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The Phenomenon of Mass Madness in Bacchae by Euripides

Scientists started studying masses, mass behaviour, and mass state of consciousness, including mass madness, in the 19th c. However, Euripides seems to have studied this phenomenon back in the 5th c. BC, as he shows extremely precise and deep knowledge of the problem in his works. We believe that mass madness is best described in his Bacchae, where Dionysian mania deliberately or accidentally spans almost a whole city, making people to behave in a similar manner. All female residents of Thebes suddenly go mad, abandon their homes and rush to Mount Cithaeron. It is Dionysus, who leads to the change of consciousness in the city – mass madness – by sending them \( \mu \alpha \nu \iota \alpha \). Cadmus and blind prophet Tiresias try to join the mad women and Pentheus wants to curb madness in the city. Despite Pentheus' resistance, he too dresses like mad women and repeats their movements. At the end of the tragedy, Pentheus is torn apart by Theban women, including his mother Agave.

In this study, we will try to show Euripides' knowledge of masses, mass behaviour, and mass madness. The issues we study are as follows: What makes the story of the Bacchae a mass phenomenon? What is the mechanism that determines similar and co-ordinated actions of numerous people? How close is the story described by Euripides in the tragedy to real behaviour of masses?

At the beginning, we will consider the events that unfolded in Thebes in the light of factors determining their massive scale. As noted above, Dionysian mania reaches all female residents of Thebes (32-39, 218-219, 701-702). One of the factors determining massive scale is a high number of people.
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High numbers and collective actions are among the most important features of Dionysian mania. It is a whole group that find themselves in such a condition, not a single person. Neither Dionysus nor the followers of his cult are alone in the myth.¹

Dionysus is surrounded by mad women (nurses) in the very first written source – Homer's *Iliad* (VI, 132-133). In vase paintings, Dionysus is often depicted together with nymphs, Silenus, Satyrs, and Pan.² Dionysian madness conquers whole cities. Let us recall Proetus' three daughters, whom Dionysus drew mad, and the mad women of Argos (Apollod., 2. 2. 2; Hes., *fr.* 20). In Euripides' *Bacchae*, all female residents of Thebes are mad. In his *Description of Greece*, Pausanias describes how the city was spanned by the mania (7.21).

Female servants of the Dionysian cult were united in groups, worshipping Dionysus together in a state of mania. This ritual unity of Maenads was called Thiasus. In the *Bacchae*, Theban females form three Thiasuses (680).

The tragedy says that Lydian Maenads also formed a thiasus (75, 115, 136). Thiasus as an ancient union is known from other sources too. Aristophanes mentions it as a unity of those who have taken communion in mysteries (*Ran.*, 15-66, 327), as well as Plutarch, who describes marches of Thiades³ to Parnassus (*De Primo Frigido*, 18. 953 D). Herodotus (4. 79) and Demosthenes (18. 260) are also familiar with Thiasus.⁴

It is noteworthy that we encounter incarnated μανία with Pausanias and Quintus of Smyrna. Pausanias is the first to mention Μανίαι as the goddesses of madness in his *Description of Greece* (8. 34. 1). According to Pausanias, it was they who drew Orestes mad, because he killed his mother. Quintus of Smyrna also refers to Manias as goddesses (5. 451 ff.).⁵ It seems that goddesses of mania – Μανίαι – emerge as “madness” is becoming personified. In both sources available, we encounter Μανίαι in plural, which, in our opinion, serves to reflect plurality of Dionysian

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³  Thiades (ἳ θιαΐ, δώκες) like Maenads and Bacchae are names of women worshipping Dionysus (Liddell H. G., Scott R., 1961).
⁵  Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike, Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte, 7, Stuttgart 1999.
madness in the name of personified goddesses. However, plurality alone does not determine massive scale, as masses are shaped by mass consciousness and behaviour together with high numbers of people.

What is the consciousness of the Bacchae like? Viewers/readers learn the story of Theban Bacchae mainly from others. Dionysus, Pentheus, and Pentheus' servant and messenger tell the story of their behaviour and sentiments (23-26, 217-225, 444-446, 664-665, 680-769). The cognitive process of mad women is not described in the tragedy. Correspondingly, it is possible to judge about the consciousness of Theban Bacchae on the basis of information on their actions and sentiments. Judging by the story told by the aforementioned heroes, the consciousness of Theban Bacchae seems to be spontaneous and badly structured.

The maniacal state seemingly emerges in women by itself. In Thebes, all women are suddenly and simultaneously grasped by a mania and without any reason too. Their consciousness is changed. Agave is the queen of Thebes, and Ino and Autonoe are her sisters, but none of them can recall their origin. Even when Agave looks at Pentheus, who is doomed to die, she is unable to recall that she is his mother (1120-1124; 1124-1131). All Theban women have left their homes and forgotten their families. Their personal features are annihilated. All women regard themselves only as worshippers of Dionysus (1079-1081, 1106-1109). Time does not matter for the Bacchae. They spend days and nights on Mount Cithaeron and they do not think about either the past or the future (32-39, 217-224, 680-713). Their actions aimed at achieving a goal that has emerged unexpectedly are spontaneous and thoughtless. From time to time, they become very aggressive. No individual consciousness can be seen in this group of women and all of them seem to think and act in the same manner (32-39, 217-224, 680-764 ff.). Just one yell is sufficient to direct the action of the whole group. The messenger speaks about how Agave called on the women to tear shepherds apart and how the Bacchae immediately

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6 Although Agave is a heroine of the tragedy, she appears in the scene only at the end (Eur., Bacch., 1166-1392), when the action women staged for Dionysus has ended. Agave gradually comes to senses during her conversation with Cadmus. Therefore, this conversation is more important for considering the process of coming to senses rather than the cognitive process under way in a human being in the state of madness (Eur., Bacch. 1166-1258).

7 "Therefore I have goaded them from the house in frenzy, and they dwell in the mountains, out of their wits" (translated by Buckley T. A., 32-33) – Dionysus says. "The women have left our homes in contrived Bacchic rites." (translated by Buckley T. A., 217-218) – Pentheus says.
started chasing them (731-735). It is Agave again that leads the Bacchae, who tear Pentheus apart (1105-1136). However, neither the leaders nor members of the thiasus act on the basis of their decisions. It is Dionysus, who directs them (32-39, 1077-1082, 1087-1135). The Bacchae attack villages, kidnapping children (754, 757-760), and tear apart cattle (735-745, 747-748) and Pentheus (1106-1109, 1110, 1125-1138, 1196, 1237, 1278) with bare hands. Cognitive processes are in disorder with the Bacchae and they suffer from hallucinations. What they do with Pentheus is precisely due to their hallucinations (1100-1125). Their attitude towards their own personalities is also changed (their attitude towards the surrounding world is unclear) (1105-1108, 1202-1210). Being mad, Agave is proud of what she has done – killed “the lion cub” (1170-1199, 1202-1209). This emotion is replaced by sorrow and sadness, when she comes to her senses (1282, 1381-1387).

The maniacal state of Theban Bacchae that emerges unexpectedly, their disturbed cognitive processes, altered consciousness and attitude towards their own personalities, no regard to time, spontaneous and thoughtless actions aimed at achieving goals that emerge suddenly and actions that sometimes become aggressive and destructive point to the fact that their consciousness is spontaneous and badly structured.

Mass consciousness is precisely a spontaneous and badly structured public consciousness, which unites people with common sentiments. In such cases, the emotional state is more important than any other factor. A mob is directed by one sentiment and though the composition is heterogeneous, the mob becomes one organism and acts as a unit.

According to the tragedy, all Theban women are united in three

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8 Consciousness has its own structure, consisting of various parts: 1. Cognitive processes (perception, thinking, memory, sentiments). They serve as a basis for the collection of information about the surrounding world; 2. Self-consciousness, self-cognition, and self-assessment: Consciousness differentiates between subject and object, comparing subject with the surrounding world; 3. Attitude (emotions, sentiments) towards one’s own personality and the surrounding world; 4. Creativeness: by means of thinking, imagination, and intuition, consciousness creates new images and concepts; 5. Time map: Memory keeps images of the past and creates imaginative models for the future; 6. Formation of aims for action. Consciousness sets goals on the basis of people’s needs and directs actions towards achieving them. Each of these parts of the structure is responsible for a specific function (Щербатых Ю. В., Общая психология, Санкт-Петербург: Питер 2008, 180-190).

thiasuses irrespective of their age or social status – the young and old, maidens and the married (694). The emotional state that unites this heterogeneous group is their maniacal condition.

The Theban women, who are in a maniacal condition sleep and wake up together (689-690), united in three groups, they wander among pine trees on Mount Cithaeron (32-39, 218-219, 701-702), dance together in a circle (21, 63, 220, 1143, etc.), call Dionysus together (116, 164, 689, 986), attack villages and kidnap children (754, 757-760), attack cattle and tear them apart (735-745, 747-748), capture Pentheus and tear him apart too (1106-1109, 1110, 1125-1138, 1196, 1237, 1278).

What is the reason for such similar and co-ordinated actions by Theban women? As a rule, the freedom of individual behaviour in a mob is directly or indirectly determined by the influence of other people or circumstances. Behaviour becomes irrational and spontaneous in this process. A large group of people act in a similar and quite strange manner precisely during mass spontaneous actions.10

According to various theories of mob psychology, various mechanisms determine the behaviour of a mob.11 Psychologists now identify three mechanisms of mob behaviour: Contagion, suggestibility, and imitation. Relations between an individual and a mob are so complicated that such behaviour cannot be explained on the basis of only one psychological mechanism. In most cases, all three mechanisms are active in mass spontaneous actions, one of them being the leading mechanism.12

The Bacchae shows all three mechanisms in action. We believe that the behaviour of the Bacchae is determined by contagion, while suggestibility and imitation dominate the behaviour of other heroes. Pentheus, Cadmus, and Tiresias join the women in their frenzy. Pentheus acts under the suggestibility of Dionysus, but Cadmus and Tiresias make a sensible

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decision to imitate the women seized by the Bacchic mania in appearance and actions.

What is the mechanism of contagion? Contagion is the process of transmission of an emotional state from one individual to another. The force of contagion depends on an individual's readiness to become “infected” with the sentiments of a mob and the degree of his consent (conscious or unconscious) to imitate them. The emotional state of an agitated mob is transmitted to new individuals, making them involved in a spontaneous action even without taking into account their conscious desires.\textsuperscript{13} Ch. Thumiger compares the spread of \textit{μανία} among Theban women with the story of the spread of the plague in Athens described in \textit{History} by Thucydides (2. 47. 3 – 54. 5).\textsuperscript{14} M. P. Nilsson terms real services of the Dionysian cult in Greece as a religious epidemic.\textsuperscript{15}

In the \textit{Bacchae}, the Dionysian mania indeed spreads like an epidemic to all women in Thebes. Contagion is the mechanism that makes all women act in a coordinated manner without any conscious agreement. They suddenly leave their homes without thinking or asking any questions and become involved in Bacchic hilarity (32-33, 217-218). Dancing (21, 63, 220, 1143, and so forth), ravaging of villages (754, 757-760), and kidnapping of children are not described in the tragedy. Episodes of tearing apart cattle (735-745, 747-748) and Pentheus (1125-1133) are described more or less fully. However, only the episode, in which Pentheus is torn apart, provides the opportunity to analyse mechanisms of behaviour. In our opinion, together with contagion, suggestibility and imitation determine the killing of Pentheus.

Dionysus incites women to kill Pentheus (1079-1081).\textsuperscript{16} His voice arouses women and they follow his words. It is Agave, who starts tearing Pentheus. It is she, who tears off her son's left arm. Seeing this, Ino tears off the right arm. Autonoe and other Bacchae then attack the king and tear


\textsuperscript{14} Thumiger Ch., Hidden Paths, Self and Characterization in Greek Tragedy: Euripides, \textit{Bacchae}, BICS Supplement 99, London 2007, 87-93.


\textsuperscript{16} “Young women, I bring the one who has made you and me and my rites a laughing-stock. Now punish him!” (translated Buckley T. A., 1079-1081) - Dionysus urged Bacchae.
him into pieces (1125-1133). The women imitate Agave and repeat her actions, because grounds have already been prepared: All of them are in one emotional state, being “infected” by the mania. The ability to imitate becomes more active in a convenient situation. It becomes a must and imitation assumes the function of the main mechanism of behaviour for some time. It is possible to unconsciously repeat another person's actions when a person's individual consciousness is at a low level. The Bacchae have no individuality. All women are in one emotional state, acting on the basis of one sentiment. They are ready to accept the sentiments that emerge in their union, because the mechanism of contagion is already working. Aggressive sentiments also spread on them immediately. The Bacchae start repeating actions by group members, shaping a mass of people, who imitate each other's actions. However, imitation, as well as suggestibility, is not the main mechanism for the actions of the Bacchae.

As noted above, it is contagion that causes the processes under way among the Bacchae and, depending on a situation, different mechanisms become active in the process. We consider the mechanisms of suggestibility and imitation regarding to Pentheus, Cadmus, and Tiresias.

How does the suggestibility mechanism work? Suggestibility is a psychological device that implies influencing people with verbal or non-verbal means, giving rise to certain sentiments and emotional states in them and shaping various views. Both a mob itself and external factors can influence people through suggestibility, but a suggestor is needed to make suggestibility efficient. The tragedy presents Dionysus as the suggestor. Pentheus conscientiously opposes the actions of the women on Mount Cithaeron, but Dionysus manages to dress him like a follower of Bacchus, dance like one, and take the path that will definitely lead him to death (821-846, 930-931, 918-944). The contagion of an emotion is a secondary factor in this case. Suggestibility is the other mechanism that motivates Pentheus to become involved in mass frenzy.

The process of suggestibility starts with one question: Dionysus asks whether the king of Thebes would like to see the group of Bacchae on Mount Cithaeron. This question puts pressure on Pentheus' weak point,

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17 A convenient situation may imply an encounter with a small group that is in a similar emotional state or is ready to share an individual’s sentiments. In the tragedy, women are ready to share Agave’s emotional state and behaviour.


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using this in his own favour. Pentheus' weakness lies in his secret strong desire to spy upon the Bacchae (812, 820).

To do what the king wants, Dionysus suggests that he put on the clothes of Bacchae. The readiness of Pentheus to accept the suggestion is so high that Dionysus does not need to put much effort to achieve his goal. Readiness to accept a suggestion is a necessary factor like in case of contagion.\(^\text{20}\) Pentheus accepts almost without any resistance the proposal to see the Bacchae on Cithaeron. He hesitates only on two occasions. Shame (αἰδώς) seems to bother him: “In what clothing? Female? But shame holds me back” (transl. Buckley T. A., 828). However, the feeling is not so strong as to prevent him from changing his behaviour. The only question asked by Dionysus – “Are you no longer eager to view the maenads?” (transl. Buckley T. A., 829) – dispels his concern. Later, Pentheus says once more: “I could not put on a woman's dress” (transl. Buckley T. A., 836), but Dionysus reminds him of bloodshed: “But you will shed blood if you join battle with the Bacchae” (transl. Buckley T. A., 837). Pentheus does not revert to this problem anymore and agrees to put on the clothes of the Bacchae, but Dionysus nevertheless changes his conscience making him mad in order to achieve his goal more easily (850-853). Pentheus, whose conscience has been changed unwillingly dances as Bacchae, shakes his head, and asks Dionysus to teach him how to hold a thyrsus like Bacchae (941-942). As a rule, unwilling behaviour of people involved in mass actions is due to the mechanism of contagion and conscious repetition of individual movements is due to imitation. It is possible to say that in case of Pentheus, all three mechanisms are involved, but suggestibility is nevertheless decisive in his behaviour.

As regards Cadmus and Tiresias, they participate in the Bacchic frenzy on their own free will and make a conscious decision to become similar to mad women. Acting in accordance with a certain model implies imitation. In our opinion, imitation, the third mechanism of mass behaviour, is in force in this case.

How does the mechanism of imitation work? Aristotle wrote about imitation: “the instinct of imitation is implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons” (translated Butcher S. H., Arist., Po., IV). Now too, imitation is believed to be one of the basic features of human mind. Psychologists believe that the phenomenon of imitation is the main mechanism of mass behaviour.

\(^{20}\) Ольшанский Д. В., 2001, 77-81, 87.
behaviour. In general, the desire to share other people's sentiments and to become involved in a common process is the basis for imitation, but there are different forms of imitation and motives are also different. In the case of Cadmus and Tiresias, imitation is a conscious action. In such cases, people imitate others in order to get some benefits. It is for this purpose that Cadmus and Tiresias imitate. Tiresias wants to gain Dionysus' benevolence (322), and Cadmus knows that his kin will be glorified, if he honours Dionysus (336). At the same time, he seems to be behaving so in order to avert punishment and urges Pentheus to join the Bacchic celebration for the same purpose (342-343).

When imitating, attention is given to the appearance and actions of the person, who is imitated, because imitators repeat what they can see, as appearance and actions are always visible. In the case of Cadmus and Tiresias, there are four elements for imitation that become outlined: thyrsus, ivy, nebris, and dancing. They hold a thyrsus, put on a nebris, decorate their heads with ivy and prepare for Bacchic dancing (174-177, 183-188, 190, 248-251, 253-254, 322-323). Thyrsus, ivy, and nebris are the main attributes of Bacchae during Dionysian rituals and dancing is one of their main actions. In the tragedy, Cadmus and Tiresias are heroes distinguished by their healthy mind. Unlike the Bacchae and Pentheus,


22 According to psychologists, human behaviour is quite economical. Independent, creative, and innovative behaviour occupies quite little time in a life. People usually perform standard automated actions in accordance with existing models. Imitation is subdivided into simple imitation, imitation of the way of life, imitation of authoritative persons, imitation due to low self-esteem, and deliberate imitation. Simple imitation is often encountered in emergency situations, where consciousness is temporarily "switched off" and people are unable to analyse the situation because of the lack of time or due to reflex activities. Imitation of the way of life is normative everyday behaviour. In this case too, people are rarely aware of what actions they perform. Imitating an authoritative person, imitators repeat the actions of an authoritative person or a referential group, whose norms they want their lives to be based on. People with low self-esteem tend to imitate anyone, just because they do not trust their own personalities. Deliberate imitation is a special case, in which people imitate others, because they want to benefit from it (Ольшанский Д. В., 2001, 81-86).


24 "May you not suffer this [Actaeon’s fate]. Come, let me crown your head with ivy; honor the god along with us.” (translated Buckley T. A., 342-343) – Cadmus tells Pentheus.
their conscience does not change. As noted above, their actions are a result of a conscious decision, so it is natural that only the mechanism of imitation is in force, when Cadmus and Tiresias become involved in mass madness.

The fact that factors of mass behaviour are fully depicted in the behaviour of the Bacchae and all three mechanisms of mass behaviour are used regarding Bacchic madness in an amazingly precise manner in the tragedy makes us draw the conclusion that Euripides had a good knowledge of mob and mob psychology and we believe that it was natural for Euripides to have the knowledge. There are numerous studies that show Euripides' good knowledge of the cult of Dionysus, which was worshiped on a massive scale. Euripides spent the last years of his life in Macedonia, where the cult of Dionysus was preserved with its initial force and cruelty. Researchers think that it was under the influence of the rituals he had seen in Macedonia that the Bacchae was written.\(^{25}\)

Euripides seems to know factors determining mass behaviour and mechanisms of joining mass behaviour not only in abstract terms. He is aware of how destructive a mob can be (the Bacchae ravage villages, kidnap children and cattle, and kill Pentheus) (754, 757-760, 735-745, 747-748, 1106-1109, 1110, 1125-1138, 1196, 1237, 1278). According to the tragedy, relations with a mob may be lethal in specific cases:

- The confrontation of an individual with a mob ends in a disaster (1125-1133);
- Involvement in mass action ends in a disaster even if the action is not consciously acceptable for a person. Agave, Ino, Autonoe, and Pentheus are punished, because the cult of Dionysus and the behaviour of Bacchae are consciously unacceptable to them, but they nevertheless become involved in the Bacchic frenzy. Pentheus dies – Agave, Ino, and Autonoe, together with other Bacchae, tear him apart (1125-1133); Agave is transformed into a Maenad, who kills her son; and when she comes to her senses, she is evicted from Thebes forever (1372-1373, 1381-1382).

However, disaster is not the only and inevitable result of relations with a mob. It is possible to survive a mob unharmed. According to the tragedy, recognition of a mob's force (Dionysian mania) expressed in a partial imitation of mass behaviour (holding a thyrsus, putting on a nebris, decorating one's head with ivy, and dancing), and the deliberate decision

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to join the mob (174-177, 183-188, 190, 248-251, 253-254, 322-323), are methods of avoiding a dangerous and destructive force: Cadmus and Tiresias followed the mob and its demands in order to use the force of the mob to their own advantage. The sensible decision to imitate the Bacchae saved Tiresias, and Cadmus would have received no punishment at all, had his kin not confronted Dionysus. The two generations after Cadmus were punished, as the behaviour of Cadmus alone could not have balanced their attitudes and behaviour. Therefore, he had to receive his share of punishment. In spite of that, according to Dionysus' prophesy, Cadmus and his wife went through much ordeal, but nevertheless found their place in lands of the blessed (1338-1339).

According to E. R. Dodds, Greece used precisely this strategy to subdue Dionysian mania. It did not confront spontaneous instances of mass hysteria, placed them in certain frameworks by means of organized Dionysian rituals, and transformed them into permitted actions, providing special time and place for them.26

26 Доддс Э. Р., Менады (Греки и Иррациональное), Санкт-Петербург 2000, 390-392.