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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, 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 Kultge- schen, mit ihren traditionellen Agonisten und würdigsten Vertretern der Stadt”.2

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”.3 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 perhaps 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

1 Berger 1996a, 14.
2 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 vorstell- ten”. According to Brøndsted (169 n. 6): "Das Beste was bis jetzt, und seit dem kleinen Aufsatz im Stuart-Revett’schen Werke (Antiqu. of Ath., vol. II, pag. 12-14), über den äusse- ren 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.
Fig. 1. East frieze, individual slabs (drawing by KJ).
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.4

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

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4 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).
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.\(^5\) 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\(^6\) 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”.\(^7\)

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

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\(^5\) Travlos 1971, 210, fig. 275; Kron 1976, 228-36.

\(^6\) Kron 1984, 235-44.

\(^7\) Kron 1984, 235.
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, Kekrops, Hippothontis, Aiantis, Antiochis.

This is a curious medley of tribes which, according to Herodotos,² Cleisthenes had selected from the great number of heroes available. Other sources mention the oracle at Delphi as instrumental in drawing the lots.³ 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.⁴ 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 ephebes, lists for military service, and even dunning letters!⁵ 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.

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 ashlars indicated is c. 122 cm. The 6 croseshatched ones mark the positions of the window openings established when the temple was converted into a church. Plan, KJ.
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).
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 4th 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). 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. 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. 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 4th 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).

The magnitude of the project also appears to be indicated by the time it took to finish the peplos, nearly nine months. 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 4th century BC, a sudden gust of wind once happened to strike the ship-cart while the procession was passing through the Kerameikos, thereby breaking the mast and tearing the middle of the peplos. 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

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14 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 191-2; III 151-64
15 IG II 1034, 1036.
16 From the last day of the Pyanepsion to the Great Panathenaia at the end of the Hekatombaion.
17 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 Pentelicis, quorum a (ur. iap. 1198) et b consunt Lolling Aequat. iap. 1889. 14 nr. 7, tertium ε addidit Wilhelm Güt. ged. 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 auctore superatum est, lineis subscriptis notatae sunt. Fr. d a. 0,56, l. 0,40, cr. 0,145. Lit. alt. 0.008 A Ε Σ Θ Ψ et Π Σ. Fr. a exc. + Koehler, b et c habuit Koehler ex apographa Lollingii, d exc. + idem. Fr. a et b connunt Koehler (Dittenberger 664), c et d seorunt idem (a—d Michel 1503.) Venet. 

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110 (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 Pentelicis, quorum a (ur. iap. 1198) et b consunt Lolling Aequat. iap. 1889. 14 nr. 7, tertium ε addidit Wilhelm Güt. ged. 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 auctore superatum est, lineis subscriptis notatae sunt. Fr. d a. 0,56, l. 0,40, cr. 0,145. Lit. alt. 0.008 A Ε Σ Θ Ψ et Π Σ. Fr. a exc. + Koehler, b et c habuit Koehler ex apographa Lollingii, d exc. + idem. Fr. a et b connunt Koehler (Dittenberger 664), c et d seorunt idem (a—d Michel 1503.) Venet. 

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Fig. 10 a-b. IG II² 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 λομικρόνι πατέρες τῶν Παρθένων τῶν ἠργασµένων τηι Ἀθηνᾶι τὰ ἔρια τα είς τλομικρόνν πέπλα) and carry their fathers’ name with reference to his tribe.
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 aigis. 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 aigis, but should more likely be understood to represent a large bracelet of gold like the one shown in Fig. 12.

No aigis 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 aigis 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 pin-holes 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 to whom the sacred peplos was dedicated can be derived from Aristophanes’ Birds (produced in 414 BC), lines 823–31, in which Euphides and Peithetairos are discussing the properties of the imaginary “Cloud-cuckoo-bury” town:

Peithetairos (823–25): λόστον μὲν οὖν τὸ Φλέγρας πεδίον, ἵν᾿ οἱ θεοὶ τοὺς γηγενεῖς ἀμαζονεύμενοι καθυπερηκότεσσαν. (Best of all, this is the plain of Phlegra, where the Gods outshot the giants of the game of Brag)

Euelpides (826–27): λιπαρήμα τῆς πόλεως. τίς δαὶ θεός πολιούχος ἔσται; τῶ λασίαν ἔστιν πέπλον; (A glistering sort of a city! Who shall be its guardian God? For whom shall we weave the peplos?)

Peithetairos (828): τί δ᾿ οὖν Ἀθηναίαν ἐώμεν Πολιάδα; (Why not retain Athene Polias?)

Euelpides. (829–31): καὶ πῶς ἂν ἐτε γένοιτ᾿ ἂν εὐτακτος πόλεις, ὅπου θεός γυνὴ γεγονύα πανοπλίαν ἄστηρε 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 Ἀθηνᾷ πολιάδι ὀψε πέπλος ἐγίνετο παμποτίσιος, ὅν 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.18

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18 Dübner 1877, 228.
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.19 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 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-

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itary 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 1990.20 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.

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,21 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 period22
2. As a memorial of a particular historical event, for example, the heroic battle at Marathon23 or as a votive offering intended to immortalize the monuments destroyed by the Persians24
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 times25
4. As a mythological or symbolical paradigm26
5. As a representation of the administration contemporary with the building of the Parthenon,27 or of the Attic democracy and its imperialistic tendencies28

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

20 Jeppesen 1990.
21 Berger 1996b, 16 (translation by the present author).
22 Brommer 1977; Robertson 1975.
23 Boardman 1977a.
24 Holloway 1966.
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.29

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,30 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, those are the only ones who do not celebrate the Apatouria”. According to the same author31 “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, Istrus, Kallatis, and Perinthos, and the hopletes at Miletos and Tomis.32

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.33 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”,34 and Theseus was represented “like one coming up from the underworld”,35 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

30 Hdt. 1.147: εἰοί δὲ πάντες Ἰωνεὶς δοῦν ἀπ᾽ Ἄθηναν γεγονόντες καὶ Ἀπατουρία ἄγονες ὅρθην· ἄγονει δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφονίων· ὅποια γὰρ μοῦνα Ἰωνῶν οὐκ ἄγονοι Ἀπατουρία.
31 Hdt. 1.146: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτηρίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὑμηθῆντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατον εἶναι Ἰωνῶν, Hdt. 5.66: ἐξοσομένων δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δήμον προστατεύεται, μετὰ δὲ τετραήμορους ἔννοιας Ἀθηναίους δεικνύοντος ἔποιες, τῶν Ἰωνῶν παιδὸν Γέλλοντος καὶ Ἀργάδου καὶ Ὀλυμπίτης ὑπαλλάξεις τὰς ἐπισκυρίας.
33 Travlos 1971, 8, fig. 5, 21, fig. 29 no. 30.
34 Οἱ μαχηταί μαραθών.
35 Ὁμαρθος ἀνιστὰ ἐκ γῆς εἰκασμένος.
The 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. 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

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36 Boardman 1987, figs. 112, 114, 2-5.
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”\textsuperscript{37} – had fifty sons, and to him was allotted the southern part of Attica. From Sphettos he marched towards Athens with one contingent.\textsuperscript{38} Another contingent positioned in ambush at

\textsuperscript{37} Strabo (9.1.6) quoting Sophocles: τῆς δὲ γῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον ὁ σκληρὸς οὐτός καὶ γίγαντας ἐκτρέφων εἶληλκυε Πάλλας. On Pallas’ province, see Brückner 1891, 200-34.

\textsuperscript{38} 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”.

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 observations 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 Panathenia. 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, aigis, 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 ebenso wenig nachweisen wie Phratrien, Phratriarchen oder Gene” 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-

39 See above, n. 37.
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 hypothes-

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

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).
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 Pyanepson. The first day they call Dorpia, because the clansmen came together and feasted in the evening, the second day Anarrhysis, deriving from ἀναρρύειν, 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”.

The information that the first day of the Apatouria was the Dorpia or Dompia (i.e. hemera) is indirectly confirmed by the expression “πρόπεμπτα τῆς Δορπία”, i.e. “the fifth day before the Dompia”. 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 Dompia 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. 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 or just recently born. 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 kalyx 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.

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, and the sacrificial victim was probably a full-grown sheep. The animals sacrificed in the phratries used to be sheep or goat. 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

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41 λέγει δὲ νῦν περὶ ᾿Απατλομικρῶν, ἑσπερίης ἐπισήμου δημοτε-λους, ἀγομένης παρά τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κατά τὸν Πυανεψίωνα μῆνα ἐπί τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καλοῦσθαι δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην Δόρμιαν, ἐπειδή φρατήρας ὄψας συνελήνησε εὐηχοῦστον· τὴν δὲ δεύτεραν Ἀναρρύσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄναρρυσε, τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυνον δὲ Δίῳ Φρατρίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν δὲ τρίτην Κλούεσσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τούτων κούρου καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐγγράφειν εἰς τὰς φρατηρίας.
42 IG II² 1237, l. 61.
43 IG II² 1237.
44 Schol. Pl. Timaios 21B: ἐὰν καὶ Κούρεοις ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς κούρους ἐνέγραφαν εἰς τοὺς φρατηρίας, τριτεῖς ἢ τεταρτεῖς ὄντας.
45 Etym. Magn. s.v. Apatouria : ... ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἔορτῇ γὰρ τοὺς γεννομένους ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, ἐκείνῳ παῖδας τότε ἐνέγραφαν ὄμνυντες οἱ πατέρες, ή μὴν Ἀθηναίους ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων.
46 Jeppesen 1987, 46, fig. 15a.
47 Labarbe 1953.
48 Poll. 3.52: καὶ ὄντι φοτατή, καὶ φόρτις αἰὲ ἡ θουμηνὶ τοῖς φόρτισιν.
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 Gamelai), and a meal was offered by the bridegroom to the clansmen. 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. There is no evidence confirming the information of the scholion 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 Ἀπατοφύεων ἡμέρα (cf. the expression “κυρία εκκλεσία”). As the private proceedings of the phratries 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, 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’ phratries, by relevant officials such as the two archons, the four phylobasileis (tribal kings), and the twelve phratriarchs (leaders of the phratries).

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, 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.

Bacchylides’ Dithyramb 18, Theseus’ travel to Athens

The text and translation reproduced below is quoted from Anne Pippin Burnett. 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 οί φωτε μόνος ἀμαρτεῖν λέγει. 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: καρυξε ... ἄφατα δ’ἐργα λέγει κραταιοῦ φωτὸς: (“a herald ... tells of unspeakable deeds by a strong man”) and lines 25.14-15: Προκόπτες, ἀφείονος τυχὸν φωτὸς. (“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!
King.

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 Cremony;
has killed dread Sciron as well;
has captured the wrestling school
that Cercyon ran, while Procoptes
has dropped the hideous maccot
Polyphemus made, faced with one
stronger than he! The end of these deeds I fear.
Who does the messenger say that he is?
Where from, and is this 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.

Cho.

King of our holy Athens,
born 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?
Speak, for I do believe,
if ever a mortal man had, you have
brave young allies beside you,
son of Pandion and Creusa!

Cho.

Ae.

O Poseidon, my lord,
here and in Creusa.

Clos.

Tenth, Polyxenides,
the steps go,

Clos.

Pier.

Eighth.

Clos.

Seventh.

Clos.

Sixth.

Clos.

Fifth.

Clos.

Fourth.

Clos.

Third.

Clos.

Second.

Clos.

First.

Clos.

First.

Clos.

Second.

Clos.

Third.

Clos.

Fourth.

Clos.

Fifth.

Clos.

Sixth.

Clos.

Seventh.

Clos.

Eighth.

Clos.

Ninth.

Clos.

Tenth.
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.57 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 15th and 16th Hekatombaion which had characteristic features in common with the Anarrhys of the Apatouria.58

In the group on the left, the middlemost two, 21 and 22, are assumed to represent the “two men” (dyo phôte), who according to Bacchylides59 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

57 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996.
58 Cf. Fig. 10, lines 35 and 47.
59 Bacchylides line 45.1.
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.60

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 pinholes 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-

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60 On heralds, see RE 29 (1921), s.v. Keryx, 349-57.
ly to be the kerykeion. Of these, 52 would be the herald attached to 49, and 48 probably the one attached to the phylobasileus 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 phylobasileis, 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
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.61 On the other hand, supposing that 49 is asking 50-51 to take an oath, its con-

61 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!
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). 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. 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, for no other than the woollen peplos that was to be presented to Athena Polias at the Great Panathenaea. 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. 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.

Brommer gives a useful account of all the interpretations of 31–33 that had been suggested until 1977. The discussion of the evidence for the stools has been resumed by Burkhardt Wesenberg. According to Wesenberg’s hypothesis, what is usually supposed to be the right leg of the
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, 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). 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), 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: “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. 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 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

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68 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 158.
69 See also Brommer 1977, pl. 178.
70 See also Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 131, 136.
73 Parke 1977, 141.
in connection with the Koureotis. 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

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

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paternal grandfather dead</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father’s brother(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father dead</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother’s sister(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s sister(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal aunts or cousins</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 25. Stemma illustrating the situation of an epikleros.
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”. 75

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 carrying trumpet-like stands(Fig. 26). 76 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 77 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-

75 Lacey 1968, 24.
76 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.
77 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 143.
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 (λοµικρον[ςπέρ ἄρλκηων) τῶν λοµικρον[ςφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων.

78 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, identifiable, presumably, with 52 on the frieze. The activities of 49 have already been described in detail. 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 νῃ combined with the name of the god or goddess in the accusative. 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.

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.

79 For the keryx archontos, see SIG 3, 711A, 728A.
80 Above, p. 126.
81 E.g. νῃ τον Δίο (by Zeus) or νῃ την Δηµήτρα (by Demeter).
as well. 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. 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.

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 ergastinai who prepared the wool for Athena’s peplos, the left group representing married, the right group unmarried women. However, as the two inscriptions IG II 1034 and 1036 make clear, all the ergastinai 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 ergastinai, 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. 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

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82 The expression ἐν τῇ ᾿Εστίᾳ is found in fr. 185 from Antiphanes’ comedy Parasitos, in which a parasite praises a culinary titbit in the following terms: ἀστεῖον γε ἐν τῇ ᾿Εστίᾳ ἀριστον (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.


84 Cf. n. 83.

85 Beschi 1984, 11.

86 IG II 1034, lines 7-8: οἱ πατήφεις τῶν Παρθένων [τῶν ἄργασταν τῆς Αθηνᾶς τὰ ἔρια τὰ [εἰς τὸν] πέπλον.

87 κυρία τῶν Ἀστυευμένων 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. 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”.

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. 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), 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”. 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...

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89 εἰς τότε δὲ συντελεῖ καὶ τό τῆς νύμφης τῷ νεαρῷ ουσιαστικῶς νυκτοῦ νυκτὸν κατατραγίζοντα, καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐκλάνει τῆς ἐνεπεραθηκῆς πᾶντος τῷ ἐπικλήρῳ τῶν λαβόντα.
90 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 50-1.
would scarcely have differed much from the festi-
val characteristic of the 6th, 7th, 8th, or even earlier
centuries. Religious institutions tend to be
extremely conservative, and what might have
changed considerably in the course of a long peri-
od was not necessarily the organization of the fes-
tival and its rituals and ceremonies, but more like-
ly 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 16th
Hekatombaion and every second year in a larger
and extended form including also the 15th of the
same month. On the latter date was sacrificed on
behalf of the tribe of the Geleontes and the trittys
of the Leukotainoi a sheep paid from “the funds
of the phylobasileis” (τὰ φυλλοβασιλεῖα). As emol-
uments, the four phylobasileis received the back-
bone of the animal (φυλλοβασιλείου νότο, lines 40–
41), while its shoulder, feet, and head were
reserved for the herald (κήρυκ, lines 42-43; prob-
ably the one attached to the phylobasileus of the
Geleontes).

On the 16th 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 emol-
uments, 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 16th Hekatombaion, are lost. As the names
of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria imply, the
same gods were worshipped as on the Anarrhysis at
the Apatouria, at the time when the Parthenon frieze
was planned; and if the festival chosen to be repre-
sented on the frieze was in actual fact the
Anarrhysis, it could be reasonably anticipated that
the phylobasileis were represented among the dig-
nitaries 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

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93 Athena, however, without surname, according to Scholion
to Ar. Ach. 1.146.
94 Thuc. 2.15: ξυνόκαι ζεό ξείκαιν Αθηναίοι ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν θεῖον ἡράκλης.
95 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 16th 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 16th Hekatombaion, two cows were sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, from which the phylobasileus received “a leg” (φυλοβασιλεῖ σκέλος) and his herald “parts of chest, feet, and head” (χήρους χέλους ποδῶν κεφαλῆς). The costs were defrayed “from the funds of the phylobasileis” (ἐκ τῶν φυλόμικρων).

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 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.

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 ἀναρρύειν, 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-

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ing trays (skaphephoroi), four carrying pitchers (hydriaphoroi), four pipers and four musicians playing the kithara, and sixteen (or seventeen) elders, 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. 97 On the south side, the ten oxen leave sufficient space to accommodate to some extent tray-bearers, pipers, and kithara-players. 98 Judging from the two fragments surviving, the group of elders on this side resembled by and large those on the north side. 99 

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. 100 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: 101

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 Petasos 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 102 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). 103 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,

100 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 3.
no obvious tendency to organized grouping can be observed.\textsuperscript{104} 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.\textsuperscript{105} 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

\textsuperscript{104} Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 52-65 (north) and pls. 104-10 (south).

\textsuperscript{105} Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pls. 51-66, pl. III, north frieze; variant B.
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.106 As argued by Berger, twelve equalling the number of the phratries may be considered a probable figure.107 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,108 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

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).

### Southern 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

  - 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

- 18 elders

- Musicians and traybearers

- 10 cows to be sacrificed at the Anarrhysis

### Northern branch of the procession

- 60 riders indiscriminately grouped, 5 from each phratry

- 12 four-horse chariots, one from each phratry

- 12 phratriarchs

- 4 elders

- 4 kithara-players

- 4 pipers

- 4 pitcher-bearers

- 4 tray-bearers

- 4 sheep

### East front

- Female procession

- Phylobasileis 3–4 and their heralds

- Theseus’ fellow travellers

- Gods and Goddesses

- Female procession received by eponymous Archon

- Phylobasileis 1–2 and their heralds

- Aigeus and Theseus

- Archon basileus and his family

- Gods and Goddesses

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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 7th century BC and were familiar to readers of the Iliad, who might recall book 23, line 132:109 ἄν δ’ ἔδωκαν ἐν δίφρλοις παραιβάται ἡγίσχοι τεν (and mounted their chariots, warriors (paraibatai) and charioteers alike)

Not apobatai but paraibatai are mentioned, heavily armed hoplites, who stood beside the driver (ἡνίλοκρις), 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.110 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 II² 1028, lines 10, 13, 28 ἡραντὶ ἀνά...τοῦ δὲ τοῦ...111 and in IG I³ 82, lines 30-31: τοῦ δ’ ἐδὼκε...τοῦ δ’ ἐδὼκε...112 The verb used in the expressions ἡραντὶ or ἀρόντα τοῦ δ’ ἐδώκε is the medium form αἴρομαι meaning “raise” or “lift”.113 Anarrhysis is composed of the preposition ἄνα and the verb ἔρυω with contraction and duplication of the rho. The basic meaning of ἔρυω is “to drag, draw, implying force or violence”.114 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.115 Etymologicum Magnum116 explains Anarrhysis as a sacrifice, at which those sacrificing were drawing back the necks of the victims, thus turning them upwards.117 The exact meaning of “lifting” has been thoroughly discussed by Ludwig Ziehen118 who was inclined to assume that the verb αἴρομαι 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 αἴρομαι 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-

109 The complete passage is quoted below p. 154.
111 Cows sacrificed by the epheboi at the Mysteries and the Proerotaia at Eleusis, 100-99 BC, 109 epheboi participated, while the number of victims is left open.
112 Cows sacrificed by the epheboi at the Hephaesteia. From the epheboi were chosen 200 Athenians, no number of victims being specified.
113 LSJ, s.v. ἀείρω, IV.3.
114 LSJ, s.v. ἔρυω.
115 τὸ ἄνα ἐμμένον θεοθράται.
116 Etym. Magn. 98.
117 ἀνέκλων τοῦ τραμήλου τῶν θυμένων ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω τόποντες.
118 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”.\textsuperscript{119} It might have been left to professional butchers, mageiroi, to cut the victims’ throat. In the above-mentioned inscription IG II\textsuperscript{3} 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\textsuperscript{120} 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\textsuperscript{121} the victims are specified as δόες (= bous), 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,\textsuperscript{122} 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

\textsuperscript{119} Theophr. Char.: ἰόψας τὸ ἵματον τὸν δοῦνα αἴρεσθαι ἵνα τραλκηθῇ.
\textsuperscript{120} Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 117 (here Fig. 29).
\textsuperscript{121} Cf. notes 111-2.
\textsuperscript{122} Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 132, pl. III, south frieze: variant A & B.
Fig. 31a-f. Photos of cows surviving from the south procession (sacrifice of the Anarrhysis), (Photos KJ).
have been reported to survive on the extant architrave blocks from the east front,\(^{123}\) 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

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\(^{123}\) Fig. 2a; Casanaki et al. 1985, 99 IX.5.
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

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)
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 Berger124 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

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 (Phratria) 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 Medea’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
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. 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 seashore 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 –

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125 Wycherley 1957.
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 deities 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 Olympus, 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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126 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 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 (Phratria), 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, altogether 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.127 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 pitch-bearer-bearers like those preserved on the north side,

127 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 4th 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. 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 8th and 7th centuries BC, hoplites transported on chariots were replaced by phalanxes of armoured lancers marching and fighting together in close ranks.

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

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 epheboi, 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 Apotouria, 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." According to Suda 2058, the Anarrhysis was “the principal day of the Apatouria” (κυρία τῶν ᾿Απατλομίκρων 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 Hephaesteia, or the Proerosia at Eleusis, 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 older 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 4th century BC; cf. for instance, the Chariot frieze from the Maussolleion.

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.

130 Ar. Ach. 1.146.
132 Jeppesen 2002, 150, fig. 15. 4.
which would inevitably have hampered his speed
while running.

If apobatic races were to be arranged in connec-
tion 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
d129 αὐτίκα Μυρμιδόνεσσι φιλοπολέμοιοι κέλευ-
σε,
130 χαλκὸν ἱππόλειον ἥτυόν ὧν ὑπὲρ ὑπεροφίν
ἐκαστον
131 ἵππος; οἱ δ᾿ ὄρνυστο, καὶ ἐν τεύχουν ἐδυνον
132 ἂν δ᾿ ἔλθαν ἐν δίφροσι παραιδάτα ἣνοχοι τε:
(And Achilleus 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 chari-
ots, 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 fig-
ures 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
Homerian 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 peri-
od, 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 rid-
ers 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 com-
mitted to a common task, possibly that of “lifting”
one of the cows. Exegetes would have been
required to explain such details to spectators stand-
ing at a distance below the frieze.

Participating presumably as showpieces demon-
strating aristocratic supremacy in connection with
the Anarrhysis, the chariots were enlivened by
crews, who posed as charioteers and armed com-
panions. Sponsors and phratriarchs proceeded on
foot before their chariots, thereby emphasizing
their owners’ social rank and prestige. Visibly
choked, 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 phra-
tries was maintained throughout the Classical peri-
od, 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 dedicat-
ed to Athena Polias at the Great Panathenaia; that
the seated Athena must represent the Polias
although she is missing all the attributes character-
istic of that particular goddess, shield, helmet and
aigis; and that the groups of distinguished persons
standing on both sides of the seated gods and god-
desses 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 4th 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, 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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133 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\textsuperscript{134} 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 ergastinaí 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 - aigis, helmet and shield - characteristic of the Athena with the epithet Polias, for whom, according to Aristophanes’ comedy \textit{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.\textsuperscript{135}

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-

\textsuperscript{134} Stuart in Stuart & Revett 1762-94.

\textsuperscript{135} 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.\footnote{136 Cf. n. 60.}

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 aigis – 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...
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 pre-
sumptive owners, the twelve phratriarchs, are pro-
ceeding 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 phy-
lobasileis.

Departing abruptly at full gallop right from the 
south-west corner towards the south-east corner 
are represented ten teams each of six riders separat-
ed 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 cor-
ner. 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-

1. That each of the ten teams of six riders is com-
missioned 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 
frize

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 citi-
zens of distinction, probably eupatridai

Berger\textsuperscript{137} 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 Phyle 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 phy-
lobasileis (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 eupat-
ridai who have undertaken to sponsor the sacrifi-
cial victims.

Ten cows may seem a remarkably low number

\textsuperscript{137} 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 × 12, which would average twelve riders from each of the twelve phatries, 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 Berger138:


Most recently it has been claimed by Wesenberg that the stools are not at all stools, but should be differently interpreted.139 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 Ἀπατλομικρῶν). 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 × 150 = 9000 and 65 × 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 Athenaiou Politeia written c. 329–328 BC, i.e. about 80 years after the completion of the Parthenon frieze.

139 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 a 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.140

Based on the assumption that the women are to be interpreted as ergastinai, Sir John Boardman141 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 inscriptive 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.

140 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 142.
141 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 phlyobasileis 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 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

142 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,143 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,

143 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”.144 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 Hephaestos’ 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.145 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, male-male, and female-female.

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

144 Brommer 1977, 115.
145 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 Anarrhys convergence (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 Anarrhys, 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)**


**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.146

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 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 Berger147: “Der bärtige Mann (49) hält mit beiden Händen einen flachen mit vier Bohrlöchern versehenen Gegenstand, der wohl

146 Berger & Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pl. 143.
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 Anarrhys, 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\textsuperscript{148} 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\textsuperscript{st} 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 Anarrhys 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 Anarrhys, of which nothing is known apart from the sacrifice that gave the festival its name.

\textsuperscript{148} 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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