement were not necessarily uniform in length. Sometimes they are represented by four lines, sometimes one, etc.

3. Certain poses or steps apparently were repeated at intervals as refrains. It is possible, for example, that with the refrain Εὐοῖ ὧ ἰὸ Βάχχ', ὧ ἰὲ Παιάδιν, the step was the spring up, with strong knee bending, backward head bending, and flourish of the thyrsus or arm over the head.

4. The dance could be quite long — justifying the former conclusion that it usually, or often, ended in utter collapse from fatigue.

APPENDIX.

Detailed Directions for a Suggested Maenad Dance of the Conventional Type.

NOTE: Since the Greek form of the Maenad dance allowed a considerable degree of freedom and individual variation, in the following directions the number of measures for each movement is not indicated so definitely as in most instructions for modern dances, but merely suggested. Music may be furnished by a clarinet and drum. For details of the gestures, etc., see this paper, under the proper headings « Hands and Arms », etc.

The dancers are:

No. 1 — in a Doric chiton, her hair bound up with a wreath. She carries a thyrsus in her right hand.

No. 2 — in a «sleeved» chiton, her hair up loosely. She wears a fawn-skin fastened on her left shoulder, the tail hanging down front.

No. 3 — in a Doric chiton, a fawn-skin hanging down behind, cloak-fashion, the two forepaws around her neck. Her hair is up under a mitra. She carries a thyrsus in her right hand, a lighted torch in her left.

All three are barefooted. All three wear earrings; No. 1 and No. 3, bracelets also; No. 1, a necklace besides.

The dancers enter in a line — No. 1, No. 2, No. 3. The step is a rapid walk on the whole foot. No. 1 holds her thyrsus vertically ahead, and has her left arm and hand down

side in a relaxed pose; No. 2 holds both arms out at the sides, down low; No. 3 holds the torch resting against her left shoulder, and uses her thyrsus as a staff. They advance, about three feet apart, in a line of direction roughly elliptical and moving clockwise, swinging the free arms a little. Occasionally No. 1 and No. 2 turn to look over their shoulders at the dancer behind About 8 measures.

Refrain step — each dancer turns in place with small steps, with arms as before.

. About 2 measures.

The tempo increases slightly. No. 1 changes to a lighter walk on the balls of her feet. No. 2 changes to a rather stealthy step, with the weight retained on the rear foot as long as possible in each step, her forearms raised out at the sides and elbows bent; then, in a few measures, she adopts the same light walk as No. 1. A moment later No. 3 does likewise, swinging her thyrsus down at her right side so that it slants up and forward. No. 1 now lowers her thyrsus to a diagonal position at her side, hip height, top down, turns to look at those behind, and makes a summoning gesture with the left arm, then turns front again, and rests her thyrsus on her right shoulder and her left hand on her hip. No. 2 raises her arms to shoulder height, out at the sides, and, bending her head forward slightly, turns in place with small steps, then goes on with her arms in the same position. No. 3 lowers her torch, and begins to swing both arms forward and back, alternating, as she walks. Her head is well up. About 8 measures.

Refrain step — each dancer turns in place with small steps. 2 measures.

The tempo increases again. The line of march contracts into a relatively small circle. The step verges on a run. No. 1 holds up her chiton from her feet with her left hand, and swings her thyrsus low at her side, top down. No. 2 raises both arms out straight front, shoulder height, and then swings them strongly first to the right and then to the left, the head bending down side rear at first to the left, then to the right. No. 3 holds her torch up high vertically front, and turns to look over her right shoulder at No. 1, who is now behind her.

. About 4 measures.

Again there is an increase of tempo; the step is now a run. No. 1 springs up into the air two or three times, raising her thyrsus high over her head, slanting back, and throws her head back, with a shout, « Εὐοῖ ! ». No. 2 raises her left arm front, at shoulder height and slanting up, the right arm the same rear, and then sways them back and forth, bending her head and body forward and back. She crowds on No. 1, who turns and makes a deterring gesture with the left hand, and raises her thyrsus horizontally above her head, top to the rear. No. 2 draws back, startled, her upper-arms close to her body, the hands towards No. 1. No. 1 turns and goes on rapidly, her left arm far forward, elbow straight and fingers together, to indicate rapidity, the thyrsus swinging down at her side. No. 2 turns in place again, one arm out ahead, one down side, low. No. 3, meanwhile, has been turning several times in place with a mincing step, the torch held up front, the thyrsus down rear, her head

far back. She becomes dizzy, turns, and proceeds in the opposite direction, swinging her arms violently first front, then rear, alternating right and left.....About 8 measures.

Second refrain step — each dancer springs up into the air, one arm over the head, the other down low rear.....About 2 measures.

The circles of the two lines of direction grow larger. No. 1 holds her left arm out straight side, shoulder height, in abandon, her right arm down low side rear, the thyrsus slanting back, and turns in place, her head far back. No. 2 bends violently first to the right, then to the left, curving first the left arm over her head and the right in close to her body at waist height, and then the reverse. Her hair slips down. No. 3 winds in and out around No. 1 and No. 2, still going in the opposite direction. She swings the thyrsus around her head several times, the torch held down low rear, then reverses the movement, shouting, « Εὐβοῖ ᾧ ἰό! » Finally she flings away her thyrsus, almost striking No. 2, who turns, lets go her right sleeve so that it slips up, and aims a blow at No. 3 with her right hand, the arm swinging far across her body, neck height, the forearm back beside her head. No. 3 evades her and goes on, her right hand waving side rear, shoulder height, in joy.....About 8 measures.

Refrain step — each dancer springs up into the air, one arm over the head, the other down low rear.....About 2 measures.

No. 2 lets go the other sleeve, and, both arms out straight at the sides, shoulder height, palms up and out, leaves the circle, and, with strong leaps, much knee flexion, and bends of the torso and head forward and back, goes aside to her left, in a circle of her own. She varies her pose with symbolical pouring gestures (first the right arm, then the left, being held up), accompanied by strong knee bending, amounting to a crouching walk. No. 1 turns, sees No. 3, holds her thyrsus front, and raises her left arm forward, palm front, in a demonstrating gesture to indicate the line of direction. No. 3 disregards her, and goes aside to her right, turning rapidly as she advances with unsteady step. She clutches her chiton at the breast with her right hand as if tearing it, and brandishes the torch so wildly over her head that it is blown out by the rush of air.....About 4 measures.

All three turn rapidly in place, shouting, « Εὐβοῖ ἰό! » — No. 1 with both arms out straight at the sides, the left palm up, the thyrsus extended straight out to the right; No. 2 with both arms out forward, slanting up from shoulder height, palms down, fingers relaxed; No. 3, with the torch down side rear, the right arm curved up over the head, palm up, fingers close together. First No. 2, then No. 3, then No. 1, collapses and falls... About 8 measures.

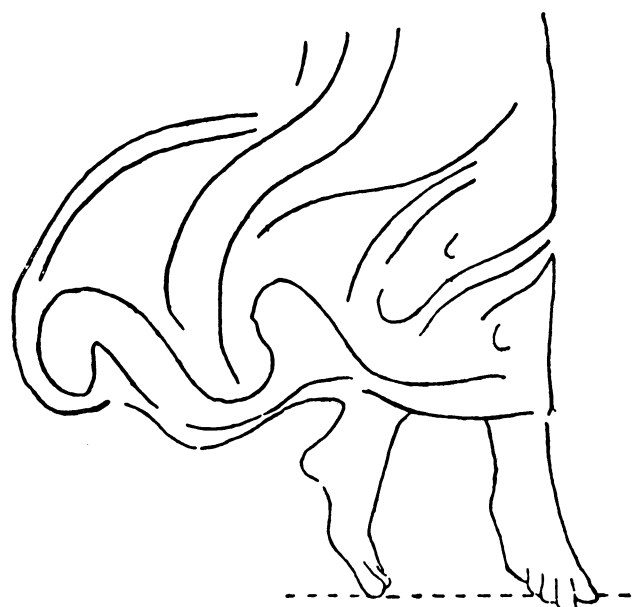
In like manner the evidence bearing on the ornamental figures could be compiled into a form which could be danced.



1. EMMANUEL, *Orchestique*, Pl. i, b, 5 and 6.



2. Terracotta Figurine, Berlin, Museum (FRITZ WEEGE, *Der Tanz in der Antike*, Abb. 5; cf. AUGUST KÖSTER, *Die Griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin 1926, Taf. 39).



3. EMMANUEL, *op. cit.*, Fig. 86.



4. EMMANUEL, *op. cit.*, Fig. 230.
THE MAENADS.



1. Orvieto, Faina Crater.

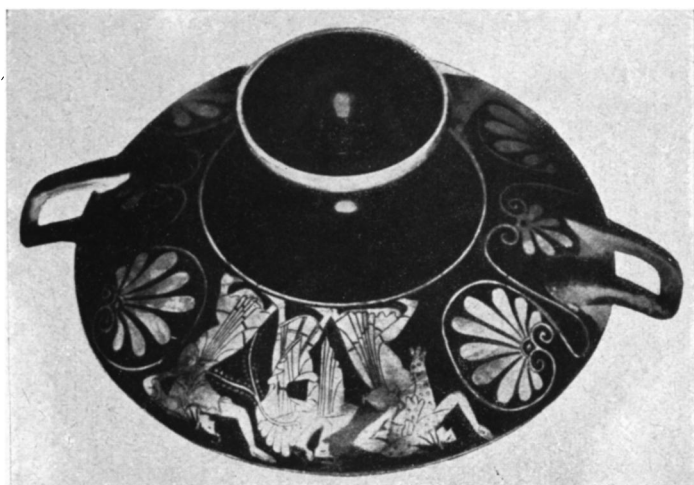
(Photo. Alinari).



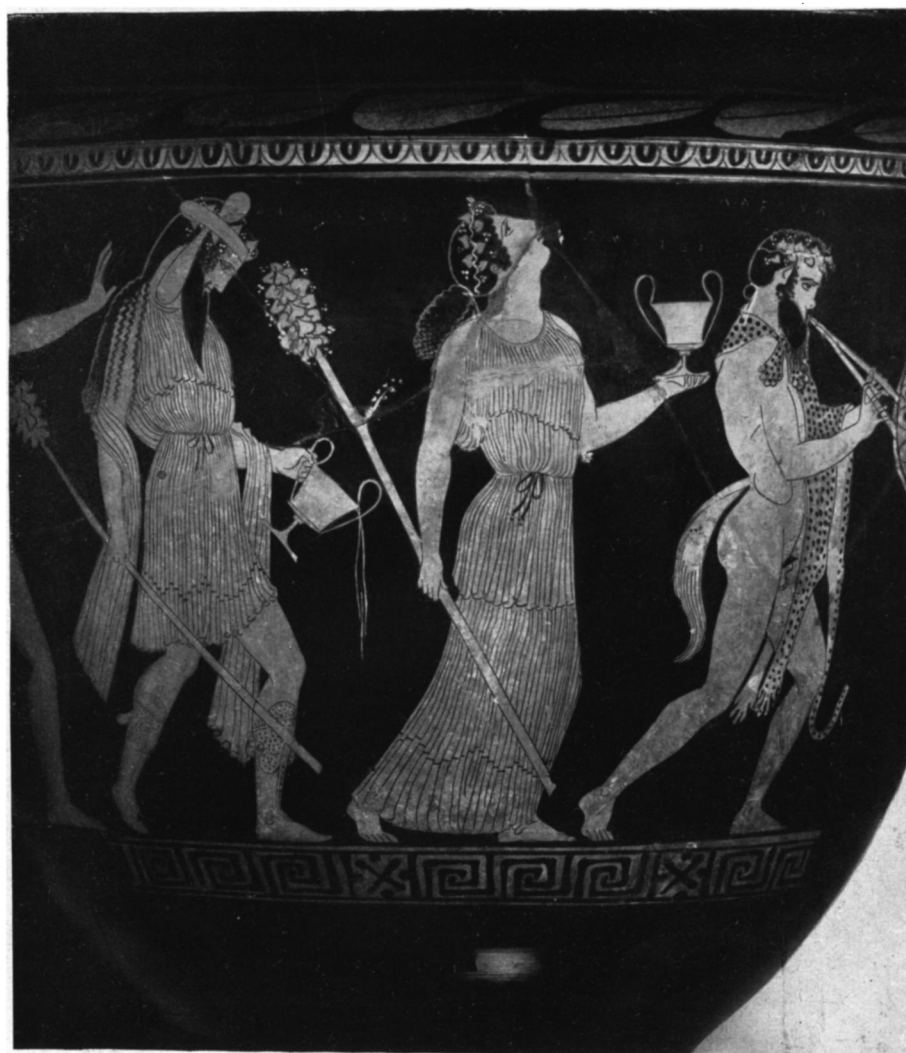
2. Paris, Cab Méd. 697.



3. Louvre G 93.

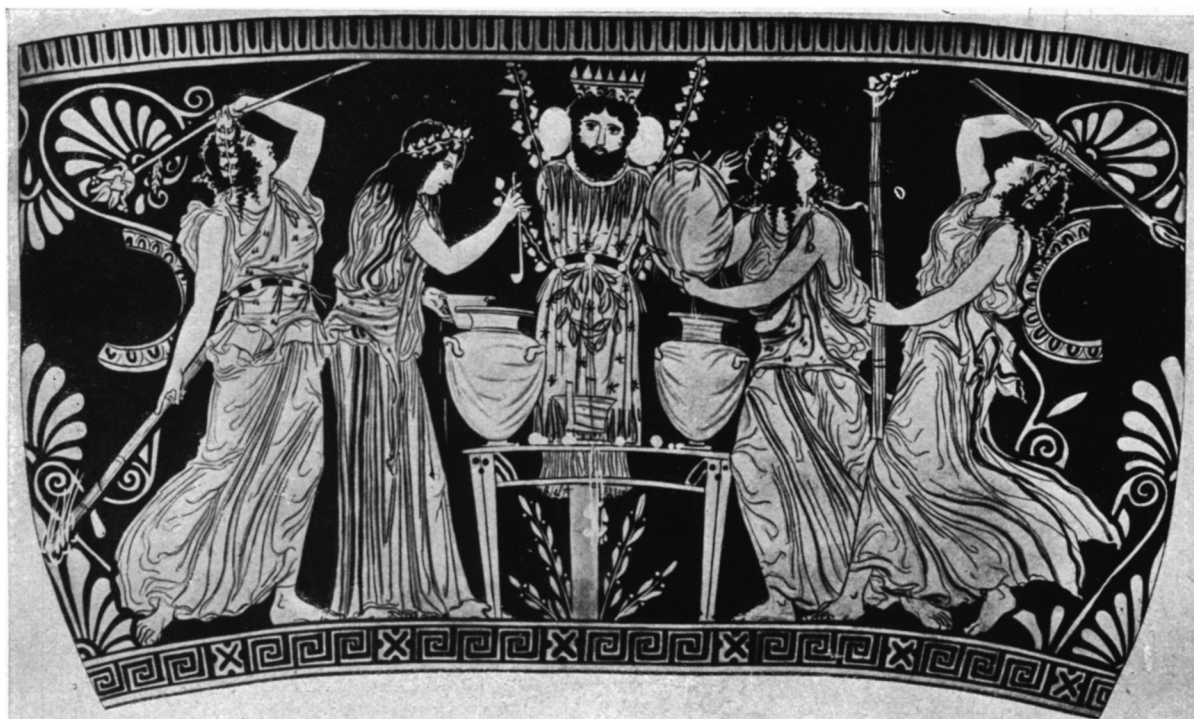


4. Louvre G 93.



5. Louvre 421.

THE MAENADS.



1. Naples 81675.



2. Naples 81675.



3. Karlsruhe 259.
THE MAENADS.

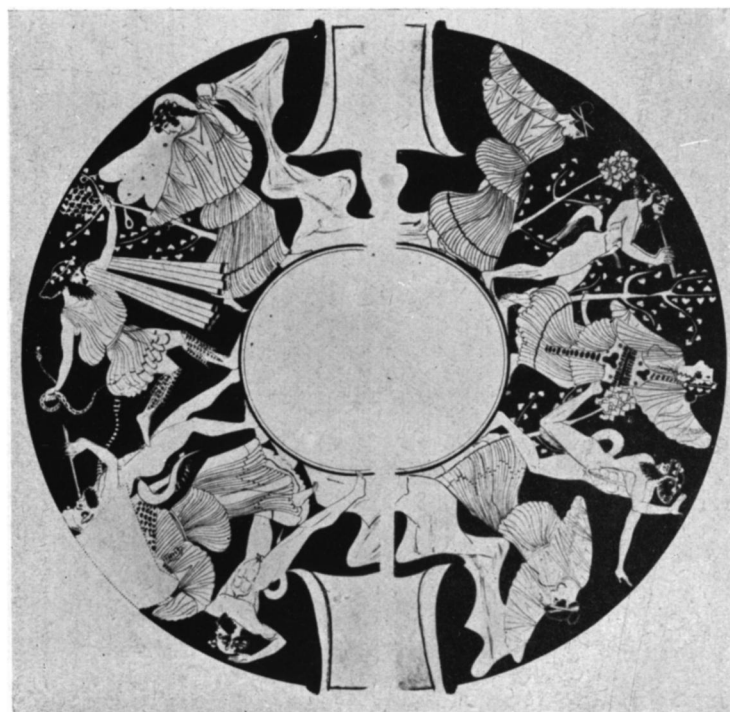


1. Louvre 507.

(Photo. Alinari).



2. Boston 00.499.



3. London, B. M. E. 75.

THE MAENADS.



1. Munich 332.



2. Odessa Lekanis, NICOLE, Fig. 24.



3. Orvieto Cylix.



4. Poniatowski Cista.
THE MAENADS.



1. Bologna 258.



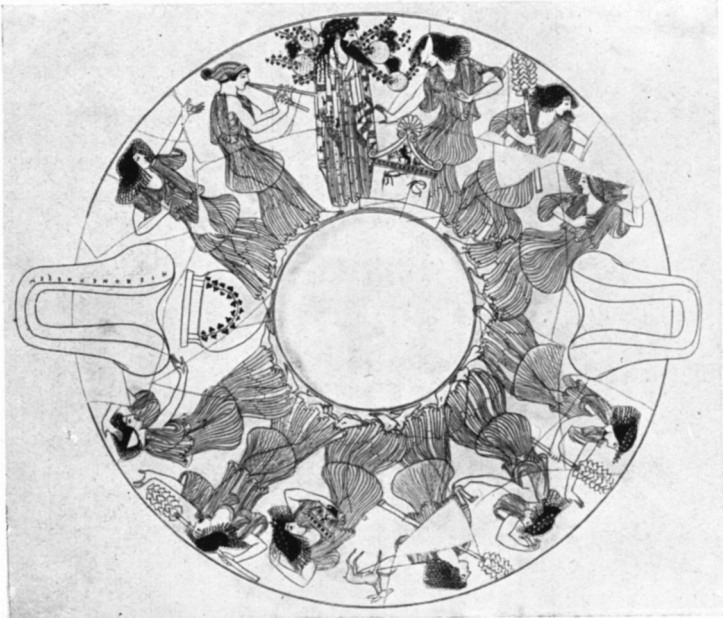
2. Munich Crater, FURTWÄNGLER-REICHOLD 80,1.



3. Louvre Aryballos, *Mon. Gr.*, 1889-90, Pl. 9-10.
THE MAENADS.



1. Baltimore Cylix, HARTWIG xxx, 3.



4. Berlin 2290.



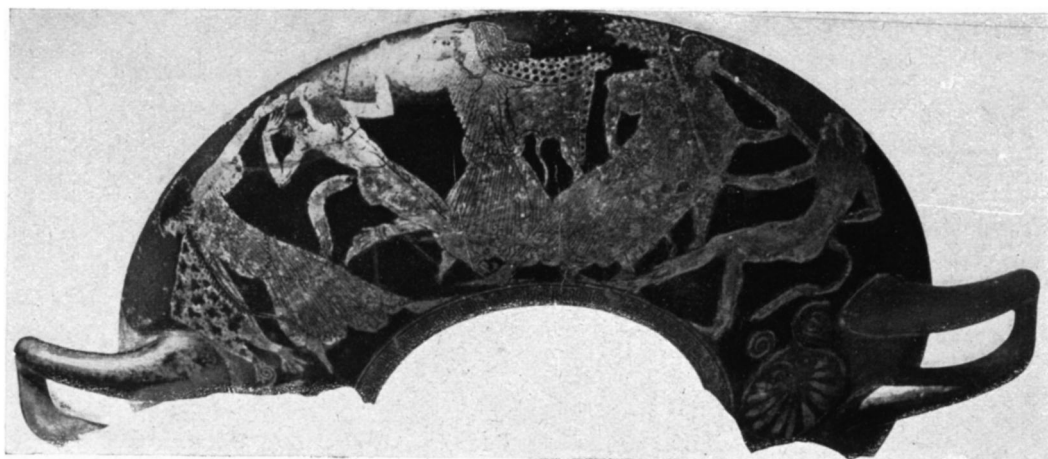
2. Athens 14500.



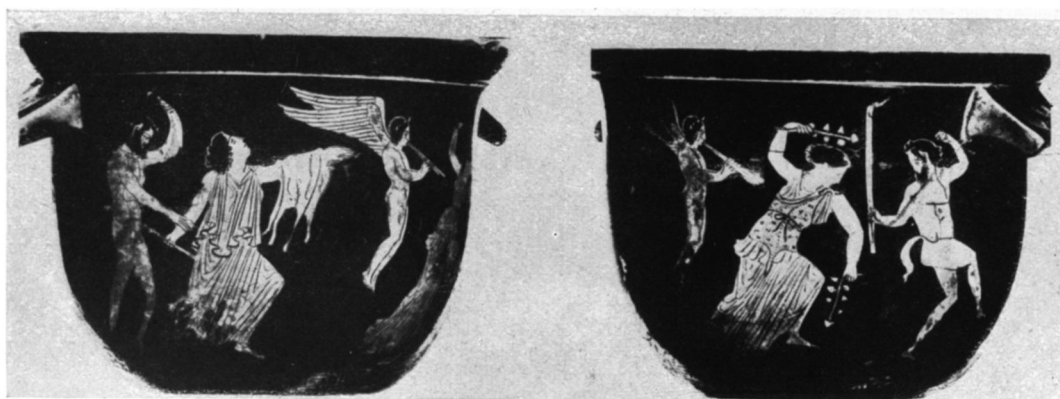
3. Athens 14500.



5. Munich 2644.
THE MAENADS,



1. Brussels 247.



2. TILLYARD, *Hope Collection*, 23, 140.



3. Munich 2344.



4. Baltimore Cylix, HARTWIG xxxi.

THE MAENADS.



1. Berlin 2471.



2. Louvre G 160.



3. Louvre G 144.



4. Munich 2344.



5. Munich 2644.
THE MAENADS.



1.



2.



3.



4.

1-4, Bologna, Valle Trebba Crater.
THE MAENADS.