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Eros the mediator: Persuasion and seduction in pursuit, courting and wedding scenes

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Abstract

Eros, be it the god or the personification, is included, often along with Aphrodite and her retinue, in various scenes on 5th- and 4th-century Athenian vases of actual or "mild" pursuit (courting) of a woman by a man (or even vice-versa) or of a (younger) man by another man. This paper considers mythical scenes, such as of amorous pursuit of women by gods and heroes or of Helen's introduction to Paris and their falling in love, as well as generic scenes, such as of bridal preparation or of courtship of hetairai or youths by men. It examines the degree and nature of Eros' involvement in each case and its symbolism, with a view to researching the popular notions of the time about love and seduction, principally in a heterosexual context, and detecting how these notions may have changed during the 5th and in the 4th centuries.

Keywords: *Eros, Aphrodite, seduction, pursuit, courting heterosexual, homosexual, mythical, generic.*

Introduction: good and bad Eros

The might of Eros, be it the god, or simply the concept, over men and gods is prevalent in Greek literature, ever since Homer. Yet it is with Euripides, who introduced dynamically the love theme in drama (*Real-Encyclopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* VI, s.v. "Eros", 495), that Eros' and Aphrodite's power is celebrated with outmost enthusiasm. Eros is acclaimed as a great god and the greatest amongst daemons (*TrGF* frag. 271). Aphrodite and/or Eros recur as the ultimate rulers over mortals and gods and all of nature (*TrGF* frag. 132 and 434; Hipp. 538-540; 1268-1281).

Of particular interest is the notion, peculiar to Euripides, of eros' double nature: it can be good and moderate and lead to virtue and wisdom and prosperity and but it can also be bad and excessive and lead to shame and disaster (*Iph. A.* 543-558; *Medea* 627-641, 844-845; *Sthen.* 28-31, von Arnim, 1913,14; *TrGF* frags. 342, 551, 671, 889). Aphrodite herself gives notice that she grants her favour to those who

honour her power, yet destroys those whose thoughts towards her are intemperate (Eur. *Hipp.* 5-6; translated by Boardman 1978, 30). Similar is Pausanias' differentiation in Plato's *Symposion* (8-11) between a good Eros, son of Aphrodite Ourania and a bad Eros, son of Aphrodite Pandemos.

Helen of Troy, the adulteress, strangely appears since the beginning of the Classical period in vase-painting as a bride. Apart from her wedding scenes, not only with her only proper husband, Menelaos[1] but also with her abductor, Theseus[2], and the addition of nuptial motifs in scenes of her abduction by Paris or her Recovery by Menelaos after the Fall of Troy[3], we get non-narrative scenes where Helen appears as a bride (figure 1)[4]. Had it not been for inscriptions, she would then have been indistinguishable from a generic bride.

The notion behind Helen's bridal appearance is analogous to that of good and bad Eros. Helen may be the ultimate paradigm of the feminine power of seduction but is at the same time an example of how disastrous the manipulation of this power beyond the purposes of marriage can be. She is thus promoted as a cautionary example of the bad Eros' effect; such excessive and pointless use of eros is what Athenian brides and wives should avoid. They should instead strive for the benefits of the good Eros.

The need to lecture Athenian women on how they should use their beauty constructively to serve legitimacy and citizenship stems from an emphatic appreciation and fear of female beauty and attractiveness in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (Hawley 1998, 42-43; 50-51). Aphrodite symbolises this power and brides (as well as Helen) start from the second half of the 5th century to assimilate iconographically to the goddess.[5]

Figure 1. Red-figure lekythos, Ex Lausanne, Embirikos Coll., London Market, ARV2 1660.66ter. Manner of Meidias P. (Beazley), Successor of Shuvalov P. (Lezzi-Hafter, S101), about 410 B.C. Helen at the prenuptial bath waited by Eros and Himeros at Aphrodite's order; the effect of female beauty that Helen personifies is promoted as powerful but also potentially dangerous. Photo reprinted from Lezzi-Hafter 1976, pl. 140a-c.

Aphrodite and Eros as mediators in love encounters

In the art of 5th-century Athens the goddess of love and beauty emphatically appears as the crucial agent in the outcome of certain encounters in myth, and in life.

In these tasks Aphrodite is sometimes aided by the personification of persuasion itself, Peitho, and often by her son Eros. Eros can also appear independently, on her behalf, especially in generic love encounters or scenes of wedding, which, in fact, becomes the norm in the 4th century (Metzger 1951, 42-53).

In literature, moreover, we can trace a separation of roles with regard to homosexual and heterosexual affairs: Eros personifies the more spiritual, purer kind of love felt by a man for a boy, Aphrodite the desire that attracts men and women together, has rather to do with the senses and carnal pleasure, and ultimately serves human reproduction (Buffière1980 331-332; Percy 1996, 112; Flacelière 1959, 78; 1960, 47-48).

Vase scenes draw a somewhat different picture. Eros does make a "solo" appearance in scenes of homosexual courting, yet he also features, as Aphrodite's assistant, in heterosexual encounters. These can be mythical episodes, where love has brought about the critical turn (such as Helen's Recovery by Menelaos after the Fall of Troy) or wedding or courting scenes, mythical or generic, where either Aphrodite or Eros persuade an unwilling bride/lover.

Scenes of erotic pursuit

That Aphrodite's intervention is rather of a romantic than of a sexual character is perhaps implied by her absence from scenes of abduction or pursuit.[6]

Especially in the pursuit theme the sexual aspect is emphasised,[7] and moreover no persuasion is in-

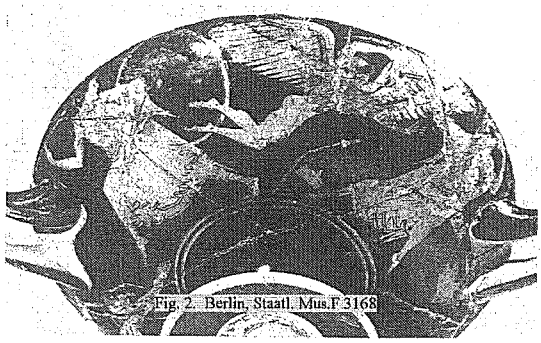

Figure 2. Red-figure cup, Berlin, Staatl. Mus.F 3168, ARV2 428.13. Douris, about 490-480 B.C. Eros pursues a youth threatening him with a knife or a sandal; probably visualises the dynastic passion born in the pursued and how he attempts to flee from it. (Photo reprinted from Olshausen 1979, 18-19, fig. 1).

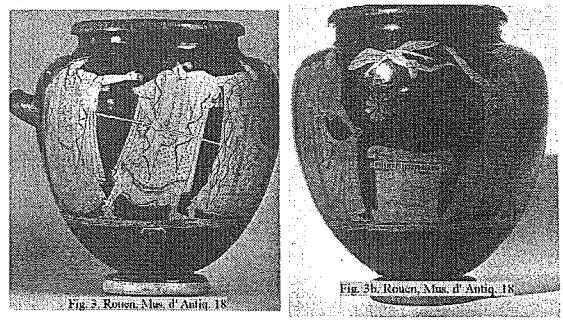

Figure 3. Red-figure stamnos, Rouen, Mus. d' Antiq. 18, ARV2 259.2. Copenhagen P., about 480-470 B.C. Zeus in pursuit of a woman; an Eros flies towards the pursued with a wreath, highlighting her beauty and underlining the cause of Zeus' passion. (Photo reprinted from Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, pl. 13.2-3).

volved as the other part is taken against her/his will and often with resistance.[8] In a sense, however, her influence is implied, because it is the power of a woman to inspire passion in the broader sense (in a both sexual and in a romantic sense) which affects the pursuer and initialises the erotic pursuit.

From the beginning of the 5th century we get scenes of Erotes pursuing men (and once Atalanta) with wild intentions, wielding knives, whips or goads (figure 2).[9] Not only vulnerable youths but also the most powerful of all men and gods, Zeus: Eros stabs him with a goad right in the back while in pursuit of Ganymede.[10] By putting the pursuer in the place of one pursued by Eros himself, these scenes visualise how wild, how compulsive the love or erotic passion which overtakes the pursuing man can be.

Occasionally, however, in scenes of divine pursuit the pursuer's persuasion may be milder. In one scene of Zeus in pursuit of Ganymede[11] of about 450-440, Eros features behind the god with phiale and oenochoe. The meaning is that Eros has spilt a magic potion on Zeus,[12] a pictorial way of presenting his falling in love. In two earlier examples of Zeus' amorous pursuit, once after Ganymede again,[13] and once after a woman (figure 3),[14] an Eros flies towards the pursued with a wreath, highlighting their beauty and indicating the cause of Zeus' passion. Aphrodite and Eros also appear in two scenes of Poseidon in pursuit of Amymone, either both as mere onlookers,[15] or a small Eros assuming again a more active role, hovering towards Poseidon hands outstretched.[16] Such is the attitude of an ephebe Eros following Dionysos in his own pursuit of Ariadne,[17] in front of whom Aphrodite stands, also holding a wreath.[18] In another example[19] both Aphrodite and Eros receive the pursued Ariadne holding fillets. In all these cases the inclusion of Aphrodite and her son again makes it clear that the motivation for the pursuit is their own doing. These are, however, a variation with romantic overtones on the theme of sexual pursuit, dating in most cases from around the mid-fifth century, therefore from the end of popularity of divine pursuits.

I have not come across any examples of Aphrodite and Eros included in scenes of heroic/ephebic erotic pursuits. The only exception is the related theme of Peleus' struggle with Thetis, where the goddess and her son make a rare appearance. In a fragmentary scene of about 410 B.C.[20] Eros descends upon Thetis' head, as if to crown her, while in another, from the end of the 5th century or later,[21] Aphrodite, seated, watches the struggle, flanked by Peitho, behind her, who looks away from, and Eros, before her, who turns towards the main action. At the same time he seems to be holding out an apple which he has apparently just received from Aphrodite.[22]

The case of Helen's recovery by Menelaos

Aphrodite plays a crucial role in the resolution of Helen's Recovery by Menelaos after the Fall of Troy. It should be noted that the element of sexual seduction, intended on the part of Helen, does not demonstrably come into the iconography of the episode before the 4th century and again not in Athens. Aphrodite and Eros (and occasionally Peitho) intervene to awaken Menelaos' love for Helen and mana to change the fierce attack to an amorous pursuit: Menelaos, still in pursuit of Helen, is depicted at the very moment of reversal of his decision to kill her, pictorialised by the motif of the sword that he lets drop. Helen does not even need to make an effort to underscore her appeal. This is the form in which the episode is par excellence narrated in the Classical period, attesting to the new importance attached to the power of the goddess of love and seduction. Although Aphrodite and Eros appear mediating to the attacking Menelaos from as early as the beginning of the 5th century, they assume a more active and emphatic role, overshadowing that of other intervening deities, in scenes which illustrate Menelaos' change of heart, the success of their enterprise. And these date again mainly from the decades before and after the middle of the 5th century.

Aphrodite is shown holding out a phiale towards Menelaos as if spilling its magic content on Menelaos' eyes, pictorializing the charm that Helen has cast upon Menelaos, through Aphrodite. Eros, figures, along with Aphrodite, flying out of Aphrodite's hand or off her shoulder, or hovering, sometimes standing in for Aphrodite completely, always aiming at Menelaos, with the phiale, a garland, or outstretched hands (as if to stop him perhaps). Peitho, the personification of persuasion and another companion of Aphrodite's, symbolising like Eros Aphrodite's might and assisting her in her seductive interventions, appears no more than once with certainty, turning away from the scene, an attitude denoting the completion of her task (Dipla 1997, 119-130, especially 123-124). In conclusion, the Classical Period stresses dramatically how Helen manages to "persuade" Menelaos and reverse the situation by inspiring eros in him.

Mythical courting scenes: Helen and the brides

Starting from these years, around the middle of 5th century, and culminating towards the end of the century, Aphrodite assumes a prominent role as a mediator in courting scenes, mythical as well as generic.

The best example is Helen's elopement with Paris, which followed Helen's and sometimes Paris' persuasion by Aphrodite and/or her son, and, once, by Peitho.[23]

The reaction of Paris and Helen to their first sight of each other is variously portrayed. In the few persuasion scenes Helen is very pensive or sad about what is going to happen. The presence of Aphrodite and/or Eros who persuade her to proceed is almost compulsive and has a different character to that in the introduction scenes in which Eros (and Aphrodite, at the side, who directs her son) mediates to Helen and/or Paris, who listen to them carefully, but not in distress, or are infused by the power of Eros' gaze. Eros' role is then rather to personify, to visualise the feelings born in one or both of the protagonists. Helen dares face Paris straight in the eye and is directly responsive.

Aphrodite is the main agent of Helen's persuasion, while Eros assumes only a subordinate role. This accords with the general choice of vase-painters for Aphrodite of the second half of the 5th century, in which persuasion scenes appear; only towards the end of the 5th and mainly in the 4th century, in which the bulk of introduction scenes belong, the role of Eros as mediator is accentuated and surpasses that of his mother (Metzger 1951, 41-42).

In the introduction scenes mediation/persuasion by Eros may take several forms. He may adorn Helen, as we have seen, and thus enhance the effect of her beauty and her seductive power.[24] Conversely Paris' beauty may be implied to have an effect on Helen, for he is also often adorned by Eros.[25] Sometimes it takes persuasive speech, as Eros(tes) leans against or approaches Paris[26] or Helen[27] and seems to address them in words, as suggested by his gestures,[28] and/or even with powerful, mesmerising glances.[29] The mutuality of seduction may also be suggested when Eros stands on Helen's lap pointing at Paris: this "aphrodisian" motif may either indicate that Helen is over-

Figure 4. Red-figure pelike, Paris, Louvre CA 2261. Beginning of 4th c. Helen's introduction to Paris; Eros' attitude, standing on Helen's lap and "walking" towards Paris, may indicate mutual seduction. (Photo reprinted from Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 21).

Figure 5. Red-figure amphoriskos, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. inv. 30036, ARV2 11731. Heimarmene P., about 430-420 B.C. Helen sits on Aphrodite's lap, Himeros drags Paris towards Helen; personifications, including Peitho, comment on the double persuasion in process. (Photo reprinted from Kahil, Enlèv. pl. 8. 2-3).

come by love, and/or the power of the feeling which emanates from her and affects Paris.[30] Or when Eros stands on Helen's lap and "walks" towards Paris, whose head he grasps with one hand; this could be read as either that the feeling which Helen inspires in Paris completely overpowers him, or he may also be showing Paris to Helen, in which case the seduction would again be mutual (figure 4).[31] Or when an Eros coming from Paris approaches Helen to talk her into an affair with the hero, while another Eros behind Helen prepares to crown her, suggesting Paris' simultaneous seduction.[32] Mutual seduction may also be denoted more directly, when the gaze of the two meets, as if openly courting each other.[33] For the Greeks love and desire first enters one's existence through the eyes, therefore catching one's eye is the first step in seduction while maintaining one's gaze is a safe sign of reciprocity(Frontisi-Ducroux, 1996, 81-84). Sometimes Paris approaches Helen from behind and touches or embraces her, to which Helen reacts with an intense look and/or a touch in return;[34] in one of these cases the invasion of Aphrodite on her chariot drawn by Erotes into the indoor setting where the embrace takes place, much to the surprise of one servant/bystander, visualises perhaps the sudden and "violent" domination of both protagonists by love.[35] The birth of this feeling in them may also be visualised by an Eros hovering between Helen and Paris, absorbed in each other's presence.[36]

The persuasion scenes are distinguished from the rest of introduction scenes mainly by Helen's attitude who resists. In the most celebrated persuasion scene, by the Heimarmene Painter (figure 5)[37], Helen sits on Aphrodite's lap, who puts her arm around her shoulder, as if advising her. Meanwhile, Eros' brother Himeros, the personification of erotic passion and desire (LIMC V, s.v. "Himeros", 425; Shapiro 1993, 115-117), is busy dragging Paris, figuratively and literally, towards Helen. These two central groups are surrounded by personifications that comment on the double persuasion in process: Nemesis, Tyche, Heimarmene, Peitho. Behind Aphrodite-Helen stands Peitho, in the guise of a servant who holds a jewellery box. She assists Aphrodite in her task and at the same time visualises Helen's (and possibly also Paris' on the other side) persuasion, falling in love. Peitho personifies persuasion in any possible form, especially persuasive speech.[38] As Aphrodite's closeness and embrace suggest, the appeal is primarily erotic, one of the oldest and consistent associations of Peitho, and closely related to adornment, and its allure. It could also be verbal,[39] but the painter has not indicated it with a gesture, as we have sometimes seen happen with the mediating Eros, for example.[40]

Much later and different is the scene by the Meidias Painter,[41] a typical all-women gynaikeion scene, situated in the women's quarters of a house; had there

not been any inscriptions, it would have been impossible to identify the figures and recognise its narrative context, Helen's persuasion. Helen sits among her sisters, sisters-in-law and her daughter, engaged in their toilette and/or conversation between them. Eros, in place of Aphrodite embraces Helen, and, being smaller in size, is the one sitting on her lap. His gesture, arm outstretched, could either be inviting Paris towards Helen, or pointing Paris out to Helen; both these attitudes can be paralleled in contemporary and later scenes of the introduction,[42] as well as earlier scenes of persuasion. In the earliest example, a very fragmentary krater by the Methyse Painter,[43] Helen and Aphrodite were probably seated facing each other; the goddess would thus be meant to address Helen, letting at the same time Eros slip out of her hand. Eros in this sense symbolises Aphrodite's power.[44] Aphrodite's other arm was probably held out towards Paris behind her (only part of his chlamys survives) and could be pointing out Paris to Helen.[45]

In conclusion, Helen's elopement with Paris takes in the earlier years the form of an abduction or needs preparation by Aphrodite and Eros. Helen not only does not put any effort into promoting attraction but invariably resists: a notion of seductive power devastating, even though unintentional. The end of the fifth century favours the episode of Paris' introduction to Helen and the initiation of their erotic adventure, within the general trend towards romantic themes, as a result of the prominent spirit of escapism from the strains of the ongoing war (Simon 1976, 148) as well as of social instability (Burn 1987, 95-96). Helen for the first time responds to Paris' advances or even takes the initiative. Only now does Helen appear in control or even manipulating her power of seduction, which one or more Erotes, on her lap or around her, impersonate. The last traces of resistance can be viewed in the persuasion scenes. Although the theme of Helen's power of seduction is not subdued, another dimension is created next to it, that of the woman who has her own will.

This change may be linked with the various social transformations that the Peloponnesian war brought about causing the rigid rules of restriction and social control that had been the norm throughout the 5th century, to relax (Reeder 1995, 30; Blundell, 1995, 135-138, 223-225; Cantarella 1998, 89-90). This relaxed attitude and the consequent more dynamic (and obvious) presence of women in the city may underlie these images of a courted/courting Helen, along with a possible rediscovery of women as the recipient of courtship, as a result of the rise in financial power of lesser families who did not favour homosexual practices.[46]

Figure 6. Red-figure krater frag., Tübingen, Univ. 5439, ARV2 1057.97. The Group of Polygnotos, about 440-430 B.C. Ariadne's encounter with Dionysos. Eros spills a potion over Ariadne's head, suggesting her seduction by Dionysos. (Photo reprinted from Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 311, pl. 23).

Similarly, Poseidon's or Dionysos' love adventure, with Amymone and Ariadne respectively, evolves from the form of pursuit to that of courting in the first encounter.[47] Eros may adorn Amymone, pointing out her beauty to Poseidon while Aphrodite assumes an encouraging gesture.[48] An Eros may adorn Ariadne[49] while Aphrodite and Dionysos watch or conversely he may spill a potion over Ariadne's head, suggesting the heroine's own persuasion and falling in love (figure 6).[50] Aphrodite with an Eros leaning against her lap addresses Ariadne and a drunken Dionysos in tender embrace admiring the accomplishment of their union, as a couple now.[51]

Atalanta pursued at the footrace is another example of how Aphrodite features in scenes of mild pursuit (so also Trumpf 1960, 20; Faraone 1960, 232-233.). In the sole scene of the episode by the Dinos Painter (figure 7),[52] Atalanta is only preparing for the race but her inevitable response to Hippomenes' erotic call is visualised through the apples, which

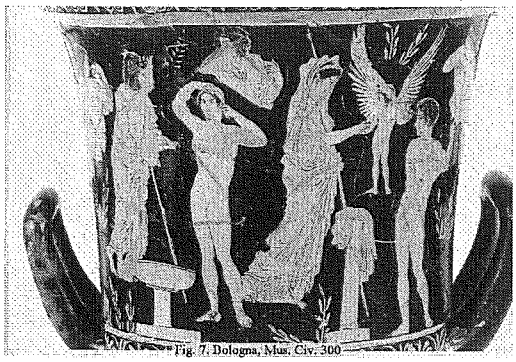

Figure 7. Red-figure calyx-krater, Bologna, Mus. Civ. 300, ARV2 1152.17. Dinos P., about 420 B.C. Atalanta's preparation for the footrace. Aphrodite gives Eros the apples to hand over to Hippomenes, thus visualising Atalanta's final yielding to Hippomenes' erotic call (Photo reprinted from Reeder 1995, 366 fig. [no. 117]).

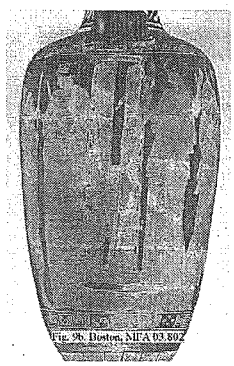

Figure 9. Red-figure loutrophoros, Boston, MFA 03.802. About 425 B.C. The bridegroom leads his bride, adorned by Erotes, to the bridal chamber; out of the open door an Eros slides down the bed, urging the couple forward; beauty and seduction at the service of marriage and childbirth (Photo reprinted from Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 106-107).

Aphrodite herself hands to Eros to give to Hippomenes. It has already been mentioned, however, that the heroine in the guise of a bride, is shown pursued by scary Erotes at the beginning of the century.[53]

Aphrodite's effect on brides is demonstrable from the second half of the 5th century. She or Eros appear persuading the bride[54] or participating in the bridal preparation (figure 8),[55] suggesting the strong appeal of female adornment (Oakley and Sinos 1993, 17-20). This is also underlined by the prominent presence

Figure 8. Red-figure pyxis, New York, MMA 1972.118.48. About 420 B.C. A series of vignettes from the wedding preparations in continuous narration; a naked bride at her ritual bath (cf. Helen in figure 1) and tying her belt waited by an Eros; the bride ties her headband; the bride persuaded by an Eros who sits on her lap, watched by Aphrodite and Peitho (?). The bride's beauty is acknowledged inasmuch as it can be manipulated to inspire passion in the groom and ensure childbirth (Photo reprinted from Sabetai 1997, 319 fig. 1).

of Erotes in gynaikeion scenes, of adornment or housework.[56]

The effect of feminine beauty is acknowledged as powerful but also potentially dangerous, as in the case of Helen who wields it on Paris and leads him, along with all Greeks and Trojans, to a multiple adventure. Yet there is another good side to the persuasion that a woman can wield on a man. The bride's beauty can be manipulated to inspire passion in the groom and ensure childbirth. This notion is best illustrated by the juxtaposition of betrothal and procession to the bridal chamber on the two sides of a loutrophoros.[57] On the obverse the bridegroom leads his bride (adorned by Erotes) to the bridal chamber: interestingly an Eros is shown out of the open door sliding down the bed, with a gesture as if urging the couple forward (figure 9). On the reserve the bride's father and the groom seal the engye by a handshake. It is thus implied that the ultimate purpose of the marriage, which begins with the engye, is the bearing of (male) offspring,[58] through the couple's union inspired by the woman's eros.

Even as such though feminine appeal is feared and in some cases contemporary literature teaches how virtue should be of greater importance or even should alone suffice. Self-obsession can be disastrous and contrived beauty is promoted as becoming disreputable women (Hawley 1998, 42-43; 47-48.). That brides also need persuasion themselves, by Eros or Aphrodite, suggests moreover that they are themselves susceptible to their divine power.

Generic courting scenes: Homosexual and Heterosexual

Eros, in some cases joined by Aphrodite, is moreover the agent of persuasion in generic scenes of courtship either homosexual, of youths, or heterosexual, of hetairai.

Homosexual (pederastic) courting scenes comprise three basic schemata, the giving of gifts, the bolder fondling of the *eromenos*' chin and genitals, and the culmination of his accosting with a kiss, or even intercrural sexual act (Beazley 1948, 6-31; Schauenburg 1965, 850-867; Shapiro 1981, 133-134). They appear as early as 560 B.C., know a period of popularity in the third and last quarters of the 6th century, then rapidly decline after 500, not to be found after about 475 (Shapiro 1981, 134; Koch-Harnack 1983, 244-245.). Some homosexual scenes, however, occur thereafter, which, along with various 5th-century literary references to homosexuality, attest to the survival of the institution into the Classical period (Percy 1996, 185-188; Shapiro 1981, 143). It was still flourishing in aristocratic circles but popular feeling, renewed in the context of the recently established Democracy, especially after the grand adventure of the Persian invasion, seems to have shifted its interest away from homosexual and onto the heterosexual dealings, as the evidence from vases suggests.

The abandonment of homosexual courting scenes in the Classical period has been variously explained on political grounds. It may have happened as a reaction to the mores of the old aristocracy which had supported the Peisistratids (Shapiro 1981, 133-143.) or because in democratic Athens education moved towards a more collective form and away from the personal relation between the erastes-eromenos (Marrou 1981, 31-32, 39-40; Koch-Harnack 1983, 245); or even because the issue of education ceased to be so fundamental after the consolidation of the place of Athens following the Persian Wars (Koch-Harnack 1983, 245).

Without excluding the possibility that these factors may have also played their role, I think that the decline of homosexual courtship scenes should be considered with close regard to the converse rise of interest in heterosexual interaction dating from exactly the same period. Scenes of copulation between men and women date, as the homosexual ones, as early as the second quarter of the 6th century. In the Late Archaic period, the period of early Democracy and the Persian adventure, their popularity rises and they are characterised by a marked trend towards the objectification and abuse of the women (*hetairai*). Thereafter they are abandoned with few exceptions (Sutton 1992, 7-12; Shapiro 1981, 136, 142 n. 64, 143). In general, as we move from the Archaic down to the Classical period tastes change: heterosexual courting takes over from homosexual courting, copulation in couples from sex in groups, interest in women's persuasion from wild sex (Stewart 1997, 156-165).

In the sixth century there are occasional scenes of male/female encounter, but heterosexual courting scenes proper appear in the early fifth century, with a period of marked popularity in the second quarter of the 5th century (Webster 1972, 216-225; Sutton 1992, 14; Shapiro 1981, 136), therefore as homosexual courting and explicit erotic scenes are abandoned. Heterosexual courting scenes are therefore understandably coined on their homosexual analogues (Sutton 1992, 14; Killet 1993, 170-171; LIMC III, s.v. "Eros" 935). In any case, there appears to be some degree of comparability in the relationship of a man to an eromenos (his pre-citizen protégé) and women (respectable or not, with some or no citizen status). The eromenos may also have been in a weaker position, as he did not have yet the social prestige of the erastes and he may have assumed a female role, as he was expected to be dominated in their interaction and display female-like behaviour and a certain degree of timidity.[59] Kilmer (1993, 14-15) may be right in supposing that the idea underlying the occasional juxtaposition of homosexual and heterosexual courting scenes on the same vase may be that of "techniques" learnt in adolescence as eromenoi accosted and persuaded by the erastai and subsequently applied in adulthood in their dealings with hetairai (figure 10).[60]

Heterosexual courtship involves the accosting of a woman with gifts in a domestic setting but any sexual intercourse is dispensed with (Sutton 1992, 14-18; Killet 1993, 157-166). There are also occasional scenes

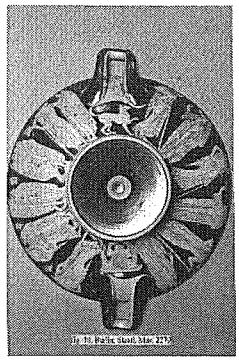

Figure 10. Red-figure cup, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 2279, ARV2 115.2. Peithinos, late 6th century. Heterosexual / homosexual courting combined on the same vase; their juxtaposition may imply that men apply "techniques" learnt in adolescence as accosted by erastai in their dealings with hetairai as adults. (Boardman and La Rocca 1978, fig. 92).

Figure 11. Red-figure hydria, London BM E 217. About 440-430 B.C. Eros after a woman; probably alludes to women's susceptibility to seduction; cf. figure 2 and figure 6 (Photo reprinted from CVA London BM 6, pl. 89.9).

of couples exchanging tender gestures or embracing.[61] *Hetairai* are now portrayed approached in the same "romantic" context as the eromenoi earlier, and exercise an even greater freedom than they in choosing to reject the customer/partner or even taking the initiative and making advances themselves with gifts (Webster 1972, 221; Sutton 1992, 17; Davidson 1997, 125-126; cf. Killet 1993, 165). The focus therefore shifts to women and their persuasion.

This new interest which borrows its iconographic formulae from the stock of pederastic scenes is moreover attested in the case of Eros in pursuit of a youth which appears transcribed in heterosexual context as Eros in pursuit of a woman (figure 11;[62] cf. figure. 2). Scenes of Eros after a woman date, with the exception of the aforementioned mythical case of Atalanta pursued by Erotes, from the second half of the 5th and from the 4th century.[63] Eros after a youth can be found throughout the 5th century, rarely thereafter, with a period of greatest popularity in the second quarter of the fifth century.

The symbolism of Eros' pursuit of either men or, later, women is not so clear. Do they stand for the pursuer (Boardman 1958-59, 171; 1956, 11; *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", 935), or do they visualise the dynastic passion born in the pursued, which they try to avoid (Schefold and Jung 1981, 191-195)? One could claim the latter for the scenes of Eros with the whip[64] but the answer in not so straightforward. There is evidence within this series, or more generally in the iconography of Eros, to suggest that both may have been implied. On the one hand, it is unquestionable that when Eros pursues and stabs with a goad Zeus (himself in pursuit) he visualises the god being overcome with passion. So when it comes to Eros' pursuit of a youth/woman (Atalanta) with a whip the same notion is implied, only it now applies to the pursued.[65] After all Eros does figure as an archer, even if rarely.[66] On the other hand, Eros may be shown flying after youths holding out presents, and so he does also in some scenes of courtship. There may also be excerpts of Erotes flying carrying pets or other presents. These Erotes seem indeed to act on behalf of the wooer/pursuer.[69] This mediating role can in fact be made more obvious, as in the case of a scene where Eros hands over a piece of meat from the *erastes* to the *eromenos*.[70] It seems therefore that in the scenes of true pursuit Eros suggests the element of persuasion. This can apply either to the pursuer or to the pursued, or to both at the same time. The same notion underlies the appearance of Eros in courtship scenes.

What is the status of the women pursued? They could be the hetairai approached by lovers/customers or the unmarried parthenoi from the numerous ephebe or other pursuits.[71] Their identity is vague, in line with the trend in the second half of the fifth century to mix the iconographies of the respectable (brides) with the disreputable (*hetairai*) and the unfaithful of myth (Helen).[72] Whoever they are the message seems to be that

Figure 12. Red-figure alabastron, Paris, Cab. Méd. 508, ARV2 1610. About 465 B.C. Gift exchange between bridegroom and bride (inscribed nymphe kale); it follows the iconography of visit to a hetaira. (Photo reprinted from Sutton 1992, 20).

they are not immune to persuasion, insofar as they possess the power to exert it on men.

But even the identity of the women in the scenes of courtship in the original sense, involving gift-offering on the part of a man, can be bewildering. These are normally read as scenes of visit to and of dealing with a hetaira, set in her house or in a brothel. This assumption is based partly on internal, iconographic evidence (depictions of several couples in groups, offer of monetary gifts) and partly on external evidence about the presumed restriction of both married and unmarried Athenian (respectable) women, so as to make such encounters unthinkable (Sutton 1992, 18-19). The picture is not, however, consistent. Thus in a scene of gift exchange on an alabastron in Paris an inscription identifies the woman as "νύμφη καλή" (figure 12).[73]

It has also been proposed that the "courted" women may have had no specific status and that these scenes rather expressed, in an abstract manner, the admiration of men for female beauty and/or industriousness (Killet 1993, 164-166, 70-171). We have seen how an appreciation of female appeal enters the iconography of the bride or of the housewife, made more explicit through the intrusion of multiple figures of Eros in these scenes. Eros, however, is not a common feature in courtship scenes,[74] even though there may be some romantic tone. Only later on, from the end of the century, and particularly on South Italian vases, does Eros overtly assume the role of the mediator between "lovers', addressing a woman or handing over gifts and love tokens to her in the presence and on behalf of her wooer (Metzger 1951, 47-50). These could have been idealised images, in line with the taste and the mood of the time. Such are the Meidian idyllic paradisiac scenes of Aphrodite in static "snapshots" with her son, her retinue and sometimes a lover, which open a window into a world of fantasy and away from the strains of contemporary life.[75]

However, as in the case of the transformation of Helen's elopement with Paris from abduction to a courting scene, these generic courting scenes may also reflect a greater amount of freedom for Athenian women, occasioned by war conditions. Or they may even refer to those women of lower social strata who always enjoyed greater freedom and have by now come to the foreground (Cohen 1991, 150-151, 165-166). Of course these changes in the iconography of persuasion, mythical or generic, may not necessarily reflect changes in women's behaviour rather than only in attitude towards women, and this may even apply just to artists.

Conclusion

We can trace the notion of female (power of / susceptibility to) seduction throughout the 5th century, especially in its second half; which necessarily goes hand in hand with the prescription for its manipulation so as to harvest the works of the Good Eros.

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(All abbreviations are standardised following Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC), from 1981)

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Endnotes

1. Menelaos holds the bride Helen by the wrist and leads her away at the wedding procession; see for example: Berlin, Staatl Mus. F2205, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 62, *ARV*^{2} 383.202, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 85.2; inscr. ΜΕΝΕΛΕΟΣ.
2. A unique fragmentary scene by the Talos Painter: Serra di Vaglio, inv. 51532, 54622-23, *LIMC* VI, s.v. "Leda", no. 34, Greco 1985-1986, figs. 1-12, pl. 1: Theseus performs the *proteleia* sacrifice, in the presence of Helen, adorned as a bride, and her family; inscr. ΠΕΡΙΘΟΥ(Σ), (ΘΕΣ)ΕΥΣ, (ΛΗ)ΔΑ, ΕΛΕ(ΝΑ), ΕΡΩΣ;.
3. See for example Makron's skyphos, Boston, MFA 13.186, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 243, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 48. Side A: Abduction of Helen by Paris. Inscr. ΑΙΝΕΑ(Σ), ΑΛΕΧΣΑΝΔΡΟ(Σ), ΗΕΛΕΝΕ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ, ΠΕΙΘΟ; it follows almost on the whole the nuptial imagery. Aineias, in the role of the proegetes. Helen, as a hesitant bride, her head downcast. Aphrodite, assisted by Eros, sees Helen off, as if in a wedding procession, adjusting her veil, in the role of a nympheutria (also assumed by the bride's mother); the little boy behind Peitho in the role perhaps of the *paides propempontes*. Side B: Recovery of Helen by Menelaos; inscr. ΜΕΝΕΛΕΟΣ, ΗΕΛΕΝΕ. ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ e.t.c.; the same compositional design, Aphrodite with an identical gesture above Helen's head.

4. Lausanne, Embirikos Coll., *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 77, ARV2 1660.66ter, Lezzi-Hafter 1976, pl. 140a-c: Helen at the prenuptial bath waited by Eros and Himeros at Aphrodite's order; inscr. ΕΡ(ΟΣ), (Π)ΟΘΟΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤ(Ε), ΕΛΕΝΕ e.t.c.; see also London, BM E 226, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 78, *ARV*^{2} 1318.3, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 28.3: Helen in the gynaikeion among attendants/*nymphokomoi*; a small Pothos ties Helen's headband, a common motif of bridal adornment; inscr. ΕΛΕΝΗ, ΠΟΘΟΣ, e.t.c.
5. All three are concerned with their toilette, waited by women or Erotes. Brides at their toilette prior to the wedding constitute the commonest nuptial scene in the Classical period. Helen with a mirror: Münchenstein, Private Coll., *LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no. 1192, pl. 120; London, BM E 791, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 198, *ARV*^{2} 1550.3, *CVA* London BM 4, pls.37.6a-b, 38.4: Berlin, Staatl. Mus. inv. V.I. 3768, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 86, ARV2 1516.81, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 15.3-4. for scenes of Aphrodite with mirror cf. *LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite" nos., 1214, 1346, 1377, 1439, 1492, 1493; for brides with mirror see Reilly 1989, 434-435 (no. 27), 436 (no.43); binding their hair: Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 20-21, 23-24; tying their belt: Sabetai 1997, figs. 1, 3-11; on Erotes adorning / assisting brides see below, n. 55. Helen and brides also share occasionally with Aphrodite the feature of nudity; see for example St. Petersburg, Herm. St. 1929, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 172 (=*LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite no. 384/1455), Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 6.1, where Helen's statuesque nudity and adornment appears so similar to the goddess's own; on the unique case of a bride depicted naked at her ritual bath see below, n. 55, here figure 7; cf. Helen who is also depicted naked in the aforementioned scene of her bridal bath, above n. 4, here figure. 1.
6. The abduction theme is common in various periods and contexts but it appears with emphatic frequency in the vase-painting of Classical Athens, in the form of gods or heroes pursuing both named and anonymous women; divine pursuits start as early as the beginning of the 5th century and are a feature of its first half; scenes of divine rape are by far outnumbered by representations of Theseus or mere ephebes in pursuit of a woman; these first appear in the Late Archaic period and soon become very popular with Early Classical and High Classical vase-painters, when we do not find as many divine pursuits, but seem to be abandoned in the Late Classical period; in their majority they appear to be generic but following a model in myth; on the subject see Dipla 2004.
7. In their visual representations of rape the Greeks, as a matter of fact, persistently avoided the sexual part and opted for the moment prior to it, the pursuit or the abduction of the victim; the impression that we get is that the focus is on the manifestation of power; iconography, ritual and myth bear good evidence that abduction was considered as a form of wild marriage; it represented a gamos in its basic form, sexual union.
8. This is particularly excessive in the peculiar, and very popular, case of the youths whom Eos pursues; *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eos", 758-779.
9. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F3168, *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", no. 600, Olshausen 1979, 18-19, figs. 1-4: Eros pursues a youth threatening him with an object which might be a knife (Olhausen 1979, 17-24) or a sandal (Greifenhagen 1957, 57; J. Boardman 1976, 287); in Athens, NM 15375, *LIMC ibid.* no. 365a, *ARV*^{2} 447.274, Greifenhagen 1957, 59, figs. 43-45, Eros pursues a youth threatening him with a whip; so also in London, BM E 297, LIMC *ibid.* no. 365b, *ARV*^{2} 647.13, Greifenhagen 1957, 60, fig. 46; in Rome, Villa Giulia 47214, *LIMC ibid.* no 363. *ARV*^{2} 280.13, Monumenti antichi dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 42 (1955), 671, fig. 152A, Eros pursues a youth threatening him with a goad (? it looks like a stick, I cannot discern the leather part of a whip, yet it is perhaps too short for a goad); in Cleveland, Mus. of Art 66.114, *LIMC* II, s.v. Atalante" no. 90, Para 376.266bis, CVA Cleveland 1, pls. 32-35 Erotes pursue Atalanta, one originally holding a whip in his right hand, falsely restored as a sprig; inscr. ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΕ, ΕΡΟΣ, ΕΡΟΣ, ΕΡΟΣ.
10. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2032, *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", no. 362, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 7, fig. 1.
11. Paris, Cab. Méd. 416, *ARV*^{2} 1101.8, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 38, pl. 4.
12. For a different view see. Arafat, 1990, 74: jug and

phiale are meant for a libation, by which Eros is presumably already celebrating the successful outcome of Zeus' enterprise; cf. also Himmelmann-Wildschütz,. 28-29: Aphrodite's own phiale in the scenes of Helen's Recovery by Menelaos is to be seen as an attribute of Aphrodite, with no narrative meaning.

13. Gela, Mus. Civ, 26, *ARV*^{2} 497.12, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 20, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 10 (1956), 332-333 figs; a large part of both Zeus and Ganymede is missing but we can still make out a small Eros descending towards the head of the boy, in all probability to crown him.
14. Rouen, Mus. d' Antiq. 18, *ARV*^{2} 259.2, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 212, pl. 13; for a further possible example from the end of the 5th/beginning of 4th century, featuring an Eros hovering between Zeus(?) or Dionysos(?) in pursuit(?) of a woman, see the fragments of a bell-krater in Nicosia, Karageorghis et al. 1981, 55, pl. 36a, b(?).
15. Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 1026, *ARV*^{2} 1087.2, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 291, pl. 18.; from the photographs available it is not clear whether he holds anything.
16. Rome,Villa Giulia Mus. Naz. 20846; *ARV*^{2} 494.2, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 281, pl. 18.
17. Paris, Cab. Méd. 460, *ARV*^{2} 606.83, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 308, pl. 22.
18. London, BM E 184, *ARV*^{2} 1113.4, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 309, pl. 23.
19. London, BM E 184, *ARV*^{2} 1113.4, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 309, pl. 23.
20. St. Petersburg, Herm. P 1867/68.962, *LIMC* VII, s.v. "Peleus" no. 190, p. 264 fig.
21. *LIMC* VII, s.v. "Peleus" no. 179 (=*LIMC* I, s.v. "Aphrodite", no. 1279/1498), Overbeck 1857, pl. 8.1.
22. There is an unmistakable similarity here to Aphrodite's intervention in the myth of Atalanta, so as to help Hippomenes in taming another unwilling parthenos with the lure of apples; see below, n. 52.
23. Cincinnati, Art Mus. 1962.386-388, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 139, ARV2634.5, pl. 10.1-2; inscr. ΗΕΛΕΝ(Ε), ΑΦΡ(ΟΔΙΤΕ), ΕΡΟ(Σ); Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 2536, *LIMC ibid.* no. 85 (=*LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no 1428/1448), *ARV*^{2} 1287.1, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 9. 1-2; Athens, NM 14792, *LIMC ibid.* no. 141 (=*LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no.1451), *ARV*^{2} 1133.197, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 15.1.
24. Above n. 4; from the end of the 5th and in the 4th century the sexual aspect of this power may be emphasised by Helen's semi-nakedness: she may either wear a transparent chiton (see for example Bologna, Mus. Civ. 305, LIMC IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 94, *ARV*^{2} 1416.1, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 19.1) or have her torso completely naked (see for example Paris, Louvre CA 2261, *LIMC ibid.* no. 95, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 21); this choice coincides with the taste of the time and may be seen as another link with Aphrodite who also appears naked in the 4th century; Carpenter 1991, 42; see also above, n. 5.
25. E.g. Cambridge (Mass.) A.M. Sackler Mus. 1925.30.46, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 119, *ARV*^{2} 1341.1, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 25.
26. E.g. Paris, Louvre CA 2261, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 95, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 21, here figure 4.
27. E.g. Athens, NM 1284, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 91, Ghali-Kahil 1955,. pl. 14.
28. Of speech and/or encouragement, McNiven 1982, 123-127 (R31B4 and R31B9); see for example St. Petersburg, Herm. 0.26 (KAB 36A, JO 26, St. 1924), *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 98, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 23.1; Athens, NM 1263, *LIMC ibid.* no. 92, *ARV*^{2} 1324.38, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 12.4.
29. E.g. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. inv. V.I. 4906, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 88, *ARV*^{2} 1336.4, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 12.1-3.
30. St. Petersburg, Herm. KAB 104b, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 96, pl. 309; so also Sutton (1992, 27) for the Erotes associated with brides.
31. Paris, Louvre CA 2261, above, n. 26.
32. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. inv. V.I. 4906, above, n. 29.
33. E.g. Boston, MFA 95.1403, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 131, Hermann 1984, 29 figs; Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 155, *LIMC ibid.* no. 110, *ARV*^{2} 1522.1, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 16.4.
34. E.g. St. Petersburg, Herm. 0.26 (KAB 36A, JO 26, St. 1924), above, n. 28.
35. Münchenstein, Private Coll., above, n. 5.
36. Munich, Antikenslg. 2388, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no.

99 (=*LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no 830), Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 22: Eros holds a lyre, as he does sometimes on wedding scenes; very comparable is for example his role in a procession scene, as he hovers playing the aulos between bride and groom who also exchange intense glances; Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 85; on Eros as musician, on his variously manifested cosmic power, and on his comparability with the Sirens in captivating hearts through music see Greifenhagen 1957, 15-33, esp. 27.

37. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. inv. 30036, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 140 (=*LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no. 1260/1449), *ARV*^{2} 11731, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 8. 2-3; inscr. ΝΕΜΕΣΙΣ, (Τ)ΥΧ(Ε)?, ΠΕ(Ι)Θ(Ο), ΑΦΡΟΔ(ΙΤΕ), ΙΜΕ(ΡΟΣ), ΕΙΜΑΡ(ΜΕΝΕ).
38. *LIMC* VII, s.v. "Peitho", 248-250; her identification on visual arts is however uncertain, when not identified by inscriptions, because she does not usually display any particular iconographic features; cf. *LIMC ibid.* 245, 249.
39. Simon believes this to be the main function of Peitho (1964, 94); Shapiro dismisses any verbal connotation (1986, 11); in his later consideration, however, he does suggest this possibility (1993, 194); cf. also Winnington-Ingram, 1974, 6-7: in the case of Helen's peitho in Aesch. Ag. (and in the light of the use of this personification in other literary sources) any notion of persuasive speech must be excluded.
40. Above, n. 28. If so, in any case, it would accord with the expansion of Peitho's influence in all human activity from the middle-5th century and the celebration of the persuasiveness of speech by sophists in its last quarter; Shapiro 1993, 188-189; 202.
41. Athens,Kerameikos Mus. 2712, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 382, *ARV*^{2} 1313.6, Schöne 1990, 164-170, pls. 26-28; inscr. ΗΛΕΝΕ, ΕΡ(ΟΣ), ΦΥΛΟΝΟΕ, ΗΡΜΙΟΝΕ, ΙΛΑΕ(Ι)ΡΑ, ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΕΣΤΡΑ, ΦΟΙΒΑ, ΟΡΕΣΤ(ΕΣ), (Α)ΡΣ(Ι)Ν(Ο)Α?, Τ(Ι)Μ(ΑΝΔ)Ρ(Α)?
42. Above, nn. 30-31.
43. Cincinnati, Art Mus. 1962.386-388, *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" no. 139, *ARV*^{2} 634.5, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 10.1-2; inscr. ΗΕΛΕΝ(Ε), ΑΦΡ(ΟΔΙΤΕ), ΕΡΟ(Σ).
44. Cf. how he also slips out of Aphrodite's hand to spill a magic potion on Menelaos in the Recovery scenes; Marcopoulo, Mus., Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 63.2 (holding out phiale); Tübingen, Univ. 67, *ARV*^{2} 585.27, CVA Tübingen 4, pls. 15.1-2, 16.1-7, 17.1-2 (holding out phiale? his hands are hidden behind Menealos' shield).
45. In the same way Aphrodite also mediates in much later persuasion scenes on Neo-attic (and other) reliefs: *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Helene" nos. 146-149.
46. So Reeder 1995, 30; cf. Percy 1996, 185-188; on the impoverishment of noble families from the mid-fifth century onwards see Lacey 1968, 154-155.
47. Poseidon-Amymone: Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, nos. 298-300; Dionysos-Ariadne: ibid. nos. 311-312.
48. Syracuse, Mus. Naz. 44291, *ARV*^{2} 1041.9, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 298, pl. 20; Aphrodite's gesture (cf. McNiven 1982, 125-126, R31B9) may be directed to Poseidon or Amymone herself, to whom she is anyway closer (that would make the persuasion mutual) or even to Eros himself, approving of the job which he peforms on her behalf; Kavala, Mus. A. 1890, Kaempf-Dimitriadou ibid. no. 298a; according to Lazaridis' description (1969, 151-152) a second Eros hovers towards Poseidon (to adorn him?) and also both figures turn towards the Erotes flying towards them, which could also be perceived as a sign of mutual seduction.
49. Syracuse, Mus. Naz. 17427, *ARV*^{2} 1184.4, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 312, pl. 23.
50. Tübingen, Univ. 5439, *ARV*^{2} 1057.97, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 311, pl. 23.
51. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Mus. H 4616, *ARV*^{2} 1270.17, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, no. 313, pl. 24; cf. Paris and Helen's similar atttitude and Aphrodite's double inclusion in Münchenstein, Private Coll., above, n. 5.
52. Bologna, Mus. Civ. 300, *LIMC* II, s.v. Atalante", no. 81, *ARV*^{2} 1152.17, Reeder 1995, 366 fig. (no. 117).
53. See above, n. 9.
54. Athens, NM 1454, *ARV*^{2} 1178.1, Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 28-29; London, BM E 229, *LIMC* II, s.v. "Aphrodite" no. 1456), *ARV*^{2} 1481.1, Ghali-Kahil 1955, pl. 18; Sofia, Nat. Mus. 5403, Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale, Supplemento (1970),

65, fig. 67; see also below, n. 55.

55. Red-figure pyxis, New York, *MMA* 1972.118.48, Sabetai 1997, 319 fig. 1: a series of vignettes from the wedding preparations in continuous narration; the bride at her ritual bath, tying her belt and her headband, persuaded by an Eros at Aphrodite's and Peitho's (?) presence ; after 440 B.C. Erotes multiply in these scenes (Suton1981, 187; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45); Erotes appear at the service of the bride as well as of her attendants/friends; see, for example (all figure nos refer to Oakley and Sinos 1993): Eros crowning / adorning the bride/other women: 60, 72-73, 74 (450-425 B.C.), 23, 24-25, 28-29, 105-106 (425-400 B.C.), 115-119, 45 (360-350 B.C.); assisting the bride/other women: 30, 31, 128 (425-400), 116 (360-350 B.C.).
56. On Eros' prominent presence in scenes of gynaikeion, either nuptial or casual (the differentiation between the two often being difficult), see Metzger 1951, 42-45.
57. Boston, MFA 03.802, Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 1, 105-107.
58. This is further attested by literary accounts, such as Menander, Pk. 1012-1013 (the formula of betrothal): "ταύτην γνησίων παίδων επ' αρότω σοι δίδωμι"; compare accounts of a custom of the bride sleeping with a boy before or after the wedding so as to enhance the possibility of bearing sons; Call. Aet. fr. 75.1-5 (Naxos: the ride sleeps her prenuptial sleep with a boy amphithales, whose parents are both alive); Pollux, 3.39-40 (both the groom and the bride sleep with a girl and a boy respectively from each other's family; each of these children has to be amphithales); Oakley and Sinos 1993, 9-10, 20, 37, 40 and n. 39 (chapter 3); compare also scenes on Athenian vases of brides at their adornment (or during the epaulia) holding baby boys in their laps; Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 40; fig. 124 (the bride holds in her lap a baby Eros as if he were a child).
59. Dover 1973, 67; Hoffmann 1977, 4-5; Just 1989, 148; on the inequality between men and youths/women as reflected in the offer of money to both during courtship see Sutton 1992, 16-18; the role of eromenoi and women, however, was not deemed identical by neither physical nor social terms; Blundell 1995, 103-104.
60. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 2279, *ARV*^{2} 115.2, Boardman and La Rocca 1978, 92 fig.; according to Sutton (1992, 14-15) the combination is meant to contrast the two worlds; red-figure puts an end to this mixing of heterosexual and homosexual couples (Killet 1993, 159).
61. Killet 1993, 166-170; these are also coined on a homosexual model and interestingly date from the very period of popularity of sadistic copulation scenes.
62. London BM E 217, *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", no. 615, CVA London BM 6, pl. 89.9; cf. London, BM E397, LIMC ibid. no. 603, pl. 644: Eros after a youth; see also above, n. 9.
63. Compare also an interesting scaraboid in the Cesnola Collection, New York, dating from the early fifth century and depicting an Eros abducting a naked (contra, Boardman 1968, 94) woman, who moreover interestingly holds a lyre; Richter 1956, 11(41), pl. 7; Beazley (1920, 28) doubted the identification of the winged youth as Eros; contra, Boardman, ibid. and Richter, ibid.
64. Contra, Hoffmann 1977, 9 n. 27: it alludes to sadistic behaviour on the part of the erastes.
65. It has been proposed that Eros may also have embodied the ideal eromenos; *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", p. 935; this seems to be the case at least in the scenes of Eros with the hoop (like Ganymedes); cf. Greifenhagen 1957, 15-16; see also Beazley 1920, n. 1275 and cf. Schefold and Jung 1981, 195 for a similar view of Erotes in women scenes.
66. Euripides is the first to provide Eros with bow and elaborate on this poetic image to illustrate Eros' ability to wound (Hipp. 530-533; cf. 392 (...μ' έρως έτρωσεν..); Medea 530-531; 631-633; Tro. 255; Iphig. A. 547-548); often he (or Himeros) is merely the courier of Aphrodite's own arrows (Hipp. 530-533; Medea 631-633 (Himeros); and their blows can be more powerful than those of fire and the stars (Hipp. 530-533; cf. also Herc. 1090); however, this motif of Eros the archer strangely does not ever become popular on Attic vases; *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", nos. 332-334; for celebrated 4th-century statues of Eros as an archer see LIMC ibid. 880-881, 937; Roscher 884-1937, I s.v. "Eros", 1363-1364.
67. For example, *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", no. 602, pl. 643 (offers him garland).

68. See for example, Greifenhagen 1957, 13 fig. 6 (band), 20 fig. 13 (roe), and especially p. 32 fig. 25: three winged youths, Himeros (inscr.) holding a band, followed by two Erotes, one holding a sprig, another a hare; see also Koch-Harnack 1983, 223-227; Shapiro 1993, 112-113.
69. Compare also scenes of a winged youth abducting another youth; these are sometimes interpreted as Eros bringing the youth to a lover, for example bringing Ganymede to Zeus; Koch-Harnack 1989, 76; cf. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 15-16 (Zephyros-Hyakinthos?) and 61 n. 78; on scenes of Hermes abducting Ganymede on behalf of Zeus see Schwarz 1976-1977, 4-5.
70. Koch-Harnack 1983, 142 fig. 75.
71. See, for example, *LIMC* III, s.v. "Eros", no. 616, CVA Fogg Mus. pl. 20, where the woman fleeing from an ephebe is accosted from the other side by an Eros with a garland; a second Eros pursues another woman; these scenes also often include the fleeing companion.
72. On the bridal appearance of Helen see above, nn. 1-4; on the emphasis placed upon the brides' beauty and the iconographic assimilation of both brides and Helen to Aphrodite see above, n. 5. Apart from the element of sensuality with nudity associated with respectable women, culminating in the certified naked bride at her ritual bath, other elements of the iconography of hetairai, such as their link with Eros, or even gift-exchange in the context of courting with prospective customers are gradually drawn into the imagery of brides and other respectable women; Sutton 1992, 17-20, 26-27; id., 1981, 365; conversely, hetairai appear in activities of the industrious housewife, such as spinning; on the question whether they are prostitutes or housewives see Sutton 1992, 353-361; there is such fusion, that it is often difficult to discriminate between them; Wiliams 1993, 96-99, 103, 105.
73. Paris, Cab. Méd. 508, *ARV*^{2} 1610; Sutton 1992, 20; Walcot (1987, 21-26) attempts to trace a comparable notion of conjugal love and partnership in earlier and contemporary literature.
74. LIMC III, s.v. "Eros", nos. 28-33. Burn 1987, 18, 95-96; cf. for the 4th century, Metzger 1951, 44-45.
75. Burn 1987, 18, 95-96; cf. for the 4th century, Metzger 1951, 44-45.