

MANY BRIDES: "MISTRESS AND MAID" ON ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI

(PLATES 73–81)

BEGINNING in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. the number of representations of women on Athenian vases increases appreciably, and the interpretation of these images remains disputed.¹ I propose here a new reading of one image which appeared at this time, the "mistress and maid". This label has been applied to a variety of scenes in which two women are shown in an interior setting and in which some element sets them apart, usually a difference in costume or a gesture signifying service by one woman to the other, or both. Although the theme appears on a wide variety of shapes, including oinochoai, hydriai, alabastra, pyxides, and lekythoi,² I focus my analysis on the straight-sided

¹ For interpretations of these representations of women, see, e.g., D. Williams, "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, edd., Detroit 1983, pp. 92–106 and T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, London 1972, pp. 226–243. This article is based on my M.A. thesis, "Mistress and Maid' Scenes on Athenian Lekythoi," Bryn Mawr College, 1986. A version of the paper was presented at the Bryn Mawr College Classics Colloquium in November 1986. I wish to thank Professors G. Ferrari Pinney and B. S. Ridgway for their valuable guidance and criticism.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Beazley, *AWL* = J. D. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi*, London 1938
 Brümmer, "Truhenbehälter" = E. Brümmer, "Griechische Truhenbehälter," *JdI* 100, 1985, pp. 1–168
 Buschor, *ALP* = E. Buschor, "Attische Lekythen der Parthenonzeit," *MüJb*, n.s. 2, 1925, pp. 167–199
 Fairbanks, *AWL* = A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi* I, New York 1907; II, 1914
 Kunze-Götte, *Frauengemachbilder* = E. Kunze-Götte, *Frauengemachbilder in der Vasenmalerei des fünften Jahrhunderts*, Aachen 1957
 Krug, *Binden* = A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst*, Hösel 1968
 Kurtz, *AWL* = D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi, Patterns and Painters*, Oxford 1975
 Kurtz, "Vases" = D. C. Kurtz, "Vases for the Dead, An Attic Selection, 750–400 B.C.," in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 12–15 April 1984*, H. A. G. Brijder, ed., pp. 314–328
 Riezler = W. Riezler, *Weissgründige attische Lekythen*, Munich 1914
 Roberts, *Pyxis* = S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis*, Chicago 1978
 Scheibler, "Exaleiptra" = I. Scheibler, "Exaleiptra," *JdI* 79, 1964, pp. 72–108
 Sutton, *Interaction* = R. F. Sutton, *The Interaction Between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red Figure Pottery*, diss. University of North Carolina, 1981

² Examples of "mistress and maid" on shapes other than lekythoi: Naples 81266, white-ground oinochoe, unattributed: 'Αρχ'Εφ 1905, p. 36 and I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, Mainz 1983, pl. 12:2. London, B.M. E 206, red-figured hydria, Washing Painter: *ARV*², p. 1131, no. 166; *CVA*, British Museum 6 [Great Britain 8], pl. 88 [363]:6. London, B.M. E 218, red-figured hydria, Shuvalov Painter: *ARV*², p. 1210, no. 62; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 171; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow-Maler*, Mainz 1976, pl. 94:a, b, and e. Athens, Vlasto Collection, alabastron, Dresden Painter: *ARV*², p. 656, no. 26. Munich 2723, red-figured pyxis, type C, Painter of London E 777: *ARV*², p. 944, no. 85; *CVA*, Munich 2 [Germany 6], pls. 98 [294]:1, 102 [298]:3. Munich 2721, red-figured pyxis, type A, Painter of Bologna 417: *ARV*², p. 917, no. 199; *Beazley*

Athenian lekythos, a limitation which restricts the study to funerary gifts and therefore to a body of material that is internally coherent by virtue of its purpose.

In the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., certainly by midcentury, the Attic lekythos, especially in white ground, can be said to be a funerary vessel.³ This conclusion is suggested by its presence in graves and by the invention of the false bottom, which indicates a symbolic, non-functional use.⁴ Moreover, the imagery of its decoration changes from many and varied themes which have no obvious connection with death and the grave to subjects which reflect on the theme of death:⁵ Hermes at a pithos charming souls,⁶ Hermes guiding a woman to Charon's boat for her journey to the Underworld,⁷ the lamentation over the dead,⁸ and, the most popular, the visit to the grave, in which the lekythos itself is sometimes seen.⁹ Along with these obviously funerary themes there appeared the "mistress and maid".

When the first English edition of *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* appeared in 1942, the term "mistress and maid" had already become standard.¹⁰ While it is common currency in the language of scholarship, however, the term has never been precisely defined or consistently applied; it is as if the connotations of the figural group were immediately and obviously recognizable, needing no explanation.¹¹ In consequence, while the "mistress and

Addenda, p. 149; *CVA*, Munich 2 [Germany 6], pls. 97 [293]:1, 3, and 4, 99 [295]:4. Paris, Cab. Méd. 476, white-ground squat lekythos, Painter of Athens 1826: *ARV*², p. 747, no. 29; Wehgartner, *op. cit.*, pl. 37:2. Göttingen, Universität ZV 65/1, red-figured squat lekythos, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 994, no. 104 *ter*; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; *JdI* 100, 1985, p. 75, ill. 24, fig. c. Tübingen 1228, red-figured squat lekythos, unattributed: C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Tübingen 1924, pl. 34, E131.

³ Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 5–6. According to Beazley the white-ground decoration was suitable for funerary purposes but not for practical use, because of its perishable nature.

⁴ Potters suspended a small cup within the vase; by filling this cup with oil the vessel appeared full when it was not, thus enabling the donor to economize while making a symbolic contribution to the dead. J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, New York 1965, pp. 24–25, fig. 150. Buschor (*ALP*, p. 169) places the start of the false bottom at 455–430 B.C. C. H. E. Haspels (*Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris 1936, pp. 176–177) places the start of the false bottom "two decades earlier", citing several vases by the Beldam Potter.

⁵ Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 5–6 and 13; D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, Ithaca 1971, pp. 102–105; Kurtz, "Vases," pp. 320–321.

⁶ Jena 338, Workshop and Manner of the Tymbos Painter: *ARV*², p. 760, no. 41; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 140; E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, London 1979, p. 26, fig. 19.

⁷ Athens, N.M. 1926, Sabouroff Painter: *ARV*², p. 846, no. 193; *Paralipomena*, p. 423; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 145; Vermeule, *op. cit.*, p. 9, fig. 4.

⁸ New York, M.M.A. 07.286.40, Sabouroff Painter: *ARV*², p. 846, no. 190; *Paralipomena*, p. 423; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 145; Riezler, pls. 44, 44a.

⁹ Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 9–12; Kurtz and Boardman (footnote 5 above), pp. 103–104; Kurtz, "Vases," pp. 320–321.

¹⁰ Although Beazley used the term "mistress and maid" in his descriptions, he questioned its accuracy. In discussing a red-figured pointed amphoriskos in Oxford (*CVA*, Oxford 1 [Great Britain 3], p. 31, no. 537, pl. 40 [132]:3–5), he pointed out that "Such helpers are usually termed servants, but they may just as often be meant for sisters." Further, in *Attic White Lekythoi* (p. 8), he spoke of "handmaid or sister".

¹¹ The question of the difference in status between the women depicted on the lekythoi arose in the late 19th century. When Pottier discussed scenes of prothesis on white-ground lekythoi, he questioned the supposed difference in status. He challenged the wisdom of designating some women as servants on the basis of the objects they held, or of their attitude, and observed further that there was no distinction in rank in their clothing. E. Pottier, *Études sur les lecythes blancs attiques*, Paris 1896, pp. 15–16.

maid" group has been generally recognized as a distinct iconographic unit, its content and meaning have never been specifically the focus of study. There arises moreover the question of function: why would the Athenians of the 5th century B.C. place within a tomb, or set above one, a grave vessel bearing the image of a woman and her servant? This is the question with which my research began and to which an answer may now be suggested.

My conclusions are drawn from a study of 109 lekythoi in both white ground and red figure (see the catalogue, below, pp. 431–444).¹² The imagery presents the following consistent features that define the iconographic unit: two women are shown in an interior setting indicated by hanging objects (oinochoe, sakkos, and mirror are the standard articles); furniture, usually a chair or stool, also indicates that the location is indoors. The women are not engaged in any productive domestic activity such as weaving or spinning, and a limited repertory of objects runs throughout the various versions of the scene, connecting them all: the basket of fillets and wreaths, the plemochoe, the alabastron, and the casket are seen most often.

Within this broad definition, three groups, or different combinations of these elements, can be distinguished. A detailed examination of their characteristics suggests three conclusions: that the theme does not depict a mistress and servant; that the scene is not funerary; and that the pictures show a bride and her companions. Finally, it can also be explained why this scene was considered appropriate to a funerary vessel.

Type I

A frequent scene, it places a seated woman ("mistress") opposite one standing ("maid") (1–41). The "mistress" wears chiton and himation with predictable consistency, receives or holds an object, or is otherwise engaged; on most lekythoi, when she performs an action, she makes a wreath. The "maid" often wears a peplos or sleeveless chiton, but there are exceptions, and she either holds or brings an object to the seated woman. The contrast between sitting and standing woman and between receiver and bringer and the difference in dress are the most consistent elements in the scene. It is evidently this type which inspired the term "mistress and maid".

Of the objects held by the two women, the basket of fillets and wreaths is the most frequent. It is usually shown with the fillets draped over the side, and occasionally with wreaths and stuffed fillets inside (Pl. 73 [25]). Next come the casket, the plemochoe, and the alabastron. Items which appear less frequently are the pyxis, the mirror, the loutrophoros hydria, and the basket of fruit.¹³ An occasional element in the scene is the small naked boy

¹² Beazley's descriptions in *ARV*² and the corpus of white-ground lekythoi were the starting points for the study. Scenes on white lekythoi labeled by Beazley "mistress and maid" correspond to a well-defined type. It was necessary, however, to take into account vases which were labeled by Beazley simply "two women", and to extend the study to red-figured lekythoi, because the shape of the vases, the number of figures included, and the actions, setting, and repertoire of objects shown were the same. The "mistress and maid" scenes appear in both white ground and red figure and seem to have been most popular from 460 to 430 B.C., i.e., when the funerary association of the lekythos had been established. Many of the lekythoi were painted by the Achilles Painter (generally dated between 460 and 430 B.C.). After 430 B.C. the theme loses its popularity on lekythoi; indeed, the Achilles Painter seems to cease painting this subject and to adopt the current fashion for the visit to the tomb. See Kurtz, *AWL*, p. 46 and, for a general discussion of the Achilles Painter, pp. 41–48.

¹³ The "maid" holds a basket of fruit, and the "mistress" a pyxis, on the name piece of the Painter of Athens

who sometimes wears amulets across his chest and is handed over by the “maid” to the seated “mistress” or placed next to them (Pl. 74 [17]).¹⁴

Type II

The second category shows two standing figures (42–58). Here one woman is clearly in the process of dressing and is consistently shown in a chiton.¹⁵ She frequently holds or is about to receive a rolled himation; as a variant she ties a girdle about her waist. Her assistant is often a shorter, at times clearly a younger girl. A fully grown woman in chiton and himation, however, can perform the same function as the junior assistant. The alabastron is the most frequent object; plemochoe and mirror appear occasionally (Pl. 75 [53]).

Type III

The third type of “mistress and maid” scene has two women standing facing each other (59–109). Again, the interior setting is indicated through furniture and objects on the wall, and the preferred piece of furniture is a stool, not a chair. The contrast in costume is still an important element, but there is more variation. For example, the himation may be omitted, or the contrast may be more subtle or entirely absent.¹⁶ Both women often hold or bring objects. On some lekythoi the line between “server” and “served” has completely broken down; both women appear to be equals sharing a common task. The most frequent article is again the basket of fillets and wreaths, followed by plemochoe, alabastron, and casket; there are no small boys (Pl. 76 [89]). In this type, however, there are also indications of the junior status of one woman. A number of the figures are depicted as significantly shorter or as obviously young girls; these girls often carry a casket.

Past interpretations of the meaning of these scenes have appeared in general studies of Athenian white lekythoi, and they express two different views: the pictures are either taken to be “genre” or are viewed as an idealized rendering of the dead.¹⁷ The first results in seeing

12789: *ARV*², p. 750, no. 1 (11). The “mistress” holds a loutrophoros hydria on Hamburg 1908.93, Quadrate Painter: *ARV*², p. 1237, no. 9 (28; Pl. 80:b). A mirror is brought to the “mistress” on Athens, N.M. 12788, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 996, no. 130 (10).

¹⁴ Copenhagen, N.M. 1941, Beldam Painter: *ARV*², p. 751, no. 3 (24). Berlin 2443, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 995, no. 118; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152 (17). Athens, N.M. 1947, Painter of Munich 2335: *ARV*², p. 1168, no. 133 (5). London, B.M. 1907.7–10.10, fr., Bosanquet Painter: *ARV*², p. 1227, no. 10; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174 (35).

¹⁵ Although at least one figure wears a chiton, the contrast in costume is not always maintained; for example, on London, B.M. D 48, Achilles Painter (*ARV*², p. 997, no. 148; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152 [50]); both figures wear a chiton.

¹⁶ The difference in dress may be in the color or the draping. For example, on Madrid 11189, Achilles Painter (*ARV*², p. 997, no. 153; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152 [99]), the contrast in costume is one of color, dark red on the woman at the left and light on the woman at the right, but both costumes appear to be the peplos (possibly in different fabric or draping?), and neither woman wears the himation. Color descriptions from Fairbanks, *AWL* I, p. 218.

¹⁷ A notable exception to the funerary interpretation of these scenes was advanced by Webster ([footnote 1 above] p. 73), who said in regard to scenes in which women handle baskets: “I suspect that many of these scenes show preparations for taking offerings to shrines, as well as for walking in religious processions.”

the "mistress and maid" unit as a variety of unconnected themes: "mistress at her toilet", "mistress dressing", and "mistress and maid preparing to go to the cemetery".¹⁸ Several scholars have presented an opposing view, that the pictures carried a symbolic message and were not meant to be looked upon as everyday scenes.¹⁹ The "mistress" is the dear departed, shown as if alive and receiving the appropriate honors bestowed upon her by her relations. The "mistress", however, rather than being depicted at the grave, is located in her home. This interpretation depends upon the argument that the imagery unites the world of the living with that of the dead, as indeed sometimes happens on lekythoi.²⁰

Both interpretations encounter difficulties when the picture shows a straightforward toilet scene (the "mistress dressing") or when a scene is identical to the "preparation to visit the grave" in all aspects, except that it contains no clearly identifiable grave goods. Scholars have admitted that it is at times difficult to distinguish a scene of preparations for the cemetery from one which could also be labeled "mistress receiving perfume from her maid". When the "maid" brings an alabastron to the "mistress", is it for her personal use or is she about to take it on a visit to the cemetery?²¹ Nothing in such a scene allows a definite conclusion to be drawn, since the alabastron is not exclusively a grave gift. Is the "mistress" simply dressing, or is she handing her mantle to the maid who will take it to the cemetery?²² In the face of this difficulty scholars theorized that the non-funerary toilet scene preceded scenes with funerary content and that the latter grew out of the former in a development confined to the visual and artistic sphere.²³ This reconstruction, however, is contradicted by

¹⁸ In 1907 Arthur Fairbanks (*AWL* I, p. 343) argued that the scenes showed women preparing to visit the grave; his theory was based on the identification of the objects which the women handled in their homes as grave goods. He stated that the fillets, basket, and perfume vessels indicated a ceremony which was to take place at the cemetery. In 1914 Walter Riezler (*Riezler*, p. 19), in agreement with Fairbanks, recognized two stages or types of "mistress and maid" scene. The "mistress and maid" prepare the basket and gather the grave goods, and then the two women rise in order to visit the cemetery. An alternative possibility is that the "mistress" dispatches the "maid" with the basket, an interpretation apparently suggested by grave visitation scenes in which no "mistress" is present, but only the "maid". Beazley (*AWL*, pp. 8–9) too preferred the genre explanation but stated that seeing the seated woman as the dead is "not easy to disprove". Kurtz and Boardman ([footnote 5 above] pp. 103–104) also see mourners preparing baskets for presentation at the grave.

¹⁹ In 1904 Arthur von Salis argued that the "mistress" should be viewed as the dead. More recently Ernst Buschor also argued that as the white lekythos established itself as a funerary vessel, scenes of life were given a funerary significance by placing grave goods in the hands of the dead woman. A. von Salis, "Studien zu den attischen Lekythen," in *Juvenes dum sumus. Aufsätze zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft der 49. Versammlung deutschen Philologen und Schulmänner zu Basel*, Basel 1901–1907 (pp. 62–74), pp. 68–69. Buschor, *ALP*, pp. 171–172, and *idem*, *Grab eines attischen Mädchen*, Munich 1959, p. 47, in which he viewed the seated woman as an oblique reference to the grave tumulus and the "maid" as if standing before the tomb.

²⁰ Although the juxtaposition of the worlds of the living and dead does seem to occur, it is, as noted by Kurtz ("Vases," p. 328), an interpretation dependent on a small number of vases.

²¹ London, B.M. D 57, Thanatos Painter: *ARV*², p. 1228, no. 5; Beazley *Addenda*, p. 174 (34).

²² For example, New York, M.M.A. 54.11.7, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 1001, no. 204 (54). R. Weishäupl, "Die Anfänge der attischen Grablekythos," in *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, Vienna 1898 (pp. 89–94), p. 90. Weishäupl considered such a scene as an intermediate step between the toilet scene and the grave scene and believed that the mantle was to be taken to the cemetery.

²³ By the early 20th century it was held that the toilet scene was introduced for the lekythos before it became an exclusively funerary vessel, because pictures of women dressing or receiving perfume or a casket from a "maid" would have been appropriate to the cosmetic contents of the lekythos. Then, as the lekythos came

the evidence of the vases. In the development of the “mistress and maid” type, the simple toilet scenes are neither earlier nor later than those which appear to be funerary.²⁴ In addition, pictures of the “mistress” at her toilet were obviously an acceptable funerary subject, since the “mistress dressing” appears on a lekythos with a false bottom.²⁵

It is clear that the generally accepted interpretations of the “mistress and maid” scenes are not adequate and that other explanations must be sought for these images. I would propose first that these scenes do not show a woman and her servant. The label “mistress and maid” should not be taken literally; rather, we should think in terms of *woman and attendant*. The designation “mistress and maid” appears to have been based largely on scenes of Type I, in which a difference in dress and the fact that one woman serves another suggested a difference in status.²⁶ Indeed the costumes do provide some important information about the scene. Although the attendant frequently wears the peplos, she occasionally wears chiton and himation, the same costume as the “mistress”.²⁷ The fact that the attendant can wear clothing identical with that of the woman she serves indicates that the term “maid” is incorrect.

In addition, the peplos is not the garment of a servant. It is worn by a variety of females of all ages and stations in life. The ungirt peplos is worn frequently by girls, and Artemis, a most exceptional “girl”, also wears the ungirt peplos; the girdled peplos is the costume of Athena Parthénos.²⁸ Further, that the contrast in costume does not indicate a mistress-servant relationship can be seen in the Great Eleusinian Relief, on which Demeter and Kore are shown in this combination, Demeter in peplos and Kore in chiton and himation.²⁹

increasingly to be used as a grave gift, the Attic painters adapted the purely domestic scene to serve the growing funerary function. To do so they placed grave goods in the hands of the women, supposedly thus altering the meaning of the scene. For those who see it as an everyday scene, “woman at her toilet” was altered to “women preparing to visit the cemetery”. In the view of Fairbanks (*AWL* I, p. 343), the preparation to visit the grave was “. . . a natural transition from domestic scenes to scenes at the grave.” He considered the presence of fillets or a basket of fillets as an unequivocal reference to the grave, and further, that most domestic scenes on the white lekythoi were made before the scene at the grave became common. See also Beazley, *AWL*, pp. 8–9. For scholars favoring the idealization of the dead, the grave goods make a living woman at her toilet into a dead woman receiving funeral gifts. Buschor, *ALP*, pp. 171–172 and *idem* (footnote 19 above), p. 47.

²⁴ Examples of “mistress and maid” scenes with doubtful funerary significance and the more straightforward appearance of a toilet scene: Athens, N.M. 12788, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 996, no. 130 (10). Brussels A 8, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 995, no. 121 (23). London, B.M. D 57, Thanatos Painter: *ARV*², p. 1228, no. 5; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174 (34). Newcastle-upon-Tyne, King’s College, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 996, no. 142 (37). Athens, N.M. 12746, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 999, no. 184 (43). Bonn 65 (once), Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 998, no. 159 (47). New York, M.M.A. 08.258.17, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 999, no. 181 (53; Pl. 75). Toronto 377, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 999, no. 182 (57).

²⁵ Rouen 1877, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 1000, no. 197 (55).

²⁶ Riezler, p. 19.

²⁷ Honolulu 2892, Sabouroff Painter: *ARV*², p. 844, no. 153; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 145 (29).

²⁸ M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin 1928, p. 18. For example, Artemis wears an ungirt peplos on a red-figured lekythos by the Achilles Painter in Syracuse: Syracuse 21186: *ARV*², p. 993, no. 80, *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152, Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 34, no. 2, and see footnote 45 below. For the peplos see also B. S. Ridgway, “The Fashion of the Elgin Kore,” *GettyMusJ* 12, 1984, pp. 29–58.

²⁹ B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981, pp. 138–141; L. Schneider, “Das grosse eleusinische Relief und seine Kopien,” *AntP* XII, Berlin 1973, pp. 103–124. For the iconography

Short hair and reduced size have been considered the marks of a servant in the iconography of vases.³⁰ Few attendants in the scenes under discussion, however, wear short hair, and the women often have similar hairstyles. When short hair does appear it is most often combined with reduced size and youthful appearance. It is not certain that all short-haired attendants can be understood as servants or slaves; they may merely be young girls. An indication that short hair and smaller size represent a young girl is found on the fragmentary krateriskoi from Brauron.³¹ There is little on the lekythoi which securely designates any person as a servant.

The idea that these pictures are funerary, in the sense that they show women preparing to visit the cemetery or dead women receiving grave gifts, is based largely upon the identification as "grave goods" of the objects they handle (basket, fillets, plemochoe, alabastron, and casket), a conclusion drawn from comparisons to grave visitation scenes on white-ground lekythoi.³² In order to clarify the meaning of the theme, it is necessary to dissociate these objects from their supposed funerary meaning. Greek vases show us that these objects are capable of serving more than one purpose, that they are not exclusively funerary. Furthermore, by taking each major object and looking at its imagery on other shapes, especially loutrophoroi, lebetes gamikoi, and pyxides, one can see that collectively they belong to the iconography of the Athenian wedding.

The object seen most often in the scenes in question is the basket of fillets and wreaths. It is depicted as a large, open, handleless basket with a slight inward taper toward the base and a shallow to moderate depth (Pl. 77 [9]).³³ The fact that on lekythoi this type appears so often at the graveside has led to its identification as a grave basket.³⁴ But the type appears

of Demeter and Kore: A. Peschlow-Bindokat, "Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *JdI* 87, 1972, pp. 60–157.

³⁰ Himmelmann, in his study of the representations of slavery in ancient Greek art, notes that in the 5th century B.C., short hair, cut at about chin length, and oriental sleeved garments are characteristic of a female slave. N. Himmelmann, *Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abh. d. Geistes- und Socialwiss. Kl. 1971, Nr. 13), Mainz 1971, p. 16.

³¹ These vases show young girls of varying ages participating in the sacred rites of the sanctuary. Some of these young girls wear short hair at chin length very much like the so-called maids. Since we know that noble young women participated in the cult festivities at Brauron (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 645ff.), we must seriously question the belief that short hair and small size always indicate a servant. L. Ghali-Kahil, "Autour de l'Artémis attique," *AntK* 8, 1965 (pp. 20–33), pp. 21–22, esp. pl. 8, fig. 5; *eadem*, "L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère," *AntK* 20, 1977 (pp. 86–98), pp. 89–93, esp. the foldout and pls. 18 and 19.

³² Fairbanks, *AWL* I, p. 343; Riezler, p. 19; Buschor, *ALP*, pp. 171–172; Beazley, *AWL*, p. 9.

³³ On the lekythoi, however, its shape and depth can vary. Two basic shapes appear in the "mistress and maid" scenes on lekythoi: straight-sided and slope-sided, with the latter predominating. With straight sides: Athens, N.M. 17493, Painter of Athens 1826: *ARV*², p. 746, no. 18 (12); Athens, N.M. 12785, Painter of Athens 12789: *ARV*², p. 750, no. 2 (8).

³⁴ Straight-sided baskets were often lidded and probably were used in addition to or in place of caskets. These lidded baskets often appear in toilet scenes. On the lidded basket, see Brümmer, "Truhenbehälter," pp. 16–22 and 144. I think that there is no essential difference in function between the two shapes, because the straight-sided basket can also be brought to the grave, as on the lekythoi Copenhagen, N.M. 1945, Tymbos Painter (*ARV*², p. 755, no. 20; *CVA*, Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4], pl. 170 [170]:4) and Louvre, MNB 616, Reed Painter (*ARV*², p. 1378, no. 44; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 186; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 22:2. For another view, which divides the two shapes into "Grabgabenkorb" and "Kasten mit Flechtmustern", see Kunze-Götte, *Frauengemachbilder*, pp. 72–76.

also in red-figured scenes with decidedly non-funerary connections. A fragmentary loutrophoros hydria shows it in use in a marriage custom called the *katachysmata*, the pouring of dried fruits and nuts over the bride and groom after she enters her new home (Pl. 78:a).³⁵ Here the basket is held over the head of the groom prior to the spilling of its contents over his head, as Eros flies above the bride bearing a fillet. The basket appears again on a fragmentary loutrophoros in Oxford, on which a bride's attendant brings a basket containing a plemochoe, while above the bride's head Eros carries the wedding torches.³⁶ A basket is often an element in wedding processions and in toilet scenes which have wedding connotations.³⁷ It is obviously an object which can serve on at least two occasions, wedding and funeral, and was probably an all-purpose container with a variety of uses.

The objects which fill the basket, the varied types of fillets and wreaths,³⁸ have often been taken as evidence of its funerary purpose because they are pictured in the "visit to the tomb" on white-ground lekythoi, but again they serve multiple purposes.³⁹

Two types of fillet appear most often in the "mistress and maid" scenes, either in the basket (upright or draped over the side) or in the hands of women (Pls. 73, 76–78:a). The most common is a woven band with rounded ends and hanging cords: this type is worn by gods and goddesses and by men and women, and it appears both in scenes of women's toilet and marriage and in subjects ranging from sacrifice to Dionysiac revels. It is used to bind the hair and gird the waist.⁴⁰ This fillet is an integral part of wedding iconography. A loutrophoros once in Berlin depicts a wedding procession in which the groom lifts the bride into

³⁵ Boston, M.F.A. 10.223, Phiale Painter: *ARV*², p. 1017, no. 44. J. Oakley, "The Anakalypteria," *AA (JdI 97)* 1982, pp. 113–118, figs. 1–3. Sutton, *Interaction*, pp. 197–201 and 253, pl. 15, W.63. Also note that the slope-sided basket appears on the Brauron krateriskoi: Ghali-Kahil, 1977 (footnote 31 above), foldout and pls. 18 and 19.

³⁶ Oxford 1927.4066: *CVA*, Oxford 2 [Great Britain 9], pl. 59 [423]:1 and 2.

³⁷ Carried in a wedding procession: Toronto 635 (C. 935), Polygnotos: *ARV*², p. 1031, no. 51; D. Robinson and G. Harcum, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto*, Toronto 1930, no. 635, pp. 280–284, pls. 106–108. London, B.M. 1920.12-21.1, Marlay Painter: *ARV*², p. 1277, no. 23; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 178; *AA (JdI 92)* 1977, p. 16, fig. 3. Bologna 236, Alkimachos Painter: *ARV*², p. 532, no. 44; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 124; *CVA*, Bologna 1 [Italy 5], pl. 25 [222]:1–3 (the basket is carried by a satyr). Wedding preparations: Athens, N.M. 14790, Washing Painter: *ARV*², p. 1126, no. 4; *AM* 71, 1956, fig. 117. Wedding/toilet scene depicting the persuasion of Helen, in which the basket is held by Peitho: Berlin 30036, red-figured amphoriskos, Heimarene Painter: *ARV*², p. 1173, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 459; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 166; illustrated and discussed by L. B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène*, Paris 1955, pp. 59–60, pl. VIII:2–3. Shallow, straight-sided baskets are also seen in wedding processions on black-figured vases; these baskets may or may not be lidded: see I. Krauskopf, "Eine attisch schwarzfigurige Hydria in Heidelberg," *AA (JdI 92)* 1977 (pp. 13–37), pp. 13–24.

³⁸ The Achilles Painter depicted a variety of fillets and wreaths in the basket: long, flat, cloth fillets, tubular fillets, and wreaths, which he occasionally seems to differentiate in drawing (flowers versus leaves?), e.g., Athens, N.M. 1963: *ARV*², p. 995, no. 122; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152 (65).

³⁹ "Fillets or *tainiai* are not specifically funerary; they have a general cult significance, setting off the object which they adorn from a common to a special use." Kurtz, *AWL*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ According to Krug's typology the fillet is of type 1; Krug, *Binden*, pp. 3–9, 60–68, 114–135. For binding the hair see Gela N 64, Providence Painter: *ARV*², p. 640, no. 72; *Paralipomena*, p. 400; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 133 (49). The type can be clearly seen girdling the waist on London, B.M. E 307: *CVA*, British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7], pl. 55 [305]:1a.

the waiting chariot; the driver of the chariot can be seen to wear several fillets about his waist.⁴¹ In another scene on a pyxis fragment in Athens the bride awaits the approaching groom, and her attendant applies some last-minute touches, probably perfume, to her hair.⁴² The bride has been veiled, and across her lap lie several sashes of the same type that are seen hanging from the baskets on lekythoi. They also were used to decorate the loutrophoros in scenes of wedding preparations. On a pyxis in New York (Pl. 78:b), women tie bands around a loutrophoros as the bride bathes and dresses.⁴³ It is apparent that fillets were a festive element at weddings, carried and worn by the participants, draped about vessels, and perhaps given to the bride. Their presence in the "mistress and maid" scene does not indicate a trip to the cemetery.

Another type, the stuffed fillet, is recognizable by its patterned decoration and stiff, upright wreath form; when untied it hangs over the basket but is shorter than the other type (Pls. 73 and 77).⁴⁴ Its length was usually sufficient to circle the head without overlapping. This fillet also had a variety of uses; it was worn by both men and women and by characters ranging from maenads to flute players.⁴⁵

The wreath also is an object used in a variety of settings ranging from funerary to festive. The ancient Greeks wore and used wreaths on the occasion of birth, marriage, and death, in cult practices, and at symposia and festivals.⁴⁶ Brides and grooms apparently gave

⁴¹ Berlin 2372. G. von Lucken, *Greek Vase Paintings*, The Hague 1923, pl. 20. See also footnote 49 below.

⁴² Athens, Akropolis 569, Penthesilea Painter: *ARV*², p. 890, no. 172; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 148. The scene was interpreted as the final preparation of the bride and the entrance of the groom by Sutton (*Interaction*, pp. 201–202). That perfume is being applied to the hair is suggested by Scheibler ("Exaleiptra," p. 81). See also B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* II, ii, Berlin 1933, pl. 43, and p. 52 and Roberts, *Pyxis*, pp. 84–85, pls. 56, 57, 58:2, and 59:1.

⁴³ New York, M.M.A. 1972.118.148, red-figure pyxis, unattributed. See footnote 62 below.

⁴⁴ Tubular fillets were a favorite of the Achilles Painter; he was one of the few masters who placed this type on white-ground lekythoi: Kurtz, *AWL*, pp. 50–51 and p. 51, note 1.

⁴⁵ Krug's type 4; the fillet looks like a stuffed sausage: it was possibly a cloth tube filled with wool or some other material. Krug, *Binden*, pp. 15–19, 76–81, 117–118. Beazley suggested that it contained straw or even roses: J. D. Beazley, "A Lekythos by the Achilles Painter," *JHS* 66, 1946 (pp. 11–12), p. 11; and *CB* I, p. 49. For the opinion that it is a flower wreath, not a cloth fillet, see M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin/New York 1982, pp. 44–46. The tubular fillet is worn at the wedding feast depicted on Louvre G 345; see footnote 79 below. It is worn by a goddess in a picture which may possibly depict a marriage custom: the red-figured lekythos Syracuse 21186 by the Achilles Painter (see footnote 28 above) depicts Artemis wearing a stuffed fillet as she stands holding a torch, bow, and arrows. Opposite her a woman is untying her girdle. The scene has been interpreted as the untying (and implied dedication) of the girdle before Artemis in order to insure the safe delivery of a child: *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Artemis, p. 676, no. 721a. At what point before the birth of a child this ritual took place is unclear. Perhaps the Syracuse vase may represent the custom as reported in the *Suda*, that the girl about to marry dedicated her maiden girdle to Artemis before going to her marriage bed: *Λυσιζώνος γυνή· ἀνδρὶ πλησιάσασα. αἱ γὰρ παρθένοι μέλλουσαι πρὸς μίξιν ἔρχεσθαι, ἀνετίθεσαν τὰς παρθενικὰς αὐτῶν ζώνας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι* (*Suidae Lexicon* III, A. Adler, ed., Stuttgart 1967, p. 302, no. 859). See also J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis*, Giessen 1911, p. 79. The stuffed fillet also appears on a lebes gamikos, in the field near the feet of the seated bride, further demonstrating its connection to wedding imagery: Bonn 1520, recalls the Mykonos Painter: *ARV*², p. 516; *CVA*, Bonn 1 [Germany 1], pls. 12 [12]:4 and 14 [14]:4. It may also be worn by several participants in a wedding procession on a white-ground pyxis in London, B.M. D 11, Splanchnopt Painter: *ARV*², p. 899, no. 146; Wehgartner (footnote 2 above), pl. 50:1–3.

⁴⁶ *RE* XI, ii, cols. 1594–1603, *s.v.* Kranz (R. Ganszyniec). See also Blech (footnote 45 above).

each other wreaths before the wedding.⁴⁷ Wreaths were used to decorate the house, worn by the participants in the wedding procession, and used in rites and symposia associated with the wedding.⁴⁸ Evidence for the use of wreaths in the wedding can be seen on a krater in Ferrara which depicts the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; here wreaths are bestowed on both bride and groom.⁴⁹

The plemochoe was a toilet article.⁵⁰ Its use can be seen on a red-figured squat lekythos on which a naked woman about to dress is shown with a plemochoe at her feet.⁵¹ In wedding iconography the plemochoe appears in numerous scenes of the bride's preparations, where the seated bride is surrounded by attendants who bring the objects for her toilet.⁵²

The plemochoe is one kind of perfume container, and the alabastron is another.⁵³ Its use in the toilet, mainly by women, is attested on numerous vases; its contents could be used to scent the hair and were used in the bath.⁵⁴ In "mistress and maid" scenes, it is paired with

⁴⁷ Ganszyniec, *op. cit.*, cols. 1594–1595.

⁴⁸ Blech (footnote 45 above), pp. 75–81.

⁴⁹ Ferrara 2893 (T617), Peleus Painter (*ARV*², p. 1038, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 443; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 155; *AntK* 23, 1980, pl. 29:1), on which Eros holds a wreath over Thetis' head, and Aphrodite, over that of Peleus. The bride is also brought a wreath on a loutrophoros as she is being lifted into the chariot: Berlin 2372: A. Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff*, Berlin 1883–1887, I, pls. LVIII, LIX; Von Lücken (footnote 41 above), pl. 20 (part); I. Jenkins, "Is There Life After Marriage? A Study of the Abduction Motif in Vase Paintings of the Athenian Wedding Ceremony," *BICS* 30, 1983 (pp. 137–145), p. 137, fig. 1.

⁵⁰ Scheibler ("Exaleiptra") argues that the correct name of the vase is "exaleiptron", but I retain the term plemochoe as it is a generally understood designation for the vase. See also I. Scheibler, "Kothon-Exaleiptron: Addenda," *AA (JdI* 83) 1968, pp. 389–397 and M. G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece*, New York 1984, pp. 33–36, 119–20.

⁵¹ New York, M.M.A. 30.11.8, Eretria Painter: *ARV*², p. 1248, no. 4. G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven 1936, no. 141, pls. 142 and 176.

⁵² Scheibler, "Exaleiptra," pp. 84–86. For example, the wedding preparations of Thetis on a red-figured pyxis: *BCH* 86, 1962, pp. 645–646, fig. 4 left and pl. 24, or the fragmentary loutrophoroi, Oxford 1927.4066, unattributed, and Oxford 1927.4067, Related to the Painter of Athens 1454: *ARV*², p. 1179; *CVA*, Oxford 2 [Great Britain 9], pl. 59 [423]:1–4. Scheibler ("Exaleiptra," pp. 88–91) states that the vessel probably contained some type of scented water or oil. It would have been a suitable container when larger quantities of scent were needed, for oiling the body, scenting clothes, bedding, and similar tasks. For the scenting of clothes with perfume, see L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford 1987, p. 89. A container of scented oil or cologne must have been a valued item in the bridal toilet or a welcome gift. The place of perfumes at weddings is also shown in literature, e.g. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 529: οὔτε μύροισιν μυρίσαι στακτοῖς, ὁπόταν νύμφην ἀγάγησθον (Rich perfumes no more will ye sprinkle and pour as home ye are bringing the bride. Tr. B. B. Rogers); Xenophon, *Symposium*, II.3: αἱ μέντοι γυναῖκες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἦν νύμφαι τύχῳσιν οὔσαι, ὥσπερ ἡ Νικηράτου τοῦδε καὶ ἡ Κριτοβούλου, μύρον μὲν τί καὶ προσδέονται, αὐτὰ γὰρ τούτου ὄζουσιν (And as for the women, particularly if they chance to be young brides, like the wives of Niceratus here and Critobulus, how can they want any additional perfume? For that is what they are redolent of, themselves. Tr. O. J. Todd).

⁵³ Scheibler ("Exaleiptra," pp. 88–89) points out that its narrow neck made it suitable for expensive perfumes which may have evaporated easily; it was probably filled with such scents as rose, lily, cinnamon, cypress, and saffron. The fact that it is often paired with the plemochoe probably indicates two different types of scent. For alabastra see also D. A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai: Vases and Other Containers," *Hesperia* 27, 1958 (pp. 163–310), pp. 213–217 and Kanowski (footnote 50 above), pp. 15–17.

⁵⁴ The use in connection with care of the hair can be seen on the pelike Würzburg 510, Tyszkiewicz Painter: *ARV*², p. 296 (a); E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen, Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg*, Munich 1932, pl. 179. The use in the bath on the stamnos, Munich 2411, Group of Polygnotos:

objects which do not point to the grave; for example, a lekythos by the Achilles Painter shows the alabastron with a mirror.⁵⁵ It appears often in the bride's preparations; for example, a scene on a lebes gamikos in Copenhagen shows the bride sitting on a stool with a lebes on her lap while an attendant stands before her holding a lidless pyxis and an alabastron.⁵⁶

The last major object which appears in the "mistress and maid" scenes is the casket.⁵⁷ It is a small, hand-held type, not a chest large enough to be used as a seat. Its contents are generally not shown, but on several lekythoi the casket appears in use, indicating that it is not a grave gift but an element in the woman's toilet. On Athens, N.M. 1645 the "mistress" peers into the casket as she raises the lid: on Berlin 2449 she reaches forward to receive an object which her "maid" is extracting from the casket, and on a lekythos by the Phiale Painter in Gela, the "mistress" looks into a mirror as the open casket sits on the floor near her feet, indicating its recent use.⁵⁸ The contents of such caskets, according to Brümmer, may have been textiles, jewelry, other objects of precious metal, including coins, or even book scrolls.⁵⁹ The casket too had its place in wedding iconography.⁶⁰ The casket, or jewel box, is part of numerous scenes of the bride's preparations.⁶¹

In summary, no object shown in the "mistress and maid" scenes points exclusively to the grave. The theme is the adornment of a woman, and the action on the lekythoi finds direct parallels in wedding imagery. Examination of this imagery clarifies what the three types of "mistress and maid" scenes represent.

On an Attic pyxis dated *ca.* 430–420 B.C., various stages of wedding preparations are shown (Pl. 78:b).⁶² First, for the bridal bath the naked bride crouches before a small Eros,

*ARV*², p. 1051, no. 18; *Paralipomena*, p. 444; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 157; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, fig. 564.

⁵⁵ Athens, N.M. 12788, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 996, no. 130 (10).

⁵⁶ Copenhagen, N.M. 9165, Mykonos Painter: *ARV*², p. 514, no. 2; *CVA*, Copenhagen 8 [Denmark 8], pls. 343 [346]:3, 344 [347]:1. The pyxis is also one of the objects shown on the "mistress and maid" lekythoi, although it is seen infrequently.

⁵⁷ For the casket, see Brümmer, "Truhenbehälter."

⁵⁸ Athens, N.M. 1645, Nikon Painter: *ARV*², p. 652, no. 34 (1); Berlin 2449, Phiale Painter: *ARV*², p. 1022, no. 140 (18). Gela, Phiale Painter: *ARV*², p. 1022, no. 124 *bis*, p. 1678; *Paralipomena*, p. 441 (27).

⁵⁹ Brümmer, "Truhenbehälter," pp. 94–104.

⁶⁰ As on a lebes gamikos in New York, on which the bride sits holding a musical instrument while her attendants bring in several caskets, a loutrophoros hydria decked with fillets, and a basket. New York, M.M.A. 07.286.35, Washing Painter: *ARV*², p. 1126, no. 1; Richter and Hall (footnote 51 above), no. 145, pls. 146, 174.

⁶¹ The wedding preparations of Thetis, for example, include a casket and plemochoe as well as other toilet articles; see footnote 52 above. See also another wedding scene: London, B.M. E 774, Eretria Painter: *ARV*², p. 1250, no. 32; *Paralipomena*, p. 469; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 176; Roberts, *Pyxis*, pl. 79. For the casket in scenes of wedding preparations see Brümmer, "Truhenbehälter," pp. 134–151.

⁶² New York 1972.118.148, red-figured pyxis, unattributed. D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, New York 1961, no. 243, pls. 91 and 92; *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, London 1904, no. 56a, p. 112, pls. 97, 100. The vase is remarkable for its narrative depiction of wedding preparations and also because it is one of the earliest examples in which a naked, bathing woman can definitely be understood as respectable. Bathing women are seen earlier, but apparently as prostitutes, not brides. For discussions of the status of bathing women and the New York pyxis, see Sutton, *Interaction*, pp. 20 and 46–48. For the social position of nude women in ancient Greek art, see S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, New York 1975, pp. 142–146.

who pours water over her. In the next vignette to the right, she ties her girdle while holding the edge of the chiton between her teeth, pulling up enough fabric to form a kolpos. A wreathed Eros stands before her with a casket. Next, two women, both wearing the peplos, tie fillets around a loutrophoros. Further to the right a woman ties a sash around her head; her function and identity are unknown, but she does not seem to be the bride. At the far right the bride sits on a chair wearing chiton and himation, with Eros on her lap. The woman on the stool across from her has been identified as Aphrodite, and the identity of the woman at far right is unknown.

The three different combinations of the basic iconographic unit of two women, Types I–III as described above, correspond to the stages of wedding preparations shown here on this narrative pyxis. The group of lekythoi with scenes of Type II shows a woman in some stage of dressing: tying a girdle or holding or receiving a rolled himation.⁶³ The only accompanying objects are the alabastron, the plemochoe, and the mirror. This type, I believe, represents the early stages of the bride's toilet, her dressing. The gesture of tying the girdle while holding the fabric between the teeth to form the kolpos is shown on several lekythoi, as on Mainz University 119, where a small girl stands before the bride holding a rolled himation.⁶⁴ The same gesture appears on a white-ground lekythos in New York.⁶⁵ The action of both women on the lekythoi is the same as that of the dressing bride on the narrative pyxis, and it becomes more comprehensible in this light. The woman is not merely dressing as an everyday activity; rather, she is putting on her bridal raiment. When she has put on the chiton, the "mistress" also can pause briefly for an admiring glance in a mirror, while the "maid" stands by with an alabastron and a carefully folded himation to complete her robing.⁶⁶

Not all Type II scenes, however, make it clear that the young woman is dressing. On a number of lekythoi her hands are enveloped in the kolpos of her chiton, without the added feature of the fabric caught between her teeth. In these instances the gesture could be

⁶³ There are two exceptions. For Athens, N.M. 12746, see footnote 66 below. Gela N 64, Providence Painter: *ARV*², p. 640, no. 72; *Paralipomena*, p. 400; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 133 (49). Here the standing bride ties a fillet around her head as her attendant stands by with plemochoe and alabastron. Her gesture has comparisons in wedding iconography: London, B.M. E 773, red-figured pyxis, Follower of Douris (*ARV*², p. 805, no. 89; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 143; Roberts, *Pyxis*, pls. 62 and 103:1), on which Iphigenia, depicted as a bride, ties a fillet around her head. The binding of hair is seen again in scenes of other wedding preparations: Würzburg H4455 (541), red-figured pyxis, The Washing Painter: *ARV*², p. 1133, no. 196; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 163; *CVA*, Würzburg 2 [Germany 46], pls. 34 [2235]:1–5 and 35 [2236]:1–8; Athens, Kerameikos Museum, lebes gamikos: *AA* (*JdI* 79) 1964, p. 435, fig. 24 and S. R. Roberts, "Evidence for a Pattern in Attic Pottery Production ca. 430–350 B.C.," *AJA* 77, 1973 (pp. 435–437), pl. 86:9.

⁶⁴ Mainz University 119, Manner of London E 342: *ARV*², p. 670, no. 13 (51).

⁶⁵ New York, M.M.A. 06.1021.130, Quadrate Painter: *ARV*², p. 1239, no. 44 (52). This lekythos even adds a third figure, a male standing to the bride's left. Sutton's study of wedding imagery found that the groom looking on during the decking or dressing of the bride was a recurring theme: *Interaction*, pp. 196–212; see also pp. 366–367 and p. 446, note 202 regarding the interpretation of London, B.M. E 719, an alabastron which depicts a young woman in a similar action of dressing in the presence of a young man: *ARV*², p. 1560, W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Leblingsinschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 152, fig. 38. See also E. Böhr, *CVA*, Tübingen 4 [Germany 52], pp. 96–97.

⁶⁶ Athens, N.M. 12746, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 999, no. 184 (43).

understood as the untying as well as the tying of the girdle. The similarity of these scenes to those of brides' preparations suggests, however, that they probably depict the woman dressing.⁶⁷

A number of lekythoi show a woman holding or receiving a rolled himation, or simply standing and holding the rolled mantle.⁶⁸ Although the bundle of cloth could be interpreted as clothing that has been removed, it can also be understood as clothing about to be put on. This sequence is made clear on the Mainz lekythos where the young girl waits with a rolled mantle, and again on a hydria from the Athenian Agora, on which a woman ties her girdle (the fabric of her chiton caught between her teeth) as two companions stand by her, the one to her left holding a rolled mantle for the next step in her robing.⁶⁹ Once the chiton is put on and the girdle tied, the mantle will be given to the dressing woman. The significance of the mantle in wedding iconography is clear in vase paintings in which the bride travels enveloped in her himation: it is another important item in her wedding attire.⁷⁰

In the scenes of Type I, a woman in chiton and himation sits on a chair or stool and receives something from a second woman. Setting and action have parallels in the iconography of marriage, in scenes showing the bride and her attendants engaged in a variety of activities.⁷¹ Scenes of wedding preparations on pyxides, lebetes gamikoi, and loutrophoroi

⁶⁷ For example: New York, M.M.A. 08.258.17, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 999, no. 181 (53) and Toronto 377, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 999, no. 182 (57).

⁶⁸ E.g., London, B.M. D 48, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², 997, no. 148; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152 (50).

⁶⁹ Mainz University 119, footnote 64 above. Agora P 6053, Manner of the Kleophon Painter: *ARV*², p. 1149, no. 24; *Hesperia* 27, 1958, pl. 48:b.

⁷⁰ On many vases the mantle seems to serve as an element of the bride's veiling. See, e.g.: Florence 4025, Orchard Painter, *ARV*², p. 527, no. 73; *CVA*, Florence 2 [Italy 13], pls. 66 [650]:3 and 68 [652]:1-3. London, B.M. D 11, Splanchnopt Painter: *ARV*², p. 899, no. 146; Wehgartner (footnote 2 above), p. 141, pl. 50. Athens, N.M. 1630, unattributed: Roberts, *Pyxis*, p. 162, pl. 93. London, B.M. 1920.12-21.1: footnote 37 above. Note too that the bride could be completely enveloped in her mantle, as on Athens, Akropolis fr., Orchard Painter: *ARV*², p. 526, no. 61, about which Beazley notes, "Wedding (the bride's head is completely covered)." A bride is also completely covered on a cup in Bonn: Bonn 994, *CVA*, Bonn 1 [Germany 1], pl. 28 [28]:1-4 and p. 30, fig. 2.

Another alternative, however, could be considered, that a number of the vases represent a woman undressing for the bridal bath. The nuptial bath was an important part of wedding ritual for both bride and groom (see footnote 72 below). The loutrophoros was customarily used for this bath, and Thucydides (II.15.5) says that the water from Enneakrounos-Kallirhoe was used for this purpose from ancient times. Perhaps as the majority of these lekythoi fall between 460 and 430 B.C., a time when it was apparently inappropriate to show respectable women naked, the vase painters suggested the bridal bath symbolically. The rolled bundle of cloth had been established as a part of bathing scenes in an earlier time, as on a red-figured pelike by Myson, where the rolled clothes and boots of the woman remain behind as she bathes (Syracuse 20065, Myson: *ARV*², p. 238, no. 5; *CVA*, Syracuse 1 [Italy 17], pl. 7 [821]:2). Because a rolled bundle of cloth can indicate clothes which have been removed, the act of handing over a rolled himation to a companion could be the first stage of undressing for the bridal bath. This feature, and the presence of the alabastron which could be used for bathing, might have been the symbolic means used to indicate the forthcoming bridal bath, implied rather than explicitly depicted, because in the 5th century nudity for a bride would have been unacceptable. For the bridal bath, see R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè, Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris 1962, pp. 265-282. For the inappropriateness of showing respectable women naked, see footnote 62 above.

⁷¹ For example, a scene similar to the "mistress receiving a basket" on the lekythoi decorates the stand of a lebes gamikos in Athens: N.M. 1250, Manner of the Naples Painter: *ARV*², p. 1102, no. 5; *AM* 32, 1907, p. 96, ill. 1, fig. 9.

provide parallels and give information on the activities involved.⁷² One example among many is a pyxis in London by the Eretria Painter: the bride is seated with her hair loose, suggesting the hairdressing to follow, and the casket, basket, and jewels are the necessary props.⁷³ The presence of a lebes gamikos and a loutrophoros filled with greenery assures us that the subject is a wedding. The objects carried by the attendants are the same as those carried by the “maid” on the lekythoi. The scene shows that the bride’s hair is dressed, that she is decked with jewels and perfumed with the contents of an alabastron or a plemochoe, and that a mirror is used to check the results.⁷⁴

Three elements of the imagery on the lekythoi distinguish the “mistress and maid” from an ordinary toilet scene and place the genre in the realm of marriage: the making of a wreath, the presence of a loutrophoros, and the small child.

First, the making of a wreath. This action is seen most clearly on a white-ground lekythos in London, where the seated woman bends the spray of greenery into a circular shape while the attendant brings a cord to tie it into position (Pl. 79 [33]).⁷⁵ Such wreathmaking also takes place with the basket of wreaths and fillets placed by the bride, as if to indicate that the contents have been made by the seated woman or that her wreath will be added to

⁷² Archaeological and literary evidence (the latter often from late lexicographers) yields an incomplete understanding of the Greek wedding, particularly with respect to the preparations of the bride. We know that both bride and groom took a ritual bath and that the bride dressed in special garb and wore a veil, possibly also a crown, and special shoes called *νυμφίδες*. Literary sources and vase imagery, however, do not always agree. For the ritual bath, see Ginouvès (footnote 70 above). For the special shoes, see Hesychios, *s.v.*: *ὑποδήματα γυναικεῖα νυμφικά* (*Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* II, K. Latte, ed., Copenhagen 1966, no. 720, p. 719). For the possibility that the bride’s veil was red, see E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, Berlin 1901, p. 48, note 3. For the adornment of the bride, see A. Nawrath, *De Graecorum ritibus nuptialibus e vasculis demonstrandis*, diss. Breslau, Liegnitz 1914, pp. 22–26. For the bridal crown, see A. von Salis, “Die Brautkrone,” *RhM* 73, 1920–1924, pp. 199–215. The development of bridal toilet scenes is discussed by Kunze-Götte (*Frauengemachbilder*, pp. 33–71). For a discussion of ancient Greek wedding customs and the problems in understanding them: L. Deubner, “Epaulia,” *JdI* 15, 1900, pp. 144–155; W. Erdman, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland*, Munich 1934; Nawrath, *op. cit.*; *RE* VIII, ii, cols. 2129–2131, *s.v.* Hochzeit (J. Heckenbach); E. Pernice, “Griechische und römische Privatleben,” *Einleitung in der Altertumswissenschaft* II, i, A. Gercke and E. Norden, edd., Berlin/Leipzig 1932, pp. 54–61; Samter, *op. cit.*; P. Sticotti, “Zu griechischen Hochzeitsgebräuchen,” in *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, Vienna 1898, pp. 181–188; Sutton, *Interaction*, pp. 148–215; Oakley (footnote 35 above).

⁷³ London, B.M. E 774, Eretria Painter: *ARV*², p. 1250, no. 32; *Paralipomena*, p. 469; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 176; A. Furtwängler and C. Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei, Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder* I, vi, Munich 1904, pl. 57:3; F. Harl-Schaller, “Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung des attischen Lebes gamikos,” *ÖJhBeibl* 50, 1972–1975 (cols. 151–170), cols. 153–154, fig. 1; Roberts, *Pyxis*, p. 79.

⁷⁴ E.g., on a lekythos by the Phiale Painter in Gela (*ARV*², p. 1022, no. 124 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 441 [27]), a “mistress and maid” scene shows the seated woman looking into a mirror with an open casket at her feet. See footnote 58 above.

⁷⁵ London, B.M. D 53, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 999, no. 178 (33). Wreathmaking also seems to take place on the following lekythoi, to judge by the position of the women’s hands: Honolulu 2892, Sabouroff Painter: *ARV*², p. 844, no. 153; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 145 (29). Athens, N.M. 12744, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 995, no. 126 (7). Athens, N.M. 12786, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 996, no. 128; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152 (9). Holding a wreath (as if just completed?): Athens, N.M. 17493, Painter of Athens 1826: *ARV*², p. 746, no. 18 (12). Holding a stuffed fillet(?): Athens, N.M. 1845, Painter of Athens 1826: *ARV*², p. 746, no. 16 (3).

the basket.⁷⁶ There is evidence to suggest that the bride made a wreath. An alabastron in the Cabinet des Médailles demonstrates that the image of a woman making or holding a wreath can be associated with marriage (Pl. 80:a). A young woman sits, looking at a wreath in her hands, while behind her stands a small figure with an alabastron, and to her right a young man holds out a sash or fillet. In addition to the *kalos* name of Timodemos, this vase also carries the inscription, ἡ νύμφη καλή (the bride is beautiful).⁷⁷ The association of wreath-making and wedding is seen on a lebes gamikos found on Delos: a young woman sits on a stool making a wreath, surrounded by standing women who hold various articles, such as fillet, alabastron, mirror, and basket.⁷⁸ Wreathmaking and wedding are seen again on a fragmentary bell-krater in the Louvre. Here the seated bride, wearing chiton, himation, and veil, makes a wreath.⁷⁹ The visual context in which a seated woman makes or holds a wreath demonstrates that the image is connected not to funerals, but to love and marriage,⁸⁰ and this conclusion has the support of textual evidence.

⁷⁶ E.g., on Philadelphia, University Museum MS 5463, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 996, no. 143 (41). Athens, N.M. 1826, Painter of Athens 1826: *ARV*², p. 745, no. 1 (2).

⁷⁷ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 508, unattributed: *ARV*², p. 1610. Sutton (*Interaction*, pp. 208–209) interprets her action as the contemplation of a wreath she has just completed, the basket as the container for leaves and flowers for the wreath (not wool); he suggests that she would present the wreath as a gift to the young man and further, that the gift offered by the youth will be scented with the contents of the alabastron and used as her bridal veil. He considers this scene rare visual evidence that the bride made a wreath, possibly for the groom to wear, and believes it possible that the bride made the wreath herself, because it was considered bad luck to use purchased flowers at one's wedding.

⁷⁸ The Mykonos Painter: *ARV*², p. 514, no. 1. C. Dugas, *Délos*, XXI, *Les vases attiques à figures rouges*, Paris 1952, no. 91, p. 44, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI. While Dugas sees the girl as "tenant un mince cordon rouge qui forme un cercle incomplet", I interpret her action as the making of a wreath, as on the London lekythos B.M. D 53 (33; see footnote 75 above).

⁷⁹ Louvre G 345, Nausicaa Painter: *ARV*², p. 1108, no. 16; *CVA*, Louvre 3 [France 4], pls. 8 [169]:1 and 4 and 9 [170]:1 and 4. The scene was interpreted as a bridal banquet, and the bride as Deianeira, daughter of King Dexamenos, by J. D. Beazley (review of *CVA*, Musée du Louvre, Fascicule 3 in *Gnomon* 2, 1926 [pp. 463–466], pp. 464–465). See E. von Mercklin, "Kentaur auf Freierrfüßen," *AA (JdI 52)* 1937, cols. 59–67, fig. 1.

⁸⁰ Additional examples of this context include the following: Athens, N.M. 1629, red-figured epinetron, Eretria Painter (*ARV*², p. 1250, no. 34; *Paralipomena*, p. 469; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 176; P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting*, New York 1963, pl. 203), on which Aphrodite sits holding a wreath; near her is the bride Harmonia. The goddess of love also holds a wreath on an earlier white-ground cup, Florence, Mus.Arch. 75409, Lyandros Painter: *ARV*², p. 835, no. 1, and p. 1672; *Paralipomena*, p. 422; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 145; Arias and Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 172 and XXXVI. Wreath-making also takes place on a red-figured squat lekythos which carries seventeen women in two registers, five seated women attended by twelve standing companions. Three seated women hold the following objects: a mirror, a ball of wool, and an alabastron; a fourth woman sits with hair undone and is brought a casket by an attendant, and a fifth bends a spray of greenery into a wreath as her attendant stands by with a basket. Two more women stand opposite each other, one appearing to give a spray of greenery to the other, who holds a basket. The painter has compressed onto one vase a series of "mistress and maid" scenes, and the wreathmaking takes place within depictions generally interpreted as women at their toilet; in my opinion, however, these are most likely the preparations of a bride or brides. The vase demonstrates, again, the place of wreathmaking within wedding iconography, or at least within the everyday activities of women, and that it is an image devoid of any specific funerary connotation. Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill 71.8.1, Manner of the Eretria Painter (A. Lezzi-Hafter): H. A. Shapiro, *Greek Vases from Southern Collections*, New Orleans Museum of Art, Tulane University 1981, no. 50, pp. 128–131.

In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* (904–906), Clytemnestra speaks to Achilles of having wreathed her daughter as a bride. In Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (400–401), a woman complains that because of Euripides she can no longer make a wreath without being accused of being in love. Her statement shows that a woman made a wreath as a token of love and affection; it further implies that the wreath was given to the object of her affection.⁸¹ The image, then, of women making wreaths on the lekythoi should not be connected to funerary activities but taken to be one of the activities of the bride.

The reference to a wedding is explicit on a lekythos in Hamburg which offers a rare version of the “mistress and maid” scene: the bride holds a loutrophoros hydria (Pl. 80:b [28]).⁸² Although details of costume and objects have faded, the position of the “maid’s” raised hand suggests that she held a fillet. The seated bride may have been about to tie a fillet on the loutrophoros, since the evidence of other nuptial scenes indicates that the loutrophoros was decked with fillets.⁸³ Similar scenes appear on loutrophoroi: the seated bride holds a loutrophoros on her lap, and attendant women stand about with the objects for her toilet.⁸⁴

The last major element of the scenes is the small male child handed to the seated woman. Evidence both literary and iconographic supports the idea that the boy is being given to a bride and not, as is usually assumed, to his mother. The lebetes gamikoi provide the iconographic evidence, demonstrating that the image is connected to wedding customs. On a lebes gamikos in Munich the seated woman hands a small, naked boy to one of her attendants, while another woman, a winged female, and a girl bring in the articles for the bridal toilet: loutrophoros, sash, alabastron, and basket (Pl. 81).⁸⁵ A similar scene appears on a lebes gamikos in the Kerameikos Museum, where the bride holds the child as the attendants bring in the articles for the bridal toilet.⁸⁶ The child must be the *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής*, the boy with both parents living, who played an important part in weddings and religious life. Zenobios records that a child at a wedding carried a basket of bread and repeated the formula *ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον* (I fled evil, I found a better thing).⁸⁷ A Naxian custom reported by Kallimachos indicates that the bride slept with a *pais amphithales* the night

⁸¹ Sutton's study of gift-giving on Attic red-figured vases found that wreaths are given predominantly by women: *Interaction*, pp. 308–314.

⁸² Hamburg 1908.93, Quadrate Painter: *ARV*², p. 1237, no. 9 (28).

⁸³ New York, M.M.A. 1972.118.148 (footnote 62 above) and New York, M.M.A. 07. 286. 35 (footnote 60 above).

⁸⁴ Munich 6572, The Painter of the Naples Hydriskai: *ARV*², p. 1266, no. 2; *MJb*, n.s. 2, 1925, p. 293, fig. 63; and *AA (JdI 44)* 1929, p. 30, fig. 27. See also the loutrophoros fragment Tübingen E110: C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Tübingen 1924, p. 48, pl. 31 and *CVA*, Tübingen 4 [Germany 52], pl. 6 [2523]:1. Athens, N.M. 12540, Near the Eretria Painter: *ARV*², p. 1256, no. 11, which is described but not illustrated in G. Nicole, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes, Supplément*, Paris 1911, no. 1039, p. 223.

⁸⁵ Munich 7578, Washing Painter: *ARV*², p. 1126, no. 3; *AM* 71, 1956, fig. 118.

⁸⁶ Roberts (footnote 63 above), pl. 86:10 and *AA (JdI 79)* 1964, p. 435, fig. 24.

⁸⁷ Zenobios, III.98: *αἴτη τάττεται ἐπὶ τῶν μεταβολῆν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κρείττονα οἰωνιζομένων. Ἀθήνησι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἔθος ἦν, ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα ἀκάνθας μετὰ δρυῖνων καρπῶν στέφεσθαι, καὶ λίκνον ἄρτων πλήρες περιφέροντα λέγειν. . . .* E. L. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*, Göttingen 1839, p. 82. Heckenbach (footnote 72 above), col. 2130.

before her wedding.⁸⁸ Pollux also reports on a marriage custom generally practiced, according to which the bride lay with a *paidion amphithales* at the bridegroom's house. The lebes gamikos and the lekythos may be visual records of a custom practised at Athens.⁸⁹

Several lekythoi show the bride receiving the *pais amphithales* or include the boy in the scene. Berlin 2443 shows her holding out her hands to receive the child (Pl. 74 [17]).⁹⁰ On Copenhagen, N.M. 1941 the bride, wearing a veil and holding a casket on her lap, ignores the child who is on the floor near the attendant.⁹¹ Several other lekythoi show the bride in similar contexts. On Athens, N.M. 1947 the bride gazes at a bird perched on her finger, while the small boy and attendant stand near by.⁹² On a fragment in London the child reaches out to the bride, who does not respond; she sits languorously, chin propped on hand in contemplation.⁹³ This behavior, so unsuitable to a mother, is not due to the fact that she is in Hades but rather to her contemplative mood, appropriate to a bride, as seen especially clearly on three of these four lekythoi.

⁸⁸ R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, I, *Fragmenta*, London 1949, p. 77, *Aitia* III, fr. 75, lines 1–3: ἤδη καὶ κούρω παρθένος εὐνάσατο,/τέμμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνύμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι/ἄρσενι τὴν τάλω παιδί σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ. The custom is also reported in a scholium to *Iliad* xiv.296: διὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπόμνημα φυλάσσεσθαι παρὰ Ναξίους καὶ τὸν ἀμφιθαλῆ τῆ τάλω συγκατατίθεσθαι (H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem* III, Berlin 1974, pp. 635–636. Pernice (footnote 72 above), p. 56. See also E. Simon, "Zur Lekythos der Panmalers in Tarent," *ÖJh* 41, 1954 (pp. 77–90), pp. 80–81; J. R. Toynbee, "The Villa Item and a Bride's Ordeal," *JRS* 19, 1929 (pp. 67–87), p. 73.

⁸⁹ Pollux, III.40: καὶ τῷ μὲν νυμφίῳ τότε ἐν τοῦ πενθεροῦ παιδίου ἀμφιθαλὲς θῆλυ συγκατακλίνεται, τῇ δὲ νύμφῃ ἐν τοῦ γαμβροῦ ἄρρεν (*Pollucis Onomasticon*, E. Bethe, ed., Stuttgart 1966, I, p. 167). I first presented this conclusion in my M.A. thesis for Bryn Mawr College in May 1986. I have been informed by Professor G. Pinney that the same conclusion in regard to the lebetes gamikoi was reached independently by Dr. A. Kauffmann-Samaras and presented in her paper "Mère' et enfant sur les lébètes nuptiaux attiques à figures rouges du V^e siècle av. J.-C." at the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen, August 31 to September 4, 1987. The papers have now been published.

⁹⁰ Berlin 2443, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 995, no. 118; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152 (17).

⁹¹ Copenhagen, N.M. 1941, Beldam Painter: *ARV*², p. 751, no. 3 (24). This vase contains several objects from wedding imagery: the veil on the bride's head, the casket for jewels into which she happily reaches, the *pais amphithales* near by, and a pair of sandals at hand on the wall. The significance of sandals in wedding iconography is apparent on vases: Athens, N.M. 1388, Painter of the Athens Wedding (*ARV*², p. 1317, no. 1; *Paralipomena*, p. 478; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 181) provides evidence for the custom of throwing sandals after the bride and groom (a man seated near the small torchbearer throws a sandal to the ground); the custom is not mentioned in literary sources. See P. Perdrizet, «'Αττικὸν ἀγγεῖον μετὰ παραστάσεως πομπῆς γάμου», *Ἐφ' Ἀρχ* 1905, cols. 209–214, pls. 6, 7; Sutton, *Interaction*, pp. 179–180; and S. Karusu, "Die 'Schutzfliehende' Barberini," *AntK* 13, 1970 (pp. 34–47), pp. 39–40, pl. 25:3. Athens, N.M. 1659, lebes gamikos, Manner of the Meidias Painter (*ARV*², p. 1322, no. 11; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 181; Roberts, *Pyxis*, pl. 101:1) illustrates the importance of sandals in the bride's toilet; here the bride ties her sandal in the company of Eros and two other companions. See also the hydria New York, M.M.A. 17.230.15, Orpheus Painter (*ARV*², p. 1104, no. 16, Richter and Hall [footnote 51 above] no. 138, pls. 140, 141 and 172), on which the seated bride is given a pair of shoes by Eros. These scenes probably reflect the custom of giving the bride a special pair of *nymphides* on her wedding day; see footnote 72 above. See also Sutton, *Interaction*, p. 188 for the New York hydria.

⁹² Athens, N.M. 1947, Painter of Munich 2335: *ARV*², p. 1168, no. 133 (5).

⁹³ London, B.M. 1907.7-10.10, fr., Bosanquet Painter: *ARV*², p. 1227, no. 10; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174 (35).

Further testimony of the bridal meaning of the “mistress and maid” scene is given by a late white-ground lekythos on which, in addition to the normal attendant, Eros assists the seated woman (Pl. 75 [21]).⁹⁴ This rare appearance of Eros on a white-ground lekythos is probably due to the fact that he begins to appear rather late in wedding preparation scenes, sometime in the second half of the 5th century B.C.,⁹⁵ at a time when the popularity of the “mistress and maid” motif on white-ground lekythoi was fading.

The Type I scene, then, shows the bride’s embellishment and preparations. Her bridal toilet is illustrated by a careful selection of elements: she is the center of attention, receiving vessels for perfuming (plemochoe, alabastron) and objects for her adornment (casket to deck her with jewels, and fillets which might also serve as toilet articles⁹⁶), making a wreath, decking the loutrophoros, and receiving the *pais amphithales*.

Type III, in which women stand opposite each other holding the various articles for the wedding, is more difficult to interpret, but it too finds comparisons in wedding iconography.

Women pack or remove from the basket the needed articles; they stand opposite each other with plemochoi, sashes, and alabastroi.⁹⁷ On some vases they seem ready to depart.⁹⁸ It is not easy to designate either woman as the bride. In Type I she is the seated woman, in Type II the dressing figure, but in Type III neither figure is obviously attended by the other. Although they may wear different dress, the contrast in costume is not shown with any consistency. The reason no “bride” can be singled out, I suggest, is that there may not always be one. It is as if the viewer is looking in on the activity of the wedding day in another part of the room. I believe that this type depicts the activity of female relatives and friends, the wedding attendants.⁹⁹

Wedding preparation scenes show the bride assisted by several women, and Hesychios lists several terms for bride’s attendants: *νυμφεύτρια*, *νυμφοκόμος*, and *νυμφοπόνος*. The *nympheutria* was chosen by the bride’s family.¹⁰⁰ These women, the “bridesmaids”, were responsible for the dressing and embellishment of the bride. Certainly the bride seems to prepare for the wedding with a number of women about her. It is appropriate that vases depicting the bride readying herself should also include the women who prepared her and probably gave her emotional support.

⁹⁴ Boston, M.F.A. 03.801, unattributed (21). For different interpretations see Fairbanks, *AWL* II, p. 118 and Vermeule (footnote 6 above), p. 178.

⁹⁵ Kunze-Götte, *Frauentgemachbilder*, pp. 42–46.

⁹⁶ See, for example, Athens, N.M. 14790, Washing Painter (*ARV*², p. 1126, no. 4; *AM* 71, 1956, fig. 117), on which the bride winds a fillet around her head. For additional examples see footnote 63 above.

⁹⁷ Athens, N.M. 1929, Timokrates Painter: *ARV*², p. 743, no. 5; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 139 (63).

⁹⁸ Madison, Wisconsin, Elvehjem Art Center EAC 70.2, Near the Timokrates Painter (98).

⁹⁹ A bride may be depicted standing opposite an attendant on several vases, but the identification is by no means certain; a figure wrapped in a mantle, who stands without an object, may be the bride.

¹⁰⁰ See Hesychios’ glosses: *νυμφεύτρια*: ἡ συμπεμπομένη ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων τῇ νύμφῃ παράνυμφος (no. 715); *νυμφοκόμος*: ἡ νυμφεύτρια. ἡ κοσμοῦσα τὴν νύμφην (no. 723); *νυμφοπόνος*: ἡ περὶ τὴν νύμφην πονουμένη (no. 725); Latte (footnote 72 above) II, p. 719. See also *Suda*, s.v. *Νυμφεύτρια*: ἡ συμπεμπομένη ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων τῇ νύμφῃ; Adler (footnote 45 above) III, p. 478, no. 592. The *nymphokomos* was responsible for the bride’s adornment. The terms are given in the singular and do not specify whether one special *nympheutria* was appointed, or if several women could hold this title; further, it is not known if the bride’s assistants each had a specific title and function. See also Sutton, *Interaction*, pp. 158, 193–194.

Similar scenes are part of wedding iconography. One side of a loutrophoros in Cambridge shows the seated bride and her attendant (as on the lekythoi), while on the other, two women stand opposite each other holding an alabastron and a sakkos, forming a group closely comparable to scenes of Type III.¹⁰¹ A pyxis in Athens shows Thetis' wedding preparations.¹⁰² Thetis is seated, while to her left an attendant approaches with a plemochoe, in itself a typical "mistress and maid" scene; somewhat behind her two women are standing face to face on either side of a casket. This group is a characteristic Type III, or would be if placed on a lekythos. Similar groups of women are placed on loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi.¹⁰³

Types II and III also frequently include a young attendant; in Type III she often appears with a casket. Comparisons for this formula can also be found in wedding iconography. A young maiden (shorter attendant) appears on a lebes gamikos in Bonn, holding casket and alabastron.¹⁰⁴ The frequent presence of junior attendants in these two groups may reflect the participation of young girls in the wedding preparations. Pollux (III.43) tells us that a young girl fetched the water for the bridal bath; but did she perform other duties for the bride's preparations? The vases which often depict shorter "women" helping in the bridal preparations may illustrate such a practice.¹⁰⁵

What moment of the wedding preparations do the lekythoi of Type III depict? Some show women busy over their baskets, others depict women standing in inexplicable stillness, their task finished but awaiting a special moment or event, but on several lekythoi the women appear ready to depart. If so, where are they going?¹⁰⁶ On Berlin 3171 a young girl carries a basket on her head, like a woman in a wedding procession, while opposite her stands a mantled figure (the bride?).¹⁰⁷ A lekythos by the Phiale Painter and a small cup in Bonn provide another clue.¹⁰⁸ On the lekythos one woman holds a sash, while another holds a casket which has been bound with a red fillet. A fillet-bound casket turns up again on the

¹⁰¹ Cambridge 1323, Painter of the Naples Centauromachy: *CVA*, Cambridge 1 [Great Britain 6], pl. 36 [274]:3a-3d and p. 37.

¹⁰² Red-figured pyxis; see footnote 52 above.

¹⁰³ For example, New York, M.M.A. 16.73, Washing Painter: *ARV*², p. 1126, no. 6 (on the stand); Richter and Hall (footnote 51 above), no. 144, pl. 174; and Würzburg 506, Painter of Würzburg 537: *ARV*², p. 1224, no. 2; Langlotz (footnote 54 above), pl. 174.

¹⁰⁴ Bonn 1520; see footnote 45 above.

¹⁰⁵ Note for example the presence of two girls, one the loutrophoros carrier, the other walking with a torch-bearer, in a wedding procession on a red-figured loutrophoros, now Karlsruhe, Bädisches Landesmus. 69/78, Manner of the Naples Painter: *ARV*², p. 1102, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 451; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 161, illustrated in K. Schefold, "Statuen auf Vasenbildern," *JdI* 52, 1937 (pp. 30-75), pp. 55-57, figs. 14-17 and C. Bron and F. Lissarrague, "Le vase à voir," in *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique*, Lausanne/Paris 1984 (pp. 7-17), p. 13, fig. 12. Also see a short female on an Attic red-figured pyxis, Berlin 3373, which was interpreted by Deubner ([footnote 72 above] p. 152) as a depiction of the Epaulia. Here the figure carries a wool basket and casket. Deubner equates this figure with the *κανηφόρος* at the Epaulia, and he further views her short hair as an indication of her youth, not her status.

¹⁰⁶ Several lekythoi even seem to show the women actually in motion, e.g., New York, Bastis, Achilles Painter: *ARV*², p. 994, no. 101; *Paralipomena*, p. 438 (100).

¹⁰⁷ Berlin 3171, unattributed (82). See also the manner in which the basket is carried on London, B.M. 1920.12-21 (footnote 37 above).

¹⁰⁸ Lekythos: Bochum, Funcke S 511, Phiale Painter: *ARV*², p. 1021, no. 123(5); *Paralipomena*, p. 441; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 154 (83). Cup: Bonn 994: see footnote 70 above.

cup with a crudely drawn wedding procession; it can just be made out on the cart. The lekythos may therefore depict the moment before the bride's departure, the festively tied casket to follow her to her new home. The basket which so often features in "mistress and maid" scenes is also carried in wedding processions. Scenes of Type III, then, may correspond to recognized high points of the nuptial preparations before the wedding procession, in which the friends and relatives took part. Our lack of knowledge about the wedding ceremony, however, makes further speculation difficult.

The wedding imagery on the lekythoi is accompanied by few inscriptions which identify the bride and her attendants. Only a red-figured lekythos by the Achilles Painter names the figures.¹⁰⁹ The attendant is labeled Chrysothemis and the bride Eury[]. Was this lekythos a special commission? On the lekythoi do we see the everyday bride, or is a special myth being told, understood by all so that no label was needed on most vases?

Several famous women appear in scenes of adornment on Greek vases: Thetis is sometimes named as the recipient of such attentions, Aphrodite often is shown at her toilet, Helen too is sometimes depicted. The names Chrysothemis and Eury[], however, do not readily call to mind a particular myth.¹¹⁰ Is there a story which connects these "unknowns"? Neither name, by itself, leads to conclusive identification of the characters, but their combination suggests one faint possibility.

Eury[] could be completed as either Eurydike or Eurythoe, and both have in common with Chrysothemis one feature: they are names of Danaids.¹¹¹ The subject of this lekythos (and possibly of others which are not inscribed) would therefore be the marriage of the Danaids, a subject conveniently suited for a funerary purpose, since their weddings ended tragically in death. A red-figured amphoriskos in Oxford which carries a "mistress and maid" scene also suggests this subject. The attendant on this vase is labeled Theano, but little remains of the name of the "mistress" (only the letter ε).¹¹² Theano was also a Danaid.¹¹³ The notion that the Danaids were the subject matter of these bridal preparation scenes must remain a tantalizing possibility.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Athens, Kerameikos Museum 3 ε (13).

¹¹⁰ There are numerous possibilities from the realm of mythology for the completion of Eury-, e.g., Roscher, I, i, cols. 1421–1433, *s.v.* Eurydike, Eurygane, Euryganeia, Eurykleia, Euryte, and Eurythoe.

¹¹¹ Eurydike is used for twelve different characters in ancient sources and seems a likely possibility. Roscher, I, i, *s.v.* Eurydike, cols. 1421–1423. Chrysothemis is also a common name with five possible identifications: *ibid.*, *s.v.* Chrysothemis, col. 906.

¹¹² Oxford, Ashmolean G 303 8 (formerly V.537), Eretria Painter: *ARV*², p. 1248, no. 10; *Paralipomena*, p. 469; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 176; *CVA*, Oxford 1 [Great Britain 3], pl. 40 [132]:3–5, pp. 30–31.

¹¹³ Roscher, V, *s.v.* Theano, cols. 546–549.

¹¹⁴ The Danaids were ideally suited for both marital and funerary symbolism. On their importance as an expression of ancient Greek attitudes towards marriage see R. Seaford, "The Tragic Wedding," *JHS* 107, 1987 (pp. 106–130), pp. 110–119. For a general discussion of the Danaid theme in antiquity see E. Keuls, *The Water Carriers in Hades: A Study of Catharsis through Toil in Classical Antiquity*, Amsterdam 1974. Further, the Eastern costume on the attendant shown on a lekythos in Newcastle (37; see footnote 24 above) also suggests the possibility of a connection with the Danaids, as well as with the theater. The costume appears on the figure of Lyssa, i.e., madness: A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London 1971, p. 62, fig. III:1, 28. Such a costume has been considered as either Thracian or the mark of a slave by many, e.g., Bieber ([footnote 28 above] p. 46) and Himmelmann (footnote 30 above), but not by

Images of marriage on a gift for the grave are one example of the connection between marriage and death to which Greek art, literature, and burial customs give ample testimony. Marriage was the single most important event in a woman's life, and to live or die unmarried was a tragic event. Sophokles' Elektra mourns not only the loss of her father but also being without a husband and children.¹¹⁵ Antigone laments her unwed state at the same time as her forthcoming death in her cry "O tomb, O bridal chamber. . ."¹¹⁶ The loutrophoros which was used for the wedding bath was placed on the tomb of those who died unwed. Phrasikleia's funerary inscription also expresses the sad fate of those who die before marriage; it beckoned all who passed to stop and read the mournful reflection: "I shall ever be called maiden (*kore*), the gods allotting me this title in place of marriage."¹¹⁷ The unmarried girl could be buried in her wedding finery.¹¹⁸

Marriage, like death, involved special preparations, separation from loved ones, possibly lamentation, certainly song. The bride left the world she knew, her own home, to enter one which was unfamiliar.¹¹⁹ In a recent discussion of wedding imagery in ancient Greek tragedy, Seaford points out that not only is the death of an unmarried girl associated with marriage but the death of a married woman can be imagined as the re-enactment of her marriage.¹²⁰

The bride on the lekythoi is always preparing for a wedding that never takes place; her attendants busy themselves for a wedding procession which never arrives. The preparation of the bride was perhaps a fitting image for a young woman who died unwed, or for someone who, like the bride, was leaving the world she knew for one unknown.

CATALOGUE OF "MISTRESS AND MAID" SCENES

All vases are white-ground lekythoi of standard shape, unless otherwise specified. The presence of a false interior is stated when this information is available.¹²¹ Description of the scenes proceeds from left to right, giving first the woman's action followed by her dress. Items "on the wall" are given at the end of the description, as are indications of architecture. Information on the color of the garments is given when available. On many vases the color has faded, leaving only outlines. Descriptions for vases in New York and Philadelphia are from personal observation. The term "sakkos" is used conventionally to indicate an accessory which is on the head, concealing all or most of the hair.

Beazley or Thimme: J. D. Beazley, review of *CVA*, Baltimore, The Robinson Collection, Fascicule 1, in *JHS* 58, 1938 (pp. 267–268), p. 268; J. Thimme, "Bilder, Inschriften und Opfer an attischen Gräbern," *AA* (*JdI* 82) 1967 (pp. 199–213), pp. 201–202. The inscriptions, however, may simply name two ordinary Athenian women; for now, the identification with Danaids must await further study.

¹¹⁵ Sophokles, *Elektra*, 165–168 and 185–193.

¹¹⁶ Sophokles, *Antigone*, 891.

¹¹⁷ *IG* I, 469. L. H. Jeffery, "The Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica," *BSA* 57, 1962 (pp. 113–153), pp. 138–139, no. 46. Translation by J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period*, Oxford 1978, p. 73.

¹¹⁸ E.g., W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, Berlin 1955, nos. 683, 1238.

¹¹⁹ Jenkins has pointed out that in vase painting, marriage and death, wedding and funeral, were parallel themes. Jenkins (footnote 49 above), pp. 140–142.

¹²⁰ Seaford (footnote 114 above), pp. 106–107 and 119–120.

¹²¹ The false interior, however, may be more prevalent than indicated; it is a detail frequently unmentioned in descriptions. Kurtz notes (*AWL*, p. 46) that "false interiors are not uncommon" among the Achilles Painter's lekythoi.

TYPE I: SEATED WOMAN AND STANDING ATTENDANT

1. ATHENS, N.M. 1645. Nikon Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 652, no. 34; *JdI* 100, 1985, p. 64, ill. 20, fig. b.

Bride on a stool opens the lid of a casket and looks into it. She wears chiton, himation, and sakkos. Girl stands before her empty-handed; she wears a peplos. On the wall: alabastron and lekythos.

ΛΝΑΥΚΟΝ ΚΑΝΟΣ ΨΕΑΛΡΟ

2. ATHENS, N.M. 1826. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 745, no. 1; Riezler, pl. 10.

Bride holds a necklace or wreath (about to fasten the wreath into a circle?) and wears chiton and himation. Woman holds a flower in each hand. She wears a chiton. On the wall: oinochoe and lekythos.

3. ATHENS, N.M. 1845. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 16; Fairbanks, *AWL* I, p. 144.

Woman holds a plemochoe in her right hand and an alabastron in her left; she wears a peplos. Bride holds out a fillet with both hands; she wears a chiton and a black himation. On the wall: sakkos.

4. ATHENS, N.M. 1923. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 119; Riezler, pl. 7.

Bride holds a plemochoe in her right hand and extends her empty left hand; she wears a chiton, a black himation, and red hair bands with a dark red hair net or snood. Woman holds a basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos. On the wall: oinochoe and mirror.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ

5. ATHENS, N.M. 1947. Painter of Munich 2335. *Ca.* 440–420 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1168, no. 133; Riezler, pl. 50.

Woman holds basket of fillets. A naked boy stands in the center of the composition facing the bride; child has shoulder-length hair. Bride sits with a small bird on her right hand; she appears to ignore the child. Garments of both women have faded.

6. ATHENS, N.M. 12440. Achilles Painter. False bottom. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², 996, no. 132; *CVA*, Athens 1 [Greece 1]; pl. 2 [34]:1 and 2.

Woman carries basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos (traces of red remain). Bride holds her hands out before her; she wears a chiton and a black himation. On the wall: two oinochoai.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ

7. ATHENS, N.M. 12744. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 126; Riezler, pl. 6.

Woman carries a basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos (possibly once vermilion). Behind her is a stool. The bride places her hands before her as if holding an article now vanished (making a wreath?). She wears a chiton and a black himation. On the wall: two oinochoai, mirror, and cup.

ΔΡΟΜΙΓΓΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙΔΟ

8. ATHENS, N.M. 12785. Painter of Athens 12789. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 750, no. 2; Riezler, pl. 9.

Woman holds a plemochoe in her left hand; she wears a dark red sleeveless chiton. Bride at right holds a basket on her lap; she wears a chiton and a dark red himation (traces remain). On the wall: mirror, oinochoe, and sakkos.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ

- 9 (Pl. 77). ATHENS, N.M. 12786. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 128; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; Riezler, pl. 5.

Woman carries a basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos. Bride's hands suggest that they once held an object which has since vanished (making a wreath?). She wears a chiton and a black himation. On the wall: two oinochoai.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ

10. ATHENS, N.M. 12788. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 130; *CVA*, Athens 1 [Greece 1], pl. 2 [34]:7.

Bride holds an alabastron in her right hand and extends empty her left; she wears a chiton and a

black himation. Woman brings a mirror; she wears a peplos. On the wall: oinochoe and cup.

ΔΡΟΜΙΓΓΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙΔΟ

11. ATHENS, N.M. 12789. Painter of Athens 12789. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 750, no. 1; Riezler, pl. 8.

Woman holds a basket (of fruit) in her left hand; she wears a dark red sleeveless chiton (traces of red remain). Bride holds a pyxis in her right hand; she wears a chiton, a vermilion himation, and a white sakkos. On the wall: oinochoe.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟ[Ξ] ΚΑΛΟΣ

12. ATHENS, N.M. 17493. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 18; Ἄρχ' Ἐφ 1950–1951, p. 150, fig. 2, p. 155, left, p. 158, fig. 7, pl. 1, right.

Bride holds a wreath out before her; she wears chiton, himation, and sakkos. Attendant (possibly a girl) at right holds a flat basket (no objects visible in the basket). She wears a peplos. On the wall: mirror.

13. ATHENS, Kerameikos Museum 3 ε. Red-figured lekythos. Achilles Painter (Dontas). *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution. G. Dontas, "Eine rotfigurige Lekythos des Achilleusmalers," *AntK* 16, 1973, pp. 71–75, pl. 12.

Woman carries a casket in her right hand; she wears a peplos. An inscription labels her +ΠΥΞΟ-ΘΗΜΙΞ. Bride seated (little remains: small portion of face, head, torso, and feet); she wears chiton, himation, and stephane. The inscription above her head, ΕΡΡΥ On the wall: sakkos and two oinochoai.

ΑΞΙΟΓΕΙΘΗΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟ

14. BASLE, Cahn 21. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 998, no. 167; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; *Catalogue*, Sotheby, 11 April 1960, pl. 8.

Woman carries a plemochoe in her right hand; she wears a peplos. Bride sits empty-handed, her left shoulder over the chair back, her forearm resting on the back of the chair; her left foot is placed forward, and her right back under the seat. She wears chiton and himation. Added colors are primrose yellow and red (probably yellow chiton and red himation), but description is not specific. On the wall: strings (cords) of a sakkos remain.

15. BASLE MARKET. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution. *Münzen und Medaillen, A.G., Auktion 40, 13 Dezember 1969*, no. 113, pl. 48, and p. 69.

Bride holds a plemochoe in her right hand, her left hand rests on her lap; she wears a yellow chiton and a red himation. Woman holds a casket in her left hand. She wears chiton and sakkos. On the wall: red sakkos, oinochoe, and mirror.

[ΑΞ]ΙΟΠΕΙΘΗΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟ

16. BASLE MARKET. Achilles Painter (Hornbostel). *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution. *Münzen und Medaillen, A.G., Auktion 63, 29. Juni 1983*, no. 54, p. 25, pl. 25.

Woman, figure missing above waist level, holds out right hand at waist level; object now missing. The auction catalogue identifies this as a gesture of speech; however, as the attendant in this group always brings an object, I suspect that this woman held one. She wore a red sleeveless chiton, now faded below the knees. Bride holds a plemochoe in her left hand, her empty right extended. On the wall: oinochoe, mirror, and red sakkos.

. . . ΕΙΘΗΣ

remains of the inscription (ΑΞΙΟΠΕΙΘΗΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟ).

17 (Pl. 74). BERLIN, S.M. 2443. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 118; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; Riezler, pl. 2. H. Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst*, Mainz 1984, p. 110, fig. 44.

Woman holds out a small infant boy towards the bride. The child's left arm is extended to the mother. She wears a peplos. The infant wears amulets diagonally across his body. Bride at right puts her hands forward to receive the child. She wears a chiton and a black himation. On the wall: mirror, oinochoe, sakkos; a handle remains of a second oinochoe.

ΔΡΟΜΙΓΓΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙΔΟ

18. BERLIN, S.M. 2449. Phiale Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1022, no. 140; Riezler, pl. 49.

Woman holds casket with raised lid and reaches in with her right hand; she apparently wears a peplos.

Bride holds basket of fillets on her lap and extends her right hand to the casket. She wears a blue-red chiton, apparently no himation. On the wall: sakkos.

19. BERLIN, S.M. 3970. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 997, no. 146; *AA* (*JdI* 13) 1898, p. 192, fig. 12.

Bride holds a plemochoe with both hands; she wears chiton and himation. The attendant was incorrectly restored as a male wearing a red mantle, his hand extended above the plemochoe. On the wall: sakkos and mirror.

ΔΙΦΙΛ[ΟΞ] ΚΑΛΟ[Ξ]

20. BONN, University, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 64. Timokrates Painter(?). *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1582, no. 23; *JHS* 16, 1896, pl. 4.

Bride at left holds a necklace with both hands (making a wreath?); she wears a purple chiton (also described as red), brown himation, and white sakkos with patterns in brown. Only a small portion of right frontal foot of her attendant remains.

ΓΛΑΥΚΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΛΕΑΓΡΟ

21 (Pl. 75). BOSTON, M.F.A. 03.801. *Ca.* 440–420 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution. Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 17, no. 2 and p. 118; Vermeule, *Aspects of Death* (footnote 6 above), p. 178, fig. 29.

Woman carries a basket with fruit and purple fillets; she wears a peplos with purple borders, and a purple “sphendone” binds her hair. The bride holds out her hand, on which a small winged Eros stands; she wears chiton and himation with purple band. On the wall: draped red fillet and sakkos.

22. BOSTON, M.F.A. 13.187. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 998, no. 157; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 40.

Bride holds her hands before her, but the object she held is no longer visible; she wears a chiton and a red himation. Woman holds her hands out before her; her object has also vanished; she wears a peplos. On the wall: mirror, oinochoe, and sakkos.

ΑΞΙΟΓΕΙ[ΘΗ]Ξ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΛΚΙΜΑ+[Ο]

23. BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux A 8. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 121; *CVA*, Brussels 1 [Belgium 1], pl. 4 [44]:3a and b.

Bride holds her hands before her; she wears a chiton and a black himation. Woman carries a casket; she wears a peplos. Behind her is a stool. On the wall: mirror, two oinochoai, and sakkos.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΜΗΛΑΝΟΓΡΟ

24. COPENHAGEN, N.M. 1941. Beldam Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 751, no. 3; *CVA*, Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4], pl. 164 [166]:1a and b.

Bride holds an open casket on her knees and seems to hold a necklace. She wears a short, bordered veil on her head. The attendant moves away from her; she holds a round object in her right hand and carries a basket in her left. She wears a chiton. To the attendant’s right kneels a small naked boy who raises his arms to her. He wears amulets diagonally across his body. On the wall: pair of sandals and alabastron. To the far left of the scene: column with Ionic capital and part of architrave.

25 (Pl. 73). COPENHAGEN, N.M. 5624. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 997, no. 150; *CVA*, Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4], pls. 170 [172]:6 and 170 [173]:a.

Bride holds plemochoe with right hand; she wears a chiton and a dark red himation. Woman holds basket of fillets; she wears a dark red peplos and a white sakkos over which is placed a light red (pink) wide band. On the wall: sakkos and oinochoe.

ΗΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ

26. DRESDEN, Albertinum ZV2777. Red-figured lekythos. Bosanquet Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1227, no. 11; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174; *AA* (*JdI* 40) 1925, col. 124.

Bride holds hands out before her to receive a casket; she wears a chiton, himation, and laurel-leaf stephane. Woman holds small casket in her right hand; she wears chiton, himation, and sakkos. Between the figures, a bird on the floor. On the wall: fillet.

27. GELA, Museo Civico. Red-figured lekythos. Phiale Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1022, no. 124 bis (p. 1678); *Paralipomena*, p. 441; *NSc*, ser. 8, 14, 1960, p. 160.

Woman carries an alabastron in her right hand; she wears a chiton. Bride looks into a mirror; a casket with raised lid is at her feet; she wears chiton and himation. Both women wear a stephane.

28 (Pl. 80:b). HAMBURG, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1908.93. Quadrate Painter. *Ca.* 435–410 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1237, no. 9.

The bride holds a loutrophoros on her lap with her left hand, her right hand raised slightly from her lap as if to receive something; she wears a sakkos (with knot at top). Woman carries a basket in her left hand and holds her right hand above the basket (as if holding a now vanished fillet or other object). The garments of both women have faded. On the wall: mirror and sakkos.

29. HONOLULU, Academy of Arts 2892. Sabouroff Painter. Red-figured lekythos, secondary shape, class PL, early work. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 844, no. 153; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 145; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 28:1.

Bride at left with hands out before her as if holding a wreath. She wears chiton, himation, and a short veil on her head which falls to her shoulders. Woman holds her right hand out before her (as if holding a flower?). Her left hand holds an object or clutches the himation. She wears chiton and himation and on her head a stephane.

30. JERUSALEM, Palestine Museum V1762. Phiale Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1022, no. 125; *QDAP* 2, 1933, pl. 8:a.

Bride holds out hands before her to receive a small casket; she wears chiton and himation. Woman brings a casket with raised lid; she wears chiton and himation. Both women wear a laurel-leaf stephane and earrings.

31. LAON. Musée Archéologique 37.919. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 137. No published photograph.

Woman brings a casket; she wears a chiton only, and her hair is short. Bride extends her hands to receive the casket. She wears chiton and black himation.

ΛΙ+ΑC ΚΑΛΟC

32. LONDON, B.M. D 50. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 123; *JHS* 16, 1896, p. 164, pl. 6.

Woman carries a basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos. Behind her is a stool. Bride, on a stool, holds out her hands before her; she wears chiton, himation, and sakkos. On the wall: mirror and oinochoe (and handle of a second oinochoe?).

ΛΙ+ΑΞ ΚΑΛΟΞ CAM[IO]C

33 (Pl. 79). LONDON, B.M. D53. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 178; A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, London 1896, pl. 4.

Bride holds by its two ends a spray of greenery which she has bent into a wreath. She wears chiton and red himation. Woman holds out a cord in her right hand (to fasten the wreath). On the wall: two sakkoi and an oinochoe.

34. LONDON, B.M. D 57. Thanatos Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1228, no. 5; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174; Murray (under **33** above), pl. 1.

Woman holds an alabastron in her right hand; her garment has faded. Bride, with left forearm resting on the back of the chair, extends her right hand; she wears a chiton, vermilion himation, and a white sakkos topped by a vermilion band. On the wall: sakkos.

35. LONDON, B.M. 1907.7-10.10. Fragment. Bosanquet Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1227, no. 10; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 30:3.

Woman holds out naked baby; she wears a peplos. Child wears amulets diagonally across his body and extends his hands to the bride. Bride sits with her legs crossed (left over right); she props her chin on her right hand; she does not respond to the child. She wears chiton and himation (only a few lines remain). Line at far right probably traces of "father" (i.e., the groom), or she may possibly be sitting at a tomb (Kurtz, *AWL*, p. 210).

36. MUNICH, Staatliche Antikensammlungen (formerly LUGANO, Schoen 79). Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 997, no. 154; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; *AntK*, Beiheft 7, 1970, pl. 26:3 (part).

Woman holds casket with both hands; she wears a peplos. Bride holds her hands out before her; she wears chiton and himation. On the wall: oinochoe and sakkos.

ΗΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΞ

37. NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, King's College. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 142; G. Langlotz, *Sammlung antiker Kunst aus dem Nachlass des verewigten Freiherrn Max von Heyl, Generalleutnant a.l.s.: München, Helbing, 30 Okt. 1930*, pl. 30, p. 107.

Bride extends her right hand, left hand resting on her lap; she wears a yellow chiton and red himation. Woman brings a plemochoe; she wears an oriental costume with red patterns, which covers her upper torso to the thighs. On the wall: oinochoe and sakkos.

38. NEW YORK, M.M.A. 15.165. Thanatos Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1228, no. 6; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174; F. Felten, *Thanatos- und Kleophonmaler*, Munich 1971, p. 85, fig. 3 and p. 91, fig. 2.

Woman holds a basket of fillets. She wears a sakkos with knot at the top, but dress has faded. Bride with left forearm resting on the back of the chair extends her right hand; she wears a himation, and her chiton appears to have faded.

39. NEW YORK, M.M.A. 57.12.24. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C. No *ARV* attribution. Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 27:5.

Bride sits on a stool, her right hand raised to receive something. She wears chiton, himation, and perhaps a diadem or a band. Only a few lines of her attendant on the left remain.

40. PARIS. Musée du Louvre CA 488. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 997, no. 144; J. Giacomotti, *Histoire de la céramique*, Paris 1933, fig. 42.

Bride seated left. Woman carries basket of fillets. The published photo is inadequate to permit a detailed description.

Kalos name no longer legible.

41. PHILADELPHIA, University Museum MS 5463. Achilles Painter. False bottom.¹²² *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 143; *AJA* 23, 1919, p. 20.

Bride makes a wreath. She wears chiton and himation; the chiton is in second white. Woman holds a basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos or sleeveless chiton and has short curly hair. On the wall: sakkos, mirror, and oinochoe.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΞ

TYPE II: DRESSING SCENES

On the following vases two women, or a woman and girl, are shown engaged in some stage of dressing. The “dressing” figure, the bride, wears a chiton; the dress of the other varies. The objects in the scene are few: a rolled himation and an alabastron are seen frequently; a mirror or plemochoe also appear.

42. ATHENS, N.M. 1846. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 10. No published photograph.

Bride ties her girdle. Girl holds out a narrow fillet; she wears a sleeveless chiton and has short hair.

43. ATHENS, N.M. 12746. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 184; *CVA*, Athens 1 [Greece 1], pl. 4 [36]:1–3.

Bride looks into a mirror she holds in her left hand, her right hand raised before her breast. Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds a folded red himation over her left shoulder and an alabastron in her right hand suspended by a cord. The lines of the garments are difficult to detect. On the wall: sakkos and fillet.

44. ATHENS, N.M. 12791. Achilles Painter or imitator. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 175; Riezler, pl. 39.

Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds out her hands before her; she wears a sleeveless chiton. Bride holds a rolled himation. Behind her is a stool. Both chitons

¹²² I wish to thank Dr. A. Ashmead for the information that the Philadelphia lekythos has a false bottom. The vase will be included in the fascicule of the *CVA* which she is currently preparing.

vermilion (although apparently now largely faded). On the wall: sakkos.

45. BASLE, Antikenmuseum (on loan from Arlesheim, Schweizer). Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1001, no. 208; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 153; *AntK* 11, 1968, pl. 17:5 and 6.

Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds out her hands before her; she wears a sleeveless chiton and has short hair. Bride holds rolled himation before her; she wears a chiton.

46. BERKELEY, University of California 8.36. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 176; *CVA*, University of California 1 [USA 5], pls. 59 [240]:1 a, b and 61 [242]:1a, b.

Bride holds a rolled himation. Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds her hands out before her; she wears a sleeveless chiton. On the wall: two sakkoi.

47. BONN, University, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 65 (once). Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 998, no. 159; *CVA*, Bonn 1 [Germany 1], pls. 43 [43]:1 and 3, 44 [44]:3, and 46 [46]:2.

Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds a rolled violet-red himation; she wears a light-yellow sleeveless chiton. Bride ties her girdle, her hands enveloped in the kolpos of the chiton. On the wall: two sakkoi and mirror.

48. BOSTON, M.F.A. 09.70. Thanatos Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1230, no. 30; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 174; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 32:3.

While the nature of this scene is not clear owing to its poor condition, I think it may be a dressing scene. Bride stands with lowered head; the little that remains of her arms is consistent with the gesture of tying the girdle. To her right is a stool. Woman holds up an alabastron in her right hand; something in dark red covers her left shoulder (I suspect a folded himation). She wears a dark red sleeveless chiton and has short hair. For comparison see Athens, N.M. 12746 (43).

49. GELA, Museo Civico N 64 (*ex* Navarra-Jacona). Providence Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 640, no. 72. *Paralipomena*, p. 400; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 133; *CVA*, Gela 3 [Italy 54], pls. 29 [2406]:1 and 4, 30 [2407]:1 and 3, and 31 [2408]:4.

Bride binds her hair with a band; she wears chiton, himation, and earrings. The attendant, possibly younger, extends an alabastron in her right hand and holds a plemochoe in her left. She wears a chiton and has short hair.

50. LONDON, B.M. D 48. Achilles Painter. False bottom. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 997, no. 148; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 35:2.

Bride holds a rolled red himation. Girl holds her empty hands out before her; she also wears a chiton and has short hair. On the wall: two sakkoi and an oinochoe.

ΗΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΛΟ<

51. MAINZ, University, 119. Manner of the Painter of London E 342. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 670, no. 13; R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechisches Leben im Spiegel der Kunst*, Mainz 1959, pl. 35, left.

Bride ties her girdle; she holds an edge of the chiton between her teeth; on her head is a sakkos. A chair is behind her. Girl holds rolled himation; she wears a peplos and has short hair. On the wall: alabastron.

52. NEW YORK, M.M.A. 06.1021.130. Quadrate Painter. *Ca.* 435–410 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1239, no. 44; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 13:3.

Youth stands at far left (the groom?) with his left hand holding an erect spear and his right hand on his hip. He wears a short, girded chiton (decorated with red crosses and border), a red mantle over his left arm, and a violet petasos on his shoulders. Bride, in the center, ties her girdle, the edge of the chiton caught between her teeth. To her right a red himation is laid out, apparently on a stool. Woman at far right holds up a violet mirror in her right hand and a plemochoe in her left. The lines of her garment have now faded.

53 (Pl. 75). NEW YORK, M.M.A. 08.258.17. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 181; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 35:1.

Bride ties her girdle, her hands enveloped in the kolpos of her (now) pale yellow chiton. Woman holds up an alabastron in her right hand; she wears a chiton and a red himation. On the wall: mirror and sakkos.

54. NEW YORK, M.M.A. 54.11.7. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1001, no. 204; *BMMA* 21.1 (Summer 1962), frontispiece.

Bride holds a rolled red himation (now faintly pink); her chiton is now pale yellow, and she wears a sakkos topped by a wide band. Behind her is a stool. Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds out her hands before her; she wears a sleeveless chiton and has short hair. On the wall: an oinochoe.

55. ROUEN, Musée Départemental des Antiquités 1877 (9820056). Achilles Painter. False bottom. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1000, no. 197; *Hommes, dieux et héros de la Grèce, 23 octobre 1982—31 janvier 1983*, Rouen 1983, pp. 140–142, fig. 59:a–c.

Bride holds a red himation. Behind her a stool. Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds an alabastron in her left hand. She wears a sleeveless chiton. On the wall: mirror and sakkos.

56. SYRACUSE, Museo Nazionale 24684. Achilles Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 994, no. 102; *JHS* 34, 1914, p. 182.

Bride holds a rolled himation. Woman at right holds up an alabastron in her right hand; she wears chiton and himation.

57. TORONTO, Royal Ontario Museum 377 (C. 356). Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 182; D. M. Robinson, C. G. Harcum, and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*, Toronto 1930, p. 185, pl. 65.

Bride ties her girdle, her hands hidden within the kolpos of her chiton. Girl holds up an alabastron in her right hand and a rolled red himation with her left; she wears a sleeveless chiton, and her hair is short. On the wall: sakkos (taenia?) and mirror.

58. VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3745 (*ex Oest. Mus. inv.* 1087). Achilles Painter. False bottom. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 998, no. 163; Fairbanks, *AWL* I, p. 221.

Bride holds a rolled, vermilion himation; on her head is a vermilion cloth covered by a white band. Behind her is a stool. Girl(?; she is slightly shorter) holds her hands out before her; she wears a dark red sleeveless chiton, and her hair is short. On the wall: oinochoe and sakkos.

TYPE III: TWO STANDING WOMEN

On the following lekythoi two women, or a woman and a girl, are depicted; they stand facing each other. They hold the same objects as in the other types with the exception of a few vases, one which depicts a *kalathos* and another, a *kanoun*. Occasionally, one woman is empty-handed (the bride?). One woman usually wears a peplos or sleeveless chiton, the other a chiton or chiton and himation. The contrast in costume, however, seen so often in Type I, is not always maintained. The stool appears frequently in this group; the chair is rarely depicted.

59. ATHENS. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution. *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 741, fig. 2.

Woman holds two alabastra and appears to smell the perfume in the left-hand one; she wears a chiton and himation. Woman holds the edge of her peplos

in her right hand; she may have held an object in her raised left.

ΚΑΛΟΞ ΝΙΚΟΝΔΑΞ

60. ATHENS, N.M. 1763. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 15; C. Zervos, *L'art en Grèce*, Paris 1934, fig. 277, part (in 1946 edition, fig. 335).

Woman left, no illustration. Woman holds basket of wreaths and lekythoi or alabastra (the photograph seems to indicate alabastra); no fillets. She wears peplos and sakkos. To her left, a chair.

61. ATHENS, N.M. 1823, from Eretria. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 998, no. 169; Riezler, pl. 38.

Woman holds a plemochoe; she wears a yellow

peplos. Behind her is a stool. Woman holds an alabastron; she wears a yellow chiton and light red himation. On the wall: mirror and sakkos.

62. ATHENS, N.M. 1922. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 120; *JHS* 16, 1896, pl. 5:1.

Girl holds a casket with both hands; she wears a sleeveless chiton. Woman holds a plemochoe in her right hand; she wears a chiton and a black himation. On the wall: an oinochoe.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΞ ΚΑΛΟΞ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ

63. ATHENS, N.M. 1929. Timokrates Painter. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 743, no. 5; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 139; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 25:2.

In the center of the scene is a basket of wreaths and taeniae placed on a low table or stool; the women stand on either side. Woman left holds a fringed sash out before her; she wears chiton and himation. Woman right, bending over the basket, holds a lekythos in her left hand and an alabastron in her right; she wears a peplos.

64. ATHENS, N.M. 1943. Painter of Athens 1943. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1082, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 160; Riezler, pl. 41; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 38:3.

Woman holds out a fillet with both hands. Woman holds a plemochoe in her right hand and a small casket in her left. Behind her a stool. Both women wear sleeveless chitons, the left-hand figure in vermilion and the one on the right in dark red brown.

65. ATHENS, N.M. 1963. Achilles Painter. False bottom. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 122; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; Riezler, pls. 4 and 4a.

Woman holds alabastron in her right hand and plemochoe in her left. She wears a chiton and a black himation. Behind her a stool. Woman holds basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a red peplos and a sakkos. On the floor between them: crane.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΞ ΚΑΛΟΞ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ

66. ATHENS, N.M. 1984. Aischines Painter. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 715, no. 185. No published photograph.

Woman holds out a fillet; she wears a chiton and a

himation with a red border. Woman moves right but looks back. She holds a thin black fillet towards the other woman and wears chiton and himation.

67. ATHENS, N.M. 1987. Timokrates Painter. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 743, no. 6. No published photograph.

Woman holds her hands out before her; she wears a black chiton and a red himation (the bride?). Behind her is a chair and before her on the floor a *kalathos* with two spindles with wool. Woman extends a plemochoe towards her; she wears a peplos.

68. ATHENS, N.M. 1997. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 12. No published photograph.

Woman holds a *kanoun* in her left hand; she wears a sleeveless black chiton. Woman holds a fillet; she wears a peplos.

69. ATHENS, N.M. 2032. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 747, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 139; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 25:4.

Woman holds her hands out before her (as if she held a fillet?); she wears a peplos. Woman holds a round object in her right hand (egg? fruit?), her left hand on her hip. She wears chiton, himation, and sakkos. Between the two figures: black bird, inverted, as if perched upside down on the wall.

70. ATHENS, N.M. 12743. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 995, no. 125; G. Nicole, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes, Supplément*, Paris 1911, pl. 15:2.

Woman holds a casket; she wears a chiton. Woman holds a plemochoe; she wears a chiton and a black himation. Behind her is a stool. Between the two figures on the floor: goose. On the wall: sakkos and oinochoe.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟ[Ξ] ΚΑΛΟΞ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ

71. ATHENS, N.M. 12770. Timokrates Painter. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 743, no. 7; *CVA*, Athens 1 [Greece 1], pl. 2 [34]:8.

Two figures stand on either side of a *kalathos* placed on the floor. Woman left holds a narrow girdle with both hands; she wears a black chiton and

a deep violet himation. Girl opposite holds a fringed sash with both hands; she wears a black chiton and short hair. On the wall: a fringed sash draped as if on two pegs.

72. ATHENS, N.M. 12784. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 998, no. 162; Riezler, pl. 34.

Women holds a pyxis; she wears a sleeveless chiton and short curly hair (or an unpronounced knot). Woman holds a basket of fillets; she wears chiton and sakkos. On the wall: sakkos and oinochoe.

73. ATHENS, N.M. 12790. Achilles Painter or imitator. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 174; Zervos (under 60), figs. 262 and 264 (in 1946 edition, figs. 310 and 312).

Woman holds basket of fillets; she wears a sleeveless chiton. Woman holds up a plemochoe; she wears a peplos.

74. ATHENS, N.M. 12794. Achilles Painter or imitator. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 172; Riezler, pl. 35.

Woman holds an alabastron in each hand; she wears a peplos. Woman holds a basket of fillets; she wears a sleeveless chiton (traces of soft red remain). Behind her a stool. On the wall: sakkos and oinochoe.

75. ATHENS, N.M. 12795. Achilles Painter or imitator. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 173; *CVA*, Athens 1 [Greece 1], pl. 6 [38]:1 and 2.

Woman carries basket of fillets; she wears a chiton. Woman holds her right arm by her side, her left concealed in her red himation (the bride?). On the wall: mirror, sakkos, and traces of purple fillet.

76. ATHENS, N.M. 13750. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 134. No published photograph.

Woman stands, apparently empty-handed; she wears a peplos. Woman holds up a plemochoe; she wears chiton and himation. This woman is shorter than the peplos-clad woman. On the wall: fillet(?) and oinochoe.

[ΔΙΦ]ΙΛ[ΟΞ] [ΚΑΛ]ΟC [ΜΕΝ]ΑΝ[Ο]ΓΓΟ

77. ATHENS, N.M. 17279. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 17; Ἄρχ'Εφ 1950–1951, p. 150, fig. 1, p. 155, right and pl. 1, left.

Woman holds a girdle with tassels; she wears a chiton and a sakkos. Girl(?) holds in her right hand a tray with round cakes and an egg. She wears a peplos and has short hair.

78. ATHENS, Vlasto. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 747, no. 26; Ἄρχ'Εφ 1950–1951, p. 156, fig. 4.

Woman holds a sash with both hands; she wears a chiton. Behind her a stool. Woman at right stands facing her swathed in a himation; she holds no object (the bride?).

79. BASLE MARKET. Timokrates Painter (near). *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 744; *Münzhandlung Basel, Vente publique no. 4, 1 Okt. 1935*, no. 1189, pl. 41.

Woman carries basket which contains two wreaths and two fillets. Girl holds alabastron; she wears a black peplos. On the wall: mirror.

80. BASLE MARKET. Phiale Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1021, no. 123 *quater*; *Paralipomena*, p. 441; *Münzen und Medaillen, A.G., Auktion 34, Kunstwerke der Antike, 6 Mai 1967*, no. 172, pl. 57.

Bride extends her left hand before her; her body is swathed in the himation which conceals her right arm and is raised over the back of her head, and she wears a laurel-leaf stephane. Behind her is a stool. Woman holds out a small casket in her right hand; she wears chiton, himation, and laurel-leaf stephane. On the wall: sash with red fringe; an alabastron hangs by cords on a wall peg.

81. BASLE MARKET. Quadrate Painter. *Ca.* 435–410 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1237, no. 8; *Münzen und Medaillen, A.G., Auktion 18, 29 Nov. 1958*, no. 133, pl. 42.

This lekythos carries three figures; all three women stand. The central figure turns her head left; she wears chiton and himation (the bride?). The remaining two women on either side wear chitons, according to the catalogue description (this feature is difficult to detect from the photograph). Woman left holds a small casket. Woman right holds a basket of fillets in her left hand and a wreath in her right.

82. BERLIN, S.M. 3171. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution; Riezler, pl. 21.

Woman stands enveloped in a himation, under which a chiton can be detected. The himation is pulled over her head (the bride?). Girl carries a basket on her head. The basket contains an alabastron, kylix, lekythos, and one other uncertain object (small casket?). She wears a peplos.

83. BOCHUM, Funcke, S 511. Phiale Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1021, no. 123(5); *Paralipomena*, p. 441; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 154; N. Kunisch, *Antiken der Sammlung Julius C. und M. Funcke*, Bochum 1972, no. 97, p. 117.

Woman holds a casket which is bound with a red fillet. Woman holds a fringed sash with her right hand. Both women wear chiton and himation, sakkos, earrings, and necklaces. On the wall: a sash, a flute case, and an unclear object in the center.

84. BOLOGNA, Museo Civico PU363. Influenced by the Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1008, no. 2; Buschor, *ALP*, p. 192, fig. 1.

Woman holds a plemochoe, apparently without lid, in right hand, and extends her left towards girl; she wears a chiton. Girl holds a casket in her left hand; she wears a peplos and appears to have short hair. On the wall: mirror and sakkos.

85. BOSTON, M.F.A. 08.368. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1001, no. 210; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 36.

Woman holds basket of fillets; her garment has vanished but may have been a chiton. Woman stands opposite, no object visible; she wears chiton and (now faded) himation (the bride?). The chiton shows traces of red.

86. BOSTON, M.F.A. 03.800. *Ca.* 440–420 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, p. 88, pl. 16:1.

This lekythos carries three figures; all three women stand. Woman left holds a fillet (or rather, she may be lifting the edge of her shawl from her shoulder; this figure possibly the bride?). She wears a sleeveless chiton and a shawl with violet border. The central woman holds a loutrophoros; Fairbanks' description states that she wears a short "chitonion" with violet

borders at neck and base, and a chiton with short sleeves. At far right, woman holds a basket of fillets. She wears a chiton (only traces remain) and a "once dark red" himation. On the wall: mirror. To the far left of the scene: a fluted column with "egg moulding, echinus, and thin abacus".

87. BOSTON, M.F.A. 13.201. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 997, no. 156; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 41.

Girl carries a casket; she wears a sleeveless chiton. Woman, waiting to receive casket, holds no object (the bride?); she wears a yellow chiton and dark red himation. On the wall: sakkos and oinochoe.

ΑΞΙΟΓΕΙΘΗΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΛΚΙΜΑΤΟ

88. BOSTON, M.F.A. 93.105. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 138; *AJA* 23, 1919, p. 29.

Woman holds her hands out before her (as if she held a fillet?); she wears a bright red sleeveless chiton. Woman holds up a plemochoe; she wears a chiton and dark red himation. On the wall: sakkos and oinochoe.

ΑΙΤΑΚ ΚΑΛΟΣ

89 (Pl. 76). BOSTON, M.F.A. 95.65. Painter of Athens 1943. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1082, no. 3; Fairbanks, *AWL* I, pl. 11.

Woman holds a basket of fillets; she wears a red sleeveless chiton. Woman holds an alabastron in her right hand; she wears a peplos.

90. BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux A 1019. Nikon Painter (probably by). *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 652, no. 3 and pp. 1663–1664; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 134; Fairbanks, *AWL* II, pl. 33:2.

Woman holds a sash with fringe; she wears a chiton. Girl moves away from her carrying a large casket; she wears a black chiton, and short hair. On the wall: mirror and lekythos.

ΑΥΑΥΚΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ

91. CAMBRIDGE, Fitzwilliam Museum GR2.1928 (28.2). Painter of Cambridge 28.2. *Ca.* 450–425 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 855, no. 4; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 146; *CVA*, Cambridge 2 [Great Britain 11], pl. 26 [505]:3; Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 40:1.

Woman carries a casket; she wears a sleeveless tunic (light red with dark red borders) over another garment. Her tunic is similar to the oriental costume shown on the Newcastle lekythos (37), except that it is sleeveless. Woman at right stands wrapped in a cloak (the bride?). Between the two figures: chair on which is a red cloth with black tassels. On the wall: mirror and sakkos.

92. CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Fogg Museum 60.335. Timokrates Painter. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 743, no. 4; *CVA*, Baltimore, The Robinson Collection 1 [U.S.A. 4], pl. 39 [172]:1a and b.

Woman at left carries basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos. Behind her a stool. Woman at right holds a plemochoe; she wears a chiton, and a long, narrow red shawl. On the wall: two lekythoi.

ΓΛΑ[VKON] ΚΑΛ[ΟΞ] ΛΕΑ[ΓΡΟ]

93. CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts) Harvard University, Fogg Museum 1972.43 (once New Haven, Watkins). Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1000, no. 186; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; *Ancient Art in American Private Collections, A Loan Exhibition at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, December 28, 1954–February 15, 1955*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, no. 297, pl. 83.

Woman holds basket (garment has faded). Woman holds right arm by her side, possible traces of the himation on this figure.

94. COPENHAGEN, N.M. CHR VIII 835. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution; *CVA*, Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4], pl. 171 [174]:3.

Attendant (young girl) carries a basket of fillets; she wears a peplos. Drawing of woman right very faint; her right hand is raised.

95. CRACOW, University 14180. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1000, no. 198; *CVA*, Cracow, Collection of the University 1 [Poland 2], pl. 11 [84]:5.

Woman holds up a plemochoe in her left hand and an alabastron in her right (the alabastron cannot be seen in the photograph). The *CVA* entry states that she wears a sleeveless chiton and himation, the colors

now faded. Woman holds an alabastron in her right hand and possibly another object. She wears a chiton and vermilion himation.

96. FRANKFURT, University. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 131; H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt 1923, pl. 22:b.

Photograph does not show the left-hand figure; she stands before her seat and wears chiton and red himation. Woman holds a basket of wreaths and fillets; she wears a peplos. Behind her is a stool. On the wall: mirror and sakkos.

[ΔΡΟΜ]ΙΠΓΟΞ [ΚΑΛΟΞ] [ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙ]ΔΟ

97. GELA, Museo Civico. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 19; *NSc*, ser. 8, 10, 1956, p. 363, fig. 8.

Woman holds a casket; she is dressed in a peplos. Behind her is a stool. Woman appears to extract a jewel (possibly a necklace) from the casket with her right hand, her left hand concealed by the himation; she wears chiton and himation.

98. MADISON (Wisconsin), Elvehjem Art Center EAC 70.2. Timokrates Painter (near). Attribution by D. Kurtz. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 25:3 and frontispiece.

Woman holds a basket containing fillets and a lekythos; she wears chiton and himation. Woman carries a basket also (fillets and lekythos); she wears a peplos. Each woman wears a stephane.

ΚΑΝΟΣ ΓΛΑΥΚΟΝ

99. MADRID, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11189. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 997, no. 153; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; Fairbanks, *AWL* I, pl. 8:2.

Woman at left holds a fillet; she wears a dark red sleeveless chiton. Woman holds up a plemochoe; she wears a light red peplos and a sakkos. On the wall: sakkos and oinochoe.

ΗΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΞ

100. NEW YORK, Bastis. Red-figured lekythos. Achilles Painter. False bottom. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 994, no. 101; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, New York 1961, no. 237, pls. 85 and 92. Also illustrated in *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, E. Swan Hall, ed., New York 1987, no. 167, p. 285, figs. 167:a, b.

Woman carries a plemochoe in her right hand and an alabastron in her lowered left hand; she wears chiton and himation. Woman turns her head over her shoulder to glance back at her companion; she carries a basket. She wears peplos and sakkos. Both women move to the right.

101. NEW YORK, Bastis. Near the Klugman Painter. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 440–420 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1200, no. 2; *Paralipomena*, p. 462; *Collection Bastis* (under 100 above), no. 168, p. 286, figs. 168:a and b.

Woman left lifts her cloak above her right shoulder, possibly to fasten it to the peplos she wears (see D. Buitron-Oliver, *Collection Bastis*, p. 286). Woman right holds out a basket; she wears chiton and himation. On the floor between them: open casket.

102. NEW YORK, M.M.A. 06.1171. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 999, no. 179; Fairbanks, *AWL* I, pl. 10:1.

Woman holds basket with two fillets. Woman holds a plemochoe in her left hand. Both women wear chitons.

103. NICOSIA, Cyprus Museum V453. Vouni Painter (near the Timokrates Painter). *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 744, no. 2; E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist, and A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931* III, Stockholm 1937, pl. 86:1 and 2.

Woman left: too little of figure remains for description. Woman right holds a mirror in her right hand (only the handle is now visible); she wears chiton and himation.

ΑΛΚ[ΙΜ]ΑΧΟ . . .

104. PARIS, Musée du Louvre CA 1142. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

No *ARV* attribution. Kurtz, *AWL*, pl. 25:1.

In the center of the scene is a basket of wreaths and, apparently, fillets placed on a low table or stool; the women stand on either side. Woman left holds a wreath; she wears a sleeveless chiton (very faint). The woman right bends slightly over the basket; her hands are in a position similar to the corresponding figure on Athens, N.M. 1929 (63), but the items she held cannot be determined from the published illustration. She wears a chiton (and possibly another garment). On the wall: alabastron and lekythos.

105. ROME, Conservatori (formerly Rome, Museo Artistico Industriale). Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 460–440 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 996, no. 136; *Paralipomena*, p. 438; *RM* 13, 1898, pl. 4.

Woman carries basket of fillets; her peplos has traces of red. Woman stands opposite but holds no object; she wears a chiton and a black himation (the bride?). Behind her a stool. On the floor between the women: small black bird. On the wall: two oinochoai and red sakkos.

ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ

106. SYRACUSE, Museo Nazionale 22789. Painter of Athens 1826. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 746, no. 7; *MonAnt* 14, 1905, p. 846.

Woman holds an alabastron in her right hand and a round object (egg?) in her left; she wears a chiton. Behind her is a stool. Woman holds a fillet and a wreath (necklace?) in her left hand. She wears a peplos.

107. SYRACUSE, Museo Nazionale 22878. Manner of the Painter of London E 342 or Painter of Athens 1826. Red-figured lekythos. *Ca.* 475–450 B.C.

*ARV*², pp. 671, no. 6, and 747, a; *MonAnt* 14, 1905, p. 844.

Woman carries a small casket; she wears a chiton. Woman holds an alabastron in her right hand and a plemochoe in her left; she wears a peplos. On the floor between them: bird.

108. TRONDHJEM, Museum of Applied Art NK 4554. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

*ARV*², p. 1001, no. 205 bis; *Paralipomena*, p. 439; *CVA*, Oslo 1 [Norway 1], p. 36, fig. 22, pl. 45 [45]:1–4.

Woman holds basket of fillets; she wears a sleeveless chiton. A stool is behind her. Woman stands opposite; if she held an object, it no longer remains. She wears chiton and himation (the bride?). The chiton and sleeveless chiton may once have been yellow, the himation was formerly vermilion. The attendant's hair (left figure) is stated (*CVA*, p. 37) to be "shorn". This cannot be detected in the photograph. On the wall: a mirror.

109. WORCESTER, Massachusetts, Art Museum 1900.65. Achilles Painter. *Ca.* 450–430 B.C.

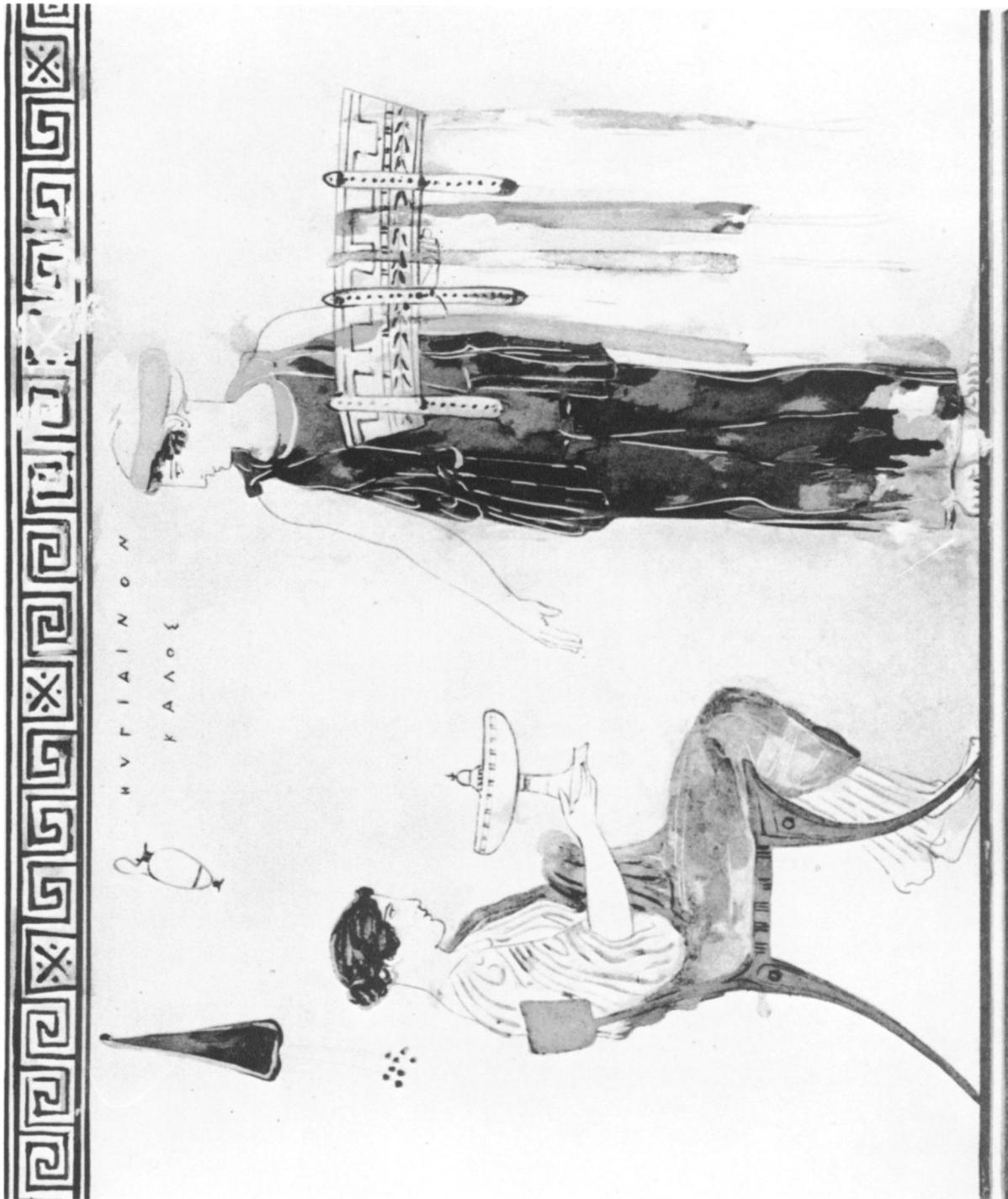
*ARV*², p. 997, no. 151; *Beazley Addenda*, p. 152; D. Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, no. 74, p. 135.

Woman carries basket of fillets; she wears a peplos. Woman holds a plemochoe in her left hand; she wears a chiton only. On the wall: oinochoe.

ΗΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΛΟC

JOAN REILLY

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology
Bryn Mawr, PA 19010



25. White-ground lekythos. Copenhagen 5624 (CVA, Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4], pl. 170 [173]:a)
JOAN REILLY: "MANY BRIDES: "MISTRESS AND MAID" ON ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI

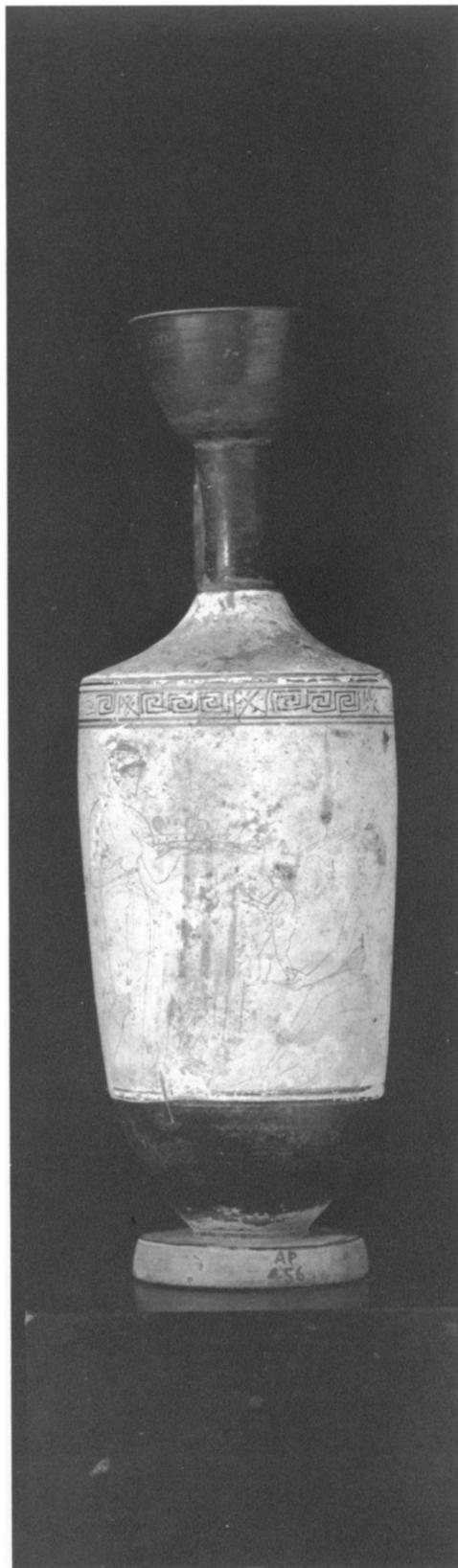


17. White-ground lekythos. Berlin S.M. 2443 (Riezler, pl. 2)

JOAN REILLY: "MANY BRIDES: 'MISTRESS AND MAID' ON ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI"



53. White-ground lekythos. New York, M.M.A. 08.258.17 (Fairbanks I, pl. XXXV)

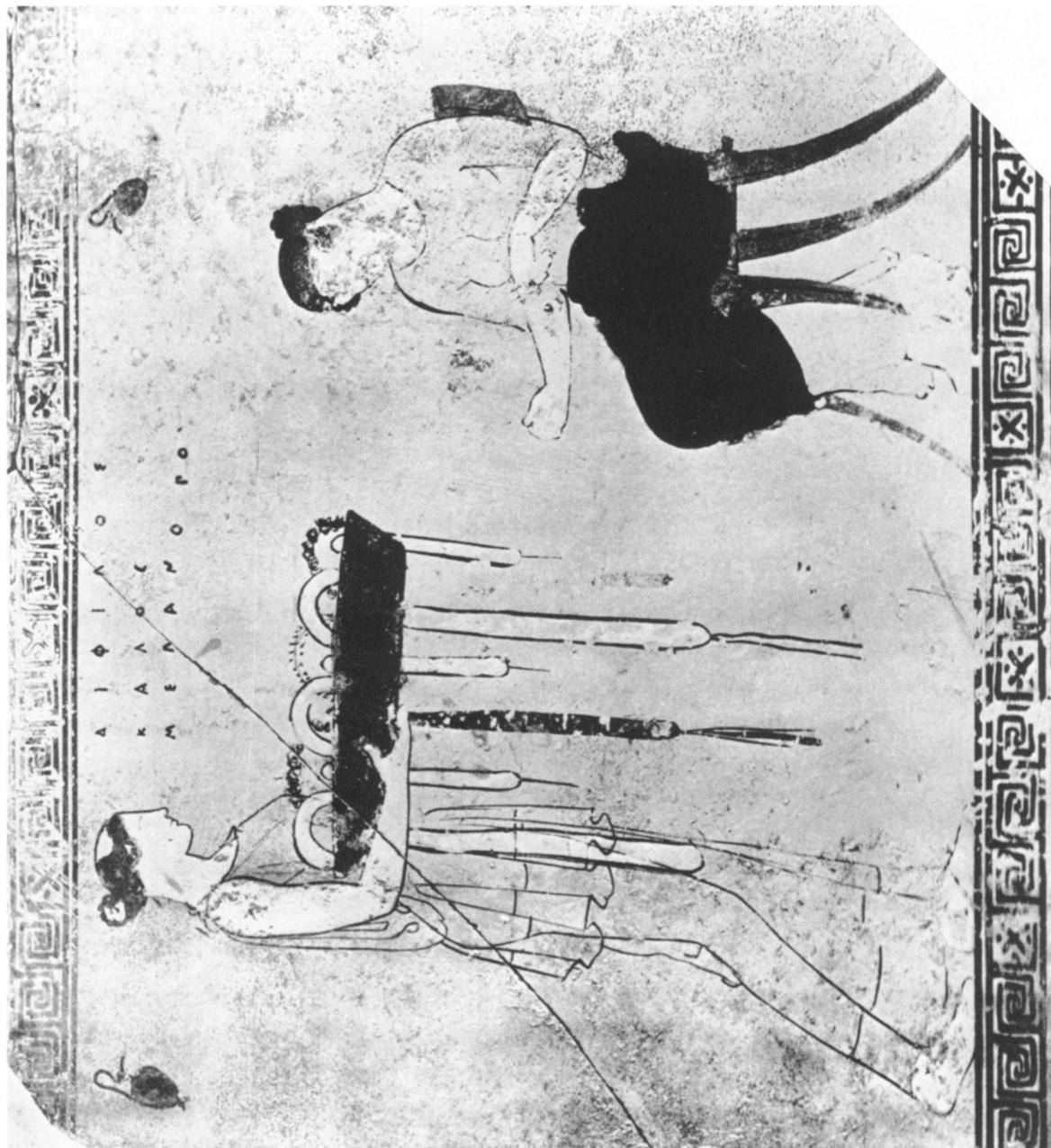


21. White-ground lekythos. Boston, M.F.A. 03.801 (courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



89. White-ground lekythos. Boston, M.F.A. 95.65 (Fairbanks I, pl. XI)

JOAN REILLY: MANY BRIDES: "MISTRESS AND MAID" ON ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI



9. White-ground lekythos. Athens, N.M. 12786 (Riezler, pl. 5)

JOAN REILLY: MANY BRIDES: "MISTRESS AND MAID" ON ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI



a. Red-figured loutrophoros. Boston, M.F.A. 10.223 (courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



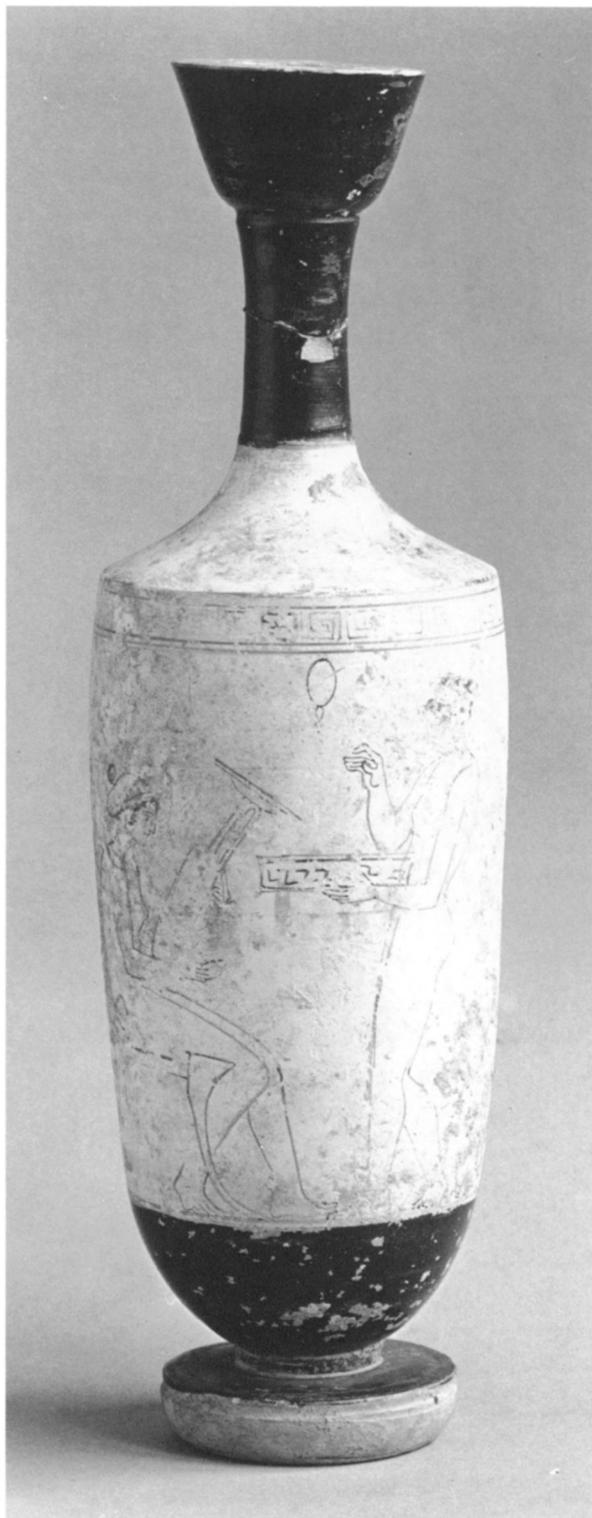
b. Red-figured pyxis. New York, M.M.A. 1972.118.148 (D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art in New York Private Collections*, New York 1961, pl. 91, no. 243)



33. White-ground lekythos. London, B.M. D 53 (A. S. Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, London 1896, pl. IV)



a. Red-figured alabastron. Paris, Cab. Méd. 508 (courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)



b. 28. White-ground lekythos. Hamburg 1908.93 (courtesy Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe)



Red-figured lebes gamikos. Munich 7578 (courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen)

JOAN REILLY: MANY BRIDES: "MISTRESS AND MAID" ON ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI