

SATYR IMAGERY ON GREEK WINE VESSELS:
Simple Depiction of Religious Narrative
or Symbolic Message of Moderation?

by

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I research the prevalence of satyr images on two types of ancient Greek vessels: kraters (used to dilute wine) and wine cups (kylikes). Building upon the historical significance of the satyr figure in ancient Greek culture, I develop an argument about the evolution of the satyr symbol in light of the theories of Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner and Edward Alsworth Ross. The artifact data I collect from the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, which I then graph and analyze, reveals an increase in the percentage of satyr images appearing on kraters and cups at the beginning of the 5th century. I also discover that satyr images appear on these wine vessels more frequently independent of Dionysos, despite the satyr's historical association with the deity. Drawing upon the well-documented Greek ethos of moderation in all things including alcohol consumption, I argue this trend is a social response to an uptick in intoxication connected with Dionysian Cult activities which become increasingly popular from 575 to 475 BC. A specific rise in the appearance of satyr images independent of Dionysos images supports my view that the familiar satyr—an unrestrained companion of the wine god—is harnessed by Athenian society and imbued with an additional meaning: “uncivilized” immoderation, which should be eschewed. It is my hope that a new application of the tools of symbolic anthropology, art history and archaeology to satyr iconography on kraters and wine cups will contribute an original interpretation of this popular figure.

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INTRODUCTION

Cultural artifacts provide important insights into the beliefs and values of the societies they represent. Decorative objects in particular convey a message from the creator to the individual viewing or using the object, thereby creating a shared experience (Dant 2008). In *The Transformation of Athens*, Robin Osborne asserts that “Pots therefore offer us a much better glimpse of the way Athenians, and I maintain Greeks more generally, viewed the world than any text can do” (2018, XIX). Since painted images of satyrs feature prominently on Greek vessels associated with wine and its consumption, the iconography of these uncouth human-horse hybrid creatures from Greek mythology could reveal significant insights about Greek attitudes toward alcohol consumption. In Chapter III, I present historical evidence that drinking is an integral part of ancient Greek culture and figures prominently in private gatherings and public festivals. Indeed, wine consumption is a marker of “civilized” society and elite behavior. Consequently, the vessels used to mix and drink wine are important possessions and status symbols. This paper incorporates a chronological, contextual, and quantitative study of satyr iconography on wine vessels designed to illuminate our understanding of the meaning and use of this figure. I focus on two vessels: the krater, a large terracotta vase used to dilute wine with water, and the kylix (terracotta cup) for drinking wine. Since cup is the categorical term used in the database from which I obtained my data, hereafter I will generally use the term “cup” rather than “kylix.”

The satyr is a mythological creature known as the playful but foolish companion of the foreign deity Dionysos. In Chapter II, I introduce the satyr as a figure traditionally associated with debauched behavior. Artistic depictions of the satyr as a coarse beast-human affirm the satyr’s immoral reputation. I evaluate whether the increased frequency of satyr imagery on Greek kraters and cups constitutes symbolic reinforcement of the ethical principle of moderation—an

ethos possibly under siege around 475 BC as Dionysian Cult activities gain adherents. Is their presence intended to discourage overindulgence, specifically the drunkenness commonly associated with the cult? To test these questions, I track change in the frequency of satyr images on pottery from the Archaic to the Classical period and relate it to the trajectory of the cultural impact of the cult of Dionysos that I explain in Chapter III. For the purposes of this study and for practical reasons related to the organization and available contents of the database used for artifact collection, I define the Archaic period as 600-475 BC and the Classical period as 475-300 BC (scholars disagree about the demarcation between the two periods; 480 BC is perhaps the most common division, although some scholars prefer 500 BC).

I also examine contextual shifts in the painted depiction of the satyr in Chapter II. Do depictions of the figure alongside Dionysos (and the typical Dionysian scene with dancing maenads) continue into the Classical period, or, during this time of great cultural change, do they give way to iconography apart from this religious context? If so, are satyr images depicted independent of Dionysos indicative of a new symbolic meaning? The changed zeitgeist would necessitate maintaining a delicate balance between competing societal interests: the desire to worship the wine god Dionysos while also upholding the philosophical ideal of moderation. I suggest that satyr imagery embodies this inherent duality in ancient Greek attitudes: supportive of Dionysian celebration but hostile to barbarism. The satyr's popularity as a decoration for kraters and cups stems from its hybrid identity which permitted it to symbolically affirm the cultural value of wine consumption while discouraging concomitant social disorder. The alcoholic excesses associated with the expanded cultural influence of the Dionysiac Cult likely disrupt this balance. Therefore, the Greeks may have perceived a greater need to reinforce the

importance of civility and moderation, and that motivation may have incentivized the painting of more satyrs on wine vessels.

I examine the satyr as a cultural symbol intended to reinforce a system of meaning in Greek society. In Chapter II, I review the portrayal of the satyr as it is depicted in ancient Greek literature, drama, and painting to demonstrate that the satyr was a well-understood symbol of the barbarous, animalistic nature of humans. I derive support for my view that satyr iconography may have implied a warning against inappropriate behavior from the theoretical underpinnings of symbolic anthropology and sociology, particularly the work of Geertz, Turner, and Ross, which I discuss in Chapter I. I also consider contemporaneous Greek perspectives on the moral content of art. Both Plato and Aristotle argue that art possesses symbolic force that implants ideas about reality in the minds of individuals.

Subsequently, I discuss both the agents and actions associated with the functioning of the satyr symbol. Along with Kathleen Lynch (2017), I assert that the artists who put satyrs on wine vessels are expressing Greek cultural values or concerns. For that reason, I briefly cover the manufacture and painting of Greek pottery in Chapter II. I consider the extent to which changes in satyr iconography may be attributed to individual artistic preferences by exploring the identities of these artisans and the social contexts within which they worked. A brief discussion of the impact of social change on pottery styles is included as background for my assertion that the change in the frequency and context of satyr iconography is an artistic response to historical developments.

Chapter III introduces a phenomenological framework for understanding how the ritual actions entailed in the Greek symposium and Dionysian festivals may create a semiotic process in which the satyr image acquires a new symbolic significance. The symposium exemplifies an

environment in which Greeks draw upon the principles of appropriate wine dilution and consumption expressed in their literature, philosophy, and law. Specifically, the link between wine drinking and their self-concept as “civilized” people provides important context for the satyr icon painted on kraters and cups. In contrast, I offer historical evidence that the influential popularity of Dionysian Cult festivals foments a change in public drinking patterns—specifically increased drunkenness—roughly corresponding to the transition between the Archaic and Classical periods. An artistic reaction to this cultural change may be increased use of the satyr icon.

Chapter IV, Methods, explains the data collection strategy employed to test my argument that the increase in the frequency of satyr iconography at the beginning of the 5th century is a response to increased immoderation. I describe the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD), which is the source of the krater and cup artifact data analyzed in this thesis. The Methods section includes a list of the three main data categories governing my data collection (date range, artifact, and iconographical subject) as well as pertinent rationale. Pictorial examples of the 4 iconographic subject categories are included. Also, I explain the conversion of the raw numerical data into the percentages used to create illustrative graphs of trends in satyr iconography.

Chapter VI, Discussion, presents the primary findings in support of my proposed new interpretation of the satyr image: statistical evidence for an increase in satyr iconography around 475 BC, although far more on kraters than cups; and evidence for an increase in satyr imagery independent of Dionysian contexts. I reference aforementioned anthropological theories regarding symbols and meaning systems in order to interpret the archaeological data from Greek vase paintings. I also evaluate alternative explanations for the popularity of satyr iconography.

Finally, in Chapter VII I draw limited conclusions regarding my interpretation of satyr imagery and offer a suggestion for further study.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL POWER OF ICONOGRAPHY

Theory of Cultural Symbols

One theoretical foundation for the assertion that the satyr is a morally charged symbol for the ancient Greeks derives from symbolic anthropology—the study of cultural symbols as indicative of societal systems of meaning. In his ground-breaking work *Interpretation of Cultures*, Clifford Geertz (1973) defines culture as a symbolic system that expresses a community’s collection of inherited ideas and that allows them to know, communicate about, and understand their reality. Symbols create public meaning or meanings by linking sign, object, and meaning. They interact within a culture through visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, and tactile modalities. According to Geertz, core symbols are surface manifestations of a culture’s deeper ideological principles. Therefore, a symbol’s role is to strengthen social cohesion of a group by reinforcing key shared values (Geertz 1973, 142). In this paper I argue that the satyr is a key symbol that reinforces Greek culture’s shared ethos of moderation in celebration. Specifically, satyr images on the wine vessels used in the ritual setting of symposia or Dionysian festivals serve as a representation of Greek attitudes about wine consumption.

According to Victor Turner, a symbolic anthropologist, symbols not only reflect a society’s ideology but actually have the power to influence thought and behavior. He writes, “Symbols are triggers of social action—and of personal action in the public arena” (Turner 1975, 155). Sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross also maintains that artistic symbols can effect socially beneficial change in the emotions of an audience (possibly including individuals with conflicting interests) because symbols unite or rally people around a common feeling (ritual and/or religious) or cause. Ross claims that art possesses a social control function. He states, “within the

group the social office of art must lie in taming man” (1879, 64). Art achieves this control by linking aesthetic elements to aspects of social conduct. By creating an aesthetically beautiful object, the artist in that way convinces people that the object is also morally good. The reverse is also true (Ross 1897, 67-68). In the case of the satyr, the artistic linkage of a bestial image to a wine vessel may serve to rally the people around their shared ethos of moderation in drinking and other social behaviors.

Turner theorizes that the power of symbols derives from the dynamic interplay between the two polarized nuclei around which meaning is organized. The symbol’s affective nucleus relates to powerful emotional and bodily experiences. Its ideological nucleus connects with moral, ethical, religious, political, and familial values or rules that maintain social order (Turner 1975, 156). The satyr image on wine vessels is strongly connected to both corporal experiences and rule-governed social events, circumstances that allow for the interaction between sensory experiences and core cultural values. Turner discusses symbolic plurality (polyvalence) and asserts that additional meanings for a symbol (signans) are created through new associations made during cultural events or performances (1975, 152). Certainly both the symposium, a ritualized drinking party with cultural content, and the Dionysian festivals, which included dramatic performances, qualify as communal events during which a symbol like the satyr may develop a novel significance through semiosis.

In order to understand how a symbolic system operates in any given society, Geertz considers a culture’s ethos and worldview—circular concepts that mutually reinforced each other (1973, 141). He defines social ethos as a group’s underlying moral and aesthetic attitude toward itself and the world. World view he defines as a society’s concept of reality and order which encompasses their ideas about nature, themselves, and their society (Geertz 1973, 127). In other

words, a world view is a rational explanation of life that reveals the ethos to be an acceptable behavioral expression within that view of reality. Although somewhat imprecise, ethos and worldview nonetheless serve as sources from which social scientists may derive an adequate analytical framework to understand culture and how people derive “normative conclusions from factual premises” (Geertz 1973, 141). In this thesis, I draw on historical sources to establish the existence of a Greek ethos of moderation and a worldview in which they are a “civilized” people. I then analyze what social purpose the satyr symbol may play during the time of challenge to normative behavior that likely occurs in the 5th century.

Theory of Symbols in Art

The idea that symbols and art could control individual behavior is also evident in the writings of Greek philosophers. Much like Ross, the ancient Greeks believed that art had the power to shape behavior through the implantation of ideas into the minds of the audience. Greek philosophers debated whether the artist was obligated to create art that reflected morality and fundamental societal values and whether censorship was warranted when art did not reinforce the society’s values. They understood that art represented some version of reality and was thus symbolic. Plato argued that all things that exist in the physical world are representations of perfect constructs called “forms,” and therefore art should reflect the ideal (Nehamas 1999). Plato was concerned about protecting the purity of the future leaders of the state and worried that the wild and dangerous passions inflamed by art would corrode the morals of impressionable youth. Corruption of the common people was less important to Plato, but he considered it impractical to censor art for just one group of citizens. Access to problematic art would have to be restricted for everyone in order to protect the welfare of Greek democracy (Bloom 1968, 53-61)

Like Plato, Aristotle acknowledged that art was a powerful influence on emotions and behavior. Aristotle, however, espoused a metaphysical view that art expressed not the outer but the inner significance of objects, thereby providing the viewer with an enhanced understanding of the nature of reality (Will 1960, 162). Although Aristotle agreed that art tended to appeal to the wilder side of humanity, he considered this advantageous to society. Aristotle argued that art offered catharsis: the opportunity for people to rid themselves of dangerous passions by vicariously experiencing unruly or animalistic behavior (Golden 1973, 473). The moral Platonic position that art should reflect a standard for proper behavior, and the Aristotelian position that art had the power to arouse and then purge wild passions both support the assertion that images on vessels were received as iconographic messages by ancient Greeks. The contextualization within Greek culture of Athenian pottery manufacturing and the nature of the satyr figure lends support to my view that the message evoked by the satyr image was the ugliness of immoral behavior and further that this message likely reflected current societal understanding.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL CONTEXT FOR SATYRS & POTTERY

Literature and Drama

Satyrs were well-known beast-humans in Greek culture and were ubiquitous on pottery despite their sparse appearance in mythological literature (Kerényi 2004, 2). According to Virgil's *Fourth Georgic*, satyrs were wild creatures who lived in wild places such as valleys, springs, and groves (Schoephoerster 2020, 20). They typically indulged their unbridled appetites for sex, food, and especially wine (Padgett 2003, 32). In contrast to other mythical creatures such as centaurs, satyrs were judged to be too timorous and craven to be worthy of a hero spending time or effort battling them (Padgett 2003, 3). Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* is one of the few surviving literary accounts of satyrs. The poet portrayed satyrs as good-for-nothings and barely worthy of mention—"of no account" (Osborne 2018, 188). Greek traveler and geographer Pausanias wrote about the Island of the Satyrs, whose native inhabitants seized and tortured women (Padgett 2003, 35). In Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*, the Danaid Amymone was sexually accosted by a satyr on her way to the spring at Lerna (Mitchell 2009). Also in *Bibliotheca*, the multi-eyed Argos killed a satyr who stole the cattle of the Arcadians (Padgett 2003, 35).

Greek theatrical works were the primary way Greek audiences learned about the nature of satyrs. Satyr plays were dramas based on traditional Greek mythology and epic poetry but were more satirical and included choruses of ill-behaved satyrs, mock inebriation, bawdiness involving phallic props, and plenty of physical humor (Shaw 2014). Arion, a citizen of Lesbos, was most likely the creator of this dramatic genre. He set up a chorus to sing the dithyramb—a traditional wild and ecstatic song with irregular form sung in honor of the god Dionysos—and added satyrs singing in verse (Bates 1940, 31). According to Bates, satyr plays not only existed

in the 7th century (1940, 32), but their origin preceded the Greeks themselves. These dramas were likely not full-fledged plays, but rather a type of animal mummery. Earlier groups in the region had traditions of plays with male actors portraying caricatural figures, as well as religious rituals involved dancers and singers dressed in goat skins (Bates 1940, 32). Satyr plays originated in rural harvest celebrations of the god Dionysos, who was both life-giving and destructive at the same time (Rehm 2003). The plays, and by extension the seasonal arrival of the satyr figure, were both linked with the agricultural cycle. The goat-skin costumes worn by the male actors were significant. In ancient Greek literature, animals were portrayed as separate from civil society and as originating from outside the country. Animal figures were commonly employed, therefore, to represent foreigners, enslaved people, and women (Kostuch 2017, 69). In addition, the Greeks considered satyrs to be foreign creatures due to their association with Dionysos, who was believed to have come from an eastern country (Taylor-Perry 2003).

Further evidence that satyrs represent that which was “uncivilized” comes from two of the best-known satyr plays: *Cyclops* by Euripides and *Ichneutae* by Sophocles. *Cyclops*, the only complete Greek satyr play that survives today (Konstan 1990, 207), explores the rediscovery of wine and drinking rituals that were important to Greek culture (Lissarrague 1990, 236). Euripides combines the myth of Dionysos’ capture by pirates with a scene in Homer’s *Odyssey* in which Odysseus encounters Polyphemos, the Cyclops. Polyphemos captures and enslaves a group of satyrs including Silenos, an older father figure. The satyrs’ fate is tragic because the land of the Cyclopes has no agriculture and therefore no wine, which means the island would have been considered “non-Dionysiac” by the ancient Greeks (Olson 1988, 503). The implication of that perception is that the island’s inhabitants, including the transplanted satyrs, are uncultured and “uncivilized.”

Sophocles' *Ichneutae* adds to the satyrs' immoral characterization, portraying them as sniveling thieves. Largely inspired by the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, the satyr play tells the story of baby Hermes' stealing Apollo's cattle. In order to retrieve his stolen property, Apollo promises freedom and gold to a group of satyr animal trackers. Although they locate Hermes' cave, the cowardly satyrs are frightened by his lyre music (Walker 1919). The satyrs make odd inhuman noises, which the Greeks would probably have considered amusing (Tracking Satyrs, lines 64-78). The plot mocks the satyrs' "uncivilized" behavior, representing them as weak creatures who are only interested in their own welfare.

Painting



Fig. 1. Cup with satyr kissing sleeping maenad, Onesimos, 500-490 BC

Satyrs appeared frequently as decoration on Greek vases in the Archaic and Classical periods, thereby indicating the figure's prominence in Greek consciousness. In Attic vase painting, satyrs were equine in nature with bestial facial features. They were hybrid creatures that resembled a naked human, but with the ears and tails of horses, large bulbous noses, and open mouths (Padgett 2003, 27). The satyr in Figure 1 presents with an unattractive snub-nosed face, horse ears, a tail, and mane-like beard and hair. Although sometimes they were drawn with horse legs (Hansen 2005, 279), most possessed human legs and feet and walked upright (March 2014, 435). Satyrs were commonly shown drinking wine, dancing, and playing flutes. They lustfully chased nymphs (March 2014, 435), copulated with animals (March 2014, 435-436) and engaged in orgies (Stafford 2011, 346-347). The famous *François Vase* (Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209; BAPD 300000) exemplifies this perverse portrayal of satyrs. Satyrs were typically painted as nude and ithyphallic (with erect penises), and on this vase, the satyr's phallus is located uncomfortably close to the rear end of a donkey. Satyrs would have mated with donkeys, mules, deer, goats, and other animals that were at their disposal. When other options were unavailable, they even copulated with each other (Padgett 2003, 30). Satyrs were known to not only seduce and rape nymphs but also human women (Kerényi 1974). Their excessive lust spotlights them as a negative role model. Furthermore, the satyr's sexual appearance represented the antithesis to the ideal nude Greek male who would have had a much thinner and shorter phallus (Padgett 2003, 30).

At the end of the Archaic period (about 500 BC), satyrs were often portrayed as children (Padgett 2003, 27) (Fig. 2). These young satyrs evoked an unrestrained but innocent enjoyment of pleasures acceptable for children or frolicking goats or colts. This concept of natural wildness was reinforced by the frequent inclusion of the *thyrsos* in satyr scenes. The *thyrsos* was an

unworked staff made from a large fennel plant wrapped with vines and leaves and usually topped with a pinecone (Smith *et al*, 1890) attributed to the companions of Dionysos (Woodruff 1998, 2). Typically, maenads were pictured using this staff to ward off the mischievous sexual advances of untamed satyrs. However, as the 5th century progressed into the Classical period (after 475 BC) satyrs were more often represented as lustful adolescents (Padgett 2003, 27) or as adults (Fig. 3).



Fig. 2. *Krater with satyr boy and family, Villa Giulia Painter, 450 BC*



Fig. 3. *Krater with adolescent satyr, Methyse Painter, 450 BC*

One scholar proposes that some satyrs in Greek vase painting were not actual satyrs, but rather actors playing satyrs. François Lissarrague cites F. Brommer's identification of at least 300 vases believed to be connected with satyr plays (1990, 228). Lissarrague (1990, 236) considers the possibility that images of satyrs were a derivative representation of a satyr play—a comedic or parodic element that represents an aspect of the culture under the influence of Dionysos. As an example, he notes a drama scene on the *Pronomos Vase* (Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, 81673; BAPD 217500). One side of this vase painting depicts Dionysos with a troop of satyrs, while the other shows actors, musicians, and chorus members. The satyr youths are nude except for hairy breeches, with protruding erect phalluses and horsetails. They are holding satyr masks identifiable because of their horse ears, high foreheads, and snub noses.

In another scene on the same vase, a chorus member wears a satyr mask. Lissarrague (1990, 228-230) points out that such a masked character would be difficult to distinguish from a true satyr. Conversely, a true satyr on a vase could potentially be confused with a depiction of an actor playing a satyr. According to Lissarrague (1990, 230), the satyric scene on the Pronomos Vase would not have represented a particular theatrical scene from a satyr play, only the satyr as a dramatic character.

Lissarrague (1990, 230-231) notes however, that not all representations of people in satyr costume necessarily represent a satyr play. For example, on a Corinthian cup a female wears satyr breeches and therefore, this particular image does not refer to a satyr play. While perhaps deserving of further examination, his theory that some satyr images relate to satyr plays is somewhat illogical since satyrs were represented on vases long before the arrival of the satyr play. Lissarrague admits his argument is underdeveloped. To the extent that he agrees that satyrs are disorderly, disruptive, and irreverent (whether they be costumed actors or the creatures themselves), his viewpoint supports the idea that satyrs represent the antithesis of Greek virtue and therefore his preliminary argument does not undermine this thesis.

Vase Painters and Potters

In order to assess the symbolic significance of satyr iconography on Greek wine vessels, one must investigate the place of potters and painters in Greek society and understand the social contexts in which they worked. Because very little is known about the artists, the occasional signature provides evidence of two creative roles: ἔγραψεν (*egrapsen*) typically denoted a painter and ἐποίησεν (*epoiesen*) usually denoted a potter but sometimes implied both painting and potting—possibly a master potter, workshop owner, or “owner-potter” (Boardman 1974, 11). Signatures were rare and therefore a signature indicated a vase painter’s pride in their work or

others' valuation of their work and name (Boardman 1974, 12). In the Archaic period, painters were not accorded the same respect as sculptors or architects and, unlike potters, they were unable to acquire status through wealth (Boardman 1974, 13). Seth Pevnick (2010), citing Robertson, theorizes that vase painters may have been enslaved people or metics because some of their signatures indicate a foreign identity. Perhaps the only definitive example of a signature of an enslaved person (*doulos*) is on a kyathos by Lydos (Pevnick 2010, 224, footnote 8). There is insufficient evidence, however, to conclude that vase painters were typically enslaved people (Pevnick 2010, 224).

Pottery and Social Context

While the line between potter and painter may be blurred, one thing is clear: vase decorations were not random. Vases made in Athens reflected the broader cultural environment of ancient Greece, because in order to sell their wares, painters needed to appeal to their customers' aesthetic tastes (Osborne 2018, XVII). Athenian vase production was restricted to one quarter of the city (Boardman 1974, 11), where the work was done by local artists. Then the products were brought to the Agora for sale (Lynch 2017, 126). The painted iconography was therefore indicative of the worldview of local artists, not a worldview imported from afar (Lynch 2017, 125). Quantities of Athenian pottery were exported, especially to Italy, however the fact that individual artistic preferences and treatment of subjects may be identified speaks to the artists' ability to select the scenes painted. Osborne (2018) states: "The patterns of choice of scene to depict on pottery therefore have a strong chance of reproducing the way in which painters saw the world, unconstrained by any need to persuade others or conform to other's views" (XIX). Lynch (2017, 126-127) argues that while it is plausible that the vase painters would have selected the images or scenes they painted, it is also possible that the owner of the

pottery workshop would have chosen the decoration. It is uncertain how much freedom ancient Greek vase painters had to decide on iconography, but the artistic decision was a local one reflecting local values.

Pottery manufacture tended to change synchronously with influences on society. For example, Near Eastern and Egyptian motifs, myths, and decorative elements were incorporated into Greek art during the Orientalizing period (~725-625 BC). Soon after, as Greece began to colonize various parts of the Mediterranean and trade expanded, pottery styles shifted again toward a more representative style (Boardman 1982), paving the way for painted satyrs and Dionysian scenes. Because of the broad transformations in Greek society at the end of the Archaic period, the many cultural changes may have independently or collectively effected iconographic shifts in vase painting rather than any change in alcohol use. One scholar, Cornelia Kerenyi, believes that military conflict, in particular, may have had an impact on satyr iconography. In 480 BC the Greeks were heavily embroiled in a violent conflict with the Persian Empire whose non-Greek speaking inhabitants they considered barbarians (Baracchi 2014, 292). As such, the struggle between civilization and barbarism was increasingly represented in Greek art. Critically, the dichotomy between “civilized” and “barbarian” in the ancient Greek mind became even more pronounced during the Classical period: in art, the enemies of Greece were regularly depicted as barbarians (Lissarrague 2002, 108).

Kerenyi (2004, 5) links the Persian conflict to the introduction of the satyr play in 510 BC, suggesting that the Greeks were trying to process the ever-present reality of violence in their society by subsuming it into their culture in a fun and playful way. She argues that the satyr was understood to embody violence—specifically sexual violence—as evidenced by the frequency of scenes in which aroused satyrs chase nymphs (Kerényi 2004, 4). The satyrs’ violence seems

paradoxical, however, given their connection to Dionysos, bringer of peace and stability (Kerényi 2004, 1). This contradiction may have provoked an iconographical change in the representation of satyrs from wild, uncontrolled figures who raped nymphs to calmer, more domesticated satyrs who carried wine containers and participate in processions (Kerényi 2004, 16). Kerényi hypothesizes that the later images of satyrs (after about 565 BC) dancing around Dionysos or walking behind the mule rider offer worshippers the opportunity to approach Dionysos, the peacemaker, through the intermediary of the formerly violent satyr (2004, 17). Padgett (2003, 36) agrees that early satyr images were independent of Dionysos until the vase painter Kleitias included them in the god's retinue on his *Pronomos Vase*, painted between 570 and 560 BC. Padgett argues that satyr images later came to represent antisocial misconduct by drunken males that should not be tolerated in aristocratic drinking parties.

Kerényi's theory of male violence rationalization contains several contradictions, however. First, she claims that satyrs first became attached to Dionysian scenes due to the introduction of the comedic satyr play to Athens around 510 BC (Kerényi 2004). In reality, satyrs appeared alongside Dionysos beginning earlier (575-570 BC) with the *Francois Vase* (Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 4209, BAPD 300000). Secondly, satyrs were depicted violently assaulting nymphs from the early 6th century on—before they first appear alongside Dionysos, before the debut of the satyr play in 510 BC, and well before the first Persian invasion of Greece in 492 BC. Lastly, Kerényi (2004, 1) links the very real violence of war with the supposed sexual violence of the satyrs and paradoxically labels this violence as “playful.” Nonetheless, sexual conquests by satyrs are almost never depicted on vases. Rather, the nymphs and maenads successfully fend off their advances, thwarting the satyrs' “violence” (Padgett 2003, 32).

In summary, there is historical evidence that Greek pottery tended to reflect the social environment of its time, with documented changes in styles in accordance with new artistic influences from foreign cultures. The artisans responsible for the manufacture of Greek vases were for the most part free citizens who could select artistic subjects out of personal preference or in response to public demand. All the vessels I examined in this study are Athenian. Athenian pottery was produced locally and reflected local values (Lynch 2017). A popular iconographic choice for pottery was the satyr: a wild, uncivilized character known to the Greeks through literature, drama, and its association with an exotic wine god named Dionysos. There are also documented differences in the artistic depiction of satyrs on vases, but the cause of these differences and whether they represent a true evolution in representational style is subject to contradictory opinions. By focusing this investigation on the satyr's presence on vases associated with drinking—the krater, a wine dilution vessel, and the wine drinking cup—I hope to specifically examine the relationship between the image and trends in wine consumption. First, however, it is important to provide the cultural context for the satyr symbol on wine vessels by examining the tradition of wine drinking in the context of the symposium and the Dionysian festival.

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT GREEK WINE CULTURE

In order to discover a possible symbolic significance for the thousands of satyr images that appear on wine vessels, it is important to examine the cultural context in which these objects were utilized. Pottery for mixing and drinking wine was owned and used by individuals and families privately in their homes. A symbol depends on shared cultural knowledge, and its meaning is established through social encounters and communication. The power of a symbol develops, grows and changes in the context of group interactions. Therefore, in this section, I discuss the use of kraters and cups in two different communal rituals. The first is the symposium—an intimate drinking party in a citizen’s home. The second is the Dionysian festival—a public celebration in Athens entailing theatrical performances, choral music contents, and crowds drinking outdoors together near the temple. Wine was an integral part of Greek social and religious traditions. Evidence from Greek myth, philosophy, and law indicates that while drinking was acceptable, drunkenness was clearly and consistently discouraged.

Ethos of Wine Drinking

Mythological Literature

Few tales are more foundational to understanding the Greek ethos and worldview than the works of Homer. According to Jennifer Larson (2020), Homeric poetry closely reflects the popular belief of the time with regard to individual moral behavior and divine punishment for breaking social norms. The Greeks held dual perspectives on wine, both of which are found in Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Papakonstantinou 2009). Wine was the staple beverage in Homer’s world, a fact reflective of the Greek belief that wine was an important, beneficial nutrient (Papakonstantinou 2009, 3). Though typically heavily diluted, wine took precedence over water

and could be consumed at any time of day, with or without food. In the *Iliad*, Odysseus instructs the soldiers to drink wine and consume food because it will give them courage and strength. On the other hand, the Greeks recognized the “intoxicating, inhibitive, and potentially socially disruptive qualities of wine” (Papakonstantinou 2009, 5). Excessive wine consumption or drinking undiluted wine was viewed as a barbaric custom (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017,7). In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus states that wine can cause a wise person to act frivolously and out of character.

Both attitudes toward wine are demonstrated in an episode of the *Iliad* involving the Trojan mother Hecabe and her son Hector. Hector leaves the battlefield to search for Paris and to enjoin the Trojan women to pray to Athena. He meets his mother, who speculates that his visit home is to ensure success in battle. Hecabe advises Hector to pour out libations and regain his vigor by consuming wine. Her motherly advice suggests a cultural belief that wine drinking was healthy and sustaining. Hector dismisses Hecabe’s suggestion, however, saying that drinking would make him forget his bravery in battle. His refusal reveals the duality of Greek cultural attitudes: drinking wine is appropriate under certain conditions, but not others.

In Greek mythology, there are several examples in which the consumption of alcohol or too much alcohol is shown to lead to violence, death, or other devastating consequences. Wine was the downfall of Polyphemos, the Cyclops. When he fell asleep after excessive drinking, Odysseus was able to put out his eye and blind him (Parada and Förlag 1997). When Odysseus is disguised as an old beggar at the end of *The Odyssey*, he requests permission to string his own bow in an effort to win the archery contest. Due to his perceived age, Antinous concludes that he must be drunk or he would not think he had a chance of winning. Antinous scolds Odysseus for reminding him of the mythological battle between the centaurs and the lapiths—a feast turned

violent because of excessive drinking. In the tale of Oedipus, King Laius of Thebes was warned by the oracle not to have a son. Nevertheless, while drunk with wine he ignored the oracle and lay with his wife. The result was Oedipus, the son who later killed him. Yet another myth tells the sad tale of Orion. After drinking heavily, he tries to rape Merope, daughter of King Oenopion of Chios. For this reason, he was blinded by the king and cast out (Parada and Förlag 1997). Essentially, ancient Greek literature teaches that fate is not kind to characters who become seriously intoxicated.

Philosophy

While Greek philosophy emphasizes the dangers of drunkenness, it provides a more nuanced perspective. Aristotle set a clear standard for the wholesome and healthy consumption of food and drink that entailed self-moderation. He thought that temperance was the intermediate state between excessive and deficient states. Temperate people consume as much as they should with the appropriate amount of appreciation for the experience and pleasure it brings. In this framework, they do not experience more deprivation than they should in the absence of drink (Young 1988, 533). Aristotle argues that temperate people, unlike the insensible people who denied their own appetites, acknowledged their own animality. Unlike the profligate, however, they neither surrender to their appetites nor go to excess—enjoying what they should not enjoy, or enjoying more than is appropriate (Young 1988, 535, 541).

An additional benefit of wine included in ancient Greek philosophy was that the beverage offered a means of catharsis. While in the *Republic* Plato criticized all sorts of non-rational states including drunkenness, in *Laws* he extols the virtuous use of wine to control anti-rational desires. In his mind, a deficiency of anti-rational desires and emotions was equally as bad as an excess of them. Plato thought that virtue could be produced by heightening anti-rational feelings and then

ordering them through the process of catharsis. In other words, temporarily intensifying non-rational desires could be helpful in developing self-control or *sophrosyne* (Belfiore 1986, 421-422).

Medicine

Medical literature is equally clear that the Greeks considered moderate wine consumption healthy and even useful, but excessive consumption physically harmful. Some therapeutic uses for wine were as an antidote for hemlock poisoning and deadly insect stings, an antiseptic after surgery, and an ingredient in ointments and potions (Jouanna 2012, 190-192). The 5th century Greek physician Hippocrates wrote that excessive wine consumption could, in a best-case scenario, produce a headache and, in a worst-case scenario, cause death. Other symptoms of drunkenness that he noted were delirium, confusion, and aphasia (Jouanna 2012, 177-178). According to the 4th century Athenian doctor Mnesitheus, excessive wine consumption causes violence, insufficiently diluted wine produces madness, and undiluted wine causes bodily paralysis (Jouanna 2012, 193).

Law

While ancient Greek philosophy could only suggest the proper mode of drinking, the law was able to enforce those philosophical values. Intoxication and drunken excess were not looked upon kindly under Greek law. In the early Archaic period, the Greek tyrant Pittacus enacted laws regarding crimes committed while under the influence. In contrast to the modern view, Pittacus did not consider inebriation a mitigating factor in a crime (Couch 1938, 99-101). Severe intoxication and the accompanying loss of self-control by the offender was not a reason for leniency. Rather, under his law, an individual who committed a crime while heavily drunk received twice the punishment: once for being drunk and allowing himself to descend into

savagery, and once for the offense itself. Aristotle agreed with this policy, asserting that drunken excess put an individual into a state of ignorance. He said that a person who commits a crime while drunk acts *in* ignorance rather than *from* ignorance. Nevertheless, the offender should not be excused from accountability. Aristotle states that people should be judged and punished under the laws that a normal citizen could be expected to know and obey. Ignorance and violation of the law stems from their own negligence (Couch 1938, 99-101).

In terms of enslaved people in Greece, moderation in wine consumption was an ethical matter related to productivity. Owners of enslaved persons disapproved of drunkenness because it decreased work output. Despite leniency in cases of advanced age or illness, owners of the enslaved made sure their charges did not drink so much that it would prevent the owner from profiting. An enslaved individual who remained sober and worked well received payment, which was a clear incentive for moderation. With enough wealth, such a person could purchase their freedom, wear the clothes of a Greek citizen, and possibly even become a citizen (McKinlay 1944, 127-128).

Rituals and Wine Drinking

The Symposium

The symposium, an aristocratic drinking party, exemplified Greek dedication to maintaining balance in wine consumption representative of their status as a “civilized” people. This well-regulated event was a complex cultural experience designed to be enhanced but not blunted by alcohol. It consisted not only of food and drink, but also visual and performing arts. Figure 4 illustrates the multi-sensory components of the symposium that created an ideal ritual environment for a semiotic process to occur. Among these, I emphasize the potential appearance of the satyr on drinking vessels used at the party.

SATYR IMAGE IN CONTEXT OF SENSORY EXPERIENCES OF SYMPOSIUM RITUAL



Figure 4. Phenomenological infographic about symposium's sensory experiences.

The symposium was “regulated” in one way by its *de facto* restriction to aristocratic males (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017, 7). Symposia were usually intimate affairs with between eight and twelve guests (symposiasts) whose participation facilitated social and political connections. Symposia were held in the homes of upper-class individuals, presumably because the elite were considered the members of society most capable of upholding the cultural values of drinking wine, discussing philosophy, and enjoying music, dance, and poetry. By the beginning of the Classical period, the floor of the symposium room may have been decorated with mosaics (Fig. 4: 7) of Dionysos or mythological stories. The celebrants may also have enjoyed beautiful wall murals (Fig. 4: 10) while drinking. While some women (Fig. 4: 8) were present at symposia, their role was limited to acts of service, such as tending to the physical and sexual needs of tipsy men (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017, 22). Similarly, enslaved people were also present at these parties, but only to work or entertain.

A second method of symposiac control was through the designation of the symposiarch—the master of the feast. Either the host or a high-status attendee, the symposiarch (Fig. 4: center) served as both toastmaster and master of ceremonies (Gately 2008, 32). Critical to this thesis, the symposiarch’s most notable task was to dictate the water-to-wine ratio. Based on his determination, the wine was diluted in a krater (Fig. 4: 1) before pouring into kylikes (cups) (Fig. 4: 5). Depending on the subject of discussion at the event, the rate of dilution varied from 3:1 to 5:3 or 3:2 (Naglak 2010). Drinking wine diluted with water was well-understood as an indication that the symposiasts were “true” Greeks (Murray 1990, 6). The existence of the symposiarch role suggests that the determination of alcoholic content was not to be entrusted to enslaved individuals, who were often foreigners, belonged to the lower class, and were therefore considered less predisposed to uphold Greek cultural values. Disobeying the symposiarch was an

offense tantamount to sacrilege. Any individuals who did so would be excluded from future banquets and socially isolated (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017, 9). There is debate regarding whether or not wine was served during the pre-symposium meal. Flaceliere (2002) contends that alcohol was provided during the meal as a means of washing down the food. Davidson and Fearn (2011) argue the contrary: the pre-symposium meal did not include any alcohol. Regardless of which viewpoint is accurate, little to no diluted wine during the meal combined with large quantities of food would have helped to ensure the guests' moderation.

After a bountiful banquet, the room and the guests were prepared for the beginning of the wine service and entertainment. These customs indicated special honor for the wine drinking portion of the symposium that followed. First, enslaved persons washed the hands of participants and distributed laurel wreaths (Fig. 4: 6) for them to wear. They doused the room in incense (Fig. 4: 9) and cleaned the dirt and debris from the floor (Davidson and Fearn, 2011). Next, the participants reclined on cushioned couches (Fig. 4: 4) adjacent to tables, in a room that would have held up to fifteen of these. After that, the symposiasts conversed about philosophical topics, recited poetry, and enjoyed entertainment from professional dancers, acrobats (Naglak 2010), and musicians (Fig. 4: 2) such as flute players (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017, 21-22). All of these preparations cleansed the room's palate in preparation for the sensory experience induced by the wine.

Symposium Vessels

Kraters (Fig. 5) and kylikes (cups) (Fig. 6) were vessels used to mix and consume wine at the symposium. Their designs, which likely reflected the aesthetic preference of the family or host who provided it for the party, would certainly have been a focus of attention for the guests. The activities of the symposiasts often mirrored those of symposium scenes painted on the

krater. Some of the most typical scenes included drinking parties, or Dionysos with satyrs and maenads. Given the unrealistic style and limited color palette of Attic vases, these images were more evocative than representative. For the ancient Greeks, the krater represented the appropriate mode of drinking: in moderation and in company. It also symbolized their cultural value of hospitality, which included music and dance (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017, 34, 36), and demonstrated the host's elite socioeconomic status. The krater was prominently placed on a low table (Fig. 4: 1), often in the middle of the symposium room. According to Franks (2018), cushioned couches were situated around the table in a way that encouraged the reclining symposiasts to gaze at the krater. The krater was so central to the symposium that it was even decorated with a real garland, just as the participants were (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017, 28). Strikingly, in Greek poetry the word κρατήρ (krater) was considered to be synonymous with the word "symposium."



Fig. 5. *Krater, Painter Unknown, ca. 520-510 BC*

Enslaved individuals filled the cups of the guests from the central krater. We may presume that these wealthy hosts purchased and provided the cups rather than the symposiasts themselves (J. M. Padgett, personal communication, April 1, 2021). An example of a drinking cup decorated on both the exterior and interior is shown in Figure 6. Beautifully painted cups were status symbols—indicators of wealth, privilege, and membership in a powerful social group (Boardman 1989). For that reason, the imagery on symposium drinking cups would have been noticed as a matter of interest. Indeed, symposiasts would have had the greatest direct sensory experience with the images on this personal vessel.



Fig. 6. *Cup, Douris or Painter of London E 55, 480 BC*

Franks notes that the cup was as essential to the symposium's visual experience as the krater, since in some cases a shared cup may have been passed around the room from guest to guest. She asserts that this motion may have been perceived by the imbibers as an allegorical

ocean voyage, epic journey, or choral dance (2018). As a guest drank from a cup such as the one in Figure 6, an image of a satyr may have gradually begun to peek through the wine on the inside. According to Cornelia Isler Kerényi (2004, 4), satyr scenes were intended to “prompt the participants of symposia to remember and recount stories about satyrs and, even, to compare themselves with satyrs.” In this way, the satyr could enable catharsis: the participants could vicariously engage in immoderate behavior through art.

Dionysiac Cult Festivals

Dionysian festivals were multi-faceted events that offered an opportunity for the city-state (*polis*) to celebrate together in unity through wine, drama, music, dance, friendly competition, and the blurring of otherwise strict social roles. Festivals were state-organized and state-funded, but in true Dionysiac fashion they entailed the encouragement of and participation in generally frowned-upon behaviors such as the yelling of “ritual obscenities” (Evans 2010, 187). During the winter months after the harvest, Athenians dedicated themselves to the worship of Dionysos (Kerényi 1976, 290), honoring him with ritual libations of wine, grain offerings and animal sacrifices (Evans 2010, 173). In the swampy area near the temple, they mixed wine with spring water and made offerings to the god.

During festivals, the entire community drank together in public and in private homes; drunkenness served as a means by which worshippers could connect with the god (Woodruff 1998, XIII). Among the alcohol-related festival activities were public wine drinking contests (Robinson and Harding 2015, 341). Well-known citizens who participated in these competitions brought their own wine and wine cups (Evans 2010, 176). The practice of drinking together was a ritual inversion to customs the rest of year when male citizens only drank with their social equals at symposia. Dionysian festivals fostered an ecstatic intoxication that not only liberated

citizens from behavioral constraints, but also from their social strata. At the festivals, many women participated in activities that, at other times of the year, were restricted to male citizens. In addition, hired household servants and even enslaved individuals were permitted to drink wine during the *Anthesteria* (Harrison 1991, 33).

A staple of the *Anthesteria* and other Dionysian festivals were processions in which participants dedicated new wine to Dionysos (Figure 7) and paraded an oversized phallus through the streets. This ritual probably stems from the association of Dionysos with the grape harvest and fertility, and it recognizes the deity's ability to powerfully overcome worshippers and perhaps prevent venereal diseases (Csapo 1997, 264). The Athenian *pompē* (procession) celebrated the first arrival of Dionysos to the city after a sea journey from a foreign location somewhere to the east. Despite this perception that Dionysos came from the east, there is evidence that Dionysos did originate in Greece sometime after 2000 BC (Evans 2010, 175). The Dionysiac cult may have come to mainland Greece with the Minoans of Crete around 1500 BC, or perhaps it emerged later within Mycenaean culture (Stanislawski 1975, 434). Evans believes the hesitancy of the Athenians to identify Dionysos as a god with Greek origins may have stemmed from a fear of his power. She explains, "It was psychologically more comfortable for residents to consider him an alien and allow him a place in the *polis* only when everyone had gathered together as a larger community to welcome him" (Evans 2010, 175).



Figure 7. *Krater with City Dionysia Festival, Painter of Munich 1736, 520 BC*

Since Dionysos was not only the god of wine but also of theater, Dionysian worship was closely associated with drama. After the fall Athenian grape harvest, people enjoyed a time of leisure and creative entertainment. Dramatic festivals for the worship of Dionysos occurred at other times of the year as well, both in the rural areas and in the city. During the City Dionysia, the largest festival honoring Dionysos, theatrical competitions were held in which wealthy citizens performed the community service of producing plays and directing choruses for these productions. Although initially the dramas were community events in honor of Dionysos, eventually the performances became less about the god and more about creating political consensus and social cohesion (Håkansson 2010, 111).

In light of the aforementioned uncertainty regarding the chronology for the acceptance of Dionysos as a god, Table 4 (Appendix A) provides historical and archaeological data collected for the purpose of identifying an approximate date range for the peak of Dionysian activity in

Athens. Archaeological evidence from excavations of the Sanctuary of Dionysos in Athens provides an approximate chronology for popular Dionysian worship. The Greek Archaeological Society estimates the first of two temples at the Sanctuary of Dionysos in Athens was constructed around 480 BC (Travlos 1971, 537-539). Both Herodotus [fl. 482-425 BC] in *Histories* (Macaulay 1890) and Euripides [fl.482-406 BC] (Woodruff 1998, 1-3) wrote about Dionysos, suggesting the cult was deemed significant by their respective times, which also roughly correspond to 480 BC. Inside the famous theater located within the sanctuary are the ruins of a pair of temples: one dates to circa 6th century and the other to circa 350 BC. The theater itself was likely established around 530 BC during the lifetime of Thespis, the first stage actor (Dinsmoor and Spiers 1950, 120). Permanent wooden seats were added to the theater around 498 BC. The popularization of theatrical performances, especially those relating to Dionysos, contributed to both Dionysos' connection to Athens and the growth of Dionysia—festivals that honored the god (Sourvinou-Inwood 2011). Indeed, satyrs were popular characters in these dramas.

There is archaeological evidence for changes in alcohol consumption towards the end of the Archaic period that may have resulted from Dionysian cult activity: a dramatic proliferation of different varieties of wine drinking cups being manufactured around 550 BC. This proliferation stemmed from the elites' desire to maintain aristocratic status amidst political turmoil and growing populism by acquiring and displaying lavish possessions (Lynch 2014, 241). Additionally, in the late Archaic period (525 to 475 BC), there was a significant explosion of the quantity of drinking vessels due to the same populism, essentially allowing the masses to enjoy the symposia that were once only for elites (Lynch 2014, 241). Some substantiation for an

uptick in drunkenness may be found in several Greek vases from that period that depict intoxicated individuals vomiting (Figure 8).



Fig. 8. Cup with drunk Greek adult vomiting, Brygos Painter, 500-470 BC

Vessels of Dionysian Festivals

If understanding the symposium ritual sheds light on the functioning of satyr imagery within the context of elite society, then understanding the festivals of Dionysia may illuminate the function of satyr imagery among the lower classes. There is no evidence for the use of kraters as mixing vessels at Dionysian festivals, however, the cup remains the favored drinking vessel used in the festival environment just as it was in the more formal symposium event. Possessing the best and newest styles of cups was a sign of status for the upper classes. Nevertheless, Athens' political power and dominance in the ceramic market meant that by the 5th century the

general populace could also obtain good quality wine cups. These decorated vessels would have been used by the revelers celebrating the Dionysia in the swamps near the temple. Although there were prescriptions for ritual libations, the outdoor festival atmosphere likely allowed participants greater freedom of movement and behavior than the enclosed symposium setting. A symposium may have lasted an entire night, but the festivals lasted for days. For example, Plutarch's description of the Anthesterion noted that after the casks were opened, the drinking lasted for three days (Harrison 1991, 33). As the revelers repeatedly raised their cups to their lips, the satyrs painted on the cups' exteriors became a conspicuous presence for the surrounding celebrants. At the same time, the satyrs painted on cups' interiors became visible to the ones emptying their cups. In other words, festival participants were constantly reminded of satyrs.

According to Kerenyi, Dionysian revelers brought their own new wine from storage vessels (*pithoi*) at home for mixing on site near the Temple of Dionysos in Athens (1976, 291). Evans (2010, 174) agrees that on the first day of the *Anestheria* festival farmers brought wine to the temple in *pithoi*. Then on the second day, drinking contest participants took wine from a *pithos*, mixed it onsite in their own three-quarter gallon jug (*chous*), and then poured the mixed wine into their own wine cups (Evans 2010, 176). At festivals, the *chous* appears to be used in place of the krater for dilution purposes. Unfortunately, because fewer than 100 *chous* with satyrs are documented in the BAPD, and therefore constitute too small of a sample size from which to draw significant conclusions, they are not included in this study.

The importance of wine drinking in Greek culture has been well-documented above. In the private symposium ritual in which only aristocrats participated, drinking behavior was subject to defined rules and customs. Wine dilution was regulated and alcoholic consumption was designed to enhance the enjoyment of conversation and entertainment. Overconsumption

still occurred. In the larger populist environment of Dionysian festivals, the ethos of moderation may have had less influence. Not only was drunkenness encouraged as a means of honoring the deity, but drinking was a competition event. In addition, individuals who were excluded from symposia customs did participate in Dionysian cult activities. The core value of moderation in Greek culture is historically substantiated. Determining whether or not drunkenness in the transition between the Archaic and Classical periods was of public concern is a more nuanced matter. Consequently, I investigate the satyr as a symbol that may have been purposely placed more frequently on kraters and cups to encourage moderation in both the symposium and festival environments. Next, I outline the methods used to track the trends pertaining to the frequency and context of the satyr image on these drinking vessels.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

Data Source

Lacking physical access to relevant archaeological artifacts regarding satyr iconography on Athenian kraters and cups dated from the 6th to the 4th century BC, I collected this project's data from the Beazley Archive Pottery Database. The Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD) is a well-known resource maintained and continually updated by the Classical Art Research Centre at the University of Oxford. The database constitutes an online collection of images of ancient figure-decorated pottery. It contains records of 120,000 pieces and more than 150,000 images and descriptions of pottery based on the physical archive originally assembled by art historian, Sir John Beazley, and later expanded to include the work of scholars in classical art. The objects he documented are from private collections, museums, auction houses, and items Sir Beazley encountered in his research.

The BAPD offered me the ability to identify and select vases by the dating, vessel shape, and subject categories relevant to satyr iconography. From among the information contained in each object record of the BAPD, the details of which can be found in Appendix B, I sorted by "Fabric" (selecting only vases of Athenian manufacture), "Shape name" (selecting kraters and cups), "Date," and "Decoration" (selecting kraters and cups with satyrs). I used an Excel spreadsheet to organize the information into tables, which were later used to produce graphs. After tallying the number of vessels with a particular subject or subject combination within each time period, the totals were converted into percentages of the total extant artifacts per time period (Tables 6 and 7, Appendix C). This allowed me to track changes in frequency over time.

Unfortunately, a concern with artifact data from the BAPD is the lack of detailed information about the provenience of the vessels. This is not the fault of the database, but rather stems from the fact that until the 20th century there was very little control over the acquisition of art objects. For hundreds of years, ancient Greek pottery was collected by archaeologists, art collectors, looters, and thieves with little or no documentation. Although there are records identifying the geographical provenience of many surviving Greek vases, there is scant information regarding early collecting practices and preferences. While collection bias may have existed, it is seemingly counterbalanced by the fact that at the time of this writing, the BAPD is the most comprehensive archive of Greek pottery.

A second concern with the BAPD is their cataloguing system using date ranges that overlap by 25 years and vary in size from 50 to 100 years. An alternate database, the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC), offers more precise dating. The lack of date filters in the search function and no standardization of dating categories made it a less practical resource for this thesis. Also, the LIMC is smaller, containing only 50,000 objects—some of which are crosslinked with the BAPD anyway. While the overlapping date ranges of the BAPD are imprecise and pose problems for statistical research, nevertheless, the LIMC was not a better option.

Data Collection

For both kraters and cups, I tallied the number of vessels with a single satyr and with multiple satyrs. In the database, these two shape groups were subdivided into more specific shape categories (Table 2), which were consolidated for graphing. I also tallied the number of vessels with a satyr or satyrs portrayed both independently and with Dionysos (Table 3) (These data were extracted from BAPD on January 28, 2021; current numbers may vary because the

BAPD is continuously updated). The number of cups and kraters with relevant subjects within two broad time frames, the Archaic period (600-475 BC) and the Classical period (475-300 BC) were identified. For the purposes of this study, 475 BC represents the dividing line between the Archaic and Classical periods.

Establishing an approximate date range for the peak of Dionysian cult activity in Athens would have allowed for a more precise “before” and “after” dividing line for the purposes of researching satyr iconography trends. The historical information in Table 4 (Appendix A), unfortunately, is too inconclusive to support the selection of an alternative to the simple Archaic period / Classical period demarcation. The most evidence for Dionysian worship lies between 600-550 and 450-400 BC. Since 500 BC is the median date of those ranges and considering the pre-established date ranges employed by BAPD which govern my data collection, 475 BC seems a reasonable marker for evaluating iconographical change. For clarity, on the graphs I substituted median dates for the BAPD ranges as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1. *Data Collection Categories: Date Ranges*

Date Range Categories*	Median Date	Date Ranges Labeled by Period
600-550 BC	575 BC	Archaic
575-525 BC	550 BC	Archaic
550-500 BC	525 BC	Archaic
525-475 BC	500 BC	Archaic
500-450 BC	475 BC	Archaic / Classical
475-425 BC	450 BC	Classical
450-400 BC	425 BC	Classical
425-375 BC	400 BC	Classical
400-300 BC	350 BC	Classical

*Approximate dating established by the BAPD for its vase classification.

Table 2. *Data Collection Categories: Artifacts*

Artifact Categories	Artifact Categories
All Cups	All Kraters
Cup A	Bell Kraters
Cup B	Calyx Kraters
Cup C	Column Kraters
Cup Droop	Volute Kraters
Cup Kassel	
Cup Little Master Band	
Cup Little Master Lip	
Cup Siana	
Cup Skyphos	
Cup Stemless	

Table 3. *Data Collection Categories: Iconographic Subjects*

Iconographic Categories
Single Satyr
Multiple Satyrs
Single Satyr with Dionysos
Multiple Satyrs with Dionysos

The rationale for including the satyr with Dionysos iconographic combination is to ascertain whether the satyr's appearance on wine vessels was tied to a religious narrative instead of, or in addition to, the hypothesized social motive of encouraging moderation in alcohol consumption. Although maenads are members of the *Thiasos* (Dionysian retinue) and therefore possess cult associations, the scope of this project necessitated limiting artifact database searches to the satyr's appearance with Dionysos.

Below are representative images of the primary painted subject categories (Figs.9-16), which are:

- 1) Kraters with single satyr (Dionysos not depicted) (Figure 9)
- 2) Kraters with multiple satyrs (Dionysos not depicted) (Figure 10)
- 3) Kraters with single satyr and Dionysos (Figure 11)
- 4) Kraters with multiple satyrs and Dionysos (Figure 12)
- 5) Cups with single satyr (Dionysos not depicted) (Figure 13)
- 6) Cups with multiple satyrs (Dionysos not depicted) (Figure 14)
- 7) Cups with single satyr and Dionysos (Figure 15)
- 8) Cups with multiple satyrs and Dionysos (Figure 16)



Fig. 9. Krater with single satyr, Tyszkiewicz Painter, 480-470 BC



Fig. 10. Krater with multiple satyrs, Walters-Dresden Painter, 390-380 BC



Fig. 11. Krater with single satyr and Dionysos, Christie Painter, 440 BC



Fig. 12. Krater with multiple satyrs and Dionysos, Cleveland Painter, 460-450 BC



Fig. 13. Cup with single satyr, Makron, 480 BC



Fig. 14. Cup with multiple satyrs, Painter of Louvre F120, 540-530 BC



Fig. 15. Cup with single satyr and Dionysos, Douris or Painter of London E 55, 480 BC



Fig. 16. Cup with multiple satyrs and Dionysos, Brygos Painter, 480 BC

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Here, I examine the distribution of satyr imagery chronologically from 600-300 BC on kraters and cups using median dates converted from BAPD date ranges (Tables 6-9, Appendix C). On each graph I indicate with a blue vertical line the division between the Archaic and Classical Periods. Additionally, I plot the distribution of satyr imagery based on the attribute categories of satyr singularity or plurality, and the categories of the presence or absence of an image of Dionysos along with the satyr.

General trends on kraters and cups

The percentage of vessels with satyr imagery increased from 600 BC for both kraters and cups (Figure 17), although trends in the appearance of satyrs differ for each vessel type. With the exception of the 500 BC median date when percentages are equal, satyrs are more common on kraters than cups. Rising from only 3% in about 600 BC, satyrs appear on 16-19% of kraters by around 500 BC and reach a peak at 29% around 400 BC. Beginning at a level of 2%, satyrs appear on 17% of cups by 525-475 BC, peaking slightly later. Thereafter, the percentage of cups with singular or multiple satyrs averaged 8.6% and did not experience the significant second peak around 400-300 BC that kraters did.

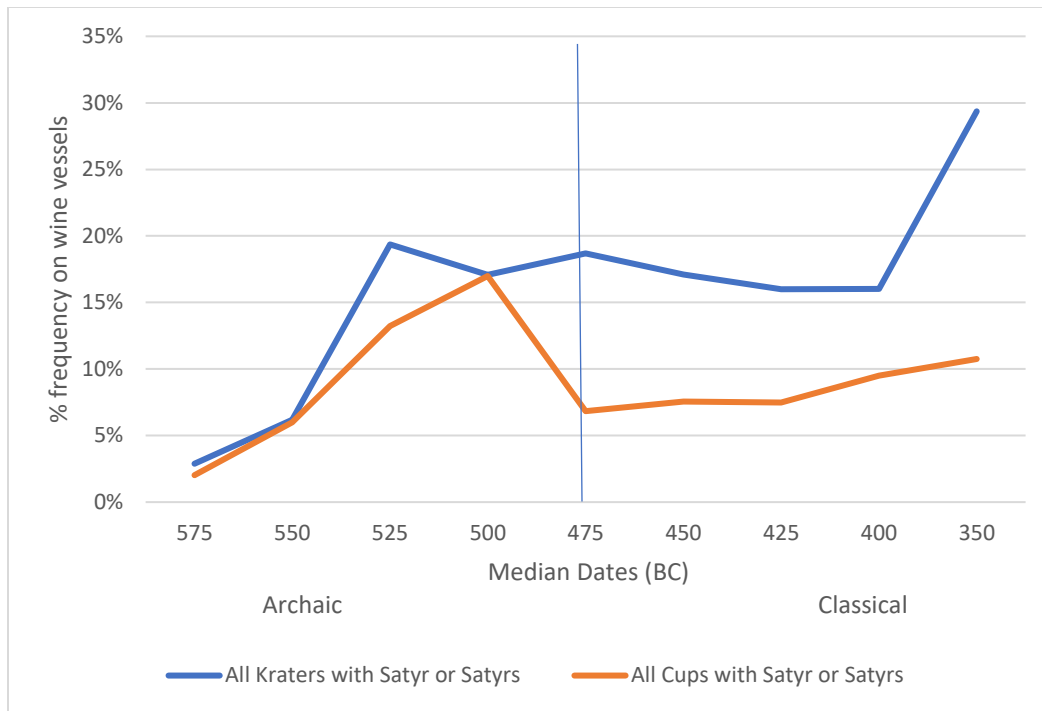


Fig. 17. *Percentage frequency of kraters with singular or multiple satyrs and cups with singular or multiple satyrs by median date. Blue vertical line indicates division between Archaic and Classical periods*

General Trends by attribute

Figure 18 illustrates the change over time in the frequency of singular or multiple satyrs depicted without Dionysos on kraters, relative to the frequency of singular or multiple satyrs depicted with Dionysos on kraters. Both categories increase until the median date 525 BC, at which time satyrs depicted without Dionysos on kraters are at 19%--only 2% higher than satyrs depicted with Dionysos. Thereafter, kraters with singular or multiple satyrs remain relatively stable at about 17% frequency, until the median date 350 BC when frequency peaks at 29%. In contrast, kraters with singular or multiple satyrs and Dionysos drop to as low as 6% in the same time period and only rise to 13% at the median date 350 BC--never surpassing its apex. In all periods, the singular or multiple satyr krater category outnumbers the singular or multiple satyr and Dionysos category.

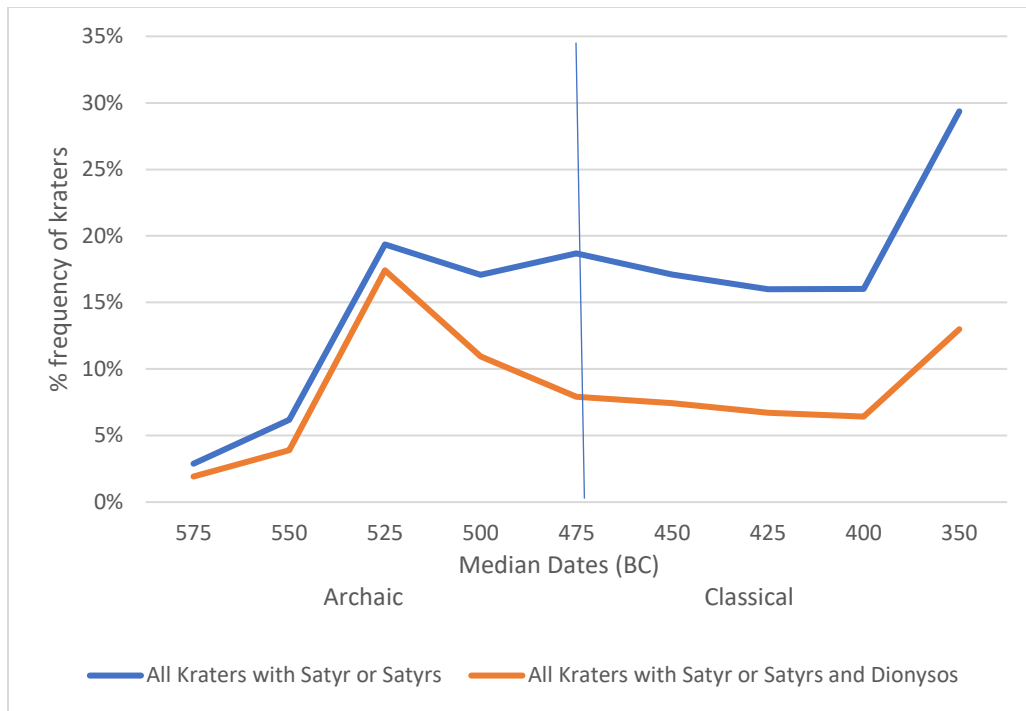


Fig. 18. *Percentage frequency on kraters of singular or multiple satyrs, and percentage frequency on kraters of singular or multiple satyrs and Dionysos by median date*

Similarly, Figure 19 tracks the trends for these two characters on cups. As with kraters, the graph reveals that for cups also, at all median dates there are higher percentages of satyrs depicted *without* Dionysos by an average of 7%. In cups, the trend lines diverge much earlier than for kraters. Except for a small plateau of 5% spanning the median dates of 525 and 500 BC, the singular or multiple satyr and Dionysos category is consistently very small (1-2%). Figure 19 reveals that the spike in cups with singular or multiple satyrs around 500 BC (Figure 17) is almost entirely driven by the satyr depicted without Dionysos category.

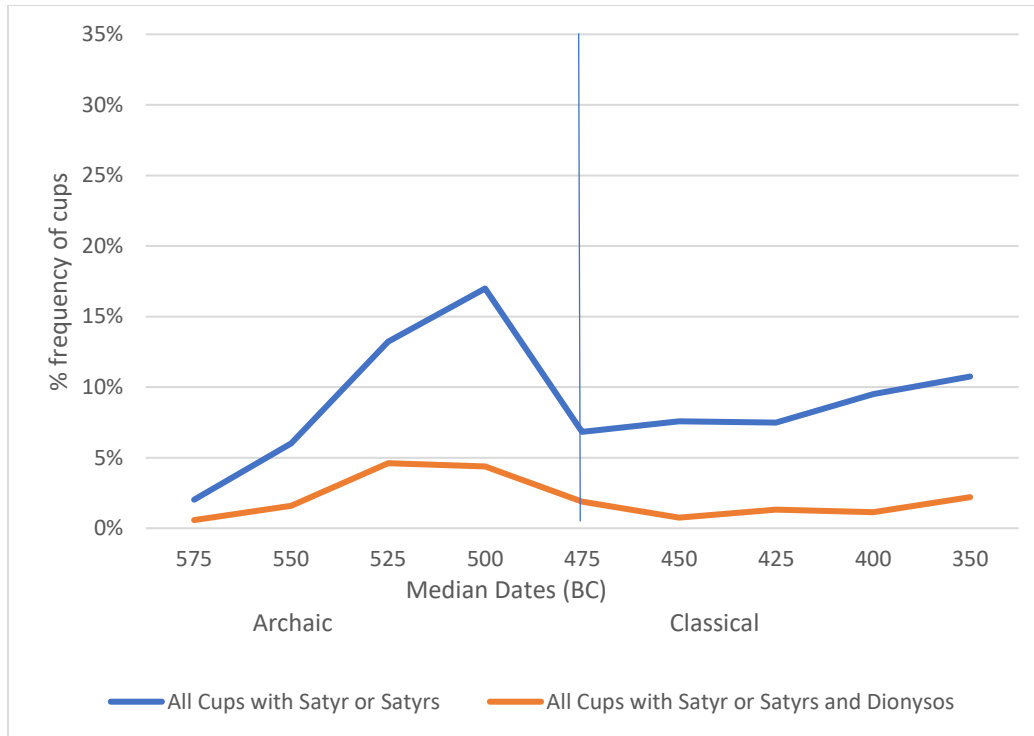


Fig. 19. Percentage frequency on cups of singular or multiple satyrs, percentage frequency on cups of singular or multiple satyrs and Dionysos by median date

Here, for a more granular analysis, I separate the singular satyr categories from the multiple satyr categories for both kraters and cups. This division is consistent with BAPD’s cataloging terms (“satyr”; “satyrs”) and is potentially relevant as a proxy for whether the satyr image belonged to a scene depicting a Dionysian retinue of multiple satyrs and maenads, or occurred singularly and/or independently of the god’s revel-rout. Figure 20 demonstrates that all categories increase from 575 BC to 525 BC, with the multiple satyr categories showing a slightly higher frequency at 525 BC. By 450 BC, which corresponds to the early years of the Classical period, kraters with a singular satyr without Dionysos occur the most frequently, followed by kraters with multiple satyrs without Dionysos. Least common around 450 BC are kraters with multiple satyrs and Dionysos.

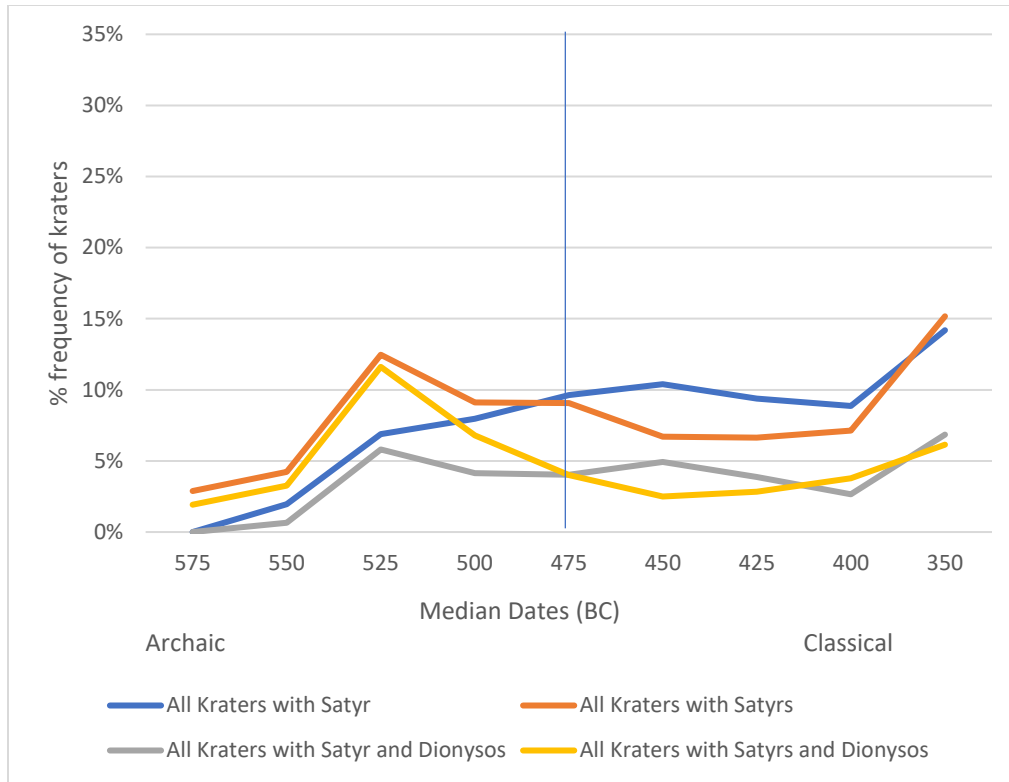


Fig. 20. *Percentage frequency on kraters of singular and multiple satyrs both with and without Dionysos by median date.*

The comparable graph for cups (Figure 21) shows little variance over time and that the presence of singular or multiple satyrs and Dionysos is very uncommon. The most notable trend line is that of the singular satyr, which at median date 500 BC is 7 to 10% higher than the other categories. It is also the only category to rise later in the Classical period. Multiple satyrs depicted without Dionysos decreased from 3% to 1% and satyr or satyrs with Dionysos remained steady (1%).

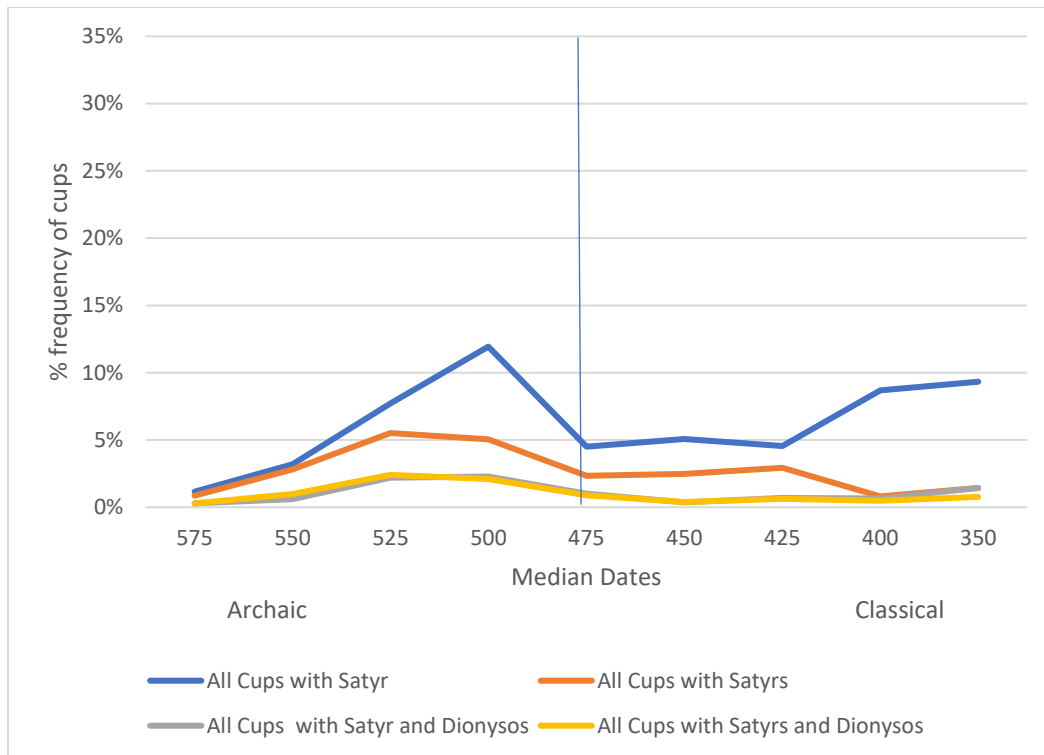


Fig. 21 *Percentage frequency on cups of singular and multiple satyrs both with and without Dionysos by median date.*

The most significant trends evident from the above analysis are the following:

- 1) Satyr images on both kraters and cups increased in the late Archaic period and early Classical period.
- 2) Satyrs appear more frequently on kraters than cups in both historical periods.
- 3) Satyrs are more commonly depicted independent of Dionysos on both vessel types.

In Chapter VI, I will discuss the change in the frequency and context of satyr images at the end of the Archaic period in light of the symbolic theory and historical and archaeological information already presented.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I address the popularity of the satyr image on wine vessels associated with wine consumption, as well as the rise in the percentage frequency of satyrs on kraters and cups at the end of the Archaic period. I propose explanations for the higher percentage frequency of satyrs on kraters relative to satyrs on cups, and the greater frequency of satyr images painted independent of Dionysos compared to satyr images painted in conjunction with Dionysos. Finally, I detail potential meanings the satyr symbol may have acquired, taking into consideration both traditional cultural associations as well as the changes taking place in Greek society during this period. Although I argue that “immoderation” is the most reasonable of those possibilities, I also consider opposing viewpoints regarding the meaning of this iconographic subject and discuss why each meaning might have been popular.

Satyr image's prominence on kraters and cups

The percentage frequency of kraters and cups with satyrs rose by approximately 15% at the end of the Archaic period and beginning of the Classical period. The data shows that satyrs appeared on kraters with greater frequency than on cups, particularly in the Classical period. I had expected to find the opposite, assuming that if there were increased public wine consumption, then a message of moderation would be more necessary in less regulated drinking environments where there was no symposiast controlling wine dilution in the krater. Kraters were status symbols for Greek aristocrats, and indicated that the family had sufficient wealth to enjoy leisure activities such as elaborate parties with friends. In that context, satyrs on a host's krater may have been desired images representing those occasions. Because the krater was purchased by the party host, the selection of a communal mixing vessel painted with satyrs may

have been intended to restrain excesses through a warning message against “uncultured” overconsumption unbefitting the upper class.

Interpreting the role of satyr images on cups is more difficult. This vessel was used not only by male elites at the ritually-controlled symposium, but also by people of every gender and social class at the Dionysian festivals. As the Dionysiac cult grew in popularity, drinking became a more democratic custom. In this changed social environment, the elites may have sought to distinguish themselves as more moderate than commoners. The non-elites, however, may have wished to enjoy their drinking privileges unrestrained. When purchasing personal drinking cups, messages of moderation may have been less of a concern for both groups—for the former because the symposium krater was sufficient for that purpose, and for the latter because the message of moderation was less welcome.

Satyr image’s aesthetic shift from religious to moral symbol

On both kraters and cups, satyrs appear more frequently alone than with Dionysos (Figures 20 and 21). This pattern gives credence to my argument that the increased popularity of the satyr had less to do with the god and more to do with the satyr’s own qualities. In other words, as satyrs on kraters and cups increasingly appeared without Dionysos, their significance may have become increasingly disconnected from religious connotations. The percentage of satyr appearances with Dionysos on cups is negligible, making this claim especially true for that vessel. The separation of the satyr from a Dionysian context is relevant to my assertion that the satyr likely developed an altered symbolic meaning sometime in the transition between the two historic periods. I contend that the Archaic period satyr, often a juvenile, playful companion to Dionysos (Figure 3), communicated that indulgence in celebration of the god is acceptable fun. The bestial, aggressive satyr (Figure 1), which appeared more frequently in the Classical period,

conveyed the idea that the indiscriminate drinker is at risk of becoming an unattractive “barbarian.” In the Classical period, satyrs both looked and behaved less like anthropomorphic beasts and more like beastly humans. In fact, scenes in which a maenad wards off a satyr with a thyrsus (Figure 22) seem to clearly show that bestial behavior should be controlled, even by women when necessary (M. N. Pareja-Cummings, personal communication, February 6, 2021). Because “civilized” adult Greek males were expected to curb their animalistic instincts (Padgett 2003, 27-28), these brutish satyrs symbolized the antithesis to *sophrosyne*.



Fig. 22. Cup with maenad attacking satyr with thyrsos, Makron, 490-480 BC

Any novel association of the satyr figure with serious immorality needed to be balanced against the figure’s customary association with the carefree worship of Dionysos. This equilibrium was achieved by depicting the satyr alone, thereby permitting the symbol to discourage social disruption without tainting the worship of a popular deity. I argue that the

human/beast duality of the satyr rendered it a uniquely suitable image for maintaining balance between the cultural norm of moderation and the ecstatic Dionysian experience. While in the Archaic period satyrs had symbolized what Osborne (2018, 204) labeled “the man within every beast,” in the wake of increased Dionysian cult influence in the Classical period, I suggest that the satyr *signans* (Turner 1975,152) came to represent the concept of the beast within every “man.”

Satyr as oppositional image reinforcing Greek cultural identity

In this section, I examine the satyr’s unique identity expressed through its compound physical nature, supposedly foreign origin, and its wild, “uncivilized,” and immoderate character. These qualities rendered the satyr antithetical to the identity of the “true” Greek. As such, this hybrid creature was an oppositional image (M.N. Pareja-Cummings, personal communication, May 12, 2021) that afforded them the opportunity to define themselves relative to non-Greeks. The image also may have allowed Greeks to understand themselves through the comparison of their own behavior to that of the satyr. In this way, Greeks participating in symposia or Dionysian festivals were made aware when they were in danger of behaving too much like “barbarous” foreigners, namely when intemperately consuming wine.

The following are possible interpretations for satyr images on Greek wine vessels:

Otherness. The satyr was a strange, non-human creature believed to be from an eastern land, like Dionysos. Its hybrid nature that combined animal and human parts made it a suitable analogy for the “uncivilized” foreigner, whose behaviors were deemed barbarous and non-Greek. The satyr’s alien identity may have contributed to its increased appearance on Greek wine vessels. The satyr may have come to symbolize “the other” in response to Greece’s increased interactions with foreigners, especially Persians. Kerenyi’s opinion that satyr iconography in the

Classical period is an artistic reflection of the conflict between civilization and barbarism (2004, 5) substantiates this analysis. At the end of the Archaic period, violent interactions with surrounding polities intensified, thereby hardening the definition of what it meant to be “Greek” and “civilized” versus “non-Greek” and “barbarous.”

While it is possible that satyr iconography may have increased as a product of Greeks coming to terms with and even accepting the presence of foreigners among them, it does not seem likely that if satyrs represented “uncivilized” outsiders, their images would have been so popular during a time when Persian invaders were attempting to conquer Greece. What is probable is that in addition to evoking the “uncouth” behavior of foreigners, the compound satyr figure also represented the animalistic behavior of drunk Greeks. After all, Greeks distinguished themselves from non-Greeks by the custom of mixing wine with water—a practice not shared by foreigners or satyrs (M. N. Pareja-Cummings, personal communication, May 12, 2021)

Rationalized Violence. Military conflicts were prevalent around 475 BC (Table 10, Appendix D), forcing citizens to adapt to increased violence introduced to their society from the outside. The satyr’s mischievous aggression against maenads might have represented the “civilizing” of violence into a milder form more palatable to Greek culture. As already noted, Kerényi argues that the satyrs’ violence was paradoxical anyway since Dionysos was purported to be a peace-loving god (2004, 1). She offers this contradiction as the reason the representation of satyrs shifted from wildness to domestication (Kerényi 2004, 16).

While Greek citizens would have been concerned about the political events of their time and would have occasionally discussed political topics at their symposia, it seems farfetched to imagine that when *symposiasts* or drinking contestants viewed a dancing, drinking satyr painted on a wine vessel that they would have thought of the Persian Invasion(s) or the Peloponnesian

War. Given the festive entertaining content associated with symposia and Dionysian festivals, it is more probable they would have perceived the satyr figure as representing the behaviors associated with drinking and parties.

Abundance / Virility. Symbols of abundance are very common in ancient societies. It is possible that the satyr might have symbolized fruitfulness, particularly because of the association of Dionysos with the grape harvest. The Dionysian festivals occurred in the winter months following the harvest, as well as in the spring before planting. The satyr's own characteristics of being wild, bestial, and ithyphallic are consistent with the idea of virility. Dionysos was honored as the god of fertility in addition to wine, and the deity was increasingly celebrated through Dionysian festivals which included phallic parades. While certainly the satyr was an overtly sexual being, his lustful aggression and large phallus made him a negative role model for Greeks who believed in moderation in all things.

Dionysian Drama or Narrative. Since primary elements in the Dionysian festivals popular in this period were theatrical productions featuring satyrs, those painted on vases may have been designed to evoke the human actors playing the roles of satyrs or the enjoyment of these plays. The satyr was a fun, comedic character, however, only a few examples of vase paintings that show figures wearing satyr masks are documented. If it were an actor rather than the "real" satyr that was increasingly popular in the public consciousness, then presumably there would be far more existing vases depicting satyr-masked actors. A related explanation for the frequent depiction of satyrs on wine vessels could be that the satyr was a popular "bad boy" in Greek culture. The satyr represented parties and sexual exploits, making it a logical choice for wine vessels. Perhaps both domestic and foreign consumers simply liked the image, and their demand for this popular figure resulted in an increased supply of wine vessels painted with this

imagery. Nevertheless, a question remains regarding the satyr's greater frequency relative to other images.

If the presence of satyrs on vases stems in part from their popularity as ancient “party animals,” then imagery depicting other reveling characters should be briefly examined. *Komasts*, human revelers in a drunken procession associated with various types of festivities such as weddings and city Dionysia festivals, are also painted on vases. One example of a wine vessel with these revelers is a terracotta black-figure kylix by the KX Painter, ca. 580-570 BC, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art depicting three dancing *komasts* (Metropolitan 22.139.22; BAPD 30023). One might question if *komasts* are also fun “bad boys” (or also carry a symbolic warning against immoderation). I contend that their identity as human figures without broader cultural connotations renders them less suitable for symbolic purposes than satyrs. Also, a search of *komast* images in the BAPD revealed that they are not depicted as often on kraters and cups as satyrs.

Maenads, who are also frequently depicted with Dionysos on wine vessels, warrant a mention. Maenads drink and get drunk, and appear to be the female version of satyrs: negative role models whose behavior met disapproval under Greek moral standards. Maenads, however, are not comedic or bestial, but rather strong, successful women (McNally 1978, 131) who can defend themselves against sexual aggressors. They also represent liberated women enjoying the ecstasies of Dionysos. Perhaps inspired by maenads, Greek females did become very involved in cult activities. The maenad, therefore, is less likely choice than the satyr to carry a warning message against immoderation.

Immoderation. This interpretation is, in my opinion, the one best-supported by both the historical and archaeological information presented in this paper. The Dionysian cult popularized

and grew to dominate four months of the Athenian calendar. Drinking parties (symposia) were already popular, but cult activity likely increased the incidence of drinking and drunkenness in the general population as well. The great popularity of the wine god motivated the construction of temples to Dionysos in Athens, which in turn expanded cult activity in the city. The significant increase in the popularity of satyr imagery at the beginning of the Classical period may be linked to the building of the first Dionysian sanctuary in Athens in 530 BC (Dinsmoor and Spiers 1950, 120). Similarly, the 13% jump in kraters with satyrs around median date 350 BC may correspond to the construction of the second Dionysian sanctuary in Athens in that year (Travlos 1971, 537-539). The slightly later peak in satyr imagery on cups than on kraters may be tied to the democratization of drinking rituals to include the common people that occurred at the end of the Archaic period (Lynch 2014, 241). This archaeological data bolsters my contention that cult activities impacted iconographical choices for wine vessels, specifically the prevalence of satyr imagery.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

According to Geertz (1973), core symbols are surface manifestations of a culture's beliefs and ideological principles and serve to strengthen the social structure of a group by reinforcing underlying values (142). The positioning of the satyr image on wine vessels may have functioned as a comprehensible reminder of the Greek distinction between "civilized" Greek behavior, and "uncivilized" ("barbarian") behavior. The satyr image on kraters and cups warned against allowing oneself to descend into a level of intoxication unbecoming for a "true" Greek. The message of the satyr image could have made it a less popular iconographic choice for cups, however. Concern over increased drunkenness may have been the motivation for artists to harness and adapt the familiar satyr symbol for this symbolic purpose.

A symbol stores meaning and communicates an understanding of the world by linking aesthetics and ethos or morality. Ross's social control theory of art allows us to understand that by portraying satyrs with brutish faces, snub noses, horse ears, horse tails, and horsehair—a deviation from the Greek ideal of beauty, and by painting them engaging in hedonistic, mischievous, and sexually aggressive activities—a deviation from the Greek ideal of moderation (Bagg 1973, 6), vase artists imbued the satyr image with moral significance. When wine vessels with satyr imagery were used, the individuals mixing and drinking wine would associate the immoderate satyr figure with the idea that overconsumption of wine is a recipe for barbarism. This association with "uncivilized" excess may have been desirable as a remedy for the social disruption occurring in the time of transition between the Archaic and Classical periods. Indeed, painting satyr imagery on wine vessels accomplished what Ross (1897) considered the social purpose of art: "taming man" (64).

Greek philosophy offers catharsis as the explanation for how the depiction of wild satyrs on wine vessels promoted this taming of humankind. In the Aristotelian model, seeing satyrs behaving badly gave symposiasts the opportunity to rid themselves of dangerous passions by vicariously experiencing sexual and alcoholic excesses through the iconography. Aristotle argues that intemperance was equivalent to unrestrained animality, thus viewing the satyr's bestial aesthetic communicated the idea of moral ugliness as per Ross' theory. In the Platonic model, wine drinking (or more accurately, intoxication) provided a cathartic release of anti-rational emotions and desires. Because by around 560 BC the satyr had come to symbolize inappropriate and unacceptable conduct by drunken males that should not be tolerated (Padgett 2003, 36), viewing satyr imagery would have reminded imbibers to regain self-control and civility.

Modern symbolic anthropology contributes a framework for understanding the function of satyr imagery in ritual contexts. The symposium, for example, gave power to symbols through a rich sensory experience (Geertz 1973) that included the taste of food and wine, the smell of incense, the sound of music, and the sight of a ritually decorated and arranged room (Fig. 4). The visual stimulus of a painted satyr engaging in crass behavior evoked associations of unscrupulousness derived from the group's shared religious and dramatic narratives concerning the creature. According to Cornelia Isler Kerényi (2004), satyr scenes were intended to "prompt the participants of symposia to remember and recount stories about satyrs and, even, to compare themselves with satyrs" (4). The satyr is a figure clearly linked to what Turner labels an emotional nucleus (impulse, desire, appetite), as well as to a normative nucleus (1975, 156) because of the character's unsavory reputation. In the communal setting of the symposium ritual, seeing the satyr symbol on kraters and cups would have prompted participants to consider its meaning of immoderate excess and together reach the normative conclusion that the cultural

value of moderation and self-control should be maintained—even if that were not what they ultimately desired to do or successfully did.

Within the symposium context, where the krater was central in placement and importance, the satyr image may have played a starring role in a social drama as conceived of by Victor Turner. Indeed, the symposium itself may be understood through his model of four acts: breach, crisis, redressive action, and reintegration (1980, 149). The “breach” was a mild normative departure from moderate social use of alcohol by the party guests. The intoxication of each individual would have eventually progressed to a “crisis” of drunkenness in conflict with the accepted cultural norm of moderation. The “redressive action” would have occurred as the symposiasts, while in a daze of inebriation, stared at the images on the krater and their wine cups and identified themselves with the unrestrained satyrs depicted on the vessels. Finally, after cathartically purging their passions, the symposiasts would have entered the reintegration phase consisting of a return to civility. The symposium epitomized controlled wine consumption and, in that context, the male aristocratic symposiasts likely would have considered it important to maintain the status quo in which they were the trustworthy guardians of Greek culture and ideals, especially *sophrosyne*.

Within the less moderated context of the Dionysian festival, the satyr image may have been relegated to a mere supporting role in any social drama. The festivals were democratized events held outdoors where there was no need for kraters on tables or the other elaborate accoutrements of the symposium. More importantly, the festivals were characterized by a ritual inversion of social norms and the freedom from behavioral restraints. Women and enslaved persons could drink together with male citizens, commoners were encouraged to yell insults at politicians, and prominent people were obligated to serve the community rather than be served.

This upending of normal social strata was perhaps a greater “breach” requiring “redressive action” than drunkenness, rendering the message of the satyr image less vital. Persons excluded from symposia, but who were included in the enjoyable drinking opportunities afforded by Dionysian festivals, may have been less inclined to promote moderation and accordingly also less interested in purchasing cups with satyr images. This is a possible explanation for the lower frequency of satyrs on cups than on kraters.

The analysis of krater and cup data, supported by an historical overview of the role of the satyr in ancient Greek culture, lends credence to my argument that the Dionysiac Cult and its associated excesses may have created a normative challenge that induced an impetus within Athenian society to curb uncivil immoderation. Increased separation of the satyr image from the Dionysian retinue at the end of the Archaic period may have freed the figure somewhat from traditional religious associations and allowed it to develop new significance. The aforementioned challenge stemmed from the archaeologically documented (Lynch 2014, 241-244; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011) alcoholic excesses (Figure 8) tied to the increased popularity of cult activities. In the fifth century, alcohol consumption progressively escaped the social restraints of family meals, symposia, and reasonable worship and broke into the public square in an excessive, orgiastic form (Barrenegos 2019, 16). Wine drinking (and by extension, the wine vessel) had traditionally been a symbol of Greek civilization (Lissarrague and Szegdy-Maszak 2017, 7). Vessels, particularly the krater, which was used to dilute wine, communicated that the Greeks drank the appropriate proportion and quantity of wine befitting a “civilized” people. The increased placement of satyrs on wine vessels in the late Archaic and early Classical periods reminded the *polis* of their civilized identity by reinforcing their traditional value of moderation.

In this thesis, I collected and analyzed artifact data pertaining to satyr imagery on ancient Greek wine vessels over a 300-year span, and presented statistical support for my argument that there was an increase in the frequency satyr imagery on kraters, and to a lesser degree on cups, at the end of the Archaic period and beginning of the Classical period. I further demonstrated that despite the satyr's strong traditional association with Dionysos, the satyr began to appear more frequently without Dionysos on kraters and cups during that same transitional time between historical periods. After documenting an extensive historical review of the satyr image and ritual drinking contexts in Greek culture, I proposed that the satyr symbolized bestiality and immoderation in contradiction to Greek ideals for physical appearance and behavior. I argue that the satyr's identity as hybrid beast-human creature made it an ideal vehicle to communicate the danger excessive wine consumption posed to Greek "civility" when painted on kraters and cups, particularly when depicted independent of Dionysos. The application of theories from the field of symbolic anthropology, as well as the consideration of contemporaneous Greek philosophical idea of catharsis, strengthen my core argument that the symbolic power of satyr images derived from the multi-sensory, communal nature of the ritual events in which kraters and cups were utilized. My research contributes to classical archaeology an expanded interpretation of a common iconographic subject. In addition, this thesis paves the way for future symbolic study of Dionysos-related iconographic subjects, such as the maenad or thyrsos.

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APPENDIX A

Table 4. *Dates pertinent to Dionysiac Cult*

DIONYSIAC CULT TIMELINE				
Centuries BC	Half Century BC	Archaeological/Historical/literary evidence	Evidence for Worship=X, Peak in percentage satyrs= ^, Apex in percentage satyrs= *	Evidence against Worship
800-700		Works of Homer. "In Homer, Dionysos is not yet an Olympian" (Harrison 1991, 365). There is one exception believed to have been added at a later time by a local poet (Harrison 1991, 367)		X
600-500	600-550	1) Tyrant Cleisthenes shifts choruses from Adrastus to Dionysos from 575 to 573 (McGregor 1941, 282) 2) Earliest vase depiction of Dionysos as an Olympian god dates to early 6th century (Harrison 1991, 365) 3) Dionysos depicted on kylix signed by potter Euxitheos and dated approximately to 500 BC. Other works of the period did not include Dionysos among the 12 Olympians, suggesting his position as a god was not firmly established 4) Archaeological evidence dates the first ruin of the Dionysian sanctuary to approximately the 6th century 5) Clay tablet from the potters' quarter of Athens shows Amphiktyon feasting Dionysos along with other gods (Kerenyi 1976, 143)	X X X X X	
600-500	550-500	1) Historical evidence suggests that the Sanctuary of Dionysos was built in 530 BC during the lifetime of Thespis (Dinsmoor and Spiers 1950, 120). 2) Proliferation of wine drinking cups (Lynch 2014, 244) 3) Ruling family, Peisistratids (546-510 BC), promoted worship of Dionysos with festivals and public theater performances (Aggelakou 2015, 25)	X X X Krater ^	
500-400	500-450	Evidence for problematic binge drinking based on scenes of vomiters on Greek vases dating ca. 570	X Cup *	
500-400	450-400	1) Artistic depiction of the "Hero Feast," which includes a reclining hero, namely the feasting god Dionysos. "It may be conjectured that this type, which does not appear	X	X (no evidence for

		<p>till late in the 5th century, came in with the worship of Dionysos" (Harrison 1991, 362)</p> <p>2) On the Parthenon frieze, Dionysos is one of the seated gods</p> <p>3) According to Herodotus, when Xerxes marched through Thrace, the Satrae tribe had an oracle shrine of Dionysos in the mountains. His account does not indicate that any other sea tribes worshipped Dionysos</p> <p>4) Herodotus' <i>Histories</i>, published in 430 BC, mentions that Melampus introduced Dionysos as a god to the Greeks and that he learned the worship of Dionysos.</p> <p>5) Aristophanes wrote <i>The Archanians</i> (425 BC), which parodies the rural Dionysia.</p>	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>	widespread worship in Athens or Southern Greece)
400-300	400-350	Athenian historian Phanodemus (born circa 374/373 BC) wrote about the Dionysian festivals. His account is recorded in <i>Athenaios' Deipnosophistae</i> .	<p>X</p> <p>Krater *</p>	
400-300	350-300	<p>1) Peiraeus Hero-Relief in National Museum at Athens with an inscription of "Dionysos" under depiction of youth, believed to be no earlier than 300 BC; Represents honor but not worship</p> <p>2) Second ruin of the Sanctuary of Dionysos believed to date to approximately 350 BC</p>	<p>X</p>	X
300-200				
200-100	200-150	Worship of Dionysos prohibited around 186 BC (Rousselle 1987, 193)	X	
200-100	150-100			X

APPENDIX B

Beazley Archive Pottery Database details:

Each **Object Record** in the BAPD contains some or all of the following information:

- Vase number
- Fabric (region of manufacture such as Athenian)
- Technique (black-figure or red-figure style)
- Shape name (krater, kylix, etc.)
- Provenance (discovery location)
- Date (approximate date range of when object was manufactured)
- Attributed to (painter and/or potter, if known)
- Decoration (description of vase painting including iconography)
- Collections, Publications, and Database Records, (current collection, previous collections, relevant scholarly publications, database links such as LIMC number and image)

Basic search includes the categories listed below:

- Shape
- Technique
- Sub Technique (more specific techniques such as white-ground or silhouette-style)
- Painter or Potter
- Inscription
- Subject (Satyr, Dionysos)
- Collection (Museum location or other repository)
- Date (organized in set ranges)

Faceted search includes the above listed categories of the simple search with the following additions:

- Inscription Type
- Artist Name
- Scholar Name (Individual who identified vase)
- Decoration Termword (Iconographical subject)
- Collection Name
- Number (Vase number)
- Publication Name (Scholarly references)
- Reference (more detailed publication search including page numbers, plates, volume-numbers, and years of periodicals)
- Miscellaneous (Beazley's List Y/N, With Images Y/N)

The “basic” search function facilitated my collection of the numbers of vessels with one subject in various date ranges, whereas the “faceted” search was necessary to identify vases with two subjects, i.e. satyrs and Dionysos.

APPENDIX C

Raw Artifact Data

Although the research focus is on satyrs painted on kraters and cups, it should be noted that mold-made figure vases with janiform satyr heads also existed. In the BAPD, I located 28 examples (Table 5). Of these, all were classified as “kantharos” or “figure vase,” and for that reason fell outside the scope of this study. Of the 22 dated vases, 12 (55%) fell into the 500-450 date range—the time of transition between the Archaic and Classical periods when satyr iconography was on the rise in kraters and cups. As imbibers drained the wine from these figure cups, the ceramic mold could have mimicked a satyr mask.

Table 5. *Satyr Janiform Vases by date range*

BAPD #	Date Range (BC)	Style	Vase shape
4487		Red-Figure	Figure Vase
10160	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
10335	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
10782	400-300	Red-Figure	Figure Vase
13226	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
202764	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218423	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218424	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218428	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218433	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218594		Red-Figure	Kantharos
218595	475-425	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218596		Red-Figure	Kantharos
218597		Red-Figure	Kantharos
218598	475-425	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218600	475-425	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218601	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218602		Red-Figure	Kantharos
218603		Red-Figure	Kantharos
218604	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218605	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218642	500-450	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218690	450-400	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218697	450-400	Red-Figure	Kantharos
218698	425-375	Red-Figure	Kantharos
231203	400-300	Black-Figure	Kantharos
231204	400-300	Black-Figure	Kantharos
231205	400-300	Black-Figure	Kantharos

Table 6. Numerical count of kraters per date range and by attribute category.

Dates (BC) in BAPD ranges	All Kraters	All Kraters with Singular Satyr	All Kraters with Multiple Satyrs	All Kraters with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs	All Kraters with Single Satyr and Dionysos	All Kraters with Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos	All Kraters with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos
600-550	104	0	3	3	0	2	2
575-525	307	6	13	19	2	10	12
550-500	465	32	58	90	27	54	81
525-475	603	48	55	103	25	41	66
500-450	1413	136	128	264	57	55	112
475-425	1643	171	110	281	81	41	122
450-400	1237	116	82	198	48	35	83
425-375	980	87	70	157	26	37	63
400-300	1839	261	279	540	126	113	239
Total dated	8616	857	798	1655	392	388	780
Total all	11053	903	809	1712	403	393	796

Table 7. Numerical count of cups per date range and by attribute category.

Dates (BC) in BAPD ranges	All Cups	All Cups with Singular Satyr	All Cups with Multiple Satyrs	All Cups with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs	All Cups with Singular Satyr and Dionysos	All Cups with Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos	All Cups with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos
600-550	346	4	3	7	1	1	2
575-525	2948	94	83	177	18	29	47
550-500	5404	417	298	715	119	130	249
525-475	5998	716	303	1019	137	126	263
500-450	6331	285	148	433	64	56	120
475-425	3859	196	96	292	14	15	29
450-400	1603	73	47	120	11	10	21
425-375	621	54	5	59	4	3	7
400-300	772	72	11	83	11	6	17
Total dated	27985	1911	994	2905	379	376	755
Total all	30943	1941	1000	2941	383	380	763

Table 8. *Krater Data by Time Period with Percentages*

Kraters by Time Period							
ARCHAIC							
Dates (BC) in BAPD ranges	All Kraters	All Kraters with Singular Satyr	All Kraters with Multiple Satyrs	All Kraters with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs	All Kraters with Singular Satyr and Dionysos	All Kraters with Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos	All Kraters with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos
600-550	104	0	3	3	0	2	2
575-525	307	6	13	19	2	10	12
550-500	465	32	58	90	27	54	81
525-475	603	48	55	103	25	41	66
500-450	1413	136	128	264	57	55	112
Total	2892	222	257	479	111	162	273
Percentage of Total		8%	9%	17%	4%	6%	9%
CLASSICAL							
Dates (BC) in BAPD ranges	All Kraters	All Kraters with Singular Satyr	All Kraters with Multiple Satyrs	All Kraters with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs	All Kraters with Singular Satyr and Dionysos	All Kraters with Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos	All Kraters with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos
500-450	1413	136	128	264	57	55	112
475-425	1643	171	110	281	81	41	122
450-400	1237	116	82	198	48	35	83
425-375	980	87	70	157	26	37	63
400-300	1839	261	279	540	126	113	239
Total	7112	771	669	1440	338	281	619
Percentage of Total		11%	9%	20%	5%	4%	9%

Table 9. *Cup Data by Time Period with Percentages*

Cups (Cups) by Time Period							
ARCHAIC							
Dates (BC) in BAPD ranges	All Cups	All Cups with Singular Satyr	All Cups with Multiple Satyrs	All Cups with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs	All Cups with Singular Satyr and Dionysos	All Cups with Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos	All Cups with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos
600-550	346	4	3	7	1	1	2
575-525	2948	94	83	177	18	29	47
550-500	5404	417	298	715	119	130	249
525-475	5998	716	303	1019	137	126	263
500-450	6331	285	148	433	64	56	120
Total	21027	1516	835	2351	339	342	681
Percentage of Total		7%	4%	11%	2%	2%	3%

CLASSICAL		All Cups with Singular Satyr	All Cups with Multiple Satyrs	All Cups with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs	All Cups with Singular Satyr and Dionysos	All Cups with Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos	All Cups with Singular Satyr or Multiple Satyrs and Dionysos
500-450	6331	285	148	433	64	56	120
475-425	3859	196	96	292	14	15	29
450-400	1603	73	47	120	11	10	21
425-375	621	54	5	59	4	3	7
400-300	772	72	11	83	11	6	17
Total	13186	680	307	987	104	90	194
Percentage of Total		5%	2%	7%	1%	1%	1%

APPENDIX D

Table 10. *Greek Military Conflicts by date*

Dates (BC)	Major Invasions & Wars
592-590	Persian Seizure of Ephesus
492-490	1st Persian Invasion (Darius the I); Greeks defeated Persians
480-479	2nd Persian Invasion (Xerxes); Greeks prevailed
460-445	1st Peloponnesian War
431-404	2nd Peloponnesian War
395-386	Corinthian War vs. Sparta
334-330	Battles vs. Persians: Granicus (334) Issus (333) Gaugamela & Uxian Defile (331) Persian Gate (330)
331-310	Battles vs. Foreigners: Pandosia (331) Jaxartes (329) Hydaspes (326) White Tunis (310)