

MARRIAGE BOIOTIAN STYLE

PLATES 62–64

Boeotian pottery is the Cinderella of the local schools
(Sparkes 1967, p. 116)

THE VASE PRESENTED HERE is a red-figured lidded pyxis found in the Kanapitsa cemetery of Thebes (Fig. 1; Pls. 62–64:a, b).¹ It has rightly been identified as a Boiotian vase since its discovery, although it might appear Attic to a nonspecialist. In this article are discussed the features that make clear the Boiotian origin of the vase, namely, technical details of its manufacture and peculiarities of its shape and iconography. A date is assigned to the pyxis by considering it along with the other grave furniture with which it was found. Although the paper touches upon a variety of questions related to the study of Boiotian pottery, the focus is on the conclusions that may be reached from the study of its nuptial iconography. Our knowledge of actual Boiotian wedding customs is minimal, but there is no reason to suppose that they would have differed significantly from nuptial rites in Athens.² Thus, an analysis of the iconography of this pyxis leads to interesting conclusions about the Boiotian manipulation of iconographic schemes long ago established for the depiction of Attic weddings.³

The pyxis has been reconstructed from two major and a few minor fragments and is complete except for some chipping at the base, rim, and tripartite foot. Its fabric is an orange-buff color,⁴ and a red wash has been applied over all the reserved areas, whereas its glaze is thin, matt, unevenly applied, and partly misfired red in places. Details such as the ornament band, hair fillets, torch flame, fruits, sprigs, and inscriptions are rendered in added white and pinkish applied clay.

¹ Inv. no. 31923. One part of the vase appears in Philippaki, Symeonoglou, and Pharaklas 1968, p. 234, pl. 164:d; it is also mentioned by Schilardi (1977, I, p. 144). In Kanapitsa, north of Thebes, lay one of the Classical cemeteries of Thebes: Symeonoglou 1985, p. 259.

Dimensions: H. with lid 0.17; H. without lid 0.128; H. of foot 0.036; Diam. of rim (body) 0.115; Diam. of rim (lid) 0.125; Diam. of foot 0.12; max. Diam. of body at base 0.142 m.

I am very indebted to Professor Michalis A. Tiverios (University of Thessaloniki) for his comments on this text, and to Dr. Eos Zervoudaki (Ephor of Vases at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens) for her meticulous reading of it. Thanks are owed to the Ephor Vassilis Arvantinos and the staff of the IX Ephoreia of Thebes for amenities in the museum, to Dr. Andrew Farrington and Dr. Elizabeth Langridge-Noti for improving my English text, and to the two anonymous readers of *Hesperia* for their useful suggestions. Any remaining weaknesses are, of course, my own. The photographs are courtesy of the Thebes Museum, and the drawing is by Mary Vassileiou.

There is no museum in Thespies at the moment. The pyxis from the Thespian Polyandrion is kept in a building that now serves as a storeroom and that will function as a museum in the future. The permit to reproduce photographs of the pyxis illustrated in my article as Plate 64:c, d was granted by the IX Ephorate, who also gave me permission to publish the Kanapitsa pyxis. The Thespies pyxis was transported to the Thebes Museum, where I photographed it myself; the film was developed and printed at the expense of the IX Ephoreia and will remain in its photographic archive.

The title of this article paraphrases Hague's 1988 title, "Marriage Athenian Style."

² General discussions of the ancient wedding are based on Attic sources and focus on Attic nuptial rites; see Oakley and Sinos 1993.

³ The underlying premise of this paper is that such vase paintings are a rich source informing us of trends in nuptial iconography rather than providing an accurate historical record for the reconstruction of wedding customs. In any case, if it is true that we usually look at Greek weddings through the eyes of the Athenians, the Kanapitsa pyxis is a case where we look at Athenian weddings through the eyes of the Boiotians.

⁴ Munsell Soil Color Charts, Baltimore 1975: 5YR 8/3–8/4 to 7.5YR 7/3, 8/3.

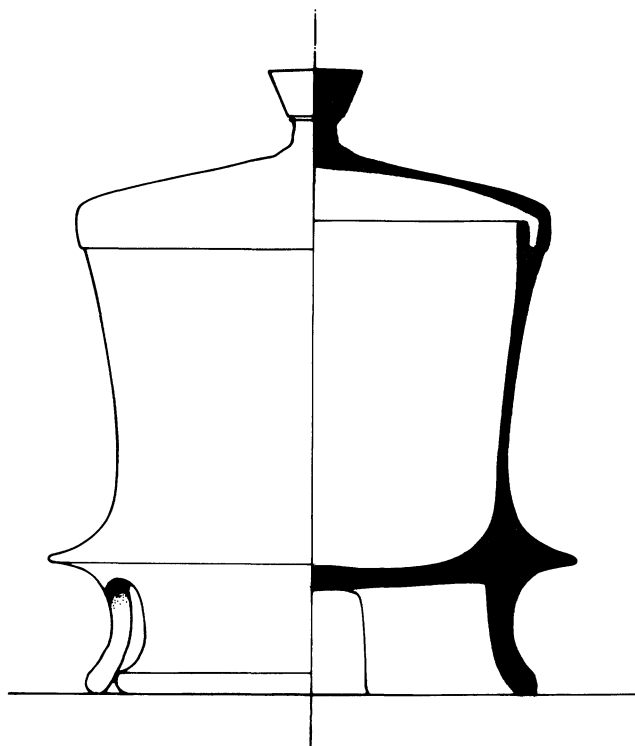


FIG. 1. Red-figured pyxis from Kanapitsa, inv. no. 31923, Thebes Museum (scale 1:2)

The Boiotian origin of the pyxis is indicated by the color of its fabric, which is similar to some pieces from the Thespian Polyandron burial;⁵ by its nonlustrous, thin black glaze;⁶ and by its uncommon shape, style of drawing, and iconography, which are discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

The vase does not strictly conform to any of the known classes of pyxides, as it combines elements of different types. The bowl is of Type A, whose proportions are comparable to Roberts' Penthesileian Workshop II (ca. 440 B.C. and later), but the lid is not the typical lid with projecting rim of this category of vases. Instead, it is a plain, sloping lid, rounded and downturned, with an unusual stemmed knob in the shape of an inverted truncated cone whose upper part is reserved.⁷ It is embellished with two concentric bands of egg-and-dot, with a black zone between them. The

⁵ Schilardi 1977, II, esp. pp. 3–4. Boiotian fabric does not present a single color that would make it easily identifiable, as is more or less the case with the vivid orange Attic and the pale yellow Corinthian clays. The task of identification becomes even more difficult when it is taken into account that Boiotian pottery workshops used different sorts of clays, such as, for example, yellow, to produce imitations, especially Corinthian ones; see Schilardi 1977, I, pp. 396–397, note 15. The wide variety of fabrics used in the production of pottery suggests that there was more than one place of production: for example, the Boiotian imitations of Attic vases that come from the Thespian Polyandron are of orange-buff to light brownish clay, whereas the Kabeiric skyphoi are of brownish buff clay. For the light yellow color of clay found in several Boiotian vases, see Lullies 1940, pp. 1; 8. For the diversity of Boiotian fabric (concerning black-figured examples), see also Boardman and Schweizer 1973, pp. 275–283, and Jones 1986, pp. 636–641. For the difficulty in distinguishing Attic from Boiotian red-figured vases in the 4th century B.C., see Garezu 1997. A study seeking to identify the places of manufacture of Boiotian pottery remains to be undertaken.

⁶ Among the many examples of Boiotian vases with thinly applied glaze, see, for example, Schilardi 1977, II, pp. 9–15.

⁷ Cf. Roberts 1978, pp. 67–93, particularly the Class of Würzburg 542, dating to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. (p. 77 and pl. 52:1). For Attic red-figured pyxides, see *Agora XXX*, pp. 51–54.

bowl is shaped with an inset flange for the lid, and its concave curve is exaggerated toward the base. The continuous figural frieze is framed below by a myrtle band with berries, an ornament rarely found in this position on Attic pyxides.⁸ The tripartite, concave foot echoes the curve of the body and has three high, square notches.⁹

Attic hybrid pyxides and singletons diverging from the norm occur more often in the last thirty years of the 5th century B.C., but while the combination present in our pyxis hardly exists in Attika¹⁰ it is not unknown in Boiotia. A similar pyxis in Nauplion, decorated in the floral style with lotuses and palmettes, was assigned by A. D. Ure to the Boiotian Branteghem Workshop.¹¹ When discussing this vase Ure noted that the lid differs from those usually associated with the Type A bowl and wondered whether lid and body actually belong together. Note, in particular, the myrtle wreath that runs around the upper part of the bowl of the vase.

We may turn now to the iconography of the vase, which depicts a nuptial foot procession of nine figures. There are three basic iconographic schemes that refer to the Athenian wedding: the loutrophoria procession with the nuptial bathwater, the bridal preparations with women primping the bride or bringing her nuptial finery, and the procession to the bride's new home by cart or by foot, wherein the groom holds his bride in the emblematic posture of *cheir' epi karpo*.¹²

The arrival point of the procession on our vase is a partly opened door, a common feature of wedding scenes, with a woman standing with crossed arms in front of it (Pl. 62:a, b).¹³ The doorway has a threshold, and its thin lintel is crowned by a two-part cornice. The closed leaf of the door has three panels arranged vertically and joined with studded rails, the uppermost panel figuring a star-shaped feature, presumably a knocker.¹⁴ The open leaf is rendered with slanted

⁸ The base of the Type A bowl is normally decorated with an egg band; an olive band occurs on a few examples (cf. *CV4*, Mainz Universität 2 [Germany 63], bibliography with comparanda, text on pl. 26). A myrtle band occurs on the base of a Type A pyxis dating to the last quarter of the 5th century: Richter and Milne 1935, fig. 140. See also the Type C pyxis by the Sotheby Painter, Roberts 1978, p. 145, pl. 85:1.

⁹ The Penthesileian II pyxides usually display rounded notches: Roberts 1978, p. 67.

¹⁰ For hybrids and singletons, see Roberts 1978, p. 109; for hybrids with a lid like ours, but flatter and with a different knob, see p. 217, fig. 15:a, b, pl. 82:1; for a similar bowl, see the pyxis London E 781, p. 65, pl. 44. For approximately the same combination of body and lid, see the pyxis Oxford 1965.130, in the manner of the Pistoxenos Painter (*ARV*² 864, no. 15; Roberts 1978, pl. 18:3), with a scene from the women's quarters; however, the proportions of this pyxis differ from those of our pyxis in that the foot is taller, the keel less projecting, the wall of the lid flat rather than sloping, and its rim differently shaped. See also the Boiotian(?) pyxis from a private collection, Zapheirópoulou 1988, p. 587, pl. 371:c.

¹¹ Ure 1940–1945, pp. 22–23, pl. 6:2. The Nauplion pyxis differs from our vase in that it has a shorter foot, a more outwardly projecting rim, and a disklike knob. For other floral Boiotian pyxides with sloping lids, see Kokkou-Vyride 1980, p. 50, no. 83, pl. KZ, and *CV4*, Kassel 1 [Germany 35], pl. 13:7, 8. See also Andreiomenou 1979, pl. 303:d, for a black-glazed pyxis from Eretria.

¹² For the iconography of the wedding, see generally Oakley and Sinos 1993; for nuptial processions as here, see pp. 26–34 and the good discussion in Sutton 1981, pp. 177–196; 1989, pp. 344–345.

¹³ For the door as a realistic and symbolic feature denoting passage, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 31; Lissarague 1994, pp. 147–150; and Halm-Tisserant 1995, esp. pp. 478–487. For doors in vase painting in general, see Bakalakis 1967, pp. 52–54, with earlier bibliography, and *CV4*, Karlsruhe 3 [Germany 60], text on pl. 44. For doors as literary motifs, see Haight 1950; for doors in Archaic architecture, see Büsing-Kolbe 1978, pp. 144–145. In the latest decades of the 5th century Eros appears sliding through the door of the nuptial chamber, thus enhancing the erotic atmosphere of the scene: Sutton 1989, pp. 343–344; cf. also the tallboy lekythos by the Painter of the Frankfurt Acorn, which has a chariot drawn by two Erotes (*ARV*² 1317, no. 3). Open and, more often, closed doors appear frequently on pyxides; see Roberts 1978, pls. 30:1, 36:2, 3, 40, 42, 43:1, 2, 49:2, 50:2, 58:3, 66:1, 72:3, 77:2, 98:1, 99:1, 2, 102:3. Whereas the closed door may signify the house or the women's quarters, the door left ajar often denotes the bridal chamber, and the nuptial bed is usually visible through it: see Sutton 1989, pp. 343–344; Halm-Tisserant 1995, pls. VI:56, VIII:59, 60, IX:82; and Frontisi-Ducroux 1996, p. 90.

¹⁴ For similar devices on doors, see, for example, the pyxis London 1920.12–21.1, by the Marlay Painter (*ARV*² 1277, no. 23; Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 75–78); the pyxis Heidelberg University 66/10, by the Montlaures Painter (Hampe et al. 1971, p. 54, no. 84, pl. 61 [E. Simon]; Roberts 1978, pl. 99:1, 2); and the pyxis London E 774, by the Eretria Painter (*ARV*² 1250, no. 32; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 164:a). Sutton identifies a round object at the same place on the door on the Boston loutrophoros as a keyhole (1989, p. 343).

rails, with a series of Vs inside the rails to indicate that it projects outward. Women standing by the door are usually identified as one of the mothers of the bridal couple. In such scenes the bride's mother may either gaze at the departing procession, which takes away her daughter,¹⁵ or the groom's mother may wait to receive the newly wedded couple.¹⁶ In very few instances, the bride herself can be seen through an open door.¹⁷ Since the bride on our pyxis is led *cheir' epi karpō* by the groom, the chiton-wearing woman in the doorway could be the groom's mother, who will conduct the couple to the bridal chamber. However, the figure is frontal,¹⁸ short in stature, her arms are crossed instead of raising torches,¹⁹ and her feet are pointed in a direction opposite to that of the procession, which isolates her from the other figures. All these features seem slightly odd, if she is to be identified as the groom's mother, and they suggest more probably that she is a participant whose identity we cannot, at present, determine.²⁰ If this is so, then one of the mothers of the couple may be represented by the torchbearer who follows the bride (Pl. 63:a, c), while the other may be identified with the torch-bearing woman who rushes along at the end of the procession (Pls. 62:a, 64:a, b).

Behind the open leaf of the door is an altar with a two-stepped base on which is an offering in the form of a small round object. Altars appear rarely in scenes of wedding processions, the earliest known 5th-century example being a white-ground pyxis by the Splanchnopt Painter, dating to 470–460 B.C., that depicts a lighted altar, the very symbol of the family hearth itself.²¹ On a loutrophoros close in style to the Naples Painter, an altar is depicted in front of a house door next to a herm, as part of a scene showing a loutrophoria procession.²²

The wedding couple on the Kanapitsa pyxis strides vigorously toward the door and altar, which together serve as an abbreviated depiction of the house (Pl. 63:a, b). The groom clasps the bride's wrist in the typical nuptial gesture of *cheir' epi karpō*.²³ He wears a long himation that leaves the right shoulder naked and a wreathed fillet; in his raised right hand he holds a myrtle sprig, a plant with nuptial connotations.²⁴ The bride follows in chiton, himation, and leaved diadem.

¹⁵ Cf. the above-mentioned pyxis by the Marlay Painter (note 14) and Paris L 55 by the Wedding Painter (*ARV*² 924, no. 33; Roberts 1978, pls. 31:1, 60, 97:1).

¹⁶ See, for example, the torch-bearing woman by the door on the loutrophoros Boston 03.802 (Sutton 1989, esp. pl. 32) and the black-figured lekythos by the Amasis Painter (*Paralipomena* 66; Bothmer 1985, pp. 182–184).

¹⁷ E.g., the François Vase (*ABV* 77, no. 1; Roberts 1978, pl. 96:2), where the bride, Thetis (identified by an inscription), can be seen seated waiting for the divine procession approaching with gifts for the couple. On the pyxis London E 773, by a follower of Douris (*ARV*² 805, no. 89), Iphigeneia in bridal guise emerges from a door. For mythological women such as Helen, Danae, Andromeda, Iphigeneia, etc., represented as brides, see Oakley 1995 and Sabetai 1997.

¹⁸ Boiotian vase painters apparently favored frontal faces: cf. Lullies 1940, pls. 1, 3:2, 15 bottom, 18:2 (three-quarter view), and Valavanis 1990, p. 343, note 81 and fig. 19. For frontality in vase painting in general, see Frontisi-Ducroux 1996, pp. 85–89.

¹⁹ On the role of torches in the wedding ritual and their association with the mothers of the couple, see Sutton 1981, pp. 191–193; 1989, p. 339; Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 26.

²⁰ The chiton is commonly worn by young attendants, whereas *nymphēutriaí* and mothers usually appear in peplos or chiton and himation. For an attendant in chiton, see, for example, the girl holding a mirror (and alabastron?) by a door in a *gynaíkeia* scene on a clay object of unknown purpose, Athens, Vlasto, *ARV*² 1177, no. 2, by Aison (photo Beazley Archive). For a short female with crossed arms, see the red-figured skyphos Berlin 3414, by the Boiotian Painter of the Judgement of Paris: Lullies 1940, pl. 12:1. For a figure with similarly crossed arms in the company of Helen, see the hydria Kerameikos 2712 by the Meidias Painter: *ARV*² 1313, no. 6; Burn 1987, pl. 45:a. The gesture may express contemplation or expectation. For a Hellenistic statue of an old man standing with clasped hands (the Arundel "Homerus"), see Vickers 1992. Could it be that the painter had in mind a grandmother or, preferably, an old nurse? For representations of old women in general, see Pfisterer-Haas 1989. I do not know of any old women in nuptial processions.

²¹ London D 11, *ARV*² 899, no. 146; Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 34 and figs. 96–98. For altars in vase paintings, see Labrousse-Ducharme 1988–1989 and Aktseli 1996.

²² Karlsruhe 69/78, *ARV*² 1102, no. 2; Weiß 1988; *CVA*, Karlsruhe 3 [Germany 60], pl. 44.

²³ Sutton 1981, pp. 181–184.

²⁴ See Sutton 1981, pp. 208–209; Pirenne-Delforge 1994b, pp. 412–414.

A *kalos* inscription runs from the groom's right hand to his face, and a *kale* inscription occupies the space between the bride and groom. Although the couple is depicted in typical wedding garb, the hastening groom seems awkward, for the usual scheme requires that he pace slowly and turn back to glance at his bride. The overwhelming majority of *cheir' epi karpo* scenes conform to this norm; the rushing groom on our vase seems, amusingly, in too much of a hurry.²⁵

The torch-bearing woman who follows the bride is a basic component of wedding processions (Pl. 63:a, c). Although in Attic scenes the *nympheutria* is usually found in close proximity to the bride,²⁶ the woman who follows our couple can be safely identified as one of the mothers of the couple because she bears torches. The lighted torches were an indispensable part of the nuptial ceremonies and were carried by the two mothers and occasionally by other participants in the ceremony.²⁷ A faded *kale* inscription runs above her head. Behind her come two musicians, a small girl in a short chiton and with loose hair who is snapping the *krotala* and a mature peplos-wearing woman playing the flute (Pl. 63:c).²⁸ Children, especially those with both their parents living, figured prominently in weddings, as they were considered a good omen for the fertility of the bride and her bearing of offspring.²⁹ Although the literary sources refer to male children as escorts of the couple,³⁰ vase paintings occasionally depict girls, as is the case on the *loutrophoros* near in style to the Naples Painter just mentioned (p. 326 above), where one of the torchbearers holds by the hand a little girl dressed like an adult woman.³¹ In our scene the girl wears a garment more appropriate to a young child. The painter has placed a *kale* inscription above her head.

The playing of instruments such as *krotala* and, more often, flutes is a common feature of wedding iconography. It is not usually shown in the context of *cheir' epi karpo* scenes, however,³² but is found more usually in *loutrophoria* processions,³³ where it evokes the loudly joyous atmosphere of the occasion.³⁴ A male flute player, either boy or youth, appears regularly on *loutrophoroi* depicting the procession for the nuptial bathwater, and he is often placed at the head of the procession.³⁵ The impression that the flute player on the Kanapitsa pyxis would be more appropriate in a *loutrophoria* scene rather than in a nuptial procession is strengthened by the presence of the figure who follows, a woman bearing an amphora with myrtle sprigs projecting from its mouth.

This figure is the oddest of all the figures in our procession (Pls. 63:c, d, 64:a). In the hands of an Athenian vase painter she would have been depicted carrying a *loutrophoros*, as is typical in representations of *loutrophoria* processions. The Boiotian artist, however, who was perhaps attempting a free rendering of Attic vase paintings he had seen, depicts this vase as an amphora,

²⁵ Exceptions in which the groom does not look at his bride can be seen on the following vases: (1) pelike, Paris G.226, by the Syleus Painter (*ARV*² 250, no. 15; *CVA*, Louvre 6 [France 9], pl. 44:4–7; first quarter of the 5th century B.C.); (2) lebes gamikos, Athens N.M. 1172, by the Earlier Mannerists (*ARV*² 585, no. 33; ca. 470 B.C.); (3) *loutrophoros*, Athens N.M. 1249, by the Boreas Painter (*ARV*² 539, no. 40; mid 5th century B.C.). The couples on these vases stand still facing a torch-bearing woman, except on the first example, where the torch-bearing woman precedes the procession.

²⁶ The *nympheutria* usually adjusts the bride's veil on her head. For her role in the wedding, see Sutton 1981, pp. 193–194; 1989, p. 337.

²⁷ On the association of mothers and torches, see note 19 above.

²⁸ For musicians at weddings, see Sutton 1981, pp. 194–195, and for a woman holding *krotala* in a *loutrophoria* procession, see *CVA*, Karlsruhe 3 [Germany 60], pl. 44.

²⁹ For *amphithaleis*, see Sutton 1981, p. 153; 1989, pp. 355–357; for their suggested appearance in nuptial scenes on lebetes gamikoi, see Kauffmann-Samaras 1988 and related discussion in Sabetai 1993, pp. 49–69.

³⁰ Cf. the boy holding a phiale in a fragmentary wedding procession, Florence 7 B 24 (*ARV*² 816, no. 6), by a follower of Makron: Minto 1919, esp. pp. 68–71, pl. 5.

³¹ *CVA*, Karlsruhe 3 [Germany 60], pl. 44.

³² With the exception of the pyxis by the Splanchnopt Painter, already cited above, note 21.

³³ For *loutrophoria* processions, see most recently Weiß 1988; Sabetai 1993, pp. 150–161; Pirenne-Delforge 1994a.

³⁴ For music in weddings, see generally Kauffmann-Samaras 1985. Early examples depict the more solemn playing of stringed instruments such as lyre and harp.

³⁵ Cf. Houston 37.10, by the Pan Painter (*ARV*² 554, no. 79; Hoffmann 1970, pp. 399–401, no. 181); Weiß 1988; *CVA*, Karlsruhe 3 [Germany 60], pl. 44; Sabetai 1993, pp. 154–157.

presumably because he was not familiar with real loutrophoroi. This ceremonial vase shape, which originated from the tall Late Geometric amphoras and hydriai and which became gradually more and more elongated, was created and used only for Attic nuptial and funerary rituals. Although the custom of fetching the nuptial bathwater was widely practiced in the ancient Greek world, this type of shape was not exported, and its use is not attested elsewhere.³⁶ Thus the Attic loutrophoros has, in the hands of the Boiotian vase painter, metamorphosed into something more directly familiar to him, namely, an amphora. Unlike real Attic loutrophoroi, which have mouths that flare outward, the Boiotian re-creation has an unusual two-stepped narrow mouth, a simple, single-stepped foot, and short, convex handles. All these details suggest that the painter, instead of copying directly from a copybook or a specific vase, was freely creating a scene inspired by Attic originals.

The woman carrying the amphora holds a round white object in her right hand that must be a fruit or an egg, both of which were tokens of fertility. There is one *kale* inscription in front of her and one behind her.

The next figure, who wears a chiton, holds a phiale and a shallow, wide basket in the form of a tray on which are arranged round objects of various sizes (Pl. 64:a, b).³⁷ These must represent cakes and fruits such as nuts, figs, and apples, all of which were used in the ritual of *katachysmata*, in which the bride and groom were showered with the fruit to ensure their fertility.³⁸ The fruit on the tray might also signify another practice, wherein the bride was offered an apple, quince, or pomegranate to eat upon entering the groom's house. Her acceptance of food was one of the stages of integration into her new home and status.³⁹

The procession closes with a second torchbearer, who is running to the door but who looks back at the figure who precedes her (Pls. 62:a, 64:a, b). She wears a chiton, himation, and nuptial leaved diadem. Insofar as she looks back, she serves to close the procession, but she also serves to greet it, in that she is hastening to the door. She thus recalls the torch-bearing mother of the groom who receives the bridal couple.

In summary, the iconographical peculiarities support the view that our vase was manufactured in Boiotia. Besides the rushing groom, who does not gaze at his bride, there is the absence here of Eros, who becomes indispensable in the Attic wedding scenes in the 430s B.C. and later. Furthermore, the Boiotian vase painter evidently unified in one panel two distinct, separate iconographic themes of the Attic nuptial repertoire, that of the *cheir' epi karpō* and that of the loutrophoria procession.

In terms of his style of drawing, the Boiotian artist seems indebted to Attic vase painters of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., for the profiles of his figures recall particularly the Shuvalov Painter.⁴⁰ It is not the first time that this painter's influence is attested in Boiotian red-figure production, for the Boiotian Argos Painter, who was first singled out by Lullies, recalls

³⁶ For the loutrophoros, see most recently Pirenne-Delforge 1994, pp. 148–150; Sabetai 1993, pp. 129–174; and, in general, Kokula 1984. For a catalogue of black-figured loutrophoroi from the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens, see Papadopoulou-Kanellou 1997. For red-figured examples from the Athenian Agora, see *Agora XXX*, pp. 14–16. For the exceptional case of a late-5th-century loutrophoros found outside Attika, see *ARV*² 1320, no. 3. For a problematic, fragmentary black-figured piece not securely identified as a loutrophoros and thought to be provincial Attic or Euboian, see Hofstetter 1990, p. 215, pl. 15:b. For the custom of using water from the Theban river Ismenos for the nuptial bath, see Euripides, *Phoen.* 347–348; and for the Boiotian festival of *Daidala* in honor of Hera, comprising, among other things, a nuptial bath of a xoanon, see Simon 1972; Schachter 1981, pp. 245–246; and Clark 1998.

³⁷ For the use of the phiale in weddings, see Sutton 1981, p. 211; 1989, p. 337, note 18.

³⁸ For the *katachysmata*, see Sutton 1981, pp. 197–201; 1989, pp. 353–359.

³⁹ See Sutton 1981, p. 200.

⁴⁰ The Shuvalov Painter exported mainly to Etruria; only one vase comes from Tanagra, *ARV*² 1206, no. 11. Although this painter was associated with a workshop specializing in oinochoai, and only one pyxis of Type C is currently known to be the product of his hand, it appears that his style was favored and adopted by Boiotian artists. On the Shuvalov Painter, see Lezzi-Hafter 1976.

the style of the Shuvalov Painter.⁴¹ A closer comparison of our pyxis with vases by the Argos Painter shows, however, that the draftsmanship of the Argos Painter is sloppier and less refined. The face of the groom on our pyxis recalls to some degree the Herakles on a skyphos by the Painter of the Judgement of Paris, but further comparisons cannot be drawn, for the Painter of the Judgement of Paris renders the remaining figures and drapery in a different manner.⁴² Various features of Boiotian draftsmanship are evident, namely the linear treatment of the drapery, hands disproportionately large in comparison to the small heads, particularly evident in the case of the bride, and the curved backs of the figures, especially that of the bride, who displays a pronounced S-curve through her body, also a characteristic of Euboian red-figured vase painting.⁴³ Our painter is more proficient in the handling of depth, as shown by the treatment of the door, although the leaves of the door open outward, rather than inward, as might be expected. The painter does not attempt to depict floating drapery on the rushing figures,⁴⁴ which results in a somewhat stiff effect.

This last observation brings to the fore the question of the dating of the pyxis, for any swirling drapery would indicate Meidian influence. Its absence suggests that the vase is to be associated with Attic work of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. We do not know when it was painted, but there is no reason to posit any large interval of time between its manufacture and the manufacture of the Attic works on which it relies. In fact, the pyxis comes from a grave, and we are fortunate to be able to compare the results of our analysis with the rest of the offerings, which consist of a Boiotian floral cup,⁴⁵ an unglazed pyxis of Type C,⁴⁶ two ovoid, banded Corinthian lekythoi,⁴⁷ two bronze mirrors, and a female figurine of a type with a high polos.⁴⁸ Similar floral cups were found in the Thespian Polyandrion of 424 B.C., and since the beginning of this category of vases is generally placed a little before this year, our floral cup provides a date for the Kanapitsa grave late in the third quarter of the 5th century.⁴⁹ This

⁴¹ Lullies 1940, pp. 15–17; Ure 1958; Pelagatti 1962; *CVA*, Tübingen 5 [Germany 54], text on pl. 47:10; Pelagatti 1995.

⁴² For the Painter of the Judgement of Paris, see Lullies 1940, pp. 13–15. For his placement in the list of Boiotian vase painters, see Pelagatti 1995, p. 42.

⁴³ Gex and McPhee 1995, p. 8.

⁴⁴ See especially the figure of the bride.

⁴⁵ Philippaki, Symeonoglou, and Pharaklas 1968, pl. 164:b, d–f. For Boiotian floral cups, see most recently Metzger 1978, pp. 63–67, with previous bibliography. The beginning of this series is not firmly dated, but it is thought to start late in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. See note 49 below.

⁴⁶ The Type C pyxis was first created in the middle of the 5th century B.C. but was most popular in the last quarter of the century; see *Agora* XII, p. 176; *Agora* XXX, p. 53; Roberts 1978, pp. 143–175. Schilardi (1977, I, p. 144, note 17) dates the Kanapitsa grave offerings in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., considering the Type C pyxis to be of advanced shape.

⁴⁷ For a similar piece, see Hampe et al. 1971, p. 60, no. 93, pl. 65, dated to the second half of the 5th century B.C. [H. Gropengießer]. For bibliography on this category of vases, see Grammenos and Tiverios 1990, pp. 25–26, pl. 8:d, discussing a lekythos from a grave in Argilos [M. A. Tiverios]. The vase is dated around the middle of the 5th century or a little later. Such lekythoi were also found at the Thespian Polyandrion; Schilardi notes that in Boiotia this type is found only in funerary contexts, that it was introduced after the middle of the 5th century, and that although made from yellowish Corinthian clay, it was locally produced: Schilardi 1977, I, pp. 393–397. He further states that the Kanapitsa lekythoi stand close to those from the Polyandrion (I, p. 144, note 17). I have not seen the Kanapitsa grave offerings accompanying the pyxis, or the Polyandrion lekythoi, but Schilardi's note implies that he thinks the Kanapitsa lekythoi should be dated a little before 424 B.C.

⁴⁸ For similar figurines that are common in Boiotia in the second half of the 5th century B.C., see Higgins 1986, pls. 116, 117.

⁴⁹ The first datable appearance of some of the earliest floral cups is in the Polyandrion of the Thespians, the collective burial of those who fell in the Battle of Delion in 424 B.C. and which thus serves as a *terminus ante quem*: Schilardi 1977, I, pp. 240–246. The floral cups unearthed in the cemetery of Rhitsona are dated by comparison with those in the Polyandrion. The floral cups placed early in the series have fleshy leaves, as does the Kanapitsa cup. Later they develop a tendency to become slender and more schematized; see Ure 1926; 1973; Metzger 1978.

dating allows us to conclude further that red-figured vases with wedding iconography must have been introduced in Boiotia in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., a period of time in which this genre reached a peak of popularity in Athens. Very few examples are presently known from Boiotia, perhaps owing to lack of preservation, or perhaps because red-figured wedding vases never really obtained a place in the local customs.⁵⁰ Besides our pyxis, there is another Type A pyxis found in the Polyandron (Pl. 64:c, d). This vase depicts Eros and running women and is a Boiotian work influenced by Attic vases of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.⁵¹ Both the Kanapitsa pyxis and the Polyandron pyxis are very dependent on Attic examples. By contrast, another unusual "pyxis" dated to 430–420 B.C. is closer to Boiotian standards in terms of shape, style, and iconography, and although it has been influenced by them, it does not draw directly from any Attic originals. It has an elongated, kalathoslike shape, and its iconography fuses nuptial motifs from various realms.⁵² It depicts attendants bringing boxes and toiletry items to the seated bride. Iconographic details from other types of wedding scenes occur, such as the torchbearer, whose proper place would be in a procession rather than in the *gynaikeia*, and the seated bride, who holds a basket in one hand and a mirror in the other. Although Attic brides sometimes hold mirrors or have baskets on their laps, they never carry these objects as they do here, for this task is assumed by the attendants. The Kanapitsa and Polyandron pyxides differ from this peculiar vase in that they imitate Attic prototypes much more closely, to the point of at first sight deceiving the modern, and perhaps too the ancient, viewer about their place of origin.

This last point places our painter with those Boiotian artists who specialized in the production of Attic imitations. Vases copying works by the Achilles Painter and the Polygnotans were discovered in the Thespian Polyandron, and indeed, the imitations are so accurate that if their fabric were not of the pale Boiotian type, it would have been difficult to detect the Boiotian artists behind them.⁵³ It thus seems that two vase-painting trends coexisted in 5th-century Boiotia, one adhering to Attic models, the other in the local, coarser, and more easily identifiable style. One could speculate that the good copies were manufactured for buyers who were acquainted with and cherished Attic wedding vases.⁵⁴ The Kanapitsa pyxis is loaded with elements that would make the vase look as

⁵⁰ Equally few examples are dated in the 4th century B.C.; see the pair of lebetes gamikoi in Dresden: Müller 1925, pp. 131–132, nos. 60, 61, fig. 28; Sgourou 1994, pp. 353–354 and pl. 58:b, c.

⁵¹ Schilardi 1977, I, pp. 142–146, III, pl. 14, dated ca. 430–425 B.C. and thought to rely particularly on the Washing Painter. It is not, however, a strict copy of any known scene by the Washing Painter. Most Boiotian pyxides bear floral decoration, and although examples of Type A are occasionally potted, the usual type has a stamnoid form and is popular largely in the 4th century B.C.: cf. *CV4*, Reading 1 [Great Britain 12], pl. 18:1–4. For Boiotian derivatives of Type A, cf. also Maffre 1975, pp. 509–511 and fig. 53; Andreiomenou 1991, pl. 90:b; 1994, p. 239, fig. 104 (dated in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.); Ure 1940–1945, pl. 6:1; Lullies 1940, pl. 17, no. 99 (4th century); Froehner 1892, no. 211, pl. 46. For an unpublished pyxis of Type C dating in the last decades of the 5th century B.C. and identified as Boiotian, see Roberts 1978, p. 150.

⁵² Cf. *CV4*, Torino 2 [Italy 40], III i, pl. 8:3–5, where the vase is considered Attic. It is rightly identified as Boiotian (Argos Painter) by Lullies (*CV4*, Kassel 1 [Germany 35], text on pl. 48:1–3), followed by Pelagatti (1995, pp. 33–36). For a Boiotian pyxis in the shape of a deep stemless bowl, see Ure and Ure 1933, p. 34, fig. 34. A peculiar red-figured skyphoid-pyxis in Brussels might also be Boiotian: *CV4*, Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], III i e, pl. 4:1a, b. For another fusion of attributes on a Boiotian red-figured krater leading to an awkward result, see Valavanis 1990, p. 343, note 81, fig. 19.

⁵³ Lullies 1940, pp. 1–13, pls. 4–7; Schilardi 1977, I, pp. 94–100, 118–124; *CV4*, Thebes, forthcoming. For other close Boiotian imitations of Attic vases of a later date, see Beazley 1939, p. 31.

⁵⁴ On the problem of Boiotian copies of Attic works, see Sparkes 1967. We do not yet have a clear enough picture of the norms and mechanisms of the Boiotian red-figure workshops to determine whether some painters specialized in imitating Attic products while others produced vases in the local style, which was also influenced by Attic developments but less directly. Our knowledge of Boiotian red-figured pottery workshops is patchy, partly owing to lack of secure proveniences for the known pieces. The cemeteries of Thebes have yielded relatively little Attic and Boiotian red-figured pottery, and the same holds true for painted pottery in general: Symeonoglou 1985, pp. 146–147. The graves of Rhitsona

Attic in origin as possible. An Athenian client may have noticed the unusual fusion of *cheir' epi karpo* and loutrophoria procession in the same scene, a fact that might have passed unnoticed by a Boiotian purchaser.⁵⁵ To achieve an Attic appearance, the artist employed several means. In terms of shape, instead of using the locally favored stamnoid and kalathoslike pyxides, he adopted a type with a long history in Attika. In terms of iconography, he used two distinct themes of Attic wedding imagery, and the only detail, in addition to the fusion of scenes, that betrays his Boiotian origin is the odd depiction of the loutrophoros, a detail of little importance to the Boiotian viewer, since the loutrophoros was presumably alien to Boiotia.⁵⁶ And finally, in terms of aesthetic effect he overpainted the vase with red wash,⁵⁷ and he used Ionic rather than Boiotian lettering in the one *kalos* and the six *kale* inscriptions.⁵⁸

In presenting the Kanapitsa pyxis an effort has been made to touch upon similarities and divergences between Attic and Boiotian red-figured vases and, more specifically, to analyze in depth the iconography of one Boiotian red-figured vase that deliberately draws upon the Athenian repertoire. The aim has been to shed more light on a provincial workshop and the way it perceived, absorbed, and handled motifs and figural art originating from an artistically influential and potent neighbor.

contained mainly black-figured and plain pottery, whereas the few red-figured pieces are Attic imports; see Burrows and Ure 1907–1908, pls. 13:a, b, 14. A brief look at the proveniences of Boiotian red-figured vases in the lists of Lullies shows that most are generally labeled “from Boeotia.” Although not much has been unearthed from authorized excavations in Thebes itself, a number of vases are scattered in the collections of major international museums. This fact might be associated with the clandestine excavations of Tanagran cemeteries, which were systematically and extensively plundered in the 19th and early 20th centuries; see Higgins 1986, pp. 29–31. Red-figure workshops must have existed in the major Boiotian towns, such as Thebes, Tanagra, Chaironeia, and Thespiiai. The last was an important artistic center in the Classical period, known primarily for its local school of sculpture, which was influenced by Attic developments; it would be reasonable to suppose that it would also have been familiar with Attic red-figure ceramic production (for Thespiiai and its achievements in the domain of sculpture, see Schild-Xenidou 1972 and Bonanno-Aravantinou 1995). On the basis of its fabric (see p. 324, note 5 above), and given the artistic background of the city of Thespiiai, it would not be far-fetched to suggest that the Kanapitsa pyxis was as Thespian a product as the Polygnotan-inspired bell krater and the three Achilles Painter-inspired lekythoi, all found in the Polyandron, probably were; see Lullies 1940, pp. 8–13. Finally, red-figured pottery was found in the cemetery at Abai (Exarchos) on the border with Phokis and at Halai; vases from both these peripheral sites remain largely unpublished. For Abai, see Fossey 1986, p. 165; for Halai, Jones and Goldman 1942, esp. pl. 5.

⁵⁵ The same “Atticizing” trend has been noted on Euboian red-figure; see Gex and McPhee 1995, p. 7: “Many elements of the iconography are Athenian, but the synthesis is not.”

⁵⁶ This detail is also an indication that the Boiotian painter could not have been an Athenian working in Boiotia, as an Athenian painter would certainly have rendered the loutrophoros correctly. For a discussion about whether Athenian vase painters worked in Boiotia that focuses upon black-figured vases, see Kilinski 1990, pp. 22–24 (Camel Painter), pp. 35–38, esp. bibliography on p. 35, note 8 (black-figure artists thought to have migrated to Boiotia). For the well-known Athenian potter Teisias, who migrated to Boiotia, see Kilinski 1992. The situation is less clear in the second half of the 5th century B.C.; see generally McDonald 1981 (Boiotia not discussed).

⁵⁷ Red-figured vases manufactured in Boiotia usually bear red wash, and their glaze is not particularly lustrous; it is often applied unevenly and misfires red. See *CVA*, Zürich 1 [Switzerland 2], text on pl. 27:11, 12; *CVA*, Tübingen 5 [Germany 54], text on pl. 47:10; *CVA*, Kassel 1 [Germany 35], text on pl. 48:1–3; also Sparkes 1967, p. 117. For unevenly applied glaze, see also Ure 1953, pl. 66:2a. Another technical detail concerns the uneven relief line used for the contours of the figures, to be observed also on our pyxis (see, for example, the hand of the groom).

⁵⁸ The alphabet is Ionic except for the three-stroked sigma on the word *kalos*. In the second half of the 5th century B.C. inscriptions on Attic vases are in a mixed alphabet, which progressively gives way to the Ionic. The three-stroke sigma, however, still occurs until the early 4th century B.C. Inscriptions of the late 5th century are in small, elegant letters and are written horizontally above the heads of the figures, whereas on our vase they are in one case placed diagonally and occasionally between figures. This may be an indication of a date in the third quarter of the century; see Immerwahr 1990, pp. 109–127, esp. pp. 109 and 113–114. At the time our Boiotian copyist wrote in Ionic lettering, Boiotian inscriptions used the local alphabet. The date of the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in Boiotia is hypothetically placed in the first half of the 4th century B.C., at the earliest; see Vottéro 1996.

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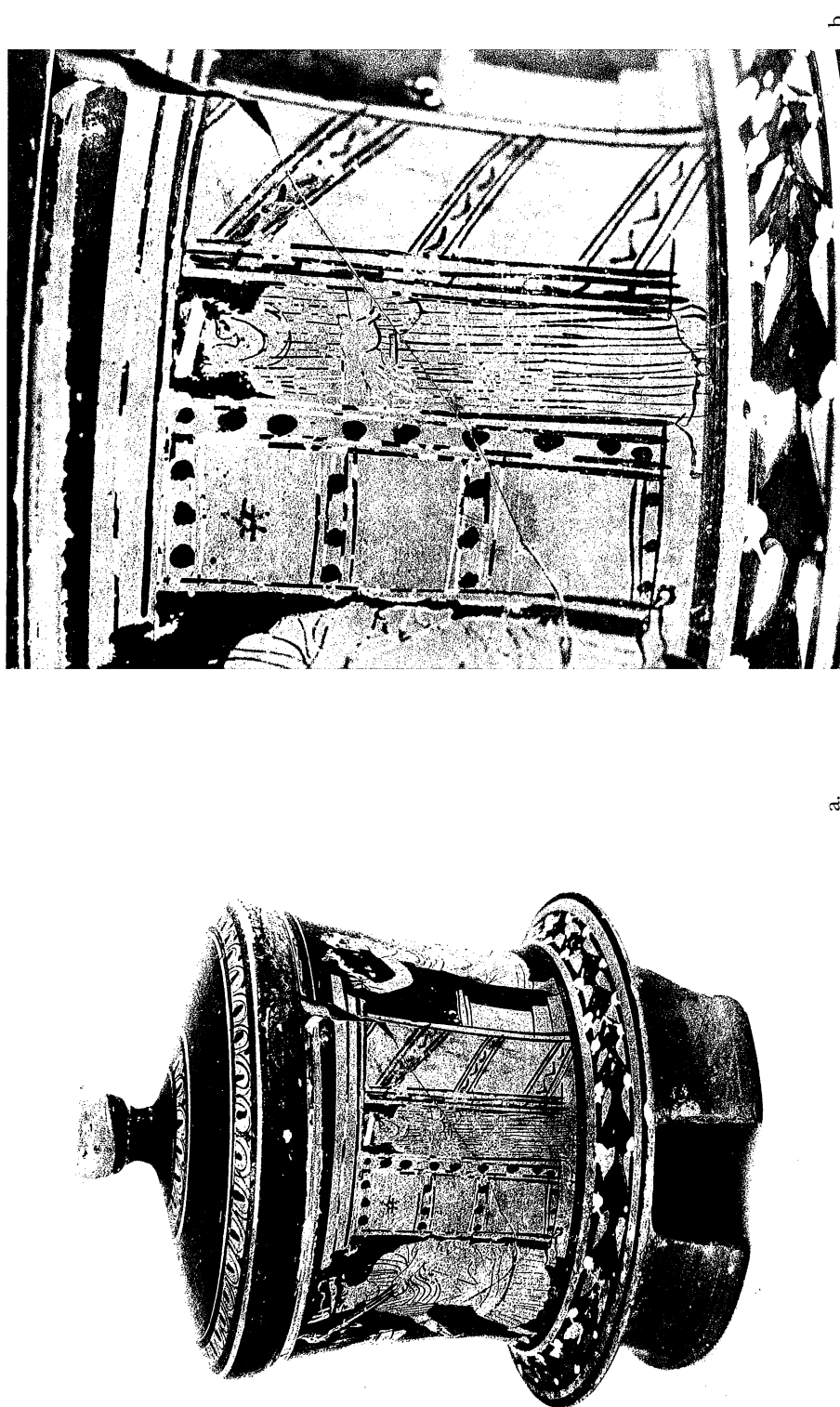
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a.

b.

Red-figured pyxis from Kanapitsa, inv. no. 31923 (photographs courtesy Thebes Museum)

VICTORIA SABETAI: MARRIAGE BOIOTIAN STYLE



a.



b.



c.



d.

Red-figured pyxis from Kanapitsa, inv. no. 31923 (photographs courtesy Thebes Museum)

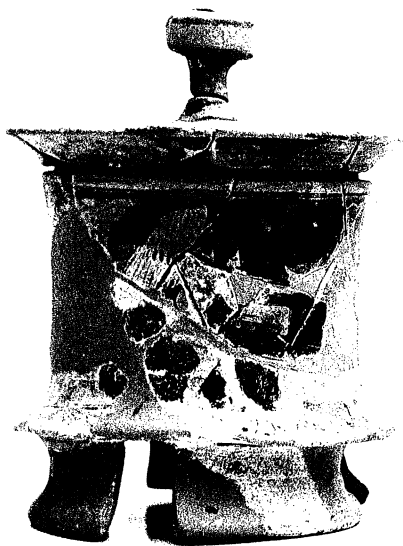
VICTORIA SABETAI: MARRIAGE BOIOTIAN STYLE



a. Red-figured pyxis from Kanapitsa, inv. no. 31923 (photographs courtesy Thebes Museum)



b.



c. Red-figured pyxis from the Thespian Polyandrion, inv. no. Th.P. 352 (photographs courtesy Thebes Museum)



d.