

A SERIES OF EROTIC PURSUITS: IMAGES AND MEANINGS*

(PLATES IIb-c, III)

I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

THE focus of this paper is a series of representations depicting a youth, with or without spears, pursuing a girl who is fleeing before him (PLATES IIb-c and IIIa-d). I call the pursuits in which the youth is carrying spears 'type 1' and those in which he is not 'type 2'. I also discuss various matters pertaining to girls, marriage and the relations between the sexes, and to myths such as Peleus' capture of Thetis.

Perception, reading and interpretation are culturally determined, operate through perceptual filters made up by culturally determined assumptions and expectations¹—iconographical, the conventions of the system of Greek ceramic iconography, and semantic, the relevant knowledge, ideas and beliefs shared by fifth-century viewers. Therefore, if we want to read fifth-century images through fifth-century eyes, we must reconstruct the relevant assumptions and expectations and try to read the images through these fifth-century perceptual filters, rather than our 'naked eyes'².

I have discussed aspects of the theme 'erotic pursuit' elsewhere (*cf.* introductory note), and argued, first, that the spears carried by the pursuer in representations of type 1 (as part of the iconographical scheme characterizing ephebes in general and Theseus in particular) carry implicit, muted, connotations of violence and menace;³ and secondly, that types 1 and 2 are closely related, and produce meanings which only differ in emphasis. The intimations of (unstressed) violence produced by the spears in type 1 are also carried by the theme of erotic pursuit itself; the spears only increase the emphasis. Moreover, the motif of the capture of the pursued girl, signified in our theme through the iconographical motif 'grabbing the girl' (found in both types), produces less muted 'violent' meanings, similar to those produced by the spears.⁴

* This paper began life as part of a much longer essay, which eventually evolved into three self-contained papers: the present one; 'Menace and pursuit: differentiation and the creation of meaning' (hereafter 'Menace') forthcoming in *Image et société en Grèce ancienne. L'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse* (Actes du Colloque international, Lausanne 8-11 février 1984) ed. by C. Bérard; and 'Altars with palm-trees, palm-trees and parthenoi' forthcoming in *BICS* (hereafter 'Palms'). As I have only reshaped, and not rewritten, the paper, the bibliography generally excludes items published after February 1984, when the final version of the larger essay was completed. The only apparent exception is not in fact one: in notes 95 and 97 I refer to R. G. Osborne, *Demos: the discovery of classical Attica* (Cambridge 1985) because Dr Osborne had kindly let me see an earlier draft of that chapter. I would like to thank Professor Mary R. Lefkowitz who commented on this paper when it was part of the larger essay, and Dr M. Schmidt who commented on the version in the Lausanne Preliminary Proceedings. I am indebted to Mr Michael Vickers for PLATE IIIb. and to Dr I. Saverkina for PLATES IIb-c and IIIa and c-d; I am particularly grateful to her for the opportunity to publish the lekane fragment on PLATE IIa.

¹ For references to works discussing culture-determination see 'Menace', the footnotes to section 2, where I discuss this issue and the ways in which it affects the

reading of classical vase-paintings.

² For a methodological discussion of the appropriate strategies for achieving this goal: 'Menace' section 2.

³ But they do not denote attack; the spears' character as not weapon in use/about to be used in an attack is stressed in several scenes. For instance, the spears may be held in the left or the spearheads turned away from the girl: see discussion in 'Menace' 3 ii a.ii). The distinction between attack and muted intimations of violence/menace must not be blurred (*Cf.* 'Menace' 3 ii a.ii). It differentiates heroic pursuits from divine ones, which can be shown either through the same iconographical scheme as the heroic or with a threatening, attacking, pursuer. I argued ('Menace' 3 iii) that the fact that the heroic pursuer is never an attacker corresponds to a significant difference between the semantic fields 'erotic pursuit by a god' and 'erotic pursuit by a hero'.

⁴ The combination of spears and 'grabbing' (see e.g. the column-krater in Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseum [ARV 284.5]) puts even more emphasis on the 'violent intimations'. There is a significant spectrum of differences in emphasis in the different scenes, from 'almost consensual' to 'implicit connotations of violence/menace'. The closeness between types 1 and 2 is confirmed by the existence of an 'intermediate' type: on the skyphos Providence 25.072 (ARV 973.10) the youth has put down the spears (shown resting on the ground) and is running after the girl.

II. THE SUBJECT

The interpretation of the representations of a youth pursuing a girl as erotic pursuits is certain. It is based on the similarity between this iconographical scheme and the scheme observed in other scenes of pursuit which, because their story is known, can be identified with certainty as erotic. In my view, generic similarities do not securely establish such an identification,⁵ but there is a truly close parallel to our pursuits which allows us to identify them as erotic: the representation of Peleus' pursuit of Thetis. I discuss this theme's close similarity to ours below. There are other reasons too for identifying our pursuits as erotic. The iconographical scheme of type 2 is similar to a variety of erotic pursuits involving different beings⁶ and the same as the scheme representing Eros pursuing a woman,⁷ an undoubtedly erotic type of pursuit. This demonstrates that our scenes represent erotic pursuits. For what the Eros scenes show is surely not a mythological incident, either an incident from Eros' own love-life or one in which he is acting on behalf of another deity.⁸ As Durand has convincingly argued, the representations which show Eros performing activities elsewhere performed by youths in the same iconographical schemes, articulate the notion that those youths' actions were performed under Eros' power.⁹

Thus the identification of our scenes as erotic pursuits is certain. The analyses that follow will show that the meanings produced by these scenes correspond exactly to the semantic field 'erotic pursuit' in the semantic universe of fifth-century Athens.

III. IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROTAGONISTS

First a basic question: does it matter who the protagonists of these pursuits are? Is the search for names and identities not clinging to outdated modes of research and should we not rather concentrate on the images and situations and try to recover their meanings? In my view, the identities are important. For meanings are inscribed and read into the images through signs; and each mythological figure was a sign, carrying specific connotations which contributed to the creation of the image's complex meanings.

Here I am only concerned with the identity of the lone pursuer when he is a youth wearing a chlamys—sometimes also a chiton, rarely a chiton without chlamys—with or without petasos, with or without spears. The other variants, involving more than one youth, or a young warrior, or other types of pursuer, are considered briefly below. The identity of the pursuer in the scenes at the centre of our investigation is considered controversial by some scholars,¹⁰ but it can be

⁵ I discuss the need not to overlook apparently small divergences in 'Menace' section 2. As Gombrich (E. H. Gombrich, *Art and illusion. A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*⁵ [Oxford 1977] 53) noted, small divergences are more immediately obvious to the members of the cultural community in which the images are produced.

⁶ See e.g. the satyr pursuing a maenad on the cup Oxford 1927.71 (*CVA* Oxford 2 pl. 52.3). (On satyrs pursuing maenads see H. Hoffmann, *Sexual and asexual pursuit*, Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper xxxiv [London 1977] 3–4.)

⁷ See e.g. the hydria in the Hague, A. W. Byvanck, *Gids voor de Bezoekers van het Museum Meermann-Westreenianum* (1912) pl. xxx 634 (*ARV* 1209.58), and compare it with, e.g., Leningrad 728 (here *PLATE* IIc). I am not including the theme 'Eros pursuing a boy': I exclude non-exact equivalents to avoid overlooking important differences by making the culture-dependent judgement that they are not significant.

⁸ As J. Boardman in J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* (London 1978) 20 implies.

⁹ In *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique* (Mont-sur-Lausanne 1984) (hereafter *Cité*) 32–3.

¹⁰ On this theme and the problem of the identification of the protagonists see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge* (Berlin 1847) 34–41; Beazley in L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic vase paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford 1931–63; hereafter *CB*) ii 81; L. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* (Paris 1955) 311; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow-Maler. Eine Kannenwerkstatt der Parthenonzeit* (Mainz 1976) 73–5; K. Schefold, *Wort und Bild* (1975) 93; *id.*, *RA* (1982) 233; J. Boardman, *BSA* liii–liv (1958/9) 171; N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Spina. Die neuentdeckte Etruskerstadt und die griechischen Vasen ihrer Gräber* (1958) 32; see also F. Brommer, *Theseus: die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur* (Darmstadt 1982) 95, and *id.*, *AA* (1979) 509.

demonstrated that when there is one pursuer, and the scene is mythological, in the absence of an additional sign specifying a different identity, that youth is always Theseus. Three inscriptions in three different representations identify the pursuer as Theseus. First, the lekane fragment in Leningrad (*Compte rendu de la commission impériale archéologique* 1877, pl. 5b; here *PLATE IIb*) in which the youth is inscribed 'Theseus' and the pursued girl 'Thetis'; second, the hydria Worcester (Massachus.) 1903.38 (*ARV* 1060.143); and third, the bell-krater Louvre G 423 (*ARV* 1064.6)¹¹. I have not seen the representation on the Worcester hydria. The pursuit on the Leningrad fragment belongs to type 1, that on the Louvre krater to type 2. In both types the pursuer inscribed 'Theseus' is represented according to the same iconographical scheme as in the rest of the series. Lezzi-Hafter's comment¹² on the Louvre krater, 'entspricht der Verfolger auf dieser Vase nicht dem üblichen Typus', is incorrect, as the analysis of the iconography shows. The Leningrad pursuer inscribed 'Theseus' is represented according to one of the commonest iconographical schemes used for the pursuer in our pursuits. He wears a chlamys, endromides, and a petasos thrown at the back of his neck and he is carrying two spears.¹³ The motif of the spearheads being turned away from the girl, though not common, is also found elsewhere.¹⁴ The Louvre pursuer is also represented through a scheme common in the series. His stance and grabbing of the girl are common in pursuits of types 1 and 2.¹⁵ His dress, hair and gear are widely paralleled in pursuers of both types. The chlamys worn as the only garment is the overwhelmingly common dress for our pursuer; the arrangement here, chlamys thrown over the outstretched left, is common in both types.¹⁶ The short hair characterizes several pursuers as does the absence of petasos.¹⁷ The wreath worn by the Louvre Theseus is also worn by other pursuers.¹⁸ Finally, the Louvre Theseus has a sword in its scabbard hanging at his side, as do some other pursuers in both types of our series.¹⁹ The sword is closely connected with Theseus through the stories of the gnorismata and the recognition by Aigeus²⁰ (thus it is especially connected with Theseus' ephebic persona), and this connection is reflected in the hero's iconography. We conclude that all the elements making up the sign 'Theseus' in the inscribed scenes are closely paralleled in the rest of the series.

The pursuer can also be identified as Theseus with some certainty on some uninscribed scenes, through contextual associations. For example, the cup Frankfort, Museum V.F. x 14628 (*ARV* 796.117) is decorated with the representation of Theseus and Skiron on the tondo and of a youth with a spear pursuing a woman on B. Theseus in the tondo is identical with the pursuer on B: one indication of this is that both are wearing the petasos on their head, a much rarer arrangement than having it thrown at the back of the neck. Both youths (wearing chiton and chlamys) are holding one spear; the way in which they hold it is different, but this depends on the context. In the tondo Theseus is holding the spear vertically in his left and very lightly leaning on it; the pursuer on B is holding his spear in the right and horizontally, one of the regular positions in which spears are carried when the figure is moving. This pursuer is undoubtedly Theseus: unless the painter had been thinking of the two youths as the same person he would not have used the same sign for both on the same cup; and a viewer looking at the pursuer who was

¹¹ Lezzi-Hafter (n. 10) 73–5 seems to have misunderstood Beazley's remark in *JHS* xlvii (1927) 147; Beazley is saying that the inscription reads 'Theseus', as Pottier had originally thought, and not 'Peleus', as he later came to believe. See also Beazley in *CB* (n. 10) ii 81.

¹² Lezzi-Hafter (n. 10) 74 n. 247.

¹³ See e.g. Hydria Syracuse 36330 (*ARV* 1062.2, *CVA* pl. 25).

¹⁴ See e.g. oinochoe Ferrara sequestro Venezia 2505 (*ARV* 1206.3, Para 463, Add 169, Lezzi-Hafter [n. 10] pl. 102).

¹⁵ See, for example, the stance of the youth on the stamnos Krefeld Inv. 1034/1515 (*ARV* 502.5, *CVA* Germany 49, pls. 37.1, 38.1) side B.

¹⁶ See, for example the Krefeld vase (n. 15), sides A and B; column-krater Louvre G 362 (*ARV* 1115.17, *CVA* pl. 27.4.5).

¹⁷ See e.g. for both features the bell-krater Leningrad 777 (St. 1786) (*ARV* 502.11, Para 513, Add 123; here *PLATE IIIa*) side B.

¹⁸ See e.g., stamnos Oxford 1911.619 (*ARV* 629.16; here *PLATE IIIb*).

¹⁹ See e.g. type 2: Nolan amphora Syracuse 20537 (*ARV* 1015.16); type 1: neck-amphora London 1928.1–17.58 (*ARV* 1010.5, *CVA* pl. 59.3).

²⁰ On gnorismata: cf. *JHS* xci (1971) 94–109. On the recognition: *Theseus as son and stepson BICS* Supplement xl (1979) 18–58.

identical to the juxtaposed Theseus, and shown in a role, story and iconographical scheme in which Theseus at least sometimes appeared,²¹ would inescapably identify that pursuer as Theseus. Leaving aside other cases in which the identity of the youth as Theseus is established through various types of contextual associations, we note that in all our erotic pursuits the pursuer is represented through the scheme which in Athenian iconography characterizes Theseus—though, we shall see, not only Theseus. In the vast majority of scenes the pursuer is wearing a chlamys, usually on its own, sometimes over a chiton. Chlamys, or chiton and chlamys, characterize Theseus in fifth-century Attic iconography,²² with the sword and the spears and a hat (either a petasos or a pilos)²³ completing the schema. When a hat is worn in our pursuits it is normally the petasos, more rarely the pilos (as on the Chicago University hydria fragment [ARV 579.86]). The fact that both petasos and pilos were appropriate for our pursuer confirms further that the mythological hero of the pursuit is Theseus. Readers produce meanings out of pictures with the help of their assumptions and expectations, and the mythological hero of these pursuits would certainly be identified as Theseus, *unless additional evidence was given to the contrary*. The youths named ‘Theseus’ in the inscribed scenes cannot be iconographically differentiated from the pursuers in the uninscribed scenes, and the iconographical schemes of the inscribed scenes cannot be differentiated from those in the uninscribed; it follows that without such additional information, the viewers understood the pursuing youth to be Theseus because *that is* who he was in the established scheme, and thus also in the sets of assumptions through which they read these images.

The conclusion that the mythological male protagonist of these pursuits is Theseus is confirmed rather than impugned by the existence of scenes representing Peleus pursuing Thetis according to the same scheme of erotic pursuit as that of our series, and with Peleus shown according to the same scheme as our pursuer. For there *is* such an additional element in these latter scenes: the sign ‘dolphin’ which identifies them as representations of the abduction and capture of Thetis by Peleus. For example, on the pedestal of a lebes gamikos in the Robinson Collection (CVA Robinson ii pl. 51a–c) a dolphin is added at the end of the picture, identifying the pursuit as that of Thetis. And on the stamnos Villa Giulia 5241 (ARV ii 484.9) the representation is identified as the pursuit of Thetis through the addition of two dolphins, one of them held by a fleeing companion of the abducted girl, thus identified as a Nereid. That is, through the addition of this sign the iconographical scheme which usually depicts Theseus’ pursuit is transformed, with great economy, into the erotic pursuit by Peleus.²⁴ The pursuit of Thetis by Peleus is represented both through erotic pursuits of type 1 in which Peleus is carrying

²¹ Moreover, there is no evidence that anyone else did, except Peleus, whose scenes, we shall see, were firmly signalled.

²² On Theseus’ chlamys and its significance see J. P. Barron, *BICS* xxvii (1980) esp. 1, 3–4.

²³ On Theseus’ hats see Barron (n. 22) 1, 5 n.4.

²⁴ In my view, the use of dolphins in Attic iconography is not loose, as Beazley *CB* (n. 10) ii 81 thought. The dolphin was not a monosemic sign that only meant ‘Peleus and Thetis’. All signs are polysemic and every sign acquires its value in context (see ‘Menace’ section 2). Thus a dolphin in an abduction had, for a fifth-century Athenian, a different meaning when it ‘qualified’ an erotic pursuit involving our type of pursuer, from that which it had in the representation of Boreas abducting Oreithya on the hydria Bowdoin 08.3 (ARV 606.68, Para 395, Add 130; D. M. Buitron, *Attic vase-painting in New England collections* [Cambridge Mass. 1972] no. 64) in which one of Oreithya’s companions is holding a dolphin, a scene mentioned by Beazley as an example of such looseness—with the alternative explanation that it may have been a slip. This

transfer of a sign belonging to Peleus’ abduction to a different abduction may be a play on the fact that there was a Nereid called Oreithya (Hom. *Il.* xviii 48) and, through the Nereid allusion or a direct sea-allusion, may hint at the naval help which Boreas gave to the Athenians in the Persian Wars (Hdt. vii 189)—an Athenian propaganda theme which is at least one reason for the great popularity of Boreas and Oreithya scenes in Attic iconography after the Persian Wars. (On Boreas and Oreithya cf. E. Simon, *AuA* xiii [1967] 101–26; K. Neuser, *Anemoi. Studien zur Darstellung der Winde und Windgottheiten in der Antike* [Rome 1982] 30–87. The view that Boreas’ help is the main motivation behind this popularity has been challenged [Agard, *CJ* lxi (1966) 241–6, K. Schauenburg, *AuA* x (1961) 78]; but it cannot be doubted—since that belief was part of the assumptions though which the Athenians thought about Boreas—that it is one of the main reasons behind that popularity.) Such take-over was feasible because there was no possibility of mistaking Boreas and Oreithya for Peleus and Thetis.

spears, and of type 2 in which he has no spears.²⁵ Apart from the dolphin our pursuits and the pursuit of Thetis by Peleus are identical. The fact that the pursuit/abduction of Thetis by Peleus could be thought of, and so shown, also in the same terms as the pursuit of a girl by Theseus suggests the possibility of a semantic similarity between the two. We shall see below that there was indeed such a similarity, despite the fact that Thetis is a goddess, and Theseus pursues erotically on his own behalf only mortal girls—he only took part in the attempt to abduct Persephone to help his friend Peirithous. As we shall see, in the iconographical versions which resemble Theseus' pursuit, Thetis' divine identity is 'neutralized'; other meanings and aspects of this myth are emphasized, so that the goddess' capture by a mortal is semantically close to a mortal's capture by a mortal. The close similarity between Theseus' and Peleus' pursuits is presupposed by, and explains, the inscriptions on the Leningrad lekane fragment (PLATE II*b*), where the pursuer is inscribed 'Theseus' and the pursued 'Thetis'. Beazley²⁶ took this to be a slip, and this is, indeed the most likely explanation. But for this to have been possible, the two themes had to be iconographically and semantically closely related, so that they became momentarily scrambled, and the names of the two pursued girls were switched. Alternatively, it may be a deliberate conflation, some kind of joke or play. But this would also presuppose a close relationship between the two themes.

We may thus conclude that the mythological male protagonist of our pursuits is Theseus. But this theme did not, in my view, only signify the mythological narrative in which Theseus pursued and abducted a girl. All signs are polysemic, and, moreover, in fifth-century Athens myths and mythological scenes functioned also as paradigms. Theseus was, among other things, the Athenian epebe par excellence. The chlamys, petasos and spears which characterize the pursuer in our pursuits also characterized Athenian epebes in general.²⁷ The chlamys was the characteristic garment of Athenian epebes who also wore the petasos and in whose training and activities the spear played an important part²⁸. Consequently, for both Athenian artists and viewers, the signifying elements 'youth' combined with 'chlamys', 'petasos' and 'spear(s)' made up the sign 'epebe' and/or 'Theseus as epebe'. The sign 'pursuer' in 'erotic pursuit' produced for fifth-century Athenians the meaning 'epebe' as well as 'Theseus', especially since the context, which contributed to the definition of the sign 'pursuer', was of direct relevance to all epebes. I shall discuss the meanings of our scenes below; but it is immediately clear that the erotic pursuit of a girl is of great interest—at least at the level of the imagination—to real-life epebes; in fact the connections were deeper. So the scenes depicting the mythological narrative of Theseus' pursuit of a girl were at the same time read as 'Theseus as epebe'/'epebe' pursuing a girl, with all the meanings which such representations carried. In my view, it is likely that the 'generic' reading of the theme was eventually consciously articulated and iconographically established. For not all representations of erotic pursuit are mythological in the first instance. In some there are reasons for thinking that the protagonist is a generic youth;²⁹ this would make the representation in the first instance 'generic'—though when read through fifth-century Athenian eyes it would also refer to, and acquire its value through, the mythological paradigm of Theseus. By 'generic' I do not mean 'everyday life', but 'emblematic', expressing certain perceptions about women and male-female relationships. The differences between fully

²⁵ See e.g., for type 1: the scene on the pedestal of a lebes gamikos in the Robinson Collection (CVA Robinson 2 pl. 51a-c); for type 2: the stamnos Villa Giulia 5241 (ARV 484.9). On the iconography of Peleus and Thetis: X. Krieger, *Der Kampf zwischen Peleus und Thetis in der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Münster diss. 1973; 1975). As we shall see, Thetis' companions and father (on whom see Krieger 88-113), also our girl's.

²⁶ CB (n. 10) ii 81.

²⁷ See e.g. the cup Oxford 1913.311 (CVA pls. 4.3 and 13.1-2) and the lekythoi Oxford 1938.909 and 1920.104 (ARV 993.93-4).

²⁸ See Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.3-5. Pollux, *Onom.* x 16. On the chlamys see also Ch. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (1962) 115-16; on the spears: Pelekidis 231-2. On epebes and epebeia in general see esp. P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*² (1983) 151-75; 191-7; See also Pelekidis *op. cit.*; P. Siewert, *JHS* xcvi (1977) 102-111.

²⁹ Boardman (n. 10) also suggests that some of these scenes are not truly mythological (though he sees it in terms of loss of 'any specific mythological explanation').

mythological scenes and this type of 'generic' scene are only a matter of emphasis, towards the mythological paradigm or towards the generic youth. All representations of the theme carried both components, and many were probably not positively identified as one or the other, but belonged to an indeterminate part of the semantic spectrum 'Theseus as ephebe'—'generic youth'.³⁰ Ambivalence and ambiguity are characteristic properties of signs.

The identity of the pursued girl is less important than that of the pursuer, for since the latter is Theseus he is the dominant signifying element. But the girl's identity is not unimportant, for the particular connotations and meanings with which she was associated contributed to the production of the meanings inscribed and read into these images. There is no surviving inscription to identify her, except for the Thetis 'slip'. She may be someone unknown to us—probably not Helen.³¹ But we can at least define her a little, determine the kind of person that she is likely to be. We shall see that the iconographical analyses of this theme suggest that it had three major semantic facets: the ephebic one; one pertaining to male—female relationships; and, a version of the second, a semantic facet pertaining to wedding and marriage. Thus the pursued girl is likely to be one whom Theseus married, and whose acquisition was associated with Theseus' ephebic persona. Not Antiope, whose iconography is distinctive. The best candidate is probably Eriboia/Periboia/Phereboia.³² She fits both requirements, marriage to Theseus and connection with his ephebic persona (through the ephebic exploit of the Minotaur expedition). If Barron is right³³ that Pherekydes had suggested, in the context of Kimonian propaganda, that the Philaids' claimed ancestor Ajax was the son of Theseus and Eriboia, we can even identify a context conducive to the creation and promotion of an iconographical theme representing Theseus' erotic union with Eriboia. Of course, the representation was polysemic, not a monosemic propaganda poster, and thus the relevance of its non-political meanings to Athenians, especially to Athenian youth, would have ensured its popularity even after the political content had lost its importance.³⁴ Whether or not this theme originated in this context, the identity of the girl may have become 'evacuated', submerged under the generic persona 'girl pursued, abducted, and possibly married by Theseus', as a result of the dominant importance of Theseus and his erotic association with a large number of women, many of whom he abducted³⁵. This created a signification space in Greek myth 'woman abducted, seduced (and married) by Theseus', in which the woman's identity was not of great importance.

IV. EROTIC PURSUIT, CAPTURE AND MARRIAGE

The girl is represented through the iconographical scheme which may be called 'fleeing woman': a young woman running away, head turned back towards the pursuer, making

³⁰ On this type of indeterminacy see also Schefold 1975 (n. 10) 27; I. Krauskopf, *AA* 1977, 28. An element such as the presence of Athena (e.g. on the krater Corinth C 33.129 and 138 [with new *fr.* added in 1979]: *ARV* 592.29; C. G. Boulter and J. L. Bentz, *Hesperia* xlix [1980] 300–1 pls. 82–3) pushes the scene more towards the mythological pole, though it is also compatible with the generic version.

³¹ Because the Theseus-Helen connotations are not ideal for a paradigm concerning matrimony. On Helen's abduction by Theseus see Kahil (n. 10) 305–13, C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (1977) 281–5; H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* ciii (1983) 95. I discuss briefly certain problems pertaining to Helen's age and connotations in a book in preparation: 'Girls as Bears (and other animals)' part 2, ch. iii 3 and nn. 250, 252. See also *infra* n. 93.

³² On Eriboia/Periboia/Phereboia and Theseus: Barron (n. 22) 2–3. My argument is not circular here;

because of each figure's connotations the protagonists' identity contributes to the theme's meanings, but since we have no independent evidence for the girl's identity, I am simply considering whether we know of a girl who fits the theme's connotations as reconstructed on the basis of its other elements.

³³ Barron (n. 22) 2–3 and n. 30.

³⁴ Whether or not Periboia had replaced an earlier girl in our theme is not important. The theme becomes very popular starting with the Niobid Painter's generation. Since my argument is not affected, I will not consider the changes in the chronological framework proposed by M. J. Vickers and E. D. Francis (e.g. *JHS* ciii [1983] 49–67), other than to say that, in my view, they have made a case for the reexamination of this framework.

³⁵ See Athen. xiii 557a–b (=Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 153).

gestures of supplication and/or alarm. This is a common scheme, a codified sign deployed in many different themes.³⁶ In each case it acquires its specific meanings through the particular context. In images, as in texts, each element is ascribed value through a complex process of interaction with the other elements of the representation, and also through its relationships to other, semantically related, elements, which might have been chosen in its place but were not.³⁷ (For example, the value of the spears in our pursuits is also determined by these spears' relationship to, and differences from, the related elements 'sword' and 'spear being brandished', which help define our spears' role and meaning by making clear what they are not.) The scheme 'fleeing woman' denotes 'girl/women fleeing in panic'. This basic semantic core, and so also the iconographical sign 'fleeing woman', is applicable to several different situations involving women (*cf.* n. 36). The particular contexts give it particular meanings in each case. In our theme, we saw, 'fleeing woman' represents a girl attempting to escape the erotic attentions of an ephebe/Theseus. Its further connotations will emerge below.

In some erotic pursuits the fleeing girl holds a flower,³⁸ in others one of the companions does.³⁹ This flower refers to the motif of the girl's flower-gathering just before the abduction, and is thus connected with the theme of abduction and through it also with marriage.⁴⁰ Flowers are held by girls also in other abductions,⁴¹ including pursuits of Thetis.⁴² The motif 'grabbing the girl' (PLATE IIc) denotes capture, and carries connotations of violence, defined by the context as sexual. This erotic colouring is produced first, through the activation of the frame of reference 'real-life sexual grabbings', called up by the representation of physical contact between the youth and the girl at the moment of the capture which (the identification of the topic tells the viewers) will lead to the sexual act; and secondly, through the activation during the reading of the image of established iconographical schemes of sexual grabbing.⁴³

Running is associated with male and female initiations⁴⁴ and the 'initiatory' dimension is an important semantic facet of 'erotic pursuit': we have seen this with regard to ephebes, and we shall return to it. Possibly, the notion of an ephebic test and victory was part of this ephebic facet of 'erotic pursuit,' the capture of the girl perceived as a test in the context of the ephebic experience, comparable to the capture of an animal.⁴⁵ For the representation of running in pursuit to capture the girl may call up another frame of comparison, the capture of animals, which therefore also helps ascribe meaning to our theme—through both differentiation and

³⁶ For example, in scenes in which she is the victim of an attack: the neck-amphora Vienna 741 (*ARV* 203.101, Add 96); and the amphora London 1948.10–15.2 (J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italique* [Rome 1975] pl. 17.1). 'Fleeing woman' in a wedding context: see e.g. the pyxis Munich 2720 (*ARV* 1223.4, Add 173, S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* [Chicago 1978] pls. 99.3; 100.1–2 [commentary on p. 182; see also p. 184]) in which the woman is represented fleeing, through the 'fleeing woman' scheme, away from a door which represents emblematically the notion 'wedding' (Roberts 182). One possible interpretation of this figure is that she emblematically signifies that semantic facet of wedding/marriage which allows it to be represented through the model of abduction; another is that she represented a part of the wedding ceremony, the bride's resistance in the course of a mock-abduction rite. An example of a different type of context is afforded by the Nolan amphora Leningrad 697 (St. 1628) (*ARV* 202.76, Para 510): on A Athena running, on B a woman running, shown according to the 'fleeing woman' scheme. On codification: P. Guiraud, *Semiology* (Engl. transl. London 1975) 24–5.

³⁷ The post-structuralist notion of signification is, in my view, the most convincing (for references to discussions see 'Menace' n. 5).

³⁸ See e.g. skyphos Providence 25.072 (*ARV* 973.10).

³⁹ See e.g. the volute krater Izmir Inv. 3361 (*ARV* 599.7).

⁴⁰ See also H. P. Foley, *Arethusa* xv (1982) 161. On flower-picking associated with Persephone's myth and cult, especially in connection with her bridal aspect: M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin, New York 1982) 349 (see also 349–51 on flower-gathering in Artemis' cult.); C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *JHS* xcvi (1978) 109.

⁴¹ On this see Blech (n. 40) 352 n. 95.

⁴² See e.g. the lebes gamikos in the Robinson collection (*cf.* n. 25).

⁴³ See e.g. the representation of a man and a hetaira which involves the same general iconographical scheme: Boardman-La Rocca (n. 8) 90.

⁴⁴ Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 166–7; Calame (n. 31) 67, 211–14; M. Detienne, *Dionysos slain* (Baltimore and London 1979; first publ. Paris 1977) 31; Lloyd-Jones (n. 31) 94; at Brauron: L. Kahil, *AntK* xx (1977) pls. 18–19.

⁴⁵ On the capture of animals as part of the ephebic training see A. Schnapp, *Cité* (n. 9) 67–8 (and *passim*).

similarity. There are strong connections between hunting and Greek initiations (including the Athenian ephebeia);⁴⁶ moreover, we shall see, unmarried girls were thought to be partly 'wild' and partaking of animality. Consequently, an expedition involving the capture of a girl by an ephebe after a pursuit was correlative, in the Greek collective representations, with the notion 'capture of animals';⁴⁷ thus, when the Athenians read the images, the representation of the former also called up suggestions of the latter, at whatever level of consciousness. This capture is not, of course, a hunt. The iconographical relationship between animal pursuits such as that on the kyathos Brussels, Musée du cinq A2333⁴⁸ and hunting scenes may be compared to that between erotic pursuits and attacks:⁴⁹ Hunting an animal::attacking a woman (=Theseus with a sword [cf. n. 49]). Capturing an animal::capturing a woman (=erotic pursuit). Indeed, in Athenian mentality the capture of wild animals was generally associated with the erotic sphere.⁵⁰ This is connected with their perception that women, especially parthenoi, were partly wild, which was expressed metaphorically through the notion that women, especially parthenoi, had some animal traits.⁵¹

The notion of the girl as a wild thing to be captured and tamed through marriage (which is, in my view, one of the perceptions expressed in our erotic pursuits) is articulated more emphatically in the paradigm of Thetis. Thetis' metamorphoses at the moment of her capture, which included animal forms, express symbolically, among other things, the wild and partly-animal nature of the unmarried girl.⁵² Thetis' possession of special powers allows this animality to be articulated in narrative terms. This perception of the goddess as a wild thing tamed by Peleus, a paradigm for the mortal brides, is correlative with the fact that the union of Peleus and Thetis is a paradigm for marriage—and is not governed by the mentality governing other god-mortal unions, which includes negative and dangerous connotations.⁵³ Indeed, Peleus' pursuit of, and union with, Thetis, differs radically from all other pursuits-and-unions involving deities and mortals:⁵⁴ first, uniquely, the mortal is the pursuer; secondly, Peleus captured Thetis to marry her; thirdly, he captured and married her with the consent and encouragement of the gods, whose will he was executing, which makes him almost, in this context, temporarily an

⁴⁶ Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 169–74; *id.*, in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1972/1981) 161–2; A. Brelich, *Paidés e parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 175, 199; Schnapp (n. 45) 67–82; *id.*, *Dial. di arch.* i (1979) 40; Lloyd-Jones (n. 31) 98; Detienne (n. 44) 23–6. On the iconography of ephebic hunts see P. Schmitt and A. Schnapp, *RA* (1982) 57–74, esp. 65–8.

⁴⁷ The most famous mythological pursuit and capture of an animal, of the Kerynian hind, is closely associated in some versions (Pind. *Ol.* 3.28–30; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3.53) with the erotic pursuit of a girl. I discuss this myth elsewhere (n. 31).

⁴⁸ *ARV* 333.2, *Cité* (n. 9) fig. 120 (right).

⁴⁹ I discuss the differentiation between the theme of erotic pursuit and the attack scene 'Theseus with a sword' in *Menace passim*.

⁵⁰ The capture of wild animals is closely associated with the erotic sphere: Schnapp, *Cité* (n. 9) 71–82; P. Schmitt-Pantel and F. Thelamon in F. Lissarague and F. Thelamon eds., *Image et céramique grecque*. Actes du Colloque de Rouen (1983) 17. On hunting and sexuality see Schnapp, *op. cit.* 67–82; W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berlin, New York 1972) 73–81; Detienne (n. 44) 25–52 *passim*; Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* (Rome/Geneva 1979) 55. Hunting as metaphor for homosexual pursuit: K. J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality* (London 1978) 87–8. In this context (capture, through pursuit, of a girl) the endromides, worn by many of the pursuers, and the petasos, also worn by hunters as well as ephebes—and

travellers and others—would perhaps also call up the characterization 'hunter' and contribute to the allusion.

⁵¹ See N. Loraux, *Arethusa* xi (1978) 43–87, esp. 59–69; *ead.*, *AncSoc* xi–xii (1980/1981) 125. H. King, in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Images of women in antiquity* (London and Canberra 1983) 109–27. The unmarried girl is 'tamed', a process ending with marriage: King 111, 122–3; Calame (n. 44) 411–20. See also *infra*.

⁵² Thetis' transformations are usually interpreted only in terms of her nature as a sea-deity. But mythological motifs are polysemic and acquire meaning in context; here the relevant aspects of this context are 1. Thetis' associations with 'erotic pursuit as a paradigm for marriage', and 2. The Greek mentality about the girls' animality and its association with the notion of the girl's capture (the iconography of which is closely related to that of Thetis). Thus, Thetis' metamorphoses are correlative with, and so were inevitably seen as articulating, her (paradigmatic parthenic) animality, which is tamed (albeit temporarily) through her capture by/marriage to Peleus. Her ability to metamorphose herself allows the animality to be expressed in narrative terms. In Eur. *IA* 703 the union between Peleus and Thetis is presented as resulting from an *engye*.

⁵³ I discuss this in 'Menace' 3 iii.

⁵⁴ On Thetis and Peleus see A. Lesky, *Gesammelte Schriften* (1966) 401–9, *id.*, *RE* vol. xix 275 ff.

'honorary god'.⁵⁵ Thus, Thetis' capture and wedding were governed by the same mentality as unions among equals. Since the difference in status between pursuer and pursued is thus neutralized here, Peleus' pursuit of Thetis is semantically very close to Theseus' pursuit of the unknown girl; for in both the pursuer was an ephebic hero, and the iconographical scheme which characterizes Theseus is also appropriate for Peleus, who is an ephebe and a hunter.⁵⁶ Given these close similarities, the nuptial associations of the pursuit of Thetis⁵⁷ suggest the possibility that Theseus' erotic pursuit also contained a semantic facet pertaining to wedding/marriage. As we shall see, there are strong additional arguments for this hypothesis; there are iconographical elements in 'erotic pursuit' which suggest that this theme connotes also marriage/wedding; and erotic pursuits are sometimes combined with scenes pertaining to the nuptial sphere. A final argument for the hypothesis that 'erotic pursuit' also alludes to wedding and marriage is that in Athenian collective representations the semantic field 'erotic pursuit/abduction' was closely related to, and expressed also, the semantic field 'marriage'. But before arguing this by further analyses I want to consider what perceptions were expressed in and through the metaphorical relationship between marriage and pursuit/abduction.

We have seen that the meanings produced by the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit' included connotations of sexually coloured violence: sexual intercourse is about to be forced on the girl, she will be submitted to sexual violence, defloration and sex as an act of aggression and domination of women.⁵⁸ But there are also some elements in abduction scenes which indicate the girl's consent to her abduction.⁵⁹ As we shall see, similar elements are also found in representations of erotic pursuit. These elements, which conflict with, and deconstruct, the dominant facet which presents the act as imposed by force, depend on the same mentality which regarded abduction as a paradigm for erotic union and marriage in Greek myth and ritual. On this paradigmatic relationship depend a variety of phenomena. In myth Thetis' was not the only abduction which served as a paradigm for wedding/marriage. Persephone's abduction was also a nuptial paradigm,⁶⁰ and because Hades was the Lord of the Dead this abduction also signified death. Within the matrimonial facet of the theme's semantic field that death was symbolic, the death of the girl, to give way to the wife and mother.⁶¹ There are also ritual phenomena which correspond to the association between pursuit/abduction and marriage in myth. Mock-abduction was part of the wedding ritual in some places;⁶² in others certain ritual acts, some wedding gestures like the lifting of the bride into the chariot by the bridegroom,⁶³ and the χεῖρ ἐπὶ κάρπιῳ,⁶⁴ whether or not residues of a mock-abduction,⁶⁵ manifest the same mentality.⁶⁶ In iconography schemes related to those of abduction sometimes represent wedding scenes.⁶⁷

There are several related Greek perceptions which can be considered to have shaped, and to be expressed in, the metaphorical relationship of abduction and marriage. These perceptions pertain, first, to the (male mental) representations of women as subordinate, 'alien' and also, metaphorically, as animals to be tamed. Secondly, to the representations of male-female

⁵⁵ On the special status conferred on Peleus: see e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 4 65–8; see also Thetis' promise to Peleus that he will be a god: Eur., *Androm.* 1253–8.

⁵⁶ See Lesky (n. 54) 406.

⁵⁷ See e.g. Roberts (n. 36) 178–9, and the lebes gamikos *CVA* Robinson 2 pls. 50–51c where the erotic pursuit of Thetis on the pedestal is juxtaposed to the Epaulia on the body of the vase.

⁵⁸ For fifth-century Athenian perceptions on rape and sexual violence against women see P. Walcot, *Arethusa* xi (1978) 137–47. On eros seen by the Athenians in terms of aggression and domination see E. Keuls in W. G. Moon ed., *Ancient Greek art and iconography* (1983) 214.

⁵⁹ See e.g. the abducted girl caressing Theseus' hair on the amphora Munich 2309 (*ARV* 27.4, 1620, Para, 323, Add. 75).

⁶⁰ See C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *BICS* xx (1973) 12–20; ead. *JHS* 1978 (n. 40) 104–14 *passim*; Foley (n. 40) 169; L. Kahn and N. Loraux, *Dictionnaire des mythologies*, s.v. 'Mort. Les mythes grecs' 8.

⁶¹ Similar perceptions of this myth are expressed in Kahn-Loraux (n. 60); I. Jenkins, *BICS* xxx (1983) 142. On this: *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) 17.

⁶² On this: *BICS* 1973 (n. 60); Jenkins (n. 61) 137–8.

⁶³ See *BICS* 1973 (n. 60); Jenkins (n. 61) 137–8.

⁶⁴ On which see now Jenkins (n. 61) 139–41; see also *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) 21 n. 54.

⁶⁵ See *BICS* 1973 (n. 60).

⁶⁶ For other gestures and behaviour pertaining to abduction in weddings see *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) 16–17; J. Redfield, *Arethusa* xv (1982) 191.

⁶⁷ See *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) *passim*; Jenkins (n. 61) *passim*; see n. 140.

relations which include that of marriage as the final stage in the 'taming' of women⁶⁸ and the notion of the subduing of the female by the male—an attitude important to the Greeks in expressing the actual and ideal state of relations between the sexes, and also a polysemic signifier articulating other values.⁶⁹ Thirdly, to certain perceptions of marriage seen from the female viewpoint, pertaining especially to the violent wrenching of the girl away from the familiar world of her father's home by a stranger who will take her to an unfamiliar place and role, and including the representation of the wedding as frightening for the woman.⁷⁰ Finally, as Calame has noted,⁷¹ despite the almost complete absence of free choice of partners, in the official image of marriage erotic love was deemed to play an important role. In my view, the erotic pursuit metaphor also reflected this representation: it presented legitimate marriage in terms of a wild erotic union.

V. VIOLENCE AND CONSENT

The dominant perspective of the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit', which presents the erotic union as an act imposed on the woman by force, is both defined further (the 'violence' connoted is defined as sexual), and deconstructed, through signifying elements producing an effect of consensual erotic intimacy. For example, the position of the hands of the pursuer and the girl on side B of the bell-krater Leningrad 777 (PLATE IIIa), with their fingers almost touching, their fingertips almost meeting, produces an effect of consensual erotic contact about to take place, which both defines as erotic the mutedly intimated violence, and deconstructs the dominant meaning 'violence about to be used on the girl who is about to be captured'. Another example of an effect of consensual erotic intimacy occurs in the type 2 pursuit on the cup in Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society (from Vulci: ARV 880.3) where the following elements help create consensual connotations: the grabbing, here shown in a version recalling iconographical arrangements in which the erotic relationship is consensual;⁷² the arrangement which makes the glances of the youth and girl appear to meet; the youth's holding up his chlamys with his right, a gesture precisely reflecting that of the girl who is holding up her himation with her right and therefore creating an effect of intimacy by binding the two figures very closely; moreover, the gesture helps characterize the youth in terms of grace and intimacy rather than violence and force. Some of the pursued girls wear the mantle over their head, or partly over their head.⁷³ This element in itself is polysemic, and cannot define the scene in any particular way. However, in the context of this theme it may contribute to the nuptial allusion, by calling up the figure of the bride with the himation over her head.⁷⁴ But the comparative rarity of such consensual elements in erotic pursuits is correlative with the playing down of the

⁶⁸ See King (n. 51).

⁶⁹ See Sourvinou-Inwood, *Theseus* (n. 20) 10, 53–5.

⁷⁰ Jenkins (n. 61) 141–2; Foley (n. 40) 169–70. Another perception that may also be reflected in this metaphor is that suggested by Redfield (n. 66) 191 for the mock-abduction of the marriage ceremony, which he relates to the great value of virginity and the desire for the contradiction in terms which is the chaste wife.

⁷¹ In C. Calame, *L'amore in Grecia* (1983) xxii. Compare the many nuptial representations in which Eros is depicted: see e.g. the loutrophoros Boston 10.223 (ARV 1017.44, J. H. Oakley, *AA* [1982] 115 fig. 2) which shows Eros flying and holding a taenia.

⁷² See e.g. the cup Würzburg 479 (ARV 372.32, 1649, Para. 366, 367, Add 111–12).

⁷³ See e.g., the small neck-amphora Leningrad 709 (ARV 487.61; PLATE IIIc–d); Nolan amphora Bonn 77 (ARV 1015.12).

⁷⁴ For such brides see e.g. loutrophoros-hydria Copenhagen 9080 (ARV 841.75, Para 423); pyxis Athens Acr. 569 (ARV 890.172, Add 148); loutrophoros once in Berlin (ex Sabouroff) (A. Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff* [Berlin 1883–7] pls. 58–9). Cf. also the cup Louvre G 265 (ARV 416.1, *Cité* [n. 9] fig. 39) which, in my view, probably represents Theseus and his bride, since the outside shows deeds of Theseus. This scene would be the aftermath (in narrative terms) of, and/or the other frame of reference for, our erotic pursuits. If this is right, and Theseus' wedding had been an established iconographical theme, it would reinforce the view that the pursuits had a nuptial semantic facet. Similar use of the 'himation over the head' element to that postulated here: e.g. on A of the skyphos Boston 13.186 showing Paris leading Helen away (ARV 458.1, Para 377, Add 119).

semantic facet 'consent', for it is the wild rather than the cultural/institutional side of erotic relations and of marriage that is stressed in this theme. And conversely, because 'erotic pursuit' is, when compared to abduction, a gentler version of this wild marriage, in which the actual physical manipulation of the girl is not shown but at most hinted at through the grabbing motif, the consensual elements were less necessary to counterbalance the 'violent' facet. Still, it is important that the signification space covered by this theme included the semantic facet 'consent'.

In Greek, and especially Athenian, mentality about marriage and erotic love (as reconstructed from other evidence) both consent and force belonged to both abduction/pursuit and to marriage as a cultural institution.⁷⁵ Of course, force predominated in the former and consent in the latter; but at the same time, each was an image, representing a facet, of the other. Thus the duality and ambivalence of the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit', which includes elements connoting force and others connoting consent (both directly and indirectly, through allusions to marriage), correspond to the semantic field 'erotic pursuit/abduction', which includes the relationship with 'wedding/marriage'. For in marriage also there is ambivalence and duality, and this is why pursuit/abduction is an appropriate metaphor for it. As Redfield⁷⁶ noted, marriage involves both men gaining control of women, and women giving themselves to men. It has a sexual facet which belongs to nature and deconstructs its character as a social and cultural institution.⁷⁷ The theme 'erotic pursuit' represents and crystallizes a perception of marriage which is drifting towards the former poles—nature, and men gaining control of women.

VI. SPACE, THE GIRL AND ARTEMIS

In most erotic pursuits known to me there are no spatial indicators. The scenes are undoubtedly perceived as happening outdoors—either in a specific outdoor space known from the story and read into the scene by the viewers (whose assumptions included such knowledge and who, the story once identified, supplemented the missing elements from their knowledge); or in an unspecified outdoor space, unspecified either because the story did not specify it, or because it is 'emblematic', correlative with the emblematic and metaphorical facet of signification of the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit'. The scenes which include spatial indicators will help us decide among these alternatives. The following indicators⁷⁸ are represented.

1. Column on its own: Calyx-krater Geneva MF 238 by the Geneva Painter (*ARV* 615.1, Para 397): column on the extreme right of the scene; the girl and a companion are fleeing towards it. 2. Door (with architrave): hydria London E 198 by the Niobid Painter (*ARV* 606.79); the door is on the left. 3. Column combined with door: volute-krater Bologna 269 by the Niobid Painter (*ARV* 599.8); the column is on the left of the scene, the door on the right; the girl and two companions are fleeing towards the latter. 4. Column combined with door and altar on the left, column combined with altar on the right: volute-krater Naples 2421 by the Niobid Painter (*ARV* 600.13, Para 395); on the extreme left a door, then an altar partly hidden by it, to the right of the altar and between it and the column a bearded man with sceptre; on the right a column, on its left, between it and the altar, a bearded man with sceptre; the pursuit takes place

⁷⁵ For the notion of consent in marriage see Redfield (n. 66) 192; Foley (n. 40) 169. As for the force, the transfer of legal guardianship of the woman from one man to another, and her removal away from her familiar world to an unfamiliar one, are elements of force, pertaining to the woman, which were among the perceptions animating the abduction metaphor for

marriage.

⁷⁶ Redfield (n. 66) 186; see 188 on a related duality.

⁷⁷ See also Redfield (n. 66) 192.

⁷⁸ On spatial indicators see C. Bérard and J.-L. Durand, in *Cité* (n. 9) 27–31, C. Bérard, *Études de Lettres* (1983) 14; Keuls (n. 58) 216.

between the two groups of indicators. 5. Column combined with chair and with altar with palm-tree: volute-krater Boston 33.56 (ARV 600.12) by the Niobid Painter; the chair is on the extreme left, the column on the right; the pursuit is moving away from a (partly restored) flaming altar with a palm-tree behind it (situated between the chair and the column). 6. Altar on its own: cup in Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, by the Penthesilea Painter (ARV 880.3): the pursuit is moving away from the altar. Skyphos Reggio 3877 by the Lewis Painter (ARV 974.25): on B a girl is fleeing towards an altar (from the pursuer on A). 7. Palm-tree: stamnos Brooklyn 09.3 (ARV 1084.15; 1682).⁷⁹

1–5 are confined to the Niobid Painter and his group, who appear to like a particular version of ‘erotic pursuit’, involving a particular category of spatial indicators, and thus—we shall see—representing certain perceptions of this theme. The altar on its own denotes a sanctuary. On Reggio 3877 the girl is running towards the altar; running to an altar for protection when under threat is a stock iconographical motif, corresponding to a stock semantic motif—one which fits the theme ‘erotic pursuit’.⁸⁰ But this does not mean that the altar’s inclusion here is without significance; it entails either that the spatial location of the pursuit was unspecified, and there was nothing to block the artist’s selection ‘inclusion of altar’; or that the spatial location was determined, and the altar fitted it.

Of the other spatial indicators,⁸¹ the column usually denotes ‘house’, but can also signify a temple or other building. It acquires its particular value in a scene through its relationships with the other elements, especially the other spatial indicators. The spatial indicators denote space through the *pars pro toto* trope. Thus, the way in which they are combined in the image cannot be assumed to reflect their real-life spatial relationship. Indeed, in some cases it is unambiguously clear that the mode in which they are combined is non-naturalistic (cf. e.g. pyxis Louvre CA 1857: *Cité* 98 fig. 141). When, as on 3, the spatial indicators frame the scene, that scene is represented as taking place inside the space denoted by the indicators. The combination ‘column and door’ on 3 denotes ‘house’; in so far as it represents a particular part of the house we should expect it to be the courtyard, which had a colonnade (or pillars or posts). The fact that on 3 the pursuit is contained between the door and the column means that it is located within the space enclosed by the two indicators; that is, ‘column + door’ here do not signify a generic ‘house’, but locate the pursuit in the house courtyard.

On 5 the pursuit is contained in a space between a chair on the left (and an altar with a palm-tree further on) and a column on the right. The combination ‘chair and column’ denotes the house courtyard; thus, if we leave aside the ‘altar with palm-tree’, the pursuit on 5 is located in the house courtyard, as on 3. An altar did stand in the house courtyard, but it was not of the type shown here; in Attic ceramic iconography the combination ‘altar with a palm-tree’ makes up a particular established sign which I discuss below. Here I note only that the spatial indicators on 5 locate the pursuit in the house courtyard, but include an element which belongs to a different space. On 4 there is a group of indicators on each side of, and framing, the space in which the pursuit takes place. The combination ‘altar and column’ can, depending on the context, denote either ‘sanctuary’ or ‘house’; in so far as it denotes a particular part of the house it should be the house courtyard, for the altar is almost certainly the altar of Zeus Herkeios, situated in the courtyard and symbolizing the centre of the *oikos*. Thus, since ‘column and door’ denote ‘house’ in general and ‘house courtyard’ in particular, the combination ‘altar + column + door’ here

⁷⁹ I have argued elsewhere (‘Palms’ section 2) that the palm is a significant iconographical element in the pursuit, despite the fact that it is part of the handle decoration.

⁸⁰ See also *Theseus* (n. 20) 42.

⁸¹ On the meanings of the spatial indicators see n. 78. On Greek houses see e.g. A. W. Laurence, *Greek architecture*² (Harmondsworth 1962) 240–9; S. Walker, in Cameron and Kuhrt (n. 51) 81–91, 86 fig. 6.1, 87 fig.

6.2a and b, 88 fig. 6.3 a and b. On the role of the house altar of the bridegroom’s house in wedding rites and representations: F. Holscher, in H. A. Cahn and E. Simon eds., *Tainia. Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag am 2. Dezember 1978 dargebracht* (Mainz 1980) 176. On Zeus Herkeios: see Hdt. vi 68, S. *Ant.* 487. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* i³ (Munich 1967) 402–3, W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1985) 130, 248, 255–6.

must denote 'house/house courtyard'. So the spatial indicators on the left denote 'house'—through indicators referring to the house courtyard. In theory, the column and altar on the right could denote either 'house' or 'sanctuary'; but the close correspondence in the arrangement of the two sides, with the bearded sceptred wreathed/diademed man standing between column and altar on each, suggests that almost certainly they indicate 'house'. Thus on 4 the scene takes place between two houses.

We may now conclude that the column on its own on 1 must also denote 'house', rather than temple or other building. For in the work of the Niobid Painter, in whose group the Geneva Painter belonged, 'column + door', 'column + door + altar' and 'column + chair + altar', alternative indicators in this scene and fuller versions of the polysemic 'column', denote 'house' in general and/or 'house-courtyard' in particular. The door on its own on 2 also denotes 'house'. A door locates the scene either inside the house or in the courtyard, or (if it stands for the street door) in the street. On 2 the fifth century viewers would have taken it to indicate an outdoor space, for all other versions of this pursuit are situated outdoors. The fact that elsewhere in the work of the Niobid Painter the door is combined with a column (3) to locate a scene in the house courtyard, or with a column and altar (4) to denote 'house' and locate the scene just outside the house, suggests that on 2 the door indicates either the courtyard, or the space just outside the house in the street, or, ambivalently, both, creating meanings we shall consider below.

Thus scenes 1–5 are located in the following categories of space: in a house courtyard—once with an additional element referring to a different space; in the street between two houses; in a space which is either the courtyard or the street outside the house or ambivalently both. Unlike abduction from a sanctuary or a meadow, abduction from a house courtyard is not an established motif in Greek myth. The courtyard must be that of the abducted girl's house, that is, her father's house. For in fifth-century Athens her father's house is the space and world to which the parthenos belongs; and her removal from her father's house is the essence of abduction. Moreover, if the house is her father's, these scenes produce meanings similar to those of the more common variant of erotic pursuit which includes the girl's father. For in that case these scenes would show the girl being taken 'from inside the father's house', a crystallization of the notion 'girl's abduction', but also a representation of a most important aspect of marriage and of the female experience of it, the girl's removal from her father's home. Women circulate in marriage⁸² from one male-owned domestic space to another; our scenes show the uncivilized form of that transaction, forcible removal, 'theft', of the girl from the authority and domestic space of the father by the pursuer/husband. Interestingly, on 4 'house' and the figure of the father are associated. The choice of the courtyard as the location of the pursuits was doubtless inspired by two factors: the courtyard's accessibility, pertaining to the action and narrative; and the fact that the courtyard location contributed to the creation of the nuptial meanings, for it was also the location of certain nuptial rites relating to the passage of the bride from one house to the other. As we shall see, on 3 and 5 the scene on side B of the neck (the position most closely related to that of the pursuit) depicts a nuptial rite also taking place in the house courtyard, thus counterpointing the pursuit and confirming our interpretation. This is not a naturalistic depiction of space; it does not represent the environment in which the erotic pursuit took place in the myth—or, at least, not only that. If it does reflect a mythological motif (itself shaped by the perceptions discussed here), it also expresses some important perceptions of marriage which had become attracted to the representation of marriage through the paradigm pursuit/abduction.

The figure of the father produces similar meanings, and expresses similar perceptions, to the spatial indicators locating the pursuit in the house courtyard. Our erotic pursuits, like others, often include a mature or old man, usually shown as a king with a sceptre, who represents the

⁸² See J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris 1965) i 132. On the trauma of leaving the father's home at marriage see M. R. Lefkowitz, *Heroines and hysterics* (London 1981) 20.

girl's father.⁸³ This figure also helps express the notion 'girl's removal (with connotations of a violent wrenching) from the familiar world of her father's home'. But there is a difference in emphasis between this and the 'house courtyard' variant. Scenes which include the father stress the girl's ties with him, rather than with the paternal house and the unmarried girl's world—though the latter is inevitably also associated with the father. They express the notion that the ties with the father (as well as with her life as a parthenos in her father's house) will now be severed,⁸⁴ and the pursuer/husband will take over; the notion 'wrenched away from her father' is most clearly articulated when the direction of the pursuit is away from the father.⁸⁵ The versions in which the pursuit is in the direction of the father⁸⁶ do not dwell on the severance of the ties, but stress instead that the girl runs to her father's protection—from which she is being removed. The fact that marriage does not involve the same severing of ties with the mother⁸⁷ contributes, I believe, to the rarity of the mother's presence in scenes of pursuit;⁸⁸ this rarity reflects primarily the father's dominant and socially significant presence in the unmarried girl's life: it is from his house and authority that she is transferred to those of another man.⁸⁹ The companions, stock figures in mythological abductions, also symbolize the familiar world of the parthenos with its companionships and activities. This is stressed in representations in which they are running to the father (the abducted girl's, who is sometimes also their own—if she is their sister—and who, in any case, fills the role 'father [of unmarried girls]' in these images); they run to him for protection, for they, unlike the pursued girl, still belong to his sphere and authority. This motif, then, produces meanings similar to that showing the companions running into the house. Both reflect, and express, the notion that the companions still belong to the world of the parthenos from which the pursued girl is being wrenched; this iconographical expression of her separation from her friends and companions throws into further relief the trauma, the psychological wrenching, of the experience of marriage here articulated through the metaphor of forcible removal.

I now consider the significance of the combination of the house courtyard location with an altar with a palm-tree on 5. There was, we saw, an important and relevant altar in the courtyard, but not one which could have been depicted in combination with a palm-tree; for 'altar + palm-tree' is an established sign with certain values in fifth-century ceramic iconography, and these do not include 'altar of Zeus Herkeios in the courtyard'.⁹⁰ The courtyard altar may have triggered off the Niobid Painter's choice to combine the house courtyard location with what is denoted by the 'altar + palm-tree'. But, though he had a predilection for this 'altar + palm-tree',⁹¹ his selections were determined by assumptions which included knowledge of the altar's meanings, and so he could not use the sign in inappropriate contexts which would evacuate it of its particular meaning and turn it into a simple 'altar'. Even if he did, the viewers could only make sense of the sign in terms of its established value. I have argued elsewhere⁹² that there is a close

⁸³ See e.g. the column-krater in Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseum (ARV 284.5); hydria Florence 4014 (ARV 1060.144). That he is the girl's father is confirmed by his correspondence to Nereus in Thetis's pursuit (On Nereus in such scenes: Krieger [n. 25] 88–113.)

⁸⁴ On the breaking of the father-daughter bond brought about by the daughter's marriage see Redfield (n. 66) 186–8.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Florence 4014 (n. 82).

⁸⁶ See e.g. the volute-krater Bologna 275 (ARV 1029.18).

⁸⁷ See Redfield (n. 66) 187–8.

⁸⁸ I interpret as mother the woman with sceptre on, for example, side A of the stamnos Krefeld Inv. 1034/1515 (ARV 502.5; CVA Germany 49, pls. 37.1–4, 38.1–4). The mother has the most important role in the ritual part of the ceremony (see Redfield [n. 66] 188), the father in the legal part, as in the facet of ideality

represented in our scenes.

⁸⁹ The fact that the father is also present in some representations of Eos' pursuit of Kephalos (see S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.*, *AntK Beiheft xi* [Bern 1979] 18–19) does not invalidate these interpretations: the scheme 'erotic pursuit of a girl by a hero' was adapted (see e.g. the inclusion of both Kephalos' companions and his sisters, like the pursued girl's companions running to their father [see e.g. neck-amphora Madrid 11097 (ARV 1043.2, Kaempf-Dimitriadou no 108)]) to show a youth's abduction by a goddess, with all the connotations of danger and helplessness carried by this theme (see 'Menace' 3 iii).

⁹⁰ See 'Palms' section 1.

⁹¹ See 'Palms' section 1 and n. 7.

⁹² See 'Palms' *passim*.

connection between the sign 'altar + palm-tree' and the Attic cult of Artemis in her persona as protector of parthenoi and of their preparation for marriage and transition to womanhood (especially focussed on her sanctuaries at Brauron and Mounychia and the arkteia); and that the 'altar + palm-tree' depicted in many erotic pursuits involving different protagonists represents an altar of Artemis and connotes her connection with the theme of erotic pursuit, also manifested in the mythological motif 'girls abducted from sanctuaries of, or from choruses of girls dedicated to, Artemis'.⁹³ An Attic version of this motif locates the abduction of girls in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia: girls and women taking part in the ceremonies are said to have been abducted from the sanctuary.⁹⁴ Given the Brauronian cult's concern with parthenoi and their preparation for marriage, the association with abduction/pursuit may reflect a connection between the Brauronian ritual and the notion 'erotic pursuit/abduction of girls'.⁹⁵ Another connection between pursuit/abduction and the Brauronian cult is that both relate to the 'wild', metaphorically partly animal, unmarried girl, and both do so in connection with marriage. The arkteia was a pre-nuptial rite, preparing girls for marriage. I now believe⁹⁶ that it related to the notion of the parthenos' animality, and that an important aspect of its initiatory function pertains to the 'domestication' of the partly wild girl, purging her of animality and thus taming her for marriage.⁹⁷ On my analysis, 'erotic pursuit' also relates to that mentality. It represents the pursuit/capture/of the girl as a wild version of marriage, in which the wild, partly 'animal' girl is captured by the 'wild' ephebe—a wild, animal metaphor (appropriate to her wild, 'animal' nature) for the cultural institution which will integrate the parthenos into society. Thus, 'erotic pursuit' reflects the same perception of the parthenos as that articulated in the arkteia, which stresses the girl's animality in order to purge it, as the pursuits represent metaphorically the institution which will complete that purge. Through her 'stay with Artemis' the wild girl was partly domesticated and ready for the marriage which would complete her 'taming', for which, in the circumstances, the 'wild marriage', the pursuit and capture, is an appropriate metaphor.⁹⁸

The motif 'girl abducted from a sanctuary of Artemis' is a narrative articulation of the notion 'girl being taken away from a place, a realm, belonging to Artemis where parthenoi belong'. Representations of pursuits/abductions which include an 'altar + palm-tree' express the same notion pictorially. Thus the abduction metaphor for marriage can be articulated through the image of a girl being forcibly removed from Artemis' realm. This placing of the pursuit and capture in Artemis' realm reflects and connotes certain Athenian perceptions of girls and marriage: the girl's animality, the goddess' involvement in the transition, and also, through the image of the girl being taken away from the very altar, wrenched from the protection of the goddess, it produces meanings of trauma, the trauma of the removal from a familiar and protective world.

In our scene on 5 the 'altar + palm-tree' is not shown on its own (which would have located the scene in a sanctuary/realm of Artemis); it is combined with the column and chair which place the scene in the house courtyard. It will now be clear that 5 represents the girl being taken from her father's house and from Artemis' realm, combining the two important perceptions of

⁹³ See Calame (n. 31) 176–7, 189–90, Plut. *Thes.* 31.2 tells us that Theseus abducted Helen from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

⁹⁴ See Schol. BT Hom. *Il.* i 594; Hdt. iv 154, vi 138; Suda s.v. Brauron.

⁹⁵ Osborne (n. 93) 161–2, 168 also concluded, independently, and on the basis of different considerations, that the stories connecting the sanctuary of Brauron with rape had a close connection with the ritual.

⁹⁶ This is elaborated elsewhere (n. 31).

⁹⁷ Again, a similar conclusion was reached independently by Osborne (n. 93) 165–9. A related perception would also seem to underlie Detienne's formulation (n.

44) 31 that the Athenian girls 'do the bear before marriage in honor of Artemis of Mounichia or Brauron to purify themselves, in the words of an ancient exegete, of any trace of savagery' (with references in p. 99 n. 43).

⁹⁸ The element 'running' also connects the Brauron rites with erotic pursuits: the running of the girl, her companions, and the pursuer has a cultic counterpart in initiatory rites (see n. 44). The palm brings the two closer: the Brauron girls are shown dancing and running among, and towards, palms, altars and altar + palm complexes. There is thus a correspondence between the Brauron girls' ritual race and the girls (e.g. the Nereids) running during an abduction.

marriage discussed above, by constructing a conceptual space in which the iconographical elements expressing the notion 'pursuit and abduction out of her father's house' and 'pursuit and abduction out of Artemis' realm' are juxtaposed. Another perception reflected in 5 is the duality of the nature of the parthenos, who belongs both inside civilized society and outside it, inside but not yet 'of' the civilized world.⁹⁹ For in 5 her wild nature is alluded to through the theme itself and the notion 'taken from Artemis' sanctuary' with its connotations of animality (but also of its purging, so that here also we have duality and ambivalence); and the 'civilized' nature is alluded to through the notion 'taken from her father's house' which locates the girl in her place in the civilized space of the polis and the oikos.

Given Artemis' relationship to parthenoi, and the motif 'abduction from an Artemis sanctuary/chorus', the altar on its own (which also occurs in other pursuits/abductions)¹⁰⁰ was probably thought of by the painter and his contemporaries as an altar of Artemis—unless Theseus' myth specified otherwise. If so, the scenes in 6 located the abduction in Artemis' realm. Perhaps the altar also helped produce implicit connotations of violence, by representing (when the girl is fleeing towards the altar), or evoking, the motif 'taking refuge at an altar.'¹⁰¹ The palm in our pursuit—as in others—also denotes Artemis' realm and reflects and connotes the same perceptions of the parthenos and of marriage as the altar + palm-tree.¹⁰²

Let us now consider the pursuit shown in the space between two houses on 4. (If, as is most unlikely, the building on the right is a temple, the space is of the same type as 5, represented through a different scheme.) At one level, the second house may have functioned, and been read as, the companions' house, and the fact that the pursued girl and one of the companions are moving towards one house, and the other two towards the other, may support this reading. But viewed through fifth-century assumptions, the second house surely acquired also another significance. A girl is being pursued, taken away from her house and father; she is in the street, forced by her pursuer to move towards another house, in which another father-like figure stands by another house altar. This calls up another series of scenes and the situation they represent: a girl taken from her father's house by a man (soon to possess her sexually) who leads her to another house is the essence of marriage, crystallized in the ritual act of the movement between the two houses, the wedding-procession, which—and the representations of which—include gestures pertaining to abduction and coercion (*cf.* notes 63–6) and are located between the bride's and the bridegroom's houses (*cf.* e.g. pyxis London E 1920.12.21.1 [ARV 1277.23, Add 178]). I suggest that the pursuit located between the two houses on 4 called up the notion, and the iconographical frame of reference, 'wedding procession', and this helped relate this pursuit to marriage, stressing that it was a metaphor for marriage. The door on 2 may denote in abbreviated form the same space and produce the same meanings: outside the girl's house, between the two houses; or it may indicate the courtyard and represent the notion 'taken from her father's house'; or, ambivalently, call up both sets of meanings.

We must not assume that Athenian viewers when looking at pursuits without spatial indicators necessarily filled in a particular location from their prior knowledge and assumptions. For scenes without spatial indicators represented one particular version of 'erotic pursuit', one which, for example, did not emphasize the nuptial connotations as 4 did. The painters were creating their own versions of the myths, and those without spatial indicators were both polysemic and emblematic, not stressing any particular aspect of the theme, and emphasizing more the paradigmatic nature of the representation, depicted in an emblematic, unspecified space. It could be argued that, if the myth of Theseus' pursuit depicted in our scenes had located the abduction in one specific place, we should expect the representations to depict that space, and assume that the scenes which do not fit this scheme represent a different subject. But this is

⁹⁹ Even after she was tamed and brought into male society, the danger remained that her domestication could be reversed: see King (n. 51) esp. 110, 124; Lefkowitz (n. 82) 16–18.

¹⁰⁰ See 'Palms' section 2.

¹⁰¹ See 'Palms' section 2.

¹⁰² See 'Palms' section 2.

excluded by the conceptual representation of space seen unambiguously on 5. The fact that the space on 5 is inconsistent with real space shows that it is not the representation of a particular environment specified in a myth. We cannot know whether the myths located the Theseus pursuit in a specific space; and if they did, whether there was more than one version of this localization. If the locality was specified, it is likely to have been a sanctuary of Artemis rather than the father's house courtyard; both locations express important perceptions pertaining to marriage, but only the former had crystallized into a mythological motif. In any case, the painters were creating their own versions, which were not necessarily contradicting any narrative version: if the localization had been firmly specified as an Artemis sanctuary, contemporary viewers may have read that location into the mythological representations without spatial indicators; but the emphasis would be different, depending on whether the artist had actually depicted the space 'sanctuary'. As for the scenes located in the courtyard or outside the house, they would not have been perceived to be contradicting a sanctuary location either: they expressed the relationship between 'erotic pursuit' and marriage, and the perceptions which that metaphor reflected and articulated.

Interestingly, the Niobid Painter, who created the versions stressing the nuptial facet of the pursuit, associates with them on 3 and 5 scenes which, in my view, depict nuptial rites in the courtyard of the bridegroom's house; that is, he represents on the other side (side B of the neck) the socialized version of the same rite, the wedding as a solemn cultural and religious institution. The scene on B on 5 is incomplete, but the arrangement of the figures and comparison with side B of 3, suggest that there was an altar in the missing part.¹⁰³ Thus the representations on side B of 5 and 3 show ritual activities which take place at the altar in the house courtyard (the spatial indicators are column, chair and altar), involving the holding of branches, libations and women with a sceptre and diadem (on 3 one, on 5 apparently two [the second is fragmentary]). This combination of elements and overall scheme can only be paralleled in representations of wedding scenes; B on 3 and 5 therefore seem to represent some part of the nuptial rites taking place in the house courtyard. (Compare, for example, the pyxis London D 11 [ARV 899.146]). The bride and groom are absent, as though sides A and B were to be taken together, and the pair is 'represented' in the wild version of their union on A. This juxtaposition of a version of 'erotic pursuit' stressing the nuptial facet and of a scene depicting nuptial rites, which occurs twice in the work of the Niobid Painter, provides some support for my interpretations, as does the fact that, on my analysis, the overall decoration of 5 forms a system in which the different scenes complement, counterpoint, and help define each other:¹⁰⁴ On the body there is a representation of warriors, one of them an ephebe, leaving home. Vernant¹⁰⁵ has pointed out that marriage is to girls what war is to boys, and girls' initiations prepare them for marriage and transformation to the condition of (tamed) gyne, as boys' initiations prepare them for integration into the status of full warrior, hoplite. Thus, this vase presents a series of oppositions and counterpoints: ephebe: unmarried girl: erotic pursuit—hoplite: married women (the mother[s], presiding over the transition of the [absent] girl to this category): marriage; the two forms of love and war: on the one hand the wild ephebic/parthenic, and on the other the domesticated, civilized form of the hoplite/gyne, fully participating in the normal order of the city.

VII. OTHER ICONOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS

The iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit' includes some further elements which also produced nuptial connotations. One such element is, we saw, the arrangement of the himation

¹⁰³ See CB (n. 10) ii 81.

¹⁰⁴ I am discussing it as an illustration; a similar system of relationships, pertaining to slightly different aspects of the 'erotic pursuit', is observed on the

Bologna krater.

¹⁰⁵ J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1974; 1981) 37–8.

over the girl's head. Another is the wreath, which the pursuer wears in several scenes.¹⁰⁶ Wreaths are also worn in other pursuits/abductions, by the pursuer and others.¹⁰⁷ Bridegrooms wore a wreath in the wedding ceremony.¹⁰⁸ Of course, the wreath is not monosemic; it was worn on many festive occasions, and Theseus, for example, wears it in a variety of circumstances.¹⁰⁹ But its combination here with other elements relating to the nuptial sphere, the fact that it can also be worn by the girl's father (n. 118) and that it occurs in other pursuits/abductions (including ones with a known nuptial facet) suggest that here the wreath alluded to the marriage ceremony and contributed to nuptial suggestions. It is rare for the girl to wear a wreath in our pursuits. What she very frequently wears is an (ornate) diadem,¹¹⁰ similar to that worn by brides in the wedding ceremony.¹¹¹ In this context this diadem, like the wreath, contributed to the nuptial allusions. A taenia is sometimes worn by the pursued girl¹¹² or the pursuer,¹¹³ who can also be shown with a 'radiated' diadem.¹¹⁴ On the cup Carlsruhe 59.72 (*ARV* 883.60, 1673, Add 148) a taenia is shown in the field, as in some wedding scenes such as that on the loutrophoros Copenhagen 9080 (see n. 111). The taenia is associated with—among other contexts—Aphrodite,¹¹⁵ weddings¹¹⁶ and the Brauronian rites.¹¹⁷ Thus its meaning here is likely to be polysemic, with the nuptial (and perhaps the 'initiatory') connotations prominent. On some of our pursuits the father also wears a wreath,¹¹⁸ which, like those worn by the protagonists, alludes to the marriage ceremony. The same is true of the branch held by the father in some erotic pursuits.¹¹⁹ On the cup Ferrara 44886 (*ARV* 880.11, Add 147) a flying heron denotes the outdoors, but at the same time, given the heron's association with scenes in the women's quarters,¹²⁰ it connotes domesticity and the space to which the gyne is fixed through marriage; it thus may also allude to the nuptial dimension of 'erotic pursuit'.

VIII. COMBINATIONS WITH OTHER SUBJECTS

I now consider briefly the type of scenes with which our erotic pursuits are combined, and attempt to determine whether these combinations support our conclusions—though they cannot invalidate them, since there is not always a thematic connection between the scenes on a vase.¹²¹ For the same reason, an investigation of these relationships is vulnerable to culture-

¹⁰⁶ Examples of a pursuer with a wreath: stamnos Oxford 1911.619 (here *PLATE IIIb*); bell-krater Louvre G 423 (*ARV* 1064.6).

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. Thetis' abduction by Peleus (a marriage paradigm) on the cup London, Victoria and Albert Museum 4807.1901 (*ARV* 89.14) Peleus, Thetis and the Nereids are all wearing wreaths.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. loutrophoros Boston 10.223 (n. 71); loutrophoros once in Berlin (ex Saboureff) (n. 74). On wreaths at weddings: Blech (n. 40) 75–81.

¹⁰⁹ See Blech (n. 40) 430–1, 450; see also 124, 264–5.

¹¹⁰ See e.g. oinochoe Ferrara sequestro Venezia 2505 (*ARV* 1206.3).

¹¹¹ See e.g. the Boston loutrophoros (n. 71) and the Saboureff loutrophoros (n. 74); loutrophoros Copenhagen inv. 9080 (*ARV* 841.75, Para 423). On the diadem worn by the bride see Blech (n. 40) 76–81.

¹¹² See e.g. side B of the bell-krater Leningrad 777 (here *PLATE IIIa*); neck-amphora at Mykonos by the Oinokles Painter (*ARV* 648.24).

¹¹³ See e.g. the neck-amphora Leningrad 709 (*ARV* 487.61, Para 512, here *PLATE IIIc*); stamnos Warsaw 142353 (ex Czartoryski 51) (*ARV* 501.2).

¹¹⁴ Calyx-krater Geneva MF 238 (*ARV* 615.1).

¹¹⁵ See Redfield (n.66) 195.

¹¹⁶ See e.g. Redfield (n. 66) 188; Epaulia gifts including a taenia: Roberts (n. 36) 184, see pls. 56–7, 58.2, 59.1. That the taenia in the field on the erotic

pursuit cup Carlsruhe 59.72 (see text) and in wedding scenes (e.g. the Copenhagen loutrophoros [n. 111]) does not denote an indoor space is shown by scenes where the spatial indicators locate the scene in the courtyard, and a taenia is hanging in the field (e.g. the pyxis Athens Acr. 569 [*ARV* 890.172, Roberts (n. 36) 84 pls. 56–7, 58.2] by the Penthesilea Painter, like the Carlsruhe cup).

¹¹⁷ L. Kahil, *AntK* viii (1965) 21, and see e.g. pl. 7.

¹¹⁸ See e.g. oinochoe Ferrara sequestro Venezia 2505 (*ARV* 1206.3); bell-krater Istanbul 2914 (*ARV* 603.41, G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations of Samaria* [Cambridge, Mass. 1924] pls. 69; 70).

¹¹⁹ See e.g. the calyx-krater at Aachen, Ludwig (*ARV* 1661.7 bis, Para 396, Add 130). On the hydria London E 198 (see text section 6 no. 2) the father wears a wreath and holds a branch. The Niobid Painter and his group who stressed the nuptial dimension of 'erotic pursuit' through spatial elements also liked to include wreaths and branches, which again allude to weddings. Dr M. Schmidt, who has kindly let me know that she agrees with my argument relating erotic pursuits to marriage, also thinks that the fathers' branches in the pursuits allude to sacral rites. For Krieger (n. 25) 80 the torches held by Chiron in some scenes of Thetis' pursuit/capture allude to marriage.

¹²⁰ See 'Palms' n. 100.

¹²¹ See C. Bron and F. Lissarague, in *Cité* (n. 9) 17.

determination, to the creation of constructs of associations between different themes on a vase which may or may not be an accurate reflection of ancient realities. A systematic investigation of combinations would be lengthy and involve separate semantic analyses of the different subjects. I only mention some combinations which seem unequivocal and significant because they relate to semantic areas which are important facets of our theme. Representations of this type fall into the following categories. First, ephebic scenes, relating to the ephebic associations of 'erotic pursuit'. One such combination is found, for example, on the cup in Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society (from Vulci: *ARV* 880.3). To the same ephebic facet probably belong also the scenes showing athletes,¹²² and the many scenes with youths which are combined with erotic pursuits¹²³—the fact that they are banal, routine scenes does not mean that they are meaningless, or that their combinations are necessarily unmotivated by thematic connections. A second semantic axis along which connections are made between our pursuit and other subjects is Theseus. The following are examples: cup Frankfort Museum V.F. x 14628 (*ARV* 796.117), with an erotic pursuit on B and Theseus and Skiron on the tondo;¹²⁴ calyx-krater Geneva MF 238 (*ARV* 615.1, Para 397, Add 131) with a Thesean Amazonomachy in the upper row and a scene (boy with lyre and youths) pertaining to the ephebic realm on B below. The Amazonomachy related to the erotic pursuit through Theseus and also along the semantic axis male-female relationships, certain perceptions of which are articulated in such scenes. Other pursuits/abductions are also sometimes combined with our theme¹²⁵ and stress, or help define, through similarities and differences, some of its aspects. Satyrs and Maenads are sometimes combined with our pursuits, representing the wildest form of male-female sexual relationship, the one furthest away from acculturated sexual activity in marriage in the context of the polis leading to the creation of children as social beings. This theme lies at the opposite pole from marriage—thus helping define our pursuit as 'in the middle', not the acculturated institution, but not the world of unbridled sexual beings either: a half-wild half-acculturated erotic union, appropriate for the not fully civilized and integrated ephebes and parthenoi; sufficiently 'inside' to function as a paradigm for marriage, articulating certain perceptions of it.

Some scenes combined with erotic pursuits relate to their nuptial facet, confirming further its importance. Apart from those already mentioned, another subject with nuptial significance is depicted on the bell-krater *frr.* in Athens, in the manner of the Dinos Painter (*ARV* 1155.1) which shows our type of pursuit on B and a wedding scene on A. Some other scenes combined with pursuits may also pertain to the nuptial facet: libation scenes involving a bearded man with sceptre (the type who in our pursuits represents the father) and women¹²⁶ may represent emblematically the acculturated version of the erotic union, marriage and its religious rites, and thus relate the erotic pursuit to the nuptial dimension. Another type of scene combined with erotic pursuits is departure for war, which we discussed above. Perhaps themes from the life of women which are combined with erotic pursuits, such as the scene combined with erotic pursuit on the hydria Syracuse 36330 (*ARV* 1062.2) depicting women, one with a lyre, in a domestic context (chest, heron) and Eros, are a female equivalent of (hoplitic) war, pertaining to the life and pursuits of married, that is acculturated, integrated women:¹²⁷ above we see the integrated

¹²² See e.g. the upper frieze of the calyx-krater New York 06.1021.173 (*ARV* 1092.75).

¹²³ See e.g. side B of the bell-krater Louvre G 423 (*ARV* 1064.6).

¹²⁴ Boreas pursuing Oreithyia on A relates to the erotic pursuit along another semantic axis, that of pursuit.

¹²⁵ E.g.: Frankfort cup, side A; calyx-krater New York 06.1021.173 (n. 122): Eos pursuing a youth on A, our pursuit on B. Our pursuit with Peleus': volute-krater Naples 2421 (*ARV* 600.13, Para 395).

¹²⁶ See the stamnos Oxford 1911.619 (*ARV* 629.16).

¹²⁷ Similar scenes have been interpreted as showing

professional musicians and/or educated hetairai by D. Williams (in Cameron and Kuhrt eds. [n. 51] 99–102) because of the presumed lack of education of respectable Athenian women. In my view, the latter is problematic; it is dependent on certain types of male ideality which may not necessarily reflect reality. Bérard, *Cité* (n. 9) 86–8 argues that a group of scenes of this type indicates that rich Athenian women could be cultured. In my view, the fact that our women alternate with the Muses and Sappho who are presented according to this type of iconographical scheme (*cf.* Williams 100) suggests that they are Athenian citizens.

women inside the house and Eros in his acculturated form (he is holding a lyre) in marriage and below the wild form of Eros, the pursuit and imminent capture of the wild girl who, through the marriage of which the capture is a wild version, will become fully tamed and fulfil her proper role, represented through the domestic scene. The two themes help define each other.

IX. VARIANTS OF 'EROTIC PURSUIT BY THESEUS/AN EPHEBE'

The scenes here classified as variants have an iconographical scheme of the same type as our pursuits, but involving either more than one pursuer, or a different pursuer or girl. When the scene is mythological this entails that a different story is depicted, when it is not mythological it is a different type of 'genre' scene from that of our main series, involving a different type of person. In a major type of variant the iconographical scheme of the pursuit is the same, but the pursuer (who is heroic/human)¹²⁸ is shown through a different iconographical scheme. Another type of variant involves more than one pursuer; such scenes vary, in a way similar to scenes with one pursuer: some show youths similar to Theseus in our pursuits, others show other types of male. In another variant the pursuer is similar to that of our main series, but the identity of the pursued girl has changed.

Since these scenes also represent a human/heroic pursuit, their meanings should be compatible with those of the scenes at the centre of our investigation. For example, if it had been the case—which it is not—that the weapons carried by the other human pursuers in these variants were represented as offensive weapons being used as such during the pursuit, this would have thrown some doubt on our conclusions about the role of the spears. But in fact, the variants of 'erotic pursuit' are all compatible with our readings.¹²⁹

In one variant, which, like our pursuits, occurs in two types, with and without spears,¹³⁰ the pursuer is a bearded man. The meanings of this theme, obviously, do not pertain to the epebic sphere, as our pursuits do, but to the sexual (and perhaps also to the matrimonial) facet of 'erotic pursuit'. If the type without spears was partly modelled on Boreas¹³¹ then perhaps the notion of the matrimonial dimension is reinforced. In a variant which shares many elements with our type 1 pursuits the pursuer is a young warrior. This variant shows that the element 'not attack' defines erotic pursuit (by heroes/mortals) across variants: in these pursuits by young warriors the weapons are never held in a position of attack or menacingly; on the contrary, the use of the motif of holding the spear in the left makes explicit that this weapon is not represented in action in the course of an attack.¹³² This confirms my views about the significance of the spears in our type 1 pursuits.

Another variant¹³³ is depicted on the skyphos in the Vatican by the Lewis Painter (*ARV*

¹²⁸ As we may conclude when he is not characterized as some particular divine being, or the pursuit is not otherwise defined as representing some divine pursuit. I discuss divine pursuits and their relationship to heroic/human ones in 'Menace' 3 iii.

¹²⁹ As for the selection of a corpus (on which see Bérard *E.L.* [n. 78] 27; Schmitt-Pantel and Thelamon [n. 50] 17), mine is—I hope—conceptually open—though space forced me to confine my analyses to scenes involving Theseus or one youth depicted through the Theseus scheme. I left out scenes such as that on the stamnos Athens NM 18063 (*ARV* 1028.13, 1678, Add 155) which includes a chariot (an element which belongs to the iconography of some abductions, but not to our pursuit's) though it may be semantically related to our theme, because this is the methodologically neutral strategy: for if (as is probable, given the important divergence) it represents a different subject,

its inclusion would distort our analyses. A comparison of such scenes to our pursuit must only take place after both have been thoroughly studied independently.

¹³⁰ With spears: see e.g.: Column-krater Ferrara T.375 (*ARV* 957.60, Para 433); without: see e.g. column-krater Chiusi, Museo archeologico nazionale, già Coll. Civica n. 1822 (*CVA* pls. 6–7).

¹³¹ See *CVA* (n. 130) where it is maintained that it is Boreas. On Boreas and Oreithyia see n. 24.

¹³² See e.g. Nolan amphora London E 310 (*ARV* 202.84); neck-amphora Oxford 1914.733 (*ARV* 1058.120); stamnos Brussels R 311 (*ARV* 502.6); column-krater in Leningrad from Kerch (*ARV* 532.46); oinochoe Florence 21B 308 *fr.* (*ARV* 1167.14).

¹³³ Not recognized as an erotic pursuit by Bothmer, (D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek art* [Oxford 1957] 184 no. 73 and pp. 187–8).

974.28): on A a Greek youth, wearing a wreath and a chlamys worn like a wrap, is running, holding two spears in his right and extending his outstretched left towards an Amazon who is fleeing and turning back; there are Amazons running on B in the role of the fleeing companions. The pursued Amazon on A is extending her right towards the youth, in the exact stance of the pursued girls of the other scenes, with the difference that she is holding an axe in her bent left, in exactly the same position as that in which the pursued girl on B of the skyphos Providence 25072 (also by the Lewis Painter) is holding a stylized flower—for this pursued female is a warrior, and must be thus characterized. The pursuer's stance resembles in a general way that of the pursuer on the Providence skyphos, and the skyphos Reggio 4134 in the manner of the Lewis Painter (*ARV* 975.3), and more closely that on another skyphos by the Lewis Painter, Reggio 3877 (*ARV* 974.25) of type 1. It is clear that this is an erotic pursuit, and the fact that the scene does not denote an attack is made explicit both by the overall syntax of the scene, and by a detail in the arrangement of the spears which, like similar motifs in our type 1 pursuits, denotes that the signification space in which this theme was inscribed, and which determined its production, included the element 'not attack': the spearheads are well beyond the Amazon's body, reaching almost to the palmette decoration under the handles. But the combination of the youth's spears and the Amazon's axe do create the effect of implicit potential violence between them, appropriate to the hostility obtaining between Greeks and Amazons which is thus signalled. By presenting the Amazon about to be caught and raped by a Greek, this theme, like the equivalent mythological stories of Amazons defeated and Antiope erotically abducted, raped or seduced and impregnated, reduces even the masculine, dominant Amazons¹³⁴ to subordinate defeated females¹³⁵ and the objects of male sexual aggression. This, then, is one iconographical expression of the Greek perceptions of the relations between the sexes, focussing on the threatening aspect of the woman, condensed in the figure of the abnormal male-like female who, even so, is subdued by the male—as she is in the myths, especially that of Theseus and Antiope. Since the pursuer lacks the elements which unequivocally build up the sign 'Theseus' the scene on the Vatican skyphos may represent a generic Greek and a generic Amazon, rather than Antiope's abduction; but if so that abduction was certainly the theme's mythological paradigm.¹³⁶

Yet another variant of 'erotic pursuit' involves more than one pursuer, like the scene on the Basle amphora recently discussed by Schefold.¹³⁷ Whether mythological or 'genre', these multiple pursuits reflect, I believe, the notion 'companionship of ephebes/young males' which is also correlative with the mythological pairs of friends such as Theseus and Peirithous and Orestes and Pylades. A rare type of scene, which is not a variant of erotic pursuit but may superficially appear to be one, is that in which the youth is carrying both spears and drawn sword, e.g. on the hydria at Taranto from Ceglie (*ARV* 606.74) and the hydria Louvre G 427 (*ARV* 615.2). In the complex process of interactive meaning-production through which images are made sense of, the drawn sword makes the theme an attack.¹³⁸ The spears are perfectly appropriate as signifying elements characterizing Theseus-as-ephebe. So this type of scene is in fact a variant of the theme 'Theseus with a drawn sword' (see n. 138).

All these variants produce meanings which are compatible with, and confirm, the meanings here suggested for our pursuits. In particular, the conclusion that the theme 'erotic pursuit by Theseus' articulates also certain Greek perceptions of male-female relationships is confirmed by

¹³⁴ On the significance of the Amazons and the rule of women myth see S. Pembroke, *JWI* xxx (1967) 1–35; *id.*, *JESHO* viii (1965) 217–47.

¹³⁵ On the defeat of dominant women who represent chaos and misrule see J. Bamberger in M. Z. Rozaldo and L. Lamphere eds., *Woman, culture and society* (1974) 263–80; F. I. Zeitlin, *Arethusa* xi (1978) 149–84.

¹³⁶ Theseus and Antiope: see e.g. the amphora Louvre G 197 (*ARV* 238.1, Para 349, Add 100) where Antiope also carries a battle axe.

¹³⁷ K. Schefold, *RA* (1982), 233–6.

¹³⁸ On the drawn sword and its meanings see 'Menace' 3 ii a.I, where I discuss the relationship between the themes 'erotic pursuit' and 'Theseus with a drawn sword'.

the fact that the other variants of this theme seem to give concrete expression to this notion by replacing Theseus/the ephebe with other male types in the role of sexual pursuer.

X. CONCLUSIONS: THE EROTIC PURSUIT

To sum up. The iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit' reflected, and expressed, certain perceptions about, first, ephebes and parthenoi, second, male-female relationships and third, marriage. These three semantic facets of the theme are, of course, intertwined and interdependent. Erotic pursuit/abduction as a metaphor for wedding/marriage, the representation of the 'wild marriage', capture (instead of the acculturated form with *engye* and proper ritual), involving the not fully integrated, 'wild-warrior' (anti-hoplite) ephebe and the wild girl—all express some fundamental aspects of Greek realities and mentality pertaining to marriage. The following are some of the most important. The notion of the girl as a wild thing to be pursued and captured and tamed through marriage; the violence of the wrenching of the girl from her familiar world and transfer to an unfamiliar one and to the jurisdiction of a strange man; the subduing of the female by the male—an important Greek notion which is itself a polysemic signifier articulating other values; and defloration and the sexual relationship as acts of physical domination of the woman. Thus the metaphorical relationship between erotic pursuit and marriage also expresses the notion that the acculturated form of marriage which belongs to civilized society also contains within it the wild marriage to which on the surface it appears to be contrasted.

These conclusions gain some confirmation from the consideration of the myth of Atalanta, which proves to be a reversal of the nexus 'erotic pursuit' as I have reconstructed it. It includes all the elements which pertain to this nexus: pursuit and capture connected with marriage, the wild girl with elements of animality (Atalanta had been exposed and suckled by a bear) and connected with Artemis,¹³⁹ the wild ephebe,¹⁴⁰ and the marriage between the two. But in it the relationships between the elements are, when compared to 'erotic pursuit' and to what was considered 'correct' in Greek mentality, reversed. First, the wild girl (a huntress who roams outside her proper place) refuses her proper destination of marriage, refuses the transition out of the state of wildness and to the status of married woman. Second, the pursuit involving Atalanta (presented as a race, which relates the story to the initiatory races) is a test set by her; it is she who pursued the ephebe, and who ran armed: Atalanta's suitors had to run ahead of her; she killed those whom she caught up with but she would marry whoever succeeded in not being caught. Another related reversal is the fact that here it is non-capture that entails success and marriage, while capture brings death. Many failed and died until Melanion (in another version Hippomenes) slowed Atalanta down through a trick and she married him.¹⁴¹ In the nexus 'erotic pursuit' the ephebe captures the girl and this stand for marriage leading to the woman's final taming and integration. In Atalanta's myth it is the girl's non-capture of the male that leads to marriage. Correlative with this reversal, which meant that Atalanta was not captured (and thus symbolically 'tamed'), is the abnormal nature of this marriage, which did not purge her of wildness and animality and did not integrate her into her proper place: instead of staying inside

¹³⁹ Exposed and suckled by a bear: Apollod. iii 9.2. On Atalanta: W. Immerwahr, *De Atalanta* (Berlin 1885). J. Fontenrose, *Orion: the myth of the hunter and the huntress*, U. Cal. Publ. in Classics xxxiii (1981) 175–81 and 202–4. (The Hesiodic *Catalogue* describes a straight forward race between Atalanta and her suitor. [On Atalanta in Hes. *Catal.*: *fr.* 72–6 Merkelbach–West]). There are two Atalantas in myth, one Arcadian and one Boeotian. Fontenrose 176 following Immerwahr 23–6 argues that there is only one Atalanta, who is primarily a fast runner in the Boeotian legend and a bowmaid in the

Arcadian one. I prefer to say that different, if related, myths, pertaining to a wild parthenos who refuses marriage, were crystallized in the figure of Atalanta.

¹⁴⁰ Melanion or Hippomenes: see Apollod. iii 9.2 and J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus. The Library* (London 1921) *ad loc.* On Melanion as a wild ephebe and his relationship to Atalanta: Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 171–2.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Apollod. iii 9.2. The fact that this erotic pursuit is presented as a test supports the suggestion that the theme 'pursuit and capture of a girl' included a perception of an ephebic test.

the house she continued to hunt in the wilderness in the company of her husband, who also continued to be a wild ephebe.¹⁴² Thus, this was a wild marriage of a wild, not properly tamed girl, and did not bring about, as proper marriage does, the tamed gyne's integration into society in her proper place. This is reflected in Atalanta's and Melanion's behaviour, which was that of non-acclulturated people, similar to that of animals: they copulated in a sanctuary, thus transgressing against the Greek religious observance which forbade intercourse in a sanctuary, and for this reason they were changed into animals;¹⁴³ that is, instead of losing their (and especially her) animality through marriage, they lost their humanity and became fully animal, because, not having become acculturated and integrated, they practised a wild form of erotic union which transgressed against a religious, cultural, observance. This, then, is—among other things—the paradigm of a wild marriage in which the proper taming and transition have not taken place; it helps define the ideal, the canonical marriage, metaphorically expressed through the theme 'pursuit, capture and taming of the wild girl', through an articulation of its opposite.¹⁴⁴

The fact that the myth of Atalanta is the mirror-image, a consistent reversal, of the nexus 'erotic pursuit' as I have reconstructed it here provides some non-circular confirmation for my results and shows that they are not simply a modern, culturally determined, construct.

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¹⁴² A properly acculturated Greek man does not go hunting with his wife. The two paradigms of refusal to marry and become acculturated have been made to marry in myth, to express the notion 'wild marriage of not properly acculturated parthenos and/or youth'.

¹⁴³ See e.g. Apollod. iii 9.2; and Frazer's commentary *ad loc.* (n. 140) with references; Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 173; Fontenrose (n. 139) 179–80. On the prohibition of copulation in a sanctuary: R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 76.

¹⁴⁴ My interpretation fits the scene on the lekythos

Cleveland 66.114 (Para 376.266 bis, Add 118, J. Boardman, *The Art Institute of Chicago Centennial Lectures. Museum Studies* x [Chicago 1983] 3–19) which shows Atalanta as a bride, fleeing, pursued by three Erotes holding flowers and a wreath (connoting marriage) and a whip, usually wielded by Eros in pursuit of boys: the inverted pursuit as a paradigm of wild marriage corresponds to the image of the fleeing wild girl as a bride pursued (by Erotes connoting marriage and especially) by an Eros with a whip, characteristic of schemata involving young males.

PLATE II



(a) The Parthenon frieze: young men as cavalrymen. (Courtesy Alison Frantz)



(b) Leningrad: lekane fragment
(Courtesy Hermitage Museum)



(c) Leningrad 728, side A
(Courtesy Hermitage Museum)

(a) THE VIEWING AND OBSCURING OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE
(b)–(c) EROTIC PURSUITS: IMAGES AND MEANINGS



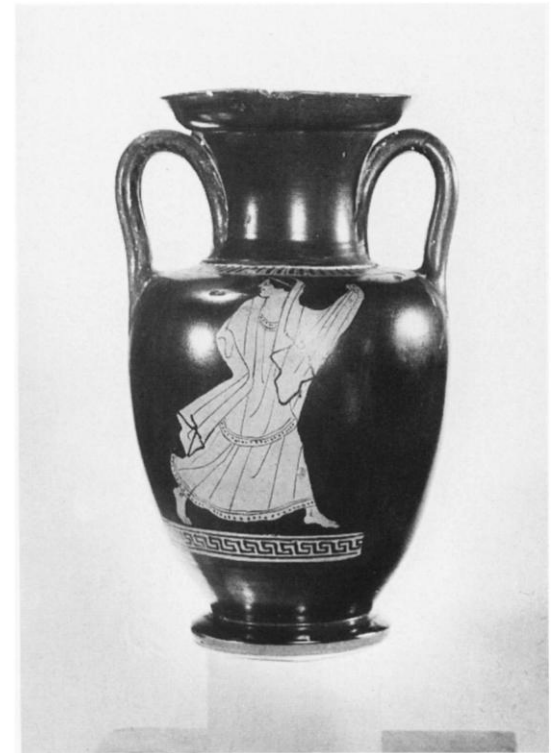
(a) Leningrad 777, side B. (Courtesy Hermitage Museum)



(b) Oxford 1911, side A. (Courtesy Ashmolean Museum)



(c) Leningrad 709, side A. (Courtesy Hermitage Museum)



(d) Leningrad 709, side B. (Courtesy Hermitage Museum)