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# A fresh approach to the problems of the Parthenon Frieze

Kristian Jeppesen

## Introduction, previous research, and Theseus' relevance to the theme of the Parthenon frieze

Classical archaeologists must be grateful to Ernst Berger and his team of collaborators in Basel for the results of their work on the reconstruction of the Parthenon frieze. Very appropriately, the two-volume book is entitled "Dokumentation zum Fries des Parthenon". In his foreword,<sup>1</sup> Ernst Berger defines the aims of the book in the following terms: "Es geht in dieser Publikation nicht um eine neue Interpretation des Parthenonfrieses, sondern um eine Darlegung und Auswertung des in Basel vereinten und überschaubaren Bestandes". As correctly stated, no new interpretation is offered. Ernst Berger and his collaborators have decided to uphold the current view that at any rate the subject matter must be the festival of the Great Panathenaia - though possibly not in a version reproducing its complete agenda. More likely, it is argued, the frieze should be understood to represent "eine allgemeine Vorstellung der grossen Panathenäen mit ihrem wichtigsten Kultgeschehen, mit ihren traditionellen Agonisten und würdigsten Vertretern der Stadt".<sup>2</sup>

In the first place the interpretation of the frieze in its entirety must depend on the correct analysis of its east front (Figs. 1, 2). The symmetrical composition on that side of the building is duly recognized: "Im Ostfries entsprechen sich die Gruppen der Mädchen, Heroen und Götter links und rechts der Mittelgruppe spiegelbildlich".<sup>3</sup> More precisely, however, as argued in the present study, the limits of the principal groups of sculpted figures coincide with axes of the regulae surviving at the top of the architrave and indicating the positions of the triglyphs in the triglyph-and-metope frieze per-

haps originally planned (Fig. 3a-b). These axes subdivide the east frieze into seven sections A-G all divisible by a unit equal to one fourth of the axial column spacing. B, D, and F are two units, C and E three units wide, while due to the corner contraction of the colonnade, A and G measure slightly more than four units (Fig 4a-b).

Where projecting members of some of the figures happen to transgress the limits of the sections in which they are placed (such as the elbow of Zeus 30, or the leg of Hermes 24) they do not overlap any of the vertical joints between the frieze slabs. To some extent, the system resembles the arrangement on the west front, where each of the frieze slabs substituting the triglyph-and-metope frieze measured one third of the axial column spacing in width. On the west side each slab contained an individual composition whose limits must be respected. Only in a few cases were

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<sup>1</sup> Berger 1996a, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Wrede 1996, 24. It is maintained as an established fact without reference to conclusive arguments produced by other authors, that "Der Cellafries stellt die Festzüge bei den grossen Panathenäen dar". With similar confidence the same viewpoint was advanced by Brøndsted (1830, 168) who did not hesitate to take for granted that the: "mannigfaltige Gruppen den feierlichen Zug zum Parthenon am grossen, alle fünf Jahre wiederkehrenden Panathenäerfeste vorstellten". According to Brøndsted (169 n. 6): "Das Beste was bis jetzt, und seit dem kleinen Aufsatz im Stuart-Revet'schen Werke (Antiqu. of Ath., vol. II, pag. 12-14), über den äusseren Fries der Cella und seine Vorstellungen gesagt wurde, enthalten: E.Q.Visconti, Memoires sur des ouvrages de sculpture du Parthenon, etc., pag. 34 u.f.; Quatremère de Quincy's Lettres á Canova, etc. (der Zweite Brief), pag. 27 u.f., und W.M. Leake's the Topography of Athens, etc., pag. 215 u.f." However, Brøndsted did not specify which of the observations referred to in these works he found particularly convincing.

<sup>3</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 148.

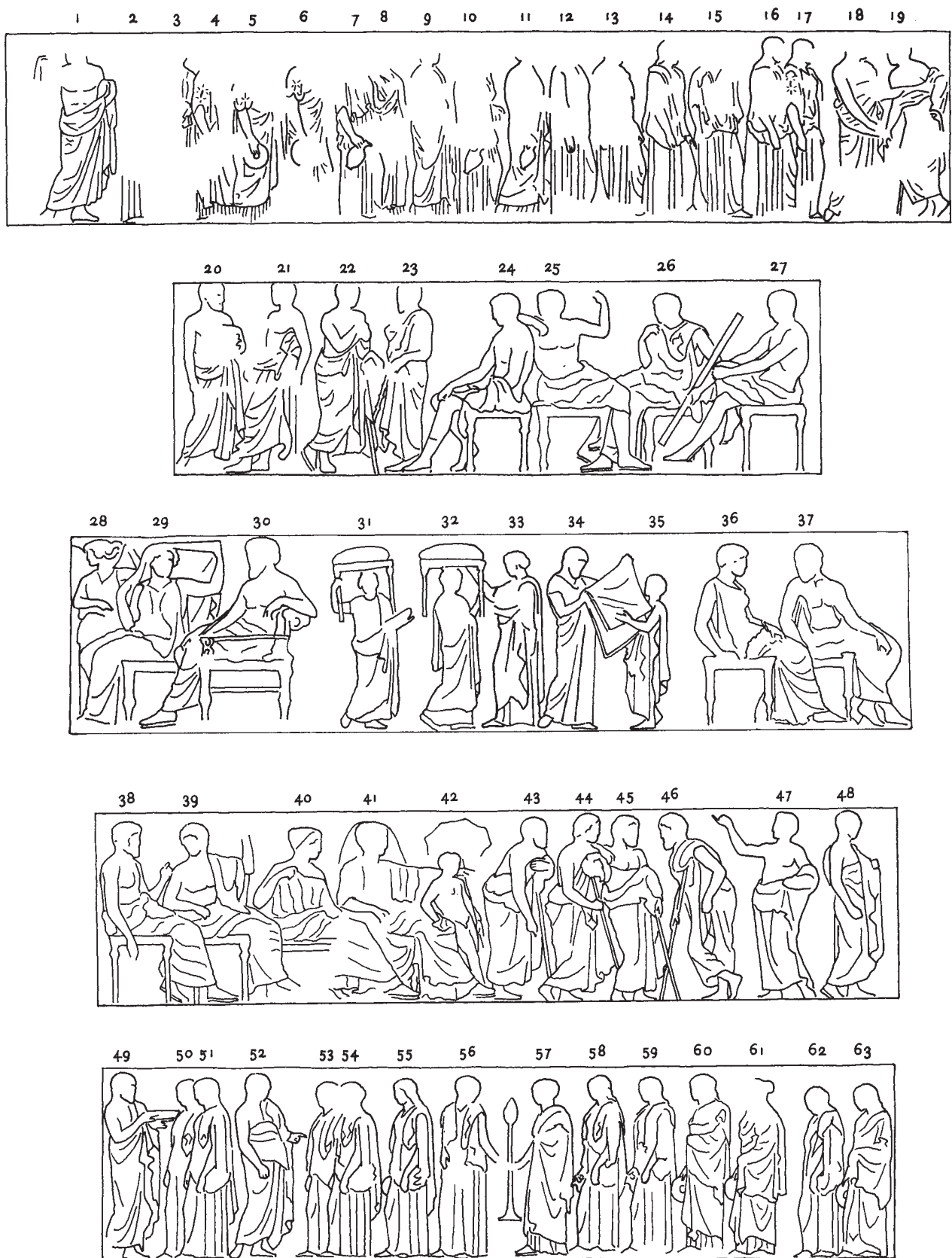


Fig. 1. East frieze, individual slabs (drawing by KJ).

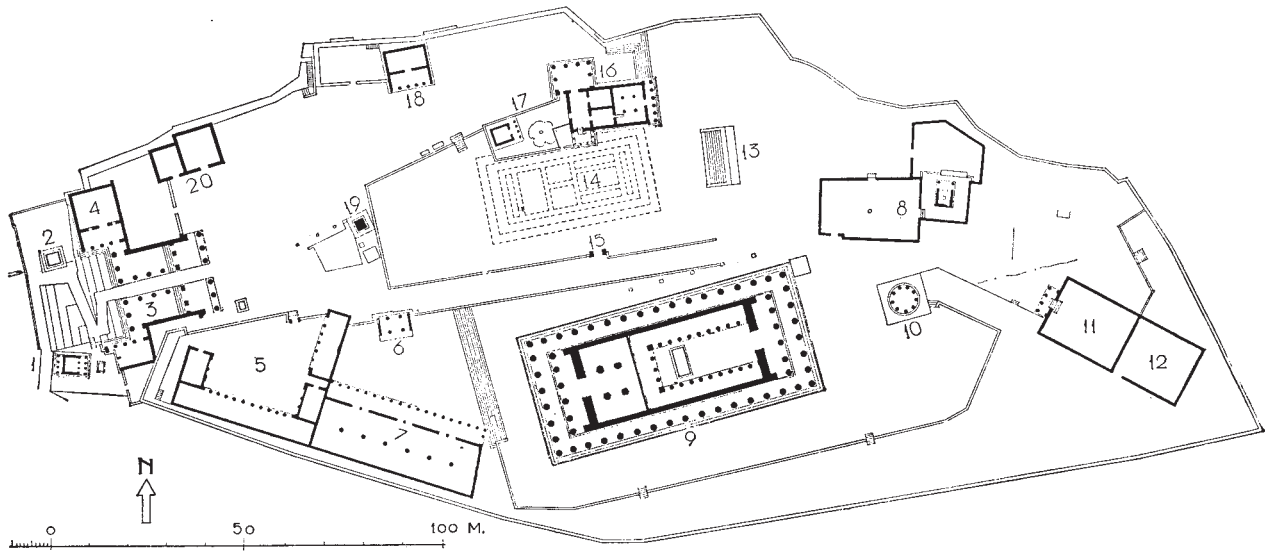


Fig. 2. Plan of the Acropolis with the Parthenon, (Berve & Gruben 1961, fig. 61).

horses' forelegs or tails permitted to project into neighbouring frieze slabs (VI, XI). Elsewhere they were curtailed at the joints of the slabs (II, IV, V, VII, IX, X, XIII, XV) (Figs. 4b, 5).

The lengths of the eastern frieze slabs vary (Figs. 4a, 5), the central one (V) even exceeding the axial column spacing, and the points where they meet are not consistent with any regula axis. Thus, presumably to avoid intersecting the figures 28, 37, and 48, the central slab (V) was prolonged at both ends, and the adjoining slab on the right (VI) at its right end. The three middlemost slabs comprise parts of different sections, the one on the left (IV) parts of sections B and C, the one in the middle (V) parts of sections C, D, and E, and the one on the right (VI) parts of sections E, F, and G. As will be observed, the subdivision into sections based on the axes of regulae implies not only that sections C and E define precisely and exclusively both groups of gods and goddesses, but also that sections B and F are in principle mirror-reflected images of each other. To the group of four 20-23 in section B corresponds the group of four 43-46 in section F, and to the group of two 18-19 in section B corresponds the group of two 47-48 in section F.<sup>4</sup>

It is widely believed that ten of the twelve figures 18-23 and 43-48 should be interpreted as the eponymous heroes after whom the ten tribes

introduced by Cleisthenes in 508/7 BC were named. If symmetrically distributed in accordance with the predominant principles of the composition, five figures ought to be placed in each section, either 18-22 in combination with 44-48, or 19-23 in combination with 43-47. But evidently 47 and 48 cannot be eponymous heroes, as 48 was shown carrying a kerykeion while supervising the arrival of the female procession on the right (Fig. 6), and 47 is beckoning the female procession on the left, 2-17, to join the girls on the right. Moreover, the figures 18 and 23 seem too absorbed in company with 19 and 22, respectively, to make sense if 18 or 23 are detached from those adjoining them.

Alternatively, a lopsided disposition strikingly at variance with the consistent symmetry dominating the rest of the composition must be postulated. At

<sup>4</sup> In her paper Renate Tölle-Kastenbein (1984, 247-57) distinguishes between the composition based on the lengths of the frieze slabs (fig. 1, *architektonische Gliederung*) and the subdivision deducible from thematic indications (fig. 3, *thematische Gliederung*), however, without taking into account the axes of the regulae. Regardless of problems of interpretation, she seems inclined to see, in agreement with the present author, the two groups of six (18-23, 43-48) as integral components of the planned composition (*Entwurfskonzept*, 1984, 255).

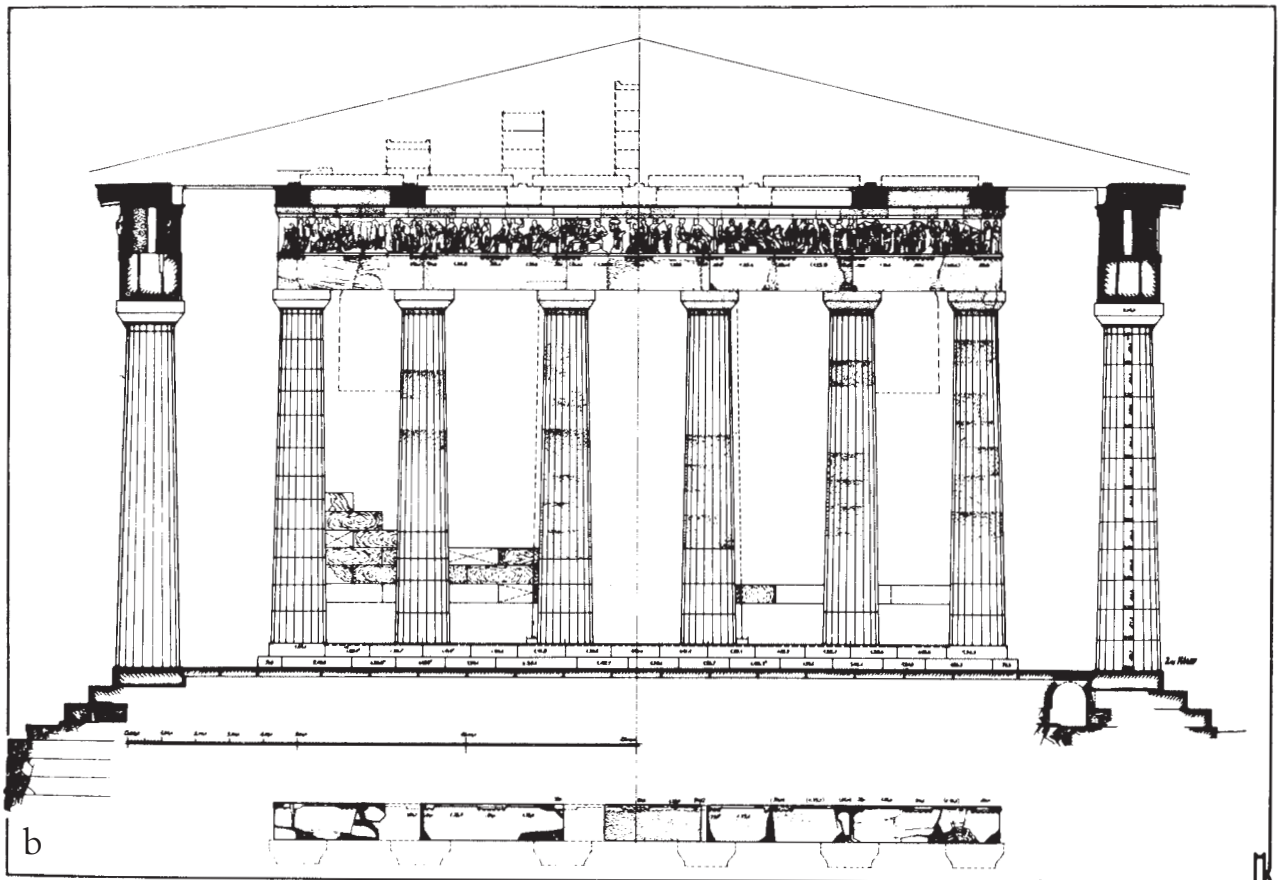
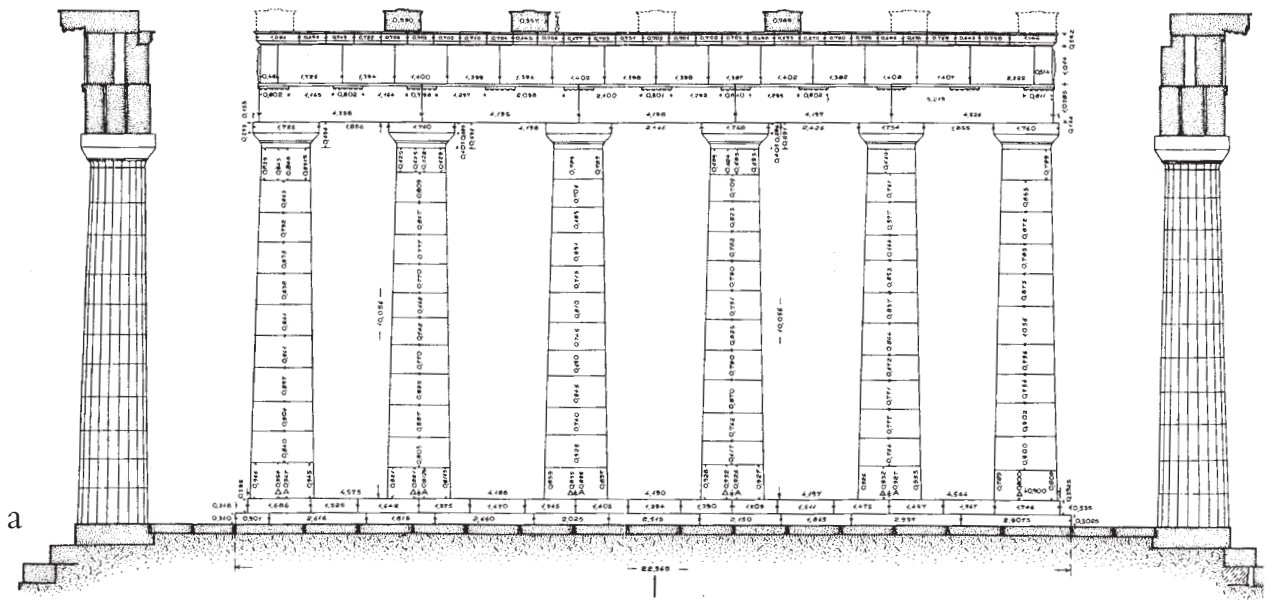


Fig. 3. The reconstructed porches of the Parthenon. a. west porch. b. east porch (below are represented the surviving architrave blocks from the epistyle), (After Casanaki *et al.* 1985, ix 5).



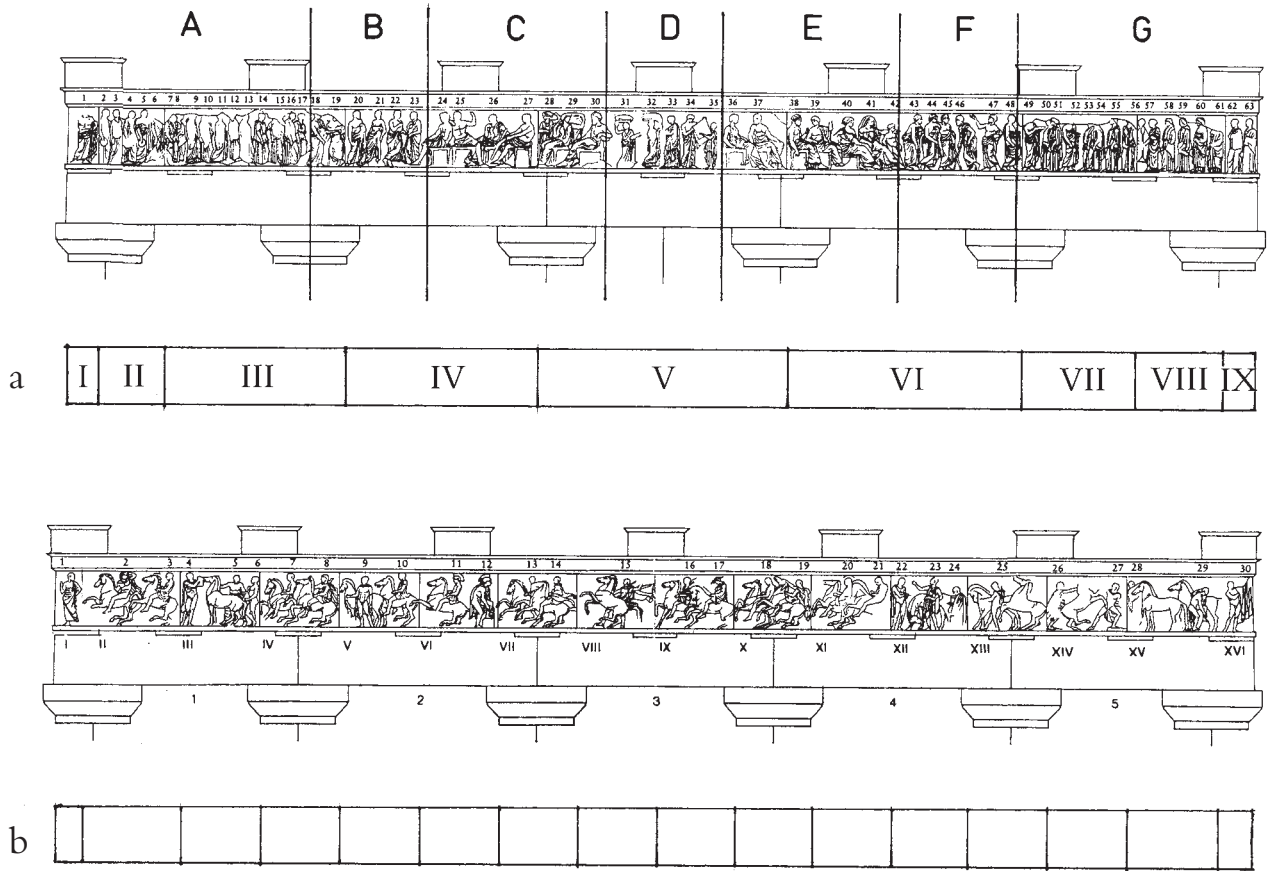


Fig. 4. Compositions of the east and west friezes of the Parthenon. a: Subdivision of the east frieze into symmetrical groups defined by axes of columns, triglyphs and metopes, and based on units equalling one fourth of the axial column spacing. b: Subdivision of the west frieze into slabs equalling in width one third of an axial column spacing, each slab comprising a separate composition.

any rate, whether or not perfect symmetry was actually maintained, the distribution at such a distance from each other of two groups of eponymous heroes could hardly have failed to puzzle observers familiar with the monument on the Agora (Fig. 7), where the ten eponymous heroes were shown lining up in one and the same file.<sup>5</sup> The subdivision of the seated gods and goddesses on the frieze into two groups offered no problem, as these, in distinction to the groups of standing participants, were individuals of unmistakable integrity.

To the above-mentioned objections may be added other serious doubts. Uta Kron<sup>6</sup> has drawn attention to the fact that while some of the presumptive heroes are bearded (20, 23, 43, 45, 46), others are beardless (19, 21, 22, 44, 47, 48), on the

basis of which evidence she suggested that different generations of heroes might have been indicated rather than differences of age within one and the same generation: "Zur Deutung auf die Phylenheroen passen auch die verschiedenen Altersstufen der Zehnergruppe, da die Eponymen sozusagen (sic!) verschiedenen Heroengenerationen entstammen".<sup>7</sup>

However, since the standing figures are shown conversing intimately with each other, they must be understood to exist simultaneously, i.e., to be definitely contemporaneous. As their designation

<sup>5</sup> Travlos 1971, 210, fig. 275; Kron 1976, 228-36.

<sup>6</sup> Kron 1984, 235-44.

<sup>7</sup> Kron 1984, 235.

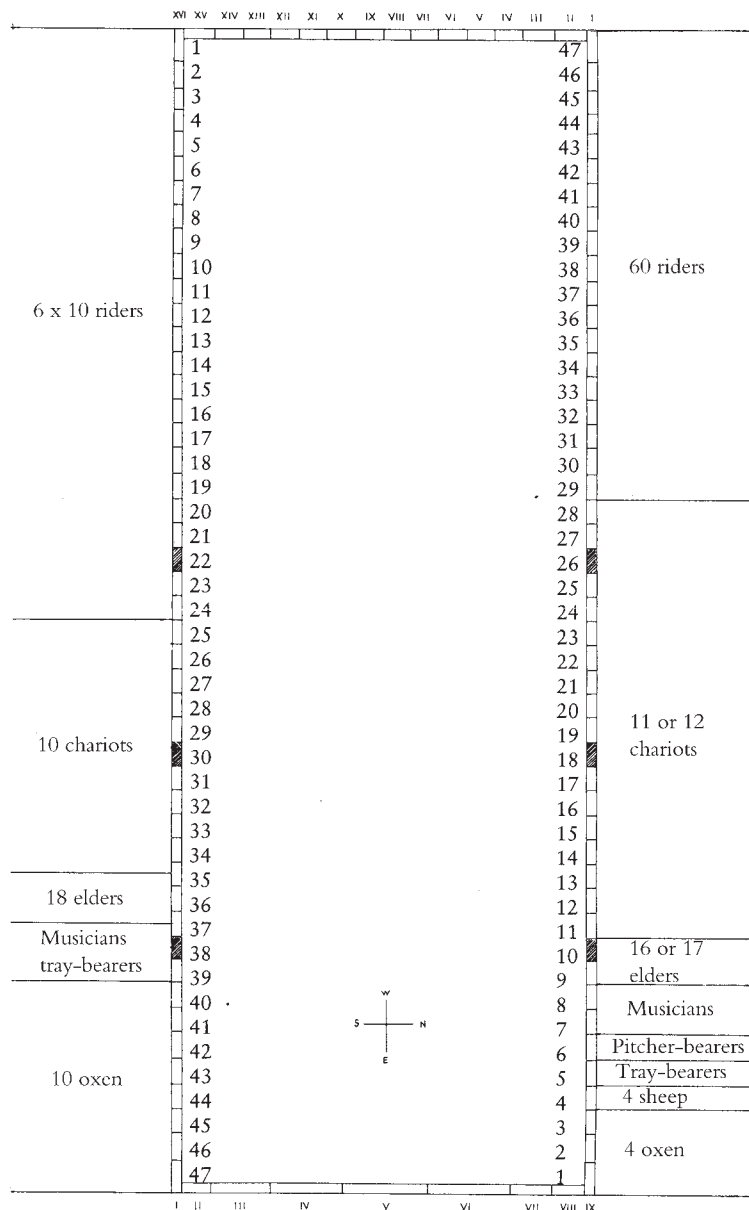


Fig. 5. Plan of the Parthenon frieze indicating the extent of each of the sculptured sections on the longer sides of the temple. The width of the wall ashlar indicated is c. 122 cm. The 6 crosshatched ones mark the positions of the window openings established when the temple was converted into a church. Plan, KJ.

implies, it was the function of the eponymous heroes to give a name to each of the ten tribes instituted in 508/7 BC. In the adjectival forms derived from the personal names of the heroes (phyle being implied) they were listed in the following official order: Erechtheis, Aigeis,

Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aiantis, Antiochis.

This is a curious medley of tribes which, according to Herodotos,<sup>8</sup> Cleisthenes had selected from the great number of heroes available. Other sources mention the oracle at Delphi as instrumental in drawing the lots.<sup>9</sup> However, according to Pausanias (1.5.3) there were no inscriptions specifying which particular heroes known under the name of Kekrops or Pandion, the statues so named should be understood to represent.<sup>10</sup> In these cases, the patronymic usually accompanying the personal name must have been lost or deliberately omitted. Or possibly the names of the tribes were inscribed rather than those of the heroes implied. In some cases Pausanias specifies not only the father's name, but also those of the mother or of the maternal grandfather, or episodes are described characteristic of the lives and achievements of individual heroes are added. Apparently Pausanias took the opportunity to indulge in his well-known fancy for mythological learning. All these details could hardly have been quoted from inscriptions carved on the common pedestal of the statues, the function of which was also to provide space for wooden tablets affixed to its sides. On these were written notices of interest to the citizens, such as official announcements, proposed legislation to be put on the vote, notices of lawsuits, lists of epebes, lists for military service, and even dunning letters!<sup>11</sup> Besides, the selection of the heroes chosen makes little sense in terms of descent. Part of a truncated pedigree involving four generations may be hypothetically reconstructed from Aigeus and Pandion, Theseus' father and grandfather, and Akamas, one of Theseus' sons, while the other son Demophon and Theseus himself are missing. Most likely, therefore, the names of the heroes resulted from lots, possibly drawn in cooperation with the oracle at Delphi.

<sup>8</sup> Hdt. 5.66, 5.69.

<sup>9</sup> Arist. [Ath. Pol.] 21.5-6.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 1.5. 3: Κέκροπα δὲ καὶ Πανδίωνα – εἶδον γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις εἰκόνας – οὐκ οἶδα οὕς ἀγοῦσιν ἐν τιμῇ.

<sup>11</sup> Wycherley 1957, 85-90.



Fig. 6. East 46-48, with kerykeion carried in the right hand of 48, note the two pin-holes in the broken area on the surviving slab. Ill. KJ.

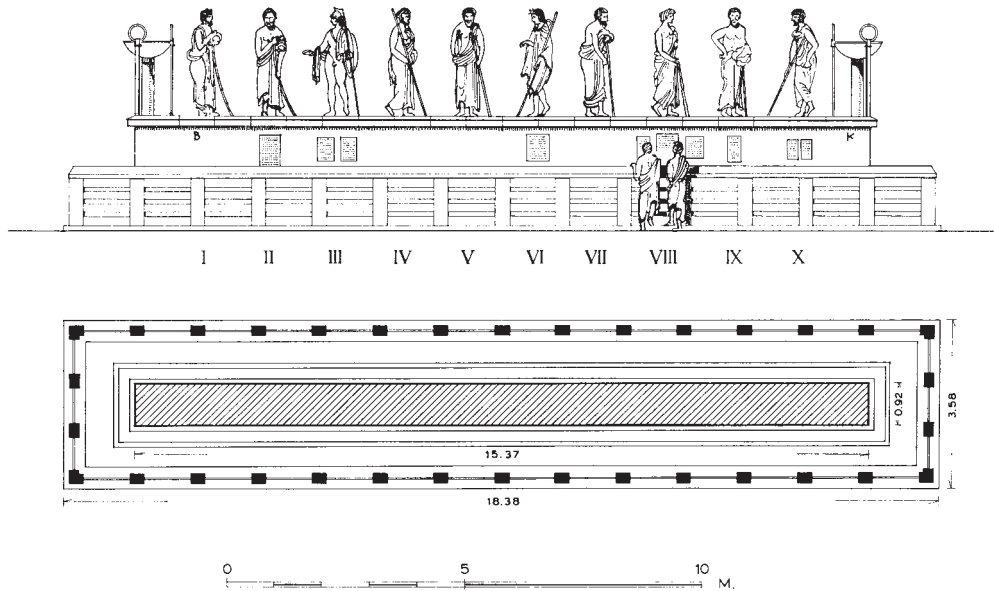
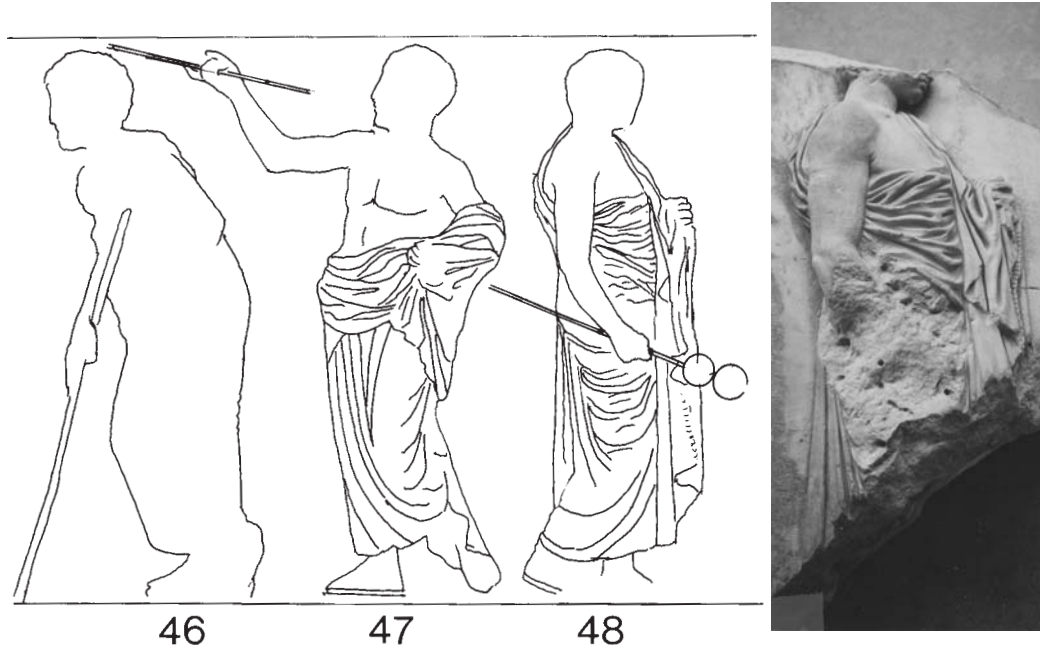


Fig. 7. Monument of the Ten Eponymous Heroes reconstructed from the surviving remains (After Travlos 1971, fig. 275).

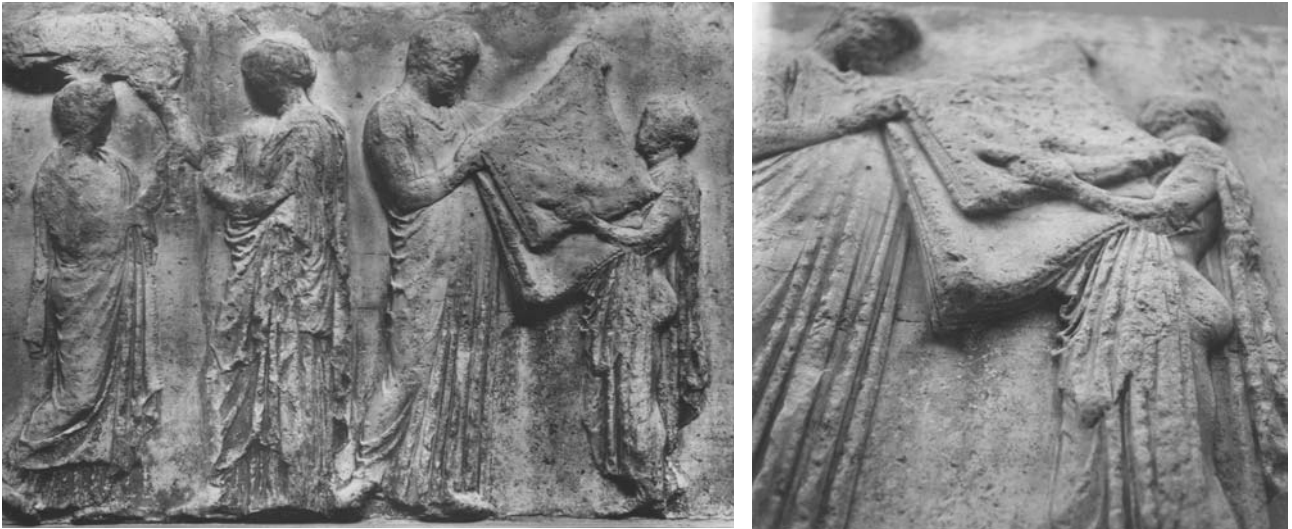


Fig. 8. East figures 32-35. 33 adjusting stool on the head of 32 and 35 receiving folded cloth from 34.

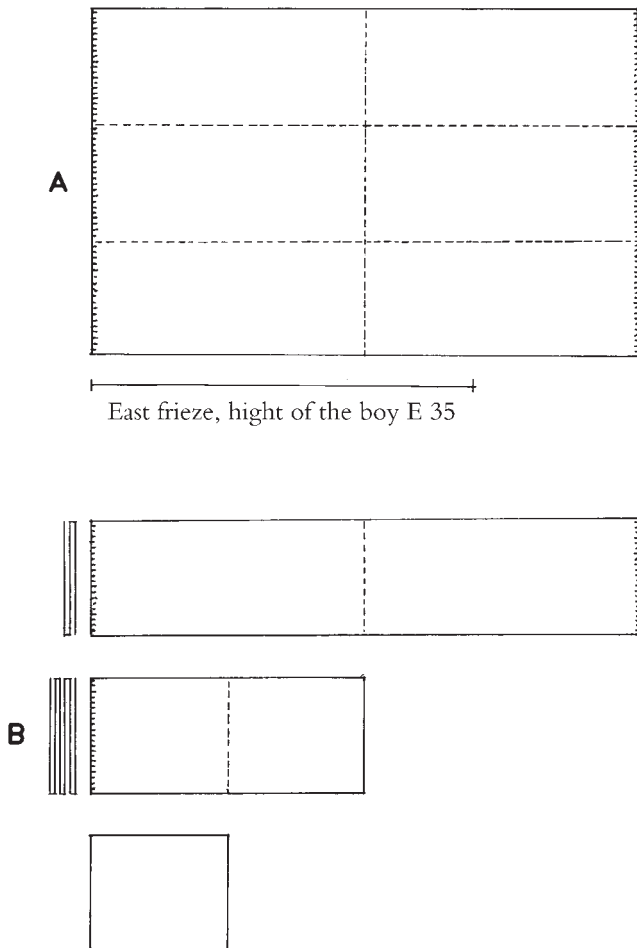


Fig. 9. Piece of folded cloth held between east 34 and 35: A: unfolded, B: folded (drawing by KJ).

Although the figures on the frieze are to some extent individualized, attempts to identify the eponymous heroes whom they may be supposed to represent have not resulted in any consensus of opinions. The presumptive heroes are hardly just chatting, but have serious matters to discuss. A comparison between the two groups of four, 20-23 and 43-46, will illustrate the range of variations comprised within the pictorial description. The group 43-46 consists of the three elders 43, 45, 46 and the youth 44. 43 and 46 are bending eagerly towards 44 and 45, thus demonstrating their interest in the matter under discussion. The oldest looking one is 43, who is hardly supposed to take active part in the conversation going on between 46 and the group 44-45. Thoughtfully leaning on his staff, 46 is scrutinizing 44, on whose shoulder 45 is resting with all his body's weight, a possessively looking gesture perhaps expressing paternal pride: "Look, here is my son and my hope for the future!" The young man is certainly in his bloom of youth, powerful and bullnecked like a hero and self-assured in his comportment. Leaning on his staff and crossing his legs he is assuming exactly the same relaxed (not to say arrogant) attitude as the elder 46. Since other indications are missing, 44 is likely to be the centre of the conversation.

The group 20-23 comprises two bearded elders 20 and 23, each confronting one of the beardless youths 21 and 22. While the latter are assuming

the same postures as 43, 44, and 46 in the other group, 20 and 23 seem to take up a rather respectful distance to the youths. Technical details indicate that the monument of the eponymous heroes at the Agora must have been built around the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC at the earliest, some eighty years after the Parthenon had been completed. Apart from the merits so persistently attributed to the hypothesis of the eponymous heroes, it does not in any way contribute to the interpretation of the frieze, nor does it add the slightest support to the theory of the Great Panathenaia. If permitted to, it may even prevent or delay the discovery and study of alternative possibilities for the interpretation of no less than ten figures (18-23, 43-46) whose roles in the context of the frieze may be of the utmost importance for the proper understanding of its meaning. It could hardly have been their purpose merely to symbolize the Attic population in general!

So far, the only piece of evidence that has been claimed to support conclusively the theory of the Great Panathenaia is the folded cloth passed by the dignified official 34 (probably the archon basileus) to the boy 35 (Fig. 8).<sup>12</sup> Most likely, the garment represented is a peplos or an himation of which 34 has just divested himself, and which he is instructing 35 to lay aside provisionally, while he is preparing himself to officiate as priest at the forthcoming sacrifices of the victims represented on the longer sides of the frieze. His underwear is a long, short-sleeved chiton of a type that was used by priests still in the Classical period.<sup>13</sup> Judging from the number of foldings indicated (Fig. 9) the cloth should be understood to represent a garment a little longer than, and approximately as wide as the height of the frieze, thus matching by and large the size of 34. The piece is believed to represent the famous peplos that was dedicated to Athena Polias at the Great Panathenaia, and which must have been of superhuman dimensions to judge from the available evidence.<sup>14</sup> It was of wool prepared by the so-called ergastinai of whom a certain number was selected from each of the ten Cleisthenic tribes. At the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC the number of tribes had been enlarged to comprise thirteen, and the average number of

women chosen from each tribe was about ten (Fig. 10a).<sup>15</sup>

The magnitude of the project also appears to be indicated by the time it took to finish the peplos, nearly nine months.<sup>16</sup> It was brought to the foot of the Acropolis suspended as a sail fixed on the model of a ship mounted on wheels. According to a report from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, a sudden gust of wind once happened to strike the shipcart while the procession was passing through the Kerameikos, thereby breaking the mast and tearing the middle of the peplos.<sup>17</sup> As this was made of wool, it must have been much too heavy to be carried by a single person, let alone by a small boy like the one on the frieze. Even if this was assumed to have been virtually possible with Athena's assistance, there is no indication of any temporary recipient to whom the boy could have handed over the peplos before it was ceremonially presented to the goddess. Besides, who could have passed it into the hands of the priest 34, and why was it left to himself to fold it - unless it should be understood to represent a garment of his own, which he had just taken off?

It is not known, how the peplos was brought to the Acropolis when it had been taken down from the ship cart. Presumably all the ergastinai, more than a hundred, participated in the procession, the arrhephoroi and the priestess(es) of Athena who had set up and supervised the work on the peplos, going in front. However, the two processions of girls and women on the east frieze, altogether only 29, cannot reasonably well be understood to represent the ergastinai, let alone the priestess(es) or the arrhephoroi. To make sense, the hypothesis must imply that the peplos was supposed to be handed over ceremonially to Athena 36. But the goddess is turning her back on the two figures holding the folded cloth between them, being at

<sup>12</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 157.

<sup>13</sup> Brommer 1977, 268 ("Priester").

<sup>14</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 191-2; III 151-64

<sup>15</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034, 1036.

<sup>16</sup> From the last day of the Pyanepsion to the Great Panathenaia at the end of the Hekatombaion.

<sup>17</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 144.

**1034** (Fr. a = II 477 + fr. b = II 5, 477 + fr. c = II 5, 463b + fr. d = II 956). VIRGINVM, QVAE PEPLVM MINERVAE TEXVERANT, HONORES. CATALOGVS. In arce, nunc in museo nat. Fragmenta quattuor marmoris Pentelici, quorum a (nr. lap. 1159) et b coniunxit Lolling Δελτ. Αρχ. 1889, 14 nr. 7, tertium c addidit Wilhelm Gött. gel. A. 1900, 89 not., quartum d idem Ath. Mitt. XXIII 1898, 420, 1. Fragmenta tria a, b, c nunc gypso conglutinata sunt a. 0,43, l. 0,45, cr. 0,17. Litterae fragmenti c, quod aetomate superatum est, lineis subscriptis notatae sunt. Fr. d a. 0,56, l. 0,40, cr. 0,145. Litt. alt. 0,008 Α Β Ζ Θ Ψ et Π Σ. Fr. a exscr. + Koehler, b et c habuit Koehler<sup>1</sup> ex apographis Lollingii, d exscr. + idem. Fr. a et b coniuncta ed. Koehler<sup>1</sup> (Dittenberger 664), c et d seorsum idem<sup>1</sup>. (a—d Michel 1503.) *Ect.*

		c	
Gamel. a. 98/7.	α	[Ἐπί Προκλ]έους ἄρχοντος ἐπί τῆς Κεκροπίδος ἐβδόμης πρυτανείας, [ἦι - ]θένης Κλεινίου Κοωκί[δης ἐ]ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΝ· ΓΑΜΗ[ΛΙ]ΘΝΟΣ ἔνδε[κ]- [ἄτη, ἐ]νδεκάτη τῆς πρυτανείας· [ἐκ]κλησία κυρία ἐν [τῶι] θεάτρῳ· τῶ[ν] [προέδ]ρων ἐπευήθειεν Δημόστρα[τος Δι]ονυσ[ο]δώρου Εὐώ[ν]- 5 [Υμε]ῦς ὦ καὶ συνπρόεδροι· ὦ ἔδο[ξε]ν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δή[μ]- [ῳ]· Π]εισιάνης Τιμοθέου Ἄλαιο[ς εἶ]πεν· ὦ ἐπειδὴ πρόσοδο[ν] [ποιήσ]αμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατ[έρες] τῶν παρῆενων <i>vacat</i> [τῶν ἠρ]γασμένων τῆι Ἀθηνῆι τὰ ἔρια τὰ [εἰς τὸ]ν πέπλον ἐμφανίζου- [σιν παρ]ηκολογηκέναι αὐτὰς τοῖς ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ] δήμου εὐνοισμέ- 10 [νοισ πε]ρὶ τούτων πᾶσι καὶ πεποικέναι τὰ δι[κ]αία καὶ πεπομπευ- [κέναι κα]τὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα ὡς ὅτι κ[ἀλλ]ιστὰ καὶ εὐσχημονέ- [στατα, κ]ατεσκευακέναι δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκ [τῶν] ἰδίων καὶ φίλην [ἄ]- [ργυρᾶ]ν ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ἦν καὶ [βοῦλε]σθαι ἀναθεῖν[αι τῆι] [Ἀθηνῆι ὑπὸ] μνημα τῆς εαυτ[ῶ]ν πρὸς τὴν θεὸν εὐσεβε[ίας καὶ παρακ]- 15 [λοῦσιν τὴν] βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον κτλ. - - - - - ]	non stoic. b 44-54.
	d	- - - - - οὐ Εὐπυρ[ίδου] [Πτολεμαί]δο[ς] [- - - - - Φλ]υέως [- - - - - Βερενικ[ίδου] 5 [- - - - - οὐ Οἰν]αίου [- - - - - οὐ Αἰγ[ιλίε]ως [- - - - - α [Ὡ]σικρά[του Ἐ]κκαλλῆ[εν] [- - - - - Δι]ονυσίου Φλυέως Ἀκαμαντ[ίδος] 10 [Ἀπολ]λωνία Βουθήρου Εἰτελίου [Φιλ]ωτέρα Νικομάχου Χολαργέως [Ἀ]πολλωνία Χαίρωνος Ἑρμείου Εὐτέρπη Δημητρίου Εἰτελίου Διοδώρα Ἀσκλάπου Σφητ[τ]ίου 15 Δημόστρατη Πамφίλου Κεφαλ[ῆ]εν Καλλιστάρηθε Θράκωνος Χολαργέως Κλεῶ Σωκράτου ἐκ Κεραμέων Θεαρίσ Ἑταιρίωνος Κικυρνήως Κλεῶ Νικίου Θορικίου 20 Πειθῶ Ἑρμῶνος Σφητ[τ]ίου Οἰνεῖδος Δάμειον Ἀγῶνος Φυλακίου Ἀκέστιον Ξενοκλέους Ἀχαρνέως Θεογενίς Θεογένου Πτελεακίου 25 Κτησίκλεια Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀχαρνέως Πάριον Ἀχαιοῦ Ἀχαρνέως Μίκκιον Μιλτιάδου Λακιάδου Ἀθηνῶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου Περιβοΐδου Ἑπαινήθε Ἀριστοβούλου Θριακίου	- - - - - Αἴν - - - - - ΠΑΝ...ΑΙΚ - - - - - Ἄρισ[τ...]. Ἄρ[ιστ]ωνος - - - - - Μεγίσ[τη Ζ]ήνωνος - - - - - Δημῶ [Μι]ατιάδου? - - - - - Ἄριστῶ Φυσκίωνος Φαληρέως Ἄριστονίκη Προς - - - - - ΠΑΝΑΡΙΣΤΑ ΜΑ(Ν)Τ[ΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥ] Φιλητῶ Ἀγαθοκλέους Φαληρέως Θεόκλεια Ἑρμο - - - - - Ἀγαθοκλεια Ὡ - - - - - Θεοφίλη Ἰάσονος - - - - - Ἄντιοχ[ίδος] Διοδώρα Μέντ[τορος] - - - - - Ἰσις Εὐβίου Ἄλω[πεκ]ῆθεν Τιμοκράτεια Φιλ - - - - - Δημο[στρ]άτη Θειο? - - - - - Ὡσ[...]. Ἄρ[χι]ου - - - - - Ἐ...?...ΥΔ - - - - - [- - - - - Δι]ονυσίου - - - - - - - - - - ΛΛ - - - - - [- - - - - Φε]ρενικίου - - - - - [Ἀ]ππαλίδ[ος] [Λυσι]δίκη (?) Λύσω[νος] - - - - - [Ἀμ]εινονίκη Πα - - - - - [Ἀρ]σινόη Δίου Α[- - - - - έως] [Ὡ]στράτη Ὡσ - - - - - ...δώρα Κηφισο - - - - - Ἰσιδόθη Ἀπολλ - - - - - Ἀγαθοκλεια Ἀγ[ῆ] - - - - - Φιλοξένη Ὀλυν[τι] - - - - - Νικῶ Θρασυμά[χου] - - - - - Καλλιστράτη - - - - -

1036 (II 5, 477 d). VIRGINVM, QVAE PEPLVM MINERVAE TEXVERANT, HONORES. In *Petoorth House, Sussex* (Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* p. 606). Superficies dextram versus corrosa vel detrita est. Litt., quales exhibet Koe. ΑΘΠΣ. Ex ect. et apographo, quae misit Murray, ed. Koehler *Ath. Mitt.* VIII, 1883, 57 sqq., inde Koehler<sup>1</sup>. (Michel 1504.) (Cf. Wilhelm *Arch. Mitt. Österr.* XX 1897, 65.

- - Α ... Ε - - - ΤΑΥΤΑ Ψ - - - - -  
 - ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΛ[Ω]ΣΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΦΕΤΕΙΟΝ Π[Ε]ΠΛΟΝ - - - - -  
 ΙΜΑΤΙΟΝ ΕΞΑΓΩC[ΙΝ] Π[Α]ΡΑΔΙΔΟΤΩCΑΝ - - - - -  
 CΥΝΕΠΙΜΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΦΕCΕ[ΩC] - - - - -  
 5 Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΦΑΙΝΩΝΤΑΙ - - - - -  
 ΑC *vacat*  
 ΠΟΙΗ CΤΟΙΧ. ΑC *vacat*  
 c. a. 78/7. ΕΠΙ ΔΗΜΟΧΑΡΟΥC ΧΡΟΝΤΟC [ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ - - - ΙΔΟC ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑC? ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑC, ΗΙ - - -]  
 ΔΙΟΝΥCΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΓΚΥΛ[Η]ΘΕΝ ΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΝ· ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΩΝΟC? ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΗ?, ΕΝΔΕΚΑ?]-  
 ΑΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑC· [ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕΑΤΡΩΙ· ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΩΝ ΕΠΕΥΗΦΙΖΕΝ - - - ΤΙ]-  
 10 ΜΥΛΛΟΥ ΕΡΟΙΑΔΗC ΚΑΙ CΥΜΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΙ· ΕΔΟΞΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ· - - - - -  
 [Μ]ΕΛΙΤΕΥC ΕΙΠΕΝ· ΕΠΕΙΔ[Η] ΠΡΟCΟΔΟΝ ΠΟΙΗCΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟC ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ ΟΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΕC ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝ  
 ΤΩΝ ΗΡΓΑCΜΕΝΩΝ Τ[ΗΙ] ΑΘΗΝΑΙ [ΤΑ ΞΡΙΑ ΤΑ ΕΙC ΤΟΝ ΠΕΠΛΟΝ ΕΜΦΑΝΙΖΟΥCΙΝ ΠΑΡΗΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΑΥΤ]-  
 [Λ]C ΤΟΙC ΨΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΕΥΗΦΙCΜΕΝΟΙC ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΠΑCΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠΟΙΚΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΤΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΠ]-  
 [ΟΜΠ]ΕΥΚΕΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΠΡΟCΤ[Ε]ΤΑΓΜΕΝΑ ΩC ΟΤΙ ΚΑΛΛΙCΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΨΧΗΜΟΝΕCΤΑΤΑ, ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑΚΕΝΑΙ]-  
 15 ΑΙ ΔΕ [ΑΥΤ]ΑC Ε[Κ] ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΔΡΑΧΜΩΝ ΕΚΑΤΟΝ, ΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΕCΘΑΙ ΑΝΑΘΕΙΝΑΙ Τ]-  
 [ΗΙ] ΑΘΗΝΑΙ [Ψ]ΠΟΜΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΥΤΩΝ [ΠΡΟC ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΨCΕΒΙΑC, ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥCΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ Δ]-  
 [Η]ΜΟΝ ΕΠΙΧΩΡΗCΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΘΕCΙΝ [ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΗC, ΑΓΛΩΘΗ ΤΥΧΗΙ ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΤΟΥC ΛΑΧΟΝΤ]-  
 [ΑC] ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟ[Υ]C ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΟΥ[C]ΑΝ ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙCΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ, ΓΝΩΜΗΝ ΔΕ ΨΜΒΑΛΛΕCΘΑΙ]  
 [Τ]ΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗC ΕΙC ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΟΤΙ [ΔΟΚΕΙ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΕΠΙΚΕΧΩΡΗCΘΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΑΘΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛ]-  
 20 ΛΗΝ, ΗΝ ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑΚΑCΙΝ ΑΙ ΠΑΡΘΕ[Ν]ΟΙ ΤΗΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ, ΕΠΑΙΝΕCΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΑC ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥC ΚΑΙ CΤΕΦΑΝΩCΑΙ  
 ΕΚΑCΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΘΑΛΛΟΥ CΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ ΕΨCΕ[Β]Ε[Ι]ΑC ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΙC ΤΟΥC ΘΕΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑC ΤΗ]-  
 C ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ, [- - - - - ΤΟΥ ΛΩΓΩΝ]-  
 ΘΕΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΜΙCΤΟΚΛ[ΕΟΥC] - - - - - ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ Τ]-  
 ΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑΝ ΕΙCΤΗΛΗΝ ΛΙΘ[Ι]ΝΗΝ ΤΟ ΥΦΙCΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΘ]-  
 25 [Ε]ΙΝΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΗ[Ν]ΑC ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΑΔΟC, ΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ CΥΝΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΗΙ ΕΨΠΑΡΑΚΟΛ]-  
 [Ο]ΥΘΗΤΟC Η Γ[Ε]Ρ[Ο]ΝΕ[Ι]Α ΨΠ' [ΑΥΤΩ]Ν ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ C[ΠΟΥΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΙΑ].  
 ΕΡΕΧΘΕΙΔΟC Α[Ε]ΩΝΤΙΔΟC  
 ν ΙΝΙΚ[Η] ΑΙCΧΙ[Ν]ΟΥ ΚΗΦΙCΙΕΩC Κλεω Cωκ[Ρ]ΑΤ[ΟΥC] - - -  
 - - ΤΕΙΑ ΓΗΡΟCΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕ Αμε - - - - -  
 30 [ΔΙΟΝΥ]CΙΑ ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥ ΚΗΦΙCΙΕΩC ΠΑC - - - - -  
 - - ΘΗ ΨΥΙΚΛΕΟΥC ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΩC ΚΑΛ[Λ] - - - - -  
 - - Ο[Ν] ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΩC ΔΙ - - - - -  
 - - Η ΑΓΛΩΘΚΛΕΟΥC ΚΗΦΙ ΦΙΛ - - - - -  
 [ΛΥC]CΤ[Ρ]Α[Τ]Η [Μ]ΙΚΙΩΝΟC ΚΗΦΙCΙΕ Νικ - - - - -  
 35 - - ΝΙ[Κ]Η ΠΟΛΛΙΔΟC ΠΕΡΓΑCΗΘΕΝ Φ - - - - -  
 - - ΑΤΗ ΘΕΟΓΕΝΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΩC Π[Τ]ΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΟC  
 [ΞΕΝΟCΤΡΑ]ΤΗ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΕΨΩΝΥΜΕΩC ΠΑΜΦΙΛΗ ΕΠ[- - ΚΟΝ]ΘΥΛ[Η]ΘΕΝ  
 - - - Α ΜΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΩC Α...ΟΝ ...ΚΑ[- - - Ε]Ω[C]  
 ΑίγειδοC ΔΗ[ΜΟΝ]ΙΚΗ ΔΙΟΝΥC[Ο-ΟΥ] ΕΚΑΛ[Η]ΘΕΝ  
 40 [- - - ΠΑ]ΤΡΩΝΟC ΕΓ ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΤΤΗ[C] Δ[Ι]Ο[Ν]ΥCΙΑ ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΔΟΥ ΦΛΥΕΩC  
 - - CΩ C[Ι]Μ[Α]ΛΛΟΥ Φ[Η]ΓΑΙΕΩC ΨΕΡΟΚΛΕΙΑ ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥ ΦΛΥΕΩC  
 [- - - - Ο]ΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΓ [Μ]ΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΤΤΗC ΑΓΛΩΘΚΛΕΙΑ ΒΙΟΤΤΟΥ ΦΛΥΕΩC  
 [- - - - Κ]ΑΛΛΙΟΥ ΒΑΤ[Η]ΘΕΝ ΜΗΝCΩ ΑC[ΚΛ]ΗΠΙΔΟΥ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΙΔΟΥ  
 - - - ΑΡΙCΤΩΝΟC ΑΓΚΥΛ[Η]ΘΕΝ ΨΙCΙΛC Α[ΡΙCΤ]ΟΜΗ[Δ]Ο[Υ] - - -  
 45 - - - - ΔΟΥ Ο[Τ]ΡΥ[Ν]ΕΩC ΑΗΜΟC - - - Π - - -  
 - - CΑ - - ΝΟC ΓΑ[Ρ]Γ[Η]ΤΤΙΟΥ - - - - -

Fig. 10 a-b. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034 and 1036. The inscription 1034 dates from the year 98/97 BC and recorded the names of all the virgins who had participated preparing the wool of which Athena's peplos was woven. They were listed in teams referring to each of the Cleisthenic tribes, and names of some of the participants from the Ptolemais, Akamantis, Oineis, Antiochis and Attalis are mentioned. The girls are under the tutelage of their fathers (l. 11-12 οί πατέρες τῶν Παρθένων τῶν ἠργασμένων τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι τὰ ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον) and carry their fathers' name with reference to his tribe.



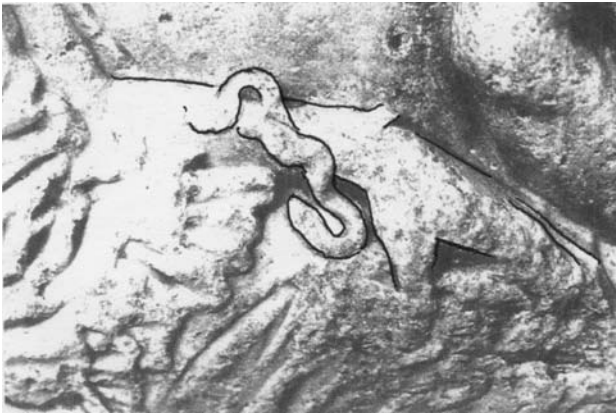


Fig. 11. Head and windings of a snake sculpted around the lower left arm of Athena 36 (After Brommer 1977, Tf. 176, outline thrown into relief).

all appearances not aware of, or simply ignoring their presence. She is undoubtedly Athena, but is lacking three attributes particularly characteristic of the Athena commanding the Acropolis: helmet, shield, and aegis. Beside and across her left wrist which is resting in her lap, are sculpted heads and coils of a snake (Fig. 11), however, these cannot be parts of her aegis, but should more likely be understood to represent a large bracelet of gold like the one shown in Fig. 12.

No aegis is indicated around the goddesses' shoulders where this protective symbol was usually worn, nor is it shown lying in her lap. This is covered by fine folds representing those of a chiton rather than the broader and simpler ones of the woollen peplos. No part of an aegis is sculpturally indicated, and it could hardly have been represented exclusively by means of paint applied directly on the folds of the dress underneath it. Three pinholes on a line suggest that a staff-like object of bronze was fixed parallel with Athena's left arm (Fig. 13). As no other weapon of offence is represented, the missing item was hardly a lance, but more likely a sceptre like the one carved in marble alongside the right arm of Zeus (30) (Fig. 14). Should this feature be understood to emphasize that the two divinities are supposed to be equally important in the context in which they are represented?

Instructive information on the particular Athena

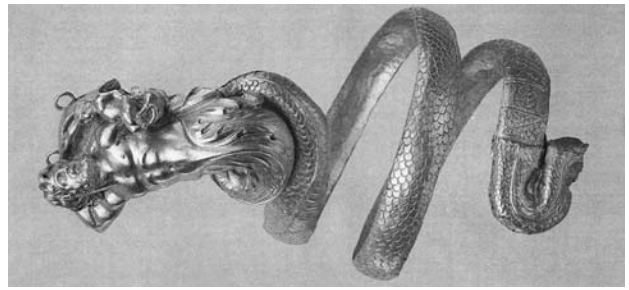


Fig. 12. One of a pair of gold armbands with terminal in the form of a triton holding the baby Eros, lower part chased with scales. Height c. 25 cm. Date about 200 BC. (After Williams & Ogden 1994, no. 37).

to whom the sacred peplos was dedicated can be derived from Aristophanes' *Birds* (produced in 414 BC), lines 823–31, in which Euelpides and Peithetairos are discussing the properties of the imaginary “Cloud-cuckoo-bury” town:

Peithetairos (823–25): λῶστον μὲν οὖν τὸ Φλέγρας πεδῖον, ἴν' οἱ θεοὶ τοὺς γηγενεῖς ἀλαζονευόμενοι καθυπερηκόντισαν. (Best of all, this is the plain of Phlegra, where the Gods outshot the giants of the game of Brag)

Euelpides (826–27): λιπαρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῆς πόλεως. τίς δαὶ θεὸς πολιοῦχος ἔσται; τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον; (A glistening sort of a city! Who shall be its guardian God? For whom shall we weave the peplos?)

Peithetairos (828): τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἐῶμεν Πολιάδα; (Why not retain Athene Polias?)

Euelpides. (829–31): καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔτι γένοιτ' ἂν εὐτακτος πόλις, ὅπου θεὸς γυνὴ γεγонуῖα πανοπλίαν ἔστηκ' ἔχουσα, Κλεισθένης δὲ κερκίδα; (And how can that be a well-ordered State, where she, a woman born, a Goddess, stands full-armed, while Kleisthenes holds a spindle)

Scholion. Τῇ Αθηνᾷ πολιάδι οὖση πέπλος ἐγένετο παμποίκιλος, ὃν ἀνέφερον ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων. (For Athena in her capacity as Polias they wove a multicoloured peplos, which at the Panathenaia was brought up in procession), i.e. to the Acropolis.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Dübner 1877, 228.





Fig. 13. Athena 36 on the east frieze. A row of pin holes along her right arm indicate the position of a shaft resembling that of Zeus 30, but made of bronze. (KJ)

According to the Scholion, the peplos was dedicated to “Athena being the Polias” i.e. Athena in her capacity as Polias. Euelpides wonders, how a city can be well-ordered whose god is a full-armed female, while, conversely (this is a joke), the male politician Cleisthenes has assumed the effeminate attribute of a spindle. Who shall be the new city’s Guardian God (*theos poliouchos*) and for whom shall we weave the peplos? Athena Polias was Athena’s chief cult title on the Acropolis, and poliouchos was a stock epithet of hers also used in other of Aristophanes’ comedies and found in dedications on the Acropolis as well.<sup>19</sup> Evidently, the Athena (36) on the frieze has none of the characteristics of the Polias described in Aristophanes’ comedy. She is not the Polias, but a different Athena, possibly the goddess of the handicrafts, Athena



Fig. 14. Zeus 30 on the east frieze. Note the shaft carved in the marble surface along his right arm, possibly representing a sceptre. (Photo KJ)

Ergane, who shared with Hephaistos their common cult in the Hephaisteion. On the Parthenon frieze she is conversing with a bearded, muscular man leaning on a stick in his armpit, which may well refer to Hephaistos’ crippled condition after Hera had thrown him out of the Olympus.

As no other Athena is represented on the frieze, to whom the peplos could be handed over, it cannot reasonably well be identical with the spectacular one that was dedicated to the Polias at the Great Panathenaia, but must represent a piece of clothing of ordinary human dimensions – himation or peplos – presumably belonging to the dig-

<sup>19</sup> Raubitschek 1949, nos. 3, 53, 233; cf. Dunbar 1995, 496–7.

nitary 34 holding it in his hands, supposedly the archon basileus. This is not the famous peplos, but a garment of his own which he has just folded and is entrusting the boy 35 to take into custody, while he is preparing himself to officiate at the prospective sacrifices.

Reasons have been given above for maintaining the following conclusions:

1. That the goddess 36 should *not* be identified with Athena in her capacity as Polias
2. That the folded cloth passed by the dignitary 34 to the boy east 35 should *not* be interpreted as the famous peplos that was dedicated to Athena Polias at the Great Panathenaia
3. That the ten eponymous heroes should *not* be sought within the groups of standing men east 18–23 and 43–48. These must be differently interpreted: 20, 23, 43, and 46 as the four phylobasileis in charge of the Attic phratries instituted in the pre-historical period who are known to have continued their tribal activities even after the introduction of the ten eponymous heroes in 508 BC

These conclusions seem sufficiently well founded to justify the definition of alternative possibilities. The interpretation advanced and discussed below represents a solution of the problems that has much in common with my former approach from 1990.<sup>20</sup> On the east front, the following interpretations have been retained or revised (a = readings from 1990; b = readings newly revised):

- 21–22 (a) the Salaminian heroes Philaios and Eurysakes (b) Theseus' two fellow travellers  
31–32 (a) Aglauros and Herse, (b) daughters of the basilinna  
33 (a) Pandrosos, (b) the basilinna  
34 (a) Kekrops, (b) archon basileus  
35 (a) Erichthonios, (b) boy receiving folded cloth from 34  
20, 23, 43, 46 (a) the four phylobasileis, (b) same interpretation  
44–45 (a) Theseus and Aigeus, (b) same interpretation.  
49, 52 (a) the eponymous archon and his keryx, (b) same interpretation

12, 14, 16, 17, 50–51, 53–54 (a) eight epikleroi, (b) same interpretation

Erroneously, the Anarrhysis was assumed to have taken place on the Acropolis rather than on the Agora. In several respects, the previous text has undergone radical revision, in particular as regards the interpretation of the north, west, and south sides of the frieze.

As summarized by Ernst Berger,<sup>21</sup> the frieze has been interpreted in markedly different ways by a long list of scholars:

1. As a reproduction of the Great Panathenaia performed every four years in the Classical period<sup>22</sup>
2. As a memorial of a particular historical event, for example, the heroic battle at Marathon<sup>23</sup> or as a votive offering intended to immortalize the monuments destroyed by the Persians<sup>24</sup>
3. As an idealized representation of the Great Panathenaia in the political context of the present and the past, and of rituals performed in different places and at different times<sup>25</sup>
4. As a mythological or symbolical paradigm<sup>26</sup>
5. As a representation of the administration contemporary with the building of the Parthenon,<sup>27</sup> or of the Attic democracy and its imperialistic tendencies<sup>28</sup>

It would hardly have made much sense to reproduce on the Parthenon frieze a pompous festival that was regularly held on the Acropolis, unless it had the purpose of forming the glorious background of an event of crucial importance such as, for example, the institution of the festival itself. If so, particular attention could have been paid to the

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<sup>20</sup> Jeppesen 1990.

<sup>21</sup> Berger 1996b, 16 (translation by the present author).

<sup>22</sup> Brommer 1977; Robertson 1975.

<sup>23</sup> Boardman 1977a.

<sup>24</sup> Holloway 1966.

<sup>25</sup> Harrison 1984; Simon 1982; Beschi 1984; Wesenberg 1993/4; Himmelmann 1988; Heintze 1995.

<sup>26</sup> Kardara 1961; Jeppesen 1990; Connelly 1993; 1996.

<sup>27</sup> Nagy 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Root 1985; Gauer 1984; Borchhardt 1984; Castriota 1992.

identity of the ruler who was assumed to have introduced the festival. In the case of the Great Panathenaia both Erichthonios and Theseus were credited with having pioneered its institution.<sup>29</sup>

However, as interpreted in the present paper, the scenery on the frieze is understood to take place, when Theseus had come to Athens and was introduced to be enrolled in the phratry of his father, King Aigeus. As the bearded elder 45 is resting his arm confidentially on the shoulder of the beardless youth 44, the group may well represent Theseus officially acknowledged as Aigeus' legitimate heir on the day of the Anarrhysis at the festival of the Apatouria. Vigorous and bull-necked, yet dignified and civilised in his appearance, 44 has all the features typical of the Attic hero par excellence who was renowned for having disabled monstrous criminals threatening the lives of innocent people, thereby promoting justice and order. Besides, Theseus is being exalted on the background of the festival common to the Ionian states whom Athens undertook to defend against the Persians, when many centuries later, in 478 BC, the Confederacy of Delos was instituted.

According to public opinion at Athens, as quoted by Herodotos,<sup>30</sup> Ionians were defined in the following terms: "Ionians are all who descend from the Athenians and who celebrate the festival Apatouria. This is celebrated by all except those from Ephesos and Kolophon. For among the Ionians, these are the only ones who do not celebrate the Apatouria". According to the same author<sup>31</sup> "colonists emigrating from the Prytaneion at Athens considered themselves the purest Ionians", and he also asserts that the four ancient Athenian tribes "were named after Ion's sons, Geleon, Aigikores, Argades, and Hoples".

What linked Athens together with other Ionian states was also the diffusion throughout the Aegean and the Black Sea of the four tribes. In historical times all four are known to have been represented at Athens and Kyzikos, the Geleontes at Perinthos and Teos, the aigikoreis at Tomis, Istros, Kallatis, and Perinthos, and the hopletes at Miletos and Tomis.<sup>32</sup>

Around 475 BC, bones believed to have

belonged to Theseus were found on the island of Skyros, from which they were brought to Athens and deposited in a heroon for Theseus near the Agora.<sup>33</sup> This was the beginning of a revival of his cult and of a renewed interest in the myths describing his adventurous life and exploits which became favourite subjects of paintings and sculptural compositions in the Classical period. Thus, in one of the paintings by the artist Polygnotus from Thasos in the Stoa Poikile at the Athenian Agora (Fig. 15, 45) were depicted, according to Pausanias (1.15.3): "those who fought at Marathon",<sup>34</sup> and Theseus was represented "like one coming up from the underworld",<sup>35</sup> obviously for the purpose of assisting the Athenians in their desperate fight against the Persians, which, as the painting made clear, the Athenians were just about to win. It was perfectly relevant, therefore, that Theseus should be commemorated as particularly appropriate on the frieze of a building like the Parthenon, whose costs may well have been defrayed to a considerable extent from the tributes of the confederacy instituted for the very purpose of forestalling fresh attacks from Persia. The funds were transferred from Delos to Athens in 454 BC. In 448 BC followed the peace negotiated with the Persians. The planning of the Parthenon frieze might have been initiated almost immediately thereafter. When the temple was inaugurated in 438 BC, the slabs on which the east frieze was sculpted must have been in position, while it may have taken additional years to finish the friezes on the longer sides and on the

<sup>29</sup> Berger *et. al.* 1996, 178, Zeugnisse 3-4; cf. Jeppesen 1963, 26.

<sup>30</sup> Hdt. 1.147: εἰσι δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὄρητῆν ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφονίων οὗτοι γὰρ μῦνοι Ἴώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια.

<sup>31</sup> Hdt. 1.146: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρηθηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναϊότατοι εἶναι Ἴώνων, Hdt. 5.66: ἐσσοῦμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἴωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. RE 39 (1941), s.v. Phyle, 994-1013, esp. 1000-1.

<sup>33</sup> Travlos 1971, 8, fig. 5, 21, fig. 29 no. 30.

<sup>34</sup> οἱ μαχεσάμενοι Μαραθῶνι.

<sup>35</sup> Θησεὺς ἀνιόντι ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος.

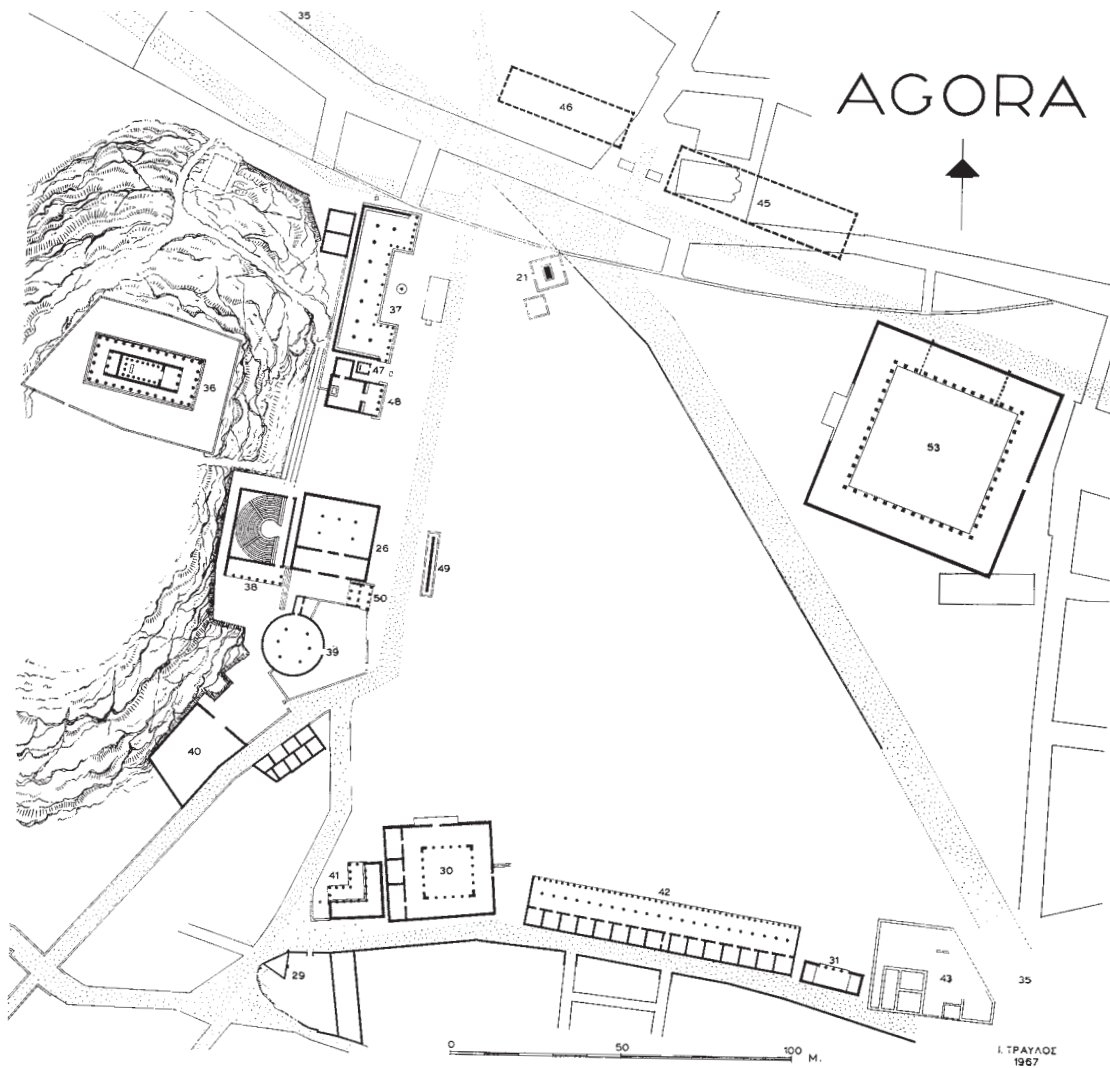


Fig. 15. Reconstructed plan of the Athenian Agora c. 300 BC. Note the temple of Hephaestos 36, the monument of the eponymous Heroes 49, the Stoa Poikile 45, and the Theseion 30 (After Travlos 1971, fig. 30).

west front of the building. These might have been completed from scaffoldings left standing until in 432 BC all works on the Parthenon had been carried to perfection.

The genesis of the Parthenon should also be seen in the light of contemporary architecture and its sculptural decoration. Approximately in the same period as the Parthenon the Hephaisteion was erected on the Kolonos Agoraios at the Athenian Agora.<sup>36</sup> This was a hexastyle temple of white marble in Doric style, much smaller than the Parthenon, but copying on a modest scale one of the latter temple's most characteristic features, its frieze. In the Hephaisteion, the frieze covered only

the fronts of the cella facing east and west (Fig. 16), resembling in that respect the triglyph-and-metope frieze perhaps originally planned for the Parthenon. While on the west frieze fights between Lapiths and Centaurs were represented, the east frieze was prolonged to span the entire interior width of the porch, thus accommodating a broader and more diversified composition than the western one.

The story depicted is not known from works of pictorial art, but seems to be copied from one of

<sup>36</sup> Boardman 1987, figs. 112, 114, 2-5.



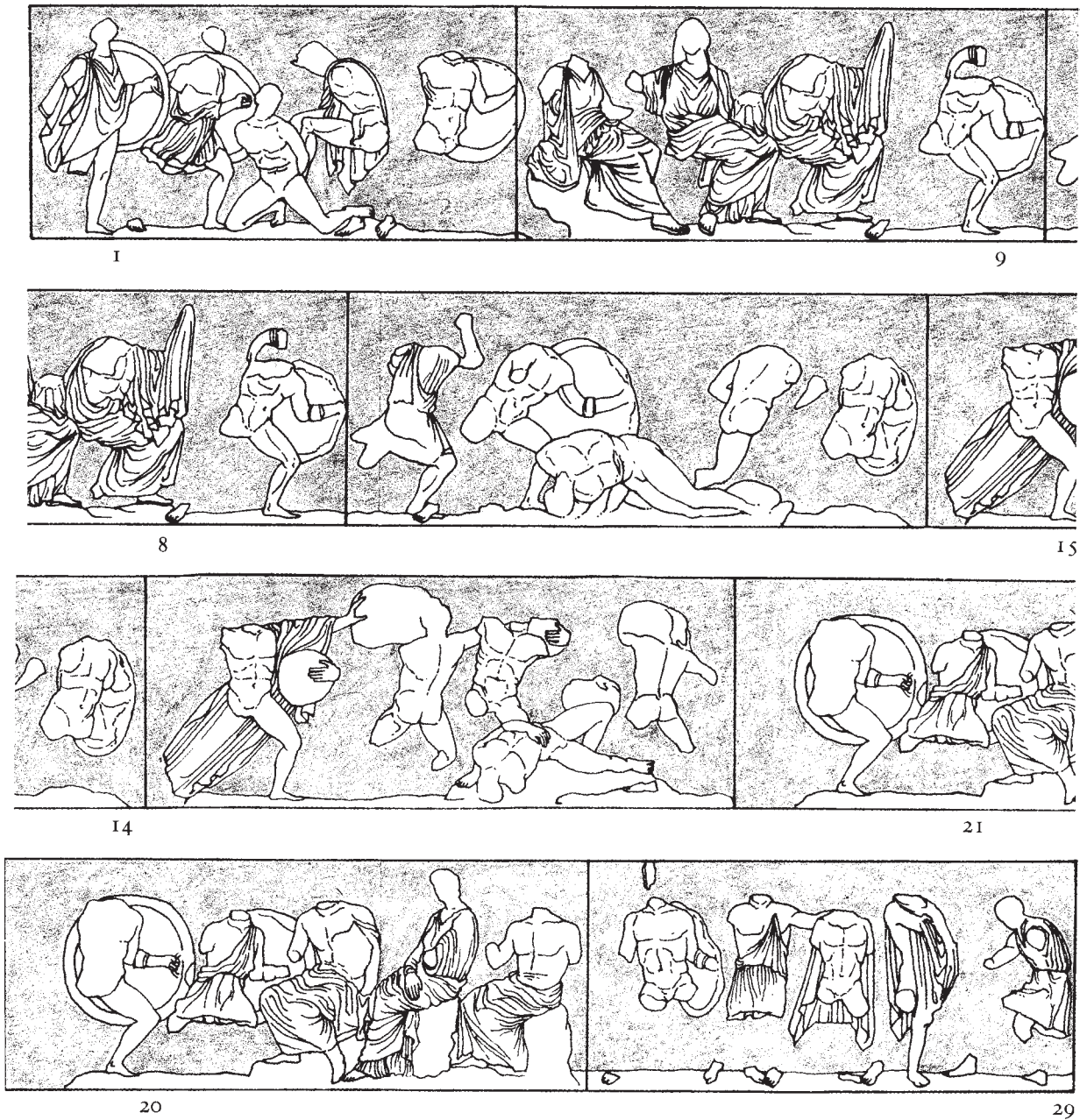


Fig. 16. East frieze of the Hephaestaeion on the Kolonos Agoraios (After Boardman 1987, fig. 112).

the myths describing events from Theseus' life at the time when Aigeus was still alive, or after Aigeus' death when Theseus had taken over the reign of Athens after his father. The right of inheritance was disputed by Pallas, one of Aigeus' brothers. However, Pallas had already received his share of the heritage left by Pandion to his four sons, of whom Aigeus was the eldest and Pallas the youngest. Pallas - "the wicked one rearing giants"<sup>37</sup> - had fifty sons, and to him was allotted

the southern part of Attica. From Spheetos he marched towards Athens with one contingent.<sup>38</sup> Another contingent positioned in ambush at

<sup>37</sup> Strabo (9.1.6) quoting Sophocles: τῆς δὲ γῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον ὁ σκληρὸς οὗτος καὶ γίγαντας ἐκτρέφων εἴληχε Πάλλας. On Pallas' province, see Brückner 1891, 200-34.

<sup>38</sup> RE Suppl. 13 (1973), s.v. Theseus, 1045-1238, esp. 1091-3 and 1140-1. According to a parallel version, this was one of Theseus' early deeds.

Gargettos was taken by surprise by Theseus, Pallas and all his sons being exterminated.

On the east frieze of the Hephaisteion, as on the Parthenon frieze, symmetrically placed groups of seated gods and goddesses are watching the spectacle (Fig. 16). There are altogether three gods and three goddesses, one of the latter being probably Athena, while the identity of the remaining five is open to discussion. Behind them are seen groups of warriors, some tying up a prisoner or preparing themselves to join the battle. The attack is being launched from the left towards the right. The protagonist, naked but for an himation floating from his shoulders and illustrating the forward impetus of his movement – in all probability Theseus – is warding off large pieces of rock being thrown against him by three adversaries, presumably some of the sons of Pallas described by Sophokles as “giants”.<sup>39</sup> Theseus has already crossed the middle of the frieze, an indication suggesting that he is expected to overcome his enemies. On both sides of the central group, warriors of varying dimensions are fighting each other. The larger ones should probably be assumed to represent some of Pallas’ sons. Two of these are lying defeated on the ground, an additional feature predicting the outcome of the battle. The smaller combatants may be identified as warriors of subordinate rank siding either with Theseus or with the pallantids. Two features linking together thematically the friezes on the Parthenon and on the Hephaisteion should therefore be reckoned not only their groups of seated gods and goddesses, but also two crucial events in Theseus’ life: his enrolment in his father’s phratry, and his successful fight against Pallas and his sons in defence of Aigeus’ throne, before or after Aigeus’ death.

The introduction just outlined above demonstrates the principles maintained by the present author in his attempts to confront the problems of the Parthenon in well-defined and meaningful terms. The first step to be taken should be the analysis of the individual figure, its behaviour, gestures, and relationship to the adjoining figures. The next, and equally important procedure, must be an attempt to formulate a thesis explaining the frieze in its entirety, thereby confirming observa-

tions based on the description of individual figures. The thesis should not be based exclusively on the interpretation of one particular feature, such as the folded cloth held by the priest 34 on the east frieze and claimed to represent the famous peplos dedicated to Athena Polias at the festival of the Great Panathenaia. This interpretation is not confirmed by any indication on the frieze, but is flatly contradicted by the fact that the Athena represented, east 36, is not the one to whom the peplos was dedicated, Athena Polias, who was characterized by several attributes, aegis, helmet, shield, and lance; compare, for example, the colossal statue of Athena that stood in the Parthenon, or Athena Polias shaking hands with Hera as represented on the late Classical inscribed stele Fig. 17.

In the processions on the north, west, and south sides of the frieze hardly any feature can be recognized as more characteristic of the festival of the Great Panathenaia than of other prominent festivals. The results so far achieved of repeated attempts to verify, despite inevitable shortcomings, the hypothesis of the Great Panathenaia do not recommend that additional efforts should be wasted on such a barren issue, rather than on the search for other possibilities that may not yet have been properly investigated.

Henning Wrede maintains that “Im Parthenonfries lassen sich die vier Phylobasileis ebensowenig nachweisen wie Phratrien, Phratriarchen oder Gene”<sup>40</sup> and uses this argument indirectly in an attempt to support the hypothesis of the Great Panathenaia. However, as will be shown below, all four phylobasileis, the twelve Phratriarchs, and nearly 150 applicants for enrolment at the Phratries may well be identified on the frieze.

The following two sections will deal with the ancient written sources available, those referring to the festival of the Apatouria, as well as Bacchylides’ poem describing Theseus’ arrival at Athens with his two travelling companions. Then follow two sections that will describe the details on all the sides of the frieze and suggest new ways of inter-

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<sup>39</sup> See above, n. 37.

<sup>40</sup> Wrede 1996, 26.



Fig. 17. Inscribed stele recording two decrees dating from 405/4 and 403/2 BC, respectively, found on the Acropolis of Athens or in its neighbourhood. Symbolizing Athena in her capacity as Polias (armed with helmet, aegis, lance and shield), Athena is shaking hands with Hera, thus confirming their concord (After Kern 1913, 19).



preting them. In the last section the preliminary conclusions so far reached will be discussed in the light of supplementary observations. Readers will thereby be given opportunities to reconsider repeatedly the capacity of the individual hypothe-

sis and of the supplementary observations they may give rise to formulate.

The sculptors took care to describe more or less closely, in everyday terms, the relationship between figures adjoining each other on the

longer sides of the frieze. On the west frieze complicated groups were composed such as 4–6, 22–24, and 26–27, but only on the east frieze were more subtle effects used to describe actions of an unusual character, e.g. the episode describing the reception of the epikleroi by the eponymous archon and his keryx (49–54), the introduction of Theseus by his father Aigeus (44–45), the reception of Theseus' fellow travellers (21–22), and the dispatch of the girls 31–32 ordered to bring stools for the guests.

## The Apatouria

According to the scholion referring to Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (l. 146), the Apatouria was a "significant festival held at public cost by the Athenians during three days in the month of Pyanepsion. The first day they call Dorpeia, because the clansmen came together and feasted in the evening, the second day Anarrhysis, deriving from ἀναρρῦειν, to sacrifice; they sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios and Athena; the third day Koureotis, so called because on that day the boys (kouroi) and girls (korai) are enlisted in the phratries".<sup>41</sup>

The information that the first day of the Apatouria was the Dorpeia or Dorpia (i.e. hemera) is indirectly confirmed by the expression "πρόπεμτα τῆς Δορπία", i.e. "the fifth day before the Dorpia".<sup>42</sup> A date before the Apatouria could most conveniently be related to the first day of the festival. It is not specified where the feasting of the Dorpia took place, but as the evening was chosen, the likelihood is that the clansmen convened in the private quarters of the individual phratries situated in Athens and elsewhere in Attica.

As specified in the decrees of the Demotionidai, two sacrifices were brought on the day of the Koureotis: the Meion and the Koureion.<sup>43</sup> The officiating priest received the following perquisites: from the Meion: a haunch, a flank, an ear, and three silver obols; from the Koureion: a haunch, a flank, an ear, a cake weighing one choinix, half a chous of wine, and one drachma. Judging from the parts of victims listed, the species of the animals implied may well have been the same at both sacrifices, but since the payment

received at the Koureion was considerably larger than the one granted at the Meion, the animals slaughtered must in the latter case have been much smaller than in the former.

The Meion was offered to celebrate the introduction into the phratries, of children three or four years old<sup>44</sup> or just recently born.<sup>45</sup> The animals to be sacrificed were probably newly born lambs still in their period of growth, which therefore had to be weighed to make sure that they were fat enough to provide an adequate meal at the sacrifice. On a kalix krater by the Kekrops painter, libations are being brought by Athena and Kekrops at a basket standing beneath the holy olive which is understood to hold the newborn Erichthonios, and Kekrops is offering a tiny lamb, undoubtedly the Meion.<sup>46</sup>

The Koureion was offered on occasion of the enrolment of young men who were just coming of age, i.e. between 16 and 18 years old,<sup>47</sup> and the sacrificial victim was probably a full-grown sheep. The animals sacrificed in the phratries used to be sheep or goat.<sup>48</sup> In the decrees of the Demotionidai, the Meion and the Koureion are the only sacrifices specified for the day of the Koureotis, and in both cases the god invoked as witness was Zeus Phratrios. The Gamelia is not even mentioned and must therefore have been performed in

<sup>41</sup> λέγει δὲ νῦν περὶ Ἀπατουρίων, ἑορτῆς ἐπισήμου δημοτελοῦς, ἀγομένης παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ τὸν Πυανεψιώνῃ μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας. καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην Δόρπειαν, ἐπειδὴ φράτορες ὀψίας συνελθόντες εὐχολοῦντο· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν Ἀναρρῦσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναρρῦειν, τοῦ θύειν ἔθουον δὲ Διὶ Φρατρίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ· τὴν δὲ τρίτην Κουρεῶτιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς κούρους καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐγγράφειν εἰς τὰς φρατρίας.

<sup>42</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1237, l. 61.

<sup>43</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1237.

<sup>44</sup> Schol. *Pl. Timaios* 21B: ἡ δὲ κουρεῶτις ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς κούρους ἐνέγραφον εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, τριετείς ἢ τεταρτεῖς ὄντας.

<sup>45</sup> *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Apatouria : ... ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ γὰρ τοὺς γεννωμένους ἐν τῷ ἑνιαυτῷ. ἐκείνῳ παῖδας τότε ἐνέγραφον ὀμνύντες οἱ πατέρες, ἢ μὴν Ἀθηναίους ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>46</sup> Jeppesen 1987, 46, fig. 15a.

<sup>47</sup> Labarbe 1953.

<sup>48</sup> Poll. 3.52: καὶ οἷς φρατήρ, καὶ φράτριος αἴξ ἢ θουμένη τοῖς φράτορσιν.



a different setting. This sacrifice was offered to a group of goddesses of particular relevance to the occasion feasted, the wedding, namely Hera, Aphrodite, and the Nuptial Graces (*Charites Gameliaï*), and a meal was offered by the bridegroom to the clansmen.<sup>49</sup> It may be doubted that the bride was admitted to participate in these festivities. She was only indirectly, by virtue of her marriage, attached to her husband's phratry. Women were not included in phratry registers, and their citizenship was determined by the status of their fathers and relatives. For a woman, marriage involved the transition from her father's phratry to the husband's phratry.<sup>50</sup> There is no evidence confirming the information of the scholion<sup>51</sup> that both women and men were enrolled in the phatries. Most likely this impression resulted from conclusions drawn from insufficient specifications in the written sources available.

The Anarrhysis was the principal day of the Apatouria: κυρία τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἡμέρα (cf. the expression “κυρία εκκλησία”).<sup>52</sup> As the private proceedings of the phatries were accomplished on the Dorpeia and the Koureotis, the Anarrhysis must have been devoted to festivities arranged under the auspices of the State and must have taken place in the city of Athens. The arrangements appear to have dealt primarily with sacrifices that were brought to Zeus Phratrios and Athena,<sup>53</sup> and the name of the day was supposed to refer to the procedure of drawing back the victim's head while cutting its throat (anarrhyein). The sacrifices must have been preceded by a spectacular procession supervised by the urban authorities and attended in the first place by the young men applying for enrolment in their fathers' phatries, by relevant officials such as the two archons, the four phylobasileis (tribal kings), and the twelve phratriarchs (leaders of the phatries).

While it is agreed that the Dorpeia was the first day of the Apatouria, there is some uncertainty as regards the succession of the days of the Anarrhysis and the Koureotis. According to the scholion,<sup>54</sup> the Anarrhysis was performed on the second day of the Apatouria, and the Koureotis on the third, and the same succession is reported in the majority of other sources.<sup>55</sup>

## Bacchylides' Dithyramb 18, Theseus' travel to Athens

The text and translation reproduced below is quoted from Anne Pippin Burnett.<sup>56</sup> When and where this poem was performed is not known, probably after the asserted recovery of Theseus' bones from the island of Skyros in 475/4 BC, and possibly in connection with the institution of the festival of the Theseia.

Of particular interest as regards the Parthenon frieze is line 45.1: Δύο οἱ φῶτε μόνους ἀμαρτεῖν λέγαι. Quoting the report of King Aigeus' informant that “only two persons, he says, accompany him” (i.e. the hero so far not individually specified), Bacchylides appeals to the curiosity and imagination of those listening to the recital of his narrative by omitting details of secondary importance such as the identity of the two fellow travellers and their provenance. This is also the technique used in references to the anonymous hero himself: lines 15.2-4: κᾶρυξ ... ἄφατα δ' ἔργα λέγει κραταιοῦ φωτός (“a herald ... tells of unspeakable deeds by a strong man”) and lines 25.14-15: Προκόπτας, ἀρείονος τυχόν φωτός. (“Prokoptes, meeting a braver man”). The theme of Theseus is being deliberately withheld, and so are possibly also the proper names of Theseus' followers. In case that none were known from other sources, they could easily have been invented!

<sup>49</sup> *Etym. Magn.* 220.51-5: Οἱ δὲ φασὶ γαμηλίαν θυσίαν, ἣν ἔθνον τοῖς δημόταις οἱ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους εγγραφόμενοι καὶ μέλλοντες γαμεῖν. Ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ θυσία Ἦρα καὶ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Χάρισι γαμηλίας. Λυκόφρων.

<sup>50</sup> Hedrick 1984, 152.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. n. 40.

<sup>52</sup> Suda 2258: Ἀναρρῦει; ἀντὶ τοῦ θύει καὶ σφάττει. Εὐπολις καὶ ἡ θυσία δὲ ἐπανάρρυσις καὶ Ἀνάρρυσις, κυρία τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἡμέρα. Ἀπατούρια δὲ ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίους τὸ συμβάν δηλοῦσα τῇ προσηγορίᾳ καὶ Ἀναρρῦειν τὸ ἐπιθύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν. τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν Ἀπατουρίων· Δόρπεια, Κουρεῶτις, Ἀνάρρυσις.

<sup>53</sup> See above n. 40.

<sup>54</sup> See above n. 52.

<sup>55</sup> Deubner 1956, 232.; Suda 2258 (above n. 52) enumerates the dates Dorpeia, Koureotis, Anarrhysis, however, without specifying their order.

<sup>56</sup> Burnett 1985, 117-20.

A' (ΧΟΡΟΣ) 1 Βασιλεῦ τᾶν ἱερῶν Ἀθανᾶν,  
τῶν ἀβ'ροβίων ἀναξ Ἴόνων,  
3 τί νέον ἐκ'λαγε χαλκοκώδων  
σάλπιγξ πολεμητῆαν αἰοιδᾶν;  
5 ἦ τις ἀμετέρας χθονός  
δυσμενῆς ὄρι' ἀμφιβάλλει  
στραταγέτας ἀνήρ;  
8 ἦ ληισταὶ κακομάχανοι  
9 ποιμένων ἀέκατι μῆλων  
10 σεύοντ' ἀγέλας βίᾱι;  
11 ἦ τί τοι κραδίαν ἀμύσσει;  
φθέγγεν· δοκέω γὰρ εἶ τιμι β'ροτῶν  
13 ἀλκίμων ἐπικουρίαν  
καὶ τὴν ἔμμεναι νέων,  
15 ὦ Πανδίωνος υἱὲ καὶ Κρεούσας.  
B' (ΑΙΓΕΥΣ) 1 Νέον ἦλθε<ν> δολιχὰν ἀμείφας  
κᾶρυξ ποσὶν Ἰσθμίαν κέλευθον·  
3 ἄφατα δ' ἔργα λέγει κραταιοῦ  
φωτός· τὸν ὑπέροβιον τ' ἔπεφ'εν  
20 5 Σίνιν, ὃς ἰσχυρὸν φέρτατος  
θνατῶν ἦν, Κρονοῖδα Λυταίου  
σεισίχθονος τέκος·  
8 σὺν τ' ἀνδροκτόνον ἐν νάπαις  
9 Κρεμμυῶνος ἀτάσθαλόν τε  
25 Σκίρωνα κατέκτανεν·  
11 τάν τε Κερκύνος παλαίστραν  
ἔσχεν, Πολυπήμονός τε καρτεράν  
13 σφῦραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκό-  
πτας, ἀρείονος τυχῶν  
30 15 φωτός. ταῦτα δέδοιχ' ὅπᾱι τελεῖται.  
Γ' (ΧΟ.) 1 Τίνα δ' ἔμμεν πόθεν ἄνδρα τοῦτον  
λέγει, τίνα τε στολὰν ἔχοντα;  
3 πότερα σὺν πολεμητῆοις ὄ-  
πλοισι στρατιὰν ἄγοντα πολλάν;  
35 5 ἦ μῶνον σὺν ὀπάοσιν  
36 στείχειν ἔμπορον οἷ' ἀλάταν  
ἐπ' ἄλλοδαμίαν,  
8 ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ ἄλκιμον  
9 ὧδε καὶ θρασύν, ὃς τ<οσ>ούτων  
40 ἀνδρῶν κρατερόν σθένος  
11 ἔσχεν; ἦ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὀρμαῖ,  
δίκας ἀδίκοισιν ὄφ'ρα μήσεται·  
13 οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον αἰὲν ἔρ-  
δοντα μὴ ἔντυχεῖν κακῶι.  
45 15 πάντ' ἐν τῶι δολιχῶι χρόνῳι τελεῖται.  
Δ' (ΑΙΓ.) 1 Δύο οἱ φῶτε μόνους ἀμαρτεῖν  
λέγει, περὶ φαιδίμοισι δ' ὤμοις  
3 ξίφος ἔχειν <υ\_υ\_υ\_—>  
ξεστοῦς δὲ δύο' ἐν χέρεσσ' ἄκοντας  
50 5 κηῦτον κυνέαν Λάκαι-  
ναν κρατὸς πέρι πυρσοχαίτου·  
χιτῶνα πορφύρεον  
8 στέρνοις τ' ἀμφί, καὶ οὐλίον  
9 Θεσσαλὰν χλαμῦδ'· ὀμμάτων δὲ  
55 στίλβειν ἄπο Λαμνίαν  
11 φοίνισσαν φλόγα· παῖδα δ' ἔμμεν  
πρώθηβον, ἀρητῶν δ' ἀθυρμάτων  
13 μεμνᾶσθαι πολέμον τε καὶ  
χαλκεοκτύπου μάχας·  
60 15 δίξησθαι δὲ φιλαγ'λάουζ Ἀθάνας.

Cho.

King of our holy Athens,  
lord of luxurious Ionians,  
why did the brazen-voiced trumpet  
just now sing out the call to war?  
Has some enemy captain  
broken across our borders  
leading an army in?  
Have marauders with evil schemes  
come to kill stubborn shepherds  
and take away our flocks?  
What threat sinks its claw in your heart?

King.

Speak, for I do believe,  
if ever a mortal man had, you have  
brave young allies beside you,  
son of Pandion and Creusa!  
Just now a herald came on foot  
from the tortuous Isthmian path  
to tell of unspeakable deeds done  
by a prodigious man. Mighty Sinis  
he killed—strongest of men  
he was, grandson of Cronus and son  
of the Lytaean earthquake-maker!  
This man has slain the murderous  
sow of the meadow of Cremmyon;  
has killed dread Sciron as well;  
has captured the wrestling school  
that Cercyon ran, while Procoptes  
has dropped the hideous mattock  
Polyphemus made, faced with one  
stronger than he! The end of these deeds I fear.  
Who does the messenger say that he is?

Cho.

Where from, and what is his company?  
Has he come armed for war,  
commanding a body of men,  
or does he come single with  
no one but servants, like  
a merchant who travels abroad—  
this man who is strong and brave  
and fearless enough to break  
the overpowering strength  
of so many enemies? Surely some god  
has sent him out to punish injustice  
for on his own a man of deeds  
now and again must fail. All things  
fulfill their ends within the coils of time.  
Two [men], he says, accompany the unknown one.  
Down from his gleaming shoulder  
hangs a sword with an ivory hilt,  
polished javelins in his hands,  
and a Spartan dogskin cap  
covers his ruddy curls.  
A purple shirt is wrapped  
round his body and over that  
a woolen mantle from Thessaly; from his eyes  
a spark of Lemnian fire  
flashes red. He is a boy  
scarce grown, eager for games  
of Ares, wanting war  
and the battle clash of bronze. He comes  
seeking Athens where splendor is.

## On the interpretation of the east frieze: problems and possibilities

A number of crucial problems have already been dealt with in the preceding sections, and the solutions suggested there will be presented afresh within the larger framework of the present section. To discuss concurrently the reconstruction and the interpretation of the Parthenon frieze would inevitably encumber the presentation of the complicated problems to be dealt with in both fields of inquiry. As Berger's conclusions are based on a perfect knowledge of the evidence hardly surpassed by any other scholar, the present analysis of the theme of the Parthenon frieze will be based on the reconstruction proposed by Berger and his collaborators.<sup>57</sup> This has been found compatible in all respects with the conclusions advanced below.

In Antiquity visitors approaching from the Propylaia would have proceeded along the north flank of the Parthenon, thereby following the same direction as the procession depicted on the north side of the frieze (Fig. 2). Eventually they would have faced the east front, where officials and dignitaries could be seen receiving the foremost participants of the procession (Fig. 1a-e).

In passing, visitors might have observed the beginnings of the procession represented on the west front, where riders were shown preparing to mount their horses and to join the procession on the north side (Fig. 5). However, they might well have failed to notice that the south side was decorated with a procession resembling roughly the one on the north side, but heading towards the east front. The puzzling fact that what seemed intended to represent one and the same procession was subdivided into two different branches could not be ignored on the east front where two female processions confronted each other. The problem was solved in the best way possible by giving the north branch preference as the one first to be received by the officials, and by suggesting by means of discreet indications (in particular the beckoning gesture of the figure east 47) that the south branch should be expected to follow and to join the northern one. Indirectly this arrangement was dictated by the planners' decision to make the

frieze cover all the sides of the building and to maintain the unities of time, place, and action throughout its complete circumference.

Another consequence was the symmetrical composition of the east front in its entirety which must have deviated radically from the life-like gathering, that this side of the frieze must have been intended to reproduce (Fig. 1a-e). On both sides of its centre was portrayed a group of six seated gods or goddesses in profile: on the left Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, Ares, Hera (with Iris standing at her side) and Zeus; on the right Athena with Hephaistos, Poseidon with Apollon, and Artemis with Aphrodite (Eros leaning against her lap).

On either side of the divine spectators the axial symmetry was extended to comprise a group of four standing men leaning on their sticks. The outermost ones in each of these groups were bearded elders, altogether four (20, 23, 43, 46).

The two in the middle of the group on the right are supposed to represent King Aigeus leaning affectionately on the shoulder of his son Theseus 44 and conversing with the *phylobasileus* 46, who is probably meant to be the one in charge of the tribe, under which the phratry of King Aigeus was understood to belong (Fig. 1d). This was possibly the tribe of the *Geleontes* which is the one first mentioned among the four, both by Herodotus (5.66.2) and by Euripides (Ion 1579). The *phylobasileus* of the *Geleontes* presided at the *Synoikia* on the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> *Hekatombaion* which had characteristic features in common with the *Anarrhysis* of the *Apatouria*.<sup>58</sup>

In the group on the left, the middlemost two, 21 and 22, are assumed to represent the "two men" (*dyo phôte*), who according to Bacchylides<sup>59</sup> were Theseus' fellow travellers on his way to Athens. They are being respectfully received by the two *phylobasileis* 20 and 23, and in accordance with traditional Greek hospitality they will be offered a seat (Fig. 18). Two stools for them are being brought by the girls 31 and 32 (on these, see

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<sup>57</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Fig. 10, lines 35 and 47.

<sup>59</sup> Bacchylides line 45.1.

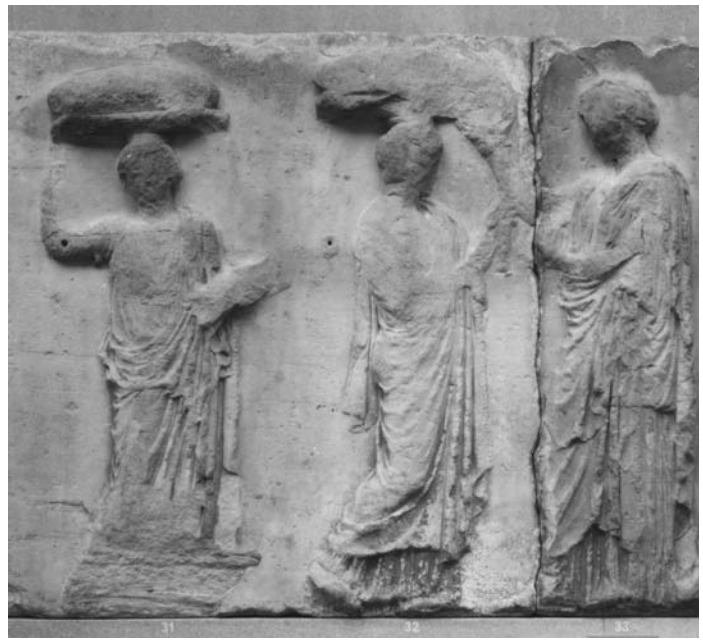


Fig. 18. Height of the stools carried by the girls east 31-32 as compared to those for whom they are assumed to be intended, Theseus' fellow-travellers east 21-22. The size of each stool is adjusted to fit the height of the girl by whom it is carried, 32 being somewhat taller than 31. In contradistinction to the chairs on which the gods and goddesses are seated, the stools should probably be seen as easily movable and ready-made for provisional purposes.

further below). The axial symmetry is widened additionally by two men on either side, 18-19 and 47-48. What remains of the heads of 19, 47, and 48 makes clear that they are beardless, while in the case of 18, the scanty indications hardly permit a definite conclusion. At any rate they should probably be understood to assist the *phylobasileis*.<sup>60</sup> While the latter are receiving and paying homage to distinguished visitors and guests, it is left to their assistants to supervise and control the arrival of both branches of the procession. Evidently, 48 is watching attentively the activities of the official 49 in his ceremonious dealings with the girls 50-51.

A hole drilled into the right hand of Hermes 24 may well have held his *kerykeion*, the professional badge of the heralds (Fig. 19; another attribute typical of Hermes, the broad-brimmed traveller's hat, *petasos*, is lying in his lap). To judge from pin-holes on one or both sides of their lowered right hands, 48 and 52 were both holding a *kerykeion* (Figs. 6 and 20). As has been observed by previous writers, the flexed index finger of the raised right hand of 47 demonstrates that he is summoning the girls in the group on the left to join those on the

right (Fig. 6). A *kerykeion* held in his hand would not have made the message more obvious, but would inevitably have interfered with the head of the *phylobasileus* 46. Momentarily 18 and 19 are too deeply involved in conversation to notice the cooperation requested from them by 47. While the girls behind them are waiting for signals to proceed, 18 and 19 avail themselves of the opportunity of having a confidential chat. 19 is resting comfortably on his stick, supporting one arm on the hip while the other one is hanging slack, and is listening to 18. While standing upright, 18 is accompanying his speech with an explanatory gesture of his left hand. His right arm is slightly raised, probably to emphasize the point he is arguing. Two drilled holes inside the clenched fist cannot reasonably well be interpreted to indicate that it held an object of any relevance to the situation depicted, let alone a *kerykeion*.

In conclusion, only two, 48 and 52, can be shown to have carried an object in their hand like-

<sup>60</sup> On heralds, see RE 29 (1921), s.v. *Keryx*, 349-57.





Fig. 19. East 24, Hermes. Note the petasos on his lap, and a hole in his right hand, possibly to hold his kerykeion, as demonstrated in the appended sketch (KJ).

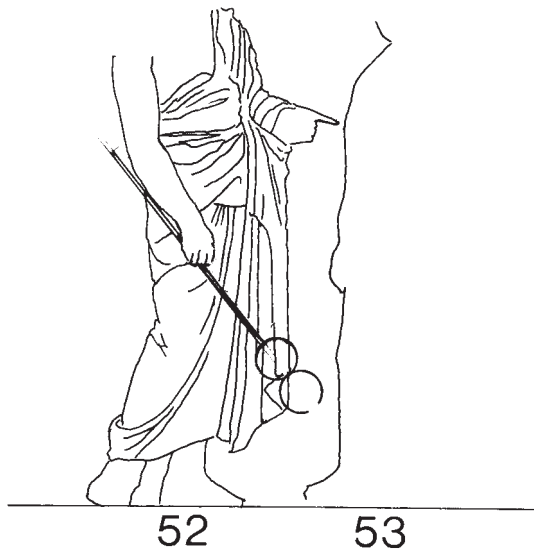


Fig. 20. East 52. Brommer 1977, Tf. 186, 122: “Auf die erste Zweiergruppe der Mädchen (50, 51) folgt ein Mann (52) in ähnlicher Haltung wie 49 und ebenso bekleidet. Er hat den linken Zeigefinger zu den folgenden Mädchen hin ausgestreckt. Die Rechte ist gesenkt und geballt; links oberhalb und rechts unterhalb von ihr ist ein Stiftdloch für ein Attribut, das schon Carrey nicht mehr sah”. On the photo Tf. 186 only the upper hole is verifiable, but it seems likely that the object represented was a kerykeion of bronze like the one that was carried by east 48 (cf. Fig. 6).

ly to be the kerykeion. Of these, 52 would be the herald attached to 49, and 48 probably the one attached to the phyllobasileus 46. However, judging from the symmetrical composition prevailing on the east frieze, the groups 18-19 and 47-48 should probably be interpreted as counterparts attached to the left and the right group of phyllobasileis, respectively. 48 is undoubtedly supposed to represent a keryx. Judging from the arrangement chosen, there was only one official who could be entrusted with transactions like those of 49. As he could not have attended to both branches of the procession at a time, he must of necessity be reserved for one of them. If therefore, as seems likely, the eponymous archon is meant, this is an additional argument in support of the assumption that the north branch of the procession should be seen as the one first received by the supreme officials supervising the festival.

An inquiry into the details of the episode in which 49 is involved may help establishing his identity. 52 (Fig. 20) is probably his herald, whose kerykeion has already been mentioned. With the index finger of his left hand he is pointing inquisitively at the two empty-handed girls 53 and 54 standing before him, giving instructions to them or



Fig. 21a-d. Close-ups of the eponymous Archon east 49 and the epikleroi east 50-51. Cast in Antikmuseet, University of Aarhus (photo KJ).

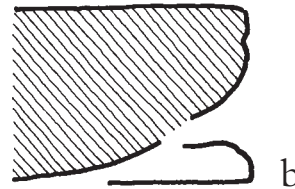
asking questions. The girls are dressed in a peplos and are wearing a himation around their shoulders. Behind 52 are standing two similarly dressed and empty-handed girls 50-51 who are being addressed by 49. With both hands he is lifting before their eyes what appears to be a kind of receptacle, as if to show them its contents (Fig. 21a-d). On top of it there is nothing but a flat surface, and it is of uniform height. To judge from the little that survives of its side, this was slightly concave in section. Inside the fractured area are four drilled holes that may have secured the attachment of parts in bronze. But the way in which the receptacle is held by 49, one hand supporting its bottom and the other hand grasping its rim suggests that it has

no handles; and as it is being kept slightly tilted towards the girls – probably to make it easier for them to perceive what is inside – its contents are more likely to be of solid rather than of liquid matter. As their arms are hanging slack, the girls are evidently not on the point of receiving or handing over the receptacle.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, supposing that 49 is asking 50-51 to take an oath, its con-

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Berger *et. al.* 1996, 167: “... einen flachen, mit vier Bohrlöchern versehenen Gegenstand, der wohl ein Opfertablett ist. Vielleicht waren darauf Opfergaben gemalt, welche die Mädchen 50-51 herangebracht haben”. This possibility is in no way supported by indications surviving on the frieze!



Fig. 22. a: Close-up of the Diphrophoros east 31; b: Outline of the battered remains of the footstool held by the left hand of east 31. Note its foot in the form of a projecting lion's paw. (Ill.KJ)



tents may well be the substance that they are requested to swear by.

Without an interval separating the two groups of divine spectators, the innermost figures Zeus 30 and Athena 36 would have turned their backs directly upon each other. Making a virtue of necessity, the space reserved was made as wide as to provide ample room for five standing persons: the woman 33 ordering two young girls 31 and 32 to bring stools, presumably for the guests 21 and 22; and the small boy 35 receiving, to all appearances, a folded piece of cloth from the official 34 (Fig. 8a-b).<sup>62</sup> The problems concerning the interpretation of 34, the cloth he is holding between his hands, and the function of the boy before him have already been discussed. His position in the middle of the east frieze supports the assumption that he must be an official of the highest importance, and it is widely agreed that he can hardly be any other than the archon basileus, the chief priest of the State whose functions were essentially to preside over the State's worship.<sup>63</sup> No matter whether the piece of cloth, he is holding, is meant to be a peplos or an himation, it must be one of which he has just divested himself, and as already argued it cannot possibly be the woollen peplos that was to be presented to Athena Polias at the Great Panathenaia. The truth of the matter may be the simple conclusion that he is entrusting the boy 35 with putting aside provisionally the cloth while preparing himself for implementing his duties at the forthcoming sacrifices.

While standing very close to the archon

basileus, the woman 33 may well be his wife, the basilinna, who was known to share some older religious ceremonies with her husband.<sup>64</sup> On the frieze she is ordering the two underage girls 31 and 32 to carry stools for the guests at the festival (Fig. 18). Her head being turned to the left, 31 seems to be waiting for 32 to follow her in the direction towards 21 and 22. In addition to balancing a stool on her head, 31 is carrying on her left arm what appears to be a foot-stool (badly broken, but one of its paw-shaped lion's legs is clearly visible in outline on the background of the frieze, (Fig. 22). 33 seems to be helping 32 to steady the stool on her head, while the girl is seizing with her left hand one of the stool's legs (Fig. 23). Her right forearm is lost, and so is the left forearm of 33. There seems to be no cogent reason for assuming that 35 should be understood to represent a girl rather than a boy.<sup>65</sup>

Brommer gives a useful account of all the interpretations of 31-33 that had been suggested until 1977.<sup>66</sup> The discussion of the evidence for the stools has been resumed by Burkhardt Wesenberg.<sup>67</sup> According to Wesenberg's hypothesis, what is usually supposed to be the right leg of the

<sup>62</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 134.

<sup>63</sup> Parke 1977, 17; Brommer 1977, 268.

<sup>64</sup> Parke 1977, 110.

<sup>65</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 159.

<sup>66</sup> Brommer 1977, 266-7 ("Stuhlträgerinnen"); cf. the list "Übergabe des Peplos" in Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 171-4.

<sup>67</sup> Wesenberg 1993, 32-41.





Fig. 23. The Basilinna, east 33, adjusting the stool on the head of 32 (photo KJ).

stool carried by 32 is meant to be “eine Stablampe”, i.e. an oil lamp of conventional design carried on top of a vertical staff, of a type known from Hellenistic Delos (Fig. 24a). However, as observed by Berger,<sup>68</sup> the top of it has exactly the same curved form as legs of stools turned on a lathe like those on which are seated, for example, Poseidon 38 and Apollon 39 (Fig. 24b).<sup>69</sup> Behind it is seen the right hand of 33 supporting the seat of the stool, but indications of what the “nose” of the lamp would have looked like are not preserved. If the hypothesis were to hold good, the form of the lamp must have been copied with slavish accuracy from the leg of a stool! In all likelihood, the object represented is definitely a stool’s leg, the seat above it is a stool’s seat with a cushion on top of it, and the foot of the missing leg must have been attached at the broken area indicating

the position of its foot. We may be confident, therefore, that what 32 carries on her head is a stool exactly like that of 31, though less well-preserved. Their positions surrounded by gods and goddesses may seem to prevent the girls from delivering their stools to 21 and 22, but as the projecting feet of Hermes 24 and Aphrodite 41 cover the feet and lower part of the adjoining phyllobasileis 23 and 43 (Fig. 19),<sup>70</sup> the divine spectators are understood to be seated in the foreground of the frieze, while behind them are located the groups of four, 20–23 and 43–46, and probably the central group 31–35 as well. A more sophisticated, but hardly more convincing interpretation has been suggested by the author of the following description:<sup>71</sup> “Um seine Vermittlerrolle zu unterstreichen, stellt der Götterbote ostentativ seinen linken Fuss vor den anschliessenden Phylenheros”.

It may be conjectured that 31–35 constitutes the complete family of the archon basileus, and if so, the visual manifestation of its solidarity on the frieze should possibly be seen as particularly relevant on the background of the Apatouria as a festival demonstrating concord within each family and in its relations with the community. 31 and 32 have been tentatively identified as the two arrhephoroi who presided at the weaving of Athenas peplos.<sup>72</sup> The posts of the arrhephoroi, altogether four, were thrown open to daughters of noble families, who were designated by the archon basileus. His nominations were confirmed by a vote of the people<sup>73</sup> and might have included daughters of his own. If so, they should not be supposed to officiate on the frieze in their capacity as arrhephoroi, but rather be seen merely as daughters at their father’s domestic service. If affairs involving women and their bodily presence were dealt with on the day of the Anarrhysis, they must have implied transactions of a particular character that could not have been carried into effect

<sup>68</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 158.

<sup>69</sup> See also Brommer 1977, pl. 178.

<sup>70</sup> See also Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 131, 136.

<sup>71</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 154.

<sup>72</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 171–4.

<sup>73</sup> Parke 1977, 141.

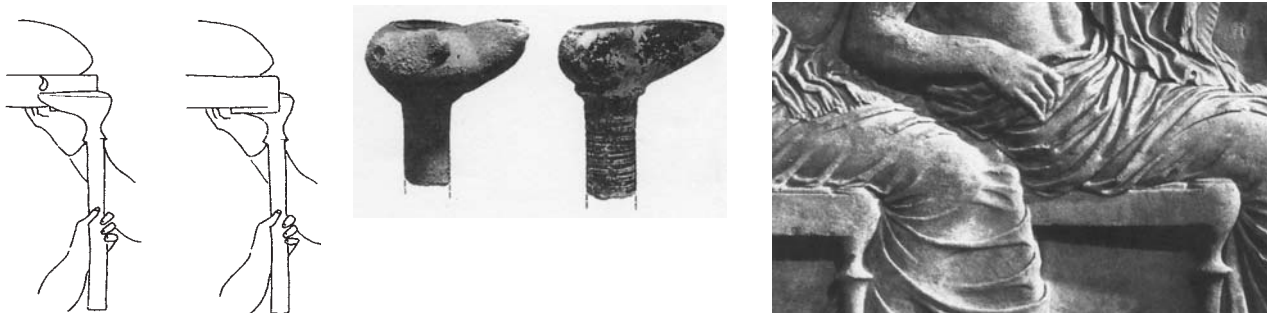


Fig. 24. a.: Leg of stool carried by east 32 tentatively reconstructed in the form of a lamp elevated on vertical support of a type known from Hellenistic Delos (after Wesenberg 1993, figs. 13-4). b.: Chairs of Poseidon and Apollo, east 38-39 (After Brommer 1977, Tf. 178).

in connection with the Koureotis.<sup>74</sup> However, certain cases concerning women whose position in their family had become precarious on account of the death of their father, the so-called epikleroi, were not allowed to be handled within the phratries, but were submitted to the jurisdiction of the eponymous archon who took action in the name and interest of the State.

A widow left childless would either have to return to her father's family or to remarry, the estate left by her husband being adjudicated to the closest male relative in his family. If only heiresses were left, one of these might inherit her father's estate provisionally, provided that a next of kin on her father's side would be willing to marry her. The husband would then become warden of the estate until it could be lawfully inherited by a male descendant. A brotherless heiress could not become an epikleros, if her paternal grandfather was still alive, or if her brother or brothers had left

sons. From the point of view of the State, the purpose of the epikleros arrangement was to secure that estates, in particular landed estates, remained in possession of the families to which they traditionally belonged. Epikleroi were legally marriageable at the age of 14, but until that age and until they eventually married (the marriage might be considerably delayed by protracted negotiations in the law-court), the management of their estates was entrusted to wardens.

Typically, the epikleros would marry one of her father's brothers. As her father had died, and as by definition, none of her brothers or her brothers' sons were alive (otherwise she could not have become an epikleros), her closest relatives were her mother and her sisters (Fig. 25). These were

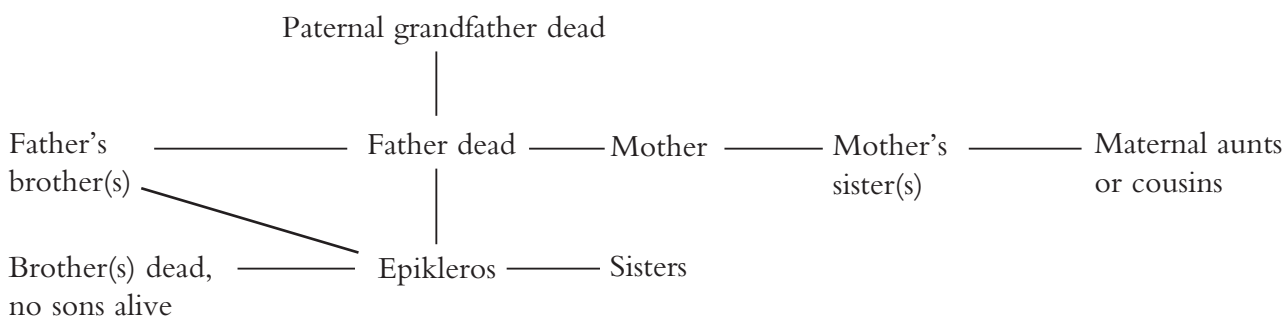


Fig. 25. Stemma illustrating the situation of an epikleros.

<sup>74</sup> On the sacrifices celebrating marriages that were performed on the day of the Koureotis, cf. above p. 120.

also, technically speaking, epikleroi, and might already have been adjudicated in marriage themselves. If her mother was no longer alive, or if she had no sisters, other female relatives such as maternal aunts or cousins might take their place. All these relatives would presumably be present as witnesses confirming by a libation their acceptance of the legal adjudication of the epikleros, if as here assumed (see further below), this was ratified at a solemnity under the auspices of the Anarrhysis at the Apatouria. The prospective “interim husbands” would already have consented to the court’s decision by their presence in the court, to which, however, women were not admitted.

There is no basis for calculating how many daughters of prematurely deceased fathers, or sisters of brothers perished in warfare might, on the average, have become epikleroi every year in historical times. The ceaseless warfare conducted by Athens at the prime of its power must have continuously reduced the male population, fathers as well as sons, in proportion to the basic stock of women. The number of the epikleroi shown on the frieze, if these are estimated to be identical with the eight empty-handed girls 12, 14, 16, 17, 50, 51, 53, and 54, would therefore hardly have been considered abnormally high. The legal procedure at the trial in the court was followed with intense interest by the public, and speeches of famous orators survive in which the often complicated issues on rights of inheritance are dealt with in great detail. As Walter Kirkpatrick Lacey puts it: “The arrangement for the marriage of an epikleros was ... of the deepest concern both to her relatives and to the State, and at Athens at least ... we can prove the existence of elaborate legal provisions to ensure that a lack of sons did not cause a family to become extinct, and that the future of girls without brothers was not simply left in the hands of their father’s kinsmen”.<sup>75</sup>

Distributed in two groups on the frieze there are altogether twenty-nine girls, four empty-handed in either group, those on the left 12, 14, 16, 17 being accompanied by twelve and those on the right 50–51, 53–54 by nine girls holding in their hands sacrificial bowls or jugs, 56 and 57 carrying together a large incense burner, and 13 and 15 car-

rying trumpet-like stands (Fig. 26).<sup>76</sup> While the attendants are grown-up women, the girls 50–51 and 53–54 are a little lower (3–4 cm.) and probably also understood to be somewhat younger, though sufficiently developed to be physically marriageable, their breasts being clearly indicated. 56–63 may be understood to represent their mothers or married sisters; or, in lieu of mothers, sisters of the mothers. 55 who has the same height and wears the same dress as the empty-handed girls, but carries a sacrificial bowl, may be assumed to represent a relative of one of the epikleroi to whom an “interim husband” has not yet been assigned. The four epikleroi on the left side, who appear to be full-grown, 12, 14, 16, 17, are attended by twelve relatives, on the average three per epikleros.

The epikleroi are not in any way characterized as brides. They are not even wearing the veil which was customary for brides to put on at the wedding. Consequently they have not yet been officially married, and the marriage ceremonies may be scheduled to take place later on the same day or on the following day, the Koureotis. At the Anarrhysis, it may be assumed, the epikleroi were expected only to confirm by oath that they would abide on the solution of their inheritance problems decided in the court of law. Of the two men 49 and 52 in charge of the procedure, 49 is probably the older, and superior in rank. Most of his head is missing, but judging from Carrey’s drawing<sup>77</sup> it was bearded, a conclusion which is confirmed by the tip of a pointed beard still preserved. On the same drawing, 52 (nowadays headless) appears to be beardless and younger than 49. He is likely, therefore, to be the herald attached to 49. The highest State representative most likely to have been commissioned to officiate at the oath suppos-

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<sup>75</sup> Lacey 1968, 24.

<sup>76</sup> Boardman (1977a, 66) suggests that they may have served as stands for the loom on which Athena’s peplos was woven. However, stands of this form and size are not positively known to have been used to support looms, and from a practical point of view they could hardly have been recommended for such a purpose.

<sup>77</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 143.



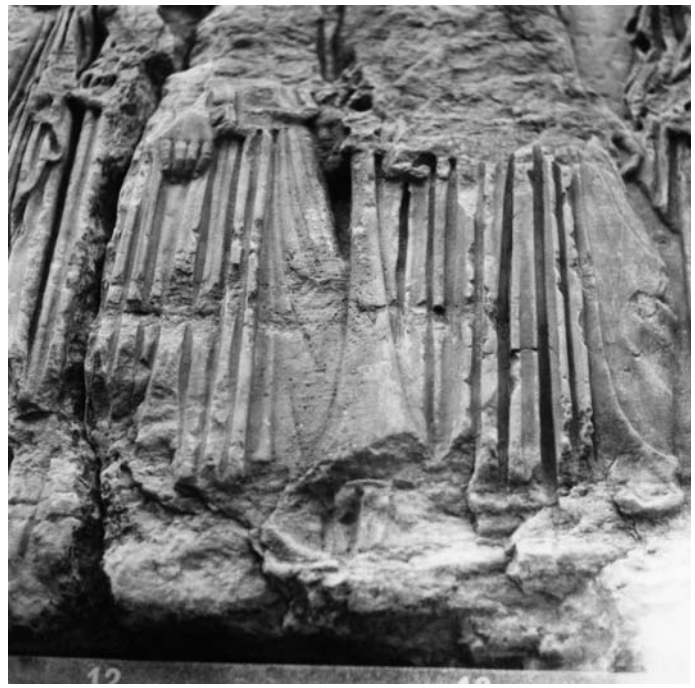


Fig. 26a-b. The empty-handed girls classifiable as epikleroi, east 12 and 14, are accompanied by the attendants 13 and 15 carrying trumpet-shaped objects of an unusual character which has hitherto defied convincing interpretation. Vertical folds of the garment represented underneath the bottoms of the stands make clear that they are not resting on the ground, but are somehow suspended. The following observations are due to John Boardman (1977a, 40): “Over each of their tops a hole is cut obliquely down into the stone, that between 12 and 13 being one of the most substantial attachment holes in the frieze. It should be noted that neither of the carriers actually touches the stand, but they appear to be lifting it by something not indicated, attached to the double-torus top. I cannot satisfactorily explain what went in the holes, but clearly the stands are a pair of which the upper works have been removed”. The appended photos will make the surviving indications reasonably comprehensible. 15 is turning towards the epikleros 14, to whom she appears to be attached, possibly a member of the same family, and a similar relationship may be assumed between the epikleros 12 and her companion 13.

edly sworn by the epikleroi would have been the eponymous archon among whose duties was to secure, in the interest of the State, the maintenance of traditional family ties and hereditary continuity. He also took care of the orphans and the epikleroi: ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ (ὁ ἄρχων) τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων.<sup>78</sup> The eponymous archon is known to have resided at the common hearth of the people in the Prytaneion, and an inscription mentions his private messenger, the keryx archontos,<sup>79</sup> identifiable, presumably, with 52 on the frieze.

The activities of 49 have already been described in detail.<sup>80</sup> Possibly the receptacle he is lifting should be assumed to represent a kind of brazier, in which coals from the hearth in the Prytaneion were understood to be smouldering, and by which

the girls are requested to swear. In Greece it was customary to swear by the gods, and the traditional invocation consisted of the affirmative particle νή combined with the name of the god or goddess in the accusative.<sup>81</sup> As hestia, “the hearth”, was believed to be the seat of or identical with the goddess of the same name, swearing by Hestia would imply that the hestia of a particular hearth should be understood. Hestia would therefore also be inherent in the fire burning on the hearth and in fire transmitted from the hearth to other places

<sup>78</sup> Arist. [Ath. Pol.] 56.6-7.

<sup>79</sup> For the keryx archontos, see SIG 3, 711A, 728A.

<sup>80</sup> Above, p. 126.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. νή τον Δία (by Zeus) or νή την Δημήτρα (by Demeter).

as well.<sup>82</sup> Having his official residence in the Prytaneion, the eponymous archon supervised the maintenance of the fire on the hearth, which must never die out. At the establishment of colonies, fire was brought along from the hearth in the metropolis of the settlers' mother country.<sup>83</sup> If a fire went out or was believed to be contaminated, it could be replaced by fire transferred from an unpolluted hearth, as it happened when after the withdrawal of the Persians from Greece in 479 BC, new fire was brought from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi to cities in territories that had previously been occupied by the enemy.<sup>84</sup>

Alternative attempts to identify the women on the frieze and to explain their activities in connection with the officials 49 and 52 have failed to reach convincing conclusions based on tenable arguments. Luigi Beschi thinks that the women are the *ergastinaí* who prepared the wool for Athena's peplos, the left group representing married, the right group unmarried women.<sup>85</sup> However, as the two inscriptions IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034 and 1036 make clear,<sup>86</sup> all the *ergastinaí* were unmarried and still under the tutelage of their fathers. Besides, the sacrificial bowls carried by seven or eight of the women on the frieze cannot reasonably well be identical with those offered to Athena by all the *ergastinaí*, since other women are carrying jugs. For no obvious reason eight are empty-handed and may well be assumed to be those on whose behalf the sacrifices were to be performed. While reconsidering the observations and conclusions bearing on the interpretation of the east frieze that have so far been submitted for reflection, readers may question the relevance of the oath of the *epikleroi* in a context supposed to deal primarily with Theseus' introduction for enrolment in his father's phratry. Unfortunately, except that sacrifices were performed for Zeus Phratrios and Athena, nothing is known of the official agenda on the day of the Anarrhysis. Undoubtedly, they were transacted on behalf of the State, while enrolment in the phratries did not take place until the following day and was carried out in the applicants' private quarters.

According to Suda, the Anarrhysis was the principal day of the Apatouria.<sup>87</sup> On that day affairs of

common interest may have been administered which it would not have been within the competency of individual phratries to deal with or to decide on. In all probability, a procession was arranged rallying all the young men who intended to apply for enrolment in their fathers' phratries on the next day, a show that might well have incorporated an attractive element of female participation: the *epikleroi* to be sworn in for their marriage which might take place on the same day and might be formally approved of by the bridegroom's phratry on the following day. As the settlement of the problems of the *epikleroi* was a matter of consequence both to the State and to the phratries, the Anarrhysis would have provided an obvious opportunity for the announcement in public of decisions within the field of legal administration.

The *epikleros* hypothesis appears to be the only one so far advanced that can be claimed to explain exhaustively what may be seen as the most emotional episode on the frieze. By being confronted with the eponymous archon, his brazier and his *keryx*, the girls before them seem deeply impressed (Fig. 21c-d). There is no additional evidence available as to when and where these ceremonies used to take place, but since nothing is actually known of the agenda on the Anarrhysis (apart from the sacrifices), it may be assumed that the affairs of the *epikleroi* was the first spectacular event to be attended to on that day. The *epikleroi* could hardly in any way have been related to the presence of Theseus or to the citizenship he might be assumed to apply for, but as represented on the frieze they might have helped observers to identify the festival

<sup>82</sup> The expression *νή την Ἑστίαν* is found in fr. 185 from Antiphanes' comedy *Parasitos*, in which a parasite praises a culinary titbit in the following terms: ἀστειὸν γε, *νή την Ἑστίαν*, *ariston* (tasty, and by Hestia, excellent). The food referred to is probably understood to have been prepared on the hearth, hence the ambiguous invocation of Hestia.

<sup>83</sup> Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 20.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. n. 83.

<sup>85</sup> Beschi 1984, 11.

<sup>86</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1034, lines 7-8: οἱ πατ[έρες] τῶν Παρθένων [τῶν ἡορ]ασμένων τῆι Αθηνᾶι τὰ ἔρια τὰ [εἰς τὸν] πέπλον.

<sup>87</sup> κυρία τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἡμέρα, Suda s.v. *anarrhyei*.

referred to by recalling a characteristic episode well known to people who from childhood had had the opportunity to attend popular sights at the annual Anarrhysis. It may even be conjectured that without the reference to the epikleroi (to whom Aphrodite 41 appears to attract the observer's attention), it might have been difficult to make the spectacle depicted on the frieze immediately intelligible to spectators inspecting its details at a distance.

The rights of the epikleroi may have been regulated by customary practice from time immemorial, long before they were defined in terms of legislation. At any rate codified provisions must have existed before additions and amendments were introduced on the initiative of Solon c. 600 BC.<sup>88</sup> By abstaining from sexual intercourse with the epikleros, the "interim husband" might avoid making her pregnant, thus prolonging his wardship indefinitely. With a view to promoting fertility and forcing him to fulfil his obligations, it was decided that "the bride should eat of the quince before being shut up with the bridegroom, and that he should visit her at least three times monthly".<sup>89</sup>

As has been shown above, the composition of the east frieze was based on the principle of axial symmetry, and this was not only defined on formal criteria, but also on the functional similarity of the groups of figures comparing to each other, thus:

East 24-30 and 36-42: the two groups of gods and goddesses

East 20, 23 and 43, 46: the two groups of phylobasileis

East 18, 19 and 47, 48: two groups of heralds or marshals attached to the phylobasileis

2-17 and 50, 51, 53-63: the two groups of epikleroi and their attendants

21, 22 and 44, 45: Theseus' fellow travellers/Aigeus and Theseus

Placed regardless of the symmetrical disposition (attention being thereby called to their presence as officials in action) are the eponymous archon 49 and his herald 52. Asymmetrical in itself is the composition of the central group 31-35.

The formal arrangement on the east frieze could not, of course, have copied the reception of the procession, as it actually took place. However, if the festival represented was really the Apatouria, prominent representatives of the four tribes and twelve phratries must have been present. As demonstrated above, the phylobasileis may well be the four distinguished elders 20, 23, 43, and 46 who in their capacity as official hosts are attending to King Aigeus, Theseus, and Theseus' fellow travellers. Besides, among the sixteen distinguished elders in the middle of the north side (north 30-43) were possibly represented the twelve phratriarchs.<sup>90</sup> At a State festival like the Anarrhysis, top officials of the city of Athens such as the archon basileus and the eponymous archon could hardly have been missing and are in fact hypothetically identifiable with 34 and 49 (the latter, assisted by his herald 52, dealing with the affairs of the epikleroi). This conclusion leaves no important figure impossible to identify, and no official seem to be missing among those expected to be present.

According to Aristotle, the offices of the archon basileus and the eponymous archon were believed to have existed before the time of Draco (late 7th century BC),<sup>91</sup> while those of the four phylobasileis dated already "from the time after the settlement at Athens of Ion and his companions, for it was then that the people were first divided into the four Tribes and appointed the Tribal Kings".<sup>92</sup> This was as far back as the existence of these offices could be traced with some probability, and there was hardly any reason for doubting that they might have been even older, or that their origins might have been lost in the vicissitudes of the monarchic constitution of Athens following the reign of Theseus.

So far, the Apatouria of the Classical period

<sup>88</sup> Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 20.

<sup>89</sup> εἰς τοῦτο δὲ συντελεῖ καὶ τὸ τὴν νύμφην τῷ νυμφίῳ συγκαθειργνυσθαι μήλου κυδωνίου κατατραγοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ τρεῖς ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἐντυγχάνειν πάντως τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ τὸν λαβόντα.

<sup>90</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 50-1.

<sup>91</sup> Arist. [Ath. Pol.] 3.

<sup>92</sup> Arist. [Ath. Pol.] 41. 2.

would scarcely have differed much from the festival characteristic of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, or even earlier centuries. Religious institutions tend to be extremely conservative, and what might have changed considerably in the course of a long period was not necessarily the organization of the festival and its rituals and ceremonies, but more likely the social composition of the citizens expected to or permitted to take active part in the festival. Theseus was believed to have united Athens and Attica, which achievement was commemorated at the annual celebration of the State festival called Synoikia. On a fragment of the revised code of the State religion drawn up in the period 403-367 BC (Fig. 28) are specified the sacrifices at the Synoikia. These were performed every year on the 16<sup>th</sup> Hekatombaion and every second year in a larger and extended form including also the 15<sup>th</sup> of the same month. On the latter date was sacrificed on behalf of the tribe of the Geleontes and the trittys of the Leukotainioi a sheep paid from “the funds of the phylobasileis” (τὰ φυλοβασιλικά). As emoluments, the four phylobasileis received the backbone of the animal (φυλοβασιλῆσι νότο, lines 40-41), while its shoulder, feet, and head were reserved for the herald (κῆρουκι lines 42-43; probably the one attached to the phylobasileus of the Geleontes).

On the 16<sup>th</sup> were sacrificed on behalf of the tribe of the Geleontes (no trittys being specified) two cows to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria paid by “the funds of the phylobasileis”. As emoluments, the officiating phylobasileus of the tribe of the Geleontes received a shank, and his herald chest, feet, and head of a victim. According to what remains of the following two lines 57-58, a certain number of measures of barley was reserved for one of the officials, but the rest of the column, and with it, the last specifications of the Synoikia on the 16<sup>th</sup> Hekatombaion, are lost. As the names of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria imply, the same gods were worshipped as on the Anarrhysis of the Apatouria,<sup>93</sup> and the same officials, the phylobasileis, were probably involved in the sacrificial ceremonies. What was left of the two cows (line 50 boe dyo) when the phylobasileus and his herald had got their shares could hardly have sufficed to

feed the public attending the festival. For that purpose an additional sacrifice must have been specified in the missing part of the inscription.

Thukydides confirms the celebration of the Synoikia on the 16<sup>th</sup> Hekatombaion: “Thereafter (the time of the Synoikism) and even in our day the Athenians arrange a State festival in honour of the goddess”.<sup>94</sup> Before the Synoikism, Thukydides explains, people in Attica lived in towns. As they minded their own affairs, each town having its individual Prytaneion and administration, there was no reason why they should consult the King of Athens. But while people continued to live in their proper places, Theseus replaced the local institutions by a common Prytaneion and a common administration. In all probability, the subdivision of the Attic population into four tribes and twelve phratries could not have been introduced in consequence of the Synoikism, but existed before and reflected a distribution based to some extent on geographical criteria. Judging from the succession in which the names of the four tribes are quoted by Herodotus and Euripides,<sup>95</sup> the tribe of the Geleontes (Gleontes) was the first to be mentioned in the official order. Of the trittys of the leukotainioi (“those with the white headbands”) nothing is known but the name.

The code for the Synoikia revised after 403 BC proves that at that time the phylobasileis were still in charge of the festival and defrayed the expenses from funds at their own disposal. Presumably, therefore, they were also actively participating in the preparations for the Anarrhysis at the Apatouria, at the time when the Parthenon frieze was planned; and if the festival chosen to be represented on the frieze was in actual fact the Anarrhysis, it could be reasonably anticipated that the phylobasileis were represented among the dignitaries receiving the procession on the east front.

Judging from the objects of bronze that were fastened in pin-holes drilled on both sides of their

<sup>93</sup> Athena, however, without surname, according to Scholion to *Ar. Ach.* 1.146.

<sup>94</sup> Thuc. 2.15: ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆ θεῶ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσι.

<sup>95</sup> Hdt. 5.66.2.; Eur. *Ion* 1579.



hands, in all probability *kerykeia*, the insignia typical of heralds (Figs. 6, 20 and 27), 48 and 52 should presumably be interpreted as the heralds attached to the eponymous archon 49 and the *phylobasileus* 46, respectively. 46 is the one officially addressing Aigeus and Theseus, leaving it to his herald 48 to supervise the arrival of the procession on the right. Of the three other *phylobasileis*, 43 is just listening to the conversation going on within his group, while 20 and 23 are paying compliments to Theseus' fellow travellers in their capacity as guests, thus characterized by the stools being brought to them by the girls 31 and 32.

The official host at the reception seems to be 46, to whom Theseus is being introduced as applicant for enrolment into Aigeus' *phratry*. 46 may well be identical with the *phylobasileus* of the tribe of the *Geleontes*, who officiated together with his herald at the festival of the *Synoikia* on the 16<sup>th</sup> *Hekatombaion* (Fig. 28, lines 47 and 53). As the *Geleontes* are those first mentioned in the official order of the four tribes quoted both by Herodotus and Euripides, they may have enjoyed the privilege of being "*primi inter pares*".

At the *Synoikia* on the 16<sup>th</sup> *Hekatombaion*, two cows were sacrificed to Zeus *Phratrios* and Athena *Phratria*, from which the *phylobasileus* received "a leg" (*φυλοδοσιλεῖ σκέλος*) and his herald "parts of chest, feet, and head" (*κήρυκι χέλους ποδῶν κεφαλῆς*). The costs were defrayed "from the funds of the *phylobasileis*" (*ἐκ τῶν φυλοδοσιλικῶν*).

The study of the longer sides and of the west side of the Parthenon frieze in the following section will reveal, to which extent additional evidence can be adduced in support of the hypothesis so far defined and discussed.

## The longer sides and the west side

The four oxen and four sheep advancing on the north side of the procession while approaching the north-east corner<sup>96</sup> may be plausibly explained as victims intended for Zeus *Phratrios* and Athena (*Phratria*), an ox for Zeus and a sheep for Athena on behalf of each of the four tribes.

As will be shown below, the number of cows on the south side - 10 - is not so easily accounted for.



Fig. 27. West 23. The figure was holding with his left hand piece of an oblong shaft carved in marble, which was prolonged at both ends, as indicated by two pin holes on the left lower arm and two across the skirt. Judging from its shape and size, the object may have resembled a *kerykeion*, although elsewhere on the frieze *kerykeia* were added entirely of bronze (east 48 and 52). The dignified posture of west 23 may suggest that the figure should be understood to give an order, perhaps to another official standing at a distance to the left (cf. east 47, Fig. 6) (after Brommer 1977, Tf. 36).

It is remarkable, though, that the oxen on slab II on the north side and on slab XLII on the south side are throwing backwards their heads, thereby assuming the attitude characterized by the verb *ἀναρρῦειν*, which made it easy to cut the animal's throat. This is also the sacrificial procedure implied in the name of the *Anarrhysis*, which must have been referred to, directly or indirectly, on the frieze, if this is correctly interpreted as a reproduction of the festival on the second day of the *Apatouria*. After the victims on the north side follow various groups of servants: three or four carry-

<sup>96</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 44-5.

		30 Τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται Ἀ[θήνησιν].	
	[οἶνο] ἕξ χόες	Ἴκατομβαιῶνος	60 ΔΓΓ Θέμιδι οἶς
	[ἐλαί]ο χῶς	πέμπτη ἐπὶ δέκα	ΔΓ Διὶ Ἐρκείω ο[ἶς]
	[μέλιτ]ο[ς] ἡμίχον	ἐκ τῶν φυλο-	ΔΓΓ Δήμητρι οἶς
	[- -] [ιερωσ]υ[ρ]α	βασιλικῶν	Φερρεφάτη[ι]
5	[δευτέραι] φθίνοντος	35 Γλεόντων φυλῆι	ΔΓΓΓ κριός
	[ἐκ τῶν κα]τὰ μῆνα	Λευκοταινίων	65 ΔΓ Εὐμόλῳ ο[ἶς]
	[. . . .]αι φᾶρος	τριτυῖ οἶν	ΔΓ Δελίχῳ ἤ[ρω] οἶς
	[. . . .] καθαρῶν	ΓΓΓΓ λειπογράφου	ΔΓ Ἀρχηγέτη[ι οἶς]
	[. . . .]ρες	ΓΓΓΓΙ ἱερω[σ]υνα	ΔΓ Πολυξέν[ω] οἶς
10	[. . . .]ρες	40 φυλοβ[α]σιλεῦσι	Θρεπῶ [- - -]
	[. . . .]ιον	Γ γότο	70 ΔΓΓΓ κριός
	[. . . .]ιαι	κίρυκι ὄμο	ΔΓ Διόκλῳ[ι οἶς]
	[ΔΓΓ] [. . . .]ηι οἶς	ΙΙΙ ποδῶν κεφαλῆς	ΔΓ Κελεῶ [οἶς]
	[. . . .]αι πρὸς	ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα	Εὐμόλῳ [ἴδαι]
15	[ΔΓΓ] [. . . .]ον οἶς	45 ἐκ τῶν φυλο-	ταῦτα [θύσιν]
	[κεράλ]αιον	βασιλικῶν	75 ἱερέα[ι Δήμητρος]
	[. . . .]ΓΙ	Γλεόντων φυλῆι	Η ἀπόμ[ετρα]
	νασαί	Διὶ Φρατρίω καὶ	ἐκ τῶν σ[υμβολῶν(?)]
	[- - - -]ῶνος	Ἀθηναίαι Φρα-	(Γ)ΓΓ χοῖρ[ος - - -]
20	[. . . ? . . . ἰ]σιαμένο	50 τρίαί βόε δύο	ΔΓΓ Ἐστί[αι οἶς]
	[ἐκ τῶν κα]τὰ μῆνα	Π [λ]ειπογράφου	80 ΔΓΓ Ἀθηρ[αίαι οἶς]
	[- -] [Ἀθηρ]αίαι βός κριτή	:ΔΓΓ ἱερωσυνα	Δ Χά[ρισιν - - -]
	[- -] [ιερω]συνα	φυλοβασίλει	Ἐρ[μῆ - - -]
	[ΓΓΓ] [Κορο]ρό[φ]ωι χοῖρος	σκέλος	ΔΓ Ἐν[- - - οἶς]
25	[. . . .]ρωι κριθῶν	55 κήρυ[κ]ι χέλυσ	Δ [- - - - -]
	[μέδιμ]νος	ΓΓΓ ποδ[ῶν] κεφαλῆς	85 ΔΓ Ἡ[φραίστωι(?) οἶς]
	[οἶνο ἀμ]φορεύς	τ[. . .]ει κριθῶν	ΔΓ Α[ιονύσωι(?) οἶς]
	[ἕκτη] ἰσιαμένο	μ[έδιμ]νοι	[- - - - -]
	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	

Fig. 28. At the end of the 5th century BC an Athenian called Nicomachus produced a new code of the state religion, which was completed in 399/8. A slab of this inscription has been found at the American Agora excavations and has been published in *Hesperia* 1935 by James H. Oliver. It deals with sacrifices performed every second year. The central column refers to festivals on the 15th and 16th of the month Hekatombaion which can be shown to deal with the festival of the Synoikia. On the 15th a sheep (ois) is sacrificed on behalf of the tribe of the Geleontes and the trittys of the Leukotainioi. Present are the phylobasileis and a keryx. On the 16th are sacrificed on behalf of the tribe of the Geleontes two cows, one for Zeus Phratrios and one for Athena Phratraia, officiated in the presence of a phylobasileus (probably that of the Geleontes) and a keryx. This festival bears obvious points of resemblance to the one illustrated on the Parthenon frieze.

ing trays (*skaphephoroi*), four carrying pitchers (*hydriaphoroi*), four pipers and four musicians playing the kithara, and sixteen (or seventeen) eld-

ers, six of whom constitute a group of bearded notabilities, possibly six of the twelve phratriarchs, who may have been preceded by the remaining

six, thus leaving four or five of the foremost elders to be differently interpreted.<sup>97</sup> On the south side, the ten oxen leave sufficient space to accommodate to some extent tray-bearers, pipers, and kithara-players.<sup>98</sup> Judging from the two fragments surviving, the group of elders on this side resembled by and large those on the north side.<sup>99</sup>

Possibly in order to avoid dividing the procession on the west frieze into two sections advancing in two diametrically opposite directions, it was preferred to describe on that side riders preparing to proceed exclusively to the left and to join the rear of the north cavalcade, thereby marking the southwest corner as the common point of departure for both branches of the procession.<sup>100</sup> Issuing from the south-west corner can be distinguished on the south side ten groups of six riders, each group wearing the same elements of dress and armour:<sup>101</sup>

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| South 2-7   | Thracian cap (Alopekis), chlamys, chiton, boots   |
| South 8-13  | Bareheaded, naked but for a chlamys around the neck, barefooted                                     |
| South 14-19 | Bareheaded, doubly girded chiton with short sleeves, boots  |
| South 20-25 | Bareheaded, chiton with chlamys, sandals  |
| South 26-31 | Bareheaded, anatomically moulded corselet, chiton with short sleeves, chlamys around the hip, boots |
| South 32-37 | Bareheaded, corselet with shoulder straps and protective flaps, boots                               |
| South 38-43 | Helmets of the "Attic" type, chiton, boots  |
| South 44-49 | Bareheaded, fells above doubly girded chiton, boots   |
| South 50-55 | Petatos on the head (Carrey), chlamys above short-sleeved chiton, barefooted                        |
| South 56-61 | Bareheaded, doubly girded chiton with short sleeves, boots  |

The riders in each group overlap each other in a fan-like arrangement sometimes showing the hindmost horse in its full extent (south 14, 26, 32, 38, and 44) and thereby defining groups that confirm their regular succession. The evidence makes

clear that combinations of various types of protective armour and civilian clothing have been used for the purpose of characterizing each group of riders in distinction to the adjoining groups. Each combination represents one of numerous possibilities that the individual rider might have chosen, if it had been left to him to dress independently of his group.

As the riders in the groups 14-19 and 56-61 are similarly dressed (doubly girded chiton with short sleeves, boots), this equipment should not be understood to apply to an individual unit of riders that used to parade in that particular outfit. Apparently, the sculptors did not mind using twice what was only a distinctive feature of a symbolic character, provided that the two groups involved were kept at a distance from one another sufficient to avoid their being mixed up. If the ten groups should be understood to constitute a military formation ready to take collective action, they would probably have been uniformly equipped. The uniformity in the choice of armour and clothing within each group must have had the purpose of emphasizing its autonomous status. Most likely, each group was commissioned to perform its individual task supervised by an overall authority controlling all the groups at a time. It has been suggested<sup>102</sup> that they should be understood to represent the ten Cleisthenic tribes of the Classical Era, but not in which particular capacity they should be assumed to parade.

As on the south side, the cavalcade on the north side comprises some sixty riders (Fig. 5).<sup>103</sup> Various combinations of dress and armour like those represented in the groups on the south side are exemplified, but by individual riders rather than by groups. In some places riders tend to merge into small clusters; however, as many riders seem to be moving at their own convenience,

<sup>97</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 110-2.

<sup>98</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 110-2.

<sup>99</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 110-1, 120.

<sup>100</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 3.

<sup>101</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 90-104.

<sup>102</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 87.

<sup>103</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 66-79.

no obvious tendency to organized grouping can be observed.<sup>104</sup> It seems likely that of the riders represented, five should be attributed to each of the twelve phratries, but neither groups of five nor groups of fifteen (corresponding to three phratries or one tribe) are clearly definable. The impression is rather one of a certain homogeneity in that the majority of riders are dressed in chiton and chlamys, the folds of which are varied with admirable artistic skill. A few are shown naked with a chlamys around the neck (north 88, 103, 111, 123, 131), and north 116 wears an “Attic” helmet and a cuirass with shoulder straps (cf. south 32–37, 38–43). Everybody seems to proceed irrespective of any particular order, thus bestowing on the riders a touch of youthful cheerfulness and indifference to formalities. In comparison, the riders on the south side look solemn, as if impressed by the importance of the task they have been commissioned to fulfil (on which, see further below).

The riders on the west side are either advancing on horseback towards the north-west corner, obviously in order to join the rear of the northern cavalcade, or have not yet mounted their horses, but are involved in preparations with the obvious intention of doing so. The preparatory activities of the riders north 131 and 133 on the slab adjoining the north-west corner recall the description of similar approaches on the west frieze, thereby linking together the friezes on either side of the north-west corner so as to constitute a coherent progression of riders.<sup>105</sup> Altogether twenty-three horses are shown on the west frieze, of which thirteen have been mounted by their riders, who are already advancing towards the left (west 2, 3, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16–21). The horse between 4 and 6 is nervously prancing on its hind legs, while its presumptive owner 4 is about to tidy his hair or to adjust a fillet around his head. 5, a bearded man wearing sandals and dressed in a mantle, is seen hurrying towards the left, possibly seizing the horse’s bridle in an attempt to pacify the agitated animal. In passing, he turns his head backwards, either addressing reproachfully the indolent looking youth 6, or responding to a call from the herald 23. The bearded rider 8 is dressed in a short, sleeveless chiton, has

a chlamys around his neck, and wears embades (boots) on his feet and a Thracian alopekis on his head. He is probably a groom charged with the task of prompting the young riders to get along, as indicated by the gesture of his right arm. 9 is standing frontally before his horse, seizing its bridle. The horse barely controlled by the bearded groom 15 may well be the one that 12 is looking for, while tying the straps of his sandals.

Like slab III, slab XII has a horse in the middle. It is rubbing its muzzle with one of its forelegs, which may be felt to itch. In frontal position before the horse is standing 23, beardless and dressed in a double-girded sleeveless chiton with a chlamys around his neck. With his right hand he is beckoning towards the left, possibly in order to attract the attention of the marshal west 1 standing near the north-west corner. In his left hand he is carrying a stick, parts of which, as testified by pin holes, were separately added at both ends, probably a kerykeion (Fig. 27). To the right of the horse is a boy wearing a cloak who is gently touching (perhaps caressing) the animal’s flank with his right hand. The rider 25 is leaning on his horse and tightening its bridle in an effort to check its unrest. The prancing horse on the right appears to be left on its own. Equally agitated is the horse prancing between 26 and 27. Judging from what is left of 26, in particular his embades (boots), it is difficult to make out whether he was intended to represent a groom like 8 and 15 or just one of the youthful riders. 27, on the right side of the horse, appears to control it by grasping its bridle. On slab XV are seen two quietly standing horses, the one on the left being bridled, while the one on the right seems to be waiting for its rider, possibly the youth 29 depicted tying his sandals, to take action, cf. 12. The last figure, 30, is busy putting on his dress, a long himation.

In conclusion, in addition to the thirteen mounted riders already specified, eight standing youths 4, 9, 12, 22, 25, 28–29, 30 can be plausibly

<sup>104</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 52–65 (north) and pls. 104–10 (south).

<sup>105</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 51–66, pl. III, north frieze: variant B.





Fig. 29. Apobates contest on inscribed base from the 4th century BC found west of the Acropolis in 1880, Acropolis Museum inv.no. 1326 (After Travlos 1971, fig. 27).

interpreted as applicants for enrolment, while two, 5 and 23, may represent an official and a herald, and two, 8 and 15, are supposedly grooms. The total number of youthful riders therefore amounts to twenty-four, and of the twenty-three horses depicted, two are provisionally controlled by the grooms 8 and 15.

Preceding the riders on the longer sides are depicted two rows of four-horse chariots, ten on the south side and eleven or twelve on the north side.<sup>106</sup> As argued by Berger, twelve equalling the number of the phratries may be considered a probable figure.<sup>107</sup> The chariots are guided by charioteers accompanied by hoplites each carrying a round shield and a helmet. The hoplite is either standing beside the charioteer or is resting one foot on the chariot-body while trailing the other foot along the ground, or has jumped down on the ground and is walking or running beside the chariot (north 47, south 62), movements characteristic of the apobates (apobatai) who participated in apobatic competitions in the Classical Era (Agones Apobatikai).

In these, it rested with the apobate to jump off from the chariot at full speed and to run a certain distance before entering the chariot again. Meanwhile the charioteer would have to adapt the speed of the chariot to that of the apobate, who would be hampered by the weight of his helmet

and shield. Victory depended on the closest possible cooperation of apobate and charioteer.

Running naked, but for the helmet and the shield as the apobates are depicted on reliefs found at the Agora and west of the Acropolis,<sup>108</sup> would afford the most advantageous conditions for competition (Fig. 29). Evidently, however, equal terms are not maintained on the Parthenon frieze. On both sides the ostensible apobates are equipped with round shields and helmets, but the helmets are of two different types: the so-called “Corinthian” and “Attic” ones. Two are carrying breastplates over a short chiton (north 47, 65) and one has just a short exomis (north 55). Unparalleled is north 63c, who is dressed in a long chiton reaching his feet and having cross-bands tied across his chest. He also carries a round shield, but neither he nor those carrying breastplates could have competed on equal terms with less burdened or naked competitors. Obviously the armed companions are not equipped to take part in an apobatic competition, but are just demonstrating their potential skills, perhaps for the purpose of boasting their social position. Helmet and shield

<sup>106</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 69, 124.

<sup>107</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 71.

<sup>108</sup> Travlos 1971, figs. 26-7.

Southern branch of the procession	Northern branch of the procession
60 riders in 10 groups of 6, five from each phratry appointed to “lift” the ten cows at the sacrifice of the Anarrhysis	60 riders indiscriminately grouped, 5 from each phratry
Phr 1-2-3-4-5-6	
Phr 1-2-3-4-5-6	
Phr 1-2-3-4-5-6	
Phr 1-2-3-4-5-6	
Phr 1-2-3-4-5-6	
Phr 7-8-9-10-11-12	
Phr 7-8-9-10-11-12	
Phr 7-8-9-10-11-12	
Phr 7-8-9-10-11-12	
Phr 7-8-9-10-11-12	
10 four-horse chariots owned by the sponsors of the 10 cows to be sacrificed at the Anarrhysis	12 four-horse chariots, one from each phratry
18 elders	12 phratriarchs 4 elders
Musicians and traybearers	4 kithara-players 4 pipers 4 pitcher-bearers 4 tray-bearers
10 cows to be sacrificed at the Anarrhysis	4 sheep
East front	
female procession	Female procession received by eponymous Archon
Phylobasileis 3-4 and their heralds	Phylobasileis 1-2 and their heralds
Theseus’ fellow travellers	Aigeus and Theseus
	Archon basileus and his family
Gods and Goddesses	Gods and Goddesses

Fig. 30. Plan of the Parthenon frieze specifying the probable category or personal identity of the individual figures and groups represented (KJ).

would have sufficed to make the competitive background unmistakably clear, if the chariots and their crews were expected to participate in apobatic races in connection with the Anarrhysis; however, if this was actually what was intended, why was it left to spectators to interpret the evidence to such an effect?

Originally chariots manned with crews consisting of a driver and a hoplite had been used in warfare at least before the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and were familiar to readers of the Iliad, who might recall book 23, line 132:<sup>109</sup> ἄν δ' ἔθαν ἐν δίφροισι παραβάται ἠνίοχοί τε (and mounted their chariots, warriors (paraibatai) and charioteers alike)

Not apobatai but paraibatai are mentioned, heavily armed hoplites, who stood beside the driver (ἠνίοχος), ready to dismount from the chariot to attack the enemy, or to enter it again when taking flight. If this is the tradition illustrated on the frieze, it may well refer to a past reaching even as far back as the time of Theseus.

It is remarkable that the number ten is repeatedly represented on the south side. Not only are there ten teams of six riders, but also ten chariots and ten sacrificial victims (cf. Fig. 30), and these numbers are confirmed by the surviving evidence.<sup>110</sup> This concurrence of figures may well imply that each victim was to be sacrificed by a team of six riders, and that the sacrifice implied was the one that gave the festival its name, Anarrhysis.

Provided, that each of the ten groups of six riders on the south side was understood to constitute a team organized for the purpose of performing a task entirely of its own, they might well have been selected for the honourable assignment of undertaking certain important functions in the agenda of the festival, of which the performance of the sacrifice referred to in the name of the Anarrhysis would have been the most meritorious one.

The technical expression “lifting the cows” is exemplified in the inscriptions IG II<sup>2</sup> 1028, lines 10, 13, 28 ἤραντο ... τοὺς βοῦς<sup>111</sup> and in IG I<sup>3</sup> 82, lines 30–31: τὸς δ[ἐ...δ]οῦ[ς] ... προσαγαγεῖν πρὸς τον βομόν· οἵτινες δὲ ἀρῶνται [τὸς βοῦς...<sup>112</sup> The verb used in the expressions ἤραντο or ἀρῶνται τοῦς βοῦς is the medium form αἴρωμαι meaning “raise” or “lift”.<sup>113</sup> Anarrhysis is composed of the

preposition ἀνά and the verb ἐρύω with contraction and duplication of the rho. The basic meaning of ἐρύω is “to drag, draw, implying force or violence”.<sup>114</sup> Anarrhyein therefore means “to draw upwards” and anarrhysis is the action of doing so. According to Schol. *Plato Timaios* 21B, victims (thymata) were called anarrhymata after their being dragged upwards at the sacrifices.<sup>115</sup> Etymologicum Magnum<sup>116</sup> explains Anarrhysis as a sacrifice, at which those sacrificing were drawing back the necks of the victims, thus turning them upwards.<sup>117</sup> The exact meaning of “lifting” has been thoroughly discussed by Ludwig Ziehen<sup>118</sup> who was inclined to assume that the verb αἴρωμαι should be literally understood. German butchers whom he consulted on the issue, insisted that a cow would be much too heavy to be lifted exclusively by means of human physical strength. Admittedly αἴρωμαι does not in itself specify the aim of the procedure referred to, but what could have been the purpose of lifting the animal, partly or completely, unless the ultimate aim was to kill it? In literary sources describing the sacrificial procedure and specifying its stages, the lifting and turning of the neck of the cow is invariably combined with the cutting of its throat.

To achieve this, it might have sufficed to lift the anterior part of its body. This is the line of action most likely to have been followed at the Anarrhysis on the second day of the Apatouria. If it is assumed that each of the ten teams of six riders on the south side of the frieze was entrusted with the task of “lift-

<sup>109</sup> The complete passage is quoted below p. 154.

<sup>110</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 124.

<sup>111</sup> Cows sacrificed by the epheboi at the Mysteries and the Proerosia at Eleusis, 100–99 BC, 109 epheboi participated, while the number of victims is left open.

<sup>112</sup> Cows sacrificed by the epheboi at the Hephaestea. From the epheboi were chosen 200 Athenians, no number of victims being specified.

<sup>113</sup> LSJ, s.v. αἴρω, IV.3.

<sup>114</sup> LSJ, s.v. ἐρύω.

<sup>115</sup> τὸ ἄνω ἐρύόμενα θύεσθαι.

<sup>116</sup> *Etym. Magn.* 98.

<sup>117</sup> ἀνέκλων τοὺς τραχήλους τῶν θυομένων ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω τρέποντες.

<sup>118</sup> Ziehen 1931, 228–34.

ing” together one of the ten cows heading the procession on the same side, the six would have sufficed to control the animal while lifting its forepart to lay open its throat. If needed, the two herd boys on the frieze driving each cow for sacrifice might have assisted the riders in their efforts to check the victim. Needless to add, to avoid spilling blood on their dress the riders must have stripped before getting ready for “lifting”.<sup>119</sup> It might have been left to professional butchers, *mageiroi*, to cut the victims’ throat. In the above-mentioned inscription IG II<sup>2</sup> 1028 recording the services of the epheboi in the year 100/99 BC, there is no mention of sacrificial services rendered at the Apatouria. These must have been entrusted to other categories of participants, possibly to teams of young riders like those represented on the Parthenon frieze. The permanent organization of the Athenian epheboi is not known to have existed at the time when the frieze was planned, and it was not officially instituted until after the battle at Chaironeia in 338 BC, nearly 100 years after the Parthenon frieze had been finished.

Cows in Antiquity are believed to have been rather small, hardly higher than breeds nowadays known to derive from isolated places like the well-known species originating from the Jersey Islands in the English Channel. This cow has an average weight between some 350 and 400 kilos. If only half of this, 200 kilos at the most, rested on the six lifters at the Anarrhysis, three would have had to lift together 100 kilos at either foreleg of the victim. Alternatively, if the animal weighed more, say 600 kilos, 150 kilos, i.e. 50 kilos per lifter, would have had to be lifted. As the second day of the Apatouria was named after the Anarrhysis, this sacrifice must have been the chief attraction of that day. Supposing that the human figures on the frieze may be understood to measure between 1.60 and 1.70 m. in height, the cows would have been c. 1.30 m. high in comparison (Fig. 31). Distinctive marks of the gender of the animals are not to be observed except in one case: the ox on the right on slab XLVI on the south side<sup>120</sup> has a small udder like that of a heifer (Fig. 32). As the victims do not differ markedly in other respects, they are probably all understood to be heifers. In the inscriptions quoted above<sup>121</sup> the victims are

specified as βόες (= boues), the plural form meaning “cattle”. Unless the gender is specified, the female one is understood.

The hypothesis that the ten teams of young riders were expected to “lift” the ten cows on the same side of the frieze, will in the first place explain why in obvious contrast with the random distribution of the riders on the north side, those on the south side are detached in groups of six. As the riders are unarmed, they cannot possibly be understood to parade in the capacity of military or semi-military contingents, and the uniformity in their dress and protective armour must characterize each group as an individual team charged with the individual task of killing one cow, rather than as a unit contributing to the fulfilment of a joint enterprise undertaken by all the groups in direct collaboration with one another.

Since ten complete groups of six are represented on the frieze and are clearly delimited by the south-west corner and by the chariot groups on the south side, respectively, distinctive marks indicating their close functional affinity to one another would not have been needed. Two different combinations of the surviving remains of slabs from the procession of cows on the south side seem possible,<sup>122</sup> but in both cases the number of cows is ten. The elders following the musicians seem to have comprised altogether eighteen (south 84-101), whose identification will be discussed in the following section.

## Recapitulation and additional discussion of crucial observations and conclusions

Names chiseled or painted on the architrave underneath the frieze might have helped to make its concept clear. But as no traces of inscriptions

<sup>119</sup> Theophr. Char.: ἕψας τὸ ἰμάτιον τὸν βοῦν αἵρεσθαι ἵνα τραχηλίση.

<sup>120</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 117 (here Fig. 29).

<sup>121</sup> Cf. notes 111-2.

<sup>122</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 132, pl. III, south frieze: variant A & B.





a



b



c



d



e



f

Fig. 31a-f. Photos of cows surviving from the south procession (sacrifice of the Anarrhysis), (Photos KJ).



Fig. 32. The udder of the animal partly covered by the herd-boy 108 is more likely that of a calf than of a fully-grown cow. (Photo KJ)

have been reported to survive on the extant architrave blocks from the east front,<sup>123</sup> it must have been left to guides to satisfy visitors' curiosity. The following summary may help to clarify the stages of the process that the project underwent from its initial planning to its completion:

Given the preliminary decisions that the frieze was to cover all the sides of the building, that it should represent the procession at a festival whose culmination was to take place on the east front, and that in order to indicate the common point where the procession was to begin and end, the continuity of the frieze must be interrupted at one of the corners - either one adjoining the east front or one at the opposite end of the building - two basically different solutions A and B would have been theoretically feasible.

### *Solution A (continuity interrupted at the south-east corner)*

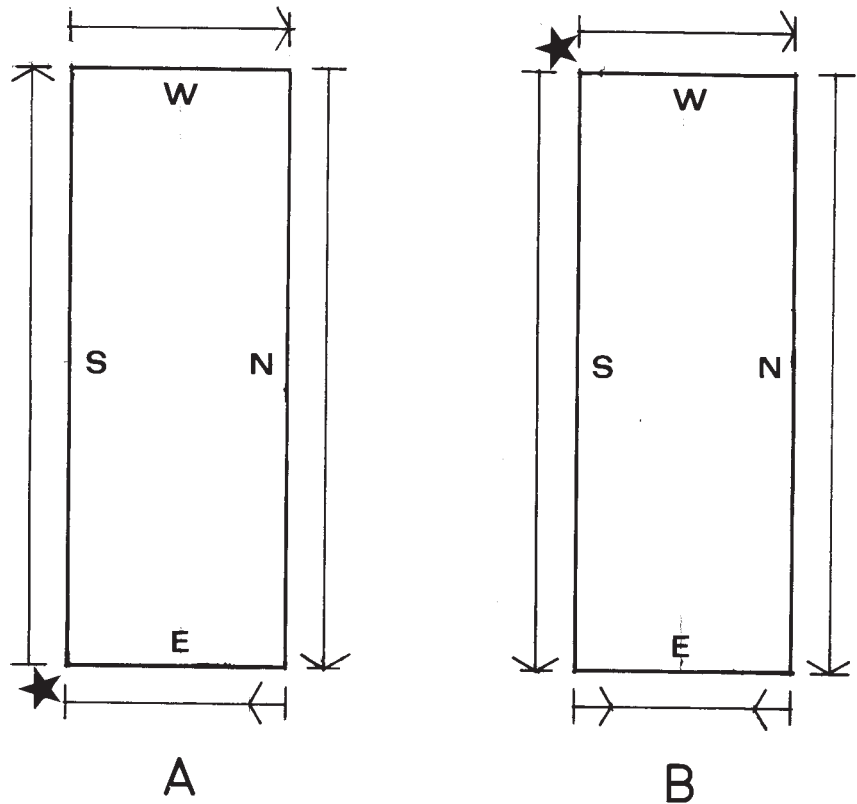
Proceeding from the south-east corner towards the south-west corner, a one-way procession would have had to continue on the western and northern sides until it reached the north-east corner and was received by officials on the east front (Fig. 33). As its continuation beyond the south-east corner was blocked, this corner must have defined the background before which the seated gods and goddesses had to be placed, all represented in profile view looking north and facing groups of notabilities standing or seated before them: Aigeus, Theseus and his travel companions, the archon basileus and his family, and the four phylobasileis. Following the group of epikleroi addressed by the eponymous archon and his herald must have been attached the second group of women (the one heading the southern branch of the procession in Solution B). Such an arrangement would have made it very difficult or even impossible to combine the various groups of components in meaningful patterns of action.

### *Solution B (continuity interrupted at the south-west corner)*

In this solution - the one on which the frieze was actually modeled - the procession on the south side had to proceed from the south-west towards the south-east corner, while the rest of the frieze would take the opposite direction (Fig. 33). In consequence of this distribution, the procession was subdivided into two parallel branches both ending at the east front, but leaving open the problem how and where their common starting point should be defined. If the branches were to part off abruptly in opposite directions at the middle of the west frieze, there could not have been left sufficient space to introduce riders preparing to mount their horses in both directions, and those in the middle would have appeared to come from nowhere. The west frieze therefore had to be

<sup>123</sup> Fig. 2a; Casanaki *et al.* 1985, 99 IX.5.

Fig. 33. Plan of the Parthenon showing the direction of the processions in the two cases A and B. B illustrates the arrangement actually preferred. (Drawing KJ)



attached exclusively to one of the adjoining branches, i.e. either at the north-west corner or at the south-west corner. The south procession of riders, on the other hand, constituted a complete detachment consisting of ten groups each of six riders, none of whom were missing in the ranks and could be expected to join from behind, for which reason the south-west corner was preferred as a convenient point of issue in both directions.

Some modern scholars admit that several features on the frieze are not directly compatible with the festival of the Great Panathenaia as known from written sources, but insist that it should rather be understood to represent a somewhat summary concept (“allgemeine Vorstellung”) of its principal Agenda. Such a preconceived idea should not induce us to disregard observations that can be concluded directly from a close study of descriptive details on well-preserved parts of the frieze!

To all appearances, the much debated folded cloth can have nothing to do with the peplos of supernatural size that was dedicated to Athena Polias. If the folded cloth should be understood to

represent the peplos handed over to Athena 36 on the frieze, the goddess would appear surprisingly uninterested, even turning her back on those provisionally in charge of the precious gift, 34 and 35. Judging from the absence of attributes typical of Athena in her capacity as Polias, she must be a different Athena, possibly the one who was worshipped in the temple on the Kolonos Agoraios together with Hephaistos, with whom, as a matter of fact, she is coupled on the frieze (37).

The hypothesis that east 18-23 and 43-46 should be interpreted as the eponymous heroes after whom the ten new tribes introduced by Cleisthenes in 508/7 BC were named, has the noteworthy advantage of offering an identification of several figures at a time. But also the serious drawback of failing to explain their proper function in the context represented. Possibly they may be understood to symbolize the presence of the entire Attic population; however, they take up much prominent space without making clear what the festival is about, apart from providing abundant opportunities for conversation! Are these figures

just empty personifications, or are they meant to be human beings of flesh and blood having something of importance on their minds to report and to discuss?

Those on the left, 18–23, altogether six, are distributed in pairs, but the pair 18–19 is markedly smaller than 20–23. The four still missing of the ten must be the group 43–46, whose composition suggests a more complicated arrangement in which the two in the middle, a bearded elder and a beardless younger, are so intimately connected that they may well represent a father with his son. However, among the eponymous heroes, only Pandion and his eldest son Aigeus could be said to constitute a mythologically well-attested genealogical sequence, and no conspicuous affection was reported to have influenced their relationship.

Besides, it is impossible to place the ten eponymous heroes symmetrically in relation to the axis of the east front. 47 and 48 cannot be interpreted as eponymous heroes, since 47 is beckoning forward the female procession on the left and thereby shown to act as marshal, while, as indicated by his *kerykeion*, 48 is a herald attending to the arrival of the female procession on the right (Fig. 6). If there were only five eponymous heroes in the group on the left, either 18 or 23 would have to be disengaged from those, whom they are obviously engaging, 19 or 22, respectively. The symmetrical counterparts 18–19 and 47–48 seem to represent subordinate officials supervising the reception of either branch of the procession, 18–19 conversing, while waiting for instructions to order the female procession on the left to join the one on the right.

It has been suggested by Berger<sup>124</sup> that the object held by 49 may be a sacrificial basket (*kanoûn*) containing offerings that have been presented to him by the two girls 50 and 51 standing at attention (Fig. 21a–d). Since indications of offerings are missing, these are assumed to have been represented in paint rather than sculpturally modeled. It has, however, been overlooked that 49 is lifting the peculiar object before the eyes of the girls and is even holding it slightly tilted towards them, apparently for the purpose of making it easier for them to inspect its contents, which they can

therefore hardly be supposed to know beforehand!

Consequently, the receptacle is not a sacrificial basket, but rather a kind of brazier containing sacred matter, by which the girls are requested to swear, possibly embers of fire from the sacred hearth in the Prytaneion. Hence, 49 must be identical with the eponymous archon and 52 should be identified with the eponymous archons' herald (Fig. 20). Defined as *epikleroi* are only the empty-handed girls while the attendants carrying libation bowls, pitchers and other sacrificial equipment may reasonably be interpreted as female relatives intending to secure by means of libations divine confirmation of the oaths sworn in by the *epikleroi*. The "interim husbands" already appointed may well be eight of the elders on the south side (94–101). As the affairs of the *epikleroi* could hardly be of any relevance in connection with the presentation of Theseus in public, it may be assumed that the episode was a characteristic feature that might help observers to recognize the festival represented as identical with the Anarrhysis of the Apatouria.

The sights that Aphrodite 41 is pointing out to Eros 42 may have had the purpose of drawing attention to a feature, without which observers might have found it difficult or impossible to understand the background of the episode represented. What Aphrodite might have found worth reporting to her son was most likely the presence of Theseus. Rumours claimed that Theseus was a son of Poseidon rather than of Aigeus. On the frieze, there is a deep wrinkle on Poseidon's brow (38), while he is observing with disapproval or jealousy? Aigeus' obvious pride of the paternity that he claims to be his (Fig. 34).

Beschi's attempt to identify the girls carrying libation bowls with some of the *ergastinai* who prepared the wool for Athenas peplos, leaves the other members of the female processions and their objectives unexplained. Although the theme of the *epikleroi* being sworn in by the eponymous archon and his herald (Fig. 20) is in full accordance with the pictorial evidence of the

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<sup>124</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 167.





Fig. 34. Poseidon east 38. Note the deep wrinkle on his brow (After Robertson 1975, fig. 16).

frieze, the episode does not appear to have been recorded in any extant written source. As the affairs concerning the epikleroi must have affected different phratries and could hardly have been handled within the jurisdiction of one and the same phratry or tribe, they must have been dealt with under the authority of the eponymous archon, who was in charge of the affairs of the epikleroi. Women were not admitted to the court and if they were requested to take an oath, this would have to be done in public, for example, at a State festival attended to by an assembly of public witnesses.

When the oath confirming the consent of the epikleros to the court's decision on the choice of her "interim husband" had been taken, the wedding ceremonies could have been accomplished on the same day, and the bride could have been formally accepted by the kinsmen of her husband's phratry on the following day, the Koureotis, in

connection with the sacrifice called gamelia. The female processions may not necessarily have anything to do directly with the Anarrhysis and may have been inserted as preliminary to the main procession preceded by the sacrificial victims.

Presiding on both sides of the central group 31-35 are Zeus 30 and Athena 36, who may well be understood to represent Zeus Phratrios and Athena (Phratría) to whom the victims at the festival on the day of the Anarrhysis were sacrificed. The same divinities were worshipped at the festival of the Synoikia that was performed under the auspices of the four phylobasileis (Fig. 28, lines 40, 48-50). Presumably the phylobasileis were also actively participating in the arrangement of the Anarrhysis and should probably be identified with the officials 20, 23, 43, 46 on the east frieze attending to Aigeus, Theseus, and Theseus' fellow travellers, respectively.

On the frieze, Theseus is no longer the "boy scarce grown" described by Bacchylides (lines 56-57), and there is no reference to the myth reporting Medeia's miscarried attempt to poison the young intruder. Aigeus is leaning possessively with all his weight on Theseus' shoulder, proudly introducing his son to the phylobasileus 46, under whom Aigeus' phratry may be assumed to belong, and who is thoughtfully scrutinizing father and son.

The two youths 21, 22 receiving respectful attention from the phylobasileis 20 and 23 are probably Theseus' fellow travellers who accompanied him on his way to Athens. As foreigners they could not have been qualified for enlistment in an Athenian phratry, but might well have been invited as guests of honour to attend the festivities in connection with Theseus' enrolment, and would therefore be offered seats, the traditional Greek gesture symbolizing hospitality (cf. Fig. 35). Stools are being brought by the two girls 31 and 32. 31 appears to be waiting for 32 to join her, and since she is turning her face slightly towards the left, this is probably the direction in which the stools are to be brought (Fig. 18). As the feet of Hermes 24 and Aphrodite 41 overlap the feet of the adjoining phylobasileis 23 and 43, the two groups of gods and goddesses are supposed to be seated in the



Fig. 35. Dionysos welcoming Apollo (back from his wintry sojourn with the Hyperboreans?). In the foreground on the left female servant adjusting a pillow on the seat prepared for the newcomer. In the middle below, the top of the “Omphalos” symbolizing the sanctuary at Delphi. Redfigured Krater from Jüz Oba (After Cook 1925, pl. 17).

foreground somewhat closer to the observer than the groups of mortals around them. This is also what the beckoning gesture of the herald 47 directed towards 18 and 19 suggests. It may therefore be anticipated that on their way towards 21 and 22, the girls 31 and 32 will pass *behind* the left group of gods and goddesses. The woman 33 is not supposed to receive the stools. On the contrary, she seems to be ordering the girls to bring the stools to the guests 21 and 22 and is about to steady the stool on the head of 32.

The twelve gods and goddesses on the east frieze distinguished by being seated may well be understood to represent The Twelve Gods collectively worshipped at altars all over Greece. Particularly famous was the altar of The Twelve Gods situated on the Athenian Agora. The discovery of its precinct and its identification was made during the American excavations in 1934.<sup>125</sup> An inscription dating presumably from the decade 490-80 BC and engraved on a marble base adjoining the precinct wall of the altar reports that “Leagros the

son of Glaukon dedicated (this offering) to The Twelve Gods”, thus confirming the assumption that these were worshipped as a collective group whose members might not, or might not always, have been individually specified.

Lines 531-2 in the second book of Apollonios Rhodios’ *Argonautika*: “And afterwards they raised an altar for the blessed Twelve on the seabeach opposite and laid offerings thereon” have given rise to a scholion commenting on the passage. In this, the last sentence reads: “The Twelve Gods are the following: Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, Hermes, Hephaistos, Apollon, Demeter, Hera, Hestia, Artemis, Aphrodite and Athena”. In an alternative version these names are combined in couples, each couple comprising a god and a goddess, thus: Zeus/Hera – Poseidon/Demeter – Apollon/Artemis – Ares/Aphrodite (note the reading Ares instead of Hades) – Hermes/Athena –

<sup>125</sup> Wycherley 1957.

Hephaistos/Hestia.<sup>126</sup> In the original part of the scholion, the references to altars for The Twelve Gods may have been quoted preferably from mythological contexts, while the lists of proper names may have been added by secondary commentators drawing their knowledge largely from sources of historical reliability.

As a matter of fact, the gods and goddesses on the Parthenon frieze are grouped in pairs. Hermes is confidentially coupled with Dionysos (24, 25), Demeter seated alongside Ares (26, 27), Hera exposing her attractions to Zeus (29, 30), Athena conversing with Hephaistos (36, 37), and Poseidon with Apollon (38, 39), while Artemis is clinging to Aphrodite's arm (40, 41). This is almost exactly the same selection of names as the one mentioned in the scholion quoted above, except that on the frieze Dionysos 25 is substituted for Hestia.

From these observations Weinreich was the first to conclude that the seated gods and goddesses represented on the Parthenon frieze were nearly (apart from Dionysos) identical with The Twelve Gods referred to in the scholion. The peribolos of The Twelve Gods on the Agora should possibly be seen as the centre of the rallying-ground on which the procession of the Anarrhysis used to be received. Rather than having descended from the Olympos, the divine spectators on the Parthenon frieze should perhaps be interpreted as namesakes of the Olympians virtually inherent in the altar, whose existence was understood to be implicit in their presence on the east frieze.

Not far from the altar were situated the official residences of the Archons: the Prytaneion with its sacred hearth where the eponymous archon resided, and the Stoa Basileios that functioned as the seat of the archon basileus (Fig. 15, 37 and 39). In the same neighbourhood, temples of Apollon Patroios, Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria testified to the local activities of the phratries (Fig. 15, 47-48).

The Athenian Agora has previously been proposed as the site, where the event described on the frieze was likely to have taken place, but for other reasons than those proposed by the present writer. From the identification of 34 with the archon basileus, Homer Thompson concluded that the

central episode depicted on the east frieze was meant to take place in front of the Stoa Basileios. This was in fact situated just opposite the altar of The Twelve Gods (Fig. 15).

Of the gods and goddesses on the frieze, some may be reckoned among those to whom sacrifices were offered at the Apatouria. On the day of the Anarrhysis sacrifices were brought to Zeus Phratrios and Athena (presumably with the surname Phratria, the same as the one applied to the goddess at the festival of the Synoikia, cf. Fig. 28). On the east front Zeus 30 and Athena 36 are set off on the background of the other divinities by being placed symmetrically on both sides of the central group 31-35, a disposition suggesting that the festival is being performed on behalf of the phratries and therefore likely to be supervised by the phylobasileis. On occasion of the Apatouria, torch-races were arranged in honour of Hephaistos 37, and Apollon 39 was worshipped in his capacity as Patroios, the father of Ion and ancestor of the four eponymous founders of the Ionian tribes. Bringing out her attractions to her husband Zeus, Hera 29 recalls the gamelia, the wedding feast performed on the day of the Koureotis, which Demeter's abducted daughter was precluded from joining, as demonstrated by the heartbroken attitude of her mother 26. Dionysos was relevant in connection with the Apatouria that was said to have been instituted by the intervention of Dionysos Melanaigis.

As demonstrated with unmistakable directness by Aphrodite's gesture 41, the seated gods and goddesses are supposed to be bodily present at the festival depicted. They are watching the spectacle, not from the heavenly abode of the Olympians, but from an earthly level. If the two groups into which they are subdivided were supposed to be seated on the summit of the Olympos, the episode represented between them comprising the group 31-35 would have had to take place at the same elevated level, and there would have been no obvious recipients to whom the stools carried by

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<sup>126</sup> For the complete repertory of the ancient sources, see Roscher 6 (1924-37), s.v. Zwölfgötter, 764-848.

the girls 31 and 32 could be presented. The principal gods and goddesses are already seated, and standing is only Iris 28, thereby characterized as subordinate to Hera, while Eros 42 is leaning comfortably on his mother's lap. As it seems unlikely that particular heed would have been paid to the comfort of these divinities of only secondary rank, the stools can only be intended for the guests 21 and 22, and the gods and goddesses must be understood to be present on the rallying-ground where the festival takes place.

The arrangement of the frieze implied that the point where the two ends of the frieze were to meet had to be placed at the south-west corner. From this both branches of the procession would issue; one towards the north-west corner from where it continued towards the north-east corner, the other one directly towards the south-east corner. It is noteworthy that the ten teams of riders proceeding eastwards from the south-west corner were represented galloping at full speed right from the corner! Each team was composed of six riders, none of whom were missing in the ranks - discipline would probably have prevented that late-comers should be admitted. At all appearances, judging from the remains the riders are unarmed, but uniformity is maintained in the combination of articles of dress and equipment characteristic of each team in contrast to the neighbouring teams.

Before the riders are parading ten four-horse chariots, and the procession is preceded by ten sacrificial victims, probably heifers. The occurrence on the same side of the frieze of ten teams of riders, ten chariots, and ten victims is certainly suggestive, but cannot reasonably well be understood to hint at the number of the eponymous heroes of the Cleisthenic tribes. There is nothing to suggest or to prove that these were represented on the east frieze, while the number of four of the pre-Cleisthenic tribes and multiples of it are frequently occurring on the north frieze. This is demonstrated, for example, by the four cows and four sheep which in all probability are to be sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios and Athena (Phratría), respectively, on behalf of each of the four pre-Cleisthenic tribes and under the supervision of the four phylobasileis. The ten teams of six riders, alto-

gether sixty, may have been distributed in the following pattern:

West

Teams Phratries

- 1 1-2-3-4-5-6
- 2 1-2-3-4-5-6
- 3 1-2-3-4-5-6 Tribes 1-2
- 4 1-2-3-4-5-6
- 5 1-2-3-4-5-6
- 6 7-8-9-10-11-12
- 7 7-8-9-10-11-12
- 8 7-8-9-10-11-12 Tribes 3-4
- 9 7-8-9-10-11-12
- 10 7-8-9-10-11-12

East

According to this arrangement, each team would have consisted of members of half a phratry, altogether five phratries being represented.

The official supervising the sacrifice of the Anarrhysis must have been a representative of the State, in all probability the archon basileus (east 34). The ten four-horse chariots and the procession of elders preceding them may be seen as supplementary to the sacrificial agenda. It may be assumed, that the ten cows have been sponsored by the ten aristocrats, who are the owners of the ten chariots, and who are identical with the hindmost ten of the elders (south 84-93), possibly preceded by the eight "interim husbands" (south 94-101) designated for the epikleroi on the east frieze. The subsidiary consort in marriage was often a brother of the epikleros' father and might therefore have been shown bearded.<sup>127</sup> Before the elders were advancing at least three or four kithara players (the squarish objects that they are carrying, being most convincingly explained as sound-boxes of their instruments). The fragment of a tray-bearer survives, but nothing at all of pipers and pitcher-bearers like those preserved on the north side,

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Carrey's drawing, Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 120.



where the available space was about one and a half frieze slab longer than on the south side.

It seems universally agreed that the chariots on both sides of the frieze must have been intended for apobatic races, but it has also been admitted that certain features are not at all compatible with such an interpretation. Reliefs of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC represent the apobate armed with a round shield and a helmet, but otherwise naked (Fig. 29).

In the *Iliad* (23.128-32), Homer describes the funeral procession in honour of Patroklos. Achilles orders his “war-loving Myrmidons” to put on their bronze armour and to harness the horses to their chariots. All these, charioteers as well as their paraibatai, are said to take the lead, while after them follow comrades-in-arms carrying Patroklos’ body, accompanied by innumerable crowds afoot. The paraibates was the one standing beside the charioteer, and his functions hardly included competitive running on the ground, but only jumping on and off the chariot at full speed, while facing or turning his back on the enemy. The interpretation proposed in the present paper is based on the assumption that the owners of the chariots were wealthy aristocrats whose younger relatives might well have been permitted to parade as charioteers or armed companions.

The sections of the four-horse chariots on the frieze were among those most badly damaged during the bombardment of the Acropolis by the Venetians in 1687, but it can be established with likelihood that each chariot had a charioteer and a companion beside him who was armed with a helmet and a round shield, but who was also wearing garments of an individual character. If attempting to run in his long robe, the “apobate” north 63c would inevitably have stumbled headlong. This feature has induced Stefano d’Ayala Valva to interpret the figure as a cryptic reference to Erechtheus as mythical founder of the apobatic games.<sup>128</sup> As a matter of fact, however, all the garments of the “apobates” would more or less have hampered their agility, if worn in apobatic contests, in particular the heavy cuirasses of north 47 and north 65. Wearing a cuirass of simple design, north 65 looks as young as one of the riders and may well represent a son of the chariot’s owner. The age of north

57 dressed in a short chiton is difficult to estimate, his muscular body looking more developed than his facial features. Even though plausible guesses can be suggested in a few cases, where the surviving remains of the frieze are sufficient to permit a well-founded estimate, most of the charioteers and their companions on both sides of the frieze are lost or too badly preserved to provide a basis for conclusions of general validity concerning the age that should be attributed to them.

The apobatic games seem to have been copied from a model of military origin that was customary in the early archaic period when hoplites were transported to the battlefield standing in a chariot beside the charioteer, hence called his “paraibates” (Hom. *Il.* 23.128). At the arrival on the battlefield he would have left the chariot, eventually to mount again when retiring, and in the meantime much running at the greatest possible speed would have been required while he was pursuing or being pursued by the enemy. Later, in the course of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, hoplites transported on chariots were replaced by phalanxes of armoured lancers marching and fighting together in close ranks.<sup>129</sup>

The fragments of the chariots on the north side can be combined in different ways implying either eleven or twelve chariots. Twelve would match the number of the phratriarchs, and these might well be identical with the elders north 32-43. If so, there would remain four more elders north 28-31 to be accounted for. The four eponymous founders of the ancient tribes, Geleon, Argades, Aigikores, and Hoples would be strongly relevant to the background of the Apatouria, although as sons of Ion, the mythical founder of Athens, they might have been attributed to an era somewhat earlier than that of Aigeus and Theseus.

Altogether between 140 and 150 riders represent the largest category of participants in the procession. Good – perhaps even cogent – reasons can be advanced in support of the assumption that these riders were intended to represent applicants for enrolment in their fathers’ phratries scheduled

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<sup>128</sup> d’Ayala Valva 1996, 3ff.

<sup>129</sup> Bury & Meiggs 1975, 122; Parke 1977, 74, 171-2.

to take place at the Koureotis on the following day. They are physically homogeneous, and their age can be assessed at the period of pubescence, approximately between 16 and 18 years. Only the teams of six on the south side are uniformly dressed and equipped, and none of them seem to have carried weapons of offence, distinctive marks precluding that they should be understood to represent detachments of military cavalry subsidized from public means. If they were assumed to participate in their capacity as ephedoi, recruits receiving instruction in military matters in the service of the State, they would presumably have paraded as infantrymen rather than horsemen, and would have been armed and uniformed accordingly.

The riders on the north and west sides are individually characterized. Inevitably the same combinations of garments and armour can be seen to occur in not a few cases, but nowhere as densely distributed as to suggest the existence of well-defined groups of riders like those on the south side. Helmet and cuirass are worn by a few (west 11, north 116). Apart from the hilt of a sword projecting behind the thigh of west 11, weapons of offence are nowhere to be seen.

Most instructively the west frieze illustrates aspects that must have been particularly characteristic of the day of the Anarrhysis. Conscious of looking attractive, the riders have put on their best belongings, and some are tidying themselves (west 4, 29, 30). All seem unembarrassed and animated rather than impressed by the pompous background of the festival. At all appearances, they are not under military command, but are supervised by a herald equipped with a kerykeion (west 23), who seems to beckon the marshal posted near the north-west corner (west 1), and who is possibly understood to be subordinate to the distinguished bearded official 5. A bearded groom 8 is helping a rider to get along, and other riders are attended to by presumptive relatives (north 134, cf. west 24).

It seems justifiable to take into account the south side as a separate entirety, which may well be assumed to deal exclusively with preparations for the principal sacrifice on the day of the Anarrhysis. Only two of the ten teams of six (south 13-19 and 56-61, respectively) are similarly dressed and

equipped, but as they are separated by the six teams 4-9 (an interval equivalent to some 20 metres) their similarity would hardly have been observed from below. There was no team 11, with which team 10 was to contrast, just team 9, and for that purpose a repetition of the characteristics of team 3 might suffice and render the invention of an additional combination of articles of dress and equipment superfluous.

In Greek art, the style and the repertory of details in dress, arms, and other equipment, furniture etc. conformed to contemporary fashion, no matter when and where the happening illustrated was understood to take place, and whether gods and goddesses or just ordinary human beings were assumed to be involved. Before the first Olympiad in 776 BC, time could not be measured and was a vaguely defined continuum inhabited by legendary or proto-historical characters. To make the event described on the frieze understandable to the public, it had to remind people of impressions from their own life while attending, for example, the yearly Apatouria, and witnessing the solemn episode when epikleroi were sworn in for marriage. The common man would hardly have questioned the historical trustworthiness and authenticity of the show represented on the frieze, and might well have felt intuitively convinced that the tradition might well go back even as far as the age of Theseus.

Prominent officials like the Archon Basileus, the Eponymous Archon, the four phylobasileis, and the twelve phratriarchs are likely to have been present at the Anarrhysis, no matter whether the festival represented was relatable to a recent period or to a fictitious event of the remote past when Theseus was believed to have come to Athens. After the institution of their offices, the archons were assumed to have collaborated to some extent with the last kings before monarchy was definitely abolished, which balance of power the presence of Aigeus may be understood to imply. The four tribes were believed to have been introduced at Athens by Ion, possibly before the reign of Theseus, and the offices of the four phylobasileis assumed to have been instituted in the same period.

The only information on the Agenda on the day of the Anarrhysis handed down to posterity refers to the sacrifice that gave the second day of the Apatouria its name: “– and the second day they call Anarrhysis, derived from *anarrhyein*, to sacrifice. And they sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios and Athena.<sup>130</sup> According to Suda 2058, the Anarrhysis was “the principal day of the Apatouria” (κυρία τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἡμέρα), and since the first and third days of the Apatouria, the Dorpeia and the Koureotis, were spent in the private quarters of the phratries all over Attica, the Anarrhysis was in all probability a festival common to all the phratries, which therefore took place in the city of Athens.

Being the most spectacular event on the day of the Anarrhysis, the sacrifice so named was almost certainly referred to on the frieze, if this was actually intended to represent the festival in its entirety. In that case, the ten cows on the south side could well be the victims that were to be sacrificed at the Anarrhysis proper. These were presumably offered on behalf of the State personified by the archon basileus (east 43) while the sacrifice of the four cows and four sheep on the north side would have been presided by the four phylobasileis (east 20, 23, 43, 46).

The number of ten cows may appear strikingly modest, but additional victims would have required just as many additional sponsors, chariots, and teams of “lifters”. These would inevitably have encroached on the space occupied by the left female procession on the east front, or would have caused the joint at the south-west corner to be shifted inwards on the west side. Shortage of space may have forced the sculptors to reduce considerably the parade of the chariots on the south side as compared to the length of the northern procession of chariots. Sacrifices resembling that of the Anarrhysis of the Apatouria are known to have taken place at other festivals as well, such as the Herakleia, the Hephaestea, or the Proerosia at Eleusis,<sup>131</sup> while none is reported among the well-attested sacrifices that were enacted at the Great Panathenaia.

There is a remarkable difference between the solemn looking riders of the teams on the south side who seem impressed by their common burden

of religious responsibility and the much freer and more relaxed behaviour of the riders on the west and north sides, whose only concern is to look attractive and to impress spectators while demonstrating their equestrian capabilities. The atmosphere is pervaded by an unmistakable feeling of optimism. These young men are just about to transgress the threshold into adult life and its attractions, and the world is waiting for them to make their debut.

To all appearances all the chariots were manned by a charioteer and a companion armed with a helmet and a round shield. While the companion north 65 is characterized as young – perhaps not elder than the riders on the same side of the frieze – the companion of the foremost chariot north 47 is fully grown, and looking backwards and brandishing ostentatiously his shield he seems to assume the leadership of the whole procession of chariots following behind him. With his strong muscular physique, the companion north 57 on the same side also appears adult rather than young. In their attempts to check the horses, the charioteers are pulling the reins. The charioteer of the foremost chariot north 46 wears the long dress typical of charioteers with bands crossing the chest. Elsewhere, unless concealed behind their companions, the charioteers seem to wear similar garments (e.g. north 67). The one exemplified by north 46 was also used by charioteers who participated in four-horse races in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC; cf. for instance, the Chariot frieze from the Maussolleion.<sup>132</sup>

However, if they collaborated with apobatic companions competing while running on the ground, these had to be equipped on equal terms. On Classical reliefs commemorating victories in apobatic contests, the apobates wear helmet and round shield, but are otherwise naked (Fig. 29). In contradistinction to these, the “apobates” on the Parthenon frieze are variously dressed, one of them (north 63c) having a long dress reaching his feet

<sup>130</sup> *Ar. Ach.* 1.146.

<sup>131</sup> Bury & Meiggs 1975, 122; Parke 1977, 74, 171–2.

<sup>132</sup> Jeppesen 2002, 150, fig. 15. 4.

which would inevitably have hampered his speed while running.

If apobatic races were to be arranged in connection with the Anarrhysis, it may be argued, why was that intention not indicated on the frieze in clear and unmistakable terms? The only possible explanation of this absurdity seems to imply that we are not at all dealing with apobatic races in the Classical sense of the concept, but with an attempt to reconstruct what was believed to have been the archaic beginnings of the customs of later times. As described in the *Iliad* (23.128-32) the war chariot was manned with a charioteer and the warrior standing beside him was therefore called his *paraibates*:

128 ..... αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
129 αὐτίκα Μυρμιδόνεσσι φιλοπολέμοισι κέλευσε,  
130 χαλκὸν ζώννυσθαι ζεῦξαι δ' ὑπ' ὄχεσφιν ἕκαστον  
131 ἵππους· οἳ δ' ὄρνυντο, καὶ ἐν τεύχεσιν ἔδυνον  
132 ἄν δ' ἔβαν ἐν δίφροισι παραιβάται ἠνίοχοί τε·

(And Achilles straightway bade the war-loving Myrmidons gird them about with bronze, and yoke each man his horses to his car. And they arose and did on their armour and mounted their chariots, warriors and charioteers alike).

However, *parabatai* were not competing with one another, but were fighting against the same enemy. The sculptors of the Parthenon frieze may have imagined that the *paraibatai* resembled the *apobatai* of later times by being armed with helmet and shield, but they also provided the sculpted figures with individualistic features in the form of garments that would have made it impossible to compete successfully in the sport of running. At all appearances, therefore, the chariots should be understood to represent the *diphroi* of the Homeric epoch, i.e. chariots of war rather than vehicles used in sportive competitions. In other words, it was their purpose to parade, thus lending splendour to the procession, and their crews were supposed to glorify military rather than sportive capabilities. If this thesis holds true, it adds some

credit to the theory that the procession on the frieze was supposed to take place in an early period, possibly at the time when Theseus was believed to have come to Athens.

Having virtually little if any exact knowledge of the conditions of everyday life in Athens in ancient days, the artists working on the Parthenon frieze had to rely by and large on their own imagination and artistic freedom. That the ten teams of six riders on the south side should be understood to assist jointly at the “lifting” of the ten cows sacrificed at the Anarrhysis might be tentatively conjectured from their regular formation in ten groups of six, and the particular articles of clothing characterizing each group of six suggested that they were committed to a common task, possibly that of “lifting” one of the cows. Exegetes would have been required to explain such details to spectators standing at a distance below the frieze.

Participating presumably as showpieces demonstrating aristocratic supremacy in connection with the Anarrhysis, the chariots were enlivened by crews, who posed as charioteers and armed companions. Sponsors and phratriarchs proceeded on foot before their chariots, thereby emphasizing their owners' social rank and prestige. Visibly chocked, the hindmost two of the phratriarchs, north 42 and 43, are turning around to face the boisterous arrival of the foremost chariot on the north side. The hypothesis that the ten eponymous tribal heroes were represented on the east front, has already been definitely rejected (above, 105-8). At tribal festivals, for example the *Synoikia* (Fig. 28), the ancient system of four tribes and 12 phratries was maintained throughout the Classical period, regardless of the introduction of the Cleisthenic system of ten tribes in 508/7 BC.

Adherents of traditional views may insist that the festival represented on the Parthenon frieze must be the Great Panathenaia; that the folded cloth must be the famous *peplos* that was dedicated to Athena Polias at the Great Panathenaia; that the seated Athena must represent the Polias although she is missing all the attributes characteristic of that particular goddess, shield, helmet and aegis; and that the groups of distinguished persons standing on both sides of the seated gods and god-



dessees must represent the ten eponymous tribal heroes, although their manners and attitudes towards each other do not by any means help to explain their relevance in the given context.

The present approach to the puzzles of the Parthenon frieze are based on a study of all the surviving details of the frieze, not merely those of the east frieze, but also those on the other sides, which may provide clues to the correct understanding of the principal subject matters represented.

The precise age of the riders is difficult to assess, some of them looking somewhat younger than others, the upper limit being presumably about 17 or 18 years, the age when young men would usually apply for enrolment in their fathers' phratries. On being enrolled they entered the class of the epheboi, and in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (if not before) they spent one year in military training and a further year doing garrison duty under the supervision of the State. They were trained as infantrymen, not cavalrymen, and were uniformly dressed, with broad-brimmed hat (petasos) and a short cloak (chlamys). Evidently, the riders on the frieze cannot be epheboi, but must in actual fact be applicants for enrolment in the phratries who take part in the procession on the day of the Anarrhysis.

While the behaviour of the riders on the south side is strictly disciplinary and their attitude solemn, in accordance with the sacrificial obligations that they are supposed to fulfil, the atmosphere permeating the west and north processions is entirely different. In these, there is no attempt to maintain a common pace, and all are advancing at their individual speed. At the point of transgressing the limits into adulthood, they may well feel that the world is entirely open to their hopes and expectations.

It has already been demonstrated that the south side may be understood to describe, in its entirety, the ingredients constituting the framework of the sacrifice called Anarrhysis: the ten sacrificial victims, the ten Sponsors of the victims and their ten chariots, as well as the ten teams each of six riders that were selected to perform the sacrifices. This is an argument in support of the conclusion that the festival represented must in actual fact be the Anarrhysis of the Apatouria.

While Theseus is being introduced by his father Aigeus to one of the phylobasileis, and other introductory events take place, the eponymous archon and his herald are receiving the foremost participants of the female procession advancing from the north-east corner. This episode may well have sufficed to tell observers, what the other sides of the frieze should be expected to describe: the procession on the Anarrhysis in its variegated entirety on the way to the place where it was scheduled to rally. This is not merely the background on which the introductory formalities described on the east side should be understood. The Apatouria was a festival common to all Ionians and therefore highly relevant as a theme for the decoration of a temple sponsored jointly by all the Ionian states inclusive of Athens. Besides, the theme of Theseus being admitted to Aigeus' phratry would strongly have reminded observers of Athens' traditional claim to play a decisive role in the affairs of the Delian League.

According to Plutarch,<sup>133</sup> Athens' male population at the time of Theseus consisted of eupatridai (those of noble family), geomoroi (farmers) and demiourgoi (handicraftsmen). The eupatridai constituted the "old" aristocracy, and among the aristocrats must have ranked all the chariot owners, the twelve phratriarchs, as well as the ten sponsors of the cows to be sacrificed at the Anarrhysis.

If the phratries in those days consisted exclusively of eupatridai, it follows that the young riders applying for membership of their fathers' phratries must have been eupatridai by birth. It is little wonder therefore that they behave as free-and-easy as if their membership had already been granted. Each of the applicants for enrolment has a riding horse at his disposal, probably made available by his father. To all appearances, the event reproduced was intended to be a predominantly aristocratic show, in which lower social classes were present only in their capacity as subordinate servants assisting at the practical management of the festival. Foreigners are only Theseus' two fellow travellers, who are being received as guests of hon-

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<sup>133</sup> Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 25.

our and offered stools. On this background may also be explained the swearing in of the epikleroi, which must have been a ceremony of particular fascination to the circles of the landed aristocracy supervising the spectacle.

Initially the frieze may have been planned to decorate only the east and west fronts of the cella. If so, this project was abandoned in favour of a much more ambitious plan comprising a continuous, sculptured frieze covering all the sides of the cella, altogether c. 160 metres in length. The subject-matter chosen to be represented was a festival including a long procession of participants, a number of outstanding officials and dignitaries prepared to receive them, sacrificial victims, and twelve prominent gods and goddesses surveying the spectacle without taking any active part in it.

James Stuart<sup>134</sup> may have been the first to ponder on the possibility that the festival in question might be the Great Panathenaia, but as demonstrated above none of his successors have proved capable of interpreting convincingly the frieze to such an effect. Agenda particularly characteristic of the Great Panathenaia are missing on the frieze, in the first place the procession of the ergastinai who escorted the peplos to the Acropolis (cf. the inscription Fig. 10a-b), and its reception by Athena. What is actually shown is a folded cloth handed over by a priest – probably the archon basileus – to a boy, while Athena is turning her back on the presumptive gift and is lacking all the attributes – aegis, helmet and shield – characteristic of the Athena with the epithet Polias, for whom, according to Aristophanes' comedy *Birds* (823–31), the peplos was woven.

Mythological themes based on a conventional repertory were amply represented in the pedimental compositions and on the sculptured metopes placed on the outside of the Parthenon, where they were open to view and would appeal to visitors' admiration. The frieze necessitated a far more comprehensive and complicated type of pictorial description than the one representing the traditional repertory. The festival actually represented was probably the one common to those celebrating the Apatouria, Athenians as well as other Ionians, on the day of the Anarrhysis. On that day,

Theseus might have been introduced to the phylobasileis as applicant for enrolment in Aigeus' phratry and tribe. He would thereby have been recognized not only as Aigeus' legitimate son, but also as a member of the Panionian community including both Athens and the Ionian colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, that were claimed to have been founded by Athenian settlers. "In point of fact", Herodotos argued, "Ionians are all who originate from Athens and keep the festival of the Apatouria." (Hdt. 1.147)

As celebrated at the time of Theseus, the Anarrhysis on the Parthenon frieze might be understood to take place in the period during which, or perhaps even before which, the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor were founded. The Ionian colonisation of the west coast of Asia Minor is assumed to have begun in the 11th century BC, approximately when Mycenaean civilisation was coming to an end.<sup>135</sup>

The frieze could therefore be claimed to pay a well-deserved tribute both to settlers whose ancestors had migrated to Asia Minor and to descendants of Athenians who had remained in Athens. From such a point of view, the theme on the frieze might have been found equally relevant to other member states of the Delian League as to Athens, their virtual metropolis.

The subject matter represented may well be Aigeus' recognition of Theseus as his son and applicant for enrolment at the Koureotis on the following day, when young men will be enrolled in the private quarters of their fathers' phratries. Theseus' preliminary presentation to one of the phylobasileis, probably the one presiding the tribe of the Geleontes first mentioned in the official order, introduces him to the highest tribal authority. Theseus' fellow travellers on his way to Athens are participating as guests of honour and are therefore to be offered stools from the woman and the two girls in the middle of the pediment.

Beside the female figures in the central group is seen an official dressed in the type of chiton typi-

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<sup>134</sup> Stuart in Stuart & Revett 1762–94.

<sup>135</sup> Bury & Meiggs 1975, 66.

cal of priests, who is handing over a folded piece of cloth to a small boy. This may well be understood to represent the himation or peplos, which the priest has just laid aside and is entrusting the boy to take provisionally into custody, while he himself is officiating at the forthcoming sacrifices. He must be a priest of the highest distinction, in all probability the archon basileus.

Two female processions are approaching from each side, the one on the left having come to a standstill while waiting for instructions to proceed. Provisionally, two attendants 18 and 19 are blocking their way. While taking the opportunity to have an informal chat, they have not yet noticed the beckoning gesture of a marshal stationed near the female procession on the right, 47, who is urging the left procession to proceed and to join the one on the right.

The branch of the procession proceeding along the north side of the temple seems to be the one first received by the officials. Distinguished by his badge, probably a kerykeion, the herald 48 is watching its arrival, and the eponymous Archon 49 and his herald 52 are addressing the four foremost girls.

49 is lifting a mysterious object, probably a container, slightly tilted before the girls so as to make it easier for them to inspect its contents. Their arms are hanging slack, and they are by no means at the point of receiving what is inside the container. More likely, this is the matter – possibly smouldering coals from the sacred hearth in the Prytaneion where the eponymous archon had his residence – by which they will swear to abide on the “interim husbands” allotted to them in court. They are epikleroi, fatherless widows, who are not entitled to inherit their father’s fortune unless they consent to marry an “interim husband”. According to Aristotle, the Eponymous Archon was in charge of the affairs of the epikleroi and the orphans, and the herald 52 inquiring the following couple of girls must be the Keryx Archontos attached to the eponymous Archon.<sup>136</sup>

The epikleroi are characterized as empty-handed girls, four in each of the female processions 12, 14, 16, 17, 50, 51, 53, 54, altogether eight. These are accompanied by twenty-one girls and women

carrying libation-bowls, wine jugs or incense burners, presumably female relatives of the epikleroi on whom it will rest to invoke by means of sacrifices divine accept of the oaths sworn in by the epikleroi. The eight “interim husbands” must have been pointed out previously in court under the jurisdiction of the eponymous archon and should possibly be identified with the foremost eight of the eighteen elders in the procession on the south side (94-101). The swearing in of the epikleroi could not have been effectuated in court, to which women were not admitted, and as the interests of several phratries might be involved, a public forum like the one present at the Anarrhysis festival would have been particularly qualified to appraise the correctness of the legal procedure,

Of the seated gods and goddesses, the two placed symmetrically and next to the middle, Zeus and Athena, may well represent the divinities celebrated at the Anarrhysis. At any rate, Athena is missing the attributes characteristic of Athena Polias – helmet, shield, and aegis – and must therefore be Athena in a different capacity, possibly the Athena venerated as goddess of the phratries (Phratria, just as Zeus had the surname Phratrios; this is in actual fact the surname given to Athena in the inscription reporting the agenda of the Synoikia, Fig. 28). These surnames are not necessarily applicable to the other seated gods and goddesses on the east frieze as well, but it may be conjectured that the divinities in their entirety should be identified with The Twelve Gods, to whom the altar on the Agora was dedicated.

As demonstrated by Aphrodite 41 who is pointing out to Eros the adjoining group of four with Aigeus and Theseus in the middle, the gods are understood to be placed level with the participants of the festival, for as already argued, those bringing stools to Theseus’ fellow travellers are understood to pass behind the left group of seated gods and goddesses. Evidently, however, neither these nor those on the right side of the east frieze are supposed to be visible to those participating actively in

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<sup>136</sup> Cf. n. 60.

the festival, who do not seem to pay the slightest attention to the divine observers.

On the east front two branches of the procession are facing each other. Their common point of issue is the south-west corner, but the shorter branch has the character of a parenthesis describing exclusively preparations for the sacrifice of cows that gave the festival its name, Anarrhysis. The west front describes the procession of young riders preparing to mount and eventually to join the riders on the north side, who are scheduled to apply for enrolment in the phratries. Before them are advancing twelve four-horse chariots, whose presumptive owners, the twelve phratriarchs, are proceeding on foot before the chariots. Before the phratriarchs are seen four additional dignitaries, possibly the sons of Ion, who gave their names to the four Ionian tribes: Geleon, Argades, Aigikores, and Hoples. Then follow four kithara players, four pipers, four hydriaphoroi, and four skaphephoroi preceded by a procession of four sheep and four cows. Presumably one cow for Zeus Phratrios and one sheep for Athena are to be sacrificed on behalf of each of the four tribes represented by their phyllobasileis.

Departing abruptly at full gallop right from the south-west corner towards the south-east corner are represented ten teams each of six riders separated by intervals leaving the last horse in each team fully visible. The riders of each team wear the same articles of clothing, headgear and footwear (if any) which differ from those of the other teams. This principle of distinction seems to suggest that the members of each team are to fulfil collectively one and the same task i.e. that of “lifting” one of the ten cows represented next to the south-east corner. These must be the animals singled out to be sacrificed at the Anarrhysis. On one of them can be seen the small udder typical of the heifer (Fig. 32). The number ten is also represented by the four-horse chariots following the ten teams of riders. This manifestation of numerical concurrence makes sense, if it is assumed:

1. That each of the ten teams of six riders is commissioned to “lift” together one of the cows, thereby exposing its throat to the butcher’s knife

2. That each cow is sponsored by the owner of one of the ten four-horse chariots, either in the form of a private donation, or of one imposed by the State (leitourgia)

3. That the ten owners are proceeding on foot before their chariots and should be identified with the hindmost ten (south 84-93) of altogether eighteen elders (south 84-101)

4. That the foremost eight of the elders (south 94-101) may well represent the “interim husbands” designated to marry the eight epikleroi on the east frieze

5. That the purpose of the chariots is to parade, thereby adding splendour to the procession and enhancing the aristocratic status and reputation of their owners

6. That both the epikleroi and their the “interim husbands” should be understood to represent citizens of distinction, probably eupatridai

Berger<sup>137</sup> rightly observes that the number 10 is dominating on the south frieze, but also claims that it is intended to refer to the number of the ten Cleisthenic tribes: “Die Zehnergruppen (Reiter, Wagen und Rinder) weisen auf die zehn von Kleisthenes eingeführten Phylen hin”. However, as argued above, attempts to identify the ten Cleisthenic heroes on the east side of the frieze must be rejected as inadequately supported by the evidence, whereas the presence of the four phyllobasileis (20, 23, 43, 46) in connection with the formal reception of Aigeus, Theseus, and Theseus’ fellow travellers can be satisfactorily corroborated and convincingly sustained.

Evidently the number of the teams of riders agrees with that of the sacrificial victims, and it seems reasonable to conclude that each team is authorized to “lift” one of the victims. The ten elders walking in front of the ten chariots can hardly be interpreted as personifications of the Cleisthenic tribes, but are more likely the eupatridai who have undertaken to sponsor the sacrificial victims.

Ten cows may seem a remarkably low number

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<sup>137</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 108.



of victims for the Anarrhysis. There might have been more, if the procession on the south frieze could have been permitted to spread at the expense of one of the adjoining sides of the frieze, or of both. However, an additional cow would involve both an additional team of riders and an additional chariot, requiring at least four more frieze slabs than the available ones and thereby necessitate inroads into the sides adjoining the frieze.

It seems universally agreed that the four-horse chariots on both the longer sides of the frieze may have been intended for apobatic races, but it has also been pointed out that certain features are not at all compatible with such an interpretation.

There is ample evidence that the tribal system, according to which the various categories of participants in the procession were specified and numbered, included four tribes and twelve phratries. In the first place, the four symmetrically grouped phylobasileis on the east side. On the north side, moreover, there are four cows and four sheep, and four members of teams of musicians and servants, as well as around sixty young riders, presumably five from each phratry. The sixty riders on the south side are distributed in ten teams, each team comprising six members, including altogether five of the phratries represented by riders applying for enrolment.

It can hardly be doubted that the total of the riders was calculated to constitute a well-defined part of the twelve phratries and that the young riders should be understood to represent the yearly output of the generation expected to apply for enrolment in their fathers' phratries at the Apatouria, which piece of evidence may be seen as an important argument in support of our interpretation of the subject matter of the Parthenon frieze.

The principle of symmetry required that a female procession like the one which is being received by the eponymous archon and his herald near the south-east corner should be represented at the opposite corner as well. But undoubtedly the four empty-handed girls in that group (12, 14, 16, 17) were also expected to be sworn in by the eponymous archon. They are therefore ordered by

47 to rally behind the female procession at the north-east corner.

The temporary position of the procession at the south-east corner was probably chosen for the sake of symmetry, but it might have given spectators the misleading impression that the frieze was expected to comprise two exactly similar longer sides. At all appearances, the east, north and west sides were planned to be seen in succession, one after the other, while the south side was reserved exclusively for the procession of the participants performing the sacrifice called Anarrhysis. This must have been the climax of the day, but may not have been performed in direct connection with the principal procession.

After having inspected the details of the east frieze, spectators might proceed directly to trace its continuation on the north side and its origins on the west side, where the south-west corner marked its beginnings; however, visibility from below must have been greatly hampered by the shady position of the frieze immediately beneath the ceiling of the outer colonnade.

The last figure on the west frieze is the youth west 30 putting on his himation, his statuesque posture underlining the verticality of the south-west corner (much like its symmetrical counterpart, the marshal W1 stationed at the north-west corner). There is no indication suggesting that the west frieze was considered incomplete and was expected to continue on the south side. On this, the figures started to move in the opposite direction and it seems unlikely that they could have been directly connected with any of the other sides of the frieze. More probably, the south frieze should be interpreted as a separate section of the festival describing a particularly important part of the Agenda of the Anarrhysis, namely the sacrifice referred to with the same designation.

The riders of the ten teams galloping right from the south-west corner could well be applicants for enrolment like those depicted on the north and west sides, but selected for the particularly honourable task of participating in the sacrifice of the Anarrhysis.

Various indications suggest that after the three other sides of the frieze had been completed, the

south frieze was found to suffer from shortage of space. Attention has already been drawn to the riders galloping right from the south-west corner. Moreover, while eighteen slabs were required to hold the twelve four-horse chariots on the north side, leaving one and a half slab for each chariot, just one slab was used for each of the chariots on the south side. If just one victim were to be added to the ten, the number of chariots for the Sponsors of the victims, and the number of the teams of riders would have had to be increased correspondingly. Presumably, therefore, the east, north, and west sides of the frieze were first completed, and the south frieze subsequently planned in details until the adjoining sides had been finished.

Due to the symmetrical composition of the east side, the procession appeared to arrive from both the longer sides. These were composed of roughly similar sections: young riders, four-horse chariots, elders, musicians, servants, and sacrificial victims. But while the riders on the south side started at full speed right from the south-west corner, no preparatory measures being suggested, the rear of the northern branch of riders was supplemented by riders on the west frieze preparing to join the fellow riders ahead.

The result was a compromise of the opportunities offered, which only the planners of the frieze would have been capable of appreciating, and which could hardly have been noticed and understood by lay observers inspecting the details of the frieze at a distance from below. What they saw, was a more or less fictitious reconstruction of the Anarrhysis, as this might be assumed to have taken place at the time of Theseus.

Altogether about 120 mounted riders are represented on the north and south sides of the frieze, north 72-133 (not including the marshal north 89) and south 2-61. On the west side are seen about twenty-four riders, thirteen mounted and eleven still standing. In contradistinction to the homogeneous processions of riders on the longer sides, the figures on the west side are strikingly uneven in scale. West 6 is much lower than west 4 on the same slab, but has approximately the same height as west 25, a rider struggling to command his horse

before attempting to mount it. On the other hand, the riders west 9 and 10 are disproportionately large as compared to their horses. If west 2-4, 6-7, 9-14, 16-22, and 25-30 are supposed to constitute the riders on the west side, these comprised altogether 24. In that case, the total of the riders was  $120 + 24 = 144 = 12 \times 12$ , which would average twelve riders from each of the twelve phratries, or thirty-six from each of the four tribes.

The number of young riders on the north and west sides amounts to *c.* 84 (60+24), and even this figure far surpasses that of any other category of participants in the procession, thus emphasizing its numerical preponderance. These must be the young men, who are going to apply for membership in their fathers' phratries, and whose enrolment the festival is primarily instituted to celebrate. Their impressive number divisible by 12 makes it likely that they are understood to comprise applicants from all the twelve phratries, and that they must represent the annual output of applicants for enrolment. Moreover, it can hardly be doubted that the occasion represented must be the tribal festival of the Apatouria, more precisely the festival on the second day of the Apatouria which was called Anarrhysis and which must have been common to all the phratries.

The interpretation of Aigeus, Theseus, and Theseus' fellow travellers on the east frieze (21, 22, 44, 45) seems well-founded, once it is realized that the two groups 20-23 and 31-33 are intended to supplement each other. The principle of symmetry required that they had to be separated from one another to make room for the left group of seated gods and goddesses. The Twelve Gods were assumed to witness Aigeus' presentation of Theseus to the officials presiding at the Anarrhysis, as well as the simultaneous reception of Theseus' fellow travellers, stools being offered to these in their capacity as foreigners and guests.

Symmetrically placed divine spectators, three on each side, are witnessing Theseus' fight against the Pallantidai on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion at the Kolonos Agoraios (Fig. 16), and since no other location is indicated, the battlefield seems the likeliest one to infer. As on the Parthenon frieze, the gods and goddesses are probably supposed to be

virtually present, though hardly visible to ordinary human beings.

The group 44–45 on the east frieze may well be assumed to represent a father with his son, but additional evidence is required to make clear whether they should be identified with Aigeus proudly introducing Theseus, his son begotten with Aithra at Troizen, to two of the phylobasileis, 43 and 46. The two young men 21–22 politely received by the phylobasileis 20 and 23 may well be “the only two (men) accompanying him” (i.e. Theseus) mentioned in line 45 in Bacchylides’ dithyramb. On the frieze, they represent foreigners worthy of receiving hospitality and are therefore to be offered stools by the girls 31–32. These are instructed by the woman 33, who is facing the direction in which the stools are to be brought. The stools are much too small to fit the seated gods or goddesses, and must therefore be intended for 21 and 22. The left group of seated gods and goddesses seems to be in their way, but the girls may well be assumed to pass behind rather than in front of the seated divinities.

This solution of the problem is hardly less plausible than the proposals suggested by other scholars who have tried to cope with the problem of the stools, cf. the long list of proposals suggested by various authors quoted by Berger<sup>138</sup>:

“Bestandteile der Festgeräte – Für den Peplos (um ihn auf einen Stuhl zu legen oder über zwei Stühle auszubreiten) – Für die Priesterin und den Archon Basileus bzw. Priester – Arbeitsstühle der Diphrophoren oder Arrhephoren – Für die Götter (Theoxenie) – Für die Epiphanie der Götter – Für die Priesterin – Für Iris und Eros (28 und 42) – Für die Kanephoren – Weihungen an Athena aus der Perserbeute – Zur Inthronisation von Erichthonios-Erechtheus und seiner Gemahlin – Für Pandrosos und Ge Kourotrophos – Kultsitze für Athena und Poseidon”.

Most recently it has been claimed by Wesenberg that the stools are not at all stools, but should be differently interpreted.<sup>139</sup> We had better ask in which context on the east frieze the stools could be assumed to make sense, provided that they are

in actual fact understood to be stools rather than samples of a different type of furniture. In order to maintain symmetry, the two groups of seated gods and goddesses 24–30 and 36–42 had to be exposed to their full extent, thus causing the groups 20–23 and 31–33 to be separated from one another. To observers, the context would make clear that the stools could not be intended for any other than 21 and 22, that these might well be identical with Theseus’ travelling companions, and that if so, 44 and 45 were likely to represent Theseus himself and his father King Aigeus.

If these conclusions hold good, the frieze in its entirety must be assumed to reflect the time when Theseus had come to Athens and had been recognized by Aigeus as his legitimate son and heir. The processions advancing along the north, west, and south sides should probably be understood to represent the festival called Anarrhysis performed on the second day of the Apatouria. According to Suda 2258, the Anarrhysis was the most important day of the Apatouria (*κυρία τῶν Ἀπατουρίων*). As the first day Dorpeia and the third day Koureotis were passed in the private quarters of the phratries, the Anarrhysis was in all likelihood a festival common to all the phratries which took place within the city of Athens, and in the procession heading towards the Agora would probably have participated all the young men who were expected to apply for enrolment at their fathers’ phratries on the following day, altogether the nearly 150 riders represented on the frieze.

At an average life time ranging between 60 and 65 years, the phratries would have comprised between  $60 \times 150 = 9000$  and  $65 \times 150 = 9750$  members. This estimate differs from the number based on Aristotle’s definition of the Attic constitution, according to which each of the twelve phratries consisted of 30 men grouped in 30 brotherhoods (*γένη*), altogether 10.800 men, as recorded in fragment 5 of Aristotle’s *Athenaion Politeia* written c. 329–328 BC, i.e. about 80 years after the completion of the Parthenon frieze.

<sup>138</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 171.

<sup>139</sup> Cf above p. 127–8, n. 6 and Wesenberg 1993/94.

Neither of the two assessments should a priori be considered more accurate and trustworthy than the other one, but they agree in estimating that the number of phratry members might have ranged between some 9000 and 10.800 individuals.

## Prominent individuals and classes of society identifiable on the Parthenon frieze

East 12, 14, 16, 17, 50-51, 53-54: The eight epikleroi

South 94-101: The eight "interim husbands" allotted to the epikleroi

East 44-5: Aigeus and Theseus

East 21-22: Theseus' fellow travellers

East 34: Archon Basileus

East 33: Basilinna

East 49, 52: The eponymous archon and his herald

East 20, 23, 43, 46: The four phylobasileis

North 28-31: Possibly the four eponymous founders of the tribes Geleon, Argades, Aigikores, Hoples

North 32-43: The twelve phratriarchs

South 84-93: The sponsors of the ten cows

East 24-27, 29-30, and 36-41: Seated gods and goddesses, possibly identical with The Twelve Gods worshipped at their altar on the Agora

## Appendix

### Descriptive and interpretive analyses of figures and groups on the east frieze

#### *East 1-17 (section A)*

A marshal (1) is beckoning the South procession to proceed around the south-east corner. Dressed in a long-sleeved chiton partly covered by an himation and wearing sandals, sixteen women (2-17) are waiting for orders to advance towards the right, where two men (18-19) lost in conversation are blocking their way. In the front rank of the procession is a pair of empty-handed women (16-17; clearly elder than the empty-handed girls 50-51 and 53-54 in the female procession on the right). Empty-handed are also 14 and 12, who are accompanied by 15 and 13 carrying trumpet-like stands (Fig. 26). Three in a file (9-11) carry jugs. Of the pair 7-8, 7 has a jug, while 2-5 carry libation bowls, cf. Carrey's sketch.<sup>140</sup>

Based on the assumption that the women are to be interpreted as *ergastinai*, Sir John Boardman<sup>141</sup> has suggested that the trumpet-like stands might represent mobile parts of the loom on which Athena's peplos was woven. It has been rightly objected that the supernatural size of the peplos described in ancient sources would have required a loom of much larger dimensions than those deducible from the folded cloth on the frieze. Besides, the inscriptional evidence concerning the *ergastinai* and their work (Fig. 10) is sufficiently detailed and instructive to make clear that the female processions on the frieze cannot reasonably well be connected with the activities of the *ergastinai*. Most likely the stands should be interpreted as sacrificial equipment of a type so far unparalleled.

<sup>140</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 142.

<sup>141</sup> Boardman 1977a, 40.



### *East 18-19 (section B)*

While the female procession on the left (2-17) is waiting for orders to proceed towards the right, two men, 18 and 19, seem too deeply lost in conversation to notice the beckoning gesture of 47 ordering the women on the left to join those in the procession on the right. Leaning comfortably on his stick, 19 (beardless) is listening to 18, who is accompanying his talking with gestures. What survives of his chin does not suffice to make clear, whether he was bearded or beardless. As 18 and 19 are somewhat smaller than the men in the adjoining group-of-four 20-23, they should probably be understood to represent a different category of attendants.

### *East 20-23 (section B)*

Two bearded men of dignified appearance, 20 and 23, are attending to two beardless youths 21 and 22 standing between them and leaning comfortably on their sticks. The attitude of the elders is respectful rather than open and confidential. Being symmetrically placed in the pediment, the two groups-of-four 20-23 and 43-46 should probably be interpreted as analogous. Granted that 44 and 45 are correctly identified as Aigeus and Theseus, and that the festival represented is the Anarrhysis of the Apatouria – the two preconceived assumptions on which the interpretation of the Parthenon frieze suggested in the present paper is based – the four phylobasileis of the ancient tribes could hardly be missing and may well be identical with the bearded dignitaries 20, 23, 43, and 46 who are symmetrically distributed in front of the two branches of the procession, no other figures available being susceptible to such an interpretation. These dispositions leave only 21 and 22 to be accounted for, who are the only ones, for whom the stools brought by the girls 31 and 32 could be intended (cf. 31-35) and who are thereby characterized as guests invited to be present at the festival, probably the two fellow travellers who followed Theseus on his way to Athens.

It is widely maintained that the two symmetrically placed sections B and F comprising 18-23 and

43-48 must include the so-called eponymous heroes, after whom the ten Cleisthenic tribes were called. However, there are altogether twelve figures, and which of these should be assumed to represent eponymous heroes is a matter of dispute. To fit the symmetry, there ought to be five heroes in each group, but in such a distribution either 18 or 23 would have to be detached from the group of heroes on the left, despite the fact that both are engaged in conversation with their neighbours, 19 and 22, respectively. In the group on the right, neither 47 nor 48 are identifiable as eponymous heroes. 47 is acting as a marshal beckoning the female procession on the left to proceed towards the right, and two pin-holes near the right hand of 48 should probably be interpreted to indicate that he was carrying a kerykeion (Fig. 6) and was acting as herald on behalf of 46, who may well be understood to represent one of the phylobasileis. Besides, while in the two groups-of-four three figures (21, 22, 44) are beardless, only two of the eponymous heroes, Pandion and Aigeus, could have been combined to form a pair consisting of a father with his son. Uta Kron's<sup>142</sup> hypothesis that the bearded figures may be understood to represent generations of heroes belonging to earlier mythological epochs than those of the beardless ones does not help to clear the case. The problem will be resumed below in connection with the interpretation of the group 31-35.

### *East 24-30 (section C)*

Hermes 24 is characterized by the broad-brimmed traveller's cap (petasos) lying in his lap, and a bronze kerykeion was probably fitted into a hole in his right hand (Fig. 19). 25 must represent Dionysos, possibly leaning on his ivy wand (thyrsos). Facing Demeter 26, he is turning towards the left, while leaning his right arm on Hermes' shoulder and inspecting the left branch of the procession. Demeter, holding a fluted torch in her left hand, and gloomily resting her chin on her right hand, is presumably brooding over the loss of her

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<sup>142</sup> Kron 1984, 235.

daughter Persephone. Ares, grasping with both hands his right knee, is rocking impatiently on his stool. Hera 29 is unveiling her attractions to her consort Zeus 30, who is reposing in quiet dignity on his throne, holding a sceptre in his right hand. Standing beside Hera is a winged goddess, probably her messenger Iris who is adjusting her hair with her right hand.

It has been tentatively argued that possibly 25 should be identified with Herakles rather than with Dionysos, and 28 with Nike rather than with Iris, but no cogent reasons have been proposed for favouring one or the other of these possibilities. According to Henning Wrede,<sup>143</sup> Hermes is ostentatiously placing his left foot before that of 23 to emphasize his role as intermediary (“Um seine Vermittlerrolle zu unterstreichen, stellt der Götterbote ostentativ seinen linken Fuss vor den anschließenden Phylenheros”). Whatever this observation should be understood to imply, the overlapping of the two figures makes clear that Hermes is seated at a distance somewhat closer to the observer than 23, an impression which is confirmed by the foot of Aphrodite 41 projecting before the foot of 43. Wrede also observes that Demeter’s legs are “confidentially intertwined with those of Dionysos” (“in sehr vertraulicher Weise zwischen die Schenkel des Dionysos geschoben”), but can hardly mean that the crowded arrangement should be interpreted as a confidential gesture rather than as one resulting from the shortage of space.

It is a remarkable feature that all the seated gods and goddesses on the frieze are coupled in pairs, Hermes with Dionysos, Demeter with Ares (though reciprocal sympathy seems to be missing), Zeus with Hera, Athena conversing with Hephaistos, and Poseidon with Apollon, and Artemis grasping confidentially Aphrodite’s arm. On this arrangement more will be said below under the heading east 36–42.

### *East 31–35 (section D)*

A folded cloth is being passed between the hands of the bearded elder 34 and the small boy 35. The woman 33 is adjusting with her right hand the

stool carried by the girl 32 on top of her head, and a similar stool is resting on the head of the girl 31, who carries in her right hand what seems to be a foot-stool (here Fig. 22a–b). The left forearm of 33 and the right forearm of 32 are broken, and with them the object(s) that they may have carried.

Many scholars assume or even insist that the folded cloth must represent the famous peplos that was dedicated to Athena Polias at the festival of the Great Panathenaia. There is, however, no evidence on the frieze definitely confirming this hypothesis, no matter whether the cloth should be understood to be passed from 35 to 34, or in the opposite direction, from 34 to 35. The way 35 is holding the cloth extended between his hands suggests that it is understood to be a garment of his own of which he has just divested himself, either a himation or a peplos, and which he has folded before handing it over to the boy, to be laid provisionally aside. This garment must have been worn above the ankle-length, short-sleeved chiton typical of priests, 35 is wearing in the situation described, thus being prepared to officiate at the forthcoming sacrifices.

There is also disagreement among scholars as to whether the stools carried by the girls 31 and 32 have been handed over to them by 33, or are in the process of being brought by them and received by 33. The stools are much too small to be intended for figures as large as the seated gods and goddesses, and standing are only the winged Iris 28 and Eros 42, presumably thereby characterized as divinities of secondary rank.

More likely, the stools are intended for Theseus’ followers 21 and 22, who as guests enjoy the privilege of being offered a seat (cf. Fig. 35, vase painting representing Dionysos welcoming Apollon). 31 seems hesitant, but hardly because she expects to be received by 33. More likely she is waiting for 32 to join her towards 21 and 22, as also indicated by the slight turn of her head in that direction. The tilt of her stool seems to suggest that she is on the point of moving, but will do so only in company with the elder girl 32. Most probably, therefore,

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<sup>143</sup> Wrede 1996, 154.

the two stools are to be delivered to their recipients simultaneously, and these can be identical only with 21 and 22. Very appropriately, 33 faces the direction, in which the stools are to be brought. The necessity of representing the recipients of the stools at a distance from the girls must have been dictated by the symmetrical composition of the two groups of seated gods and goddesses, which had to be separated in the middle to make room for the central groups 31-33 and 34-35. The available space just permitted the two diphrophoroi 31-32 to be included, while it had to be left to observers to identify the recipients of the stools as the two beardless youths 21-22 standing on the other side of the left group of gods and goddesses.

The left leg of Hermes 24 is projecting so as to cover the feet of 23, thereby giving the impression – perhaps intentional – that the latter is supposed to stand at a somewhat greater distance from observers than the groups of gods and goddesses. The same effect is produced by the feet of Aphrodite 41 and Eros 42 crossing the feet of the phylobasileus 43. This may imply that there was supposed to be a passage behind the gods, through which the diphrophoroi could bring the stools directly to the recipients 21 and 22.

### *East 36 and 37 (section E)*

The seated Athena 36 was holding with her right hand an object of bronze fixed in three pin-holes (Fig. 13), possibly a sceptre like that of Zeus indicating that she is understood to rank on a par with her father.

According to Brommer: “sind an ihrem linken Arm zweifelsfrei Schlangen zu sehen, aber eine Aegis ist nicht zu erkennen”.<sup>144</sup> The close-up of this area (Fig. 11) shows below the left arm the head of a snake projecting underneath the wrist, and from the forearm emerges what may well represent part of a similar snake. This cannot belong to an Aegis, but is more likely representing a bracelet of impressive dimensions (cf. Fig. 12). At any rate, there is no Aegis in its conventional position on Athena’s breast, and missing are also helmet and shield, the martial attributes traditionally

characterizing Athena as Polias or Poliouchos, the guardian of the city to whom the sacred peplos was dedicated. As she is shown conversing with a muscular, bearded man leaning on a stick resting in his armpit – perhaps an indication hinting at Hephaistos’ notorious lameness – she may well be the Athena who shared with Hephaistos their common temple on the Kolonos Agoraios at the Agora. Besides, her position on the frieze, symmetrical in relation to that of Zeus 30, agrees with their prominence as the principal divinities, Zeus Phratrios and Athena (Phratria), to whom sacrifices were brought at the Anarrhysis of the Apatouria.<sup>145</sup> She was holding with her right hand a staff-like object of bronze fixed in three pin-holes (Fig. 13), possibly a sceptre like that of Zeus indicating that in the context illustrated she is understood to rank on a par with her father.

If the folded cloth held by the archon basileus 34 should be assumed to represent the peplos dedicated to Athena Polias on the Acropolis at the Great Panathenaia, the conspicuous indifference demonstrated by the goddess 36 while turning her back on the costly gift supposedly intended for her calls for a plausible explanation. Either the folded cloth is not at all identical with the sacred peplos, or 36 is not Athena in her capacity as Polias to whom the peplos was dedicated, but a different Athena. Prominent gods and goddesses were collectively worshipped under the heading “The Twelve Gods”, but it is not known to which extent they were individually specified in the cult. Written sources mention the same gods and goddesses as those shown on the Parthenon frieze (with the exception of Dionysos 24), and these might be subdivided into six pairs, each combining a god with a goddess. Alternative combinations are shown on the frieze, thus in their sequence from left to right: male-male, female-male, female-male, female-male, male-male, and female-female.

The following conclusions seem possible and worth taking into serious consideration:

<sup>144</sup> Brommer 1977, 115.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Fig. 6.

1. The seated gods and goddesses on the frieze are meant to represent those to whom sacrifices were brought at the altar of The Twelve Gods located at the point where the main arterial highways used by the out-of-town participants at the Anarrhysis converged (Fig. 15)

2. As indicated by Aphrodite's gesture (cf. also the observant attitudes of the divine spectators in the group on the left), the gods and goddesses are assumed to be present at the reception of the procession illustrated on the frieze. The Panathenaic procession, on the other hand, must have taken place on the Acropolis, where no cult of The Twelve Gods is known to have existed

3. According to Thucydides (6.54.6-7) the altar of The Twelve Gods on the Agora was established by Peisistratos, the son of Hippias and grandson of the tyrant Peisistratos, while he was Archon (probably around 520 BC). If, therefore, the frieze refers to the time of Theseus, the altar of The Twelve Gods must be interpreted as an anachronistic feature. But even if there had been no altar for The Twelve Gods on the Agora at Athens at the time of Theseus, the gods themselves could well be assumed to have inhabited from time immemorial the place where their altar was eventually established. No altar is depicted on the frieze, just the divinities supposed to be physically present at the festival of the Anarrhysis, and it is not known whether these were identical with those worshipped at the altar. They may not even have been individually specified in the cult regulations, in which case their selection on the frieze would have been left to the choice of its planners

### *East 38 and 39 (section E)*

Poseidon 38 was probably holding his trident with his left hand, while Apollon 39 seems to be leaning with his left hand on what may have represented the branch of a laurel. While Apollon's face is turned back inquisitively towards Poseidon, as if to question what is in his mind, Poseidon is watching tensely the procession and the group-of-four with Aigeus and Theseus in the middle. His features are inexpressive except for a deep wrinkle on his brow betraying emotion, resentment, or anger (Fig. 34).

Does Poseidon realize that he may be the legitimate father of the young man, who is standing beside Aigeus and proudly claimed by Aigeus to be a son of his?

### *East 40-42 (section E)*

Artemis 40 is seizing confidentially Aphrodite's arm, and Aphrodite 41 is pointing out to Eros 42 noteworthy sights in the procession. He is holding a parasol, possibly to protect him against the sun. What Aphrodite is explaining to Eros, may either be features particularly characteristic of the festival that might have helped observers to identify the subject-matter represented on the frieze such as the swearing in of the epikleroi, or an episode of unique significance such as the introduction of Theseus by King Aigeus for enrolment in Aigeus' phratry.

### *East 43-46 (section F)*

Resting his arm affectionately, with all his weight, on the shoulder of the heroic looking youth 44, probably his son, the bearded elder 45 is conversing with the phylobasileus 46, while 43, also bearded, seems to be merely listening. If 44 is supposed to be Theseus, 45 may well represent his father Aigeus proudly introducing to 46 (presumably the phylobasileus of the tribe to which Aigeus' phratry belonged) his son for enrolment. Previously, the group has been interpreted to represent four of the eponymous heroes, among whom 44 might be hypothetically identified as Aigeus and 45 as his father Pandion.

### *East 47-48 (section F)*

Cf. *East 20-23* for description and interpretation.

### *East 49-63 (section G)*

The official 49 and his herald 52 are addressing two pairs of empty-handed girls, 50-51 and 53-54, who are 3-4 cm. lower and therefore assumed to be younger than those in the train of female attendants following behind. As indicated by the



prominence of their breasts, they should be understood to have reached at least the minimum age of marriage capability, *c.* 14 years. They are dressed in a peplos and are wearing a himation thrown around their shoulders, as well as sandals. 50 and 51 are listening obediently to 49, while watching attentively the object he is lifting before their eyes. 53 and 54 are receiving instructions from 52, who judging from pin-holes (Fig. 20) was holding a kerykeion in his right hand, and who is pointing inquisitively at them with his left hand.

The train of attendants is preceded by the girl 55, who is dressed like the empty-handed girls and is hardly any older, but is carrying a libation bowl. Then follows a series of eight taller girls or women: 56-63. 56 and 57 are carrying between them a big and heavy incense-burner (probably of bronze, *cf.* the vase painting Fig. 36), thereafter follow two (58-59) holding jugs, and two (60-61) carrying libation bowls, while 62 and 63 are lost and only known from a sketchy drawing by Carrey.<sup>146</sup>

It is remarkable that apart from the official and his herald 49 and 52, the participants of the procession are exclusively female. The procedure represented must therefore deal with matters primarily concerning women, *i.e.* in all probability their marriage affairs. The four empty-handed girls 50-51 and 53-54 must be those whose affairs are being arranged, and the official must be the eponymous archon who was in charge of the affairs of the *epikleroi*. If at their father's death only heiresses were left, one of the *epikleroi* might inherit his estate provisionally, provided that a next of kin on her father's side would be willing to marry her. The "interim husband" would then become warden of the family estate until it could be lawfully inherited by a male descendant.

With both hands, the eponymous archon 49 is lifting before the eyes of the girls 50-51 what appears to be a kind of receptacle, as if to show them its contents. On top of it there is nothing but a flat surface. The way, in which it is held, one hand supporting its bottom and the other hand its rim (Fig. 21a-d) suggests that it has no handles. As it is being kept slightly tilted towards the girls – probably to make it easier for them to inspect its



Fig. 36. Large thymiaterion standing between two youths in a procession honouring the Delphian Apollo on a Volute Krater by the Kleophon Painter (from Spina, after Boardman 1991, 171).

contents – they are evidently not at the point of receiving the receptacle from 49 or of handing it over to him. The interpretation of the episode suggested by Berger<sup>147</sup>: “Der bärtige Mann (49) hält mit beiden Händen einen flachen mit vier Bohrlöchern versehenen Gegenstand, der wohl

<sup>146</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 143.

<sup>147</sup> Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 167.

ein Opfertablett ist. Vielleicht waren darauf Opfergaben gemalt, welche die Mädchen (50-51) herangebracht haben” pays only scant attention to what can actually be seen on the frieze.

Supposing that the eponymous archon is asking the girls to take an oath, the contents of the receptacle may well be the substance that they are requested to swear by – possibly smouldering coals from the sacred hearth in the Prytaneion where the eponymous archon had his residence. Presumably the girls are requested to confirm in public by oath their acceptance of the marriages already imposed on them in court, to which there was no access for women. The Anarrhysis, then, would have provided a convenient occasion for the confirmation in public of the decisions already settled on their behalf. As the epikleroi had, by definition, no fathers still alive, nor any sons, brothers, or brothers’ sons, the relatives in a position to witness the confirmation of the marriages of the epikleroi in public would have been predominantly, if not exclusively, female, such as their sisters, mothers, or mothers’ sisters.

Behind the four epikleroi are following nine female attendants 55-63, i.e. on the average two per epikleros. 58 and 59 carry jugs, 60-62 (and 63?) libation bowls (probably more than one bowl could be filled from one jug). To be marriageable, the epikleroi must be at least 14 years old, while there was no upper limit to their age except the climacterium occurring at the age of about 45 years that would prevent them from fulfilling their principal duty: to bear a child, preferably a boy.

An attempt by Beschi<sup>148</sup> to interpret some of the girls and women in the female processions as the ergastinai who wove the peplos for Athena must for several reasons be rejected (cf. the heading east 1-17). There are altogether twenty-nine girls or women on the frieze, but according to inscriptions (Fig. 10), a team of ergastinai was selected from each of the ten Cleisthenic tribes. At the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC each team consisted of about ten girls, the total amounting to some hundred, or more. All participated in the procession at the Great Panathenaia and were afterwards permitted to dedicate a libation bowl of silver worth a hundred Drachms in commemoration of their services

done to the Goddess. On the frieze only seven or eight girls are shown carrying libation bowls, about the same number have jugs, and eight are empty-handed. The ergastinai were virgins (*parthenoi*), i.e. not married, and therefore under their fathers’ tutelage.

The identifications proposed for the east frieze are not only based on the interpretation of each individual figure separately, but can also be shown to confirm certain combinations of figures. The only possible recipients of the two stools brought by the diphrophoroi 31 and 32 are the two beardless youths 21 and 22, who are thereby classified as foreigners and guests. If so, their symmetrical counterparts, 44 and 45, may be understood to represent Aigeus introducing his son Theseus to 46, who is possibly one of the four phylobasileis, in which case 43, 20, and 23 may well be identified as the remaining three. The presence of the four phylobasileis supports the interpretation of the frieze as a tribal festival like that of the Anarrhysis at the Apatouria.

The identification of the girls and women in the female processions can be concluded from the surviving indications (cf. above east 49-63), but the affairs of the epikleroi are not mentioned in any sources referring to the Agenda of the Anarrhysis, of which nothing is known apart from the sacrifice that gave the festival its name.

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<sup>148</sup> Beschi 1984

## East frieze, identifications proposed

- 2-11, 13, 15: Female relatives of the epikleroi
- 12, 14, 16, 17: Epikleroi
- 18-19: Marshals (?) attending
- 20: Phylobasileus 4
- 21-22: Theseus' fellow travellers
- 23: Phylobasileus 3
- 24: Hermes
- 25: Dionysos
- 26: Demeter
- 27: Ares
- 28: Iris (standing)
- 29: Hera
- 30: Zeus
- 31-2: Maidens carrying stools for 21 and 22
- 33: Basilinna, wife of the Archon Basileus
- 34: Archon Basileus
- 35: Boy receiving folded garment from 34
- 36: Athena (not the Polias, but possibly as mate of Hephaistos)
- 37: Hephaistos
- 38: Poseidon
- 39: Apollon
- 40: Artemis
- 41: Aphrodite
- 42: Eros (standing)
- 43: Phylobasileus 2
- 44: Theseus
- 45: Aigeus
- 46: Phylobasileus 1
- 47: Marshal beckoning the female procession 2-17
- 48: Herald probably attached to 46
- 49: Eponymous archon
- 50-1: Epikleroi
- 52: Keryx Archontos
- 53-54: Epikleroi
- 55-63: Female relatives of the Epikleroi

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