CHAPTER FOUR

THE THIASOS OF DIONYSOS:
AMPHORAE AND SIMILAR VASES OF THE
6TH CENTURY BCE

The symposium-pottery discussed in the previous chapters has supplied a series of indications and hypotheses for reconstructing an organic and sufficiently sequenced image of Dionysos and has confirmed his central position in the Athenian—and generally Greek—conceptual view of the world. We can now state that, at the latest in about 550 BCE, Dionysos, together with the characters and symbols of his world, formed an integral part of Greek life and thought. However, the masculine perspective was still clearly predominant: a logical deduction of the vases taken into consideration, all intended principally for the symposium. All the female characters of the Dionysian world must be considered, in the repertoire just discussed, in relation to the male life as reflected in the context—whether real or symbolic—of the symposium.

From the interpretation proposed, however, characteristics of Dionysos also emerge that could interest the world of women independently of the male perspective. If the life of men were made up of phases and recurrent transitions, and if it were felt that the god of wine was present during them—crucial for both the individual and the community to which he belonged—it could not be excluded that something similar also applied to women: the life of females also consists of phases that coincide with age and social distinctions and corresponding images that are well-defined. However, we have seen—and later on we will see better—that onto this horizontal arrangement of life-phases of women, is superimposed a vertical sequence of social membership.

In the female world represented by vase painters there are women who take on specific roles representing their own social classes and cannot be confused with women of different social statuses: the

\[1\] Brulé 1987, 378 and passim; Garland 1990, 200; Bruit Zaidman 1993, 378ff.; Andó 1996, 47.
matronly-bride and the female companion of the satyrs could be considered. In iconography, this twofold membership distinguishes between female and male Dionysian typology.

With regard to the fountain motif on the François krater, we have seen Dionysos going into action between the nymphs in which the two categories—age and social class—are confused and so create ambiguous situations. This is not the only case, as the Dionysian repertoire of the amphorae will show us. But probably Dionysos did not enter the female world through wine, given that women who did not take part in the symposium were forbidden to drink it. And pottery, which is a production linked mainly to the male institution of the symposium, is unable to give an image of Dionysos as he is seen from a female perspective: if anything were able to do so it would be image-bearers created by women for women, such as textiles, for example.

However, pottery includes some shapes intended less exclusively for masculine use than kylikes and kraters: among these we have already come across the hydria, connected with nymphs on a practical and a symbolic level. More important in terms of number and quality, is the amphora: a shape that became and remained the privileged image-bearer of Dionysian images, as we shall see, from about 560 BCE to well beyond the 6th century.

The amphora is one of the few shapes that 6th century pottery inherited from the 7th century and from the Geometric Age. Together with the shape, presented from its onset in the two main variants with a continuous profile and a separate neck, it at first retained its twofold function as a container for oil, wine or other foodstuffs and as a grave-marker: this is indicated by the find-spots and the type of decoration, sometimes only on one side or with figures that function as guardians of tombs, such as sphinxes, lions and sirens. During the 6th century, the amphora tended to become an numerically important shape; far more than donoi and kraters, even if fewer

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2 In fact, males who are not citizens are hardly ever portrayed.
3 Henrichs 1982, 141; Murray 1987, 121; Villanueva-Puig 1988, 53: “... on a l'impression d'avoir comme le reflet de pratiques cultuelles: elles consisteraient à manipuler le vin sans y toucher”.
4 Keuls 1985, 240–248.
5 As shown by the first amphorae in the list in Beazley, ABV 3 above; 4.1 (the Nettos Painter); 3.1 and 2; 5.2; 6 (halfway down the page); 9.7–9; 21.1; 49.3.
6 The approximate ratios in percentages derived from Beazley's list of black figured vases are as follows:
than kylikes. This was not the case, at least as suggested by Beazley’s list, at the beginning of Black figure, when the production of pottery was concentrated not only on kylikes and skyphoi, but also on lekythoi, oinochoai, basins (lekanai), plates. The appreciable increase in number recorded around 550 BCE must be related to the growing importance of the Etruscan market for the production of the Kerameikos. We still do not know what the historical situation was in Athens that encouraged decorators of amphorae to adopt the Dionysian repertoire. It is also probable that it was relevant for Etruria: but this problem concerns the history of Etruscan culture and can only be studied in that context.

The decoration on amphorae was initially of two types: the animal frieze on neck amphorae and the equine protome on belly amphorae. The equine protome can be replaced by horse-riders or a female bust. The motif of the horse and the horse-rider, and with it the belly amphora, have hypothetically been connected with the first stage of maturity in the life-cycle of a male; confirmation of this will be given below. However, already at this stage, the amphorae of the Polos Painter document the presence of a female element that is more important than in other shapes: then the female element becomes exclusive to amphorae with long and narrow necks, the loutrophoroi. Later we will understand better why this is the case.

- chapters I and II: amphorae: 25%, kraters and dinoi: 15%, cups 40%, other shapes: 20%;
- chapters III–IX (omitting VIII, on Tyrhenian amphorae), that is by the second quarter of the 6th century: amphorae: over 25%, kraters and dinoi: over 10%, cups: over 58%;
- chapters X–XII, third quarter of the century: amphorae: 28%; kraters and dinoi: 2%, cups: over 60%; with Tyrhenian amphorae: amphorae: 40%, cups: over 50%.

7 Carpenter 1986, 34ff. The increase would be even more considerable if the Tyrhenian amphorae could be placed, as Beazley still thought, in the second quarter of the 6th century: Canciani 1997, 778ff.
8 Today the relationship between Archaic Greece and Etruscan cities has to be re-evaluated: Isler-Kerényi 1997a, 532ff; D’Agostino 1998; Isler-Kerényi 1999a.
9 As for example in the work of Sophilos: Beazley, ABV 38.1–3.
10 Beazley, ABV 15f.1–45 and Addenda 4ff.; Boardman 1990, 19.
11 Scheibler 1987, passim and 118.
12 Beazley, ABV 43f.
13 A precursor is Eleusis 767: Beazley, ABV 21.1 (two women on both sides of the neck). For an overview of 6th century loutrophoroi see Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997.
The thiasos and the female companions of Dionysos

Prototypical women

By far the most frequent Dionysian subject on 6th century amphorae is the thiasos, a group of male and female characters moving around or in front of Dionysos: still one of the most widespread themes throughout the 5th century. We have already considered this subject in two contexts: on kylikes of the Siana type starting with the Heidelberg Painter and in respect of the mule-rider. In both cases the motif emerged shortly before or around 560 BCE.

The first amphora with the thiasos, which has a shape that was inspired by the Panathenaic amphorae, should also be dated to around 560 BCE, close to Nearchos, a potter and painter who is stylistically intermediate between Kleitias and Exekias. On side A one can see Dionysos standing in a dignified manner with a beautiful kantharos in his hand, in front of a dancing satyr: clearly it is an epiphany of the god. From his proportions, the satyr is reminiscent of the pot-bellied dancers; his profile reminds of the masks of satyrs on Attic oinochoai from the first quarter of the century. In the panel on side B we see a monumental cockerel with flowers on a long stalk: the predominant connotation could be erotic. In the two panels on the neck there are busts of anonymous bearded men, like those already seen on the handle-plates of column-kraters from the Lydos circle: an allusion, we think, to the stage of maturity, the Dionysian goal in the life of a man. This decoration on the neck is repeated on an amphora from the same stylistic setting, with two couples of anonymous bearded men standing, facing each other on the larger panel on both sides. On the neck of a third, similar amphora there are only floral decorations. In the larger panels, once again, there

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14 Hedreen 1992, 3; Carpenter 1997, 1 n. 1. But in fact the Dionysian images are even more numerous if the grotesque dancers are included as well as the satyrs.
15 Munich 1447: Beazley Addenda 22 (81.1, below).
16 Boardman 1974, 35.
17 Beazley, ABV 10.2 (Taranto) and 3 (Berlin Univ.); Addenda 3.1bis (Athens, Agora P 24945).
18 As on the medallions of kylikes of the Siana type and in images of the symposium on Laconian pottery, see above p. 54f.
19 See p. 95.
20 Munich 1448: Beazley Addenda 24 (88).
21 Munich 1449: CV 7 pl. 328.3 and 4.
are two persons standing: on side A, a mantled youth holding a spear, facing a generically matronly woman, even if not veiled, like the one seen on cups of the Siana type in the context of a symposium and interpreted as an allusion to betrothal\textsuperscript{22}, on side B, a youth exactly like the one on side A, facing a mantled bearded man holding a spear. What, then, is the common denominator between these five similar images\textsuperscript{23}, which are not explicitly Dionysian but anonymous? They all evoke the stage between youth and adulthood in masculine mode and therefore belong to the typical repertoire of amphorae from this period, a repertoire directed, as we have seen, towards the world of early male maturity. The figures, distinguished only by age and social status, even though they have no name, become model characters, prototypes, with which anyone using the vase immediately identified himself. And it is precisely in this sphere—prototypical rather than mythological—that Dionysos is set and with him the characters of the thiasos, making access to it difficult for us, foreign as we are to that frame of reference\textsuperscript{24}.

If the common denominator between these three amphorae is the allusion to the transition from the age of an ephebe to the age of an adult, it must also be valid for the satyr who meets Dionysos\textsuperscript{25}: which does not at all contradict what has emerged about the satyrs in the preceding chapters. This way of seeing satyrs is in any case canonical throughout the whole of 6th century. In fact, figurations of the type discussed are connected to similar, if more elaborate versions, from the third quarter of a century. On both sides of an unassigned belly amphora\textsuperscript{26}, from about 540 BCE, Dionysos with an ivy crown is greeted emphatically—as indicated by the gestures and the open mouths—on the right and the left, by ithyphallic satyrs: on one side the god carries a large kantharos in one hand and an ivy branch

\textsuperscript{22} See p. 45.
\textsuperscript{23} Also sharing the same provenance (Vulcî).
\textsuperscript{24} Instead, Hedreen 1992 does not take the category of “prototypical” into account. Therefore, for Dionysian images he has to hypothesise scenic models: that is, the satyrs of vase painting would reproduce the satyrs of satyr plays. His opening question, “What was the basis of the popularity of the silens in Greek art and literature?” (p. 1), remains unanswered. This in no way diminishes the usefulness of this study to which we will refer frequently below.
\textsuperscript{25} It is not accidental that a fourth amphora, close to the three discussed, shows grotesque dancers on one side: Louvre E 827 (CV III He pl. 9.1 and 4).
\textsuperscript{26} Basel L 21: Berger/Lullies 1979, 57–60; Bothmer 1985, 50 fig. 48.
together with a vine branch with hanging bunches of grapes in the other, on the opposite side are two vine branches. The figuration of a thiasos on another belly amphora, in which Dionysos is holding the drinking horn instead of the kantharos, is similar.

The figurations of the thiasos in this period generally have a larger number of figures, as is evident in the amphorae from Group E, a little before and contemporary with Exekias. In fact, Dionysos with dancing satyrs is one of the recurring subjects, alongside the labours of Herakles and anonymous scenes of war and athletics. In an initial phase, the female companions of the satyrs, called "maenads" by Beazley, were less frequent. They occurred more frequently as they became a part of the normal thiasos, on vases that continued the tradition of Group E in the decades after 530 BCE, the amphorae from the circle of the Lysippides Painter, and the hydrias by the Antimenes Painter and his vicinity.

The female figure that Beazley calls Ariadne—the question of her name will be discussed later—should be added to the thiasos of the satyrs. It is in the centre of the image, in front of Dionysos, who is holding a drinking horn and an ivy branch in his hand. In the

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27 Rhodes, from Ialysos: Beazley, ABV 265.1, below.
28 Boardman 1974, 56.
29 Louvre F 55: Beazley Addenda 35 (133.4); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 286; Baden, Ros: Beazley ABV 133.5; Naples 2725: Beazley ABV 133.6; Copenhagen 7068: Beazley ABV 134.14 (one of the satyrs has no tail); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 288; Boulogne 88: Beazley ABV 134.26; Chiusi 1806: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.32); Orvieto, Faina: Beazley ABV 135.41; Budapest: Beazley ABV 137.58. The formula remains in vogue, as we have said, right up to red figures; Hedreen 1992, 75.
30 Würzburg 250: Beazley Addenda 36 (136.48); Louvre F 36bis: Beazley ABV 142.8; Louvre F 3: Beazley ABV 297.12. Add the neck amphora from Group E in Basel L 22: Berger/Lullies 1979, 60–63.
31 Oxford 1885.665 (208); Beazley Addenda 66 (256.15); Brooklyn 68.155.2: Beazley, Para 114 (258.9); Marseilles 7197: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.20); Toronto 919.5.141: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.21); Lyon E 406a: Beazley ABV 268.29; but the thiasoi of Dionysos with satyrs only remain more frequent: Beazley Addenda 66 (255.12 and 255.13); Beazley Para 114 (257.2); Beazley Addenda 67 (258.3.4 and 14; 259.25); Beazley ABV 261.43 (column krater Rome, Villa Giulia 25003); Beazley ABV 263.1 below (Rhodes, from Ialysos).
32 Beazley, ABV 266ff. The numerical ratios do not change even if account is taken of the amphorae in the chapter with the title "Other Pot Painters" from the second half of the century: Beazley, ABV 296ff.
33 Los Angeles 50.14.2: Beazley Addenda 35 (133.7); Chiusi 1806: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.32); Louvre F 32: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.43) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 715; Cambridge GR 10.1932: Beazley Addenda 38 (141 below,1). See the list of Hedreen 1992, 55 n. 48.
examples from Group E, the woman is always veiled. The satyrs, two or three in number, are dancing and in some cases are without a tail\textsuperscript{34}, perhaps to allude to the metamorphosis. We have seen other examples of satyrs without tails in images of the mule-riding\textsuperscript{35}, a motif with which the matronly figure is associated from the beginning of the 6th century\textsuperscript{36}. This association has made us think that the ritual of riding the mule had a nuptial meaning. A nuptial meaning is certainly present also in the formula with Dionysos in front of a woman which we are discussing: confirmation of the hypothesis that the metamorphosis of the Dionysian dancer into a satyr must in some way be connected with the wedding.

As was stated above, the amphora is one of the vases which, unlike the cup and the krater, do not only and automatically evoke the setting of the symposium. This does not mean that it is not connoted in a principally masculine sense, as shown by the choice of subjects in the period that interests us: examples of heroic aretè, scenes of athletics and military life. However, we need to explain why, in black figured pottery, the decorative repertoire of the hydriae—vases traditionally linked to the female world—is similar to the repertoire of contemporary amphorae. We have just proved that the subject of the matronly-bride who meets Dionysos was adopted in around 510 BCE from the workshop of the Antimenes Painter, which specialised in hydriae.

A possible explanation can be found in the amphorae of the earliest decades of the century. They are decorated with the equine protome—ancestor of successive subjects with horse-riders—or, alternatively, with the female bust. For a citizen, owning a horse was not only an economic factor but a right derived from social status and age. The same applied to women: to have a wife was equivalent to reaching the status of head of an oikos. We have seen with regard to the matronly-bride on the medallions of kylikes by the Heidelberg Painter that this phase coincided with being admitted as

\textsuperscript{34} Los Angeles 50.14.2 (A 5832.50–137); Beazley Addenda 35 (133.7); Louvre F 32: Addenda 36 (135.43) and LIMC III, Dionysos 715.
\textsuperscript{35} For example, on the dinos Louvre E 876 (discussed on p. 93) and on the Tyrrhenian amphora Louvre E 860 (to be discussed on p. 150f.). On these Isler-Kerényi 2004, 47–62.
\textsuperscript{36} Corinthian amphoriskos Athens 664 (see p. 24f.); Attic dinos Louvre E 876 (see p. 93f.). Other examples in Isler-Kerényi 2004, 47–62.
an equal to the symposium. However, the repertoire of the amphorae is different from that on cups. It is orientated more towards marriage as an institution than towards the symposium. In this perspective, the Dionysian matronly-bride is to the female bust as the young horse-riders are to the equine protome: they qualify the male, but less as a symposiast and more as a citizen. For this reason they have greater social dignity and their image could therefore be directed also to the female and nuptial circle to which the hydria also belongs.

In one case, Dionysos and the matronly-bride are distributed over the two sides of the amphora. One of the two satyrs, who are moving like the dancers from the same Group E, is ithyphallic: certainly not to indicate erotic intentions towards Dionysos or the woman, but to allude to the metamorphosis, due to the god, from dancer into satyr. In another variant the satyrs frame a female couple joined by a shared cloak. This motif alludes to a homosexual phase in the life-history of women, which we will discuss at length when dealing with a famous amphora by the Amasis Painter: proof of the hypothesis that the repertoire of the amphorae takes more account of the female component of the social organism. The presence of satyrs in this variant, followers metamorphosed by Dionysos, confirms the hypothesis stated at the beginning of the chapter that the god was considered responsible for female and male metamorphoses.

A richer version of the matronly-bride in the thiasos is attributed to the first half of the century. The central couple is surrounded to the right by a dancing satyr, to the left by another satyr who is turning with obvious erotic intentions towards a dancing nymph, which she reciprocates. She is wearing a nebris on top of a chiton: she is therefore identical to the nymphs of the krater of Lydos and

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37 This is well illustrated by the hydria in Malibu 86.AE.113 (CVA 1 pl. 53.2; LIMC 1, Amphitrite 43; Shapiro 1990, 130) with Dionysos who, holding an enormous kantharos decorated with an ephebe horse-rider, accompanies Amphitrite towards Poseidon.

38 Munich 1394: Beazley ABV 135.42; KdS 357, 62.2a–b; Hedreen 48 and 63 (list of examples with a veiled woman among satyrs).

39 For example, cf. New York 56.171.18: Beazley Addenda 37 (137.61); CV 4 pl. 14–5.

40 London 1843.11–3.40 (B 163): Beazley Addenda 36 (134.28).

41 Koch-Harnack 1989, 121–135; Cantarella 1992, 107–117; Calame 1996, 87 with n. 8.

42 Würzburg 246: Beazley Addenda 77 (296.8). Cf. the similar amphora Louvre F 5: Beazley, ABV 300.13.

43 New York 31.11.11, see p. 97f.
The Thiasos of Dionysos

completely different from the woman in the centre. Instead of the ivy branch, Dionysos is holding a vine branch with hanging bunches of grapes: but the ivy is in the field between the matron and the satyr on the right. A third element, which probably alludes to a ritual situation, draws attention: a hanging wreath positioned in the centre between the drinking horn and the woman’s face.

The woman, who is meeting Dionysos among the dancing satyrs and is present in the repertoire of the Swing Painter and the Affecter, which we will discuss, returns, as we have said, on many amphorae from the final decades of the century. However, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine her status. She is no longer shown as veiled; she may be wearing a cloak over the chiton but she may also take on completely youthful forms, to the extent of being similar to the nymph companions of the satyrs. The drinking horn can be replaced by a kantharos, to the ivy branch can be added a vine branch. The only mythological character that sometimes takes part in the scene besides the satyrs is Hermes, as also happens in figurations of thiasoi with Dionysos alone: his presence could be to emphasise the fact that the thiasos and the woman’s meeting with the god imply a transition. Some painters from the decades after 530 BCE, such as the Lysippides Painter and the colleagues of his circle, preferred calm and composed versions of the

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44 Bérard 1974, 72f.
45 Hedreen 1992, 55 n. 49: “... Dionysos and the veiled Ariadne, with silens and nymphs”; 56f. n. 56: “... Dionysos and possibly Ariadne face to face, with silens”; 57 n. 57: “... Dionysos and Ariadne face to face, with silens and nymphs dressed differently than Ariadne”. Note the overwhelming majority, in these lists, of amphorae over other vases.
46 Examples: Louvre F 59: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.15); Louvre F 209: Beazley Para 148 (335.6); Munich 1351: Beazley Addenda 92 (336.20).
47 Würzburg 267: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.10); Oxford 1965.115: Beazley Addenda 70 (269.49); Munich 1525: CV 8 pl.400.1; Vatican 360: Beazley, ABV 422, halfway down the page.
48 Louvre F 204: Beazley Addenda 65 (254.1); Oxford 1965.115: Beazley Addenda 70 (269.49); Munich 1514: Beazley Addenda 71 (272.90); Munich 1513: Beazley ABV 282.4; London B 198: Beazley Addenda 74 (283.12); etc.
49 Louvre F 204: Beazley Addenda 65 (254.1).
50 Examples: New York 12.198.4: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.5); Würzburg 267: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.10); Toronto 919.5.141 (304); Beazley Addenda 67 (259.21). On Hermes in the thiasos: Hedreen 1992, 41.
51 Examples: Oxford 1889.665 (208): Beazley Addenda 66 (256.15); New York 56.171.7: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.11); Munich SL 438: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.18). To the amphorae add the krater Tübingen D 18: Beazley Addenda 68 (262.44).
meeting between the god and the woman\textsuperscript{52}. The satyrs are sometimes absent\textsuperscript{53}.

Towards the end of the century a fundamentally modified variant emerged. Instead of meeting Dionysos face to face, the woman is moving with him, forming, for anyone looking at the image, a single entity\textsuperscript{54}: only now the two are a wedding couple and the identification of the woman as Ariadne is completely justified\textsuperscript{55}. Of the four examples considered here, only in the first is the woman shown as veiled, i.e. of the matronly type. Satyrs are always present on either side of the couple. In one example\textsuperscript{56} they are busy with hetaerae, the one on the left being completely naked: the foot of a kline at the edge of the image shows that the setting is a symposium. Here, the famous passage from Xenophon comes to mind. It describes a pantomime performed during a symposium that ends with Ariadne and Dionysos leaving the stage tightly clasped together\textsuperscript{57}. On the other three examples, the couple is accompanied by a caprid: clearly the sacrificial animal. The ritual atmosphere is sometimes emphasised by the satyrs who are going in the same direction, one could say in procession, each playing a kithara\textsuperscript{58}.

In yet another variant of the pattern of the thiasos, Dionysos is at the centre of the image followed on the left by a dancing satyr. On the right is a young-looking female figure\textsuperscript{59}. Her appearance is matched by her gesture which has an unequivocal sexual connota-

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Examples: Louvre F 204: Beazley Addenda 65 (254.1); Würzburg 267: Beazley Addenda 67 (258.10); Munich SL 458: Beazley Addenda 67 (259.18); Munich 1525: CV 8 pl. 400, 1.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Hedreen 1992, 56 n. 50: precedents on cups of the Siana type. Examples from the second half of the 6th century: London B 198: Beazley Addenda 74 (283.12); London B 256 (not listed in Beazley, ABV).}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Boston 76.40: Beazley Addenda 88 (327.1); Rome, Villa Giulia (M.488): Beazley ABV 373.171; Munich 1527: Beazley Addenda 103 (392.5); Rome, Villa Giulia 912: Beazley ABV 394.3.}
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\caption{Hedreen 1992, 43.}
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\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Boston 76.40: CV 1 pl. 39.2.}
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\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Xenophon, Symp. 9: Casadio 1994, 212. For Hedreen 1992, 43f., the foot of the kline alludes to the marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne.}
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\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Munich 1527: Beazley Addenda 103 (392.5). The reading of this image as a ritual is confirmed by the other side of the amphora where Athena is in the centre, accompanied by an ox-like animal, preceded and followed by a couple: one woman with Hermes, the other with Dionysos. Munich 1564: Beazley Addenda 103 (394.3, below: without a caprid).}
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\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Louvre F 36bis: Beazley Para 58 (142.8). In fact, she is not called Ariadne but a "maenad".}
\end{figure}
tion: with her two hands she is holding her belt or is about to undo it\textsuperscript{60}. From the world of wives we have obviously shifted to the world of hetaerae.

The mother of twins

It was to be the most unusual of the women to meet Dionysos, the one holding two babies, who would tell us how to understand the figure correctly. We know a whole series of them on amphorae of the third quarter of the century\textsuperscript{61}. In the recurrent pattern, the god, with a drinking horn and a vine branch (in only one case replaced by an ivy branch\textsuperscript{62}), is positioned in the centre of the picture. The mother of twins who is in front of him is not the matronly type but rather youthful, even when her arms are wrapped in a cloak. With regard to the so-called Ariadne in the series just examined, there is one fundamental difference: normally the woman is not simply facing the god but, while turning her head towards him, she is moving away with the lower part of her body\textsuperscript{63}. The secondary characters could be Dionysian dancers\textsuperscript{64}, Hermes\textsuperscript{65}, dancing satyrs\textsuperscript{66} or even a naked ephebe holding an ivy branch\textsuperscript{67}.

\textsuperscript{60} On the belt as an indicator of female status: Schmitt 1977.

\textsuperscript{61} Here is the list of vases in question in chronological sequence:

1. Belly amphora, Philadelphia MS 3497: Shapiro 1989 pl. 53c;
2. Belly amphora, London 1836.2-24.42 (B 168): Beazley Addenda 38 (142.3);
   Shapiro 1989 pl. 43a; LIMC III.2, Ariadne 156;
3. Neck amphora, Vatican 359: Beazley ABV 142; Shapiro 1989 pl. 54c;
4. Belly amphora, Tarquinia RC 4796 (or RC 2449 as in CV 2 pl. 24.1.4?): Beazley Addenda 39 (143.2);
5. Hydria in the art market: Christie's Geneva 5.5.1979 pl. 20 no. 61;
6. Neck amphora, Mississippi 1977.3.61: Shapiro 1989 pl. 54a;
7. Neck amphora, Louvre F 226: Beazley Addenda 82 (308.66); Shapiro 1989 pl. 54d.

This group of images also includes the mastos Würzburg L 391, Beazley Addenda 68 (262.45), to which the old restoration had given only one baby, which we will consider again in respect of the mastoi in Chapter 5. The amphora Louvre F 226 is missing from the list of Hedreen 1992, 53 n. 37 because there are no explicit Dionysian elements in the image.

\textsuperscript{62} London B 213: Beazley ABV 143.1.

\textsuperscript{63} The exceptions are Philadelphia MS 3497, the first of the series, and Mississippi 1977.3.61, where it is Dionysos, positioned in the centre of the image, who is moving ambiguously between the mother of twins on the right and Hermes on the left.

\textsuperscript{64} Philadelphia MS 3497.

\textsuperscript{65} London B 168, Vatican 359, Mississippi 1977.3.61, and perhaps on the hydria.

\textsuperscript{66} London B 213, Tarquinia RC 4796.

\textsuperscript{67} London B 168: Hedreen 1992, 54 n. 40 thinks that this ephebe is a son of
For his iconography, this series of Dionysian mothers of twins from the first half of the century is a direct continuation of some fragmentary figurations of Aphrodite that are found not on amphorae but on votive pottery. The oldest is on a skyphos from the decade 580–570 BCE\(^{68}\) from the Acropolis in Athens. The woman holding babies in her arms is called Aphrodite. She is following Dionysos directly in a divine procession. A fragment of a pinax, also from the Acropolis\(^{69}\), with an extremely accurate image, names the babies Himeros and Eros, the sons of Aphrodite. On a third fragment, perhaps of a kantharos, found in Naukratis\(^{70}\), the goddess is explicitly called Aphrodite: of her sons only a pair of feet remain. The evident filiation of the motif does not force us to identify the Dionysian mother of twins on amphorae of the third quarter of the century with the goddess of love herself\(^{71}\); it remains more likely to understand her as one of the non-mythological but prototypical figures that appear so often in the Dionysian repertoire, even if her iconographic descent, as we shall see, will be shown to be illuminating.

At this point we must ask what was special about the mother of twins in the perspective of the 6th century. Here, too, the sources are meagre and indirect: what we know has been obtained from later medical texts and from the examination of mythological cases. Births of twins were essentially different, both from multiple births, considered unnatural and monstrous, and from single births. The arrival of more than one child was considered in itself a happy event, especially when they were boys. In the system of Solon, boys were particularly welcome because they guaranteed the continuation of the oikos and therefore of the polis. In fact, in mythology twins are almost all positive figures, close to the human world\(^{72}\). Even so, giving birth to twins cast a heavy shadow over the mother. It was thought—as is the case in modern ethnological cultures—that the

\(^{68}\) Athens, Acropolis 603a: Shapiro 1989 pl. 53a; JHS 13, 1892–3 pl. 11 (reconstruction in colour).

\(^{69}\) Athens, Acropolis 2526: Shapiro 1989 pl. 53b.

\(^{70}\) London B 601.17: Beazley ABV 78.3; Shapiro 1989 pl. 53c.

\(^{71}\) Hedreen 1992, 34f. identifies her as Ariadne, whereas Carpenter 1986, 24 considers her to be Aphrodite.

\(^{72}\) Eitrem 1902, 119.
birth of twins was the result of an anomalous, divine or double conception, due not only to the actual father but also to an intruder.\footnote{Dasen 2005, 32–35; 56–58; 281.}

One need only think of the conception of the twins Herakles and Iphikles, of the Dioskouroi and many others. If the fathers were of different rank—one heroic, the other divine—the destiny—mortal or immortal—of the twins could also differ.

We know nothing about how twins were received in a normal Athenian family in the 6th century. But for the mother, no matter how honoured and faithful a wife, an extremely precarious situation could have been created. Assuming that she survived the double delivery, she must have been suspected of having had an extra-marital relationship. For a lawful wife the consequences could only be negative: death, dismissal, demotion\footnote{Cf. Solon’s sanctions against nubile daughters caught with a lover: Seaford 1994, 207 n. 64. It is possible that the woman would have been demoted from the status of lawful wife to the status of pallakê. On this cf. Keuls 1985, 269: “...even citizen women who had lost the support of their families occasionally entered into such irregular arrangements”.} In comparison, the situation was far less critical for women whose social role already implied the risk of multiple conceptions: love-companions. The birth of children would not have been foreseen for such women and they tried to avoid it. But once born, if they were boys and healthy, it was certainly in the interests of the families and the polis to incorporate them. We know that even the only children of illegitimate female companions, the nothoi, could become legitimate when there were no legitimate sons from normal marriages\footnote{Ogden 1996, 37; Pepe 1998, 148.}

So even if anonymous, the mothers of twins in our series of images have definable characteristics. We can thus understand why they are represented as young, unlikely to be confused with the matronly-bride. When an ordinary wife became the mother of twins she showed that she was indeed different from her original image: she revealed that she belonged to the sphere of Aphrodite, as the female love-companion had already from the start. This explains the iconographic derivation of Dionysian mothers of twins from Aphrodite, mother of Eros and Himeros\footnote{The argument of Hedreen 1992, 34f. does not explain the similarity between Ariadne and Aphrodite.}.

We still have to explain the role of Dionysos in this situation and the reason for the ambivalent relationship between the god and this
woman (never true of the customary matronly-bride in the thiasos) clearly expressed by the fact that, even though standing in front of him and looking at him, she is moving away. Even so, the mother of twins forms part of the group of women who meet Dionysos in the thiasos without seeming to be a negative character.

The iconographic material examined in the preceding chapters documents the stabilising and civilising role of Dionysos that goes back to the cosmogonic past. He may have a similar role in respect of the mother of twins. We find proof of this in a figuration that is more recent than those considered so far, and symptomatically modified\(^{77}\). Here the woman is represented alone, without Dionysos, satyrs or even Hermes. As usual, she moves in an ambivalent manner, but is now positioned between two columns, each supporting a little owl: this arrangement is not used much on ordinary amphorae, is clearly derived from Panathenaic amphorae, and therefore refers back to the institutional and official aspect of the polis\(^{78}\). This reading is confirmed by side B of the same amphora, which shows the Gigantomachy of Poseidon, and from a comparison with two other amphorae. The first is an amphora of a shape similar to the Panathenaic by the same Swing Painter to whom the mother of twins in question is also ascribed\(^{79}\): on side B the Gigantomachy of Poseidon can be seen; and on side A, the canonical Athena Promachos of the Panathenaic amphorae between two columns supporting panthers in the attacking position. The Panathenaic columns, which have cockerels in the place of little owls\(^{80}\), frame Dionysos with a nymph, on an amphora that can be dated to about 510 BCE\(^{81}\). On side B Herakles and Athena are depicted, armed and facing each other\(^{82}\): a clear allusion to the hero’s apotheosis.

The grouping together of the Dionysian mother of twins or of Dionysos himself with Panathenaic columns shows that integration

\(^{77}\) Louvre F 226: Beazley Addenda 82 (308.66).

\(^{78}\) Here are two rare examples: London B 139: CV III He pl. 5, 3 (A: Athena armed; B: young kithara-player); London B 146: CV III He pl. 6, (A: Athena Promachos; B: young horse-rider between naked and armed epheses).

\(^{79}\) Copenhagen 3672: Beazley Addenda 82 (307.58).

\(^{80}\) On the Panathenaic columns with cockerels: Bentz 1998, 51ff.

\(^{81}\) London B 198: Beazley Addenda 74 (283.12). Similar is the reading by Angiolillo 1997, 143; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 711.

\(^{82}\) The little deer accompanying Athena could allude to Artemis, worshipped alongside Athena on the Acropolis in Athens.
of these "different" women into the polis was possible and that it was attributed to Dionysos. But the god's role is not the same in respect of the normal nymph and the nymph who has become the mother of twins. In the first case there is no ambiguity, the situation is unequivocal, a friendly face to face. In the second case, the meeting takes place, but the woman is about to depart. Perhaps the satyrs are there to indicate the setting to which she is heading since she has been demoted: the symposium. Instead, Hermes is the guide in all the existential transitions: death, but also change in status. In the sight of Dionysos, however, there is no confusion between the good wife and the wife of dubious honour: however conciliatory, he clearly stands on the side of law and order. It is the same role that we have seen him adopt on a cosmic scale at the marriage of Thetis, at the return of Hephaistos to Olympus and at the Gigantomachy.

Confirmation that the birth of twins was experienced positively is found on the B sides of these amphorae, on which the subjects, apart from one case of doubtful reading\textsuperscript{33}, are of two types: they can evoke either ritual Dionysian situations\textsuperscript{84} or heroic arete\textsuperscript{85}. And it is not accidental that all the latter have Herakles as protagonist, the most famous twin from the generation of heroes and a prototype of the lucky twin. The anonymous mother of our twins, even if demoted and now "different", continues to belong to the world that the amphora traditionally evokes: the world of masculine virtue and the polis.

\textit{Ariadne}?

The name of Ariadne has been proposed for all the types of woman in front of Dionysos, the matronly-bride, the nymph, the god's female companion in the ritual procession, the mother of twins: but the name is not at all obvious if one considers the variety of iconographic formulae. Is it likely that so many different women could all have the name of Ariadne? What are Ariadne's role and status in mythology?

\textsuperscript{83} Young woman touching the thigh of the seated bearded man, among cloaked ephebes, for Beazley possibly Thetis in front of Zeus: Vatican 359.
\textsuperscript{84} Satyr riding a caprid: London B 168; mule-rider among satyrs: Tarquinia RC 2449 (or RC 4796).
\textsuperscript{85} The Labours of Herakles: Philadelphia MS 3497, London B 213, Mississippi 1977.3.61.
We start from the observation that in mythology there is no other woman who could dispute Ariadne's rank as the wife of Dionysos. As such she is one of the divine prototypes of legitimate wives. But the circumstances of that union are not at all clear and have given rise to a number of different versions. It is only clear that both Theseus and Dionysos had been with Ariadne on Naxos on the same night. It is no surprise, then, that there is a version in which Ariadne becomes the mother of twins, i.e. of Staphylos and Oinopion. Her similarity with Aphrodite, often confirmed by the texts is no surprise either. On the other hand, the role attributed to Artemis in Ariadne's premature death stresses her youthful image of a nympha rather than of a gyne.

Ariadne's union with Dionysos was considered fundamental in Athens: otherwise one cannot explain why it was confirmed annually by an important ritual, the ritual of marriage of the basilinna and Dionysos. In the ritual, Dionysos was seen as the groom and prototype of all grooms. But the same ritual also emphasised the ambiguous role of the heroine in relation to both the god and the founding hero of Athens: it is difficult to deny that the ritual union of the basilinna with Dionysos could be perceived, at least superficially, as adultery. On the other hand, a ritual of this kind must have had a specific meaning, "aiming to portray Dionysos as the putative father to heirs to the throne about to be born." Once again, one may ask what actually happened. If nine months after the ritual, the basilinna gave birth to a baby, whose son was it considered to be: the archon basileus or Dionysos? Were there babies in Athens considered to be children of Dionysos? As there is no trace of such babies in the sources, this could be an argument for accepting that

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86 Calame 1990, 106-116. The same passages are also discussed by Casadio 1994, 129–148 and by Hedreen 1992, 31–34.
87 Calame 1990, 113ff.; on this version also rests the identification of the Dionysian mother of twins with Ariadne by Simon 1963, 13. Curiously, instead, for Daraki 1985, 98 "Ariane n’est jamais devenue mère". (Ariadne never became a mother).
88 Scholarly tradition (also followed by Simon 1963, Hedreen 1992, 79–83 and Seaford 1994, 263ff.) sets the ritual in the programme of the Anthesteria even though the sources are not unambiguous: Hamilton 1992, 53ff. However, this does not affect the interpretation of Ariadne set out here.
89 On this role of Dionysos see also Daraki 1985, 73ff.
90 So also Calame 1996, 148.
91 De Sanctis, quoted by Privitera 1970, 24.
the phase of chastity required of the basilinna before the ritual was followed was a purely symbolic union with the god.  

Whether or not the union took place only symbolically, the fact remains that the ritual of the hieros gamos stressed the privileged relationship of the polis of Athens with Dionysos: this confirms the reading, proposed in the previous chapter, of the link between Dionysos and Hephaistos, the patron of Athens, on the dinos of Sophilos and on the François krater. This privileged relationship must have been extended to Ariadne, in spite of the dark sides of her image: even though she is the wife of Dionysos, Ariadne is never a model either of fidelity or conjugal bliss. In light of the mythology and information on the hieros gamos, the name Ariadne is not incompatible with the matronly-bride, the nymph, or the mother of twins. Even if we accept that the various images of the thiasos discussed allude to a situation that is not mythological but prototypical—and that it is therefore inappropriate to impose only a specific name on the figures—the definite fact remains that practically all the women of Athens could be identified with Ariadne: the lawful wives, the nymphs, the women with suspect maternity and even the women who died prematurely in childbirth. This is the reason why the images of the thiasos belong organically to the repertoire of the amphorae, vases which have not only exclusive symposial significance but also nuptial and sepulchral. In this perspective the initial thesis is validated: Dionysos was considered to be the patron of metamorphoses in the lives not only of men but also of women.

As a nuptial deity (and prototype), Dionysos can therefore be represented also on the wedding car or else accompany it. These images use the iconographic formula of the ceremonial quadriga also used to portray heroic apotheoses or mythological arrivals and departures and should therefore be studied separately. In any case,

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92 Henrichs 1982, 148. The various hypotheses on the form of the ritual union are discussed by Casadio 1994, 202 with n. 122.
93 Cf. Simon 1963, 14 (interpretation of Athena on the krater in her pl. 5.2).
94 LIMC III, Dionysos 765 (hydria Vatican 423) and 766 (amphora Bologna 29).
95 Examples: Hydriae New York 14:105.10 and Florence 3790 (Shapiro 1989 pl. 23 f. and 24 a–b).
96 For example, the apotheosis of Ariadne: Würzburg L 267 (LIMC III, Dionysos 768 and 774). On the hydria in Berlin 1904 (LIMC VII, Semele 22) Dionysos has arrived on a quadriga to take up Semele. On this formula: Kerényi 1994, 108f. with fig. 47.
figurations of Dionysian nymphs who drive a ceremonial car in the presence of Dionysos belong to this context.\(^{97}\)

We have noted that the satyrs over time could be left out of the images of Dionysos meeting a woman: in fact, in the reading proposed, they are not necessary. What, then, is the meaning of their presence in the greater part of the series? The iconographic material considered so far clearly shows that Dionysos' belonging to the world of men, to male sexuality on the correct management of which the stability of the polis depended was held to be important. To Dionysos are due, both the possibility of escape, which can neutralise aggression that destabilises, and its limits. In this perspective, the figure of the dancing satyr, half human and half animal, straddling culture and nature, personifies both escape and the neutralisation of aggression through music and dance. The relationship between the male and female worlds, one of the hinges of the polis system, is understood as the focus in this sphere of escape and neutralised aggression: it is consistent, therefore, that the meeting between Dionysos and the woman takes place in the presence of satyrs.

The thiasos remained the most frequent image of the repertoire of Attic pottery.\(^{98}\) Like the thiasos, the motif of dancers moved from containers for the symposium—kylikes and kraters—to amphorae;\(^{99}\) but its numerical importance started to decrease considerably.\(^{100}\) To the setting described, belong amphorae with Dionysian subjects by Lydos, the Amasis Painter, Exekias and by some of their contemporaries. They have differences but are all typical of the way Dionysos was perceived around 550 BCE and during the third quarter of the 6th century.

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\(^{97}\) Examples: amphorae Würzburg L 267 and Munich SL 460 (LIMC III, Dionysos 768 and 769).

\(^{98}\) Carpenter 1997, 1 n. 1: 18.5\% of all the Attic images known. On this ratio cf. Isler-Kerényi 2000. A summary of Dionysian iconography of the first half of the 5th century will be given on p. 223ff. of the present study.

\(^{99}\) Examples: Louvre E 827: CV III He pl. 9,1.4; Harrogate: Beazley Para 46 (115.2); Rhodes: Clara Rhodos 8, 56 fig. 41; New York 56.171.18: Beazley Addenda 37 (137.61); Munich 1387: Beazley Addenda 79 (304.7), KdS 293, 48.1; Amsterdam 1877: Böhr 1982, pl. 69; Munich 1398: Beazley ABV 303.4.

\(^{100}\) Exceptions are the Tyrrhenian amphorae, generally faithful to antiquated decorations.
Before examining these amphorae, it must be stated that in terms of number, Dionysian themes are not as important in the work of Lydos as in the Amasis Painters. Perhaps this depends on his position in the course of black figure pottery. Even though it is set in the central decades of the century—according to Tiverios his career began shortly after the François krater, i.e. before 560 BCE, and ended towards 535—he seems to have been more attached than his contemporaries to the tradition of the first three decades of the century, both in respect of the choice of shapes and types of decoration\textsuperscript{101}. In Attic pottery of the period, the Dionysian repertoire, as also narrative repertoire in general, was still restricted. Besides the grotesque dancers and a few wild satyrs, we recall the Dionysos by Sophilos and Kleitias. But, as we have already noted in respect of the dinos with the Gigantomachy and of the thiasos on the grandiose krater of New York, this set of themes was not irrelevant for Lydos\textsuperscript{102}.

Following the stylistic and chronological classification proposed by Tiverios, the first piece to be considered is the \textit{fragmentary amphora} with a Dionysian thiasos on side A and a couple of cloaked youths between sphinxes on side B\textsuperscript{103}, from the first phase of activity between about 560 and 555 BCE. The main figuration shows Dionysos in the centre moving towards the right but with his head turned towards the left: a formula that emphasises his central position. In his left hand he is holding a large bunch of grapes in full view, which forms the middle of the picture, while with his right hand he is making a gesture of greeting. On the bunch is fixed the glance of two satyrs who, while dancing, are holding their erect phalluses with one hand. It seems that the satyr on the left is trying to attract his companion’s attention to it. The satyrs are followed, on each side, by a dancing nymph. The couple of cloaked ephebes foreshadow the recurring decoration on the B sides especially of red figured kraters\textsuperscript{104}: possibly an allusion to a specific phase in the life-cycle of a male

\textsuperscript{101} Tiverios 1976, 84ss.; Moore 1979, 79; Hannestad 1989, 44 (date of the last works of Lydos probably 535–530 BCE); Kreuzer 1998, 270 (date of the early work of Lydos and his workshop).

\textsuperscript{102} New York 31.11.11: see p. 97f.

\textsuperscript{103} Louvre C 10634: Beazley Addenda 30 [110.31]; LIMC III, Dionysos 300.

\textsuperscript{104} Isler-Kerényi 1996, 51f.
which will be followed by the phase impersonated by satyrs and characterised by the apparition of Dionysos with the bunch of grapes.

No less interesting is an amphora\(^{105}\) from the end of the first phase, about 555, still decorated with animal friezes in the lower register. In the shoulder area, instead, we find two figured scenes: on one side a symposium, on the other the judgment of Paris. The field of the first image is filled by a symposial kline under which is a crouching dog, and a smaller dog is at its feet. On the kline is a male couple of different ages in conversation\(^{106}\). From the right and from the left couples of male and female dancers are approaching as on some more or less contemporary kylikes of the Siana type. One of the dancers is holding a drinking horn in his hand and another horn is hanging on the wall above the kline: this confers on the scene, which in any case does not lack solemnity, an aura of ritual. The combination of this scene with the judgment of Paris on the other side is not accidental. We have already noted in respect of the kylikes of the Heidelberg Painter that in a conception of life as sequenced by age phases with different social roles, the symposium can be seen as preliminary to marriage: and the judgment of Paris is clearly a mythological subject pertaining to marriage.

From the work of Lydos it is clear that the dancer belongs to the homoerotic sphere even independently of the symposium. Proof of this comes from two other slightly more recent belly amphorae. The first\(^{107}\) shows similar images on two sides of the vase. A bearded male is courting a naked youth—long-haired on side A, short-haired on side B—with explicit gestures, between two bearded dancers facing outward. The protagonists and one of the dancers are wearing or holding wreaths which confer ritual solemnity on the images. The central scene recurs, much the same—but the courting man is ithyphallic\(^{108}\)—on another amphora\(^ {109}\): here the homosexual couple is not

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\(^{105}\) Florence 70995: Beazley Addenda 30 (110.32); LIMC III, Dionysos 756.

\(^{106}\) An even richer contemporary figuration of the symposium (but without the dancers) is on an amphora from the circle of Nearchos: Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum 1963.480; Beazley, Para 34.2, above and Addenda 24 (“Omaha Painter”).

\(^{107}\) Nicosia C 440: Beazley Addenda 30 (109.28).

\(^{108}\) A more advanced stage of the sexual approach occurs in a medallion of a cup from the final phase of Lydos’ work, with the formula of the four figures of whom the outer ones, however, are dancers who are ephebes rather than mature men: Copenhagen 13966: Beazley Addenda 33 (119).

\(^{109}\) Paris, Cab. Méd. 206: Beazley Addenda 30 (109.27); cf. the unattributed amphora by a minor contemporary painter with a dancing couple of differing ages, most probably homoerotic: Clara Rhodos 8, 1936, 56 fig. 41.
surrounded by Dionysian dancers, in musical ecstasy, but rather by naked and clothed males of various ages. The impression given is that the homoerotic approach takes place in a setting that is not completely private but, at least metaphorically, under the eyes of representatives of the collective (just like, on the other hand, the combat of Herakles with the lion on the other side of the same amphora)\(^ {110} \).

More recent is an amphora functioning as a cooler belonging to the middle phase of the work of Lydos, that is to the years before 540 BCE\(^ {111} \). The Dionysian scene is on the main side, on the opposite side is depicted the fight between Theseus and the Minotaur in the presence of ephebes of varying ages: naked and long-haired, clothed and short-haired. The image with the thiasos on the front part of the vase is restricted by the spout fixed to the shoulder of the vase. As a result, Dionysos, who is carrying a large drinking horn, is not positioned in the centre but to the right of the spout, preceded by a dancing satyr. Next under the spout is a very young satyr, the only figure turning towards the left, who is playing with a little hare which perhaps belongs to the nymph, if we think of the proto-Corinthian aryballos considered above\(^ {112} \). The nymph is wearing a long chiton and an animal skin: she is moving towards the right between a fat dancing satyr who is turning his face to her and a second satyr who closes the procession. Here, Lydos is not adapting the symmetrical and essentially static formula of the first amphora we considered, but a simplified version of the New York krater\(^ {113} \). The whole surface of the satyr's body is covered with dots to indicate that he is covered in hair, i.e., old: the Amasis Painter will provide further clarification in this respect.

There are elegant images of a thiasos with satyrs and nymphs without Dionysos on both sides of an amphora from the last period of Lydos of disputed attribution\(^ {114} \). The procession comprises of three ithyphallic satyrs alternating with two nymphs in a well balanced composition, although, unlike the thiasos with Dionysos on the Paris

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\(^{110}\) Fehr 1996, 788 ff.

\(^{111}\) London 1848.6–19.5 (B 148); Beazley Addenda 30 (109.29); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 299.

\(^{112}\) Brindisi 1669: discussed on p. 11f.

\(^{113}\) New York 31.11.11: discussed on p. 97f.

\(^{114}\) Basel BS 424: Tiverios 1973, 114f. n. 322 (dated after the jug Berlin 1732); CV 1, 85f. pl. 28. The inscriptions are meaningless and purely decorative.
amphora, it is not symmetrical and leaves no doubt about the left to right direction of the movement. Note that on the side we call A, the central satyr is turning his face toward the outside, interacting with whoever is looking at the vase, as does the non-ithyphallic satyr following the mule-rider on the New York krater. The thiasos of Lydos is not a remote event but something that is happening in the present.

On his Dionysian amphorae, Lydos uses images from the, by now, customary repertoire without significant personal additions or changes. One never has the impression, however, that this set of themes has become obvious and that the painter’s care fails in executing it.

The Dionysian kylikes by Lydos115 show clearly the substantial identity of the grotesque dancers with the satyrs of the Dionysian thiasos in the iconographic tradition that goes back to the first quarter of the century and beyond. In spite of their basic identity, dancers and satyrs move on different levels, the former ritual, the latter mythical. This is confirmed on the amphorae by Lydos with Dionysian images: Dionysos is explicitly present only in the figurations of the thiasos and not of the symposium, of the Dionysian dance and homoerotic love, where the drinking horns and the wreaths are the only indicators of a situation that does not occur everyday. Here, Lydos, as we will see, made different choices from the Amasis Painter. His vases are important because they document the transfer of the Dionysian repertoire from typical vases of the symposium (cups and kraters) to amphorae shortly before 550 BCE.

Fig. 65-66

To the amphorae we add a special vase, an oinochoe of special shape that initiated the final phase of Lydos’ activity around 540 BCE, known because it bears the signature of the potter Kolchos116. For us it is of interest because Dionysos is depicted on it in a mythological and unique context. This uniqueness matches the exceptional shape of the vase, due perhaps to a private commission. It is a fight over the body of Kyknos. Ares, his father, is fighting with Herakles, who is assisted by Athena117. Zeus (no longer visible) is standing between the two, trying to separate his rival sons. Poseidon is rushing in from the left, the side of Herakles, Apollo from the right.

115 Taranto I.G. 4412 and Heraklion 217, discussed on p. 48.
116 Berlin 1732; Beazley Addenda 30 (110.37); Boardman 1990, fig. 68.
117 Tiverios 1976, 66.
Important elements of the composition are the two quadrigae driven by Iolaos and Phobos respectively, which are moving away from the centre of the action. At the edges of the scene, on the sides of the handle, two onlookers are standing motionless: on the right, according to the inscription, Halios Geron, on the left, Dionysos holding a flower. Halios Geron is one of the sea gods with whom, according to the only other figuration known on a slightly earlier armlet of an Argive shield\(^{118}\), Herakles had to cross swords.

It is difficult for us to understand the meaning of the presence of the god of the sea and Dionysos in this image, also because the piece is unique. The outline adopted by Lydos for the main action is connected with previous images of the Aegean tradition of the heroic duel over someone fallen in battle which must have evoked the sphere of death\(^{119}\). Exekias seems to be doing something similar, when, shortly after Lydos, he chose this formula to decorate a chalice krater\(^{120}\) that had just been invented, a formula that would remain canonical for this type of vase\(^{121}\). In the version on the oinochoe it is striking that the fight is not set on a heroic level but between the heroic and divine levels, as emphasised by the inscriptions indicating, unequivocally, the identities of the characters. This combat between gods and the decisive intervention of Herakles is reminiscent of the Gigantomachy. Different from the Gigantomachy is the role of Zeus as peacemaker (also confirmed by the sources)\(^{122}\). A role that he carries out in a specific moment: when the fight against a model of insubordination and brigandage (Kyknos) is about to degenerate into a fight between his own sons (Herakles supported by Athena against Ares). In the Dionysian iconography discussed thus far, the wedding of Thetis and Peleus on dinoi by Sophilos and on the François krater and the Gigantomachy are the only other events of cosmological significance. We intuit the meaning of the presence of Dionysos in the fight between Ares and Herakles interrupted by Zeus in this perspective: where Halios Geron, “the Old

\(^{118}\) LIMC IV 1, 409f. s.v. Halios Geron 2 (R. Glynn): second quarter of the 6th century.

\(^{119}\) Isler-Kerényi 1990b, 41 with n. 47.

\(^{120}\) A shape probably introduced by him into the repertoire of potters of the Kerameikos: Boardman 1974 56f. fig. 103.

\(^{121}\) Frank 1990, 55f.

\(^{122}\) Kerényi 1997 II, 128f.
Man of the Sea”\textsuperscript{123}, is reminiscent of the origins of the cosmos—just like Okeanos at the wedding of Thetis—Dionysos is guarantor of Zeus’ present order of the world.

\textit{Dionysian amphorae by the Amasis Painter}

The Amasis Painter is a prominent representative of the ceramic art of Athens in the first phase of its splendour, when, in the third quarter of the 6th century, it had already attained the undisputed primacy in contemporary Greek pottery and, with artistic primacy, the position of leader in the Etruscan market. Amphorae have a pre-eminent position in his rich and varied production: and among the decorative formulae on the amphorae the Dionysian motifs stand out. One has the impression that the figure of Dionysos and the characters connected with him had a particular importance in the mental world of the artist and the persons for whom this pottery was intended. The activity of the decorator of most of the vases by the potter Amasis is dated between 550/545 and 515 BCE\textsuperscript{124}, and is therefore contemporary with the later phase of Lydos and the work of Exekias\textsuperscript{125}. The Amasis Painter holds an important position in Dionysian iconography, not only for his amphorae but also for his kylikes, all to be dated to the final phase of his activity: this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Dionysian figurations on amphorae of the Amasis Painter are of two types. The first, as we have said, comprises one of the best loved themes of contemporary and later painting: it is the Dionysian dance. But we will see how, moving away from the norm, the painter presents two variants, one with mythical dancers and one with human dancers: it is not, then, the canonical thiasos. The second is more peculiar to him: Dionysos among non-dancing ephebes. But there are other images, isolated but no less important.

\textsuperscript{123} In the photographs of this piece, kindly made available to me by Ursula Kästner of the Antikenmuseum of Berlin, Halios Geron seems to be young because the colour that was added to his beard has vanished. On close inspection one can see a trace of the colour.

\textsuperscript{124} On the question of the chronology and the phases of activity of the Amasis Painter see: Isler 1994. Here we accept the chronology of the individual vases based on this new arrangement.

\textsuperscript{125} Boardman 1990, 57.
Dionysian dances

The first amphora with a thiasos, dated to about 550 BCE, is very fragmentary and smaller in size. It shows, on both sides, almost the same scene: Dionysos standing in the centre, surrounded by four ithyphallic satyrs, dancing. We have met similar formulae on the amphorae of Group E from these same years: evidently in this case the Amasis Painter is adapting himself to the customs of his time.

Of standard size, instead, is another amphora from about 540 BCE, with the fight between Herakles and Kyknos in the presence of Athena and Ares on side A, and Dionysos between male and female dancers on side B. We have discussed a representation of this labour of Herakles on the oinochoe created by Kolchos and painted by Lydos in the same years. The combination of the two subjects on this amphora is probably not accidental: it could wish to contrast an example of conflict with harmony. The Dionysos of side B, with a kantharos in his hand, is greeting a female dancer dressed in a peplos, and wreathed like him in ivy. She is approaching from the right accompanied by a naked dancer. The couple on the left of the god is depicted in the same way. There is no explicit connection between these dancers and wine: but it is made likely by comparing this image with a slightly more recent lekythos without female dancers, on which one of the male dancers, from their proportions even closer to their predecessors from the first half of the century, is approaching and greeting Dionysos. The dancer is carrying a wine-skin, while a clothed ephebe is observing the scene. In both cases we are faced with a komos: but, for the first time explicitly, Dionysos is present in the komos.

126 Vatican (Gregoriano Etrusco) 17743: Bothmer 1985, no. 3; Isler 1994, 110.
127 See p. 112f.
128 Louvre F 36: Beazley Addenda 42 (150.6); Bothmer 1985 no.5; Isler 1994, 110; LIMC III, Dionysos 811.
129 It reappears in other cases that are not distant in terms of chronology. Examples: Cambridge GR 12.1937: Beazley Addenda 67 (257.23); Leiden I.1954/2,1: Beazley Addenda 68 (263.9); London B 202: Beazley ABV 284.1; Munich 1709: Beazley Addenda 95 (361.14). But there are also many images of this same labour in combination with other subjects.
130 Athens, ex Kerameikos 25: Bothmer 1985, 82 fig. 59; Isler 1994, 112; LIMC III, Dionysos 810.
Contemporary with this amphora but with richer workmanship, is an amphora in Basel. On one of its sides is a similar scene: Dionysos in the centre is greeting a dancing couple who are approaching from the right. The woman is holding an ivy branch and a jug that she will use to pour wine into the kantharoi of the god and his female companion, who is approaching from the left with a wreath on her arm and a flower held high in her hand. Another link between the various parts of the image is provided by the gesture, perhaps a greeting, of the dancer on the right. All the figures are wearing ivy wreaths, which confers an air of ritual solemnity on the scene. Even though Dionysos is present, the scene takes place on the human level: in fact, the female figures do not have wild connotations nor have the male figures become satyrs.

Instead, the satyrs are portrayed on the other side of the same vase in the first scene of the treading of the grapes, which ascribes this activity to satyrs. The position of Dionysos is the same as on the other side of the vase: but here a couple, comprising of a satyr and a tightly clasped dancing girl are going to meet him. The woman is holding her companion by the wrist. The Amasis Painter is not only confirming the identity of the satyr and the human dancer, already evident in Boeotian vase painting and also evoked by the tailless satyrs in contemporary Attic thiasoi: what is new is that, for him, women are closer to Dionysos than men. Or rather, it is the women who introduce the male dancers into that sphere. To this sphere also belongs, as far as can be understood from the few fragments of another amphora and from the secondary band on an amphora we will examine below, the matronly-bride on kylikes and dinoi from the second quarter of the 6th century discussed above, and also especially on the amphorae of Group E, who seems to have a special relationship with Dionysos. This is also shown by a neck amphora from the painter's first phase. Both images on the neck show

131 Basel Kä 420: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985, 47 fig. 40; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 61ff. figs. 1 and 2; LIMC III, Dionysos 408.
132 Hedreen 1992, 85-88 and the list of such scenes: 185f. Here too the amphorae are privileged image-bearers: Sparkes 1976, 51.
133 Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 73 fig. 4.
134 New York 1985.57: Bothmer 1985 no. 18bis: see fragment g on p. 111; Isler 1994, 111.
135 Ex Berlin 3210: Beazley Addenda 43 (151.21); Bothmer 1985, 49 fig. 45a.
136 Private collection: Bothmer 1985, 73 fig. 56 a-b; Isler 1994, 111.
Dionysos with a huge drinking horn in front of the woman, with dancing satyrs framing the scene. The theme of the main figurations is the arming of warriors. The warrior on the main side is wearing an animal skin, perhaps an allusion to the wild world to which he belongs: in fact we know that the first military service of Athenian youths took place on the borders, in a setting attributed to Artemis: later on we will see the link between ephebes and Artemis being strengthened. However, the link between the Dionysian world and the military sphere is not new, besides its connection with hunting: we have already noted this, among other matters, in respect of the kylikes of the Siana type\textsuperscript{137} and we will note it again below.

Female presence is not required during the grape-treading, as on a well-known amphora\textsuperscript{138} showing a grape-treading scene with only satyrs taking part on one side, and Dionysos dancing among the satyrs on the other. This Dionysos is like the one on the kylix by the Heidelberg Painter in Copenhagen\textsuperscript{139}. But here too the Amasis Painter goes further. In the god's retinue we again see a tightly embracing couple, here two satyrs of differing ages\textsuperscript{140} carrying drinking horns. The role of initiator to the world of Dionysos and wine is attributed to a mature satyr rather than to a woman. While pouring wine from a wine-skin into the god's kantharos, the satyr on the left is turning his face toward anyone looking at the vase\textsuperscript{141}, like Dionysos in the divine procession on the François krater, and as the satyr who is following the mule-rider often does\textsuperscript{142}: an unambiguous way of addressing anyone holding the amphora, mentally including him in the scene.

*The most recent amphora of this series*\textsuperscript{143}, dated to around 530 BCE, Fig. 69 portraying the arming of a warrior, introduces a new type of Dionysian woman. The formula is the one on the amphorae in Paris and Basel already considered, with Dionysos in the centre of a dance. Next to

\textsuperscript{137} Chapter 2, p. 40ff.
\textsuperscript{138} Würzburg L 265; Beazley Addenda 43 (151.22); Bothmer 1985 no. 19; Isler 1994, 111; LIMC III, Dionysos 415 and VIII, Silenoi 38.
\textsuperscript{139} Copenhagen 5179, discussed on p. 47.
\textsuperscript{140} Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 73 fig. 5.
\textsuperscript{141} Bothmer 1985, 115 fig. 19.
\textsuperscript{142} See p. 83ff.
\textsuperscript{143} Ex Berlin 3210, one of the items lost in the war (information kindly provided by Ursula Kästner): Beazley Addenda 43 (151.21); Bothmer 1985, 49 fig. 45; Isler 1994, 111; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 73 fig. 3.
him there are again tightly embracing couples consisting of satyrs and dancing girls holding the satyrs' arms: but the women are completely naked, a new element in Attic pottery painting considered thus far\(^{144}\). Besides these women by the Amasis Painter, the partners of frequently ithyphallic Dionysian dancers are naked on slightly earlier Tyrrhenian amphorae\(^ {145} \), in which containers, such as the krater and the kantharos appear to indicate the symposium setting of the erotic acrobatics depicted: clearly these naked women are hetaerae, who have the same role of initiators into the world of Dionysos as the clothed female companions of satyrs and dancers.

To the right and left of the dancing couples are two approaching women: they are dressed not in the long peplos but in a much shorter garment. The woman on the right, who is less damaged, is holding a dead leveret\(^ {146} \), the meaning of which is not unambiguous: in fact, hares, dead and alive, are either typical gifts in erotic homosexual and heterosexual relationships, or hunting trophies that stress the wild nature of anyone holding them. In this image, the impression is that the Amasis Painter wished to emphasise the difference between the two types of women: the hetaerae, erotic companions of the satyrs, and the nymphs belonging to the world of nature, not connected with male figures.

These women, who are approaching Dionysos, but from a distance, are probably identical to the ones on the contemporary neck amphora by the same painter\(^ {147} \). It has been noted several times that we have here, for the first time, women meeting Dionysos on their own, with neither satyrs nor dancers. Besides the specially solemn atmosphere of this meeting, attention is drawn to the two women (the one in the foreground is dressed in a panther pelt over a long garment), portrayed embracing like the female dancer and the satyr on the amphora in Basel and the couple of satyrs, clearly homosexual, on the Würzburg amphora. The obviously erotic significance of this ges-

\(^{144}\) But not in Corinthian painting, if we remember the kraters from Flious (p. 100) and in Kaunas Ti 1094, discussed on p. 100. Another example of a naked female companion of a satyr by the Amasis Painter is on a fragment of an amphora in Samos K 898: LIMC VII Suppl., Mainades 60.

\(^{145}\) Munich 1432: KdS 228, 37.1; Munich 6451: KdS 229, 37.2; Munich 1430: KdS 291, 47.4b. On the problem of dating see n. 208 below.

\(^{146}\) Henrichs 1987, 101f. fig. 2 (with n. 53 and 50).

\(^{147}\) Paris, Cab. Méd. 222: Beazley Addenda 43 (152.25); Bothmer 1985 no. 23; Isler 1994, 111; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 74 fig. 6; LIMC III, Dionysos 294.
ture has not been accepted until now. Neither has account been taken of reference to the stage in a woman’s life evoked by this gesture: a formative stage, in every sense, intellectual, practical, sexual. It was a period in which the girls—we do not know whether all or only a few—lived exclusively among women at the edge of the territory of the polis, outside family and city, under the guidance of mistresses. The gesture of holding each other’s shoulders with arms folded indicates something more than an erotic relationship: it indicates a solidarity that goes beyond a transitory bond. In this phase the meeting with Dionysos must have the same significance that it has in a masculine context: for women as for men, the transition from one phase of life to another always implies a metamorphosis, inner as well as of image. And Dionysos, according to the interpretation proposed here, is the patron, in the name of the polis, of these transitions.

On this vase, the polis is also insinuated on the other side where Athena is seen in a solemn and friendly tête à tête with Poseidon (not only his rival for Attica, but above all, the father of Theseus). Contrasting with these two images of harmony are the hoplite duels depicted on the upper band of the vase, perhaps an allusion to the other side of the system on which the polis is founded, the military side. The strong link between Dionysos and the polis is confirmed by a neck amphora signed by the potter, Amasis, from the final phase of the activity of this painter. On one of the sides Athena Promachos is depicted, standing in front of a mature god, probably Poseidon. On the other side we see two armed warriors approaching a battlefield. Between the two sides, under each of the handles, is Dionysos in motion towards the left, but with his face turned in the opposite direction, with a vine branch in his right hand and an ivy branch

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148 Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 63ff.
149 Brulé 1987, 260; Koch-Harnack 1989, 121–135; Gentili 1995, 101ff.; Seaford 1994, 308; Osborne 1996, 228.
150 This gesture is still found in a naked Sapphic couple in red figure vase paintings of the first half of the 5th century: Oakley/Coulson/Palagia 1997, 216 fig. 4.
151 Cf. Seaford 1994, 259: “... Athenian girls went out to become ‘bears’ in the uncultivated periphery of Attica, at Brauron, for a ritual in which they were imagined as entering a temporary state of savagery so as to return tamed for the civilized state of marriage”; Calame 1996, 109ff. and 123.
152 Boston 01.8026: Beazley Addenda 44 (152.26); Bothmer 1985 no. 24; Isler 1994, 111.
in his left: both this ambivalent formula and the position of the figure on the vase emphasise the god’s affinity with passages, transitions. In this perspective, as we will see shortly, the meaning of the vegetal attributes is explained, ivy and vine, seen frequently in figurations of the thiasos.

The amphorae by the Amasis Painter discussed so far are particularly important for two reasons. Unlike the other painters of Dionysian images of the second half of the 6th century and beyond, he gives the women the role of ritual mediators between males and the god of wine. In addition he is concerned with differentiating accurately the various female types present in the Dionysian world: the female companion of the dancers, who, as on the kylikes of Lydos, is identical with the companion of the satyrs even though she does not have her wild features; the naked companion of the satyr, prototype of the hetaera, for whom the question arises whether or not she is identical with the clothed female companion; the matronly-bride in the thiasos; and lastly, the woman either alone or accompanied by another woman, linked more with the wild outside the polis than with the world of wine and the symposium. The interest of our painter in the specific nature of the characters around Dionysos also extends to the masculine world, as we will see in the next series of images peculiar to his repertoire.

Dionysos among ephebes

The oldest example, dated about 550 BCE, is on an amphora from Vulci. Dionysos with his kantharos is preceded by a small ithyphallic satyr, the only one in this series: for us his importance lies in the fact that he establishes a connection between this series, seemingly more remote from the world of the symposium, and the series just discussed. The god is greeting an ephebe who is approaching from the right followed by other male characters. To the left of the god is a naked ephebe holding an aryballos: we have already noted, in respect of the Corinthian aryballoi with figurations of Dionysian dancers, what the link between this type of unguent vase and the world of wine could be: the consumption of wine is

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153 Vatican, Guglielmi coll. 39518; Beazley Addenda 42 (150.1); Bothmer 1985, 75 fig. 57 a,b; Isler 1994, 110; LIMC III.2, Dionysos 806.
154 See p. 19f.
synonymous with being at a symposium, of being acknowledged as an adult: and the age of the adult is preceded by the phase characterised by athletics, the sign of which is the unguent vase. The other side of the amphora presents a scene with various anonymous male characters: a hunter with a dog between two warriors and young, clothed spectators.

Slightly more recent is another amphora\textsuperscript{155} with similar scenes on both sides: on side A, Dionysos with his drinking horn in the centre, being greeted with lively gestures by four characters: on the right, a bearded hunter, wearing a beret, and a cloaked youth; on the left, two other youths one of whom is starting to grow a beard\textsuperscript{156}. The two dogs and the spears evoke the world of hunting. On side B the setting of the scene is almost identical: but all the youths are naked and the figure with the beret is missing. The presence of Dionysos is not, therefore, limited to the symposium or the gymnasium: for the Amasis Painter he can also make his appearance among hunters. In fact, like athletics and military life, the hunt marks a crucial phase in the life-history of a male, intermediate between the gymnasium and the symposium. Thus the presence of an older figure in this image is logical: he is specifically entrusted with the initiation of youths to the art of hunting\textsuperscript{157}.

The presence of Dionysos among youths also occurs on a slightly more recent and extremely accurate amphora\textsuperscript{158}. On one side we are present at the epiphany of Dionysos among four ephes. The ephebe standing in front of him is holding a little jug with which he is pouring wine into the kantharos of the god, who is displaying cut ivy branches in his other hand. Between the two is an amphora of the same shape as the image-bearer to indicate that the wine is destined for the symposium. The figure behind the ephebe is a young hunter who is greeting the god with his right hand, and in his left is holding a stick from which a hare and a fox, both dead, are hanging.

\textsuperscript{155} Bloomington 71.82: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985 no. 2; Isler 1994, 110.

\textsuperscript{156} Bothmer 1985, 63.

\textsuperscript{157} At this point it is worth remembering an interesting passage of Athenaeus, Deipn. I 18a, according to which no-one in Macedonia was admitted to the symposium as an equal unless he had succeeded in killing a wild boar.

\textsuperscript{158} Munich 8763: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985 no. 4; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 65; Hamdorf 1986, 81 fig. 43.
To the left of Dionysos is another youth\(^\text{159}\) with the same game and an ivy branch in his left hand. He is followed by a fourth youth carrying a full wine-skin. This image shows the connection (which is not obvious) between the ephebe period, also known as the period of hunting, and carrying wine in amphorae into the polis. The other side of the vase shows galloping ephebes accompanied by a running dog, and therefore belongs to the typical repertoire of amphorae focusing on the young horse-rider and the polis.

\textit{A slightly smaller amphora} belongs to the same period, 550–540 BCE\(^\text{160}\). Dionysos is holding his left hand raised as a sign of greeting and in his right is a drinking horn. The youth standing in front of him carrying a cut ivy branch has a beard sprouting from his chin: a precise and explicit indication of the age in which the event takes place. Instead, a similar branch, a wreath and a longer drooping ivy branch are the attributes of the ephebe to the god’s left. Two motionless cloaked youths holding spears form part of the scene: they are the same ones framing the scene on the other side with the messenger Hermes in the centre between a young archer, possibly Apollo, to the left and an ephebe to the right: therefore all those assembled together on the same vase are ephebes, human and divine, with various roles.

To the following decade belongs \textit{the fourth of these amphorae}\(^\text{161}\), again with a ephebe with an incipient beard who is pouring wine into a kantharos and welcoming Dionysos. Both he and the god are holding long drooping branches of ivy. Behind Dionysos an ephebe with no attributes is greeting his companions, who are approaching from the right, with gesticulations. The two ephebes at the edges of the scene are carrying wine-skins, and the one on the right is returning the greeting. In this image too, the ephebe phase is made equivalent to the phase of the ivy and the transportation of wine. The other side, with a bride who could be Helen or an anonymous prisoner of war being led away by two warriors, alludes to the next phase in the life of a male: the phase of war. Framing this image

\(^{159}\) Bothmer 1985, 79 calls him a "boy" rather than a "youth", like the other youths, but in the photographs reproduced the reasons for this cannot be seen.

\(^{160}\) Basel Lu 20: Beazley Addenda 43 (151); Bothmer 1985 no. 8; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 74 fig. 8; LIMC III, Dionysos 812.

\(^{161}\) Munich 1383: Beazley Addenda 42, 150.7; Bothmer 1985 no. 14; Isler 1994, 110; Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 75 fig. 9; LIMC III, Dionysos 807.
are two naked ephebes with a spear, one of them is carrying an aryballos.

In the last image of this series, all the participants are carrying ivy branches of different lengths. The other attributes are the kantharos of Dionysos, a wine-skin, a dead hare and a little branch of a different plant, which cannot be identified. In a single image are present, as in the first of the series, objects that refer to the transportation of wine and to hunting. On the other side of the vase is a mounted ephebe leaving, with a second horse and male figures surrounding him: a warrior (carrying an aryballos as well as a spear), a cloaked youth and a naked ephebe with a spear and an aryballos. Once again, Dionysos, on this amphora, is associated with the ephebic age: the age that precedes taking part as an equal in the symposium, in which wine is not yet consumed but carried from outside the polis to the inside.

As well as throwing light on an aspect of the god of wine that is not obvious, these images of the Amasis Painter exhibit a peculiar feature of the pottery of Athens, which previous studies, fixed as they are on identifying scenes documented by literary tradition, have ignored: the unambiguously mythological figurations are not the rule but the exception. The rule, in contrast, is made up of images that are set on a level halfway between human and mythical. The intention of the pottery painters is not, usually, to narrate specific mythological events, but to evoke situations of particular significance in the life of whoever was using the vase: very often the deity was depicted when his presence was experienced or when he was considered responsible for specific human situations, rather than for being the protagonist of mythological events between gods and heroes. In other words, the presence of a deity in an image does not mean that the scene depicted was a mythological event set on a separate level or in former times far from the time when the vase was used: rather it means that in the situation evoked the human and divine presence was experienced as equally real and operative.

Concerning the images of Dionysos with ephebes, we must attribute the same degree of reality to all the participants of the scenes. Otherwise, the gestures of greeting between the ephebes and the god

162 Geneva I 4: Beazley Addenda 42 (150.8); Bothmer 1985 no. 15; Isler 1994, 111.
would not be explained. Dionysos is considered to be truly present and the ephebes and other possible characters are not merely stock figures or meaningless fillers: the peculiar nature of the situation depicted—and therefore evoked—the reason for which this situation was worth decorating an eminent vase, is precisely that ephebes of Athens, both anonymous and typical, at a given moment, experienced the presence of Dionysos. A situation of the kind could obviously have been only ritual in nature: it is the ritual setting that allows the combined presence of a deity and human beings. Obviously, in terms of the style of this artistic genre, which is not realistic but emblematic, this does not mean that the painter wished to depict specific celebrations as the eye actually saw them: instead it means that he wished to convey the generically ritual atmosphere of the meeting between Dionysos and the ephebes.

We can now also understand better the peculiar nature of the dance scenes by the Arnaxis Painter which we examined first: the introduction of the figure of Dionysos in the komos. In the work of Lydos, komos and thiasos are distinct: the former is set on the human level, the latter on the mythical level. The Arnaxis Painter, instead, likes to draw attention to the intermediate level, indeed the level of union between human and divine: the ritual level. For this, Dionysos is present in the komos even if the dancers have not—yet—become satyrs.

A ritual reading of the considered images explains why the Amasis Painter was rebuked for preferring compositions of a certain uniformity and symmetry: but these are precisely the most suitable formulae for expressing ritual situations, evidently not spontaneous but regulated. As has been stressed, this does not imply that the images wished to represent specific and identifiable festivals: the peculiarity of this artistic genre lies, instead, in the polyvalence of the possible readings depending on the situation in which the support became operative. For us the most likely hypothesis is that our painter, knowing that the amphorae entrusted to him by Amasis would have been used on Dionysian occasions—symposia, family or group cel-

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163 As is continually repeated, following Beazley's example: Carpenter 1986, 46 (with regard to the "Ajecter").

164 Henrichs 1987, 102: "The fastidious, symmetrical arrangement of male and female figures...is characteristic of the Amasis Painter..."; Carpenter 1986, 46: "Like the Amasis Painter, he is a formalist".
ebrations on the occasion of the festivals of Dionysos, or else funerals—would have chosen images capable of evoking the unmistakable aura of those moments generated by the sense of the divine presence.

Besides the composition and the fact that we are now faced not with individuals but with groups of similar persons, beyond the solemn and uniform gestures, there are also objects that confer an aura of ritual on the figuration: objects that lie outside practical and daily use, such as the kantharos and the drinking horn. In addition, there are objects of a purely symbolic nature, such as the wreaths, the unidentifiable branch and the sprigs of ivy. Ivy has many characteristics that make it a Dionysian plant par excellence: its affinity with the vine, its being evergreen and therefore a winter plant (many of the Dionysian celebrations were in winter). But its special feature is that it has different shaped leaves on its young and old branches: so it is ideally suited as a metaphor of the metamorphoses inherent in human life. If the painter, probably like the ritual evoked, places the ivy branch in the hands of the ephebes, he is in this way alluding to their “fluctuating” identity, characterised by previous and future metamorphoses. These metamorphoses clearly announce different activities and images, such as the hunt and the transportation of wine: proving the hypothesis that Dionysos was held responsible not only for the metamorphoses retold in mythology, but also for those to which man, by the very fact of having a biography comprising of different phases, is automatically subject. If this is the case, it is not surprising to see him in these images as the special patron of ephebes: of the human type in which the metamorphosis is most

165 On death as a Dionysian occasion of metamorphosis: Isler-Kerényi 1993b, 100.
166 Geneva I 4: Bothmer 1985, 107. Cf. similar branches in clearly ritual contexts: Berlin 1686: Beazley Addenda 77 (296.4); Berlin 1690: Beazley Addenda 42 (151.11); Eleusis 471 (837): Beazley Addenda 83 (309.97); Munich 1441: Beazley Addenda 62 (243.44).
167 A fact already noted by Theophrastus, Peri phyton 10 (I, 9, 6 and III, 18, 5); Lexikon-Institut Bertelsmann (ed.), Das grosse illustrierte Pflanzenbuch...1010 (s.v. “Efeu”): “...Um diese Zweige herum...wachsen rautenförmige oder oval-lanzettförmige Blätter, so dass wir nun zwei Blattypen unterscheiden können: den der sterile und den der fertile Zweige. Dieses Phänomen, Heterophylie genannt, hat bereits Theophrast beschäftigt...” (information kindly provided by H. Baumann); Isler-Kerényi 1990a, 67; KdS 331.
168 Isler-Kerényi 1993b, 100.
evident. Patronage of this kind implies, for the ephebic phase, a relationship with wine even though it is a phase that is not characterised by the consumption of wine and by belonging completely to the world of the symposium. The ephic condition, which prepares for but does not take part in the symposium, is reflected instead metaphorically in the vases present in these figurations, such as the amphora and the wine-skin: containers of wine, intended for the symposium, but which have not yet reached their destination. In this perspective it is completely logical that the series just examined occurs exclusively on amphorae of which we know the ephic and institutional significance. It goes without saying that the amphorae just described, like those with the female companion of Dionysos in the thisas, could be suitable to accompany dead youths in the tomb.

If the figurations considered are evoking specific Dionysian rituals, we must ask ourselves to which mythological event these rituals refer: because no ritual exists that does not wish to repeat, and so reinforce, a decisive event in the mythological course of the cosmos. We find the answer in the work not of the Amasis Painter but of his more celebrated contemporary, Exekias. On an neck amphora by him there is an image that is very close to those we are discussing: Dionysos, who is holding a kantharos in one hand and an ivy branch in the other, is in front of an ephebe who, with a little jug, is about to pour the wine of welcome for him. Both figures are accompanied by inscriptions: Dionysos and Oinopion. According to some traditions, Oinopion was one of the sons of Dionysos and also the mythical founder of Chios, to whom the god had transmitted the cultivation of vine (just as Demeter had transmitted the cultivation of grain to Triptolemos). The ritual task of ephebes transporting wine finds its mythological prefiguration in this image: thus

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169 Rudhart 1981, 225: "Le sacrifice. . . nous paraît maintenant . . comme un rappel des événements cosmogoniques et anthropogoniques au cours desquels les puissances et les entités se sont progressivement diversifiées. . . et à la suite desquels leurs conflits se sont résolus dans l'instauration d'un ordre. . ."; Kerényi 1995, 97: "Solche Handlungen waren Wiederholungen mythologischer Ereignisse, von Göttergeschichten, die in den rituellen Bewegungen verkürzt, durch die Dramatik der Zeremonie aber gegenwärtiger wurden als blosse Erzählungen".

170 London 1836.2–24.127 (B 210); Beazley Addenda 39 (144.7); Bothmer 1985, 47 fig. 41; Shapiro 1989 pl. 41c; LIMC III, Dionysos 785.

171 Shapiro 1989, 148; LIMC VIII, 1, 921 s.v. Oinopion (O. Touchefeu-Meynier).

172 For Hamdorf 1986, 22 (with regard to fig. 43) the series of images with Dionysos between ephebes is to be read in a mythological vein: then we would see Oinopion with his companions.
the ephebic ritual celebrated precisely that moment together with Dionysos in his capacity as a civilising god.

Besides transporting wine, the ephebic phase is characterised by hunting, that is by remaining outside the city and beyond the countryside in the realm of Artemis. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Artemis sometimes among the ephebes in place of Dionysos. Even before the hunt, athletic activity belonged to the ephebic phase: in fact, the neck of the amphora just considered shows athletes in contest in the presence of trainers. The same sphere is evoked by the aryballos that we have seen in the hand of some of the ephebes—and also of warriors—by the Amasis Painter.

In the next chapter we will consider at length the Dionysian aryballoi of this period by Nearchos and the Amasis Painter. They will show the link that exists between dancer and satyr: to become a satyr, for example, through masturbation, was one of the ways of approaching Dionysos. Attic aryballoi will confirm that the link between these two Dionysian types that are so widespread in the pottery considered so far is equivalent to a transition. Where, then, is the third masculine type that has just emerged, the ephebe, to be placed? Two oinochoai by the Amasis Painter tell us. On one of them, from about 530, two female dancers frame a female flute-player and a cloaked youth dancing with a long ivy branch: a scene, perhaps, of initiation into the symposium. A second erotic conversation in a symposial setting is to be found on a late oinochoe where, instead, the two boys, one of them wearing the himation, are not dancing but, holding an ivy branch and limit themselves to taking part in the conversation of a richly-dressed mature man with an elegant half-veiled young woman who presents him with a flower. However enigmatic, these two figurations seem to be evoking the intermediate phases in a progressive transformation of an ephebe into a Dionysian dancer in a Dionysian setting.

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173 Private collection: Bothmer 1985 no. 21; Louvre F 71: Beazley Addenda 45 (154.49); Bothmer 1985, no. 41. On Dionysos and Artemis see Isler-Kerenyi 2002.
174 Oxford 1965.122: Beazley Addenda 44 (154.45); Bothmer 1985 no. 36; Isler 1994, 111.
175 New York 59.11.17: Beazley Addenda 44 (153); Bothmer 1985 no. 30; Isler 1994, 112.
Contemporaries of the Amasis Painter

The Swing Painter

We have noted that the especially elaborate presentation of Dionysos is peculiar to the Amasis Painter: which is well suited to the pre-eminent rank of the artist. But it is not essentially different from the image of Dionysos that minor painters contemporary with him offer. A good example is the Swing Painter\(^{176}\), a specialist in amphorae who was active between 540 and 520 BCE. His work clearly shows the specific nature noted of the decorative repertoire of amphorae, especially the belly amphorae of this period: the dominant motif is the horse\(^ {177}\), either as pulling quadrigae, or as a mount, or as an independent motif (two horses facing each other while a third has fallen to the ground). He (like similar painters) explicitly associates the horse motif with the ephebe\(^{178}\), who is often a horse-rider but sometimes only an onlooker. The nature of this repertoire could be defined as ephebic even without the presence of the horse: the dominant point of view is however not so much the hunt or the symposium as athletic-military-heroic. The career of an ephebe is of interest especially as orientated towards the status of warrior with its great heroes such as Herakles and Theseus as prototypes\(^ {179}\). The idea of a "career", which is a succession of phases, is also expressed by the many images that unite anonymous males of various ages: it is not always possible to distinguish in these images which are ritual\(^ {180}\) and which are more generic allusions to specific solemn situations\(^ {181}\). This "ephebic" connotation of the repertoire of the amphorae by the Swing Painter—but, as we will see, not only by him—illumi-

\(^{176}\) Whose work is easily accessible today: Böhr 1982.

\(^{177}\) Böhr 1982, 48f.

\(^{178}\) Examples: Böhr 1982, pls. 3 (New York, private coll.), 22 A (Vatican G 37), 26B (private coll.), 30A (Fiesole, Costantini coll.: Troilos?), 36B (Los Angeles, private coll.), 43B (Würzburg L 259), 44A (Tarquinia RC 3003), 45A (Berlin F 1695), 60A (Malibu), 73 (London 1928.1-17.1: Troilos), 76B (London B 182), 122B (Boulogne 59), 135 (Boston 00.331).

\(^{179}\) Böhr 1982, 36-43.

\(^{180}\) As for example Böhr 1982, pls. 6B (Naples 81186), 7B (Orvieto, Faina 52), 41B (New York 41.162.184), 64A (Boston 98.918).

\(^{181}\) Böhr 1982, pls. 8B (Heidelberg 229: presentation of a bride?), 45B (Berlin 1695: an ephebe welcomed by old men), etc.
nates the appearance, at first glance surprising, of ephebes among the Dionysian images of the Amasis painter.

In comparison, the images of thiasoi are less frequent, even if Dionysos is always among the preferred deities\(^\text{182}\) (apart from Athena, who as we have seen is particularly related to the world of amphorae). In the thiasos\(^\text{183}\), more often mixed than with satyrs only, the woman of the nuptial-matronly type can also appear\(^\text{184}\). More than once there are some satyrs without a tail\(^\text{185}\): an allusion, also found in the images of thiasoi by other painters, to the metamorphosis from dancer to satyr\(^\text{186}\). Of intentionally ambiguous identity are the two figures carrying a hydria on side B of an amphora with Dionysos between two satyrs on side A\(^\text{187}\). In this repertoire, besides the thiasoi, dancers\(^\text{188}\) of different ages, bearded or ephebes, continue to be present. The situation corresponds to the one evoked by the amphorae by Lydos with scenes of homoerotic Dionysian dance\(^\text{189}\).

\(^\text{182}\) Bühr 1982. To the examples present in the plates should be added catalogue numbers 10, 39 and 128.

\(^\text{183}\) Bühr 1982, pls. 55 A (Durham, Univ.), 82 A (Athens, Agora P 4633), 84 (Heidelberg 230), 92 A (art market), 102 A (Tarquinia RC 3022), 108 A (Louvre F 226), 131 A (Tarquinia RC 3238), without Dionysos: pls. 20 A (unknown collection), 42 A (Boulogne 564), 112 B (Boulogne 15), Dionysos alone: pl. 120 B (Madrid 10917).

\(^\text{184}\) Bühr 1982, 78 no. 10 (Rome, Villa Giulia); pls. 33 B (Montpellier 129) and 69 A (Amsterdam 1877).

\(^\text{185}\) Bühr 1982, pls. 42 A (Boulogne 564), 55 A (Durham, Univ.), 92 A (art market): in the first case it could be an image that has been retouched in modern times (but the author makes no mention of it), in the second, due to inattention by the painter. But both explanations are hardly plausible in the third case, or in the case of the satyrs accompanying the mule-rider of the krater in plate 144 A (St. Petersburg 1524).

\(^\text{186}\) Bühr 1982 pl. 198 B (Berlin F 1697); Los Angeles 50.14.2 (A5832.50-137): Beazley Addenda 35 (133.7); Louvre F 32: Beazley Addenda 36 (135.43); Louvre F 55: Beazley Addenda 35 (133.4); Vatican 360: Beazley ABV 422; Bochum S 485: Kunisch 1996, 80. With these compare the satyr-like or ithyphallic dancers on Tyrrhenian amphorae: Munich 1431: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.99); Munich 1432: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.98); Louvre E 835: Beazley ABV 101, 82; Louvre E 844: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.72); Rome, Conservatori 119: Beazley Addenda 26 (96.21).

\(^\text{187}\) Bühr 1982, pl. 108: Louvre F 227 (LIMC III.2, Dionysos 417). See also the dancing couple: pl. 115 B: Cerveteri (ex Villa Giulia 48330).

\(^\text{188}\) Bühr 1982 pl. 66 B (Munich 1387), pl. 68 B (Los Angeles), pl. 69 B (Amsterdam 1877), pl. 130 (Louvre C 10606). By other painters: Bühr 1982 pl. 153 B: Rhodes; Beazley Addenda 37 (137.61); New York 56.171.18.

\(^\text{189}\) In one case (Bühr 1982, pl. 41 B: New York 41.162.184) the painter uses a formula different from the traditional: strongly ritualised, organised by couples of different ages arranged around a lyre-player. The ivy wreaths of all the participants suggest a Dionysian event.
**The Affecter**

Another contemporary of the Amasis Painter, particularly disposed to decorating amphorae, and who was exceptionally productive and is quite accessible today\(^{190}\), is the so-called Affecter, whose activity is also dated between 540 and about 520 BCE\(^{191}\). This repertoire too could be described as ephebic and particularly orientated towards the male “career”. When Dionysos is present he is placed in a central position, whether it is a divine assembly\(^{192}\) or else various contexts often marked by the presence of satyrs\(^{193}\). He is always wreathed in ivy and his attributes are also those that we know: with one exception\(^{194}\), always the kantharos and the vine branch. The most common associations portray Dionysos with persons whose identities are elusive, more probably human than divine\(^{195}\): among them we meet also homoerotic dancers\(^{196}\). More common is the meeting between Dionysos and a matronly figure or a male counterpart, usually in the presence of Hermes and satyrs\(^{197}\). If the woman is the typical bride (and in any case only secondarily and optionally Ariadne, bride of Dionysos and model of all brides), the male equivalent could be the typical groom: an hypothesis already put forward with regard to the medallions by the Heidelberg Painter\(^{198}\). This alter ego of the god in fact meets Dionysos, also independently of the matron-bride\(^{199}\).

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\(^{190}\) Mommsen 1975.
\(^{191}\) Boardman 1990, 70.
\(^{192}\) Tarquinia 625: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.65).
\(^{193}\) Mommsen 1975, pl. 24 (drinking horn).
\(^{194}\) Boston 01.8053: Beazley Addenda 63 (246.72); Baltimore 48.11: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.69); Vienna IV 4399: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.68 bis) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 805; London 1837.6-9.99 (B 149): Beazley Addenda 63 (245.60); Rhodes 10770: Beazley Addenda 64 (247.89); New York 18.145.15: Beazley Addenda 64 (247.90) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 814; Würzburg 176: Beazley Addenda 61 (241.23); Orvieto, Mus. Civ. 1014: Beazley Addenda 62 (244.46) and LIMC III.2, Dionysos 815; Orvieto, Mus. Civ. 240: Beazley Addenda 63 (246.73).
\(^{195}\) Boston 01.8053: Mommsen 1975, pl. 24 (drinking horn).
\(^{196}\) Vienna IV 4399: Mommsen 1975 pl. 38B; Rhodes 10770: Mommsen 1975 pl. 75; New York 18.145.15: Mommsen 1975 pl. 76B; Würzburg 176: Mommsen 1975 pl. 95.
\(^{197}\) New York 18.145.15: Mommsen 1975 pl. 76A.
\(^{198}\) Boston 01.8053: Mommsen 1975 pl. 24; Baltimore 48.11: Mommsen 1975 pl. 25; Vienna IV 4399: Mommsen 1975 pl. 38; London B 149: Mommsen 1975 pl. 69B; Orvieto 1014: Mommsen 1975 pl. 101; Orvieto 240: Mommsen 1975 pl. 104.
\(^{199}\) Louvre GA 576: see p. 45f. above. A prototypical matron-bride could also be the woman on the throne on side B of an amphora with Dionysos among gods on side A: Tarquinia 625: Beazley Addenda 63 (245.65).
\(^{200}\) Vienna IV 4399: Mommsen 1975, pl. 38A; London B 149: Mommsen 1975,
The figure of Hermes acts as an intermediary—but also denotes the distance—between her and the god: the meeting with Dionysos is depicted as a journey similar to the one of the ephebes by the Amasis Painter. Once again we are present at the union of the human and divine levels in an event of a ritual nature. We will find Hermes in a totally similar role and context on a contemporary Little Master cup\textsuperscript{200}: which will allow us to deduce which innovations actually took place in the Athenian cult of Dionysos in these decades.

These scenes of probably nuptial meaning often take place, as we have said, in the presence of satyrs (alone or with dancing nymphae, not rarely with their faces ostentatiously turned like a mask towards whoever is looking at the vase). But satyrs and nymphae are present, even if only on the margins, in figurations that are not explicitly Dionysian: for example, of hoplites duelling or leaving\textsuperscript{201}. The association of the world of the symposium, to which the satyrs are attributed, with the world of war goes back, as we have seen, to the kylíkes of the first half of the century: it is easily explained if human life is experienced in the sense of a Dionysian career, made up of successive phases and articulated by metamorphoses. The phase that interests the Affecter is, however, less the ephebic phase, privileged instead by the Amasis Painter, than the one that follows, characterised for men by military activity in the service of the polis and by the foundation of the oikos, and for women by marriage. A satyr with his face frontal is inserted into an image of the mule-rider, here to be identified as Hephaistos from the tool he is carrying in his hand\textsuperscript{202}: here also the presence of numerous anonymous males emphasises the ritual importance of the mythological event. Then, in a clearly ritual picture a Dionysian celebration is evoked with a goat and a ram as sacrificial victims, the protagonist and officiant of which is similar to Dionysos, due to the ivy wreath and the kantharos, but is unlike him in the way he is dressed. It should be noted that all the participants are male except for the woman next to the altar\textsuperscript{203}:

\textsuperscript{200} London B 425: to be discussed on p. 160f.
\textsuperscript{201} Orvieto, Mus. Civ. 594: Mommsen 1975 pl. 105 s.; Orvieto, Faina 63: Mommsen 1975 pl. 107; Florence 94354: Mommsen 1975 pl. 109; Boulogne, private collection: Mommsen 1975 pl. 111.
\textsuperscript{202} Art market or private collection: Beazley Addenda 61 (241.25ter).
\textsuperscript{203} Munich 1441: Beazley Addenda 62 (243.44).
the new image of Dionysos proposed in this study will perhaps allow the celebration to be identified in the future. If we consider the whole of his work, it is the ritual sphere that has the greatest affinity with the Affecter, similar in this respect to the Amasis Painter. It is not by chance that modern interpreters, traditionally interested in mythology and in so-called daily life but not in the intermediate and interconnecting zone of ritual, have difficulty in establishing a setting for the images and are led to undervalue the qualities of the painter204.

In one of the amphorae by the Affecter in collaboration with another painter, there are satyrs and nymphs dancing at the symposium of Dionysos connected with the treading of the grapes on the other side of the vase205. It is a scene of a completely different character from the others: in fact the style of the drawing reveals the hand of another painter206. The first scenes of grape treading by the Amasis Painter, where the treading was combined with the thiasos come to mind207. (We will see others by minor painters from the final decades of the century). Both the thiasos and the symposium show the condition of completeness achieved through wine. As we will see in the next chapter, Dionysian happiness will become the main theme of kylizes contemporary with the Affecter: they will make us understand how wine is not the only way to obtain such happiness.

_Tyrrhenian amphorae_

In a chapter devoted to amphorae of the 6th century, it is essential to consider also Tyrrhenian amphorae, which are the direct continuation of the amphorae with animal friezes from the first decades of the century. As recent studies show, this production is perhaps less ancient than it seems. It is probably to be dated not to the sec-

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204 See, for example, Mommsen 1975, 68: "... deutlicher ist... der Versuch... den Inhalt der Themen seinem Dekorationsstil unterzuordnen" and 82: "Der Affecter entzieht sich auch der Typologie der schwarzfigurigen Themen... meist indem er sich auf die dekorative Wirkung der Komposition konzentriert"; Boardman 1974, 65: "The Affecter is a stylist and no other, and the content of his figure scenes concerns him little".

205 Boston 01.8052: Beazley Addenda 62 (242.35). See also Würzburg HA 115 (L 208): Lissarague 1987, 22 fig. 7; LIMC III, Dionysos 409.

206 Mommsen 1975, 109 no. 102.

207 Basel Kä 420, Würzburg L 265, New York 1985.57, discussed on p. 132f. above.
ond quarter of the 6th century, as Beazley thought, but to the decades between 560 and 530. The archaising aspect may be due to the fact that this type of amphora was chiefly intended for the Etruscan market.

In this repertoire too, there are numerous images relating to the Dionysian world: both the thiasos and the dance on the human level. In respect of images on vases that are more or less contemporary they present some specific features, perhaps because they were intended for a non-Greek market that required more explicit figurations: the Dionysian dance which, according to the containers present in the image, takes place within the symposium, is sometimes transformed into a copulation. The erotic meaning of the subject is evident also in the large number of Tyrrenhenian dancers

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208 For an excellent summary of the problem see Canciani 1997, 778f.
209 The localisation of the workshop in Athens is no longer accepted by everyone: Canciani 1997, 779.
210 Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711: Beazley Addenda 25 (95.8); Leipzig T 3322: Beazley Addenda 25 (96.10); Rome, Villa Giulia 50631: Beazley Para 30 (100.73); Louvre E 862: Beazley ABV 102.94; Louvre C 10519: Beazley ABV 102.95; Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Brussels A 715: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.109); Louvre E 837: Beazley Para 39 (103.110); Leipzig T 4225: Beazley Addenda 28 (104); Louvre C 10696: Beazley Para 40; market: Beazley Para 41; Louvre C 10700: Beazley Para 42.
211 Philadelphia 2522: Beazley Addenda 25 (95.1); Louvre C 10698: Beazley Para 37 (96.20); Rome, Conservatori 119: Beazley Addenda 26 (96.21); London 1897.7-27.2: Beazley Addenda 26 (97.27); Louvre E 850: Beazley Addenda 26 (97.31); Louvre E 864: Beazley Addenda 26 (97.33); St. Petersburg 1403 (St. 151): Beazley Addenda 26 (98.34); The Hague 608: Beazley Addenda 26 (98.38); Rome, Conservatori 39 (69): Beazley Addenda 26 (98.44); Berlin 1710: Beazley Addenda 26 (98.45); Boston 98.916: Beazley Addenda 26 (98.46); Louvre E 840: Beazley 26 (99.52); Kassel T 386: Beazley Addenda 27 (99.61); Leiden PC 36: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.62); Louvre E 865: Beazley Para 38 (100.66); Syracuse 10599: Beazley Para 38 (100.67); Louvre E 844: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.72); Louvre E 832: Beazley ABV 100.74; Rome, Villa Giulia: Beazley Para 38 (101.78); Louvre E 835: Beazley ABV 101.82; Leiden PC 53: Beazley Addenda 27 (101.87); St. Louis 13.26: Beazley ABV 101.91; Munich 1430: Beazley Addenda (101.92); Louvre C 10519: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.95); Montpellier 149bis (S.A. 256): Beazley Addenda 27 (102.102); market: Beazley Para 39 (102.103); Warsaw 142445: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.104); Louvre E 830: Beazley Para 39 (102.105); Louvre E 838: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.106); Louvre E 841: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.107); Louvre E 842: Beazley Para 39 (103.112); Würzburg 168: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.114); Munich 1427: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.115); Florence 3774 (1845): Beazley ABV 103.116. Other examples, identified by v. Bohmer, have been added by Beazley, Para 40ff. A first list appears in Greifenhagen 1929, 78f.
212 For example: Sassari 2402: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.96); Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Munich 1432: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.98); Munich 1431: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.99); Orvieto, Faina 2664 (41): Beazley Addenda 27 (102.100); Heidelberg 67.4: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.101).
that are ithyphallic or in the act of masturbation\textsuperscript{213}, as would be expected more of satyrs\textsuperscript{214}. It is also interesting that there is, it seems, a version with only female dancers\textsuperscript{215}: Is this an Etruscan variant?

In this repertoire, as in the repertoire of contemporary dinoi\textsuperscript{216}, at least one dancer is present with a face like a mask and is thus similar to the satyr and simultaneously interacts with the spectator\textsuperscript{217}. On at least two vases\textsuperscript{218}, to which we will return, the Dionysian dancers and satyrs occur in the same image. For the painters of Tyrrhenian amphorae, dancers and satyrs are evidently equivalent, both set in the world of the symposium\textsuperscript{219}.

In the Tyrrhenian repertoire we find, for the first time, the grapevine\textsuperscript{220}. How important it was is shown by its exceptional size: in fact, it fills as much as a third of the space of the image. It is associated both with the satyrs and the erotic dancing couples and also with Dionysos. \textit{This last example} must be considered more closely also because it is one of the first in which the motif of the mule-rider, created for kraters and similar vases, is found on an amphora\textsuperscript{221}: during the second half of the century the amphora was to remain the privileged image-bearer\textsuperscript{222}. Therefore, we have here a motif that

\textsuperscript{213} Rome, Conservatori 119: Beazley Addenda 26 (96.21); Louvre E 844: Beazley Addenda 27 (100.72); Munich 1432: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.98); Munich 1431: Beazley Addenda 27 (102.99).

\textsuperscript{214} This is also shown by crouching and ithyphallic satyrs in the act of masturbation: Cerveteri: Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 34 fig.1c; Private collection: Schauenburg 1972, 16 fig. 3: this last one, positioned under the handle, is parodistically included in the Judgment of Paris in the main image. The subject is treated in LIMC VIII Suppl., 1120f., Sileni 111–119.

\textsuperscript{215} New York 1980.270: Beazley Addenda 28 (Para 41).

\textsuperscript{216} Louvre E 876: discussed on p. 93f.

\textsuperscript{217} Munich 1431; CV 7 pl. 317.3.

\textsuperscript{218} Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Louvre E 860: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.111).

\textsuperscript{219} A satyr whose phallus supports a wreath could indicate, even if only in parodic vein, the ritual atmosphere of the symposium: Schauenburg 1972, 24f. fig. 30 (private collection).

\textsuperscript{220} For example: Copenhagen 323: Beazley Para 38 (102.97); Louvre E 860: Beazley Addenda 27 (103, 111); Cerveteri: Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 133f. fig. 1b–c. But it is not certain that they are earlier than the one by the Amasis Painter on the amphora Würzburg L 265.

\textsuperscript{221} Louvre E 860: Hedreen 1992, 22 and 135f. with pl. 30. Concerning the two dancers on the side with Dionysos—but not those on the side with the horse-rider and the satyrs—the text of CV III Hd, pl. 6.2.9 says: two men dancing (restored); LIMC III.2, Dionysos 713.

\textsuperscript{222} Cf. the list of black figure Attic images of the mule-rider compiled by Hedreen 1992, 183f.: of the 49 examples, 24 are amphorae (and 2 hydriae), with kylikes.
has a more general meaning and is not associated exclusively with the symposium.

The mule-rider has no attributes or deformities that would allow him to be identified as Hephaistos. Furthermore, he is surrounded by dancers and satyrs, one of whom is turning his face toward the outside to interact with whoever is looking at the vase. The event depicted is set, then, not on at a purely mythological level but in between the divine and human worlds, namely—like most of the other figurations of the mule-rider and like the Dionysian dance by the Amasis Painter—ritual\textsuperscript{223}. The rider is moving towards the left, where, besides the two dancers and the grapevine—already positioned on the other side of the vase—he will be received by Dionysos who is holding the kantharos, and by a woman standing with two wreaths in her hands. The grapevine is very much in bloom and has, miraculously, light bunches and dark bunches: even the leaves are of two different colours. To reach the grapevine is equivalent, then, to meeting Dionysos: to reach a happy objective. From this image, and from the others in the Tyrrhenian repertoire with the grapevine, there emanates an aura of paradise, which we will see again on kylikes from the second half of the century\textsuperscript{224}: the abundance of grapes, the satyr-like condition, and the playful sexuality are similar and connected phenomena, characteristic of a utopian existence of which the symposium is a reflex\textsuperscript{225}.

The grapevine became part of the repertoire of other amphorae after about 520 BCE in two contexts: the grape harvest\textsuperscript{226} and the symposium in the open\textsuperscript{227}. This images are often peopled by satyrs

\textsuperscript{223} Instead, Hedreen 1992, 135ff., interprets this circumstance as scenic: the images on the vases would be the reflex of dramatic representations of the Return of Hephaistos.

\textsuperscript{224} Naples Stg. 172, Oxford 1939.118, Louvre F 130bis, Berlin F 2052, to be discussed on p. 165ff. Cf. KdS 306ff.

\textsuperscript{225} Cf. Daraki 1985, 48: “La vigne est un signe central de contextes d’âge d’or”.

\textsuperscript{226} Hedreen 1992, 85–88 and 185 (list of images with scenes of the preparation of wine); Stähli 1999, 167ff.

\textsuperscript{227} A good example is Munich 1562 (J 1325): LIMC II, Dionysos 758. The subject is discussed in Hedreen 1992, 22ff, 44–46 and 61ff. n. 113. For us it does not matter if this vineyard is a particular vineyard in Naxos, connected with a specific episode of the myth of Dionysos and Ariadne: it may have been for some, but
smaller than the other figures and more like monkeys than human beings. We will speak again of the little satyrs in the vine when discussing the kylix by the Kallis Painter.

The vine and wine are obviously closely connected. However, they are not interchangeable on a symbolic level. Because a grapevine, loaded with leaves and bunches of grapes, is above all a gift, indeed a miraculous gift, of nature; whereas wine-making requires time, knowledge and physical effort—that is, techne—and so is a symbol of culture. To pass from vine to wine is equivalent to advancing—in reality and metaphorically—from nature to culture. Dionysos is the patron god of the vine and wine, and also of the metamorphosis of the grape into wine: a metamorphosis which may be miraculous but is painful since, to be transformed into wine the grape must be laboriously trodden, that is, destroyed. In this operation the satyrs—as we are told by the images of grape-treading begun by the Amasis Painter—are the protagonists. These are congenial protagonists if we think of the metamorphosis of a satyr-like existence: of dancers into satyrs, wild satyrs into civilised satyrs. The first variant is set on the ritual level, the second on the mythological level: at a given mythical moment in the course of the formation of the world the wild satyrs—who by their height would have been beings similar to nymphs, dwellers of wild vegetation—become, through Dionysos, tamed and so made compatible with civilised life. Having become experts in harvesting grapes, they now act in culture, producing the wine that will become the instrument of ritual metamorphoses, of controlled lapses into the pre-cultural state that—like music and dance—provide happiness without endangering the order of the polis.

much more important and illuminating is its significance as a prototype, a model of happiness, of the situation evoked by these images.

[228] Hedreen 1992, 85: "diminutive silens scrambling in the vines . . .".

[229] Satyrs of this type also recur in other contexts: Munich 1444: Beazley, ABV 325 (amphora with a special shape and decoration, attributed to the circle of the Amasis Painter, CV 7, 47), with little acrobat satyrs clinging onto the vegetal ornamentation under the handles. Cf. also the little satyrs, sometimes with nymphs, in the area of the handles of an amphora by the Affecter Boston 01.8052.

[230] On wine-making as a metaphor of culture: Lissarrague 1987, 9.

[231] Kerényi 1994, 55f.; Daraki 1985, 55: "... la valeur de mise à mort rituelle, que des textes plus tardifs attribueront au foulage du raisin, s'affirme dès Hésiode . . .".

[232] But protagonists can also be human males of various ages: Bérard/Vernant 1984, 130 fig. 182; Brijder 1983, pl. 48 c-e; Kunisch 1996, 84ff.
In the past, particular attention has been paid to the *Tyrrenian amphora* with one of the first figurations that are known of Dionysos among women only\(^{233}\), not by chance more or less contemporary with the famous image on the neck amphora by the Amasis Painter\(^{234}\). In the next chapter, Attic kylikes of the second half of the 6th century will tell us more about the special relationship between Dionysos and the female world.

We cannot pass over in silence some Tyrrenian amphorae with the figuration of the birth of Athena in which Dionysos is one of the spectators\(^{235}\). This reminds us of the participation of Dionysos in the Gigantomachy on dinoi from the Acropolis from the first half of the century\(^{236}\) and his key role in the wedding of Thetis and Peleus\(^{237}\). For "Tyrrenian" painters the god of the symposium was an active participant in and partly responsible for the mythological events on which the present cosmic order was based, an order in which a crucial position was attributed to the polis of Athens\(^{238}\).

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, devoted to the Dionysian repertoire of 6th century amphorae, the numerically most important iconographic motif is the thiasos: with Dionysos surrounded either by satyrs alone or by satyrs and nymphs together, with the god implicitly present even when he does not appear among his followers. The motif makes its appearance, as we have seen, on drinking vessels from the first half of the century, perhaps already around 570 BCE, and is taken up again by communal vessels of the symposium: the version on the column krater by Lydos is the richest one known\(^{239}\). After 560 BCE, and produced in abundance by the Group E and by the Amasis Painter, we again find the thiasos on amphorae, which from this point on were to

\(^{233}\) Louvre E 831: Beazley Addenda 27 (103.108); Moraw 1998, no. 10 pl. 3.7; LIMC III, Dionysos 325. On their serpents and the analogy between these and ivy: Kerényi 1994, 53.

\(^{234}\) Paris, Cab. Méd. 222: see above p. 134ff.

\(^{235}\) Louvre E 852: Beazley Addenda 25 (96.13); Berlin 1704: Beazley Addenda 25 (96.14).

\(^{236}\) Athens, Acr. 607: discussed on p. 96f.

\(^{237}\) Cf. pp. 75 and 104f.

\(^{238}\) Could this not be an argument for the Attic production of Tyrrenian amphorae? Cf. Canciani 1997, 778ff.

\(^{239}\) New York 31.11.11: see p. 97f.
become the privileged image-bearer. Until the red figures of the 5th century, it would remain one of the commonest motifs in the entire vase painting repertoire.

Taking part in the thiasos are new types of woman besides the matron-bride and the female companions of dancers and satyrs: the nymph of Dionysos, the mother of twins, the Sapphic couple. These women reveal, in their aspect and their relationship to the god, a certain ambiguity, mirroring the fluid nature of their status. In this series, the appearance of the thiasos for women only must be emphasised, even if it remains less common than the mixed thiasos or the thiasos only with satyrs: the amphorae confirm the predominantly male connotation of the Dionysian world of vase painting. But the women are ascribed special roles as introducers and mediatrices, emphasised by the ritual attributes they are given especially by the Amasis Painter. However, it is important to remember the moment—around 540 BCE—when an independent relationship was formed between Dionysos and women: the importance of this moment will also be evident from an analysis of the kyllikes.

Among the new female characters introduced into the thiasos there is also the woman whose world—the world of Artemis—excludes any male presence. Thus a journey in stages under the care of Dionysos, similar to the male journey, can be inferred for women as well. The phase in which a daughter belongs to her original home and family is followed by a period of instruction in an exclusively female setting, for example in the sanctuaries of Artemis that took in the young bears. This was followed by at least two possible careers. The highest—and more compulsive—was marriage and motherhood: it is not surprising then to find Dionysos in the wedding processions depicted on loutrophoroi, a type of amphora with exclusively female and nuptial significance, found in large numbers in the sanctuary of the Nymphae on the slopes of the Acropolis.

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240 Carpenter 1997, 1 n. 1.
241 On women of intermediate status, that is, the various types of the hetaera, see Calame 1996, 123–129; see also Isler-Kerényi 1999b.
242 Cf. Calame 1996, 125f.: “...la joueuse d’aulos est appelée à contribuer à la fonction éducative de la poésie chantée et dansée à l’occasion de la réunion conviviale”.
243 On the parthenos phase and on marriage as a transition from nature to culture: Versnel 1994, 282f. Cf. also Gentili/Perusino 2002.
244 Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, 124f. no. 278 and 173f. no. 413. Cf. above on n. 13.
other possible career must have been, as suggested by the friezes with Troilos and Hephaistos on the François krater, to be a companion of satyrs within the symposium, which is as a hetaera. Lastly, a third possible alternative can be conjectured: to be a companion of a surplus illegitimate son destined to be a craftsman, of whom the mythical prototype was Hephaistos.

In this series of amphorae, the particularly rich and differentiated work of the Amasis Painter has special importance. We have extracted essentially a confirmation of the image that was being formed in the course of the two preceding chapters, devoted to vases more specifically for the symposium. Here also Dionysos is seen above all to be a god of wine, and as such, to be a civilising god. In fact, the introduction of the cultivation of the vine and the art of wine-making are important events in the metamorphosis of the world from primordial and uncultivated to civilised. This role of Dionysos is evident in the repertoire of the Amasis Painter both on the mythical level (with satyrs and nymphs as protagonists) and on the ritual level (with either ephebes or human couples dancing as protagonists): the ritual represents the mythical process from "before" to "after" with a journey that runs from outside, from the wild setting of the hunt and the semi-wild setting of the vine, to the polis. This ritual is a way of strengthening the present order: it is entrusted, so the images tell us, to the ephebes, the civic group that, finding itself in full metamorphosis, becomes more agreeable to this action.

In this chapter we have seen that the ephebe is the new important figure entering Dionysian iconography besides the women who are special in some way. But it is new only apparently and superficially. We have seen in an ancient phase—the phase of Corinthian unguent vases—a connection between the ephebic world, not yet characterised by the consumption of wine, and Dionysos. In considering the figure of the grotesque dancer, we had in fact indicated his being the antithesis of the young athlete, which is one of the most characteristic manifestations of the ephebe. In the pottery from Boeotia, the essential identity between the Dionysian dancer and the satyr is, on the other hand, clearly expressed. This identity is confirmed by figurations of thiasoi on the amphorae: therefore the ephebe turns out to be the antithesis of the satyr also. If, however, the ephebe becomes a dancer, as on the oinochoe by the Amasis Painter245—

245 Oxford 1965.122: see p. 143.
and, as we will see better, on his aryballos—then the antithesis is apparent: it is only the expression of a process, of a foreseeable, gradual metamorphosis of the ephebe into a dancer and of the dancer into a satyr.

In the life of the Athenian youth, then, meetings with Dionysos occurred repeatedly and on various occasions: at the moment of coming back into the city after staying in the world of Artemis and at the moment, which followed, of admission to the symposium as an equal. This second moment coincided with the transition from a purely ephebic and youthful world to a world marked by interaction with adult males: a transition with evident erotic connotations. Compared with what we have been able to establish previously, the journey of the ephebe to satyr is now presented in a more sequenced way, articulated by transitions and successive metamorphoses: the ephebes appear in different phases and, in the images of the thiasos, the painter draws a distinction between young and mature satyrs. This succession of different but connected phases is reflected in the attributes of Dionysos and the persons connected with him: in the ivy branch cut off or left to grow, and in the vine branch.

As for the wine containers, they symbolise both the temporal, mythical dimension of the Dionysian journey and the spatial, ritual dimension. On the one hand we have the temporal transition from the drinking-horn of the age of the cosmic foundation to the kantharos of the heroic age. On the other, there is the transition of wine from the semi-savage outside to the civilised centre, symbolised by the wine-skin (a container for transportation), the amphora (a container for collection) and finally by the jug and the kantharos (containers of the ritual greeting).

Thus the Dionysian repertoire of the amphorae has not been given enough importance in studies of pottery to date: the presence not only of the mythological setting—in general privileged by scholars—and of the human setting, but also of the ritual setting, that is the

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246 Cf. Calame 1996, 89, on figurations of homoerotic love: "Si le satyre s’humanise, le jeune humain quant à lui se ‘satyrise’".

247 Such a reading of the relationship between ivy and the vine is confirmed by a pelike from the late 6th century BCE (London 1865. 11–18.40: Beazley Addenda 101 [384.20]); Kurtz 1989, pl. 15) which shows on one side an erotic episode involving satyrs, that is wild, enriched by ivy branches and, on the other side, a human erotic episode enriched by vine branches.
interaction between the mythical and human levels. The series of images with Dionysos among ephebes proves that divine and human characters can belong in the same scene for the painters. Such a way of reading can help to define—if not to decipher completely—a large mass of figurations that, read in purely mythological terms, remain largely obscure, as for example the figurations by the Affecter.

The few mythological figurations of the Dionysian repertoire, such as the duel between Herakles and Kyknos and the birth of Athena, confirm the role of Dionysos in the cosmogonic process to be anything but secondary, already revealed to us by the communal containers from the first half of the century: it is to the god of wine that is due the transformation, in successive phases, of the primitive world to the present world. To this role is connected the fact, which has already emerged in the second and third chapters, that Dionysos was also the patron of marriage as a fundamental institution of the polis.