THE MULTIPOLAR *POLIS*: A STUDY OF PROCESSIONS IN CLASSICAL ATHENS AND THE ATTIC COUNTRYSIDE

By

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Degree Conferral: June 15th, 2015

A dissertation submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of
the University at Buffalo, State University of New York
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of:

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Classics

UMI Number: 3714691

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Acknowledgments

The Road goes ever on and on
Down from the door where it began.
Now far ahead the Road has gone,
And I must follow, if I can,
Pursuing it with eager feet,
Until it joins some larger way
Where many paths and errands meet.
And whither then? I cannot say.

--p. 35, *The Fellowship of the Ring*, by J.R.R. Tolkien

The writing of this dissertation has been a long road with many unexpected twists and turns—as I am sure anyone who has completed a dissertation would say. Though this road will, I hope, continue to “some larger way,” with many paths, unexpected meetings, fruitful collaborations, and further scholarship, this is a fitting time to pause and look back at the distance I have traveled and the people who have been there for me along the way.

I have had many guides and companions who helped to set me on this path and support my journey, all of whom deserve far more acknowledgment for their efforts than a few words here. This dissertation would, of course, never have been written without the continual support of my dissertation chair, Brad Ault. It was he who first suggested I should try modeling François de Polignac’s bipolar *polis* theory using GIS for a seminar paper, and later he who pointed out that that seminar paper would make an excellent dissertation. He has been the first to reply with comments on every chapter, and was always ready with encouragement and reassurances to cushion the emotional rollercoaster that is dissertation-writing. I must also thank Carolyn Higbie for always having opinions, never mincing words when my writing was lacking, and also for many stimulating conversations over tea. The comments, questions, and thoughts of Stephen Dyson and Roger Woodard have also immeasurably improved this work, and additionally provided much of the scholarly foundations in classical archaeology and ancient religion which underpin this dissertation.

I first began thinking critically about routes and roads in my Environmental Modeling course with Ling Bian, where I experimented with least-cost path modeling; her enthusiasm and continued support for my work has been incredibly encouraging. As the leader of my summer session at the American School in Athens, Liz Langridge-Noti helped me gain the kind of in-person, on-the-ground experience of the landscape which is so important in landscape archaeology—the day was never complete without a hike! I am grateful to Philip Kiernan for suggesting that I apply GIS modeling to sacred travel in the ancient world, and

for arranging matters so that I could spend three months writing at the University of Aarhus with their “Emergence of Sacred Travel” research project. I owe much thanks to Troels Myrup Kristensen, Wiebke Friese, and Nicola Daumann of the EST project for their warm welcome in Denmark, many wonderful conversations on pilgrimage and sacred travel in classical antiquity, and countless useful references.

While all the above scholarly assistance has been extremely valuable, there is another kind of assistance which is just as valuable: the emotional support and company of friends which keeps one sane on a stressful road like this. First and most importantly, I would never have reached this milestone without the unfailing support of my partner Kevin. In addition to taking care of all the little details like food preparation and housework that fall by the wayside when deadlines are approaching too fast, he was always trying to prevent me from wandering down irrelevant side-roads and rabbit-holes (“Do you *really* need to spend two days researching this obscure academic controversy? Okay, tell me why this will make or break your dissertation.”). Although I was generally a hermit while writing, I appreciated the support and friendship of my fellow graduate students (past and present), especially my dear friend Krishni Burns, who defended many months before me and thus provided an inspiring example and an encouraging voice from the other side. I am also grateful for the constant encouragement and support I received from my family, especially my parents and sister.

Finally, I would not be in this position at all without the early guidance and mentorship of my high school Latin teacher, Teresa More, and my undergraduate professors, Brenda and Steve Fineberg of Knox College. Somehow, while teaching a combined Latin 2 and 3 class and teaching at two different high schools, Mrs. More found the time and energy to encourage me in my early fascination with the ancient world. It was Brenda who first encouraged me to learn GIS, drove me to talks on archaeology and GIS at Monmouth College nearby, and suggested I study abroad with the Centro program—my first sustained experience of Mediterranean landscapes. Steve introduced me to Greek art and archaeology, guided me on my first (too short!) trip to Greece, and has provided infrequent but invaluable guidance and encouragement throughout my graduate career.

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on religious processions in Athens in the late 6th and 5th centuries BCE, when the evidence for processions and festivals first becomes abundant enough to study fruitfully. The built sacred landscape of Athens was beginning to take shape, and Athenian identity was being reshaped under the influence of the Persian Wars, Athens' imperial ambitions, and the new popularity of Theseus. Processions traced defined routes in this landscape, forming physical links between center and periphery, displaying numerous symbols which possessed special significance for Athenians and which were part of Athenians' cultural memory and collective identity.

Processions were intense, subjective sensory experiences, full of symbols with deep religious and cultural significance. They were also public performances, opportunities for participants to show off both their piety and their wealth, to perform their membership in the Athenian community, and perhaps to gain social capital or prominence. Not least, processions were movements through a landscape embedded with myths, history, cultural associations, and the connotations of daily lived experience. Previous studies of processions have focused on one of these three aspects—symbols, participants, or route—without fully taking account of the others, failing to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework or analysis of these ritual movements. All of these elements—symbols, participants, and route—were deliberately chosen, designed to impart particular experiences and meanings to participants and spectators. This dissertation will thus ask *why* particular symbols, participants, and routes were chosen and explore as many of their potential meanings as possible, considering the myths, cultural associations, and areas of daily life where these elements appeared.

The repetition of processions is vital to understanding their cultural resonance. Spectators could see the processions multiple times over the course of their lives, and draw new conclusions or interpretations as they gained life experience, learned new stories or myths, and as the collective discourse around Athenian religion created new meanings—for example, in the aftermath of the Persian Wars. This repetition also reinforced the meanings that these symbols already possessed for Athenians.

François de Polignac's bipolar *polis* theory, which inspired many aspects of this dissertation, characterized processions as ritual 'links' in the landscape connecting center and periphery. This is essentially correct, but in Classical Athens, there were multiple peripheries and a whole calendar full of processions and sacred travel to festivals, the performance of which constructed and maintained the idea of Athens as a spatially and culturally unified

territory. Therefore I propose instead the multipolar *polis* model, which provides a richer and more comprehensive view of the web of connections which linked Athens to her peripheries. These connections included the state-run festivals put on at the major extraurban sanctuaries; the monumental temples and other facilities constructed with state money; the fortifications constructed at or near the sanctuaries, protecting the strategic interests of the state; and the mythical, historical, and ideological significance of these sacred places and their deities. Whether participants traveled to these sanctuaries in a formal procession or via less-organized sacred travel, their movement through the landscape reinforced their associations with it and with the destination sanctuary.

Processions were complex rituals with many functions. They displayed culturally-significant symbols to participants and spectators, reinforcing their meaning. They provided a stage for participants to perform their status and wealth. They traced a defined route through the landscape of Attica, linking center and periphery, taking participants past a series of meaningful places, buildings, and art. All of these elements—symbols, people, and places—drew their meanings from shared myths, rituals, history, and the experience of daily life. The repetition of processions reinforced these meanings in the minds of Athenians, and allowed them to change as Athenian identity changed (and vice versa). It is these threads of common cultural memory, myths and associations that an Athenian could depend on his or her fellow Athenians to remember and understand, and which Athenians wove together in their writings, speeches, plays, and rituals to form their common identity.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments ..... **ii**
Abstract ..... **iv**
Introduction **1**
Chapter 1: A Theoretical Approach to Processions **16**
Processions as "Chains of Symbols" 16
Processions as Performance 18
Processions, Landscape, and Liminality 29
Processions and Athenian Cultural Memory 38
Chapter 2: The Panathenaic Procession **45**
The Early Classical Panathenaia 49
The Route 49
The Participants 53
The Symbols of the Procession: The Peplos 56
The Symbols of the Procession: The Sacrificial Animals 60
The Symbols of the Procession: Kanephoroi 62
The Symbols of the Procession: Thallophoroi 64
Conclusions 65
The Panathenaic Procession in the Late 5th Century 68
The Route 68
The Participants 80
The Symbols of the Procession: Thallophoroi 85
The Symbols of the Procession: Remnants of the Persian Destruction 86
The Symbols of the Procession: The Parthenon Frieze 87
Conclusions: The Panathenaia in Athenian Cultural Memory 89
Chapter 3: The City Dionysia **96**
The "eisagogē apo tēs escharas" 98
The Pompē 101
The Route of the Pompē 103
The Participants of the Pompē 106
Symbols of the Eisagogē 109
Symbols of the Pompē: Vegetation and Agricultural Products 110
Symbols of the Pompē: Phalloi 112
Symbols of the Pompē: The Choregic Monuments 114
Conclusions 115
Chapter 4: Processions Within and Around Athens **118**
The Plynteria 119
The Plynteria Procession 122
The Route 124
The Participants 127
Symbols of the Procession 128
Conclusions 130
Oschophoria 132
The Route of the Procession 134
The Participants 136
Symbols of the Procession 138
Conclusions 140
Skirophoria 141
The Route of the Procession 142

The Participants 144
Symbols of the Procession 145
Conclusions 147
Processions for Apollo and Artemis 148
Thargelia 148
Pyanopsia 150
Artemis Delphinia 151
Charisteria 151
Pompaia 152
Processional Symbols 153
The Dried Fig 153
Olive Branches 156
The "fleece of Zeus" and wool 158
Conclusions 160
Chapter 5: The Border Sanctuaries of Attica and the Multipolar *Polis* 169
Eleusis 172
The Processions of the Eleusinian Mysteries 176
Brauron 182
Sounion 184
Rhamnous 187
Mounichia 188
Reconstructing the Roads of Attica: A GIS Model 191
Conclusions 198
Conclusion: The Multipolar *Polis*, Processions, and Sacred Travel 205
Figures and Maps 217
Bibliography 244

Introduction

Imagine for a moment that you are a basket-bearer in the Panathenaic procession. In the lead walk the priests and priestesses, setting a steady pace. In the distance you can see the Acropolis, the great rock of Athena, with its temples gleaming in the early morning sun. The basket on your head is beginning to feel heavy, and the handles are slippery in your hands. Your gold jewelry hangs heavy on your neck, jangling with each careful step, and the white paint on your face itches in the summer heat. Ahead of you stretches the wide street, lined with wooden stands which are filled with people, chattering and murmuring as you pass by. You are acutely conscious of all the eyes on you, and the stands channel all the sound down to you. Behind you, you can faintly hear the musicians with their flutes and *kitharai*, matching their solemn tunes to the pace of the procession. Once in a while the wind carries a whiff of incense to you from the incense-bearers, or the smell of the cattle and sheep who are plodding along behind you to the altar. In your mind's eye you imagine the procession winding its way through the city, and you feel giddy and proud. You imagine the altar waiting atop the Acropolis in front of Athena's temple, the goddess watching from her pedestal, the fire lit and waiting for the sacrifice. You can almost taste your share of the roasted meat.

Processions were extremely complex rituals, which in turn complicates their analysis. They were intense, subjective sensory experiences, full of symbols with deep religious and cultural significance. They were also public performances, opportunities for participants to show off both their piety and their wealth, to perform their membership in the Athenian community, and perhaps to gain social capital or prominence. Not least, processions were movements through a landscape embedded with myths, history, cultural associations, and the connotations of daily lived experience.

Understandably, scholarship on processions in Greek religion has tended to focus on one of these three aspects rather than all of them as a whole.[1] These studies provide valuable insights, but cannot fully appreciate the varied functions and meanings of these rituals within the Athenian community. Some scholars studying ancient Greek sacrificial processions have attempted to classify those processions as a way of understanding them. For example, Nilsson organized processions into categories such as processions to the deity, processions with the deity, and "magical" processions which were originally focused not on a god, but on a specific ritual goal (e.g. processions that carried around a symbol like the phallus or *eiresione*).[2] Graf, seeking a classification focused on landscape and movement, divided processions into centripetal (moving toward the city center) and centrifugal (moving away from the center).[3] Such classification systems imply that the processions in each category share significant characteristics with each other that they do not share with the processions in other categories, but as I will demonstrate in this dissertation, this is not necessarily true—nor do processions always fit neatly into such categories.[4] The processions of each Greek city-state formed a ritual system, in dialogue with and related to each other, sharing symbols, participants, and topography.

Perhaps part of the problem is that processions are difficult to define.[5] What differentiates a procession from a group of people walking down the street? Participants may move in a particular way, as a unified group, perhaps in lines or formations; they may be

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[1] Sensory experience: Kavoulaki 1999, 2000, 2011. Performance/Participation: Maurizio 1998 (Panathenaia); Spineto 2011 (City Dionysia); Connelly 2011 (with a focus on the spaces of performance). Landscape/Topography: J. L. Shear 2001 (Panathenaia); Palinkas 2008, esp. 11-15 (Eleusinian Mysteries); Graf 1996. De Polignac 1995a: 40-2 briefly considers all three elements in the procession to Argive Hera, but unfortunately processions do not receive as much attention in his book (despite their important role in his bipolar *polis* model) as one might like.

[2] Nilsson 1916, 309-23.

[3] Graf 1996, 55-65.

[4] Kavoulaki 2000, 145 rightly emphasizes the variation in "tone, rhythm and colour" present in processions. For example, what of a procession like the scapegoat ritual at the Thargelia, which went around the city walls?

[5] Ancient words such as *pompē*, *prosodos*, *exagogē/eisagogē*, and *theoria* are not clearly differentiated in the ancient sources, though *theoria* seem generally to refer to sacred travel outside the borders of one's *polis*—see Rutherford 2013: 4-6. Kavoulaki 2011: 137-9 discusses *pompē* vs. *prosodos*.

holding signs or other symbols; they may be escorting a float, a statue, or a distinguished person; they might be shouting slogans or singing hymns; and they might be dressed distinctively, in costumes or priestly vestments. It is by these types of sensory cues that we distinguish a procession from other types of movement. Kavoulaki has proposed a very useful "basic structure" for processions, including human participants, symbols or offerings, musical accompaniment, and an established route with a defined start and end point.[6] Additional elements could be added to this basic structure to alter the sensory experience and meaning of the ritual.

The ritual processions of ancient Athens also included these types of sensory cues, so that even a small private sacrificial procession like the one that Dikaiopolis organized with his family in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* would have been immediately recognizable.[7] Participants in Greek processions were associated with a particular kind of movement that distinguished them from normal walking.[8] Sacrificial animals and other bloodless offerings were escorted or carried, along with other symbols. *Auloi* were the most common instruments played during processions, although *kitharai*, syrinxes, and drums are also attested.[9] Hymns or songs were also ubiquitous, and certain distinctive types were associated with particular processions.[10] Distinctive dress was also part of ancient Greek ritual processions. Xenophon mentions garments reserved for festivals, something like one's 'festival best.'[11] Priests and *kanephoroi* dressed in particular clothes, and *kanephoroi* may also have worn make-up to whiten their faces.[12] Demosthenes ordered gold crowns for himself and his chorus and a gold-

[6] Kavoulaki 2000, 145.
[7] Ar. *Ach*. 241-262.
[8] Polyaenus, *Strat*. 5.5; Kavoulaki 2000, 154.
[9] Haldane 1966, 98-107.
[10] The *oschophorikon* at the Oschophoria, see Rutherford & Irvine 1988, 43-51; Kavoulaki 2000, 153. On the "melody of the wild fig" at the Thargelia see Bremmer 1983, 313-14.
[11] Xen. *Oec*. 9.6.
[12] Parker 2005, 93-5, 225 n. 35; Roccos 1995, 641-66.

embroidered robe for himself to wear in the City Dionysia procession.[13] The metics who participated in the Panathenaic and City Dionysia procession were required to wear purple.[14]

Literary evocations of processions further emphasize their sensory appeal and draw on their audience's sense memory. Although a *theoria* was a different form of sacred travel than a ritual procession, it is still noteworthy that in Aristophanes' *Peace* Trygaios remarks on the personified Theoria's wonderful smell, which evokes for him among other things "sweet fruits, festivals, the Dionysia, the harmony of flutes, the tragic poets."[15] In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Dionysos and Xanthus first become aware of a procession of initiates in the underworld when they hear the faint sound of pipes and smell torches.[16] Several authors use a phrase vividly translated as "fill the streets with the smell of burnt sacrifice."[17] Incense-burners, or *thymiateria*, and incense were carried in processions.[18] Both incense, which was imported from afar, and incense-burners, frequently made of precious metals, were symbols of wealth in service of and for the glory of the deity.[19]

Within the procession, participants and spectators alike experienced a rich collection of symbols—items perceived by the senses which possessed meaning for the people who perceived them. These symbols included items worn or objects and offerings carried in procession, the animals led to the sacrifice, hymns or chants or music that accompanied the procession or marked specific places along the way, dances or movement specific to the processional context, and the monuments, buildings, or art visible along the processional route. Participants and spectators perceived these symbols in different ways, however. Participants walked along the procession's route, seeing all the monuments, buildings, art,

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[13] Dem. *Meid*. 16, 22.

[14] Aesch.*Eum*.1011 mentions metics in the procession that concludes the play; 1028 describes dressing these "visitors" in purple cloth. See also Phot. s.v. σιάφας, Suda *a* 4177 s.v. ἀσκοφορεῖν.

[15] Ar. *Pax*. 530-2.

[16] Ar. *Ran*. 312-15.

[17] Eur. *Alc*. 1156; Ar. *Av*. 1233, *Eq*. 1320; Dem. 43.66.

[18] Andoc. 4.29; Parthenon frieze East VIII figure 56 carries a *thymiaterion*.;Xen. *Ephes*. 1.2.4 describes incense carried in procession (but no *thymiateria*).

[19] *Thymiateria* made of precious metals as part of the state's processional vessels: Andoc. 4.29; Thuc. 6.46. Diod.Sic.13.3. Used by private citizens as a mark of luxury: Dem. 22.75; Pl. *Resp*. 373a.

and the natural landscape, and observing or participating in the minor performances which took place along the route. Spectators were stationary, watching the procession from the side of the road, or perhaps sitting in stands or carts for a better vantage point. They saw the entire procession with all its participants and symbols, but did not experience the landscape in the same manner as the participants. This is not to say that the spectators simply passively absorbed the procession's symbolic spectacle. Their presence actively watching was an important part of the ritual, since they could stand witness that the procession (and sacrifice) had been properly carried out.

The meanings of these processional symbols varied from person to person, highly conditioned by personal experience. At least some of these layers of meaning, however, were shared within the community through the links between the symbols and shared myths, history, or knowledge of other rituals. Through their common sensory experience of these rituals and familiarity with the meanings and interpretations of a shared set of symbols, processions brought Athenians together to create, shape, and maintain their communal identity.

The Scope of the Present Study

Chronologically, this study will confine itself to the late 6th and 5th centuries BCE. Archaic material will be taken into account where appropriate to contextualize changes in the early Classical period. The Kleisthenic reforms of 508/7 BCE and the Persian Wars of 490 and 480-479 BCE both had important effects on Athenian religion, which will be considered where the evidence permits. Aside from the Panathenaic and Eleusinian processions, little can be said with certainty about Athenian processions before the late Archaic period; in the 5th century, however, the literary, epigraphic, and architectural evidence becomes much more abundant, permitting more detailed analyses.

This dissertation aspires to present a comprehensive study of processions within the territory of Athens and Attica in the Classical period. Therefore I will exclude processions that passed outside Athenian territory, such as the Athenian *theoria* to Delos and the procession to Delphi. I also generally exclude processions where the evidence does not permit analysis of the symbols, participants, or route. In some cases, all we know is that a procession was part of the ritual accorded to a deity; the *pompē* probably ended at the deity's sanctuary, but nothing further is known.

Just as the term of certain Athenian sacred officials began with the Panathenaia,[20] so too will this dissertation begin with the Panathenaic procession. This is the best-attested of the Athenian processions, and the topography of the route is complex; therefore, the Panathenaia requires its own chapter. The chapter will begin by considering the Panathenaic procession of the late 6th century, when many of the symbols and participants in the procession had already been established for decades, and the democracy was just beginning to shape the ritual to its own ends. This reconstruction will be compared with the Panathenaia of the late 5th century, after the Persian Wars, the rise of the Athenian empire, and the Periclean remodeling of the Acropolis. While many of the symbols in the procession remained the same, the participants and especially the topography underwent important changes as Athens rebuilt after the Persian Wars and evolved into an imperial power.

The third chapter will be devoted to the City Dionysia, a procession which was comparable to the Panathenaic procession in many ways. The City Dionysia was in fact composed of two ritual movements. First the statue of Dionysos, which had been moved out to a small temple on the Academy Road some days prior, was carried into the city in a nighttime procession amongst general revelry and the free exchange of ritual insults, escorted by ithyphallic masked men. This was an epiphany of Dionysos, perceived through the

[20] Such as the treasurers of Athena. Parker 2005: 253-4.

presence of his cult statue and the Dionysiac abandon of the revelers. The next day, a grand *pompē* similar to the Panathenaia wound through the streets. It included symbols appropriate to Dionysos (such as *phalloi* and ivy) as well as symbols of agricultural plenty, and the participants in the mid-5th century included colonists and non-Athenians. The *choregoi* and choruses who were about to compete were also included in the procession, and at the end of the parade they marched past the victory monuments of the *choregoi* who had competed before them along the Street of Tripods.

The fourth chapter will examine other processions within the Athenian plain, especially the Plynteria, Oschophoria, and Skirophoria. In each case the symbols, participants, and route of the procession will be reconstructed and considered from the perspective of the participant and the spectator. This chapter in particular will demonstrate the interconnectedness of the symbolic language utilized in Athenian processions, as various ritual symbols appear again and again in different contexts. I will also test Graf's centripetal/centrifugal classification, and demonstrate that while this classification does tell us something about the landscape of the procession, it has little explanatory potential with regard to the character, symbols, or participants of the procession. I will also show that, for those processions where we know the start and end point, one of those points is generally located in a ritually liminal place. Each procession, then, forms an axis between the center and a periphery or border, whether that border is conceptual or an actual political border. This system of axes linking center and peripheral sanctuaries (here envisioned as poles, as in de Polignac's bipolar *polis*) is what constitutes the multipolar *polis*.

The multipolar *polis* extends to the border sanctuaries of Attica, as discussed in chapter five. These sanctuaries are: Eleusis, Rhamnous, Brauron, Sounion, and Mounichia. The evidence of sacred travel mustered in this chapter is mainly archaeological, though literary and epigraphic evidence is cited wherever it exists. Processions are attested going

from Athens to Eleusis and Brauron; Athenians are also mentioned traveling to Sounion for the penteteric festival there, though they are not part of a formal procession. Beyond the link formed by ritual travel, however, there are other links between Athens and her border sanctuaries that only become apparent in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BCE, and which indicate that Athens was taking an interest in her borders—and perhaps that Athenians were traveling to these border sanctuaries to partake in the festivities. These five sanctuaries share significant elements that define their ritual character and illustrate their connections to Athens and the Athenian state. These elements include:

1. Their border location which, being liminal, affected the type of deity honored there and the types of rituals which occurred (including initiation rites).
2. Monumental construction dating to the late 6th or 5th century BCE and which, judging by its scale, was probably funded at least partially by Athens rather than by the local deme.
3. A penteteric festival overseen by Athenian officials such as the *hieropoioi*.
4. Fortifications (which mark the sanctuary as being in a potentially dangerous border location).
5. An ideological link to Athens. For Eleusis, Rhamnous, Sounion, and Mounichia, this ideological link involved their deity's perceived contributions to the Athenian victories at Marathon and Salamis. Artemis of Brauron loaned some of her sanctuary's funds to Athens during the Peloponnesian War, but her role as the protectress of young women was also ideologically important to women (some Athenian writers state that every Athenian girl had to be initiated in Artemis' *arkteia* ritual before marriage, though practically this would have been impossible). At Sounion, the iconography of Theseus—a hero more prominent in the cults of the Athenian plain—was also depicted in the sculpture adorning the temple.

These five sanctuaries did not each possess all five of these characteristics, but they all shared at least four. They were linked to Athens by ideological, ritual, economic, and

even military ties—including sacred travel which, though not conducted as a formal procession, took Athenians out to the borders to see the spectacles and sacrifices. The symbols, participants, and route are well-known only for the Eleusinian Mysteries. For the other four sanctuaries, I use GIS techniques to reconstruct possible routes and the visual experience of travel to the sanctuaries. Least-cost path analysis can provide a method for reconstructing plausible road networks in the countryside of Attica, though the version presented here is only a preliminary study. Viewshed analysis allows us to study the visual experience of leaving Athens, crossing the mountains, and approaching these border sanctuaries.

Altogether, these links between center and periphery—whether in the form of processions or less-organized sacred travel—form the multipolar *polis*. This is not, of course, the only sacred landscape at work in Attica; each deme acted as its own religious center for its demesmen, and there also appear to have been regional ritual centers at places like Pallene, Marathon, and perhaps Sounion. Demesmen also surely traveled to the border sanctuaries of Attica from their own demes, without passing through Athens. Still, the links between Athens and its peripheral sanctuaries—whether they were located just outside the city walls, or a few kilometers away, or truly on the political boundaries of Attica—were significant and form a compelling pattern which first takes shape in the late 6th and 5th centuries BCE. These links were traced repeatedly as the Athenian ritual calendar cycled through the months, embedding their symbolic associations in Athenian cultural memory. Whether Athenians participated or observed, these ritual movements shaped their perception of the landscape and its ritual spaces.

The Analysis of Processions

As complex rituals, processions require a variety of approaches in order to fully elucidate their meanings and to reconstruct the experience of participating in or observing them. This dissertation will ask many questions of each procession, analyzing the procession as a collection of meaningful symbols, as a performance, and as movement through a landscape. We can then see more clearly how each procession functioned as a ritual and contributed to Athenian social and cultural memory, which in turn shaped Athenian identity.

This dissertation defines symbols as things perceived by the senses which possessed meaning for the people who perceived them. Symbols thus included visual, auditory, and olfactory elements, and even occasionally symbols perceived by touch or taste (though eating was generally part of the sacrifice rather than the procession). Symbols might be the particular kind of music played during a procession, dances performed, clothes or adornment worn, objects carried, or animals led to the altar. Thus for each procession, I will identify symbols attested by ancient literature, art, epigraphy, or archaeology. I will then ask: where else did Athenians perceive this symbol? Did it feature in other processions or rituals, and if so, in what context? In which myths, stories, or folklore did it appear, and what was its meaning there? Was it part of Athenians' daily life? How might that add to its meaning in a ritual context? These symbols were perceived mainly by the spectators of the procession, and so I will also consider the identities of the spectators. Could the symbols have meant different things to different groups within Athenian society?

I will also analyze each procession as a performance carried out by the participants. Who was included in the procession? Who was excluded from participation? For those who were included, what were their roles? What symbols were they associated with, and how might that affect the meanings of the symbols? Did performance in a procession alter the

status of an individual, or affect their identity—or was it simply a statement of status or membership in a particular group?

Finally, I will examine processions as movements through a landscape. What was the starting point of the procession? While practical concerns of space (especially for the larger processions) might have dictated the starting points, it is also worth considering the topographic associations and meanings of a procession's beginning. For example, I believe it is significant that the Panathenaic procession began in the Kerameikos, one of the main cemeteries of Athens, where prominent ancestors and later the heroic war dead were interred. Then I will follow the most likely route for the procession (wherever this is possible—the *intra muros* road system of ancient Athens is not well-understood[21]). What buildings, sanctuaries, monuments, statues, or art did the procession's participants see along the way as they walked slowly towards the destination sanctuary? What meanings might these landscape elements have conveyed to the members of the procession—drawn from myths, history, or the daily use of these structures? How did these meanings intersect with the associations of the festival, or the symbols or participants in the procession? The easiest part of the procession's route to reconstruct is the endpoint, the destination sanctuary. Where was the entrance? Was there room in the sanctuary for the entire procession (and spectators?) to gather and watch the sacrifice? How did the sanctuary's layout (where determinable) affect the procession's movement and visibility? What did the deity's temple look like, and what kind of decoration or sculpture was chosen to adorn it? How did these visual symbols interact with the procession and the festival *aitia*?

It will rarely be possible to answer all of these questions. These analyses will be carried out on each piece of evidence available, and the insights gained will contribute to a fuller understanding of each procession's varied meanings as they might have been

[21] Costaki 2006 has pieced together rescue excavations and other archaeological data to show what is currently known about the *intra muros* road system of Athens.

interpreted by the participants and spectators. This is not to say that *all* the participants or *all* the spectators drew *all* these meanings from the processions. Spectators, at least, had repetition in their favor; they could see the processions multiple times over the course of their lives, and draw new conclusions or interpretations as they gained life experience, learned new stories or myths, and as the collective discourse around Athenian religion created new meanings—for example, in the aftermath of the Persian Wars. Still, the processions analyzed here were carefully planned rituals with deliberately-chosen symbols, participants, and routes, designed to impart particular experiences and meanings to participants and spectators. It is thus well worth asking *why* particular symbols, participants, and routes were chosen.

The Point(s) of Pomp(ai)

Processions, like sacrifices, were described as a 'gift' to the god, as 'most holy', and as an act that brings pleasure to the gods.[22] It was vital that processions and sacrifices be performed, and be performed correctly, in order to ensure the deity's favor and the security and prosperity of the *polis*. On a practical level, the procession conveyed the animals, equipment, and main participants to the altar where they performed the sacrifice and feasted on the meat. The escorting of the sacrificial animals was not simply practical, however, but had its own religious significance; the animals underwent a transition from "everyday" to "ritual" contexts which, once complete, could not be undone.[23]

If these were the only important functions accomplished by processions, there would be no need for the elaborate system of ritual symbols, special participants, and landscape elements which processions tended to attract. Processions also had social functions, as pointed out most clearly by Maurizio in her article on the Panathenaic procession. Elites could be honored with awards during the Panathenaia, a practice which may have raised the

[22] Kavoulaki 2011: 146; Pl.*Alc*.ii.148e; Ar.*Nub*.308; as a bribe for the gods, Ar.*Pax*.396-399.
[23] So the animal had to be sacrificed, see Graf 1996: 57 n. 14.

recipients' prestige—but was also ridiculed by comic poets.[24] Participation in the procession might have been seen as an acknowledgment of a person's contributions to the community—but the contributions of non-elites were then markedly de-emphasized.[25] Processions were an opportunity for participants to compete for "communal recognition and honor"—for good or ill.[26] Participants could raise their status with a positive appearance, but they could also tarnish their reputation, as amply demonstrated by references and disputes among the fourth-century orators.[27] Participants could also perform their membership in a select group (for example, the *genos* Salaminioi at the Oschophoria) or their possession of an honored post, such as the priestess of Athena. This kind of performance could also be useful on a political level for the participants.

Processions were also important on a cultural level where, by virtue of their repetition annually, biannually, or on a penteteric cycle, processions could contribute to cultural memory and thus to some aspects of identity. Athenians had the chance to experience the procession and its symbols repeatedly throughout their lives. Such repeated retrieval of memories and cultural knowledge about a procession's symbolism certainly could have reinforced that knowledge in the minds of Athenians.[28] These memories of processions and their symbols were also collective, in the sense that they were held by many individual members of a group. While individual emotional experiences during a festival or deeply personal responses to particular symbols were not necessarily shared, the spectators of a procession saw or heard or smelled roughly the same sensory symbols.[29] All who came to see the Panathenaic procession would have seen the *peplos* with its woven tale of Athena's

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[24] Maurizio 1998: 306. She also points out the ambiguity of the honor accorded to metics who carried trays of offerings, parasols, and stools in the procession, see p. 305.
[25] Maurizio 1998: 307.
[26] Maurizio 1998: 309-311.
[27] Maurizio 1998: 311-313.
[28] Roediger et al. 138-70.
[29] Except performances at particular places along the processional route, which only those nearby would have observed.

triumph, or the *kanephoros* walking past in her festival garments bearing her ceremonial basket, or the *thallophoroi* carrying their olive branches. Moreover, since the procession was repeated, two people who had attended the procession in different years would still have shared collective memories about the ritual, since they would have seen much the same set of symbols.

The shared experience of processions also included the physical setting of these ritual movements, as participants walked from point A to point B, reenacting the links between center and periphery. The repetition of these movements maintained the cultural memories which were embedded in the landscape, including myths and historical associations connected with particular natural places or monuments. Sacred travel to the borders of Attica additionally reinforced Athenians' conception of their land, its size, and its limits.

In his review of Dillon's book on pilgrimage in ancient Greece, Scullion criticized Dillon for failing to consider how the experience of attending a festival outside of one's *polis* was fundamentally different from attending a festival within one's own borders.[30] The answer to this question, I suggest, lies in the common myths, symbols, and landscape evoked by processions and festivals within the borders of one's *polis*. A procession which moved through a familiar landscape, passing both grand monuments and public buildings, as well as more private spaces familiar to the participants as part of everyday life, is fundamentally different from the experience of traveling to an unfamiliar landscape with which you have no ties of memory, emotion, myth, or history, either personal or civic. Furthermore, within the border's of one's *polis*, the audience for the performance of a procession was one's fellow-citizens. Delegations attending a festival in another *polis*, or at a panhellenic festival, were performing for a different audience which did not necessarily share the same beliefs and practices.

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[30] Scullion 2000: 97.

During processions, Athenians engaged with and remembered collectively-shared, culturally-significant symbols and places which drew their meanings from common myths, rituals, history, and the experience of daily life. It is these threads of common cultural memory, myths and associations that an Athenian could depend on his or her fellow Athenians to remember and understand, and which Athenians wove together in their writings, speeches, plays, and rituals to form their common identity. As the meanings of a particular symbol changed, as it acquired new layers of significance, so too could the identity of the Athenians change (and vice versa). It is in this way, through the symbols displayed and the associations they possessed, that a procession like the Panathenaia could express a uniquely Athenian identity.

Chapter 1: A Theoretical Approach to Processions

This dissertation approaches processions from three interrelated perspectives: as a collection of deliberately-chosen, culturally-significant symbols experienced differently by participants and spectators; as a public performance which drew a clear distinction between participants and spectators, reserving the prestige of participation for select groups or individuals, but at the same time engendering strong positive, shared emotions; and as a movement through a landscape in which the start, route, and endpoint of the procession represented intentional choices by some religious authority and articulated important concepts about space, borders or liminal places, and transition between them. Processions were intended, by their public nature and by their carefully-organized spectacle, to convey ideas about the symbols, participants, and landscape featured in the procession which were related to and described in the myths, history, literature, and art of Athens. Through their repetition, these ideas were continually reinforced in Athenians' cultural memory and came to form a part of Athenian identity.

Processions as "Chains of Symbols"

Processions in the Greek world (and indeed in general) were effective occasions for the display of cultural and religious symbols. Not only were they public rituals, open to anyone who showed up to stand along the route, but by virtue of their movement along the route they were able to reach a wider audience than, say, a sacrifice or an initiation ritual. Graf has suggested that processions should be read as a "chain of symbols,"[31] a useful description to think with. But first I must define what I mean by symbol.

[31] Graf 1996: 55.

I define symbols as "things perceived by the senses which possessed meaning for the people who perceived them," which largely follows Victor Turner's conception of a symbol as "the smallest unit of ritual behavior, whether associated with an object, activity, relationship, word, gesture, or spatial arrangement in a ritual situation."[32] Symbols are part of the sensory experience of the ritual. They include the objects carried, hymns sung, dances danced, prayers spoken, special clothes worn, and special instruments for the sacrifice. Symbols also have multiple meanings and exist in "open systems" that can change over time as new meanings are added or old ones fall away.[33] When interpreting symbols, Turner defines three levels of meaning: exegetic, operational, and positional. Exegetic meaning is the explanation provided by those within the ritual system—in this case, the testimony of the Greeks themselves.[34] Operational meaning is derived from the way the symbol is used, who is using it, or the desired outcome of the ritual.[35] Positional meaning describes the symbol's relationship to other symbols in the ritual system—comparing the same symbol in multiple ritual contexts, or in our case, multiple processions.[36]

When analyzing symbols in processions, I will take into account all three of these levels of meaning wherever possible. We may not always know exactly how the symbol was used, or who carried it; nor do we know in what order the processions were organized, so that it may not be possible to place the symbol precisely in relation to other symbols in the procession—for example, we cannot be sure where in the Panathenaic procession the *peplos* was displayed, and we do not know who was responsible for conveying it to the Acropolis. However, in many cases symbols are attested in multiple processional contexts directed toward different deities, and therefore present an opportunity to uncover their polysemy.

[32] Turner & Turner 1978: 244-5.
[33] Turner & Turner 1978: 245.
[34] Turner & Turner 1978: 247-8.
[35] Turner & Turner 1978: 248.
[36] Turner & Turner 1978: 248.

Symbols might, of course, be interpreted in different ways by different people. An individual's lived experience certainly can influence the way they perceive ritual symbols. It is unlikely that this individual experience can be reconstructed for the ancient Athenians. In a few cases, I will venture an analysis of how various groups (women, metics, non-Athenian visitors) might have perceived certain symbols differently due to their distinct life experiences. Yet symbols also derive resonance from their associations with a society's values and worldview. Geertz, embracing a definition of "symbol" broadly similar to Turner's, observes that "religious symbols…are felt somehow to sum up, for those for whom they are resonant, what is known about the way the world is, the quality of the emotional life it supports, and the way one ought to behave while in it."[37] Mainly I will focus on the plausible reconstruction of a collective, shared experience of symbols—the meanings that are most likely to have contributed to Athenians' collective memory and identity.

Processions as Performance

Considering processions as performances opens up several important questions. Performances have 'actors', people or groups who play certain roles, but they also have observers or spectators. Participants and spectators had very different experiences of processions, because while participants walked the procession's route, spectators were stationary and observed the procession as it passed by them.

The participants walked from the starting point to the destination sanctuary, moving through a landscape with its own embedded stories and connotations, some of which might have intersected with the festival and procession. Most participants performed some symbolic role: acting as priest or priestess, carrying a special object or offering, playing an instrument, leading sacrificial animals, or carrying instruments important for the sacrifice. Participants'

[37] Geertz 1973: 127 (originally published 1957).

experience of the procession itself, however, was quite narrow, unless the procession was small. Participants marching in a procession could see and hear those who walked in front of or behind them, but particularly in a large procession like the Panathenaia, their ability to see or hear or smell sensory elements of the procession was limited by distance and position.

The spectators, being stationary, saw little of the procession's route but did perceive all the collected symbols of the procession, with the exception of performances at specific stops along the route which the spectator might or might not have been near enough to witness. Spectators stood along the route, or sat in wooden stands lining the route, or watched from other vantage points such as carts.[38] They were present to absorb and react to the performance, the carefully-organized pageantry.[39] Their role as witnesses to the ritual was not minor; it was vital that these rituals be performed for the good of the community.[40] The majority of Athenians played the role of spectator most of the time, but this does not diminish the experience of the participant; presumably, if and when an Athenian had the chance to participate in a procession, those memories and impressions influenced his or her later experiences as a spectator.

The literary and epigraphic record preserves some sense of the groups who took part in many of the major processions of the Athenian ritual calendar, but the evidence for observers is scarcer. Post-holes found in the Agora along the Panathenaic Way may have been used for bleachers, so that spectators could watch the splendid Panathenaic procession.[41] Smaller processions also drew observers, however. Socrates went to see the festival of the Thracian goddess Bendis, which featured two processions, one by Athenians and one by

[38] Camp 1986, 45-6; Shear 2001, 667, 719, 788, 795.
[39] Connor 1987: 46-7 who casts the procession of Peisistratos and Phye as a "ritual drama" which the spectators, in a sense, participate in by watching and enjoying the performance.
[40] Parker 2005, 95-6 mentions inscriptions describing the 'report' of an official concerning a properly-performed sacrifice. Graf 1996, 57-8 observes that a procession served a similar function, displaying the conduct of the ritual publicly. See also Jameson 1999, 333-4.
[41] Camp 1986: 45-6.

Thracians.[42] The procession to Eleusis during the Mysteries was surely also a spectacle worth seeing; as the participants crossed the Athenian Kephisos river, observers insulted the initiates as they passed by.[43] This element of spectacle fits well with the overall character of Greek festivals, which frequently featured competitions and shows meant for the enjoyment of the general public.

Victor Turner's studies of ritual and especially Christian pilgrimage led to his conclusion that pilgrimage (and other rituals in liminal states) broke down barriers between people, reforming the pilgrimage community into a "classless society" which was united by their piety and their quest for this unique, communal experience.[44] The processions analyzed in this dissertation are not pilgrimages; they take place within the home community, without the kind of long or difficult journey usually associated with the term pilgrimage.[45] They intersect with pilgrimage, however, in the sense that processions and pilgrimage are both examples of movement or travel in a ritual context, with meaningful symbols, rich sensory experiences, and heightened emotions. In Classical Athens, the only procession that might fit the Turners' model is the procession of initiates to Eleusis, where there seems to have been a genuine effort to suppress class differences in terms of dress, transportation, and status. While processions did bring Athenians together in a community bound by shared cultural memory, promoting a sense of common "Athenian" identity, processions were also the venue for a great deal of social and even violent conflict within that rather fragile "*communitas*."[46]

We might conclude that being one of the representative few participating in a procession was a mark of prestige or status, since generally participants seem to have come

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[42] Pl.*Rep*.327a.
[43] Str.*Geog*.9.1.24.
[44] Turner & Turner 1978: 12-13, 97, 102.
[45] However, it can be difficult to make such distinctions. When does a procession become a pilgrimage? What distance is "too short" for a pilgrimage, or what level of difficulty is no longer "enough"? On the question of defining pilgrimage in Greco-Roman contexts, see Elsner & Rutherford 2005: 1-40. Thanks to Troels Myrup Kristensen and Wiebke Friese for much stimulating discussion on this topic.
[46] Turner & Turner 1978: 253-6. Thus the first major critique of Victor Turner's paradigm, in Eade & Sallnow 1991, emphasized that pilgrimages and pilgrimage centers were frequently the loci of conflict rather than *communitas*.

from the upper ranks of Athenian society. The participants who carried various symbols, led sacrificial animals, or played music were all elites.[47] Maurizio has pointed out how the thetes, the lower-class rowers whose sweat and toil carried the Athenian fleet to victory, were minimized in the Panathenaic procession—relegated to the end after the cavalry, if they were included at all.[48] Thus it was not only important that one was included in the procession; it also mattered where one was included and how prestigious one's role was. Some spectators may have perceived certain roles such as the metics at the Panathenaia as a dishonor, or at best an ambiguous honor.[49] Maurizio casts the procession itself as a competition, in the sense that one was competing against other marchers for the best possible position in the procession.[50] In addition, one could participate badly and so bring shame on oneself, in which case the extremely public nature of the performance worked against the performer. This is most clear in the 4th century orators, who use dignified participation in processions to bolster their own image, and poor participation to dishonor their opponents.[51] So Demosthenes, in his case against Meidias, disdainfully relates the anecdote that Meidias didn't ride his own horse when he marshalled a procession as hipparch.[52] Demosthenes also accused Epikrates of inappropriate conduct in a procession, while Aeschines defended him.[53]

Festivals gathered a large group of people in close quarters, and emotions surely ran high; thus the potential existed for conflict on a broader scale, beyond the simple dichotomy of included/excluded participants. As Chaniotis points out, the crowd watching the procession included people with all kinds of conflicting hopes, desires, disappointments, and disagreements—the victors and losers from the games, the adulterer and the legal husband (and the wife), the opponents in lawsuits, the elected magistrates and their defeated

[47] Maurizio 1998: 299.
[48] Maurizio 1998: 299, 307-8.
[49] Maurizio 1998: 305-6.
[50] Maurizio 1998: 309-10.
[51] Maurizio 1998: 311-13.
[52] Dem.*Meid*.22, 25.
[53] Dem.*On the Embassy*.287; Aeschin.*On the Embassy*.151.

opponents.[54] Figueira suggested that political crisis in Archaic Athens coincided with the penteteric Panathenaia.[55] Kylon's attempted coup at Athens took place during a festival of Zeus.[56] Harmodios and Aristogeiton's assassination of Hipparchos occurred at the Panathenaia, sparked by the insult implied in the Peisistratids' refusal to let Harmodios' sister serve as a *kanephoros* in the procession.[57] Chaniotis, drawing on Hellenistic inscriptions, demonstrated further the social and political tensions that lay behind such communal celebrations.[58] Thus, especially on a social level, processions were not simply occasions for an outpouring of positive, communal emotions; in the divide between included and excluded, and in the competition between members of the procession, there was plenty of opportunity for conflict.

There was, of course, no such thing as a procession (or festival) which included the entire Athenian *polis*. Someone was always excluded from direct participation. Therefore all the processions, even the relatively inclusive Panathenaia, practiced a kind of ritual 'metonymy'—that is, a portion of the community acting on behalf of the whole.

Many sacrifices and processions were performed on a much smaller scale—far more than the average Athenian could participate in. Michael Jameson called these sacrifices "the obscure," "those many obligations discharged at the right time and place and by means of the right animals sacrificed in the right ways" in which very few Athenians actively participated.[59] A land as large and diverse as Attica had countless deities, heroes, and heroines who required regular propitiation. Although the wider community may not have participated in these minor rituals, however, they still believed that the proper conduct of these rituals was necessary for the security and prosperity of the city. As evidence that even

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[54] Chaniotis 2006: 213.
[55] Figueira 1984: 466-9.
[56] Thuc. 1.126.
[57] Thuc.6.56.
[58] Chaniotis 2006: 211-238.
[59] Jameson 1999: 333-334.

minor rites were believed to benefit the whole city, there are numerous inscriptions thanking priests and officials for performing them "on behalf of the Athenians" or "for the health and safety of the Athenians."[60] Greek religion was more focused on ritual than doctrine; any deviation or error imperiled the blessings of the deity.[61] Athenian citizens—and the boule in particular—wanted to know that the sacrifice and procession had been carried out correctly. One method of ensuring this outcome was to require the officiant (priest or magistrate) to report to the boule, and then to inscribe his report in stone, displaying the successful result to the Athenian citizenry. Another, more ephemeral display occurred earlier—the public procession, parading the sacrificial animal to the altar.[62] This performance had the same effect, demonstrating to the people that the sacrifice was being carried out in order to ensure the goodwill of the gods, even if the observers were not themselves involved in the sacrifice.

This concept of ritual metonymy may also explain the conundrum of the Brauronian *arkteia*, the initiation ritual for young girls. Most ancient sources state that all Athenian girls completed the *arkteia* ritual before marriage. Modern scholars, however, have doubted the practicalities of such an endeavor, especially since the excavations at Brauron revealed much of the available infrastructure for hosting the ritual. One ancient source suggests that 'to play the bear' was equivalent with the verb "to serve as a tenth," which implies that the girls who served Artemis at Brauron were only a representative part of their age-group.[63] Parker compares the *arkteia* to the ephebic service for boys. Rolls are preserved which reveal that, except for the short period when the ephebate was state-financed, only a small portion of the boys in the appropriate age-group actually undertook the service in a given year, probably due to financial constraints.[64] A similar situation may have existed for the *arkteia*. Ritual

[60] Parker 2005: 95-96; Jameson 1999: 333.
[61] Scullion 2005: 118; Burkert 1985: 274-5.
[62] Graf 1996: 57-8.
[63] Harp. s.v. δεκατεύειν, with citation from Lysias and Didymus. See also Cole 2004: 227-8.
[64] Parker 2005: 233-4. It is unclear how far back the *ephebeia* can be traced; the oath has been shown to contain 5th century allusions (Siewert 1977: 102-111), but the institution may have evolved separately.

metonymy may also explain the child "initiated from the hearth" who undertook the Eleusinian Mysteries, though all other children were excluded. Sourvinou-Inwood has interpreted this as a symbolic initiation for the entire Athenian community, and one of the ways in which this panhellenic cult, open to foreigners, was still firmly grounded as a state (or *polis*) cult.[65]

The ritual metonymy of processions has further implications for the experience and mindset of the participants, in terms of a performance for their community and a performance for the gods. Participants, especially those carrying out a specific duty in the procession such as carrying a basket or other equipment, leading the sacrificial animal, or bearing other important symbols, would have been very aware of their responsibility and of performing that responsibility for the observers they passed along the processional route. All the participants would also be quite conscious of their end goal—generally the god's shrine—and the sanctity of the ritual that would take place there. If our (very slim) evidence for a specific kind of walking is true, the participants would also have been consciously altering their movement to match those around them.[66] A procession was, then, a highly self-conscious display for observers and the deity honored.

The emotional state of the participants can only be speculated upon, but here, studies of pilgrimage may give some indications of the strong emotions that could accompany such rituals. The Turners observed that many of the pilgrimages they studied had 'repeaters' who were drawn back to the shrine again and again. To explain this phenomenon, the Turners adduced the concept of 'flow', first described by Csikszentmihalyi in a study of play.[67] "Flow" is "the holistic sensation when we act with total involvement"; during this activity, "a person is able to concentrate on a limited stimulus field, in which he or she can use his or her

[65] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 145. See also Parker 2005: 343.
[66] Polyaenus, *Strat*. 5.5, where people are described as walking "in the manner of a procession"; Kavoulaki 2000, 154.
[67] Turner & Turner 1978: 137-138.

skills to meet clear demands, thereby forgetting his or her own problems and his or her own separate identity, at the same time obtaining a feeling of control over the environment, which may result in a transcendance of ego-boundaries and consequent psychic integration with metapersonal systems."[68] Certainly during a procession, the participants are focused on a limited stimulus field, as they march on a prescribed route in close quarters with other participants. The communal experience of a ritual procession—a specific group of people, large or small, devoted to the same deity and expression of piety—must have been a prime opportunity to experience this sense of "flow."

Participating in a procession is unlikely to have given any Athenian a sense of living in a "classless society", as some of the Christian pilgrims the Turners studied felt; but it may have given them a sense of being part of something bigger, richer, and mightier than themselves. 'Flow'—forgetting one's own problems in the service of a defined task, as part of a communal act, and in the process reaching a "transcendence of ego-boundaries"—described well the feeling many Christian pilgrims had at the sites the Turners studied. It is the feeling of being one part of a larger whole, defined by the whole, both important and insignificant; a moment in which the individual is surrounded by others, all working (or walking) toward a single goal. It is not a specifically religious feeling, but in the Greek world festivals, and specifically ritual processions, would have been some of the best opportunities for people to experience this sense of 'flow'. Combined with the procession's sense of performing for the deity, the ultimate observer of the ritual, participating in a procession could have been quite an intense religious experience.

Consider also the Eleusinian procession of the mysteries, which went to great lengths to disguise individual status and place all the initiates on the same level. The initiates mainly traveled on foot (and the Lycurgan effort to ban carts suggests a concern with eliminating

[68] Turner & Turner 1978: 137. See also Csikszentmihalyi 1975: 41-63.

status symbols from the procession); they carried and wore symbols of their status as initiates (the branch bundles and the cloth tied to their wrists and ankles); they were insulted (and thus humbled) as they crossed the bridges;[69] they raised the Iacchus-chant together. Parker observes that, based on the descriptions in literary sources, one of the features of the procession was "excitement, exhilaration; the years fall away, the long journey becomes easy."[70] In this procession, a sense of communitas and 'flow' was perhaps more important than the performance of status or prestige, transforming the procession itself into a powerful social and ritual experience. The Turners' noted the pilgrimage phenomenon of 'repeaters' who are drawn to the experience and undergo the ordeal again and again. At Eleusis, *mystai* (first-time initiates) were accompanied by *epoptai* (the already-initiated). The role of the *epoptai* is unclear, but some scholars have suggested that *epoptai* joined in the procession but were not re-admitted to the rites, based on the numbers of initiates and the size of the facilities at Eleusis.[71] The procession, therefore, may itself have drawn *epoptai* to participate and escort the *mystai*—and the atmosphere of the procession, particularly the sense of 'flow' participants may have felt, could help explain why.

Plutarch, although a late source, hints at the strong positive emotions accompanying ritual processions and sacrifices in his work *Non posse suaviter vivere secundum Epicurum* (*That One Cannot Live Happily Following Epicurus*): "For neither the diatribes of those who wait at our temples, nor the good times at our festivals, nor any other actions or sights delight us more than the things we see and do concerning our gods, while we pay service to the gods, dance in the choruses, and are present at the sacrifices and initiations. For the soul is not then grieved, downcast, and melancholy, as if it were then in company with certain tyrants or cruel torturers, but on the contrary, where it most thinks and imagines the divine to be, there it most

[69] Hsch. s.v. *gefuris – gefurismos*; Strabo 9.1.24. Mylonas 1961: 256 sees the insults as apotropaic. The abuse hurled at Sulla by the Athenians was described in the same language (Plut.*Vit.Sull*.2.1), suggesting that these insults during the Mysteries were actually slanderous and meant to humble.
[70] Parker 2005: 348.
[71] Parker 2005: 348-9, n. 91.

of all throws off sorrows and fears and pensiveness and permits itself to enjoy pleasures to the point of tipsiness, laughter, and almost childish play…in the processions and sacrifices not only the old man and old woman, nor only the poor and the layman, but also the house-slave and serf are raised up by joy and delight…for it is not the wealth of wine or roasted meats that gladdens us at the festivals, but rather the good hope and expectation that the deity is present and favorable and receives the things we do kindly. For we exclude the flute and wreath from some festivals, but if the god is not present at the sacrifice, as the honorand of the event, what remains is ungodly and without festive joy and uninspired."[72] Plutarch clearly emphasizes the strong positive emotions that participants in processions and sacrifices derive from their collective worship, as well as the inclusiveness of these emotions—people of all backgrounds come together in joy at the presence of the deity.

Thus processions were, for at least some Athenians, probably highly emotional experiences that differed from everyday life in several important ways. The sensory experience of a procession (whether participating or spectating) was designed to set it apart from everyday life, introducing sensory elements that were only associated with processions or ritual contexts. The emotional experience of being part of something greater than oneself, an entire community focused on the worship and adoration of the deity, was certainly both intense and extraordinary in Athenians' daily life, and may be similar to the concept of flow described by the Turners in Christian pilgrimage. The experience was perhaps more intense for those participating in the procession, but in his description above, Plutarch does not distinguish between those who walked in procession or carried out the sacrifice and those who only watched. By participating in or observing a procession, Athenians took themselves out of everyday, profane contexts, transitioning to an extraordinary ritual context in preparation for the final ritual, the sacrifice or initiation that took place at the end of the route.

[72] Plut.*Non Posse*.21

Another element of the processional performance was the space in which it was performed. The main performance space of a procession was the street itself. In some cases, the streets used in procession such as the Panathenaic Way or Street of the Tripods were particularly wide to accommodate worshippers and perhaps also spectators lining the street.[73] Their character as processional routes affected the monuments and shrines along the street—choregic monuments along the Street of the Tripods, tombs and places sacred to Demeter along the Sacred Way to Eleusis.[74] On the day of the procession, such streets might have been lined with wooden stands for spectators, which would have channeled sound and chatter down to the marchers.[75] People could also have watched from the roofs of their houses, as Dikaiopolis' wife does in the Acharnians.[76]

The starting points for major processions, where they are known, were generally open spaces to facilitate the gathering of people: the Dipylon Gate, the Agora, the Acropolis, perhaps the open square in front of the *prytaneion*. At the other end, spaces like the Acropolis have also been interpreted as providing space for a large crowd of spectators to watch the performance of either dances or sacrifice.[77] The precinct of Dionysos Eleuthereus also contains a large open space which could have been occupied by spectators; others could perhaps have watched the sacrifice from the theater. It is more difficult to say much about the performance spaces available en route. While there is ample evidence that libations, dances, hymns, and other rites were performed at important shrines or places along the processional route, such stops are rarely explicitly identified.[78] During the Archaic period, a stepped area in front and to the south of the Acropolis propylon might have served as a space for

[73] Arrington 2010: 522-3; Costaki 2006: 224-30.
[74] Costaki 2006: 224-30; on the Sacred Way, see chapter 4.
[75] Camp 1986, 45-6; Shear 2001, 667, 719, 788, 795. Post-holes for spectator stands in the area of the Pompeion have been found dating to the end of the 5th or early 4th century BCE (Hoepfner 1971: 29).
[76] Ar.*Ach*.241-262.
[77] Gerding 2006: 389-401; Connelly 2011: 332-3
[78] Graf 1996: 58-61.

spectators of the Panathenaia, since it overlooked the ramp leading up to the sanctuary;[79] in the Classical period, perhaps spectators could have gathered in the wings of the Propylaia to watch the procession ascend the Acropolis. At the main procession of the City Dionysia, the procession stopped at the Altar of the Twelve Gods for hymns.[80] This altar was centrally placed in the Agora, along the wide Panathenaic Way, surrounded by open space where participants and spectators could have gathered. To the east and north, the Stoa of Zeus, Stoa Basileos, and Stoa Poikile provided further sheltered options for spectators.

Processions, Landscape, and Liminality

Processions were and are defined by their display of culturally-significant symbols and their public, performative nature. The third essential element for a procession is movement. Processions were movements within a landscape; by virtue of their movement, they frequently blended urban and rural, natural and cultural, inside and outside space. They acted as performative links tying two landscape elements—the starting point and the endpoint—together along an axis which was rich with additional landscape elements. The repetitive nature of processions embedded the cultural associations of the landscape in the collective memory of Athens, shaping how they thought about their country.

Landscapes are frequently treated as natural rather than cultural, but Tilley correctly points out that landscapes are uniquely suited to bridge those two categories. Natural places can have cultural significance, of course, just as culturally significant places were deliberately sited within the existing landscape and its associations.[81] All of these places are experienced primarily through the movement of people to them and around them. There is, then, a complex interrelationship between landscapes, monuments in the landscape (and this can include urban landscapes), and the body's movement through the landscape and around or

[79] Dinsmoor Jr. 1980: 17-34.
[80] Xen. *Eq.mag*. 3.2.
[81] On the archaeology of natural places, see Bradley 2000.

into monuments. It is this interrelationship which I seek to explore by studying processions in the ancient Athenian landscape. As Tilley has observed, "Social life and social reproduction are creative responses to the landscape, entanglements among the materiality of bodily flesh, the mineral nature of the bedrock, and the land forms to which the landscape gives rise. They do not take place somehow on top of it or outside it, which would make that landscape irrelevant, but are rooted within it."[82]

Ancient Greek landscapes—including sacred landscapes—have been studied by scholars before, particularly by Susan Alcock, Robin Osborne, and Susan Cole. Alcock has done important work on the landscapes of Roman Greece, as well as the intersection of memory and landscape.[83] The edited volume *Placing the Gods* also made important contributions to the study of sacred landscapes in Greece, but (as implied in the title) tended to focus on the locations and distributions of sanctuaries, rather than movement through landscape, the experiences of those moving through the landscape, or a detailed consideration of the meanings buried in a regional landscape with both natural and cultural elements.[84]

Cole took this approach in her book *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space*. She rightly begins with the observation that "Ancient Greek communities inhabited three landscapes: the natural, the human, and the imagined," landscapes which "coexisted and merged with one another."[85] The scale of her work, however, was the entire Greek world; by focusing more closely on Attica, I hope to penetrate more deeply into the sacred landscape as a system of natural and cultural elements bearing associations with myth, history, religion, as well as everyday events and concerns.

Few scholars have truly considered the role of movement in the landscape. The exception to this is François de Polignac, whose work *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the*

[82] Tilley 2010: 34.
[83] Alcock 1993, 2002.
[84] Alcock & Osborne 1994.
[85] Cole 2004: 7-8.

Greek City-State gave impetus to the discussion of cults' role in the formation of the Greek poleis, as well as the sanctuaries' places in the landscape. He is also one of the only scholars to set forth ideas about the meaning of processions.

De Polignac focused on the Archaic period, as the Greek *poleis* emerged from the Dark Age and began to form into more organized, coherent systems—and as the first monumental stone temples were being built, frequently far outside the urban center near political or natural boundaries. Thus he developed the model of the bipolar *polis*, with two poles—the urban center and its major extraurban sanctuary—connected by a regular procession. Concerning these routes, he wrote, "These axes of the civic territory, tangible traces of the fundamental connection between the two poles of the city, constituted the stage upon which great processions took place. In these, at regular intervals, the social body as a whole performed for itself, parading from the town to the sanctuary and thereby periodically reaffirming its control over the territory…All these celebrations consecrated the solidarity of the group by gathering together the *demos* and its leaders and, around them, the nonwarrior population usually excluded from public life: dependents of every kind, women and adolescents."[86] These extraurban sanctuaries were typically consecrated to Hera, Apollo, Artemis, and occasionally Poseidon or Zeus. These were deities who were responsible for the protection of fertility and nurturing of young, and their sanctuaries were places which symbolized and advertised the sovereignty of the *polis*, places of mediation and competition between or within social groups, places where the *polis* community expressed their unification and initiated the young into their society.

De Polignac's prime example was the relationship between the Argive Heraion and Archaic Argos. The Heraion was located on the edge of the Argive plain, intervisible with

[86] De Polignac 1995a: 40 (original French edition published in 1984).

Argos.[87] It was between Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns, and thus served as a place of ritualized competition between these three cities, before it was appropriated by Argos as a symbol of its dominance over the territory.[88] Argos' territorial claim was particularly important as a claim of agricultural space, since there was a strong demand for land in the Archaic period (ninth to seventh centuries BCE).[89] All of these strands of meaning were brought together in the procession, in which the population of Argos paraded to the Heraion, led by a priestess in a cart drawn by oxen, parading through the agricultural land and thereby acting out their control over this arable territory.[90]

De Polignac's early theories stimulated a great deal of discussion, and drew quite a lot of criticism. Graf suggests that "the rather impressionistic sketches of de Polignac…bear development" and points to some elementary problems with his model of Argos.[91] There is no evidence to support projecting the procession back into the ninth to seventh centuries; Herodotus does not call the mother of Cleobis and Biton a priestess, nor is she going to the Heraion as part of a procession (de Polignac draws heavily upon this story to support his reconstruction of the Archaic procession); and the role of armed ephebes in the classical processions suggests a more complex meaning than de Polignac's original reconstruction admits. Hall offered a more detailed critique. De Polignac's model is "essentially structured from a Classical perspective" which cannot always be projected back into the Archaic period, and "there is by no means any unanimity over de Polignac's interpretation of many of the extra-urban sanctuaries" that he discusses.[92] Hall has argued that de Polignac's interpretation of the Argive Heraion, in particular, is deeply flawed. Rather than a sanctuary controlled by Argos from an early period, Hall sees a shared sanctuary where "Argive participation is even

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[87] De Polignac 1995a: 33.
[88] De Polignac 1995a: 37.
[89] De Polignac 1995a: 38-9.
[90] De Polignac 1995a: 40-42.
[91] Graf 1996: 55, n. 3.
[92] Hall 1995: 579.

less conspicuous than most scholars are prepared to admit."[93] He argues that there is persistent evidence to show that many of the cities in the Argive plain were independent of Argos until the 460s BCE, when Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea were destroyed and Argive citizens were reorganized into a system of phratries.[94] Moreover, it is not certain that the institution of the festive procession and games coincided with the establishment of the Argive Heraion sanctuary.[95] Instead, Hall points to evidence that may suggest an eighth-century connection between the Heraion and Mycenae, not Argos.[96] Argos, on the other hand, may not have had a firm claim to the entire plain until the destructions of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Midea 460s BCE, at which time Argos may have also reorganized its phratry system and made other institutional changes—possibly including the remodeling of the Heraion and its festivals to embrace a new definition of 'what it meant to be Argive'.[97]

As a result of the criticisms and discussions generated, de Polignac has modified his original theories. Rather than focusing strongly on territory and landscape, de Polignac refocused his argument on long-term processes of mediation and competition at extra-urban sanctuaries, largely visible through the votive record, which eventually led to the appropriation of the sanctuary as an expression of territorial sovereignty by the newly-formed 'state.'[98] Some extra-urban sanctuaries functioned as places of mediation for scattered populations, or (particularly for coastal cults) mediation between locals and foreigners. Another thread which de Polignac sees in the development of cults in the ninth and eighth centuries is the popularity of ritualized social competition, in the form of expensive or impressive votive dedications set up in these extra-urban sanctuaries; the distance from the

[93] Hall 1995: 579.
[94] Hall 1995: 587-589.
[95] Hall 1995: 592-596.
[96] Hall 1995: 602-3.
[97] Hall 1995: 611.
[98] De Polignac 1994: 3-18.

center may also have given an extra boost to prestige earned.[99] As the early *poleis* became more centralized and more inclined to exert and advertise their control, they appropriated these extra-urban cults in order to express their own sovereignty and power.[100] This is a more nuanced and workable theory for the development of Archaic sanctuaries, which has entirely lost its emphasis on the significance and meaning of processional movement to connect these peripheral sanctuaries to the center, the city. In the revised model, landscape and ritual movement have become much less important.

How does all this apply to Athens? In his original publication, de Polignac described Athens as the sole exception to his bipolar *polis* model, a monocentric city whose major civic procession was the Panathenaic procession into the city center, rather than out to a border sanctuary.[101] In a later article, however, de Polignac applied his ideas of mediation, competition, and the expression of sovereignty to Attica. He reversed his earlier position and argued that Athens did, in fact, have a bipolar axis—and this axis connected Athens and the sanctuaries at Sounion.[102] De Polignac's reconstruction of Archaic cult in Attica has some flaws—not least the fact that he virtually ignores Eleusis[103]—which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. Although he proposes that Sounion was Athens' principal extra-urban sanctuary in the Archaic period and that Athens and Sounion form another example of his bipolar *polis* model, de Polignac also devotes space and energy in his article to the other cults of Archaic Attica, attempting to fit them all into a comprehensive model that has very little to do with the bipolar *polis*. The model of the bipolar *polis* excludes a much richer sacred landscape, reducing the focus to a single axis with two poles when in fact

[99] De Polignac 1994: 11-13.
[100] De Polignac 1994: 13-15.
[101] De Polignac 1995a: 81-88.
[102] De Polignac 1995b: 75-101.
[103] For which Sourvinou-Inwood has made the case of bipolarity in the Archaic period, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1997:141-150.

the ritual experience of the residents of Attica must have been far more diverse. This wider sacred landscape still requires interpretation and study.

De Polignac's theories are useful to consider because the processional system of any *polis* was, in fact, a series of bipolar associations between center and periphery, however periphery may be defined.[104] These bipolar axes could extend in different directions; some began at the periphery and moved into the center, while others moved from the center out to the periphery. Characterizing some of the "poles" of the multipolar *polis* as peripheries implies that they have a spatially marginal character. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, the processions of Athens usually either start or end in a peripheral or marginal location; the procession itself, then, might be seen as a movement along an axis where one pole represents "center" and "normality" while the other represents "periphery" and "marginality." The procession thus becomes a transitional journey.

Marginal areas are defined in relation to the center; they are outside it. Borders are always marginal to the center, but marginal areas need not be borders. They also need not be strictly liminal. Liminal, from Latin *limen*, "threshold," refers to doors, gates, bridges, and spaces of passage; it is closely linked to rites of passage.[105] Therefore we can say that the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, Artemis at Brauron, Athena Skiras at Phaleron, perhaps also Artemis at Mounichia were liminal places where rites of passage occurred. Liminal places could be within the urban area, however—for example, the threshold that the bride must cross into her new home.[106] Endsjø suggests that liminal in the Greek mind was equated with the *eschatia*, the uncultivated areas outside the city.[107] This included border areas, but could also include uncultivated areas within the polis territory.[108] Rites of passage,

[104] For example, there might be distinctly different 'peripheries' meant by the edge of the city, the edge of suburban space, and the borders of the *chora* itself, as Sourvinou-Inwood described (1997: 147-9).
[105] Van Gennep 1909, Turner 1964: 4-20.
[106] Van de Noort & O'Sullivan 2007: 83-4.
[107] Endsjø 2000: 358-60.
[108] Endsjø 2000: 358.

where the participants underwent a kind of ritual death and rebirth, took place in the *eschatia*; people crossing the *eschatia* were caught in a transitional state, neither living nor dead.[109] It was also the sort of place where one could encounter gods or mythical creatures.[110]

I will use the term "liminal" where appropriate, but it cannot necessarily explain why all these sacred places were linked to the center by processions or sacred travel. Phaleron, Mounichia, Eleusis, Rhamnous, Brauron, and Sounion were all located on the coast, on the political borders of Attica. The other spaces which served as the "peripheral" pole of the procession were not political borders, but they were marginal. The Pompeion, the start of the Panathenaic procession, was located at the Dipylon Gate; before the construction of the gate, the gathering-space for the procession would have been more clearly set among the tombs of the Kerameikos, outside the Archaic walls, and thus clearly marginal. The shrine of Dionysos Eleuthereus where his statue was brought before the City Dionysia, was among the tombs of the Demosion Sema and also outside the walls.[111] The area along the Ilissos River was also marginal—outside the Archaic city walls, partially outside the Themistoklean city walls, a place where humans could encounter gods (Boreas abducted Oreithyia here). Here the processions to Artemis Delphinia, Apollo Pythios, and Artemis Agrotera ended; here the Lesser Mysteries took place at the Metroon in Agrai; here also the Oschophoria procession probably began, at the Dionysion *in limnais*.[112] The temple of Demeter and Kore at Skiron could also be considered marginal, and perhaps even liminal. Here, as at Ilissos, a mortal encountered a deity (Demeter); the temple may also have been near the Athenian Kephissos river. At the Kephissos, the Eleusinian initiates underwent a minor "rite of passage" as they

[109] Endsjø 2000: 360-7.
[110] Endsjø 2000: 371-2.
[111] Paus.1.29.2; Arrington 2014: 68-70 (describing two clusters of tombs in the Demosion Sema, one closer to the city walls which focused on the tomb of Marathon), 76-7 (on the temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus and the tomb of Thrasyboulos, which were probably part of this southern cluster of tombs).
[112] Which has its own liminal connotations as an entrance to the underworld during Aristophanes' *Frogs*, see Hooker 1960: 112-117. On Dionysos' journey during the *Frogs* as a rite of passage, see Moorton 1989: 308-324.

were insulted while crossing a bridge—a liminal experience. The crossing was further characterized by a statue of a young man cutting his hair for the god Kephissos, perhaps a male rite of passage, and a shrine of Zeus Meilichios, also attested at Ilissos.

Polinskaya, in an article on the ephebes' service of the 4th century, cautions against identifying the borders of Attica as inherently liminal and the ephebes' service as a rite of passage.[113] She points out that the term *eschatia* was used, in inscriptions recording land sales, to refer to sloping or hilly land on the edges of prime farmland—land which was, with a little extra work, cultivable.[114] Nor were the border sanctuaries of Rhamnous, Sounion, Mounichia, or Eleusis located in uncultivated, deserted, wild spaces (as the original, strict sense of "liminal" would suggest).[115] The ephebes who served at the forts of Rhamnous, Sounion, Mounichia, and Eleusis were integrated into local communities—not isolated from civilization for a rite of passage.[116] Polinskaya's arguments are not incompatible with my model. I do not deny that many of these border sanctuaries were located near and integrated with local communities. I am interested rather in the fact that people traveled to these sanctuaries on certain occasions, either as part of formal processions or in less-organized sacred travel, often from Athens; and moreover these sanctuaries were linked to Athens through ideology, through military concerns, or through the financing of monumental marble temples. Nor, I believe, is the border location of these sanctuaries incidental. It made them a likely location for fortifications watching over the waters surrounding Attica, for deities or rituals (such as initiations) generally associated with marginal spaces, and for the display of Athenian ideology, wealth, and power to non-Athenian travellers. Sanctuaries located in the Kerameikos, along the Ilissos river, or along the Kephissos river were not explicitly on the political borders of Attica, but they were located in distinctive spaces—well-watered,

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[113] Polinskaya 2003: 85-103.
[114] Polinskaya 2003: 96-7.
[115] Polinskaya 2003: 93-6.
[116] Polinskaya 2003: 99-102.

unusually lush areas whose myths and cults identified them as rural or marginal *in relation to* the urban center of Athens. This relationship to Athens is articulated—indeed, emphasized—by the procession or sacred travel which linked center and peripheral shrine.

It is impossible to prove whether the participants in Athenian processions felt themselves to be in a state of transition. What is clear, however, is that processions and festivals in general were deliberately and consistently placed outside of everyday experience through their sensory experience. People wore special clothing, either dressed up for a particular role in a procession, or simply wearing one's "festival best."[117] They moved in ways that were different than normal walking.[118] They smelled incense, listened to particular kinds of music, and feasted on particular foods. The participants were surrounded by familiar places which they visited regularly as part of their normal lives; these sensory elements were necessary to set ritual movement apart from everyday life. For the participants, the walking—the journey, however short—might have been experienced as a transition from "normal" or "profane" to "ritual" or "sacred," a process of sacralization—so, as Graf points out, an animal that has been led in sacrificial procession must be sacrificed, and cannot be returned to normal life."[119] Spatially, it was also a movement either toward or away from a marginal space, whether a political border, as will be discussed in chapter four, or a conceptually marginal space, as I will argue in chapters two and three.

Processions and Athenian Cultural Memory

Bradley points out that one of the effects of monuments is to "evoke memory", returning to its Latin root, *monere*,"'to remind."[120] Many of these memories were undoubtedly deeply personal, and those are lost to time. Yet monuments, and the rituals

[117] Xen. *Oec*. 9.6.
[118] Polyaenus, *Strat*. 5.5 describes people walking "in the manner of a procession." Kavoulaki 2000, 154 interprets this as a reference to a distinctive type of movement associated with processions.
[119] Graf 1996: 57; Jameson 1999: 323, referencing Hubert & Mauss 1898 (English trans. 1964).
[120] Bradley 1993: 2.

associated with them, also evoke, instil, and maintain a wider group memory, however the group may be defined in each ritual. Bradley states: “Ritual is a specialised kind of communication, and it is one that can embody a different sense of time from everyday affairs. In ritual the past reaches right into the present, and the two cannot be separated. It is a source of timeless propositions about the world, of eternal verities whose authority is guarded by specialised methods of communication” through song, dance, archaic language, or the performance of texts.[121] Physical movement during ritual, grounded in and shaped by the monuments surrounding and encountered by the ritual, helps the participants commit it to memory—and the many associations the ritual may have possessed.

It is not only monuments that evoke memory. As Tilley would remind us, landscapes were also powerful mechanisms for the making and transmission of social memory. “The meaningful spaces of landscapes are constructed through the temporalities of historical acts, forming both the medium for, and outcome of, movement and memory. Past actions, events, myths, and stories are embedded in landscapes.”[122] This idea attracts additional resonance when we consider that the Athenians believed themselves to be authochthonous, born from the land itself. After Pericles’ citizenship law of 451/0 BCE, to be an Athenian citizen one’s parents both had to be Athenian;[123] therefore, if we follow this to its logical conclusion, to be Athenian, one was linked by an unbroken chain of blood ties to the very first authochthonous Athenians. The demes also had mythologies of their own, less well-known than the stories of Athens, but enough to demonstrate that myth and landscape were intertwined no less significantly at the local level than at the ‘state’ level.[124]

Thus all three elements considered above—the symbols, participants, and landscape of the procession—contribute to the memory of the ritual. The symbols displayed and

[121] Bradley 1993: 2-3.
[122] Tilley 2010: 39.
[123] Patterson 1981.
[124] For example, Ikaria was celebrated as the place in Attica where Dionysos first arrived and taught the locals winemaking, Parker 2005: 71. Thorikos had quite a rich mythology of its own, Parker 2005: 71-72.

encountered in the procession only work as symbols if the people perceiving them remember what they mean. For the participants, their performance in a procession is only meaningful if others remember they were there. The performance of hymns, prayers, and rituals along the way both draws on and contributes to memory—of gestures, ritual forms, dance steps, musical cadences, and the epithets of deities. Finally, the Athenians navigated their landscape by memory, using mental maps richly textured with the social and cultural associations embedded in the landscape.

Scholars of memory are careful to point out that memory is essentially a biological process performed solely by individuals; groups can have memory only in the sense that the individuals who form that group are able to remember. Strong emotions such as might be experienced in a communal religious ritual (awe, joy, anxiety, fear) can help memories form vividly.[125] Memories linked to particular sensory experiences can also be very strong, and built from a young age; the sense of smell is especially significant for early memory development.[126] However, given that I am studying a past society and cannot directly question individuals, individual memory is virtually impossible to reconstruct. Therefore I focus instead on collective or group memory.

The concept of social or group memory was pioneered by Maurice Halbwachs, who pointed out that the formation and recall of memories was socially structured and conditioned.[127] Cubitt pointed out that groups in fact require a collective memory for three reasons: to ensure the satisfactory performance of their own activities, to maintain and communicate their corporate identity, and to maintain and advance their position with respect to other groups or broader institutional structures.[128] The memories held collectively by the group are not necessarily static bodies of information, waiting to be passed on to the newest

[125] Bolles 1988: 29-41; Dornan 2004.
[126] Casey 2000 (2nd ed.); Willander & Larsson 2006.
[127] Halbwachs 1992 [1952]: 37-9. On social memory in 5th-century Athens, see Steinbock 2012: 1-47.
[128] Cubitt 2007: 134-5.

member as a lump sum of knowledge; rather the group is itself a place of exchange and interaction, processes which form and maintain the group memory.[129] By participating in the formation and retrieval of these memories, an individual demonstrates and creates a sense of "belonging" to the group. In Athens these groups existed at many levels, for example the family, the deme, the phratry, the tribe, elite drinking groups, and many more. Certain groups played special roles in processions, especially the gene, who frequently held priesthoods or other influential positions. The public performance of these roles was a way of demonstrating membership not only to the rest of the group but also to the community at large. The group most visible to us, however, is the collective of Athenian citizens. By attending a *polis*-level festival procession as either participant or spectator, an Athenian reaffirmed his or her identity and membership in this group.

Of course, processions could also be attended by non-Athenians, including colonists, resident metics, and foreign visitors. Colonists who came back to participate in the processions at the Panathenaia and Dionysia possessed the same collective memories as native Athenians, and part of the point of their participation was an expression of kinship and a recognition of common ties. Non-Athenians, however, lacked access to the shared memories of those who had been raised on Athenian myth and ritual. Some metics who had lived in Athens for longer periods could have become familiar with collective Athenian memory, depending on how enthusiastically they embraced their new home. But they also possessed another set of collective memories tied to their original *polis*, which differentiated them from Athenians. Also they would probably not have the same emotional attachment to it—for example, they could not say that their ancestors were buried in Athenian cemeteries, or that their ancestors were born from the land itself. The inclusion of metics in processions (but only two of them, and only for a limited time) was an acknowledgment of their

[129] Cubitt 2007: 166.

contributions, but not everyone was required to interpret their inclusion positively, and they were still carefully marked out by their dress and duties.

In addition to social memory, other scholars have argued that memory is also culturally structured and conditioned, embedded in and transmitted through cultural institutions and recurring rituals.[130] As one example, Connerton discussed commemorative rituals—rituals that celebrate their continuity with past observations of the same ritual, and frequently also with a mythical or historical figure or group.[131] Unfortunately cult myths are not always preserved for the Athenian festivals, and sometimes their associations with mythic figures may be confused.[132] Connerton suggests that this "rhetoric of re-enactment" is enacted through the recurrence of the ritual at the same time every year, as well as verbal or gestural repetition within the ritual.[133] Athenian festivals did fall on a cyclical calendar, but it is harder to find verbal or gestural repetition within the procession itself (the sacrifice is another matter), aside from broader cultural norms of gesture and speech. Hymns and music for the procession could be rewritten, and new ones composed; and we have little evidence for specific gestures during the procession, aside from a sort of "processional walk." The important repetition in these rituals was not the content of the hymns or the form of the dances, but the fact of their performance in the right place at the right time, as well as the repetition of meaningful sensory symbols. Each year was another opportunity to delight the deity with a splendid procession, fine offerings, elegant choral dances, and beautiful hymns.[134]

Assmann focused less on the concept of repetition and more on the question of storage. In his view, cultural memory is "disembodied" and "stored away in symbolic forms";

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[130] Connerton 1989: 36-40; Assmann 2011.
[131] Connerton 1989: 41-71.
[132] For example, Theseus' connections to the Oschophoria, first attested in the 4th century BCE, at which point elements of the procession were explained with reference to both Theseus' departure and return. Plut. *Thes.* 23.2; Philoch. F183; Istros *FGrH* 334 F8; Harding 2008: 61-3.
[133] Connerton 1989: 65-70.
[134] Furley 2007: 119.

it has to be constantly "circulated and re-embodied."[135] Cultural memory involves the mythical or historical past, communicated through formalized ceremonies and rituals using icons, dances, performances, and archaic language, and participation is hierarchically structured so that only a select few have access to the full range of cultural memory.[136] The symbols in Classical Athenian processions did frequently draw their meaning from the distant mythical or historical past, but they could also commemorate or reference events within living memory (such as prominent military victories, or the relatively recent establishment of democracy). They do not fit comfortably into Assmann's dichotomy between communicative and cultural memory. Nor was the full understanding or appreciation of these symbols (dances, hymns, objects carried, etc.) confined to "specialized carriers of memory."[137]

The concept of cultural memory is helpful, though not quite as either Connerton or Assmann defines it. Assmann's idea that cultural information is stored in symbols—in the sense that a member of the community perceiving the symbol then remembers the cultural information—fits the emphasis on display and sensory perception present in Greek processions. Connerton's focus on the repetition of commemorative rituals is also an important component of how cultural memory functions, how it is preserved, and how its reenactment serves to reinforce identity. Sacrifices are somewhat similar in these ways, but processions remain unique because of their movement, which allows more interaction with the landscape and offers greater opportunity for display and for a larger number of people to see and remember the significance of the symbols involved.

These concepts of social and cultural memory are not new to the study of Athens. Other scholars have devoted much ink to considering how the Athenians' sense of community and identity was reinforced by myths, monuments, speeches, and political

[135] Assmann 2011: 17.
[136] Assmann 2011: 18-22.
[137] Assmann 2011: 20-1.

institutions.[138] No one has yet considered in depth the institution of the *pompē*—how these large, public processions, which reached so many people and were so frequently repeated, contributed to the Athenian memory community and Athenian identity. Though the theoretical approach outlined here is divided into three sections—symbols, participants and performance, and landscape—they are interrelated and equally important. Symbols drew meaning not only from the myths and stories told about them, but also from the identities of those who performed with them and the way they interacted with the landscape of the procession. Participants were distinguished by the symbols they carried or performed, and their performances (and sense of identity) were further influenced by the landscape of the procession and the spaces of performance. The landscape of the procession—its start, route, and endpoint—acquired meaning from its interaction with symbols and performances, and even with the procession itself (i.e. the Panathenaic Way). All of these elements, repeated on an annual, biennial, or penteteric basis, served to shape Athenian cultural memory. As Athenians came together to participate in or watch these spectacles, they also engaged in the act of remembering together, thus maintaining a sense of community and common identity.

[138] Shear 2011 focuses on the revolutions at the end of the 5th century, with more attention to material culture; Wolpert 2002 examines the period just after the Thirty, as also Loraux 2002; Steinbock 2013 studies Thebes as a carrier for Athenian social memory; Loraux 1986 focuses on funeral orations; Loraux 2000, 1993 on myths of autochthony and its implications for gender and citizenship; Jung 2006 on Marathon and Plataea; Bridges, Hall, & Rhodes 2007 also looks at the Persian Wars; Castriota 1992 examines the depiction of myths on public monuments following the Persian Wars; Paga 2012: 22-7 and elsewhere discusses the ways the built environment of Late Archaic and Early Classical Athens influenced memory and identity.

Chapter 2: The Panathenaic Procession

The Panathenaia was both a yearly and a penteteric festival, celebrated with special extravagance once every four years, including panhellenic competitions. Yet even in the penteteric years, many of the competitions were structured by Athenian tribes and restricted to Athenian citizens, and the festival retained its strong civic flavor. Nowhere was this better expressed than in the procession of the peplos and sacrifice on the Acropolis.

The name Panathenaia, the festival of *all* the Athenians, is suggestive. One tradition about the festival stated that the original festival was called the Athenaia, along the lines of the other penteteric festival names; when Theseus unified Attica in the synoikism, he refounded the festival and renamed it the Panathenaia, the festival of all the Athenians.[139] This tradition may go back to the late 6th century, when Theseus began to be associated with the Panathenaia, though it is first attested only in the 3rd century BCE.[140] There is no firm evidence to suggest that the story preserves historical fact or that the festival was ever actually called the Athenaia. However, the ancient explanations for the name Panathenaia, linking it to the *synoikism* of Theseus (despite the fact that there was a different festival specifically devoted to that event—the Synoikia), demonstrate the ideological power of the name. Whenever the festival was instituted, the name Panathenaia was chosen to convey a particular image—the festival of all the Athenians—whether or not the image matched the reality of the festival.

The Panathenaic festival lasted for multiple days, though the penteteric version was longer due to a greater number of competitions. The procession and sacrifice took place on 28

[139] Istros *FGrHist* 334 F4, Harpokration s.v. Panathenaia.
[140] Shear, J.L. 2001: 63-65 and Anderson 2003: 174-177. Anderson entertains the possibility that the new democracy made the name change from Athenaia to Panathenaia. Shear rejects the name change as historical fact, but thinks that the late 6th century is the most likely time for the story of Theseus changing the festival's name to have arisen.

Hekatombaion, probably toward the end of the festival.[141] Thus the festival probably fell in late July or early August, or high summer; it must have been very warm and dry, and the fountainhouses of Athens were surely busy supplying water to all the competitors and spectators. Why this time of year for the preeminent festival of the city's goddess? The date was probably not Athena's birthday.[142] Nor is it associated with any major event in the agricultural year—and perhaps there lies one reason for the date. If the Panathenaia was to be the festival of all the Athenians, it ought to have fallen at a time of year when most Athenians could attend. In July/August, the grain had already been harvested and the fields awaited the autumn sowing; the annual vine pruning took place in October; and the harvest and pruning of the olive trees also began in October.[143] Summer was also part of the sailing season, so non-Athenians could attend the festival.

The main *aition* of the festival was not localized in time or place. The occasion celebrated was the gods' victory over the Giants, and most especially Athena's role in it. This *aition* helps to explain the festival's overtones of a military victory celebration.[144] The antiquity of representations of the Gigantomachy on vases, plaques, and other Acropolis dedications makes it clear that this *aition* may be traced back to at least the reorganization of the Panathenaia in 566/5 B.C.[145] The Gigantomachy was an extremely popular motif in art, testifying to its presence in the Athenian consciousness.[146] Athena's prominent role in the battle was particularly emphasized by the *pyrriche* competition, part of the athletic competitions which preceded the procession and sacrifice. Athena was said to have been the first to dance the *pyrriche* after her victory over the Giants, and thus the competitors who

[141] Parker 2005: 256.
[142] Against Athena's birthday, see Shear, J.L. 2001: 29-30.
[143] Isager & Skydsgaard 1992: grain: 22-24; vine pruning: 31-2. See also p. 162, fig. 11.1.
[144] Shear, J.L. 2001: 29-38.
[145] Shear, J.L. 2001: 35-36.
[146] Brandt 2001: 106; Shear, J.L. 2001: 35-38.

took part in this event were following in her footsteps.[147] On a larger scale, the gods' victory over the giants represented the renewal of order, an order which Athena continued to maintain on behalf of Athens and for which they honored her annually. The fact that the *peplos* for Athena depicted the Gigantomachy only cements the importance of the myth within the festival.[148]

Two heroic figures were associated with the Panathenaia: Erichthonios, the original founder, and Theseus, who re-founded the festival after uniting Attica.[149] Erichthonios was closely linked with Athena, his foster-mother; but he was also earth-born, and thus an important figure for the Athenian concept of autochthony.[150] Aside from founding the festival itself (and thus the first procession), Erichthonios was most strongly associated with the athletic competitions. He was regarded as the inventor of the four-horse chariot and the apobatic race, which also involved chariots.[151] Theseus was connected to many festivals in Athens in the 5th century BCE, and thus it is no surprise to find him involved in the Panathenaia, if only rather tangentially.[152] Neither hero, however, was centrally present in the Panathenaic procession. The most important myth for the procession was the Gigantomachy depicted on the *peplos*, Athena's mythological victory which became increasingly intertwined with the military victories of her people, who marched in arms to honor her.

The Panathenaic festival was held annually, but was organized with special pomp once every four years for an international audience. In the non-penteteric years, the celebration was called the Lesser Panathenaia. There is very little evidence that can be

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[147] Pl.*Leg*.796b, *Cra*.406d-407a; Dion.Hal.*Ant.Rom*.7.72.7, though he confuses the Titanomachy and the Gigantomachy. Pinney 1988: 468-471.
[148] Shear, J.L. 2001: 33-35.
[149] Erichthonios: most complete account is Apollod.*Bibl*.3.14.6; see also Paus.1.18.2; Eur.*Ion*.20-26, 267-74; Amelesagoras *FGrH* 330 F1; Callim.*Hekale* fr. 70 Hollis. Theseus: Scholia on Plato's *Parmenides* 127a; Phot. s.v. Panathenaia; Suda s.v. Panathenaia; Apostol.14.6; Paus.8.2.1; Plut.*Thes*.24.3.
[150] Some ancient sources say that Erichthonios founded the Panathenaia, first set up the ancient wooden statue of Athena, and was buried in her sanctuary when he died. See sources in previous note; also Loraux 2000: 13-27.
[151] Shear, J.L. 2001: 42-53.
[152] See chapter 4, where many colorful stories of Theseus' exploits were linked to other Athenian festivals like the Oschophoria or the Pyanopsia.

definitely assigned to the lesser celebration, and much of it is later than the Classical period. However, the Lesser Panathenaia seems to have involved a limited program of competitions, a procession, and a sacrifice. There were fewer competitions, and they were limited to Athenian citizens. [153] The procession was much less elaborate, with few of the object-bearers and other groups present at the Great Panathenaia. Only male citizens and their wives and daughters seem to have taken part.[154] The sacrifice may have been the same, though there is debate about whether the *peplos* was offered to Athena in Lesser Panathenaic years. Altogether the impression is of a festival focused on the Athenian community, embracing the same themes as the Great Panathenaia but with less spectacle. This was Athens putting on a rather patriotic display for itself, not for foreign visitors, and it chose to emphasize the contributions of its male citizens and their wives and daughters—the entire citizen body come together to honor their patron goddess.

This chapter focuses instead on the procession of the Great Panathenaia in the late Archaic and Classical period. The procession, of course, was no more a static, unchanging event than the athletic contests that proceeded it. As a performance that was seen as an occasion for the Athenians to display 'what Athens is,' the procession is likely to have changed along with the people who performed it. To what degree is it possible to reconstruct these changes? In this chapter, I will reconstruct and analyze the procession's symbols, participants, and route in two snapshots. First I will describe the late 6th-century BCE Panathenaic procession, around the time of the Kleisthenic reforms, but before the Persian Wars. Then I will examine the changes in symbols, participants, and topography after the Persian Wars and the Periclean remodeling of the Acropolis, and the effects these changes might have had on Athenian cultural memory and identity.

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[153] Shear, J.L. 2001: 105-115.
[154] Shear, J.L. 2001: 90-1; 118-19.

The Early Classical Panathenaia

By the late 6th century BCE, the Great Panathenaia with its expanded schedule of festivities had been established for approximately 60 years.[155] The symbols and *aitia* for the festival appear to go back at least to the mid-6th century reorganization, with the possible exception of the connection to Theseus. Some of the symbolically-important participants such as the *kanephoroi* and *thallophoroi* are also attributed to mythic times, and thus are likely to be old offices. The route from the Kerameikos to the Acropolis was also established in the mid-6th century, as demonstrated by well-closings along the road and the gradual transition of the Agora space from private to public at this time.[156] By the late 6th century, these elements of the procession had been established for several decades, and had had time to sink into the cultural memory of the Athenian populace. The new political order set in place by the Kleisthenic reforms did alter the procession in a few ways—mainly by including democratically-elected officials, and organizing other participants by tribe—but much of the culturally-significant symbols remained the same.

The Route

The procession probably followed basically the same route throughout its 1000-year history (fig. 1). It began in the Kerameikos. In the 4th century BCE the Pompeion was built, probably as a multi-purpose structure to store supplies for the procession and house worshippers during the feasting after the sacrifice, but no formal structure existed on the site in the late 6th century.[157] The procession probably lined up on the wide road that ran between the Dipylon Gate and the Academy, which would have been ample space to accommodate all the horsemen, hoplites, and sacrificial animals. In the late 6th century the Kerameikos area

[155] It is generally accepted that the Panathenaia was reorganized in 566/5 BCE, see Shear, J.L. 2001: 507-515. The change was probably inspired by the ambition to compete with other panhellenic festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea.
[156] Shear, J. L. 2001: 677-9.
[157] Hoepfner 1971.

was already established as a cemetery, and there were a number of impressive elite tombs along the Sacred Way near the area where the procession was mustered. Most of the participants in the procession were also elites, and some might even have had relatives buried in the vicinity. Some members of the procession might have been accustomed to come to the Kerameikos and pay tribute to their ancestors, an association that surely affected how they perceived the character of the place. The act of gathering for the procession in the presence of the ancestors, who had carried out the procession year after year before you, could have been a powerful and emotional experience.

The members of the procession were also gathered well outside the city walls. The course of the pre-Themistoklean city wall is not certain, but it probably enclosed a smaller area, and may have only protected the Acropolis and certain other spaces such as the Archaic Agora east of the Acropolis or the Areopagus.[158] This aligns with the character of the Kerameikos as a cemetery, since the Greeks in this period placed their tombs outside the city. These two elements—the tombs and the location outside the city walls—gave the starting point of the procession a distinctly marginal feel. We should not imagine the Academy Road lined with tombs in this period, however. Pre-Classical burials concentrated around the Sacred Way to the west, the Academy itself to the north, and the road leading out of the Leokoriou Gate to the east.[159] Thus the area around the Academy Road was quite open in the late Archaic period, conducive to gathering and organizing a large procession such as the Panathenaic *pompē*.

The procession would have passed into the open space of the Classical Agora, which was just beginning to take shape (fig. 2). As a large, open space in the shadow of the Acropolis, it also served as a race-course during the Panathenaic games.[160] For victors and

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[158] Theocharaki 2011: 74-5. The reconstruction that includes the largest area has the wall running along Kolonos Agoraios, still significantly smaller than the Themistoklean wall.
[159] Arrington 2010: 506-9.
[160] Shear, J. L. 2001: 676-9.

disappointed athletes watching the procession, this space would have had strong emotional associations influenced by the recent competitions. The new Agora was also acquiring buildings geared towards the new democratic character of Athens. An altar for Aphrodite Ourania was constructed just north of the Panathenaic Way sometime around 500 BCE.[161] Also next to the Panathenaic Way was the Stoa Basileos, office of the Archon Basileos, a new home for an old and venerable position.[162] Perhaps not visible to the procession, but certainly an important contribution, was the remodeling of Building F (possibly the home of the Peisistratids) into the main office and dining hall for the archons, and the construction of the Bouleuterion.[163] The new order thus remade the Agora to suit its needs and ideology. It is unclear how much of this construction would have been visible from the procession, since the Panathenaic Way may have been lined with stands for spectators,[164] but the participants would still have been aware of the changes that their landscape had undergone and the parties responsible for those changes. One new monument was surely visible from the processional route, however: the statue of the Tyrannicides, erected probably in 508/7 BCE, east of the racetrack and between the Temple of Ares and the Odeion of Agrippa, opposite the Metroon.[165]

As the procession's participants ascended the Acropolis, they passed through the unfinished Old Propylon (begun ca. 500 BCE), perhaps viewing to the left the bronze chariot dedicated in honor of the Athenians' victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 506

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[161] Camp 1986: 57; Shear, J.L. 2001: 687-8.
[162] Camp 1986: 53-7; Hurwit 1999: 121.
[163] Camp 1986: 52-3; Hurwit 1999: 121.
[164] Camp 1986: 45-6. Ath.4.167, in a list of excesses attributed to Demetrius, descendant of Demetrius of Phaleron, says that when he was a hipparch at the Panathenaia he set up stands close to the Herms for his mistress Aristagora, and in fact higher than the Herms themselves. The tone implies that the stands were normally not so high. The next overstep—that he placed a seat for Aristagora near the temple at the Eleusinian Mysteries—suggests her ease of viewing was at issue. Still if the stands were normally about the height of a Herm, the crowds sitting on the stands would surely block the views of those processing, except for very tall or very close buildings. Also Poll.VII.125, the ikriopoioi are those who set up the stands around the Agora.
[165] Shear, J.L. 2001: 690-1.

BCE.[166] To their right, a stepped theatral area may have accommodated spectators, and also had a *perirrhanterion* for purifying oneself before entering the sacred area.[167] The topography of the Acropolis itself at this time is much debated (fig. 4). Before them the members of the procession saw the Old Athena Temple, whose construction is attributed to the new democracy.[168] The temple's west pediment was decorated with marble figures acting out the Gigantomachy; the Athena was over life-size and carved fully in the round, while Zeus and Herakles may have been depicted in a frontal four-horse chariot, all of them surrounded by fallen Giants.[169] This central triad may have been mirrored in the standard design of the peplos as it had been conceived for the past 50 years, a link between festival, dedication, and temple.[170] It is possible, though by no means certain, that there was a continuous sculptured frieze showing a procession.[171]

To the south of the Old Athena Temple stood either another, older structure acting (like the later Parthenon) as a storehouse of dedications, or a precinct containing small *oikemata* with figured pedimental decoration.[172] The members of the procession also saw and interacted with the votives dedicated on the Acropolis, by elites and by craftsmen. These votives included sculpture which reflected the themes of the Old Athena Temple and the

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[166] Shear, I.M. 1999: 114 suggests that the odd orientation of the Old Propylon, aligned with neither the older gates nor the ramp, was dictated in part by the presence of a building or monument to the north. The bronze chariot, which Herodotos reports seeing "on your left as you enter the Propylaia" (Hdt.5.77) might be a good candidate for such a monument. Since the victory was won in 506 BCE, the monument might have been set up not too long afterward, and was thus present to be taken into account by the architect of the Old Propylon ca. 500 BCE. The chains of the captives were also hung on the Acropolis somewhere, and may have been visible to the procession.

[167] Dinsmoor Jr. 1980: 17-34 argues for a date ca. 489/8 BCE. Shear argues that all building material for major Acropolis construction had to come through the west entrance, such that all work in the area was either curtailed or suspended; thus it becomes chronologically difficult to compress the construction of the theatral area, the Older Propylon, and the Older Parthenon into the decade between 489-480 BCE, as Dinsmoor tried to do (Shear, I.M. 1999: 108-110). For 'Tripod base' as *perirrhanterion* Dinsmoor Jr. 1980: 31-34. See also Shear, I.M. 1999: 108, n. 122; Hurwit 1999: 124-5.

[168] Childs 1994: 1-6.

[169] Hurwit 1999: 123.

[170] Shear, J.L. 2001: 183-6, 683.

[171] Hurwit 1999: 123.

[172] See Bancroft 1979: 1-45 for a full discussion of the debate, as well as Hurwit 1999: 107-112. Paga 2012: 57-136 has the most recent discussion of Acropolis topography.

Panathenaia (among other subjects);[173] there were also sculptures of Theseus, whose popularity was on the rise under the auspices of the democracy;[174] and dedications set up by craftsmen and tradesmen, including examples of their own work (which could also have served as advertisements to the Athenians who visited the sanctuary).[175] The votives of Theseus reflect his growing importance in Athenian myth and cult, especially after Kimon returned his bones to Athens in 476 BCE; he was assigned a mythological role in refounding the Panathenaia, and his presence on the Acropolis may reflect that myth. At last the members of the procession gathered around the Altar of Athena before the east side of the temple, where the pediment may have depicted lions attacking a bull—a visual link with the Bluebeard Temple before it.[176] The space for people gathering to watch the sacrifice may have been limited, due to the presence of the precinct of Zeus Polieus just to the east. If so, the spectators of the procession may not have been able to join the participants on the Acropolis to watch the sacrifice.

The Participants

Certain participants are known to have participated in the procession since at least the mid-6th century BCE. The offices of *kanephoros* and *thallophoroi* were attributed to

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173 Hurwit 1999: 125.
174 Hurwit 1999: 126; Shear, J.L. 2001: 64-5.
175 Hurwit 1999: 126-7.
176 Shear, J.L. 2001: 682. Shear (683-4) disagrees with this reconstruction of the pediments, on the belief that the Gigantomachy scene should be on the east pediment, while the lions attacking a bull would better suit the west pediment by comparison with the Parthenon. Thus Athena, on the cusp of her victory, looked down upon the sacrifices commemorating her victory, as well as the peplos gift which itself was likely adorned with a very similar composition. Rhodes 1995: 44-53 argued that the Acropolis architecture was "processional," articulating a journey from small "temples" depicting humans and heroes (the *oikemata*) to the realm of "stories, of human explanation" (i.e. the Gigantomachy pediment), and finally to "the elemental religious experience of divine epiphany at the east side of the temenos." Some interpret this pediment as apotropaic (Hurwit 2006: 133-4) while Rhodes contends that the gods need no protection, and that the pediment was meant to confront the viewer and inspire the same sense of awe and dread and emotion which attracted worshippers to the place in the beginning (1995: 18-22). On the symbolic importance of the rebuilt Old Athena Temple (dating to the last decade of the sixth century BCE), see Paga 2012: 102-123, who suggests that the dismantling of the Bluebeard Temple to build the Old Athena Temple might have been precipitated by the pollution caused by the Spartain Kleomenes' occupation of the Acropolis and entering of the temple, despite a sacred prohibition against Dorians.

Erichthonios, mythical founder of the Panathenaia, and may be assumed to have considerable antiquity.[177] The priestess of Athena must have been present. Early vases that probably depict the Panathenaic procession add musicians (*auletai* and *kitharai*), sacrificial animals, hoplites, and cavalry.[178] The identity of the musicians and animal-handlers is unknown.[179] Hoplites had to be able to afford their armor, and cavalry were of course elites. The men who had competed as *apobatai* may also have participated in the procession wearing fine robes.[180] Thus the Archaic procession was clearly composed mainly of upper-class Athenians.

Many elements of the procession remained the same after the Kleisthenic reforms, but democratically-elected officials acquired much more prominent roles. In the Kerameikos, the procession was marshaled by *demarchoi* rather than by the Peisistratid family, as was the arrangement when Hipparchos was assassinated.[181] Several groups of elected officials probably marched in the procession, including *strategoi*, *taxiarchoi*, *phylarchoi*, and *hipparchoi*.[182] Their arrangement in the procession is not certain, but it is likely that the *strategoi* and *taxiarchoi* organized the hoplites and the *hipparchoi* and *phylarchoi* rode with the cavalry. The *hieropoioi*, officials who originally organized all the aspects of the Panathenaia but later saw their duties reduced to the sacrifice and distribution of meat, may also have been included in the procession.[183] Shear concludes that all three of the main archons, the polemarch, basileus, and eponymous archon, had a role in the festival and

[177] Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F8, F9; quoted by Harpokration, *Suda*, Photios, *Lexicon*, s.v. kanephoroi, and the scholia vetera on Ar.*Vesp*.544b. Shear, J.L. 2001: 53-54; 130-132; 519-520.

[178] Attic black-figure band cup, ca. 550 BCE, private collection, and a fragmentary dinos by Lydos, ca. 560-550 BCE, National Museum, Athens, Akropolis 607. See also Neils 1996: 181-2, For skepticism that the vases depict the Panathenaia, see Van Straten 1995: 14-18.

[179] Late evidence states that the Euneidai *genos* provided kithara players and heralds for processions, but this cannot be projected back to the 6th and 5th centuries with certainty: Harpocr. s.v. *Euneidai*, attributed to Lys.*Against Telamon*; Hesych. , Phot. s.v. *Euneidai*; Poll.*Onom*.8.103; The lexicographers may be overgeneralizing when they say the Euneidai provided music and heralds for all processions (Parker 1996: 297).

[180] The *apobatai* are attested on the Parthenon frieze and Ar. *Nub*. 69-70, see Shear, J.L. 2001: 161

[181] Shear, J.L. 2001: 125-6. On Hipparchos and Hippias, see Thuc.6.57, 1.20.1; Arist.[*Ath. Pol.*] 18.3.

[182] Shear, J.L. 2001: 127. Ten *strategoi* were elected after 501/0 BCE, one from each tribe. The *taxiarchoi* were also ten in number, and the office was probably created in the first quarter of the 5th century (Gilbert 1895: 236, n. 2). There were two *hipparchoi* and ten *phylarchoi*, who each led their tribe's cavalry (Gilbert 1895: 236-7).

[183] Shear, J.L. 2001: 451- 5, who concludes that by 410/9 BCE they were connected only with the sacrifice, while the athlothetai organized the rest of the festival.

therefore may have marched in the procession; perhaps the other six archons did as well, since they certainly did at the Lesser Panathenaia.[184] The *tamiai*, the treasurers of Athena, served from Panathenaia to Panathenaia and had charge of the processional vessels and accepting the offerings to the goddess, so it seems likely that they marched in procession.[185] They would certainly have had to be present on the Acropolis both to receive the offerings from the procession and to collect and store the processional vessels.

Thus, in terms of its participants, the Panathenaic procession of the late 6th century continued to provide opportunities for the wealthier Athenians to show off—both women and men, old and young. In the wake of the overthrow of the Peisistratids, their role organizing the procession was taken over by democratically-elected officials, who then performed their status in the procession. These officials were, as far as our evidence shows, either those who helped to organize the festival, or military officials who mustered the armed contingent of the procession and added to the overtones of military victory in the festival.[186] Although they were elected, most of these officials were probably still elites, and thus (as Maurizio has pointed out) the lower classes of Athens were largely excluded from performing in the procession.[187] The procession itself was thus hardly a display of "all the Athenians," but it did show off elected officials who owed their position to the democratic process, and also provided a very public opportunity for women to participate in religious life.

[184] Shear, J.L. 2001: 463-6. The polemarch may have offered sacrifices to the Tyrannicides at their tomb before the procession; the archon basileus was associated with the torch-race, and perhaps also the presentation of the peplos, if it is him on the Parthenon frieze; the eponymous archon was in charge of collecting prize oil. For the archons at the Lesser Panathenaia see Shear, J.L. 2001: 75, Agora XVI 75. 35-40.
[185] Shear, J.L. 2001: 466-9.
[186] Shear, J.L. 2001, especially chapters 1, 2, and 4.
[187] Maurizio 1998: 297-318.

The Symbols of the Procession: The Peplos

In the mid-6th century, around the same time that the Panathenaia acquired a penteteric "Great" version, the Gigantomachy appears in Athenian vase-painting.[188] The main offering to Athena at the Panathenaia, besides the sacrificial animals, was a woven *peplos* which most sources describe as being decorated with images of Athena's role in the Gigantomachy.[189] The new prominence of the Gigantomachy in vase-painting at this time, sometimes in a particular motif which has been connected to the standard design of the *peplos*, suggests that the *peplos* decorated with this scene was first offered as part of the Panathenaic reorganization.[190] Beginning in 566/5 BCE, Athens was trying to attract an international audience for the Panathenaia, and the introduction of the *peplos* woven with scenes of the Gigantomachy may be tied to a need for greater spectacle and display—as well as a propagandistic desire to spread Athenian mythology and ideology. Moreover the Gigantomachy was a widely known myth to which the Athenians did not have sole claim, and thus perhaps suits the festival's new panhellenic character.

Once every four years, a *peplos* woven with the tale of Athena's victory over the Giants was presented to the goddess at her penteteric festival, the Great Panathenaia.[191] The *peplos* was a powerful symbol for the Athenians; in Aristophanes' *Knights*, the chorus

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[188] Brandt 1978: 1-23.

[189] Strattis, *Makedones*, fr. 30 (ca. 400 BCE); scholia on Ar.*Eq*.566a (undated); scholia on Eur.*Hec*.469 (undated); scholia on Pl.*R*.1.327a (undated); scholia on Aelius Aristides 1.404 (undated); Origen.*Cels*.6.42 (3rd century CE). Euripides states twice that it was the Titans, not the Giants, being woven into the *peplos* (Eur.*Hec*.466-74, *IT*.221-4). All other references to the *peplos* indicate that the Gigantomachy was depicted, and Euripides seems to have confused Titans and Giants (Shear, J.L. 2001: 179-180). The *peplos* of Athena is the subject of a spirited and ongoing debate. Mansfield proposed that there were two *peploi*, a life-sized one dedicated in non-penteteric years, and a much larger tapestry dedicated at the Great Panathenaia and carried on the Panathenaic ship (Mansfield 1985). I do not find the arguments for a tapestry-*peplos* convincing. The only evidence that the penteteric *peplos* was unusually large is a single quote that describes the *peplos* as a ship's sail, hauled into place by "countless hands" (Strattis). Poetic license cannot be discounted here. The question of where a tapestry-sized *peplos* would have been hung or displayed has not been adequately answered. Even a life-sized *peplos* would have required quite a bit of fabric, and since it had no seams, suspending the sheet of cloth like a sail on a ship was probably the easiest method of display. Shear dismisses the existence of an annual *peplos* due to a lack of securely dated evidence before the 2nd century BCE, but the evidence for the Lesser Panathenaia is so sparse it seems unwise to discount the possibility (Shear, J.L. 2001: 99-103; IG II^2 1036+1060, dated to 108/7 BCE; IG II^2 1034, 1943, dated to 103/2 BCE).

[190] Shear, J.L. 2001: 513; Robertson 1985: 289.

[191] Mansfield 1985; Barber 1992: 103-17; Shear 2001: 97-102, 173-85.

describes their fathers as "worthy of the *peplos*."[192] The Gigantomachy myth connected to the Panathenaia told of Athena's victory, an appropriate myth for a procession where military victory was a prominent theme.[193] Elsewhere in the procession Athenian hoplites, men in chariots (*apobatai*), and cavalry added to the martial theme.[194] The Gigantomachy myth also expressed the triumph and reaffirmation of Zeus' reign, and thus cosmic order and stability.[195] The image of Athena conquering a Giant first appeared in Attic vase-painting in the mid-sixth century BCE, about the same time that the Great Panathenaia was first organized as a penteteric, internationally-oriented athletic festival.[196] Vian suggested that the *peplos* design showing the Gigantomachy was established at this time, and it was the *peplos* which inspired the vase-painters.[197] It is most likely that the vase-painters saw the *peplos* in procession, where it was displayed for maximum visual impact on the spectators.[198] Moreover, the design is usually thought to have been relatively standardized; the repetition of the procession every four years would have made the image more recognizable and cemented it in the memory of both the artists and the general populace.

While the theme of the *peplos*' design featured male concerns, the garment itself was most likely produced by Athenian women, though their age and identity are not completely clear.[199] Nine months before the Panathenaia, during the Chalkeia festival for Athena and Hephaistos, the priestesses (of Athena, and perhaps Pandrosos) and two of the *arrhephoroi*

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[192] Ar. *Eq*. 565-8; Shear 2001, 174.
[193] Shear, J.L. 2001, especially chapters 1, 2, and 4.
[194] Shear, J.L. 2001: 155-6; Neils 1996: 181-2 on the sixth century vase evidence for hoplites and cavalry in the procession; the *apobatai* are attested on the Parthenon frieze and Ar. *Nub*. 69-70, see Shear, J.L. 2001: 161.
[195] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 270-80.
[196] Shapiro 1989: 38; Vian 1952: 246; Shear 2001: 35-6.
[197] Vian 1952: 95-106, 251-3.
[198] Alternately, the painters could have seen the *peplos* on display somewhere on the Acropolis. If the *peplos* was hung on Athena's statue as a garment, it might have been difficult to get a good view of the design. Mansfield's theory that the *peplos* dedicated at the Great Panathenaia was a tapestry instead of a garment and was hung somewhere on the Acropolis for viewing is not universally accepted (Mansfield 1985, accepted by Barber 1992: 103-17; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 267; rejected by Aleshire & Lambert 2003: 72; J.L. Shear differs on many points, 2001: 173-85).
[199] Mansfield 1985: 54 proposed that the penteteric *peplos* was produced by professional male weavers. A late tradition records that a pair of famous male weavers wove the first *peplos* (Zen. *Epitome Paroimion* 1.56; Diogenian. 2.7; Ath. 2.48b). J.L. Shear rejects Mansfield's theory, but suggests that the male weavers could have been commissioned to produce the first design (Shear, J.L. 2001: 182-3).

set up the loom used to weave the *peplos*.[200] Someone must have prepared the wool for weaving by cleaning, carding, and spinning it. The thread also had to be dyed, because the *peplos* was saffron and hyacinth-colored.[201] Purple, being a rare dye, was associated with wealth and luxury. Saffron-colored clothing was closely associated with women, an appropriate choice for Athena's gift and meaningful also to the women who wove and saw the *peplos*.[202] The weaving of the *peplos* was probably also undertaken by girls or women, but their age and identity are not clear. The *arrhephoroi*, who were between seven and eleven years old, may have helped with the weaving in addition to setting up the loom.[203] Well-born citizen women probably also contributed their skills and time.[204]

Weaving was a prominent part of the lives and identities of Greek women, and was linked to the Panathenaia through myth as well as through the production of the *peplos*. Pandrosos, daughter of Kekrops, was supposedly the first to weave woolen clothes, while her sister Aglauros was the first to dress the statue of Athena.[205] Both daughters (as well as a third sister) were entrusted with the infant Erichthonios, mythologized as the founder of the Panathenaia and fosterling of Athena.[206] Pandrosos received a ewe in sacrifice at the Panathenaia, and also had a kourotrophic role in the development of young girls through the Arrhephoria festival.[207] The *arrhephoroi*, who helped set up the loom for the *peplos* and perhaps helped with its weaving, occasionally set up commemorative inscriptions to Athena

[200] *Etym.Magn*. 805.43 s.v. *Chalkeia*; *Suda* s.v. *Chalkeia*; Parker 2005: 464-5.
[201] Barber 1992: 116.
[202] Barber 1992: 116-7.
[203] Mansfield 1985: 277-81; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 268-9; Barber 1992: 113, who points out that young girls often participate in detailed traditional weaving because their fingers are small and nimble and their eyesight is still good. Inscriptions of the late 2nd century BCE speak of 120 *parthenoi* who either prepared the wool, helped with the weaving, or perhaps did both: Aleshire & Lambert 2003: 65-86.
[204] Eur. *Hec*. 466-73 and scholia, *IT* 221-4.
[205] Phot. s.v. *Pandrosos*. For Aglauros, see Phot. s.v. *Kallynteria*.
[206] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 36-48. On Erichthonios as founder of the Panathenaia, see Shear, J.L. 2001: 43-54.
[207] Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F10. Aglauros was linked to the Plynteria and Kallynteria instead.

and Pandrosos.[208] Pandrosos was thus linked to weaving and the upbringing of youths, especially young girls (through the *arrhephoria*).

The weaving of the Panathenaic *peplos* involved many girls and women, and thus would have been a point of interaction for girls still learning their place in society and the married women who could teach them. This point of interaction also would have provided an opportunity for singing and storytelling—passing on a particular type of cultural memory to the next generation.[209] Literary sources frequently mention women singing or telling stories at the loom, whether they were chanting rhythmically as a mnemonic device to remember the patterns or sharing myths, songs, and other wisdom.[210]

The Panathenaic *peplos* was a potent symbol with many interwoven strands of meaning, associations which it might have evoked as it passed by the hundreds of spectators during the Panathenaic procession. Men and women alike could marvel at the skill of the weavers and the beauty of the cloth. The men in particular might have identified with their goddess' inspiring victory over the Giants. All could acknowledge the import of the gods' victory over chaos, the reaffirmation of Olympian rule, the reassurance of continued stability in the universe.[211] The *peplos* might also have had a political meaning, symbolizing the unification of diverse people or viewpoints into a single community.[212] For the women in the crowd, the *peplos* might have had a very different set of associations. Particularly in times when the Athenians were actively at war, women who had lost fathers, husbands, or sons in war might not have sympathized with the theme of military glory which was so prominent in both the procession and the *peplos*. On a more positive note, the creation of the *peplos* was entirely the work of women, and so one can imagine that the *peplos* itself was viewed as their contribution to honoring Athena, a source of pride. Weaving was an activity that all the

[208] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 29.
[209] I would like to thank Roger Woodard for this suggestion.
[210] Tuck 2006: 539-50; Tuck 2009: 151-9; Heath 2011: 69-104.
[211] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 277.
[212] Scheid & Svenbro 1996: 9-34, with special reference to Ar. *Lys*. 567-586.

female spectators were very familiar with; upon seeing the *peplos*, these women could easily have imagined the process of production, the painstaking weaving of figures and details, the atmosphere of female companionship.[213] There was also an auditory element: the sounds of the shuttle striking the taut threads (frequently described in literature as "singing"), as well as the songs and tales shared among the weavers. As a piece of fabric, the *peplos* might also have evoked the sense of touch, the feel of the fabric. The *peplos* was the main type of garment worn by Athenian women in the 5th century, and so was a familiar part of women's daily life and dress.[214] The *peplos* was thus imbued with sensory and cultural memory.

Sourvinou-Inwood, in her analysis of the rituals surrounding the *peplos*, proposed that the ever-repeating sequence of the production and dedication of the *peplos* was designed to provide an experience of "everlasting continuity," emphasizing the cyclical nature of the festival calendar and time in general.[215] This sense of continuity might have been reinforced by the garment itself, which was woven the same size, made of the same colors, displaying similar imagery every year (or four years). We cannot be sure who conveyed the *peplos* to the Acropolis in the procession, but we can suggest the kinds of visual, auditory, and tactile sense-memories it might have evoked in the spectators. The associations of the *peplos* and its imagery were repeated each time it was offered to Athena, continually interwoven with the cultural memory of the Athenian spectators.

The Symbols of the Procession: The Sacrificial Animals

By the time the Parthenon frieze was carved, the sacrificial animals in the procession included a large number of cows and a few ewes. On the mid-6th century vases, however, the sacrificial animals depicted are a *trittoia*—a cow, ewe, and sow. Was there a change in ritual

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[213] Weaving was frequently depicted as a communal activity, e.g. the Amasis painter lekythos, MMA 31.11.10, dated 550-530 BCE; Bundrick 2008: 283-334.
[214] Roccos 2000: 245.
[215] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 208-14.

practice? Or is this merely artistic license? The cow and ewe are consistent with later evidence. Athena received cows—the most expensive and prestigious animal—and ewes are attested on the Parthenon frieze, perhaps for Pandrosos, a heroine associated with the *arrhephoroi* and thus the production of the *peplos*.[216] Perhaps the sow was intended for Ge Kourotrophos; Simon has suggested that in later periods, she received bloodless sacrifices carried by the *skaphephoroi* in trays.[217]

Neils accepts that the early festival involved the sacrifice of a *trittoia* rather than a hecatomb of cattle.[218] Similar sacrifices to Athena are attested in two demes, and may support this interpretation that the original Archaic sacrifice to Athena consisted of a *trittoia*.[219] Elsewhere in Greece the *trittoia* was offered to Herakles, Zeus, and Poseidon, but it was a rare sacrifice, and perhaps especially ostentatious or costly.[220] In the 4th century the old-fashioned *trittoia* was replaced by the even more ostentatious hecatomb sacrifice, a veritable herd which might have been corraled on the Acropolis in the sanctuary of Zeus Polieus while they awaited sacrifice at the nearby Altar of Athena.[221]

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[216] Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F10 states the Pandrosos received a ewe whenever Athena received a cow in sacrifice. For Pandrosos' connections to the *peplos*, see above.

[217] Simon 1983: 69-70 suggested that the honeycombs carried by the *skaphephoroi* could have been chthonic sacrifices to Ge. Cult of Ge Kourotrophos on the Acropolis: Price 1978:101-132. Price found evidence for several cults of Kourotrophos Ge, including an altar in the Pandroseion next to the shrine of Athena Polias, which seems the likeliest candidate for preliminary sacrifices at the Panathenaia. In the 1st century BCE, the ephebes sacrificed to Athena Polias, Kourotrophos, and Pandrosos on the Acropolis upon leaving service (IG II^2 1039 line 58), suggesting the physical and ritual closeness of the three cults. In the 3rd century BCE the Salaminioi provided a priestess of Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Kourotrophos (Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 153), who might have processed with the Priestess of Athena at the Panathenaia, if she was needed to preside over sacrifices to Pandrosos and Kourotrophos. Shear believes the sow was an offering from the Salaminioi (Shear, J.L. 2001: 96-97, 156).

[218] Neils 1996: 182 n. 12. Neils believes the band cup faithfully depicts the procession, because of the considerable elaboration of the procession with all its components.

[219] Van Straten 1995: 17, n. 13 notes incriptions from Oinoe and the Marathonian Tetrapolis, where a cow, three sheep, and a piglet were sacrificed to Athena Hellotis. The calendar dates to the mid-4th century BCE. Robertson 1985: 241-242 and, on the inscription more generally, Dow 1968: 174-5. Nonnus, a very late source, gives Athena Hellotis some aspects of the Erichthonios story (Robertson 1985: 243-5).

[220] Kadletz 1976: 288, 305.

[221] Neils 1996: 182 n. 12; IG II^2 334. The inscriptions are dated 335/4 and 330/29 BCE. On the corral at the sanctuary of Zeus Polieus see Hurwit 1999: 192. Jon Mikalson suggested (pers. comm. 3/27/2015) that most of the cattle might have been sacrificed in the Kerameikos for the feast, rather than having all hundred cattle process up to the Acropolis, where the logistics of such a huge sacrifice might have been difficult.

Artistic license on the early vases cannot be entirely dismissed. The vase-painters could not depict a full hecatomb on a single vase; the vases (as with the Parthenon frieze later) are not a photographic representation of the procession. Other vases which Shear associates with the Panathenaia depict only a single bull as a sacrifice to Athena.[222] Perhaps the depiction of the *trittoia*—an expensive and relatively rare sacrifice[223]—was meant to indicate the religious importance of the procession depicted and symbolically recall the huge number of animals sacrificed at this festival.

The Symbols of the Procession: Kanephoroi

The *kanephoros* who led the Panathenaic procession, carrying the basket with sacrificial implements, was a potent symbol of purity and virginity. The office was attributed to Erichthonios, founder of the Panathenaia, though *kanephoroi* also carried the basket at other civic processions and were not limited to the Panathenaia.[224] Roccos comments that, with the large number of festival days, the *kanephoros* must have been a common sight in the city.[225] In the late Archaic and early Classical period, the *kanephoros* was recognizable by her basket, her position at the head of the procession, and her dress—a special “festival mantle” that was worn over a *chiton* or, later, a *peplos* and hung down both in front and in back in luxurious folds.[226] She also may have worn white make-up on her face to appear more pale, and a necklace of dried figs.[227]

The purity and virginity of the *kanephoros* was deeply important. Dillon notes that Artemis and Athena were sometimes depicted as *kanephoroi*: “the *kanephoroi* reflect the

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[222] Shear, J.L 2001: 157-8. Vases are the Painter of Berlin 1686 amphora, found in Vulci and dated ca. 540 BCE, which is complete and shows a bull led to an altar of Athena on one side, and *auletai* and *kitharai* on the other side. Also Acropolis 2298, dated ca. 500 BCE, showing a procession with *kanephoros*, bull and attendant, and *auletai*. Here the single bull could stand for the full hekatomb.
[223] Ekroth 2014: 336.
[224] See n. 177 above.
[225] Roccos 1995: 645.
[226] Roccos 1995: 645-54.
[227] Parker 2005: 225, n. 35; Ar. *Lys*. 646-7.

purity of these two eternally virgin goddesses, and participate in a pure sacrifice to the gods."[228] Goff points out that the virginity of the *kanephoroi* "emerges as a focus of interest in its own right" during this very public display, as the *kanephoros* stands on the cusp of marriage.[229] Roccos emphasizes that only the pure *kanephoros* could be entrusted with the ritually-pure sacred objects within the basket—the barley or first-fruits, knife, and fillets.[230] She was also of good birth and good character—any hint otherwise was enough to disqualify a girl, as the Peisistratids rejected the sister of Harmodios, setting in motion the events that led up to Hipparchos' assassination.[231] The white powder or make-up on the face of the *kanephoros* might also have been meant to emphasize her purity.[232] The necklace of dried figs seems also to relate to the purity of the *kanephoros*, since figs were elsewhere connected with rituals of purification.[233]

That the *kanephoros* was immediately recognizable from her dress and attributes, and that she was strictly defined by her purity, is demonstrated by the fact that virgin goddesses were occasionally depicted as *kanephoroi*. From the point of view of Athenian women, the post of *kanephoros* was a prestigious honor, a chance to serve the city, an experience which gave the former *kanephoros* greater authority (as the chorus in *Lysistrata* use it).[234] From the men's perspective, the beauty and desirability of the *kanephoros* was frequently mentioned in myth and literature.[235] The figure of the *kanephoros* was thus deeply embedded in Athenians' cultural memory.

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[228] Dillon 2002: 38.
[229] Goff 2004: 114.
[230] Roccos 1995: 642.
[231] Roccos 1995: 644.
[232] White garments were associated with ritual and might have been intended to convey the same idea. Lee 2015: 93, n. 36; white clothes were required in the mysteries of Andania.
[233] See chapter 4 for more discussion.
[234] Ar.*Lys*.645-7.
[235] Parker 2005: 225-6.

The Symbols of the Procession: Thallophoroi

The office of the *thallophoroi*, like the *kanephoroi*, was said to have been founded by Erichthonios, and thus of great antiquity.[236] Xenophon states that the olive-branch-bearers were old men, chosen for their beauty (and thus presumably elites).[237] The chorus of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, however, contemplates with horror the prospect of being useless, laughed at in the streets, and called a *thallophoros*.[238] Should this imply that *thallophoros* was a term of derision? I think rather that *thallophoroi* were closely identified with old men, and that this was their main public, ritual role. The two were so tightly linked in Athenian cultural memory that to be called a *thallophoros* was, effectively, to be called an old man, perhaps with the implication of being unable to fulfill other roles. The olive branch itself was hardly an unimportant or shameful symbol to carry.

In the context of the Panathenaia, the olive branch was closely associated with Athena. The Athenians preserved the myth that Athena had first given them the olive tree during her dispute with Poseidon over who was to become patron deity of Athens; the tree itself stood on the Acropolis, near the temple of Athena Polias, whose statue was made of olive wood.[239] The olive was considered Athena's sacred tree; in addition to the one on the Acropolis, there was a grove of a dozen sacred olive trees in the Academy, and further trees scattered throughout the Attic countryside on private property.[240] The olive branches of the *thallophoroi* drew positional meaning from their kinship with these sacred olive trees, especially the one on the Acropolis, which the members of the procession would have seen as they approached the Altar of Athena.

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[236] Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F9. Scholia on Ar. *Vesp*. 544b. Shear, J.L. 2001: 53-5, 132-4
[237] Xen. *Symp*. 4.17.
[238] Ar.*Vesp*.540-5.
[239] Parker 1987b: 198-200.
[240] Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 60.1-3; Lys. 7, where the speaker is defending himself against a charge concerning a sacred olive tree on his property. See also Shear 2001, 405; Papazarkadas 2011, 260-284.

The olive branches of the *thallophoroi* drew further positional meaning from the olive leaf crowns and olive oil given to the victors in the Panathenaic games, which linked them to athletic victory.[241] The sacred trees scattered throughout Attica were nominally the providers of the olive oil given as prizes at the Panathenaic games.[242] The spectators of the procession had just spent several days watching the athletic competitions, and both the recipients of the olive crowns and disappointed competitors were part of the crowd watching the procession. This link between the olive and athletic success made the olive-leaf crown into a potent symbol of victory and civic honors, as well. Alcibiades on his return from exile was described as decorating his ships with various victory symbols, including olive shoots.[243] Aeschines mentions the awarding of olive-leaf crowns for civic reasons, while Plato discusses awarding olive-leaf crowns to the best soldiers and citizens.[244]

The olive was thus an appropriate symbol for the Panathenaic procession to Athena. The olive tree was closely associated with Athena, and also with athletic victory. The role of *thallophoros* was reportedly instituted by Erichthonios and thus possessed great antiquity and prestige. It seems more likely that Aristophanes threw in a joke about *thallophoroi* because the post was exclusively associated with old men (who are ridiculed throughout the *Wasps*) and would be immediately recognizable to his audience—thus drawing on their cultural memory.

Conclusions

The Panathenaic procession of the early democracy made a few changes to reflect the changing character of Athenian government and civic authority, but many elements of its

[241] Olive-leaf crowns were also given at Olympia. At Nemea, Delphi, and Isthmia the crowns were made of other foliage.
[242] Shear 2001, 405-6.
[243] Ath. 12.49. The other symbols were two different kinds of victory crowns.
[244] Aeschin. 2.46, 3.187; Pl. *Leg*. 943c proposes awarding olive-leaf crowns to the best of each class of soldier. Pl. *Leg*. 946b awarding olive-leaf crowns to the first, second, and third-best citizen over fifty years old.

route, participants, and symbols were retained from the Archaic period. We should not try to read the procession as an expression of democracy. Though elected officials played a role in the procession, they were mostly military officials who lent emphasis to the theme of military victory.

During the course of the procession, the participants traveled from the Kerameikos to the Acropolis. They began outside the city proper, among the tombs of their ancestors who had performed this same ritual for decades before them. The Agora which they passed through was still mostly open space, except for the civic buildings that began to spring up on the east side of the Agora and the Altar of the Twelve Gods (a Peisistratid construction which apparently did not play a role in the Panathenaic procession). The entire time, the participants could look up the street ahead of them and see the Acropolis, the great rock of Athena with its gleaming marble temples. After walking through the Agora, the procession ascended the ramp up to the Acropolis, perhaps passing spectators seated in the theatral area in front of the propylon. Already there was a forest of dedications on the Acropolis, including some from tradesmen and craftsmen, some depicting Theseus, and others set up by the *demos*. Above it all rose the great temple of Athena, rebuilt by the democracy, with its pediment depicting Athena, Zeus, and Herakles conquering Giants. Athena, carved in the round, must have stood out strikingly, and the scene surely interacted with the Gigantomachy woven into the peplos. What the participants saw on the south side of the Acropolis remains unclear; perhaps another temple, perhaps *oikemata*, but either way richly decorated and painted.

The spectators, seated in wooden stands or simply standing along the Panathenaic Way, saw the entire procession file by. At the front walked the *kanephoros*, leading the way with her basket, an emblem of purity emphasized by her white make-up and necklace of figs. Then the priestess of Athena and perhaps other priests or priestesses who had duties on the Acropolis. We do not know where in the procession the *peplos* was displayed, but it seems

likely it was near the front; if it was hung on a mast-like frame for display, the procession had to stop at the Eleusinion, take it down, and fold it for transport up to the Acropolis where it could be dedicated to the goddess.[245] For the male spectators, the depiction of Athena's military victory on the *peplos* might have stood out, bringing to mind the victories that they had participated in. For the women in the crowd who knew what time and effort went into the production of such a garment, the *peplos* could have evoked their own memories of weaving with other women, sharing stories and wisdom—especially those few women who had been privileged to participate in the weaving of the Panathenaic *peplos* at some point in their lives. The sacrificial animals—perhaps a *trittoia*, perhaps a herd of cattle—filed past, led by their handlers, decorated with fillets, lowing, smelling of dung and the field. There may have been additional women with incense-burners, *phialai*, *hydriai* with water for the sacrifice, and other processional vessels, perhaps made of precious metals—but we cannot be sure, since most of these are only attested visually in the Panathenaic frieze. The musicians marched past, playing tunes on their *auletai* and *kitharai*, perhaps setting the pace for the procession as a marching band does for modern parades. Then there were the *thallophoroi*, handsome old men carrying this symbol of Athena's benevolence toward her city, the olive branches used for victory crowns and civic honors. Perhaps next came the nine archons and the treasurers of Athena. Then came the military—the hoplites with the *strategoi* and *taxiarchoi*, the cavalry with the *hipparchoi* and *phylarchoi*, the *apobatai* dressed in long, fine robes—a proud (and loud) display of Athens' military might with their armor, weapons, and horses.

Many of these elements—in the landscape, the participants, and symbols—go back to the mid-6th century. They had been repeated every four years for decades, and had already begun to imprint themselves upon Athenian cultural memory.

[245] As was the case later with the Panathenaic ship, which could not ascend the ramp to the Acropolis. See Shear, J. L. 2001: 143-55; 923.

The Panathenaic Procession in the Late 5th Century

A century later, Athens was a rather different place than in the late 6th century. The city had developed a more robust democracy, and a muscular and wealthy empire alongside it. The Athenians had weathered two Persian assaults, the utter destruction of their city, and had won several spectacular victories which became closely entwined with Athenian ideology and myth. They had rebuilt their city better than ever, and used the wealth of their empire to construct grand new temples on the Acropolis—though stark reminders of the destruction they had recently endured were never far out of sight or mind. The Panathenaic procession also underwent many changes as it reflected its changing city and participants, and some of its symbols acquired new resonance.

The Route

The procession of the late 5th century BCE gathered in the shadow of the Themistoklean city wall and Dipylon Gate. This was a courtyard gate, and the space between the flank walls could have been used to muster the parade.[246] Within the courtyard area was a small well, generally used by travellers, but also useful to keep the herd of sacrificial animals well-watered as the procession drew up.[247] Just inside the gate was a fountain-house to the left, available on a daily basis for travellers to obtain water, but also for the members of the Panathenaic procession to make sure they were hydrated before their march.[248] Between the two gates of the Dipylon, just inside the gate, was a small round altar to Zeus Herkeios (of the courtyard), Hermes (here, god of travellers), and Akamas (because the administrative unit of the Kerameikos was named after the tribe Akamantis).[249] It is possible that the altar played a

[246] Knigge 1991: 68.
[247] Knigge 1991: 69.
[248] Knigge 1991: 74.
[249] Knigge 1991: 73.

small part in the beginning of the procession.[250] The fortifications also included towers, which besides their military uses may have been available for spectators.[251] Outside the gates to the north of the Academy road lay the Demosion Sema where Athenian war dead were buried.[252] The dead, buried at public expense and listed by tribe on the grave stelai, were yet another evocation of democracy and democratic ideals.[253] Many of those who took part in the procession knew someone buried in the Demosion Sema, who had themselves perhaps marched in a past procession—the ancestors watching over the cycle of festivities.[254] There were also the funeral orations and ceremonies for the war dead, which were likely widely attended and might be recalled by members of the procession as they organized. Among the tombs, it is worth noting a large grave monument of the late 5th or early 4th century BCE, including a stone tumulus adorned with sculpture and topped by a marble Panathenaic amphora.[255] He was probably a victor in the Panathenaic games, and his tomb would have been visible to those assembling on the street for yet another Panathenaic procession.

The procession set off toward the Agora, entering it at the northwest corner (fig. 3). Entering the Agora, the procession approached the rebuilt Stoa Basileos and the new Stoa Poikile from behind. The Stoa Basileos was rebuilt, perhaps in the 460s, with two terracotta *akroteria*; one showed Theseus throwing Skiron into the sea, the other Hemera (Day)

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[250] The much longer procession from Miletus to Didyma began with the deposition of a basket of offerings at a shrine of Hekate just outside the city gate, a libation of wine to the goddess, and paeans to her; similar offerings to Hermes are not implausible here. On the Miletus-Didyma procession see the cult ordinance of the Molpoi, which was pre-Persian in origin (*Milet* 1.3.133); Fontenrose 1988: 74.

[251] Ar.*Ra*.128-33 mentions watching the start of a torch-race from 'the high tower'. It is not clear which torch race is meant, since torch-races are attested for the Panathenaia, Prometheia, and Hephaisteia. Later (1089-98) Dionysus jokes about seeing a slow runner in the Panathenaic torch-race being jeered at and slapped by the crowd at the Dipylon Gate, reinforcing the idea that this area was a prime location for watching both the torch-race and (presumably) the procession.

[252] Knigge 1991: 157-9. The date when the Demosion Sema was laid out is controversial. Solon, Kleisthenes, and the Tyrannicides are all supposedly buried there, but these could be cenotaphs rather than actual burials. At the very least it was in use by the mid-5th century, as described in this section.

[253] On the Demosion Sema see Arrington 2014.

[254] Paga 2012: 395-6 also observes that the proximity of the Demosion Sema to the procession's staging ground meant that "the memory of the dead was carried with the living in procession."

[255] Knigge 1991: 161-2.

carrying off Kephalos.[256] The representation of Theseus is indicative of his growing fame within the *polis*, both as one of the most famous kings of Athens (this is the Stoa *Basileos*) and as a unifier of Attica. Theseus also supposedly refounded the Panathenaia, making it especially appropriate to position his image overlooking the Panathenaic Way.[257] Kephalos is more enigmatic; he married a daughter of Erechtheus, which of course links him to Athens' early history, but he was closely associated with Thorikos, where he was worshipped as a hero.[258] Perhaps the juxtaposition of Kephalos and Theseus was a subtle reference to Theseus' synoecism, as Thorikos was one of the twelve cities incorporated into Athens by Theseus.[259]

The Stoa Poikile faced southeast onto a side road rather than onto the Panathenaic Way, and thus was not really designed to be viewed easily by the members of the procession.[260] The Stoa Poikile, Stoa Basileos, and Stoa of Zeus (while serving many purposes) could have served as shady shelter for the spectators of the procession, or spectators of the competitions which had taken place in the Agora during the Panathenaic festival. However, the Stoa Poikile also contained paintings and objects which spectators or visitors could easily have slipped inside to view without straying too far from the Panathenaic festivities. The paintings depicted Athenian military victories, including Marathon; the paintings were subject to approval by the *demos* and formed a kind of war memorial.[261] Also on view in the late 5th century were the shields captured from the Spartans and their allies at

[256] Paus.1.3.1; Shear, J.L. 2001: 705-6.
[257] Shear, J.L. 2001: 706.
[258] Parker 2005: 65, n. 58; 1987: 137, 146-7.
[259] Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 fr. 94.
[260] Costaki 2006: 112 observes that although the Panathenaic Way was the widest street leading into the Agora, and is generally assumed to be the 'main entrance', most people going to the Agora from the city would have approached the site from other directions, and the buildings in the northwest corner of the Agora are more likely oriented to them than to the Panathenaic procession: "…someone approaching the Agora from the northwest would be almost like entering the site from behind since all Classical buildings actually turn their back side to this northwest corner and open up towards the east, south or north."
[261] Camp 1986: 69-71, Shear, J.L. 2001: 708-712. Other paintings included Theseus fighting the Amazons and the Athenians' victory at Oinoe.

Sphakteria.[262] Shear points out that previous war memorials had been set up on the Acropolis, and the shift to making such displays in the Agora could have emphasized that the democracy was responsible for the military victories celebrated by the stoa.[263]

The northwest entrance to the Agora was also marked with a small forest of herms. The first three were set up to commemorate Kimon's victories over the Persians at Eion in 476/5.[264] As common figures at entrances, the cluster of herms that sprang up here (enough to give the area its nickname "the Herms") must have made a strong impression of transition on visitors entering the Agora. Looking up to their right, the members of the procession might have glimpsed the north metopes of the temple of Hephaistos and Athena, which depicted several of Theseus' deeds.[265] Theseus' victories were prominent in the paintings of the Stoa Poikile, and the visual interrelationships between these buildings were certainly discoverable for spectators and visitors during the course of the Panathenaic festival. Athenians who were frequent visitors to the Agora would have had the benefit of their own visual memory of the sculptures, paintings, and war spoils displayed around the Agora, and so walking by these monuments in the procession might have evoked certain personal or collective memories. All these monuments and sculptures helped to articulate Athenian history and identity, and give current Athenians an ideal to live up to as they took their place among the citizenry.

The procession also passed by the two statue groups of the Tyrannicides: the original which had been stolen by the Persians, and the replacement set up by the Athenians just three years later.[266] Shear has suggested that hymns might have been sung as the procession passed the statues of the Tyrannicides.[267]

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[262] Camp 1986: 71-72.
[263] Shear, J.L. 2001: 714.
[264] Camp 1986: 74.
[265] Its cult statues were dedicated in 416/5 BCE. Shear, J.L. 2001: 715-6. On the metopes: Morgan 1962: 210-219.
[266] Shear, J.L. 2001: 690-1, 703.
[267] Shear, J.L. 2001: 220.

The Acropolis which the Athenians ascended in the late 5th century was much-changed from the late 6th century. The Periklean building program writ large throughout the sanctuary the existing themes of military victory (especially against the Persians) and thanksgiving to Athena for those victories. Plutarch described the Parthenon and Propylaia as dedications to Athena, and Demosthenes observed that "the demos inherits undying possessions; on the one hand, the memory of their deeds, and on the other, the beauty of the dedications set up in their honor—the Propylaia, the Parthenon, stoas, docks," in a poignant juxtaposition of memory and monument.[268] The victories of the gods, particularly the Gigantomachy which was so celebrated at the Panathenaia, were further assimilated to the successes of Athena's people.

As the procession moved up the ramp toward the Propylaia, the new temple of Athena Nike towered above them. The small temple was surrounded by a marble parapet carved with Nikai sacrificing bulls amidst victory trophies, though the purpose of the sacrifice is debated.[269] First the procession saw the west pediment with the Athenians' victory over the Amazons—also depicted on the west metopes of the Parthenon just inside the gate, and a myth which was set on the Acropolis itself. Below on the frieze was, remarkably, Athenians fighting fellow Greeks--perhaps the Athenians fighting to recover the bodies of the Seven against Thebes.[270] Not only was this a victory for the Athenians, but later legend thought that those heroes were buried at Eleusis—and the west end of the temple of Athena Nike, conveniently, overlooks the City Eleusinion below and faces in the general direction of the

[268] Plut.*Per*.12-14.2; Dem.22.76. Translation by the author.

[269] Carpenter 1929: 37-55. Simon 1997: 139 argued the sacrifice was chthonic, because bulls would not be sacrificed to Athena, and the Nikai use knives rather than axes. Stewart 1985: 58, 66-7 interprets the parapet as an allegorical statement of victory, paralleling in theme and composition the Parthenon frieze.

[270] Hurwit 1999: 212; Harrison 1997: 120-2. This may have been an issue with particular resonance at the time the frieze was designed and the temple constructed. In late 424 BCE, the Thebans refused permission to the Athenians to recover their dead. Euripides' *Suppliants* was composed and performed soon afterward, and the Nike temple begun about the same time. Stewart 1985: 62, 64-5 sees the west and north friezes as Athenians engaged in historical battles, not mythic ones. The Athenian warriors, depicted nude and without much individualization, seem to embody a kind of "democratic heroism" and perhaps reference ideals expressed in funerary orations of the time.

pass to Eleusis.[271] The north frieze, visible to the procession as they gradually ascended the ramp, may have showed the Athenians defeating Eurystheus, king of Argos with the help of the sons of Herakles.[272] Some Athenians may have believed that Eurystheus was buried on Attic soil, perhaps at Pallene near the temple of Athena as Euripides says in the *Herakleidae*, which was performed about 430 BCE.[273] Legend promised that his grave would protect Athens against the Herakleidae and their descendants, who were of course the Argives and Spartans against which the Athenians were fighting in the late 5th century.[274] It is debatable how clearly the members of the procession could see these frieze scenes, which were quite small, even with the aid of relief and paint. Perhaps the members of the procession (especially those less familiar with Athenian myths) gathered only a general impression of heroic warfare above mirrored by commemoration of heroes below.

As the procession approached the Propylaia, they were probably able to look back and see the front of the temple as well. Here, an akroterion depicted Bellerophon, hero and favorite of Athena, defeating the Chimaera; the east pediment showed a Gigantomachy, the main myth for the Panathenaia, also featured on the east metopes of the Parthenon as well as the peplos; and the frieze depicted a divine assembly.[275] At the center of the assembly are Athena and perhaps Nike; to Athena's right, Poseidon sits on a rock (perhaps representing Cape Sounion?) while Zeus sits to the left of the possible Nike figure.[276] Thus Athena and Poseidon are closely (and peacefully) associated, facing towards the west pediment of the Parthenon, where their contest for Attica was shown. At the south end of the frieze,

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[271] Eur.*Supp*.8-14; Paus.1.39.2, Plut.*Thes*.29.
[272] Hurwit 1999: 212.
[273] Eur.*Heracl*.1026-1044. Other traditions place his death north, along the road between Megara and Corinth, at the hill of Sciron, Apollod.*Bibl*.2.8, Paus.1.44.10.
[274] The currency of this myth and the others depicted on the Nike temple is clear from Herodotos. According to Hdt.9.27, at the Battle of Plataea the Tegeans and Athenians disputed which of them should fight on the left wing, an honored position. Against the Tegeans' single heroic deed, the Athenians cited five: they had defended the Herakleidai against Eurystheus, they had recovered the Seven against Thebes and buried them at Eleusis, they had defeated the Amazons, they had taken part in the Trojan War, and they had defeated the Persians at Marathon. Of all these, only the Trojan War is omitted from the Temple of Athena Nike.
[275] Hurwit 1999: 212.
[276] Hurwit 1999: 212.

Aphrodite and Peitho are spatially associated with the shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos on the Acropolis slope directly below.[277] A few blocks of the parapet faced east, standing above the small stairway that led into the temenos. These blocks showed four Nikai figures (two surviving) in energetic motion to the viewer's left, the same direction which a person would be moving if they climbed the steps.[278] The final Nike is actually ascending a step herself, as if inviting the viewer to copy her motion.[279] Attention would certainly be drawn here if, as at the Lesser Panathenaia, the procession likely stopped here to sacrifice a cow to Athena Nike.[280] Worshippers could easily have stood on the ramp and watched the sacrifice.

Then they passed through the Propylaia which, in orientation and architecture, set the stage for the Parthenon (fig. 5).[281] The theatral area of the late 6th century (if that is what it had been) was now covered by the new design of the Acropolis approach, though spectators could have gathered in the wings of the Propylaia. The central gate of the Propylaia was approached by a ramp for the sacrificial animals, while the other four stepped entrances were meant for human worshippers.[282]

Ahead of them was, until the very end of the 5th century, the podium of the Old Temple of Athena with the charred ruins of the temple burned by the Persians, and again by a fire of 406/5.[283] Before the podium stood the Athena Promachos of Phidias. Hurwit points out that its orientation sets its gaze on Salamis, and in its hand the statue may have held either a Nike figure or an owl (owls were seen before both Marathon and Salamis as good omens).[284]

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[277] Hurwit 1999: 212.
[278] Carpenter 1929: 11-13; Simon 1997: 133.
[279] Simon 1997: 133.
[280] Agora XVI.75; Shear, J.L. 2001: 76-82.
[281] Hurwit 1999: 193.
[282] Hurwit 1999: 193.
[283] Linders 2007: 777-782 suggested, in a solution that makes the best of the difficult evidence, that the controversial "Opisthodomos" should be connected with the hastily-restored Archaios Neos, torn down after a fire in 406/5 (at which point the room in the Parthenon which stored the goddess' wealth took on the name Opisthodomos). Xen.*Hell*.1.6.1 reports the fire. The Erechtheion had only just been completed in 406/5 (Hurwit 1999: 206), and was thus ready to receive the statue of Athena Polias, which had presumably been housed in the ruins of the Old Temple.
[284] Hurwit 1999: 152.

Soon after its erection, the replaced bronze chariot commemorating Athenian victory against the Boeotians and Chalkidians was moved to stand beside the Bronze Athena, an implicit association of prominent victories.[285] To the left of the podium, the members of the procession could see the newly-completed Erechtheion with the sacred olive tree.

As the members of the procession followed the path toward the altar, they approached the Parthenon from the west. To the right, members of the procession would have seen the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, and within the precinct a bronze statue group of the Trojan horse dedicated by Chairedemos.[286] The statue group showed the moment when the Greeks began to jump out of the horse—which was, of course, built with Athena's guidance. Attic connections were further stressed by the figures shown peeking out of the horse: the sons of Theseus, as well as Mnestheus, who led the Athenian forces to Troy, and Teukros, brother of Salaminian Ajax. The statue group may also have referenced the north metopes of the Parthenon, which showed the sack of Troy.

As they approached the Parthenon, the members of the procession saw its west pediment depicting the contest between Athena and Poseidon for Athens.[287] The pediment's scene appropriately concerned both the topography of the Acropolis (the olive tree, the salt spring) and the early myths of Athens.[288] The central depiction of the olive tree, which was located nearby in Pandrosos' sanctuary, might also have recalled the prize-vases full of olive oil which were given as prizes in the Panathenaic games.[289] Kekrops is shown, Pandrosos and possibly her sisters, and perhaps Erichthonios as a child, who among other deeds invented the chariot and founded the Panathenaia. Kekrops' grave, the precinct of Pandrosos, and the altar of Poseidon-Erechtheus (Erechtheus may be one of the figures depicted on Poseidon's side of the pediment) were all located just to the north on the Acropolis. Other Athenian heroes and

[285] Hurwit 1999: 153.
[286] Shear, J.L. 2001: 802.
[287] Hurwit 1999: 174-5; Hurwit 2004: 129-30; Palagia 1993: 40-52; Palagia 2005: 242-253.
[288] Hurwit 1999: 175-7.
[289] Shear, J.L. 2001: 737.

heroines may have had their sculptural moment here, too, linking the scene definitively with both the mythic past and the heroic landscape of Athens and Attica. The contest itself is a sort of pre-aetiology for the Panathenaia—if Athena were not the patron deity of Athens, a position she won from Poseidon in the contest depicted, then she would not receive the sacrifices, gifts, peplos, and worship of the Athenian people in the same way.

The west metopes showed an Amazonomachy—but not just any battle with the Amazons, the Athenians' battle to repel the Amazons from the Acropolis.[290] This battle was also depicted on the exterior of the shield of Athena Parthenos inside the building, and was a clear allusion to the Persians' sack in 480 BCE.[291] The northern metopes, though badly damaged, seem to have depicted individual scenes from the Trojan War, another conflict between West and East which involved warriors from all over the Greek world, including Athens.[292] The juxtaposition of Amazonomachy in the west and the Sack of Troy on the north as the viewer moved along the Panathenaic route might have recalled the myth that the Amazons fought for the Trojans (and against the Greeks) at Troy.[293] The eastern metopes showed the Gigantomachy, with Zeus near the center, much as he may have been woven into the peplos offered to Athena at the Panathenaia.[294] Above them, the birth of Athena from Zeus' head was depicted in the east pediment; the central figures are not clear, and there is debate over how dynamic the composition was.[295] In the pediment, metopes, and frieze of the east side, Athena is repeatedly shown in the company of all twelve Olympians, perhaps emphasizing her position close to Zeus but still equal to her fellow deities, whose protection

[290] Hurwit 1999: 169; Hurwit 2004: 124. Shear, J.L. 2001: 729; Schwab 2005: 178-183.
[291] Hurwit 1999: 169; Schwab 2005: 179 actually identifies them as Persians in eastern costume rather than Amazons, emphasizing their interchangeability.
[292] Hurwit 1999: 170; Hurwit 2004: 124-5; Shear, J.L. 2001: 730; Schwab 2005: 183-190.
[293] Schwab 2005: 189.
[294] Schwab 2005: 168-173.
[295] Hurwit 1999: 178-9; Hurwit 2004: 131-3; Palagia 1993: 18-31, 1997: 29-50; 2005: 234-242.

Athens also sought.[296] The south metopes were not visible to the procession, but appear to have showed a Centauromachy.[297]

The north and south metopes, then, were linked by themes of the violation of the institution of marriage and the conventions of *xenia*, restored to order either by Theseus (Centauromachy) or his sons (Trojan War).[298] Thus the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, were shown as taking part in various conflicts against barbarians or other less civilized or inhuman adversaries. Their success was emphasized by the Nike acroteria rising from each corner of the building. The choice of themes might also have been influenced by the presence of Theseus and his family in three of the four metope subjects. He was associated with the Panathenaia, which he was supposed to have refounded when he united Attica in the synoikism, but he was also connected by this time with various other rituals throughout the city, and was therefore an established mythic presence in Athenian ritual and art. The pediments, on the other hand, glorified Athena herself and linked her with Athens' earliest days, emphasizing the Athenians' proud status as an ancient, autochthonous people. The west pediment emphasized her victory in the contest with Poseidon—there again the theme of victory—and her close mythic relationship with the heroes and heroines of Attica; the east pediment, facing the dawn, represented the birth of Athena from Zeus' head, the beginning of a new order, and in a certain sense the beginning of Athens as well.

Around the entirety of the building, the continuous Ionic frieze depicted Athenians in the act of processing at the Panathenaia.[299] The processional theme was mirrored in the Erechtheion, where the Karyatid maidens stood forever frozen in the act of marching toward the altar with their *phialai*. Connelly suggests that, by making the procession "continually present" through the stone *kanephoroi*-Karyatids, the Athenians "symbolically rendered the

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296 Palagia 2005: 233-4.
297 Hurwit 1999: 171; Shear, J.L. 2001: 731; Schwab 2005: 173-178.
298 Shear, J.L. 2001: 731-2.
299 See p. 87 below.

very presence of the goddess continuous."[300] From their raised porch the Karyatids looked down on the procession passing by—and the procession looked up at them, especially the *kanephoroi*, who saw stone representations of their office.

It is difficult to fathom that, on a day when such a huge crowd was gathered to honor Athena, and when Athens had such an important opportunity to show off its wealth and piety, that the doors to the Parthenon were not thrown open to show Pheidias' Athena Parthenos to all the participants. Perhaps after the sacrifices (or even during—there may have been a large number of cattle to kill, and the act must have become repetitious to watch after awhile) members of the crowd could wander the Acropolis and view the buildings for themselves. If that were the case, those who went to the east side of the Parthenon and saw the central *peplos* scene of the frieze would surely have recognized what was being done and who was doing it. Whatever the identification of the central figures, it was a scene that spectators had seen every year for more than a hundred years (perhaps very recently), and thus although modern scholars debate the identity of these figures, they would have been readily identifiable for the ancient Athenian. Sourvinou-Inwood is surely right to draw out the scene's meaning as a representation of the close, cyclical, everlasting relationship between Athens and Athena (and the other twelve Olympians), and to the average Athenian spectator that was undoubtedly a comforting reassurance.[301]

The statue of Athena Parthenos inside the Parthenon was also probably not part of the visual experience of those marching in the procession. Therefore, I will only briefly mention that the details of the statue included the Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, and Centauromachy, and thus the same themes were reflected in both the statue and the temple decoration.[302] The Nike figure she held in her hand would also have emphasized the themes of military victory, also represented by several Nike figures in the sculpture of the temple,

[300] Connelly 2011: 321-2.
[301] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 270, 285-6.
[302] Lapatin 2005: 261-292; Hurwit 2004: 146-154.

and the Nike akroteria on each corner of the building. She was framed by the temple doors, which may have been chryselephantine like the goddess herself, covered with gold, sparkling in the morning light.[303]

As the procession approached the northeast corner of the Parthenon, it turned toward the altar of Athena for the sacrifice. The altar faced east; but there was not much room on this side for spectators, due to the precinct of Zeus Polieus.[304] It has been suggested that the large, open precinct just east of the altar could have been used as a corral for cattle, not only for Zeus' Dipolieia sacrifice, but also for the cattle sacrificed to Athena at the Panathenaia.[305]

Near the altar, but to its north and west, was the so-called Erechtheion where the new temple of Athena Polias stood with her olivewood *xoanon*. This building, not the Parthenon, was the focus of the Panathenaia. The entire building was elaborated with delicate decorations, but had little figural sculpture. A frieze, now fragmentary, wound around the cella and north porch; it may have depicted Erechtheus and his family. This would surely have corresponded well with the mythic *aitia* of the Panathenaia.

Despite the relatively small scale of the frieze, it might have been visible to at least some of the spectators if they gathered on the platform of the Old Athena Temple after the ruins were dismantled, as Henrik Gerding has suggested. Reviving an old debate about the organization of the Erechtheion, he argued that the cella of Athena Polias was in the west, not the east, and that the Karyatid porch formed the point of connection between the spectators' area, the altar of Athena, and her cella.[306] Thus the spectators were in an ideal position to pivot between the sacrificial action at the altar and other offerings given directly to Athena in her cella, including some of the sacrificial meat (probably taken into her temple and burned

[303] Pope and Schultz 2014: 19-31.
[304] Hurwit 1999: 191-2.
[305] Hurwit 1999: 192.
[306] Gerding 2006: 393-400.

on her altar, letting off a plume of heavy smoke through the North Porch) and the peplos.[307] If there was a ceremony involving the dressing of the olivewood statue in her new peplos and the presentation of the newly-attired statue, the Karyatid porch would present a perfect space for doing so. Gerding's interpretation takes full advantage of the dramatic potential of these spaces, and correctly emphasizes the experience of procession and how space can influence that experience.

The Participants

The participants from the late 6th century and early 5th century procession continued to perform their ritual roles: the *kanephoros*, the *thallophoroi*, the hoplites and cavalry, the elected officials. The procession of the late 5th century added new participants whose presence altered the character of the procession. The late 5th century procession still consisted mainly of elites, but some of them were non-Athenian metics, colonists, and allies. That the metics were wealthy is indicated by their costume, purple robes—an expensive color. The colonists and allies were representing their home *poleis*, and were thus probably elites who could be expected to comport themselves appropriately.[308]

Metic men served as *skaphephoroi*, tray-bearers, who carried trays filled with honeycombs and flat cakes.[309] Photios (referencing Menander) also mentions that the metics were dressed in purple chitons, which would have emphasized their wealth and perhaps also their status as foreigners, since the color purple was closely associated with the Phoenicians who produced the purple dye.[310] The metic *skaphephoroi* must have been a familiar sight as early as 458 BCE, when Aeschylus referenced them in the *Eumenides* by placing the Erinyes

[307] Gerding 2006: 397-400.
[308] As *theoroi*, see Rutherford 2013: 159-163, where he cites instances of people criticized as inappropriate (i.e. not elite enough) choices to represent the city as *theoros*.
[309] Simon 1983: 69-70 suggested as offerings to Ge Kourotrophos. Ammon.*Diff.*247 s.v. *isoteles kai metoikos* (1st/2nd cent. BCE) mentions honeycombs.
[310] Photios s.v. *skaphas*; Menander fr. 147.

in the role of metics, dressed in purple, foreign but accepted and honored within the procession.[311] They cannot have participated in the Panathenaia before 508/7, because the position ‘metic’ did not exist until after the Cleisthenic reforms, and perhaps not even until the 460s BCE.[312] The creation of a formal metic status sometime in the first half of the 5th century may have been prompted by an increase in the number of foreigners attracted to Athens by economic opportunities.[313] The category “citizen” was even more strictly bounded in 451/0 by Pericles’ citizenship law, which limited citizens to those Athenians whose father and mother had both been citizens. Whitehead speculates that increased contact with the metic population, growing in size and diversity, provided the impetus for the new law.[314]

Some ancient authors evidently attached a negative connotation to the skaphephoroi, turning the word *skaphai* (tray) into an insult, but the portrayal in the *Eumenides* suggest that the position was meant as an honor and perhaps acquired negative connotations later.[315] Although included in the procession, the metics were not included in the sacrifice, which was reserved for Athenians.[316] The *skaphephoroi* are shown on the Parthenon frieze, but metic girls—attested as stool- and shade-bearers for the elite *kanephoroi*—are absent, and it may be that the roles for metic girls were not added until later in the 5th or 4th century.[317] Both stools and shades/parasols were associated with Eastern luxury and were normally carried by slaves

[311] Aesch.*Eum*.1028-32.
[312] Whitehead 1977: 140-7, especially 145, for a discussion of the conventional view that Cleisthenes created the metic status. He notes the use of the official term metoikoi in a deme-law of the 460s (IG I^2 188). Bakewell 1997: 219-226 argues for a date in the 460s, and agrees that the designation ‘metic’ with their purple cloaks must have been known by the time the *Eumenides* was performed in 458 BCE.
[313] Whitehead 1977: 148-9. This status came with some strict boundaries. According to Aristotle, metics were excluded from *timai* (Arist.*Ath*.1278a35-8); they were barred from participating in assemblies and juries or holding office, and they were further denied the right to hold priesthoods or own land or a house. They were also denied a share of the sacrifices at state festivals, with the token exception of the Hephaestia regulation of 421/0 BCE which granted three animals to the metics, compared to 100 for the citizens (IG I^2 84). Their active participation in processions is attested only at the Panathenaia and City Dionysia.
[314] Whitehead 1977: 150.
[315] Negative connotations: Aelian *Varia Historia* 6.1, Menander fr. 191 K, *Com. adesp*. 1144. Positive portrayal: Aeschylus (see above), Hesychius s.v. *skaphephoroi*. See also Whitehead 1977: 87-88; Maurizio 1998: 305-6.
[316] Whitehead 1977: 87.
[317] Shear, J.L. 2001: 138.

for wealthy Athenians, thus reinforcing the social distinction between metic and citizen.[318] Also in the late 5th century, the divide between metic and citizen was further emphasized by the *metoikion* (metics' payment).[319] Whitehead observes that the *metoikion* represents "the idea not merely that the metic must pay for his status…but that his position relative to the citizen shall be continually underlined by payment of something which citizens never paid."[320] This then is the context in which metics were given a public role in the Panathenaic procession—their connections and contributions to the state acknowledged, but their non-citizen status carefully marked.

The metics were not the only foreigners with a place in the late 5th-century procession. Colonists and allies also marched, offering a cow and panoply to Athena. Colonists are attested as early as 445 BCE, when a decree setting up the colony at Brea mentions that the colonists are to bring a cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaia.[321] At about the same time, allies may have started bringing a cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaia. A decree attributed to Kleinias, dating perhaps around 448/7 BCE, prescribes punishment for anyone who incorrectly carries out the offering of cow and panoply.[322] The change in practice may coincide with the movement of the Delian treasury to Athens. From 425, the date of the Great Reassessment of tribute, all allies were required to attend the Great Panathenaia and present a cow and panoply to Athena.[323] The symbolism of the cow is straightforward; armor, on the other hand, was typically offered to the gods on the occasion of a military victory. Panoplies presented by colonists or allies represented not a specific victory, but the concept itself, and served as a nod to Athens' imperial dominance. The offerings from allies ceased at the end of

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[318] Miller 1992: 104-5 who suggests that the inclusion of metic girls might go back to Pericles' citizenship law of 451/0, which hardened the distinction between citizen and metic. Maurizio 1998: 305. Parasol-bearers (*skiadephoroi*): Ar.*Av.*1550-2 with scholia, *Eccl.*734, Aelian, *Varia Historia* 6.1. Stool-bearers (*diphrophoroi*): Ar.*Av.*1550-2 with scholia, *Eccl.*734, Hesychius s.v. *diphrophoroi*.
[319] Whitehead 1977: 152-3.
[320] Whitehead 1977: 152-3.
[321] IG I^3 46.15-16. Shear, J.L. 2001: 141-2.
[322] IG I^3 34.41-43. Shear, J.L. 2001: 140-1.
[323] IG I^3 71.55-58. Shear, J.L. 2001: 139-40.

the 5th century, as the Athenian empire collapsed; offerings from colonies, on the other hand, continued into the 4th century.[324]

The metics, colonists, and allies included in the mid-5th century procession would have experienced the urban landscape differently than an Athenian citizen, primarily because of their status as outsiders excluded from democratic participation. The institutions and achievements of the democracy surrounded them during the procession's march, and the chain of symbols encountered along the way possessed the greatest resonance for native Athenians who had greater access to the myths, history, and symbolic landscape of their community, since they had been steeped in it from birth. For the metics, inclusion in the Panathenaic procession was an acknowledgment of their contributions to Athenian might and splendor, integrated in a way which still noted their non-citizen status. However long metic families had been living in Athens, they may still have lacked the same connections to the city's myth and history, particularly with respect to the wars against the Persians. Pericles' citizenship law strongly emphasized that metics were *not* native Athenians, and that native Athenians were those who had Athenian blood on both sides of the family, members of the ancient, autochthonous people born in and tied to the land of Erechtheus.[325] For the colonists, participation in the procession may have been a rather sentimental acknowledgment of cultural and political ties. For the allies, who were apparently compelled to produce offerings and march in the parade, partipication was perhaps an ambiguous honor. The allies were outsiders, brought into the procession primarily as a show of Athenian influence and power. They were forced to honor a goddess with whom they had little or no personal connection in an urban landscape focused on Athenian democracy, Athenian victories, Athenian deities and heroes, and Athenian glory. In ritual, the Athenians remembered their allies the Plataeans,

[324] Shear, J.L. 2001: 141-2

[325] Autochthony was a minor theme at the Panathenaia, mostly through the figure of Erichthonios, who was earthborn but also closely tied to Athena and the Panathenaia. Metics' connection to the land (or 'place') was circumscribed by the fact that they could not own either land or a house (see above).

who had helped them achieve victory at Marathon, and who were included in prayers during state sacrifices such as the Panathenaia. But the allies of the Delian League, surrounded by the bold, gleaming statements of Athenian valor, power, and wealth with little mention of their contributions, might have felt somewhat underappreciated.

On the Acropolis, they saw the splendid monuments built in part with their tribute, after the treasury of the Delian League was moved to Athens. The north frieze of the Parthenon showed the Trojan War, when Greeks—not just Athenians—banded together against Eastern foes. The gesture toward panhellenism might not have mollified the allies, however. Some might have been grateful for the Athenians' leadership against the Persians, but others were resentful of the way Athens had appropriated the tribute of their allies for their own glorification.[326]

The Periklean building program was not just about celebrating Athenian military victory; it also expressed the close reciprocal relationship between Athens and her patron goddess Athena. The non-Athenian spectator would probably also have observed this message, but for them it might have had a different meaning, as they were outside this privileged relationship with Athena and living in the midst of the real-world effects of Athens' imperial ambitions. Their sense of being an outsider might have been reinforced by the fact that the colonists and allies, a key part of the procession known to have been present at the time the frieze was carved, were left out of the Parthenon frieze. Thus the procession as depicted on the Parthenon was for Athenians only. The Parthenon's sculpture emphasized Athenians' special relationship with the land by including the heroes and heroines on the west pediment, as well as the autochthonous ancestors depicted or referenced on the west pediment and in the procession through the presence of the *apobates*, which were linked to Erichthonios. If it is true that the older men on the east frieze were meant to be eponymous

[326] Some indication of the uproar this caused is retold in Plutarch's account, *Perikles*, 12-14.2.

heroes, and that the cavalry was arranged into ten ranks on the north and south friezes, then the tribal arrangement may have brought to mind the Athenian democracy, a political system in which the Athenians took a great deal of pride. Non-Athenians, then, were very much excluded from the representation of the procession, in marked contrast with the real-life procession marching by.

The Symbols of the Procession: Thallophoroi

The *thallophoroi*, as mentioned above, were an old office of the procession. However, their symbolic olive branches surely acquired new resonance after the Persian attack on the Acropolis in 480 BCE. Legend told that the sacred olive tree of Athena sprouted anew soon after the attack.[327] This tree, located beside the charred ruins of Athena's temple, thus became a symbol of Athenian resilience and re-growth. After the completion of the Parthenon in 432 BCE, there was a second olive tree on the Acropolis—a sculptured tree in the center of the west pediment of the Parthenon, which depicted the contest between Athena and Poseidon.[328] The tree's central placement mirrors its importance to the Athenians, who would have seen both the sculpted tree and the live tree when they processed up to the Acropolis for the sacrifice to Athena. The positional meaning of the olive branch carried by the *thallophoroi* was thus informed by the myths of Athena as patron goddess of Athens, which were expressed in art and life on the Acropolis. One imagines that, particularly in the years after 480/479 BCE, the Athenians viewed the olive branch with a new sense of kinship and patriotism as they began to rebuild their city in the aftermath of the Persian destruction.

[327] Her. 8.55.1.
[328] Hurwit 1999, 174-5; Palagia 1993, 40-52; Palagia 2005, 242-53.

The Symbols of the Procession: Remnants of the Persian Destruction

As the members of the procession formed up in the Kerameikos, they had a clear view of the Acropolis. After 466 BCE, the Athenians finally rebuilt the Acropolis fortification wall—but, very conspicuously, they included pieces of the temples which the Persians had destroyed some fifteen years earlier. Northwest of the Erechtheion, triglyphs, metopes, architrave blocks, and other parts of the Archaios Neos were built into the new wall, while to the east twenty-nine unfluted column drums from the Older Parthenon were included (fig. 6).[329] These memorials were deliberately placed on the north side of the Acropolis because of their visibility to people in the Agora and the civic heart of the city, a constant reminder of the terrible atrocity the Athenians had suffered at the hands of the Persians. This display was not solely for the benefit of the Panathenaic procession, but it must have had a strong emotional effect both on the Athenians marching in the procession and—perhaps—also on the visitors who came to observe the procession, and who were given a clear and powerful justification for Athens' imperial behavior. Upon the Acropolis, some votives were still standing, scorched but intact, silent witnesses of the Persians' impiety.[330] Until the end of the 5th century, the ruins of the Old Athena Temple also remained on the Acropolis as a reminder of the Athenians' history and the horror of the Persian sack. For the allies, who were contributing money and men toward Athens' efforts against the Persians, on the Acropolis they were confronted with the most forceful argument yet in favor of the Delian League.

The Persian Wars were embedded in Athenians' cultural memory in a variety of ways, with many war memorials set up throughout Athens and Attica. The experience of the Persian attack, the Athenians coming home to a city leveled by fire and Persian anger, must have persisted with the Athenians for a generation afterwards. For those who were born after the attack, these visible memorials of the Persians' barbarity—especially the temple architecture

[329] Hurwit 1999: 142.
[330] Paus.1.27.6; Hurwit 1999: 141.

built into the north Acropolis wall—helped to maintain the significance of the battles of Marathon and Salamis in the Athenians' cultural memory. Nor can we forget the more perishable memorials, such as the paintings in the Stoa Poikile.

The Symbols of the Procession: The Parthenon Frieze

The Panathenaia, the most important festival for Athena and the most distinct celebration of her victories and those of the Athenians, was most clearly represented in the sculptured Ionic frieze of the Parthenon. While this frieze certainly depicts the Panathenaic procession, it need not be read as an objective, "photographic" representation of the procession; there is room for idealization, artistic license, and ideological messages.[331] The visibility of the frieze has been debated, but it was probably not too problematic with the aid of relief and paint.[332] Visitors could have walked all around the building during leisure time, however the sculptured procession is not designed in a cyclical fashion; one would have to start at the west, walk along one side to the east, and then start again from the west in order to view the entire frieze in the proper direction—which the members of the procession would not have been able to do, since their movement was restricted to the parade.

Osborne argues that the viewer creates the frieze by viewing it between the columns, choosing how to break the composition, but also that the viewer is drawn along by the movement of the frieze toward the eastern (and culminating) end.[333] Fehr concurs, suggesting that the act of piecing together the frieze by walking along it and observing it between the

[331] Shear, J.L. 2001: 742-61, especially 755-9 interprets the frieze unequivocally as the Panathenaic procession of the 440s BCE, and concludes that the "missing" parts are not historically attested for that period, omitted for design reasons (the hoplites), or due to an emphasis on Athenian unity (colonists and allies). Fehr 2011: 9-12 rightly argues against viewing the frieze as an objective documentation of the procession, and suggests a strong democratic ideological component. Pollitt 1997:61-3 interprets the frieze in light of Periclean ideology.
[332] Hurwit 1999: 179; Wescoat 2013, Youtube video "Seeing is Believing." Emory University students performed an experiment where they replicated several panels of the frieze, some with paint, some with both relief and paint, and hung them on the Nashville Parthenon. The visibility of the panels was surprisingly unproblematic, even on the panels with no relief (pers. comm., B. Wescoat, May 2014).
[333] Osborne 1987: 98.

columns encouraged viewers to consider its larger meaning and promoted memory.[334] The purpose of the frieze was not merely decoration; it had a 'processional' function, encouraging the viewer to create his or her own procession to the east side of the temple, where the viewer was presented with the *peplos* scene and, more importantly, Pheidias' Athena Parthenos.[335] For a member of the Panathenaic procession, however, their view of the frieze was likely to have included only the briefest glimpses of the west side, a more sustained view of the north side as they walked along it, and perhaps a better view of the east side, depending on where the participant stood during the sacrifices on Athena's altar. The main gathering place for worshippers was probably the open space on top of the Dörpfeld foundations, but it is possible that overflow crowds might have ended up east of the Parthenon.

Despite potential visibility problems, the frieze may have drawn the eye with a certain interest, since it clearly depicted a procession. As the procession moved along the north side of the Parthenon, viewers glimpsed cavalry, perhaps recalling the newly expanded Athenian cavalry developed under Perikles. Next there were the *apobatai*, who competed at the Panathenaia, and may have reminded spectators of the competitions in general that they had been witnessing during the festival. Toward the east end, viewers saw men and women processing on foot, carrying various recognizable attributes; in a neat twist, the active participants of the procession become spectators of another, sculpted procession. They observed this perpetual stone procession in glimpses broken by columns—perhaps not unlike the flesh-and-blood spectators who had just observed them passing by in the Agora, and who may have gotten only glimpses of the procession if they had not managed to find a good vantage point. Whether or not the viewer was conscious of the full meaning of the frieze—depicting heroized Marathonian dead, or idealized Athenians, or mythologized

[334] Fehr 2011: 13-15.
[335] Osborne 1987: 99-101.

Athenians[336]—surely the impulse to identify with the carved members of the procession was strong. By keeping the frieze vague and its participants featureless, the frieze in a way invites this viewing experience.

Athenians, of course, had the opportunity to see the frieze (and the rest of the Parthenon) repeatedly. The Panathenaic procession occurred every year, and so those who participated would have had multiple opportunities to view the frieze, year after year, picking out new details each time—not to mention the fact that worshippers may have come up to the Acropolis for personal reasons at other times of the year. Thus the frieze and its uniform, featureless figures acquired familiarity and perhaps a sense of timelessness, not unlike starting the procession among one's family tombs; the members of the procession, escorting the offerings to Athena just as their ancestors had done, a ritual set in stone and endlessly repeating.

Conclusions: The Panathenaia in Athenian Cultural Memory

As Athens passed from the tyranny of the Peisistratids to the early democracy and finally to an imperial power, the Panathenaic procession changed in certain ways to reflect the values of the Athenian people; new participants and symbols were added, and new meanings were added to old symbols. These symbols, participants, and elements of the landscape were integrated into Athenian cultural memory through the repetition of the procession once every four years (with the Lesser Panathenaia in the other three years).

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[336] Boardman 1977: 39-49 believed the frieze depicted the Panathenaic procession carried out just before the battle of Marathon, and so immortalized the Marathonian heroes. Connelly 2014: 149-209 elaborated her theory that the frieze shows the first Panathenaia, celebrated in thanksgiving for Athens' victory against the Eleusinians, where the culminating rite (the center of the east frieze) is the imminent sacrifice of Erechtheus' daughter. Fehr 2011 sees the frieze as a thoroughly democratic monument expressing the behavioral ideals of young men and women under the democracy and the elements of their education. The so-called "peplos" scene he interprets as an ideal Athenian family, where the father shows his son how to fold a himation and the mother teaches her daughters to process wool (see pp. 104-111). As Neils points out in her review, Fehr's perspective is not incompatible with the frieze as a religious procession; "the Parthenon is, after all, a temple, not city hall." Boardman and Connelly's interpretations rely too much on specific visual cues, mythological knowledge, or careful counting, which I find implausible.

Certain elements probably go back to at least the mid-6th century BCE, when the Panathenaia was transformed into a panhellenic athletic festival. The procession started in the Kerameikos, in an open space near the elite tombs along the Sacred Way, and followed the Panathenaic Way up to the Acropolis, which was already sacred to Athena. Atop the Acropolis was Athena's olivewood statue, her sacred olive tree, and an ever-growing collection of votives. The Gigantomachy *aition* as represented in the standardized *peplos* design was probably established in the mid-6th century, along with the offices of *kanephoros* and *thallophoros*. The symbolic currency of these elements is clear from art and literature. The Gigantomachy's popularity in art, inspired by the *peplos* design and the festival *aition*, demonstrates its presence in Athenian cultural consciousness. *Kanephoroi* were depicted in sculpture and vase-painting, and their function as a symbol of virginity and purity is demonstrated by the fact that Athena and Artemis were occasionally depicted as *kanephoroi*. Their dress changed over time, from a *chiton* in the Archaic period to a *peplos* in the 5th century, but their symbolism remained much the same. The importance of this role for young women is indicated by their inclusion in the famous *Lysistrata* passage describing girls' ritual roles.[337] The olive branch of the *thallophoros* was reflected in the olive tree depicted on the west pediment of the Parthenon in the mid-5th century, and the olive crowns as marks of civic and athletic honor throughout the 5th and 4th centuries. When Alcibiades wished to signify his triumphant return, he did so by festooning his ship with various victory symbols including the olive branch.[338] The *thallophoroi* were also so recognizable a symbol (as old men) that they could be laughingly referenced by Aristophanes in the *Wasps*.[339]

Beginning in the late 6th century, the new democracy gradually added elected officials into the Panathenaic procession—mostly military officials who processed with their units, as well as some sacred officials like the treasurers of Athena. The main change, however, was

[337] Ar.*Lys*.640-7.
[338] Ath. 12.49. The other symbols were two different kinds of victory crowns.
[339] Ar.*Vesp*.544.

the topography of the city through which the procession moved. The new democracy moved quickly to build the Stoa Basileos, the altar to Aphrodite Ourania, and other civic structures on the west side of the Agora. The statue group of the Tyrannicides was set up along the Panathenaic Way. On the Acropolis a new temple to Athena was built, one which featured the Gigantomachy in its west pediment. Dedications on the Acropolis included those set up by the *demos*, those celebrating recent military victories such as against the Boeotians and Chalcidians, those glorifying Theseus, and those set up by tradesmen and craftsmen—all trends influenced by the new democracy, and therefore acting as visual reminders of it.

By the late 5th century, new symbols, participants, and landscape features were added to the procession to complement Athens' newly imperial stance. Metics marched wearing purple robes and carrying trays of offerings. Their purple robes were recognizable enough that by the 460s Aeschylus could reference them in the *Eumenides*, dressing the Furies in purple robes to signify their honored inclusion in the Athenian community.[340] The colonists and allies brought a cow and a panoply to Athena, adding to the vast number of cows sacrificed to the goddess and the martial flavor of her procession. The olive branches carried by the *thallophoroi* had perhaps taken on new meaning in the aftermath of the Persian destruction, when the sacred olive tree miraculously grew a new sprout, signifying the Athenians' resilience and regrowth.

The inclusion of metics, colonists, and allies in the 5th-century procession expanded it far beyond simply the citizenry of Athens; here we have not 'the Athenian democracy' on display for itself, but 'the Athenian empire.' At the height of her power and glory, Athens wished to put on as magnificent a show as possible—more people, more wealth and spectacle—all the time emphasizing the city's enormous political influence (the presence of the allies, especially). The Athens which was on display in the late 5th-century Panathenaic

[340] Aesch.*Eum*.1010-28.

procession was not simply democratic Athens; it was also wealthy, powerful, imperial, and above all victorious.

This theme of Athenian victory, power, and wealth was further expressed in the new buildings and monuments which had been constructed over the course of the 5th century. Athens' city wall was a symbol of her defensive strength. Near the area just beyond the Dipylon Gate where the procession organized itself was the tomb of the Marathonian dead and the Demosion Sema, where Athenian citizens gathered to pay their respects to the dead and listen to the annual funeral oration. As the procession entered the Agora, they passed the Stoa Poikile—where paintings of victory and spoils of war were displayed—and the Herms, first set up in this spot to commemorate a military victory. Visible ahead of the procession were the remnants of the Persian destruction which were built into the north wall of the Acropolis, a reminder not only of Persian impiety and the terrible devastation of Athens but also of Athenian resilience, since Athens had eventually triumphed over the Persians and rebuilt her temples. Upon the Acropolis itself were the new, gleaming temples constructed in part with the money provided by Athens' allies, a clear indication of Athens' imperial ambitions. The Temple of Athena Nike stood as an emblem of victory, decorated with reliefs of mythical Athenian battles which had been used to justify Athenian leadership in war. After passing through the Propylon, the procession was greeted with the bronze Athena of Pheidias, armed and victorious. The Parthenon displayed the close relationship between Athens and Athena, and stood as a monument of thanksgiving for victory at Marathon. The temple of Athena Polias contained the proofs of Athena's victory over Poseidon in the competition for patronage of Athens, as well as the altar of Poseidon-Erechtheus (linked to the Athenian victory over Eleusis). A forest of dedications on the Acropolis thanked Athena for success and victory, personal and civic, in war and athletic competitions.

These symbols were perceived by individuals who had a variety of personal experiences and perspectives which colored their view of the symbols. It is not possible to recover a single individual's perspectives, but I have speculated on some ways that certain symbols might have been differently perceived by men and women, or by Athenian citizens and non-citizens. The *peplos*, for example, might have had different associations for men (for whom the *peplos* commemorated Athena's victory and, by association, their own) and women (for whom the physical act of weaving was a major part of their daily life). This is not to say that women could not be proud of Athenian victories, or that men could not appreciate the time and work that went into a garment like the figured *peplos*. The multiplicity of individual views concerning a particular symbol is best preserved with regard to the metics who marched in the procession, and who seem to have been viewed with honor in some sources, in other sources with derision. Some of the non-Athenians who marched in the procession might have been awed and impressed by the spectacle put on for their appreciation, while others might have been more cynical about the Athenian empire and its power. There is plenty of room in such a spectacle for multiple interpretations, though our ability to reconstruct them is limited.

Whatever the individual interpretations of the symbols, some of the meanings and associations attached to these symbols were shared collectively among most (if not all) the Athenians. Elements like the myth of the Gigantomachy, the myth of Athena and Poseidon's contest, the stories of Erichthonios and the daughters of Kekrops were familiar to a broad cross-section of Athens' populace, as demonstrated by their popularity in art and references in plays and literature which were performed publicly (and thus most likely drew on cultural elements or history their audience would recognize). Other symbols such as the *peplos*, the *kanephoroi*, the *thallophoroi*, and the purple cloaks of the metics were also referenced in such contexts. A procession like the Panathenaia was a widely-attended cultural event; while not

all Athenians attended every year, surely most Athenians did attend at some point, and thus shared the experience of watching the procession and its symbols with their fellow Athenians. This collective experience encompassed all the major aspects of the procession: its symbols, its participants, and its landscape. This experience changed as the procession changed to reflect the aspirations and identities of Athens, as it became first a democratic society, and later an empire in which the imperial power was wielded not by an emperor but by the *demos* as a whole. Thus it is not surprising that the *demos* should choose to include symbols of their imperial power in the procession, as a form of ostentation and self-expression. After the Athenian empire faded, many of these symbols also disappeared.

Judging by its name, the Panathenaia was intended to create the impression of including *all* the Athenians. Modern scholars frequently describe the procession as an occasion for Athens to put itself on display, to show 'what Athens is' to themselves and the visiting non-Athenians—whether as a participatory democracy, or as something more complicated.[341] These analyses usually emphasize participation; so Julia Shear summarizes, "to be an Athenian was to be successful in war and to commemorate the city's accomplishments at Athena's festival."[342] It was, of course, important to see and be seen in the procession. The virtue of a public procession is that through its movement it is perfectly suited to display things to the widest possible audience. But *what* was being displayed? It is not only the people who participate, but also the sensory symbols carried, worn, played, smelled, and led by the participants, and the landscape of the procession—its start, its route, the monuments and buildings and natural landmarks along the way, and its end at the deity's sanctuary. On another level entirely, it is not merely things or people or even places that are on display; it is ideas and identities.

[341] E.g. Neils 1992: 27; against the Panathenaia as a democratic display, see Maurizio 1998: 297-8.
[342] Shear, J.L. 2001: vii.

Thus we should not say that to be Athenian is to participate in the "all-Athenian" procession; rather, to be Athenian is to attend the Panathenaia, to participate in the larger sense of observing and remembering one's shared cultural memory. This memory was stored in the array of symbols deployed in the procession, of which most were available to the spectators, while the full experience of the procession's route was reserved for the participants. There is of course overlap between these two categories—the participants one year became spectators the next. The repetition of the Panathenaia once every four years—with the Lesser Panathenaia held annually in between, including many of the central symbols—ensured that the Athenians were regularly invited to participate in actively remembering together, renewing and recreating their shared cultural memory.

Chapter 3: The City Dionysia

The City Dionysia involved two processions: an *eisagogē*, an epiphany of the god, and a *pompē* in which Athens put many of its elite members on display along with symbols relevant to Dionysos. Before the *eisagogē*, the cult statue of Dionysos was taken to a small temple on the road to the Academy. Then he was brought by torchlight into the city amongst general revelry, ribbing, and insults, perhaps accompanied by masked ithyphallic characters. The next morning the grand *pompē* was organized, featuring a *kanephoros*, male citizens carrying bread and wine, others carrying *phalloi*, musicians playing *auloi*, and also the finely-dressed *choregoi* and their choruses. In the mid-5th and 4th centuries, the *phalloi*-bearers were colonists and allies of the Athenians, and metics also carried trays of offerings. The *pompē* of the City Dionysia thus bore some resemblance to the Panathenaia in its composition, but emphasized symbols appropriate to Dionysos, especially the *phallos* and symbols of agricultural abundance.

Background

The City Dionysia was held near the beginning of the month Elaphebolion, corresponding roughly to late March. The majority of the festival consisted of competitions in tragedy and comedy, but at the beginning the participants honored Dionysos Eleuthereus with processions and sacrifices. The City Dionysia was the most recently-instituted of the Dionysiac festivals at Athens. The Lenaia and Anthesteria were supposedly more ancient, which is reinforced by the fact that the eponymous archon presided over the City Dionysia.[343]

The festival's cult myth states that Pegasos of Eleutherai first brought Dionysos Eleuthereus to Athens, but the Athenians rejected the god; they were afflicted with a disease

[343] Thuc.2.15.5. Eponymous archon (and not the archon *basileus*, who presided over older festivals): Parke 1977: 129, Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (revised by Gould & Lewis), henceforth *DFA*: 58.

of the genitals, and consulted the Delphic oracle.[344] The oracle advised them to honor and entertain Dionysos. The myth is neither unique nor surprising. Despite evidence for his antiquity as a god, Dionysos was frequently mythologized throughout Greece as a latecomer, rejected or inhospitably treated, who then had to be appeased with festivals and worship.[345] It is generally accepted that this myth, despite its late attestation, goes back to the cult's foundation sometime in the sixth century. Eleutherai had its own myth of the rejection of Dionysos, the god's punishment of the daughters of Eleuther, and the subsequent welcoming of the god.[346]

While modern scholars accept Thucydides' testimony that the City Dionysia was a more recently-created festival than the Lenaia or Anthesteria, they disagree about when precisely the festival was instituted. The traditional interpretation dates the cult and the first tragic performances to the 530s BCE, while newer theories advocate for making the cult a foundation of the democracy ca. 500 BCE, perhaps connected to the Athenians' victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians in 506 BCE.[347]

The archaeological evidence cannot offer a firm date for the cult's beginning. The foundations of the old temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus are conventionally dated to ca. 530 BCE.[348] There is also an Archaic poros tympanum fragment of satyrs and maenads which has been tentatively assigned to the pediment.[349] The first theater on the south slope of the

[344] Fullest account: scholion to Ar.*Ach*.243; see also Paus.1.2.5.
[345] Burkert 1983: 70 n. 53. There are three mythic examples in Attica alone: Dionysos' introduction to Ikarios; Dionysos Eleuthereus' introduction by Pegasos (see previous note); and Dionysos' introduction to Eleuther at Eleutherai (see next note).
[346] Suda s.v. *melan* (mu 451).
[347] Peisistratid foundation: Parke 1977: 126; Simon 1983: 104; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 103-4; against this Connor 1989: 10-11 argues that the annexation of Eleutherai by Athens was unlikely to have occurred in Peisistratid times, and makes far more sense after the victory against Boeotia in 506 BCE. *DFA* 1968: 58; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 101-2 argue that the cult's foundation should not be tied to politics. Paga 2012: 378-80 also argues for a construction date ca. 500 BCE.
[348] Due to similarities with the SE fountain house. Travlos 1971: 537; Shapiro 1985: 85. Connor contends (on the testimony of T.L. Shear) that the architecture is also comparable to work done on the Stoa Basileos in the early years of the democracy, see 1989: 24. Paga 2012: 379 agrees, and compares it also to work on the Temple of Triptolemos, the Dorpfeld foundations, and the Old Bouleuterion.
[349] Boardman 1978: 155. The piece was found in a house near the temple of Dionysos. Connor objects that its dimensions do not comfortably fit the pediment of the Old Temple of Dionysos, and it is too badly weathered

Acropolis dates to ca. 500 BCE, so that the temple predates the theater by three decades. Performances may have taken place in the agora before the theater was built, but the current excavations in the agora have not identified a location.[350] If the festival existed in the late Archaic period, it probably consisted of dithyramb contests. The epigraphic and literary evidence that tragedies were being performed at the City Dionysia in the 530s BCE is shaky at best.[351] It is also telling that none of the old Athenian families played a significant role in the City Dionysia.

In sum, there is little secure evidence for an Archaic or Peisistratid City Dionysia, aside from the well-accepted (but not unchallenged) date of the old Dionysos temple. It remains possible that the festival itself was a creation of the late 6th century democracy. The first evidence for the procession—in fact, there were two processions—does not emerge until the Classical period.

The "eisagogē apo tēs escharas"

According to the cult myth of the Dionysia, the occasion being celebrated was Dionysos Eleuthereus' introduction into Athens. The annual festival reenacted the cult's introduction by carrying the statue of Dionysos outside the city and then welcoming him back. The question of how Dionysos was welcomed, and the topography of this ritual, is complicated by a lack of Classical evidence. In the first step, the *xoanon* of Dionysos was taken out to a small temple on the road to the Academy.[352] The second ritual movement is the

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for a firm date, though Connor does suggest iconographic parallels with a skyphos by the Theseus painter, perhaps from the last decade of the 6th century. See Connor 1989: 24-5.

[350] Photios s.v. *ikria*, Suda s.v. Pratinas; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 91. Against the notion that plays were first performed in the Agora, see Slater 1986: 255-64, especially p. 257; see also Scullion 1994: 52-66 for a thorough discussion of literary references. He concludes that plays were only ever performed on the slopes of the Acropolis. Slater argues that plays were first performed at the Lenaion theatre, located in the sanctuary of Dionysos in Limnais.

[351] Scullion 2002: 81-84. The competitions listed in the so-called Fasti inscription (IG II^2 2318), which records victors in the tragic contests, are unlikely to go back much further than about 501 BCE. At the very least the competitions were reorganized ca. 500 BCE, under the auspices of the democracy.

[352] Paus.1.29.2.

eisagogē apo tēs escharas, the "introduction from the *eschara*." This is known primarily from the ephebic inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, where the ephebes are commended for carrying out a nighttime procession for Dionysos which was certainly separate from the grand *pompē*.[353] Since the ephebic institution did not definitively exist before 334/3 BCE, we cannot assume that they transported the statue of Dionysos in the Classical period; we do not know who might have fulfilled this role in the Classical period.[354]

The small temple of Dionysos outside the walls was used only during this ritual. Pausanias says only that it stood somewhere along the road to the Academy, perhaps in the vicinity of the temple of Artemis Ariste and Calliste.[355] The *eschara*, a type of low altar, probably stood near the temple of Dionysos.[356] Once the statue of Dionysos Eleuthereus had been carried to the *eschara*, the god was honored with libations and hymns before being brought back into the city at night.[357]

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[353] SEG XV 104 (127/126 BCE); IG II^2 1006 (122/121 BCE), 1008 (118/117 BCE), 1011 (106/105 BCE), 1028 (101/100 BCE), 1030 (post 93 BCE), 1039 (83-73 BCE).

[354] Friend 2009: 4-56 has a recent overview of the evidence and scholarship on this topic. He concludes that although the *ephebeia* had antecedents, it did not exist as a formal institution of military training until 334/3 BCE. Siewert 1977: 102-11 demonstrates that the ephebic oath has 5th-century elements, but divorces the oath from the question of military training and the existence of a formal *ephebeia* (see 102, n. 2, 3).

[355] Paus.1.29.2.

[356] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 91-8 proposed that the *eschara* in the inscriptions was actually the *eschara* which has been excavated next to the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the agora, which dates to about 510 BCE. By her reconstruction, the statue of Dionysos was carried out to the Academy; then it was brought to the *eschara* and propitiated with sacrifice, hymns, and dances; then the ephebes escorted the statue to the theater for the *komos*; and finally the grand *pompē* took place the next day. This reconstruction is very speculative. The Altar of the Twelve Gods played a role in the Dionysiac *pompē*, but not (as far as we know) in the *eisagogē*. This would also rather awkwardly divide the entrance of Dionysos into the city into two parts, of which the first part—in which Dionysos passed through the city walls and symbolically "into" the city—has no name and no ritual emphasis. It seems to me that this adds unnecessary complexity. Locating the *eschara* and its attendant rituals in the extraurban temple of Dionysos (rather than in the agora) has parallels in other celebrations of Dionysos elsewhere in the Greek world, see next note. Paga 2012: 384 also places the *eschara* in the Agora and associates it with the *pompē* rather than the *eisagogē*.

[357] There is mention of sacrifices in the ephebic inscriptions, see note 353. This parallels some of the other attested ritual movements of Dionysos statues in other parts of the Greek world, where statues are temporarily moved outside the city and rites conducted at the extraurban location. Paus.7.21.6: A ritual at Patrae, where three statues of Dionysos are taken from a precinct dedicated to a native woman, located near the theater, and moved to a shrine of Dionysos Aesymnetes, which is located along the road between the marketplace and the port. See 7.20.1-2 for one of the rituals associated with Dionysos Aesymnetes. Paus.2.7.5-6: A Sicyonian ritual where two secret images of Dionysos are carried by torchlight from the "Cosmeterium" to a temple of Dionysos, accompanied by the singing of local hymns. Pausanias (2.7.6) walks from the temple of Dionysos to the agora and, along the way, sees a collapsed temple of Artemis Limnatis ("of the marsh"). The character of the area thus seems to have been well-watered and perhaps marshy. The Kerameikos was also famously lush and well-

Unfortunately all the evidence for the *eisagogē* in the Classical period is circumstantial. Perhaps we can glean slightly more about the ritual from its similarities with the Plynteria ritual for Athena. In the ephebic inscriptions of the Roman period, the ephebes were lauded in the same sentence for conducting the *exagogē* and *eisagogē* of Athena at the Plynteria and the *eisagogē* of Dionysos.[358] Both ritual movements occurred at night, by torchlight. Both also involved the escorting of a deity's statue. The purposes of the rituals were quite different; the Plynteria was cleansing the statue of Athena Polias in the sea, placing the ritual emphasis on the extraurban location, while the emphasis for the City Dionysia lay on the ritual re-introduction of Dionysos into the city.[359] The statue of Dionysos did not have the same significance as the statue of Athena Polias, which represented the city's patron goddess who watched over them and ensured their successes. Her absence was a cause for great ritual uneasiness. It is possible, however, that the absence of Dionysos Eleuthereus, taking the city symbolically back to a time before they "knew" him, was also an occasion of ritual abnormality. Sourvinou-Inwood reconstructs the *komos*, a popular drinking party where some men wore masks, on the same night as the *eisagogē*.[360] As the statue of Dionysos was escorted back to the theater, he was was welcomed anew with a rite of *xenismos,* in which he was met by processional choruses and ithyphallic men.[361] This might also have been the occasion when men in carts engaged in ritual insults.[362] The ithyphallic men could have

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watered (Arrington 2014: 82-4). Such spaces tended to be outside the city walls and therefore better-suited to "marginal" deities like Artemis or Dionysos.

[358] See note 353.

[359] For example, presumably Dionysos too had an *exagogē*, but this is not emphasized in the ephebic inscriptions. The ephebes must not have been involved. On the Plynteria, see chapter 4.

[360] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 78-9 reconstructs the *komos* as occurring while the statue of Dionysos is still outside the city; this involved public drinking while reclining on ivy branches in the northwestern part of the Agora near the Altar of the Twelve Gods.

[361] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 76-9. The testimony of Semos of Delos (likely to apply to the Delian Dionysia), writing about 200 BCE, describes *ithyphalloi* wearing masks representing drunken men, crowns, gloves embroidered with flowers, tunics with white elements, and a Tarentine robe (apparently women's dress worn by men participating in Dionysiac ritual, see Lucian *Calumn*.16) which covered them down to their ankles. It is not immediately clear how transferable this testimony is to Classical Athens. Semos also describes *autokabdaloi* (unattested at Athens) and *phallophoroi* (certainly part of the grand civic procession the next day).

[362] The practice of hurling ritual insults from wagons is well-attested at Athens, but as usual, it is hard to pin down when and where it took place. Csapo 2012: 19-33 links the ritual insults with the *pompē*, as does Cole

commemorated the genital disease which Dionysos supposedly inflicted on the Athenians as a punishment for rejecting him.[363] If this is so, then the *pompē* the next day could represent the renewal of ritual normality, which was then celebrated throughout the rest of the festival.[364] The *eisagogē* was thus associated with license and abnormality, signaled by symbols such as the ritual insults, the masks worn at the *komos*, and the ithyphallic performers.

The Pompē

The morning after the *eisagogē*, Dionysos was treated to an elaborate procession and sacrifice in his honor. The *pompē* included a *kanephoros*, *obeliaphoroi* (carriers of bread shaped like spits), metic *skaphephoroi* (carriers of trays with offerings), *hydriaphoroi*, and *askophoroi* (carriers of wineskins). The procession also included a contingent of men carrying *phalloi*, perhaps perched on poles.[365] The foundation charter of the colony of Brea stated that the colony was required to send a *phallos* to the City Dionysia every year, and this is generally assumed to be true for other Athenian colonies as well.[366] The *phallophoroi* may have been without masks, with an elaborate headdress of vegetation such as thyme, holly, violets, and ivy.[367]

1993: 33-4, who argues that the practice tempered the public bestowing of honors which was part of the pre-performance rituals. Csapo lists the literary sources, which spell out the associations between ritual insults, wagons, and a general air of drunkenness, all of which seem to fit the *komos* better than the *pompē* the next day. I agree with Wilson (2000: 97) that the ritual insults seem inappropriate at the *pompē*, where status differences were very much on display and the *choregoi* in particular were reaping some of the benefits of their largesse—namely, social capital and a stage for personal display of wealth.

[363] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 89.

[364] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 89. Des Bouvrie 2011: 147 n. 52 argues that the period of abnormality—a liminal period, following the concept of liminality expressed by Victor Turner—maintains through the rest of the festival. This is because the *ithyphalloi* and *phallophoroi*, whom she connects with the *pompē*, follow the procession into the orchestra; thus the liminal phase prevails until the end of the festival. I find Sourvinou-Inwood's reconstruction with the *ithyphalloi* taking part in the *eisagogē* more convincing. The *phallophoroi* need not be symbols of ritual abnormality or liminality; they are appropriate symbols of the power of Dionysos.

[365] On phallus-poles, see Csapo 1997: 264-79. The phallus-pole could be quite small and easily handled by one person, like a thyrsus, or it could be an enormous contraption carried by multiple men.

[366] IG I[3] 46, ca. 445 BCE.

[367] Semos of Delos *FGrH* 396 F 23, quoted by Ath.622c, or 14.16; Cole 1993: 32-3. Sourvinou-Inwood associates it with the *eisagogē* the previous evening, but still accepts the relevance of the quote to the Athenian

Many other groups took part in the procession. A small army of attendants led the sacrificial cattle; estimates range from 240 cattle to 106, based on records of skin-sales.[368] The archon responsible for organizing the procession also marched in it.[369] The *choregoi* surely participated, possibly with their choruses, an opportunity for public display of their wealth and beneficence. Demosthenes charges Meidias with, among other things, damaging the gold crown and gold-embroidered robe that he had intended to wear in the Dionysia procession.[370] Spineto suggests that those who had reserved seats in the theatre also marched in the procession.[371]

It has also been suggested that Dionysos himself participated in the procession. The proof of this may be four Attic *skyphoi*, all dated ca. 500 BCE, which show Dionysos riding in a cart which has been decked out like a ship.[372] Most scholars have traditionally placed the ship-cart of Dionysos at the Anthesteria, but a minority of scholars—most recently, Eric Csapo—have argued that this spectacle belongs with the City Dionysia.[373] Two of the four vases depicting the Dionysiac ship-cart also show a bull in the procession, which in the Roman period was sacrificed by the ephebes, either at the *eisagogē* or *pompē*. Dionysos was joined in his ship-cart by two aulos-players. On the Bologna skyphos, a *kanephoros* and

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festival, since she argues (also Cole) that the Delian Dionysia was closely based on the Athenian one, 2003a: 78. Semos never explicitly states which Dionysia he is describing, and while there may have been similarities between the Delian Dionysia and the Athenian City Dionysia, there were also important differences. The cult myth and *eisagogē* of the god were unique to Athens, while the Delian Dionysia had only the *pompē*; thus the Delian Dionysia might have collapsed elements from the Athenian *eisagogē* and *pompē* into a single ritual. It is also possible that elements of the Delian Dionysia were borrowed from the Rural Dionysia in Attica, rather than the civic City Dionysia with its distinctive cult myth. The final lines of Semos' quote imply a single *phallophoros* who does not engage in ritual insults and is covered in soot or dirt—elements which are not compatible with the Athenian ritual as we know it.

[368] 240 cattle: Ferguson 1948: 134 n. 46. 106 cattle: Jameson 1988: 107-112. The inscription is from 334/3 BCE.

[369] Ath.XII.542c.

[370] Dem.21.22.

[371] Spineto 2011: 301.

[372] Csapo 2012: 28 n. 11. The vases are Athens NM Acropolis 1281; Bologna 130; London BM B79; Tübingen + Vatican Ast. 668, inv. 35632. See also *LIMC* 3 (1986) 492 nos 827-9.

[373] Csapo 2012: 19-33, esp. 28-29. See also Paleothodoros 2012: 51-67, Burkert 1983: 200-201. The association with the Anthesteria stems from Roman testimonia that describe a wheeled ship used for a Dionysiac festival at Smyrna in the month of Anthesterion, which was wheeled up from the harbor with the priest of Dionysos guiding it (Philostr.*VS*.1.530-1; Ael.Arist.17.6, 21.4). However, no formal procession is associated with the Athenian Anthesteria, nor is a bull attested as sacrifice.

possibly someone with a *phallos*-pole walk behind the ship-cart; other members of the procession carry ivy-branches. The *kanephoros* and *phallos*-pole are certainly elements of the civic *pompē*, and so the ship-cart of Dionysos may belong in this procession. It is unlikely that the cult-statue of Dionysos looked so human, however. Simon points out that the cult-statue was a *stylos*, a column-shaped idol, perhaps with a mask on it.[374] A fragmentary inscription from 278/7 BCE mentions a four-wheeled cart that could have carried the cult-statue, which might have had a phallic appearance to it due to its column shape.[375]

In a passage that does not specify Athens as the setting, Athenaeus criticizes those who "lead [Dionysos] through the middle of the agora on a wagon, as if he were drunk."[376] It is likely that the *pompē* passed through the agora (see below). The fact that all the vases depicting a ship-cart date to around the same time (ca. 500 BCE) may indicate that it was a new spectacle added to the festivities which had made an impact on the public.[377] 500 BCE was also about the time that the tragic contests may have been either instituted or reorganized, as implied by the Fasti inscription, and the performances moved to the Theater of Dionysos below the Acropolis. Adding additional spectacle to the procession fits with this trend toward making the festival more of a draw for non-Athenian visitors.

The Route of the Pompē

The route of the *pompē* is virtually unknown. Some scholars have suggested that it started at the prytaneion, but this is not certain.[378] The procession was quite large and probably needed an open area to organize itself, but where this might have been is unknown.

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[374] Simon 1983: 103 citing a fragment of Euripides' *Antiope* (F 203 N), a tragedy set in Eleutherai.
[375] IG I^2 673.17. Cole 1993: 30-31 thinks the cart carried a phallus like the one attested on Delos, brightly painted and perhaps winged. Unfortunately there is firm evidence only for the cart.
[376] Athenaeus 10.428e.
[377] Paleothodoros 2012: 59.
[378] Wilson 2000: 97; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 107-118 agrees it started at the *prytaneion*, where she believes Dionysos was originally welcomed into the city at the central hearth with a sacrifice and dithyrambs. Paga 2012: 384 suggests the procession started at the extraurban temple of Dionysos.

If the ship-cart was a feature of the procession, it might not have been able to pass down the narrower streets of the city. Comparative evidence from other festivals of Dionysos suggests that the streets could be purified or prepared, perhaps to better accommodate such a wagon.[379] It is possible (though unprovable) that the procession mustered in the same area as the Panathenaic procession, utilizing the wider streets of the city for the parade.

Comparison with the Dionysia on Delos suggests that the procession in Athens wound around the city, exploiting the possibilities for display. One stop that seems certain is in the Agora, at the Altar of the Twelve Gods (fig. 2). The Altar of the Twelve Gods was built by Peisistratos' grandson in 522/1 BCE, but developed democratic connotations.[380] In a discussion of hypothetical cavalry maneuvers in processions, Xenophon mentions that choruses honored the Twelve Gods and other gods in the Agora at the City Dionysia.[381] The fragment of a Pindaric dithyramb which has been associated with the City Dionysia may have been performed in this context; it is set in the spring, the correct time for the City Dionysia.[382] It begins by calling on the Twelve Gods, inviting them down to Athens to the agora.

At the end of the *pompē*, the procession approached the altar of Dionysos along the Street of Tripods. The street was six meters wide, and thus able to accommodate a crowd.[383] The west side of the street was lined with choregic monuments starting in the 5th century BCE (fig. 7).[384] The monuments commemorated victors in the dithyramb contests, who were awarded a tripod. Near the Lysikrates choregic monument, on the east side of the Street of Tripods, lay an open square. This square contained an intriguing cult deposit of 5th-century

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379 Cole 1993: 27-28, 31 describes two examples. A Delian inventory included payments for purification of the route of the *phallephoria* (IG XI (2) 203A.38). The route was also strewn with sawdust or wood chips. In the Piraeus, an inscription lists one of the responsibilities of the *agoranomoi* to prepare and make level the streets for the procession and to collect fines from anyone who poured wash water or human waste into the street (IG I^2 380).

380 Gadbery 1992: 450, 467.

381 Xen.*Eq.Mag*.3. Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 90-1 places this during the *eisagogē*, but Xenophon is discussing large public processions; he does not specifically say the *pompē* of the Dionysia, but that is the context of his discussion.

382 Pindar fr. 75. Connected to the City Dionysia by Hamilton 1990: 222 and Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 96-98.

383 Costaki 2006: 229.

384 Wilson 2000: 198-215. Paus.1.20.1, Schmalz 2006: 41 (fig. 6), 44 n. 41, 48, 62 n. 98. Costaki 2006: 226.

lekythoi decorated with ivy was found along the east side of the Street of Tripods.[385] Nearby was a well surrounded by a floor which was also strewn with 5th-century cult vessels. The ivy decoration on the vessels associates them with Dionysos—with whom ivy is closely linked—but not certainly with the City Dionysia. There were other rituals in honor of Dionysos, though none firmly linked with this part of the city. Still, the procession certainly did pass by this spot, and it is possible that in the 5th century the procession paused for a brief libation ritual.

Finally, the procession reached the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus (fig. 8). Curiously, the sanctuary was not a venue for dedicatory inscriptions or victory tripods. Instead, there are indications that the winners of the dramatic contests made dedications in the god's precinct. Wilson suggests that costumes and masks were "petrified" and dedicated to Dionysos in stone form, or perhaps terracotta, bronze, or wood plaques hung up in the sanctuary.[386] If so, then we should imagine the walls of the sanctuary and perhaps also sacred trees within the sanctuary hung with "the grotesques of comedy and perhaps the more terrifying faces of tragedy," an "eerie presence."[387]

The priest, sacrificial animals and handlers, various implement-bearers, and spectators filed into the precinct to watch the sacrifice and perhaps take part in the feast. In addition to the crowd of spectators in the precinct, some could have watched the sacrifices from the upper seats in the theater. In the 4th century, a stoa was constructed along the northern side of the precinct, which could also have accommodated spectators. The temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus was just south of the scene building of the theater, and if the sculpture of satyrs and maenads is truly to be associated with this temple, then we can imagine the decoration of the pediment involving a brightly-painted Dionysiac scene. If the image of Dionysos was

[385] Schmalz 2006: 63-4, fig. 26.
[386] Wilson 2000: 238-44.
[387] Wilson 2000: 238. In Aristophanes' *Geras*, a visitor asks directions to the Dionysion. He is told that "It's where the *mormolykeia* are hung up"—the masks of comedy and tragedy.

carried in the procession, it may have been taken from the cart at this time and set back in its temple, or perhaps the cart was positioned so that Dionysos could clearly observe the sacrifices at the altar, which was located to the south and not visible from the god's point of view inside the temple.

The Participants of the Pompē

The *kanephoros*, *obeliaphoroi*, and *askophoroi* were Athenian citizens. The *kanephoros* was a high-born girl who carried a golden *kanoun* with first-fruits—though presumably the basket also fulfilled its usual purpose of hiding the sacrificial knife.[388] Although *obeliaphoroi* first enter the literary record as the subject of a comedy written by Ephippos in the 370s BCE, the *obeliai*, which were long, thin loaves of bread, were joked about in 5th-century comedy, and later sources associated the loaves specifically with Dionysos.[389] It thus seems reasonable to conclude that *obeliaphoroi* took part in the Dionysiac *pompē* in the 5th century. The *askophoroi* also appear to have been a feature of the 5th century procession. The Suda specifically contrasts the *askophoroi*, who were citizens and could wear whatever they wanted, with the *skaphephoroi*, metics who were required to wear purple chitons, and who probably took part in the procession only in the 5th and 4th centuries.[390]

Citizens fulfilled a variety of roles, and even women were represented by the *kanephoros* bearing first-fruits. Like the 5th-century Panathenaia, the Dionysia *pompē* was not a citizens-only event. Performing in the procession (if not the choruses and dramatic performances) was open to non-Athenians. Metic *skaphephoroi* participated, distinguished by

[388] Scholion on Ar.*Ach*.241.
[389] Ephippos: Ath.VII, 359a and XI, 482d. Obeliai: Ath.III.76 quotes an Aristophanes comedy "Farmers" and a comedy called "Forgetful Man" by Pherecrates, both 5th century comedians. He also quotes Socrates of Cos as saying that Dionysos invented the *obeliai* during his expeditions. Moreover *obeliai* were depicted on vases showing comic scenes ca. 400 BCE, see Crosby 1955: 80-81.
[390] Suda s.v. *Askos en pachnē*.

their task and their purple robes.[391] Athenian colonists and allies also brought *phalloi* to carry in the procession.

There are many similarities between the *pompē* at the City Dionysia and at the Panathenaia, characteristics that were not shared with other Athenian processions. The participation of metics, colonists, and allies in the mid-5th and 4th centuries was a function of the Athenians' imperial ambitions in that period. Their tasks at the City Dionysia and Panathenaia were also broadly comparable. The metics in both processions carried trays, though it is of course possible that the trays contained different offerings at the Panathenaia and City Dionysia; we do not know. The colonists and allies brought panoplies to the Panathenaia, where a military theme was strong (and the cult myth described Athena's battle with the Giants), and *phalloi* to the Dionysia, which were a meaningful symbol for that god and derived additional significance from the cult myth.

The City Dionysia and Panathenaia also attracted quite similar groups of spectators. The City Dionysia took place just as the sailing season opened, and ancient sources attest the presence of foreigners eager to see the plays and the festival.[392] The Panathenaia, with its international athletic competitions, also drew a wide audience. There is broad accord now that women and perhaps also children did attend the theater and festival at the City Dionysia, in addition to being part of the Panathenaic procession and, presumably, spectators.[393]

While the audiences of the Panathenaia and City Dionysia were likely inclusive, we should resist the temptation to cast the *pompai* as unusually inclusive rituals.[394] Spineto argues that the theater audience included women, children, foreigners, and slaves, but the

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[391] As in the Panathenaia, the metic *skaphephoroi* are likely to have begun participating in the mid-5th century BCE as their contributions to the *polis* became more recognized, but this participation probably declined in the 4th century BCE when the metic population shrank (see chapter 2).
[392] *DFA* 58-9.
[393] Des Bouvrie 2011: 147 n. 55; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 177-184; Spineto 2011: 303-8.
[394] On the Panathenaia see chapter 2, and Maurizio 1998.

pompē was rather different.[395] Women were present only in the form of the elite *kanephoros*. Ephebes participated in later periods, but not in the Classical period—and they were also elites. The *choregoi* and choruses included male citizens and boys, again most likely drawn from the upper echelons of Athenian society.[396] We do not know how the male citizens who participated in roles such as the *obeliaphoroi* or *askophoroi* were chosen, but there is no indication of efforts to make their roles "democratic" by including representatives from all ten tribes or choosing participants by lot, and it is thus plausible that they too were elites. Metics were included in the 5th and 4th centuries, but only those who could afford a purple robe. Colonists and allies were also a feature of imperial Athens, and in other periods (such as the late 6th and early 5th century, or the Hellenistic or Roman periods) the procession must have been restricted to Athenians. Slaves may have been present as spectators, but they were not part of the procession. Thus, as with the Panathenaia, status and wealth were most likely very much on display during the City Dionysia *pompē*, rather than any ideology of inclusion.

Why should these two festivals have become the primary occasions for the celebration and display of the *polis* and its civic achievements? As a recent festival, the City Dionysia did not have prominent roles for the Athenian *gene*, which may have made it more malleable. Another possible explanation is the extreme popularity of Dionysos in Attica, with numerous myths of his adventures around the countryside.[397] Moreover Dionysos was a deity especially committed to the community as a whole, the promotion of peace, the dissolution of social

[395] Spineto 2011: 302-4.

[396] And dressed appropriately for the procession. On recruiting a chorus see Wilson 2000: 75-8. Boys were more likely to come from the upper classes, since their families had to be able to get by without them during the period of training. Wilson also argues that the choruses were recruited personally by the choregos, who was elite, and thus presumably drew men with whom he had connections due to a similar social and economic background.

[397] Dionysos visiting Ikarios, Pegasos bringing Dionysos, Dionysos teaching Amphictyon to mix wine; there are also hints of additional epiphanies of the god at Thorikos and in the vicinity of Sounion, to a certain Semachos. See Kerenyi 1976: 141-160.

boundaries through his more liminal rituals, and the inclusion of groups like women and slaves.[398]

The City Dionysia was most likely a relatively recent festival, created either in the 530s or by the new democracy ca. 500 BCE. Why should Athens have created a new festival rather than elaborating the Lenaia or Anthesteria (a festival the Athenians probably shared with many Ionian communities)? The Dionysia was better-timed to attract international spectators, set at the beginning of the sailing season, and it was (soon after 500 BCE) set in a location where it could accommodate a large crowd, in a theater where the crowd could easily observe the displays that democratic, imperial Athens wanted it to see.

Symbols of the Eisagogē

There are several symbolic elements which, on the reconstruction above, were only associated with the nighttime *eisagogē* and *komos* (it is difficult to draw a distinction between the two, since the crowd participating in the *komos* probably followed or watched the *eisagogē*). These symbols lent a particularly strong sense of transgression, abnormality, and Dionysiac abandon to the evening. Some participants in this nighttime ritual, including the ithyphallic men, wore masks; they had oversized, comedic *phalloi*; there were ritual insults shouted by people sitting or standing on carts; and all of this was conducted by torchlight. Winkler pointed out the grotesque, immoderate, and comedic connotations of ithyphallic figures.[399] It is also significant that they wore masks and perhaps, if the *ithyphalloi* described by Semos were similar to those who performed at Athens, they dressed in women's clothes.[400] Csapo draws attention to the way that masks "possess" their wearers, as the mask-wearer is "invaded" by the persona of the mask—in this case, a drunken, excessive

[398] Seaford 2006: 27-30; Csapo 1997: 254-5 suggests a model of liminal Dionysiac rituals which break down boundaries and temporarily merge opposites.
[399] Winkler 1990: 41.
[400] Semos (as quoted by Ath.14.16) states that they wore gloves embroidered with flowers and a Tarentine robe over their tunic, a robe specifically associated with women.

character.[401] The Dionysiac nature of this character is emphasized by their cross-dressing, a widely-attested part of private and public Dionysiac ritual.[402] Dionysos "possesses" his worshippers in these liminal, anti-structural rituals, which also included unrestrained drinking, the hurling of insults, and the ithyphallic, "possessed" characters, who also "share the god's power to take possession."[403] Behavior was tolerated at the *komos* which would not have been tolerated in daylight, as shown by the accusation of Demosthenes against Epikrates.[404] Sourvinou-Inwood suggested that the ithyphallic men are in a sense reenacting the punishment of Dionysos against the Athenians who rejected him, when the power of Dionysos to "make things rise/shoot up" afflicted the Athenians and forced them to accept the god.[405] This is Dionysos as the "surging life-principle," who comes into the theater "upright and bursting."[406] This seems to fit with the general air of Dionysiac license and "possession" (i.e. drunkenness) allowed at the *komos*. The play of torchlight might have had an eerie effect both on the cult-statue of Dionysos (possibly just a column with a mask on it) and on the masks of the ithyphallic men.

Symbols of the Pompē: Vegetation and Agricultural Products

The *pompē* was more carefully arranged and more orderly than the *eisagogē* and *komos*, and had a rather different set of symbols. Many of the symbols in the procession had to do with agricultural abundance. The loaves of bread, wineskins, the metics' trays which presumably contained bloodless offerings, the cattle for sacrifice, and possibly the first-fruits

[401] Csapo 1997: 255-6.
[402] Csapo 1997: 260-2.
[403] Csapo 1997: 256.
[404] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 70 cites this as evidence for masks at the *komos*. Demosthenes (19.287) accuses Epikrates of acting as if he were at a *komos* in broad daylight, without a mask (as one would normally wear at a *komos*, hiding one's identity). The implication is that such behavior is shameful outside the proper ritual context.
[405] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 77; Csapo 1997: 258-260.
[406] Csapo 1997: 260. The *ithyphalloi* in Semos' account announce the god's arrival in the theater by stating that he "wants to walk through your midst upright and bursting" (translation by Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 78).

in the *kanoun* all contributed to this symbolism.[407] There is also the symbolism of the greenery involved in the procession. Dionysos was closely associated with ivy, and it is likely that members of the procession wore ivy crowns.[408] The vase depictions of the ship-cart, if they can be attached to the City Dionysia, are full of long strands of ivy, and members of the procession also appear to be carrying sprigs of it.[409] The close association between Dionysos and ivy is demonstrated by the existence of an Attic cult of Dionysos Kissos, "Dionysos the ivy," commemorating the myth that ivy first appeared at Acharnai.[410] The ivy plant has a two-stage growing process, perhaps symbolically comparable to Dionysos the twice-born.[411] It is also green throughout the winter, which may have suggested it as a fertility symbol; on the other hand, ivy was thought to cause sterility and was used to decorate graves.[412] Rutherford connects the twining ivy with the circular dance of the dithyramb.[413] It is also possible that violets were part of the City Dionysia; they are mentioned twice in a Pindaric dithyramb that seems to reference the City Dionysia and may have been performed during the procession.[414] The significance of violets may lie in the fact that, like ivy, they bloom in the spring, when the City Dionysia takes place. The fragment of Pindar also mentions primroses, daisies, and lilies. In the fragment of Semos which mentions *phallophoroi*, they wear a headdress made of four different plants: thyme and holly (both evergreen), and violets and ivy.[415]

[407] That the *kanoun* contained first-fruits rather than the usual barley and sacrificial knife is attested only by a scholion to Ar.*Ach*.241; the accuracy of the scholion is uncertain.
[408] Ivy crowns are mentioned at the sacrifice at the *eschara*: Alciphr.*Letters*.4.18.16, and they are also plausible for the *pompē*.
[409] *DFA* figs. 11-13.
[410] Paus.1.31.6.
[411] Otto 1965: 152-7, quoted at length by Kerenyi 1976.
[412] Otto 1965: 152-7.
[413] Rutherford 1995: 120.
[414] Pindar fr. 75.
[415] *FGrH* 396 F 23; Cole 1993: 32.

Symbols of the Pompē: Phalloi

Human fertility was also on display in the form of the *phalloi* carried in procession, as well as perhaps the *obeliai* which were long and thin (and thus phallic in shape). Csapo describes Dionysos as "the god of things that spring up," whether that was *phalloi* or plants.[416] The cult myth of the Dionysia stated that the Athenians carried *phalloi* for Dionysos in commemoration of the genital disease he visited on them. *Phalloi* were worn by the ithyphallic men, whom I have reconstructed as part of the *komos* and *eisagogē*; they were also carried by *phallophoroi* in the *pompē*, perhaps on poles. Normally the *phallophoroi* were probably Athenian men, but in the second half of the 5th century, this ritual task was performed by colonists and allies. The colonists and allies were of course a different category than "foreigners;" colonists were former Athenians, and allies were (at least theoretically) united with the Athenians in friendship and political purpose. Their inclusion here was a mark of close ties, emphasized by the fact that they were given an important ritual duty. Why a *phallos*? The *phallos* was a basic, important symbol at the Dionysia—just as a panoply was an appropriate gift for the colonists and allies to offer to Athena at the Panathenaia. Some have suggested that the *phallophoroi* also engaged in ritual insults, behavior that I have reconstructed as part of the *komos* and *eisagogē* the night before.[417] The colonists and allies carrying *phalloi* in the procession were something rather different than the ithyphallic men of the *eisagogē*. The colonists and allies were not current Athenians, so it is difficult to imagine that they would walk through the crowd insulting spectators whom they hardly knew.

But *phalloi* had other associations as well. Csapo believes the *phallophoroi* carried *phalloi* on poles, like at the Rural Dionysia[418]—a memory they might have evoked in the spectators from rural Attica. This is, again, rather different than the *ithyphalloi* who wore

[416] Csapo 1997: 258-260.
[417] On the basis of the testimony of Semos, who seems to suggest this—but the main *phallophoros* does not engage in insults at all, and it is not clear that his testimony is relevant for Classical Athens.
[418] Csapo 1997: 264-79.

phalloi and presumably used their fake organs to best comedic effect. The Athenian spectators were also familiar with *phalloi* in another important context: herms, simple statues with a head of Hermes and a *phallos* which were located around the city (most notably at the northwest corner of the agora, which the Dionysia *pompē* surely would have passed) and outside Athenian homes. Herms and their *phalloi*, according to Winkler, have more to do with political meanings than fertility; they were specifically democratic, expressions of equality and egalitarianism.[419] A large, ithyphallic *phallos*, in contrast, was associated with "excess…grotesque abandon…unmilitary slackness…comedy."[420] Osborne saw the herms' democratic significance also in the egalitarian sameness of their faces.[421] Quinn, agreeing with the sketches of Winkler and Osborne, adds that the Athenian citizen needed "compliant subordinates" (women, slaves, defeated enemies and obedient allies), a subordination "often symbolized and performed through the model of penetrative sex" indicated by the *phallos*.[422] In mid-5th century Athens, when the colonists and allies participated as *phallophoroi*, the *phallos* as a symbol of male (and Athenian) dominance might have acquired additional force.

According to the cult myth of the Dionysia, the carrying of *phalloi* commemorated the punishment Dionysos visited on the Athenians after they rejected him. The *phalloi* served as a symbolic reminder of the power of Dionysos and the need to accept and worship him. This may have been the dominant meaning of the *phalloi*, but it need not have been their only meaning. Particularly in 5th-century democratic Athens, the *phallos* carried in procession—perhaps set on a pole like a *thyrsus*, and apparently life-sized rather than over-sized—might have also evoked the democratic connotations of the herms, which stood in places like the agora and also outside private homes. The colonists and allies were numerous, and so there

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[419] Winkler 1990: 34-6.
[420] Winkler 1990: 41.
[421] Osborne 1985a: 47-73.
[422] Quinn 2007: 88-9.

must have been a long line of these *phallos*-poles, perhaps painted or garlanded, reinforcing the significance of this symbol through sheer number.[423]

Symbols of the Pompē: The Choregic Monuments

As the *pompē* approached the sanctuary of Dionysos and the theater, they passed along the Street of Tripods, which was lined with choregic victory monuments (fig. 7). Monuments situated directly along the street had the prime location, but further monuments may have been erected on terraces above.[424] The inscriptions on the monuments identified the *choregos* (including his patronymic and demotic), his tribe, and the winning poet's name.[425] The monuments differed widely in form, architecture, and decoration, reflecting the taste of the *choregos*, but they were paid for by the *demos*.[426] Some of the more elaborate monuments even had paintings or sculpture on a Dionysiac theme, which were clearly meant for the enjoyment of passersby.[427] Pausanias described the choregic monuments as "small temples," and they were clearly extravagant structures.[428] The tripods themselves, the centerpieces of the monuments, were five meters tall. By the 5th century bronze tripods had gone out of fashion elsewhere in Greece, but their association with the Dionysia meant that they continued to have relevance in Athens.[429] The cauldron of the tripod was even assimilated to a more Dionysiac wine mixing-bowl.[430]

[423] The large *phallos* at Delos was painted, see Cole 1993: 30-1. On the vases, *phalloi* can be decorated with eyes or garlands: Csapo 1997: 258-60, plate 1C.
[424] Costaki 2006: 104-5. Choregic monuments may also have lined side-streets perpendicular to the Street of the Tripods.
[425] Costaki 2006: 227.
[426] Costaki 2006: 227.
[427] Wilson 2000: 212.
[428] Paus.1.20.1.
[429] Wilson 2000: 200-1.
[430] Wilson 2000: 201 n. 9.

The inhabitants of Athens encountered the choregic monuments regularly, since the Street of Tripods was a major thoroughfare and a popular place to walk and converse.[431] Nevertheless the monuments must have possessed their greatest force and significance during the procession of Dionysos, when the current *choregoi* passed by the monuments of their victorious predecessors. The *choregoi* marching past in fine robes put their wealth and status on display; the choregic monuments did the same for the victors, but in a more permanent form seen by the members of the procession and the spectators who passed this way to gather in the theater. These monuments were evidence of the wealth and generosity of Athens' elite as they contributed to the common good and the religious needs of the community, and a call for similar behavior in the future.[432] This testament to the civic values and ideals of the wealthiest citizens was meant not only for Athenians, but also for the foreigners who gathered to watch the procession and enter the theater. Just as at the Great Panathenaia, the message and meaning of the procession and its landscape was tailored to express Athenian identity to the rest of the Greek world.

Conclusions

The cult myth of Dionysos Eleuthereus involved two 'epiphanies' of the god. The first was unsuccessful, and Dionysos was rejected. After the Athenians obtained the oracle's advice, they welcomed the god a second time, this time correctly and joyfully.

I suggest that the two ritual movements of the City Dionysia, the *eisagogē* and the *pompē*, were related to these mythic episodes. The *eisagogē* reenacts Dionysos' first appearance, but rather than rejecting him, the Athenians honor him with a *xenismos*. The presence of ithyphallic performers reenacted the genital disease with which Dionysos possessed the Athenians as punishment for his rejection—but this time, harmlessly. The

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[431] Costaki 2006: 228. One of the most famous people to enjoy the street this way was Demetrius Poliorcetes, as attested by Athenaus 543a; Schmalz 2006: 67.
[432] Costaki 2006: 224-230.

triumphal epiphany of the god was accompanied by an air of license, with public drinking, ritual insults, and a general leveling of social distinctions. This was the power of the god on full display, without the civic elements and careful organization of the daytime *pompē*. The symbolic force of the god's *xenismos* and the *ithyphalloi* in Athenian cultural memory is indicated by the fact that, when the Athenians sought to honor Demetrios, they staged a Dionysiac *xenismos* for him, complete with ithyphallic performers.[433] In the midst of all this, the god himself was brought into the city from his temple on the Academy road, perhaps on a four-wheeled cart. In later periods he was escorted by ephebes; in the Classical period, it is unknown who organized the god's entrance, but the ithyphallic performers may still have announced his arrival in the theater.

The civic *pompē* the next day was of a rather different character. Status distinctions were clearly back in force, as the *choregoi* processed in their finery. *Phalloi* were carried in procession, but these were not the ithyphallic masked performers of the night before. Instead they were colonists and allies, perhaps carrying their *phalloi* on poles, reaffirming their connections with their mother city or ally. They may have been commemorating the genital disease which Dionysos inflicted on the Athenians, but they were not reenacting it; they were not wearing the *phalloi*. The *phalloi* as a symbol reinforced the Athenians' cultural memory of the cult myth, as well as the *phallos'* associations with democratic identity through the herms, and perhaps also its associations with male dominance (and Athenian imperial dominance). Other symbols of natural and agricultural fertility were on display, including wine, bread, vegetation, and first-fruits. It is possible that Dionysos himself was paraded about in a cart designed to look like a ship, symbolizing his recent arrival. The procession may have stopped at the Altar of the Twelve Gods, where the Twelve Gods were invited to observe and bless Dionysos' arrival and were celebrated with processional dithyrambs. The

[433] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003a: 73-8.

ritual movement of the procession, metaphorically embracing the city, displayed the city's acceptance of Dionysos and how splendidly they honored him. Finally the procession approached the sanctuary along the Street of Tripods, parading past the choregic monuments of previous victors in the dithyramb contest. They entered the sanctuary of Dionysos, where the altar awaited the sacrifice of many cattle, surrounded by painted plaques or carved versions of the masks and costumes that *choregoi* had used to win in the tragic contests.

The *pompē* represented the entire *polis*, just as at the Panathenaia, and the procession changed as the character of the *polis* became more imperial. If the City Dionysia was intended as a festival comparable in scale and ideology to the Panathenaia, as it seems to have become in the 5th century, it is appropriate that the main procession of the festival bore some resemblance to (and was perhaps influenced by) the Panathenaia. The *pompē* also embraced the city topographically, since it is likely that the route of the procession covered much of the town, exploiting the opportunity for social and cultural exhibition. The civic character of the festival is further attested in the pre-play rituals of the later 5th century, including the presentation of war orphans supported by the state and the tribute of the allies of the Athenian empire.[434] The organizers and participants were conscious of the international audience present to observe the festival, and therefore the procession became an important locus for display of the Athenians' piety and religious values, the value they ascribed to theater and poetry, and also Athens' wealth and power as an imperial *polis*. At the Panathenaia, the military power of Athens and the skill of her craftspeople was on display; at the Dionysia, it was the cultural power of Athens and her agricultural abundance.

[434] Goldhill 1990: 97-129.

Chapter 4: Processions Within and Around Athens

The abundance of evidence at Athens attests to a number of processions which took place throughout the festival year. For many of these, however, we know little more than that they existed, which does not allow much room for analysis.[435] In the previous two chapters I have analyzed the Panathenaia and City Dionysia, festivals which occupied comparable positions in the Athenian ritual sphere. Below I discuss the remaining processions for which more specific information is available, including the route taken by the procession, the participants who walked in it, the symbols present, and the myths that gave it meaning. The Plynteria, Oschophoria, and Skirophoria will be analyzed in the greatest detail; there follows some consideration of processions in honor of Apollo and Artemis, and the Pompaia, which had a procession as its central act. All of these processions began or ended within the city walls of Athens, and were carried out within Athens or in the vicinity of the city, within the plain of Athens. In the following chapter I will discuss processions which traveled further to the very borders of Attica.

For each procession, I briefly discuss its position in the Athenian ritual calendar, its *aition*, the deity to which it was addressed, and the nature of the surviving evidence concerning it. I then reconstruct its route, participants, and symbols as comprehensively as the evidence permits. Finally, I reconsider the sensory experience of the participants and spectators, and how this experience reinforced Athenian cultural memory by prompting viewers to recall certain myths, stories, or associations. Some symbols reappeared in multiple

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[435] Processions are known for the Epidauria and Askepieia, the Hephaisteia (where bull-lifting was performed in the 5th century by "chosen Athenians" and metics received a share of the sacrifice), the Boedromia, the Dipolieia, the Theseia, the Anakeia, the Diasia, the Lenaia, and processions in honor of Aphrodite Pandemos and the Semnai. See Parker 2005: 178 n. 2. Information concerning the processions' myths, significance, participants, symbols, and route are too scarce to allow for detailed analysis.

processions; thus, in order to avoid repetition, I will consider these symbols and the ways they were used throughout the ritual year separately in a final section.

The Plynteria

Background

The Plynteria festival was held near the end of the month Thargelion, corresponding to our late May or early June. The vast majority of ancient testimonia are very late in date, and nearly every aspect of the festival is contested by modern scholars. One of the certainties is that the ritual included a procession, but the route and destination are much debated.

The Plynteria took place on 25 Thargelion; the Kallynteria, the festival when Athena's statue was adorned, probably followed this.[436] The name Plynteria refers to washing, and most scholars reconstruct that either the statue, her clothes, or both were washed during this festival. An office called *plyntrides*, or also *loutrides*, suggests that someone washed both Athena's *peplos* and statue.[437] Though the textual evidence is very late, it is supported by comparative evidence from other Greek cities, where statues (usually goddesses) were washed in either a river or the sea.[438] If the Plynteria truly involved only the

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[436] Plu.*Alc*.34.1; Photios (s.v. *Kallynteria kai Plynteria*, p. 127.24 Porson) gives 29 Thargelion for the Plynteria and 19 Thargelion for the Kallynteria. This information was not correct, since the Athenian assembly is known to have met on the 29th and the 19th was the Bendidea, see Mikalson 1975a: 158-164.

[437] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 142-3.

[438] The Tonaia of Hera at Samos involved a procession and a bath in the sea (Menodotos *FGrH* 541 F 1, 3rd century BCE). Pausanias reports a ritual bath for Argive Hera in the Kanathos spring (2.38.2-3) and for Hera's wooden image at the Daidala in Plataia (9.3.7, Plut.fr.157.6). Dionysos may have been immersed in the sea during a ritual at Halai Aixonides (Plut.*Mor*.914D; Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 191; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 188-9). LSCG 154 B 24-5 (early 3rd century BCE): purification of a statue of Kourotrophos by the sea, involving sacrifice of a pig or sheep. The statue is to be veiled and taken to the sea. This was an *ad hoc* purification, not a regular ritual, though it states that the statue should be taken out "according to ancestral customs" which implies that there were protocols in place. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 182, at Kyzikos in the 1st century BCE a cult of the Mother may have involved a bath in the sea. In the 1st century BCE Artemis at Ephesos was taken to the seashore for a meal, and likely also a bath (Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 183-4). IG II^2 659 (280s BCE): On the last day of Skirophorion, when the procession for Aphrodite Pandemos occurred, the *astynomoi* were to clean the statue among other purificatory duties. The statue does not appear to have been taken anywhere. Call.*Lav.Pall*. describes a ritual bath for Athena at Argos in the river Inachos, perhaps reflecting an actual ritual, but certainly drawing on known Greek rituals (written in the 3rd century BCE, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 187-8).

washing of Athena's garments, it would be unique in the Greek world, which seems less likely.[439]

The *aitia* for both Plynteria and Kallynteria link them with Aglauros, daughter of the autochthon Kekrops and first priestess of Athena. The first Plynteria was held a year after Aglauros' death, when the *peplos* and statue of Athena were cleaned, having been neglected during the mourning period.[440] The Kallynteria memorialized the tale that Aglauros, as first priestess of Athena, was also the first to adorn her statue.[441] Aglauros is not specifically attested receiving sacrifices as part of either festival, but parallel festivals in other Attic demes do include the daughter of Kekrops as a beneficiary of Plynteria sacrifices.[442]

A fragmentary inscription set up by the Praxiergidai, a *genos* whose female members played an important role in the festival, indicates some of the sequence of events during the festival. The temple was sealed prior to the festival, perhaps for the whole month until 28 Thargelion, and the archon gave the keys to the Praxiergidai so that they could carry out their duties.[443] The notion that the temple was closed for the month of Thargelion as an indication of polluted, abnormal time is supported by the ritual character of the month itself, closely associated with another *polis*-wide purification ritual at the Thargelia.[444] Preliminary

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[439] Nagy 1994: 277.
[440] Hesychius s.v. *Plynteria*, Photios K 124 s.v. *Kallynteria*.
[441] Photios K 124 s.v. *Kallynteria*.
[442] SEG XXXIII 147 (Thorikos calendar, 430s BCE): "at the Plynteria to Athena a selected sheep, to Aglauros a sheep" as well as two local heroes. The deme sacrifice occurred in the following month Skirophorion. Erchia also sacrificed on Skirophorion 3 a sheep to Aglauros, a young pig to Kourotrophos, a sheep to Athena Polias, a sheep (not to be carried away) to Zeus Polieus, and a sheep to Poseidon (LSCG 18). Parker 1987a: 143 argues that the Thorikian and Erchian Plynteria were influenced by old Ionian rituals as well as the Athenian rite, but accepts that the presence of Aglauros is a specifically Attic feature.
[443] IG I^3 7 lines 20-23, see Lewis' restoration, Lewis 1954: 17-21; also Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 141, n. 28, 148, n. 46. I reject Robertson's rendering (Robertson 2004: 114) and Mansfield's (1985: 398-404). The (late) testimony of Pollux 8.141 and perhaps Plut.*Alc*.34.1 suggests that the temple was in fact sealed. Robertson's notion that the archon handed out grain (based on a word that typically measures grain) seems contrary to the character of the festival, which had nothing to do with wheat. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 150 suggests that the priestess of Athena was also present to remove the peplos and hand it over to the Praxiergidai for cleaning. While this is tantalizing (one recalls the central image of the Parthenon frieze, with the priestess of Athena, two girls, a male figure who may be the archon, and another child which may be a temple boy) there is no mention of the priestess in the inscription as preserved (though this is sometimes restored). The Praxiergidai are elsewhere entrusted with the manipulation of the peplos, and I see no reason to insist that the priestess of Athena must remove it.
[444] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 148.

sacrifices were performed, and there is a fragmentary reference to a sacred fleece, a common symbol of purification.[445] Perhaps the Praxiergidai had to be purified, so that they could perform their ritual bathing of the statue with pure hands; alternately, perhaps the statue of Athena was purified, considering the *aition* that the festival marked one year after the death of Aglauros, a death which had been caused by Athena.

On 25 Thargelion, the statue of Athena was disrobed and her *peplos* washed; the statue itself was veiled, the gaze of the goddess hidden, and thus the day acquired a deeply unlucky, uneasy character.[446] Athena was no longer watching over her city. This was famously the day on which Alcibiades returned from exile to Athens, a coincidence considered an ill omen.[447] When Athena's *peplos* was removed, she had to be covered with another garment; this is likely to be the *chiton* referenced at the end of the inscription.[448]

25th Thargelion was identified by ancient sources as *apophras*. The term is rare and controversial, but Xenophon and Plutarch both suggest that the Athenians considered it unlucky to undertake business on such a day.[449] In Plato, *apophras* days are described as impure; the 27th, 28th, and 29th of each month could (but did not have to be) *apophras*, and they were the days when the Athenians judged homicide cases.[450] What about the Plynteria made this day so ill-omened? It is possible that the veiling of Athena's statue gave the day its character, since her gaze was covered (and thus her protective power diminished). The definition of *apophras* as "impure", however, fits well with the *aition* of the Plynteria and the focus on purification. After the death of Aglauros, first priestess of Athena, the olivewood statue was left untended for a year.[451] The Plynteria commemorated the first washing of the

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[445] IG I^3 7 line 17. See p. 158.
[446] Xen.*Hell*.1.4.12; Plut.*Alc*.34.1.
[447] Nagy 1994: 275-285 for the suggestion that the Plynteria was a movable feast and was manipulated by Alcibiades' enemies to coincide with his return.
[448] IG I^3 7 line 25.
[449] Xen.*Hell*.1.4.12; Plut.*Alc*.34.1; see Mikalson 1975b: 19-27 for a discussion of the earlier Attic meaning of *apophras*, distinct from Roman *dies nefasti*.
[450] Pl.*Lg*.800C-E; *Etymologicum Magnum* 131.13. Mikalson 1975b: 21-24.
[451] Photios s.v. *Kallynteria kai Plynteria*; *Anecd*. Bekk. 1.270.3-5.

sacred garments and statue, and represented an end to this period of mourning and impurity. The resemblance between the ritual actions of 25 Thargelion and Athenian mourning rituals has been noted.[452] The washing of the *peplos*, if undertaken on this day, could be the first step toward purification. Such a large wool garment would probably have needed some time to dry before being placed back on the statue, thus the delay between Plynteria and Kallynteria.

The important themes of the festival, then, were the purification of Athena's statue and garments, with undertones of funerary practice, and a secondary association with Athenian autochthony through the character of Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops and discoverer of infant Erichthonios. These themes were clearly expressed in the procession, which most probably took place overnight between the 25th and 26th Thargelion.

The Plynteria Procession

With the strong purificatory elements of the festival, it seems unlikely the statue would have been washed on the Acropolis with water brought to the temple.[453] Some cult statues were more informally washed, without leaving the temple, but while this maintenance could have been undertaken in preparation for a festival, it was not significant enough to be named as a festival.[454] Hera and Aphrodite were occasionally given mock bridal baths, but that does not fit Athena's character as a virgin goddess.[455] Rather it seems that the Plynteria falls into a different category, the bathing of statues in a river or the sea for purificatory purposes.[456] The trip to the sea understandably acquired the formal character of a procession.

The evidence for such a procession is, again, mostly late in date. Several late sources mention the *hegeteria*, a cake of dried figs which was carried at the front of the Plynteria

[452] Mansfield 1985: 372; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 144-5.
[453] Robertson 1996: 33 suggests water was drawn from the Klepsydra spring and the statue bathed on the North Porch of the Erechtheion, but this seems not nearly withdrawn enough for such a secret rite, considering the visibility of the North Porch from the Agora.
[454] Mansfield 1985: 557-564.
[455] Mansfield 1985: 581-583.
[456] Mansfield 1985: 572-579.

procession.[457] Inscriptions praise the ephebes of the 2nd century BCE for escorting Pallas to the sea and back by torchlight, accompanied by the *gennetai* and perhaps a charioteer.[458] Most tantalizingly, Philochoros apparently wrote that during the reforms of Ephialtes in 462/1 BCE, a board of *nomophylakes* was created and given many of the responsibilities of the Areopagus, including the organization of the "procession for Pallas."[459] The existence of this board in the 5th century is highly controversial, but what is clear is that their duties were not created out of whole cloth in the mid-5th century. These duties, including the oversight of the procession, originally belonged to the Areopagus. This implies a relatively ancient and venerable origin for the procession, or its organization would have been entrusted to more recent democratic offices. The connection between the Areopagus and the procession makes sense in other ways. The activities of the Areopagus and the Plynteria were both linked to *apophras* or impure days and had to do with some form of pollution which was perceived to be quite dangerous and affected the entire city.

Burkert contended that this procession for Pallas was not that of the Plynteria, but a separate ritual focused on the ancient Athena statue at the Palladion court, but this reconstruction is not tenable.[460] It seems far more probable that the statue which received such pomp, including a nighttime procession and the protection of an ephebic escort, was the vulnerable, symbolically-undressed statue of Athena Polias during its ritual of purification. Moreover it is worth noting that, although the Trojan Palladion represented the city's

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[457] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 140-1.
[458] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 160-1.
[459] *Lexicon Cantabrigiense*, p. 351, 10N; see also O'Sullivan 2001: 51-2. The Suda, s.v. *oi nomophylakes* goes further, adding that the *nomophylakes* arranged the procession "when her cult-image (*xoanon*) needed to be taken to the sea."
[460] Burkert 1970: 356-369. Against Burkert: Sourvinou-Inwood 2011 160-175, 225-263; Nagy 1991: 288-306, who disagrees with Burkert but proposes the similarly untenable theory that the procession commemorated the rescue of Athena's statue from the invading Persians in 480 BCE. The name "Pallas" cannot be shown to refer exclusively to the Palladion, and was instead an epithet of the goddess herself. The assumption that the activities of the ephebic inscriptions were carved in chronological order is also untenable. The supposed cult myth describing the nighttime Athenian ambush of Argives at Phaleron, the theft of the Palladion, the atonement by purifying the statue in the sea, and the creation of the court and shrine is far more confused in the sources than Burkert's analysis would suggest (Harding 2008: 75-77). It is also curious that so little is known about the statue itself. Pausanias visits the area but mentions no *xoanon*, and the statue appears to have had low significance in Athenian cultural memory.

impregnability (and its theft thus heralded the city's downfall), when Athens was about to be conquered by the Persians, it was not the Palladion but the statue of Athena Polias which the Athenians chose to take with them, symbolically removing Athena's protection from the city.[461] It stands to reason that a festival procession which took this statue outside the city's walls to the seashore—a border, and a potentially vulnerable place—would require a military escort, would be conducted at night in (some) secrecy, and would have acquired a sense of ill-omen.

The Route

The procession began at the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis. The procession descended through the western gate of the Acropolis to the *peripatos*, which ran in a ring around the Acropolis and provided access to the numerous shrines on its slopes. Lambert has suggested, based on the text of a recently-discovered inscription, that some sort of ritual connected to the Plynteria was carried out in the cave of Aglauros, perhaps performed by members of the newly-discovered *genos* Euenoridai.[462] Considering the significance of Aglauros in the myths of the Plynteria and Kallynteria, and the sacrifices to her in the deme calendar entries connected with the Plynteria, this is not at all surprising. Unfortunately the nature of the ritual cannot be recovered on present evidence. The Plynteria procession must have traveled on the *peripatos* along either the north or south slope to the cave of Aglauros at the eastern end of the hill. Either direction is possible. The northern slope of the Acropolis was left in a more wild, untamed state, perhaps more appropriate to such an ancient ritual, but this is not a decisive argument.[463] Road surfaces of the *peripatos* have been difficult to trace

[461] Plut.*Them*.10, citing the Atthis of Clei(to)demos, who wrote in the 4th century BCE.
[462] Lambert 2008: 23-4. The Euenoridai were involved with dressing something, probably the statue of Athena (line 1); something then occurred in the Aglaureion (line 2) but the relationship with the dressing of the statue is not clear. Lambert adds that the Euenoridai seem to be linked to Athenian autochthony through their eponymous hero, Euenor, mentioned in Plato (p. 24-5).
[463] Costaki 2006: 210-211.

in the archaeological record, and it may not have been paved; its route is likely to have changed as the topography of the Acropolis slopes was altered by new cults and building projects.[464] The cults on the Acropolis slopes must have been accessible, however, and so there was probably at least a footpath available for the procession's use.

After the ritual in the Aglaureion, the procession could have descended to the Street of Tripods.[465] The angle of the slope is steep, and fragments of roads discovered here are generally stepped.[466] The statue of Athena, therefore, must have been carried at least this far. The Street of Tripods was wide enough for wheeled traffic, and perhaps it was here that the statue of Athena was set in a chariot for transportation to Phaleron. The statue must have been conveyed or carried somehow, and since the procession was probably quite ancient, a chariot would be an appropriate mode of transportation, with its connotations of old aristocratic warfare.[467] The temple on the Acropolis may have been closed to all but the Praxiergidai (and perhaps the Euenoridai?) on 25 Thargelion, and so perhaps it was they who brought the statue down to the Aglaureion (where Athena was somehow dressed or her garments prepared for the trip?) to join the rest of the procession.

Then the procession would have walked to one of the city gates leading toward Phaleron. The most likely candidate is the so-called Halade Gate, used by the procession of Eleusinian initiates who went to the sea to purify themselves before the great procession to Eleusis (fig. 9, Gate XII).[468] Excavations in the area suggest that these streets passed by

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[464] Costaki 2006: 207-224; 341 (catalogue I.60, north slope), 362-4 (catalogue II.14, south slope); see also IG II^2 2639, which declares the completion of a project to redefine the route of the peripatos in the mid-4th century BCE. Costaki points out that the line of the *peripatos* was shaped and defined more by the roadside monuments that lined it instead of by paving or retaining walls, making its route difficult to reconstruct exactly.
[465] Possibly at an intersection just north of the Lysikrates monument, see Costaki 2006 catalogue II.10.
[466] Costaki 2006 catalogue II.6-9.
[467] The ritual bath for Athena at Argos involved carrying the statue on the shield of Diomedes. Some sort of conveyance seems likely for the Phaleron procession, which covered several kilometers, and it is likely that the method of conveyance would have had special significance.
[468] Travlos *PDA* 160.

houses and workshops rather than religious or public monuments.[469] Travlos reconstructs the gate at the intersection of modern Phalerou and Dontas streets. The ancient road to Phaleron appears to have followed much the same path as the modern Phalerou street, and tombs along it date from the Mycenean and Geometric periods through the late Roman period.[470]

The topography of Phaleron is not well understood, but its character was linked closely to the mythology and ritual of Athens (fig. 11, no. 2). It was considered to be the port where Theseus and the Twice Seven set off for and returned from Crete, a myth which was prominent particularly in the Oschophoria procession to Phaleron.[471] Nearby were cults to Poseidon and seafaring heroes linked to Theseus.[472] Also in Phaleron was the temple to Athena Skiras, a deity perhaps linked to Salamis and "marginality" in general.[473] It is possible that this temple was the destination of the Plynteria procession, where the processional escort waited while the statue was bathed in the sea in a ritual which was surely forbidden for them to witness. The site was also implicated in mythology about early Attic heroes, the sons of Theseus, who had a battle with Argives at Phaleron.[474] Aside from the Oschophoria and Plynteria, Phaleron was also the destination of the Eleusinian initiates on the day when they purified themselves and their piglets in the sea.[475] The location of Phaleron was, therefore, deeply woven into the mythological and ritual fabric of Athens, and had special significance as a place of ritual purification in the Eleusinian Mysteries—an appropriate spot to engage in the purification of the statue of Athena Polias, the preeminent goddess of the city.

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469 Costaki 2006 catalogue II. 22/23/40/42, which intersects with II.44 at about the point a turn would be necessary to approach the Halade Gate.
470 Travlos 1981: 160, labeled Gate XII; see also Costaki 2006 catalogue II.58, 64, 73-4.
471 Simon 1983: 75; see also the Oschophoria in chapter 4.
472 Nauseiros (or Nausithoos) as Theseus' pilot and Phaiax as his lookout-man: Plu.*Thes*.17.6, quoting Philochoros.
473 See Oschophoria, chapter 4.
474 Harding 2008: 73-7.
475 IG I^3 84.

The Participants

The archaic character of the festival is supported by the identities of those who participated, members of two old Athenian families, the Praxiergidai and Euenoridai *genē*.[476] They were assisted in their duties by two girls, called *plyntrides* or *loutrides*.[477] Sourvinou-Inwood thinks these girls were probably also Praxiergidai.[478] We know very little about these *genē* other than their involvement in the Plynteria. The Praxiergidai are also mentioned on a 4th-century altar found in the Agora, on which their ownership of a shrine of Herakles is asserted in conjunction with a second, unidentified group.[479] This is not a surprising discovery, since the *genē* surely had cultic responsibilities outside the Plynteria. The Euenoridai are only known from the inscription analyzed by Lambert, but their eponym, Euenor, was mentioned by Plato in a reworking of Athenian autochthony myth for the story of Atlantis.[480] What is clear is that women played an important role in this ritual—in the procession and in the actual bathing.

The procession was apparently overseen by the members of the Areopagus, except for the periods when this responsibility was transferred to the *nomophylakes*. It is possible that some of these officials were present at the procession to ensure it was organized and carried out correctly. In the 2nd century BCE, the procession was escorted by armed ephebes. The *ephebeia* as a formal institution did not exist until 334/3 BCE, however, and so we cannot be sure that Athena had a similar military escort in the 5th century. A 3rd century CE inscription honors a charioteer of Pallas, perhaps the person who drove the chariot carrying her statue

[476] IG I^3 7, 460-50 BCE, the so-called Praxiergidai inscription. For the Euenoridai see Lambert 2008: 22-6.
[477] Photios s.v. *loutrides*, citing Aristophanes.
[478] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 150-1.
[479] Jameson 2000: 219-25.
[480] Lambert 2008: 25. Lambert observes that this "draws attention in striking fashion to the very close connection between the Attic *gene* and the Athenian autochthony myth."

down to the sea—but once again, this is very late evidence and we cannot be sure that it was the case in the 5th century BCE.[481]

Symbols of the Procession

Certain symbols, such as the *hegeteria* (a cake of dried figs) and the sacred fleece, will be discussed at the end of this chapter in connection with other festivals.[482] Both symbols were connected to purification, and dried figs were also associated with the autochthonous Athenians. These were appropriate associations at a festival which purified the statue of Athena and was linked through myth with Aglauros, daughter of the autochthon Kekrops.

The most prominent symbol of the procession was of course the statue of Athena herself. According to Sourvinou-Inwood's reconstruction, this statue was dressed in a *chiton* while the *peplos* was being washed and dried.[483] Part of what made the period of the Plynteria so abnormal was Athena's abnormal dress, since she was without her *peplos*. She may or may not have been veiled; certainly she was veiled during the day.[484] Sourvinou-Inwood points out that in myth, Athena removes the *peplos* and puts on a *chiton* before battle—but her statue wears no armor here, and we need not ascribe such associations to the *chiton*.[485]

The presence of a charioteer of Pallas in the 3rd century CE may indicate that she was typically transported to the sea in a chariot. Athena, and specifically Athena Polias, was associated with the chariot through her foster-child Erichthonios, who invented the chariot. Vase-paintings depict him driving the chariot as Athena's companion, while she competes as an *apobates*.[486] On the west pediment of the Acropolis, Athena has just arrived in a chariot

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481 IG II^2 2245; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 165-6.
482 See p. 153.
483 IG I^3 7 line 25; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 220-4.
484 Xen.*Hell*.1.4.12; Plut.*Alc*.34.1.
485 Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 222-3.
486 E.g. an *oinochoe* from Copenhagen NM, from the last decade of the 6th century. See Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 169.

driven by Nike to snatch the patronship of Athens away from Poseidon.[487] Peisistratos may have been deliberately referencing such associations when he staged his return to Athens in a chariot alongside Phye dressed as Athena.[488] Chariots were thus associated with archaic, primordial times, and also had a strong symbolic link with Athena—perhaps reinforced, or even derived from, the chariot in which her statue was carried to the sea to be purified.

This purification in the sea involved a bath, which must have required some kind of vessel to pour sea-water over the statue. A possible set of such vessels was found on the north slope of the Acropolis, produced ca. 410 BCE, just as the goddess' new temple was being finished.[489] Their mouths are reminiscent of a *hydria* or *loutrophoros* mouth, implying that they could have been used to pour water.[490] Their decoration is curious. They generally depict a helmeted Athena in a four-horse chariot, dressed not in armor but in a *chiton*, which seems to indicate a context other than the Gigantomachy. Two vases show the armored Athena familiar from Panathenaic amphorae on the neck, highlighting the contrast with the armor-less Athena below.[491] Before the chariot is a young man wearing either a *chlamys* or *himation*, sometimes also a *petasos* (associated with Hermes and ephebes); in one case the young man is replaced by Hermes.[492] One vase depicts Athena in her chariot flying over the sea.[493] Most unusually, all the vases have two plastic breasts added, sometimes outlined in white to highlight them.[494] Plastic breasts disappeared from decorated Attic vases in the 8th century, but remained in use on cooking pots and cauldrons of the Classical period, which

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[487] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 168.
[488] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 168-9; Boardman 1972: 60-1 discusses Athena as charioteer for Herakles, but that cannot be part of the reference here, because the statue of Athena cannot be the charioteer—she has no ability to hold the reins.
[489] Green 1962: 82-94; see p. 92 on the date. He interprets the set as a "special commission produced for a ceremonial purpose" by the same hand or workshop. Robertson 1996: 34 suggested they were produced to commemorate the first Plynteria held in the newly-finished Erechtheion.
[490] Green 1962: 82.
[491] Green 1962: 88 no. 14, 15.
[492] Chlamys: 2, 3; Chlamys and petasos: 4; Himation: 8 (there is also a second attendant on this vase); Hermes: 10, with petasos and winged sandals. 14: Tips of a kerykeion, perhaps indicating Hermes.
[493] Vase #9, Green 1962: 86. No attendant preserved on this vase.
[494] Green 1962: 82.

indicate a special link with the female sphere;[495] perhaps these vases were used in a women's ritual such as the Plynteria, and the imagery was thus appropriate. The other imagery on the vases may support this. The figure of Athena in a *chiton* recalls the *chiton* with which the Praxiergidai may have dressed Athena for her bath; the armed Athenas on the neck could be a reference to the Gigantomachy of the *peplos*, particularly appropriate if these vases were also used to pour water for the washing of the *peplos*. The vases' storage on the Acropolis does not mean they were used there, however, and the vases could just as easily have been transported in procession to the site of Athena's bath. That Athena drives a chariot may refer to the method of transporting her statue to the sea, and in fact, one of the vases represents her riding over the sea. The presence of Hermes or another young man (on one occasion wearing a *petasos*, which was later associated with ephebes) may stand in for the goddess' escort. The vases, therefore, could have been used for washing the *peplos*, the statue, or both.

Conclusions

It seems plausible that the *apophras* or impure nature of the day of the Plynteria bled over into the nighttime procession, particularly as the procession's goal was the purification of Athena's cult statue. Because the day was *apophras*, serious business was prohibited, and even social gatherings were frowned upon.[496] We may plausibly imagine that people tended to simply stay inside, though our sources preserve no laws or rules to that effect.

The presence of this festival and its uneasy associations in Athenian cultural memory is best demonstrated by the scene in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* in which Iphigenia brings forth the statue of Artemis to be purified. The procession in the play is not a regular occurrence; the statue of Artemis has supposedly been defiled by Orestes and Pylades, who

[495] Green 1962: 93 n. 14.
[496] Mikalson 1975b: 22, from Lysias fragment 53, quoted in Ath.12.551F. A group of young men who banqueted on an *apophras* day (one of the monthly ones associated with the homicide courts) became known as Kakodaimonistai.

have blood on their hands, and must therefore be purified. It is a ruse, of course, but one which succeeds in the play because its elements were plausible. It is reasonable to assume that Euripides was drawing material from the Plynteria ritual, which was known to his Athenian audience. Iphigenia emphasizes the sea's power to purify all evils, and implies that she needs a deserted, marginal place to perform secret rituals.[497] She tells Thoas that everyone must stay indoors to avoid the pollution, and that no one should come to observe the procession and ritual—even Thoas must cover his eyes.[498] The procession includes attendants carrying torches and sacrificial implements, as well as lambs for a purificatory sacrifice.[499] The messenger who returns to Thoas reports that he and his fellows hung back from the supposed purification ceremony to avoid seeing anything forbidden.[500]

This probably mirrors the Plynteria procession and purification ceremony in important ways. The day was impure, and everyone stayed inside and avoided important business. The procession seems designed to minimize the possibility of spectators, who might improperly glimpse the virgin goddess when she was unclothed. The purification must take place in the sea because of the sea's purificatory power. The procession included torches, ritual vessels, and perhaps a sacrifice—at the Plynteria, a bloodless sacrifice of fig-cake. If the 5th century procession had some kind of escort, they must have halted somewhere where they could not see the washing-ritual, because to see Athena undressed was a terrible offense.[501] The washing itself was carried out by elite women and girls.

The Plynteria procession was a ritual deeply embedded in Athenian myth and ritual, but also somewhat atypical and unsettling—a procession without spectators or music, circumscribed by taboos and Greek anxieties about ritual pollution. Its successful completion

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497 E.*IT*.1193, 1197-99.
498 E.*IT*.1210-13.
499 E.*IT*.1222-9.
500 E.*IT*.1327-1344.
501 Teiresias lost his sight. The tale was recounted in Callimachus' hymn "The Bath of Pallas" 75-84, 98-102, where Athena explicitly states that whoever gazes upon the gods without their choosing pays a terrible price; the tale is also attributed to Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 92 (6th century BCE).

was imperative, but most of the city was not involved, and may have actively avoided the procession. Only the women and girls who had been chosen to care for Athena's garments and statue were certainly involved; it seems likely there was also a male escort. By its *aitia* and symbols, the Plynteria procession was connected to Athenian autochthony—the first Athenians taking care of the preeminent Athenian cult. But the main focus on ritual pollution and purification by washing governed the route and primary ritual of the procession, the bathing of the statue which took place at Phaleron.

Oschophoria

Background

The Oschophoria was a festival held on the 7th of Pyanepsion, which corresponds roughly to mid-October. By the 4th century BCE, the festival was closely linked to the departure and return of Theseus' Cretan expedition, but this mythic association may not be ancient. The festival centers on Phaleron, the ancient port of Athens, and was associated with the temple of Athena Skiras. Aside from literary testimonia, the main source of information about this festival and its participants comes from inscriptions describing the cults and responsibilities of the Salaminioi *genos*.[502]

The festival began with a procession from the city center to the *oschophorion* near the sanctuary of Athena Skiras in Phaleron, some 6 km away (fig. 11, no. 2).[503] The *pompe* was led by two young male *oschophoroi*, named for the branches of grapevines full of grapes which they carried, and dressed in women's clothes.[504] The *oschophoroi* were joined by a chorus singing "oschophoric" songs (and possibly performing dances), and *deipnophoroi*,

[502] Agora Inv. I.3244, 363/2 BCE (Ferguson 1938: 3-5; Lambert 1997: 86-88); Agora Inv.I.3394, 250 BCE (Ferguson 1938: 9-10; Lambert 1997: 89).
[503] Hsch s.v. *oschophorion*; he defines it as being within the precinct of Athena Skiras.
[504] Plut.*Thes*.23.2 (quoting Demon); Istros *FGrH* 334 F8; Suda s.v. *oschophoria*; Photios s.v. *orchophorein*; Hsch. s.v. *oschophoroi*.

food-carriers, probably carrying loaves of bread.[505] The procession was marshalled by a herald, who carried his garland on his staff rather than wearing it on his head.[506] A priestess of Athena Skiras was also present.[507] The Salaminioi inscriptions further mention a basket-bearer (*kalathephoros* of Kourotrophos, distinct from a *kanephoros*) and individuals called *kopai* for whom no convincing explanation has yet been found.[508] The *oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi* also could provide victims for sacrifice, which would have been part of the procession, but what type of victims is not specified.[509] A portion of the loaves was placed on the altar of Athena Skiras, while the rest were divided among priestly officials and members of the Salaminioi clan.[510] At some point, the *deipnophoroi* told stories to the *oschophoroi* and chorus.[511] In a separate rite, young men (described in late sources as ephebes) held a race; the winner drank a special mix of olive oil, wine, honey, barley meal, and cheese, and then danced with the chorus.[512]

Skiras was probably originally a goddess of Salamis; Strabo even records that Skiras was an old name for the island.[513] There is also a possibility that Athena Skiras was somehow linked with boys' initiation, since the Oschophoria has been interpreted as an initiation rite (the transvestitism, journeying to a marginal place, the young men secluded during a

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[505] On the oschophoric song, see Procl.*Chrest*.ap.Phot.*Bibl*.239, p. 322a; Rutherford & Irvine 1988 (who interpret it as a victory song for the winner of the foot-race); Kavoulaki 2000: 153 and Parker 2005: 212, against the notion that it was a victory song. Oschophoric dances: Parker 2005: 212, Aristocles ap. Ath. 631b. Deipnophoroi: Philochoros F183, Plut.*Thes*.23.4 (quoting Demon), *Bekker Anec*. I.239.11. Connection between deipnophoroi and loaves: Ferguson 1938: 37.

[506] Plut.*Thes*.23.2.

[507] Ferguson 1938: inscription 1 (Agora Inv. I.3244), l. 44.

[508] Ferguson 1938: inscription 1 (Agora Inv. I.3244) l. 45-6; Ferguson 1938: 57-8 interprets them as the millers who ground the grain for the loaves given to the goddess, but this has not found favor. The word means 'handles'; oarsmen might be another translation, but it is not clear what oars would have to do with Athena Skiras, see Parker 2005: 215, n. 101.

[509] Ferguson 1938: inscription 1 (Agora Inv. I.3244) l. 20-24.

[510] Ferguson 1938: inscription 1 (Agora Inv. I.3244) l. 41-7.

[511] Plut.*Thes*.23.2.

[512] *FGrH* 383 F 9 (Aristodemus); Procl.*Chrest*.ap.Phot.*Bibl*.239, p. 322a.

[513] Strabo 9.393C; Hdt.8.94 refers to a cult of Athena Skiras on Salamis, Plu.*Sol*.9 to a "hill of Skiras" on the island. A male hero Skiros was worshipped alongside Athena Skiras, possibly linked with the site of Skiron, which featured in the festival Skira.

sacrificial meal).[514] A certain Skiros shared her altar.[515] He is variously identified with Skiros, the Dodonian seer who served the Eleusinians in their war against Athens and died along the Sacred Way;[516] Skiros of Megara who was killed by Theseus;[517] or a Salaminian figure, perhaps an associate of the goddess on the island who was transplanted with her to Phaleron.[518] The last option is the most likely. There was a Skiradian promontory on the island of Salamis which apparently had a shrine of Athena Skiras, but the Salaminioi do not seem to have been connected with it.[519] The etymology of the *skir*- root is difficult to untangle.[520] Perhaps it was a toponym applied to marginal places—a promontory on Salamis, Phaleron, the spot along the Sacred Way.[521] The character of Athena Skiras is known only from the ceremonies connected to this festival, which suggest that she was a goddess "not of generation, but of fruition."[522] Aside from animal sacrifices, the offerings presented at the festival consisted of foodstuffs produced in Attica (bread, the mix drunk by the winner of the race) or representative of such products (the grapevines).[523]

The Route of the Procession

The procession is supposed to have begun from an unspecified sanctuary of Dionysos, which has led some scholars to suggest that the festival and procession were in fact for Dionysos, not Athena Skiras.[524] Which shrine of Dionysos is a further matter of debate;

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[514] Stories during the meal: Plut.*Thes*.23.2; as an initiation rite: Bremmer 1999: 183-200. Against this view: Parker 2005: 209-210.
[515] Ferguson 1938: inscription 1 (Agora Inv. I.3244), l. 93: in Maimakterion Athena Skiras receives a pregnant ewe, and Skiros a sheep. Philochoros (quoted by Plut.*Thes*.17.6) mentions a temple of Skiros.
[516] Paus.1.36.4.
[517] Plut.*Thes*.10.1.
[518] Philochoros, quoted by Plut.*Thes*.17.6.
[519] Her.8.94; Plut.*Sol*.9. Ferguson 1938: 19. Lambert 1997: 100 objects that we do not know enough about Salamis to be sure that the Salaminioi did not have property or cult there.
[520] In antiquity and today. Suggestions in antiquity included *skiros* meaning plaster, or *skiron* meaning sunshade, but these both relate to the Skirophoria rather than the Oschophoria (Parker 2005: 176 n. 84, 85).
[521] Osborne 1994: 158.
[522] Ferguson 1938: 40.
[523] This is supported by the fact that the Salaminioi offered a pregnant ewe to Athena Skiras in the next month, Maimakterion (line 93). Pregnant animals are typically offered to deities concerned with fertility.
[524] Simon 1983: 91-2.

Ferguson suggests Eleuthereus, since it was near the gate leading to Phaleron, but if the ritual (and the Salaminioi) go back earlier than the late 6th century, Dionysos *in limnais* might be more likely.[525] It is in fact possible that the sanctuary of Dionysos *in limnais* was located near the so-called Halade Gate to Phaleron, which was also likely used for the Plynteria and the procession of Eleusinian initiates to the sea (fig. 9, no. 184).[526] Parker observes that all the sources on the Oschophoria are vague about which Dionysion they mean, but it is possible that "a Dionysion referred to alone is perhaps on balance more likely to be the Dionysion *in limnais*, the oldest shrine, than any other."[527] Would this shrine be particularly appropriate? It figured in the Anthesteria festival, which was linked to wine production—as, perhaps, the Oschophoria was. The Anthesteria festival also presents a parallel for the mix of happy and sad elements in the Oschophoria. Osborne has emphasized the marginal character of the featured participants (young men), the Salaminioi themselves (linked to Salamis, by name and possibly by history), and the ritual destination of the festival (Phaleron).[528] It is at least possible that the procession sought to reinforce this sense of liminality by moving not from the city center to the edge, but instead from a liminal shrine of Dionysos to a more distant but still liminal sanctuary in Phaleron.

Skiras was probably originally a goddess of Salamis, as discussed above. When her cult was imported, it was identified with Athena—perhaps with a shrine of Athena already present in Phaleron, if the Plynteria procession was very ancient and took the statue of Athena to a temple in Phaleron. It seems most likely that, as the festival was set at the time of the grape-pressing, and as Athena Skiras was associated with agricultural products, the Oschophoria was secondarily associated with Dionysos after the establishment of the cult of

[525] Eleuthereus: Ferguson 1938: 39; in Limnai: Parke 1977: 77.
[526] Travlos 1971 p. 291, fig. 379. Dionysion *in limnais* is no. 184, just inside gate XII, the Halade Gate. Slater 1986: 255-264, following Hooker, would rather place the Dionysion (and the shrine of Kodros) outside the walls, but still on the banks of the Ilissos, in which case it is possible the procession could have followed the Ilissos downstream and thus approached the Phaleron road.
[527] Slater 1986: 260; Parker 2005: 212.
[528] Osborne 1994: 158.

Athena Skiras. The fact that many of the elements of the festival appear Dionysiac may not be only a modern construct; perhaps the Athenians also noticed this, and thus the precinct of Dionysos suggested itself as an appropriate starting point. The starting point of the procession was thus not simply a matter of practicality, but Athena Skiras retained her ritual primacy.[529]

The Participants

Most of the participants in the procession were members of the Salaminioi *genos*. We are well-informed about this *genos* as a result of two enlightening inscriptions from 363 BCE and ca. 250 BCE, but the *genos* nevertheless poses some intractable problems.[530] The earliest inscription was occasioned by a dispute over land and cult responsibilities between the two branches of the *genos*, the Salaminioi of Sounion and the Salaminioi of the Seven Phylai. By the time of the later inscription, the two branches had split into separate *genē*, and were settling a dispute over property.

The most difficult problem relating to this *genos* is its name and date of creation. The name suggests a relationship with Salamis, but the nature of this relationship remains hotly debated.[531] The Salaminioi also controlled a cult of Eurysakes, son of the Salaminian hero Ajax, so their association goes beyond the name.[532] At the same time, they provided a priestess of Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Kourotrophos—old cults located on the Acropolis and tied to Athenian autochthony.[533] We cannot assume, as Osborne does, that the Salaminioi "owe their responsibility for providing the marginal adults for this festival centred on a

[529] Simple practicality: Ferguson 1938: 39. Parker 2005: 215 suggests assigning the festival to both deities.
[530] On the inscriptions see Ferguson 1938, Lambert 1997.
[531] See Lambert 1997: 95, n. 8-10 for a list of previous theories. Some have argued that the Salaminioi were originally from Salamis, but moved to Athens in the Dark Age or even as late as the 6th century. Others see the Salaminioi as native Athenians who moved to Salamis at some point, but were ejected by Megara during their period of control over the island. A third group interprets the Salaminioi as native Athenians who had never set foot on the island at all—a purely political move by the Athenians. Lambert, who finds weaknesses in all the arguments, suggests that the Salaminioi were "Atheno-Salaminians" who settled in Salamis as part of a cleruchy in the late 6th century, but continued to have property and cultic responsibilities in Attica as well (p. 100-3).
[532] Lambert 1997: 94.
[533] Ferguson 1938: inscription 1 (Agora Inv. I.3244), l. 45.

marginal sanctuary to their own marginal status as refugees from territory that was itself marginally Athenian," as attractive as the formulation may be.[534] The *genos* is most likely to have included native Athenians who had deep roots in Attica, who had somehow become connected to Salamis but retained their property and connections to Athens, including their link to one of the cults of Athenian autochthony.

Who was included in the procession? The sacrificial community—those who received part of the sacrifice—was mainly members of the Salaminioi *genos*. The *oschophoroi*, *deipnophoroi* (dinner-carriers), the *kalathephoros* of Kourotrophos, the priests and priestesses, and perhaps the herald were all members of the Salaminioi *genos*.[535] The chorus and the *kopai* were apparently not. Other members of the Salaminioi who had no defined ritual role also received part of the sacrifice at the sanctuary of Athena Skiras, and were thus part of the sacrificial community.[536] Thus it seems that most of the procession except for the chorus and the enigmatic *kopai* were Salaminioi, and certainly the majority of the prestigious positions in the procession were held by members of the Salaminioi *genos*. This was an opportunity for the *genos* to perform its identity and the honor given to it, to organize and carry out this *polis* festival on behalf of Athens. It was by far their most visible moment in the Athenian religious calendar. The *oschophoroi*, *deipnophoroi*, priests and priestesses, basket-bearer, herald, and other members of the Salaminioi who walked in the procession and partook in the sacrifice were publicly performing their membership in the *genos*, a membership which connoted elite status.

The procession also included many young men, as *oschophoroi* and as chorus-members. As such it has been argued that it was an initiation rite.[537] Against this is the fact that only two boys dressed up in women's clothes, and it is not clear that the boys involved

[534] Osborne 1994: 158.
[535] Istros *FGrH* 334 F8; Ferguson 1938: 34 based on the reasoning that they provided sacrificial victims whose meat was reserved for Salaminioi; see also Parker 2005: 215. Agora Inv. I.3244 lines 41-7.
[536] Ferguson 1938: inscription 1 (Agora Inv. I.3244), l. 46-7.
[537] Parker 2005: 209, 216, but he remains skeptical.

achieved a change in status by their ritual seclusion in a marginal location. Instead it seems more likely that it was simply a great honor for the two *oschophoroi* to be chosen to participate in this ritual as representatives of their *genos,* and a chance for them to perform their good character and high status before an appreciative audience of their fellow Athenians. Surely this position possessed prestige and social capital, simply by nature of the limited number of young men who received the honor. The chorus-members must also have shared this opportunity to display their discipline and good character as they provided musical accompaniment for the procession over its 6km walk. Women also had a ritual role representing the mothers of the Twice Seven and thus they had a somewhat rare opportunity (as married women, rather than girls) to perform their status and membership in the Salaminioi before their fellow Athenians.

One of Alciphron's letters criticizes a woman, Tritonis, for going to the city to view the Oschophoria and Lenaea with wealthy Athenian ladies.[538] This could suggest that women in particular turned out to view the young men in procession.[539]

Symbols of the Procession

The symbols of the procession are difficult to interpret outside of the myth of Theseus, with which they are inextricably intertwined in the late sources available to us. The *oschophoroi* represent the two young men whom Theseus dressed as women, so that in fact the Twice Seven consisted of nine boys and five girls.[540] The *deipnophoroi* are the mothers of the children, who brought them meals while they waited to sail to Crete and told them stories to comfort them. The herald walks with his wreath twined about his staff, rather than on his head, because when the herald of Theseus announced his triumphant return in Athens he

[538] Alciphron I.4 (Cymothus to Tritonis).
[539] Ferguson 1938: 36.
[540] Mostly Plut.*Thes*.23.2, but also Philochoros F183, Istros *FGrH* 334 F8. See Harding 2008: 61-63 on the fragments of the Atthidographers.

discovered that the good news was mixed with sorrow—the death of Aigeus. This also explains the cry of the sacrificial community during the libations at the altar, part joyful and part sad. Plutarch even makes an attempt to link the bunches of grapes carried by the *oschophoroi* with a thank-offering to Dionysos and Ariadne after Theseus' safe return—but retreats to a more plausible explanation that the festival simply coincided with the time of the grape-harvest.[541] The mythic explanations for the ritual mix pre-departure and post-departure aetiologies, and are clearly grafted onto the rite.[542] The Oschophoria fell only a day or two before the Theseia, and seems to have been affected by this proximity.[543]

The symbols of the procession—the grapes, the loaves, the female dress of the *oschophoroi*, the chorus with its songs—have sometimes been used to argue that the festival was originally in honor of Dionysos, rather than Athena Skiras. This was suggested in part by the fact that the procession began at a shrine of Dionysos, and by the supposedly Dionysiac character of many of the symbols. Simon, for example, takes the grapes carried by the *oschophoroi* as definitive evidence that it was really a festival of Dionysos.[544] The *staphylodromoi* carried grapes at the Spartan Karneia in honor of Apollo, however, and the symbol need not be exclusively associated with Dionysos.[545] The transvestite dress of the young men has also been taken as Dionysiac, but may simply have been archaic, as some scholars have suggested that the boys were dressed in Ionic chitons which were perceived as feminine.[546] Choruses were part of other rites, and processional songs were common.[547] The ululations during the libations need not be especially Dionysiac either, though Parker points out that a parallel for the mix of joy and sadness is the Anthesteria.[548] In addition there is the

[541] Plut.*Thes*.23.2.
[542] Parker 1996: 315-6.
[543] Parker 1996: 315.
[544] Simon 1983: 91.
[545] Richer 2007: 193.
[546] Ferguson 1938: 36, Deubner 1956:142, n.2; against their dress as simply archaic, Simon 1983: 90-1.
[547] Kavoulaki 2000: 145-158.
[548] Ferguson 1938: 40; Parker 2005: 213.

fact that the Salaminioi (who appear to have control of this festival) are nowhere associated with Dionysos, and do not sacrifice to him at all; moreover the only ancient sources which specifically attribute the festival to a deity assign it to Athena Skiras.[549] Certainly by the mid-4th century, the myth of Theseus had crowded out whatever previous meaning these symbols had possessed.

Conclusions

The main resonance of the Oschophoria in Athenian cultural memory was through its links with Theseus, as demonstrated by the numerous references to the procession and festival in the literary sources—most of them quite late. Ferguson is right to emphasize the element of imagination and almost theatrical performance in the procession—the herald may have imagined himself to be Theseus' herald, or the *oschophoroi* may have fancied themselves to be members of the Twice Seven.[550] The spectators may have imagined this, too, which could have lent additional emotional force to the procession.

There is the interesting suggestion that the one of the duties of the *deipnophoroi* was to tell stories to the young men during their period of seclusion. The character of the stories is, of course, unknown—but here is another instance of women passing on cultural memory to the younger generation, as was also discussed with regard to the weaving of the *peplos*.[551] It is entirely possible that some of the stories had to do with Theseus and his adventures, and perhaps this regular re-telling of the myths with explicit reference to the symbols of the Oschophoria procession helped to reinforce the extraordinary number of links between the Theseus myth and the various elements of the procession.

The only symbol that does not fit well with the Theseus myths, as demonstrated by Plutarch's struggle to explain it, is the symbol after which the procession was named: the

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[549] Parke 1977: 79 assigns it to Athena Skiras; Suda s.v. *oschophoria* and Bekk.*Anecd.Gr*.I.318.23.
[550] Ferguson 1938: 41.
[551] See chapter 2.

grape-branches carried by the young men. These seem to point to the original significance of the procession, before it became bound up with Theseus. The *deipnophoroi* also, though they were turned into the mothers of the Twice Seven, are attested in another unrelated ritual for the daughters of Kekrops and need not always have drawn their significance from the Theseus myth.[552] The grapes and the dinner-bearers carrying loaves for sacrifice are best paralleled in Athenian ritual by the bloodless offerings at the City Dionysia *pompē*, where bread and wine were offered to Dionysos Eleuthereus. The sanctuary where the Oschophoria began, the temple of Dionysos *in limnais*, was also closely connected to the production of wine through the Anthesteria festival, and thus perhaps was an appropriate starting point for the Oschophoria with its grape-bearers. These elements in particular—the grapes, the dinner-bearers who carried the loaves for sacrifice—seem to point to an agricultural festival which celebrated the production of wine and bread in the sanctuary of a goddess concerned with fertility and the growth of youth.

Skirophoria

Background

This is an enigmatic festival held on 12 Skirophorion—the month takes its name from the festival—which corresponds roughly to mid-June.[553] The festival had two conceptually related but separate aspects. Most literary sources refer to it as a women's festival, along the lines of the Thesmophoria or Arrhephoria.[554] It appears to have been celebrated in multiple locations in Attica at the same time, and as with the Thesmophoria, the women met in shrines of Demeter to carry out the ritual. In the Piraeus the women met at the Thesmophorion, and

[552] Phot. d 136. Parker 2005: 216 suggests the *deipnophoroi* of the Kekropids could also be part of the Oschophoria, but this seems a stretch. The dinner-bearers for the Kekropids are not mentioned in the Salaminioi inscriptions that pertain to the Oschophoria, nor is there any provision for their selection (as with the *deipnophoroi* of the Oschophoria, see Ferguson 1938: 21).
[553] Brumfield 1981: 168.
[554] Scholion to Lucian p. 275.24 Rabe; Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 89; Parker 2005: 173-4.

in Paiania they may have met at the Eleusinion.[555] Their activities were apparently secret, but abstaining from sex was important, as the participants ate garlic to ward off their husbands' attentions.[556]

Two late sources, however, add a civic procession to the festival practices. This procession was led by the highest sacred officials in Athens, the priestess of Athena Polias and the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus, as well as a priest of Helios.[557] They were protected from the heat of the summer sun by a sunshade (*skiros*) which was carried by members of the Eteoboutadai *genos*, the clan which also provided the priestess of Athena and priest of Poseidon.[558] No further participants are mentioned, though they may have existed. No explanatory myth was provided, and the meaning of the procession (and festival) seems generally to have eluded the ancient commentators. It is also unknown what sort of rituals were performed at the destination.

The Route of the Procession

The procession began on the Acropolis and traveled out to a place called Skiron. This is usually identified with a temple of Demeter and Kore near the grave of Skiron along the Sacred Way, where Athena and Poseidon were also worshipped, though the implication is that the sanctuary was primarily in honor of Demeter and Kore (fig. 11, no. 1).[559] It is not immediately clear from Pausanias' description how near the temple was to the tomb of Skiron; however, the toponym Skiron may have designated a geographic area or district.[560]

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[555] Piraeus: IG II^2 1177; Paiania IG I^3 250 A 5-9.
[556] Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 89.
[557] Lysimachides *FGrH* 366 F 3, quoted by Harpocration.
[558] Lysimachides *FGrH* 366 F 3, quoted by Harpocration.
[559] Paus.1.37.2.
[560] The tomb is related by Pausanias at 1.36.4; he then passes the tomb of Cephisodoros, the grave of Heliodoros, the tomb of Themistocles, then a little way past the tomb of Themistocles is a precinct sacred to Lacius, a hero, and the tomb of Nicocles. Here, at 1.37.2, Pausanias mentions the temple of Demeter and Kore.

The existence of a temple where Demeter, Kore, Athena, and Poseidon were all worshipped has excited much speculation about the relationship between the sanctuary and the mythical war with Eleusis. Skiron, apparently, was a seer from Dodona who came to Attica during the war; he died in the fighting and was buried by the Eleusinians here near a torrent.[561] His burial by the Eleusinians indicates he was on their side, and is therefore unrelated to the temple of Athena Skiras at Phaleron.[562]

The cults of Athena Polias and Poseidon-Erechtheus were supposedly created at the close of the war with Eleusis, if Euripides was faithfully transmitting popular myth.[563] This would link their cults ideologically with the war with Eleusis. However, there is no indication that the priestesses of Demeter and Kore came from Eleusis to meet the priestess of Athena Polias and the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus at Skiron during this festival, which rather rules out a 'renewal of the contract' forged after the war, as Simon suggested.[564] Despite the destination, this appears to be a solely Athenian procession. The participation of Eteoboutadai and such venerable sacred officials does argue for the antiquity of the procession, despite our late sources. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Skiron is just before the crossing of the Kephissos along the Sacred Way; this would put it in the midst of the Athenian plain, about halfway between Athens and the pass over Mt. Aigaleos. Therefore, the sanctuary is not even remotely halfway between Athens and Eleusis, and lies firmly within territory that has always been assumed to be under Athenian control, since the mountains around Athens form convenient natural boundaries.[565]

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[561] Paus.1.36.4.
[562] Parker 2005: 175.
[563] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 58-9, 80-3.
[564] Simon 1983: 24, adding that Helios may have been present because he was an important Greek oath-god.
[565] Parker (2005: 175) observes that "a look at a map explodes the idea that Skiron, a suburb of Athens, represents a middle point between the two places." Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 172-3 argues that Skiron was perceived as the border "between the 'urban' part of the polis and the in-between, the not-*asty* and not-border/periphery segment of the polis" but that Skiron could "symbolically drift into the role of border between centre and periphery—hence the notion that it had been at the border between Athens and Eleusis which does not correspond to historical reality."

The character of the area around the temple of Demeter and Kore is decidedly rural. The temple itself was linked to a hero and king, Phytalus, to whom Demeter revealed the fig tree.[566] Just across the Kephissos was a small temple possibly associated with the discovery of the cultivation of beans.[567] Skiron was also, apparently, the location of one of three sacred ploughings which took place in Attica; the other two were at Athens and Eleusis.[568] The ploughing at Skiron was apparently the commemoration of "the most ancient sowing." Skiron thus seems to be a place associated with the origins of Athenian agriculture.

It seems plausible that, in the absence of any Eleusinian officials or priestesses, the sanctuary that the Skirophoria procession approached was in fact purely Athenian in character, linked topographically to numerous Athenian myths, especially Athenian agricultural innovation. That such prominent Athenian cult officials were involved in the procession indicates the importance of the rite; here, the primary Acropolis "pair" comes out into the countryside to perform rites at a sanctuary of the main goddess of agriculture, just after the harvest has finished, perhaps in thanks for a good harvest or hope for preservation of the harvested grain during the fall.

The Participants

The only attested participant in the procession who is not certainly a member of the Eteoboutadai clan is the priest of Helios. He has sometimes been thought to be a late interpolation to the ritual, since cult for Helios is not attested in Classical Athens, but this may be too hasty.[569] A striking symbol in the procession is the sunshade under which the sacred officials walked, protecting them from the sun; the sun is not, then, absent from the

[566] Paus.1.37.2.
[567] Paus.1.37.4.
[568] Parker 2005: 197; Plut.*Praec.Conj*.42, 144a-b.
[569] Parke 1977: 158 suggests that either it is a late interpolation or that it is a reference to Apollo. Burkert 1983: 144 sees it as an expression of the idea of departure, since the summer solstice is past and the sun has started to decline. Simon 1983: 23 argues that the worship of Helios goes back to Bronze Age times, and he is mentioned in the Odyssey, so it is not unimaginable that he had a cult in Athens.

procession even without the priest of Helios. If the festival's original concern was mainly with agricultural matters, the presence of the priest of the sun god might in fact be both appropriate and important.

The other members of the procession were linked to a single clan, and thus their participation in this procession was also an opportunity to perform their membership in the Eteoboutadai before observers, whose identity must remain ambiguous, but may have included some farmers and rural inhabitants, since the procession passed through the plain of Athens. It is striking that the principal sacred officials of the city should make such a journey outside the walls to a marginal, extraurban sanctuary. Robertson sees this as a "riposte" to an independent Eleusis, but this relies on far too many assumptions.[570] We have no idea when the procession was instituted, or whether Eleusis was in fact independent at the time.

Symbols of the Procession

The single symbol attested for the procession is the *skiros*, sunshade. It has been interpreted as the reason for the name "skirophorion"—that is, some kind of *skir*- object should be carried. The ancient suggestion—that this was an opportune time for building shelters, hence the presence of the sunshade—is, as Parke observed, absurd.[571] The sunshade need not be purely practical, however. The other indication of sunshades in a procession is at the Panathenaia, where metic girls carried parasols for the high-born *kanephoroi*. This indicates that sunshades had connotations of luxury or high status, and that may be the significance of the sunshade in the Skirophoria procession, since the known participants were members of a prestigious *genos*.

A sunshade would seem to be a rather uninspiring symbol to name the entire festival (and month) after. A number of other explanations have been put forward, mostly revolving

[570] Robertson 2004: 121.
[571] Lysimachides *FGrH* 366 F 3, quoted by Harpocration; Parke 1977: 158.

around the connection between the root *skir*- and the color white. Some scholars suggest lime that was being added to fields to improve their quality, but Brumfield plausibly rejects this; the soil of Attica was sufficiently alkaline and there is no evidence for this practice (called 'marling') in literary sources.[572] Brumfield suggests that the white substance was used to line the pits where grain was stored at the procession's destination (where we know that a sacred ploughing took place at another time, and thus sacred fields must have been tended and harvested) and was added to the stored grain, a practice which is known to help with preservation.[573] This may be possible, but since the procession's destination sanctuary (and associated storage pits) has not been archaeologically discovered and there is no literary evidence for what activities might have occurred, this theory must still be considered hypothetical. It is also curious that, if the lime was the substance which the festival and month were named after, none of our sources mention it. Some scholars have linked this white substance with a plaster statuette of Athena which Theseus is said to have carried with him, but it is then difficult to believe that our sources—especially Plutarch, who frequently links Theseus with known Attic ritual—did not mention this connection, if the myth of Theseus did lend symbolic significance to the substance carried.[574]

Another, likelier possibility is provided by the sources linked to the women's festival Skira. A scholion to Lucian mentions "mysteries," implying that the exact activities were unknown to the general public.[575] The link which the Lucian scholion makes between the Thesmophoria, Skirophoria, and Arrhephoria is perhaps suggestive. All three festivals involved the carrying of something—but what we do not know for certain, because it was secret.

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[572] Brumfield 1981: 169-172.
[573] Brumfield 1981: 172-174.
[574] Parker 2005: 176 n. 85, 86.
[575] Scholion to Lucian p. 275.24 Rabe ; Brumfield 1981: 165.

Conclusions

The festival as a whole seems to have had agricultural or fertility significance, as demonstrated by the ancient sources on the womens' rites. In this light, the procession to Skiron—which arrived at a sanctuary of Demeter located near the place of discovery for figs and beans—is perhaps not as much of a puzzle as previously thought. Parker points out that the sanctuary and the tomb of Skiron are definitely distinct in Pausanias' account, and while it is certainly tempting to explain the combination of statues of Demeter, Kore, Athena, and Poseidon in one shrine with the myth of the Eleusinian war, it is not perhaps necessary. Pausanias is a late source, and it is therefore unclear when the statues of Athena and Poseidon were placed in the sanctuary, or what their significance there might be; it could relate to this festival, rather than the myth of the war. The principal Athenian deities came here to perform rites in honor of Demeter, who at this spot provided the first fig tree, an agricultural product linked with the autochthons and therefore with strong symbolism itself. Perhaps it is appropriate that the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus, an autochthonous Athenian hero, was part of this procession. The most convincing explanations for a priest of Helios also tie into an agricultural explanation, since the sun was obviously vital for the growth of crops.

The sunshade does not seem a likely explanation for the festival and month name, nor does the location Skiron, since Skirophoria clearly implies the carrying of some object. It seems most likely to be something carried as part of the secret women's rites, analogous to the Thesmophoria and Arrhephoria. The sunshade might have called attention to the power of the sun (as well as the priest of Helios), but might also have connoted luxury, since most members of the procession were part of the prestigious Eteoboutadai clan. The other attested cult symbol, the fleece of Zeus, had purificatory significance. The fragmentary sources do not explain how it was used (perhaps as a preparatory rite, but why was it so important for these cult officials to be pure?), but it may be significant that the procession's destination was also

associated with purification through the sacred figs.[576] There is also emphasis on ritual purity in the secret women's rites.

Processions for Apollo and Artemis

Thargelia

The Thargelia festival is generally reconstructed as a two-day festival, on the 6th and 7th of the month Thargelion, equivalent to late May, the time of the spring harvest. It was in honor of Apollo Pythios, and combined themes of purification and agricultural plenty—not an uncommon combination.[577] On the 6th, a procession involving two *pharmakoi*, or scapegoats, took place. On the 7th there was another procession, this time bringing a diverse collection of first-fruits to the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios near the Ilissos river (fig. 10).

Scapegoat rituals are known from many Greek city-states, and there are some common elements which may help us reconstruct what occurred on 6th Thargelion. The sources referring specifically to Athens mention that there were two scapegoats, one wearing dried black figs representing the men of the city, and one wearing dried white figs representing the women of the city.[578] The two people chosen were apparently of questionable character.[579] Based on analogy with other scapegoat rituals known throughout the Mediterranean, the scapegoats were probably fed at public expense for a certain period, likely in the prytaneion.[580] On the day of their expulsion, they were led from the prytaneion—one of the symbolic hearts of the city—through the city and out of a special gate.[581] They may have been accompanied by discordant music.[582] They walked around the walls of the

[576] See p. 153 below.
[577] Simon 1983: 78.
[578] Harpocration s.v. *pharmakos*; Helladius ap. Phot.*Bibl*.279 p. 534a 2-12; see Parker 2007: 482-3.
[579] Parker 2007: 483. Bremmer 1983: 303-308 points out that while scapegoats were marginal people and frequently lower-class, after being chosen they were treated well for a period of time, as if to make them appear as valued members of the community.
[580] Bremmer 1983: 305-6, 313.
[581] Perhaps the gate for those condemned to death, in Athens called the gate of Charon. Bremmer 1983: 314.
[582] Bremmer 1983: 313-14.

city, and were then driven over the border, sometimes by throwing stones or beating them with branches.[583] They cannot have been driven to the actual border of Attica in the north, but without further information we cannot be sure how far they were forced to flee.

The starting location of the procession on the 7th is unknown. It ended at the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, on the banks of the Ilissos river near the Kalirrhoe springs; just inside the wall was the shrine of Ge Olympia and the southern side of the Olympieion, including the temple of Apollo Delphinios (fig. 9, no. 189; fig. 10).[584] The participants of the procession are similarly obscure, though men's and boys' choruses competed and may have also walked in procession.[585] The main symbol of the procession was the wide range of first-fruits which were brought to the sanctuary and boiled together into a porridge, and presumably eaten by the festival participants. The first-fruits included barley, wheat, and cakes, but also pulses, berries, grass, and perhaps acorns; other elements have not been matched to an English translation.[586] The festival took place in late May at the beginning of summer, approximately the time of the harvest,[587] and thus had to do with Apollo's power as a deity of agricultural growth, though his association with the growth of young men did not go entirely unremarked—boys competed in cyclic choruses. Parker suggests that children may have had an important place in the procession.[588] Simon connects a couple of painted vases with the Thargelia, but sees the processions depicted on them as victory offerings by the boys who won the choral contest, taking place after the sacrificial procession.[589] The sanctuary was apparently well-decorated with the tripods of victors in the choral contests, a splendid backdrop to the sacrificial procession's arrival in the sanctuary.

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[583] Bremmer 1983: 314-15.
[584] Travlos *PDA*: 100, fig. 130 letters A-G.
[585] Simon 1983: 78.
[586] Parker 2005: 203-4.
[587] Isager & Skydsgaard 1992: p. 162, fig. 11.1.
[588] Parker 2005: 204.
[589] Simon 1983: 78-9. On one vase, members of a chorus are shown, but no sacrificial bull; in the other, boys lead sacrificial bulls and a kanephoros approaches the temple with an offering-basket on her head.

Pyanopsia

The Pyanopsia festival was also celebrated in honor of Apollo, but in October, about six months after the Thargelia on 7th Pyanopsion.[590] This was approximately the time of plowing and sowing wheat crops, and the harvest and pruning of olives.[591] The festival was in honor of Apollo Delphinios, and culminated at his sanctuary just south of the Olympieion, within the walls of the city.[592] Like the Thargelia procession, the main sacrifice borne in procession was the ingredients of a stew—here, composed of beans, vegetables, and cereals.[593] It was explained by a myth of Theseus, that upon homecoming from Crete he and his companions boiled up all their remaining provisions as an offering to Apollo and feasted on them.[594] The sacrifice of Pyanopsia bears a striking resemblance to that of the Thargelia, and the festivals' themes are also similar. The sacrificial stew is another symbol of agricultural plenty, albeit at the time of the autumn sowing rather than harvest.[595] A similar meaning may have belonged to the *eiresione*, an olive branch garlanded with wool and hung with various fruits, carried by a boy with both parents living and deposited in the shrine of Apollo Delphinios (fig. 9, no. 160).[596] That it was a boy and not an adult is appropriate to Apollo, who oversaw the growth of boys, and links the Pyanopsia further with the Thargelia procession, where boys were also present as members of the choruses.[597] Aside from the boy who carried the *eiresione*, the identity of the processioners is unknown.

Both the Thargelia and Pyanopsia were concerned with agricultural plenty. The Thargelia, which took place in May, directly followed the harvest and purified the city before

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[590] Parke 1977: 75.
[591] Isager & Skydsgaard 1992: p. 162, fig. 11.1.
[592] Parker 2005: 203.
[593] Parke 1977: 75. Harpocration s.v. *Pyanopsia*, Photios s.v. *Pyanepsia*; Pollux 6.51.
[594] Plut.*Thes*.22.5.
[595] Parke 1977: 75.
[596] Parke 1977: 76-7. See p. 156 below.
[597] Parker 2005: 436 who sees Apollo Delphinios as being particularly concerned with the growth of boys.

the onset of summer. The Pyanopsia in October perhaps coincided with the autumn sowing and expressed the city's wishes for blessings in the future, in the form of the *eiresione* branch and the symbolic boy with both parents living.

Artemis Delphinia

A procession for Artemis Delphinia also culminated in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios near the Olympieion, but its participants were young girls rather than boys, and thus it is assumed that the recipient was Artemis rather than Apollo. It took place on 6th Mounichion, a month named for the more prominent festival of Artemis Mounichia in Piraeus, perhaps corresponding to late April before the grain harvest.[598] The young girls carried olive branches bound with wool.[599] The ritual was explained with reference to Theseus; supposedly this was the day when he sailed for Crete, and before departing he dedicated a suppliant bough to Apollo at the Delphinion.[600] In practice, however, it was maidens who brought the boughs to Artemis. Parke suggests that the original ceremony was a general supplication on behalf of the community, and the presence of girls in the procession was meant to appeal to Artemis.[601]

Charisteria

On Boedromion 6 (that is, late September), a procession in honor of Artemis Agrotera passed out of the city across the Ilissos river to her sanctuary (fig. 9, no. 151).[602] This procession was organized by the polemarch, and consisted primarily of five hundred goats. The goats were sacrificed in thanksgiving to Artemis and perhaps Ares Enyalios, for aid

[598] Parke 1977: 137.
[599] Parke 1977: 137.
[600] Plut.*Thes*.18.1.
[601] Parke 1977: 137. Simon 1983: 80 adds that the procession may have been established as the result of a vow made in a time of affliction.
[602] Simon 1983: 82.

during the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE.[603] The Athenians had promised to sacrifice one goat for every Persian killed, but the total was too large, so 500 was selected as a permissible compromise.[604] It is suggested, though not attested, that in the classical period hoplites and perhaps cavalry marched in the procession; in later periods the ephebes performed this role.[605] Though the date does not match the actual date of the battle, the sacrifice came to memorialize the victory and continued to be performed into the 2nd century CE.[606]

Pompaia

The name Pompaia makes it clear that the central act of this festival was a procession. The Pompaia fell in the month Maimakterion, corresponding to modern December, just after the grain was sown.[607] The symbols of the procession, a ram's fleece and the caduceus of Hermes, are difficult to interpret.[608] At some point *katharma*, offscourings or refuse from sacrifice, were cast out at a crossroads.[609] The fleece carried in the procession had previously belonged to a ram sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios, perhaps at the Diasia festival. This has led some scholars to identify the festival with Zeus Meilichios, but this is not certain.[610] There is no mention of a sacrifice to be given to Zeus Meilichios at the Pompaia—in fact, no mention of a deity in the sources preserved. Purification certainly seems to be a strong theme in the

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[603] Simon 1983: 82 thinks both deities; Parker sees the sacrifice to Enyalios as a separate event (2005: 398, n. 43). Parke 1977: 137 does not mention Enyalios.
[604] Xen.*Anab*.3.2.12; Ar.*Eq*.660-62, Ar.*Lys*.1248-65.
[605] Pfuhl 1900: 34-5.
[606] Parker 2005: 462, Parke 1977: 55.
[607] Simon 1983: 14, Deubner 1956: 157-8.
[608] Eust. In *Od*. 22.481, 1935.5.
[609] Eust. In *Od*. 22.481, 1935.5. The word *katharma* is rarely used in literature in its technical ritual sense, "that which is thrown away in cleansing" or "the refuse of a sacrifice" (LSJ s.v. *katharma*, Aesch.*Cho*.98; "the purification" Eur.*IT*.1316). There is a definite sense of casting-out; so Eur.*Her*.225 uses it to describe Heracles' "purging" of land and sea. On the other hand, it can also refer to a purified/consecrated area (Ar.*Ach*.43). The word is most frequently used as an insult, i.e. outcast, ingrate, blackguard (Dem.18.128, 19.198, 21.185, Ar.*Plut*.455, Ath.15.54, Din.1.16).
[610] Parke 1977: 96, who conjectures that the procession of the Pompaia was very old and only became associated with Zeus Meilichios after the month Maimakterion became connnected with Zeus; see also Simon 1983: 14, who sees the Diasia and Pompaia as connected festivals.

festival, with the casting out of *katharma* and the parading of a fleece, which had its own significance as an instrument of purification. The caduceus of Hermes is harder to place, but perhaps it is linked to the festival name. Hermes was a god of movement and travel, and what are processions but movement in honor of a god? The route of the procession is not mentioned. Parke suggests that the Pompaia procession made a circuit of the city,[611] and this seems plausible considering the themes of purification (the procession of the scapegoats comes to mind). On the other hand, the casting-out of sacrificial detritus at a crossroads might suggest a location outside the city.

Processional Symbols

The Dried Fig

Dried figs appear as a symbol in several ritual contexts. Figs were considered "the first civilized food" and were linked with the autochthons, the first inhabitants of Attica, who ate them.[612] Just as the Athenians were proud to have originated the cultivation of the olive and grain, they also believed that they were the first to grow figs.[613] The Skirophoria procession culminated at a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore located near the house of Phytalos, a local Attic king to whom Demeter first revealed the secrets of fig cultivation.[614]

At the Plynteria, a cake of dried figs called the *hegeteria* was carried at the front of the procession—it symbolically "led" the procession.[615] The Plynteria procession took the ancient *xoanon* of Athena Polias down to the sea at Phaleron to receive a purifying bath; the

[611] Parke 1977: 96.
[612] Ath. 3.74 says that the figs were the first fruit to be cultivated in Attica, and were forbidden to export. Ael. *VH*. 3.38 reports that the olive and fig trees first appeared in Attica. Consumed by the autochthons: Phot., Hsch. s.v. *hegeteria*; *Etym. Magn*. 418, 49 s.v. *hegetoria*.
[613] Paus.1.37.2.
[614] Parker 2005: 173-7.
[615] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 140-1. Phot. and Hsch. s.v. *hegeteria*.

fig-cake may have been intended as a symbolic meal for the statue.[616] The fig's association with Athenian autochthony may have made it an appropriate meal for this ancient cult-statue of Athena housed on the Acropolis, home of the first authochthonous kings.

The association with autochthony, however, has little explanatory use in the Thargelia scapegoat ritual, where figs play a major symbolic role. Scapegoat rituals are known from many Greek city-states, and there are some common elements which Bremmer has used to reconstruct what occurred in Athens.[617] The sources referring specifically to Athens mention that there were two scapegoats, one wearing a necklace of dried black figs representing the men of the city, and one wearing dried white figs representing the women of the city (the scapegoats themselves could both be men in actuality).[618] They were paraded around the city, perhaps to the accompaniment of discordant music called the "melody of the wild fig," and then driven away "over the border."[619] Between the necklaces of figs and the melody of the wild fig, figs were clearly an important symbol during the scapegoat ritual.

A necklace of figs is also referenced in a completely different context. According to the chorus of the *Lysistrata*, *kanephoroi* also wore a necklace of dried figs.[620] Parker expresses consternation that the *kanephoroi* and scapegoats at the Thargelia should wear the same symbol, but I believe an explanation can be found.[621] *Kanephoroi* were unmarried virgins, and their purity was a major aspect of their character. Dillon notes that Artemis and Athena were sometimes depicted as *kanephoroi*: "the *kanephoroi* reflect the purity of these two eternally virgin goddesses, and participate in a pure sacrifice to the gods."[622] Goff points out that the virginity of the *kanephoroi* "emerges as a focus of interest in its own right"

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[616] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 183-5 mentions a meal of salt for Artemis at Ephesus and *psaista*, cakes of ground barley, for Hera at the Tonaia. Burkert 1970: 356-69 has an alternate reconstruction, against which see Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 158-92, 225-262.
[617] Bremmer 1983: 299-320.
[618] Harp. s.v. *pharmakos*. Helladius ap. Phot. *Bibl*. 279 p. 534a 2-12; see Parker 2005: 482-3.
[619] Bremmer 1983: 313-15.
[620] Ar. *Lys*. 646-7.
[621] Parker 2005: 226.
[622] Dillon 2002: 38.

during this very public display, as the *kanephoros* stands on the cusp of marriage.[623] The scapegoats at the Thargelia are not themselves pure, but they are the focus of a purification ritual, being cast out along with all the nebulous impurities of the community. The Plynteria festival, where figs played an important symbolic role “leading” the procession, was also concerned with purification. The statue of Athena and perhaps also her garments needed to be cleaned and purified—in the sea, a particularly potent agent of purification. Thus figs might be plausibly associated with purificatory rituals or pure ritual participants. On the surface these two roles might appear to be a contradiction, but as we will see below, fleece or wool possessed very similar meanings. The association of figs and purification is not unrelated to figs’ role as the food of the autochthons. Parker has suggested that certain symbols functioned as purifiers because of their perceived antiquity.[624]

The fact that both *kanephoroi* and scapegoats wore necklaces of figs may have another implication. *Kanephoroi* were elite young women, valued members of the community, who were performing their status and marriageability in the procession. The figs symbolized their purity, a mark of their good character and suitability as a wife. Part of Parker’s confusion stems from the fact that the Thargelia scapegoats appear initially to be the opposite of the *kanephoroi*. The scapegoats were outcasts and symbols of the community’s impurities. Bremmer makes an interesting point: “in historical reality [as opposed to myth] the community sacrificed the least valuable members of the polis, who were represented, however, as very valuable persons.”[625] Thus perhaps the necklaces of figs which the scapegoats wore were deliberately modeled after (or at least deliberately meant to recall) the necklaces worn by the *kanephoroi*—so that the Thargelia scapegoats were, in effect, represented as more valuable, attractive members of the community than they actually were.

[623] Goff 2004: 114.
[624] Parker 1983: 228-9.
[625] Bremmer 1983: 307.

Olive Branches

Olive branches appeared in several ritual contexts that we have seen. They were, in one sense, panhellenic ritual symbols. Suppliants throughout the Greek world typically carried branches, sometimes wrapped with wool, to the shrine of the deity where they sought protection or good favor.[626] Thus in Mounichion, young girls carried olive branches wrapped with wool to Artemis Delphinios in southeastern Athens.[627] The *thallophoroi* of the Panathenaic procession were also drawing on the imagery of the suppliant, which was entirely appropriate as the procession approached Athena in hopes of securing her blessings for the next year. Olive crowns were also linked to civic and athletic honors. They were given to victors at both Athens and Olympia.[628] Alcibiades on his return from exile was described as decorating his ships with various victory symbols, including olive shoots.[629] Aeschines mentions the awarding of olive-leaf crowns for civic reasons, while Plato discusses awarding olive-leaf crowns to the best soldiers and citizens.[630]

The olive also had special resonance for Athenians, however, which colored its symbolic meaning for those familiar with the myths. The olive and olive wood was sacred to and closely associated with Athena Polias on the Acropolis.[631] The *thallophoroi* carried olive branches for Athena in the Panathenaic procession. Moreover after the Persian attack on the Acropolis in 480 BCE, the sacred olive tree sprouted and became a symbol of Athenian resilience and re-growth.[632] The Athenians' positive association with the olive sprout after 480 BCE could have affected their perception of this symbol in other processions, as well.

[626] Aesch. *Cho*. 1035; Din. 1.18; Eur. *Supp*. 10; Polyb. 30.9.
[627] Parke 1977: 137. Simon 1983: 80. Plut. *Thes*. 18.1 explains the practice with reference to Theseus.
[628] At Nemea, Delphi, and Isthmia the crowns were made of other foliage.
[629] Ath. 12.49. The other symbols were two different kinds of victory crowns.
[630] Aeschin. 2.46, 3.187; Pl. *Leg*. 943c proposes awarding olive-leaf crowns to the best of each class of soldier. Pl. *Leg*. 946b awarding olive-leaf crowns to the first, second, and third-best citizen over fifty years old.
[631] See chapter 2.
[632] Her. 8.55.1.

Outside of its Panathenaic associations, olive branches were most commonly carried by young people and associated with prosperity and agriculture—for example, with the *eiresione*, an olive branch laden with various symbols of agricultural production.[633] An official *eiresione* was carried to the temple of Apollo Delphinios in the Pyanopsia procession by a boy with both parents living, which seems like a symbolic wish for similar blessings on the rest of the city—long life, a lack of disease or misfortune killing people before their time. On the same day, young boys carried their own *eiresione* from house to house in a sort of begging-ritual, and eventually hung the branch over someone's doorway as a symbol of hope for a prosperous year.[634] The products hung on the branch are not clear; some sources imply raw natural products, another mentions shaped cakes.[635] A short hexameter poem supposedly sung by those who carried the *eiresione* mentions figs, loaves, honey, olive oil, and wine—scholars interpret it as a begging song, promising blessings to those who give to the bearer of the *eiresione*.[636] The *eiresione* were probably as different from each other as one family's Christmas tree from another today. Parker, who expresses confusion about the festival's timing, views the *eiresione* as a symbolic summary of the year's agricultural products.[637] The festival fell in late October, just the grain fields were being plowed and sowed and the olive trees were being pruned and harvested.[638] The olive branch could thus also be a reference to the pruning and olive harvest, while the various products hung on the branch could represent a wish for a good harvest next spring. Olive branches were also persistently associated with young boys and girls (and festivals of Apollo and Artemis, who watched over youths) might point to a common concern with things that grow—both plants and humans.

[633] Parke 1977: 76-7; Parker 2005: 204-6.
[634] Parker 2005: 205 suggests that the unofficial *eiresione* were probably not identical, but decorated differently according to individual taste, though there were presumably some usual items.
[635] Parker 2005: 205, n. 57.
[636] Parker 2005: 205-6, n. 59; Parke 1977: 76.
[637] Parker 2005: 206.
[638] Isager & Skydsgaard, fig. 11.1 lays out the agricultural calendar and its relation to the ritual calendar.

Olive leaves and branches had a variety of connotations which were at play in several processions in Athens. The olive as a symbol of Athena's commitment as patron goddess of Athens, as a symbol of Athenians' rebirth and resilience, and as a symbol of victory and civic honor, were all meanings most appropriate at the Panathenaia. As a symbol of rebirth and regrowth (olive trees are difficult to kill), the olive branch might have been an appropriate object for young girls to bear to Artemis or young boys to carry about the city in the *eiresione* ritual. One imagines that whatever the context, in the years after 480/479 BCE, the Athenians viewed the olive branch with a new sense of kinship and patriotism as they began to rebuild their city in the aftermath of the Persian destruction.

It is curiously difficult to find any association between the olive branch and peace in this early period, though the association was certainly present among the Romans.[639] Perhaps there is the beginnings of this connotation in the olive branches carried by suppliants, who might be running from harm and seeking asylum at a sanctuary. It has also been suggested that the association with peace derives from the sacred truces of the Olympic games.[640]

The "fleece of Zeus" and wool

The fleece of Zeus is an ambiguous ritual symbol which appears in several poorly-known rituals. It was apparently the fleece of a ram sacrificed to Zeus, either Meilichios or Ktesios; the Suda adds that the fleece was then used by those marching in the procession of the Skirophoria and the *dadouchos* of Eleusis.[641] How the *dadouchos* of Eleusis used the fleece is unclear, though it might have had something to do with the Lesser Mysteries, as indicated by reliefs of Hercules seated on a fleece and perhaps being initiated.[642] Additionally the fleece of Zeus was used in purification rituals for other suppliants, who placed their left

[639] Rosenthal 1994: 165-8.
[640] Rosenthal 1994: 170-1.
[641] Suda s.v. *Dios koidion.*
[642] Parker 1983: 285.

(inferior) foot on the fleece, suggesting it was a receptacle for their impurity.[643] It may also have figured in the preparatory rituals of the Plynteria, where Robertson proposes it might have been spread under someone.[644] Perhaps the Praxiergidai had to be purified, so that they could perform their ritual bathing of the statue with pure hands. The fleece of Zeus was actively carried in procession during the Pompaia, a festival whose main activity was the *pompē*.[645] The fleece was borne outside the city; Parker characterizes the fleece as "an inanimate scapegoat, an object that absorbed evil and was then expelled."[646] It is not clear, however, that the fleece itself was cast out; *katharma*, the refuse from sacrifice, seems to be a different sort of object. Still, the fleece is closely associated with the act of purification in the Pompaia.

Wool itself could also possess purity. Thus pure wool, perhaps in the form of a cloak, was given to Athena during the Plynteria.[647] Wool was wrapped around the olive branches carried by suppliants, including the young girls who processed to the temple of Artemis Delphinia. Parker suggests that wool fillets sometimes appeared as purifiers because of their antiquity.[648] When Hephaistos pursued Athena and his semen fell on her leg, she used a piece of wool to wipe it clean.[649] She dropped it on the ground, and thus Erichthonios was born from the earth.[650]

Wool, and the fleece of Zeus specifically, are a rare example of a ritual symbol that functioned through the sense of touch—either by sitting on it, or stepping on it, or putting on a headband of wool. Wool was woven into garments that were worn against the skin. It is

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643 Parker 1983: 373; Hsch. s.v. *Dios koidion*.
644 IG I^3 7 line 17; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 148; Robertson 2004: 121-2 links it with the fleece of Zeus carried in procession at the Skirophorion.
645 Parker 2005: 479; Simon 1983: 14; Parke 1977: 96.
646 Parker 1983: 28-9.
647 Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 205-14 suggests it might have been raw wool for the *peplos*. Alternately, the pure wool could be connected with the cloak mentioned in the previous line of the sacrificial calendar, see Lambert 2002: 374.
648 Parker 1983: 229.
649 Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.14.6. See also Shear 2001: 56 n. 99.
650 Parker 1987 n. 31.

therefore a decidedly tactile symbol, which limits the group of people who had direct experience of it. However, the fleece was also visible in procession at the Pompaia, and its presence in numerous rituals suggests familiarity with the fleece of Zeus as a symbol of purification.

Conclusions

The processions we have examined thus far have included a wide array of symbols which were carried, worn, played, smelled, led, danced or sung, as the participants moved through a landscape which was embedded with meanings imparted through myths, rituals, politics, and daily life. All of these elements contributed to the rich sensory experience of participants and spectators, an experience which was repeated every year (or biennially, or penteterically) and thus cemented these symbols and their meanings in Athenian cultural memory. Poets, orators, and artists could then draw on this collective repository of symbols in their own work, trusting that their fellow Athenians would understand their meaning.

Many of the symbols discussed above were perceived through sight. The most exciting of these was the *peplos* of Athena at the Panathenaia, but there were also the *phalloi* of Dionysos, the statues of Dionysos Eleuthereus and Athena Polias, the purple robes of the metics at the Dionysia, the powdered faces and fig-necklace of the *kanephoroi*, the various agricultural symbols and types of vegetation carried in procession, the sacrificial animals (who were supposed to be as beautiful as possible), the caduceus of Hermes and the ram's fleece at the Pompaia, etc. The choruses not only sang, they also danced, providing a visual component to their performance. The Plynteria is perhaps an outlier, because part of the point behind the prohibitions on business and the general ill omen of the day might have been that

it was extremely unlucky to see Athena without her *peplos*—and so the point was, in fact, that everyone should try *not* to see her.

We have also seen several examples of symbols conveyed through sound: the oschophoric songs of the chorus at the Oschophoria, the melody of the wild fig at the Thargelia, *auloi* and *kitharai* at the Panathenaia, *auloi* at the Dionysia, other choruses at the Thargelia, the shouted insults at the Dionysia. There were other elements of the soundscape, too. The sacrificial animals made noises, the spectators murmured to each other, shouted to people they knew in the procession, or cheered, processions that used carts or chariots would have made noise on the paved roads, and the processions that involved armored men would also have been loud with the clang of their armor and weapons.

In terms of smell, each group of agricultural products and vegetation carried in procession would have had its own bouquet, which spectators might have come to identify with a particular procession or sanctuary.[651] Incense was carried at the Panathenaia, and perhaps during other processions. The sacrificial animals would also have smelled, especially in the processions that massed hundreds of animals. Touch and taste are more difficult to reconstruct. The participants in the procession touched the objects they carried, but none of the spectators did. Still, seeing a symbol could have evoked memories of touch or taste. Thus seeing the *peplos* for Athena could have recalled the feel of finely-woven wool; indeed, many of the women in the crowd might have been wearing *peploi* in 5th-century Athens. The fleece of Zeus could also have evoked touch-memories, since it was a ritual symbol that worked through touch. For taste, there is the fact that many of these processions transported foodstuffs to the sanctuary for sacrifice and consumption, including the sacrificial animals, bread, other bloodless offerings, wine, and first-fruits. Seeing or smelling these symbols in procession could also have evoked memories of their taste.

[651] Kopestonsky 2015 (unpublished CAMWS paper) focused on smells in the sanctuary, and the idea that each sanctuary might have had its own unique "smellscape." Processions might have been similar.

Many processions utilized symbols which were unique to that ritual or closely associated with a specific deity (such as particular types of vegetation). Some symbols, however, were repeated in several processions throughout the festival year, in different capacities but with overlapping meanings. In this chapter I have analyzed figs, olive branches, and the sacred fleece as examples of this. Athenians would have been familiar with olive branches, for example, in all the contexts mentioned above: as marks of suppliants, as victory symbols, as dedications to Apollo and Artemis, carried by the *thallophoroi*, and the sacred olive trees of Athena. While in certain contexts one meaning or field of meanings was more dominant than the others—for example, the olive as a victory symbol at the Panathenaia—the other meanings were not forgotten, and could sometimes intersect. By considering all the ritual instances where a certain symbol played an important role, we can obtain a clearer sense of their meaning to the Athenians.

Each procession was also defined by who participated in it and who was excluded. Processions to Apollo and Artemis typically involved a group of young people, since those deities had special care for the city's youth. Most of the processions, with the exception of the Great Panathenaia and City Dionysia in specific periods, were limited to Athenian citizens or their children. The criteria could be limited even farther. The Oschophoria and Skirophoria processions reserved most of the prestigious positions for members of a single *genos*, the Salaminioi and Eteoboutadai respectively. The participants in these processions thus performed their membership in a select, high-status group. Priests and priestesses and other elected officials performed their duties, but at the same time had the opportunity to enjoy the honor and esteem of their fellow-citizens. The boy who carried the official *eiresione* at the Pyanopsia was chosen because of his good fortune—that he had both parents living—and we may imagine that in a sense the hopes of the city for similar longevity rested upon him. The *kanephoros* at each procession was performing not only her duty and (if she performed well)

the prestige of her family, but also her status as a pure virgin and her marriageability in front of potential suitors. Aside from the ritual duties of *parthenoi* or select women who became priestesses, women do not appear to have played a great part in the city's processions. An exception to this is the Oschophoria, where the *deipnophoroi* (who were also Salaminioi) processed out to Phaleron with the young men and told them stories. The Parthenon frieze, which shows a crowd of women with *phialai* and *thymiateria*, indicates that women may have had a more visible role in the Panathenaic procession, but we cannot take the frieze as certain evidence since it was not meant as a photographic record of the procession. Participating in processions—fulfilling one's ritual duties to the city in an extremely public way—was one way to demonstrate one's citizenship and devotion to the city.

The landscape of processions is in some ways more difficult to reconstruct. In many cases we do not know the starting location, which can make it hard to determine the procession's direction (Table 1). This is a weakness in Fritz Graf's suggestion that we should divide processions into centrifugal and centripetal movement.[652] And what of a procession like the City Dionysia *pompē,* which may have started at the prytaneion—one of the symbolic hearts of the city—and travelled *around* the city before ending at the foot of the Acropolis (also a symbolic "center")? It is neither centripetal nor centrifugal.

Nor am I convinced that "centripetal" and "centrifugal" processions form useful categories. If they did, then the processions that fall into, for example, the "centripetal" category ought to have significant things in common that they do not share with the processions outside that category. Let us consider for a moment the Athenian processions which we know certainly fall into the category of centripetal movement: the Panathenaic procession, the *eisagogē* of the City Dionysia, the *eisagogē* of the Plynteria, and the

[652] Graf 1996: 55-65.

procession bringing the sacred objects of the Eleusinian Mysteries to Athens.[653] These do not form a very unified group. Graf, using the Panathenaic procession as his example, argued that centripetal processions symbolically "conquer" the urban space by starting on the edge and marching through the city to its center.[654] While one could perhaps argue that the *eisagogē* of Dionysos was a symbolic "conquering," since in the myth he forced the Athenians to accept his power, the Panathenaia and the *eisagogē* articulated very different sensory and religious experiences for their worshippers, and I do not think they belong in the same category.

Table 1: Known start and end points of Athenian processions.

Procession	**Starting Point**	**End Point**
Panathenaia	Kerameikos	Acropolis
City Dionysia *eisagogē*	Academy Road	Temple/Theater of Dionysos
City Dionysia *pompē*	Unknown (prytaneion?)	Temple of Dionysos
Plynteria	Acropolis	Phaleron
Skirophoria	Acropolis	Temple of Demeter and Kore at Skiron
Oschophoria	Temple of Dionysos *in limnais*	Phaleron
Thargelia (scapegoats)	Prytaneion?	Outside the walls
Thargelia (sacrifice)	Unknown (Agora?)	Temple of Apollo Pythios
Pyanopsia	Unknown (Agora?)	Temple of Apollo Delphinios
Artemis Delphinia	Unknown (Agora?)	Temple of Apollo Delphinios
Charisteria	Unknown (Agora?)	Temple of Artemis Agrotera
Mysteries (to the sea)	City Eleusinion	Phaleron
Mysteries (objects to Athens)	Eleusis	City Eleusinion
Mysteries (initiates)	City Eleusinion	Eleusis
Pompaia	Unknown ("around the city")	Outside the city

[653] I will address the Eleusinian Mysteries in the next chapter.
[654] Graf 1996: 59.

The important element of processional movement is its ability to connect, to form an axis between two poles—as François de Polignac described in his bipolar *polis* theory.[655] One of these poles is generally inside the city, the other symbolically outside. Processions which went to the area around the Olympieion, especially the processions to Apollo and Artemis Delphinia, technically remained "inside" the city according to the course of the Themistoklean city walls. But this area of the city had been sacred for a long time before the Themistoklean city walls were built, and during that time, the city walls of Athens probably enclosed a much smaller area.[656] Thus this sacred area was, at the time that it became sacred, probably outside the city walls. I would argue that the sacred character of this area cannot be divorced from the shrines and altars along the Ilissos River. The area where the Panathenaic procession mustered, which was technically just inside the Dipylon Gate in the Classical period, must have been outside the Archaic city walls as well. The procession of scapegoats at the Thargelia and the procession with the sacred fleece at the Pompaia traveled around the city, but their ultimate goal was outside the city, where they cast out impurities. The City Dionysia remains the only really intractable exception to the inside/outside bipolarity; perhaps the inclusiveness of the procession extended also to the city, as the procession "embraced" the entire city by parading around it.[657]

What of these poles that were located symbolically "outside," beyond the walls? Do they have anything in common? The fact that the temple of Dionysos on the Academy Road and the starting point of the Panathenaia were both located among the tombs of the ancestors suggests that they would have been perceived strongly as "outside," because the Greeks had

[655] De Polignac 1995a: 40-2; 1994: 3-18, especially ill.1.1 where he draws a series of axes between "poles."
[656] Theocharaki 2011: 71-156.
[657] Paga 2012: 383-4, 387-91 observes that the *eisagogē* (and the *pompē*, which she reconstructs starting at the small temple of Dionysos in the Academy) traces a "physical and symbolic link between the extra-urban and urban areas of the Athenian polis," creating a "periphery-center dialectic."

strict prohibitions about burying the dead inside the city.[658] Athenians gathered at the Demosion Sema for the annual funeral oration, and those who had relatives buried in the Kerameikos would have come to pay their respects at the tombs, so it is not implausible that the place itself was strongly associated with the dead. In the Classical period, passing through the gate (with its little shrine to Hermes) could also have produced a strong sense of transition to "outside" space. The Kerameikos was also apparently a popular place to walk and relax, since it was a beautiful part of the city with streams and greenery—not a common feature of the urban environment of Athens.[659]

The Ilissos area was also a lush and well-watered area, favored for cool walks in the summer, as is clear from the descriptions in the Phaedrus.[660] The area was populated by the older cults of the city, according to Thucydides (fig. 9).[661] The deities worshipped around the Ilissos included kourotrophic deities (the Metroon in Agrai, Artemis Agrotera, Apollo Pythios and Delphinios), deities such as Pan or the Nymphs who are typically associated with uncultivated, "wild" places, and places connected with important life transitions (initation in the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai, wedding bathwater drawn from the Kallirhoe).[662] This was the kind of place, away from the urban center, where a girl could get snatched by a god (Oreithyia, taken by Boreas, who had an altar there).[663] The Metroon in Agrai also had a shrine for Zeus Meilichios, a chthonic aspect of Zeus who was generally found in rocky, wild locations outside the city, perhaps because of his close association with purification rituals—

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[658] Paga 2012: 392 on the Kerameikos as "outside" the *astu*; "the roads and processions emphasized the physical (and symbolic) separation [of *astu* and Kerameikos], while simultaneously highlighting the links of the two areas."

[659] Arrington 2014: 82-4; Thuc.2.34.5 calls it the most beautiful suburb of the city.

[660] Pl.*Phdr*.229a-c: Socrates and Phaedrus discuss dipping their feet in the water and how pleasant it is along the Ilissos. They head toward a tree with grass under it for sitting on, and comment on the breeze. Phaedrus asks about the story of Boreas and Oreithyia and remarks how "pretty, pure and clear" the stream looks, "fit for girls to play by." At 230b they reach the tree, and Socrates comments on how charming the place is, and how fragrant it is, and the pretty spring nearby with cool water which appears to be the sacred place of some Nymphs and Achelous, judging by dedications he sees. At 230c Socrates remarks on the breeze and the music of cicadas and the thick grass. At the end (279b) he prays to Pan.

[661] Thuc.2.15.4.

[662] On the shrines in this area, see Travlos 1971: 289-98, fig. 379; p. 204-5 on the Enneakrounos-Kallirrhoe; p. 112-120 on Artemis Agrotera; on the water for weddings, see Thuc.2.15.5.

[663] Simonides fr. 534; lost play of Aeschylus, *Oreithyia*; Apollod.*Bibl*.3.196, 199.

nobody wants pollution in the city.[664] His main festival, the Diasia, appears to have been popular and well-attended, but one scholion also adds that it was celebrated "with a certain grimness" and he may have had a more dangerous aspect—a deity better suited to borders than to the city center.[665]

In de Polignac's formulation, many of these deities—especially kourotrophic deities or those who presided over initiations—were frequently found at borders, symbolic or actual.[666] Rivers could serve as borders, and were in any case places that required crossing; moreover rivers were considered divine, and Hesiod warns that one should not cross a river by foot until they have prayed and washed their hands of wickedness, or one risks the anger of the gods.[667] Moreover, uncultivated spaces such as these well-watered, lush river areas outside the city could be considered *ta eschatia*, which as Endsjø has pointed out were in-between spaces where liminal activities such as initiations could take place.[668] Such "border" spaces (whether or not they had ever actually served as a border) were also vulnerable places, outside the walls and the protection of the city, where girls or women could be abducted and enemies might attack.[669]

What of Skiron, the destination of the Skirophoria procession? Modern scholars made the Kephissos River a border between Athens and Eleusis, but there is no support for this in the ancient material, aside from the fact that in myth this area was the site of a battle between Eleusis and Athens (fig. 11, no. 1).[670] The temple of Demeter and Kore there was associated with the first cultivation of figs, while on the other side of the Kephissos River was another spot connected to the first cultivation of beans. Clearly, this area of Attica was believed to

[664] Lalonde 2006: 59-64, 67-71, 107-111.
[665] Scholion on Lucian, *Ikaromenippos* 24, ed. Rabe 1906, p. 107. See Lalonde 2006: ZM19, p. 110.
[666] De Polignac 1995a: 34-6.
[667] Hes.*Op*.737-41.
[668] Endsjø 2000: 358-9.
[669] Oreithyia abducted from Ilissos, see note 663. Women abducted from Brauron: Her.4.145. Ruse at Halimous (on the west coast of Attica) in which the usual women were replaced by men with arms: Plut.*Vit.Sol*.8.
[670] As demonstrated by the tomb of Skiron which may have been nearby and given its name to the district.

have received much early attention from Demeter, which would explain the location of her temple here. The riverbanks of the Kephissos had attracted other interesting cults as well. On the side nearer to Athens was a votive statue of a young man cutting his hair as an offering for the river god, an adolescent initiation rite that implies the Kephissos River was viewed as having some concern with young men's transitions, a kourotrophic deity.[671] On the opposite bank was a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios where Theseus was purified of bloodshed by the descendants of King Phytalus (to whom Demeter had revealed the fig).[672] Once again Zeus Meilichios appears along a riverbank, perhaps because his cult, which was deeply concerned with purification, required more water than most.[673] This shrine was the site of a regular sacrifice to Theseus carried out by the Phytalidai *genos*, commemorating their ancestors' good deed for the hero.[674] Plutarch apparently knew the exact date when Theseus arrived at the spot, which may have been the date of the sacrifice—cultural memory preserving the myth well into the Roman period.[675] So the Kephissos River area was connected with early myth and agriculture, boys' initiation rites, and a chthonic form of Zeus who was particularly concerned with purification. The case for describing the Kephissos River area as *ta eschatia* (as Endsjø defines it) may be weaker than for the Ilissos; but it is indisputable that certain cults were attracted to certain locations in part because of its sense of place and its affinity with the character of the cult. Therefore I suggest that these particular places, the Kerameikos, Ilissos, and Kephissos, served as one pole of a *pompē* in part because they had the character of borders or places of transition which required the attention of cult.

[671] Paus.1.37.3. On hair-cutting as initiation, see Leitao 2003: 109-129, especially 109-18; see p.112 for hair-offerings to river gods.
[672] Paus.1.37.4.
[673] Lalonde 2006: 76-7.
[674] Plut.*Thes*.23.3-5. The sacrifice was financed by the families who had provided living tribute to the Minotaur.
[675] Plut.*Thes*.12.1.

Chapter 5: The Border Sanctuaries of Attica and the Multipolar *Polis*

The multipolar *polis*, as described in the last chapter, was a web of interconnections between the center at Athens and various peripheral locations which served as the "outside" pole for several processions which either started or ended outside the city (fig. 11). Many of these locations were the sites of suburban or extraurban sanctuaries belonging to deities such as Apollo, Artemis, Demeter, Dionysos, and Athena Skiras—deities whose ritual concerns included the transitions and integration of young people into the community, initiations and mystery cults, and the fertility of the land. Processions provided regular opportunities for Athenians to come together and refamiliarize themselves with the symbols, participants, and landscape elements significant to each procession, as well as the deities and cults themselves. As long as the processions and sacrifices were being observed, these deities would never be forgotten.

The sanctuaries at Eleusis, Brauron, Sounion, Mounichia, and Rhamnous on the extreme borders of Attica were also part of the multipolar *polis*. Their deities were also concerned with transitions, fecundity, the integration of marginal people, including foreigners and young people, and the articulation of borders and sovereignty. They too were linked to the center at Athens in the Classical period in various ways. Athens financed major construction at the sanctuaries, integrated the sanctuaries into its ritual calendar, and developed myths and stories connecting the sanctuaries to its mythical and recent historical past. The elaborate penteteric festivals at these sanctuaries were overseen by Athenian officials called *hieropoioi*. The sanctuaries were associated with fortifications which were built and maintained by Athens and, in later periods, were manned by Athenian ephebes. Eleusis was connected to Athens by a series of processions; for the other four sanctuaries, the evidence for formal processions is scanty or nonexistent. However, less formal sacred travel

did occur—that is, people traveling with the intention of stopping at a sacred place for religious purposes.

Analyzing these sanctuaries requires a different approach than the processions of the previous chapters. We cannot examine the symbols carried in procession or the participants who walked in it. The routes that these travelers would have taken can still be reconstructed, and some conclusions can be drawn about their experience in the landscape, particularly their visual experience. The sanctuaries themselves represent the best evidence for the occurrence and popularity of sacred travel in Attica, because the sanctuaries required facilities to host and serve large numbers of people. The first stone temples and associated buildings at these sites appeared in the late 6th and 5th centuries BCE, contemporaneous with or after the Cleisthenic reforms, during the rise of the Athenian empire.

These five sanctuaries were chosen because they share significant elements that define their ritual character and illustrate their connections to Athens and the Athenian state. These elements include:

1. Their border location which, being liminal, affected the type of deity honored there and the types of rituals which occurred (including initiation rites).
2. Monumental construction dating to the late 6th or 5th century BCE which, judging by its scale, was probably funded at least partially by Athens rather than by the local deme.
3. A penteteric festival overseen by Athenian officials such as the *hieropoioi*.
4. Fortifications (which mark the sanctuary as being in a potentially dangerous border location).
5. An ideological link to Athens, especially through the Persian Wars.

In his book *The Athenian Experiment*, Greg Anderson discussed the development of Eleusis and Brauron in the context of his argument that the borders of Attica were only fully

incorporated into Athenian territory and society with the Kleisthenic reforms.[676] He thus interprets the new stone temples and expanded facilities at those two sanctuaries as practical responses to a larger body of Attic worshippers. I believe the architectural development of these sanctuaries surely had more than practical significance. The Athenians made a choice to invest money and resources into glorifying these sanctuaries in marble, at a time when their role in the Greek world was growing and they were actively attracting more non-Athenians to festivals and spectacles in Attica. Moreover the locations of these sanctuaries along the coastal borders of Attica cannot be coincidence, and it is striking that all five temples were visible from the sea. These sanctuaries, embellished with marble temples and grand new sculpture, linked to Athens by processions and sacred travel, embedded in Athenian myth and in the narrative of the Persian Wars, were well-suited to display the growing power and wealth of Athens beginning in the late 6th century and continuing into the 5th century.

The extraurban sanctuaries discussed in this chapter played a role very similar to the role of the processions studied in the previous chapters. They were an important venue for displaying Athenian values, wealth, and power to fellow Athenians and to an international audience. For example, it is striking that four of these sanctuaries came to be associated in some fashion with the Persian Wars, a major element of Athenian civic ideology in the 5th century. The festivals and sanctuaries—and the act of regularly going to see them—helped to embed both the landscape of the route and the cultural associations of the sanctuary in Athenian cultural memory.

[676] Anderson 2003: 178-196.

Eleusis

The archaeological evidence at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis goes back to the late 8th century BCE, when there is evidence of ritual near Bronze Age ruins.[677] This ritual activity seems to be something different from the famous Mysteries, and at this early period the sanctuary at Eleusis may still have been attracting only a local group of worshippers. Clinton has proposed that the earliest ritual at Eleusis was in fact the women's Thesmophoria.[678] In the mid-6th century, however, these indications of activity rapidly changed. The so-called "Solonian" Telesterion with its Anaktoron, the small sacred building inside, was constructed on the same terrace that supported the earlier ritual activity (fig. 12, 13).[679] The impetus (and funds) for this structure may have come from the aristocratic families so closely tied to the cult, the Eumolpidai and Kerykes.[680] Around the same time, Athenian art began to depict Triptolemos, who was associated with the Mysteries.[681] All of these indications suggest that Athens was taking an interest in the cult at Eleusis in the mid-6th century.[682] At the very least, Athens began to promote the Eleusinian cult in the mid-6th century, contemporaneous with the reorganized Great Panathenaia; an Archaic temple of Athena was built on the Acropolis at the same time, so that there was new construction in both center and periphery.

[677] Mylonas 1961: 56-9; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 133-136.
[678] Clinton 1992: 30-37; 1993: 113-115, with reference to the Hymn of Demeter.
[679] Mylonas 1961: 67-70, calling it the Solonian telesterion, dates it to the early 6th century. Miles 1998: 28 suggests it should be dated further into the first half of the 6th century. Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 136-141, 150-3 argues that the new form of the building, as well as other evidence, indicates a change in ritual—namely, the institution of the Mysteries. Clinton 1993: 111-2 points out that because the Mysteries were overseen by the archon *basileus*, they must be of considerable antiquity, perhaps the early 6th or 7th century BCE.
[680] Miles 1998: 28. The Eumolpidai were Eleusinian, while the Kerykes were Athenian, and in fact claimed descent from one of the daughters of Kekrops, legendary king of Athens.
[681] Miles 1998: 53 n. 51, the earliest representation of Triptolemos is on an amphora from ca. 540 BCE.
[682] Clinton 1994: 162-3 suggests the cult was being actively promoted throughout the reign of the Peisistratids. Foley 1994: 175-8 argues that the Hymn to Demeter, composed some time between 650 and 550 BCE, might have been intended to appeal to a Panhellenic audience of potential initiates. She argues in favor of the hymn's connections to the Mysteries (but does not respond directly to Clinton 1993).

In the late 6th century, perhaps under the auspices of the Kleisthenic democracy, the Telesterion was rebuilt and expanded (fig. 12, 13).[683] This new construction coincided with (and is dated by) the Old Temple of Athena on the Acropolis—once again, construction activity at Eleusis is paralleled by similar activity for Athena on the Acropolis.[684] Perhaps more worshippers were coming to Eleusis, and needed a larger cult building to accommodate them.[685] If in fact the new Telesterion was the initiative of the democracy, the grand new building would have reflected well upon the piety and wealth of the new Athenian government. At about the same time, a fortification wall was built to enclose the acropolis and town of Eleusis, perhaps in response to the Spartan occupation of Eleusis in 506 BCE.[686]

These developments in the Eleusinian sanctuary were paralleled by construction undertaken at the City Eleusinion in Athens. Votive deposits in the vicinity of a sacred rock have established that this place was dedicated to Demeter by the 7th century BCE, and developed hand-in-hand with the Telesterion at Eleusis throughout the 6th century.[687] In the mid-6th century the upper terrace was enclosed by a peribolos wall; this may have been contemporary with the "Solonian" Telesterion at Eleusis.[688] At the end of the 6th century the City Eleusinion was expanded to a lower terrace, the houses which had occupied the land were demolished, and a new temple to Triptolemos was built, reflecting both the increased

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683 Formerly known as the Peisistratid telesterion, Mylonas 1961: 78-87.

684 For the revised date, see Hayashi 1992; Clinton 1994: 162. On the date of the Old Athena Temple, see Childs 1994: 1-6.

685 Clinton 1994: 162-3. Anderson 2003: 191-2 believes that the periphery of Attica was only integrated into Athens with the Kleisthenic reforms, and therefore ties the expanded facilities to a new influx of Attic worshippers rather than foreigners.

686 Clinton 1994: 162. This seems very probable. In 510 BCE, Cleomenes and the Spartans removed the Peisistratids from the throne and sent them into exile (Her.5.64-5). In 508/7 BCE, Cleomenes returned at the invitation of Isagoras to try to set up an oligarchic government in Athens (opposed by Cleisthenes) (Her.5.70-3). Cleomenes and Isagoras were forced out of Athens, but may have controlled Eleusis (Tritle 1988: 457-60). Cleomenes left to obtain a larger army and returned in 506 BCE, but found that his ally Isagoras had been overcome and his Athenian supporters killed; the Athenians who opposed Cleomenes' interventions were ready for a battle. Finding the military situation much different than they had anticipated, Cleomenes' allies deserted him, and he was defeated there (5.74-7). Cleomenes had also called on the Boeotians and Chalcidians, who were advancing southward with their own armies, but the Athenians were able to defeat them too. Relics from the victory were displayed on the Acropolis (Her.5.77).

687 Miles 1998: 16-21.

688 Miles 1998: 25-28.

popularity of the Mysteries and the greater role of the hero in the mythology and promotion of the Mysteries.[689] This is further supported by the increased presence of Triptolemos in Athenian art in the first quarter of the 5th century.[690]

At the time of the Persian Wars, the Telesterion at Eleusis was in the process of being rebuilt yet again—twice the size of its late 6th-century predecessor, indicating further the growing popularity of the cult.[691] The famous ghostly Iacchos procession seen by the Persians, which foretold their defeat at the hands of the Athenians in the straits of Salamis, demonstrates both the fame of the cult and how closely tied to Athens it had become.[692] Demeter Eleusinia was thus linked to the Greek victory at Salamis and also at Plataea.[693] Athens and Eleusis were also linked in another rather patriotic myth which became popular in mid-5th century Athens: the myth of the war between them. The myth is first attested in Euripides' play *Erechtheus*, produced in 423/422 BCE, though it is probably older.[694] Erechtheus, king of Athens and devotee of Athena, opposed Eumolpus, son of Poseidon; the myth thus recalls the story of Athena and Poseidon's conflict over patronage of Athens, and in a sense refights it. At the end of the play the war is resolved, the cult of Athena Polias receives a priestess, the cult of Poseidon-Erechtheus is founded, and Athena foretells the institution of the Mysteries.[695] The myth was also mapped onto the topography of the Sacred Way in places significant to Demeter. The Eleusinians under Eumolpos supposedly advanced as far as the City Eleusinion, where the tomb of Immarados, son of Eumolpos, was located;[696]

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[689] Miles 1998: 28-33; on the temple of Triptolemos see 35-52.
[690] Miles 1998: 53-4; Clinton 1994: 163-70.
[691] T.L. Shear 1982: 128-140; Clinton 1994: 163.
[692] Her. 8.65; Clinton 1994: 163.
[693] Boedeker 2007: 65-84.
[694] Says Parker, because there are contemporary allusions to it that assume the myth was already well-developed. Parker 1987b: 203.
[695] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 141-4.
[696] Miles 1998: 52 n. 43 for the ancient sources; Paus.1.5.2, 27.4.

at another point along the Sacred Way, the seer Skiron was buried after he was killed in the fighting, perhaps near a temple of Demeter (though this is not certain).[697]

There is no Archaic evidence for processions linking the City Eleusinion and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. The various connections between Athens and Eleusis in the Archaic period indicate that Athens was interested in the Eleusinian cult and that Athenians likely journeyed to Eleusis to participate in the rituals. Though the earliest pavement on the Sacred Way dates to the 5th century BCE, it is thus plausible that a path existed earlier.[698] Since a procession requires a starting point, a path or road, and a destination sanctuary, the infrastructure for such a procession between Athens and Eleusis did exist in the Archaic period.

Other Eleusinian festivals probably also drew Athenian spectators. The Eleusinia was an athletic festival which, in the late 3rd century, was advertised on par with the Panathenaia and the Mysteries.[699] Evidence for the Eleusinia extends back to the mid-6th century, when an archon of Athens funded the construction of the race course.[700] The games were celebrated penteterically and biennially. The prize for victors was grain from the Rharian fields, which were supposedly first plowed by Triptolemos and were thus connected to the character of Demeter as an agricultural goddess.[701] Sourvinou-Inwood highlights the importance of the Proerosia, an agricultural festival held in the demes—but not in Athens.[702] Instead, the Eleusinian *hierophant* and herald traveled to Athens and announced the Eleusinian Proerosia, presumably inviting Athenians to attend the festival in Eleusis.[703] Sourvinou-Inwood suggests

[697] Paus.1.36.4. See the section on the Skirophoria in chapter 4.
[698] Miles 1998: 22.
[699] Inscription, I.*Gonnoi*.109, late 3rd century BCE.
[700] IG I^3 991, Alkiphron the archon. For inscriptions pertaining to the Eleusinia see Clinton 2005: 9-13; Laughy 2010: 124 suggests that the games may go back to the 7th century and be connected with terracotta horses and votive plaques decorated with tripods which were dedicated at Eleusis.
[701] Simms 1975: 274, citing schol. Pind. *Ol*. 9.150, IG II^2 1672.252-61 (dated to 329/8 BCE).
[702] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 146-7.
[703] Dow & Healey 1965: 14-20.

that Eleusis thus acted as an "alternative central nexus" of *polis* or state cult.[704] While in Athens, or perhaps directly after the Proerosia, these same Eleusinian officials participated in the Pyanopsia procession for Apollo; a scholion asserts that the *eiresione* carried for Apollo at the Pyanopsia was aetiologically linked with the Proerosia in Eleusis, perhaps providing some explanation.[705] The *hierophant* and *dadouchos* also traveled to Athens for the Thargelia, another festival of Apollo.[706]

While the new democracy did not originate the ritual links between Athens and Eleusis, they certainly continued the policies of their predecessors, expanding the cult facilities and promoting the Mysteries through myth, literature, and art. After the Persian Wars, Demeter and Kore were even linked to Athenian victories through the epiphany of the Iacchos procession. The Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis was used for processions and sacred travel in both directions throughout the year. This special ritual connection between Athens and Eleusis was thus physically reenacted and reinforced several times a year. It is therefore not surprising that the Sacred Way attracted so many special places, including sacred sites, places of mythic significance, and the tombs of prominent people.

The Processions of the Eleusinian Mysteries

The Greater Mysteries, celebrated over the course of seven days, involved several ritual movements between center and periphery.[707] On Boedromion 14, the priestesses of Eleusis brought the sacred objects to Athens by cart; their arrival in the City Eleusinion was announced to the priestess of Athena.[708] The soundness of the bridges between Eleusis and

[704] Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 146.
[705] Parker 2005: 206; Dow & Healey 1965: 21.
[706] Sokolowski 1962: no. 14, lines 35 ff.; Dow & Healey 1965: 30.
[707] About the Lesser Mysteries, which took place in Agrai in Anthesterion and seem to have served as a "pre-initiation" and perhaps as a purification ceremony, we know very little. There is no attested procession, though one is certainly possible—it may be this group of initiates that Dionysos and Xanthos meet in the *Frogs*, since their route is related to the topography of the Ilissos (Ar.*Ran*.312 ff.).
[708] Parker 2005: 347. The practice of the ephebes meeting the sacred objects at a place called 'Echo' is not attested for the Classical period.

Athens was of great concern, and there are two inscriptions of the 5th and 4th century pertaining to the repair of bridges along the Sacred Way so that the sacred objects could be conveyed safely, the crowd of initiates could travel safely, and also for the safety of those living in suburban or rural Attica.[709] The procession apparently stopped at the "sacred fig tree" somewhere along the route to rest; it is possible this should be linked to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore where Demeter revealed the first fig tree.[710] On the 15th, the preconditions for the Mysteries were formally announced in the Agora, possibly including certain ritual requirements such as fasting.[711] The initiates made a trip with their sacrificial piglets to the sea at Phaleron on Boedromion 16, probably leaving through the Halade Gate (the 'seaward' gate), so that they could purify themselves and their piglets (fig. 11, no. 2).[712] Presumably the piglets were sacrificed at some point, perhaps on the same day.

On the 19th or 20th, the priestesses, sacred objects, and initiates made their way to Eleusis (fig. 14). Scholars debate whether there were two separate processions on the 19th and 20th, or simply a single procession on one of those two days.[713] It is possible there was a change in ritual practice sometime in the Roman period.[714] The priestesses carried the sacred things back to Eleusis, in chests decorated with purple fillets.[715] Eleusinian cult vessels, such as the two *plemochoai* which were used for a libation sacrifice on the eponymous last day of the Mysteries, may also have been carried by the priestesses or other members of the procession.[716]

In the same procession or in a second procession the next day, the initiates walked the 19 kilometers to Eleusis. The wealthier initiates may have gone in wagons, though Lykourgos

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[709] The Rheitoi bridge inscription: IG I[3] 79. IG II[2] 1191 concerns a bridge over one of the Kephissos rivers (Parker thinks the Athenian Kephissos, 2005: 346) and dates to 321/320 BCE.
[710] Philostr.*VS*.2.20 (602) mentions the stop at the Sacred Fig tree (specifically during the procession to Athens); on the first fig tree, see Paus.1.37.2.
[711] Parker 2005: 347.
[712] Parker 2005: 347.
[713] Parker 2005: 348 n. 90 for a good overview of the evidence and arguments.
[714] Parker 2005: 348 n. 90, though he calls this explanation "uncomfortably *ad hoc*."
[715] Plut.*Phoc*.28.3.
[716] Ath.496a-b.

later attempted to forbid the practice.[717] If so, it is unclear what they did upon reaching the bridge over the Rheitoi Lakes, which was specifically constructed to disallow cart traffic.[718] There must have been another crossing which was wide enough for a cart, because the priestesses moving back and forth between Eleusis and Athens traveled in carts. Still, most participants probably walked. A proverb which labeled a person missing out on fun as a "donkey celebrating the Mysteries" suggests that the procession also included donkeys carrying supplies for the three-day stay in the Eleusis sanctuary.[719]

The procession may have gathered in the Agora, if it included the sacred objects stored in the City Eleusinion; it could also have gathered at the Pompeion, at the beginning of the Sacred Way, where there was also a temple of Demeter containing a statue of Iacchos.[720] Its route followed the Sacred Way, the best description of which is given by Pausanias. The participants stopped along the way for "sacrifices, libations, dances, and paeans," though no specific locations are named.[721] Pausanias may hint at some likely locations, including the site where Demeter revealed the fig tree to Phytalos, or a temple of Apollo which also (in Pausanias' time) had statues of Demeter, Kore, and Athena.[722] At the bridge over the Athenian Kephissos river, the initiates were subjected to ritualized insults, a practice so well-known that the terminology (connected with the word for "bridge") was applied to the insults of the Athenians towards Sulla.[723] Just after the initiates crossed the bridge over the Rheitoi Lakes (by foot), they may have received yellow ribbons tied around their left ankle and right

[717] Plut.*Vit.X.Or*.842a-b (Life of Lykourgos).
[718] IG ii^3 79; Clinton 2005, no. 41.
[719] Parker 2005: 350.
[720] Parker 2005: 248, n. 89. On the temple of Demeter, Paus.1.2.4. Parker and Robertson (1998: 560) assume that a physical statue of Iacchos was carried. If so, it is perhaps strange that there is no mention of how or when the statue was returned to its sanctuary.
[721] Plut.*Alc*.34.4.
[722] Paus.1.37. Another site, the temple of Cyamites, is cryptically described by Pausanias. It seems to be related to information divulged during the Mysteries concerning the origins of the cultivation of beans.
[723] Parker 2005: 349-50, Strabo 9.1.24.

wrist, marking them out as initiates.[724] Nearby was the tomb of the Thracian Eumolpos, a location which prompts Pausanias to digress on the war between Athens and Eleusis and might have featured as a stop for the procession.[725] Along the banks of the Eleusinian Kephissos river was a place called Erineus, where Pausanias reports that Hades descended to the lower world after snatching Kore.[726] For a limited time while the Spartans occupied Dekeleia, the procession had to travel by sea rather than by land, and so were unable to carry out these processional rituals—a much inferior experience, according to Plutarch.[727]

Aside from the yellow ribbons the initiates may have received, they also likely carried a *bacchos*, a bundle of myrtle branches bound together with rings.[728] This symbol of the initiate is depicted with some frequency in Eleusinian iconography. It is unknown what function the bundle of branches might have served upon reaching Eleusis (perhaps they were used as torches?). Initiates may also have worn myrtle wreaths, and the plant had special significance in the worship of Demeter and Kore, as well as underworld associations.[729]

It has also been suggested that initiates carried the Eleusinian cult vessels called *plemochoai*. These rather plain vessels had attachment holes on the shoulder rims for string, which tied the vessels to the heads of women in procession.[730] Mitsopoulou, who reexamined the iconography of these cult vessels, concluded that they were carried in procession by initiates, perhaps containing the *kykeon* drink which had been prepared earlier in Athens. On

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[724] Mylonas 1961: 256; Graf 1996: 63; Hesychius, s.v. *Rheitoi* and Photius, s.v. *krokoun.* The ritual was apparently called *krokosis*. Pausanias does not mention it directly, but does state that the first person to dwell in that place near the Rheitoi was a king named Crocon (1.38.2), which is intriguingly similar to *krokosis*. Parker 2005: 349 thinks the *krokosis* ritual impractical with large numbers, but there is no indication of how many people were on hand to tie the ribbons, and if the bridge over the Rheitoi lakes was indeed too narrow for carts, it may have slowed traffic anyway.

[725] Paus.1.38.3.

[726] Paus.1.38.5.

[727] Plut.*Alc*.34.3-4.

[728] Parker 2005: 349, n. 92; Clinton 1992.

[729] Dickie 1995: 85-6, n. 16. Myrtle groves are supposed to be one of the pleasures of the Isles of the Blessed. A scholion on Ar.*Ran*.330 recounts a story that Dionysos gave Persephone a myrtle branch in exchange for his mother, because he loved the plant. A scholion on Pi.*I*.4.87 says corpses wear wreathes of myrtle.

[730] Mitsopoulou 2011: 193. The holes were preserved even on miniature or votive versions of the vessels, "revealing the importance of the act of transportation." Examples are preserved in clay, metal, and even marble.

the last day in Eleusis, the *plemochoai* were used in a libation sacrifice.[731] They could also have been dedicated as votives in the sanctuary.[732] The fact that they were dedicated as votives—including in miniature forms, indicating their symbolic value—does suggest that they were important to the initiates themselves, and not merely carried and used by priestesses. The libation sacrifice seems only to have required two vessels, one facing east and one facing west, which could theoretically have been metal or especially expensive versions of the plain *plemochoai* carried by initiates. Their conical top does suggest that something was carried inside them, and it is possible that this was the *kykeon* drink associated with Demeter's fast and mourning, which the initiates could have consumed during their march to Eleusis—thus imitating the goddess' experience. It is also possible that the *plemochoai* were only carried by certain members of the procession, such as the *epoptai* who were experiencing (or had already entered) the final stage of initiation. Walking with a container full of liquid on one's head, even tied down with string, would require at least somewhat careful movement. The depiction of initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, full of dancing and leaping and singing, seems at odds with the kind of careful movement required to carry a container of liquid.[733]

The experience of the procession to Eleusis was different than any other Athenian procession. There was an unusual "hostility to hierarchy" in the attempts to force all to travel by foot, the insults directed at initiates, and the fact that the initiates seem to have worn old clothes (because the clothes were considered "consecrated" after the ritual, and could no longer be worn).[734] The procession was full of sights, song, and dance; the sense of touch comes into the picture with the *bacchos* that the initiates carried and the yellow ribbons tied

[731] Mitsopoulou 2011: 189-217.
[732] Mitsopoulou 2011: 202-3.
[733] Ar.*Ran*.316-459.
[734] Parker 2005: 349-50, 361 n. 153. Ar.*Plut*.845: Dikaios is dedicating an old cloak to the god. Karion jokingly asks if he was initiated into the Mysteries in that cloak. Ar.*Ran*.405-8: the chorus of initiates mentions sandals and rags.

around their wrist and ankle. It is possible they fasted, aside from the *kykeon* drink, and Graf suggests they may have been in a trance-like state by the time they arrived at Eleusis.[735]

The topography of the route might also have helped to put the initiates in the right frame of mind as they approached the sanctuary. As Pausanias' account makes clear, the route was lined with tombs, which might have put the afterlife on the mind of the initiate—and this was of course a major theme of the Mysteries. The procession probably covered most of one day, and thus whatever the physical distance, the long time spent traveling might have made the initiate feel as though a greater distance had been covered. That sense of distance might have been accentuated by the many points of transition along the route—the bridge over the Athenian Kephissos, the pass over Mt. Aigaleos, the Rheitoi Lakes, the Eleusinian Kephissos. The pass over Mt. Aigaleos comes at the midpoint of the journey. The initiates would walk uphill, then through the pass with hills towering on either side; they lost sight of Athens; and then they descended into a new plain rich with fields and agricultural activity. However, though they might have glimpsed the Thriasian plain, they did not walk through well-tilled fields and groves of olive trees. From that point until they reached Eleusis, they walked along the seashore, itself a border. At the tomb of Eumolpos, if the procession stopped for rituals, the initiates might have learned about the war between Athens and Eleusis—a reminder of past danger, as well as the idea that Eleusis was in some sense "enemy territory." The sense of entering a new, distant place—an alternate universe, even—might have been encouraged by the fact that the initiates crossed a second Kephissos river. Upon reaching the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, the initiates approached from the southeast. The sanctuary sat on the slope of the hill, surrounded by walls so that the uninitiated would not learn secrets they should not know. On the other side of the hill was the town of Eleusis, but the hilltop between them might have hidden the town and its sights

[735] Graf 1996: 63.

and sounds from the initiates, giving them the impression of isolation required for the initiation.

Brauron

The sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron on the eastern coast of Attica formed another important axis in the multipolar *polis*. It was located in a low-lying, marshy area watered by the Erasinos river, near a sacred spring and a distinctive rock outcrop. Though not directly on the coast, it is near a harbor which could have been used by some visitors to the sanctuary. On the other three sides, it is surrounded by low hills, giving the impression of isolation. Its peripheral location (and the danger that poses) was emphasized in a story of Herodotus, that women were abducted from Brauron by Pelasgians.[736] The nearest town was perhaps Philaidai a couple of kilometers away—unlike at Eleusis, where the town was located on the opposite side of the hill from the sanctuary, and was therefore easily accessible to provide amenities to worshippers.

The sanctuary was heavily used in the late 8th and especially 7th centuries BCE, but there is no firm evidence to suggest that Athenians traveled the 25 kilometers to the sanctuary or took an interest in its monumentalization. This changed in the late 6th and early 5th century, when the sanctuary was embellished with a stone temple, an enlarged terrace to the east, a western terrace perhaps for displaying dedications, a rock-cut platform above the temple to the south (the location of the church of Ag. Georgios), and a possible early stoa with propylon (fig. 15).[737] The scale of construction implies that Athens was involved in funding the new buildings.[738] The timing of the building spree also coincides with the construction of

[736] Her.4.145.
[737] Ekroth 2003: 105-8.
[738] Anderson 2003: 195-6. For a healthy dose of skepticism about state-funded construction in the early years of the democracy, see Laughy 2010: 141-62.

the formerly-“Peisistratid” Telesterion at Eleusis.[739] The structures at Brauron were all destroyed by the Persians, and rebuilt in the mid-5th century.[740]

Just as Eleusis had an Athenian “branch” sanctuary at the City Eleusinion, so in the late 6th century, a precinct for Artemis Brauronia may have been established on the Acropolis in Athens. Three phases have been identified for the stoa built on the southwestern part of the Acropolis, but dates are difficult to establish.[741] The Acropolis stoa has been cited as evidence that Peisistratos promoted the cult of Artemis Brauronia and established an ‘outpost’ in Athens, since his family had connections in Brauron.[742] There is, however, no evidence at all to connect the early building program at Brauron or the Acropolis Brauronion with Peisistratos, and only the slimmest evidence to connect it with his sons. A pair of sculpted dogs and a single *krateriskos* from the Acropolis form the entirety of the 6th century evidence.[743] The first definite evidence dates to the mid-5th century and later, including treasury records of Artemis displayed in the stoa on the Acropolis dating to ca. 416 BCE.[744] Thus it is not certain that the Acropolis Brauronion was constructed in the late 6th century, but this is the earliest possible date for it.

A grand festival for Artemis was held every four years, administered by a board of Athenian officials called *hieropoioi*. The *arkteia*, the initiation ceremony where young girls “played the bear,” may have culminated in some kind of performance at the penteteric festival.[745] In the late 6th century BCE, the practice of dedicating *krateriskoi*—probably

[739] Paga 2012: 537-8 interprets the new construction as a deliberate attempt by the new democracy to include Artemis and her cult in the broader religious awareness of the polis. The sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron worked in concert with Rhamnous and Sounion to articulate Athens’ borders and establish the new democracy physically along them.
[740] Ekroth 2003: 108-113.
[741] Rhodes & Dobbins 1979: 325-41.
[742] Shapiro 1989: 65-6.
[743] On the hounds, see Ridgway 1993: 201. On the *krateriskos*: Kahil 1981: 253-63.
[744] On the records, Linders 1972. Osborne 1985b: 155-7 favors a later date for the Acropolis Brauronion, perhaps as late as the 4th century.
[745] Parker 2005: 230-1.

related to the *arkteia* ritual through their iconography—is first attested.[746] The *krateriskoi* were locally produced and cannot offer firm testimony for the connection with Athens, but they are also found at other shrines of Artemis throughout Attica at about the same time.[747] The ideological importance of this ritual to Athens, however, is clear from later writers, who suggest that all Athenian girls had to go through the *arkteia* before marriage.[748] In practice, however, a representative group of wealthy girls whose parents could afford such a ritual probably served the goddess on behalf of their age-group.[749] A reference in Aristophanes' *Peace* has generally been taken to suggest that a formal procession to the penteteric festival at Brauron existed by the late 5th century.[750] The joke turns on the term *theoria*, whose personification is a character in the comedy; we need not assume, therefore, that the procession to Brauron was a formal state delegation.[751] The joke in Aristophanes' *Peace* gives the impression that it was not a particularly solemn occasion. It is generally agreed that this procession departed from the Brauronion on the Acropolis, though the dating for that structure is not secure. There is unfortunately no further testimony about the procession's character or participants. Although the procession is not attested before the late 5th century, the infrastructure for it existed by the late 6th century, and the structures attested at the site of Brauron imply that a large crowd was anticipated.

Sounion

The sanctuary of Sounion was also monumentalized in the early 5th century BCE. The site of Sounion, located at the southern tip of the Attic peninsula approximately 50km from

[746] Kahil 1963.
[747] Kahil 1981: 254. Kahil describes the clay of the Brauron *krateriskoi* as friable and under-fired, indicating a local Attic fabric rather than an Athenian one. The *krateriskoi* from the Temple of Artemis at Halai Araphenides she believes are the same fabric. She is not certain about the provenience of *krateriskoi* found at other locations in Attica.
[748] Parker 2005: 233.
[749] Parker 2005: 233-4; Nielsen 2009: 84-5.
[750] Ar.*Pax*.876.
[751] Rutherford 2013: 344.

Athens, was composed of two separate sanctuaries. The main sacred area was dedicated to Poseidon and stood high on the cape overlooking the sea (fig. 16).[752] A second precinct to the north, at a lower elevation and in a much less prominent position, contained a temple to Athena and possibly a hero cult.[753] While the first dedications at the two sanctuaries go back to the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, the first stone temple on the site was begun in the early 5th century BCE.[754] It was never finished, but was destroyed by the Persians in 480 BCE.[755] The temple's size makes it plausible that it was not a local undertaking, but was at least partially funded by Athens.[756] The sanctuary was further linked to Athenian identity when, after the Battle of Salamis in 480 BCE, one of three captured Phoenician triremes was dedicated to Poseidon at Sounion.[757]

There was a penteteric festival held at Sounion in the early 5th century BCE.[758] We do not have evidence for a formal procession, but there is evidence to suggest that people traveled from Athens to Sounion for the festival—that is, sacred travel. Herodotus describes an ambush by the Aeginetans in 489 BCE which resulted in the capture of a "sacred ship" at Sounion.[759] This sacred ship has interesting implications. *Theoris* was the normal Attic term for a ship used to convey sacred delegates, or *theoroi*, to and from a sanctuary.[760] *Theoroi* generally travelled to sanctuaries outside their home *polis* for festivals or to panhellenic athletic competitions.[761] At its most basic level, however, *theoros* simply means 'spectator,' and a *theoria* means a spectacle. It probably reads too much into Herodotus' word choice to

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752 Dinsmoor 1971: 3-4.
753 Dinsmoor 1971: 4. On the hero cult see Abramson 1979: 1-19.
754 Paga 2012: 484-7 suggests that the temple might have been constructed after the Battle of Marathon (though not explicitly as a memorial or thank-offering), as the Athenian navy was being built up.
755 Dinsmoor 1971: 12.
756 Boersma 1970: 37.
757 Her.8.121.
758 Mainly Her. 6.87.. Lys.
759 "…and while a four-year festival was happening for the Athenians at Sounion, [the Aeginetans] having set an ambush seized the *sacred ship* full of the foremost Athenian men…" Her. 6.87. Dated by Figueira 1988: 49-89. Rutherford 2013: 63 dismisses it as a ploy to make the assault more provocative.
760 Rutherford 2013: 4-6.
761 Elsner & Rutherford 2005: 12-14; on *theoroi* in general see now Rutherford 2014.

assume that the Athenians captured on the sacred ship were an official state delegation; probably what Herodotus is describing is a group of elite Athenians who chose to attend the penteteric festival at Sounion as spectators, and were able to avoid the long walk to Sounion by traveling over water. It is certainly possible that Herodotus chose his words to maximize the outrageousness of the Aeginetans' actions. However, the fact that the Aiginetans knew in advance that such a ship was sailing to Sounion (and would be available for ambush) suggests that sacred travel to Sounion was a regular event. It is probable that others attended the festival on foot rather than by ship, since a penteteric festival was an elaborate spectacle; in the late 5th century there were trireme-races, an event which was surely intended to draw a crowd.[762] Once again, here is a major extraurban sanctuary, located on the border of Attica, which was monumentalized with a stone temple in the early 5th century and was the destination of sacred travel for a major festival.

There are no myths associated directly with Poseidon of Sounion. The pairing of Poseidon and Athena (which was not uncommon in Attica) recalls the myth of Athena and Poseidon's contest for Attica, which Poseidon lost.[763] As a result, his worship within Athens was minimal. At Sounion, however, the situation was reversed—Poseidon had the main temple, while Athena occupied the lower, smaller sanctuary.

In the mid-5th century BCE, new temples were built to Poseidon and Athena.[764] The temple to Poseidon had a sculpted frieze showing the deeds of Theseus, the Athenian state hero, who was characterized as his son.[765] At this time the temple to Poseidon was also enclosed by a wall; around the edges of his precinct, a monumental gateway and two stoas

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[762] IG I^3 8 has been restored to refer to a trieteric festival instead of (or perhaps in tandem with) a penteteric one. Lys.21.5 refers to ship races. A bronze hydria has an inscription which mentions contests (*athla*) at Sounion. Parker 2005: 59 n. 36.
[763] Parker 1987b: 198-200. Poseidon Hippios and Athena Hippias were also worshipped just outside Athens (Paus.1.30.4)
[764] Dinsmoor 1971: 17-25.
[765] Dinsmoor 1971: 23.

were built.[766] Also in the 5th century, a town grew up on the slopes to the northwest of the temple complex, and fortifications were constructed around the cape.[767] By the late 5th century, the festival at Sounion included trireme races, the sort of spectacle designed to delight a crowd of onlookers.[768] We know virtually nothing about the sacrifices offered at the festival, except perhaps that the deme Thorikos sent a lamb.[769] The expanded sanctuary facilities and the fortifications attest to the continued importance of the sanctuary for Athens, while the ship races demonstrate the popularity of Poseidon's festival.

Rhamnous

The cult of Nemesis at Rhamnous differs from Eleusis, Sounion, and Brauron, in that it was locally controlled well into the Classical period.[770] The sanctuary was located on the eastern coast, near the northern border of Attica. It overlooked the town of Rhamnous and the straits of Euboea.[771] The new temple constructed for Nemesis in the mid-5th century, however, is comparable to those at Sounion and Brauron in size and splendor, which suggests that Athens helped to finance it (fig. 17).[772] In addition to the temple, a stoa, fountain, and cistern were built—providing water not only for the rituals in the sanctuary, but also for any visitors.[773]

The popularity of Nemesis may have been on the rise after the battle of Marathon, which occurred nearby, and at which Nemesis was perceived to have helped the Athenians. A story attested in the 1st century BCE told that when the Persians attacked at Marathon, they

[766] Dinsmoor 1971: 25-29.
[767] Dinsmoor 1971: 29-37.
[768] Lys.21.5.
[769] Parker 2005: 76, who suggests it was for a meeting of a regional amphictyony rather than a major festival.
[770] Boersma 1970: 36; Parker 1996: 25-6, n. 56. Inscriptions as late as the 4th century mention local officials who lease out a *temenos* of the goddess. See IG I^3 247bis, 248 (5th century) and IG II^2 2493 (339/8 BCE).
[771] Paga 2012: 472-3 points out that Rhamnous was probably an important border town for Athens from the late 6th century onwards, where it was well-placed to watch for further hostilities from the Boeotians and Chalcidians. She observes that, along with Eleusis and Sounion, Rhamnous served to articulate the borders of Attica and declare the limits of Athenian territory to the rest of Greece.
[772] Petrakos 1991: 23-25; Boersma 1970: 78.
[773] Petrakos 1991: 37.

were so confident of their victory that they brought a large block of marble with them to use for their victory monument.[774] Nemesis, angered by their *hubris*, turned against them and aided their defeat; the Persians left the block of marble behind when they fled, and the Athenians used it for the new cult statue of Nemesis. The story is unlikely to be true, but it demonstrates that Nemesis was, like many other Attic deities, connected to the battle of Marathon.

There was no formal procession from Athens to Rhamnous for the Nemesia, but the festival may have drawn Athenian visitors, especially in the 4th century when athletic competitions and torch-races were added.[775] The torch-races were staged by the ephebes of all ten tribes, who surely gathered to honor the goddess in part because her association with the Battle of Marathon tied her into Athenian ideology and military pride.[776] Similar to Sounion, the location of Rhamnous was also strategic, and thus Athens built a fortification there in the late 5th or perhaps the 4th century, which would have drawn non-religious travel from other parts of Attica, including the ephebes who manned the fort (fig. 18).[777] Thus the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous formed another axis in the multipolar *polis*—a grand temple on the coast of Attica, an embellished festival to draw spectators, and a link to Athenian ideology through Nemesis' aid at the Battle of Marathon.

Mounichia

The sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia in the Piraeus also fits this pattern of border sanctuaries which were monumentalized and linked to Athenian ideology in the late 6th and 5th centuries BCE. The sanctuary was located on a hill overlooking Mounichia harbor a few

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[774] Miles 1989: 137-8 for the 1st century BCE epigram; Paus.1.33 repeats the story.
[775] Palagia & Lewis 1989.
[776] Petrakos 1991: 31-2.
[777] Petrakos 1991: 31 believes the fortifications date to the late 5th century; Ober thinks some of the early walls on the acropolis are contemporary with the temple of Nemesis, possibly during the same program that saw the construction of fortifications at Sounion, but dates the major walls of the main circuit of the fortifications to the 4th century (1985: 135-7).

kilometers from Athens. In the Archaic period the Piraeus peninsula may have been scarcely populated, perhaps indicating that it was a wild, marginal space that recommended itself for the worship of Artemis.[778] It was also potentially a dangerous place, distant from settled civilization, looking towards Aegina (with whom early Classical Athens had a bitter war) and Salamis (which Athens contested with Megara during the Archaic period). Though this character changed during the Classical period, the sanctuary's associations with women's concerns and girls' initiations may have persisted.[779]

The architectural evidence is unfortunately exceedingly scarce due to the presence of a modern yacht club on the site, but some excavations have been conducted. Palaiokrassa considers it likely that a small temple to Artemis Mounichia existed in the Archaic period, though no architectural remains have been found.[780] Retaining walls dating to the end of the 6th century may indicate a reshaping or landscaping of the hilltop (fig. 19).[781] If these retaining walls were part of a larger building project or attempt to develop the sanctuary, it would match well the developments at Eleusis, Brauron, and Sounion. It is not clear whether Athens directly concerned itself with this cult, or whether the cult was still under local control, along the lines of Nemesis at Rhamnous.

It is also possible that the attempt to reshape the hilltop was related to an increase in worshippers coming to the sanctuary. By the late 6th century the Piraeus district seems to have been one of the more populous demes, judging by the nine demesmen it sent to the Boule.[782] This is further supported by the votive activity at the sanctuary. According to Palaiokrassa, the number of clay figurines dedicated to Artemis Mounichia increased steadily in the 6th century and especially toward the end of the 6th century; the abundance continues

[778] Papadopoulou 2014: 113-15.
[779] As indicated by the 5th century *krateriskoi*, see below.
[780] Palaiokrassa 1991: 49-50.
[781] Palaiokrassa 1991: 43-5.
[782] Garland 2001: 59.

into the early 5th century, but declines in the second half of the 5th century.[783] While the largest proportion of ceramic sherds dates to the 7th century, there were also large quantities of black-figure sherds from the late 6th and early 5th centuries.[784] The *krateriskoi*, distinctive ritual vessels perhaps related to the *arkteia* ritual, which some scholars believe was performed at Mounichia, date to the first half of the 5th century.[785] Thus the votive evidence also suggests increased activity at the sanctuary in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BCE.

Sometime in the Classical period, a more imposing temple may have been constructed. Palaiokrassa identifies pieces of marble roof tile dating to the Classical period, implying a building of some importance, likely a temple.[786] In the Classical period the character of Artemis Mounichia may also have undergone a change, as she was associated with the victory at Salamis;[787] perhaps the new temple was, as with Nemesis of Rhamnous, a response to the cult's increased popularity and ideological significance for Athens. Late sources attest a procession for Artemis Mounichia, in which round cakes with miniature torches were carried to the temple and offered, in remembrance of Artemis' role providing a bright moon before the Battle of Salamis.[788] However, it is not clear whether the procession began at Athens; it may only have been local, and thus it did not form a link between Athens and Mounichia in the same way as the processions to Eleusis, Brauron, and Sounion. Instead, the relationship might be more like the link between Athens and Rhamnous. Mounichia hill possessed a fortification where ephebes were stationed in later periods, and they staged a spectacular ship-race in commemoration of the victory at Salamis.[789] Thus, Artemis

[783] Palaiokrassa 1991: 53-6.
[784] Palaiokrassa 1991: 64.
[785] Palaiokrassa 1991: 80-81. Papadopoulou 2014: 120-2 believes the *arkteia* was carried out at Mounichia up to the 5th century, but then stopped after the character of Artemis was associated with Salamis and the navy.
[786] Palaiokrassa 1991: 47-8.
[787] Plut.*De glor. Ath*. 349.f; Papadopoulou 2014: 118-19.
[788] Palaiokrassa 1991: 32-33 for the sources.
[789] Papadopoulou 2014: 120 lists the inscriptions.

Mounichia was linked to Athenians' memory and narrative of the Persian Wars, just as Demeter, Poseidon, and Nemesis were.[790]

Reconstructing the Roads of Attica: A GIS Model

The multipolar *polis* model describes a web of connections between Athens and her suburban and extraurban sanctuaries. Many of these connections were abstract or are difficult to represent graphically, but these links took physical form every year or every four years when people journeyed to the sanctuary to take part in the festival. Thus one way to represent the multipolar *polis* is to map the roads that Athenians used for this travel. Roads were important spaces in the ancient world, in city and countryside. They were spaces for travelers, but also for commerce and economic exchanges, places of cult via roadside shrines, places for commemoration and contemplation—recall the herms placed by Hipparchos in the countryside with exhortations to improve the traveler's character.[791]

The ancient Greek road system in Attica has not yet been mapped, and only a few fragments of roads are archaeologically attested. The most complete route known is the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, which is reconstructed from some archaeological remains of the road, the account of the 2nd century CE traveller Pausanias, and the sites of temples and tombs which grew up along the Sacred Way (fig. 14). The Sacred Way is thus an excellent starting point when building a computer model to represent ancient Greek movement in the landscape.

GIS modeling—specifically, least-cost path analysis—has been used to suggest possible travel routes in the ancient world, taking into account such factors as slope and

[790] Demeter: the famous phantom Iacchus procession which predicted Athenian victory at Salamis; Poseidon: the Phoenician ship captured from Salamis which was dedicated to Poseidon and put on display in his sanctuary at Sounion; Nemesis: the story that she aided the Athenians at Marathon out of disgust at the Persians' hubris, and the Athenians then created her cult statue from the block of marble the Persians left behind.
[791] Quinn 2007: 93-5.

elevation.[792] Since the road system was also used for non-ritual travel, it surely connected the towns of Attica as well as her religious sites. The countryside of Attica was divided into 139 demes (townships), which each had a deme centre. Unfortunately there has been no systematic archaeological survey of the Attic peninsula, so the distribution of cities and villages has never been thoroughly mapped. As a partial solution to this problem, I will include the locations of the deme centres which can be roughly identified by archaeology or by epigraphic evidence (115 of the 139 demes).[793] Since the system of demes was largely set by the reforms of Cleisthenes at the end of the 6th century, we may consider that we are examining the situation as it existed in the 5th century BCE.

At the simplest level, least-cost path analysis requires a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) for the area under study.[794] Each cell has an elevation value in meters. In the Attica DEM I used, each cell measures 30m x 30m. The user inputs a start and end point—Athens to Eleusis, for example—and the program then calculates the least-cost path.[795] It begins at the source and moves in the direction of the destination, adding 'cost' (elevation) for each cell and finding the route which has the lowest cost.

This simple least-cost path analysis yielded a route which clings to the flattest land possible, regardless of how much longer the trip becomes when one tries to skirt any significant slope (fig. 20). The Sacred Way to Eleusis did not follow this least-cost path, which winds around the northeast end of Mt. Aigaleos. The least-cost path does, however, pass by several deme centres, and may have been the approximate course of an ancient road connecting these towns.

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[792] White & Surface-Evans 2012, Bell et. al. 2002: 169-186, Newhard et. al. 2008: 87-102.
[793] I digitized the deme center locations from the main map provided in Traill 1975.
[794] The DEM contains modern elevation measurements. Outside the plain of Athens, this is not problematic, since we may assume the landscape has not been altered too much in the last 2000 years. Within the plain of Athens, however, there has been significant urban development, which means that the elevation measurements in the DEM reflect that development rather than the way the plain would have looked in the Classical period. As a result, I have not attempted to apply my least-cost path model to processions within the plain of Athens. Also, the locations of those sanctuaries within the plain (the temple of Demeter and Kore at Skiron, the temples at Phaleron) have not been archaeologically identified, which would make reconstructing the route difficult.
[795] I use ArcGIS 10.2. I have not worked with open-source GIS programs such as GRASS and QGIS.

The same model returned a similarly impractical route to Sounion (fig. 21). The least-cost route is about 69km (42mi) long, running north of Mt. Hymettos, across the Mesogaian plain, through a valley just north of Mt. Panaion, and then along the east coast of Attica past Thorikos down to Sounion. Thorikos was a major industrial and population centre in the 5th century and earlier, so it is plausible that a road like this one existed. Surely, however, inhabitants of the west coast of Attica who wished to take part in the festival at Sounion need not cross to Thorikos and come down the east coast.

Although roads in Attica have not received much scholarly attention, a few dedicated scholars have walked areas of the countryside and recorded some observations about ancient roads.[796] These observations suggest that the Greeks did not base their travel decisions solely on the elevation and slope of the landscape they were crossing; they were perfectly willing to climb over a mountain in order to get to their destination if it would significantly shorten the trip. The route to Eleusis is one example of this, since the Sacred Way wound through a pass in Mt. Aigaleos rather than following flat land to the north. To the south and east of Athens, Mt. Hymettos stands as a visual and travel barrier—at least to modern observers. The modern highways of Attica make a substantial effort to avoid slopes, and Mt. Hymettos (1,026m at its tallest point) looks like a significant impediment. There is much evidence to suggest, however, that Greeks regularly crossed this mountain rather than making the detour around it.[797] A simple least-cost model based on elevation and slope does not accurately represent the concerns and factors involved in Greeks' travel decisions.

Other studies of travel in ancient societies have used different equations to represent the ways humans move through a landscape. Elevation is a very simplistic way to consider movement cost. Slope is slightly more sophisticated, but one must also take into account the

[796] Goette 2002.
[797] Goette 2002: 61-72.

direction of movement. Walking at an elevation of 400m is not much more taxing than walking on level land if one is walking perpendicular to the angle of slope.

The Path Distance tool in ArcGIS allows the user to set a vertical factor which affects the cost calculation of the path. The symmetric inverse linear vertical factor seemed to best address the direction of travel variable (fig. 22). The vertical relative moving angle—the degree of slope in the direction of travel—ranges from 0 to 45 degrees, either uphill or downhill. The steeper the slope, the higher the vertical factor. If the slope in the direction of travel is 0 degrees, the vertical factor is 1. Travel is assumed to be prohibitively difficult after 45 degrees. Applying this model to the path between Athens and Eleusis produced a route which goes over Mt. Aigaleo, but which still does not utilize the pass through the mountain (fig. 23).

Another technique used by many least-cost path studies is Tobler's hiking function.[798] This is an equation which inputs data where the cell values represent slope (in degrees) and converts it to cell values representing the average walking speed for a person trying to cross that cell of terrain.[799] The average walking speed is assumed to be 5 km/hr.

$$\text{Walking velocity (km/hr.)} = 6^{-3.5 * |\text{slope} + 0.06|}$$

Applying this equation resulted in data where each cell's value was now in kilometres per hour. However, the flattest areas (and the easiest to cross) now had the highest values (5 km/hr). The least-cost path analysis tool is not terribly flexible. It simply adds values from each cell along the least-cost path, and takes the path with the lowest total. Therefore, cells with a value of 5 km/hr would be interpreted as "high-cost" by the tool, even though they are the easiest to cross. In order to invert the data, I divided the entire dataset by 30m (the width

[798] White & Surface-Evans 2012; see especially articles by Rademaker et. al., Phillips & Leckman, Surface-Evans.
[799] Tobler 1993.

of a cell), which resulted in a dataset whose cell values now represented the average time it would take to cross that particular cell. The cells with the highest value (greatest time) were those with the steepest slopes.

I ran the Path Distance tool again, using the time values as the cost of passing through each cell, and using the same symmetric inverse linear vertical factor (fig. 24). The model returned a path which is very close to the correct ancient path from Athens to Eleusis, suggesting that it better represents the decisions ancient Greeks would have made during travel—in this case, during ritual travel (fig. 14). I have also applied this model to the routes between Athens and Rhamnous, Brauron, and Sounion (fig. 11).[800]

The route to Sounion produced by this model is also much more realistic. It is about 50km long, which is a long but possible one day's walk (fig. 11). It also offers a couple of potential sites for pilgrims to stop and rest. There is a cluster of settlement sites and religious sites in the modern municipality Vari-Voula-Vouliagmeni, just south of the southern foot of Mt. Hymettos, which might have offered both a stop for the night and an additional religious experience to pilgrims on their way to Sounion. Thus there was ritual and settlement activity here in some form as early as the 8th century BCE—contemporary with early ritual activity at Sounion.[801]

Further down the coast the traveller might also have gone through the town of Anaphlystos, archaeologically known from its Archaic cemetery, which yielded some very high quality Archaic sculptures including two *kouroi*.[802] Particularly considering the inscription associated with the earlier of the two *kouroi* (the Kroisos *kouros*, dated ca. 530 BCE), which commands passers-by to "stop and mourn by the grave monument of Kroisos,

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[800] The road to Mounichia is also relatively well-known and does not require a least-cost path model to reconstruct it. It followed the Long Walls to a gate in the fortifications around Piraeus, and then took a left turn towards Mounichia hill.

[801] Goette 2001: 190-2. An ancient settlement and sanctuary were in use from the 8th to 6th centuries. Goette describes "cult rooms with benches, which were built onto the walls, and lodgings for pilgrims."

[802] Goette 2001: 116, 200.

killed amongst the champions by the war-god Ares", it seems likely that these graves were meant to be seen and that a road passed through here.[803]

These routes are perhaps a little too similar to 'as-the-crow-flies', but the model is not yet complete. The next step will be to add in other known sites along the route, including deme centres and towns, tombs that likely stood alongside roads, and water sources that may have served travellers. Nevertheless this method provides a starting point for considering the routes ancient travellers may have used and the factors that governed the courses of those paths. Some of these factors were practical, such as slope, time spent traveling, and adequate water sources. Some of these factors may have been less practical. The Greeks had a propensity for placing their temples in dramatic locations, and it is possible that similar concerns might have governed the routes to these temples. Viewshed analysis, a GIS tool that allows the user to map which areas were visible from a particular point, can help scholars answer such questions.

The temple of Poseidon at Sounion has an excellent view of the sea (fig. 25). A worshipper approaching the temple of Poseidon at Sounion from Thorikos to the east would not see the temple of Poseidon until he or she was quite near to it (fig. 26). This visual experience continues today; the temples are blocked from view for the visitor approaching along the modern road from Thorikos. I also generated an elevation-based path down the west coast through Vari-Voula-Vouliagmeni and Anaphlystos, which closely parallels the modern scenic route. Someone coming from the west along this route would have their view of the temple of Poseidon blocked by a promontory, then dramatically revealed across the bay (the temple of Athena would also be visible at this point) (fig. 27). It is likely that ancient paths existed that followed both of these routes, since people needed to travel to Sounion from the deme of Thorikos to the east and Atene to the west. The most dramatic views,

[803] Goette 2001: 116, 200.

however, come from the path generated using Tobler's hiking function. Here the visitor has a sustained view of the temple as they descend from the Lavrion hills toward Cape Sounion (fig. 28).

The visitor approaching the sanctuary at Brauron from Athens would come from the west, through a pass between the low hills that surround the sanctuary. The distinctive rock outcrop near the sanctuary then becomes visible (fig. 29). The visitor's visibility is, however, restricted by the low hills around the sanctuary, though Mt. Hymettos was still quite visible (fig. 30). This visual isolation perhaps created a sense of physical isolation appropriate to the female initiation rituals which took place here. The girls who were isolated here were vulnerable; the site was near the coast, on the margin (as was appropriate to Artemis) and women had supposedly been abducted from Brauron in the distant past. Perhaps surprisingly, then, the sanctuary does appear to have been visible from the sea (fig. 31).

The visitor approaching the sanctuary at Rhamnous from the west (i.e. from Athens) would pass some monumental family tombs and come up a gradual slope towards the temple. Only the foundations remain today, so it is hard to judge when the temple became visible as one approached it. In the future, a 3D model of the temple could solve this problem. It is possible, however, that the temple was hidden by the slope until the visitor was nearly upon it. From the temple one has an excellent view of the sea toward Euboea (fig. 32). The visibility of the temple from the city below may be judged by the height of a tree which stands next to the temple foundations today; presumably the temple was taller than this tree. The tree itself is visible from the town and fort below, and thus the temple itself would presumably also have been visible (fig. 33). The temple was also likely visible from the sea (fig. 34).

Pausanias, on approaching the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, states that he can say no more because he cannot reveal the secrets of the Mysteries. The wall built around

the sanctuary in the late 6th century and repaired and extended in the 5th century, while intended as fortifications, would also have served to hide the sanctuary and its secrets from the uninitiated.[804] Thus the Telesterion itself was not visible to outsiders. The wall, however, most likely was. The sanctuary stood on a slope which faced the sea, and had a viewshed which extends out over the Bay of Salamis (fig. 35). The wall around the sanctuary was a powerful symbol on its own, an indication of the secret mysteries which were revealed within to those who had undergone the proper preliminary rituals. For the initiate approaching the sanctuary, he or she had a last glimpse of Athens near the spot where a temple of Apollo was located (fig. 36). After passing over Mt. Aigaleos, the initiate was afforded an excellent view of the Thriasian plain and the sanctuary of Eleusis (fig. 37).

The sanctuary at Mounichia was also on a hill overlooking Mounichia Bay and the Bay of Phaleron. The archaeological remains do not indicate that the sanctuary was bounded by a substantial wall which would have blocked a viewer's gaze, and a visitor would have been able to see the Acropolis of Athens from Mounichia hill (fig. 38). The viewshed indicates that the sanctuary was visible from the sea, especially Mounichia Bay. It is not out of the realm of possibility that spectators of the ephebic ship-races of the Hellenistic period could have watched the exciting climax of the race from the sanctuary itself.

Conclusions

The multipolar *polis* is an inclusive model of the Athenian sacred landscape. It sees both formal *pompai* and less ceremonious sacred travel as links, connections inscribed on the landscape, performed by specific participants, and promoting certain sensory symbols and the myths, stories, and associations which gave them meaning through the repetition of the ritual. In this chapter I have focused by necessity on the landscape of sacred travel in Attica, the

[804] Mylonas 1961: 91-6, 124, 135-6.

locations of Athens' border sanctuaries, and the visual experience of the worshippers traveling to these sanctuaries. With the exception of Eleusis, there is little or no evidence about who attended the penteteric festivals at Brauron and Sounion, or the annual festivals at Rhamnous and Mounichia. However, people certainly did attend the festivals, and just because we cannot identify them, it does not mean that there is nothing to be gained from considering their experiences.

The Eleusinian Mysteries were certainly widely popular in antiquity, but the adherents of the cult kept their secrets well, and our information about the specifics of the processions to and from Eleusis retain frustrating lacunae. The Mysteries were famously inclusive, and the procession of initiates in particular acquired a number of ritual symbols such as the *bacchoi* carried by initiates, the vases which may have been carried, the yellow ribbons tied around the wrists and ankles of initiates, and the ritual insults at the bridge over the Athenian Kephissos. We have reliable knowledge of the procession's route, but we know less about what stops the procession might have made along the way for hymns, prayers, and sacrifices. Moreover much of our evidence for sanctuaries and sacred places along the Sacred Way comes from Pausanias, who is a very late source, making it difficult to know which elements of his account date from the 5th century BCE. Nonetheless there are some indications that certain myths or stories were associated with places along the Sacred Way, including tales of agricultural gifts brought by Demeter and the exploits of Theseus, and these are likely to be at least as old as the 5th century. We can speculate about the emotional experience of the worshippers, such as Graf's suggestion that they may have been in a trance-like state by the time they arrived at Eleusis, but we cannot know for certain.

The sanctuary at Eleusis developed in tandem with the City Eleusinion at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens. In the late 6th century both received architectural embellishment, perhaps as part of the democracy's efforts to popularize the Mysteries. Around 500 BCE, the

temple to Triptolemos was begun at the City Eleusinion. These architectural developments at Eleusis and Athens were paralleled at Brauron, where Artemis received a temple and other facilities, at Sounion, where Poseidon also received a grand Archaic temple, and perhaps also at Mounichia, where the hilltop housing the sanctuary of Artemis was reshaped. Artemis of Brauron may also have had a subsidiary shrine on the Acropolis at this time. When the Persians invaded Attica in 480 BCE, the Telesterion at Eleusis had been dismantled in preparation for further construction, but the Persians were able to damage the temples at Brauron, Sounion, and the Anaktoron at Eleusis. They also burned the small local temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous.

In the aftermath of the Persian Wars, Athens formed new ideological links with her border sanctuaries. At Sounion, one of three captured Phoenician warships was dedicated, where worshippers could see it every time they attended the penteteric festival of Poseidon. Artemis of Mounichia was linked to the bright moon which shone before Salamis, and in commemoration of her aid her worshippers brought her round cakes with miniature torches to light them. The epiphanic Iacchos procession which occurred just before the battle of Salamis, and appeared to foretell the victory of the Greeks, associated Demeter and Kore with the victory. At Rhamnous, a story developed connected not to the wars of 480/479 but to the Battle of Marathon in 490 BCE, which was just south of Rhamnous. The story told that Nemesis had given her aid to the Athenians because she was angered by the hubris of the Persians, who had brought a block of marble to carve their victory monument; when they fled, they left the block behind, and in the mid-5th century the Athenians used it for Nemesis' new cult statue.

In the mid-5th century BCE all of these sanctuaries were at last rebuilt in grand fashion with Athenian funds. Little is known of the sculpture that might have adorned these temples, with the exception of Sounion, where a frieze depicting Theseus was found to have

decorated the temple of his father Poseidon. Considering Theseus' popularity in Athens in the 5th century, with the return of his bones from Scyros in 476 BCE and his growing prominence in the sculpture of Athens, the choice of Theseus for the frieze at Sounion is not out of place. He was also an increasingly visible figure in Athenian propaganda, and his presence on the temple of Poseidon at Sounion may have played a similar propagandistic role.

When would the people of Athens have had the chance to see these grand temples, cult statues, sculptures, and war monuments? The *Athenaion Politeia* lists the major penteteric festivals of Attica, including the Eleusinia and Brauronia, which were overseen by Athenian officials.[805] The festivals at Mounichia and Rhamnous and the Mysteries of Eleusis were annual. Whether these festivals were repeated annually or penteterically, they would have presented opportunities for Athenians to view the sanctuaries with all their accoutrements and reinforce the meanings and associations of the sanctuaries and their deities.

Many of these places were also strategic locations, and therefore came to boast forts and garrisons of soldiers.[806] Eleusis was first fortified in the late 6th century, probably as a result of numerous Spartan incursions to try to influence the chaotic Athenian politics after the expulsion of the Peisistratids. Mounichia was fortified as part of Themistokles' efforts to protect the Piraeus harbors.[807] The fortifications at Sounion date to 413/12 BCE and were precipitated by the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia during the Peloponnesian War.[808] The Athenians were forced to ship their imported grain around the southern tip of Attica, rather than overland from Oropos as they usually had done, and the fort was intended to provide additional protection for the vital grain shipments. A fortification was also built at Rhamnous,

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805 Arist. [Ath. Pol.] 54.7; Parker 2005: 57-8.
806 Paga 2012: 488-9 also recognizes the convergence of late 6th or early 5th century building activity at Eleusis, Sounion, and Rhamnous, and the strategic importance of these locations. Though the activity at Rhamnous cannot be ascribed to the Athenian state, Paga argues that the strategic value of all three locations was recognized, and these prominent places were used to define and articulate the borders of Athens.
807 Garland 2001: 14-22; Papadopoulou 2014: 117.
808 Thuc.VIII.4.

some elements as early as the 5th century (contemporary with the temple of Nemesis, or perhaps also to guard the grain supply in 413/12 BCE), and a larger circuit of walls added in the 4th century BCE.[809]

In the Hellenistic period, the ephebes were assigned to patrol the borders of Attica as part of their education. They served tours of duty at places like Eleusis, Mounichia, Sounion, and Rhamnous. They also participated in the lives of these sanctuaries. At Rhamnous, the ephebes staged torch-races; all the ephebes must have been present, since they competed by tribe, so this was a significant event. Why should the ephebes have gathered to honor Nemesis? Perhaps it had something to do with the story of her aid at Marathon, though this tale is not attested before the 1st century BCE. The ephebes also competed in ship-races at Mounichia, an appropriate honor for the goddess who watched over the main naval harbor at Mounichia and had provided her aid at the Battle of Salamis.

When people did travel to these sanctuaries—whether it was for a major festival, a personal dedication, or to visit the towns near these sanctuaries—how did they get there? While the roads of Attica could have been traversed by carts (and stables and wheel-ruts at Brauron suggest that some people did travel this way) they must also have been used by many people traveling by foot. Therefore, in reconstructing the roads that worshippers might have used, I utilized Tobler's hiking function to create a more realistic cost surface for least-cost path analysis. The routes that I have created are merely a first step in reconstructing the road system of Attica. In the future I will match the roads directly to archaeological sites such as settlements, roadside shrines, tombs, known fragments of roads, and wells that could have been used by travelers. The resulting map of potential roads, however, graphically demonstrates the multipolar *polis*, with roads radiating outwards from Athens like the spokes of a wheel, forming physical links with the borders of Attica (fig. 11).

[809] See n. 777.

I have also used viewshed analysis to examine the visual experience of worshippers approaching these sanctuaries via the routes I have reconstructed. All five sanctuaries were visible from the sea, which I believe represents strong evidence for their role as statements of Athenian wealth and power aimed in part at non-Athenians who might have been sailing the straits of Euboea or the Bay of Eleusis. An Athenian approaching the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous from Athens would probably have seen very little, since they would have been coming up the slope at the temple. The temple itself looks down on the town of Rhamnous and the fort, and the Sacred Way connecting temple and town was lined with the tombs of prominent deme members, suggesting that this stretch of road possessed the most prestige and saw the most traffic. The Temple of Artemis at Brauron was hemmed in by low hills to the north and south, so that little could be seen by the approaching worshipper until they were within the small marshy plain. The sanctuary itself was, however, visible from the sea, even though few Athenians must have approached it this way, especially if there was a large (if perhaps informal) procession from Athens. At Eleusis, of course, the casual passerby could not see the Telesterion itself—there was a substantial wall preventing the uninitiated from seeing the things forbidden to them—but the wall itself was a symbol of the rites which went on at the sanctuary.

The approach to Sounion is also instructive. A visitor coming from Thorikos would see virtually nothing of the sanctuaries at Sounion until they were practically on top of them. The modern scenic road winds down the west coast of Attica, with a series of tantalizing views of the temple of Poseidon. Surely in antiquity there were ancient paths which approximated these modern approaches to the sanctuary, since to the west of Sounion was the deme of Atene (which must have had road access) and there is evidence that the residents of Thorikos regularly went to Sounion for some kind of sacrifice. The route posited by my least-cost path model, however, comes through the mountains of Laurion, along what was likely a

quite substantial road, since the stone used to build the temple of Poseidon was quarried from the Agrileza valley. This route has the best views of both the temple of Poseidon and the temple of Athena, since the road descends from a higher elevation towards the promontory of Cape Sounion. This may provide an additional argument in favor of this route being the main approach to the sanctuary, particularly for those visitors coming from farther regions of Attica such as Athens.

Eleusis, Sounion, Brauron, Mounichia, and Rhamnous had border sanctuaries whose deities were focused on the same concepts that de Polignac outlined. They were also linked to Athens in various ways. Athens funded the impressive stone temples built at Eleusis, Sounion, and Brauron in the late 6th or early 5th century, the temple built at Rhamnous in the mid-5th century, and perhaps also the Classical temple of Artemis Mounichia. The sanctuaries were linked to Classical Athenian identity through myth and through their associations with the Persian Wars. Athenians participated in processions to Eleusis and Brauron as well as sacred travel to Sounion which physically reenacted these links; though there was no formal procession to Rhamnous and Mounichia, it is likely that Athenians also traveled to these shrines for their major festivals. The journeys to Eleusis and Brauron began from subsidiary shrines within Athens, structures which announced a very permanent link with Athens. Athenians probably also traveled to Eleusis for the Eleusinia and Proerosia festivals, and to Brauron for the beginning and end of the *arkteia* initiations. The repetition of these rituals year after year maintained their mythic, symbolic, and ideological associations, contributing to and reinforcing their place in Athenian cultural memory.

Conclusion: The Multipolar *Polis*, Processions, and Sacred Travel

The multipolar *polis* model described in this study presents a compelling way of considering the sacred landscape of Athens in the late 6th and 5th centuries BCE. Before the late 6th century BCE, strong connections between Athens and her borders cannot be demonstrated with certainty and the evidence for processions is almost nonexistent.[810] 5th-century Athens provides a wealth of literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources which describe the symbols, participants, and routes of many of the sacrificial processions of Athens and clarify the role of the Athenian state in these rituals.

Inspired by François de Polignac's bipolar *polis*, the multipolar *polis* also considers processions and sacred travel as physical links between two poles. One of these poles was central, located in Athens. The other was located somewhere outside of Athens in a marginal or liminal space: in the Kerameikos, along the Ilissos or Kephissos riverbanks, on the coastal borders of Attica. Sometimes the procession began on the outskirts of the city and moved inward; other times it began within the city and moved outwards into the countryside. The direction matters less than the fact that this travel (however short) connected two places and bridged the divide between inside and outside, city and country, urban space and uncultivated hinterland.

The multipolar *polis* with its annual program of processions and festivals was not only a way of marking territory, however. Each procession (or instance of sacred travel) was an opportunity to create, shape, and reinforce collective, cultural memory about the festival's cult myth, the symbols and participants in the procession, the landscape through which it passed, and the destination sanctuary. Every time a spectator or participant perceived a particular symbol, this experience encouraged them to remember their associations

[810] With the exception of the Panathenaic procession, which probably goes back to 566 BCE, and possibly also the Eleusinian Mysteries.

concerning that symbol. Some of those memories were surely conditioned by personal experience and cannot be recovered, but others were informed by the shared myths, history, rituals, and other experiences of Athenians as a whole (or a smaller subset such as Athenian women, metics, or a single *genos*, in which case the memories reinforced a person's identification with that group). Processions—and sacred travel to major festivals—were optimal occasions for the display of such cultural symbols. They involved large numbers of people as participants and spectators, and they moved around the city and countryside, increasing the number of people and landscape elements they could encounter and connect.

The experience of processions, by which they prompted participants and spectators to remember collectively, can be analyzed through the three-pronged theoretical approach outlined in chapter one. The symbols of the procession were the numerous items perceived by the senses which had meaning for those who perceived them, whether those people were spectators or participants. These symbols could include the objects carried in procession, garments or accessories worn, the hymns sung and dances performed along the route, and various smells such as incense, the sacrificial animals, or perhaps even some of the greenery frequently carried in procession. Such symbols drew their meaning from myths and stories associated with the ritual or the deity being honored, from their intersections with sculpture or monuments along the route, from other rituals in which they appeared, and from the daily experiences of the Athenian people. The participants also affected the character of the procession. Some processions were more inclusive, providing opportunities for young and old, women and men, Athenians and foreigners to take part. Others were more exclusive, perhaps even restricting their participants mainly to members of a single Athenian *genos*. Each procession also moved along a unique route which linked the two poles (start and end) and passed by a variety of landscape elements which included natural places, shrines and sacred places, monuments, statues, sculpture, tombs, utilitarian buildings, public spaces such

as the agora, and private homes and farms. All of these elements—the symbols, the participants, and the route—were deliberately chosen to create a particular experience for the participants and spectators. That experience informed and was shaped by the collective, cultural memory on which each Athenian was able to draw, and to which non-Athenians did not have access (unless they were enlightened by an Athenian).

I first analyzed the processions at two festivals for which we have a relative abundance of information. The Panathenaia and the *pompē* of the City Dionysia had certain similarities. They were both explicitly internationally-oriented, and thus they presented important opportunities for Athens to display a carefully-curated version of itself to visiting foreigners. In the late 6th and early 5th centuries BCE, these processions included only Athenian citizens and their wives or daughters, fulfilling various ritually- or mythologically-important roles. In the mid-5th century, however, first metics and then colonists and allies of Athens were included in these two processions, articulating Athens' imperial ambitions. It is not original to discuss the presence of these groups in these processions. I have, however, considered the different ways that certain symbols present in the processions might have been perceived by Athenian citizens versus non-citizen metics, allies, or colonists who had been former citizens. This is especially true of the relics of the Persian Wars which were preserved in the walls of the Acropolis and displayed in the sanctuaries on top. The Persian Wars had a profound effect on Athenian ideology and identity with which non-Athenians could not fully identify.

The *peplos* given to Athena at the Panathenaia might have had particular significance for women and girls watching the procession, since this dedication was produced by female hands. Aside from a few high-profile roles such as *kanephoroi* and priestesses, women and girls did not have many opportunities to offer devotion to their city's gods in public processions and sacrifices. The *peplos* could have been a source of pride for Athenian

women, a symbol of their contributions to the *polis*. The *peplos* could also have summoned up different cultural memories for Athenian men and women. Men might have focused on the military imagery on the *peplos*, the celebration of Athena's victory; women, however, were the ones engaged in the daily work of weaving, and might have recalled the sights, sounds, and feel of producing and wearing such fabric.

The City Dionysia, in fact, had two processions, which I have reconstructed with very different atmospheres. The *eisagogē* first brought the statue of Dionysos Eleuthereus into the city from his small temple on the Academy road. The sensory experience of the *eisagogē* was affected by the fact that it took place at nighttime with ithyphallic masked men, shouted insults, and plenty of drinking—this was the atmosphere for the awe-inspiring epiphany of Dionysos. The Dionysos of the *eisagogē* and *komos* was the Dionysos of the first part of the cult myth, the Dionysos who possesses people with extreme desires (for wine, for sex) and brings everyone down to the same level (through ritual insults). In the myth, he was rejected and possessed the men of the city with a genital disease, probably reflected in the ithyphallic men; in reality, he was welcomed into the city with a *xenismos* ritual amid an atmosphere of general revelry which perhaps served as both commemoration of his punishment of Athens and positive celebration of his power. The next day, the Athenians organized a more dignified sacrificial *pompē* for Dionysos. It need not have been a solemn procession, but it was certainly a more typical civic-minded affair than the *eisagogē*; the *pompē* featured participants characteristic of a sacrifical procession such as a *kanephoros*, men carrying bread and wine in honor of the god, many sacrificial cattle, *aulos*-music, and of course the well-dressed *choregoi* with their (probably elite) choruses of men and boys showing off their wealth and training. Although Dionysiac symbols such as *phalloi* and ivy were present, the procession took place during the day and without masks—this was about seeing and being

seen in a dignified, status-conscious fashion. The emphasis on prestige was reinforced by the *pompē's* route, which passed by the elaborate monuments on the Street of Tripods.

The processions discussed in chapter four each had their own character and their own place in the Athenian ritual calendar. Most of the symbols and symbolism had to do with the agricultural year, which reflects the degree to which even an urban Athenian depended upon the rural production of food and wine. An exception to this was the procession for Artemis Agrotera, which was solely concerned with commemorating the pre-battle ritual before the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE and thus cemented this event in Athenian cultural memory.

In late October the Athenians celebrated the Oschophoria and Pyanopsia processions. This fell around the time of the autumn plowing and sowing, the harvest and pruning of olive trees, and just after the new wine vintage was laid away.[811] Though the Oschophoria later became linked to myths of Theseus, these connections were confused—some elements related to Theseus' departure, others to his homecoming—and probably were not original to the festival. Instead, the Oschophoria involved mainly young people and women in the celebration of agricultural fertility and growth, especially the vine and wheat (through the bread which was sacrificed). This theme was also emphasized by the fact that the procession started at the shrine of Dionysos *in limnais* (the sanctuary most closely associated with wine in Athens) and ended at the sanctuary of Athena Skiras, who also seems to have been a goddess of agricultural fertility. Nevertheless, the associations with Theseus were apparently strongly embedded in Athenian cultural memory, perhaps in part through the stories told by the dinner-bearers to the young men in the sanctuary.

The Pyanopsia, held the next day, bore the ingredients of a boiled stew full of vegetables, beans, and cereals to the sanctuary of Apollo, preceded by a boy with both parents living who carried an olive branch (the *eiresione*) decorated with agricultural

[811] Isager & Skydsgaard 1992: 162, fig. 11.1. The wine jars were symbolically opened five months later at the Anthesteria.

products. This was also the time of year when the olive was harvested and pruned. Therefore the olive branch could relate to the olive harvest, while the agricultural products carried in procession and hung on the *eiresione* could relate to the plowing and sowing undertaken at this time of year, and thus signify the Athenians' hopes for a plentiful harvest in the spring. Again there is the association between young people and the growth of plants through the carrying of a branch—here, an olive branch.[812] This persistent association was surely reinforced in Athenian cultural memory by the repeated performance of these processions. In the next month, the city was purified by the Pompaia procession, which paraded the fleece of Zeus (an instrument of purification) around the city and then cast out ritual impurities at a crossroads outside the city.

Six months later, around the time of the spring harvest, human scapegoats were paraded around the city and then cast out along with the city's ritual impurities during the first day of the Thargelia festival. The next day, a diverse collection of first-fruits was brought to the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios. The first-fruits seem an obvious connection with the time of year and the spring harvest. Parker cautions against interpreting the Thargelia purification as a kind of "magical" protection for the ripening crops—which were, at any rate, already being harvested, if the procession of first-fruits is an accurate representation. Rather, "in a farming community the emotional year, as it might be called, is shaped around the agricultural year [i.e., the obvious temporal landmarks]…the informal calendar put together in this way acquires emotional functions and can readily be festooned with symbolic meaning."[813] He draws attention instead to the sense of renewal that this sequence of events created: first bad things are expelled, then good things (harvest first-fruits) are brought in.[814] These associations with the agricultural cycle too were part of cultural memory, and were

[812] Also seen in the procession of girls to Artemis Delphinia, where they carried olive branches bound with wool, the mark of the suppliant.
[813] Parker 1983: 29.
[814] Parker 1983: 25.

reinforced by the cyclic, repeated performance of the rituals. At the end of the month an additional purification was carried out, the cleaning of Athena's olivewood statue and her splendid *peplos* at the Plynteria. Though her *peplos* was perhaps cleaned on the Acropolis, the statue was taken down to Phaleron on the coast and washed in the sea. Once again the benefits may have been felt to belong to the entire city. The ritual and holiday itself attracted a strong sense of ill-omen, as might be expected when the patron goddess was temporarily absent from her city. These elements—but especially the sense of ill-omen—were included in Euripides' depiction of Iphigenia's ruse to escape the Taurians, demonstrating their strong presence in Athenian cultural memory.

The Skirophoria procession, which coincided with the women's Skira rites, fell at the time of high summer. The power of the sun seems to have been a particular focus, since the priest of Helios joined the procession and the members of the procession were protected under a large sunshade. There is no reason to conclude that the procession had anything to do with the mythical war between Athens and Eleusis, based on the ancient sources about the procession. The destination sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was spatially associated with the places were figs and beans were first cultivated, and the procession seems likely to have been an old ritual wherein the principal priests of the city came out into the countryside to honor their main agricultural goddess. The agricultural associations of the place Skiron were thus reinforced in Athenian cultural memory through this procession and perhaps also the procession of the initiates during the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Certain symbols appeared in multiple processions throughout the ritual year. I suggest that their meaning to the Athenians can be better understood if we consider all these appearances together. Dried figs, for example, seem to have been consistently linked to purification or pure ritual actors such as *kanephoroi*. Olive branches had two main families of meaning: the olive as a symbol of victory, which was most prominent at the Panathenaia, and

the olive as a symbol of growth and renewal, persistently emphasized by the fact that it was usually carried by children. Wool, and in particular the fleece of Zeus, certainly also had purificatory associations; the fleece of Zeus often functioned in preparatory rites, such as the Lesser Mysteries or before the Skirophoria and Plynteria processions.

The final chapter examined the five major sanctuaries located on the borders of Attica: Eleusis, Brauron, Sounion, Mounichia, and Rhamnous. While Eleusis was famous for the processions associated with the Mysteries, the other four sanctuaries have little or no firm evidence for formal processions. Therefore they could not be analyzed by the same methods outlined in the previous chapters. They remain included in the multipolar *polis*, however, because they too made important contributions to the cultural memory of Athens, particularly with regard to the place of the Persian Wars in Athenian ideology. These associations were reinforced by the regular performance of sacred travel to these border locations for penteteric or annual festivals, during which the participants became reacquainted with the landscape of Attica, the sanctuary of the deity, and the various associations of the deity and sanctuary with Athenian myth, history, and ideology.

Unlike the other four sanctuaries discussed in that chapter, Eleusis was certainly connected to the ritual life of Athens during the Archaic period, as proven by the existence of the City Eleusinion, which may go back as early as the late 8th century BCE, and the parallel architectural development of the City Eleusinion and the sanctuary at Eleusis. This connection was maintained and amplified by the new democracy in the late 6th and early 5th centuries, at the same time that the *demos* of Athens also decided to monumentalize the sanctuaries at Brauron, Sounion, and perhaps Mounichia. These new, gleaming marble temples emphasized Athens' authority for and concern over these extraurban sanctuaries.

The procession of initiates to Eleusis was rather different from any of the other processions examined thus far. There was a definite emphasis on humility and de-emphasis of

status symbols, expressed in the fact that participants dressed in old clothes (rather than their 'festival best'), carried emblems such as the *bacchos* and *plemochoai*, were insulted as they crossed the Athenian Kephissos, had yellow ribbons tied to their wrists and ankles, and were encouraged to make the journey on foot rather than in carts or carriages. Along the way, the initiates apparently engaged in sacrifices, dances, libations, and paeans, but no specific locations are named in the sources. The route itself may have been intended to emphasize the sense of transition and thus liminality appropriate to an initiation ritual. The initiates crossed several rivers, events which were ritually marked; they also crossed Mt. Aigaleos, through a pass which limited their view until they reemerged along the seashore (another liminal space), now visually cut off from Athens and perhaps also in a trance-like state after the long journey with little sustenance.

Though there is some indication of a procession to Brauron, its level of formal organization is unknown, and no processions are attested from Athens to Sounion, Mounichia, or Rhamnous.[815] The construction of facilities such as a larger Telesterion at Eleusis, stoas at Sounion, Rhamnous, and Brauron (with extensive dining facilities), and a fountain at Rhamnous indicate that a greater number of worshippers were expected at these sanctuaries in the late 6th and 5th centuries and required some infrastructure to accommodate them. Why did they come to these sanctuaries on the borders of Attica? The Mysteries at Eleusis were, of course, becoming more internationally popular, as were the competitions at the Eleusinia. The penteteric festivals at Brauron and Sounion surely also drew significant crowds. The annual festivals at Mounichia and Rhamnous might have been less spectacular, but they had their own attractions: torch-races, athletic contests, and ship-races. The cult statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous was carved by a famous artist, Agoracritus, and might have drawn visitors to see it.

[815] There is the ship full of Athenians headed to Sounion which was mentioned by Herodotus (6.84) but this is not a formal procession. It is good evidence for sacred travel, however.

Worshippers might also have been drawn to these sanctuaries because of their connections to Athenian myth, history, and ideology. At Sounion, visitors could see one of the three Phoenician triremes captured at the Battle of Salamis, linking Poseidon to that great naval victory. The temple of Poseidon was decorated with sculpture celebrating Theseus, and Poseidon was acknowledged in myth as a competitor for patronship of Athens. Artemis Mounichia also became connected with Salamis, and her festival on the 16th of Mounichion came to be the celebrated anniversary of the victory; her aid was commemorated specifically by the lighted cakes dedicated to her as part of the festival. Demeter and Kore made their support for the Athenians known by the phantom Iacchos procession which was seen traveling across the Thriasian plain just before the battle of Salamis. Nemesis at Rhamnous was thought to have helped the Athenians at Marathon, since she was offended by the Persians' *hubris* at bringing a block of marble for their victory statue. Supposedly it was this very block which was used for her statue—one more reason to travel to Rhamnous and see it. Artemis of Brauron had little connection with war, but was famed for her girls' initiation rite, which might have culminated in a performance at the Brauronia festival.

By traveling to these sanctuaries to participate in these festivals, or even visiting the sanctuary at other times of the year, Athenians renewed their memory of the landscape and the sanctuary itself, as well as its myths, rituals, and associations. With the exception of the Sacred Way to Eleusis, which is well-known, the routes by which worshippers approached these other sanctuaries have never been carefully mapped. I have begun to do this using GIS least-cost path analysis, but the model requires improvement. The next step will be to create a comprehensive GIS database of all known fragments of ancient roads and any archaeological sites that are likely to have stood alongside roads: monumental tombs, roadside shrines, settlements and deme centers, wells for travelers to use, etc. Using viewshed analysis combined with photographic evidence of the landscape and visibility, it is also possible to

reconstruct the visual experience of people moving through the Attic landscape as they approached these border sanctuaries—which, judging by their viewsheds, were oriented more toward the sea than toward land. Though visually disconnected from Athens (except for Mounichia), these border sanctuaries remained linked to Athens by physical roads, the movements of worshippers, the temples and associated buildings which Athens had funded, the festivals which were integrated into the Athenian ritual calendar, the fortifications which drew Athenian soldiers as garrisons, and the mythical, historical, and ideological connections between Athens and her border sanctuaries, especially pertaining to the Persian Wars.

Throughout this study I have demonstrated that processions (and sacred travel) fulfilled various social and cultural roles. They were a method for displaying culturally-significant symbols which in turn represented Athenian values and shared myths or history. They were a way for the participants to show off their status and, for those with a defined role, the honor of their position. They were also physical, performative links within the landscape, connecting a location inside the city and a location which was in some sense "outside" the city (even if it was within the 5th-century walls), and tracing a deliberate, repeated route past certain monuments, buildings, artwork, tombs, and natural places which possessed both personal and collective meaning for Athenians. All of these functions contributed to a collective, cultural Athenian memory—a memory which was created, revised, and maintained every year, throughout the year, by regular, repeated processions and sacred travel to and from the borders of Athens.

If Athens was the heart of the *polis*, then processions and sacred travel formed the veins of the multipolar *polis*, connecting the Athenians to their most important cults and sacrificial rituals. In Francois de Polignac's bipolar *polis* theory, the major Archaic extraurban sanctuaries were located on territorial or natural borders, and their deities were concerned with transitions, fecundity, the integration of marginal people, including foreigners

and young people, and the articulation of borders and sovereignty.[816] Classical Athens needed sanctuaries which would attend to these concerns, but rather than one main extraurban sanctuary, Athens had a variety of sanctuaries scattered throughout Athens and Attica which served these ritual purposes. These peripheral sanctuaries were bound to Athens by processions, which served as axes of ritual communication between Athens and her suburban and extraurban districts. Every time these processions were carried out, their participants inscribed a physical, performative link between two poles. The repetition of these processions reinforced a certain mental map of the landscape in the minds of Athenians, including its monuments, sculptures, democratic institutions, shrines, and natural places, all of which had deeper meaning on both a personal and collective level. Classical Athens deliberately developed these multifaceted links between its urban center and its borders—not a bipolar *polis*, but a multipolar *polis*.

[816] De Polignac 1995a: 32-80.

Figures and Maps

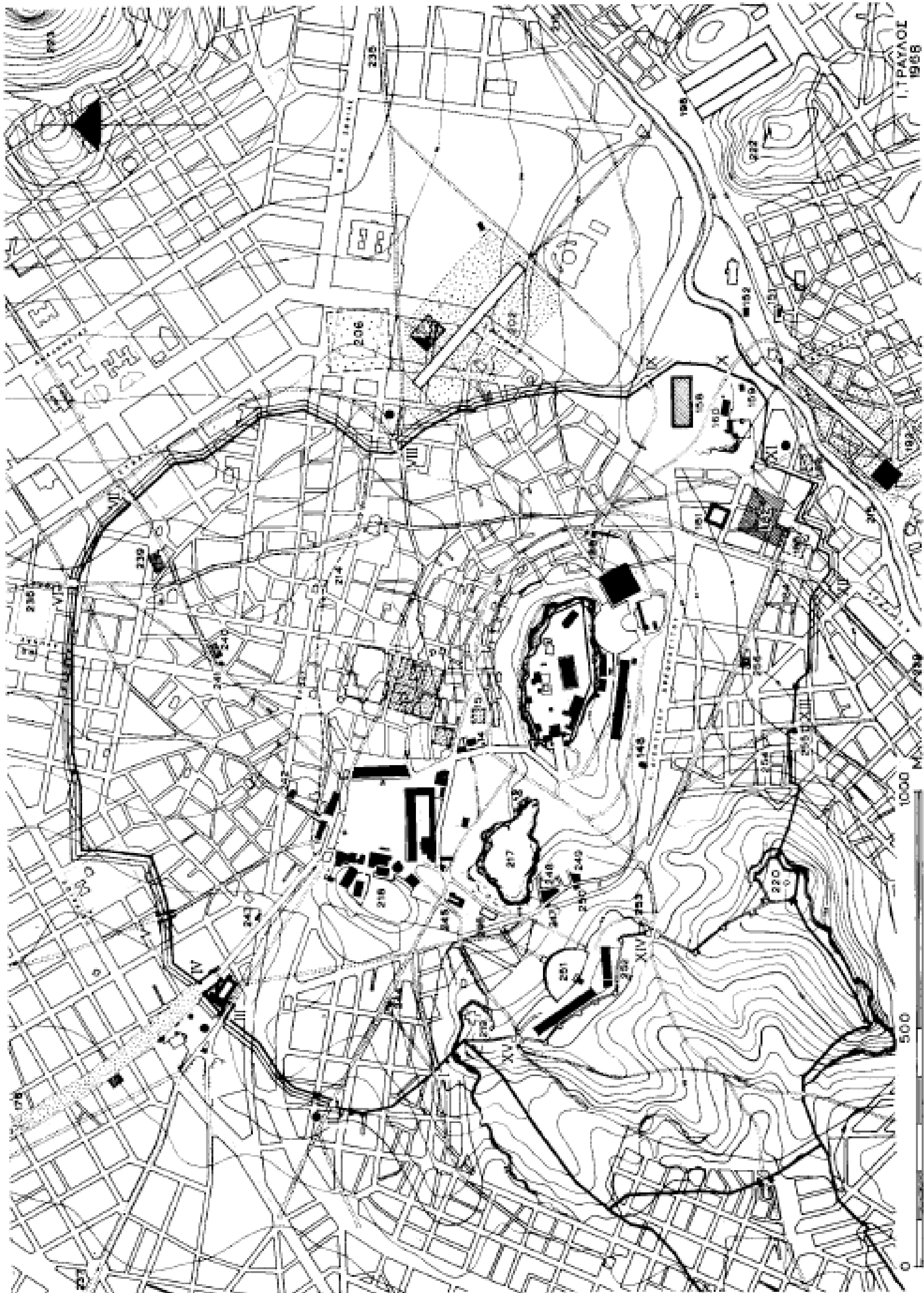
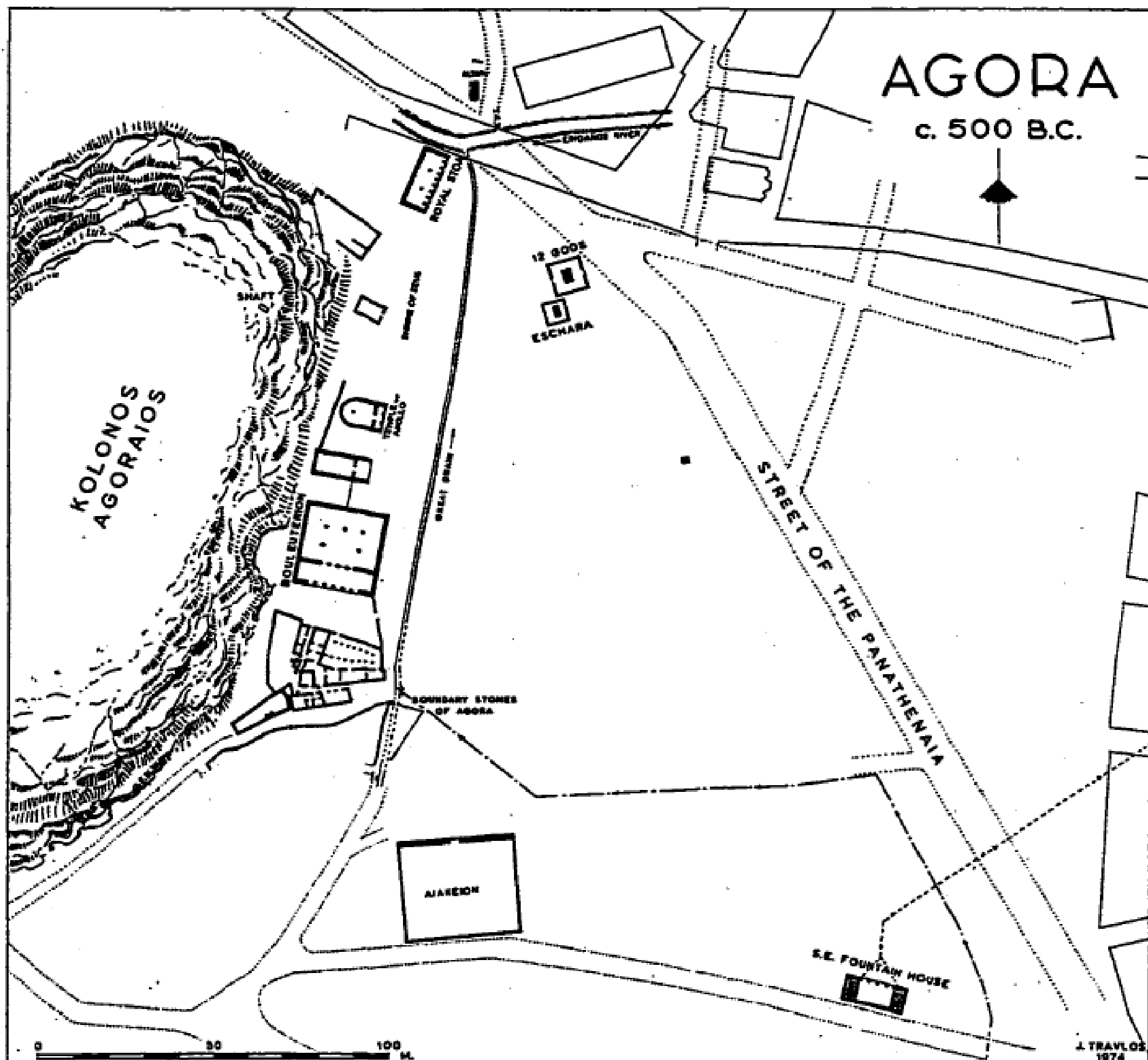


Fig. 1: J. Travlos, map of Athens, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* fig. 219. See next page for key.

219 The ancient city of Athens in relation to the modern city.

I. Demian Gate
II. Peiraic Gate
III. Sacred Gate
IV. Dipylon
V. Eriai Gate
VI. Acharnian Gate
VII. Northeast Gate
VIII. Diochares Gate
IX. Hippades Gate
X. Diomeian Gate
XI. Itonian Gate
XII. Halade Gate
XIII. South Gate
XIV. Dipylon above the Gates
XV. Melitides Gate
14. Eleusinion
15. Prytaneion
148. Shrine of Nymphe
151. Artemis Agrotera
152. Metroon in Agrai
158. Olympieion
159. Kronos and Rhea
160. Delphinion
176. State Burial-place
181. Palladion
182. Shrine of Kodros
184. Dionysion in Limnai
185. Palaestra of Taureas
186. Lysikrates Monument
189. Pythion
192. Kynosarges
198. Stadium
202. Lykeion
206. Garden of Theophrastos
214. Eridanos
215. Ilissos
217. Areopagus
218. Kolonos Agoraios
219. Hill of the Nymphs
220. Mouseion
222. Ardettos
223. Lykabettos
229. Road to Phaleron
235. Road to the Mesogaia
236. Road to Acharnai
237. Road to Eleusis
239. Hellenistic Building
240. Heros Iatros
241. Altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria
242. Shrine of Herakles
243. Monument of Euboulides
244. Artemis Aristoboule
245. Poros Building
246. Grave enclosure
247. Lesche
248. Herakles Alexikakos
249. Amyneion
250. Fountain House
251. Pnyx
252. *Diateichisma*
253. Naiskos
254. Grave enclosure NW of Gate XIII
255. Grave enclosure near Gate XIII
256. Classical house

Fig. 2: The Agora, ca. 500 BCE. J. Travlos, 1964. Plate 4, Thompson, H.A. and Wycherly, R.E. 1972. *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center*.



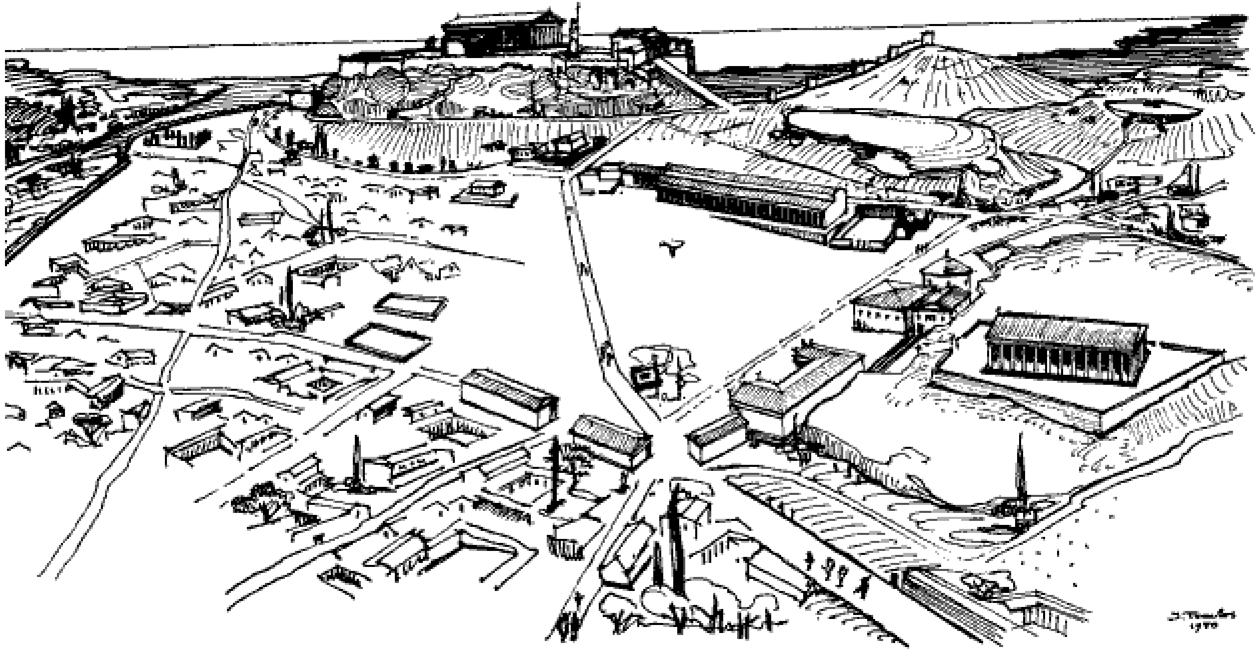


Fig. 3: The Agora and Acropolis, middle of the 4th century BCE. J. Travlos. Fig. 7, Thompson, H.A. and Wycherly, R.E. 1972. *The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center*.

Fig. 4: Acropolis in the early 5th century BCE. J. Travlos. 1981. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, p. 61.

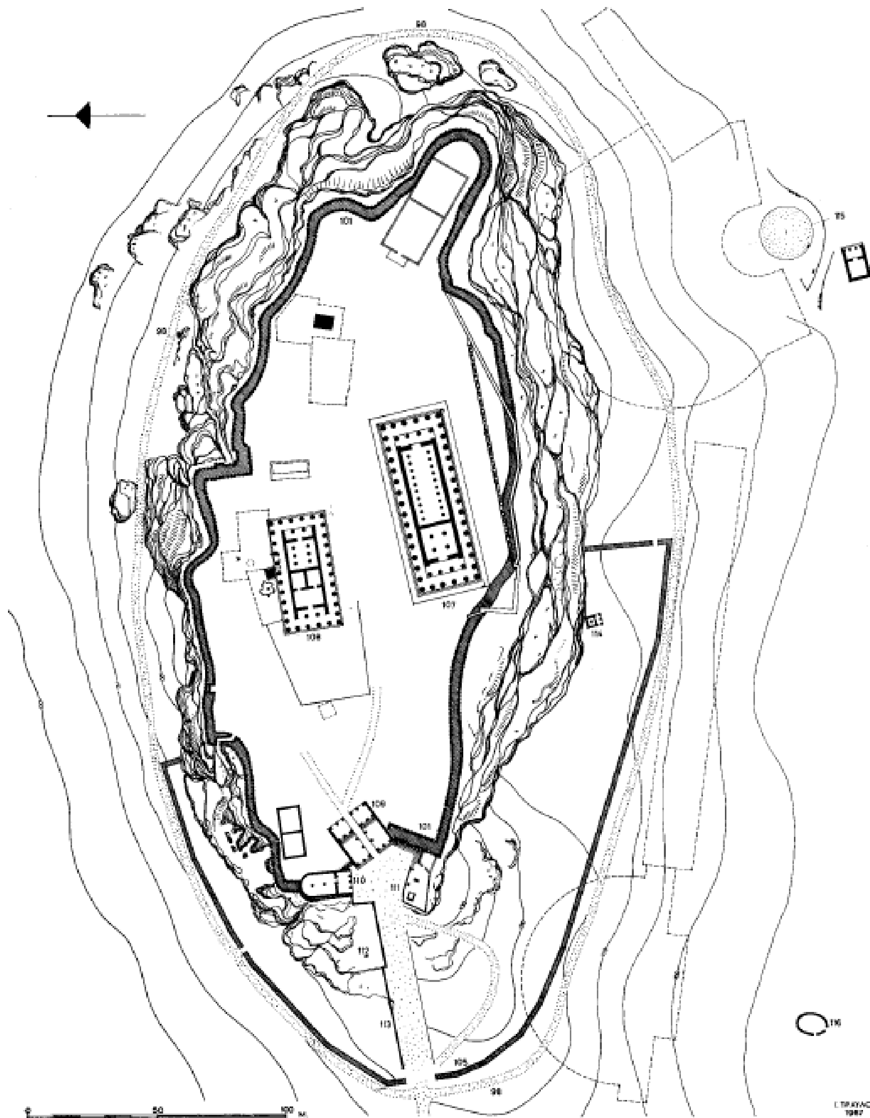


Fig. 5: Acropolis in the 2nd century CE. Travlos, J. 1981. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, fig. 91.

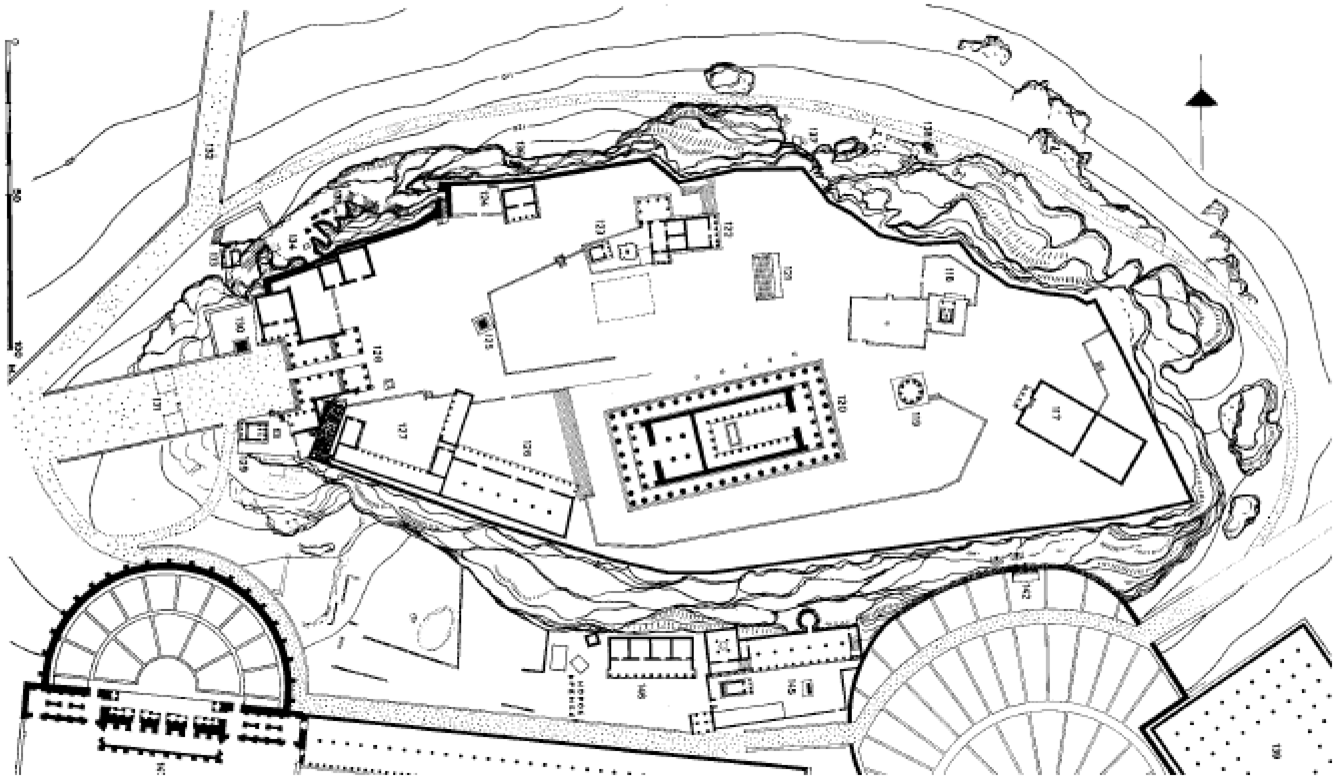


Fig. 6: The remnants of the destroyed Acropolis temples built into the north wall. The column drums are on the left side of the photograph, and the triglyphs and metopes of the old Athena temple are on the right side. Photo by author.

Fig. 7: The choregic monuments along the Street of Tripods. Fig. 710, Travlos, J. 1981. *The Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*.

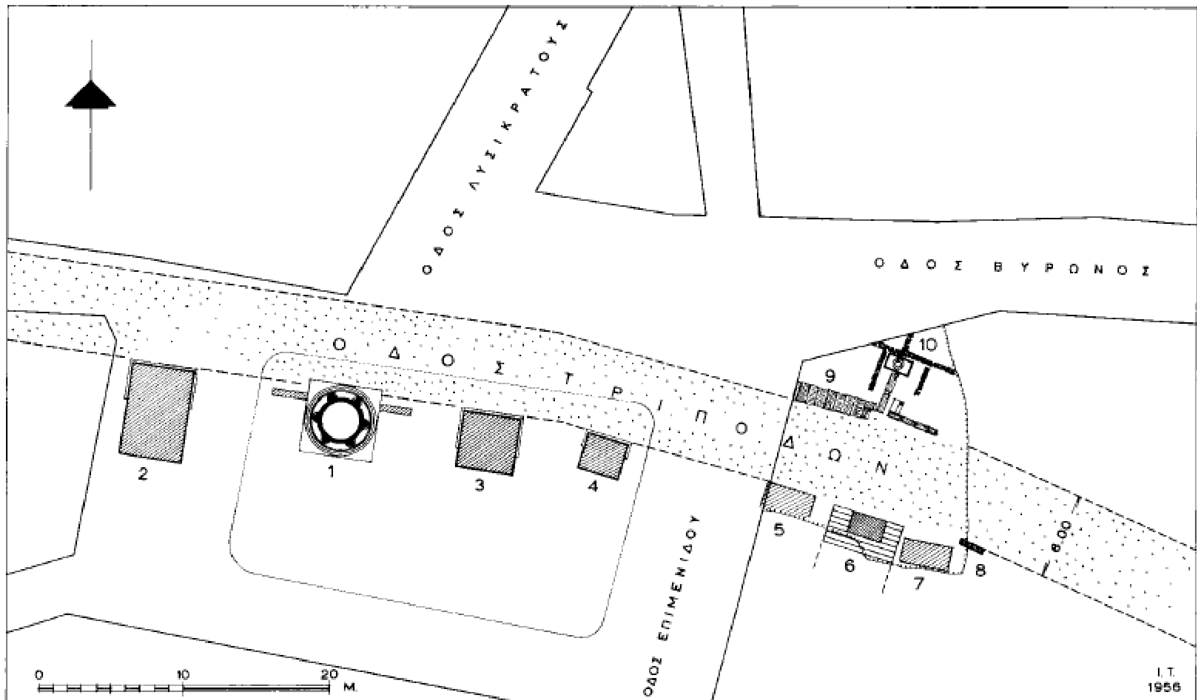
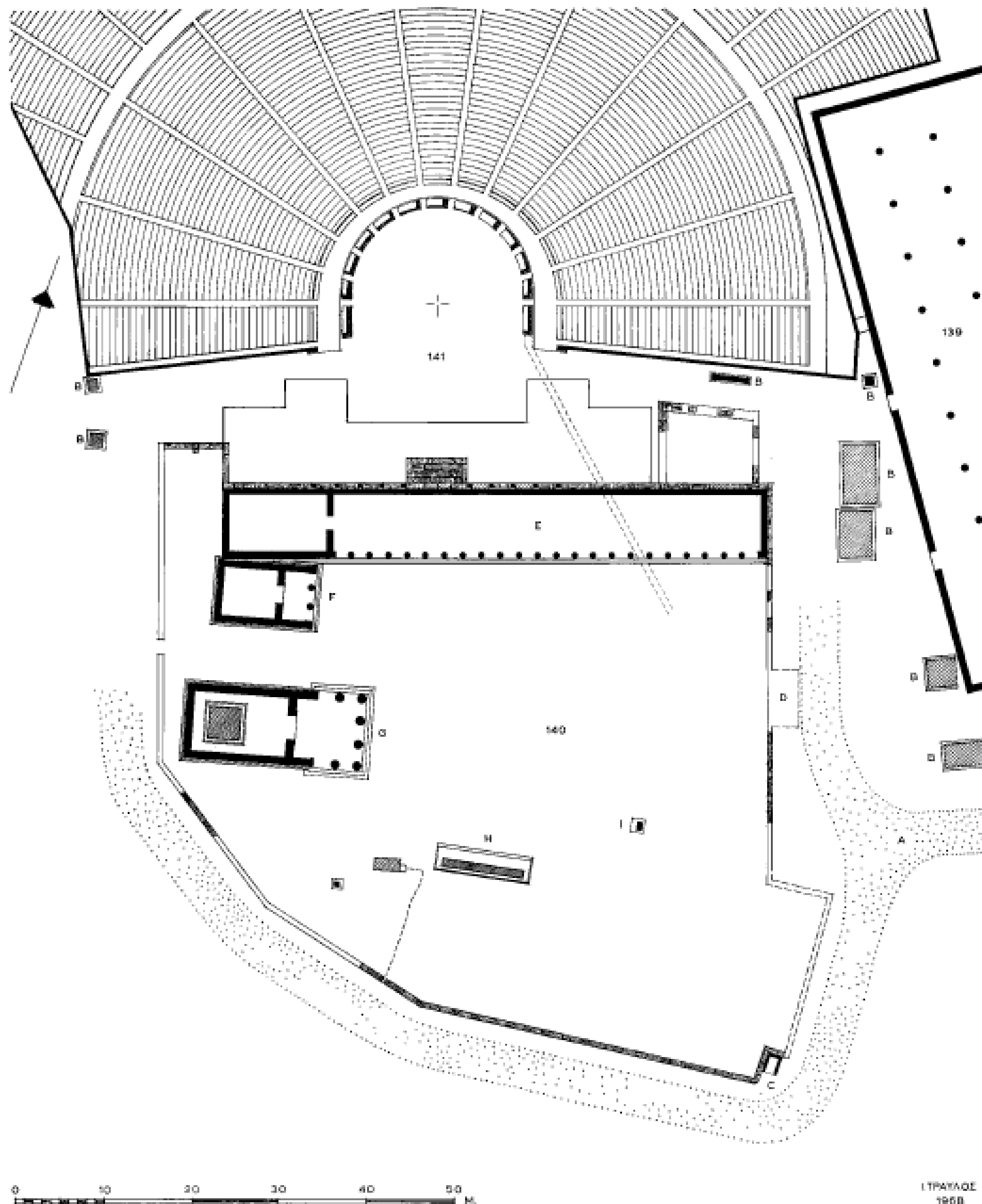
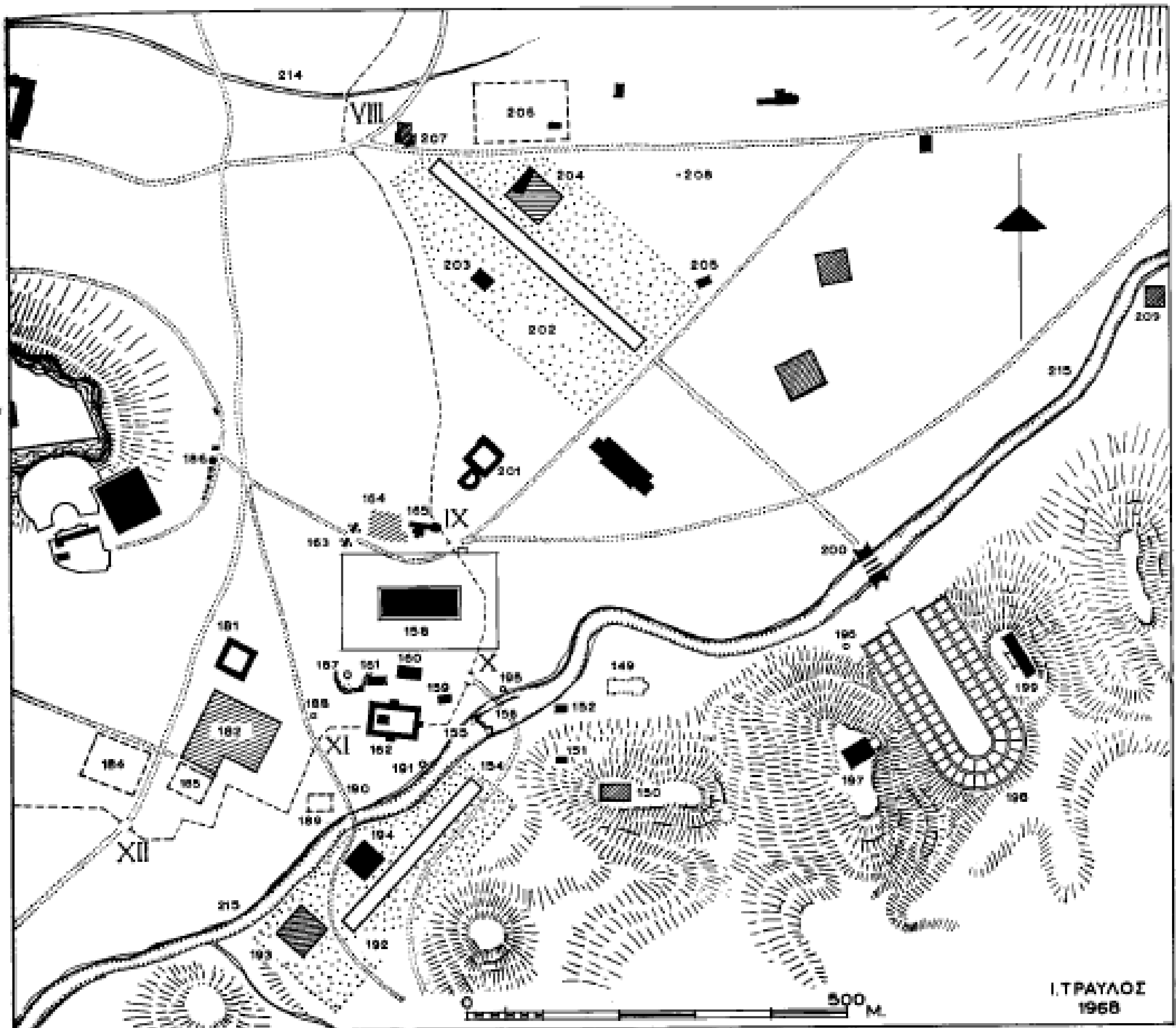


Fig. 8: Theater and Sanctuary of Dionysos. Fig. 678, Travlos, J. 1981. *The Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*.



678 Restored plan. 139. Odeion of Perikles – 140. Shrine of Dionysos – 141. Theatre of Dionysos – A. Street of the Tripods – B. Choregic monuments – C. Poros naiskos – D. Probable site of the propylon – E. Doric stoa – F. Earlier temple of Dionysos – G. Later temple of Dionysos – H. Great altar – I. Small altar.

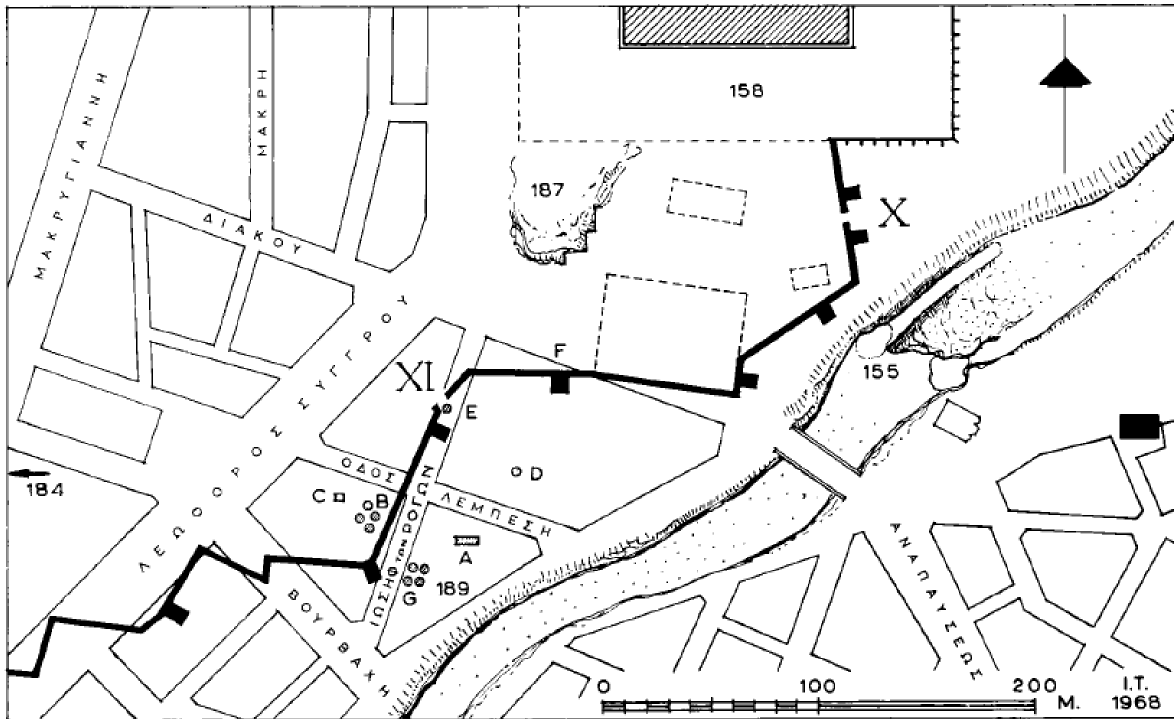
Fig. 9: The Ilissos Area. Fig. 379, Travlos, J. 1981. *The Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*.



379 Plan of the Ilissos Area. Both excavated sites and conjectural sites of shrines and other monuments are indicated. VIII–XII: Gates in the Themistoklean Wall, demolished in 86 B.C.

150. Shrine of Poseidon Helikonios
151. Artemis Agrotera
152. Metroon in Agrai
154. Relief of Pan
155. Kallirrhoe
156. Ilissos crossing
158. Olympieion
159. Kronos and Rhea
160. Apollo Delphinios
161. Lawcourt at the Delphinion
162. Panhellenion
163. Arch of Hadrian
164. Houses
165. Roman Baths I
181. Lawcourt at the Palladion
182. Shrine of Kodros
184. Dionysion in Limnai
185. Palaestra of Taureas
186. Lysikrates Monument
187. Shrine of Olympian Ge
188. Amazon stele
189. Pythion
190. Aphrodite in the Gardens
191. Altar of the Ilissian Muses
192. Kynosarges
193. Gymnasium building
194. Gymnasium building
195. Shrine of Boreas
196. Shrine of Pan, Acheloos and the Nymphs
197. Temple of Tyche
198. Stadium
199. Tomb of Herodes Atticus
200. Ilissos bridge of Roman date
201. Roman building with semicircular colonnade
202. Lykeion
203. Lykeion bath
204. Gymnasium building
205. Temple foundations
206. Garden of Theophrastos
207. Bath of Diochares
208. Grave of Nisos
209. Herakles Pankrates
214. Eridanos
215. Ilissos

Fig. 10: The Pythion and finds relating to it. Fig. 130, Travlos, J. 1981. *The Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens.*



130 Shrines south of the Acropolis, mentioned by Thucydides. 155. Kallirrhoe – 158. Olympieion – 184. Dionysion in Limnai – 187. Ge Olympia – 189. Pythion – A-G. Finds relating to the Pythion – X-XI. Gates in the Valerian Wall.

Fig. 11: The Multipolar *Polis*. Map by author. #1 marks an approximate location for Skiron, destination of the Skirophoria procession along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. #2 marks Phaleron.

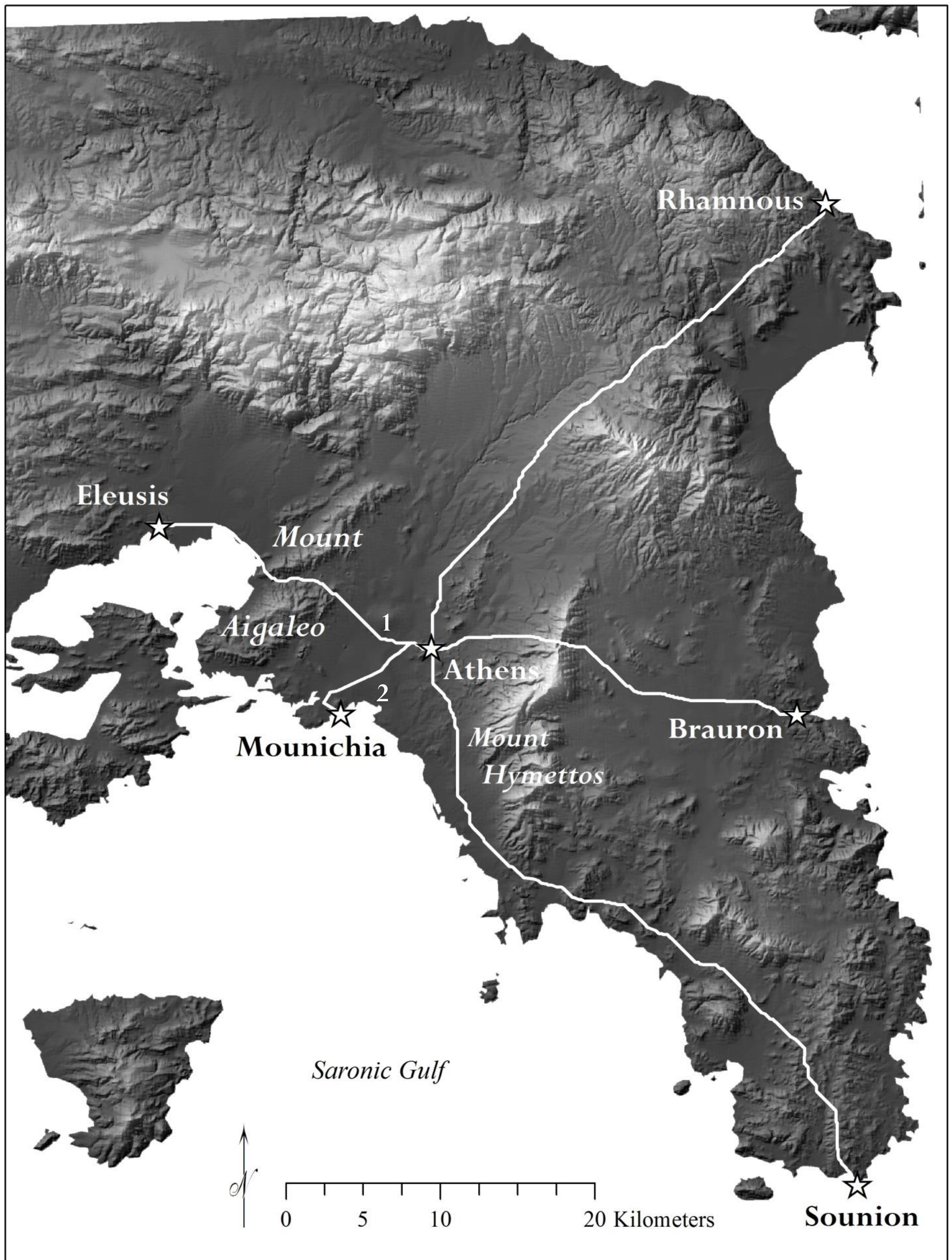


Fig. 12: Late Archaic/Early Classical Eleusis. Fig. 24, Paga, J. 2012. *Architectural Agency and the Construction of Athenian Democracy*. Ph.D diss.

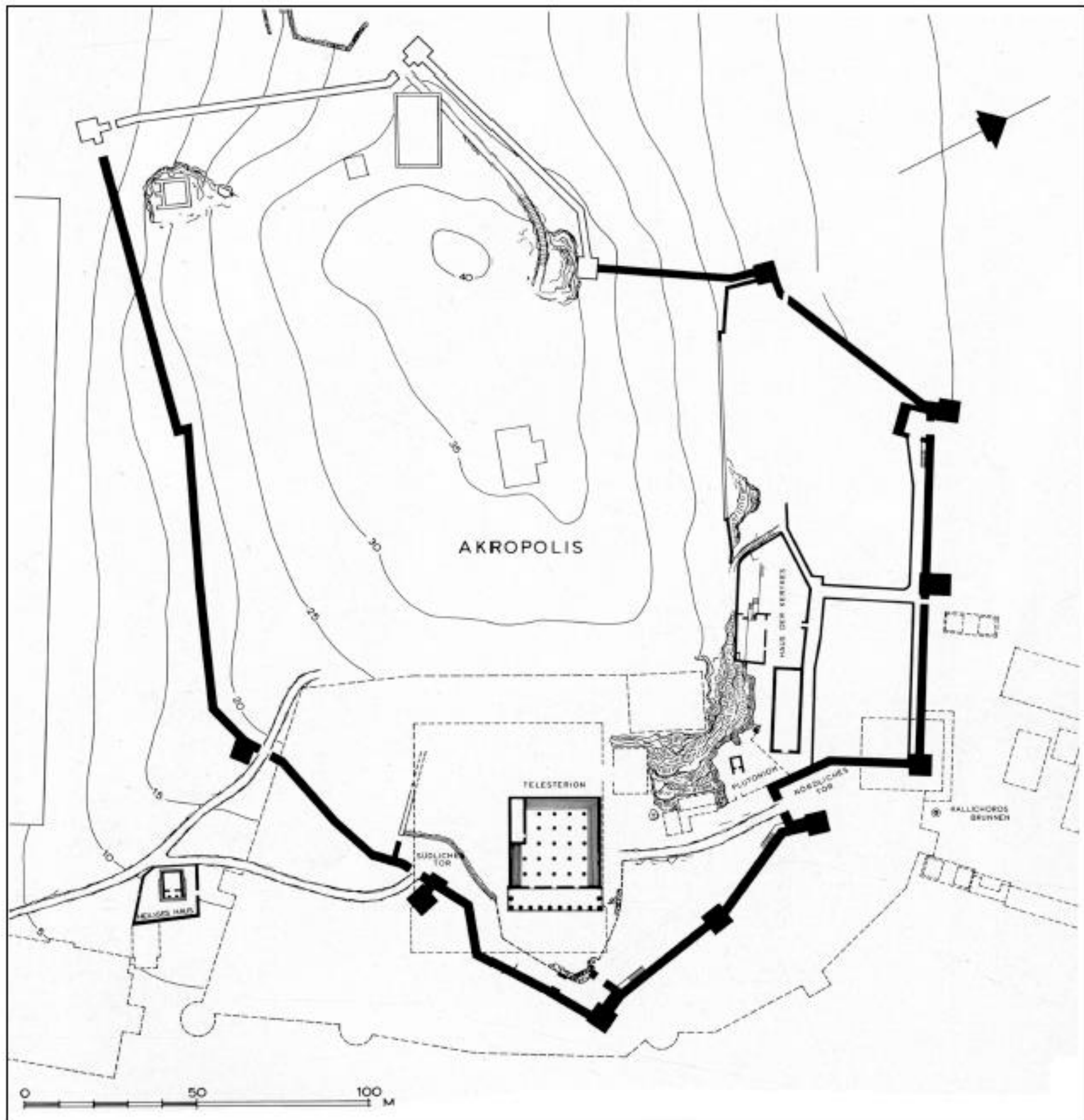


Fig. 13: The phases of the Telesterion at Eleusis. The so-called "Solonian" Telesterion has been down-dated to the mid-6th century BCE, and the so-called "Peisistratid" Telesterion has been down-dated to the late 6th century BCE. Drawing by John Travlos, in Mylonas, G. 1961. *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, fig. 26.

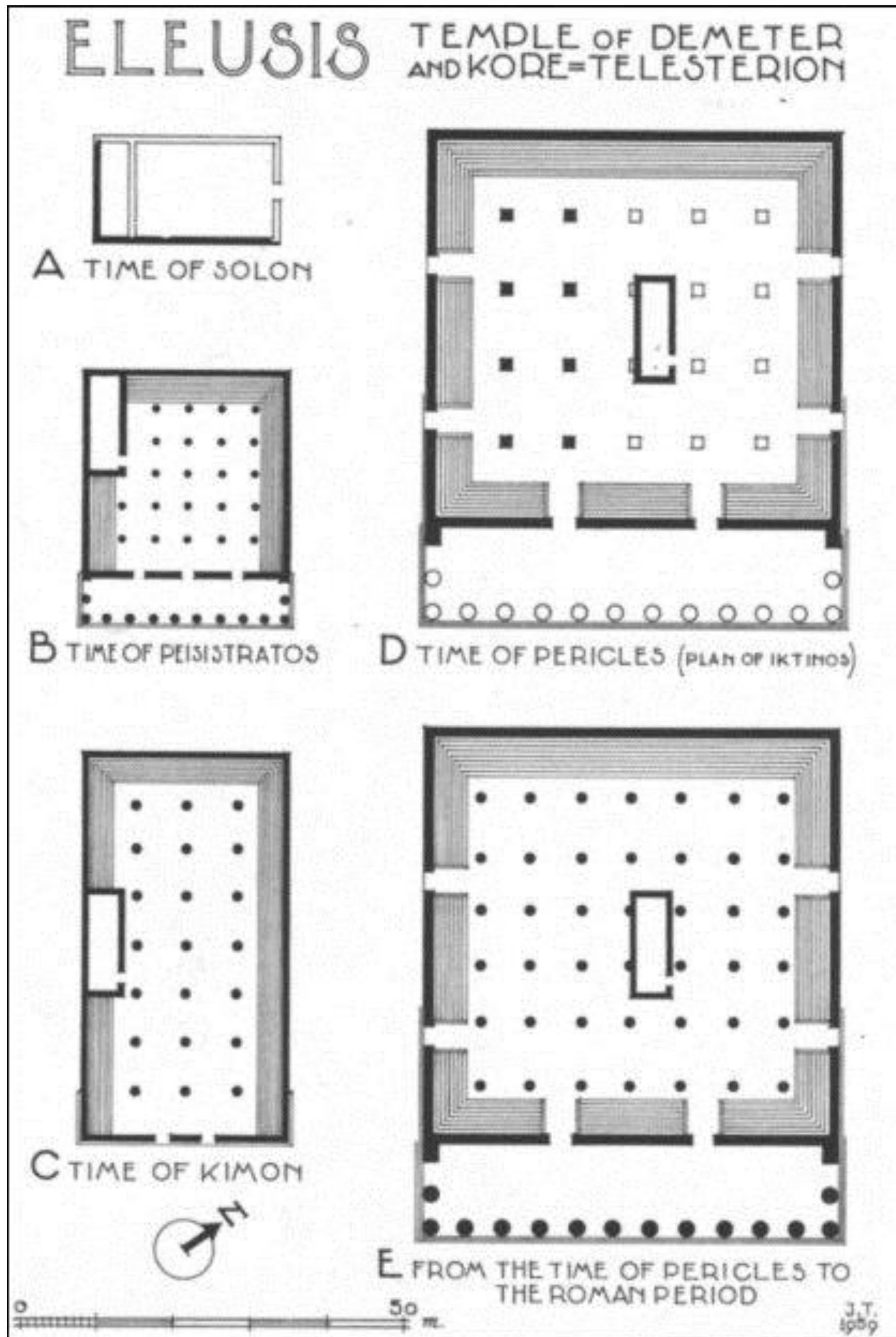


Fig. 14: The Sacred Way to Eleusis. Map by author. #1 marks the approximate location of the bridge across the Athenian Kephissos river. #2 marks the Rheitoi Lakes. #3 marks the approximate location of the Eleusinian Kephissos river.

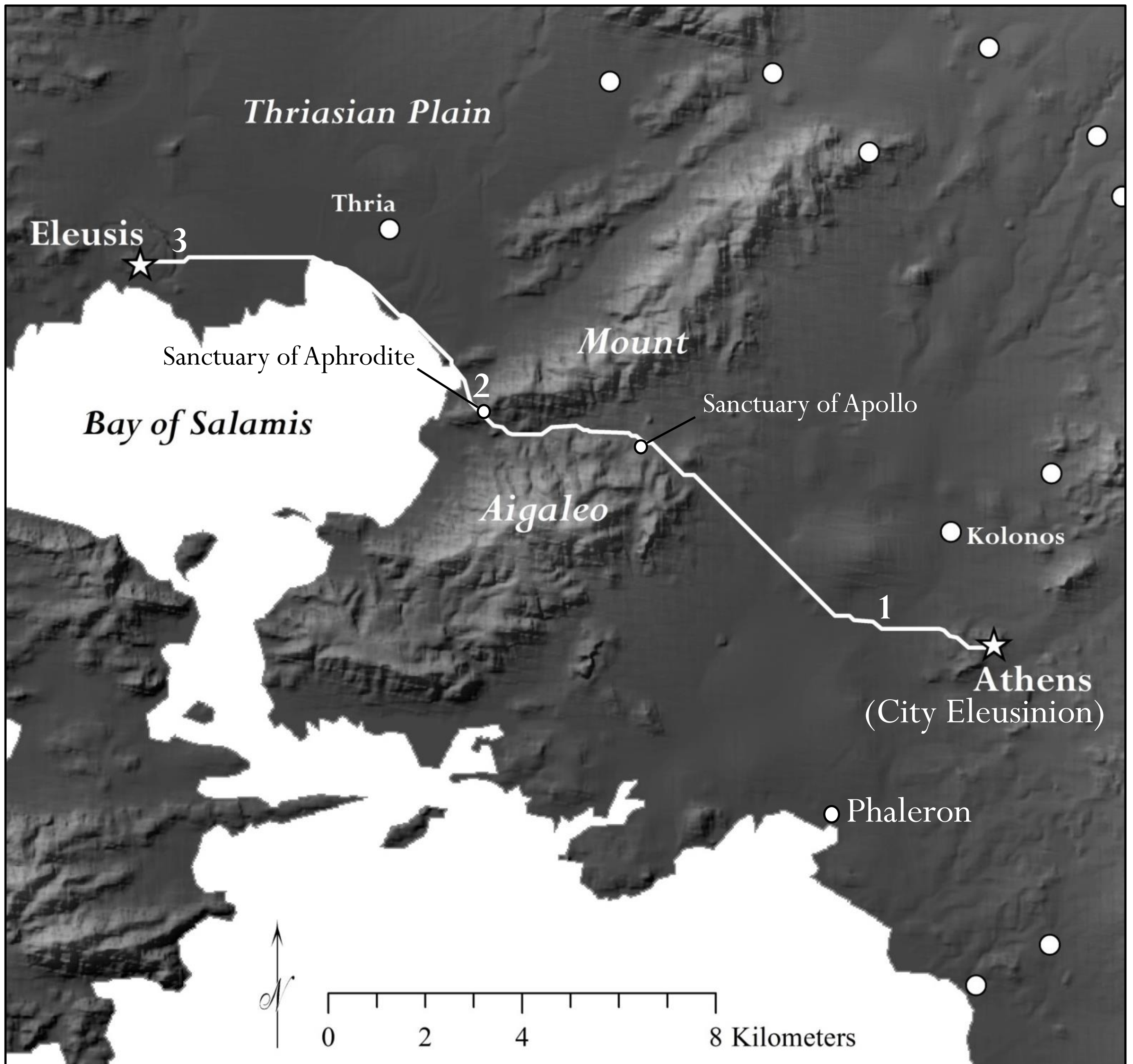


Fig. 15: Brauron, areas of activity in the late 6th and early 5th century (top) and mid- to late 5th century BCE (below). From Ekroth, G. 2003. "Inventing Iphigenia: On Euripides and the Cultic Construction of Brauron." *Kernos* (16): 104 (fig. 7) and 111 (fig. 9).

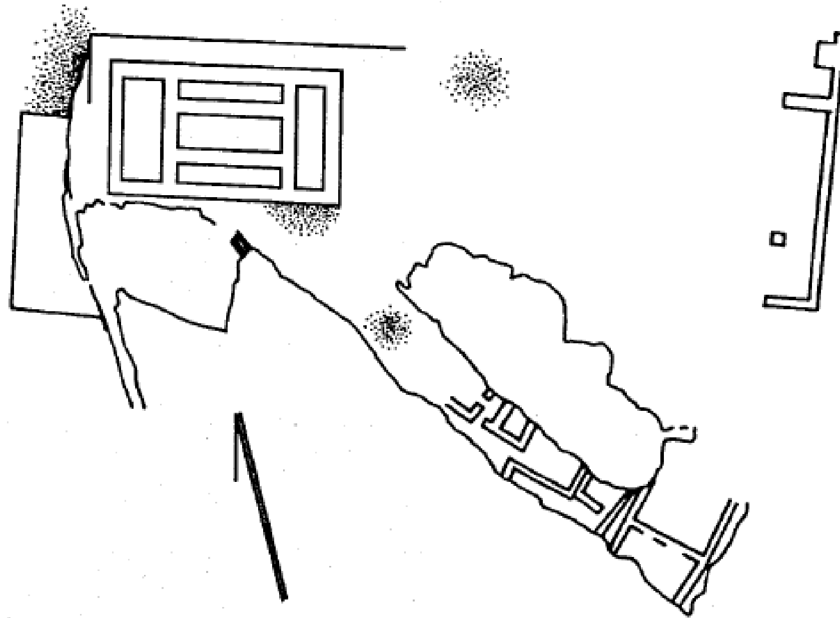


Fig. 7. Brauron, 6th century BC. The stippling indicates approximate areas where 6th-century material not directly associated with any architecture has been recovered.

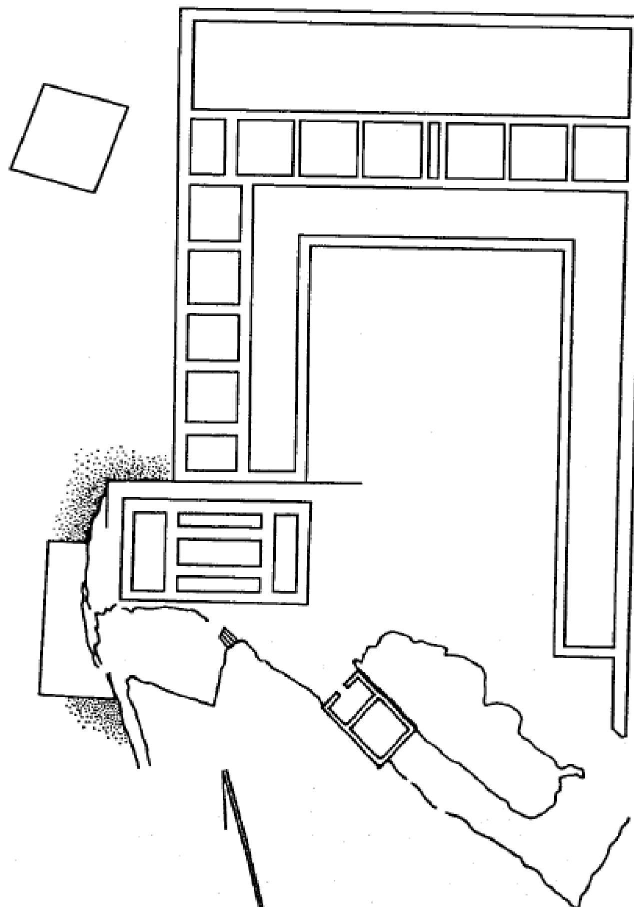


Fig. 9. Brauron, second half of the 5th century BC to the late 4th century BC. The stippling indicates approximate areas where late-5th- to late-4th-century material not directly associated with any architecture has been recovered.

Fig. 16: Plan of the two sanctuaries at Sounion. From Goette, H.R. 2001. *Athens, Attica and the Megarid: An archaeological guide*.

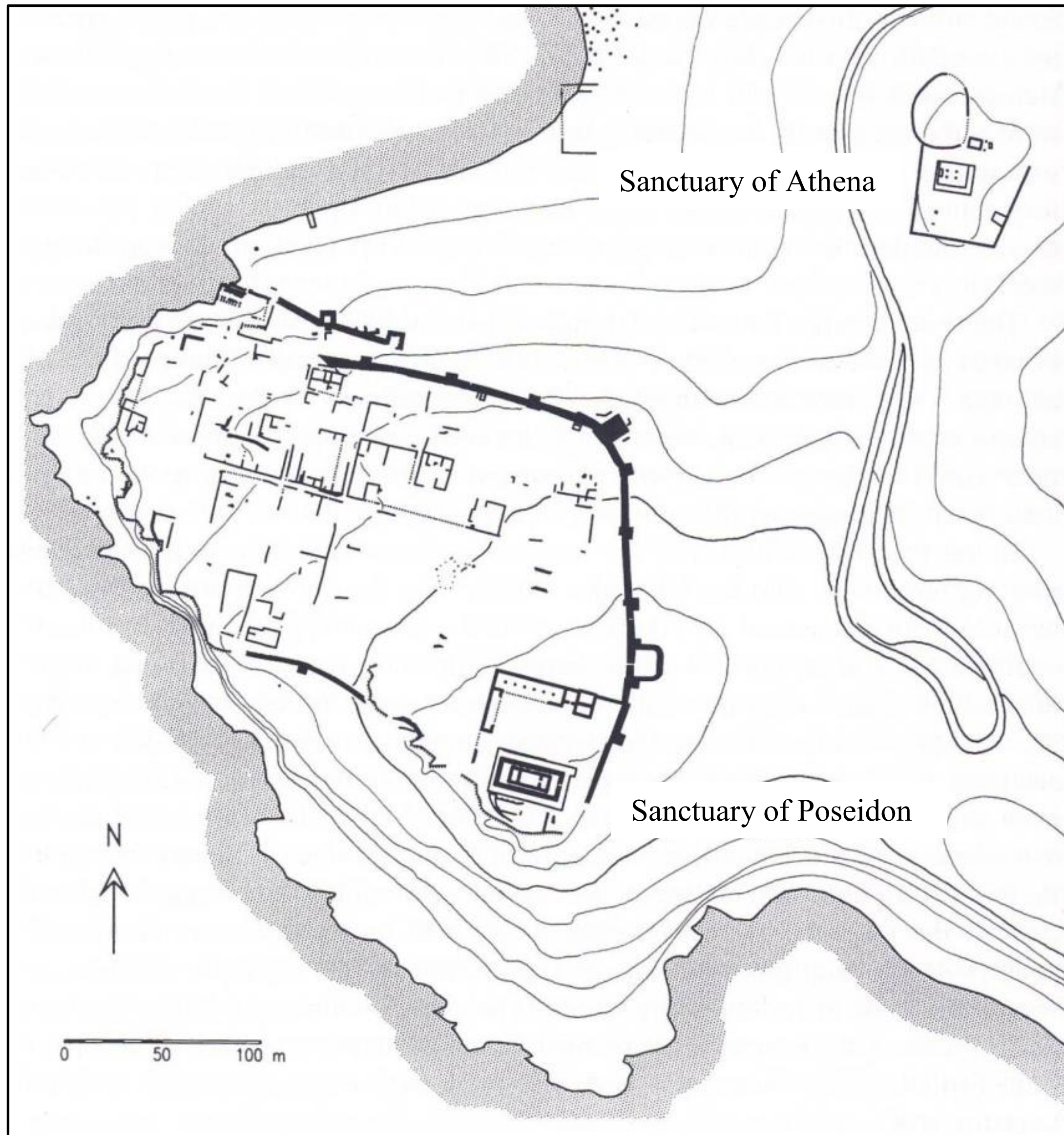


Fig. 17: Plan of the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous. Fig. 25, Paga, J. 2012. *Architectural Agency and the Construction of Athenian Democracy*. Ph.D diss.

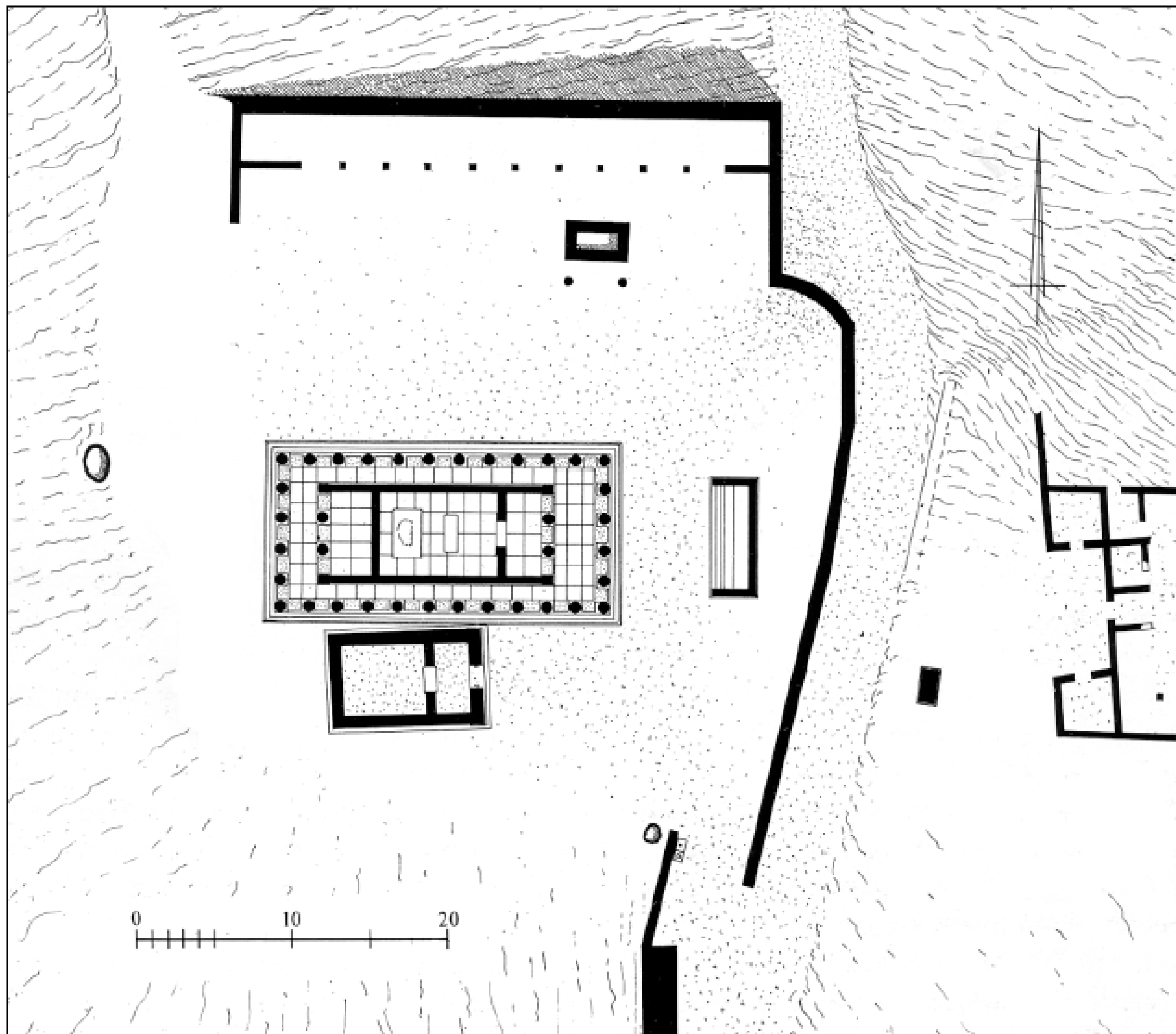


Fig. 18: Fort of Rhamnous. From Petrakos, V. *Rhamnous*. 1991.

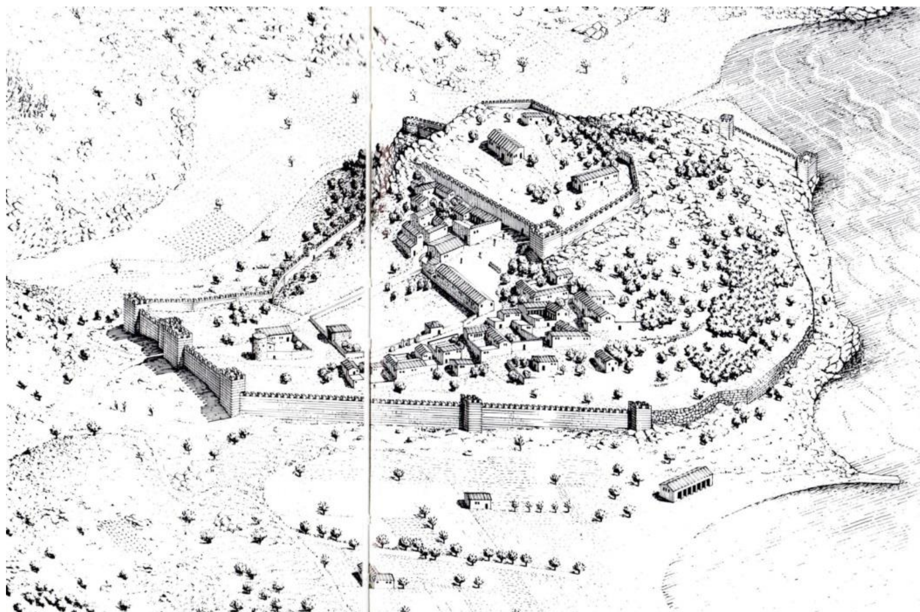


Fig. 19: Plan of Mounichia hill with excavated architectural remains. Fig. 1, Palaiokrassa, L. 1991. *To Hiero tēs Artemidos Mounichias*.

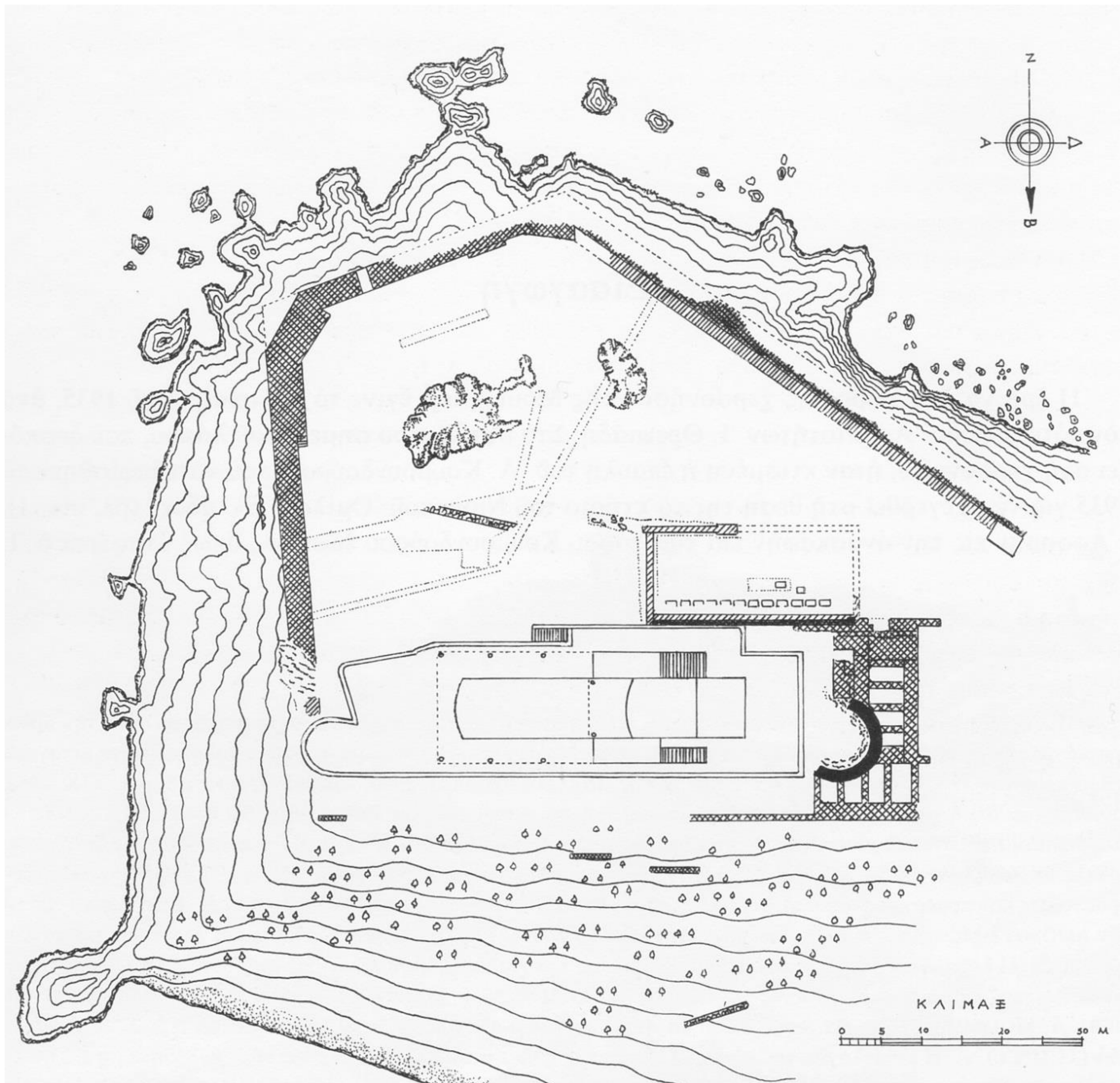


Fig. 20: A least-cost path to Eleusis produced by using simple elevation as the cost (the dotted route); the route does not match the known Sacred Way (in solid white). Map by author.

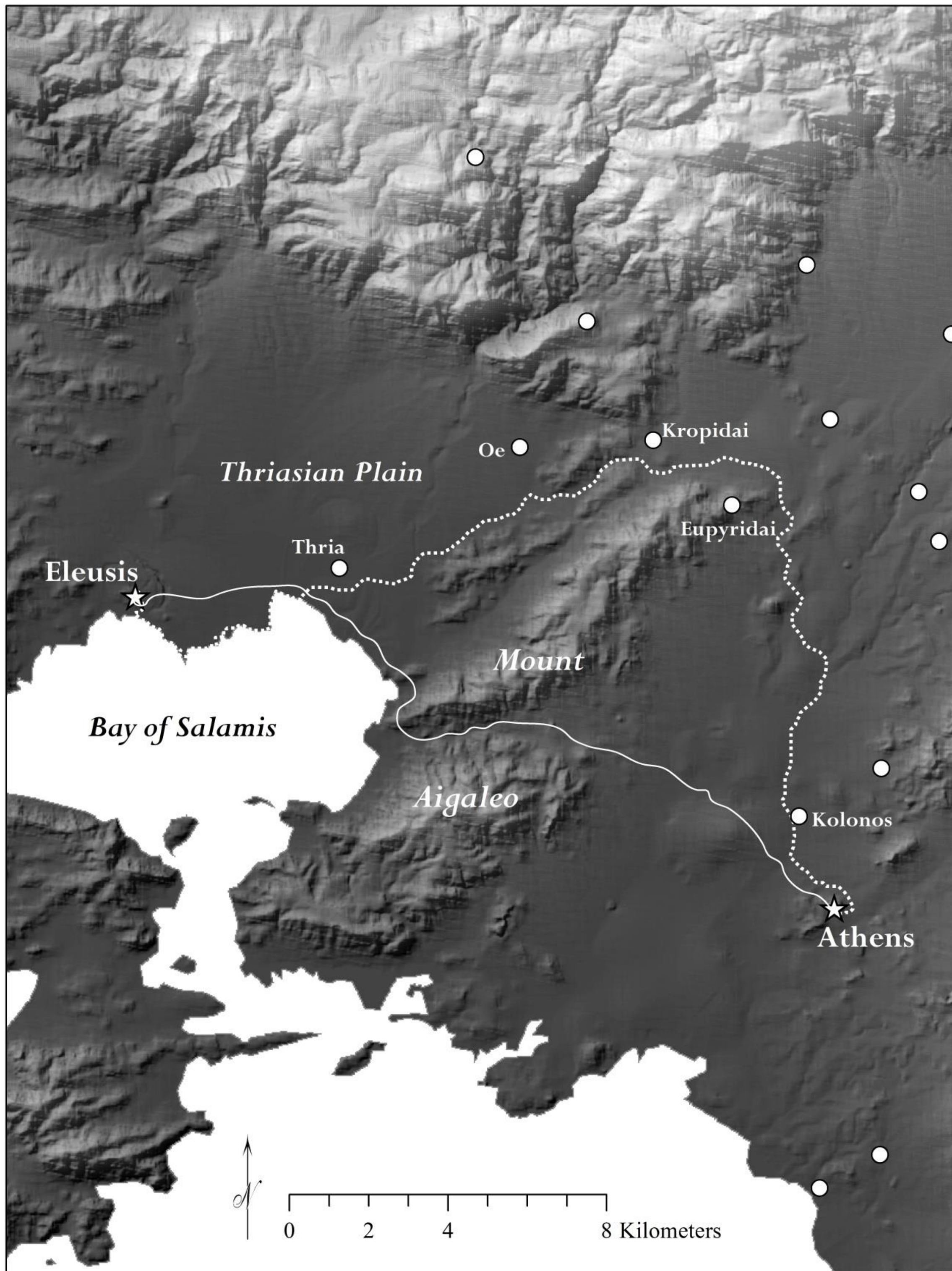


Fig. 21: A least-cost route to Sounion using elevation as the determining cost factor. Map by the author.

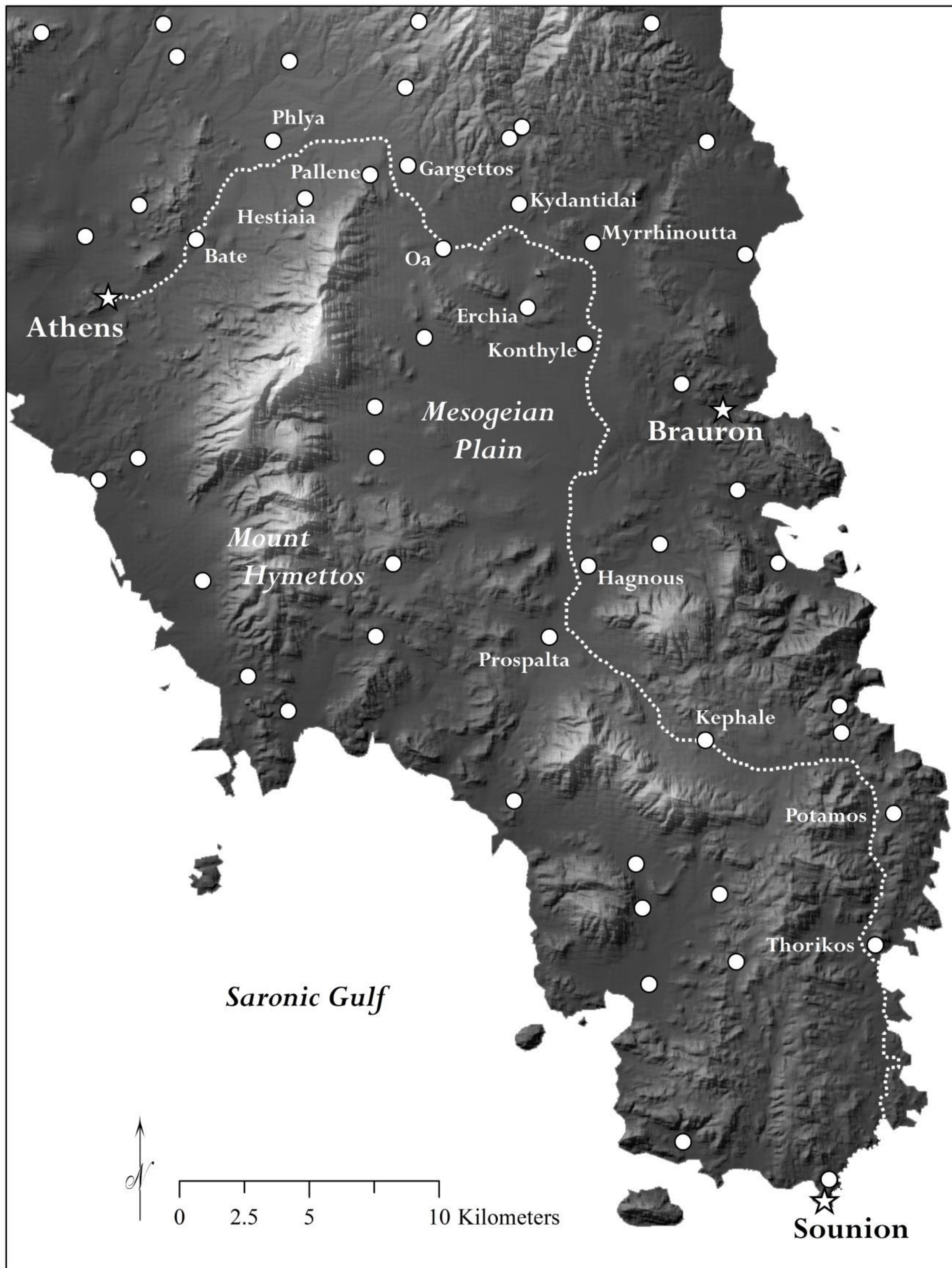


Fig. 22: A graph depicting the symmetric inverse linear vertical factor. From the ArcGIS 10.1 Desktop Help article on vertical factors for the Path Distance tool.

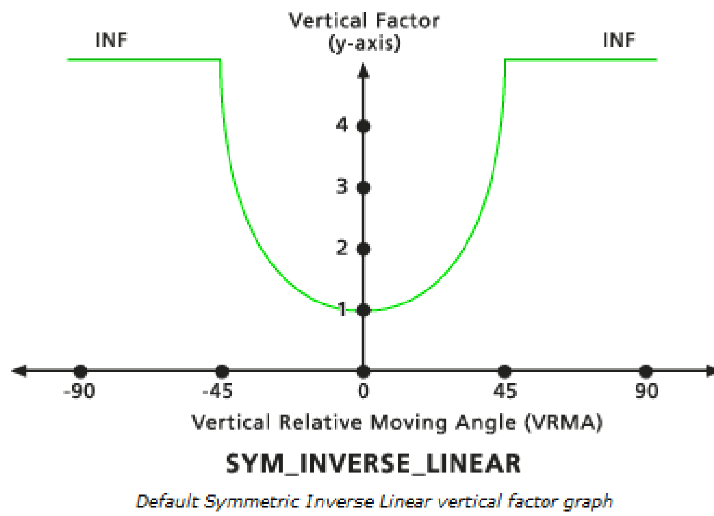


Fig. 23: The least-cost path generated with the symmetric inverse linear vertical factor. Although it is much closer to the approximate line of the Sacred Way (in solid white), the projected route still does not follow the pass through Mt. Aigaleos. Map by the author.

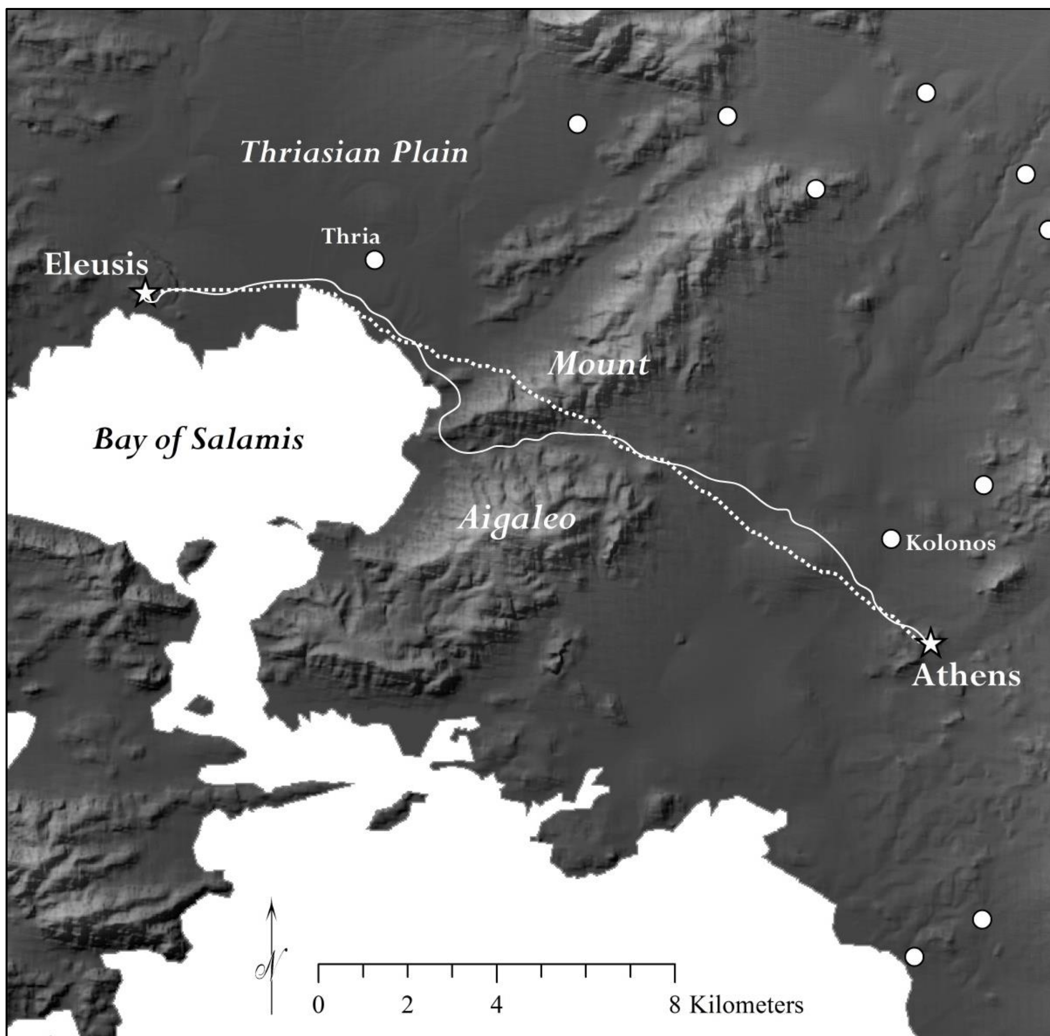


Fig. 24: The final model I used, created in ArcGIS 10.1's Model Builder. The first tool, the Path Distance tool, incorporated the vertical factor as well as the 'cost' data, which used the walking time as the unit of cost for crossing a cell (timeraster). The Cost Path tool took the output from the Path Distance tool and used it to create the least-cost path (SILM_ATHELE). The last step turned the projected path into an actual line in the map.

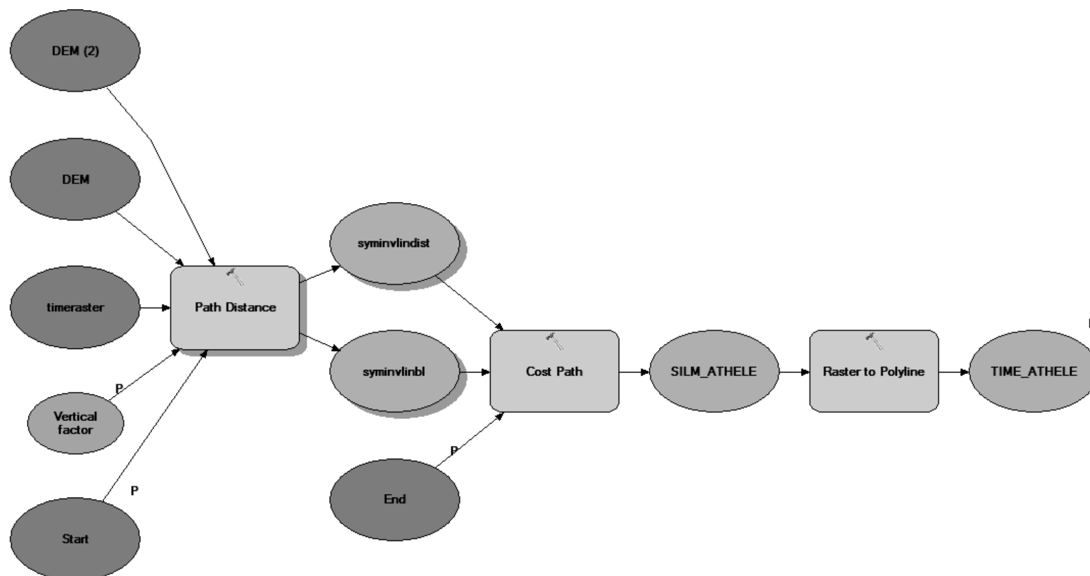


Fig. 25: The Temple of Poseidon had an excellent view of the sea. Observer point indicated by the white triangle.

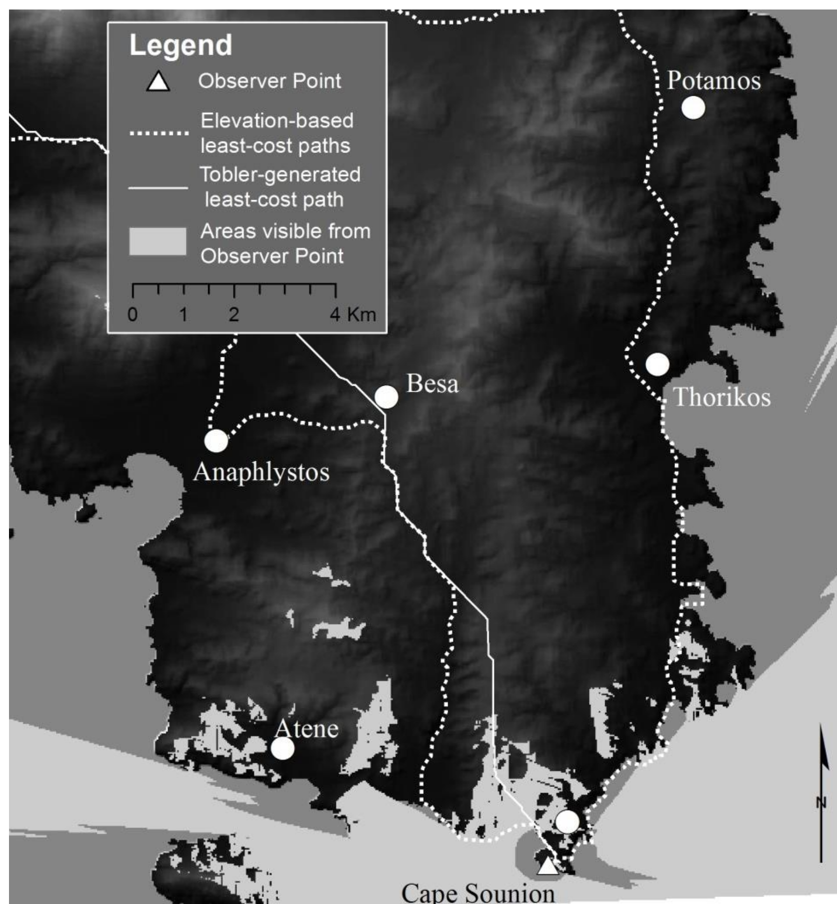


Fig. 26: A visitor approaching Sounion from Thorikos would see very little until they were right on top of the temple.

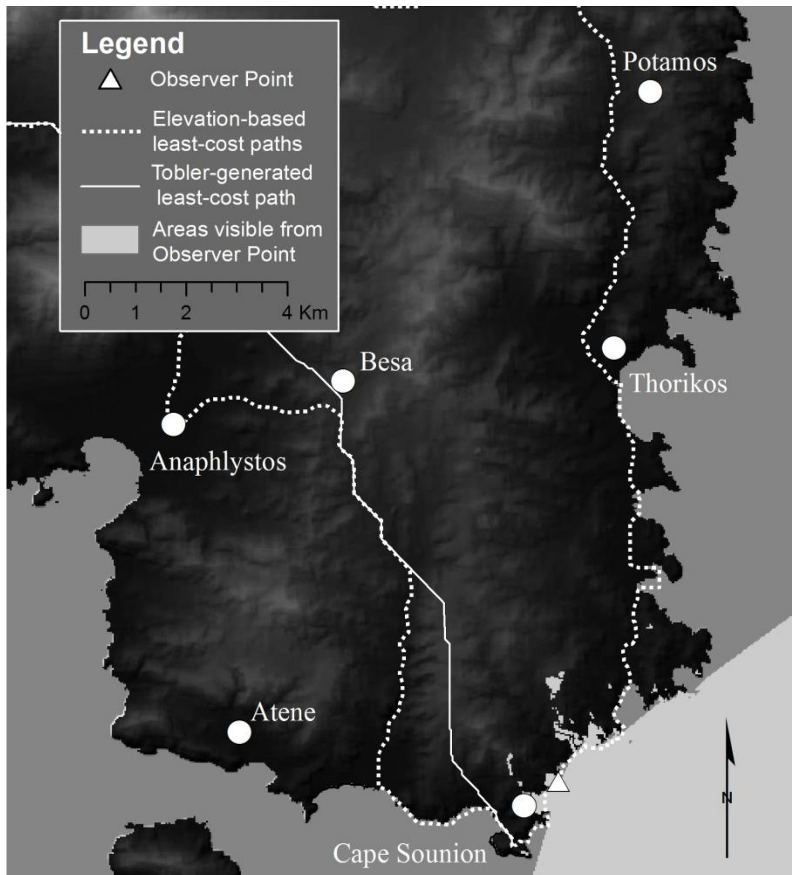
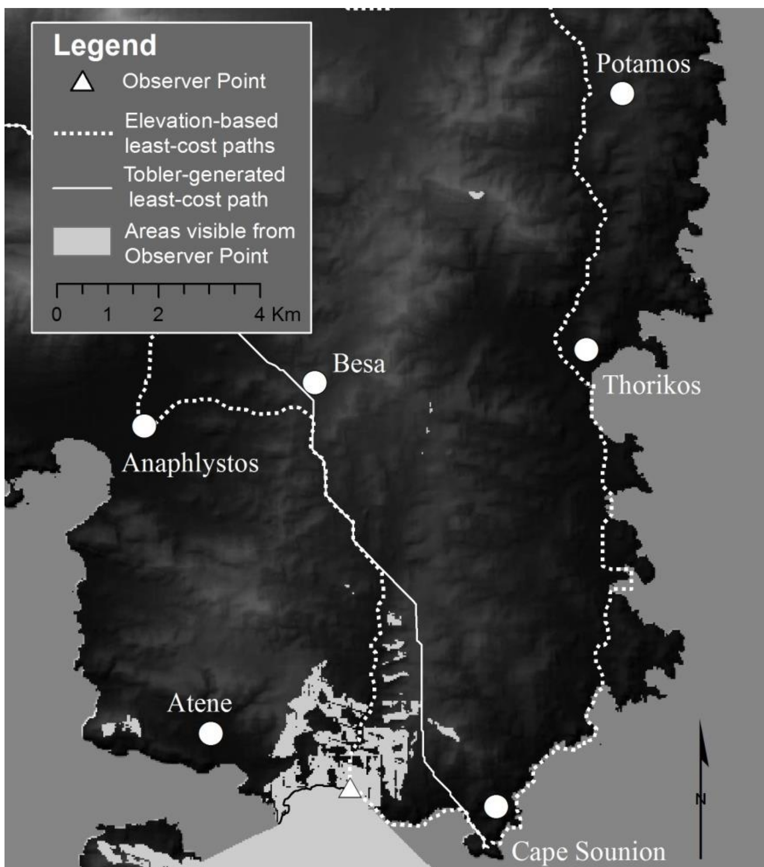


Fig. 27: A visitor approaching from the west, along the modern scenic route, has their view of the temple first hidden and then dramatically revealed across the bay.



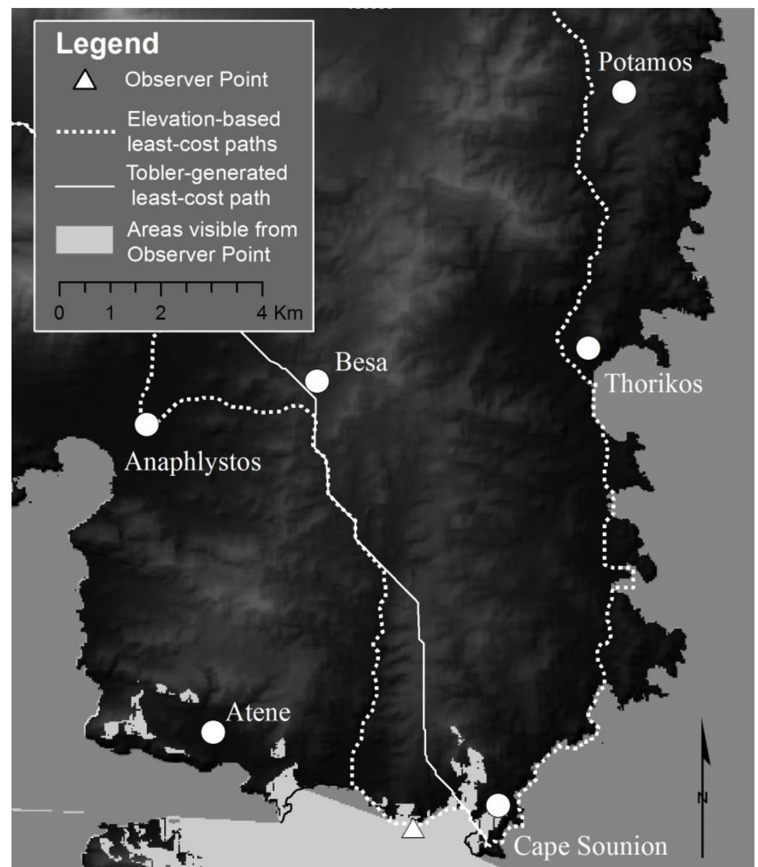


Fig. 28: A visitor approaching Sounion along the path generated by Tobler's hiking function. Their view is first hidden by the valley, then revealed.

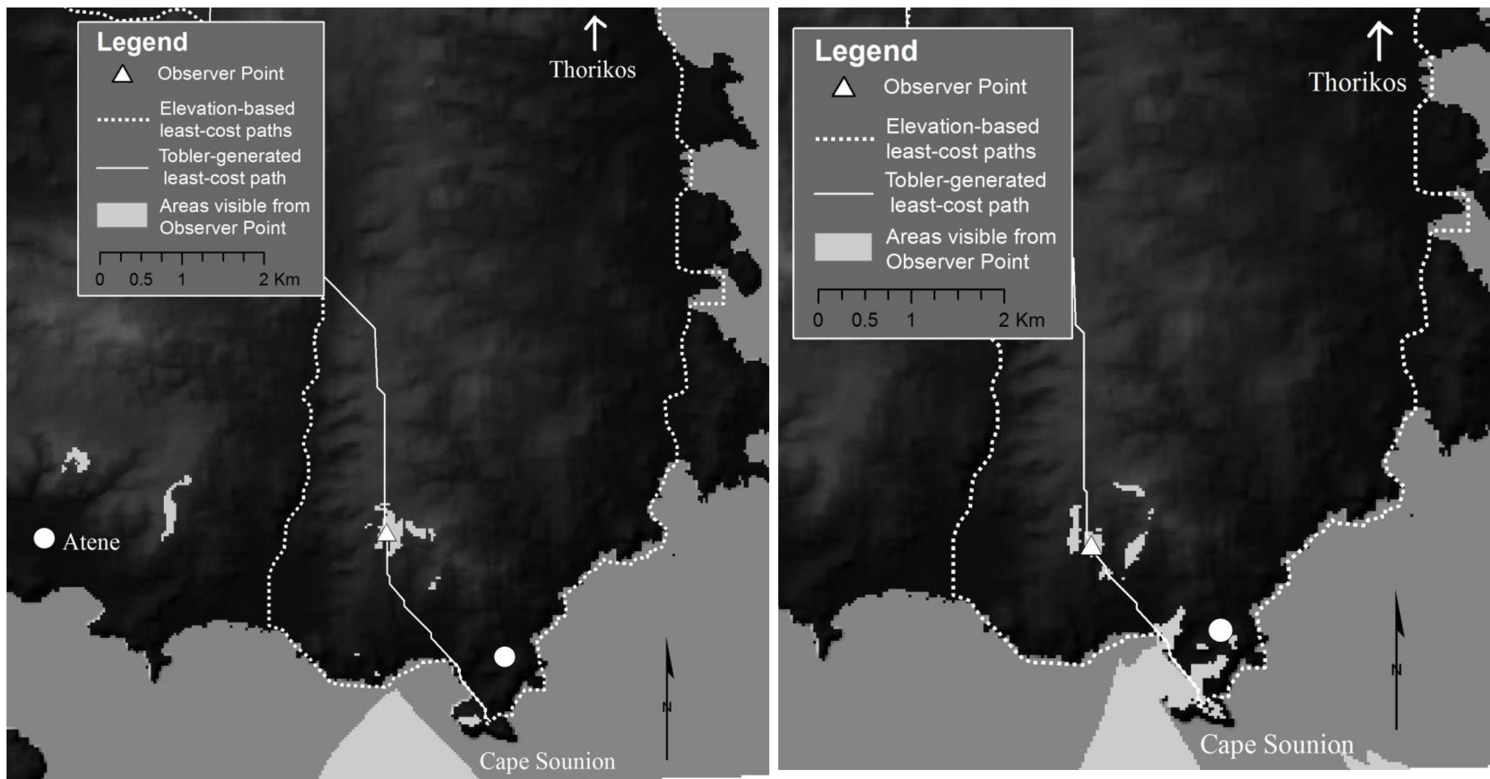


Fig. 29: The distinctive rock outcrop which marks the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Photo by the author.

Fig. 30: Viewsheds for the visitor at the sanctuary of Brauron. The white triangle marks the observer point at the sanctuary.

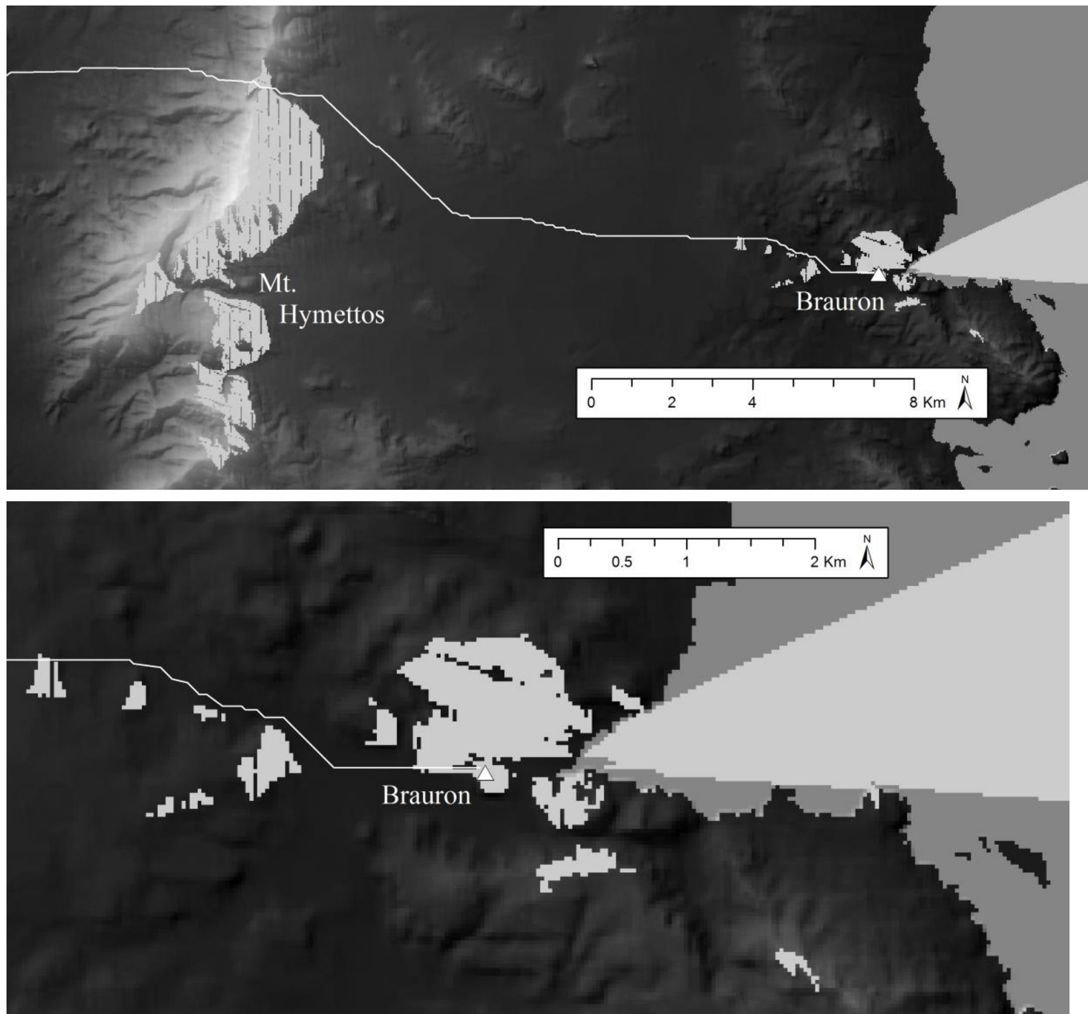


Fig. 31: Viewshed from the sea looking toward Brauron.

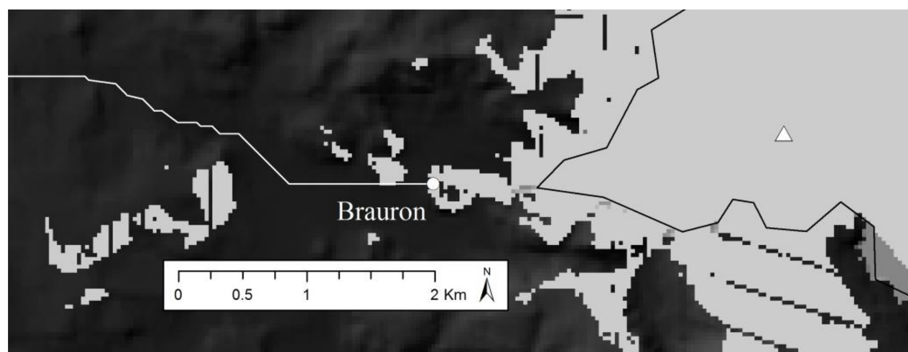


Fig. 32: The view toward Euboea from the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. The triangle (observer point) marks the temple; the white dot marks the location of the town of Rhamnous.

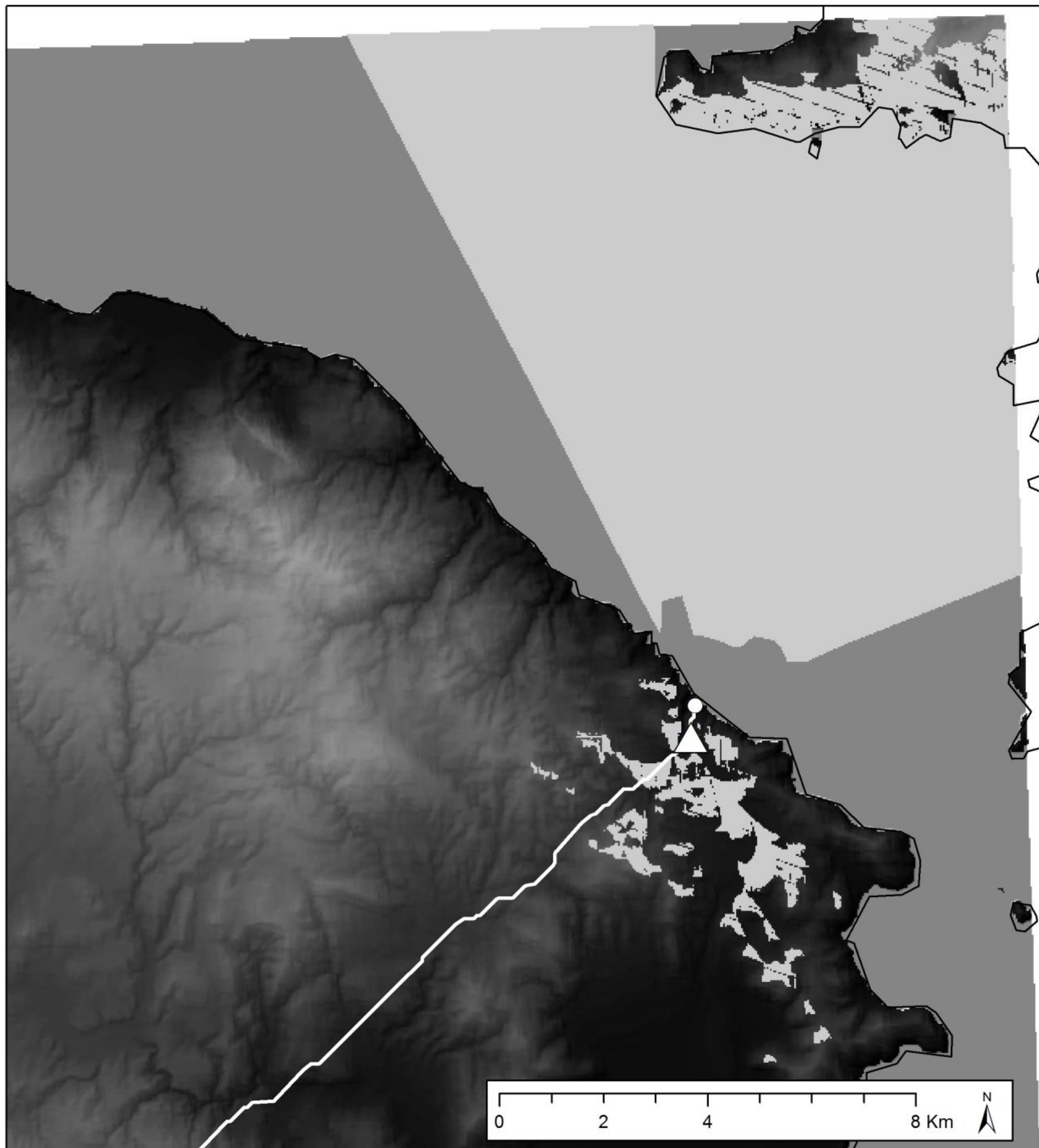


Fig. 33: The tree located next to the foundations of the temple of Nemesis, visible from the town below.

Fig. 34: Temple of Nemesis visible from the sea. The triangle marks the observer point.

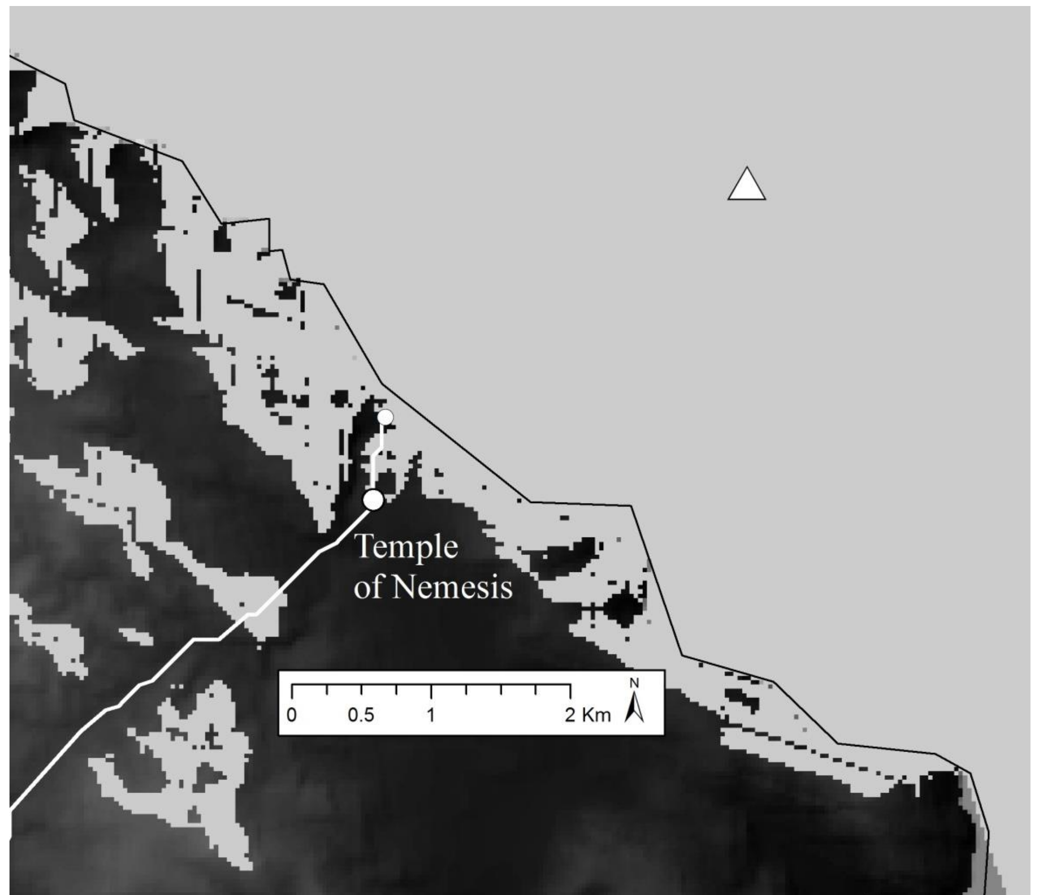


Fig. 35: Viewshed from the sanctuary of Eleusis out over the bay (if one could see over the fortification wall!).

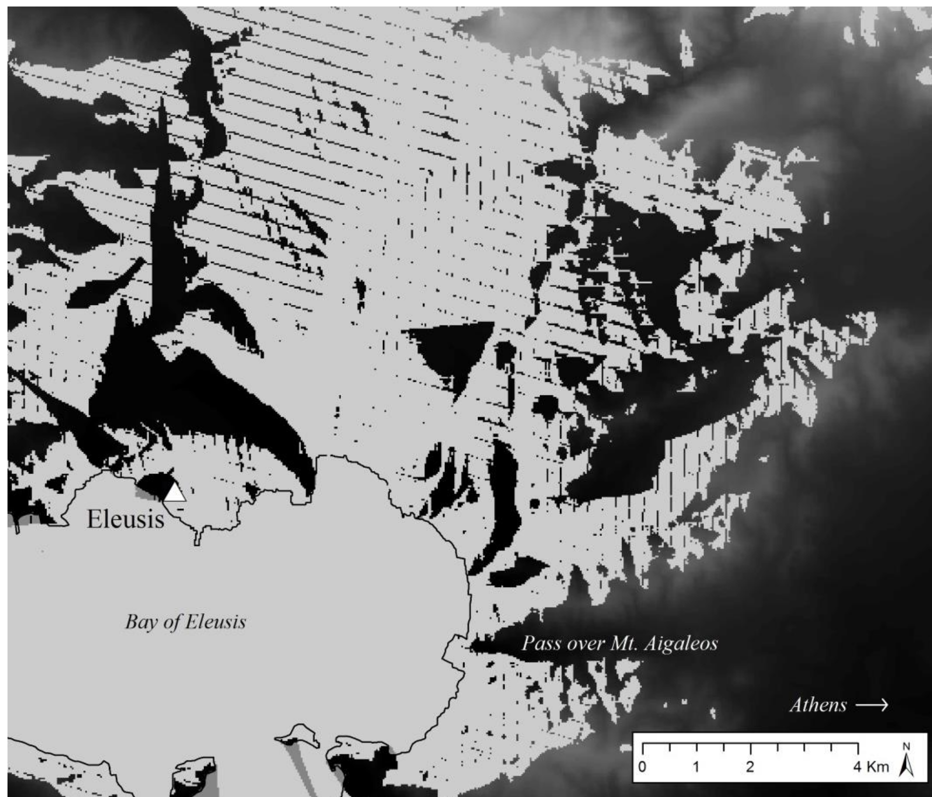


Fig. 36: A last look back at Athens. The white triangle is the observer point.

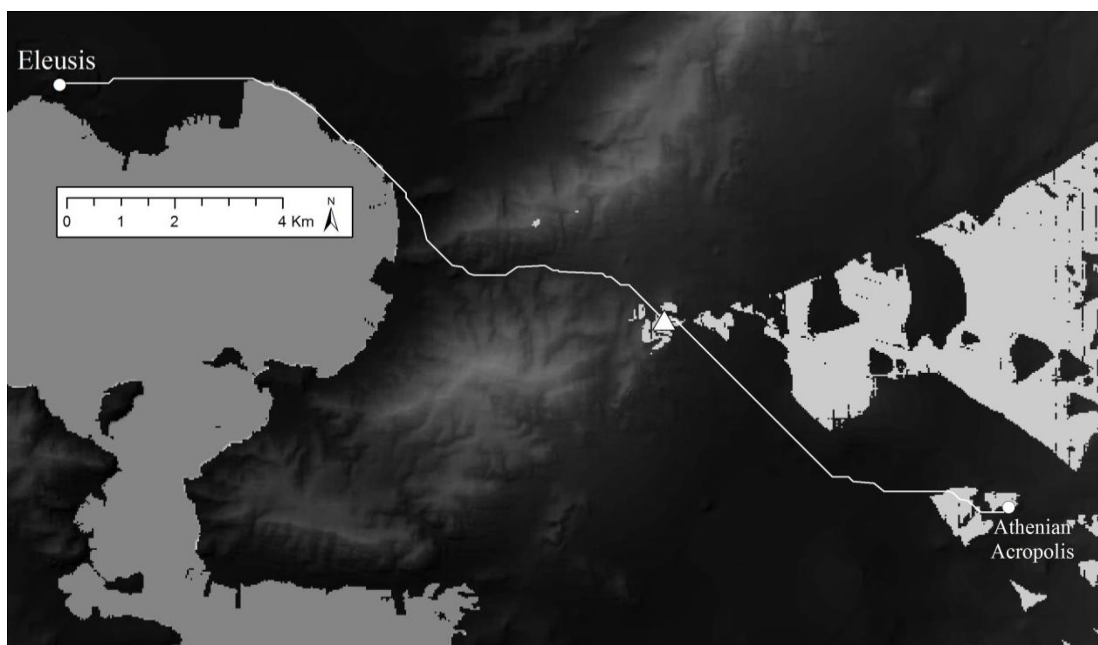


Fig. 37: View towards Eleusis for the initiate coming down out of the pass over Mt. Aigaleos.

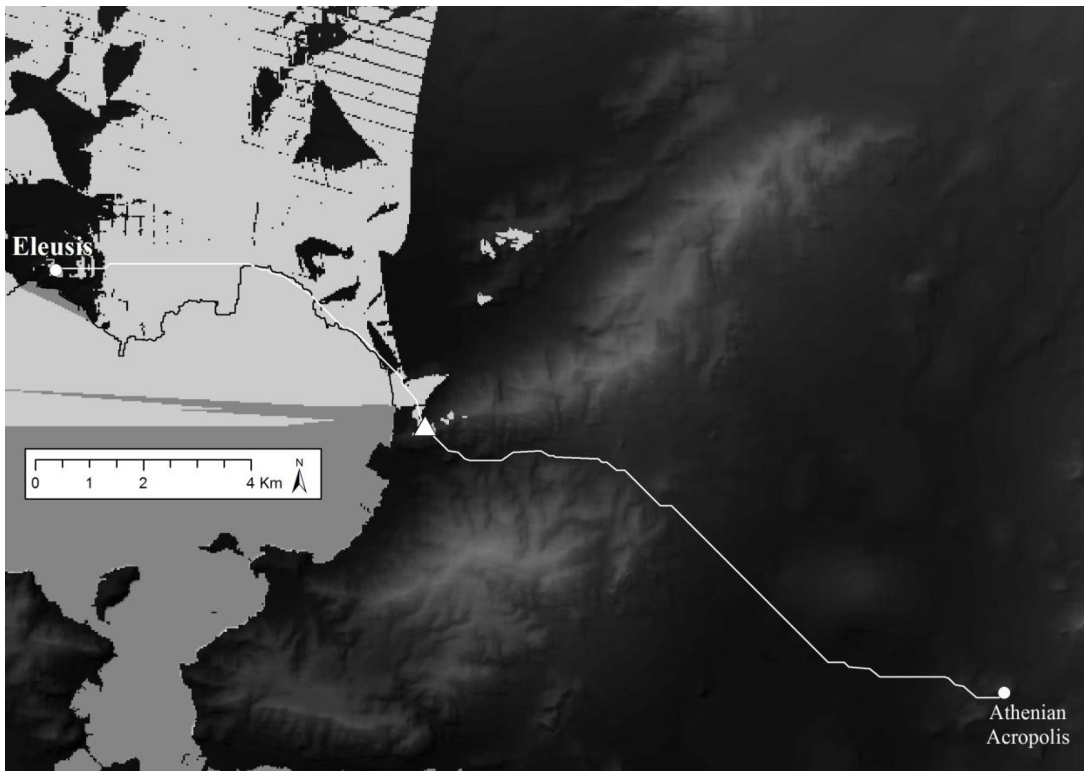
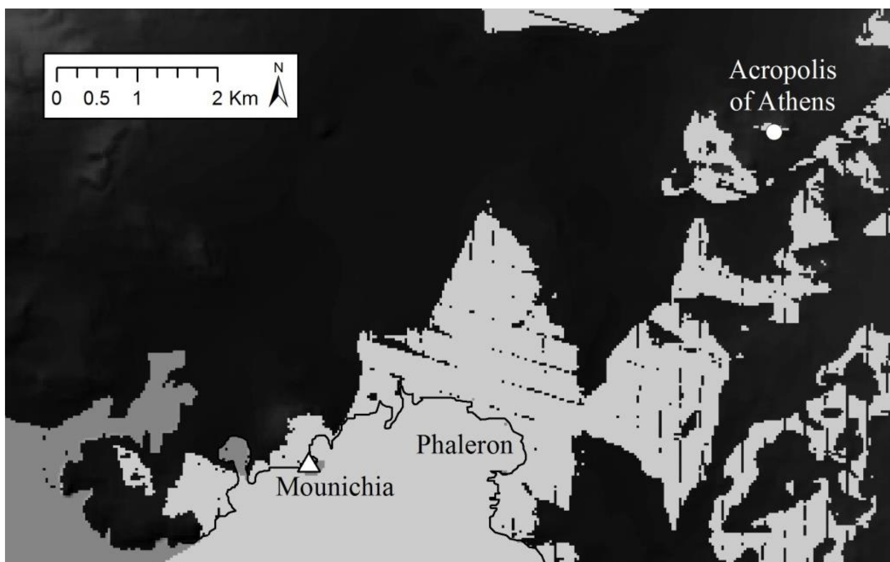


Fig. 38: The viewshed from Mounichia Hill.



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