

THE PARTHENON FRIEZE AS AN IDEALIZED,
CONTEMPORARY PANATHENAIC FESTIVAL

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The Parthenon continues to generate enormous interest, and no part of this magnificent building has received more attention recently than the Ionic frieze.¹ Ancient writers overlook it, including the second-century AD traveller Pausanias, who commented upon the pediments (1.24.5). Consequently, modern scholars have been able to range far and wide in their search for meaning. There was for a long time a general consensus that the frieze represented an idealized Panathenaic procession in the time of Perikles. However, in the last quarter-century or so, this orthodox view has been challenged strongly. It would be wrong to deny that there are good reasons for this reaction, but to my mind the orthodoxy, in slightly modified form, still provides our best interpretation. The main aim of this chapter, therefore, is to argue through detailed analysis that the best interpretation of the frieze is that it represents an idealized, contemporary Panathenaic festival – ‘festival’ rather than ‘procession’, for some figures evoke sporting competition more immediately than religious procession, and ‘idealized’ in the sense of a de-personalized, ennobling, often calm and youthful depiction. I accept that we are dealing with an evocative, polyvalent monument but would argue that it did have a primary subject.

The Parthenon was built over the foundations of an unfinished temple of Athena (the ‘old Parthenon’) that was begun soon after the battle of Marathon (490 BC) but destroyed in the Persian sacks of 480/79.² Planning for the ‘new’ Parthenon probably began *c.* 448, construction work commenced *c.* 447,³ the temple was dedicated in 438,⁴ and it is generally agreed that the frieze was sculpted *c.* 442–438.⁵ As with its predecessor, it is likely that the Parthenon was meant to honour Athena and Athenian victories over the Persians, especially the victory at Marathon.⁶ Yet if the pediments with their scenes of Athena’s birth (east) and triumph over Poseidon (west), and the metopes with their depictions of struggles against centaurs (south), giants (east), Amazons (west) and Trojans (north) may

seem to accord with this aim reasonably well, the frieze is less easy to align with it and points to a monument whose messages are more complex, even flexible. Lewis understands the building programme of the Periklean age from various perspectives: a group of dedications to the gods for past achievements, symbols of the triumph of civilization over barbarism, the Parthenon as victory dedication, the creation of a new goddess, self-worship, political and economic motives.⁷ Stewart has wondered whether the frieze was included on the building as part of a morale-boosting programme following the reverses of 449–446.⁸ A contractual element should be contemplated: the frieze praises Athena and the Athenians but also calls upon each party to live up to the ideal depicted. Perhaps the assumption of an underlying unity to the sculptural programme should be questioned more seriously than it has been to date.⁹

Problems of reconstruction on the south side should not be minimized,¹⁰ but from the available remains, including fragments and drawings, we have a fairly good idea about most of the figures on the frieze, which was 1 metre high and 160 metres (524 feet) in length. It was richly provided with metal accessories, now lost, and certain details may have been painted rather than carved. Several distinct groups of figures have been identified: horsemen, chariot groups, marshals and ceremonial functionaries, sacrificial animals and attendants, groups of women, Athenian heroes or officials, the Olympian gods, and a group of figures who seem to be handling Athena's new robe or *peplos* (Fig. 1).¹¹ Surprise has been expressed at the position of the frieze.¹² Situated within the colonnade, at the top of the *cella* wall and *c.* 12 metres (40 feet) above ground level, it occupied a relatively inconspicuous spot – which might explain the lack of attention it receives from our literary sources. The view from within the colonnade is certainly too oblique to make it easily intelligible (Fig. 2). Understandably perhaps, given the frieze's survival and impact in modern times, scholars have been reluctant to accept the implications of its position. Many have thought that its upper part was cut in higher relief, that the slabs were tilted slightly forward, and that the indirect light on it was probably quite strong. Osborne was prompted to argue that the best view would have been obtained from outside the colonnade, at least 20 m from the frieze. Intermittently framed by the columns in the manner of a cartoon strip, the frieze would both compel and accompany movement by the viewer. The position of the frieze, he thought, required a procession by the viewer, who both created and reproduced the frieze procession; the subject and the presentation were intimately linked.¹³ However, it now seems that there were no optical corrections to allow for the low viewpoint or for any particular view through the columns, and the slabs were not tilted

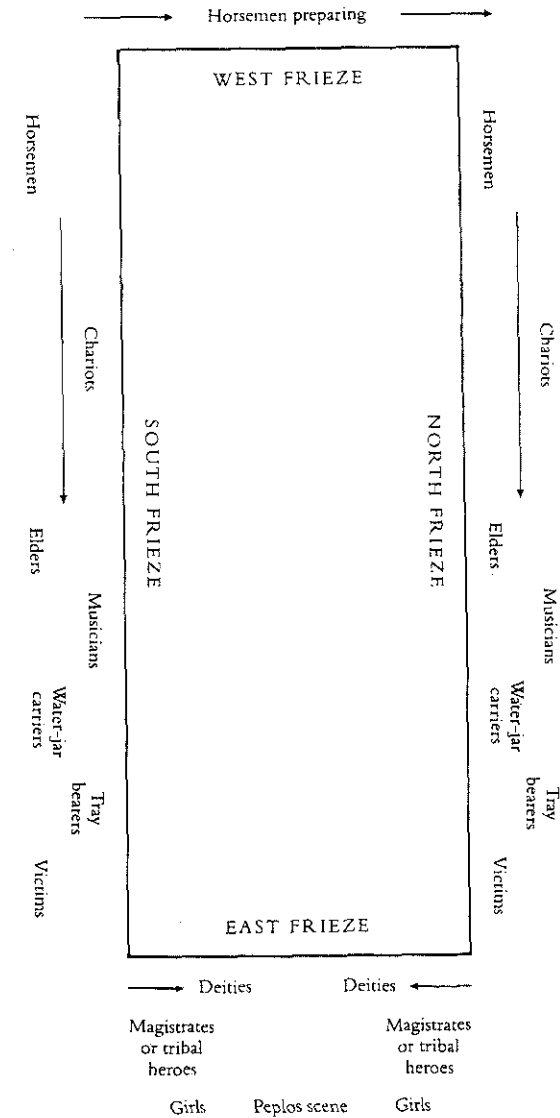


Fig. 1. Plan of the Parthenon frieze (from I. Jenkins *The Parthenon Frieze*, London 1994, 23 fig. 12b, drawn by Sue Bird). © The British Museum.

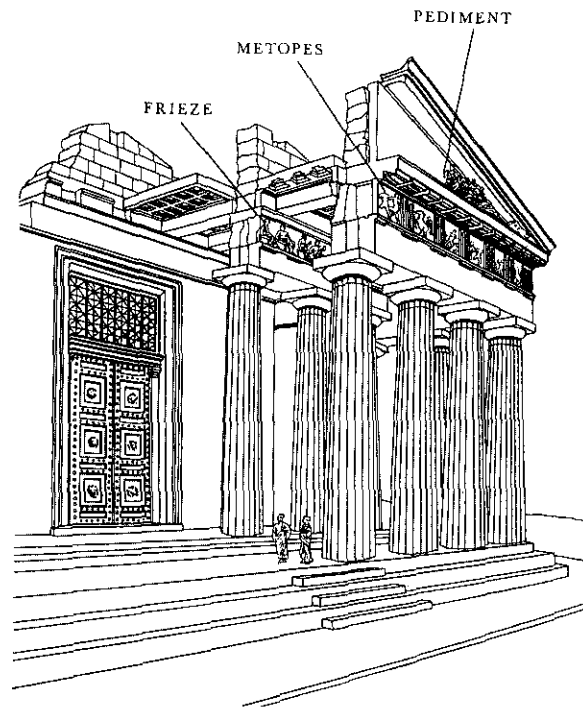


Fig. 2. Cut-away diagram of the east side of the Parthenon, showing the position of the frieze, metopes and pediment (from I. Jenkins *The Parthenon Frieze*, London 1994, 9 fig. 1, after G. Niemann). © The British Museum.

forward. Korres has shown that the front plane of the frieze is vertical and the background is slightly tilted back, allowing greater depth for the torsos and overlapping figures at higher levels.¹⁴ Thus, thinks Boardman, although the frieze was neither invisible nor insignificant, the designer cared little about visibility: 'at best the viewer was aware of something shadowy behind the larger and far more imposing metopes', 'in antiquity there was only the slightest reflected light', and the frieze's significance did not depend on its visibility but 'on it simply being there and being known to be there'.¹⁵ We should think of the intentions of the designer and what we presume a contemporary viewer could have understood.¹⁶ In the fifth century, a visitor to the Acropolis approached the Parthenon from the west through the Propylaea (Fig. 3). The path leading to the front (east side) of

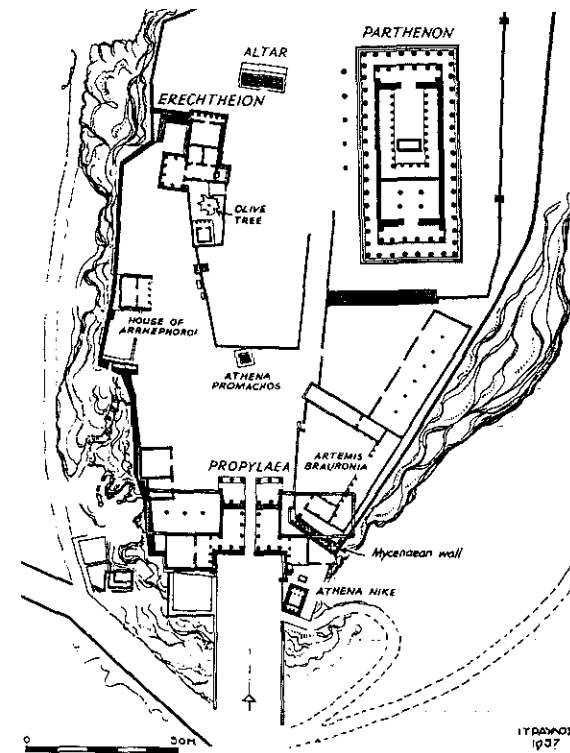


Fig. 3. Plan of the Acropolis around 400 BC (from I. Jenkins *The Parthenon Frieze*, London 1994, 19 fig. 8, after J. Travlos). © The British Museum.

the temple took the visitor by the northern side of the building.¹⁷ It has been thought in consequence that the north side was more important than the south.¹⁸ Perhaps more people did see the north than the south, but most attention would have been focused upon the east, the front of the temple, from where the marvellous gold and ivory statue of Athena within the Parthenon would have been visible.¹⁹

The basic subject was probably clear to fifth-century Athenians.²⁰ Knowledge of it faded, however, during later ages. Since the eighteenth century, the most popular theory has been that the frieze represents an idealized Panathenaic procession, celebrated with special pomp every four years at the Great Panathenaia, on the date assigned to Athena's birthday (28 Hekatombaion, roughly July/August).²¹ This traditional interpretation

stems ultimately from a conjecture published by two British travellers, the artist James Stuart and the architect Nicholas Revett, members of the Society of Dilettanti in London, who returned from a visit to the Acropolis with comprehensive drawings and descriptions.²² However, scholars have seen 'problems' with the conjecture of Stuart and Revett for some time now.²³ Why, it is asked, would the Parthenon frieze record a mortal event? Greek temple decoration seems to demand scenes from myth. Would it not be impious arrogance to depict a contemporary Panathenaia? If it is the Panathenaia, where is the wheeled ship that literary sources indicate was drawn to the temple bearing the sacred *peplos* of Athena? Where are the hoplites? The frieze shows horsemen who are apparently unarmed,²⁴ but no foot-soldiers. Where are the Athenian allies? Where are the maiden basket-bearers and water-carriers? There are males carrying *hydriai* (vases commonly but not exclusively used for carrying water) (N VI 16–19; S XXXIX 115–118 conjectured),²⁵ and there are chariots, which were not used in combat by classical armies. Horsemen and chariots would not have been allowed onto the Acropolis. What of the fact that the central scene on the east side includes two widely-spaced female figures carrying what appear to be cushioned trays or stools on their heads (E V 31–32) (Fig. 9)? Did those responsible for the design or carving slightly miscalculate the space available, and how could they deliberately allot so much of the central scene to minor temple servants?

Numerous attempts have been made to solve these 'problems'. Some commentators have chosen to keep the Panathenaic context; others have not. Some see a specific mythical or historical occasion; others see a contemporary or generalized one. The Panathenaic elements are most clearly emphasized by Robertson, Parke, and Simon.²⁶ Kardara has seen the very first Panathenaia, while Holloway describes the restoration of the archaic treasures of the Acropolis that had been plundered by the Persians, with elements like the women and the cavalry standing in for *korai* and equestrian statues.²⁷ Boardman has argued for the Panathenaic procession immediately preceding the battle of Marathon, marked by heroic depiction of the 192 Athenians who would soon die in that struggle.²⁸ Simon and Harrison have detected a number of different processions within the frieze, so that time and place become variable factors.²⁹ Lawrence and Root have written of influence from the monuments of Persepolis; Castriota feels that Ionian models in particular have been employed to express the anti-Persian, anti-tyrannical style of Athenian imperialism.³⁰ Younger and Stewart find homoerotic undertones and a monument both laudatory and programmatic, calling on Athenians to live up to their responsibilities during a period of danger.³¹ Osborne would emphasize function over subject: the

frieze is a way of conveying someone in procession to the eastern door of the temple, so that they can catch sight of the magnificent statue inside. Connelly discovers a 'foundation' event, glorified in Euripides' *Erechtheus* of which only fragments remain: the sacrifice of the daughters of Erechtheus, which enabled Athens to withstand an invasion by Eumolpos, the king of Thrace.³³ Jenkins is inclined to stress ambiguity.³⁴ A final group of scholars might even hold the field at the present time. Pollitt, supported lately by Hurwit, though anticipated in the basic thesis by Ridgway and Beschi, has sought to demonstrate that the frieze evokes the general idea of festival at Athens and thus does not relate to any one particular festival though the Panathenaia is not excluded from its range of associations.³⁵

Many alternatives, therefore, exist to the Stuart/Revett idea that the frieze represents an idealized, contemporary Panathenaic procession. This situation has resulted from sophisticated readings of the frieze which pay close attention to iconographical details. The scholarship is often exemplary. I wonder, however, whether the forest is being missed somewhat in all the close attention that has been given to the trees. The notion that the Stuart/Revett idea is beset by problems is misleading, and it would seem to be time to reassert the fundamental inspiration provided by the Great Panathenaia – the festival in general, not merely the procession. This should be the base from which other interpretations, such as the idea of festival itself, flow. I would like to argue that, with due allowance for conventions of the medium and the day, each of the groups of figures on the frieze makes sense as participants in a contemporary celebration of the Great Panathenaia, Athens' premier showpiece event. The 'problems' – points made against the frieze's being an idealized, contemporary depiction – can be answered satisfactorily in detail as well as in general.

Some preliminary points should be made. We have a frieze depicting a procession which ends with the *peplos* (see below) being handed over. The frieze is located on a temple of Athena that is in turn located on the Acropolis at Athens. There were other festivals, processions and sacrifices at Athens, but how many of them involved all these elements: Athena, Acropolis, *peplos*? How many specifically celebrated Athena's birth, and apparently also her role in the defeat of the giants, as depicted in the pediment and metopes at the front of the Parthenon?³⁶ And what of the lavish scale of the event depicted? The Great Panathenaia was the greatest of the Athenian festivals. Our literary sources may mention details which cannot be traced in the frieze, but this is hardly surprising, for the frieze is not a comprehensive record. Nor, for that matter, are our literary sources, which turn out to be snippets of information preserved here and there in scholia and late lexicographers.³⁷ There is no warrant in this case for implying that the literary sources form

a control against which to measure the art. No extant author attempted to give a detailed description of the procession. The two types of sources are not complementary. In fact, the limitations of all our classes of evidence are such that no amount of combining them can permit full appreciation. Their respective degrees of incompleteness especially prevent any decent impression of changes in the ritual over time.

We have episodes rather than a complete overview, so that time and place are not unified throughout the frieze.³⁸ As for the 'impious' presence of a mortal procession on a divine building, it certainly does appear that the depiction is without good precedent. The idea of votive forerunners has been floated, but there are massive differences of scale and spirit. In particular, the Olympians do not dwarf the mortals as do the deities on votives, and they are not the object of the sacrifice or *peplos*.³⁹ Votives, moreover, focus upon individual divinities, or upon pairs and triads of deities united by cult practice.⁴⁰ What is appealing, nonetheless, about the idea of a votive is that the frieze similarly wants to imply perpetual devotion which deserves ongoing benefits in reply; both the goddess and her people are constrained by a contract for extraordinary worship and patronage. It is as though the Great Panathenaia, Athenian worship at its ultimate, is going on all the time. For Osborne, anyone who appreciates the frieze may join in;⁴¹ but such a person would probably benefit regardless. Fragments of a sixth-century marble architectural frieze from the Acropolis, possibly belonging to the old temple of Athena, show a draped figure climbing into a chariot.⁴² Because additional fragments seem to depict seated figures, Brommer and Ridgway wonder whether the frieze of the Peisistratid temple depicted an archaic precursor to the Parthenon frieze, which would make the latter less exceptional than it otherwise seems.⁴³ Boardman accepts the fragments as an architectural frieze, but opposes attempts to assign them to the Peisistratid temple because he regards the style as too late.⁴⁴ We can agree with Castriota that there is simply too little of the frieze remaining to permit the identification of its subject or its attribution to a specific monument.⁴⁵ In addition, whereas Brommer finds mortals in temple sculpture of the archaic period, Ridgway argues cogently that these are not real precedents, for the human element serves merely as an accessory to the main mythological scenes.⁴⁶ Yet even if, as it seems, a mortal procession was unprecedented in temple sculpture, Neils has demonstrated that fifth-century Athenians were probably quite used to seeing painted representations of the Panathenaic procession on pots. She also reminds us that the distinction between mythical and historical times is a modern one.⁴⁷ The Athenian distinction between a 'generation of heroes' (Hdt 3.122) and the later age of men has by no means the same connotations; Athenians took their descent from

figures like Erechtheus seriously.⁴⁸ Boedeker stresses the innovativeness of fifth-century Athens and in particular the developing practice of employing events from the recent past in public visual and verbal art. The Stoa Poikile, constructed c. 460, juxtaposes an Amazonomachy and Trojanomachy against wall paintings of the battle of Marathon and the battle of Oinoe, the latter a very recent event that probably took place in the 460s. Living Athenians were being compared favourably with the glorious heroes of a time long ago.⁴⁹ Modern commentators have probably worried far more about the presence of mortals in the frieze, especially ones ennobled, than did the Greeks themselves.

Another basic point is that the frieze is an idealizing monument. There is not always much awareness of what is at stake when scholars criticize it for not showing elements that were present in reality. To a great degree the criticism is unfair or misguided.⁵⁰ Artistic conventions,⁵¹ notions of aesthetic balance, and the limitations imposed by the medium would have been in the designer's mind, as would preconceptions about gender and sexuality. It need hardly be pointed out that the horses are too small in relation to their riders.⁵² Numbers (e.g. groups of four on the north and ten on the south) will have been as subject to these kinds of considerations as to others. We might be misinterpreting the significance of some of these numbers gravely in our readiness to see things historical or political. These and other factors militate against a realistic depiction, if ever there can be such a thing. Moreover, the designer's capacity for innovation should not be underestimated.⁵³ It was an extraordinarily energetic time, and a time to expect pride, even arrogance, rather than modesty.⁵⁴ I would accept unity in the frieze with regard to subject matter, and that any overall view of its subject affects the identification of all its parts, and vice versa,⁵⁵ but it seems that omissions and modifications are natural products of the situation.⁵⁶

Finally, a few remarks about ambiguity. There can be little doubt that much Greek art is evocative or metaphorical in character.⁵⁷ The Parthenon metopes, pediments, and Athena's statue were covered with symbols of conflict which can justifiably be interpreted to cover Athens' recent history as well as its mythical past. It is not too hard, for instance, to read Athenians and Persians into battles between gods and giants, or Greeks and Trojans, and so on.⁵⁸ The difficulty for interpreters comes with setting limits and providing foundations (Troy, for instance, was Athena's city too). It does not seem right to think that the Greeks merely accepted multiplicity, even inconsistency, or that they intended no precise definition, believing that the message is often 'paradox itself and the irreconcilability of the forces that govern human destiny'.⁵⁹ Some degree of precision should be present.⁶⁰

Meanings can be constructed on top of meanings, and this is probably intrinsic to the process of creating meaning, but there needs to be a base.⁶¹ It is, for instance, hard to believe that 'ambiguous' or 'evocative' images were confusing or difficult for contemporary viewers to understand. The designer of the Parthenon frieze, with a hypothetical viewer of the Periklean age in mind, was trying to impress and stimulate rather than make uneasy or uncertain. Surely evocations were to be constructed on the foundation of a rather solid idea.

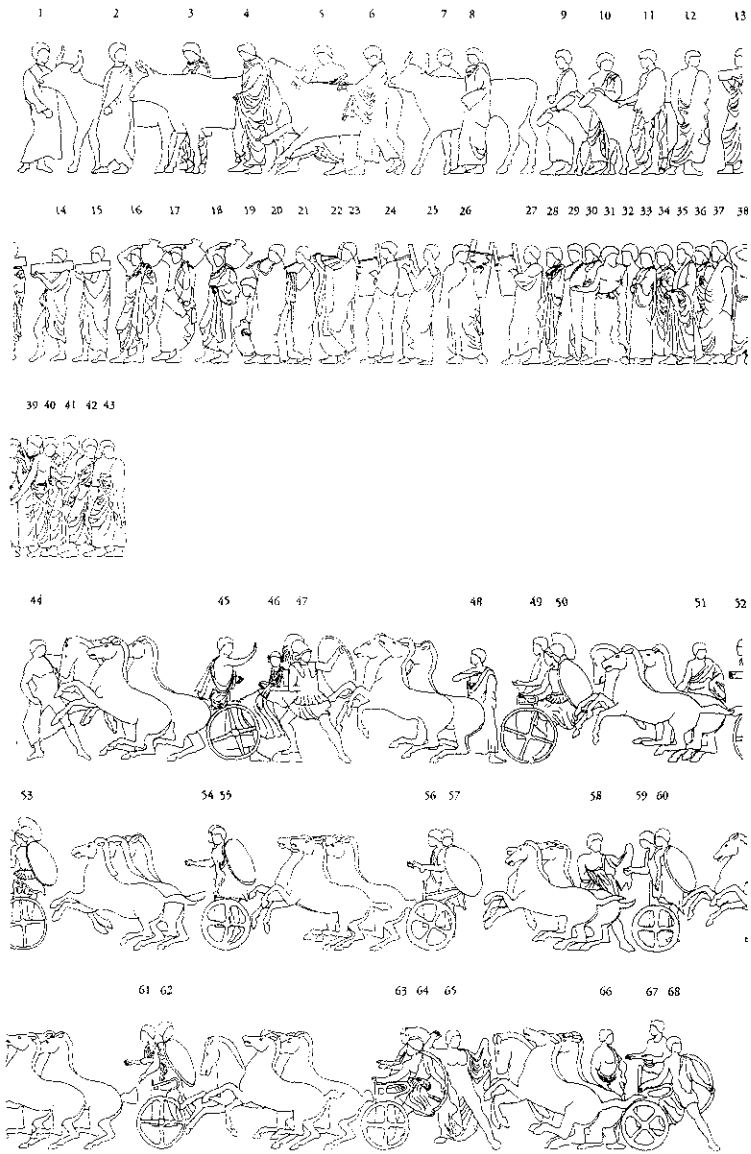
The frieze procession runs in two streams down the long sides of the Parthenon (i.e. the north and the south sides). It begins at the south-west corner (i.e. not the centre-west), but culminates at the centre-east, over the main door of the temple (Fig. 1). Sixty-eight per cent of its length (more than two thirds) is devoted to the cavalcade of horsemen and chariots. The horsemen form the largest single component of the frieze, taking up about forty-seven per cent of its length. All the west side is occupied by the cavalcade, and most of the north and south sides. The action starts on the west (Fig. 4), with handsome youths mounting feisty steeds and beginning to fall into formation. Nakedness is more apparent on this side than elsewhere in the frieze, as though to attract attention and engender excitement by enlisting desire at a considerable pitch. Only one figure on the whole frieze is completely naked, and he is a young groom on the west side (W III 6).⁶² In line with a development of precisely this period, only beardless youths appear with genitals exposed; bearded men on the frieze are either clothed or otherwise have their genitals obscured.⁶³ Some youths are still donning equipment and preparing to mount. The action is regulated at intervals by marshals. Two of the youths on the west side (W VI 12; W XV 29) make use of low rocks to assist in tying their sandals. Such rocks appear intermittently throughout the frieze, though it is doubtful that they indicate changes of setting. To Ridgway, they are merely 'props in a bare landscape'.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, fellow cavalrymen stream along the north and south sides (Figs. 5 and 6). A number of the youths on the north are also largely naked, whereas others are clothed in a variety of garments, topped at times by sun-hats, helmets or wreaths. The impression made by the riders on the north is quite different to that made on the south. It is partly a matter of dress: long-sleeved *chitōns* appear at times on the north, and combinations that include crested helmets with body armour (e.g. N XLIII 118). These do not appear on the south. More noticeable, however, is the irregularity and variety of the north versus the regularity and uniformity of the south. The sixty horsemen appear to be divided into ten groups on the north,⁶⁵ though the numbers vary within each group, dress varies

within each group, and the number ten can only be arrived at if you accept that there are two separate groups, slightly overlapping, on slabs XLVI and XLVII (Fig. 7). On the south, however, there is far greater orderliness: sixty riders are divided into ten groups of six each, with each group marked by its own distinctive dress, the individual horsemen overlapping one on another. The faces of all the figures on the frieze are serious, calm and introverted, even when they are moving or exerting themselves. In general one is struck by the uniformity of facial type in contrast to the great diversity of pose and garb. This tends to convey notions of both the individual and the group.



Fig. 4. The west frieze of the Parthenon (from J. Neils *The Parthenon Frieze*, Cambridge 2001, drawn by Rachel Rosenzweig). © Cambridge University Press.



The Parthenon frieze as an idealized, contemporary Panathenaic festival

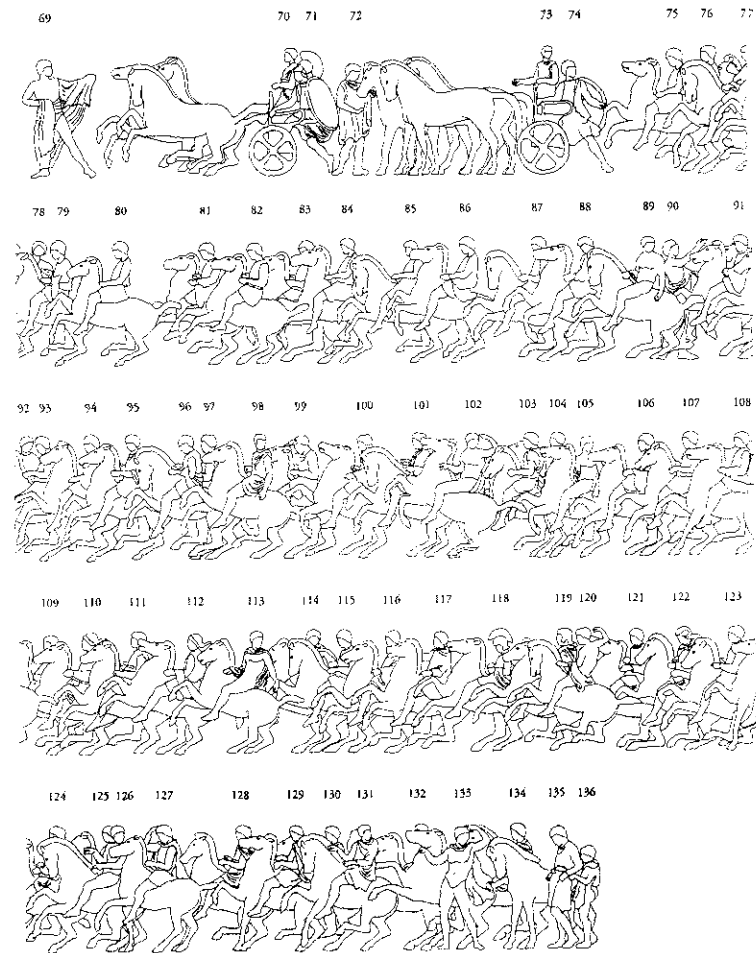


Fig. 5. The north frieze of the Parthenon (from J. Neils *The Parthenon Frieze*, Cambridge 2001, drawn by Rachel Rosenzweig). © Cambridge University Press.

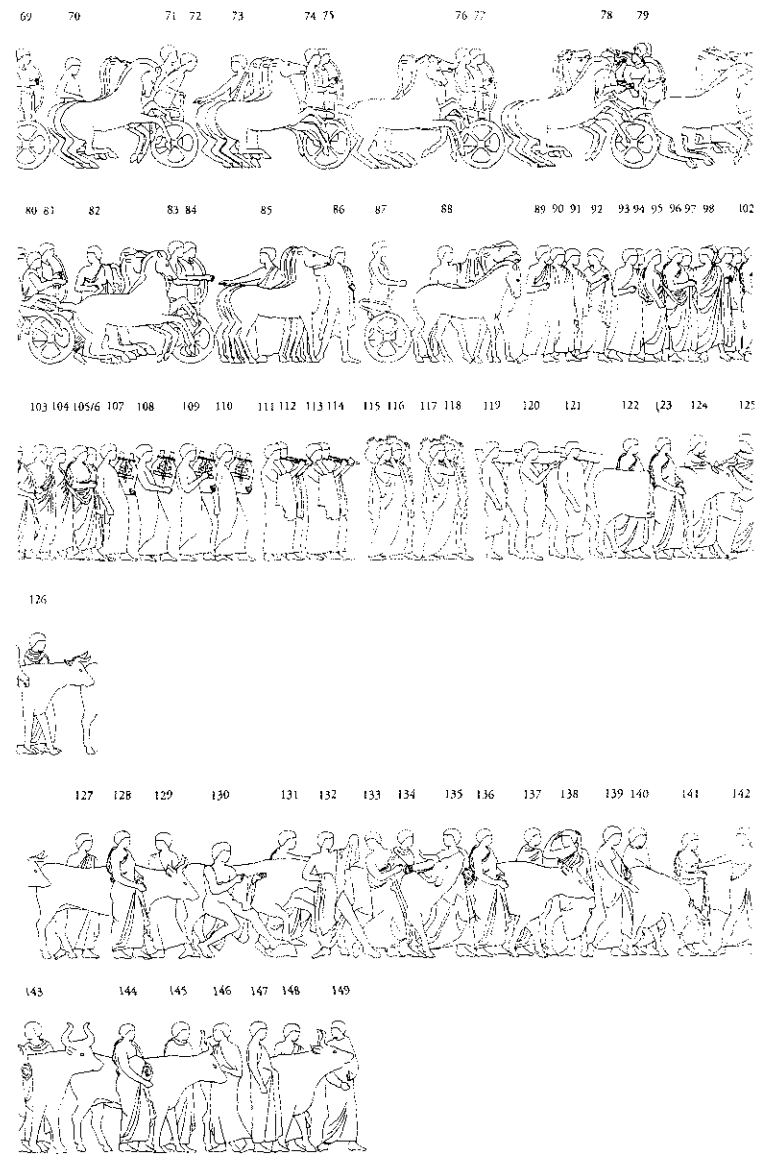
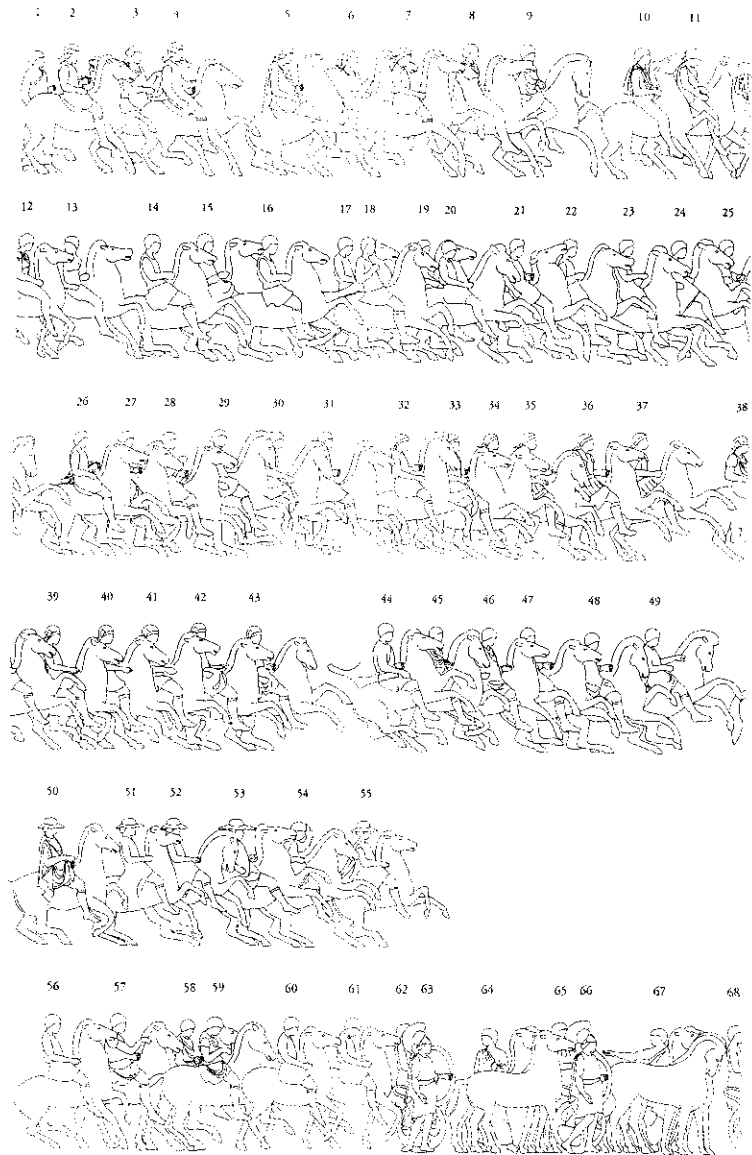


Fig. 6. The south frieze of the Parthenon (from J. Neils *The Parthenon Frieze*, Cambridge 2001, drawn by Rachel Rosenzweig). © Cambridge University Press.

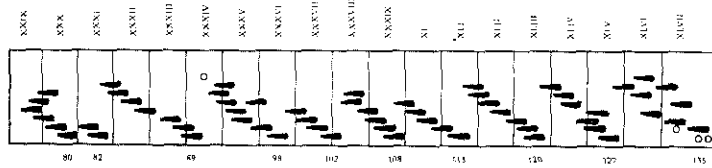


Fig. 7. Diagram of the ranks of horsemen on the north frieze of the Parthenon (from I. Jenkins *The Parthenon Frieze*, London 1994, 99). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Why are the cavalry such a prominent part of the frieze?⁶⁶ It need not be doubted that formations of hoplites could have been rendered successfully. Parke expresses concern that they might have been too monotonous, but rows of cavalry are potentially subject to the same problem.⁶⁷ An Attic black-figure band cup from a private collection in London effectively shows hoplites participating in a religious procession to Athena, and despite the fact that differences of scale and setting render the frieze a very different proposition, it does seem that a conscious choice has been made to exclude hoplites in favour of horsemen.⁶⁸ It cannot have been from fear that the hoplites would have lent a misleadingly martial rather than processional quality to the frieze in its early stages. The vase noted above, admittedly very different in scale, does not support this idea, and it could as easily apply to the horsemen. Precedents in architectural sculpture must provide some part of the answer. Castriota in particular has shown that even though the frieze as a total conception is without good precedent, the individual elements are readily apparent in earlier work. Rows of cavalry and chariots would have been familiar from buildings like the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, as well as from a decent corpus of East Greek monuments.⁶⁹ They bespoke a heroic context and proximity to the gods. On the Siphnian Treasury, for example, the cavalry and chariots on the west and south friezes moved toward assembled, enthroned Olympians on the east.⁷⁰ Equestrian imagery, therefore, acts to elevate the atmosphere; it is a prime way of ennobling the citizens, their democracy, and their participation in the Great Panathenaia.⁷¹ Osborne points out that there are rampant horses in the pediment, metopes, and frieze on the west.⁷² Horsemen also serve as standard space-fillers in earlier work.⁷³ It would be wrong to deny that their prominence is at least partly related to the fact that there was a large amount of space to be filled.⁷⁴

Of special importance, however, is the image of the Athenian cavalry as a brilliant and youthful élite in the Periklean age. There are strong

indications that the contemporary Athenian cavalry is being represented, and it seems reasonable to think that Athenians would have appreciated this depiction – with elements equestrian, heroic and youthful – as a way of ennobling the citizenry in general. Cavalry reforms, probably sponsored by Perikles himself, have been dated to the period after the invasion of 446.⁷⁵ Although state subsidization enabled expansion of the corps, service remained essentially a matter for the élite. Nevertheless, literary references indicate that the cavalry became a focus of pride for all Athenian citizens,⁷⁶ and the corps was viewed favourably until the time of its association with the Thirty Tyrants at the end of the fifth century.⁷⁷ The chorus in Sophokles' *Oidipous at Kolonos* (706–19) praises the cavalry corps in striking terms, putting it on a par with the olive tree and the navy. Even Aristophanes is by and large positive. In *Knights*, he does have old man Demos cast aspersions on horsemen's bravery (1369–71); but in the same play the chorus of cavalrymen are *ἀνδρες ἀγαθοί* (excellent men) who help to free old man Demos from the political con artist Paphlagon (222–6), and they are permitted to assert in glowing terms the military contribution they and their forebears have made to the city (565–73, 595–610). Aristocrats who were victorious in equestrian contests were admired and honoured (e.g. Thuc. 6.16.1–2), and at festival time Athenians were filled with awe at the sight of their cavalry, especially when prancing and also when galloping in groups.⁷⁸ This is, of course, the effect intended by the frieze, and it nicely calls up the festival context that becomes clearer as the frieze unfolds. The ten groupings of horsemen on both the north and south sides point strongly to the ten Kleisthenic tribes,⁷⁹ and it is natural to think first of Periklean Athens, where Perikles' own sons were said to be the finest cavalrymen (Pl. *Meno* 94b). The number 60 was probably determined by the dimensions and design of the frieze rather than by its being the number of riders in a tribal regiment out of a total force of 600. Worley has conjectured (mainly using the frieze) that this was the number of horsemen established by recent reforms before that number was quickly raised to 1000 'in the last decade before the Peloponnesian War'.⁸⁰

There is nothing, on present knowledge, that categorically rules out a contemporary Panathenaic festival as the setting. All but one of the young horsemen have short hair; all but two are shown as unbearded youths. Although some fifth-century vases show horsemen with long hair, in general this depiction accords well with images of cavalrymen and their (bearded) commanders in other art of the period.⁸¹ The Olympians on the east side have short hair too,⁸² which tends to intensify the link between gods and mortals. The degree of nakedness is surely not realistic. Neils emphasizes the theme of undressing and dressing-up which permeates the

festival and its rituals,⁸³ but in this case it seems more connected to established conventions for awakening a homoerotic response.⁸⁴ Considerations of the latter type might similarly govern depictions of boy jockeys racing in the nude.⁸⁵ Members of the Athenian cavalry certainly participated in equestrian events at the Panathenaic festival. Some of these events, like the javelin throw from horseback, were not held at Olympia and were probably restricted to Athenians at the Panathenaia.⁸⁶ Pollitt has doubted the cavalry's participation in the Panathenaic procession, pointing out that Demosthenes *Against Meidias* 171 and *First Philippic* 26, and Xenophon *Hipparchikos* 3, the texts most commonly used in support of this contention, make mention only of 'processions' in general. This is true, but is it likely that the cavalry did not participate in the most important of these processions?⁸⁷ Xenophon (*Hipparchikos* 3.2) writes of the cavalry riding around the Agora during festival processions, saluting the various shrines of all the gods. He also indicates that the hipparchs and phylarchs were instrumental in organizing their men so that an awe-inspiring performance would result on public occasions.⁸⁸

Pollitt has also argued that the varied dress of the cavalrymen on the frieze indicates the different attire they wore for the different festivals and displays of the Athenian calendar;⁸⁹ on balance, this seems unlikely. The degree of nakedness alone is a reminder about the hazards of searching for an accurate reflection of reality. Yet if this must be done, I do not see why it is assumed that varied items of dress could not have been in evidence during the Panathenaia itself. The state apparently helped with the buying and feeding of a cavalryman's horse, but the cavalrymen themselves seem to have been responsible for what they wore, and so variety of attire was the result.⁹⁰ This applied particularly in the fifth century, while for the fourth century Spence has shown that more cavalrymen were opting for boots and breastplates.⁹¹ There may have been a certain limited uniformity at festival time. Xenophon describes how a phylarch, mindful of his own reputation as well as that of his tribe, could be pressed by a hipparch to ensure an awe-inspiring display from his men (*Hipparchikos* 1.21–2). It is likely that such a phylarch would have commanded his men to dress impressively, and possibly distinctively.⁹² In the second century BC, at the Theseia festival, there was a contest for the tribal contingent with the best equipment.⁹³ Consequently, at times during a festival the cavalry regiments might have paraded in distinctly-dressed units, as on the south frieze. At other times, with the north frieze in mind, they might have been more mingled, as when competing, processing or performing complicated manoeuvres of the kind that Xenophon also writes about (*Hipparchikos* 3.9). Therefore, the horsemen might at times within the same festival have appeared in

distinctly-dressed units and in more mingled formations. Both the north and south friezes might have some grounding in reality. However, this is all highly tentative. It is probably wiser to concentrate upon artistic and aesthetic concerns. The more mixed appearance of the north side might simply be one way of calling to mind the variously dressed individuals of the Athenian cavalry. Boardman sees the different dress on the south as an artistic device employed simply to differentiate the ranks.⁹⁴ All the items of dress on the frieze were employed by cavalrymen in the Periklean age.⁹⁵ Osborne argues that a viewer would appreciate the frieze by measuring its elements in terms of conformity and difference.⁹⁶ Such a viewer, one imagines, would notice the variety of dress on the north side; this would help to keep his attention as he processed along it. On the south side, for the same viewer, the same arrangement would not work as well, especially given the similarity in facial features. So perhaps the frieze opts for ten groups of uniformly dressed riders as its way of keeping the viewer's attention; it is representation according to a different conceptual order. Ridgway emphasizes that we can find semi-nude figures next to a youth entirely muffled in his mantle (cf. W VII 14, W IX 17, and the figures around them), in spite of the fact that the Panathenaia took place at the height of summer. This marks the composition as a product of 'artistic selection for variety's sake',⁹⁷ and acts as a salutary reminder that there are clear limits to any search for realism in the frieze.

The absence of cavalry weapons is puzzling. If they were not actually painted on, it would seem to be another artistic device, a preliminary cue that this is a procession rather than a battle, or perhaps a way of avoiding awkward positioning problems. It is hard to believe that cavalry weapons were deemed too dangerous in the city at this time. During the Peisistratid tyranny the Panathenaic procession was the only event at which Athenians could bear arms without arousing suspicion (Thuc. 6.56). When Xenophon recommends performing manoeuvres in the city carrying weapons, he is careful to stress a performance both safe and beautiful (*Hipparchikos* 3.14), and he takes care to advise where the riders should position their spears during a gallop.⁹⁸ But this might not mean that the carrying of weapons was a new practice; instead he seems chiefly concerned with the carrying of weapons in the exercise known as the Anthippasia, a mock battle in which two lines, each composed of five tribal units, charged full tilt at one another. While not attested until the third century, it is usually thought to have been included in the Panathenaia earlier, possibly at the end of the fifth century.⁹⁹

It has been thought that the bearded male restraining the rearing horse on the west side (W VIII 15) is Theseus and that the theme is the *synoikismos* or

unification of Attica, with the setting being Eleusis at the south end of the west frieze.¹⁰⁰ Ashmole notes his position on the central slab of the west frieze, the counterpart to the *peplos* scene on the east side, and asks whether this might be an allegorical reference to the art of government, calling to mind Perikles' relationship with the *dēmos*.¹⁰¹ In the absence of distinctive attributes, however, the bearded figures are better identified as hipparchs.¹⁰² Scholars have seen that they are identically dressed. Spence sees Thracian cap (*alōpekis*), tunic (*chitōn*), cloak (*chlamys*), and boots; Stewart sees 'Theseus' wearing the same Thracian cap, tunic (*exōmīs*), and cloak as the second bearded horseman seven figures to his left. His head is now missing but an old cast certifies the cap.¹⁰³ The action of the west side would seem to be set in the vicinity of the Dipylon Gate, from where the procession began.¹⁰⁴ Subsequently, on the north and south sides, we move into the Agora.¹⁰⁵ One cavalryman (W XII 23) has been interpreted as lifting his arm in protest, possibly at being excluded from the procession.¹⁰⁶ It is hard, however, to see deficiency being commemorated on the Parthenon. Ashmole thinks he might have been holding reins, which have since perished, and that the action of his horse in lowering its head is what now makes his arm seem elevated in a gesture of address.¹⁰⁷

Preceding the horsemen are four-horse chariots. The consensus now seems to be that there are eleven chariots on the north, and ten on the south.¹⁰⁸ Of the ten chariots on the south, each carrying a charioteer in a long saffron robe,¹⁰⁹ and a hoplite in armour and having an attendant close by, two are standing (S XXV–XXVI 62–67), six are running (S XXVII–XXXII 68–82), and the remaining two are standing (S XXXIII–XXXV 83–88). Chariots on the north are similarly composed but most are more active, showing the hoplite *apobatēs* (dismounter) leaping on or off the moving chariot as occurred during competition (e.g. N XII 47, N XXVII 71).¹¹⁰ How can we understand the presence of the chariots, and in particular the *apobatai*? For a start, there are precursors to both the chariots and the *apobatai* in architectural sculpture.¹¹¹ They might also commemorate Erechtheus' introduction of the chariot and the use made of it by the Athenian army of heroic times.¹¹² More immediately compelling, however, are associations with the Panathenaic festival. There is direct evidence that *apobatai* competed in the Panathenaic games.¹¹³ Simon and Neils, employing the priceless inscription IG II² 2311, feel that the dismounter contests took place on Day 7 of the festival, i.e. the day after the procession day.¹¹⁴ There is not, it might be added, explicit evidence that the *apobatai* competed in other festivals at Athens beyond the Panathenaia, though it would be unwise to surmise that they did not. Certainly, they did not mount the Acropolis any more than the cavalry did. Both the

chariots and the horses raced along the *dromos* or raceway in the Agora,¹¹⁵ and it does seem, from the action of the hoplites jumping on and off the chariots, that the frieze alludes as much to competing as to processing. It is possible that some place was found for these chariots in the procession, but the main point to stress is that the frieze is evoking the dismounter contests and maintaining the excitement engendered by the preceding groups of prancing horses and youthful riders. The depiction of the *apobatai* makes it clear that the frieze evokes the Great Panathenaic festival in its entirety. Several days of competition, procession and religious ceremony, conducted in varying degrees of exuberance and solemnity, are described.¹¹⁶ Before races or displays could be conducted, the course had to be cleared of spectators or loiterers (Xen. *Hipparchikos* 3.10). Some echo of this, or at least of the excitement and danger of the competition,¹¹⁷ is conveyed by the marshal who leaps out of the way of a speeding chariot in such a fashion that his cloak blows away from his otherwise naked body (N XXIII 65). Stewart might indeed be right about wit and erotic teasing on the frieze.¹¹⁸ Another marshal (N XI 44), who brings the racing chariots to a screeching halt, signals the transition between the chariots and the next phase of the procession, between one time and place and another, even one mood and another. This part of the frieze in particular speaks eloquently of the relationship between sport and festival in ancient Athens: sporting competition reflected the power of the city, the city's power reflected Athena's patronage, Athena is reflected in the level of competition. Thus sport and festival are appropriate subjects for inclusion on the Parthenon.

In front of the chariots on the north and south sides, and culminating on the east, is a sacrificial procession, which appears to move imperceptibly from the Agora to the Acropolis.¹¹⁹ At the east end of the north and south sides, reading from west to east, a line of figures, including elders, musicians, and those charged with carrying the varied paraphernalia of sacrifice, or with leading sacrificial animals, go ahead of the chariots. The elders (N VIII–X 28–43; S XXXV–XXXVII 89–106), a group of bearded men, are endowed with that idealized calm and noble bearing that pervades all the figures on the frieze from this point onwards. They are commonly identified as *thallophoroi* (branch-bearers), men who had been successful in a Panathenaic beauty contest.¹²⁰ Yet none of them carries the olive branch that symbolizes their victory and there are no holes in their hands for metal attachments. Brommer thought the branches might have been painted on,¹²¹ but it appears unlikely that leaves would have been painted across the sculptured folds of the garments. With fists empty, however, is exactly the manner in which men in votive reliefs approach a deity. Boardman questions the beauty of the few heads that remain and prefers to see them as the gnarled

veterans of Marathon.¹²² Certainly they are respected old men, quietly dignified, possibly officials.¹²³ Boardman sees them as a caesura between the cavalcade and the mortal procession;¹²⁴ they provide verticals and stillness that contrast with the horizontals and speed of the chariots. The excitement of sporting contest gives way to the solemnity of religious ceremony.

In front of the officials on the north side are musicians, four *kittharōdoi* (lyre-players) (N VII–VIII 24–27) and four pipers (N VI–VII 20–23), who are appropriate for the procession but also evoke the musical contests of the festival.¹²⁵ The former wear splendid robes: a *chitōn* with sleeves, a *peplos*, and on their backs a mantle.¹²⁶ Musicians were in great demand throughout the Greek world and the best of them, figures of considerable charisma, commanded high appearance fees.¹²⁷ It was necessary, therefore, to offer handsome rewards at the Panathenaia to secure an impressive field of contestants. The Odeion was rebuilt at great expense and opened c. 446; Perikles took a turn presiding over the musical contests in their new venue.¹²⁸ *IG II²* 2311, from the first half of the fourth century, indicates that the prize for lyre-playing was a silver crown worth 1000 drachmas plus 500 drachmas cash. These musicians in context, therefore, are more than mere functionaries or secondary figures. The sacrificial procession on the south side was badly damaged by Venetian bombardment in 1687, so it has gaps and is more difficult to reconstruct. Invaluable drawings made by the Flemish (possibly French) artist Jacques Carrey,¹²⁹ working for the Marquis de Nointel in 1674, show a group of men carrying rectangular objects in front of the officials (S XXXVII–XXXVIII 107–110). Brommer thinks they might have been carrying *pinakes* (writing-tablets).¹³⁰ Simon sees secretaries, whose job it was to ensure fair distribution of the meat from the sacrifice to the citizens of Athens.¹³¹ Boardman sees *deltoi* (writing-boards) and thinks the men are state treasurers or accountants, supervisors of tribute.¹³² It seems preferable to see the objects as musical instruments, as do Himmelmann and Jenkins, who identify the figures as lyre-players by analogy with those on the north frieze, though they are dressed differently.¹³³ In balance with the north, Jenkins restores pipers to the next part of the south frieze (which is completely lost).¹³⁴ He would seem to be on the right track with these figures, but in any case there is nothing in any of these reconstructions which in the present, imperfect state of our evidence rules out a contemporary celebration of the Great Panathenaia.

After the musicians, on the north side, come youths bearing *hydriai* (N VI 16–19), youths bearing trays (N V 13–15), and sacrificial victims together with their male attendants (N slabs I–IV). A fragment assigned to the south frieze seems to preserve a *skaphēphoros* or tray-bearer (S XL 120). These were metic males who wore purple *himatia* and carried bronze

or silver trays (*skaphai*) on which were honeycombs and small cakes for placing on the altar in order to lure the sacrificial animals.¹³⁵ Jenkins plausibly restores *hydria*-bearers to the missing south frieze in parallel with the north (S XXXIX 115–118 conjectured).¹³⁶ Although wine is a possibility, the *hydriai* probably contain water, for water and music were needed in the ritual slaughtering of animals.¹³⁷

The male *hydriaphoroi* have been seen as a major problem for the Stuart/Revert thesis because there is literary evidence (a fragment of Demetrius of Phaleron and later notices) that the daughters of metics carried *hydriai* and parasols (*skiadia*) for the wives of Athenian citizens in the Panathenaic procession.¹³⁸ If not part of the Panathenaia, thinks Connelly, they might be connected with the libations ordered by Athena in the wake of the sacrifice of Erechtheus' daughters.¹³⁹ Simon attempted to rescue the Panathenaic context by conjecturing that the *hydriaphoroi* were victors in the annual torch-races, for which the prize was a *hydria*. One of them, 'victor of the previous night, still exhausted, sets his vessel on the ground so that he can rest a little'.¹⁴⁰ Pollitt is unconvinced, arguing that they would be wearing victors' garlands if this were so.¹⁴¹ Hurwit wonders whether there are coins, not water, in the jars.¹⁴² Others have approached the problem from the point of view of gender associations and homoeroticism. Younger, mindful of the strained relationship between citizens and metics, feels that metic youths have been segregated at the east end of the north frieze where they are depicted in stigmatized and effeminizing occupations, bearing water jugs and trays.¹⁴³ This would mean, as Stewart argues too, that metic women have been banished from the frieze altogether, being replaced by the nude Eros (E VI 42), who holds a sunshade, as well as by the youths bearing water jars. Again, what is critical to bear in mind is that the frieze is not a realistic record. The complete absence of females on the west, north and south seems very deliberate, as though the east end is definitely the female end. Boardman thought that it may have seemed inappropriate to juxtapose any groups of women to the heroic cavalcade.¹⁴⁴ Stewart thinks that it is part and parcel of the emphasis placed upon awakening homoerotic desire.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Younger and Stewart have much in common on this point, and together their findings permit a Panathenaic reading that is not apologetic about the males in this part of the frieze. On the other hand, there is probably a less dramatic answer to the problem of male *hydriaphoroi* on the frieze. Brommer simply assumed that the custom had changed in the period between the execution of the frieze and the much later date of the written sources.¹⁴⁶ Lefkowitz is noticeably careful in stating that metic women were afforded the honour of becoming *hydriaphoroi* 'by the middle of the [fourth] century', and Neils has found

pottery evidence for males bearing *hydriai* in the fifth century.¹⁴⁷ There is a hydria by Phintias,¹⁴⁸ and a fragmentary pelike by the Pan Painter.¹⁴⁹ On the latter, the male hydria-bearer is preceded by a *kanēphoros* (basket-bearer), and their presence on the Panathenaic Way is perhaps indicated by the three herms on the other side of the vase, which might refer to the area of the herms at the north-west entrance to the Agora. The ‘problem’ of male *hydriaphoroi*, therefore, has probably been one of our own making, a matter of privileging one class of evidence over the other without fully appreciating the limitations of each.

Sacrificial beasts, their attendants and several marshals appear next (S XLI–XLVII 122–149, N I–IV 1–12). A point to note is that both ewes (N slab IV) and heifers (N slabs I–III) appear on the north side as prospective victims; a marshal (N V 12) divides them from the *skaphēphoroi*. Only heifers and their attendants appear on the south (S slabs XLI–XLVII). Could this indicate two different processions with separate groupings of victims? Simon points out that there are four heifers, four ewes, four *hydriaphoroi*, four pipers, and four lyre-players on the north side. She acknowledges that this might just refer to the quadrennial cycle of the Great Panathenaia, but is inclined to see a connection with the four Ionian tribes that preceded the ten tribes of Kleisthenes.¹⁵⁰ In her view the north procession was in honour of Athena Polias, the ewes being for Pandrosos, the daughter of Kekrops; the south procession was in honour of Athena Parthenos, the heifers being for Athena.¹⁵¹ Harrison prefers to separate the processions in time, the north being pre-Kleisthenic, the south post-Kleisthenic.¹⁵² As far as we know, however, there was no cult for Athena Parthenos in the Periklean age,¹⁵³ and it seems that there was only one relevant altar for both sacrifices, so the idea of two processions loses much of its point.¹⁵⁴ The gesture of the marshal (E VI 47) who turns his back on the northern procession to beckon to the southern one, suggests one sacrifice. Both heifers and ewes, moreover, are appropriate for the Panathenaia. Athens’ allies sent heifers for sacrifice at the Panathenaia, though it is impossible to tell whether the beasts shown are from Attica or overseas,¹⁵⁵ and the occasion is overwhelmingly an Athenian one. More importantly, Erechtheus enjoyed an annual sacrifice of cattle and sheep which may have formed part of the Panathenaic celebrations.¹⁵⁶ The combination of ram and bull sacrifice on the Acropolis is attested as early as the *Iliad* (2.550). An old Attic law, which admittedly appears to refer to sacrifices by individuals rather than the state, prescribed a ewe for Pandrosos whenever Athena received a heifer.¹⁵⁷ The same combination of victims appears at an altar of Athena on a black-figure hydria by the Theseus Painter in Uppsala.¹⁵⁸

On the east frieze (Fig. 8), at the front of the temple, the procession continues from either corner with a number of women, who shuffle forward in a stately, dignified manner (E II–III 2–17, VII 50–51, VII–IX 53–63). Movement now ceases. Before them stand a group of men, ten altogether (E III–IV 18–23, VI 43–46), who are generally taken to be the eponymous heroes of the ten tribes of post-Kleisthenic Athens. They are at ease, talking to each other, leaning on staves and awaiting the arrival of the main procession. Behind them are the twelve major Olympian gods, six at each side, with two attendant deities (E IV–V 24–30, V–VI 36–42). They also await the procession, seated on stools, with Zeus on a throne. They slightly overlap, with the figures of Zeus (E V 30) and Athena (E V 36)

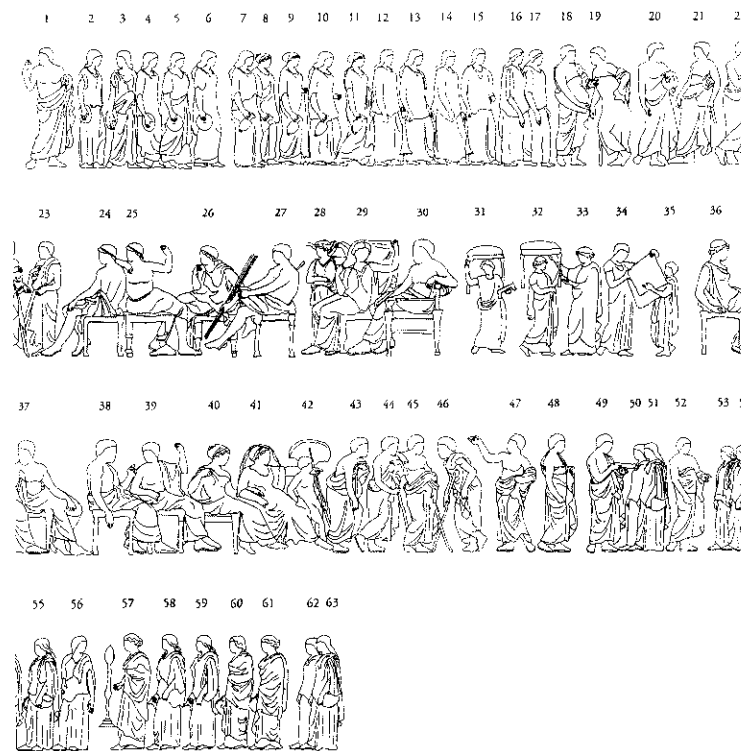


Fig. 8. The east frieze of the Parthenon (from J. Neils *The Parthenon Frieze*, Cambridge 2001, drawn by Rachel Rosenzweig). © Cambridge University Press.

being those nearest the centre of the frieze. The 'heroes', six on one side of the gods (E III–IV 18–23) and four on the other (E VI 43–6), are not appreciably taller than other males on this side, for instance the immediately adjacent marshals (E VI–VII 47–49, VII 52).

The first appearance of women on the east side is striking.¹⁵⁹ At least sixteen of them, distinguished by their long hair, are represented as unmarried women. Blundell reminds us that whether married or unmarried they relate to the (intense) femininity of Athena and to the importance of women and marriage in contemporary Athens.¹⁶⁰ Whatever their precise identity, the women are either nearing puberty or have just passed it, and they are closely associated with the art of wool-working, the prime task of the married woman.¹⁶¹ The depiction of what they carry is entirely appropriate for a major Greek sacrifice. The first five at the southern end (E II 2–6) carry *phialai* (shallow bowls) and the next five (E III 7–11) carry jugs, the paraphernalia of libation.¹⁶² Maidens at the northern end also carry *phialai* (E VII 55, E VIII 60–63) and jugs (E VIII 58–59). Others carry objects and furniture of cult, including two pairs at the southern end (E III 12–15) who hold peculiar trumpet-shaped objects that are generally interpreted as stands for burning incense, though Jenkins opts for stands for supporting the spit on which the meat was roasted.¹⁶³ Boardman thinks the objects might be legs of the loom on which the *peplos* was woven, and he is right to say that they are not shaped like the incense-burner (*thymiatērion*), a taller object with a flaring base, that is borne by another woman at the northern end (E VIII 57).¹⁶⁴ Some of the women are empty-handed (E III 16–17, E VII 53–54). Only the *peplos* comes to mind as a possible object for them to have borne, though we have seen apparently empty-handed men before now (the so-called *thallophoroi*). One man on the east (E VII 49) has a pair of women (E VII 50–51) standing in front of him. He is holding a shallow object, and they are empty-handed. Boardman expects two *kana* (baskets) if these are the *kanēphoroi* (basket-bearers), and the nearest maiden shows little sign of having just surrendered a single *kanoun* (basket).¹⁶⁵ He thinks the shallow object is a flat dish, since we might expect the *kanoun*, or several of them, in the hands of the girls who are known to have carried them, rather than in those of a man.¹⁶⁶ It might be, argues Boardman, a *phialē* from the women who prepared the wool for the *peplos*.¹⁶⁷ Simon, following Jochen Schelp, disagrees; the basket has been placed in the marshal's hands as a sign that the procession has just arrived at its goal, the Acropolis. The girl (E VII 51) would have her arms extended if she was about to receive it. In the barley was hidden the knife with which the animals were killed.¹⁶⁸ Harrison sees both *kanēphoroi* and *kanoun*, the type with low-slung handles.¹⁶⁹ Jenkins writes simply of an

'offering basket'.¹⁷⁰ Boardman's objections ought to have received greater attention, though the object does not look quite as flat as he makes out.

The next groups of men signal that the procession has come to its destination and also facilitate a smooth transition between the human and the divine.¹⁷¹ The five bearded and five beardless figures are commonly identified as the eponymous heroes (E III–IV 18–23, E VI 43–46) – a reasonable idea, especially in light of Mattusch's study, which concludes that representations of the eponymous heroes were deliberately generic. Instead of being individualized, the point was to make them closely resemble one another.¹⁷² The idea of no attributes for figures of such prominence in Athenian ideology seems remarkable at first, but it suits development in democratic thought, and it is precisely this fact that has permitted a variety of identifications,¹⁷³ and rendered unconvincing previous attempts to identify and name the individual figures.¹⁷⁴ It is also worth noting that some of the tribal heroes actually had their sanctuaries on the Acropolis.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, Ridgway's doubts are still cogent: the asymmetrical division of six (three groups of two in conversation) on the left and four (one group of four) on the right is a little odd; the uncertainty which surrounds attempts to make some of them marshals and vice versa shows that there is not a great deal of difference in height and physique between obvious marshals and the presumed heroes; their varied ages and costumes are paralleled elsewhere on the frieze; they seem unaware like humans, of the presence of the gods; other figures, certainly mortal turn their backs on their neighbours elsewhere on the frieze. She prefers to see them, noticing in particular their staves, as citizens who did not participate in the procession or who have already arrived and are chatting among themselves while waiting for their fellow participants.¹⁷⁶ They are in any case paternal figures among the citizens.¹⁷⁷ Jenkins notices that E III 18, who stands at the head of the procession coming from the south and faces forward with it, is the only one of the ten to be depicted without a staff.¹⁷⁸ There is indeed a good chance that he should be separated from the other nine. In this event, the figures could be *athlothetai* (judges) or other officials or spectators – each would serve my argument, being equally applicable to the Periklean age.

It is not particularly problematic to have all the Olympians, plus Eros and Iris, at the Panathenaia (E IV–V 24–30, E V–VI 36–42). When Peisistratos occupied the Acropolis as his principal residence, he seems to have promoted the event in terms of Herakles' entry to Olympos.¹⁷⁹ More compellingly, the Olympians assemble on vases for the birth of Athena, an event at the heart of the Panathenaia and depicted in the pediment above this part of the frieze. They are present too for the return of Hephaistos and

the entry of Herakles to Olympos.¹⁸⁰ An idealized procession, therefore, might well have warranted the attention of the gods.¹⁸¹ Boardman insists that the Olympians on the frieze can only be present in order to receive the heroes of Marathon into their midst,¹⁸² but this honour could have been deemed appropriate for ennobled Athenians in general. Also significant are parallels for inviting the gods to other festivals that ostensibly honour only one of their number. In Pindar's dithyramb for the Athenians on the occasion of the Great Dionysia (F 75 Snell), the Olympians are invited to take part in the festival in honour of Dionysos. Choral dances in the City Dionysia apparently took place at the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora.¹⁸³ If the gods can celebrate the City Dionysia, they should be able to celebrate the Panathenaia too.¹⁸⁴ All the Olympians are present in the pediment and metopes of the east, witnessing Athena's birth and battling the giants, and they were woven into the *peplos* doing battle against the giants as well.¹⁸⁵ Athena's aegis (E V 36) lies in her lap, perhaps in readiness for her to receive the new *peplos*.¹⁸⁶

All that remains now is the five-figure group involved with the *peplos* at the centre of the east side (E V 31–35) (Fig. 9). Most scholars readily accept its connection with the Panathenaia.¹⁸⁷ Connelly's thesis that the scene shows Erechtheus preparing to sacrifice his daughters is formidably put, but there are strong reasons not to see human sacrifice in this scene.



Fig. 9. The *peplos* scene in the centre of the east frieze of the Parthenon (E V 31–35). © The British Museum.

There is no altar, no priest with a knife, and no hint of the standard iconography of such scenes, as in, for example, the numerous representations of sacrifices of Iphigeneia or Polyxena.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, the mood is not at all tragic. Connelly argues that the Olympians deliberately turn their backs on the sacrifice scene, having no wish to be tainted by pollution considering it unseemly for gods to watch mortals die.¹⁸⁹ But they give every indication of being relaxed.¹⁹⁰ Their interest is in the ennobled mortals in the procession. The cattle and sheep, it may be added, are the real victims for the sacrifice, not any of the figures in the *peplos* scene.¹⁹¹ In fairness, there are uncertainties surrounding both the figures and their actions, but these are not insurmountable for the present argument. The trump card, of course, is the *peplos*. There is no more famous piece of cloth in Athenian history than the Panathenaic *peplos*, and no other which so appropriately takes centre stage on the Acropolis at the head of an Athenian procession. It establishes very solidly the context I want. It must be the primary indicator in the scene; the figures largely derive their identities from it, not the other way around. Boardman sees no problem: it must be the *peplos*.¹⁹² Is it the new or the old *peplos*?¹⁹³ Simon is sure we have the new *peplos*, which was not needed as a garment until the archaic statue (*xoanon*) of Athena Polias was dressed anew at the Plynteria festival, ten months later.¹⁹⁴ It is in any case hard to see the old rather than the new *peplos* taking the spotlight, so this looks to be the official rite of acceptance of the new *peplos* on behalf of Athena.¹⁹⁵ The most natural setting would seem to be in front of the temple.¹⁹⁶

Most interpreters see the woman (E V 33) as the priestess of Athena Polias,¹⁹⁷ and the man wearing the long ungirt tunic of a priest as the archon basileus (E V 34).¹⁹⁸ The two young females at left (E V 31–32) are generally thought to be carrying cushioned stools,¹⁹⁹ though funeral shrouds, clothes, and trays and torches have been proposed too.²⁰⁰ The most convincing view is still that these two young women are *diphrophoroi* (stool-bearers). For Osborne, the stools suggest that this is the place for the viewer to stop.²⁰¹ However, Simon thinks of *diphrophoroi* as minor characters, who would not have been important enough for the main scene of the whole frieze; thus the two figures must be *arrēphoroi* ('carriers of secret things', girls between the ages of seven and eleven dedicated for part of the year to serve Athena on the Acropolis).²⁰² Sourvinou-Inwood thinks that such young girls might have been depicted like this,²⁰³ though to a modern eye they do look rather older than required.²⁰⁴ For mine, Boardman decides the issue: they are *diphrophoroi* because they are dressed as adults, wearing *himatia* over a *chiton*, they are too tall, and the *arrēphoroi* were known for carrying vessels in their rites, which were associated with

neither the Panathenaia nor the Parthenon.²⁰⁵ Parke believed the stools were for the gods, a thought which has induced others to contemplate the Theoxenia ritual, whereby gods were called upon and fêted.²⁰⁶ But as the gods are already present and seated Boardman more plausibly thinks the stools were intended for the archon basileus and priestess.²⁰⁷ Simon sees two chairs, one for Pandrosos, and one for Ge Kourotrophos.²⁰⁸ This seems too obscure and there are no clinching attributes. One of the young females (E V 31) carries an object interpreted generally as a footstool in her left arm, the lion's paw of the left near leg just being visible.²⁰⁹ Younger, thinking in terms of sexual pairings, sees this girl as a space-filler, a totally superfluous figure.²¹⁰ He is right that she is spatially a little apart from the other two pairs of figures in the scene (E V 32–33, E V 34–35), but not so much as to make her unconnected with them.²¹¹ Boardman thinks the footstool she carries is for the priestess.²¹² Connelly is sceptical that the priestess should get a footstool and the priest not. Her preference is for a pyxis, or jewellery-box, used in dressing rituals.²¹³ Simon argues for an incense box, whose contents would be burned in the *thymiatēria* shown elsewhere on the frieze.²¹⁴ While the examples illustrated by both scholars do good service to their arguments, Boardman is insistent. He illustrates in detail and draws the footstool, and seems right.²¹⁵

Robertson saw the child on the right as a girl with Venus rings on her neck (E V 35),²¹⁶ and thus she had to be one of the *arrēphoroi*. Boardman, who argues that most of the women on the frieze show such rings, while very few of the males do, has since remained faithful to this line.²¹⁷ Others see a boy because similar rings appear, for example, on the tray-bearer in the south frieze (S XL 120).²¹⁸ Harrison believes the boy wears a draped *himation* with a triangular overfall in front; females never wear it without a *chiton* underneath. This makes him the archetypal temple boy, like Ion in Euripides' play of that name.²¹⁹ Younger sees the 'Venus rings' as simple incisions, which are only apparent because of current display conditions, in which the light comes from above.²²⁰ Hurwit sees a boy too, pointing to statues of boys with such rings. They are signs of well-fed plumpness not gender – and the garment is probably a *himation*, worn in this fashion (without an undergarment) exclusively by males.²²¹ Although a girl would not invalidate my argument, I am on balance inclined to see a boy, his nakedness not so different to that displayed by, for example, the boy helping the cavalryman dress at the start of the north frieze (N XLVII 136) (Fig. 10).²²² Both figures, it might be added, could be thought to be concerned with Neils' theme of dressing-up.²²³ Connelly's thesis depends on having a girl here, one of the daughters of Erechtheus about to die, and she begins by pointing out that there is no literary evidence

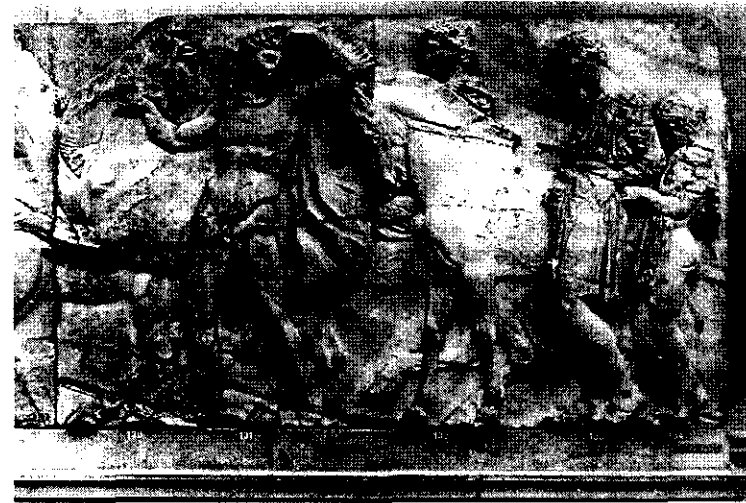


Fig. 10. Scene from the west end of the north frieze of the Parthenon (N XLVII 133–136). © The British Museum.

for involvement by the archon basileus in the culminating ritual of the Panathenaia.²²⁴ Yet our literary sources are marked by lack rather than detail. Then she argues that Athena would not have been served by a little boy; Greek cult practice would demand that she be served by girls and women; Euripides' *Ion* was serving Apollo.²²⁵ This is compelling on the face of it, and would split the pairings of woman-with-girl (E V 32–33) and man-with-boy (E V 34–35) that Younger has recently invested with so much sexual and other significance.²²⁶ I wonder, however, whether a boy could be thought to be helping the archon rather than Athena; there is so much of the fine detail about which we are unaware. In the context of a patriarchal society, moreover, it would not be surprising to see men, or at least the archon, taking so prominent a part here.²²⁷ Finally, it has been argued that there were in fact two *peploi* at the Great Panathenaia, and that professional men made one of them – the huge one that acted like a sail for the ship-cart which may have featured in the procession from the period immediately following the battle of Salamis (480 BC). The *peplos* on the frieze is surely the smaller one meant for Athena Polias, made in the age-old, traditional way by women; a *peplos* of this kind was made annually, whereas the huge one was made only for the Great Panathenaia.²²⁸ My point in calling the latter to attention is that it might also make the males-with-*peplos* idea more sustainable.

Of course, attempts at identification that are as precise as possible do not deny the symbolic or evocative power of this scene. The Panathenaia represented the first major festival at which the citizens could see the new archons together, soon after their assumption of office on the first day of Hekatombaion.²²⁹ A number of scholars feel that the five figures might have stood in some minds as surrogates of the royal house, though this would mean that the (archon) basileus was conceived of as being accompanied by the basilinna rather than the priestess of Athena.²³⁰ Some have wondered why we are shown the preparation for the dedication of the *peplos*, and not the dedication itself. Is the culminating act missing?²³¹ Do we have here a 'classical' moment, prefiguring and evoking the defining moment? Has the final act in fact been discovered, in traces of a sculptured scene over the cella doorway?²³² Osborne thinks that the statue of Athena Polias, which eventually found a home in the Erechtheion and was recipient of the *peplos*, is not here, but Athena herself is not missing – she can be glimpsed through the doors in the form of Pheidias' magnificent cult statue.²³³ Simon's reminder is enough: the statue of Athena Polias was not draped until ten months later.²³⁴ Neils asserts that it is the modern mindset which sees anticlimax in this handover scene. We do have the climax of the Panathenaia – 'the raison d'être of the procession as well as the high point of the festival'.²³⁵

The subject is fundamental for appreciating the style, setting and message of the frieze. The placing of contemporary mortals in such close proximity to the gods looks at first sight to be shameless self-aggrandizement. Yet the strident self-confidence is to some degree tempered. I have already referred to the monument's capacity for maintaining perpetual worship and perpetual benefits at the highest level. Athena is both praised and placated. Athenian power is both manifest and in need of support. Display and maintenance go together; this might be why the Parthenon was built before Athena Polias was given a new home in the Erechtheion. The mortal subject does much to explain the style: there is something fundamentally political in representing a *polis* of equals, a democracy where everyone is of the quality of aristocrats elsewhere, nourished in this belief by their myth of autochthony, an idealized group, both favouring Athena and favoured extraordinarily, a group moving to the plane of the gods, comprised of individuals towards whom one feels a passionate attachment. Subject and setting probably go together too. How immodest can you be on a monument that is displayed as the frieze is? It accompanies, maybe even induces, a procession, but it made no impression on Pausanias at least. Perhaps the mortal subject demanded the least conspicuous setting. At any rate, one's theory about the subject will have reverberations in these other

areas, and vice versa. Self-assertiveness cannot be the entire story. For a start, there were more eye-catching ways to do it. Increasingly, the spectacle of the Panathenaic festival itself performed the function of communicating the greatness of Athens to its citizens and visitors.²³⁶ There were also other ways to call the citizens to duty and destiny. Perikles' funeral oration shows that. I am not meaning to denigrate the power of the frieze to do these things, or to promote the image of a citizenry harmonious and superior. It is just that there are limits, which depend quite a lot on your idea of the subject of the frieze. It is not the evocative power of the frieze that is at issue, merely the base from which such evocations flow.

In contrast, then, to theories that see the Parthenon frieze commemorating the Panathenaic procession, or the idea of festival at Athens, or particular Panathenaic festivals or events from history or myth, this chapter favours the view that its subject is an idealized, contemporary celebration of the Great Panathenaia, whose depiction nonetheless permits the calling to mind of other festivals and ideas. In general and in detail this interpretation seems the most persuasive. Special mention ought to be made of how well the frieze alludes to the excitement of competition in several sporting events conducted over several days. Admittedly, given the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to describe categorically what a celebration of the Great Panathenaia was like in the Periklean period. In one sense this is the point of the chapter. It does not seem right to proceed as though our literary and other sources, fragmentary and chronologically disparate as they are, provide a picture which can be used as a control against the frieze. In particular, differences between the frieze and the other sources do not justify the view that the frieze has problems or that it must not be representing a contemporary Panathenaia. Each class of evidence must be handled on its particular merits and the best that modern scholars can do is to exercise judgement. The frieze is limited physically and it employs representational conventions that are still far from perfectly understood. It transmits powerful subliminal messages and exploits fundamental attitudes and responses, especially among adult male citizens. It describes intimate, reciprocal and reinforcing links between sporting competition, religious ceremony, divine patronage and civic identity at Athens. Indeed, it takes for granted an articulation of power through these spheres that is not really comparable with modern conditions but is certainly suggestive. Modifications and omissions are part of the way all this was achieved, so that the Athenians could be praised and called upon, in Aristophanes' words, as 'men worthy of [their] land, and of [depiction on] the *peplos*'.²³⁷

Acknowledgments

This chapter was written during a period of research leave at Royal Holloway College, University of London, in the first half of 2000. I would like in particular to thank Professor Susanna Morton-Braund for her hospitality and encouragement. Unfortunately, it proved impossible to take into account Jenifer Neils' fine book, *The Parthenon Frieze* (Cambridge, 2001), which arrived when this chapter was in press. However, I recommend it warmly and welcome the many connections it makes between the frieze and the Panathenaia. Finally, thanks are due to Cambridge University Press for permission at a late stage to employ the line drawings of the frieze which accompany Neils' book (Figs. 4–7).

Notes

¹ Fundamental studies include: Robertson and Frantz 1975; Brommer 1977; Jenkins 1994; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996. The numbering system of Jenkins is employed in this chapter.

² Boardman 1977, 39; Castriota 1992, 134–8.

³ *IG I³* 436, 449; Lewis 1992, 125.

⁴ Schol. Ar. *Peace* 605.

⁵ For the dates, see Ashmole 1972, 126; Pollitt 1972, 79. Jenkins 1994, 19 feels that the carving of the frieze could have gone on after 438. Korres 1994, 33 argues for a somewhat later date, believing that the frieze was added in response to changing ethical and political considerations.

⁶ Lewis 1992, 125.

⁷ Lewis 1992, 125, 139–40.

⁸ Stewart 1997, 79.

⁹ Note Osborne 1994, 143: 'I cannot prove that the sculptures of the Parthenon form a programme.'

¹⁰ Jenkins 1995.

¹¹ Plans of the frieze: Ashmole 1972, 120; Boardman 1985, fig. 95; Boardman and Finn 1985, 238; Castriota 1992, 190, fig. 25; Jenkins 1994, 23, fig. 12b.

¹² Lawrence 1972, 139; Ashmole 1972, 118.

¹³ Osborne 1987, 98–105.

¹⁴ Korres 1988.

¹⁵ Boardman 1999, 306–7. See Connelly 1996, 56, on art as *agalma*, 'pleasing gift for the gods'.

¹⁶ Boardman 1999, 306.

¹⁷ Ashmole 1972, 120; Pollitt 1972, figs. 29, 30; Jenkins 1994, 19. Blundell thinks that a spectator moving towards the east could have walked along either the north or the south side, though the northern route was 'the more likely, since this was on the shady side of the temple, and was followed by festival processions' (1998, 57, 69 n. 18).

¹⁸ Ashmole 1972, 136 (the south may have been carved last as a result); Jenkins 1994, 22, cf. 18.

¹⁹ Osborne 1987, 101 and n. 17; Connelly 1996, 70 n. 110.

²⁰ St Clair 1995, 5; Boardman 1984, 412 n. 38.

²¹ For the date, see Kallisthenes *FGrHist* 124 F 52; Parke 1977, 33; Simon 1983, 55; Jenkins 1994, 24.

²² Stuart and Revett 1787, vol. 2, 12.

²³ e.g. Ashmole 1972, 144–5; Pollitt 1972, 87–8; Robertson and Frantz 1975, 9; Boardman 1977, 42–3; Ridgway 1981, 77–8; Connelly 1996, 54; Blundell 1998, 59.

²⁴ Note the surprise of Brommer 1979, 40, that no spears are to be seen.

²⁵ This notation means north side, slab VI, figures 16–19, and south side, slab XXXIX, figures 115–118 (conjectured because missing). For discussion of the differences, mainly on the north and south sides, between the numbering system employed by Jenkins, and those pioneered by scholars like Michaelis 1871 and Smith 1910, see Jenkins 1994, 49–51; 1995. For drawings of the frieze following the figure but not slab numbers of Jenkins, see figures 4–7 above.

²⁶ Robertson and Frantz 1975, 8–12; Parke 1977, 37–50; Simon 1983, 55–72.

²⁷ Kardara 1961 (1964); Holloway 1966. Criticism of the theories of Kardara and Holloway in Boardman 1984, 210.

²⁸ Boardman 1977, 39–49; 1984, 210–15. For the Parthenon as a commemoration of the Persian Wars, see Plut. *Art.* 34; Castriota 1992, 134–83. For criticism of Boardman's thesis, see Brommer 1977, 149 n. 15; Spence 1993, 268; Jenkins 1994, 26, 44; Harrison 1996, 200; Hurwit 1999, 224. For the Marathon dead portrayed as hoplites, see Harrison 1972, esp. 373–4; Bugh 1988, 77–8 n. 134. Pausanias 1.32.4 describes measures taken to heroize those who fell at Marathon.

²⁹ Simon 1983, 61, 68–9; Harrison 1984, 230–4; 1996, 198–214.

³⁰ Lawrence 1951; Root 1979; 1985; Castriota 1992, 184–229. One reply to Lawrence, Root and Castriota can be found in Shapiro 1996, 222.

³¹ Younger 1997; Stewart 1997, 77–85.

³² Osborne 1987, 98–105; 1994, 143–50. Veyne 1988 takes issue with Osborne's view that the subject is not really as important as the effect of the frieze.

³³ Connelly 1993, 309–10; 1996, 53–80. For the Euripidean fragments, see Austin 1968. Criticism of Connelly's thesis: Harrison 1996, 206; Spivey 1996, 146–7; Stewart 1997, 76; Hurwit 1999, 223–4.

³⁴ Jenkins 1994, 25 (intrinsic ambiguity); cf. 12 and 18 (a grandiose votive relief), 14 (a celebration of the city's current prestige), 21 (a procession), 25 (the epitome of both the Panathenaic procession and the Panathenaic festival), 32 (the idea of festival itself), 34 (the *peplos* is the main reason for seeing the Panathenaic procession), 39 (a general and universal idea of festival on the west, north and south sides, more specifically the Panathenaia on the east), 42 (an ideal procession, visual metaphor of the spirit of the Panathenaic festival). For criticism of Jenkins' equivocation, see Connelly 1996, 55 n. 16.

³⁵ Pollitt 1997, 51–65; Hurwit 1999, 227; Ridgway 1981, 78; Beschi 1984, 192; cf. Jenkins 1994, 32.

- ³⁶ Hurwit 1999, 228, 233. A gigantomachy was also woven into the *peplos*; see Eur. *Hec.* 466–74; Pl. *Euth.* 6b–c; Barber 1992, 103–17, esp. 112–17.
- ³⁷ Connelly 1996, 54, 76 n. 150; Neils 1992, 14; 1996, 182. The written sources are discussed most fully in Deubner 1932; Ziehen 1949; Parke 1977, 37–50; Simon 1983, 55–72. Neils 1992, 14, is good on the limitations of all types of relevant evidence, including inscriptions and pottery.
- ³⁸ Ashmole 1972, 145; Pollitt 1972, 88; Ridgway 1981, 77.
- ³⁹ On votive forerunners, see Kroll 1979; Simon 1983, 72; Jenkins 1994, 12, 18. Ridgway (1981, 79) and Boardman (1984, 210) are opposed to the idea.
- ⁴⁰ Castriota 1992, 215.
- ⁴¹ Osborne 1994, 149.
- ⁴² Payne and Mackworth Young 1950, 47.
- ⁴³ Brommer 1977, 152; Ridgway 1981, 77.
- ⁴⁴ Boardman 1978, 155, fig. 200.
- ⁴⁵ Castriota 1992, 306–7 n. 65.
- ⁴⁶ Ridgway 1981, 77, 79. Castriota 1992, 192, finds no precedent in temple sculpture for a religious event like that of the frieze.
- ⁴⁷ Neils 1996, 184, 194; cf. 1992, 26.
- ⁴⁸ Parker 1988, esp. 190.
- ⁴⁹ Paus. 1.15.1–3; Boedeker 1998, esp. 189 (on the Stoa Poikile), and 199 (on ‘timeless’ and ‘historical’ uses of the past, the former designed to suggest analogies). See Pl. *Menex.* 234c–235b, on public oratory for the war-dead.
- ⁵⁰ Cf. Hurwit 1999, 226: ‘...the frieze...is sculpture, not videotape’.
- ⁵¹ See Parke 1977, 43; Ridgway 1981, 78 n. 11; Simon 1983, 58; Hurwit 1999, 226.
- ⁵² Ridgway 1981, 83.
- ⁵³ Pollitt 1997, 63; Blundell 1998, 51; Boedeker 1998.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. Lewis 1992, 146. Note the number of writers who see varying degrees of apotheosis on the frieze: Pollitt 1972, 87; Boardman 1977, 46; Castriota 1992, 217; Neils 1992, 26; Hurwit 1999, 233.
- ⁵⁵ Cf. Boardman 1984, 211.
- ⁵⁶ See Parke 1977, 38, on omissions being unsurprising.
- ⁵⁷ Delivorrias 1994, 126 writes of ‘deliberate polysemy’.
- ⁵⁸ Pollitt 1972, 81: ‘The Greeks had a tendency to see the specific in...the generic.’
- ⁵⁹ Jenkins 1994, 32, cf. 34. Those who oppose this idea include Connelly 1996, 55 n. 16, Blundell 1998, 51 and Hurwit 1999, 227. Boardman 1984, 211 finds it ‘hard to credit’ that no specific festival is meant.
- ⁶⁰ Harrison 1996, 200. Boardman 1999, 329 and Spivey 2000, 255–6 express dissatisfaction with those who prefer open-ended, non-specific interpretations.
- ⁶¹ Connelly 1996, 55 n. 16: ‘the Parthenon’s sculptural program presented images with unambiguous, primary meanings (Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, Centauromachy, Birth of Athena, Contest of Poseidon and Athena), which could also be read on multiple, metaphorical levels (triumph of civilized order over barbaric chaos, birth of Athens and autochthonous nature of the Athenians,

victories of Athenians over exotic outsiders).’

⁶² Noted by Ridgway 1981, 82.

⁶³ Osborne 1997, 519–20, cf. 523 (thus emasculating the beardless figures, signalling that they are not sexually active).

⁶⁴ Ridgway 1981, 83.

⁶⁵ Boardman 1977, 40; Boardman 1985, 107; Jenkins 1994, 30, 99; Pollitt 1997, 55; Boardman 1999, 328.

⁶⁶ There is still a tendency to call them mounted ephebes (e.g. Simon 1983, 59–60; Jenkins 1994, 33; Hurwit 1999, 233). Spence 1993, 269–70 demonstrates that they are not ephebes, who received no equestrian training in this period and whose very existence at this time is uncertain, but cavalrymen.

⁶⁷ Parke 1977, 43.

⁶⁸ Attic black-figure band cup, c. 550 BC, London, private collection: Simon 1983, 63, pls. 16.2, 17.2; Neils 1992, 54, fig. 33; 1996, 181–2, fig. 8.4; cf. 181.

⁶⁹ Castriota 1992, 202–26.

⁷⁰ Castriota 1992, 204; cf. Brommer 1977, 152; Vasic 1984.

⁷¹ Cf. Castriota 1992, 218.

⁷² Osborne 1994, 145, hinting at a relationship with the metopes and pediment.

⁷³ Brommer 1977, 151–3.

⁷⁴ Connelly 1996, 70 n. 110 is both right and a little unfair in writing that ‘though the cavalry dominates the frieze in terms of amount of space occupied, its location on the north, south, and west sides of the temple is secondary to the privileged position of the groups that occupy the east frieze’.

⁷⁵ Thuc. 2.13.8; [Arist.] *Arb. Pol.* 61.4–5; Bugh 1988, 39–52; Spence 1993, 9–10, 15–16; Worley 1994, 68–72.

⁷⁶ Bugh 1988, 77–8; Spence 1993, 191–202; Shapiro 1996, 219.

⁷⁷ Spence 1993, 211–12.

⁷⁸ Ar. *Frogs* 653; Xen. *Hipparchikos* 3.11. On prancing, see [Xen.] *Peri Hippikēs* 11.1, 8. For a good discussion of popular attitudes to horsemen in relation to other branches of the military in this period, see Pritchard 2000, 95–6, 110–15, 199–200, esp. 114–15.

⁷⁹ Boardman 1977, 40; Harrison 1984, 233; Boardman 1985, 107; Spence 1993, 267–71; Jenkins 1994, 55–63; Pollitt 1997, 55; Boardman 1999, 328.

⁸⁰ Worley 1994, 70, 195 n. 61. Neither Bugh 1988 nor Spence 1993 believes in an intermediate phase of development between the old 300- and the new 1000-man force. Bugh 1988, 76 thinks the number was raised ‘sometime between 445 and 431’. Spence 1993, 10 says ‘some time between c. 445 and 438’ (noting the division into ten sub-units on the Parthenon frieze).

⁸¹ Spence 1993, 199–201, 268. For an argument that cavalrymen were predominantly in their 20s or 30s, see Bugh 1988, 64.

⁸² Noted by Ridgway 1981, 79.

⁸³ Neils 1996, 189–94.

⁸⁴ Stewart 1997, 76. Note Osborne’s arguments against nakedness alone being

taken as a pointer to heroization or idealization (1997, esp. 505).

⁸⁵ Kyle 1992, 91 refers to the nudity of the boy jockeys.

⁸⁶ See Kyle 1992, 89–94, for equestrian events at the Panathenaia. On p. 94, he notes that the javelin throw from horseback does not appear on Panathenaic prize amphorae until the very end of the fifth century.

⁸⁷ Pollitt 1997, 52–3. Spence (1993, xxxii–xxxiii, 77, 184, 187–8, 267–71) believes that they did participate in the Panathenaic procession.

⁸⁸ Xen. *Hipparchikos* 1.21–3; 3.1–2; cf. Dem. 4.26.

⁸⁹ Pollitt 1997, 55; cf. Neils 1992, 27.

⁹⁰ For the ‘establishment loan’ (*katastasis*) and ‘grain allowance’ (*sitos*), see Xen. *Hipparchikos* 1.2–3, 19; Bugh 1988, 56–7, 60; Spence 1993, 16; Worley 1994, 71.

⁹¹ On cavalry dress, see Spence 1993, xxix–xxxiii, 60, 118.

⁹² Yet I am sceptical of Harrison’s attempt (1984, 232–3) to assign particular ‘uniforms’ on the south side to particular tribes via association with the figures on the frieze identified as the Eponymous Heroes. These figures have little in the way of attributes.

⁹³ *IG II² 956.1.58–60; 957.1.36–41; 958.1.56–9; 960, ll. 22–4; 961, ll. 22–4;* Bugh 1988, 92 n.38.

⁹⁴ Boardman 1985, 107.

⁹⁵ Boardman 1985, 107, though Connelly 1996, 71 wonders whether the items of Thracian costume might have called to mind booty taken from Eumolpos’ army by the heroic cavalry of Erechtheus’ day.

⁹⁶ Osborne 1987, 103.

⁹⁷ Ridgway 1981, 82 n. 16.

⁹⁸ Xen. *Hipparchikos* 3.3, 5, 13; Pollitt 1997, 64 n. 19.

⁹⁹ Bugh 1988, 59–60; Kyle 1992, 94; cf. Neils 1994, 152 (end of the fifth century). Pollitt 1997, 57 accepts this as one of the performances at the Panathenaia.

¹⁰⁰ Harrison 1984, 234; 1996, 209.

¹⁰¹ Ashmole 1972, 122–5.

¹⁰² For the two bearded figures on the west, see Brommer 1977, pls. 13–14, 23–6. Simon 1983, 59 thinks one of them is the polemarch. The suggestion that they are hipparchs appears to go back to Robertson and Frantz 1975, 48 (an unnumbered page); cf. Spence 1993, 268–9; Pollitt 1997, 57.

¹⁰³ Spence 1993, 269; Stewart 1997, 76; cf. Jenkins 1994, 107, pl. II.

¹⁰⁴ For the processional route, see Neils 1992, 18, 19, fig. 3; cf. Lefkowitz 1996, 81.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Pollitt 1972, 87. Brommer 1977, 149, 287 puts the cavalcade in the Attic plain. Boardman 1984, 212, puts the action of the entire frieze in the Agora.

¹⁰⁶ Pollitt 1997, 57.

¹⁰⁷ Ashmole 1972, 122.

¹⁰⁸ Beschi 1984 finds twelve on the north. For eleven and ten, see Harrison 1984, 230, 233; Gisler-Huwiler 1988, 15–18; Jenkins 1994, 30, 88–95 (north); 64–8, esp. 65 (south); Jenkins 1995, 446 n. 4; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 51–66,

104–10; Boardman 1999, 328 n.49.

¹⁰⁹ On the long saffron robe, see Brommer 1979, 40.

¹¹⁰ Harrison 1984, 233. As with the cavalry, Boardman 1977, 40 sees more imagination in the less regular composition of the chariots on the north.

¹¹¹ Castriota 1992, 204.

¹¹² Connelly 1996, 69–70.

¹¹³ Plutarch’s *Life of Phocion* 20, and three Hellenistic inscriptions from the second century BC: *IG II/III² 2314*, ll. 36, 67–70; 2316, ll. 17–20, 40; 2317, l. 48 (where *apobataēs* is plausibly restored); cf. Pollitt 1997, 58 n.22.

¹¹⁴ Simon 1983, 62; Neils 1992, 15. Kyle 1992, 205 n.69 shows that the matter is not beyond doubt.

¹¹⁵ Boardman 1977, 45; 1984, 212, fig. 1; Neils 1992, 18, 20.

¹¹⁶ Note Simon 1983, 61: ‘[The charioteers did not climb the Acropolis, but] they are included in the frieze to symbolize other parts of the procession and of the festival.’

¹¹⁷ These features are strongly apparent in the two *apobatai* victory monuments which were included in the Sydney Olympics 2000 exhibition that is discussed in the last three chapters of this book. See Measham et al. 2000, cat. nos. 45, 46.

¹¹⁸ Stewart 1997, 82.

¹¹⁹ Rotroff 1977, 381.

¹²⁰ e.g. Ashmole 1972, 135; Boardman 1977, 40; Brommer 1979, 40; Neils 1994, 154. Parke 1977, 44 expresses doubts.

¹²¹ Brommer 1977, 32–3, 217.

¹²² Boardman 1999, 321–30, esp. 323, 329.

¹²³ Simon 1983, 62; Boardman 1984, 212; Jenkins 1994, 69; Pollitt 1997, 59.

¹²⁴ Boardman 1984, 212–13; 1999, 322.

¹²⁵ On which, see Shapiro 1992.

¹²⁶ Simon 1983, 63.

¹²⁷ Parke 1977, 35–6.

¹²⁸ Plut. *Per.* 13.11. Nagy 1992, 65–6, thinks that Perikles might even have re-instituted musical contests after an absence of a generation or so.

¹²⁹ Robertson and Frantz 1975, 15.

¹³⁰ See Brommer 1977, 220, pl. 113.

¹³¹ Simon 1983, 62–3.

¹³² Boardman 1984, 213, 412 n. 21.

¹³³ Himmelmann 1988; Jenkins 1994, 69–70. On p. 69, Jenkins observes that S XXXVII 107 holds what might be a plectrum in his right hand. Note also Jenkins 1995, 456.

¹³⁴ Jenkins 1994, 70–1.

¹³⁵ Parke 1977, 44; Jenkins 1994, 71.

¹³⁶ Cf. Jenkins 1995, 456.

¹³⁷ Brommer 1977, 30; Simon 1983, 65; Boardman 1984, 213; Jenkins 1994, 71.

¹³⁸ Demetrios of Phaleron 228 *FGrHist* F 5; Pollux III.55, s.v. *skiadophoros*; scholion Ar. *Birds* 1551; Ael. 6.1; cf. Boardman 1977, 40; Parke 1977, 44; Jenkins

1994, 70–1, 85–7.
¹³⁹ Connelly 1996, 69; cf. 54.
¹⁴⁰ Simon 1983, 64 (on N VI 19); cf. Castriota 1992, 305 n. 54.
¹⁴¹ Pollitt 1997, 61.
¹⁴² Hurwit 1999, 227.
¹⁴³ Younger 1997, 134–6, 150 n. 72.
¹⁴⁴ Boardman 1977, 45.
¹⁴⁵ Stewart 1997, 79.
¹⁴⁶ Brommer 1979, 42.
¹⁴⁷ Lefkowitz 1996, 80; Neils 1996, 183–4.
¹⁴⁸ London, British Museum E 159; *ARV*² 24, 9.
¹⁴⁹ Paris, Louvre C 10793; *ARV*² 555, 92; Neils 1996, 184, fig. 8.5.
¹⁵⁰ Simon 1983, 65; cf. Harrison 1984, 233. For ten heifers on the south, see Jenkins 1994, S XLI–XLVII; 1995, 456.
¹⁵¹ Simon 1983, 61.
¹⁵² Harrison 1984, 233–4.
¹⁵³ Jenkins 1994, 11, 29; Hurwit 1999, 225. Blundell (1998, 49, 68 n. 7) inclines to this view but with slight uncertainty.
¹⁵⁴ Boardman 1984, 210. On the *koinobōmia* shared by Pandtosos and Athena, see Simon 1983, 61; Connelly 1996, 76 n. 146.
¹⁵⁵ Parke 1977, 45.
¹⁵⁶ Jenkins 1994, 38.
¹⁵⁷ Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 10; Simon 1983, 61; Jenkins 1994, 29.
¹⁵⁸ Uppsala University 352; Neils 1996, 182, 195 n. 13.
¹⁵⁹ Ashmole 1972, 142; Connelly 1996, 80; Lefkowitz 1996, 79, 88. For the role of women of the Praxiergidai clan in bearing the *peplos* to the Acropolis, and later dressing the statue of Athena Polias, see Neils 1992, 17; Barber 1992, 113; Neils 1996, 185 – all refer to Mansfield 1985, 371–9 which I have not seen.
¹⁶⁰ Blundell 1998, 47–9, 53, 62–3.
¹⁶¹ Blundell 1998, 63–4.
¹⁶² Boardman 1977, 40.
¹⁶³ Jenkins 1994, 77.
¹⁶⁴ Boardman 1977, 40; 1984, 213; cf. Osborne 1994, 148–9 (loom stands).
¹⁶⁵ Boardman 1977, 41. Parke (1977, 43) can find no trace of the *kanēphoroi*, who carried on their heads baskets containing the barley that would be sprinkled over the victims' heads prior to the sacrifice.
¹⁶⁶ Boardman 1984, 213.
¹⁶⁷ Boardman 1984, 213.
¹⁶⁸ Simon 1983, 60.
¹⁶⁹ Harrison 1996, 210.
¹⁷⁰ Jenkins 1994, 81.
¹⁷¹ Boardman 1977, 41, 46; 1984, 213; cf. Jenkins 1985, 125; Jenkins 1994, 81; Harrison 1996, 201–2.
¹⁷² Mattusch 1994. Those who see the eponymous heroes include Robertson and Frantz (1975, pl. IV east), Boardman (1977, 41, 46; 1984, 213), Brommer (1977,

255–6, pls. 14, 19; 1979, 44), Osborne (1994, 149) and Harrison (1996, 200).
¹⁷³ *Agōnothetai* (games organizers) of the Great Panathenaia: Parke 1977, 42. Nine archons plus a marshal: Jenkins 1985, 121–7. Officials: Castriota 1992, 218. Spectators: DeVries 1992. *Athlothetai*: Nagy 1992. *Athlothetai* or *epōnymoi*: Jenkins 1994, 23, 77; Hurwit 1999, 227. Nagy 1992, 63, while emphasizing the role of the *athlothetai*, nevertheless admits that control of the Panathenaia was shared with other officials.
¹⁷⁴ Harrison 1979; Kron 1984. Boardman 1984, 213 n. 29 is against such attempts.
¹⁷⁵ Jones 1995, 506–11. I am grateful to David Pritchard for this reference.
¹⁷⁶ Ridgway 1981, 79 and n. 12.
¹⁷⁷ Harrison (1984, 234, with 1996, 202) thinks that the staves of the 'heroes' suggest their fatherhood. Connelly 1996, 68 favours generic elders, the male citizenry of Athens.
¹⁷⁸ Jenkins 1985, 124.
¹⁷⁹ Boardman 1972, 61–2; cf. Castriota 1992, 217.
¹⁸⁰ For the vases, see Shapiro 1989, 135–9.
¹⁸¹ Numerous scholars (e.g. Osborne 1994, 149, and Connelly 1996, 67) have noted that the Olympians turn their backs on the *peplos* scene; their primary interest is in the procession by the people of Athens.
¹⁸² Boardman 1977, 46.
¹⁸³ Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 62.
¹⁸⁴ Simon 1983, 71.
¹⁸⁵ *Eur. Hec.* 466–74; *Pl. Euth.* 6b–c; Simon 1983, 71; Barber 1992, esp. 112–17.
¹⁸⁶ Neils 1996, 189, 193; Hurwit 1999, 227. Blundell 1998, 67, noting that Hephaistos, a frustrated suitor, turns towards her, sees it lying 'defensively over her genitals'.
¹⁸⁷ Even Pollitt 1997, 61 is not against it. Nor is Hurwit 1999, 227.
¹⁸⁸ Stewart 1997, 76 and Hurwit 1999, 223–4 between them martial a long list of objections.
¹⁸⁹ Connelly 1996, 67.
¹⁹⁰ Harrison 1996, 206.
¹⁹¹ Jenkins 1994, 29.
¹⁹² Boardman 1977, 41; cf. Neils 1992, 26; Barber 1992, 209 n. 17.
¹⁹³ Old: Robertson and Frantz 1975, 11–12 (folded for storage). New: Parke 1977, 41; Barber 1992, 209 n. 17; Harrison 1996, 202.
¹⁹⁴ Simon 1983, 66.
¹⁹⁵ Cf. Harrison 1996, 203.
¹⁹⁶ Brommer 1979, 44 thinks we are meant to understand the group as being inside the temple.
¹⁹⁷ Ashmole 1972, 143; Parke 1977, 40; Boardman 1977, 41; Simon 1983, 66; Neils 1992, 26; Jenkins 1994, 79; Boardman 1999, 313–14; Hurwit 1999, 225 (or the basilinna, wife of the archon basileus).
¹⁹⁸ Ashmole 1972, 143; Boardman 1977, 41; 1984, 213; Simon 1983, 66;

Neils 1992, 26; Jenkins 1994, 79; Harrison 1996, 201; Boardman 1999, 313–14; Hurwit 1999, 225. Nagy 1992, 66–9 argues for Perikles, serving as one of the *athlothetai*.

¹⁹⁹ Ashmole 1972, 143; Boardman 1977, 41; Parke 1977, 40; Brommer 1979, 46; Boardman 1984, 213; Neils 1992, 26; Jenkins 1994, 35, 79; Harrison 1996, 205; Younger 1997, 121; Boardman 1999, 308–13.

²⁰⁰ See Boardman 1999, 307 n. 5, for references. Hurwit 1999, 227 wonders whether they are the secret things of the *arrēphoroi*.

²⁰¹ Osborne 1987, 101.

²⁰² Simon 1983, 67; cf. Jenkins 1994, 35; Harrison 1996, 205.

²⁰³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 58–9.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Hurwit 1999, 225.

²⁰⁵ Boardman 1999, 313, 320.

²⁰⁶ Parke 1977, 41. Ashmole 1972, 143 discounts the Theoxenia idea.

²⁰⁷ Boardman 1977, 41; 1984, 214; 1999, 313.

²⁰⁸ Simon 1983, 67–9.

²⁰⁹ The interpretation goes back to Thompson 1956, 290; cf. Boardman 1977, 41; Jenkins 1994, 79; Boardman 1999, 307–9.

²¹⁰ Younger 1997, 137–8 (she is asexual, a space-filler).

²¹¹ For the 'off-centre' arrangement of this scene, which might have something to do with a slight miscalculation brought on by the huge size of the central block, nearly fifteen feet long, see Ashmole 1972, 140, 143.

²¹² Boardman 1984, 213.

²¹³ Connelly 1996, 58 n. 33, 64–5. See Neils 1996, 189–93, for the theme of dressing-up permeating the Panathenaia.

²¹⁴ Simon 1982, 141; Simon 1983, 67.

²¹⁵ Boardman 1999, 308–9.

²¹⁶ Robertson and Frantz 1975, on E 35.

²¹⁷ Boardman 1977, 41; 1984, 214; 1999, 314–21; cf. Neils 1992, 26. Stuart and Revett (1787, vol. 2, 2) saw a girl. Boardman 1991 replied strongly to Clairmont 1989 (arguing for a boy).

²¹⁸ Ashmole 1972, 143; Brommer 1977, pl. 152.2, 266–7; Simon 1983, 66 n. 50. Boardman 1999, 316–17 says that all such male figures have only a single line and none are in relaxed profile posture like all the women.

²¹⁹ Harrison 1996, 203; cf. Brommer 1979, 46; Jenkins 1994, 79. Boardman 1999, 318–19 answers Harrison.

²²⁰ Younger 1997, 122–4.

²²¹ Hurwit 1999, 224.

²²² Younger 1997, 124–5 advances strong arguments for both figures being based on the same preliminary sketch of a boy (cf. W XII 24 and W III 6).

²²³ Neils 1996, 189–93.

²²⁴ Connelly 1996, 58.

²²⁵ Connelly 1996, 59–60 and esp. n. 46; cf. Boardman 1984, 214.

²²⁶ Younger 1997, 129–38.

²²⁷ See also Goldhill 1994, esp. 354–7, for a discussion of the frieze as

a representation of Athens' democracy, introducing civic as well as religious concerns into the subject matter and affecting the ways that men and women might be related on it.

²²⁸ More detailed argument in Neils 1992, 22; Barber 1992, 113, citing Mansfield 1985, 68–78, 295, 366–404.

²²⁹ Jenkins 1985, 125; 1994, 38.

²³⁰ Simon 1983, 67; Jenkins 1994, 36, 38; Hurwit 1999, 225.

²³¹ Boardman 1977, 42.

²³² Korres 1984, 52, fig. 5.

²³³ Osborne 1987, 101. In fairness, one should note the view of Lewis 1992, 125 that changes to traditional rituals were probably made to incorporate the new statue in the Parthenon.

²³⁴ Simon 1983, 66.

²³⁵ Neils 1992, 26.

²³⁶ Kyle 1992, 80.

²³⁷ Ar. *Knights* 565–6. The translation is that of Nagy 1992, 68.

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