II Parthenonian Narratives

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## 3 The Wedding of Peirithous: South Metopes 13-21 of the Parthenon

Of the 32 metopes on the south side of the Parthenon, the nine in the center (13-21) have always posed a problem for scholars. ${ }^{1}$ Not only are they mostly missing, but the subject is clearly different from the other well-preserved and better understood metopes, now in the Acropolis Museum, the British Museum and the Louvre. While many diverse interpretations have been proposed, only one is defensible and it is supported by several fragments recently assigned to these central reliefs.

The underlying myth is the saga of the battle of Lapiths and centaurs at the wedding of Peirithous, king of the Lapiths. ${ }^{2}$ During the wedding banquet in the bridegroom's palace the centaurs became inebriated and attempted to seize the women but were repulsed by the Lapiths and Peirithous' friend, the Athenian hero Theseus. The composition of the surviving metopes consists of duels between Lapiths and centaurs. The action usually comprises two figures per metope though it may spread along two metopes as we shall see below. There is no doubt that they show the fight at the wedding, as we see centaurs attacking Lapiths with household vessels like hydrias and pithoi and seizing women. The Lapiths' weapons were added in bronze or lead and are now broken off. The style of the metopes ranges from the Severe style to the High Classical and their workmanship is uneven.

Out of 32 metopes, the 13 in the center were heavily damaged by Morosini's bombardment of the Acropolis in September 1687 during the Venetian siege of Athens which was under Ottoman occupation at the time. ${ }^{3}$ Before that fatal day, however, the entire array of south metopes had been drawn in 1674 by an artist who has been commonly identified with Jacques Carrey, though his identity was recently disputed. ${ }^{4}$ He was part of the retinue of the Marquis de Nointel, French ambassador to Constantinople, who visited Athens in 1674 and wished to have the Parthenon sculptures documented. The so-called Carrey drawings are now kept in the National Library in Paris and are the most precious documents of the missing metopes.

After the bombardment, some fragments of the south metopes became embedded in the south fortification wall of the Acropolis from which a number was recovered by

[^0]the Acropolis Ephorate in the early 1990s. ${ }^{5}$ Other fragments were picked up in the marble piles assembled on the Acropolis rock over the years since the $19^{\text {th }}$ century. Thanks to the painstaking research of several generations of scholars, and I only need cite here Georgios Despinis ${ }^{6}$ and Alexander Mantis, some of the missing metopes (13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21) were finally reassembled following Carrey's drawings under the guidance of Mantis, and were put on display in the new Acropolis Museum (Figs. 1-6). Fragments of south metopes 14 and 15 remain in the storerooms of the Acropolis Museum. ${ }^{7}$ No fragment of metope 18 has been identified to this day.

The problem with south metopes 13 to 21 (Figs. 7 and 8) which comprise the central part of the south side, is that they do not depict centaurs. ${ }^{8}$ This has prompted the question whether they belong to the centauromachy at all. The general assumption has been that they do not, and scholars have come up with various solutions, attempting to associate the scenes with a variety of Attic myths. A typical example of this approach is Giovanni Becatti's interpretation of the central metopes as scenes from the lives of Kekrops and Erechtheus, the two mythical kings of Athens who were particularly associated with the cults on the Acropolis. ${ }^{9}$ But before we discuss the problems of the iconography of the central south metopes, let us look at other monuments with the centauromachy in the $5^{\text {th }}$ century. Two monumental centauromachies of the Severe style are known. Pausanias (1.17.3) mentions a wall painting in the sanctuary of Theseus in Athens which was built under Kimon, without citing the artist, and remarks that Theseus was shown having just killed a centaur. We hear nothing about the setting, however. ${ }^{10}$ The immediate predecessor of the Parthenon, the temple of Zeus at Olympia, displays a centauromachy in the west pediment. ${ }^{11}$ Apollo stands in the center encouraging the Lapiths but the rest of the composition consists of combat and rape scenes. The centaurs attack young boys as well as women, who are defended by Lapiths. Except for the presence of women, there is nothing to suggest that the attack took place during a wedding celebration.

In the third quarter of the $5^{\text {th }}$ century, after the Parthenon, the centauromachy was shown on the west frieze of the temple of Hephaistos in Athens. Its main purpose was probably to glorify Theseus and there is no hint of Peirithous' wedding as no women are present. The Lapith hero, Kaineus, whose skin was impenetrable, is being hammered into the ground by two centaurs wielding a rock. ${ }^{12}$ The same motif

[^1]was employed in the interior frieze of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, dated around 410, where the centaurs crush Kaineus with his shield. ${ }^{13}$ The frieze includes Apollo's intervention, perhaps inspired by the west pediment of Olympia, except that Apollo is here conveyed in Artemis' chariot drawn by deer. ${ }^{14}$ The wedding motif is emphasised by the participation of women who are fleeing the centaurs, even taking refuge at a divine statue (Fig. 9). ${ }^{15}$ One of the suppliants exposes her breasts, while the other has her clothes torn off her body by a centaur.

If we turn to Attic vase paintings of the centauromachy, we notice that the banquet theme is explored on the neck of an Early Classical volute krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs. ${ }^{16}$ Centaurs and Lapiths fight in front of a row of couches. A centaur has seized a young boy but there are no women present. More comprehensive is the centauromachy depicted on the upper register of another Early Classical calyxkrater by the Nekyia Painter in Vienna. ${ }^{17}$ It is here made explicit that the battle has erupted during the banquet inside Peirithous' palace which is signposted by columns. The centaurs have overturned a krater, cushions from the couches are scattered on the floor and a kylix hangs on the wall. The door of the bridal chamber is half-open, exposing the marriage bed inside. ${ }^{18} \mathrm{~A}$ lit altar stands outside the front door. The bride escapes from a centaur running towards the chamber, being drawn by Peirithous' mother standing by the entrance and thus outside the palace. The Lapiths fight the centaurs with wedding torches, while Peirithous, who is named, brandishes his sword.

We now come to the south metopes of the Parthenon. If we look at the Carrey drawings of metopes 9 to 12 (Fig. 7), we see evidence of the battle taking place at the wedding, with the Lapith on metope 9 sitting on a pithos and the centaurs on metopes 10 and 12 attacking women. These metopes have come down to us: metope 9 is in the British Museum, metope 10 in the Louvre and metope 11 is recomposed from fragments in the Acropolis Museum. Metope 12 is in the Acropolis Museum. ${ }^{19}$ Henceforth, the scenes on metopes 13 to 21 (Figs. 7 and 8), as seen on the Carrey drawings, do not involve centaurs. The centaurs resume on metope 22, where a centaur seizes a woman, followed by duels between Lapiths and centaurs on metopes

[^2]19 Berger 1986, pls. 91, 94, 96.

23 and 24. Four metopes, 22 to 25, are lost (Fig. 8). Metopes 26 to 32 are alive and well in the British Museum. ${ }^{20} 29$, in the High Classical style, is the last metope showing the rape of a woman, while 27 is one of the finest and its sheer monumentality has suggested to some that it depicts Theseus killing a centaur.

It must be pointed out at this point that when Carrey drew the central south metopes, many of the attributes were already broken off. We can still see, however, a woman holding a pyxis and its lid on metope 14 (Fig. 7), a kitharoidos holding a kithara on metope 17 (Fig. 8) and a woman holding a scroll on metope 20 (Fig. 8). The scroll drawn by Carrey turned out to be a piece of cloth or a cushion when the fragment was eventually identified (Fig. 5). Because of the general lack of attributes and the fact that the central metopes consist mainly of women standing around, attempts at deciphering their meaning have concentrated on metopes 15 and 16 (Fig. 2). 15 shows a charioteer in long chiton riding a two-horse chariot (Fig. 7) and 16 shows two men, one collapsing on the ground, the other standing above him with raised right arm (Fig. 7). Metope 15 is now largely lost but 16 has been reassembled in the Acropolis Museum with plaster casts of the older man's head which is now in the Vatican and the young man's head and torso, now in the British Museum (Fig. 2). ${ }^{21}$

Before proceeding with a new reading of metopes 13 to 21, we will offer a brief survey of earlier scholarship beginning in 1975, because Erika Simon's article of that year constitutes a turning point. ${ }^{22}$ Her interpretation focused on metopes 15 and 16 , representing two men collapsing (16, Fig. 2) in front of a chariot driven by a male figure (15). She understood this as a murder scene taking place in front of Helios' chariot and sought the key to the central metopes in the history of Peirithous' family. His father was the notorious Ixion, who murdered his father-in-law on the eve of his own wedding and tried to seduce Hera. Zeus deceived him by producing Nephele, Hera's avatar, who became the mother of the centaurs, half-brothers of Peirithous. Simon suggested that metope 16 shows Ixion in the act of murdering his father-in-law (even though the fallen figure is too young for this role), while 15 shows Helios departing in his chariot. She suggested that the following pair of metopes (17, Fig. 3, and 18) depicts divine images, Hermes and Apollo Kitharoidos preceded by Aidos and Nemesis. She also suggested that the style of Carrey's drawing of metope 18 indicates that the figures of Aidos and Nemesis are archaistic. The next pair of metopes, 19 and 20 (Figs. 4 and 5) shows the wedding preparations for Ixion and Nephele, with a woman preparing the bridal bed in metope 20. Finally, she associated metope 21 (Fig. 6) with the centauromachy, with two Lapith women taking refuge by a cult statue.

20 Berger 1986, pls. 98, 100, 104, 106, 108-110.
21 London, British Museum 342.3+Acropolis Museum 929+9254+Vatican Museums 1013. Mantis 1997, 71-72, fig. 5.
22 Simon 1975.

In 1979, Evelyn Harrison followed in Simon's footsteps, accepting metopes 15 and 16 as depicting Ixion killing his father-in-law in front of the chariot of Helios. ${ }^{23}$ She improved on the family history by suggesting that metope 14 represents Boutes, father of the bride, Hippodameia, and his rape of Koronis. She was the first, however, to suggest that the rest of the metopes, 17 to 21, form part of the celebrations for the wedding of Peirithous and Hippodameia. She interpreted metopes 17 and 18 as music and dance for the wedding, though she too thought that the figures of the dancers on metope 18 are archaistic. Metopes 19 and 20 she saw as preparations of the bridal bed and 21 as two suppliants escaping the centaurs.

Also in 1979 Martin Robertson agreed with Erika Simon that metopes 15 and 16 are pivotal to our understanding of the central metopes and proposed an alternative view. ${ }^{24} \mathrm{He}$ too interpreted metope 15 as showing the chariot of Helios but he thought that 16 represents the fall of Ikaros, attended by his father Daidalos. He then proceeded to explain the central metopes as the story of Daidalos by assuming that the same figure can appear on several metopes, something which is not borne out by the iconography of the Parthenon metopes. He too believed that the figures on metope 18 are archaistic and he interpreted them as statues of dancers made by Daidalos in Knossos. The kitharoidos on metope 17 he identified as the Athenian hero Theseus, who imparts life to the statues by playing his music. Finally, he interpreted the woman on the right of metope 19 as spinning and the woman holding a piece of cloth in the next metope as removing cloth from a loom. In addition, he interpreted the cult statue on metope 21 as an image of Athena in Athens, thus associating metopes 19 to 21 with the weaving of Athena's peplos and the Panathenaia. This line of argument was taken up by Alexander Mantis, who meticulously explained how the fragments of the central metopes had been put together. ${ }^{25}$ He refrained from offering any views on the rest of the central metopes but presented a new drawing of metope 21 , suggesting that the women are shown disrobing a statue of Athena in anticipation of offering her a new peplos. ${ }^{26}$ He neglected to explain, however, why the woman on the right is baring her breasts, a gesture more suitable to suppliants.

In 1994 Ursula Höckmann had already argued that metope 21 (Fig. 6) depicts two Lapith women as suppliants at a divine statue by comparison with the Bassai frieze (Fig. 9) and that metopes 20 and 21 represent the preparation of the bridal bed attended by guests (Figs. 4 and 5). ${ }^{27}$ She went on to associate the rest of the central

[^3]metopes with Peirithous' wedding but failed to explain the action on metopes 13-19 and as a result her arguments made no impact.

It has, however, become clear by now that all attempts to dissociate the central metopes from the centauromachy remain unconvincing. We have no reason to believe that the masters of the Parthenon would choose to insert a different narrative in the middle of a row of metopes thus interrupting the action. The obvious conclusion should be that the central south metopes represent scenes from the wedding of Peirithous and are therefore at the core of the centauromachy. The battle of Lapiths and centaurs actually erupts around metopes 13 to 21 which illustrate phases of the wedding. To support this view, we are going to work backwards, beginning with metope 21 (Fig. 6), which is adjacent to a centaur metope. Far from disrobing the statue, the two women can be interpreted as suppliants, attempting to escape from the fury of the centaurs by analogy with the centauromachy frieze from the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai (Fig. 9), where the woman on the right has her clothes torn off by a centaur. Key to our interpretation is in fact metope 20 (Fig. 5), which does not show a loom but the preparation of a bridal bed. In Carrey's drawing (Fig. 8) we see a woman holding a book roll above a piece of furniture which is clearly not a loom. It does not resemble looms in red-figure vase-painting, as for example Penelope's loom on a Classical red-figure skyphos by the Penelope Painter in Chiusi ${ }^{28}$ but can be interpreted instead as the end of a couch topped by a cushion. The leg of the couch is obviously broken off. The extant fragment in the Acropolis Museum shows that the object in the woman's hand is not a book roll but a cushion (Fig. 5). The woman moving to right holds a curved object that may well be a wreath. There are several parallels for women preparing bridal beds in Attic black-figure vasepainting. A Tyrrhenian amphora by the Castellani Painter (Fig. 10) shows the bride and groom arriving at the groom's house in a chariot. ${ }^{29}$ Through the half-open door we get a glimpse of a woman preparing the bed, a wreath hanging above her head. A tripod pyxis with the wedding of Herakles and Hebe illustrates the preparation of the bed by two women, while another holds torches welcoming the arrival of the couple. ${ }^{30}$ Finally, a pyxis dedicated on the Acropolis (Fig. 11) seems to offer a compendium of similar wedding scenes, with the bridal bed depicted at the extreme right. The pyxis includes an image of the pais amphithales, who is not shown on the metopes. ${ }^{31}$

The two women on metope 19 (Fig. 4) can be interpreted as relatives of the bridal couple. The missing attributes in the hands of the woman at the right may be

[^4]wedding torches by comparison with the torches held by the women in the wedding scene on a red-figure loutrophoros by Polygnotos in Toronto. ${ }^{32}$ The woman at the left lifts her hand to her chin in a gesture of despair and anticipated disaster, by analogy with Sterope in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. ${ }^{33}$ The two women on metope 18 have invariably been considered archaistic. Harrison and Robertson were right to interpret them as dancers. ${ }^{34}$ They are obviously dancing at the wedding as was suggested by Harrison. But I do not think they are archaistic. In fact, the misapprehension that metope 18 was archaistic has prevented recognition of its fragments which probably lurk in the Acropolis Museum storerooms. The best parallel is offered by an Early Classical red-figure lebes gamikos in the Mykonos Museum, representing women dancing at a wedding, with a female musician playing the kithara. ${ }^{35}$ The dancer next to the musician wears a diagonal himation very similar to that worn by the woman on metope 18 and nobody can describe her as archaistic. The action on metope 17 (Fig. 3) is clearly part of the same scene. The kitharoidos accompanying the dance can easily be compared not only to the kithara player of the Mykonos vase but also to the musicians on a black-figure lekythos by the Amasis Painter in New York showing a wedding dance ${ }^{36}$ and on the pyxis from the Acropolis (Fig. 11) with its compendium of wedding scenes. His companion has lost his attribute but may well be a flute player by comparison with the flute players on the Amasis Painter's lekythos (male) and the pyxis in Athens (female) (Fig. 11).

We come now to the puzzling metopes 15 and 16 which have always been considered as part of a single scene, but they do not necessarily form a sequence. The agitated figures on metope 16 (Fig. 2) are probably startled by the onslaught of the centaurs. I would restore a torch in the left hand of the fallen man and another torch in the right hand of the standing figure as they are probably relatives of the bridal couple. The charioteer on metope 15 is not Helios but the charioteer who conveyed the bride and groom to the bridegroom's house. A good example is offered by a red-figure loutrophoros in Berlin (Fig. 12), where the bridegroom carries the bride to the chariot, while the charioteer steadies the horses. ${ }^{37}$ The mother in-law waits with her torches at the house entrance. In real life the bride was taken to the groom's house on a cart $^{38}$ but the chariot imparts a heroic character to the scene in recollection of the

[^5]wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The chariot on metope 15 has already conveyed the bridal couple to their destination; the horses are probably spooked by the centaur attack.

In fact, I suggest that Peirithous and his bride, Hippodameia, stand right behind the chariot on metope 14 (Fig. 7). The bridegroom has presented his bridal gift to his bride who has opened the pyxis, holding its lid in her lowered right hand. The groom reveals himself in an erotic gesture similar to Apollo's when he is courting a Muse on a Severe style white ground cup in Boston (Fig. 13). ${ }^{39}$ Harrison had interpreted the scene on metope 14 as rape ${ }^{40}$ but I believe it is more likely a declaration of love. The bride's left leg is exposed not because she is in distress but probably as an allusion to the anakalypteria dora, testifying to the bride's acceptance of her groom. ${ }^{41}$

Finally, metope 13 (Fig. 1) represents two guests at the wedding or indeed the mother and father of the bride or groom that once held torches or gifts by analogy with a red-figure cup in Berlin ${ }^{42}$ and a red-figure loutrophoros in Boston. ${ }^{43}$

In sum, the central south metopes represent a selection of scenes from Peirithous' wedding night. The bride has arrived at the bridegroom's house and has been met by his parents and relations. He presents her with his wedding gift, the guests dance in her honor and the bridal bed is being prepared. That is the point at which the violence of the centaurs' attack erupts around the central episodes. The south metopes should be read from the center to the sides and not vice versa. In fact, we suggest that the bride and groom stand near the middle of the south metopes on metope 14 (Fig. 7), forming a composition similar to the central figures of the west pediment (Athena and Poseidon) of the Parthenon, who are the focus of the scene. ${ }^{44}$ Like Athena and Poseidon in the west pediment, Peirithous and Hippodameia are a typical example of the heroic diagonal. The composition of the south metopes would thus echo that of the gigantomachy in the east metopes, where Zeus on metope 8 dominates the core of the conflict. ${ }^{45}$ The artist who designed the south metopes of the Parthenon did not aim at presenting a linear sequence of time but a conglomeration of episodes illustrating both the violence and the festive moments of the wedding of Peirithous. ${ }^{46}$

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Fig. 1: Parthenon south metope 13. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo Museum (Socratis Mavrommatis).


Fig. 2: Parthenon south metope 16. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo Museum (Socratis Mavrommatis).


Fig. 3: Parthenon south metope 17. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo Museum (Socratis Mavrommatis).


Fig. 4: Parthenon south metope 19. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo Museum (Socratis Mavrommatis).


Fig. 5: Parthenon south metope 20. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo Museum (Socratis Mavrommatis).


Fig. 6: Parthenon south metope 21. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photo Museum (Socratis Mavrommatis).


Fig. 7: Drawings of Parthenon south metopes 9-16 by Jacques Carrey or Arnould de Vuez. Paris, Biblothèque Nationale. Photo from Palagia 1983, Fig. 18.


Fig. 8: Drawings of Parthenon south metopes 17-24 by Jacques Carrey or Arnould de Vuez. Paris, Biblothèque Nationale. Photo from Palagia 1983, Fig. 19.


Fig. 9: Detail of the centauromachy frieze of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai: two Lapith women find refuge at a statue. London, British Museum 529. Photo Olga Palagia.


Fig. 10: Attic black-figure amphora with wedding procession. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum B 1402. Photo from Pfuhl 1923, 48.205.


Fig. 11: Attic black-figure pyxis from the Acropolis. Athens, National Museum 1.2203.
Photo from Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 93, no. 2203.


Fig. 12: Attic red-figure loutrophoros with wedding procession. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2372. Photo Museum.


Fig. 13: Attic white ground cup with Apollo and Muse. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.356. Photo from Robertson 1959, fig. on p. 132.


[^0]:    1 I am grateful to the Acropolis Museum for the photos Figs. 1-6 (by Socratis Mavrommatis), to the Berlin Antikensammlung for the photo Fig. 12 and to Jenifer Neils for help and advice.
    2 Brommer 1967, 71-129, pls. 149-239; Berger 1986, 77-98, pls. 73-112. On the literary sources, see March 1998, 303, s.v. Peirithous; Manakidou 1994, 232-233.
    3 For the damage to the Acropolis by Francesco Morosini and his army of European mercenaries, see Hadjiaslani 1987; Sacconi 1991.
    4 de Rycke 2007 now suggests that the drawings were produced by Arnould de Vuez from Lille. For the sake of convenience, we continue to attribute the drawings to Carrey.

[^1]:    5 Mantis 1997, 69.
    6 Despinis 1982.
    7 Mantis 1997, 70-71, figs. 3 and 4.
    8 Brommer 1967, pls. 149-152; Berger 1986, pl. 112.
    9 Becatti 1951, 17-42. For a survey of traditional interpretations until 1967, see Brommer 1967, 233-240.
    10 See Castriota 1992, 34-43; di Cesare 2015, 101-104. The Theseion eludes us to this day.
    11 Olympia Museum. Boardman 1991, figs. 19, 21.2-8; Rolley 1994, fig. 401.
    12 Boardman 1991, fig. 114; Leventi 2014, fig. 15. On the west frieze of the temple of Hephaistos, see Leventi 2014, 115-116 with earlier references.

[^2]:    13 London, British Museum 530. Hofkes-Brukker and Mallwitz 1975, 58-59, H6-530; Madigan 1992, pl. 45, cat. no. 139.
    14 London, British Museum 523. Hofkes-Brukker and Mallwitz 1975, 60-62, H 8-523; Madigan 1992, pl. 43, cat. no. 132.
    15 London, British Museum 529. Hofkes-Brukker and Mallwitz 1975, 56-57, H5-529; Madigan 1992, pl. 43, cat. no.133. See also Fullerton, this volume, Fig. 9.
    16 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.84. BAPD 207099; Castriota 1992, 37, figs. 2a-b; di Cesare 2015, fig. 92.
    17 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1026. BAPD 214586; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 24, figs. 46-49.
    18 The appearance of the bridal bed sets the scene in the bridegroom's house. The wedding banquet was usually organized by the bride's father (Vérilhac and Vial 1998, 299-300) but the venue could vary (Oakley and Sinos 1993, 22-24).

[^3]:    23 Harrison 1979.
    24 Robertson 1979. Robertson 1984 reiterated his arguments in favour of Daidalos with some adjustments.
    25 Mantis 1997.
    26 Mantis 1997, 77-79, fig. 9.
    27 Höckmann 1994.

[^4]:    28 Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 62705. BAPD 214586; Iozzo 2012, 73, 76, no. 9, fig. 10.
    29 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum B 1403. BAPD 310034; Pfuhl 1923, 48.205; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 35, fig. 99.
    30 Warsaw, National Museum 142319. BAPD14077; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 35-36, figs. 100-104.
    31 Athens, National Museum 1. 2203. BAPD 32315; Graef and Langlotz 1925, no. 2203, pl. 93. On the bridal chamber, see also Oakley and Sinos 1993, 35-37. On the pais amphithales, see Vérilhac and Vial 1998, 358-363.

[^5]:    32 Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 929.22.3. BAPD 213434; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 32, figs. 82-84.
    33 Olympia Museum. Rolley 1994, fig. 396.
    34 Harrison 1979, 98; Robertson 1984, 207.
    35 Attributed to the Syriskos Painter. Mykonos Museum 970. BAPD 202973; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 25, figs. 54-58; Vérilhac and Vial 1998, pl. IIb.
    36 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.1. BAPD 350478; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 25, fig. 59.
    37 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2372. BAPD 9603; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 30-31, figs. 72-73; Vérilhac and Vial 1998, pl. IIa.
    38 Bride’s cart driven by muleteer: Hyp. 1.5. On the conveyance of the bride to the groom's house, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 29-32; Vérilhac and Vial 1998, 315-317.

[^6]:    39 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.356. BAPD 209171; Robertson 1959, 134, fig. on p. 132; Harrison 1979, pl. 25.
    40 Harrison 1979, 92.
    41 On the anakalypteria, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 25-26; Vérilhac and Vial 1998, 304-312.
    42 Attributed to the Amphitrite Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2530. BAPD 280254; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 33, fig. 91.15815.
    43 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.802. BAPD 15815; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 36, figs. 1, 105-107;
    44 Palagia 1993, 44, fig. 3.
    45 Berger 1986, pl. 37.
    46 See Small 1999 for an explanation of the nature of visual narrative in Greek and Roman art.

