

THE GODS ON THE EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

(PLATES 61–66)

EVERY CREATIVE MONUMENT, ancient or modern, grows forth from a rich, distinctive play of tradition and innovation. Not even the most revolutionary art can start wholly afresh. And conversely, even in a period as tradition bound as the Greek, it was a very rare artist indeed who merely copied. The greater the creative mind of the artist, of course, the more fascinating this play.

The study that follows is concerned with tradition and innovation on the Parthenon frieze.¹ Starting from a few passages or aspects of the frieze that draw on well-established iconographic traditions, it undertakes first to interpret a number of rather exceptional aspects of the frieze iconography. It goes on to try to uncover broad principles that underlie the design. And finally it attempts to employ these principles in defense of a view on the frieze that, if still the *communis opinio*, has yet come under increasing scholarly attack: that the celebrants of the Panathenaia are indeed mortal Athenians.²

¹ This study is developed from a subchapter in my doctoral dissertation (*Nike and the Cult of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis*, diss. Institute of Fine Arts, New York University 1979). Dissertation research was conducted at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from 1974 to 1978, and it is a great pleasure to acknowledge the hospitality and support of the School staff, in particular the successive directors during those years, James R. McCredie and Henry R. Immerwahr. For permissions for study and for their interest and advice, I am grateful to George Dontas, former Ephor of the Akropolis, and Maria Brouskari of the Akropolis Museum. I thank the following for the funding of research: the United States Educational Foundation for Fulbright Fellowships to Greece for 1974/75 and 1975/76; the American School for the Eugene Vanderpool Fellowship, 1976/77; and the Archaeological Institute of America for the Olivia James Traveling Fellowship, 1977/78.

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A number of scholars have read this manuscript in draft form: at the Institute of Fine Arts, Evelyn B. Harrison and Peter H. von Blanckenhagen and at the University of Chicago, Arthur W. H. Adkins, James Redfield, Ian Mueller, and Elizabeth Asmis. My warmest thanks to each of them for their advice and criticism.

² For a critical review of past research on the Parthenon frieze, see F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries*; see also B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981, pp. 76–79. Practical constraints have led me to refer to studies from 1981 on in footnote only, important among them H. Kenner, “Die Göttergruppe des Parthenonostfrieses,” *Anz. Österr. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 118, 8, 1981, pp. 273–308, and E. Simon, “Die Mittelszene im Ostfries des Parthenon,” *AthMitt* 97, 1982, pp. 127–144. Soon expected are the papers from a symposium held at Basel in the spring of 1982. Among presentations there, three have particular bearing on the thesis of this article: J. Boardman, “The Subject of the Parthenon Frieze: Current Questions and Answers”; W. Gauer, “Was geschieht mit dem Peplos?”; and E. Harrison, “Time in the Parthenon Frieze.” See *Internationaler Parthenon-Kongress, Basel, 4.–8. April 1982, Programm*, with brief summaries.

Works frequently cited below are abbreviated as follows on p. 290:

Hesperia 53, 3

THE ASSEMBLY OF OLYMPIAN GODS

THE ORDERING OF THE GODS

The passage of the frieze with the strongest iconographic tradition behind it is the seated assembly of Olympian gods on the east frieze (Pl. 61:a-c). Our study begins with a close examination of that assembly, and in particular two three-figure groups within it, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros (Pl. 62:a) and the winged female figure (I will be establishing her identity as Nike), Hera, and Zeus (Pl. 63:b). The most pertinent iconographic precedents for this assembly as a whole are on Attic black- and red-figured vases of the later 6th and earlier 5th centuries; representations of the Olympians assembled for some specific event, the Introduction of Herakles, for example, or together as if simply to socialize.³ The latter, the "social gatherings", are of a class referred to by the Germans as *Daseinsbilder*, that is to say, representations for their own sake, rather than as illustrations of myth or other significant narrative.⁴ The most important of these vases are, in black figure, an amphora by Exekias in Orvieto⁵ and a pyxis potted by Nikosthenes in Florence⁶ and in red figure, Sosias' cup in Berlin⁷ and a cup by Oltos in Tarquinia.⁸ Looking at the vases with the

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- Boardman, "Another View" = J. Boardman, "The Parthenon Frieze—Another View," *Festschrift für F. Brommer*, Mainz 1977, pp. 39–49
- Brommer, *Parthenonfries* = F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries*, Mainz 1977
- Bulle (Roscher) = H. Bulle, "Nike," in Roscher, III, i, Leipzig 1897–1902, cols. 305–358
- Diels-Kranz = *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, H. Diels and W. Kranz, edd., 6th ed., I, Berlin 1951
- Furtwängler, *Eros* = A. Furtwängler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei*, Munich 1874
- Greifenhagen, *Eroten* = A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Eroten*, Berlin 1957
- Guthrie, *HGP* = W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy*, III, *Fifth-Century Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1969
- Guthrie, *Plato* = W. K. C. Guthrie in *Collected Dialogues of Plato*, E. Hamilton and H. Cairns, edd., Princeton 1961
- Jaeger, *Theology* = W. Jaeger, *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Oxford 1947
- Michaelis = A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Leipzig 1871
- Müller = C. W. Müller, "Protagoras über die Götter," *Hermes* 95, 1967, pp. 140–159
- Nestle = W. Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1942
- Nilsson, *GGR*³ = M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 3rd ed., Munich 1967
- Pemberton = E. G. Pemberton, "The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 80, 1976, pp. 113–124
- Robert, *Hermeneutik* = C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*, Berlin 1919
- Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze* = M. Robertson, *The Parthenon Frieze*, New York 1975
- Roscher = W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884–1937

³ On these vases, see most recently H. Knell, *Die Darstellung der Götterversammlung in der attischen Kunst des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, diss. Freiburg, Darmstadt 1965; also P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée du Delphes*, Paris 1936, pp. 349–354.

⁴ For the term, see particularly N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Zur Eigenart des klassischen Götterbildes*, Munich 1959.

⁵ Conte Faina 78, *ABV*, p. 144, no. 9; W. Technau, *Exekias*, Leipzig 1936, pls. 12:b, 13.

⁶ Museo Archeologico Etrusco 76931, *ABV*, p. 229; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, "Die Götterversammlung der Sosias-Schale," *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*, 1960, pls. 6, 7.

⁷ S.M. 2278, *ARV*², p. 21, no. 1; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pls. 8, 9.

⁸ M.N. RC 6848, *ARV*², p. 60, no. 66; P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. B. Shefton, *History of Greek Vase*

gathering on the frieze in mind, one sees immediately two aspects of the design that set the frieze apart: the first is how the seats are arranged; the second, who sits next to whom. The seating arrangements on the vases are invariably kept simple: the gods sit either one behind the other, in pairs one facing the other, or in pairs side by side.⁹ The Parthenon groupings are significantly more complex, with unexpected variations in figure arrangement, in spacing, and in the association of one figure with the next.¹⁰ One does not find this for every group, or perhaps better, it is clearer in some groups than others. Hera, Zeus, and the attendant winged figure are a traditional group of three with parallels on vases.¹¹ Compare the gods to their left, however (Pl. 61:b). Ares is beside Demeter, to judge at least from the fact that his feet overlap her stool, but he is back behind her farther than seems natural, and the two lean away from each other, Ares back, Demeter forward. If side by side, they are hardly a couple in the proper sense. In front of them Dionysos faces right, toward Demeter, knees interlocked with hers. (It is rather more than that in fact. She has her knees between his.) He is turned away, to the left, and leans his arm on Hermes' shoulder, the two back to back. The gods Ares, Demeter, Dionysos, and Hermes do not fall easily into pairs; they appear rather as one complex and varied group. Of the Olympians facing right, Athena and Hephaistos form a simple pair. In front of them, however, the gods are in one long row: four seated one overlapping the next, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite, and one standing, the boy god Eros. This second group, the four Olympians and Eros, appears to be made up of two subgroups; in that perceptible internal division it is unlike the group from Hermes to Ares on the left: Apollo turns to Poseidon, they form a group of two; and Artemis has her arm in Aphrodite's, with Eros they form a group of three.

Concerning who sits next to whom there are puzzles as well. Athena and Hephaistos, paired on the frieze, are never so represented on vases. Hephaistos was attracted to Athena in myth, in the story of the birth of Erichthonios, but she shunned his affection, and on the frieze, in fact, she would seem to be protecting her virginity with her aegis down over her lap.¹² One does not expect Artemis, a virgin goddess, next to Aphrodite, the goddess of love, and vases never show them sororizing. Nor is it easy to understand Ares' place by Demeter. On vases he is most often seated with Aphrodite.

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP ON THE ORDERING OF THE GODS

The anomalies and distinctive features of the divine gathering have been a frequent

Painting, London 1962, figs. 100–104.

⁹ Cf., as well, the gatherings on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury and the east frieze of the Hephaisteion, with seatings essentially comparable to the vases. Siphnian Treasury, de la Coste-Messelière, *loc. cit.* (footnote 3 above); Hephaisteion, S. von Bockelberg, "Die Friese des Hephaisteion," *AntP* 18, 1979, pp. 23–48.

¹⁰ Concerning the identification of the gods on the frieze, see below, p. 292.

¹¹ For example, amphora, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2304, *ARV*², p. 220, no. 1 (Nikoxenos Painter); FR, pl. 158; stamnos, Paris, Louvre, G 370, E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* I, Paris 1922, pl. 138; also the cup by Sosias cited in footnote 7 above.

¹² On the position of the aegis, see A. S. Murray, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1903, pp. 91–92, and more recently, Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, text to plate East IV–VI. Only its snakes are preserved, lying along Athena's left forearm. The aegis itself would have been indicated in paint. For more detailed comment, see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 260, note 57.

subject for study in Parthenon scholarship. In particular, we can note that there have been repeated attempts to find some limited program or design principle that might account for and explain them.

The point of departure for this scholarship is the realization of Adolf Furtwängler that the seated gathering is formed exclusively of Olympians.¹³ Subsequent scholars have almost invariably accepted his view,¹⁴ and indeed we may stand confident that he is correct. We may note, further, that when the naming is restricted to Olympians, the identification of the individual twelve is largely straightforward: the identifications accepted by the field, those I have used above, follow Furtwängler. Before Furtwängler, scholars assumed that the selection of gods was more diverse, and, in particular, a number argued that the gathering was a grouping of major gods, minor gods, and heroes arranged topographically according to their worship on the Akropolis and beneath its cliffs.¹⁵

After Furtwängler, the next study of major importance is that of Carl Robert,¹⁶ and indeed here the history of our problem proper begins. Robert, accepting Furtwängler's identifications, addressed two questions that arose naturally from them: why were these twelve Olympians selected for representation? (As Robert notes, there is no evidence for a select canon of twelve at this time.) And what is the significance of the arrangement? He arrived at a complex interpretation built at least in part on the earlier topographical theories. Seven of the twelve, he suggests, appear in deference to significant cults on or near the Akropolis: Athena (Athena Polias), Hephaistos and Poseidon (worship in the Erechtheion), Artemis (Artemis Brauronia), Aphrodite (Aphrodite Pandemos), Dionysos (Dionysos Eleutherios), and Ares (Areopagus). Of the remaining five, three are selected on the strength of the epic tradition, Zeus, Hera, and Hermes, and two as eminent gods of the Athenian polis, Apollo and Demeter. Seating, as Robert then sets forth at length, is determined in a complex series of positional correspondences between gods of the three groups.

There are two significant studies of the divine assembly after Robert. The first is by E. G. Pemberton, published in 1976,¹⁷ the second by A. Linfert, 1979,¹⁸ and both depend in good part on the lines of investigation Robert sets forth. For Pemberton, as Robert, the selection has three bases. Six gods, those seated to the right, Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite, are chosen for their political associations. (Compare

¹³ A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Berlin 1893, pp. 190–192.

¹⁴ Exceptions are G. Elderkin, "The Seated Deities of the Parthenon Frieze," *AJA* 40, 1936, pp. 92–99 (gods and Athenian heroes), M. Robertson, "Two Question-Marks on the Parthenon," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to P. H. von Blanckenhagen*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1979, pp. 75–78 (tentatively suggesting that the figure normally called Dionysos may be Herakles), and Kenner, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), pp. 276–289 (in place of Demeter, Hekate).

¹⁵ C. O. Müller, *AdI* 1, 1829, pp. 221–226; C. Petersen, *Feste der Pallas Athene in Athen*, Hamburg 1855, pp. 22–24; A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, Leipzig 1864, pp. 192–196. For a brief summary of these early theories with additional bibliography, see Michaelis, p. 261.

¹⁶ Robert, *Hermeneutik*, pp. 21–35.

¹⁷ Pemberton, pp. 113–124.

¹⁸ "Die Götterversammlung im Parthenon-Ostfries und das attische Kultsystem unter Perikles," *AthMitt* 94, 1979, pp. 41–47. I have omitted from discussion H. Knell, "Zur Götterversammlung am Parthenon-Ostfries," *Antaios* 10, 1968, pp. 38–54, an attempt to explain the anomalies of the gathering compositionally and aesthetically without regard to their content.

Robert: Apollo and Demeter as eminent gods of the polis.) Three, Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter, are chosen for their importance in rural Attica. (Compare Robert: Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Artemis, Aphrodite, Dionysos, and Ares for their prominence on or near the Akropolis.) And three, Zeus, Hera, and Ares, for their Panhellenic significance. (Compare Robert: Zeus, Hera, and Hermes on the strength of the epic tradition.) Coexisting with this three-part system, Pemberton posits a second system of identifications by cult: each of the twelve appears in a specific cult guise. The second system, like the first, has ties with Robert, but they are somewhat less strict. Robert claimed a link to cult for the seven of the twelve gods worshipped on or near the Akropolis. Pemberton claims a tie for all twelve and in the process brings an extensive number of new cult sites into consideration, cults from the Akropolis, the city at large, the Attic countryside, and the Ionian East. No less important, Pemberton understands the link to cult in a new way. Robert believed that cults affected the selection of gods for representation but not the representation of the gods themselves. He saw the depictions on the frieze as typical and poetic. “*Nicht eine bestimmte Kultform des Gottes soll der Beschauer vor sich sehen, sondern das ganze Wesen der Gottheit, wie es in der Phantasie der Dichter und des Volkes lebt, soll ihm zum Bewusstsein kommen.*”¹⁹ And again, “*so wäre es doch grundverkehrt, auch die Figuren des Frieses mit . . . Kultbeinamen zu bezeichnen und von Artemis Brauronia, Dionysos Eleutherios, Aphrodite Pandemos oder gar Athene Polias zu sprechen*” (*loc. cit.*). Pemberton’s view is directly counter to this: the gods appear each “in a specific cult guise,”²⁰ each as worshipped at a specific cult site. The change is from a view that the gods were *selected for representation* on the basis of cult to one that they *represent* cults.

The recent study by Linfert accepts Pemberton’s view that the gods appear in cult guise, and that the cults involved extend from Attica to Ionia. He postulates in addition that the gathering involves layers of topographical meaning. To cite one part of that interpretation, he suggests that the group Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite embodies on one level cults of the Akropolis and vicinity: of Poseidon in the Erechtheion, Apollo Hypoakraios, Artemis Brauronia, and Aphrodite in the cave sanctuary at the foot of the north cliff; they embody on a second level cults of southeast Athens near the Illissos: Poseidon Helikonios, Apollo Pythios (and Delphinios), Artemis Agrotera, and Aphrodite *en kepois*; and finally they embody prominent cults of Ionia.²¹

The theory of cult guise, which is perhaps the single most important departure in these two recent studies, has itself a minor history in Parthenon scholarship. Pemberton is the first to apply the concept to the gathering as a whole. Before that, discussion had been confined to the figure of Artemis, taking rise from a distinctive aspect of that goddess’s iconography. Artemis appears on the frieze in a loosely fitting chiton which she holds in place on her right shoulder but which slips down off her left, revealing her shoulder down to her breast. This is a motif connoting fecundity or eroticism,²² and is, in fact, a conspicuous

¹⁹ *Hermeneutik*, p. 35.

²⁰ Pemberton, p. 113.

²¹ Linfert, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 43–44.

²² For further discussion of the motif, see p. 296 and footnote 62 below.

instance where Robert's blanket iconographic interpretation is wrong: the predominant portrayal of Artemis in poetry is as a chaste maiden goddess; on the frieze she appears in a role or guise that is unmistakably atypical.

Furtwängler was the first to identify the figure as Artemis (before that the commonly accepted appellation was Peitho), and in proper defense of the identification he undertook to explain the anomalous disposition of the dress. Noting that the slipping chiton occurred also on the Artemis of Gabii and that the Artemis of Gabii was very likely a copy of Praxiteles' cult statue of Brauronian Artemis, Furtwängler suggested that the frieze Artemis had been influenced by the conception of Artemis in that cult.²³ Buschor, in his 1961 study of the frieze, accepted the idea,²⁴ and from there it has taken on a life of its own. Simon modifies it slightly, suggesting that the aspects are rather those of Artemis Eukleia than Brauronia.²⁵ Pemberton prefers Agrotera to Eukleia,²⁶ and finally Linfert suggests the combined titles Brauronia, Agrotera, and Ephesia.²⁷ When these last two scholars attempt to identify cult titles throughout the gathering, disagreements continue. To Pemberton Aphrodite is Pandemos, as in the shrine at the south foot of the Nike bastion, to Linfert she is as worshipped at the base of the north Akropolis cliff, *en kepois* by the Ilissos, and in Aphrodisias. To Pemberton it is Apollo Patroös, to Linfert Hypoakraios, Pythios, and Delphinios. And so it goes.

In noting the disagreements of these interpretations, points of weakness become clear. To begin with Robert, he cannot be correct in his view that the gods are portrayed in typical and poetic form, as "*das ganze Wesen der Gottheit, wie es in der Phantasie der Dichter und des Volkes lebt.*" One case on which we have touched, Artemis' slipping chiton, opposes it forcefully. The chiton in this context cannot be other than a pointed and specific iconographic allusion. Further, as the present study will make clear, his view is hardly more correct for the other divine representations. The iconography of nearly every god contains one or another singular aspect.

Might the theory of cult guise explain these iconographic departures? It hardly inspires confidence that scholars have disagreed so broadly on the epithets involved, first with regard to Artemis and now in the two most recent studies, on all twelve. The investigation to follow will, in fact, yield a number of observations that counter this theory, leading us to suggest an alternative way to understand the various iconographic anomalies that give it shape.²⁸

A first reaction to the present study may find it overly subtle and intricate. As will become apparent, it uncovers a program for the frieze that rests on a surprisingly complex and sophisticated use of imagery. We need, I feel, to make a firm distinction in this regard between the larger program on the one hand and individual iconographic usages on the other. The program over all is rather simple, structured around a unifying theory, a very

²³ Furtwängler, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), p. 191, note 1.

²⁴ E. Buschor, *Der Parthenonfries*, Munich 1961, pp. 22–23.

²⁵ E. Simon, *Götter der Griechen*, Munich 1969, p. 178.

²⁶ Pemberton, p. 177.

²⁷ Linfert, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 43–44.

²⁸ Below, p. 301. For comments critical of the theory of cult guise, see already Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 261, note 64; p. 262, note 66; p. 262, note 72.

few core ideas. In rendering that theory in visual form, however, images are brought together (one could almost say that theses are built up from them) in a manner that involves iconographic planning for the frieze on a significantly higher level than had been thought hitherto. I harbor no doubts about that level of planning. It needs to be appraised, however, knowing that, at least in the present state of research, it stands without parallel elsewhere on the Parthenon. There can, in truth, have been but few equals elsewhere in Greek art.

ARTEMIS, APHRODITE, AND EROS

East VI, on which the figures Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros were carved, is a late casualty among frieze slabs (Pl. 62:a).²⁹ It was intact and well preserved when drawn by "Jacques Carrey" in 1674 (Pl. 62:b);³⁰ before the later 18th century, however, perhaps in the explosion of 1687, it split at the figure of Aphrodite, and the left fragment from Poseidon to Artemis fell. The fallen portion was moved to safety by Ludwig Ross in 1836, little damaged, and is now in the Akropolis Museum. The half that remained *in situ* did not fare so well. A cast taken in 1787 by Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel shows the upper body of Aphrodite already missing. By the early 19th century the figure of Eros and what remained of Aphrodite were missing as well, and the Eponymous Heroes to the right were fragmentary and badly damaged. What remains of the Eponymous Heroes is now in London. Some few fragments, stray finds, have turned up since the 19th century, including a part of Aphrodite's head and, most recently, a fragment showing Artemis and Aphrodite arm in arm.³¹ The cast shown in Plate 62:a is a composite in the Skulpturhalle, Basel, incorporating the casts of all known extant fragments and the Fauvel cast.

There are two aspects of the three-figure group that merit special attention: the depiction of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son, and the portrayal of Artemis as sister goddess to Aphrodite. That Aphrodite and Eros appear on the frieze as mother and son has often been noted.³² Aphrodite has her outstretched arm resting lightly on Eros' shoulder, directing his attention to some part of the procession, and he leans against her leg and rests his hand above her knee. The bond that unites them is twofold, comprised of filial dependence on his part and casual pedagogy on hers. Nurture and instruction, *τροφή καὶ παιδεία*, are essential and readily understood aspects of childrearing,³³ and we react to the two as mother and son through the evocation of these aspects, that is through her pointing and his hand on her knee, perhaps more than anything else.³⁴ Aphrodite's pose has further importance in

²⁹ On the history of the slab, see Michaelis, p. 259.

³⁰ On the Carrey drawings, see *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, T. Bowie and D. Thimme, ed., Bloomington 1971.

³¹ G. Despinis, «'Ενα νέο θραύσμα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνατολική πλευρὰ τῆς ζωφόρου τοῦ Παρθενῶνα», *Τιμητική προσφορά στὸν καθηγητὴ Γ. Μπακαλάκη*, Salonica 1972, pp. 35–42.

³² E.g., K. Schefold, *Klassisches Griechenland*, Baden-Baden 1965, p. 123; Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, text to plate East IV–VI.

³³ On *trophe* and *paideia* as aspects of childrearing in antiquity, Plato, *Alcibiades* 1.122B; cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* x.9.9.

³⁴ In this regard note also the handling of the sunshade. Normally it is a feminine attribute denoting delicacy and high station (cf. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1500–1501, with scholion, on the carrying of parasols for *kane-phoroi*; and cf. in vase painting, skyphos, Berlin, S.M. 2589, *ARV*², p. 1301, no. 7; FR, pl. 125, satyr holding

the iconography of this group. The figure is fragmentary, unfortunately, missing much of the torso and thighs, but the pose can be reconstructed on the combined evidence of the extant fragments and the Carrey drawing. Aphrodite is rendered in the Carrey drawing as sitting upright, back straight, in her seat. The extant fragments support that rendering in general; at the same time they help to pinpoint areas where the draftsman has introduced an element of distortion. Perhaps most important, the fragments show Aphrodite's right shoulder lower than her left, not higher as in the drawing; we need to imagine her, thus, not bolt upright but slightly more at ease. On one point the testimony of the Carrey drawings and the extant fragments is in full accord. Aphrodite was not lounging, that is, leaning back and using her right arm as a prop. That bearing would be inconsistent with her lowered right shoulder, attested, as we have said, in the fragments, and with an aspect of her sister goddess's pose as well, the position of Artemis' left leg, attested in the drawing and the fragments both. Had Aphrodite been lounging back, her weight would have been resting down on Artemis' left leg. To the contrary, however, that goddess's leg is casually tucked back under her chair, with only the ball of the foot touching the ground. There could be no weight on it. In short, the frieze designer takes care that we see the signposts clearly: Aphrodite is not disposing herself languidly. She is relaxed and at ease but maintaining a proper and upright bearing. Her dress forms an important complement to this. Nowhere is there a hint of immodesty. The fragments and the Carrey drawing both show the goddess with a broad veil covering her head, and she has a chiton with neckline high and in place.

To recover what the artist intended in the representation of this goddess we have to respond as much to what he eschews as to what he depicts. Two prominent iconographic motifs lay open to him had he wished to emphasize Aphrodite's female sexuality, her qualities as a goddess of love. One would have been to show her chiton slipping off one shoulder, down to or revealing a breast;³⁵ the other would be through languor, some hint of the supine.³⁶ He uses neither. The omission of these two motifs is more striking yet in that one of the two appears prominently just to Aphrodite's left. The chiton of virgin Artemis slips down, while Aphrodite's is up and in place. We might well miss the particular propriety of

parasol over the Basilinna). On the frieze, in contrast, the attribute is Eros', not Aphrodite's. He is holding it over and shading not her but himself. This suggests two things: on the one hand Love's delicacy, on the other that the young god is not waiting on Aphrodite, attending her, but rather is one deserving especial consideration and attention. This also is in the nature of a child.

³⁵ The following is a select history of the motif: it occurs elsewhere on the frieze in the figure of Artemis; in the pediments, East K and M (F. Brommer, *Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel*, Mainz 1963, pls. 47, 49); and, soon after, in freestanding sculpture, e.g., Leaning Aphrodite (H. Schrader, *Phidias*, Frankfurt 1924, figs. 185–190), Berlin Aphrodite (C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, III, Katalog der griechischen Skulpturen des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin 1928, no. K 5, pls. 6, 7), Aphrodite Doria Pamphili (R. Calza, *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj*, Rome 1977, no. 12, pl. 10), Agora Aphrodite (E. B. Harrison, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 373–376, pl. 82), Hera Borghese (Helbig⁴, IV, no. 2262, P. Zancani Montuoro, *BullComm* 61, 1933, pp. 27–58), Venus Genetrix (Schrader, *op. cit.*, fig. 283; F. Hiller, *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur griechischen Statue des späten 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Mainz 1971, pl. 1).

³⁶ Compare, for example, Zeus and Dionysos on the frieze (for Zeus, see below, p. 304) and Parthenon pediment East M (Brommer, *loc. cit.*). Freestanding sculpture: "Olympias" (A. Delivorrias, *AthMitt* 93, 1978, pls. 1–11) and again the Leaning Aphrodite.

Aphrodite's bearing seeing it alone and in isolation. With Artemis as a foil it is unmistakable. Far from emphasizing the goddess of love's sexual and erotic character, the frieze designer has kept it in check. There is an evident reason. Recall the gestures that bind Aphrodite and Eros together as mother and son, Aphrodite's arm on Eros' shoulder, pointing, his hand on her knee. Aphrodite's upright bearing is in conformity with this, that is, her appearance and demeanor support and confirm that she is a matron, that she is Eros' mother.³⁷

The thought of Eros as Aphrodite's son is a commonplace of the late Classical and Roman eras. In the period of the Parthenon, however, it is rather unusual and as such worthy of attention. Consider first the literary tradition. As established by a wealth of testimonia, the dominant view of Eros down through the 5th century was as a primal force of nature, a being who came into existence early in the history of the cosmos.³⁸ The tradition was shaped above all by Hesiod. In the *Theogony*, Eros, Chaos, Ge, and Tartaros are the four earliest gods. As the first of the pantheon, they generate themselves, they have no parentage (*Theogony*, 116–122). Later in the cosmogony, when Aphrodite is born from the sea foam from Ouranos' severed member, Eros joins her and becomes her attendant (*Theogony*, 201–202). Reflections of this tradition occur in later Archaic theogonies and Orphic poetry,³⁹ and significantly more important, in the cosmologies of the pre-eminent West Greek philosophers Parmenides and Empedokles.⁴⁰

The tradition of Eros as Aphrodite's son by comparison is weakly attested.⁴¹ There are four testimonia down through the 5th century: late sources cite Sappho as referring to Eros' birth twice, making him on one occasion son of Ge and Ouranos,⁴² on another, son of Aphrodite and Ouranos.⁴³ A fragment of Simonides makes Eros son of Aphrodite and Ares.⁴⁴ And there is an echo of the tradition in two fragments of Pindar.⁴⁵

Although incidental to the argument that follows, it is worth noting that these latter

³⁷ Cf., for example, representations of matrons in red figure: woman seated before her husband, head veiled, spinning, alabastron, Berlin, S.M. 2254 (*ARV*², p. 557, no. 123; J. D. Beazley, *Pan Painter*, Eng. ed. rev. 1947, Mainz 1974, pl. 29:1); woman seated, veiled, maid standing, lekythos, Honolulu, Academy of Arts 2892 (*ARV*², p. 844, no. 153 [Sabouroff Painter]; D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, Oxford 1975, pl. 28:1); seated woman spinning, small boy behind her, hydria, Munich, Antikensammlungen SL 476 (*ARV*², p. 1083, no. 2 [Painter of Athens 1943]; *CVA*, Munich 5 [Germany 20], 232 [1947]:1). On the evolution of the type, Götte, *Frauengemachbilder in der Vasenmalerei des fünften Jahrhunderts*, diss. Munich, Aachen 1957.

³⁸ On this cosmogonic tradition see Hesiod, *Theogony*, M. L. West, ed., Oxford 1966, pp. 195–196; W. Fauth, "Eros," *Der kleine Pauly* II, 1967, cols. 361–363; and A. Lesky, *Vom Eros der Hellenen*, Göttingen 1976, pp. 9–17.

³⁹ Pherekydes, Diels-Kranz, B 3, A 11; cf. Akusilaos, Diels-Kranz, B 1, B 3, and Ibykos, *Poetae melici Graeci*, D. L. Page, ed., Oxford 1962, frag. 43 (31 B.); from the Orphic tradition, *Orphicorum fragmenta*, O. Kern, ed., Berlin 1922, frag. 28.

⁴⁰ Parmenides, Diels-Kranz, B 13; Empedokles, *ibid.*, B 17, on *philotes*.

⁴¹ See F. Lasserre, *La figure d'Éros dans la poésie grecque*, Lausanne 1946, pp. 135–136; and for the co-existence of this poetic tradition with the cosmogonic, O. Waser, "Eros," *RE* V, ii, 1907, col. 487.

⁴² *Sappho et Alcaeus*, E.-M. Voigt, ed., Amsterdam 1971, frag. 198a (schol. Apollonius Rhodius, iii.26b).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, frag. 198b (schol. Theocritus, *Idyllia* xiii.2); cf. Pausanias, cf. Pausanias, ix.27.3.

⁴⁴ Page, *op. cit.* (footnote 39 above), frag. 70 (43 B., 24 D.).

⁴⁵ Cf. Pindar, frag. 122, line 4, *ματέρ' ἐρώτων οὐρανίαν*; Bacchylides, *Epinicia*, 9(8), line 73, B. Snell and H. Maehler, edd., Leipzig 1970, *μ]ατ[έρ' ἀ]ν[άμ]π[των] ἐρώτων*.

four testimonia form a coherent tradition. To judge from the alterations in the genealogy from one passage to the next, that tradition is younger than the cosmogonic and a branch off from it. One of Sappho's two genealogies is essentially cosmogonic, Eros as son of Ge and Ouranos, Earth and Heaven; the other departs from it by half, son of Heaven and Aphrodite. The Simonides fragment, Eros as son of Aphrodite and Ares, makes a full break.⁴⁶ It is noteworthy, further, that these four fragments are all from lyric poetry; most likely the tradition originated as no more than a casual poetic metaphor for the idea that Aphrodite engenders love.

Were a properly schooled Greek of the 5th century asked to comment on Love's genealogy, he would most likely think first not of the god's parentage by Aphrodite but rather of the genealogical tradition of Hesiod and the philosophers. The clearest testimony for this is Phaidros' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (178a):

He [Aristodemos] told me that the speech of Phaedrus began with points of this sort—that Love was a great god, among men and gods a marvel; and this appeared in many ways, but notably in his birth. “Of the most venerable are the honours of this god, and the proof of it is this: parents of Love there are none, nor are any recorded in either prose or verse. Hesiod says that Chaos came first into being—

and thereafter rose

Broad-breasted Earth, sure seat of all for aye,
And Love.

Acusilaus also agrees with Hesiod, saying that after Chaos were born these two, Earth and Love. Parmenides says of Birth that she ‘invented Love before all other gods’.⁴⁷

Although Phaidros appears in the dialogues as a lively and intelligent young man, there is something of the commonplace in his speech here. In initiating the encomia of the symposium, he is keeping to established and expected bases. At the same time, however, he is not above making a slip, perhaps either for effect or more likely through genuine oversight: he refers to the cosmogonic genealogy as if it were the sole tradition on Eros' birth (“parents of Love there are none, nor are any recorded in either prose or verse”). In context we would think Phaidros dull if what slipped his mind, or what he omitted, were other than a minor tradition. Eros' birth from Aphrodite was certainly known in the 5th century, at least by those who knew well their Sappho, Simonides, and Pindar. But the tradition can hardly have been current or strongly felt.

To return now to the visual monuments. Representations of Aphrodite and Eros in the 6th and first half of the 5th centuries conform to three distinct iconographic traditions. In the first tradition, the broadest and most diverse of the three, Eros, or not infrequently Erotes, appear as diminutive, youthful figures, notably smaller in scale than their patron goddess, Aphrodite. They show themselves by their actions to be the goddess' subservients and perhaps might best be described as daimonic attributes. Often they hover in the air

⁴⁶ Also breaking from the cosmogonic genealogies but independent of the tradition here described, Alkaios, *Poetarum lesbiorum fragmenta*, E. Lobel and D. Page, ed., Oxford 1955, Z 3 (Eros as son of Iris and Zephyros). On that passage see further D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford 1955, pp. 269–272.

⁴⁷ Trans., W. R. M. Lamb (Loeb Classical Library).

around Aphrodite, as for example on a well-known Judgment of Paris by Makron.⁴⁸ In other depictions an Eros perches on the goddess' shoulder or outstretched arm.⁴⁹

The remaining two iconographic traditions are far narrower. One consists of a series of black-figured representations of Aphrodite holding Eros and Himeros in her arms. The best known of these is a fragmentary mid-6th-century plaque from the Akropolis, and there are some few further representations on Attic vases roughly comparable in date.⁵⁰ Eros and Himeros have a youthful appearance not markedly different from the Erotes of the first tradition. It is clear from Aphrodite's embrace, however, that we are to understand the two as her children.

The third tradition is comprised of a small group of representations of the Birth of Aphrodite in which Eros stands opposite the goddess and receives her.⁵¹ Eros is youthful, as in the first two traditions, but appears as a full-sized figure. The earliest examples of the type are from the generation before the Parthenon,⁵² and representations continue into the third quarter of the century,⁵³ the most prominent example being the Birth of Aphrodite on the base of the Zeus at Olympia.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Berlin, S.M. 2291, *ARV*², p. 459, no. 4; *CVA*, Berlin 2 [Germany 21], 84–86 [1013–1015]. Cf. the following representations of the same myth, Athens, Agora Museum P 4952 (C. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst*, Zurich 1951, K 144; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *op. cit.* [footnote 4 above], pl. 18:a), diminutive Eros attends Aphrodite; amphora, London, B.M. E 289 (*ARV*², p. 653, no. 6 [Charmides Painter]), same; pyxis, Athens, N.M. 14,908 (*ARV*², p. 924 [close to the Wedding Painter]), diminutive Eros with pitcher and phiale flies to Aphrodite, seated. On Eros in representations of the Judgment of Paris, see further Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 13 and J. E. Harrison, "The Judgment of Paris," *JHS* 7, 1886, pp. 208–209. Compare also the skyphos, Boston, M.F.A. 13.186 (*ARV*², p. 458, no. 1 [Makron]), the abduction of Helen, with Helen, crowned by Aphrodite from one side, by a diminutive Eros from the other; cup, Florence, M.A. 75.409 (*ARV*², p. 835, no. 1 [Lyandros Painter]), seated woman, perhaps Aphrodite, with two diminutive Erotes hovering above her. Caryatic mirror supports showing Aphrodite framed by flying Erotes are in a related tradition, for example, Boston, M.F.A. 04.7 (M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Greenwich, Conn. 1971, no. 352); M.F.A. 98.667 (*ibid.*, no. 355); Athens, N.M. 7576 (E. Langlotz, *Fruehgrichische Bildhauerschulen*, Nuremberg 1927, pl. 25:b). On the type, F. Schaller, *Stützfiguren in der griechischen Kunst*, Vienna 1969, pp. 145–146, nos. 96–99, 129:1, 131:1, 2, and 132:1; L. Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*, Mainz 1981, nos. 9, 13, 19–21, 27, 32, 42–44, 46, 48, 55, 58, 60, 62, 64, 68–70, 74, 77, 83–85, 87, 88–90.

⁴⁹ As for example on Parthenon metope North 25 (F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon*, Mainz 1967, pl. 105), diminutive Eros on Aphrodite's shoulder; Lokrian relief (H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs*, Mainz 1968, pl. 1), Eros with lyre on Aphrodite's arm. On these and further Magna Graecian representations, W.-D. Albert, *Darstellungen des Eros in Unteritalien*, Amsterdam 1979. Reflections of this tradition in red figure: skyphos fragment, New York, M.M.A. 07.286.51 (*ARV*², p. 806, no. 1 [follower of Douris]), Aphrodite with Eros flying from her; oinochoe, Rome, Vatican (*ARV*², p. 1173 [Heimarmene Painter]), same.

⁵⁰ Akropolis plaque, B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*, Berlin 1925, no. 2526, pl. 104. For the list of vases, most recently, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 75, with further references.

⁵¹ On these, see E. Simon, *Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin 1959, pp. 39–46; and more recently C. Bérard, *Anodoi*, Rome 1974, pp. 153–160.

⁵² Pyxis, New York, M.M.A. 39.11.8 (*ARV*², p. 924, no. 34 [Wedding Painter]; Simon, *op. cit.*, fig. 23); pyxis, Ancona, Museo Civico (*ibid.*, figs. 24, 25); hydria, Genoa, Museo Civico 1155 (*ARV*², p. 917, no. 206 [Painter of Bologna 417]; Simon, *op. cit.*, fig. 28).

⁵³ Hydria, Syracuse, M.N. 23912, (*ARV*², p. 1041, no. 11 [Manner of Peleus Painter]; Simon, *op. cit.* [footnote 51 above], fig. 29).

⁵⁴ Pausanias, v.11.3. For a likely reflection of the representation, see J. Fink, *Thron des Zeus in Olympia*,

Consider now the relation of these types to the literary traditions on Eros. As we might expect, the visual monuments reflect the cosmogonic tradition more strongly than the lyric. The third iconographic type, the Birth, adheres explicitly to that tradition, in particular to the verses of Hesiod: Eros joins Aphrodite as she rises from the sea foam (*Theogony*, 201–202). The first iconographic type, while to be sure it is not a literal illustration of cosmogonic mythology, conforms to that tradition in important respects. Most important, it portrays Eros in spritelike or daimonic form and relates him to Aphrodite as an attendant or attribute. Only the second type, found on the mid-Achaic plaque and related vases, conforms to the lyric version, Eros as Aphrodite's son.

We are in a position now to see the Parthenon iconography in perspective. The Archaic plaque and related vases, the closest precedents for the representation of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son, antedate the frieze by roughly a century. It matters little here whether the frieze designer formulated his iconography with reference to a surviving Archaic example or, as is far more likely, with reference solely to lyric sources. Important rather is his sharp departure from the iconographic and mythological traditions that prevailed in his day.⁵⁵

In the decades that follow the Parthenon, Eros' portrayal as Aphrodite's son becomes ever more frequent in Attic art. On the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, Eros stands between Aphrodite and a female figure, perhaps Peitho, his left arm on his mother's shoulder, his right hand in Peitho's: a boy in the care of women.⁵⁶ A terracotta mold of about the same date, an impression from a helmet cheekpiece, shows a female figure leaning against a pier, Helen, or more likely Aphrodite, with Eros pressing close.⁵⁷ And in Attic vase painting from the end of the 5th century, Aphrodite suckles Erotes.⁵⁸ We here have

Munich 1967, p. 15, pl. 1:1 (silver medallion from Galaxidi).

⁵⁵ The following are isolated precedents for the Parthenon rendering: (1) Eros as a young boy. The realistic representation of young boys begins in the early 5th century, for example, the young attendant on the skyphos by the Brygos Painter, Boston M.F.A. 10.176 (*ARV*², p. 381, no. 173; L. D. Caskey, *AJA* 19, 1915, p. 134, fig. 4). Among these representations are Erotes, pyxis, New York, M.M.A. 07.286.36 (*ARV*², p. 890, no. 173 [Penthesileia Painter]; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, fig. 17); and perhaps already in the boyish features of the face, askos, Brunswick (Maine), Bowdoin College 23.30 (*ARV*², p. 480, no. 339 [Makron]; J. D. Beazley, *AJA* 25, 1921, p. 329, fig. 3). (2) Aphrodite and Eros represented on the same scale. Apart from representations of the Birth, I know of only one example earlier than the frieze: the pyxis by the Penthesileia Painter cited above (Judgment of Paris). The boy Eros stands before Aphrodite but without indication that he is her son.

⁵⁶ C. Blümel, *JdI* 65–66, 1950–51, p. 153, fig. 13; E. G. Pemberton, *AJA* 76, 1972, pl. 62, fig. 5.

⁵⁷ G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 41, 1926, pl. 5; K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte I)*, Berlin 1967, fig. 253:b.

⁵⁸ Calyx-krater, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 523 (*ARV*², p. 1415, no. 1 [Meleager Painter]). Compare also these representations: cup, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 491 (*ARV*², p. 1270, no. 17 [Kodros Painter]), Aphrodite with her hand on Eros' shoulder; cup, Jena, University 390 (*ARV*², p. 1511, no. 1 [Jena workshop]), Eros in Aphrodite's lap, playing the harp. Non-Attic representations of Aphrodite suckling Erotes: South Italian aryballos, Taranto, M.N.A. 4530 (Arias-Hirmer-Shefton, *op. cit.* [footnote 8 above], fig. 238, pp. 389–390, where the motif is discussed further). Cf. terracotta statuette from the second half of the 5th century, Reggio, M.N. 607c (E. Langlotz, *Ancient Greek Sculpture of South Italy and Sicily*, New York [1965], fig. 96), Aphrodite holding Eros in one arm. Aphrodite and the infant Eros are also frequently represented on late 5th- and 4th-century finger rings, e.g., J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, New York [1970], nos. 713, 718, 734, 737.

something of significant interest. The portrayal of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son on the frieze is not following and working within an established iconographic tradition. Rather it is forming a tradition anew.

The frieze designer fails to make use of the motif of the slipping chiton for Aphrodite, as we have seen. He uses it instead for Artemis, that is to say, a sexual or fertility motif for a virgin goddess. It is now necessary to investigate this in more detail. Artemis is called a maiden goddess foremost on the basis of her portrayal in poetry. Her virginal character is already well established in Homeric epic and continues to dominate literature up to and through the Classical period. There is a different, and to a significant degree contrary, conception of the goddess that coexists with this, however: Artemis as a power of fertility and vegetation. In contrast to the maiden aspect, it finds its broadest attestation in cult, only rarely elsewhere.⁵⁹ The two sides of Artemis' character are echoed faithfully in the visual arts. In mythological scenes and other representations influenced by them, Artemis is the "poetic" goddess, the maiden. Allusions to powers of fertility are confined almost exclusively to cult statuary.⁶⁰ The question, then, is whether the slipping chiton is indeed a cultic reference. As mentioned before, Furtwängler thought to find in the figure a reflection of Artemis Brauronia; Simon, Artemis Eukleia; Pemberton, Artemis Agrotera; and Linfert, Brauronia, Agrotera, and Ephesia. Were this study to be confined to the motif in isolation, it might be difficult, perhaps, to put these claims aside. When the depiction of Artemis is viewed against that of Aphrodite and Eros immediately to the right, however, the weight of argument shifts significantly. For the depiction of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son is, as we have seen, without cultic significance. It is drawn from poetry. We could hold to the view that Artemis appears in cult guise notwithstanding. The gathering, however, then becomes an admixture of gods, some in cult guise and others not. This suggestion has never been put forth, and indeed it hardly seems attractive. The alternative is to lay aside the theory of cult guise entirely: the motif of the chiton establishes that the Artemis present on the frieze has sexual or fertility powers, but it means no more than that. Such powers would be equivalent to powers attested broadly in her cults but not a reference to any one cult in particular.

Artemis' powers of fertility cover a rather varied spectrum, from the flowering of trees to the flourishing of wildlife to venereal rites.⁶¹ On the basis of the chiton arrangement alone we might take her as present in relation to any or all of these. She is seated close to Aphrodite, however, and has placed her hand on Aphrodite's arm. Let us, then, following the language of the frieze, look to aspects of the goddess that bring her close to Aphrodite, interpreting the one in relation to the other: Artemis, as goddess of fertility, in relation to Aphrodite, mother of Eros. The aspects, clearly, are of Artemis as protector of the mother in

⁵⁹ L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* II, Oxford 1896, pp. 443–444; Nilsson, *GGR*³ I, pp. 486–495.

⁶⁰ Most notably the Ephesian Artemis, for which see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden 1973; *idem*, in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, Leiden 1978, pp. 324–358; cf. also the Artemis of Gabii, referred to above, p. 294 (G. E. Rizzo, *Prassiteles*, Milan 1932, pls. 94–98.)

⁶¹ On the sexual rites, see particularly Farnell, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), p. 445; dedication of breasts and vulvae, A. Philadelphus, *BCH* 51, 1927, pp. 155–163.

childbirth and as guardian of young children,⁶² functions, one might add, that are particularly well attested in Attic cult.⁶³

It is necessary at this point to take stock of characteristics of the three-figure group of Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros that set it apart from earlier divine groups. First, the gods are represented in narrowly defined aspects, aspects that can be, and in fact often are, at variance with traditional iconography. If Artemis had been represented on the frieze as a maiden, the ancient viewer would have understood her to be present in a usual and typical form. When she appears hand in hand with Aphrodite, chiton slipping from her shoulder, she appears with reference to one side of her full being only, the goddess in possession of powers of fertility, protector of childbirth and guardian of young children. Aphrodite is a related case. She is present not as an overtly sexual goddess, the power of love, but narrowly and atypically defined as the mother of Eros. Eros is no longer simply a youthful daimon. He is a child in the company of his parent, a son.

It is necessary to note, second, that the iconography of any one figure cannot be understood in isolation. We are led by the iconography to consider each god's aspect as it relates to the accompanying members of the group; and were one figure to be left out of consideration, the meaning of the whole would not be clear. We have already seen this for Aphrodite and Eros. Their roles are complementary. It is no less true for Artemis. Her sexual portrayal is prompted by and directed toward the group of Aphrodite and Eros to her right. She is their protector and guardian. Artemis, protector of the mother and child, beside Aphrodite and Eros, mother and son, presents us with a three-figure exemplar: the Olympians as protectors of the bearing and raising of children.

NIKE, HERA, AND ZEUS

East V, the slab on which the figures of Zeus, Hera, and the standing winged figure were carved (Pl. 63:b), is in the British Museum save for its upper left-hand corner. The corner fragment (Pl. 63:a) was found in late 19th-century excavations of the Akropolis built

⁶² The frieze Artemis has been seen in this context already by Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 25 above), p. 178, and Despinis, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), pp. 41–42. Cf. also L. Kahil, "L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère," *AntK* 20, 1977, pp. 97–98; *eadem*, "La déesse Artémis: mythologie et iconographie," *XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London, 3–9 Sept. 1978, Acts*, London 1979, p. 85. In recent research Evelyn Harrison has been able to clarify the iconography of the slipping chiton yet further; cf. "Two Pheidonian Heads: Nike and Amazon," *The Eye of Greece* (Festschrift M. Robertson), Cambridge 1982, pp. 86–87. She has found that the meaning of the chiton differs according to which side of the body is revealed. The dress slipping from the right shoulder is a sexual allusion, from the left an allusion to motherhood or care of the young. It may be noted that the relation of Artemis to Aphrodite here posited fits very closely with this interpretation.

⁶³ For Artemis in these aspects, see L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* I, Berlin 1894, p. 319; Nilsson, *GGR*³ I, pp. 492–495. Relevant Attic cults: protector of young children, Arkteia at Brauron (L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, p. 207, with full citation of ancient sources); dedication of children's garments to Artemis Brauronia (*IG* II², 1514, lines 28, 40, 58; 1518, line 55; see here T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*, Stockholm 1972, p. 12); Hesychios, *s.v.* Κουρπεῶν-τις. Childbirth: garments of women who died in labor dedicated to Iphigeneia at Brauron (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1462–1467; cf. schol. Kallimachos, *Hymn to Zeus*, 77; schol. Apollonios Rhodios, 1. 288; Hesychios and the Suidas, *s.v.* Λυσίζωνος).

into a Byzantine repair of the south Akropolis wall and is now in the Akropolis Museum.⁶⁴ It owes its fine state of preservation to that provenience; the remaining heads on the slab were systematically defaced toward the end of the Turkish occupation.

The protagonists of the group, Zeus and Hera, form a traditional divine pair, the king of the gods and his consort, but here as elsewhere in the gathering the iconography goes beyond what is expected and conventional. Consider first Hera. The goddess turns back to Zeus and with a broad, two-handed gesture holds open her veil. As has been noted already by a number of scholars, Hera in performing this act appears before Zeus as his bride.⁶⁵ They are partners in the *anakalypteria*, the ritual unveiling that precedes the leading of the bride to her new home.⁶⁶

The idea that Hera and Zeus were partners in marriage was well-established in antiquity. Their nuptials were commemorated in yearly festivals at Hera's Argive and Samian sanctuaries and at a number of smaller cult sites, including sanctuaries at Athens, Plataia, Elis, and Knossos.⁶⁷ The festival is attested under a variety of names, as the Ἱερὸς γάμος, Θεογάμια, and Γαμηλία at Athens, and as Ἡραϊα, Ἡράσια, and Ἡρόχια elsewhere.⁶⁸ Although it is likely that the form of the ritual, as the name, varied a good deal from cult site to cult site, scattered references suggest that an important element they held in common was

⁶⁴ Akropolis Museum 855 (C. Waldstein, "The Newly-Discovered Head of Iris from the Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 5, 1889, pp. 1–8; further references, M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Athens 1974, p. 140).

⁶⁵ A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, ii, Cambridge 1940, p. 1053; E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin 1953, p. 60; Pemberton, p. 116; cf. E. Buschor, *Phidias der Mensch*, Munich 1948, pp. 31–32. On the motif see most recently M.-L. Säflund, *East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia*, *SIMA* 27, Göteborg 1970, p. 105.

⁶⁶ *Anecdota graeca*, I. Bekker, ed., Berlin 1814–1821, p. 390, Ἀνακαλυπτῆρια: δῶρα διδόμενα ταῖς νύμφαις, ὅταν πρῶτον ἀνακαλύπτωνται ἐν ἐστιάσει τῶν γάμων, τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τοῖς ἐστιωμένοις δρώμεναι. For further references, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Anakalypteria," *RE* I, ii, 1894, cols. 2031–2032; for the position of the unveiling within the marriage ritual, L. Deubner, *JdI* 15, 1900, pp. 146–151, and for a recent interpretation based on vase painting, J. H. Oakley, *AA* (*JdI* 97), 1982, pp. 113–118. The frieze designer in using unveiling as a symbol of the bride is drawing on a well-established iconographic tradition. From the Archaic period, the bride is often shown in vase painting holding her veil, at times holding it out, for example, Thetis on the François Vase, Florence, M.A. 4209 (*ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; *FR*, pl. 2; and the following wedding processions, hydria, Heidelberg, 72/1 (I. Krauskopf, *AA* [*JdI* 92], 1977, p. 14, figs. 1, 2); hydria, Boston, M.F.A. 89.562 (*ibid.*, p. 19, fig. 17); Corinthian column-krater, Rome, Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 126 (Arias-Hirmer-Shefton, *op. cit.* [footnote 8 above], pl. XI). Hera's gesture, although broader and more emphatic, stands in that tradition. Compare also later examples: wedding procession, loutrophoros, Berlin, S.M. 2373 (*ARV*², p. 1322, no. 20; *AZ* 40, 1882, pl. 5); Laertes and Antikleia, Apulian volute-krater, Munich, Antikensammlungen 3268, Arias-Hirmer-Shefton, *op. cit.*, fig. 236. On the gesture of unveiling in relation to the *anakalypteria*, see M. E. Mayo, *AJA* 77, 1973, p. 220.

It has often been noted that the Hera on the frieze wears a wreath, possibly the willow sacred to her at Samos. This is very likely a further bridal reference; cf. Plutarch, *Moralia. Coniugalia praecepta*, 2: ἐν Βοιωτία τὴν νύμφην κατακαλύψαντες ἀσφαραγωνιᾷ στεφανοῦσιν. On the wreaths and diadems worn by brides in red figure, Ch. Lécrivain, "Matrimonium," Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* III, ii, Paris 1904, p. 1649; compare M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1981, pp. 75–81.

⁶⁷ For references and more detailed discussion, Farnell, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), I, Oxford 1896, pp. 184–192; S. Eitrem, "Hera," *RE* VII, ii, 1912, cols. 392–396; Cook, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), pp. 1032–1065; more recently, K. Kerényi, *Zeus und Hera*, Leiden 1972, pp. 76–92.

⁶⁸ Deubner, *op. cit.* (footnote 63 above), p. 177; Photios, *s.v.* Ἱερὸν γάμον; schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 780; further W. Drexler, "Hera," Roscher, I, ii, 1886–1890, col. 2099.

a ritual re-enactment of the marriage ceremony.⁶⁹ On occasion, the mythical marriage is evoked in poetry, lightly by Aristophanes (*Aves*, 1731–1742), who conjures up the image of Eros as best man and the Fates as guardians of the wedding chamber, in another, more decorous context by Theocritus (*Idyllia* xvii.131–134), who imagines Iris draping and perfuming the gods' wedding couch on the eve of their nuptials. The representation of Hera and Zeus on the frieze needs to be understood against this mythical and ritual background. Hera assumes on the frieze the role of bride in the *hieros gamos*.⁷⁰

There is a significant comparison to the frieze representation on a sculpted metope from the early Classical temple of Hera at Selinous, a depiction of Zeus and Hera's union on Mt. Ida.⁷¹ On the metope Hera stands, drawing aside her veil with her left hand, while Zeus sits before her in a reclining pose. He has reached up and, having her firmly by the wrist, pulls her down to him. The Zeus on the Parthenon is far more restrained (the two are not, after all, on Mt. Ida), but one can detect here too that the god has claims to his bride. The hint of languor in his bearing, his arm casually and comfortably draped against the backrest, betokens sexual receptivity.⁷²

The third figure of the group, the youthful winged female, has presented something of an enigma in previous Parthenon scholarship. As Brommer has noted, she is the one figure in the divine gathering not yet persuasively identified.⁷³ If we have hopes of elucidating her role within the group, we first need to establish who she is.

The uncertainty in the identification is between Iris,⁷⁴ the personified rainbow and messenger of the gods, and Nike, the goddess Victory.⁷⁵ Nothing manifest in the figure's appearance suggests one rather than the other. Both Nike and Iris have wings, and both,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, cols. 2100–2102; Farnell, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), p. 185; cf., for example, Diodorus Siculus, v.72.4, λέγονσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοῦ τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κυωσίῳν χώρα γενέσθαι κατὰ τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ θήρηος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερόν ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομιμῆσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν. Also Augustine, *de civitate D.* vi.7.

⁷⁰ So already Buschor, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), p. 32; Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), p. 63.

⁷¹ Palermo, M.N.A. (Langlotz, *op. cit.* [footnote 58 above], fig. 105); on the connection of the metope to the *hieros gamos*, see most recently W. Fuchs, "Zu den Metopen des Heraion von Selinus," *RömMitt* 63, 1956, pp. 110–111.

⁷² For the motif of the arm draped over the back of the chair see the comments of E. B. Harrison, *apud* P. H. von Blanckenhagen, "Puerilia," *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel: Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities*, Mainz 1976, p. 40, note 19. Harrison is concerned there with the significance of the female in this pose, the "lady in a receptive mood", but much that she says can be applied as well to Zeus. On the relaxed pose of the Parthenon Zeus, see particularly Cook, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), I, Cambridge 1914, p. 91.

⁷³ Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pp. 259, 260.

⁷⁴ As suggested, for example, by A. Flasch, *Zum Parthenon-Fries*, Würzburg [1887], pp. 61–64; Murray, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 161; Robert, *Hermeneutik*, p. 26; Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), pp. 58–65; Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 260.

⁷⁵ For example, Michaelis, p. 255; F. Studniczka, *Die Siegesgötten*, Leipzig 1898, p. 20; A. H. Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1910, p. 53; and more recently Pemberton, p. 121. For identifications of the figure in early Parthenon scholarship see Michaelis, pp. 262–263. The figure has on occasion been called Hebe, most recently by C. Kardara, «Γλαυκῶπις—'Ο Ἀρχαῖος Νὰς καὶ τὸ θέμα τῆς ζωφόρου τοῦ Παρθενῶνος», Ἀρχ' Ἐφ, 1961, p. 129. This is unlikely to be correct, however, for Hebe is rarely, if ever, represented with wings in Greek art.

like the frieze figure, can be depicted in full-length dress.⁷⁶ Nike invariably wears full-length dress after the Archaic period. Iris, in contrast, is at times shown in a knee-length chiton, the garment of an active figure and thus an allusion to her role as messenger. And this might, as some scholars have suggested,⁷⁷ be an indication that the frieze depicts the former rather than the latter. But there are sufficient securely identified representations of Iris in full-length chiton to make it clear that the attire is not unusual for her,⁷⁸ and in the end one has to conclude that dress does not provide a secure basis for deciding between the two.

The figure's placement, beside Hera rather than Zeus, has also been used as an argument,⁷⁹ but again, the indications are too circumstantial to be decisive. It has been noted that of the two deities, only Iris has a well-developed tie to Hera: in late 5th- and 4th-century poetry Hera and Iris appear as mistress and handmaiden.⁸⁰ To judge from this, it ought to be she who stands by Hera. Nike's tie, in contrast, is to the king of the gods, as attendant and attribute of his divine hegemony.⁸¹ Were Nike present, it has been pointed out, one would expect her to stand by Zeus.

When one reviews previous scholarship on the problem, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to the gesture of the figure. The corner fragment in Athens shows it clearly (Pl. 63:a): the figure's hair is unbound, and she holds a roll of it in her left hand, in the act of placing it up on her head.⁸² The hair across the forehead looks at first like a child's way of wearing bangs, gathered and swept from one side to the other.⁸³ A close look at the head in the museum makes it clear, however, that this was not what the artist intended. Rather the locks come forward over the forehead from both sides. A separate section of hair is combed forward and to the side in front of the left ear. We are hardly confronted with a

⁷⁶ For the iconography of Nike, see particularly Bulle (Roscher), and more recently F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen*, Mainz 1964, pp. 58–62; for the Archaic period, C. Isler-Kerényi, *Nike: Der Typus der laufenden Flügelgöttin in archaischer Zeit*, Erlenbach/Zürich 1969. See for Iris, M. Mayer, "Iris", Roscher, II, i, 1890–1894, cols. 320–357.

⁷⁷ J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, 4th ed., I, Leipzig 1893, p. 444; Smith, *loc. cit.* (footnote 75 above); Bulle (Roscher), col. 340.

⁷⁸ For example, the François Vase (cited footnote 66 above); Iris carrying the infant Hermes, hydria, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2426 (*ARV*², p. 189, no. 76 [Kleophrades Painter]); Iris attacked by satyrs, cup, London, B.M. E 65 (*ARV*², p. 370, no. 13 [Brygos Painter]).

⁷⁹ Flasch, *op. cit.* (footnote 74 above), p. 62; Robert, *Hermeneutik*, p. 26; cf. more recently Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, text to plate East IV–VI; Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 127.

⁸⁰ Euripides, *Herakles*, 822–874; Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos*, 228–232.

⁸¹ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 383–388; Bacchylides, *Epinicia*, 11(10).1–7 (B. Snell and H. Maehler, edd., Leipzig 1970). The tie to this god is strengthened as Nike enters the imagery of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia as a personification of athletic victory; see F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen," *NZ* 3, 1871, pp. 24–25; A. R. Bellinger and M. A. Berlincourt, *Victory as a Coin Type (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 149)*, New York 1962, p. 3, pl. I:1. Zeus at Olympia by Pheidias, Pausanias, V.11.1.

⁸² The gesture is noted and described by Waldstein, *op. cit.* (footnote 64 above), p. 5; also Brouskari, *loc. cit.* (footnote 64 above). The middle finger of the left hand is well preserved, visible above the roll of hair; the third and little fingers are partly broken away.

⁸³ Cf., for example, the Sounion relief, Athens, N.M. 3344 (R. Lullies, *Greek Sculpture*, rev. ed., New York 1960, fig. 96); Eleusis relief, Athens, N.M. 126 (*ibid.*, fig. 172).



FIG. 1. Restored drawing of winged figure (Nike)

hairstyle here. The depiction, rather, is of a young woman in the act of putting up her hair. Having combed it out in sections, she is now placing it up on her head, starting at the back. There are no close parallels for this stage of the toilet in red figure,⁸⁴ but the rendering is sufficiently clear as it stands.

It is necessary to attend now to how the figure disposes her right arm. She has it down across her body and holds her hand with the two middle fingers bent under (Pl. 64:a). The hand is battered and chipped, but again there can be little doubt about the rendering: a fold of the chiton is interrupted by the first and fourth fingers and not by the second and third.⁸⁵ Originally the figure must have held some object, and one thinks, of course, of an attribute. There remain at least some clues concerning that object. Since there are no holes for attachment, it cannot have been of bronze. It must have been added in paint.⁸⁶ And further, since the figure bends her wrist lightly, almost languidly, and grasps the object in but two fingers, it must have been of negligible weight. It can hardly, thus, have been a kerykeion. The only plausible restoration is a ribbon, a taenia (Fig. 1).⁸⁷ Our figure is placing her hair up on her head with her left hand, and she holds the ribbon with which she will tie it in her right, in readiness. If this restoration is correct, then we have secured the identification, for the taenia is a well-established attribute of Nike, the fillet

⁸⁴ At a different stage in the preparation of the hair but comparable in showing a section of hair combed down in front of the ear: woman tying on a fillet, late 5th-century pyxis, *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, London 1904, no. I 56, pls. XCVII, C.

⁸⁵ The middle fingers stop after the first knuckle, but surely the artist intended us to understand them as bent under. The most likely explanation is that he miscalculated the available relief depth and ended up flattening and curtailing his rendering. The gesture is best understood if we imagine the figure holding her thumb lightly against her middle fingers. Compare the left hand of Hegeso on the Hegeso Stele, Athens, N.M. 3624 (Lullies, *op. cit.* [footnote 83 above], fig. 187).

⁸⁶ For the adding of details in paint, see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 209. None of the ancient painting on the frieze survives, but originally it must have been extensive, including, as here, painting over carved relief. Compare, for example, figures West 12, South 112–114 (Michaelis), East 36 (Athena's aegis).

⁸⁷ Previous scholars restoring a taenia: Michaelis, p. 255; Overbeck, *loc. cit.* (footnote 77 above); and Studniczka, *loc. cit.* (footnote 75 above).

with which she decorates the victor;⁸⁸ it is a ribbon, that is to say, serving in two roles at once, as an attribute, there to make clear to the viewer the figure's identity, and as part of the motif of her toilet. We can note further that the double role provides an explanation for the lack of a close parallel on vases. Women shown fixing their hair on vases invariably have the taenia already partly in place, wrapped around the head and held at the ends, ready to tie.⁸⁹ Had the frieze designer shown the figure thus, the motif of the toilet would have been clear, but the taenia's identity as an attribute would not. Only with the taenia down and away from the head is its double role, accessory and attribute, established.

Before we take the problem of this figure's identity as solved, we need to consider a previous theory that has enjoyed considerable influence. In the study *Opfernde Götter*, Erika Simon draws a parallel between the frieze group and early Attic red-figured representations of Zeus and Hera holding phialai, attended by a standing winged figure with a pitcher.⁹⁰ In the past, scholars have considered the vase depictions genre: the gods on Olympus being served nectar by Nike or Iris.⁹¹ Simon suggests rather that they are mythological, Zeus and Hera taking their marriage vows on the waters of the river Styx. The *Theogony* (782–788) recounts that Zeus appointed Iris to bring water from the Styx for the swearing of *horkoi*, divine oaths. Picturing the marriage vows as Stygian oaths, Simon suggests that the winged figure on the frieze, Iris, alludes by her presence to Zeus and Hera's nuptial vows. In such a reconstruction the taenia would play no part. Simon suggests, rather, that Iris is putting her hair and dress in order, "*ordnet sie sich Haar und Gewand*,"⁹² having just flown back from reconnoitering the festival.

Simon's proposal is open to a number of objections. First, her description of the winged figure's activity is hardly convincing. The action of the left hand is not a minor pushing into place of stray locks, that is, a gesture appropriate to touching up one's appearance. As we have seen, the hair is unbound and combed out. It seems no more likely that the figure is in the act of straightening her dress with the right hand. Were that the motif, one would expect the dress folds to be displaced, and they are not. There is a more important objection, however. Simon fails to establish that *horkoi*, and thus on the divine plane the waters of the Styx, had any role in marriage ritual. Greek marriage was secured in an agreement between the groom and the bride's guardian, her *kyrios*. There was no pledge between the bride and groom. And in the agreement between the groom and *kyrios* there is no indication that oaths played a part. The agreement is an *ἐγγύη*, a term denoting the giving of a pledge of surety

⁸⁸ On that attribute, see Bulle (Roscher), cols. 330–331.

⁸⁹ Compare, for example, the pyxis by the Washing Painter (Pl. 64:b); a similar representation by the same painter, nuptial lebes, Athens, N.M. 14,790 (*ARV*², p. 1126, no. 4). Further representations of women tying up their hair: cup, Rome, Villa Giulia 25,006 (*ARV*², p. 819, no. 39 [Telephos Painter]); lekythos, Vienna, private coll. (E. Reisch, *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig 1900, p. 249, fig.; also the pyxis cited in footnote 84 above; courtesan unbinding her hair: stamnos, Brussels, Musées Royaux A 717 (*ARV*², p. 20, no. 1 [Smikros]); Danae, calyx-krater, Leningrad, Hermitage 637 (St. 1723) (*ARV*², p. 360, no. 1 [Triptolemos Painter]); Atalanta, calyx-krater, Bologna, M.C. 300 (*ARV*², p. 1152, no. 7).

⁹⁰ Simon, *loc. cit.* (footnote 65 above). In a study (footnote 2 above) that appeared after the completion of my text, Simon implicitly abandons these views, p. 127.

⁹¹ For example, G. Pellegrini, *Museo Civico di Bologna: Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti*, Bologna 1912, no. 161, p. 54; E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre III*, Paris 1922, no. G 370, p. 237; *CVA*, Louvre 3 [France 4], III I d, text to pl. 10:1.

⁹² Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), p. 63.

or guarantee.⁹³ In short, one is left to doubt that a scene of Zeus and Hera swearing nuptial oaths on the Styx was ever contemplated in antiquity; there is no indication that it was ever represented.

The winged figure ought to share a close thematic relation to the *hieros gamos* on her right, if not as a bearer of Stygean oaths, then in some other way. And in fact the answer is not far to seek. Toward the middle of the 5th century, some decade before the carving of the frieze, bridal iconography begins a significant new departure with the representation of the bride and her companions at home in their apartments, the *gynaikeia*.⁹⁴ The tradition has its roots in domestic scenes depicted on women's vases, predominantly lekythoi, from the first half of the 5th century, and as the representations continue on lebetes gamikoi, loutrophoroi, and kalpides in the third quarter of the century, they evolve into three closely related types: the bride surrounded by bridesmaids bearing gifts, the bride in the company of musicians, and the bride and her companions at their toilet. It is in relation to the third of these, the preparation for the nuptials, that Nike's relation to Hera and the *hieros gamos* becomes clear. She is a bridesmaid, *paranymphos*.⁹⁵

A pyxis in Würzburg by the Washing Painter can serve as an illustration of this iconography (Pl. 64:b).⁹⁶ The bride is seated on a couch in the center, tying on her hairband, and on both sides are bridesmaids, one holding a loutrophoros, an allusion to the nuptial bath, the other lifting her himation into place. On a roughly contemporary epinetron depicting the wedding of Harmonia, only the bridesmaids are actively engaged in preparation (Pl. 65:a).⁹⁷ The bride sits passively at the center, comforted by Kore. Peitho stands just to the bride's left, in the position of Nike to Hera, and checks the fall of her dress in a hand mirror. And on the right stands Hebe with her hands up adjusting her hairband. Precisely this tradition lies behind the frieze: the bridesmaid at her toilet, alluding to the preparation of the bride for her nuptials.

There is a particularly close parallel to the frieze representation on a cup in Berlin, a scene of Helen in preparation for her departure with Paris (Pl. 65:b).⁹⁸ The date would seem to be soon after the frieze, perhaps *ca.* 430, and the vase painter may well have been looking back to the Nike-Hera group for inspiration. As there, only the handmaiden is engaged in the toilet. She adjusts her hairband with one hand, in a gesture close to Nike's, and holds a mirror in the other. Both her activity and her mood are in contrast to that of

⁹³ On the *ἐγγύη* or *ἐγγύησις* and marriage, see most recently A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens, I, Family and Property*, Oxford 1968, pp. 1–9.

⁹⁴ See Götte, *op. cit.* (footnote 37 above), pp. 35–37.

⁹⁵ For the relevance of nuptial iconography to the frieze representation, see already Pemberton, p. 121, note 77.

⁹⁶ Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 541 (*ARV*², p. 1133, no. 196); E. Langlotz, *Martin von Wagner-Museum: Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1932, no. 541; S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis*, Chicago 1978, pp. 125–126. The vase was damaged in the Second World War; I show it here in an older photograph.

⁹⁷ Athens, N.M. 1629 (*ARV*², p. 1250, no. 34 [Eretria Painter]). On the identification of the figures, see particularly B. Schweitzer, *Mythische Hochzeiten: Eine Interpretation des Bilderkreises an dem Epinetron des Eretriameisters*, Heidelberg 1961.

⁹⁸ Berlin, S.M. 2536 (*ARV*², p. 1287, no. 1 [Painter of Berlin 2536]); L. B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène*, Paris 1955, no. 15, pp. 61–62.

Helen, who sits motionless and brooding. This contrast of mistress and maid is emphasized also on the frieze but in a different form. Nike, the young girl, looks out away from Hera, her attention caught up in the festival procession. Her mistress is the older woman, worldly and blasé, turning away from the event to her husband.

There is one final problem to be dealt with if the identification as Nike is to be secure. Does the deity appear suited to the role of the frieze figure? Were there associations surrounding Nike in the Classical period that made her an appropriate attendant to the bride? For the Roman period, at least, there is an important parallel. Nonnus in portraying the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia places Nike in the role of *thalameposos*, the maid of honor in charge of preparing the bridal chamber (*Dionysiaca* v.107–112). No equivalent testimony survives from the Classical period, no intimation either in prose or poetry that the role would have been appropriate at an early point in this deity's development. To attempt to trace it back requires an argument that is of necessity more indirect.

The view that Nike's role in the Greek pantheon is broader than that of a simple personification was first set forth by Hedwig Kenner in an article entitled "Flügelfrau und Flügeldämon."⁹⁹ Her thesis takes as its point of departure the representations of winged females on lebetes gamikoi and nuptial lekanai. From the mid-5th century these vessels regularly show a winged female under each handle, flanking the central scene of the bride and bridesmaids; a well-preserved lebes in Hanover can serve as representative of the type (Pl. 66:a–c).¹⁰⁰ On the greater number of these vases the winged figures are portrayed bearing nuptial gifts. The Hanover lebes, for example, depicts one holding a jewelry box and taenia, the other a taenia and kalathos. The bridesmaids in the central scene bear similar gifts, and it is natural to see the winged figures and the central figures as, at least in some sense, in analogous roles. On others of these vases the winged figures carry sets of torches, an allusion to the nocturnal leading home of the bride by the groom.¹⁰¹ They behave in ways equivalent to that of a bridesmaid or maid of honor, but, as the presence of the wings and the position of the figures on the vases make clear, they are being placed at a certain distance from the wedding. They join in the festivities but from a spirit realm. Scholars studying the iconography of the victory goddess have invariably called the winged females Nikai, noting that their portrayal is very similar to that of the winged figures, the Nikai, on lekythoi and alabastra, on women's vases in general, from the first half of the 5th century.¹⁰² The

⁹⁹ *JOAI* 31, 1939, pp. 81–95.

¹⁰⁰ Kestner Museum 1966.116 (*CVA*, Hannover 1 [Germany 34], 41 [1673]). On the development of the iconography, see Götte, *op. cit.* (footnote 37 above), pp. 38–41. Among the earliest examples of the type, from around 450 B.C.: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1520 (*ARV*², p. 516 [near Mykonos Painter]; *CVA*, Bonn 1 [Germany 1], 12 [12]:4, 14 [14]:4); Berlin, S.M. 2404 (*ARV*², p. 841, no. 70 [Sabouroff Painter]; A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, Berlin 1883–1887, pl. 68:1); Brussels, Musées Royaux A 1380 (*ARV*², p. 841, no. 74 [Sabouroff Painter]; *CVA*, Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], 12 [127]:9, 14 [129]:2).

¹⁰¹ Cf. representations of the torch-lit nuptial procession: e.g., cup, Berlin, S.M. 2530 (*ARV*², p. 831, no. 20 [Amphitrite Painter]); loutrophoros, Berlin, S.M. 2373 (cited footnote 66 above). Nuptial torches borne by the mother of the bride: Euripides, *Medea*, 1027, *Phoenissae*, 344; Apollonius Rhodius, iv.808. For winged figures in relation to the marriage procession, Prückner, *op. cit.* (footnote 49 above), p. 20, discussing his Lorkrian relief Type 3.

¹⁰² P. Knapp, *Nike in der Vasenmalerei*, Tübingen 1876, p. 79; Bulle, (Roscher), col. 309; Bernert, "Nike,"

difficulty has been not the identification (the earlier figures are often labeled) but to understand why a personification of victory should be appearing so frequently on women's vases, on nuptial vases in particular. Paul Knapp, in the first comprehensive iconographic study of Nike, suggested that she personifies the sexual conquest, the captivation of the male,¹⁰³ and the explanation has been taken up in the subsequent studies of the goddess by Bulle and Bernert.¹⁰⁴ Kenner accepts that the figures are Nike but understands their presence differently. As they appear on these vases, she suggests, they are *daimones*, minor beings at the fringes of the mortal sphere; it is their good will, their blessings on the marriage that are being looked to.¹⁰⁵

At the turn from the 6th to the 5th century, when Nike first appears on red-figured vases, she has already a distinct iconography. She is a graceful, delicate being, most often floating, weightless and nearly motionless.¹⁰⁶ She shares these flying and floating poses with Eros,¹⁰⁷ and in other respects as well their representations in the late Archaic and early Classical periods are closely bound together.¹⁰⁸ They appear in similar contexts: on lekythoi, alabastra, and other women's vases, and as attendant figures to karyatic mirror

RE XVII, i, 1936, col. 292; W. Fuchs, "Nike," *EAA* V, 1963, p. 466. A. Brueckner ("Athenische Hochzeitsgeschenke," *AthMitt* 32, 1907, p. 107) puts forth an alternative identification: Eos, the dawn. That personification, however, unlike Nike, does not appear in multiples. It would make little sense to show two Dawns flying in from opposite sides of a scene.

¹⁰³ Knapp, *loc. cit.*; anticipated by Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁴ Bulle (Roscher), col. 309; Bernert, *loc. cit.* (footnote 102 above).

¹⁰⁵ Kenner, *op. cit.* (footnote 99 above), pp. 94–95. In the discussion that follows I depart from Kenner's thesis in a number of respects. I will be entering into a detailed re-examination of that thesis elsewhere, in a forthcoming study of the Athena Nike sanctuary. In brief, Kenner maintains that the daimonic nature of the goddess has its roots in an early folkloric association with afterlife and wind spirits.

Nike als reine Personifikationsgottheit hat nichts zu tun mit jenen dunklen Flügeldämonen des griechischen Volksglaubens. Ihre Gestalt entstammt der helleren Sphäre des abstrahierenden griechischen Geistes und stellt sich ihm als ein lichtiges, verklärtes Symbol dar. Freilich ist es möglich, dass das weitumspannende griechische Denken, das die Dinge von ihren extremsten Seiten, von ihrem positiven und negativen Pol zu betrachten liebte, nicht nur an die Nike des Seigers, sondern auch an die Nike des Besiegten dachte. Für den Unterlegenen wäre die Siegesgöttin schwärzester Unglücksdämon (*ibid.*, p. 90).

Kenner sees this putative dark side of the goddess as ruinous, a carrier off of good things, and in this sense akin to a Harpy, Siren, or Boread. She is led to this conclusion, first, because the Archaic iconography of Nike compares closely with that of afterlife and wind spirits, the Boreads, for example, and second, her more important reason, because of the association that exists in antiquity between marriage and death. The death of a young unwedded female, as a divine intervention, connoted a chthonian "marriage", the *kore* called by Pluto. It is thus that lebetes gamikoi came to be common maidens' grave offerings. Kenner suggests (p. 94) that Nikai, as chthonic spirits, represent the transfer of funerary usages and associations to the marriage vase.

¹⁰⁶ For the type, Isler-Kerényi, *op. cit.* (footnote 76 above), pp. 43–45; also B. Eckstein-Wolf, "Zur Darstellung spendender Götter," *MdI* 5, 1952, pp. 62–64. It first appears in the early work of the Berlin Painter, for example, Panathenaic amphora, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 386 (*ARV*², p. 197, no. 2); lekythos, Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg 4.08 (*ARV*², p. 211, no. 189).

¹⁰⁷ E.g., amphora, Naples, M.N. RC 63 (*ARV*², p. 198, no. 18 [Berlin Painter]); lekythos, Gela, M.C. *ex coll.* Navarra-Jacona (*ARV*², p. 384, no. 219 [Brygos Painter]). On the iconography see Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ On ties between Nike and Eros, see particularly Bulle (Roscher), cols. 308, 309; R. Pagenstecher, *Eros und Psyche*, Heidelberg 1911, pp. 35–38; Bernert, *loc. cit.* (footnote 102 above).

supports.¹⁰⁹ They engage in similar activities.¹¹⁰ And they share attributes.¹¹¹ In the discussion that follows one of these attributes is of particular importance: both figures are portrayed on occasion holding long, flowering tendril scrolls.¹¹² Scholars have recognized that Eros' holding of such scrolls alludes to Love as a power of fertility, a daimonic force that causes living things to be attracted to one another and so to flourish and bear fruit.¹¹³ We should stop to note, as well, how an iconography of this type takes shape. Its origin is in a rather primitive process of association whereby thoughts and perceptions attending the noun to be personified, *eros* in this case, are taken up by the artist and transformed into characteristics and attributes of the personification.

Similar processes and associations, associations attending the word *nike* in this case, contribute to changes in the iconography of the victory goddess: victory is kind; victory is gracious and gladdening. Under the guidance of these and similar thoughts, Nike becomes in early red figure a graceful and genial winged female. That she is shown on occasion holding tendril scrolls is but an extension of the same: victory is fruitful; victory makes one flourish. In the popular mind the victory goddess, like Eros, gathers unto herself the characteristics of a fertility daimon, a fosterer of growth and fruition. In some few cases we are actually shown Eros and Nike in juxtaposition as complementary beings. An early Classical red-figured astragalos by the Syriskos Painter, for example, portrays Eros holding flowering tendrils on one side, Nike with palmette scrolls on another.¹¹⁴ A mirror support in London is decorated with a representation of Eros and Nike rising up from a flower, she flying left, he right.¹¹⁵

When Nike is drawn into nuptial iconography from the mid-5th century, she carries

¹⁰⁹ As mirror supports: Erotes, see footnote 48 above; Nikai, *op. cit.* (footnote 84 above), no. A 8, pl. XLV; detail, K. A. Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, Berlin 1921, fig. 25; Schaller, *op. cit.* footnote 48 above), no. 100; Congdon, *op. cit.* (footnote 48 above), no. 33, pls. 29–31.

¹¹⁰ E.g., as musicians: Nike, see Bulle (Roscher), col. 326; Eros, Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 17; M. Wegner, *Musikleben der Griechen*, Berlin 1949, pp. 196, 198, 216; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 16–21. Carrying implements of cult: Nike, Eckstein-Wolf, *op. cit.* (footnote 106 above), pp. 73–74; Eros, *ibid.*, p. 74, with additions, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 70.

¹¹¹ Most prominently the taenia and wreath, proper to Nike but also held occasionally by Eros: Eros with taenia, e.g., lekythos, Boston, M.F.A. 10.180 (*ARV*², p. 384, no. 218 [Brygos Painter]); stamnos, London, B.M. E 440 (*ARV*², p. 289, no. 1 [Siren Painter]); wreath, cup, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2669 (*ARV*², p. 818, no. 26 [Telephos Painter]); further references, Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 15. Attributes shared by both but less frequent in their iconography: torches, Nike, Bulle (Roscher), col. 331; cf. footnote 101 above; Eros, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 70; kerykeia, Nike, pelike, Berlin, S.M. F 2166 (*ARV*², p. 288, no. 5 [Argos Painter]); Eros, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 47–50; and for a further attribute see the next footnote.

¹¹² Eros, Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 15; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 7–13; Nike, amphora, Philadelphia, University Museum 31.16.11 (*ARV*², p. 198, no. 15 [Berlin Painter]); oinochoe, London, B.M. E 513 (*ARV*², p. 210, no. 184 [Berlin Painter]); lekythos, Palermo, M.N. V 699 (*ARV*², p. 211, no. 188 [Berlin Painter]).

¹¹³ See particularly Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 24–26.

¹¹⁴ Rome, Villa Giulia 866 (*ARV*², p. 264, no. 67; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*, Cambridge, Mass. 1919, II, pp. 442–443).

¹¹⁵ London, B.M. 1923.5-14.1; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 36, fig. 28. On the identification of the figures, *ibid.*, p. 38. Greifenhagen proposes as an alternative that the two may be Iris and Zephyros. Since both Eros and Nike appear elsewhere as mirror supports, however, they are the more likely. A winged youth and maiden, possibly Eros and Nike, draw Aphrodite's chariot on a Lokrian relief (Prückner, *op. cit.* [footnote 49 above], pl. 2, p. 23, with further references).

her daimonic associations with her. It is not impossible that, in flying under each handle of the lebes gamikos, Nike brought a smile to the bride with the thought of a marital conquest. She brought, more surely, long-established connotations of good fortune and fertility, the successful marriage rich in offspring. The last step, from the lebetes to the Parthenon frieze, is but a small one. The frieze designer has taken Nike's newly developed association with marriage and elevated it to a mythical plane. From a deity hovering out beyond the mortal *paranymphoi*, she is brought in to serve as *paranymphos* proper. In putting up her hair, she acts as do the mortal bridesmaids on contemporary vases.

To better appreciate Nike's role in the three-figure frieze group, it helps to think her away for a moment. With or without a bridal attendant, Hera's identity as bride in the *hieros gamos* is clear. But what of Zeus? His languor intimates that he possesses the bride, that he is husband. Were this a two-figure group, however, it would be far from clear that his role as consort predominates, that he is appearing on the frieze as this above all else. Nike attending Hera as *paranymphos* intensifies the reference to the *hieros gamos* twofold, with respect to Hera first, as bridesmaid to the bride, but also with respect to Zeus. The contemporary viewer would have appreciated immediately the anomaly in seeing Nike away from her expected place, not by Zeus, connoting his sovereign rule over the gods, but by Hera: not the Victory of Zeus, the Victory of the Bride. Hera and Zeus are a divine couple, thought of on the frieze as seated side by side. In this respect, and this respect only, Nike attends Zeus also. She stands beside the two as husband and wife. The iconography of the whole is the victory of marital union as seen in the archetype, the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera.

There are close ties between this group's iconography and that of Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros just examined. Here, as there, the gods are portrayed in narrowly defined aspects. Zeus and Hera are bride and groom in the *hieros gamos*. Nike is *paranymphos*. And here, as there, the group functions as an integral unit, not as three figures in casual juxtaposition. The iconography of any one cannot be understood in isolation. They are parts, rather, in one coordinated iconographic "statement".

A HYPOTHETICAL PROGRAM

The assembly thus far examined presents, in one group, the Olympians as protectors of the bearing and raising of children, and in the other, the Olympians as the model for and protectors of marriage. Typical mythological characteristics and affiliations have been placed to the side. They are no longer of primary concern. In their place has come a concern with societal institutions: marriage; the family. We cannot yet know whether the iconography of these two groups has bearing on the interpretation of the rest of the gods. Let us take simply on assumption that we have found something key. The following may stand as a hypothetical program: the frieze presents an Olympian pantheon in a set of divine groups that mirror the essential institutions of civilized society.

HERMES, DIONYSOS, AND DEMETER. ATHENA AND HEPHAISTOS

That the divine gathering is indeed structured around the idea of societal institutions

finds ready support in two further frieze groups: the triad Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter, and the pair Athena and Hephaistos. To this point two institutions have been studied: marriage and the family, in which, broadly speaking, all members of the polis partake. There is, however, a second complex of institutions, each entered into by only some part of the citizenry. Broadly put, these are technological and professional institutions, the trades and skills. On these two larger institutional classes, social on the one hand, technological on the other, society's stability and material well-being depend.

Ancient society drew one distinction above all with regard to skills. It separated those of the country, that is agricultural skills, from those of the city, namely artisanship, the work of the *demiourgoi*.¹¹⁶ The triad Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter and the pair Athena and Hephaistos reflect these two classes respectively. Hephaistos is a smith god, the god of metallurgy, and Athena is a prominent patroness of craft.¹¹⁷ Hermes is a herding god,¹¹⁸ Dionysos a god of wine, and Demeter a guardian of crops: animal husbandry, viticulture, and agriculture.

The iconography of the two groups first examined took care to delineate that the group members were closely tied to one another, portraying thereby that they shared a common aim. An equivalent visual bond is unmistakable in the second two groups. For Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter it is expressed in their social familiarity and intimacy (Pl. 61:b). Demeter has her knees between those of Dionysos, and Dionysos leans back against Hermes. For Athena and Hephaistos (Pl. 61:c) we see it through reference to the one myth that brings the two most closely together, Erichthonios' birth.¹¹⁹ Here lies the significance of

¹¹⁶ Among early indications of that distinction, which develops in importance through the Archaic period, note Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 13.2 (on the selection of archons by faction in the constitution ca. 579 B.C.); on the difficulties of the passage, see P. Rhodes, *Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenian Politeia*, Oxford 1981, pp. 182–184. For further references, see M. I. Finley, *Ancient Economy*, Berkeley 1973, pp. 41–42, with particular regard to the relative value placed on the two.

¹¹⁷ Nilsson, *GGR*³ I, p. 439; H. Jessen, "Ergane," *RE* V, ii, 1907, cols. 428–430.

¹¹⁸ Nilsson, *GGR*³ I, pp. 505–506.

¹¹⁹ For the testimonia on the myth, Preller and Robert, *op. cit.* (footnote 63 above), p. 198, note 2. The most important among them is Eratosthenes, [*Cat.*] 13 (Euripides, frag. 925, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta* I, A. Nauck, ed., Leipzig 1889):

λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον: "Ἥφαιστον ἐρασθέντα Ἀθηναῖς βούλεσθαι αὐτῇ μιγῆναι· τῆς δὲ ἀποστρεφόμενης καὶ τὴν παρθεναίαν μᾶλλον αἰρουμένης ἔντινι τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύπτεσθαι, ὃν λέγουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι Ἥφαιστείον. ὃς δόξας αὐτὴν κρατήσῃ καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγὰς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ δόρατι ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, φερομένης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σπορᾶς· ἐξ ἧς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι παῖδα, ὃς ἐκ τούτου Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκλήθη.

Representations of the birth on Attic vases antedating the Parthenon, stamnos, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2413 (*ARV*², p. 495, no. 1 [Painter Munich 2413]), ca. 460; hydria, London, B.M. E 182 (*ARV*², p. 580, no. 2 [Oianthe Painter]). On these representations recently, see K. Schefold, *Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich 1981, pp. 48–57. A reconstruction first proposed by S. Karouzou, *AthMitt* 69–70, 1954–1955, pp. 79–94, and strengthened by E. Harrison, *AJA* 81, 1977, pp. 137–139, 265–287, would place the original of a relief in the Vatican showing the birth of Erichthonios on the base of Alkamenos' cult statues in the Hephaisteion. Alkamenos may well have been led to his choice of myth by the east frieze of the Parthenon. At any rate, the reconstruction of the base accords with the myth's relevance to Athena and Hephaistos as gods of craft. For citations of the myth in relation to the Hephaisteion, see Pausanias, 1.14.6; Augustine, *de civitate D.* xviii.12.

Athena's holding her aegis down over her lap. Hephaistos turns back to the maiden as if he were her spouse, and she has her aegis down as guard of her virginity and shrinks back from him ever so slightly.

There remain three in the Olympian gathering whose placement is yet to be discussed: Ares, seated by Demeter, and allied thus to the agricultural group; and the pair Poseidon and Apollo, seated left of and in a row with Artemis and Aphrodite. Their treatment, however, will require that we first investigate the principles structuring the program that I have proposed for the gathering. The program draws on two concepts that have a distinctly philosophical cast: the idea that civilization has discrete institutional bases, and the idea that these bases give structure to the pantheon. Both concepts, in fact, have a defined place within the intellectual history of antiquity.

THEOLOGIES OF THE SOPHISTS

THE SCHOLARSHIP

The modern understanding of pre-Socratic philosophy in general, and Sophistic theology in particular, rests on a painstaking interpretation of fragments. An examination of a number of these primary sources will lead to the conclusion that the theology of Protagoras bears close relation to the frieze, but it may be best not to begin the analysis there. The Sophist's views, attested in isolated, seemingly contradictory sources, have over the years given rise to broadly divergent interpretations, and in pursuing the argument, it will be necessary to choose among them. I am guided in these choices by the writings of three scholars, two who are renowned for their work on the pre-Socratics, Werner Jaeger and W. K. C. Guthrie,¹²⁰ and one who has devoted careful study to my subject precisely, C. W. Müller.¹²¹ The reasons for following the three will be more apparent, however, if we have first examined surviving work from philosophers roughly contemporary with Protagoras and in large part dependent on him.

In the lists of *atheoi* passed on by Hellenistic and Roman writers there are, besides Protagoras, three 5th-century names that regularly appear: Diagoras of Melos, Prodikos of Keos, and Kritias.¹²² There survive no writings of significance by the first of these, but Prodikos, a Sophist and Protagoras' younger contemporary, and Kritias, a devotee of philosophers and infamous member of the Thirty, are both known in fragments, and these provide substantial testimony on theological speculation in the second half of the 5th century.

PRODIKOS

Later sources cite Prodikos as the author of a treatise explicating the origins of the traditional pantheon; he was remembered in particular for the statement that man first deified elements of his environment that fostered life, such things as the sun, the moon,

¹²⁰ *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Oxford 1947 (= Jaeger, *Theology*); *History of Greek Philosophy*, III, *Fifth-Century Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1969 (= Guthrie, *HGP*).

¹²¹ "Protagoras über die Götter," *Hermes* 95, 1967, pp. 140–159 (= Müller).

¹²² Compare, for example, Cicero, *de natura deorum* 1.63; Sextus Empiricus, *ad. Mathematicos* IX.50.

PRE-SOPHISTIC THEOLOGY: XENOPHANES

The *Silloi* of Xenophanes embody the earliest known philosophical speculation on the origin and nature of the traditional Olympian pantheon and indeed are the single instance of such speculation known to antedate Sophism.¹²⁷ They may help to place the work of Prodikos in perspective. The *Silloi*, dating from the early 5th century, set out the thesis that men conceive of gods in their own image. Xenophanes observes that the gods give birth and are born; they speak with human voices and dress in human clothes. If we could know the animals' gods, he suggests, we would find that horses have horse gods, that cows worship cows:

ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες <ἵπποι τ' > ἢ ἐλέοντες
 ἢ γράψαι χεῖρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ ἄνδρες,
 ἵπποι μὲν θ' ἵπποισι βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὁμοίας
 καὶ <κε> θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποιοῦν
 τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὺτοὶ δέμας εἶχον <ἐκαστοι>.¹²⁸

Xenophanes is heir to the inquiries of the Ionian natural philosophers, and his concern with the traditional pantheon is a logical outgrowth of their views on matter, origins, and causes.¹²⁹ If the true godhead resides in such causes, as was implicit in Milesian thought, whence springs the belief in a traditional pantheon? Xenophanes approaches his problem not from an interest in the established gods *per se*. In exposing their anthropomorphic basis, rather, he is clearing the way for belief in a god of a higher order, a god revealed through philosophy.¹³⁰ The fragments of Prodikos, in contrast, betray no opposition between philosophical and traditional divinities. They take up the problem of the latter only, gods of popular belief, not to expose them as false but to understand more closely the process by which they came to be. The inquiry is concerned not so much with the form of the gods, their anthropomorphism, as with their functions and powers.

KRITIAS

The skills of Hephaistos and Demeter to which Prodikos refers imply a stable social order, cooperation, specialization, and in the case of agriculture, a fixed abode. There is no hint that the concept of socialization itself had an important place in Prodikos' theology. A lengthy fragment from the satyr play *Sisyphos* by Kritias, however, establishes it as indeed a concern of other Sophists of the time. Sisyphos recounts in the fragment how man came to be civilized:¹³¹ in early society men ruled by brute force and the strong imposed their will on the weak unjustly. Then laws were instituted. Good men were upheld and bad men punished but only the bad who could be caught. Finally "a shrewd and subtle mind discovered

¹²⁷ For a theory of the divine contemporary with the first generation of Sophism but independent of it, see Demokritos, Diels-Kranz, A 75, for which see further footnote 171 below.

¹²⁸ Diels-Kranz, B 15; cf. B 14.

¹²⁹ See particularly Jaeger, *Theology*, pp. 38–54. On the divine in Milesian philosophy, see Guthrie, *HGP* I, pp. 87–89, 127–132.

¹³⁰ See here particularly Diels-Kranz, B 23–26.

¹³¹ Sextus Empiricus, *ad. Mathematicos* ix.54; Diels-Kranz, B 25.

mortal fear of the gods, so that evil doers might be afraid even in their secret actions, words, and thoughts.”

ἦν χρόνος, ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος
καὶ θηριώδης ἰσχύος θ' ὑπηρέτης,
ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἄθλον οὔτε τοῖς ἐσθλοῖσιν ἦν
οὔτ' αὖ κόλασμα τοῖς κακοῖς ἐγίγνετο.
κάπειτά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νόμους
θέσθαι κολαστάς, ἵνα δίκη τύραννος ἦ
<ὁμῶς ἀπάντων> τήν θ' ὕβριν δούλην ἔχη
ἐζημιούτο δ' εἴ τις ἐξαμαρτάνοι.
ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰμφανῆ μὲν οἱ νόμοι
ἀπείργον αὐτοὺς ἔργα μὴ πράσσειν βία,
λάθρα δ' ἔπρασσον, τῆνικαὐτά μοι δοκεῖ
<πρώτον> πυκνός τις καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνήρ
<θεῶν> δέος θνητοῖσιν ἐξευρεῖν, ὅπως
εἴη τι δεῖμα τοῖς κακοῖσι, κἂν λάθρα
πράσσωσιν ἢ λέγωσιν ἢ φρονῶσί <τι>.¹³²

Since Kritias is something of a camp follower, not a Sophist in his own right, it is hard to know what in the passage is original to him and what derivative.¹³³ Underlying the speech is a thesis that turns the traditional understanding of human laws and standards on its ear. Laws, *nomoi*, are not a gift of the gods, divinely sanctioned and ordained. They are conceptions of right and wrong shared by the community, and it is rather first in order to enforce these conceptions that the gods, the *theoi*, take rise. The claim that “a shrewd man discovered mortal fear of the gods that evil doers might be afraid” asserts, in effect, that the divine conception of right and wrong mirrors and responds to the human.¹³⁴ One recognizes immediately two elements in Kritias’ formulation in debt to Sophistic theology: the portrayal of the gods as products of the human mind, *νομιζόμενα*, and the link between divine belief and man’s evolution from a natural to a civilized state. Kritias shares both theses with Prodikos, however different their approaches in other respects. The element newly introduced is the tie between human belief in the gods and socialization. Implicit in Sisyphos’ argument is the idea that the gods, imaginary beings, are necessary to stable society. Believed to enforce social behavior, behavior in accord with the *nomoi* of the community, they lead men to act socially of their own volition.

PROTAGORAS

There is a broad consensus that Protagoras of Abdera first introduced the trains of thought that characterize Sophistic theology, and specifically in two treatises, *Περὶ θεῶν*, *Concerning the Gods*, and *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*, *On the Original State of*

¹³² Diels-Kranz, B 25, lines 1–15.

¹³³ On possible sources, see particularly Nestle, pp. 414–420. Demokritos (Diels-Kranz, A 75, B 30, B 264) and Prodikos are most frequently mentioned. Cf. also Antiphon, Diels-Kranz, B 44 (*OP* 1364, frag. A).

¹³⁴ Cf. for the idea, Euripides, *Hecuba*, 800; Plato, *Leges*, 889e.

Man.¹³⁵ These treatises' absolute dates, even their relative placement within the Sophist's career, have been matters of disagreement. A tradition preserved by Diogenes Laertius¹³⁶ and accepted by modern scholars,¹³⁷ holds *Περὶ θεῶν* to be the first work Protagoras performed in public. On that testimony, the treatise would have been in the Sophist's curriculum already at the time of his first sojourn at Athens, years from roughly the mid-century to late in the decade of the forties.¹³⁸ Less evidence survives for dating *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*. Most scholars hold that the myth of creation in the *Protagoras* (Plato, 320d–322d) quotes it or reflects it closely,¹³⁹ and the dialogue's dramatic date, *ca.* 433, has thus been used as a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁴⁰

Of these two treatises only one indisputable fragment survives, the introductory sentence of *Περὶ θεῶν* (Diels-Kranz, B 4). This fragment, the myth of creation, and a passage of the *Theaitetos* (Plato, 162d = Diels-Kranz, A 23) form the central testimonia to Protagoras' theology. I quote the first and last of the three here, leaving the more lengthy creation myth for treatment at a later point (pp. 321–324 below).

The opening lines of *Περὶ θεῶν* are these:

Περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὐθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὐθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐθ' ὁποῖοι τινας ἰδέαν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι ἢ τ' ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὦν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Concerning the gods I am unable to discover whether they exist or not, or what they are like in form; for there are many hindrances to knowledge, the obscurity of the subject and the brevity of human life.¹⁴¹

The second fragment, from the *Theaitetos*, occurs within a colloquy between Theaitetos, an earnest youth of school age, and Sokrates concerning Protagoras' dictum *homo mensura*, "man is the measure of all things." Sokrates has interposed the question whether a man can be as wise as a god and frames what he imagines Protagoras might reply:

᾽Ω γενναῖοι παῖδες τε καὶ γέροντες, δημηγορεῖτε συγκαθεζόμενοι, θεοὺς τε εἰς τὸ μέσον ἄγοντες, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔκ τε τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τοῦ γράφειν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰσὶν ἢ ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἐξαιρῶ.'

'You good people sitting there, boys and old men together, this is all claptrap. You drag in the gods, whose existence or non-

¹³⁵ See most recently K.-M. Dietz, *Protagoras von Abdera*, Bonn 1976, pp. 140–142.

¹³⁶ IX.54.

¹³⁷ On the dating, see for example, A. Lesky, *History of Greek Literature*, 2nd ed., New York 1966, p. 344.

¹³⁸ On Protagoras' residence at Athens during the 440's, see further pp. 337–338 below.

¹³⁹ On this point see footnote 159 below.

¹⁴⁰ On the treatise's date, see most recently, M. L. West, "The Prometheus Trilogy," *JHS* 99, 1979, p. 147. Among its reflections, in addition to the creation myth, West points to Sophokles, *Antigone*, 332–372 (dated to or before 442 B.C.). On the dramatic date of the *Protagoras*, see recently Guthrie, *HGP* IV, p. 214.

¹⁴¹ Translation, Guthrie, *HGP* III, p. 234.

existence I expressly refuse to discuss in my speeches and writings, and you count upon appeals to the vulgar such as this.¹⁴²

Scholarly differences of opinion concerning the Sophist's theology are rooted, above all, in different valuations of the first of these two fragments, B 4. We need to begin there, and in particular with a turning point in literature on the problem, a reinterpretation of the fragment introduced by Jaeger in his public lectures, the Gifford Lectures of 1936.¹⁴³ Up to that point B 4 had been thought to offer a concise overview of *Περὶ θεῶν*, that is to say, the treatise was thought to revolve around the problem of knowledge of the divine. In Theodor Gomperz' view, for example, it encompassed a refutation of the theologies of Protagoras' predecessors;¹⁴⁴ in the view of Wilhelm Nestle, a philosophical assault on popular belief.¹⁴⁵ It was believed to have culminated, in any case, with a demonstration of the impossibility of knowing God. Jaeger cast B 4 in a decidedly different light. He saw it not as introducing lines of argument, in the spirit of a topic sentence, but rather as backing away from arguments. It prepared the way, he felt, for a treatise that pursued a fully different line of inquiry.¹⁴⁶

Jaeger was moved to this view, above all, through what he came to understand as a unity in the scope and direction of Protagoras' thought. In particular he saw logic in removing *Περὶ θεῶν* from the context of a philosophical confrontation, of an attack on the philosophies of nature and being. He drew attention, first, to the fact that neither the language nor tone of B 4 seems suitable to a refutation. There is no pointed or categorical denial of the possibility of coming to know the divine. Rather Protagoras expresses his personal lack of success in the inquiry (*οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι*), the difficulties, the obscurity, his lack of time. Following Jaeger these become the words of a man who wields irony like a razor's edge: in the guise of personal modesty he is, in effect, pushing the pre-Socratic tradition of theological speculation aside as unproductive. In its stead, Jaeger proposed, Protagoras initiates an investigation of the phenomenology of religion, the origin, evolution, and value of divine belief.

In the passage of the *Theaitetos*, Sokrates pictures Protagoras as pushing aside questions of ontology: the gods are beings "whose existence or nonexistence I expressly refuse to discuss in my speeches and writings." This had been difficult to interpret in accord with older views on *Περὶ θεῶν*.¹⁴⁷ It becomes quite intelligible, however, with regard to Jaeger. The Sophist, in taking up problems of religious belief, *τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα*, is here placing the question of absolutes, true gods, outside his ken.

Jaeger's is a reinterpretation with broad consequences; it is important to us, in

¹⁴² Translation F. M. Cornford, *Collected Dialogues of Plato*, E. Hamilton and H. Cairns, ed., Princeton 1961, p. 868.

¹⁴³ Jaeger, *Theology*, pp. 172–190. The lectures were printed only after the War, in 1947.

¹⁴⁴ *Griechische Denker*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1903, p. 361.

¹⁴⁵ Nestle, pp. 277–282.

¹⁴⁶ Jaeger, *Theology*, p. 189.

¹⁴⁷ Cf., for example, the explication of Nestle, p. 278.

particular, however, as central to the problem of whether *Περὶ θεῶν* attacked and attempted to refute traditional religion. In Jaeger's view, now very closely echoed by Guthrie and Müller,¹⁴⁸ it did not.

One might raise two objections to Jaeger, neither serious perhaps but deserving mention. The first concerns the trial of Protagoras at Athens. *Vitae* of the Sophist state that he was forced to flee the city under an indictment for impiety brought by Pythodoros, son of Polyzelos, a member of the Four Hundred.¹⁴⁹ According to tradition, *Περὶ θεῶν* was cited in the indictment, specifically the one fragment that survives, B 4. A few scholars, Nestle among the most prominent,¹⁵⁰ have taken the indictment to strengthen a claim that the treatise held state religion up to attack. As a counter, however, we can note that while the inference is possible, it is neither necessary nor binding. In the climate of late 5th-century Athens, the views espoused in the opening of the treatise alone were sufficient to sustain a trial; they encompassed the implication that the existence of state gods was incapable of proof. The indictment, as best we know, made recourse only to the treatise's opening, not to other arguments within. Thus there is no warrant to judge from the words cited the tone and scope of the work as a whole.

The second problem concerns the transmission of the text. When quoted by Philodemos and Cicero in the 1st century B.C.,¹⁵¹ and consistently thereafter, B 4 is taken as a crux of the Sophist's theological views. Jaeger's evaluation of the fragment as unrepresentative of the treatise's scope and direction and the weight given it in late Classical tradition are in direct opposition. It is reasonable to believe, *ex silentio*, that B 4 is all of *Περὶ θεῶν* to survive into the 1st century and that later tradition judged it paradigmatic solely on this basis. But that answer serves only in part. To assay the relation of B 4 to the treatise, one needs to know why and in what context it was excerpted. This question is the focus of Müller's recent study of *Περὶ θεῶν*, and in lengthy, careful argument, he brings it to a convincing solution.¹⁵² Müller draws attention to the close tie in late sources between B 4 and the Sophist's trial for impiety. Almost always the two are cited in close proximity. The three major contexts for that pairing, catalogues of atheists, enumerations of Attic trials for impiety, and biographies of the Sophist, are, as Müller shows, most consistently explained as stemming from a single source. It would be an Atthidographic rather than a philosophic work and would have cited B 4 as one part in a brief description of the terms of Protagoras' indictment. Already when first cited the fragment had lost its proper philosophical context.

To come back now to the lines of Jaeger's argument, the treatment of Protagoras' theology in the Gifford Lectures entailed two significant scholarly departures. The first is the reevaluation of B 4. We must turn now to the second, Jaeger's interpretation of the creation

¹⁴⁸ Guthrie, *HGP* III, p. 235; Müller, p. 146. Cf. now also G. B. Kerferd, *The Sophistic Movement*, Cambridge 1981, p. 168.

¹⁴⁹ E.g., Diogenes Laertius, ix.52; Philostratos, *Vitae sophistarum* 1.10.3; for further sources and alternate traditions, E. Derenne, *Les procès d'impénéité*, Liège 1930, pp. 54–55.

¹⁵⁰ Nestle, p. 278.

¹⁵¹ Philodemos, *de pietate*, col. 22, lines 1–8, ed. T. Gomperz, Leipzig 1866; Cicero, *de natura deorum* 1.63.

¹⁵² Müller, pp. 155–159.

myth, *Protagoras*, 320d–322d. By far, most studies of the Sophist have dealt with this myth in one form or another. Before the Gifford Lectures, however, it had been considered largely in the context of Protagoras' views on society. Jaeger is the first to make it a central source on Sophistic theology, and indeed he frames much of his argument around it.¹⁵³

The myth, which is related by Protagoras in the course of a colloquy with Sokrates on political virtue, traces the history of man from genesis to the establishment of cities and civilization. As it opens, the time of creation is approaching, and the gods have given shape to man and the animals within the earth in a mixture of earth and fire. They are ready then in form, but they lack appropriate powers and attributes, and the gods delegate Prometheus and Epimetheus to distribute these. Caving in to his brother's entreaties, Prometheus lets Epimetheus do the distribution on his own. We are treated then to a fine account of how species of animals balance one another, each with the natural endowments sufficient to ensure survival. To some species Epimetheus gives strength without speed; to others speed, or flight, or an ability to hide. Predators are made few in number, prey prolific. Each has a protection against the elements, fur, hide and hooves, feathers, and so forth. A problem only arises through oversight: in his enthusiasm, Epimetheus uses up all the available powers on the animals and holds back nothing for man. When Prometheus comes to inspect his brother's work, he finds man "naked, unshod, unsheltered, and unarmed." Prometheus, unsure of how to make good the error, hits upon the idea of stealing something from the gods for man, *ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί*, fire and knowledge of *technai*, which he takes from Hephaistos and Athena. The myth continues (322a):

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε μοίρας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ζῶων μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισεν, καὶ ἐπέχειρει βωμούς τε ἰδρύνεσθαι καὶ ἀγάλματα θεῶν· ἔπειτα φωνὴν καὶ ὀνόματα ταχὺ διηρθρώσατο τῇ τέχνῃ, καὶ οἰκήσεις, καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ ὑποδέσεις καὶ στρωμνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκ γῆς τροφὰς ἠύρετο.

Since, then, man had a share in the portion of the gods, firstly, because of his divine kinship, he alone among living creatures believed in gods and set to work to erect altars and images of them. Secondly, by the art which they possessed, men soon discovered articulate speech and names, and invented houses and clothes and shoes and bedding and got food from the earth.¹⁵⁴

The kinship with god to which Protagoras refers, *τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν*, can hardly be genealogical descent. At the beginning of the myth (320d) it is related how man, like the animals, is fashioned of earth and fire. Rather the kinship will be metaphoric, residing in a shared possession, *ἡ θεία μοίρα*, technology.¹⁵⁵ As a point of reference, we can also note that the thesis to this point has elements in common with that of Prodikos. The two theses are not identical. Prodikos holds that belief in the gods preceded the discovery of *technai*. In a first stage of development, man deified aspects of his environment. In his second stage, however, Prodikos is derivative: he, like Protagoras, places *technai* and the worship of Olympians

¹⁵³ Jaeger, *Theology*, pp. 175–190.

¹⁵⁴ Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, p. 319.

¹⁵⁵ See particularly Guthrie, *op. cit.* (footnote 126 above), p. 141, note 10.

together. Prodikos' perspective is consistently anthropocentric. Progress depends on the discovery of technological skills, with the discoverers receiving worship then as gods. In contrast, Protagoras has gods as prime movers, present in the myth from the start. As has been pointed out, however, this depends on Protagoras' decision at this point in the dialogue to theorize in the form of a fable, *μῦθον λέγειν*, rather than through reasoned argument, *διεξελθὼν λόγῳ* (320c).¹⁵⁶ When the mythical causes in the *Protagoras* are placed aside, the two theological formulations are strikingly close: both understand belief in the Olympians and man's development of technologies as parallel phenomena.

The myth of the *Protagoras* continues:

Οὕτω δὴ παρεσκευασμένοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄνθρωποι ἄκουσσαν σποράδην, πόλεις δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν· ἀπώλλυντο οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διὰ τὸ πανταχῆ αὐτῶν ἀσθενέστεροι εἶναι, καὶ ἡ δημιουργικὴ τέχνη αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν τροφήν ἰκανὴ βοηθὸς ἦν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τῶν θηρίων πόλεμον ἐνδεής—πολιτικὴν γὰρ τέχνην οὐκ εἶχον, ἧς μέρος πολεμική—ἐζήτουν δὴ ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ σφύζεσθαι κτίζοντες πόλεις· ὅτ' οὖν ἀθροισθῆεν, ἠδίκουν ἀλλήλους ἅτε οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν πολιτικὴν τέχνην, ὥστε ἄλιον σκεδανύμενοι διεφθείροντο. Ζεὺς οὖν δείσας περὶ τῶ γένει ἡμῶν μὴ ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν, Ἑρμῆν πέμπει ἄγοντα εἰς ἀνθρώπους αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην, ἵν' εἶεν πόλεων κόσμοι τε καὶ δεσμοὶ φιλίας συναγωγοί. ἐρωτᾷ οὖν Ἑρμῆς Δία τίνα οὖν τρόπον δοίη δίκην καὶ αἰδῶ ἀνθρώποις. —Πότερον ὡς αἱ τέχναι νενέμηνται, οὕτω καὶ ταύτας νείμω; νενέμηνται δὲ ὧδε· εἰς ἔχων ἰατρικὴν πολλοῖς ἰκανὸς ἰδιώταις, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δημιουργοὶ καὶ δίκην δὴ καὶ αἰδῶ οὕτω θῶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἢ ἐπὶ πάντας νείμω; — Ἐπὶ πάντας, ἔφη ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ πάντες μετεχόντων. οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο πόλεις, εἰ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν μετέχουσιν ὥσπερ ἄλλων τεχνῶν.

Thus provided for, they lived at first in scattered groups; there were no cities. Consequently, they were devoured by wild beasts, since they were in every respect the weaker, and their technical skill, though a sufficient aid to their nurture, did not extend to making war on the beasts, for they had not the art of politics, of which the art of war is a part. They sought therefore to save themselves by coming together and founding fortified cities, but when they gathered in communities they injured one another for want of political skill, and so scattered again and continued to be devoured. Zeus therefore, fearing the total destruction of our race, sent Hermes to impart to men a sense of shame and a sense of justice, so as to bring order into our cities and create a bond of friendship and union.

Hermes asked Zeus in what manner he was to bestow these gifts on men. 'Shall I distribute them as the arts were distributed—that is, on the principle that one trained doctor suffices for many laymen, and so with the other experts? Shall I distribute justice and shame in this way, or to all alike?'

'To all,' said Zeus. 'Let all have their share. There could never be cities if only a few shared in these virtues, as in the arts.'¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁵⁷ Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, pp. 319–320.

Man's development is here conceived in two stages: belief in the pantheon comes first, in parallel with the acquisition of technology; cooperative action, the basis of civilized life, comes after and is made possible only through the presence (that is to say a developing consciousness) of *δίκη*, justice, and *αἰδώς*, shame. The myth calls on us to think of these last two as complementary, the one a standard of values, the other a motive force or volition. Justice represents the development of a sense of right and wrong, and shame serves as an impetus away from the latter and toward the former.¹⁵⁸ They function together, the one as a moral system and the other as a means by which men will want to act in accord with it.¹⁵⁹

Later in the dialogue, Protagoras returns to the second stage of his myth presenting now a *logos*, a reasoned argument. He asks rhetorically if there is not some one thing that all citizens must share if a polis is to exist and continues in answer (325a):

τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ ἐν οὐ τεκτονική οὐδὲ χαλκεία οὐδὲ κεραμεία
ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ὅσιον εἶναι—καὶ
συλλήβδην ἐν αὐτὸ προσαγορεύω εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν.

This one essential is not the art of building or forging or pottery, but righteousness, moderation, and holiness of life—what I would collectively call 'manly virtue'.¹⁶⁰

One misses in the literature on the *Protagoras* a discussion of how the gifts of Zeus in the myth, the pair *aidos* and *dike*, relate to the triad of the *logos*: *dikaiosyne*, *sophrosyne*, and

¹⁵⁸ Such a view of *aidos* has a particularly Homeric flavor; on the use of the term in Homer, see C. E. von Erffa, *Αἰδώς und verwandte Begriffe*, *Philologus*, Suppl. XXX, ii, 1937, pp. 36–43; E. R. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1951, p. 18.

¹⁵⁹ This is the point, perhaps, to broach the question of the creation myth's authenticity. Implicit in Jaeger's treatment is the premise that this dialogue passage presents an accurate reflection of the Sophist's thought, free from intentional or careless interpolations. Jaeger does not take up this problem directly, but it has been often discussed. The recent treatment by Guthrie (*HGP* III, pp. 63–64) holds to what has become now the dominant view, that the myth is a substantially accurate quote from *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*. There have been other voices, however. To translate from Müller's recent opinion (Müller, p. 140), for example, the passage "fuses to an integrity the Platonic and the Protagorean (with the possible influence of pre-Socratic ideas of other derivation). It may be possible to separate out the parts in a given case, but for the whole it appears impossible."

One's checks on authenticity are, first and foremost, a compatibility with the preserved writings of the Sophist and second, a more general compatibility with Sophistic interests and trains of thought. The ties with the theology of Prodikos and with *Sisyphos* are important in regard to the second. Müller, notwithstanding the position he takes, makes a valuable contribution with regard to the first. He suggests (Müller, p. 143) that the phrase *διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένεια* has been included in the passage to emphasize a correspondence between a perceived pantheon and perceiving mankind. "If one strips the thought of its mythical form and understands it 'anthropologically', the relation remains, be it kinship or similarity, only its aspect is reversed. . . . The relatedness of god and man means no other. . . . than that conceptions of the divine are projections and reflections of the mortal." It is the concept of *homo mensura* applied to theology. He disarms with this the objection of P. Friedländer (*Platon*, 3rd ed., I, Berlin 1964, pp. 378–379, note 7) that the phrase is unprotagorean. On the whole the evidence for authenticity is strong.

For a broad review of scholarship on this problem, see E. A. Havelock, *Liberal Temper in Greek Politics*, New Haven 1957, pp. 407–409. See further on *homo mensura*, footnote 229 below.

¹⁶⁰ Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, p. 321.

to *hosion einai*. In the context of the dialogue it is clear that the two stand in parallel.¹⁶¹ Looking ahead to the relevance of Protagoras' theses to the frieze, that parallelism is important in particular for its effect on how we understand the third of the *logos* terms: piousness, "holiness of life". Even without strict analysis, certain things are apparent. In moving from myth to reasoned argument Protagoras shifts his point of view. The divine gifts of the former become qualities of human behavior in the latter. In place of *dike*, justice, comes *dikaiosyne*, a capacity for justice. Allowing for that shift, the role of pair and triad in the maintenance of social cooperation ought to be equivalent, that is, *sophrosyne*, the capacity for control, and to *hosion einai*, piety, ought to represent here a capacity for *aidos*.¹⁶² Of the triad, the one that could and clearly in this context calls to be thought of as a motive for human action is to *hosion einai*. That is, it is being thought of as a quality of character that impels one toward just and away from unjust action.

We noted that the first stage of the creation myth shares elements with the theology of Prodikos. There are ties in this second stage to Kritias. In *Sisyphos* cooperative action develops in two steps. Men are first constrained from wrongdoing by the institution of laws, that is, the fear of legal punishment. Consequently they are just in the open and unjust in secret. Belief in the gods constitutes the second step, serving to restrain secret wrongdoings. The role of divine belief in *Sisyphos* is equivalent to Protagoras' to *hosion einai*: an internal basis for action in accord with *dike*. There are other important parallels as well. In both myths an initial, imperfect form of society fails through an inability to constrain wrongdoing. In both the final stage is reached via the concepts of justice and divinity. Sisyphos places the institution of justice in a stage before belief in the gods, the creation myth after. But in constructing this part of his satirical argument, Kritias is doing little more, in essence, than rearranging elements of a pre-existing analysis.

Finally, before leaving the *Protagoras* we need to examine one of its key concepts: *politike techne*, "political skill", or more broadly conceived, "the art of living in the polis". The dialogue is constructed around the question of whether *politike techne* can be taught, and it explores that problem in the context of a distinction between *politike techne* on the one hand and limited, technical skills on the other. The latter are the province of specialists. The former is partaken of by all; the life of the polis depends on all sharing, in some measure, capacities for justice, self-control, and piety: *dikaiosyne*, *sophrosyne*, and to *hosion einai*. The creation myth is recounted by Protagoras in an effort to clarify that distinction. Its two stages refer to the acquisition of limited and political *technai* respectively.¹⁶³

At a later point, arguing now through *logos*, Protagoras enters briefly into how members

¹⁶¹ See in particular, G. B. Kerferd, "Protagoras' Doctrine of Justice and Virtue in the *Protagoras* of Plato," *JHS* 73, 1953, p. 43.

¹⁶² Compare on this passage H. North, *Sophrosyne* [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 35], Ithaca, N.Y. 1966, p. 87. On *sophrosyne* as dependent on *aidos*, cf. Thucydides, 1.84.3, with the annotation A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides I*, Oxford 1956, p. 249. On *aidos* in relation to piety, Hesiod, *Theogony*, 1179–1182; and see further von Erffa, *op. cit.* (footnote 158 above), pp. 69–70, 140–141.

¹⁶³ Explicitly *Protagoras*, 321d, 322b. On the relation of *aidos* and *dike* to *politike techne*, see particularly A. W. H. Adkins, "Ἀρετή, Τέχνη, Democracy, and Sophists: *Protagoras* 316b–328d," *JHS* 93, 1973, pp. 5–12.

of the polis come to acquire *politike technē*. In contrast to technical skill, passed on through a specific, narrow course of instruction, *politike technē* is instilled through the very social bases of the state itself, beginning from the *oikos*, the instruction of the mother and father (325c), and ending with the *politeia*, instruction in the laws of the state (326c).

PROTAGOREAN THEOLOGY AND THE GODS ON THE FRIEZE

CIVILIZATION AND ITS PANTHEON

A particularly discouraging consequence of Jaeger's theses concerning B 4 is that they make extremely difficult any reconstruction of the arguments and positions of *Περὶ θεῶν*; in his view B 4 stands apart from the thesis subject proper. As that scholar's work makes clear, rather, the Sophist's theology survives through and essentially only through the dialogues of Plato, drawn (here at least most agree) not from *Περὶ θεῶν* but from *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*. That we come away from the *Protagoras* with a sense, at least, of the Sophist's views on the divine is because he conceives of the evolution of man and the pantheon as closely related. In explicating the one, he is at the same time setting out his thoughts on the other.

The indirect, highly fragmentary nature of the philosophical sources needs to be borne in mind as we proceed to tie the Sophist's theology to the frieze. As one might expect, in fact, there are points where we will have to negotiate around considerable gaps in our knowledge.

Earlier I put forth a hypothetical program for the divine gathering (p. 312 above): it presents a pantheon in groups that mirror the essential institutions of civilized society. I drew attention, further, to the twofold concept there embodied: that civilization has discrete institutional bases and that these bases parallel the pantheon in structure. Neither of these concepts is explained or argued directly in the creation myth; it would be outside the nature of a *mythos* if they were. Both, however, are implicit to its setting and development. Protagoras sets out the institutional bases of political life in the context of man's evolution from savagery. First came limited *technai*, encompassing agriculture and craft,¹⁶⁴ and then *aidos* and *dike* (*politike technē*), the bases of cooperative action. The myth does not allude to the institutional bases of *politike technē*. We can note, however, that elsewhere in the dialogue (325c–326e) Protagoras does turn to this matter, however briefly, and we can assume that in other writings, most likely *Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*, he treated it in more detail.

Equally clear in the myth is the correspondence between civilization's bases and the pantheon. The relation is conceived again in the context of man's development. Passage 322a in particular carries that import: *ἐντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρὶ* gives rise equally to technological skills and belief in gods. The two stand in parallel. The idea of civilization and its pantheon in parallel occurs again in the fragments of Prodikos and in *Sisyphos*. Prodikos holds that the Olympians are apotheosized discoverers of *technai*, and Kritias pictures

¹⁶⁴ For the subsuming of agriculture under the concept of *technē*, see specifically *Protagoras*, 322b. Cf. Philodemos, *de pietate*, col. 9, quoted p. 315 above.

divine justice as an imagined projection from *nomoi*. This can serve as a valuable beginning at least: the creation myth and the frieze share two concepts; the concepts occur elsewhere in the Sophistic tradition, in the theologies of Prodikos and Kritias; and finally, and quite important, there is no trace of either in prose or poetry earlier than that of the Sophist.

ARES AND DEMETER

The positions of three gods remain to be explained: Ares, Poseidon, and Apollo. Ares is seated by Demeter overlapping her to a degree but behind, with the two appearing to diverge (Pl. 61:b). She presses forward while he rocks back. We may suppose, again, that Protagoras related the arts of agriculture and war in one of his lost writings. If only in passing, however, the creation myth intimates that he saw a particular connection between the two. In passage 322b Protagoras places the art of war, *polemike technē*, apart from the other limited *technai* (the term in the text is *demiourgike technē*) in alone being of a political nature: *πολιτικὴν γὰρ τέχνην οὐπω εἶχον, ἧς μέρος πολεμική*.¹⁶⁵ *Polemike technē* is separated from the other restricted *technai* in stage of development, coming after the institution of *aidos* and *dike*, while the others come before. At the same time, however, *polemike technē* forms their complement, providing the protection and security on which they depend. The relevant sentence of the myth is this: "Their technical skill, though sufficient aid to their nurture, did not extend to making war on the beasts, for they had not the art of politics, of which the art of war is a part."

The step that lies ahead is to equate the relation-yet-distance of *polemike technē* and the other limited *technai* in the myth to the tie-yet-distance of Ares and Demeter on the frieze. That equation appears perhaps straightforward at first sight. In fact it embodies a set of rather complex iconographic usages, and before we embrace it, we may benefit by examining these in more detail. The program presented the designer with a necessary and unavoidable challenge, the translation of temporal concepts into visual form. If the equation made above is correct, then he will have negotiated this challenge by recourse to analogies, in essence visual similes. For the passage under consideration his larger problem was to depict Ares' twofold relation not to Demeter specifically but to limited *technai* in general. Ares' pairing with Demeter, rather, enabled a particular visual solution, a substitution of themes. It allowed him to put in place of temporal separation the idea of a conflict in sphere of interest. On the one hand Ares' tie to Demeter is fully representative of the war god's tie to the other limited *technai*. The art of war provides the settled conditions only through which can agriculture flourish. On the other hand, the two gods partake of a distinctive distance. In Classical antiquity agriculture and war, Demeter and Ares, asserted conflicting claims on the same individual. Hoplite warriors were drawn from the ranks of farmers. War took the farmer from his fields and yet more pointedly, engaged him in razing the crops of his enemy; when invading a territory it was established hoplite tactics to despoil the harvest. War and agriculture, in short, provided the citizen with two roles that, if interdependent, were in a profound sense inimical.

I am suggesting, then, that the overlapping but leaning apart of Demeter and Ares is

¹⁶⁵ On the distinction of *politike* and *polemike technē* in this passage, see particularly Adkins, *op. cit.* (footnote 163 above), pp. 10–11. For the art of war considered as a *technē*, cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1094a.

intended to allude on the first level to the relation of agriculture and war. That level stands in for a second, still more abstract relation: Ares' distance by stage of development from limited *technai* in general.

Two further iconographic usages depend closely on this reading. To make clear the abstract nature of the distance between these two gods, the designer had to foreclose any simple narrative interpretation of their leaning away. That is, we are not to understand Demeter and Ares as literally shrinking back from one another. They are a pair or team, not enemies. The designer skirts this ambiguity by integrating the parting into the representation of each. Ares appears in a momentary pose, rocking back in his seat, his hand around his knee.¹⁶⁶ He conveys thereby a sense of the impatience and restlessness proper to a god of war. Demeter huddles forward, her chin in her hand, as if in mourning for Persephone.¹⁶⁷

POSEIDON AND APOLLO

No literary source helps with the last pairing, Poseidon and Apollo. Working backward from what I take to be the program, however, one can now ask whether anything that appears necessary to the depiction is yet missing. The gods considered to this point have embodied limited *technai* (Athena, Hephaistos, Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, and Ares) or *politike technē* as it is rooted in the family (Zeus, Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite). None is a protector of the *politike technē* or *arete* of the community, a god to oversee, at the opposite end of the scale from the *oikos*, the *politeia*, political and communal ethics (cf. *Protagoras*, 326c).¹⁶⁸ Apollo has this role *par excellence* in the 5th century.¹⁶⁹ Let us hypothesize, thus, that he will be so appearing on the frieze. We have then to search out an ethical context for his tie to Poseidon.

If I may indulge in a paradox for a moment, the relevance of ethics to Poseidon is in how little relevant it is. He is the least ethically developed of the Olympians. The character of the phenomena he oversees, catastrophes of nature, earthquakes, floods, and sea storms, and his character in myth are closely interwoven. He is first and foremost an arbitrary destroyer.¹⁷⁰ If ethics links Poseidon and Apollo, then it can only be by way of contrast. They belong at opposite ends of an ethical spectrum.

A distinguishing characteristic of Protagoras' theology, of the Sophistic tradition of thought over all, in fact, is its recasting of the concept of ethics in temporal terms. Man comes to develop an ethical consciousness (*aidos* and *dike*) only gradually, and it is thus only gradually that he conceives his gods in ethical roles. Where would be Poseidon's place in

¹⁶⁶ An important iconographic precedent is the representation of Ares in the seated gathering on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (de la Coste-Messelière, *op. cit.* [footnote 3 above], pl. XXXIII). The god sits with his shield up at his side and his right foot drawn back under his chair, as if about to stand. Based closely on the pose of the Parthenon figure is the 4th-century Ares Ludovisi, Helbig⁴ III, no. 2345, M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed., New York 1961, fig. 103.

¹⁶⁷ On this motif, G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1965, pp. 136–145; for its relation to Demeter, cf. [Homer], *Hymnus ad Cererem*, 197–204.

¹⁶⁸ On the equivalence of the terms *politike technē* and *politike arete* as used in the *Protagoras*, see Adkins, *op. cit.* (footnote 163 above), p. 4; Plato, *Protagoras*, C. C. W. Taylor, ed., Oxford 1976, p. 75.

¹⁶⁹ K. Wernicke, "Apollon," *RE* II, i, 1895, cols. 14–15; recently F. Graf, "Apollon Delphinios," *Museum Helveticum* 36, 1979, pp. 9–10.

¹⁷⁰ Nilsson, *GGR*³ I, p. 452.

such a temporal-ethical sequence? Toward its beginning, clearly. His social spheres of interest are negligible. He corresponds, rather, to what is perhaps man's most primitive sense of the divine, a fear of natural forces.¹⁷¹

As man progresses, his pantheon undergoes a corresponding growth and change. There never comes a stage, however, where an early god such as Poseidon is cast away. A fear of earthquake and flood persists even in civilized society. Rather at most such a god will gradually diminish in stature as new gods come to the fore. We arrive thus at the following: in pairing Poseidon and Apollo the designer is bringing together the "oldest" and "youngest" of the Olympians, gods pertaining to the extreme ends of the Protagorean scheme.

In the one other passage which conveys the idea of temporal separation, the pairing of Demeter and Ares, the designer makes recourse to a visual analogy, substituting a distance by sphere of interest for separation in time. He enters into two analogous substitutions in the present passage. First and most important, he draws an equation between temporal placement in the Protagorean scheme and physical age. Poseidon, the god who comes earliest in the pantheon, the one who had "been around the longest," appears aged on the frieze. The signs are tactfully and subtly handled, but they are unmistakable (Pl. 61:c).¹⁷² The god sits just slightly humped over. He appears just slightly emaciated and caved in. His musculature lacks tone. His hair is thin and, judging by its texture, somewhat grizzled. And prominent subcutaneous veins run down his hand. He forms an obvious contrast with Zeus, mature, virile, and at the height of his powers.

It should be noted that the signs of age in this representation are without parallel in other representations of Poseidon in Greek art. His normal physiognomy and appearance are that of a mature male, of equivalent age to Zeus. Neither is there any parallel in poetry. Indeed for an Olympian to grow old directly contradicts the poetic idea of immortality. Rather this representation best makes sense as an artist's singular attempt to portray the Sophistic view on divine evolution.¹⁷³

Beyond the need to fix Poseidon into the scheme of the pantheon as an individual, achieved through the portrayal of his age, the designer needed to clarify his temporal relation to Apollo. The second visual simile of the passage addresses that aim. In particular it draws an equation between the idea of old age and grandfatherliness. Rather than portray Poseidon and Apollo as an independent two-figure group, as we might expect, the designer ranges the two with Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros in one long row. They are not a family group by genealogy. But as the eye moves from one figure to the next, from grandfather-like Poseidon, through Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite, to youthful Eros, inevitably and naturally the idea of a family comes to mind. The seating serves as but one more way to render

¹⁷¹ For the forming of divine beliefs from a fear of natural forces, unattested in fragments of Protagoras, cf. Demokritos, Sextus Empiricus, *ad. Mathematicos* IX.24 (Diels-Kranz, A 75): ὀρώντες γάρ, φησί, τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις παθήματα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθάπερ βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς κερανοῦς τε καὶ ἀστρῶν συνόδους ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψεις, ἔδειματοῦντο, θεοὺς οἰόμενοι τούτων αἰτίους εἶναι.

¹⁷² For detailed photographs of this figure, see particularly Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pls. 178, 180.

¹⁷³ Among the springs of this singular usage note the traditions concerning aged dwellers of the sea, among them most particularly Halios Geron, as reviewed recently by P. Brize, *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst*, Würzburg 1980, pp. 66–105.

the element of time visual. Specifically, the traditional mythic idea of divine generations is being made to stand in for the Protagorean concept of the pantheon's development by stages.

THE PROGRAM OF THE OLYMPIAN GATHERING

I have to this point interpreted the placement of all twelve of the seated Olympians, and particularly important, there is now a consistent context by which to understand their iconographic anomalies. Briefly and in conclusion it is necessary to consider the planning of the whole. The design of this twelve-figure pantheon is structured around the distinction of limited and political *technai*, corresponding to the two stages of the creation myth. Six are present as protectors of limited *technai*, six of *politike technē*; and of the four groupings, two pertain to the former, two to the latter. One limited *technai* group is four-figure, one two-figure; one *politike technē* group is four-figure, one two-figure. And finally, the designer pairs the two classes of *technai* reciprocally (Pl. 61:a). The two-figure *politike technē* group and the four-figure limited *technai* are to one side of the peplos scene, the two-figure limited *technai* and the four-figure *politike technē* to the other. On the south: *politike technē*, Hera and Zeus; limited *technai*, Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, and Ares. On the north: *politike technē*, Poseidon (*anomia*), Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite; limited *technai*, Athena and Hephaistos.

That these groupings are indeed fundamental to an understanding of the whole is made clear in the composition. Within each of the two six-figure gatherings there is one major compositional break, between Ares and Nike on the south, and Hephaistos and Poseidon on the north. It falls, that is, in each case at the meeting of the two classes of *technai*. Ares and Hephaistos are each positioned back from the slab joint some five or six centimeters allowing a narrow but noticeable strip of background (it would have been blue in the original) to show between them and the gods on their proper left.

To see how conspicuous is this gathering's break from tradition, consider its precedents, and in particular the precedents for the most profound of its departures, the grouping of gods by their function in human society. The tying of minor deities to Olympians on the basis of function is common enough: the Graces attend Aphrodite, the Muses Apollo. To so join one Olympian to another, however, is far more rare and before the Parthenon occurs only in a narrative context. We can consider by way of illustration the precedents for pairing Athena and Hephaistos. A few myths require the Olympians to act in concert each in a way that reflects his or her powers. In scenes of the birth of Pandora on vases, for example, Athena and Hephaistos stand to the fore as pre-eminent gods of craft.¹⁷⁴ Other myths give expression to cult ties which in turn are based on the gods' shared interests and functions. The pairing of Athena and Hephaistos in the birth of Erichthonios, for example, is thought to reflect the cult ties of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaisteia.¹⁷⁵ Without question the

¹⁷⁴ Calyx-krater, London, B.M. E 467 (*ARV*², p. 601, no. 23 [Niobid Painter]); possibly also the fragment, B.M. E 789 (*ARV*², p. 764, no. 9 [Sotades Painter]). Reconstruction of the base of the Athena Parthenos, W.-H. Schuchhardt, "Zur Basis der Athena Parthenos," *Wandlungen (Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking)*, Waldsassen 1975, pp. 120–130. For a review of representations of this myth, see recently Schefold, *op. cit.* (footnote 119 above), pp. 72–75.

¹⁷⁵ On this see Harrison, *op. cit.* (footnote 119 above), pp. 411–416. Add to the representations of the myth

Parthenon stands apart from these precedents. On the frieze the emphasis on divine function is independent of narrative and in no way occasioned by it. On the other hand, we have already looked at representations of the divine gathering removed or largely isolated from narrative, the *Daseinsbilder* (p. 290 above). They stand apart from the frieze as well. Their conception of Olympos is largely poetic.

We have isolated aspects of the gathering that depart sharply from tradition. I have shown the departures to presuppose a broad philosophical rethinking of the relation of gods and men. And finally, in reviewing the evidence and scholarship on the pre-Socratics, I have shown that prominent scholars trace this rethinking back to Protagoras. These scholars, first Jaeger, then Guthrie and Müller, have had to frame their arguments around problematic evidence, but their conclusions are reasonable and consistent, and in the last analysis, I think, convincing.

I want my reader to accept, then, that indeed the frieze and the theology of Protagoras are tied. How tight or loose might that tie be? Plainly it cannot be a distant, casual dependence based on broad acceptance of the Sophist's outlook. Evidence for the popularity and, closely connected to that, the popularization of Sophistic thought only begins in the late forties, becoming clearer toward the last quarter of the century.¹⁷⁶ In 447 B.C., when work on the Parthenon began, Protagoras had been resident at Athens perhaps at the most a few years. At that time only narrow segments of the population are likely to have been conversant with his teachings, and yet smaller circles will have been receiving his words in a positive light.¹⁷⁷ In such a climate, a tie between the frieze and the theology of the Sophist can hardly but be planned, intentional, and deliberate. That it was indeed so is confirmed by what one has come to see as the nature of the ties themselves. They are quite strict and exact. Protagoras' theology determines the selection of gods, their iconographies, their seating, and the design of the whole.

THE SUBJECT OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

THE PROCESSION TO THE GODS

Our knowledge of the gathering remains to be applied to a yet more central problem of the frieze: the nature of the procession, the frieze subject. Over the last generation there have

cited in footnote 119: kylix, Berlin, S.M. 2537 (*ARV*², p. 1268, no. 2 [Kodros Painter]); calyx-krater, Palermo, M.N. (*ARV*², p. 1339, no. 3 [near Talos Painter]).

¹⁷⁶ The following are references to *epideixeis*, large public lectures: Prodikos in the house of Kallias, Plato, *Axiochus*, 366c, and in the Lyceum, *Eryxias*, 397c; Hippias in the School of Pheidostatos, *Hippias major*, 286b; cf. Thucydides, III.38.7. On these references see further, Guthrie, *HGP* III, pp. 41–44. On the dissemination and effect of Sophistic thought, see particularly Nestle, pp. 448–528. Attic drama serves as a sensitive barometer of the public's awareness; cf., for example, the following passages of tragedy with Sophistic content: Sophokles, *Antigone*, 332–372 (ca. 442 B.C.); Euripides, *Medea*, 1078–1080 (431 B.C.); *Hippolytus*, 916–920 (428 B.C.); *Hecuba*, 799–801; *Suppliants*, 201–213; *Electra*, 357 (ca. 413 B.C.); *Phoenissae*, 499–502; *Bacchae*, 274–276. The *Clouds* of Aristophanes was performed in 423 B.C.

¹⁷⁷ For a discussion of the threat posed by Sophism to traditional concepts of aristocracy, see Guthrie, *HGP* III, pp. 250–266.

appeared three broad challenges to the widely held view that the frieze depicts mortal Athenians in the Panathenaia: In 1961 Chrysoula Kardara identified the frieze as a legendary rather than a contemporary event, the founding of the Panathenaia by Erichthonios.¹⁷⁸ In 1966 Ross Holloway proposed that the participants in the festival were not mortals but Archaic Akropolis dedications come to life and in procession to the gods.¹⁷⁹ And most recently John Boardman has identified the celebrants as the heroized dead of the battle of Marathon.¹⁸⁰ While these studies have each met with isolated criticism,¹⁸¹ and while the present study indeed upholds the traditional interpretation in the face of them, the three are no less striking testimony to what remains the central anomaly of the frieze: that it portrays everyday ritual in a setting where all of Greek art would lead us to expect a scene of higher sanctity, of myth or legend. In elevating the procession on the frieze above the mortal, these studies are prompted foremost by how seemingly inappropriate and hubristic would be a scene of the everyday in this context.¹⁸² The anthropocentric nature of Protagorean theology, however, and what I have found to be its close ties to the design of the gathering suggest a different approach to the frieze subject, that the analysis be built from the part to the whole: the Sophist's thought having illuminated the gathering, it may well clarify the nature of the program.

As in the study of the Olympian gathering, so in the study of the frieze procession, it is necessary first to examine its iconographic antecedents. Representations of processional worship in Archaic and Classical art share a consistent, well-established iconography. The scene first appears on Attic black-figured vases from roughly the mid-6th century and continues in red figure down to and beyond the time of the Parthenon.¹⁸³ The best known and illustrated of the vases are a late Archaic red-figured lekythos by the Gales Painter,¹⁸⁴ a representation of youths leading cows, and a Classical volute-krater by the Kleophon Painter, a procession to Apollo.¹⁸⁵ The subject appears frequently also on votive reliefs.¹⁸⁶ The majority of the *ex votos* are later than the Parthenon, first appearing in numbers in the late 5th century, but there are at least a few early examples, most prominently a painted plaque from Pitsa and a late Archaic Akropolis relief.¹⁸⁷ These representations vary in care of

¹⁷⁸ *Op. cit.* (footnote 75 above), pp. 61–158; cf. also K. Jeppesen, "Bild und Mythos an dem Parthenon," *ActaA* 34, 1963, pp. 23–33.

¹⁷⁹ "The Archaic Acropolis and the Parthenon Frieze," *ArtB* 48, 1966, pp. 223–226; the thesis is repeated in *A View of Greek Art*, Providence, R.I. 1973, pp. 124–132.

¹⁸⁰ "Another View," pp. 39–49. Boardman has returned to the subject of the frieze in the recent lecture cited in footnote 2 above.

¹⁸¹ See Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pp. 147–150; on the theories of Kardara and Holloway, Boardman, "Another View," p. 43; and on Boardman, Ridgway, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 77.

¹⁸² Kardara, *op. cit.* (footnote 75 above), p. 116, and Boardman, "Another View," p. 43. In Holloway the view is in part implicit through his acceptance of Kardara. Cf. Holloway, *op. cit.* (footnote 179 above), p. 226.

¹⁸³ For a review of these representations, see L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston I*, London 1931, pp. 10–11; Pemberton, pp. 122–123; and J. H. Kroll, "The Parthenon Frieze as a Votive Relief," *AJA* 83, 1979, pp. 349–352.

¹⁸⁴ Boston, M.F.A. 13.195 (*ARV²*, p. 35, no. 1); Caskey and Beazley, *op. cit.*, pl. IV.

¹⁸⁵ Ferrara, M.N. di Spina T. 57 C VP (*ARV²*, p. 1143, no. 1); N. Alfieri and P. E. Arias, *Spina*, Munich 1958, figs. 85–87.

¹⁸⁶ See U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, Berlin 1960, pp. 57–79.

¹⁸⁷ Plaque from Pitsa, Athens, N.M. (*EAA* VI, 1965, opp. p. 202 [*s.v.* Pitsa]); Akropolis relief, Athens,

execution and originality, as one might imagine, but they have a common organization. From one side approaches a line of worshippers, composed variously of musicians, male and female suppliants, youths leading sacrificial animals, and maidens with votive baskets. To the other side is some mark of their ritual destination, in most cases simply an altar. A few vases, and by far most of the votives, show one or a small group of deities receiving the procession, if an altar is shown, then from its far side.

The eastern portion of the Parthenon frieze takes this tradition as its basis.¹⁸⁸ The theme has been greatly enlarged upon and has been tied specifically to the Panathenaia through the representation of identifiable details, above all the peplos. But its relation to this earlier tradition remains clear. We can note further, however, that it also incorporates a number of singular iconographic departures. To recount this stretch of the frieze in brief, along the right and left sides of the cella approach elders with wreaths, musicians, water carriers, youths with sacrificial victims, and then, advancing in from the sides on the east, maidens with ritual bowls and other implements. Although on a grand scale, the representation follows the traditional pattern to this point. Then, however, come the Eponymous Heroes, set off from the procession by their slightly larger scale, next the Olympians, in two groups of six, and finally the Priestess of Athena with two Arrephoroi and the Archon Basileus holding the peplos with a young attendant (Pl. 61:a).¹⁸⁹

There are two iconographic departures of major significance here, one of them straightforward and unambiguous, the other more complex and subtly expressed. To begin from the straightforward, on the votives and vases only one god or at most a small group of gods appears. As is clear in context, these gods are being honored within a given ritual at a particular cult site. The Parthenon procession, in contrast, is met by a full complement of heroes and Olympians, 24 figures in all. Athena, whom we know to have been the honored goddess of the Panathenaia, appears simply as one among that host, without prominence or precedence. That is the first anomaly. Nowhere else in Greek art do votive worshippers approach not one or a group of gods but a pantheon.

The second departure involves the role of the gods as spectators. The gods on the vases and votives are attentive and receptive to their worshippers; they stand opposite and look toward them. By contrast the divinities on the frieze appear physically and psychologically distant.¹⁹⁰ The separation is conveyed in part through the gods' failure to take interest in the ritual. Excepting a few figures (Aphrodite points, for example, and Nike gazes outward) the gods give the impression of being absorbed in their own affairs. Hephaistos turns to Athena, Apollo to Poseidon, Hera to Zeus, Dionysos to Hermes. This is no less true of the Eponymous Heroes. The outer hero for each of the two groups has his back turned to the procession, and the ten together engage in casual, relaxed conversation. Finally, the most

Akropolis Museum 581 (Brouskari, *op. cit.* [footnote 64 above], fig. 94).

¹⁸⁸ As noted by Kroll, *op. cit.* (footnote 183 above).

¹⁸⁹ For debate concerning the identification of these figures, see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pp. 254–256, 263–270; and further, footnote 199 below.

¹⁹⁰ This point has been brought out most strikingly by P. H. von Blanckenhagen, in public lectures at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University in 1972 and in the Andrew W. Mellon Lectures at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. in 1976.

striking separation of divine from mortal occurs at the center. The gods have been placed with their backs to the culminating act of ritual, the presentation of the peplos.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOLARSHIP

The one among these departures most often discussed in literature on the frieze is the relation of the gods to the peplos scene. The following major interpretations have been proposed. One scholar, A. H. Smith, has attempted to explain the gods' backs to the peplos as an awkwardness of composition. He suggests that the designer meant us to understand the peplos scene as "in front of the two groups of gods, who sit in a continuous semicircle."¹⁹¹ Others have looked to an iconographic interpretation, with one scholar, G. F. Hill,¹⁹² seeing temporal meaning in the arrangement and two, A. Furtwängler and P. Fehl,¹⁹³ topographical meaning. A fourth scholar, A. von Premerstein,¹⁹⁴ has seen a combination of temporal and topographical meanings.

Most scholars have understood the frieze to depict a narrative that unfolds over time, beginning from the west with riders bridling and mounting horses for the procession and ending at the east with the final ritual act. The first of the iconographic interpretations mentioned above, Hill's study, published in 1894, posits rather that all events take place simultaneously. Drawing attention to scenes of preparation on the west, Hill proceeds to interpret the east also as preparation and concludes that in the central scene the old peplos, just removed from the ancient image, is being folded and put away. This then provides his answer to the peplos problem. He notes that the old peplos would have been of minor importance within the ritual and suggests thus that the gods have turned their backs to it from lack of interest.

Von Premerstein, writing in 1912, shares one premise with Hill, that all events are simultaneous, but offers a different interpretation of topography. In the view of most scholars the events on the frieze occupy the length of the Panathenaic Way. The figures on the west are in the Kerameikos, the north and south friezes follow the procession through the Agora and the east is on the Akropolis. Von Premerstein locates the whole in the Agora. The Olympians, whom he equates with the Dodeka Theoi, and the Eponymous Heroes attend the procession as local gods of the Agora,¹⁹⁵ present to denote the place of action; and in the center, he suggests, the peplos, newly woven in the Agora, is being handed over to the high priest and priestess.

Finally, the theses of Furtwängler, 1893, and Fehl, 1961, share the premise that the gods assemble at a distance from the central scene. Furtwängler places the gods outside the Parthenon, the peplos scene within; Fehl places the gods on Olympos, the mortals on the Akropolis. Furtwängler frames his view with recourse to a significant correlate proposal:

¹⁹¹ British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *Catalogue of Sculpture I*, London 1892, p. 157; repeated, Smith, *op. cit.* (footnote 75 above), p. 51.

¹⁹² "The East Frieze of the Parthenon," *CR* 8, 1894, pp. 225–226.

¹⁹³ Furtwängler, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 183–192; Fehl, "Rocks on the Parthenon Frieze," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, 1961, pp. 10–19.

¹⁹⁴ "Der Parthenonfries und die Werkstatt des panathenäischen Peplos," *JOAI* 15, 1912, pp. 1–35.

¹⁹⁵ On the Twelve Gods of the Agora, see H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 129–136; on the monument of the Eponymoi, *ibid.*, pp. 38–41.

that the Parthenon was built to house the ancient image of Athena as successor to the Old Temple. Epigraphical evidence establishes that the ancient image stood in the Erechtheion from the completion of that building in 406 B.C.¹⁹⁶ Furtwängler proposes, however, that there existed an earlier plan by which the image would have been placed with the Athena Parthenos in the east cella. He interprets the center of the frieze as the dedication of the peplos within the Parthenon and suggests that the designer denoted the gods' remove from that interior scene by placing it at their backs.

Fehl, in rejecting this interpretation and proposing instead that the gods are on Olympos, is led to posit a double shift of locales. As we follow the sequence across the frieze, the scene alternates from the Akropolis, where the procession takes place, to Olympos, where sit the gods; to the Akropolis, the peplos scene; to Olympos, the gods; to the Akropolis, the procession. Fehl suggests that the gods' inattentiveness is due to their distance from the festival; they are at ease in the comfort of their own home. And finally, avoiding an inconsistency, he interprets the ten male figures in front of the Olympians not as the Eponymoi (it would be anomalous for these chthonic heroes to be on Olympos) but as high-ranking members of the procession, marshals and civic heads.

Occasionally a scholar has adhered to one or another among these five theories.¹⁹⁷ On the whole, however, the proposals have not been found convincing, and rather, this iconography has remained uninterpreted and a puzzle.

It has been noted in objection to Smith that if the designer had wished to represent gods in a semicircle around the peplos, he would have sat them facing in. For the gods to be facing out in a semicircle makes little sense.¹⁹⁸ The weaknesses of the iconographic interpretations are less stark, but they can be characterized over all as a failure to take account of all the representation's salient features. The theories each focus on only certain anomalies, leaving others unexplained. The unambiguous weakness in Fehl's argument concerns the figures canonically called Eponymous Heroes. One could argue, perhaps, that these deities are other than the Eponymoi. On the basis of scale, however, they cannot reasonably be interpreted as mortals, as Fehl has done. They are larger than the marshals and thus, following the conventions of Greek iconography, are on a higher plane of being.¹⁹⁹ One might raise other points against Fehl's theory,²⁰⁰ but on that alone it falls.

¹⁹⁶ See especially J. M. Paton, *Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass. 1927, p. 298.

¹⁹⁷ For example, following Hill, Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, p. 11; following von Premerstein, Boardman, "Another View," p. 47; following Fehl, Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 258.

¹⁹⁸ For this criticism, see already von Premerstein, *op. cit.* (footnote 194 above), p. 10, note 23.

¹⁹⁹ We should note that perceived rather than literal scale is telling here. The size of the Eponymoi (East 18–23, 43–46) is suggested, in part, by having the greater number of the figures lean on staffs, with the implication that if they straightened up they would stand a head taller than the mortals. Not height alone makes the figures seem larger, however, but also breadth and weight. The three Eponymoi who are not leaning (18, 20, and 23) thus seem no smaller in scale than those who are. Defending the identification of the Eponymoi, see U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen*, *AthMitt*, Beiheft V, Berlin 1976, pp. 202–214; and with particular reference to iconography, E. B. Harrison, "The Iconography of the Eponymous Heroes on the Parthenon and in the Agora," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of M. Thompson*, Wetteren 1979, pp. 71–85. Questioning the relevance of scale, however, as well as the identification, Ridgway, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), pp. 78–79.

²⁰⁰ On this see further Boardman, "Another View," p. 42.

A major objection to Furtwängler's thesis is that, while it provides an explanation for the gods facing out from the peplos, it leaves the matter of divine inattentiveness and indifference unexplained. The Olympians and the Eponymoi share in this indifference. Both turn their backs on mortals, the Olympians to the peplos, the Eponymoi to the procession. Furtwängler accounts for the Olympians turning their backs without regard to the Eponymoi, and more to the point, without addressing the phenomenon of indifference as a whole. Von Premerstein, viewing the gods as local divinities of the Agora, does no better here. Whether these be gods of the Agora or the Akropolis, one would expect them to take interest in the ritual around them.

Alone of the theories, that of Hill, the folding away of the old peplos, provides a consistent context for the gods' indifference. In his suggestion the moment deserving of their attention has not yet arrived. Few have found plausible, however, that this grand frieze, covering four sides of the cella, converges over the eastern portal in a trivial act.²⁰¹

PROTAGOREAN THEOLOGY AND THE PROGRAM OF THE FRIEZE

Will the theology of Protagoras, my touchstone for the interpretation of the divine gathering in isolation, help with this broader stretch of the frieze as well? A key tenet in that theology is the correspondence between the form of the pantheon and the state of man. This correspondence has been examined here with reference to the Olympians, their reflection of limited and social *technai*. But it extends to all forms of divinization. I would suggest that we are thus to understand the presence of the Eponymoi: the designer has undertaken to symbolize divine-human correspondence at two levels, Olympian and heroic. The Eponymoi, the tutelary deities of the ten Athenian tribes, have been chosen as perhaps the clearest possible instance of a parallel between the heroic pantheon and civic structure. Representations of individual Eponymoi are not infrequent in the first half of the 5th century, and there is at least one early Classical sculptural group that gathers together several of the figures.²⁰² But the frieze marks the first time that the ten are brought together as a corporate body, and that can serve as important corroboration.

A second, no less essential aspect of Sophistic theology concerns the means by which the divine enters into the human realm. Protagorean theology retreats from any claim that *τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα* have a substance or presence apart from human perception. In contrast to the gods of poetry and popular belief, felt to act on man from without, the gods of Protagoras are a tendency of thought, working an effect from within. We can be reminded here of the role of *aidos* in the creation myth or Kritias' "mortal fear of the gods". Men may engage in worship, this worship forming in the view of Protagoras indeed a mainstay of civilized life, yet the gods remain unresponsive to prayer in a traditional sense. Rather, the effect of religion is inseparable from the act of believing, the latter being designated by the Sophist under the general heading "holiness of life", *to hosion einai*.

²⁰¹ On the implausibility, see von Premerstein, *op. cit.* (footnote 194 above), p. 10, note 24; Boardman, "Another View," p. 41.

²⁰² For a review of representations of the Eponymoi, see Kron, *op. cit.* (footnote 199 above); see further Thompson, *loc. cit.* (footnote 195 above). The Marathon monument at Delphi (Pausanias, x.10.1), which includes seven of the Eponymoi, is the one important antecedent to the frieze.

In the final stretches of the eastern frieze the artist is representing the worship of *τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα*; indeed once this is understood, his handling of iconography becomes clear. He undertakes to make visual the relation of the divine and human in Sophistic thought, first, by portraying the gods as aloof and self-concerned. Thus he alludes to the divine's lack of external effect. His displacing of the gods from the center adds strength to that allusion: that the gods have their backs to the ritual of the peplos heightens the sense of their being uninvolved. Finally, the displacement of the gods calls forth associations on two further levels. It suggests that the divine, lacking substance, remains imperceptible to man. The mortals advance in procession not to the gods but beyond them to the center. The gods are as if unseen and immaterial.²⁰³ And last, and in the context of the full program by far the most important, it suggests that the gods are apparent rather than true objects of ritual. It makes visual a shift cardinal to the Sophist's thought, that at the center of religion is not the divine *per se* but the human act of piety.

Two questions remain to be addressed. First, why does a pantheon of heroes and gods receive the procession and not just Athena? And second, the very problem of the frieze subject: why is the depiction mortal ritual, not, as always hitherto, a scene of myth or legend? The narrative of the frieze unfolds on two levels of meaning. That is the key. The one level is the Panathenaia, the other, an interpretation of religion in the life of the polis, the theology of Protagoras. These two levels relate as something of body to spirit. The Panathenaia is serving as a vessel, a context through which to render philosophy in visual form.

Why a host of heroes and gods? The divine assembly itself holds the answer: through these figures the designer is portraying the nature and character of *τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα*.²⁰⁴ And why a depiction of mortal ritual? It mirrors the shift from *to theion* to *to hosion einai*. Save for that shift, one could hardly have portrayed the new religion. But of course it is more than that. It proclaims the Parthenon a temple of the new order.

PROTAGORAS AT ATHENS

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

We may be lulled at times into forgetting how thoroughly cleansed from the record of antiquity have been the teachings of the Sophists and their role within the *poleis* of the 5th century. Manuscripts of their work were rarely copied and seem hardly to have been in circulation by the end of the 4th century B.C.; and we are otherwise very little informed about their lives. To address the reasons for this weak tradition would lead us too far afield; most often it is attributed to the stature and authority of the rival schools of the Academy and Lyceum.²⁰⁵ The mere fact of that fragmentary knowledge, rather, is what is relevant here.

²⁰³ It can be noted that the gesture of marshal East 47 has been calculated to reinforce this impression. Facing left, he extends his hand in a signal, most likely a beckoning gesture, not to the Olympians and Eponymoi directly in front of him but across these figures to the line of maidens on their far side. For the maidens as the object of this gesture, see already Smith, *op. cit.* (footnote 191 above), pp. 162–163 (text to fig. 46).

²⁰⁴ See pp. 329, 335 above.

²⁰⁵ On this theory see particularly Guthrie, *HGP* III, pp. 51–54; also Dodds, *op. cit.* (footnote 126 above), p. 92.

The few substantive sources of biographical detail on Protagoras can be briefly told. First in importance are the dialogues of Plato, above all the *Protagoras* and *Theaitetos*.²⁰⁶ I have already touched on a major incident recorded through the Atthis, Protagoras' indictment for impiety.²⁰⁷ The Atthis, or possibly oral tradition within the Academy, has preserved a second fragment: Diogenes, quoting Herakleides Pontikos, states that the Sophist framed laws for the colony of Thourioi,²⁰⁸ an Athenian foundation of 444/3. And lastly Plutarch, quoting Stesimbrotos, recounts an anecdote on the Sophist's relation to Athens' renowned first statesman, Perikles.²⁰⁹

These fragments are hardly a rich landscape in which to place these new findings on the frieze. It is nonetheless important to review them, noting where and in what respects the artistic and literary sources appear congruent. We can begin by examining the evidence for Protagoras' residence in Athens in the years the frieze was planned and carved.

Two fragments place Protagoras at Athens in the early third quarter of the 5th century, one a passing comment by the youth Hippokrates in the *Protagoras*; the other the fragment on Thourioi, referred to just above.

At the opening of the *Protagoras*, Sokrates recounts an early morning visit he received from Hippokrates. The youth, bringing word that Protagoras had recently arrived at Athens, wanted Sokrates to accompany him to where the Sophist was staying, the house of Kallias. This would be his first occasion to hear Protagoras, the youth said. "Ἐτι γὰρ παῖς ἦ, ὅτι τὸ πρότερον ἐπεδήμησεν (310e). "Before when he came to Athens, I was still a child." This passing comment is the one explicit testimony to the Sophist's presence at Athens earlier than the dramatic date of the *Protagoras*.²¹⁰ In addition, clues about Hippokrates' age from elsewhere in the dialogue allow one to gauge that earlier visit's *terminus ante quem*. Protagoras' earlier stay ought to have come to an end not later than ca. 437.²¹¹

The foundation date of Thourioi has often been brought in connection with this earlier visit. Scholars have placed Protagoras at Athens in the years immediately before the founding of Thourioi, reasoning that he would have needed local standing and reputation to be entrusted with the colony's laws.²¹² If we accept this inference, and indeed it seems reasonable, then Thourioi is evidence for the Sophist having been at Athens from perhaps ca. 445.

²⁰⁶ E.g. *Protagoras*, 316c–317d, 318d, 320c, 328b, *Theaitetos*, 162d, 164e; for the full complement of references, see Diels-Kranz.

²⁰⁷ P. 320 above.

²⁰⁸ Diogenes, ix.50; Diels-Kranz, A 1; F Wehrli, *Schule des Aristoteles VII*, Basel 1953, p. 45, frag. 150, and p. 110.

²⁰⁹ *Perikles*, 36.5; Diels-Kranz, A 10; F. Jacoby, *FGrHist*, 107 F 11.

²¹⁰ On the dramatic date of the *Protagoras* (ca. 433), see footnote 140 above.

²¹¹ See here particularly J. S. Morrison, "The Place of Protagoras in Athenian Public Life (460–415 B.C.)," *CQ* 35, 1941, p. 4. Morrison places Hippokrates' age in the dialogue at between eighteen and twenty. The youth refers to himself at Protagoras' last visit as *eti pais*, perhaps thus not more than fourteen. The *terminus ante quem* = ca. 433 + 18 – 14 = ca. 437.

²¹² Most explicitly, K. von Fritz, "Protagoras," *RE* XXII, ii, 1954, col. 909; in agreement on the dating, K. Freeman, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1959, p. 345. Other scholars concur in that dating, without specific reference to Thourioi, e.g., V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates*, London 1968, p. 332, "[He] came to Athens about the middle of the century." Morrison (*op. cit.*, p. 5) attempts to use Plato, *Meno*, 91e to locate the beginning of the first sojourn "not later than 453." He is alone in this, however, and the arguments he adduces are rather tenuous.

We have now to relate these years of residence to the chronology of the frieze. The carving of the earliest sculptures of the Parthenon, the metopes, began most likely in the first years of the building project, from 447/6.²¹³ If it is assumed that all the Parthenon sculptures were planned at this early date, and further, if it is assumed that the frieze, like Thourioi's laws, presupposes the Sophist's residence in the city, then there is evidence for Protagoras having been at Athens from perhaps *ca.* 448. The date is a few years earlier than that suggested by Thourioi, but given how fragmentary is the written record, this discrepancy is hardly significant or disturbing.²¹⁴ Rather, all things considered, the sculptural and literary evidence for Protagoras at Athens fits together quite well.

PROTAGORAS AND PERIKLES

According to ancient sources, the 5th-century rebuilding of temples on the Akropolis formed a central part in the Periklean political program.²¹⁵ Pheidias, the city's foremost sculptor, served as official overseer of the project.²¹⁶ We can well imagine, however, that Perikles took personal interest in the general progress of work, in the decorative program, and perhaps even in specific matters of design. It is important, thus, that we consider the ties between Protagoras and this politician.

No source relates the founding of Thourioi explicitly to Perikles. There are, however, significant circumstantial connections. In the view of most historians the colony formed part of a broader Periclean plan to draw western Greece into the Athenian sphere.²¹⁷ Yet more relevant, the exegete Lampon, a prominent partisan of Perikles, was one of the founders of the expedition and very likely its leader.²¹⁸ With this as a guide, one might suppose that the statesman at least approved Protagoras' involvement in the project. Perhaps more likely he explicitly arranged it.

Beyond this possible political tie, there is evidence that Protagoras was a personal friend to Perikles and a teacher and adviser to his family. We learn from the *Protagoras* (314e) that

²¹³ On the chronology of the sculpture, see recently F. Brommer, *Die Parthenon-Skulpturen*, Mainz 1979, p. 10. The thesis of R. Carpenter (*Architects of the Parthenon*, Harmondsworth 1970, pp. 55–67), which places a number of metopes within the Severe Style, has not been generally accepted.

²¹⁴ It may be noted that if the frieze was planned a few years later than the metopes this small discrepancy disappears. For the purposes of argument, one can take as the extreme lower limit for the planning of the frieze the fourth or fifth year of the building project, 444/3 or 443/2, when the cella walls were approaching completion. On the chronology of the Parthenon project, see particularly W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 25, 1921, pp. 242–245. The fluting of the columns, 442/1, ought to mark the end of major construction in marble. On the carving of the frieze *in situ*, *idem*, *AJA* 58, 1954, p. 145, and recently E. B. Harrison, *AJA* 83, 1979, pp. 489–490.

²¹⁵ Most important, Plutarch, *Perikles* XII.1–7; XIV; XVII. In regard to these passages see further, R. Meiggs, "The Political Implications of the Parthenon," *Parthenos and Parthenon (Greece and Rome, suppl. to vol. 10)*, Oxford 1963, pp. 36–45 (= *The Parthenon*, ed. V. Bruno, New York 1974, pp. 101–111).

²¹⁶ Plutarch, *Perikles*, XIII.4.

²¹⁷ See in particular V. Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," *AJP* 69, 1948, pp. 149–170; Gomme, *op. cit.* (footnote 162 above), pp. 367, 386–387. Both take issue with the earlier thesis of H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 52, 1932, pp. 217–219, who connects the foundation equally with Perikles and Thoukydides, son of Melesias.

²¹⁸ Diodoros, XII.10.3. On the ties of Lampon and Perikles, see F. Schachermeyr, *Religionspolitik und Religiosität bei Perikles (SBVienna, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 258, iii)*, 1968, pp. 25–31.

Perikles' sons, Xanthippos and Paralos, were in a small band of young noblemen who gathered around the Sophist on his second visit to the city. "When we were inside," Sokrates says, "we came upon Protagoras walking in the portico, and walking with him in a long line were, on one side Kallias, son of Hipponikos; his stepbrother Paralos, the son of Perikles; and Charmides, son of Glaukon; and on the other side Perikles' other son, Xanthippos; Philippides, son of Philomelos; and Antimoiros of Mende, the most eminent of Protagoras' pupils."²¹⁹ It is true, of course, that the sons' interest in Protagoras tells us little or nothing concerning the father. At the dramatic date of the *Protagoras*, Xanthippos and Paralos were approaching perhaps 30 and 25 years of age respectively.²²⁰ They were thus more than old enough to be seeking out the Sophist of their own accord. A second passage, however, a fragment of Stesimbrotos quoted by Plutarch (*Perikles*, 36.5), does indeed draw the tie to Perikles directly. The fragment is part of an anecdote recalling a financial quarrel between Perikles and Xanthippos. Xanthippos had recently married a woman of taste, so we are told, and being eager to keep her properly and rather prodigal himself, he had begun to borrow from his father's friends. Perikles refused to back up these debts and even initiated a lawsuit against his son. It was then, thwarted, that the son took to belittling his father in public: "He held up to ridicule above all his private pastimes and the discussions he used to have with the Sophists. Once when some athlete in the pentathlon hit Epitimos of Pharsalos with his javelin without intending to, and killed him, Perikles spent the whole day with Protagoras in a quandary whether, according to the strictest reasoning, they ought to consider the javelin, the one who threw it, or the contest judges responsible for the misfortune." Stesimbrotos was no friend of Perikles, and it would not be surprising if he had polished and embroidered this account. The story of the javelin, however, contains too much specific detail to have been made up whole. It testifies, rather, to a genuine bond of friendship between the statesman and the Sophist.²²¹

It is one matter for Perikles to have befriended Protagoras and for him to have developed a sincere interest in Sophistic thought. It is quite another to have embodied this thought in a public monument. It is the latter, the frieze program as an act of state, that is now a matter of concern. Perhaps above all what separates the frieze from the one other attested involvement of Protagoras in public policy, the framing of laws for Thourioi, is the different nature of the thought involved. To the public at large, the philosophy of religion

²¹⁹ Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, p. 314. I have altered the transliteration of proper names from the Latin to the Greek.

²²⁰ Cf. *Protagoras*, 328d. For the testimonia on their lives, see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971, pp. 457–458.

²²¹ Compare also a fragment of Protagoras describing Perikles' conduct at the death of his sons in the plague, [Plutarch], *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 118e (Diels-Kranz, B 9):

τῶν γὰρ υἱέων νεηνιέων ἐόντων καὶ καλῶν, ἐν ὀκτῶ δὲ τῆσι πάσῃσιν ἡμέρησι ἀποθανόντων νεηνευθῆως ἀνέτλη. εὐδίας γὰρ εἶχετο, ἐξ ἧς πολλὸν ὄνητο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην εἰς εὐποτμίην καὶ ἀνωδυνίην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖσι δόξαν· πᾶς γὰρ τις μιν ὀρέων τὰ ἑωυτοῦ πένθηα ἔρρωμένως φέροντα, μεγαλόφρονά τε καὶ ἀνδρήιον ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ ἑωυτοῦ κρέσσω, κάρτα εἰδὼς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἐν τοισίδε πρήγμασι ἀμηχανίην· τοῦτον γὰρ εὐθύς μετὰ τὴν προσαγγελίαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν υἱέων οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐστεφανωμένον κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος καὶ λευχειμονοῦντα δημηγορεῖν 'Βουλὰς τ' ἐξάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰς' πρὸς τε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιπαρορμῶντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

was a far more sensitive subject than the philosophy of law. Quite specifically, the *demos* found the rational investigation of the gods unsettling and frightening.²²²

It may be recalled that the philosophers themselves stood in a certain peril for their religious views. Ἀσεβείας κριθῆναι, διότι τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον.²²³ “They judged him impious for calling the sun a flaming mass of iron.” Thus did the Athenians try, convict, and banish Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, perhaps in the late 430’s.²²⁴ They cited the opening lines of Περὶ θεῶν against Protagoras, as we have seen.²²⁵ And they charged Sokrates with “not believing in the city’s gods”: θεοὺς οὐς ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά.²²⁶ The *demos* knew well how to rid itself of what it feared, or did not like, or simply did not understand.

It may be remembered, further, that Perikles faced vocal opposition at Athens from the mid-5th century, the conservative faction of Thoukydides, son of Melesias.²²⁷ Perikles’ control of the city was never seriously at issue, but all the same, his enemies were ever on the lookout for some chink in his political armor, some false step they might use against him. Can we be right, then, in associating Perikles with the religious heterodoxy of the frieze, to see this statesman’s will behind it? Or ought we to think rather that the political risks would have been too great, the act far too impetuous?

There is evidence that Perikles made recourse to Sophistic theology on at least one other public occasion, a funeral oration of the Samian War (440/39). The speech survives in but a fragment, a few lines of Stesimbrotos quoted by Plutarch (*Perikles*, 8), and philosophical tenets there form no more than the basis for a passing allusion. Notwithstanding, in the present context this testimony is of the very highest importance.

ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτος φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεοὺς· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὀρῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν, ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα· ταῦτ’ οὖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

Stesimbrotos states that [Perikles], delivering from the speaker’s platform an encomium on those killed at Samos, said that they had become immortal just like the gods. For we do not see the gods themselves; rather the honors they receive and the benefits they provide are our evidence for their immortality. Those who die for their country bestow and possess these as well.

²²² For a discussion of popular religion, see Dodds, *op. cit.* (footnote 126 above), pp. 140–155.

²²³ Diogenes Laertius, II.12 (Diels-Kranz, A 1).

²²⁴ For the several traditions concerning the trial, see Derenne, *op. cit.* (footnote 149 above), pp. 13–41. Trial and banishment, Diogenes Laertius, II.12. On the date, see Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* (footnote 218 above), pp. 75–89; R. Meiggs, *Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, pp. 435–436.

²²⁵ P. 320 above. The dating is uncertain; Diogenes Laertius (IX.52) identifies the plaintiff as Pythodoros, son of Polyzelos, a member of the Four Hundred, and this has been used by scholars to place the trial ca. 411 B.C. or shortly before.

²²⁶ *Apologia*, 24b.

²²⁷ For a summary of this evidence, see G. Prestel, *Die antidemokratische Strömung im Athen*, Breslau 1939, pp. 50–51; see in particular the passages of Plutarch cited footnote 215 above.

W. Nestle has submitted this passage to detailed philosophical analysis and has drawn attention to three significant textual parallels for the thought there embodied: the opening lines of *Περὶ θεῶν*, the Protagorean myth of creation, and Prodikos.²²⁸ Perikles begins as does the *Περὶ θεῶν* by denying an absolute knowledge of god. His *οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς δρῶμεν* is taken, as Nestle observes, from Protagoras' broader and more personal *οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι*. As Perikles proceeds to the bases of divine belief, he puts in apposition elements closely modeled on the twin clauses of *Protagoras*, 322a: Perikles' "benefits they provide", *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσι*, stands parallel to the acquisition of *technai* in the myth; "the honors they receive", *ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι*, to man's founding of cults and fashioning of images. If we shift the statesman's words from a divine to a human perspective, replacing "benefits they provide" with "benefits we experience", "honors they receive" with "honors we render", we find him to be stating, in essence, that the proof of the gods' immortality is the human perception of that immortality. He is applying the tenet *homo mensura* to religion.²²⁹

Beyond affirming that Perikles had knowledge of, indeed that he had a mastery of Sophistic thought, this fragment is valuable for what it shows of the statesman at work, his manner of presenting his knowledge to the public. Perikles steers his oratory clear of the theoretical and abstract, choosing rather to exemplify broad principles within a specific and narrow context. Further, and here one may indeed admire his subtlety, he draws on tenets of Protagoras without his argument becoming either impious or agnostic. This end he achieves through that shift of perspective we noted above. No question is cast on the gods' existence. To the contrary, their existence is a rhetorical means of offering comfort to the bereaved. At the same time, however, the statesman allows, even encourages his audience to measure his words by a personal standard, whether that the Samian dead live on as chthonic heroes, like military heroes of old, or simply that they are undying in our memory.

No more than the Samian *epitaphios* does the frieze undertake to attack traditional religion. In depicting Athenians at worship, instead it renders the city's piety manifest, and we can imagine most Athenians taking pride in the narrative simply at that level. To a few it spoke a language above this, carefully and judiciously phrased. Nothing blasphemous, no new or secret religion. Its aim, rather, was to endow time-honored religion with a new and higher meaning.

It is only natural to wonder who designed the frieze. Let me simply voice an opinion, wholly apart from argument: that the initial stages of planning were the result of a

²²⁸ "Ein Echo aus Protagoras 'Περὶ θεῶν'?" *PhilWoch* 45, 1925, cols. 316–318. See further on this speech, F. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, 3rd ed., I, Leipzig 1887, p. 37; N. Loraux, *L'invention d'Athènes: Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la "cité classique"*, Paris 1981, p. 40. With reference to the form of the speech as a whole, see L. Weber, "Perikles samische Leichenrede," *Hermes* 57, 1922, pp. 375–395.

²²⁹ On the relevance of *homo mensura* to Protagorean theology, see particularly Müller, pp. 143–144; cf. footnote 159 above. *Homo mensura* has itself been variously interpreted in modern scholarship. I have followed Guthrie (*HGP* III, pp. 183–188) and others, in taking it to express extreme subjectivism. For the opposing view that it refers to man's partial apprehension of the real, see F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, London 1935, pp. 33–36.; and von Fritz, *op. cit.* (footnote 212 above), cols. 916–917.

collaboration, between the frieze designer—one thinks of Pheidias here—Perikles, and Protagoras. The program's exceptional blending of artistry, subtlety, and intellect may, I feel, be best explained in that way.

If that collaboration was ever to have been a secret, it could hardly have remained so for long. And we can well imagine how offended were the conservatives of the city when they learned of it. In 438, the year of the dedication of the Parthenos and perhaps the final year of carving the frieze, Perikles' enemies attacked Pheidias, charging him with theft of public funds.²³⁰ The sculptor fled Athens in the face of his trial or his sentence, and from the thirties, then, worked at Olympia on the gold and ivory Zeus.²³¹

This attack can be understood in a number of ways. The sculptor may in fact have been engaged in theft. Or if the charges were politically motivated, they may have been directed against Pheidias as overseer of the entire building program on the Akropolis, not of the frieze in particular. Having come to know this monument somewhat better, however, it is difficult to think of its program and the exile as matters wholly apart. When the carving was visible in its full extent, the tools laid down, the scaffold removed, it fell to the sculptor to render account.

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²³⁰ Schol. Aristophanes, *Pax*, 605, quoting Philochoros. See the commentary, F. Jacoby, *FGrHist*, 328 F 121, vol. IIIb, text pp. 484–496. For the completion of the frieze in 438 B.C. see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 171, with full citation of bibliography.

²³¹ For the dating of the Zeus, A. Mallwitz and W. Schiering, *OlForsch*, V, *Die Werkstatt des Pheidias in Olympia*, Berlin 1964, pp. 272–277; A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, Munich 1972, p. 263.



a. East Frieze, Olympian gods and the scene of the peplos. Cast, Basel (Photo D. Widmer)



b. Left to right: Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, Ares, Nike, Hera, Zeus. Cast, Basel (Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum, Basel)

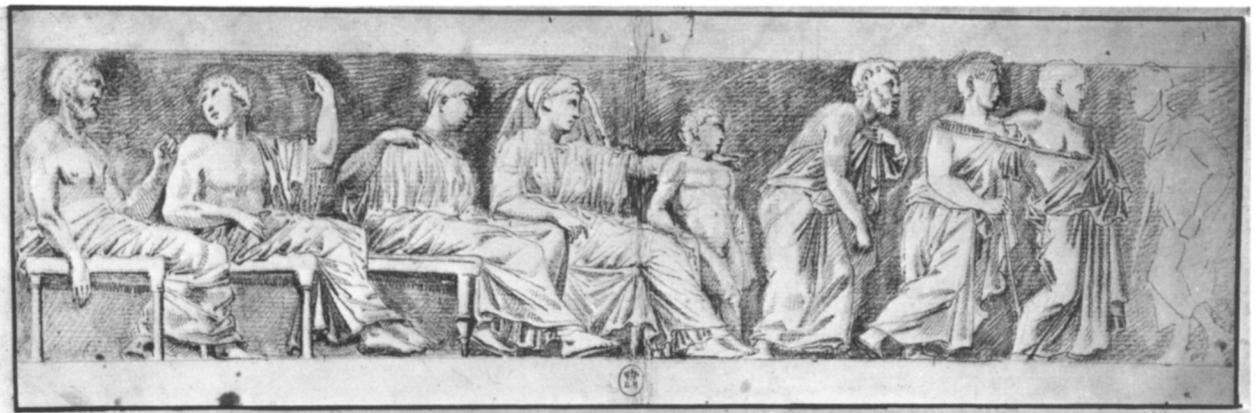


c. Left to right: Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Eros. Cast, Basel (Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum, Basel)

IRA S. MARK: THE GODS ON THE EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON



a. Artemis, Aphrodite, Eros. Cast, Basel (Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum, Basel)



b. Carrey drawing of the East Frieze (Photo Bibliothèque National, Paris)



a. Head of Nike (Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)



b. Nike, Hera, Zeus (Photo courtesy Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



a. Right hand of Nike (Photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



b. Pyxis by the Washing Painter, Würzburg (Photo courtesy Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg)



a. Epinetron by the Eretria Painter, Athens, N.M. 1629 (Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)



b. Detail of a cup, Berlin, S.M. 2536 (Photo courtesy of Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, Berlin)



a-c. Lebes gamikos, Hanover, Kestner Museum 1966.116 (Photo courtesy Kestner Museum, Hanover)