

IS THERE LIFE AFTER MARRIAGE? A STUDY OF THE ABDUCTION MOTIF IN VASE PAINTINGS OF THE ATHENIAN WEDDING CEREMONY

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In her study for this journal¹ of the abduction motif on terracotta pinakes from Locri, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood noted the prominence of the theme of abduction in actual and mythological marriage in ancient Greece. Remarking upon the mock abduction ritual of the Spartan wedding ceremony, she conjectured that a similar rite may have been practised at Locri and other Greek states. At Athens, however, she asserted that there was no rite of abduction, although she goes on to say, "... there appear to have been included some ritual acts, which are reflected in the representational evidence, which show a close relation to the abduction procedure and may conceivably be residues of an original mock-abduction ritual ..."²

Our attention is focussed on the lifting of the bride into a chariot on a loutrophoros once in Berlin (ex Sabouroff).³ Noting the resemblance of this to certain scenes of abduction on Attic vases, Sourvinou-Inwood remarks, "What is significant here is not so much the similarity of the iconographical pattern to that of the abduction, since this may be due not to the feeling that the two acts were related, but to the similarity of action, which led to the similarity of iconographical pattern; what *is* significant is the act itself, the fact that the Athenian bride did not mount the nuptial chariot, but was lifted and deposited in it ... It is this act which can plausibly be considered a residue of a mock abduction on wedding ritual."⁴



Fig. 1. Scene of the Sabouroff loutrophoros showing a groom lifting his bride into a chariot (after Furtwängler, pl. LVIII).

The author perhaps dismisses too readily the possible significance of the similarity in iconographical pattern. It is certainly true that vase-painters working in a conservative tradition with a limited iconographical repertoire tended to compose certain subjects formulaically, and that if two actions appear similar it does not necessarily follow that they were considered so. And yet there are instances where the parallel appears to be a meaningful one. Many black-figured wedding scenes, for example, show the wedded pair mounted in a chariot accompanied by a procession of gods.⁵ It is not always easy to distinguish this type of scene from other events where the pictorial representation follows a similar pattern.⁶ The problem may be illustrated by a fine neck-amphora by Exekias in New York which, it has been tentatively suggested, shows a wedding procession.⁷ It is the "bride", however, and not the "groom" who takes the reins, and a more likely interpretation would be Athena conducting Herakles to Olympos. Beazley suggested this identification for a similarly ambiguous scene on an amphora in the British Museum, attributed by him to the Euphiletos painter.⁸

Now, it may be argued that the apotheosis of Herakles and a marriage ceremony have nothing in common, other than that they share the same pictorial convention. On the other hand, the parallel in iconographical form may be more than merely coincidental: Herakles undergoing a rite of transition from mortal to hero is an initiate like the bride, for whom the wedding ceremony marks the transition from virgin to wife. In both cases the initiate is represented in a passive, submissive role. It is, perhaps, significant that on a black-figured kylix in the British Museum Herakles is being led *χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ* like a bride.⁹

An instance of where such a parallel is exploited to dramatic effect can be found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. In his discussion of the stage action in the play Oliver Taplin¹⁰ notes that simultaneous entries are not common in Greek tragedy. Nevertheless, he argues for the simultaneous arrival of Agamemnon and Cassandra at line 783: although the Trojan princess plays no immediate part in the action, Taplin suggests that the king and his captive arrive side-by-side in the same chariot, in order that Cassandra's dumb presence should be a disquieting one. We may go further, however, for what would seem to be supremely disquieting is the fact that Agamemnon's arrival at the palace on a chariot with Cassandra by his side, and Clytemnestra waiting to greet them, corresponds pictorially with the vase-painter's formula for the arrival of the bride and groom. The position of Clytemnestra at the doorway of the house is that occupied by the groom's mother in the vase scenes of bride-fetching. In a play where the reversal and displacement of roles is central, the arrival of Agamemnon and Cassandra like a bride and groom at the door where Clytemnestra stands waiting to welcome her husband home has a blatant irony.¹¹

In the case of the parallel that bride-lifting holds with abduction scenes, Sourvinou-Inwood argues, as we have seen, that it is the act itself and not the parallel that is significant. The *act* is regarded, moreover, not as actual mock abduction ritual but as a survival of the same. It is not made clear, however, how we are meant to distinguish between the two. The pioneering Victorian anthropologist J.F. McLennan¹² regarded abduction ritual among primitive peoples as a relic of an institution, not of mock but of actual marriage by capture. McLennan referred to such residual rites as "symbols",¹³ a term which has little to do with modern anthropological usage of the word.¹⁴ Unlike Lévi-Strauss' "meaningful equivalents",¹⁵ for example, McLennan's symbols were by definition devoid of meaning. They were the fossilised *curiosae* for which another developmentalist, E.B. Tylor, in his theory of social evolution, coined the term "survivals".¹⁶ On the subject of bride-lifting, in particular, McLennan cites an instance which seems to parallel the action of the Sabouroff loutrophoros: "In north Friesland, a young fellow called the bride-lifter lifts the bride and two bridesmaids upon a wagon in which the married couple are to travel to their home."¹⁷ On the loutrophoros it is the groom himself who is doing the lifting while his driver looks on, but the two actions seem similar.

Cross-cultural parallels, however, may be more apparent than real and, in any case, McLennan's superficial treatment of comparative bride-lifting rites failed to show that they were necessarily associated with bride capture. Many of McLennan's successors preferred an alternative interpretation. They saw lifting rites and in particular the lifting over the threshold as a precaution against pollution caused by contact with the ground.¹⁸ Arnold van Gennep¹⁹ in his tripartite division of initiation ritual into rites of separation, transition and incorporation took a different view again. He argued that any ritual involving suspension above ground level constituted a rite of transition: "It is intended to show that at the moment in question the individual

does not belong either to the sacred or to the profane world; or, if he does belong to one of the two, it is desired that he be properly reincorporated into the other, and he is therefore isolated and maintained in an intermediate position, held between heaven and earth, just as the deceased on his bier or in his temporary coffin is suspended between life and true death.”²⁰

We shall return to this parallel between marriage and funerary rites, but what this early anthropological disagreement shows is that the meaning of the act of lifting the bride is open to various interpretations, and its portrayal on the Sabouroff loutrophoros cannot of itself be associated with abduction ritual. The reason why, however, we *may* think that in the context of fifth-century Athens it does have to do with a rite of mock abduction is the iconographical parallel it holds with scenes of actual abduction.

The same arguments may be applied in the interpretation of another feature of the Athenian wedding ceremony already mentioned, namely the act of leading the bride *χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ*. A. Brueckner²¹ commented upon it in his discussion of the scene on a white-ground pyxis by the Splanchnopt painter in the British Museum (Pl. 18a) where a bride is led X.E.K. towards an altar. The gesture, he suggests, is vestigial, indicating “ein Rudiment der Sitte des Brautraubes”. Brueckner perhaps had in mind here some notion corresponding to the evolutionist idea of survival from a primitive institution of bride-capture. If so, his anthropology was somewhat outdated, for already scholars less concerned with the pursuit of origins had taken a different view of the problem, arguing rightly that the institution of marriage by capture had been grossly exaggerated. Among them were E. Crawley and E. Westermarck²² who, although they had reserved a different interpretation for bride-lifting, were nevertheless prepared to recognise some wedding rituals as rites of mock abduction. Westermarck and Crawley argued that we should attempt to look beyond the external symbolic form of such rites to the thought that prompted the action. They put emphasis on human emotion, and in particular that of the bride, whose resistance was thought to express genuine feelings of loss and despair at leaving her parental home.

Although critical of previous treatments of abduction ritual, Crawley and Westermarck were in their broadest aims not so very different from McLennan; by compiling vast cross-cultural inventories of so-called comparative rites, they tried to establish a universal definition which would serve in the interpretation of all marriage abduction ritual. Such ambitious schemes were dismissed with contempt by the next generation of scholars, who concentrated upon developing a science of anthropology based upon field study.²³ The failure of the folklorists to study primitive ritual in its social context had laid open their ideas to the positivist charge that they were based upon arbitrary assumptions and not derived from a reasoned assessment of observable phenomena. One whose reputation was to fare better, however, and whose more incisive use of the comparative method in developing the concept of the “rite of passage” has exerted a more lasting influence than most of his contemporaries, is van Gennep.²⁴ For him abduction ritual was a rite of separation, expressive of both social and psychological attitudes: “There is”, he wrote, “an abduction but not in the accepted sense. It is not a survival but an actual fact, which is repeated at every initiation, every marriage, and every death, and it expresses a change in the condition and status of specific individuals. To marry is to pass from the group of children or adolescents into the adult group, from a given clan to another, from one family to another, and often from one village to another. An individual’s separation from these groups weakens them but strengthens those he joins. The weakening is at once numerical (and therefore a reduction in force), economic, and emotional. The so-called rites of rape or capture express the resistance of the losing groups. . . .”²⁵

Van Gennep’s paradigm has provided a useful model for subsequent interpretation of abduction ritual, though the tendency has been to place emphasis on the social rather than the psychological factor, on the group rather than the individual. In 1951 A.R. Radcliffe-Brown²⁶ wrote “Viewed in relation to social structure the meaning or symbolic reference of these customs ought to be obvious. The solidarity of the group requires that the loss of one of its members shall be recognised as an injury to the group . . . the taking of a woman in marriage is represented as in some sense an act of hostility against her kin.”

More recently still, R. Firth²⁷ has written of abduction ritual as “presenting a formal expression of relationships between kin categories and social groups involved.” This general statement is based upon the author’s earlier field study of the Tikopia,²⁸ in which Firth challenged Crawley’s interpretation of abduction rites as having to do with the psychological and physiological shrinking of the bride from union with the groom. “The woman herself”, Firth contested, “so far from exhibiting any shrinkage is often an eager consenting party to the union; it is her relatives alone who raise the objection and who have to be mastered . . . The pretence of conflict is really a dramatisation, a ritual and legal expression of the transfer of the woman from one group to the other . . .”

It is thus that Firth would interpret the action of the Tikopia groom who, we are told, in the course of a marriage by “elopement” grasped his bride by the wrist and led her to his house. This action recalls that of the Athenian groom, and again a feature of the Athenian ceremony is paralleled, in form at least, by the more recent practice of a primitive people. Whereas, however, in the case of bride-lifting there was little agreement among commentators over the meaning of the action, in the case of leading the bride by the wrist there is a general consensus that it has to do with abduction ritual.²⁹ Let us consider the Athenian rite in greater detail.

G. Neumann³⁰ defined it as a *Besitzgriff*, which makes its first appearance on a Geometric lebes³¹ in the British Museum showing a male figure leading a female by the wrist towards a waiting ship. The anonymity of Geometric vase-painting will not allow us to say for sure who these two are: perhaps Theseus and Ariadne; perhaps Paris and Helen, or Menelaus and Helen. Or, again, we may see here a representation of the parting of Odysseus and Penelope recalling Odysseus’ commanding farewell gesture: δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ καρπῷ ἔλων ἐμὲ χεῖρα προσήυδα (*Od.* 18, 258). At any rate, this lebes prefigures a long tradition of black and red-figure vase-painting in which the X.E.K. gesture is used to indicate the control or possession of one person by another, in scenes of escort and, especially, in scenes of abduction and repossession.³² In scenes of bride-fetching at marriage the hand-on-the-wrist motif occurs fairly late in the tradition. A fragmentary cup by Euphronios³³ in early red-figure showing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is the first instance. In the course of its development, however, red-figure vase-painting exhibits an increasing preference for the bridal procession to be shown moving on foot with the bride led X.E.K., by contrast with black-figure scenes of marriage, which usually depict bride and groom mounted in a chariot.³⁴

The difference is probably due to emphasis on different moments in time, rather than a change in marriage custom, and the act of leading the bride X.E.K. was probably as much a part of sixth-century marriage ritual as it was of the fifth century. It would seem to indicate a rite of abduction in the Athenian wedding ceremony, but how should we regard it? Sourvinou-Inwood³⁵ comes close to the Firth view of the act, regarding it as an essentially social gesture. The hand-on-the-wrist motif, she suggests, “may be the physical act by which the final stage of the transaction of the acquisition of the bride was sealed.” It may indeed be a device for marking the ceremonial transfer of legal guardianship over the bride from father to son-in-law, and yet the vase painters seem to place their emphasis on the surrender of the bride, and the subordination of her will as κτῆμα, to that of the groom as possessor.³⁶ In the case of Thetis, moreover, the gesture is clearly more than a mere token of possession for it symbolises her personal and inevitable acquiescence to a union she had previously resisted. The pattern of betrothal, resistance and eventual submission that is dramatised in the myth of Thetis, was re-enacted in the ritual drama of every wedding ceremony.³⁷

Marriage and abduction, then, are closely paralleled in the iconographic tradition of the vase-painters’ repertoire. This parallel, it has been argued, is not merely conventional but meaningful, indicative of a rite of abduction in which the transfer of the bride from one kinship group to another was ritualised. Whether married by betrothal or taken by force, the bride had no power to decide her own destiny. In this respect her status was similar to that of the abductee. It seems fitting, therefore, that the same pictorial formula should be employed to indicate their mutual surrender and, indeed, that of any woman who suffers a sudden transferral from possession by one male to another. Thus Briseis led away, Aithra rescued, Helen abducted and Thetis married are all conducted X.E.K.³⁸ We have argued further that the abduction ritual

was expressive not only of external, social values but also signified the bride's own experience. As J.P. Vernant³⁹ has observed, the wedding ceremony served not only to transfer the bride but also to transform her – from virgin to wife. There remains to be discussed an aspect of the marriage/abduction parallel which may indicate that the abduction rite in the Athenian marriage ceremony did indeed bear a personal and psychological significance for the bride.



Fig. 2. Drawing of the scene on the white-ground lekythos by Douris in Palermo showing the sacrifice of Iphigenia (after Gabrici, pl. XCIV).

A white-ground lekythos by Douris in Palermo shows Iphigenia being led towards an altar by a warrior whose name *Teukros* is inscribed.⁴⁰ Teukros holds a sword in one hand, while with the other he takes the edge of Iphigenia's mantle. This gesture is equivalent to the X.E.K. motif;⁴¹ a fact which becomes apparent in scenes normally identified as the repossession of Helen by Menelaus where the two gestures are interchangeable.⁴² Similarly, a Roman sarcophagus in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence shows on one of its short sides Alcestis being led X.E.K. by Hermes towards the gate of the Underworld; on the other, Herakles holding the edge of Alcestis' garment leads her back.⁴³ On the lekythos in Palermo, however, the subject is not the spouse reclaimed, but the bride-victim sacrificed. The altar is not the hearth of initiation into the home, as we find it on the Splanchnopt Painter's pyxis, but the place of slaughter. Instead of marriage torches, the victim's escort carry arms. *Mutatis mutandis*, the imagery of death seems to echo that of marriage. Another bride-victim is depicted on a black-figured hydria from the Leagros Group showing Neoptolemus leading Polyxena X.E.K. towards the funerary mound of Achilles.⁴⁴ Neoptolemus leads Polyxena from the chariot in the manner of the groom leading his bride. Instead of the doorway of a house, however, there stands the tomb which will shortly serve as the altar of sacrifice, and Polyxena's means of entry into Hades.⁴⁵

The parallel of wedding and funeral, bride and victim depicted on the Palermo lekythos, dated to about 500–490 B.C., foreshadows the tragic irony of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, produced a couple of generations later. H.P. Foley⁴⁶ has suggested that the dramatic parallel of marriage and sacrifice reflects the experience of the actual bride, whose separation from her former state was marked by a temporary removal from society signifying a symbolic death. The marriage ceremony, the author declares, "could be a frightening transitional experience."⁴⁷ But what was the bride frightened of?

The correlation of marriage and death in antiquity has been discussed in an important article by Margaret Alexiou and Peter Dronke, who show that the parallel has survived in a varied but continuous tradition of ritual lament from Greek tragedy to modern folk song.⁴⁸ Elsewhere Alexiou has remarked on the close parallel between modern Greek funeral and wedding lament: "Closest to the laments for the dead in structure and form are those sung for the bride as she leaves her father's house. The similarities are due not to lack of originality, but to the sustained parallel in the ritual of the two ceremonies of wedding and funeral: the solemn ablutions of bride and bridegroom, the anointing with nuptial oils and perfumes, the elaborate dressing, the wearing of the marriage garland and the use of torches — all can be matched remarkably closely in the ritual preparation of the dead as he was about to depart on his last journey. Further, a deliberate fusion is indicated by the custom, ancient as well as modern, of dressing those who died young in wedding attire. Popular belief viewed death and marriage as fundamentally similar occasions, signalling the transition from one stage in the cycle of human existence to another. The bride leaves home to start a new life, and as she steps over the threshold for the last time as a girl, her family take leave of her as they do for the dead, while she replies with complaints similar to those made by the dead in the laments."⁴⁹ Alexiou goes on to give examples of the pathetic exchanges that take place between mother and daughter. "Hide me, mother, hide me, so the stranger cannot take me", cries the bride in one lament. Her mother's reply evokes her own and her daughter's helplessness — "How can I hide you, dear one, now you belong to him." Like the Roman bride who at the last minute was wrested from her mother's embrace, the ritual lament of modern Greece shows that the bride resists the approach of her husband like one about to be abducted against her will. Moreover, her own ritual expressions of grief and the lamentations sung on her behalf are closely akin to those sung at funerals.⁵⁰ The question arises whether the bride of *ancient* Greece similarly faltered at the approach of her husband. Did she, like her modern counterpart, retreat into the arms of her mother, shrinking from the stranger as if from the shadow of death? Was her departure from the house of her childhood mourned as though she was passing for ever from the light of day?

Nothing like the rich tradition of modern Greek folk-lament survives from the ancient world to help us answer such a question. However, marriage, abduction and death come together as the essential elements in the story of Persephone's rape. In a number of South Italian vase-paintings⁵¹ Hades is shown stealing his bride away in a chariot. The pictorial scheme for this type of scene was developed earlier in Attic vase-painting: it appears on a fragmentary red-figured skyphos (Pl. 18b) dated by Beazley to around 430 B.C.⁵² Hades and Persephone are in the chariot which is sinking into the earth. They are pursued by three distraught females, one of whom we may assume to be Demeter. Eros hovers above them holding a torch and Hermes leads this disorderly procession. But procession it is, and the close parallels between this type of rape scene and the imagery of wedding scenes have caused scholars to doubt that we can be dealing here with the original attack of Hades on Persephone. It has been suggested that this is not so much the rape episode of the myth as a representation of the annual return of the bride to the Underworld, after her periodic sojourn among the living. K. Schauenburg thinks this an oversubtle distinction.⁵³ In scenes such as that shown in Pl. 18b Persephone is not bidding Demeter a fond farewell, but turning back and reaching out her arms she is clearly making a last desperate appeal to her mother for help.⁵⁴

In this action of Persephone we can perhaps see a reflection of a real-life marriage ritual: at the point of stepping over the threshold of her childhood home, having bid farewell to her family and gods — no longer a part of her previous existence, not yet incorporated into the future — the bride's status is akin to that of the soul who has departed the world of the living but not yet entered that of the dead; by placing his hand on the wrist of the bride, the groom is seen to steal her away in the manner that Hermes leads away the departing soul;⁵⁵ by lifting her into his chariot he takes her as Hades abducted Persephone. Only when the bride reaches the groom's home and is there placed under the protection of the household gods once more, is she reincorporated into the community. Fustel de Coulanges⁵⁶ described this process of reassimilation as a "second naissance". Brueckner⁵⁷ convincingly argued that the scene of the Splanchnopt Painter pyxis represents a bridal *amphidromia* similar to that of the infant who was carried at a run around the hearth shortly after its birth. To the question *Is there life after marriage?* we may conclude that there is, once the bride has suffered the rituals that signify her death and rebirth.

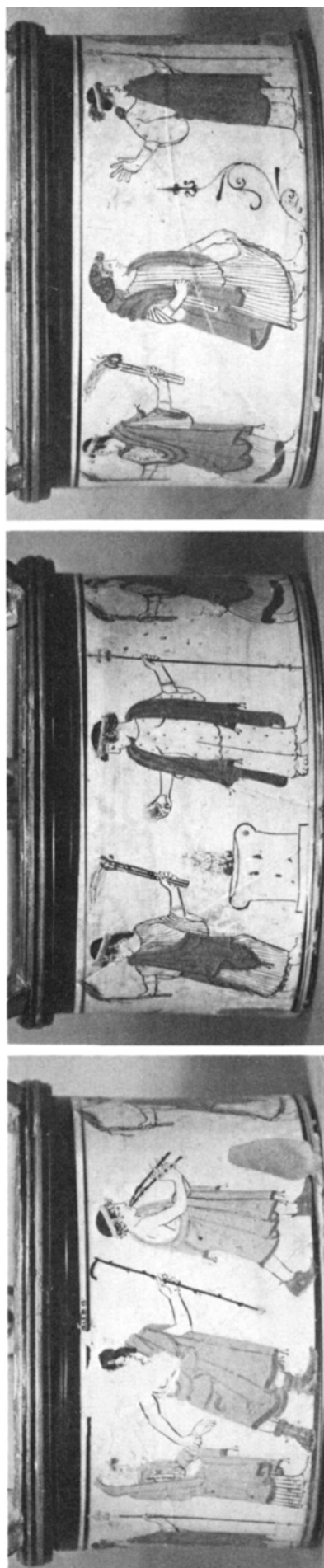
NOTES

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1. "The Young Abductor of the Locrian Pinakes", *BICS* 20 (1973) 12–21.
2. Sourvinou-Inwood (n. 1) 17.
3. A. Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff* (Berlin 1883–7) pll. LVIII, LIX. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin 1885) 645 ff., no. 2372. Compare C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Paris 1904), s.v. Matrimonium, fig. 4866. P. Wolters, *AM* 16 (1891) 381, 19. Sourvinou-Inwood wrongly refers to this vase as a lekythos.
4. Sourvinou-Inwood (n. 1) 17.
5. For a recent study: I. Krauskopf, "Eine Attisch Schwarzfigurige Hydria in Heidelberg", *AA* 1977, 13–27.
6. A. Verbanck-Piérard, "Un Cortège de l'Athènes Archaique: L'Amphore à Figures Noires du Peintre de Bucci", *Cahiers de Mariemont* 12 (1981) 5–36.
7. Metropolitan Museum 17.230.14, Rogers Fund: *ABV* 144,3; *CVA* Fasc. 4 p. 15, side A, pll. 16–19.
8. *BMC Vases* B 201: *ABV* 323, 22; *CVA* Fasc. 3, pl. 40, 1. See also J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons", *Rev. Arch.* 1972, 60.
9. *BMC Vases* B 424: *ABV* 169,3; *JHS* 52 (1932) pl. 5.
10. *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977) 302–6.
11. For the ominous use of marriage imagery in the *Agamemnon*, see A. Lebeck, "The Telos of Marriage and the Telos of Death", *The Oresteia* (Washington 1971) 68–73.
12. *Primitive Marriage: An Inquiry Into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies* (Edinburgh 1865), reprinted as *Studies in Ancient History* (London 1876). For a brief discussion of his work, see S. Pembroke, "The Early Human Family" in R.R. Bolgar (ed.) *Classical Influences on Western Thought AD 1650–1870* (Cambridge 1979) 284 f.
13. On the derivation of McLennan's use of the term, see M.T. Hodgen, *The Doctrine of Survivals* (London 1936) 91 n. 2.
14. For a full account of the anthropological study of symbols, see R. Firth, *Symbols – Public and Private* (London 1973).
15. "The Effectiveness of Symbols" in *Structural Anthropology* (New York 1967) 196.
16. Hodgen (n. 13) 36 ff.
17. McLennan (n. 12, 1876 edition) 24–5.
18. E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig 1911) 136 f.; E. Westermarck, *A History of Human Marriage* (London 1921) II, 530 ff.; J. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (London 1923) 313 ff.
19. *The Rites of Passage* (London 1960, English translation of the French edition published 1909).
20. Van Gennep (n. 19) 186.
21. *BMC Vases* D 11: *ARV²* 899, 146. *AM* 32 (1907) 79 ff. fig. 1.
22. Firth (n. 14) 110.
23. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology", The Huxley Lecture, *JRAI* 1951. See also E.E. Evans-Pritchard, in *The Position of Women in Primitive Society* etc. (London 1965).
24. For a useful critique of van Gennep's influence see M. Vizedom, *Rites and Relationships – Rites of Passage and Contemporary Anthropology* (Sage Research Papers in the Social Sciences, vol. 4, series no. 90–027 [Cross Cultural Studies Series] Beverly Hills and London 1976). Van Gennep has enjoyed something of a vogue in the current trend for the cross-cultural study of symbols; for a highly successful application of his tripartite model in the investigation of an ancient institution see W. Burkert, "Kekropidensage und Arrhephoria", *Hermes* 94 (1966) 1–25.
25. Van Gennep (n. 19) 123–4.
26. (n. 23) 20.
27. (n. 14) 110.
28. *We the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia* (London 1936) 531–563.
29. Compare E. Westermarck (n. 18) 267 n. 4: "Among the Auin, the bridegroom seizes the bride's wrist and almost drags her to his hut."

30. *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin 1965) 59 ff. See also R. Lullies, "Drei Fragmente von attisch rotfigurigen Vasen", *Festschrift für F. Brommer* (Mainz 1977) 215–218, pl. 59, 1, 2. Is it perhaps to this same gesture that Admetus refers in his *χέρα βασιλέων* of Eur. *Alcestis*, 917.
31. BM Registration no. GR 1899.2–19.1: Neumann, fig. 6, n. 51 and 220.
32. At its tamest X.E.K. is a means of linking up the choral dance, for example, *Il. XVIII*, 594; see M. Emmanuel, *La Danse Grecque* (Paris 1896) 244 ff. For escort see, for instance, New York 06.1021.167: *ARV*² 908, 13; F.A. Beck, *Album of Greek Education* (Sydney 1975) pl. 69, 350. The gesture is not restricted to women: Gela inv. 61: *ARV*² 385, 223; *JhBM* 24 (1982) figs. 12–13, Aeneas and Anchises. For abduction and repossession see n. 38 below.
33. Athens Acr. 176: *ARV*² 17, 18; B. Graef und E. Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II* (Berlin 1933) pl. 8. See most recently B. Philippake, "καὶ πάλι ἡ κάλικα τοῦ Εὐφρονίδου στὴν 'Αθήνα", *Arch. Ephem.* (1980) 62–5, pll. AE–AZ.
34. On this development see Robert F. Sutton Jr. "Weddings on Attic Red-Figure Pottery", *AJA* 85 (1981) 220–1.
35. (n. 1) n. 54.
36. For the wife as *κῆρυμα*, Eur. *fr.* 1.64; Plato *Com. fr.* 98. For the vase-painters', and in particular the red-figure artists' focus on the interaction between bride and groom, see Sutton (n. 34).
37. For the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as a "mythological paradigm" of ordinary marriage, see S. Rutherford Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* (Chicago 1978) 178; compare H.P. Foley (n. 46 below) 163.
38. Briseis: *BMC Vases* E 76: *ARV*² 406, 1; Lullies (n. 30) pl. 59, 2. Louvre G 146: *ARV*² 459, 2; E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Salle G (Paris 1922) pl. 118.
Aithra: Naples 2422: *ARV*² 189, 74; G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (London 1959) fig. 447. *BMC Vases* E 458: *ARV*² 239, 16; J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge 1918) fig. 30.
Helen: Boston 13.186: *ARV*² 458, 1; L.B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les Enlèvements et le Retour d'Hélène* (Paris 1955) p. IV. Berlin 2291: *ARV*² 459, 4; Ghali-Kahil, pl. III, 3.
39. "Hestia-Hermes" in *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks* (London 1983) 132. See also J. Redfield, *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 1, 2, 187–9.
40. *ARV*² 446, 266; D. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Oxford 1975) pl. 10, 1; E. Gabrici, "Il Santuario della Malophoros", *MonAnt* 32 (1927) fig. 142 and pl. XCIV.
41. Compare Boston 13.190: *ARV*² 119, 3; L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston 1931) pl. III, 7. Here the attitude of the warrior is the same but the gesture is X.E.K.
42. The hand on the dress gesture is more common in black figure, while red-figure painters prefer X.E.K. For the problems of interpreting the subject here see Lullies (n. 30) 216. Compare Beazley on *BMC Vases* B 244, *JHS* 47 (1927) 78: Aithra rescued or Helen led away by Paris and Aeneas, or Helen recovered by Menelaos and Agamemnon? See also W. von Massow, "Die Kypseloslade", *AM* 41 (1916) 59–60; C.H.E. Haspels, "Deux Fragments d'une Coupe d'Euphronios", *BCH* 54 (1930) 437–439. John Boardman has suggested to me that the hand on the dress gesture may represent an act of forceful unveiling.
43. C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* (Berlin 1919) III, 3, 372, pll. CXX, CXXI, figs. 372 a, b; G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculture*, I (Rome 1958) 257.
44. Berlin 1902: *ABV* 363, 37; L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben", *JDAI* 29 (1914) 225, fig. 18.
45. On the ambiguity of the wedding doorway and the portal to Hades see S. Rutherford Roberts (n. 37) 182. Compare E.H. Haight, *The Symbolism of the House Door in Classical Poetry* (New York 1950).
46. "Marriage and Sacrifice in Euripides Iphigenia in Aulis", *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 1, 2, 169.
47. For the parallel of marriage and death as initiation see Redfield (n. 39) 189–90; van Gennep (n. 19) 92; R.B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1951) 426 ff.
48. "The Lament of Jephtha's Daughter: Themes, Traditions, Originality", *Stud. Med.* (Spoleto) 12.2 (1971) 819–63. (This article appears to have been overlooked by Redfield and Foley.) Alexiou and Dronke note the prevalence both in ancient and modern Greece of the idea that death constituted a marriage into the Underworld. On this see J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* (London 1898) V 389 f.; *Fear of the Dead III* (London 1936) 235 ff.; J.C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1910) 546–61; H.J. Rose, "The Bride of Hades", *Class. Phil.* 20 (1925) 238–242; A.B. Cook, *Zeus III* (Cambridge 1940) 370–396; C. Fontinoy, "Le Sacrifice Nuptial de Polyxène", *AC* 19 (1950) 383–396; R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutike* (Paris 1962) 257–261, 267–275. On death and funerary customs specifically see E.T. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and London 1979) with bibliography. See also R.S.J. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death: Greek attitudes and Observances in regard to Death* (PhD thesis University College London, 1981).
49. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974) 120. "Very true", says Lawson ([n. 48] 547), "of Greek marriages and Greek funerals is the proverb, mourning hath its mirth and joy its tears". The modern Greek bride's grave expression was noted earlier by Frederick Douglas in his Essay on *Certain Points of Resemblance Between the Ancient and Modern Greeks* (London 1813): "If she expected the fate of Iphigenia, her reluctance could not seem more genuine nor her march more slow." On the modern Greek parallel between funerals and weddings see, most recently, L.M. Danforth's moving account, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece* (Princeton 1982) Ch. 4.

50. I am grateful to David Rokéah for bringing to my attention an article by Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "The Ceremony of Breaking a Glass at Weddings", *Hebrew Union College Annual* II (1925) 351–380. Lauterbach shows how in the Jewish wedding ceremony not only the bride but also the groom assumed an attitude of mourning. The purpose was to deceive malignant demons "by making them believe that the person they envy and seek to harm is not to be envied at all since he is not as happy as they imagine him to be but is rather worried and burdened with grief." On the deception of demons at weddings by disguises and other means see also Westermarck (n. 18) 518 ff. The implication here is that the grief is not real but feigned. That the grief of the modern Greek bride's relations is real and heartfelt, however, is suggested by J.K. Campbell's observations on the behaviour of the sisters of the Sarakatsani bride: "The unmarried sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected; but for some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy of the family to be stunned by the loss of their sister's accustomed presence": *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford 1964) 173.
51. K. Schauenburg, "Die Totengötter in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei", *JDAI* 73 (1958) 57–62. Compare N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 148. Several are illustrated in J. Overbeck, *Atlas der griechischen Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig 1872) pls. XVII, XVIII. See also T.A.S. Tinkoff-Utechin, "Ancient Painting from South Russia: The Rape of Persephone at Kertch", *BICS* 26 (1979) 13 f.
52. *ARV*² 647, 21; P. Hartwig, "Der Raub der Kora auf einem Vasenbilde in Eleusis", *AM* 21 (1896) 377–384 pl. XII; for more doubtful representations see K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (München 1981) figs. 370, 371; F. Hölscher, "Der Raub der Kore im 5 Jahrhundert" in H.A. Cahn, E. Simon (edd.), *Festschrift für Roland Hampe* (Mainz 1980) 173–179, pl. 42.
53. (n. 51) 61 and n. 64. See also Tinkoff-Utechin (n. 51) 16 and n. 62.
54. E.M. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (Cambridge 1923) 233, pl. 33.
55. Neumann (n. 30) 64.
56. *La Cité Antique* (Paris 1888) 47.
57. (n. 20). See also A. Minto, "Corteo Nuziale in un Frammento di Tazza Attica", *Ausonia* 9 (1919) 67. P. Pedrizet, 'Ἀττικὸν ἀγγεῖον μετὰ παραστάσεως πομπῆς γάμου', *Eph.Arch.* 1905, 209–214, pll. 6, 7.



a. White-ground pyxis by the Splachnopt Painter showing the bride being led χείρ ἐπι καρπῶ towards an altar.

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b. Fragment of South Italian pottery showing the rape of Persephone.
(After Tillyard, pl. 33)