

ATHENIANS AND ELEUSINIANS IN THE WEST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

(PLATE 95)

THE IDENTIFICATION of the figures in the west pediment of the Parthenon has long been problematic.¹ The evidence readily enables us to reconstruct the composition of the pediment and to identify its central figures. The subsidiary figures, however, are rather more difficult to interpret. I propose that those on the left side of the pediment may be identified as members of the Athenian royal family, associated with the goddess Athena, and those on the right as members of the Eleusinian royal family, associated with the god Poseidon. This alignment reflects the strife of the two gods on a heroic level, by referring to the legendary war between Athens and Eleusis. The recognition of the disjunction between Athenians and Eleusinians and of parallelism and contrast between individuals and groups of figures on the pediment permits the identification of each figure. The reference to Eleusis in the pediment, moreover, indicates the importance of that city and its major cult, the Eleusinian Mysteries, to the Athenians. The reference reflects the development and exploitation of Athenian control of the Mysteries during the Archaic and Classical periods. This new proposal for the identification of the subsidiary figures of the west pediment thus has critical

¹ This article has its origins in a paper I wrote in a graduate seminar directed by Professor John Pollini at The Johns Hopkins University in 1979. I returned to this paper to revise and expand its ideas during 1986/1987, when I held the Jacob Hirsch Fellowship at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. In the summer of 1988, I was given a grant by the Committee on Research of Tulane University to conduct further research for the article. I express my sincere gratitude to the Tulane Committee on Research and to the American School of Classical Studies for their support. I also thank the following persons for their invaluable assistance with my research and the writing of this article: Aileen Ajootian, Nancy Bookidis, John Camp, Jane Carter, Mary Lee Coulson, Kevin Clinton, Evelyn Harrison, Gail Hoffman, George Huxley, John Oakley, Olga Palagia, Elizabeth Pemberton, John Pollini, and Linda Reilly. Without their suggestions, criticisms, and encouragement, this article would not have been completed.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Becatti, "Postille" = G. Becatti, "Postille partenoniche," *ArchCl* 17, 1965, pp. 54–78
 Brommer, *Skulpturen* = F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel*, Mainz 1963
 Carrara, *Eretteo* = P. Carrara, *Euripide: Eretteo*, Florence 1977
 Harrison, "U" = E. Harrison, "U and Her Neighbors in the West Pediment of the Parthenon," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London 1967, pp. 1–9
 Jeppesen, "Bild" = K. Jeppesen, "Bild und Mythos an dem Parthenon," *Acta Arch* 34, 1963, pp. 1–96
 Kron, *Phylenheroen* = U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen. Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen*, Berlin 1976
 Kron, "Erechtheus" = U. Kron, *s.v.* Erechtheus, *LIMC* IV, i, 1988, pp. 923–951
 Lacore = M. Lacore, "Euripide et le culte de Poseidon-Erechtheé," *REA* 85, 1983, pp. 215–234
 Murray = A. Murray, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1903
 Richardson, *Hymn* = *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, N. Richardson, ed., Oxford 1974
 Toepffer, *Genealogie* = I. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin 1889
 Weidauer, "Eumolpus" = L. Weidauer, "Eumolpus und Athen. Eine ikonographische Studie," *AA (JdI)* 100, 1985, pp. 195–210

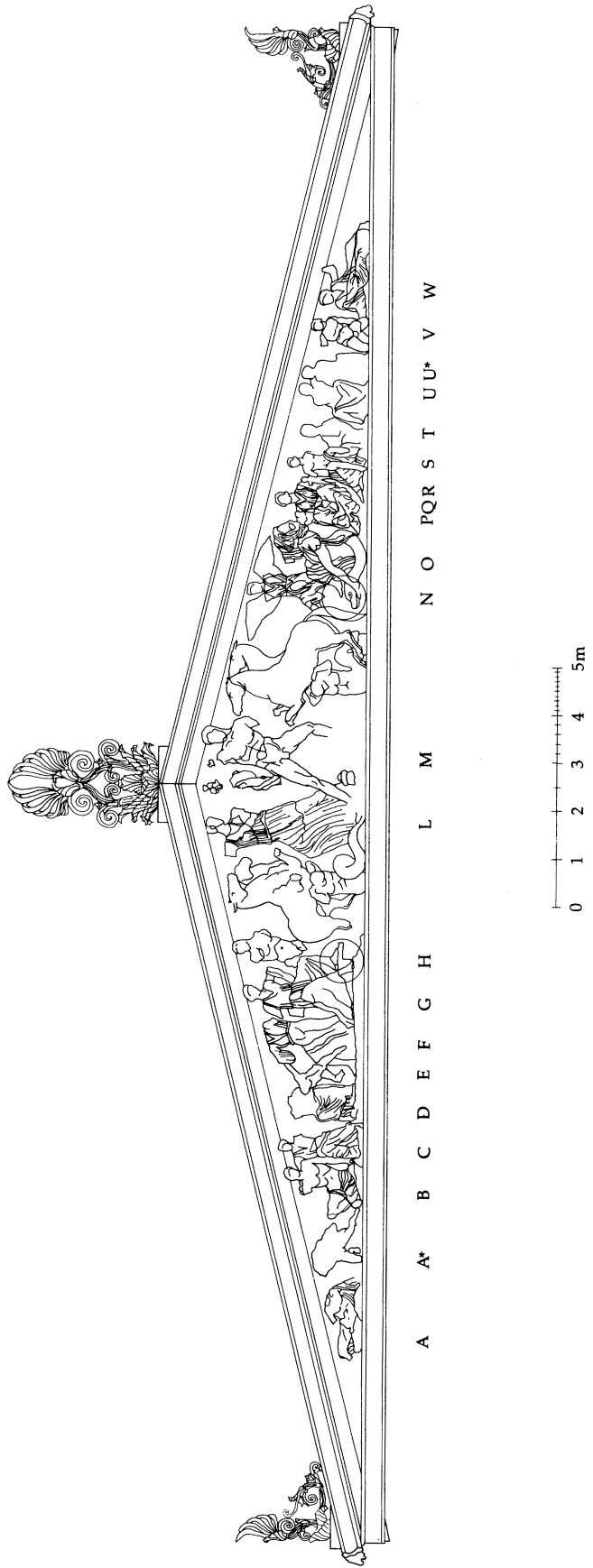


Fig. 1. The West Pediment of the Parthenon

implications for the interpretation of the pedimental composition as a whole and its role in Athenian propaganda of the Periclean period.

THE EVIDENCE

Although the explosion of 1687 caused serious damage to the west pediment and its sculptures, the surviving fragments of the sculptures and the Carrey drawings of the pediment (Pl. 95), which predate the explosion, enable us to reconstruct the composition (Fig. 1).² The pedimental composition is divided into three main groups: a central group, portrayed in violent motion, and on either side of this group a collection of figures portrayed at rest, watching the action of the center. From Pausanias (1.24.5) we know that this scene is the contention of Athena and Poseidon for Attica.³ Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.14.1) relates the details of this strife.⁴ The two divinities disputed the possession of Attica during the reign of King Kekrops. They each produced a sign indicating that they had taken possession of the city: Poseidon, by striking his trident on the ground, brought forth a salt spring; Athena produced an olive tree. A dispute then arose between the two gods, and Zeus appointed a judge: either one of the Attic kings (Kekrops, Kranaos, or Erysichthon), or the twelve gods. Athena was adjudged the winner of the contest, and Poseidon flooded the Thriasian plain in revenge. From this evidence and other literary and artistic depictions of the myth, all of which postdate the Parthenon, the figures of the central group of the pediment have been identified with reasonable certainty as Athena (Figure L) and Poseidon (Figure M), the charioteers Nike (Figure G) and Amphitrite (Figure O), and the messenger gods Hermes (Figure H) and Iris (Figure N).⁵

² The sculptures of the west pediment are published in Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 30–61, pls. 81–131. For a bibliography of all work on the Parthenon and its sculptures up to 1984, see “Parthenon-Bibliographie,” in *Parthenon-Kongress Basel. Referate und Berichte 4. bis 8. April 1982*, E. Berger, ed., Mainz 1984, pp. 459–495. For work on the sculpture of the west pediment since the publication of this bibliography, see the following: J. Binder, “The West Pediment of the Parthenon: Poseidon,” *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on his 80th Birthday (GRBS Monographs 10)*, K. Rigsby, ed., Durham, North Carolina 1984, pp. 15–22; J. Boardman, *The Parthenon and its Sculptures*, London 1985; M. Wegner, “Wagenlenkerin der Athena aus dem Westgiebel des Parthenon,” *AM* 101, 1986, pp. 149–152; B. Cook, “Parthenon West Pediment B/C: The Serpent Fragment,” in *Kanon: Festschrift Ernst Berger (AntK Beiheft 15)*, M. Schmidt, ed., Basel 1988, pp. 4–7. The Carrey drawings are published in T. Bowie and D. Thimme, *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, Bloomington, Indiana 1971.

³ I use the word “contention” in this article in order to include both the actual contest of the gods and their later conflict over the results of that contest. As Erika Simon has shown in her article on the central group (“Die Mittelgruppe im Westgiebel des Parthenon,” in *Tainia: Festschrift für Roland Hampe*, H. Cahn and E. Simon, edd., Mainz 1980, pp. 239–255), the actual moment depicted in the pediment is after the contest, when an angry Poseidon is attacking Attica; Zeus stops this conflict by hurling his thunderbolt between the two combatants. Simon’s interpretation of the pediment recently has been corroborated in the discovery of a vase from Pella showing the thunderbolt between Athena and Poseidon. For the vase, see footnote 71 below.

⁴ For other versions of this myth, see the chart of literary sources given in A. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1910, p. 15.

⁵ For the myth and its later depictions in art and literature, see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 158–160. For two examples not mentioned by Brommer, see the Policoro pelike and the Pella hydria (footnotes 68 and 71 below). For the identifications of the central group, see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 167–168. The iconography of the central group and the depicted moment of the myth are discussed most recently in Binder (footnote 2 above) and Simon (footnote 3 above).

No completely convincing identifications, however, have yet been offered for the subsidiary figures in the pediment, the spectators at the strife of the gods. The Carrey drawings show six such figures on the left side of the pediment (Figures A–F; Pl. 95, above) and eight on the right side (Figures P–W; Pl. 95, below). A gap exists in the drawings between Figures A and B and between Figures U and V. Most scholars believe that these gaps were originally occupied by two other figures, A* and U*, making a total of sixteen subsidiary figures on the pediment.⁶ Of these, only the sculptures of Figures A, B, and C are relatively well preserved.⁷ Figures E, P, Q, T, V, and W are fragmentary.⁸ In addition, fragments of Figures U and U* have been identified, although their individual assignment is uncertain.⁹ Figures D, F, R, and S are known largely from the Carrey drawings, although a few small fragments have been tentatively attributed to them.¹⁰ Neither drawing nor fragment is available for Figure A*.¹¹ Because the evidence available for the spectator figures is so

⁶ For a discussion of the gaps and Figures A* and U*, see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 58–61. For the argument that the gaps were an intentional part of the composition, see Murray, pp. 21–22.

⁷ Figure A: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 30–31, pls. 81–84. Figures B and C: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pls. 85–89; Cook (footnote 2 above), *loc. cit.*

⁸ Figure E: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 35, pl. 90:1; F. Brommer, “Studien zu den Parthenongiebeln V,” *AM* 84, 1969 (pp. 103–126), pl. 48. Figures P and Q: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 50–51, pls. 119–121. Figure T: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 53, pls. 139–140; E. Berger, “Parthenon-Studien: Erster Zwischenbericht,” *AntK* 19, 1976 (pp. 122–141), pp. 125–126; E. Berger, “Parthenon-Studien: Zweiter Zwischenbericht,” *AntK* 20, 1977 (pp. 124–141), pp. 134–135; I. Beyer, “Smith 12. Ein Fragment des Ost oder Westgiebels?” *Parthenon-Kongress Basel. Referate und Berichte 4. bis 8. April 1982*, E. Berger, ed., Mainz 1984, pp. 260–265, pls. 20, 21. Figure V: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 55, pls. 127, 128. Figure W: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 56–57, pls. 129–131.

⁹ The fragments Akr. 1363 and Akr. 888 have been assigned by some scholars to U and U*, respectively (so, e.g., Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 54, 60–62, 65, 97; and Harrison, “U”). Other scholars reverse the attribution of fragments, assigning Akr. 1363 to U* and Akr. 888 to U (so, e.g., Berger, 1977 [footnote 8 above], pp. 130–133; Beyer [footnote 8 above], p. 263). Still others reject the assignation of these fragments to U or U* entirely (so, e.g., R. Linder, “Die Giebelgruppe von Eleusis mit Raub der Persephone,” *JdI* 97, 1982 [pp. 303–400], pp. 363–369). The issue remains problematic. In addition, copies or imitations of these sculptures have been identified at Eleusis (Athens, N.M. 201 and N.M. 202: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 104–105, pls. 144, 146) and the Athenian Agora (S 289 and S 1429: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 106, pl. 145, 147:1). Harrison (“U,” pp. 1–9) gives a summary of the proposals up to 1967 regarding the Parthenon sculptures and their copies. Lindner (*op. cit.*, pp. 312–381) discusses the Eleusinian copies in detail. These sculptures, which belong to a pedimental composition of the 2nd century after Christ depicting the Rape of Persephone, have been identified as copies or adaptations of Figures B, C, L, and possibly W, as well as Figures U and U*. An interesting question is why the Eleusinian artists selected the Parthenon figures for their model. I suggest that these artists knew of the associations of the Parthenon with Eleusis and its heroes and so decided to use some of these figures as models for their own composition, as a quotation of the more famous Parthenon sculptures. See Lindner (*op. cit.*, pp. 381–394), who offers several different explanations for the association of the Parthenon and Eleusis pediments.

¹⁰ Figure D: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 34, pl. 90:1. Figure F: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 35; Brommer, 1969 (footnote 8 above), p. 115. Figure R: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 50. Figure S: Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 52, pl. 122.

¹¹ The so-called “Pillar Torso,” Akr. 879, has sometimes been assigned to Figure A* (Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 58–59, pls. 141, 142). Jeppesen (“Bild,” p. 64) argued that this fragment actually belonged to an autochthon supporting the horses of Athena. Most scholars have accepted this assignment, e.g., Harrison, “U,” p. 9, note 55, and Berger, 1977 (footnote 8 above), p. 128. Brommer (1969 [footnote 8 above], p. 125), however, rejected it. I find Jeppesen’s arguments convincing.

incomplete, until now some scholars have dismissed the problem of their identification as insoluble.¹²

PREVIOUS THEORIES

Those scholars who do treat the problem of the identification of the spectator figures have offered a number of different theories, each of which has significant drawbacks. The proposed theories may be divided into three categories: gods, Attic personifications, and Attic heroes.

The theory that the spectator figures represent gods was especially popular before this century.¹³ The idea was suggested by the tradition that the twelve Olympian gods were present at the contention of Athena and Poseidon.¹⁴ To various Olympian deities were added a number of minor gods and demigods of the Greek pantheon to make up the full complement of spectator figures on the pediment. In general, proponents of this theory make an attempt to identify the gods of the right half of the pediment as sea deities, who are therefore associated with Poseidon and properly on his side. For example, Thalassa, Aphrodite, Leukothea, and a Nereid are frequently proposed for the female figures of this side of the pediment.¹⁵ More recently, Jeppesen suggested that the figures of the left half of the pediment are native Athenian gods or demigods and that those on the right side are mythological figures associated with the sea and Poseidon.¹⁶ The idea of a division between the groups on the two sides of the pediment seems intuitively correct, since the subject matter of the pediment suggests a polarity between the figures supporting each contestant in the struggle.

As a number of scholars have noted, however, several problems exist with this theory. Almost all the figures are lacking any visible attributes which enable them to be identified with a particular god.¹⁷ In addition, in the Carrey drawings the spectator figures are separated from the main action by the chariots of the gods. This dissociation seems deliberate and perhaps is intended to mark them as a different order of being from the gods in the center.¹⁸ Finally, the arrangement of the figures in the drawings seems to suggest family groups, and so the figures are unlikely to be gods.¹⁹

¹² See, e.g., G. Ashmole, *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece*, New York 1972, p. 111: "... in the west pediment there is really rather a clutter of beings of assorted sizes, including a number of children. Did anyone, even in antiquity, remember who they all were?" Compare Jeppesen ("The Pedimental Compositions of the Parthenon," *ActaArch* 24, 1953, p. 121), who suggests that the names of the figures were inscribed on the front of the cornice to enable visitors to identify them.

¹³ A. Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, Leipzig 1871, pp. 180–181) gives a chart of all the identifications of these figures as gods as proposed by scholars in the 19th century.

¹⁴ Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.1; Ovid, *Met.* 6.72; Servius on Vergil, *Georg.* 1.12 Thilo. Compare the tradition that Zeus alone was the judge: Hyginus, *Fab.* 64; Hesychios, *s.v.* Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ περσοί.

¹⁵ Michaelis (footnote 13 above), *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Jeppesen, "Bild," pp. 79–80.

¹⁷ Figure B, by exception, which is associated with a snake, is therefore sometimes identified as Asklepios. See Michaelis (footnote 13 above), p. 186. It is possible that attributes were painted on some of the figures or added in metal and that they have since been lost.

¹⁸ Murray, pp. 15–16.

¹⁹ M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, London 1975, p. 300.

Another theory holds that the spectator figures are personifications of the Attic landscape.²⁰ They therefore represent semidivine beings who might be expected to be present at a divine contest that was to decide the future of Attica. In general, this theory has been rejected, since there is no mention of such figures in any version of the myth and, again, they have no visible attributes to make them recognizable as personifications.²¹

The theory is still current, however, in the idea that the figures in the angles of the pediment (Figures A and W and possibly also Figures A* and V) represent river and spring deities.²² Identifications offered for these figures include Kephisos, Eridanos, Ilissos, and Kallirrhoe. The major arguments for this variation of the theory are as follows: First, the sculptures of the angle figures bear an artistic resemblance to those of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, which have been identified on the evidence of Pausanias (5.10.6–7) as the rivers Alpheos and Kladeos.²³ Second, these sculptures have a liquid quality to them and therefore may be associated with water deities.²⁴ Third, the Carrey drawings show these figures cut off from the other spectators in the pediment, and so they represent a different order of being.²⁵ Fourth, Figure A is represented tranquilly watching the contention and is undisturbed by the threat posed by Poseidon. He therefore must be a divinity; since he is so closely associated with mortals, he is a river divinity, as is by analogy his pendant, Figure W.²⁶ Finally, these figures provide a topographical framework for the west pediment, as the Helios and Selene figures provide a chronological one for the east pediment.²⁷

Each of these arguments, however, may be countered. The discernment of an artistic resemblance to the figures at Olympia is highly subjective, as are the attempts to find water symbolism in the execution of these sculptures. Moreover, Pausanias' identification of the figures at Olympia as river gods may be erroneous, as their iconography does not fit with that of river gods in this period.²⁸ The apparent discontinuity between the angle figures of the Parthenon pediment and the other spectators is caused by the gap in the Carrey drawings between Figures A and B and between U and V. As the gap is probably artificial and so may not reflect the original arrangement of the sculptures, this argument is not compelling. The gap in the drawing, I believe, also produces the impression that Figure A is represented differently from the other figures in the pediment. Since the head of this figure is missing,

²⁰ H. Brunn, "Die Bildwerke des Parthenon," *Kleine Schriften* II, H. Bulle and H. Brunn, edd., Leipzig/Berlin 1905 (pp. 255–282), pp. 270–277. Brommer (*Skulpturen*, p. 182) gives a chart of Brunn's identifications. Since these identifications have been generally rejected, I do not cite them in my discussion of the identification of the individual figures below.

²¹ A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, E. Sellers, ed., London 1895, p. 458. On the question of attributes, see also footnote 17 above.

²² See, e.g., Robertson (footnote 19 above), *loc. cit.*; B. Ridgway, review of F. Brommer, *Die Giebel des Parthenon—Eine Einführung*, Mainz 1959, *AJA* 64, 1960 (pp. 200–210), p. 201.

²³ Murray, pp. 25–26.

²⁴ Robertson (footnote 19 above), *loc. cit.*; Murray, pp. 26–27.

²⁵ Murray, pp. 24–25.

²⁶ C. Weiss, *Griechische Flussgottheiten in vorhellenistischer Zeit. Ikonographie und Bedeutung (Beiträge auf Archäologie 17)*, H. Froning *et al.*, edd., pp. 144–145.

²⁷ Ridgway (footnote 22 above), *loc. cit.*

²⁸ M.-L. Säflund, *The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. A Reconstruction of its Composition (SIMA 27)*, Göteborg 1970, pp. 147–149; R. Gais, "Some Problems of River God Iconography," *AJA* 82, 1978 (pp. 355–370), pp. 355–362. Cf. Weiss (footnote 26 above), pp. 126–141.

both in sculpture itself and in the drawings of it, it is very difficult to determine what his reaction to the central scene actually is. Moreover, even if his reaction were different from that of the other spectator figures, this would not necessarily imply that he was a divinity.²⁹ The argument proposing a topographical framework created by the angle figures is certainly not conclusive without some other indication that these figures are river deities. Finally, no mention is made of river divinities in any extant source for the myth of the contention of Poseidon and Athena.³⁰ There is no reason, then, to identify any of the spectator figures on the west pediment as personifications.

The third theory, and the one generally accepted today, is that the spectator figures on both sides of the central group represent Attic heroes.³¹ This theory is supported by the tradition that one of the legendary kings of Athens witnessed or presided at the contention of Athena and Poseidon, or that the inhabitants of Attica themselves judged its outcome.³² As the contention supposedly took place on the Akropolis and was won by the patron goddess of the Athenians, Attic heroes would be fitting witnesses to it. Since the figures in the drawing seem to represent family groups, the suggestion has been made that the spectators represent the Athenian royal family, specifically the line of Kekrops.³³ The major difficulty with this theory is that it does not take into account the division between the spectators in the left and right halves of the pediment. The explanation of this division is crucial to the interpretation of the pediment.³⁴

Furtwängler suggested a possible solution to this problem by proposing that the left half of the pediment represents the line of Kekrops, associated with Athena, and the right half that of Erechtheus, associated with Poseidon.³⁵ Although the former association is well established, the latter is problematic. To be sure, Poseidon and Erechtheus were associated in cult worship from the middle of the 5th century.³⁶ The assimilation of the two figures into one, however, can be dated securely only from the 1st century B.C.³⁷ As we shall see, moreover, evidence also exists to link Erechtheus closely with Athena and to set him in opposition to Poseidon.³⁸ Furtwängler's proposal for the division of the pediment is therefore greatly weakened.

²⁹ I argue below that this figure is Boutes, the first priest of Poseidon and Erechtheus. Perhaps his association with Poseidon would influence his reaction to the god's threat to Athens.

³⁰ Weiss ([footnote 26 above] p. 145) argues that in another myth, that of the contention of Hera and Poseidon for Argos, river gods were witnesses (Pausanias, 2.15.5) and that perhaps they simply are not mentioned among the list of witnesses in any of the extant sources for the myth of Poseidon and Athena's contention for Attica. This theory is possible but unconvincing.

³¹ See, e.g., F. Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1979, pp. 48–52; Harrison, "U," p. 9, note 55.

³² Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.5.10; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.1; Aelius Artisteides, 1.41; Varro in Augustine, *de civ. Dei* 18.9.

³³ So Furtwängler (footnote 21 above), pp. 458–463, and many later scholars.

³⁴ Several other scholars have recognized the importance of this division. See Murray, pp. 15–16; Jeppesen, "Bild," p. 75; Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 162–163; Simon (footnote 3 above), p. 244.

³⁵ Furtwängler (footnote 21 above), pp. 458–463. His proposal is followed by many scholars including R. Carpenter, "New Material for the West Pediment of the Parthenon," *Hesperia* 1, 1932 (pp. 1–30), pp. 28–29; Jeppesen (footnote 12 above), pp. 121–122; Becatti, "Postille," pp. 62–78.

³⁶ *IG I²*, 580, dated to 460–450 B.C. See Lacore, pp. 222–227.

³⁷ [Plutarch], *X orat.* 843B. See Lacore, pp. 218–221.

³⁸ So Jeppesen, "Bild," pp. 73–75.

Another theory was recently offered by Weidauer, who saw in the figures of the left side of the pediment Attic heroes connected with Athena and in the figures of the right side Attic heroes connected with Poseidon.³⁹ There are several problems with Weidauer's proposal. First, she separates the members of the family of Erechtheus to the two sides of the pediment. Thus, she has Figures B and D as Erechtheus and his wife Praxithea, and Figures C and E as two of his daughters, but also Figure Q on the other side of the pediment as Oreithya, another daughter. The disjunction of the daughters of Erechtheus on two sides of the pediment seems unlikely, if the division of the composition into two opposing parties is accepted. Moreover, the only connection Weidauer offers between the Erechtheid Oreithya and Poseidon is once removed: Oreithya will become the mother of Chione, who later will be a lover of Poseidon. Weidauer also maintains the identification of the angle figures, Figures A and W, as river and spring divinities, Kephisos and Alope, and she does not identify Figures U and U*. Hence, although the identification of the spectator figures as Attic heroes seems the most probable, previous theories seem inadequate.

THE NEW PROPOSAL

I therefore offer a new proposal for the identification of the spectator figures. This proposal is based on four premises:

First, these figures are heroes, not personifications or gods. The lack of visible attributes makes this interpretation of the figures the most likely one.

Second, these heroes are arranged in family groups. The presence of children is unusual in Classical Greek architectural sculpture.⁴⁰ Their appearance in the Parthenon pediment indicates the importance of the familial relationships of the spectator figures.

Third, the spectator figures are divided into two camps, one associated with Poseidon and the other with Athena. The theme of a strife between two figures suggests a polarity between the two sides in the struggle. Precedents for such a polarity may be found in architectural sculpture from Olympia and Delphi. The east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia depicts the mythological contest of Pelops and Oinomaus. This pedimental composition, Pausanias (5.10.6–7) informs us, was divided into two groups, one associated with Pelops and the other with Oinomaus.⁴¹ At Delphi, the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury depicts a combat of Trojans and Greeks and a council of gods regarding this contest. Each of these scenes is split between two opposing parties, as the identifications of the figures in the inscriptions behind them reveal.⁴² The mortal combat is split between the Trojan warriors on one side and the Greeks on the other; the council of the gods is split between the divine supporters of the Trojans and those of the Greeks. These two precedents indicate that the division of a sculptural composition into two opposing groups was an accepted device for myths which suggested such a polarity.

³⁹ Weidauer, "Eumolpus," pp. 206–207.

⁴⁰ The only other example from this period is the Erechtheion frieze. See B. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981, p. 46.

⁴¹ Although Pausanias' identification of individual figures may be suspect, his general view of the split of the composition between the supporters of the two contestants is accepted by most scholars. For the identification of the figures of the east pediment at Olympia, see Säflund (footnote 28 above), pp. 97–124.

⁴² See V. Brinkmann, "Die aufgemalten Namenbeischriften an Nord und Ostfries des Siphnierschatzhauses," *BCH* 109, 1985 (pp. 77–130), pp. 110–121.

Fourth and finally, the two sides of the Parthenon composition are symmetrical, and individual figures and groups of figures correspond.⁴³ Figures A and A* correspond to Figures V and W on the other side of the pediment. Similarly, Figures B and C are parallel to Figures U and U*, as Figures D, E, and F are to Figures Q, S, and T. The relationships of these groups of figures will be discussed in more detail below (pp. 344–345). The parallelism between the figures on the two sides of the composition, or as Säflund terms it, “anti-thetic respension”, may also be seen in the Olympia pediment and the Siphnian frieze.⁴⁴

On the basis of these four concepts, I propose that the spectator figures in the west pediment represent the royal families of Athens and Eleusis, aligned with Athena and Poseidon, respectively.⁴⁵ This alignment reflects the strife of the two gods on a human level, through reference to the legendary war between Athens and Eleusis. This hypothesis is supported by three sets of interlocking connections: first, among Athena, Athens, and the Athenian royal family; second, among Poseidon, Eleusis, and the Eleusinian royal family; and third, between the contention of Athena and Poseidon and the war of the Athenians and Eleusinians.

The association of Athena with Athens and the Athenian royal family is well established in Greek myth, cult, and art. Athena is the patron goddess of the city and appears in myth as the protectress of the ancient Athenian kings.⁴⁶ As Hooker has noted, Athena is the “divine mother” of the royal line of Athens.⁴⁷ The maternal aspect of Athena is revealed most clearly in the myth of Erichthonios, in which the goddess serves as the foster mother of the autochthonous hero born from her attempted rape by Hephaistos.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the cult of the goddess is closely connected to other members of the Athenian royal family, such as Erechtheus, Boutes, Kekrops, and his daughters Pandrosos and Aglauros, all of whom had cult sites on the Akropolis along with Athena.⁴⁹ The goddess was also worshipped at

⁴³ On the symmetry of the pedimental composition and the correspondence of individual figures in that composition, see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 162–163 and Berger, 1977 (footnote 8 above), pp. 129–130.

⁴⁴ For the Olympia pediment, see Säflund (footnote 28 above), pp. 47 and 125–127. For the Siphnian frieze, see Brinkmann (footnote 42 above), *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Several modern scholars have also seen a connection with Eleusis in the west pediment. Jeppesen (“Bild,” p. 80) suggested that Figures S, T, and U could be recognized as the “Eleusinian triad” of Triptolemos, Demeter, and Persephone. Harrison (“U,” p. 9, note 55) suggested that Figures V and W were the Eleusinian hero Eumolpos and his mother Chione. Weidauer (“Eumolpus,” pp. 206–207) proposed that Figures S and T were Eumolpos and Chione and that Figure V was the Eleusinian hero Hippothoon with Figure W, his mother, the Eleusinian spring deity Alope. The association is drawn from two factors: first, the connections between Poseidon and Eleusis, and second, the copies of the west pediment sculptures at Eleusis (see footnote 9 above). None of these scholars, however, has recognized the consistent division between Athenian and Eleusinian heroes that I propose here.

⁴⁶ On Athena’s connection with Athens, see L. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States I*, Oxford 1896, pp. 293–294. On her association with the Athenian kings, see E. Hooker, “The Goddess of the Golden Image,” in *Parthenon and Parthenon (GaR 10, Supplement)*, G. Hooker, ed., Oxford 1963, pp. 17–22.

⁴⁷ Hooker, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸ For the myth of Erichthonios, see, e.g., Euripides, *Ion* 18–26, 268–274, 1427–1432; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.6; Ovid, *Met.* 2.552–561; Pausanias, 1.18.2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166. For a full list of sources, see B. Powell, *Erichthonius and the Three Daughters of Cecrops (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 17)*, C. Bennett et al., edd., Ithaca 1906, pp. 56–86.

⁴⁹ Erechtheus and Boutes were worshipped together with Athena Polias in the Erechtheion (Pausanias, 1.26.5–1.27.1). I accept here the view that the Temple of Athena Polias and the Erechtheion are the same building. So, e.g., Travlos, pp. 213–227. For another view, see K. Jeppesen, *The Theory of the Alternative*

one time with the epithets Aglauros and Herse, indicating the assimilation of the Kekropids to her.⁵⁰ In addition, the ritual of the Arrhephoria, conducted by priestesses dedicated to Athena and Pandrosos, seems to link the Kekropids and the goddess.⁵¹ In art, Athena is frequently represented in the company of members of the ancient royal family of Athens. For example, she is often shown in depictions of the birth of Erichthonios, at which Kekrops and his daughters and Erechtheus may also appear.⁵² The goddess Athena is inextricably associated with Athens and the Athenian royal family. Members of that family would naturally appear as her supporters in her contention with Poseidon and be depicted on her side of the pediment.

The links among Poseidon, Eleusis, and the Eleusinian royal family are equally strong. Poseidon received cult worship at Eleusis. A procession was dedicated to him in the harvest festival of the Haloa, and he is named among other Eleusinian divinities in an early 5th-century cult calendar from Eleusis.⁵³ He shared a temple at Eleusis with Artemis and received cult honors along with Demeter, Persephone, and Athena at a sanctuary on the road from Athens to Eleusis.⁵⁴ He was also worshipped together with other Eleusinian divinities at Thorikos and Troizen.⁵⁵ He is depicted in the circle of Eleusinian gods and heroes on an Attic red-figured skyphos by Hieron and Makron, which dates to ca. 480 B.C.⁵⁶ In myth, he was the lover of Demeter at Thelpusa and Phigaleia, where he was named the father of Persephone.⁵⁷ The legendary Eleusinian kings Eumolpos, Kerkyon, and Hippothoon were all sons of Poseidon, and possibly related to him also was the Eleusinian hero Triptolemos.⁵⁸ The Eleusinian priestly clan of the Eumolpidai, which held the highest

Erechtheion: Premises, Definition, and Implications (*Acta Jutlandica* 63.1, *Humanities Series* 60), Aarhus 1987. For the Kekropeion and the Pandroseion, the cult sites of Kekrops and Pandrosos near the Erechtheion, see *IG* I³, 474 and 475; Pausanias, 1.27.2. For the sanctuary of Aglauros on the Akropolis, see Herodotos, 8.53; Pausanias, 1.18.2; compare G. Dontas ("The True Aglaurion," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 48–63), who argues that the Aglaurion was east of the Akropolis.

⁵⁰ Harpokration, s.v. Ἄγλαυρος; Schol. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 439.

⁵¹ For the Arrhephoria, see Pausanias, 1.27.4 and W. Burkert, "Kekropidensage und Arrhephoria," *Hermes* 94, 1966, pp. 1–25. For the connection of this ritual with Athena, see Hooker (footnote 46 above), p. 19.

⁵² For depictions of Athena at the birth of Erichthonios, see Kron, "Erechtheus," pp. 928–932; M. Schmidt, "Die Entdeckung des Erichthonios," *AM* 83, 1968, pp. 200–212; J. Oakley, "A Louvre Fragment Reconsidered: Perseus Becomes Erichthonios," *JHS* 102, 1982, pp. 220–222; J. Oakley, "A Calyx Krater in Virginia by the Nikias Painter with the Birth of Erichthonios," *AntK* 30, 1987, pp. 123–130.

⁵³ Haloa: *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.384; Eustathius, 772.25 (*Il.* 8.534); A. Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and Their Relation to the Agricultural Year*, New York 1981, pp. 106–107. Cult calendar from Eleusis (ca. 500 B.C.): *IG* I³, 5.

⁵⁴ Temple of Poseidon Pater and Artemis Propylaia at Eleusis: Pausanias, 1.38.6. Sanctuary of Demeter, Persephone, Athena, and Poseidon: Pausanias, 1.37.2.

⁵⁵ Fourth-century cult calendar from Thorikos: E. Vanderpool, "A South Attic Miscellany," in *Thorikos and the Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times*, H. Mussche et al., edd., Ghent 1975 (pp. 19–41), pp. 33–41; see also Brumfield (footnote 53 above), p. 60. Troizen: Pausanias, 2.32.8.

⁵⁶ London, B.M. E 140: *ARV*² 459, 3; *FR* III, pl. 161; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* III, Munich 1923, p. 151, fig. 437.

⁵⁷ Thelpusa: Pausanias, 8.25.4–5. Phigaleia: Pausanias, 8.42.1–2.

⁵⁸ Eumolpos: Isokrates, 4.68, 12.193; Lykourgos, *Leocr.* 98; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.4; Pausanias, 1.38.2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 854. Kerkyon: Pausanias, 1.14.3; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 150. Hippothoon: Pausanias, 1.5.2, 1.39.3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 187; Hesychios, Photios, s.v. Ἴπποθώυτειον. According to one story of Triptolemos' birth (Pausanias, 1.14.3), he and Kerkyon shared a common mother, a daughter of Amphiktyon, but Triptolemos' father was Raros, while Kerkyon's was Poseidon.

office in the Eleusinian Mysteries, traced their ancestry back to Poseidon through Eumolpos.⁵⁹ The phyle of Hippothontis, which included Eleusis, traced its descent from Poseidon through Hippothoon.⁶⁰ Poseidon served as the divine father of Eleusis as Athena was the divine mother of Athens. It was presumably for this reason that the god received the epithet “Pater” at Eleusis.⁶¹ Members of the Eleusinian royal family would be appropriate supporters of Poseidon in his contest with Athena and appear on his side of the pediment.

The division of the pediment into two opposing groups, one Athenian and the other Eleusinian, is supported by another set of associations. The myth of the contention between Athena and Poseidon for Attica is often linked in both literary and artistic sources to the legend of the battle of the Athenians and Eleusinians for the same prize. The earliest attested source for the battle is Thucydides (2.15.1).⁶² The historian reports that in the days before Theseus, the towns of Attica were independent of the king of Athens and even made war upon him, “. . . as, for example, the Eleusinians with Eumolpos did with Erechtheus.” A lost play of Euripides, the *Erechtheus*, focused on this war. In the fragments which we have of this play, dated to 422 B.C., Thracians rather than Eleusinians are mentioned as the opponents of the Athenians.⁶³ Carrara has suggested that Euripides changed these opponents from Eleusinians into Thracians in order to emphasize the barbarian nature of the invaders of Attica.⁶⁴ On the other hand, a scholion on Thucydides, 2.15.1 (= *POxy* 6.853, col.10) refers to “Eleusinians . . . in the *Erechtheus* of Euripides.” Perhaps the Thracians were the allies of the Eleusinians in the play, but the fragments which we possess lack a reference to the latter. This possibility is supported by several sources postdating the *Erechtheus*, which name both Eleusinians and Thracians as the opponents of the Athenians.⁶⁵ In

⁵⁹ F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, Paris 1962, no. 3 C 16–35 (= *IG* I³, 6; ca. 460 B.C.); cf. also no. 1 C 3–4 (= *IG* I³, 231; ca. 510–480 B.C.); Aelius Aristeides, 22.4; Hesychios, *s.v.* Ἐὐμολπίδαι; Schol. Sophokles, *OC* 1053; Toepffer, *Genealogie*, pp. 24–30.

⁶⁰ Pausanias, 1.38.4; Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pp. 177–182.

⁶¹ Pausanias, 1.38.6. Compare L. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States* IV, Oxford 1907, p. 37), who associates this epithet only with Poseidon’s parentage of Eumolpos.

⁶² For Thucydides’ version of this myth as the earliest attested one, see Carrara, *Eretteo*, pp. 22–24.

⁶³ For the date of the play, see Carrara, *Eretteo*, pp. 13–17. It should be noted that these Thracians were probably from central, not northern Greece. Photios (*s.v.* Παρθένοι) suggests that the Thracians under Eumolpos came from Boiotia. In Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.4, Eumolpos becomes the heir to the king of the Thracians, who is named Tegyrus. This name suggests a connection with Tegyra in central Greece. For Thracians in this region see Strabo, 9.2.3, 9.2.25, 10.3.17. The relative proximity of Boiotia as compared to Thrace in relation to Eleusis explains why Eumolpos, as an Eleusinian, would turn to Thracian allies from this region.

⁶⁴ Carrara, *Eretteo*, pp. 26–27. Cf. R. Simms, “Eumolpos and the Wars of Athens,” *GRBS* 24, 1983 (pp. 197–303), pp. 202–203. Simms believes that Euripides would not have made so drastic a change in the myth. Carrara, however, argues that the playwright’s change of the opponents of the Athenians into foreigners would fit with the political climate at the time of the presentation of the play, when Athens had recently been attacked by the Spartans. To have the Attic Eleusinians as the invaders in the play would have been inopportune, since it would have suggested civil strife, not foreign war, and been counter to the spirit of Athenian patriotism which informs the *Erechtheus*. On the political implications of the *Erechtheus*, see also C. Clairmont, “Euripides’ *Erechtheus* and the Erechtheion,” *GRBS* 12, 1971 (pp. 485–493), pp. 489–490; W. M. Calder, “Professor Calder’s Reply,” *GRBS* 12, 1971, pp. 493–495.

⁶⁵ Akestodoros, in Schol. Sophokles, *OC* 1053; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.4–5; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 854. Like Thucydides (2.15.1), Pausanias (1.5.2, 1.36.4, 1.38.2–3) names only Eleusinians as the opponents of the Athenians. Other sources mention only Thracians: Isokrates, 4.68, 12.193; Lykourgos, *Leocr.* 98; Demaratos, *FGrHist* 42 F 4; Strabo, 8.7.1; Lucian, *Anach.* 34. It may be that Euripides added the idea of the participation

any case, in his play Euripides retained Erechtheus as the leader of the Athenians and Eumolpos as the leader of their opponents.⁶⁶ In a fragment from the play (fr. 10.46–49 Carrara), Erechtheus says, “Eumolpos shall not erect on the city’s foundations in place of the olive tree and the golden gorgon, the upright trident.” According to Pausanias (1.26.5, 1.27.2), the olive tree and the mark of the trident were the visible tokens of the contention of Athena and Poseidon for Attica. In his mention of these tokens, Euripides suggests a connection between the earlier strife of the two gods and the war between the Athenians and their opponents.⁶⁷

The connection of these two myths is made explicit by later authors. For example, Isokrates (12.193) states that Eumolpos disputed the possession of the city with Erechtheus, “. . . alleging that Poseidon had appropriated it before Athena.” Similarly, according to Hyginus (*Fab.* 46), “. . . Eumolpos, the son of Neptune, came to attack Athens because he said that the land of Attica was his father’s.” A scholion on Euripides’ *Phoenissae* (854 Schwartz) records that Eumolpos “. . . was repaying the Athenians; since his father had been defeated by the Athenians in the judgment concerning the city, he raised an army against them.” These sources suggest that the war between the Athenians and their opponents represented a continuation of the contention of Athena and Poseidon on a new level: rather than a struggle between two divinities, it became a battle between two heroes.

Artistic evidence also supports the association of the two myths. A Lucanian red-figured pelike from Policoro, closely associated with the Karneia Painter and dated to *ca.* 420–410 B.C., depicts on Side A Poseidon and Eumolpos on horseback, while on Side B Athena and a daughter of Erechtheus are shown riding in a chariot.⁶⁸ The composition depicts the self-sacrifice of the Erechtheid which was destined to bring about Athenian victory in the war.⁶⁹ As Weidauer has recognized, a small olive branch depicted on Side B in front of the

of Thracians to the original myth and that some later authors chose to mention only these barbarians in their account of the war with the Athenians, while others chose Eleusinians alone, or both Eleusinians and Thracians. In any case, it should be noted that the extant evidence for Thracian involvement in the war postdates the Parthenon pediment.

⁶⁶ Other sources substitute Erechtheus’ grandson Ion as the leader of the Athenians in the battle (e.g. Strabo, 8.7.1). The opponent of Erechtheus is sometimes given as Eumolpos’ son Immarados (Pausanias, 1.5.2, 1.27.4, 1.38.3. Cf. Apollodoros [*Bibl.* 3.15.4], who names the son of Eumolpos as Ismaros). Erechtheus’ opponent may also be called Phorbas, king of the Kouretes (Harpokration, *s.v.* Φορβάριον). Alternately, Phorbas may be named the ally of Eumolpos in the battle (Eustathius, 1156.52 [*Il.* 18.491]) or another son of Eumolpos (Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 854). For the issue of the origin of Eumolpos (Eleusinian or Thracian), see footnote 154 below.

⁶⁷ Carrara, *Eretteo*, p. 69. There has been much speculation regarding Euripides’ choice of the theme of the war of Erechtheus and Eumolpos for his play and his linkage of the myth of the war with that of the earlier strife of Athena and Poseidon. See, e.g., C. Austin, “De nouveau fragments de l’*Erechthée* d’Euripide,” *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4, 1967 (pp. 11–69), p. 17; W. M. Calder, “The Date of Euripides’ *Erechtheus*,” *GRBS* 10, 1969 (pp. 147–156), p. 154; Carrara, *Eretteo*, p. 27; Lacore, p. 223. I propose that these ideas were suggested to the playwright by the composition of the west pediment of the Parthenon.

⁶⁸ Policoro, Museo della Siritide 35304: A. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily* I, Oxford 1967, no. 282, p. 55, pl. 25:3 and 4; L. Weidauer, “Poseidon und Eumolpos auf einer Pelike aus Policoro,” *AntK* 12, 1969, pp. 91–93, pl. 41. The figures are unlabeled. The identifications are Weidauer’s.

⁶⁹ Clairmont (footnote 64 above), p. 492. For the myth of the sacrifice of the daughter of Erechtheus, see Euripides, *Erech.* fr. 8–11 Carrara; Lykourgos, *Leocr.* 98–100; Phanodemos, *FGrHist* 325 F 4; Demaratos, *FGrHist* 42 F 4; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.4; Plutarch, *Mor.* 310D; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46; Photios, *s.v.* Παρθένοι.

chariot of Athena and the Erechtheid adds another level of meaning to the composition.⁷⁰ This symbol refers to Athena's token in the contest with Poseidon and hence associates the myth of the contention with that of the war.

Similarly, an Attic hydria from Pella from the circle of the Pronomos Painter, dated to ca. 400 B.C., connects these two myths.⁷¹ At the center of the composition are Athena and Poseidon, arrested at the moment of their confrontation by the thunderbolt of Zeus. The thunderbolt and the olive-tree token of Athena divide the composition of the vase into two halves, one associated with Athena and the other with Poseidon. As in the west pediment, other figures appear in the vase composition as spectators to the contention: on Athena's side are Dionysos, a woman with a tambourine, two Nike figures, and Kekrops; on Poseidon's side Amphitrite, a man with a snake and a pipe, three other figures (possibly divinities), and a Triton.⁷² In addition, at the upper left on Athena's side of the composition appears a young warrior, moving toward the lower right. Diagonally opposite him on Poseidon's side appears another warrior, moving toward the one on the upper left. The two are separated by a Nike flying toward the left and hence toward the warrior on Athena's side of the vase. These warriors must be Erechtheus and Eumolpos. Erechtheus is the warrior on the left, whose victory in the future heroic conflict is suggested by the Nike; his patron Athena appears below as the imminent victor in the divine contention. Eumolpos is the warrior on the right, represented above his patron Poseidon. The Pella vase thus may be read on two levels. On the primary level, it refers to the contention of Athena and Poseidon for Attica; on a secondary level, it refers to the battle of the two warriors for the same prize.

I ascribe the same double meaning to the composition of the west pediment of the Parthenon. On the primary level, signaled by the central group of the pediment, the composition refers to the contention of Athena and Poseidon. On a secondary level, signaled by the two opposing groups of spectators, it refers to the battle of the Athenians and the Eleusinians. To be sure, the secondary level of meaning on the pediment is not so explicit as on the Pella hydria. The Athenians and their opponents are not actually shown prepared for battle, as Erechtheus and Eumolpos are on the vase. Such a direct reference to battle may have been considered inappropriate, given the underlying theme of the pediment, which, as we shall see, is the resolution of the conflict between Athens and Eleusis and their eventual unification. Nevertheless, the coming battle between the Athenians and Eleusinians is suggested implicitly by the division of the pedimental composition.⁷³

This secondary level of meaning may have been made more explicit through the proximity to the Parthenon of a statue group depicting the battle of Erechtheus and Eumolpos.

⁷⁰ Weidauer (footnote 68 above), p. 93.

⁷¹ Pella, Arch. Mus. 80.514: *Greece and the Sea (Catalogue of the Expedition Organized by the Greek Ministry of Culture, the Benaki Museum, the National Foundation De Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam in honour of Amsterdam, Cultural Capital of Europe, 1987)*, A. Delivorrias, ed., Athens 1987, pp. 202–206, pl. 104. The vase has not yet been published officially; I was unable to obtain photographs of the figures discussed here.

⁷² The figures are unlabeled. For the identification of the figures cited here, see *ibid.*, p. 206.

⁷³ Some scholars have suggested that this battle may actually have been depicted on the south metopes (nos. 13–20) of the Parthenon. In particular, Metope 16 has sometimes been identified as Erechtheus and Eumolpos doing battle. See F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* I, Mainz 1967, pp. 100–102; E. Berger, *Der Parthenon in Basel. Documentation zu den Parthenon* I, Basel 1986, pp. 91–93. For other possible representations of this battle from Classical Athens, see also Kron, "Erechtheus", pp. 940–941.

Pausanias (1.27.4) reports that on the Akropolis near the Erechtheion were "... large statues of bronze of men standing apart for battle, and they call one Erechtheus and the other Eumolpos. . . ." ⁷⁴ Michaelis conjectured that this group contained the statue of Erechtheus which Pausanias elsewhere (9.30.1) identifies as the most remarkable work of the sculptor Myron. ⁷⁵ If this identification is correct, then the statue group would have been standing at the time of the construction of the Parthenon. ⁷⁶ Its proximity to this building would have made more obvious the reference to the war of the Athenians and Eleusinians on the west pediment.

INDIVIDUAL IDENTIFICATIONS

The recognition of the division between Athenian and Eleusinian heroes on the two halves of the pediment permits us to assign specific identities to the individual spectator figures. These identifications are based on the principle of antithetic response between the figures on the two sides of the pedimental composition, which allows us to identify three groupings among the two sets of spectator figures in the pediment (Fig. 1). Moving from the angles of the pediment toward the center, there is first a group of two, Figures V and W on the right side of the pediment and Figures A and A* on the left side. The torso of Figure V is turned toward that of Figure W, indicating a close association between the two. It may be postulated that the same was true of the missing Figure A* and Figure A on the other side of the pediment. The next group is composed of Figures B and C on the left and Figures U and U* on the right. Figure C is intimately connected with Figure B, as is shown by the arm which she places about him. Again, a similar connection may be hypothesized between Figures U and U*. Indeed, if Figure U had her arm about Figure U*, it might explain the peculiar leaning of the upper torso of the former in the Carrey drawing. The final group is composed of Figures D, E, and F on the left and Figures P, Q, R, S, and T on the right. The parallelism between these two groups at first glance is obscured by the addition of two figures on the right side: Figures P and R. In the Carrey drawing, however, these figures are shown in the background and are much smaller than the others in the pediment. They seem to be attributes of Figure Q rather than important individuals in their own right. With these two figures recognized as subsidiary, the parallelism between the two groups becomes obvious. Each group contains two female figures, separated by a young male. The pedimental composition thus has three groups of spectator figures on each side of the pediment. On the left appear Figures A-A*, Figures B-C, and Figures D-F; on the right are Figures V-W, Figures U-U*, and Figures P-T.

The relationship of the various groups of spectator figures is suggested by their arrangement in the pediment. At the center of the three groups stand Figures B and C on the left

⁷⁴ Pausanias goes on to state that he believes that the statue identified as Eumolpos was actually his son Immarados. See footnote 66 above.

⁷⁵ A. Michaelis, "Bemerkungen zur Periegeese der Akropolis von Athen," *AM* 2, 1877 (pp. 85-106), pp. 85-87.

⁷⁶ Myron's sculpture of Erechtheus has been dated to ca. 450 B.C. (Kron, "Erechtheus"). Compare, however, Furtwängler ([footnote 21 above] p. 205, note 1), who argues that Pausanias, 9.30.1 refers to another statue of Erechtheus, which stood in the Athenian Agora (see Pausanias, 1.5.2).

and Figures U and U* on the right. These figures represent the focal point of their respective halves of the composition of the spectator groups. A link between these focal figures and the group further toward the center is suggested by the leaning of the figure immediately next to the focal group. Thus, Figure D leans in toward Figure C, and Figure T leans back against Figure U. Clearly, then, the focal group of Figures B-C is related to that of Figures D-F, while on the opposite side of the pediment, the focal group of Figures U-U* is associated with that of Figures P-T. A similar link may have been established between the focal figures and those in the angles of the pediment. Since Figures A* and U* are missing from the Carrey drawings, however, this is difficult to determine.

These observations represent the basis for the individual identification of the spectator figures. This identification must take into account the role that each figure plays within its group, its relationship to the figures of the group next to it, and its antithetic response to the pendant figure in the opposite side of the pediment.

We begin with the most securely identified spectator figure in the composition, Figure B. As most scholars have recognized, the figure is to be identified as King Kekrops of Athens.⁷⁷ Kekrops is mentioned as a judge or witness in the myth of the contention of Athena and Poseidon.⁷⁸ On the Pella hydria and on a 4th-century hydria from Kerch, Kekrops appears, watching the contention of the two gods.⁷⁹ He should therefore also appear prominently in the left half of the pediment, as the chief representative of the Athenians at the contention. In the Carrey drawing, Figure B appears to be the oldest male figure among the spectators and hence is the most important. As I have already noted, Figures B and C represent the focal point of the left half of the composition, dividing the group of Figures A-A* from that of Figures D-F. The position of Figure B therefore supports his identification as Kekrops.

The attributes associated with this figure also support this identification. Figure B rests his left hand on the coils of a large snake. Most scholars have taken the snake as an attribute of this figure and therefore identified Figure B as Kekrops.⁸⁰ In legend, Kekrops was

⁷⁷ Brommer (*Skulpturen*, pp. 166–167) has noted the practical unanimity of scholars on this identification. See also his chart of identifications (p. 182). Brommer himself accepts the identification of this figure as Kekrops as “not an inevitable necessity, but a well-founded possibility” (p. 167). The identification of Figure B as Kekrops is followed in most scholarship since Brommer’s publication, e.g., Jeppesen, “Bild,” p. 75; Becatti, “Postille,” pp. 76–77; Harrison, “U,” p. 9, note 55. Weidauer (“Eumolpus,” pp. 204–206), however, identifies Figure B as Erechtheus and Figure A* as Kekrops.

⁷⁸ Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.5.10; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.1.

⁷⁹ Pella hydria: see footnote 71 above. Kerch hydria: Leningrad, Hermitage P1872.130; K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin/Leipzig 1934, no. 161, fig. 58, pl. 28:1, 2; E. Simon, “Neue Deutung zweier Eleusinischer Denkmaler des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,” *AntK* 9, 1966 (pp. 72–92), p. 81, fig. 2.

⁸⁰ See Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 166–167 for a description of the sculpture. Two other possibilities have been suggested for the interpretation of the snake coils: W. Lethaby (“The West Pediment of the Parthenon,” *JHS* 50, 1930 [pp. 4–19], p. 7) proposed that the coils represented part of a snake tail which grew out of the body of Figure B. The position and size of the coils, however, indicate that they cannot be part of the body of Figure B. Weidauer (“Eumolpos,” pp. 205–206), following R. Hampe, suggested that the coils belonged to the missing Figure A*. With no evidence for this missing figure, however, this must remain highly speculative. Most recently, Cook ([footnote 2 above] *loc. cit.*) showed that, although the snake fragment now associated with this sculpture is a Roman copy, the original sculpture of Figure B did have a snake associated with it. Cook (p. 7) therefore accepted the identification of this figure as Kekrops.

reported to have been half man and half snake.⁸¹ In art, he was shown either as a snake-limbed man or as a wholly human king.⁸² As Kron has noted, the representation of Kekrops on the west pediment as a human king with the attribute of a snake represents a new solution to the problem of his reptilian associations in the spirit of the Classical period.⁸³ The early drawings of the west pediment suggest that Figure B originally may have had another attribute, a sceptre, signaling his royal status.⁸⁴ In these drawings, the right arm of Figure B is bent at the elbow and extends upwards, suggesting that at one time it held a sceptre. A mark in the pediment floor in the block where this figure rests may represent the position of the end of the sceptre.⁸⁵ The mature kingly figure associated with a snake and occupying the central position among the spectator figures on the left half of the pediment may thus be readily identified as Kekrops.

This figure is paralleled on the other side of the pediment by the missing Figure U*. No scholarly consensus exists for its identification.⁸⁶ Like Figure B, Figure U* is a focal point for the spectator group on this side of the pediment. Given its prominent position in the pediment, Figure U* should have a correspondingly important status among the Eleusinian spectators. If the identification of one of the fragments for U*, either Akropolis 888 or Akropolis 1363, is correct, then this figure must be female.⁸⁷ The most important female figure in the Eleusinian royal family is Metaneira, wife of King Keleos, and mother of the child entrusted to Demeter.⁸⁸ In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, it is Metaneira who receives Demeter (lines 184–191), who entrusts the royal child to the goddess (lines 218–230), and who incurs her divine wrath by interrupting her immortalization of the child (lines 242–255). As did Kekrops at Athens, Metaneira had a shrine devoted to her in her native city.⁸⁹ Given her royal status and her cultic and mythic significance, Metaneira is a fitting counterpart to Kekrops in the pedimental composition. Like Kekrops, this figure may have had some attribute associated with her, perhaps an Eleusinian symbol. Based on these observations, I propose that Figure U* is Queen Metaneira of Eleusis.

Both Metaneira and Kekrops represent parents of the royal line of their respective cities. Their parental role is suggested by the presence of children among the spectator groups on the two sides of the pediment: one on the left half (Figure E) and three on the

⁸¹ Euripides, *Ion* 1164; Demosthenes, 60.30; Nonnus, *Dion.* 41.59–62.

⁸² Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pp. 99–101. For Kekrops as a snake-limbed man, see, e.g., an Attic red-figured cup by the Kodros Painter, West Berlin F 2537: *ARV*² 1268.2, 1689; Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pl. 4:2. For Kekrops as a human king, see, e.g., an Attic red-figured amphora by the Oreithyia Painter, Munich AS 2345: *ARV*² 496.2; Kron, *Phylenheroen*, Pl. 9.

⁸³ Kron, *Phylenheroen*, p. 99.

⁸⁴ Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 33. See the drawings by Dalton and Pars in Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pls. 65 and 80.

⁸⁵ So Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 33. See B. Sauer, "Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon," *AM* 16, 1891 (pp. 59–94), p. 61, pl. 3.

⁸⁶ Brommer (*Skulpturen*, pp. 169, 182) cites Erechtheus, Prokne, and Praxithea as identifications for Figure U*. Since Brommer's publication, Praxithea has also been proposed for U* by Harrison ("U," p. 9, note 55) and Becatti ("Postille," p. 76). Jeppesen ("Bild," p. 75) and Weidauer ("Eumolpos," p. 207) decline to identify this figure.

⁸⁷ On Akrop. 1363 and 888 and their assignment to Figures U and U*, see footnote 9 above.

⁸⁸ *Hom. Hymn Dem.*, *passim*; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 1.5.1; Nicander, *Ther.* 487; Ovid, *Fast.* 4.539; Nonnus, *Dion.* 19.80.

⁸⁹ Pausanias, 1.39.1.

right (Figures P, R, and S). The spouses of Metaneira and Kekrops, Keleos and Aglauros, respectively, do not appear on the pediment.⁹⁰ Their role as parents has been usurped by the gods in the composition. Athena serves as the mother of the Athenian royal line, while Kekrops is the father; Poseidon acts as the father of the Eleusinian royal line, while Metaneira is its mother. The substitutions indicate the divine associations of both families.

Given the identification of Kekrops and Metaneira as Figures B and U*, respectively, the interpretation of several other figures falls into place. Figures C, D, and F, as is generally recognized, are the daughters of Kekrops: Pandrosos, Aglauros, and Herse.⁹¹ The connection noted above between the focal group of Figures B and C and that containing Figures D and F is thus explained by their familial relationship. The proximity of Figures B and C and the fact that Figure C has her arm about Figure B suggest that Figure C is closely connected with Kekrops and is receiving special favor from him. She therefore should be one of the Kekropids who did not disobey Athena's instructions regarding the child Erichthonios, either Pandrosos or Herse.⁹² The other two female figures, D and F, must then be the other two Kekropids, although without further information it is difficult to distinguish between them.

These figures are paralleled on the right side of the pediment by Figures Q, T, and U, who are often identified as the daughters of Erechtheus (Oreithyia, Prokris, and Kreousa have all been proposed).⁹³ This identification is based on Furtwängler's theory that the figures on the right side of the pediment represent the family of Erechtheus, in opposition to the family of Kekrops on the left.⁹⁴ As I have noted above, this proposal is problematic. The only other support for the identification of Figures Q, T, and U as Erechtheids lies in the attributes of Figure Q: she is shown with ruffled drapery and with two children beside her. She is therefore often identified as the Erechtheid Oreithyia, who bore twin sons, Zetes and Kalais, to the wind god Boreas.⁹⁵ The interpretation of the drapery as "wind-blown" and

⁹⁰ For Keleos as the spouse of Metaneira, see footnote 88 above. For Aglauros as the spouse of Kekrops, see Euripides, *Ion* 496; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.2; Eusebios, *Praep. Evang.* 4.16.

⁹¹ For the Kekropids, see Euripides, *Ion* 20–26; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.2, 3.14.6; Ovid, *Met.* 2.552–561; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; U. Kron, *s.v.* Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos, *LIMC* I, i, 1981, pp. 283–298. According to Kron (p. 283), the variant name "Agrauros" is found only in literary sources; "Aglauros" is always used in inscriptions. For the identification of Figures C, D, and F, see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 167, and his chart on p. 182. Brommer also records the previous identifications for these figures as Aglauros (the wife of Kekrops), Prokne, Philomela, Demeter, and Kore. Since Brommer's publication, most scholars have followed the identification of these figures as the Kekropids. See, e.g., Jeppesen, "Bild," p. 75; Becatti, "Postille," pp. 76–77; Harrison, "U," p. 9, note 55. Weidauer ("Eumolpos," p. 206), however, proposes Praxithea and two daughters of Erechtheus.

⁹² For Pandrosos alone as the faithful Kekropid, see Pausanias, 1.18.2, 1.27.2. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.558–561, which has both Pandrosos and Herse as faithful.

⁹³ For the identification of Figure Q, see footnote 95 below. For the identification of Figures T and U, see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 169, 182. Brommer proposes Kreousa for Figure T and another Erechtheid for Figure U. For Figure T, he also records Thalassa, Dione, Melite, Ino, Prokris, and Erechtheus; for Figure U, a Nereid, Ge, Themis, Doris, Kalypso, Philomela, Prokris, and Kreousa. Since Brommer's publication, the following identifications have been proposed: for Figure T, Kore (Jeppesen, "Bild," p. 80), Kreousa (Becatti, "Postille," p. 76; Harrison, "U," p. 9, note 55), and Chione (Weidauer, "Eumolpos," p. 206); for Figure U, Demeter (Jeppesen, "Bild," p. 80), and an Erechtheid (Becatti, "Postille," p. 76; Harrison, "U," p. 9, note 55). Weidauer ("Eumolpos," p. 207) declines to identify Figure U.

⁹⁴ See footnote 35 above.

⁹⁵ For the identification of Figure Q, see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 168–169, 182. Besides Oreithyia,

therefore as symbolizing Oreithyia's union with the wind god is speculative; without this inference, the identification of Figure Q as Oreithyia and of P and R as her children remains problematic. Therefore, the identification of Figures Q, T, and U may be sought elsewhere, based on their association with Figure U*.

Given the identification of Figure U* as Metaneira, I propose that Figures Q, T, and U are her daughters by King Keleos of Eleusis. Again, the connection noted above between the two groups (the focal group of Figures U and U* and that containing Figures Q, T, and U) is explained by their familial relationship. The identification of the individual members of the latter group poses a few problems. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines 109–110) gives the names of four daughters of Keleos and Metaneira: Kallidike, Kleisidike, Demo, and Kallithoe. Richardson, in his commentary on this hymn, has suggested that these names are poetic inventions, as is indicated by their repetitiveness and alliteration.⁹⁶ Pausanias (1.38.3), who cites Homer and “Pamphos” as his authorities, names only three daughters: Diogeneia, Pammerope, and Saisara.⁹⁷ Richardson proposes that these were the local Eleusinian names of the daughters.⁹⁸ This seems certain in the case of Saisara, for according to Hesychios (*s.v.* Σαισαρία), she also bore the name of Eleusis and was the eponymous ancestress of the city itself. The identifications of Pausanias seem the most solid, and on this basis I identify Figures Q, T, and U as Diogeneia, Pammerope, and Saisara. If, as I have suggested, Figures U and U* were as closely associated as their counterparts, Figures B and C, then Figure U must have had some special association with Metaneira. Without knowledge of further details of Eleusinian legend, however, it is difficult to determine this association or to distinguish among the three Keleids.⁹⁹

which Brommer accepts for this figure, he also records identifications of this figure as Demeter, Leukothea, Tyro, and a sea nymph. Since Brommer's publication, most scholars have followed the identification of Figure Q as Oreithyia: Becatti, “Postille,” p. 75; Harrison, “U,” p. 9, note 55; Weidauer, “Eumolpus,” p. 206. Jeppesen (“Bild,” p. 81), however, proposed Iphimedeia with Otos and Ephialtes.

⁹⁶ Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 183–185. The alteration of the names may be due to the fact that the author of the hymn was not from Attica, and hence did not know or was not interested in the local names for the daughters. For this theory, see K. Clinton, “The Author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*,” *OpAth* 16, 1986 (pp. 43–49), pp. 47–48.

⁹⁷ Compare also the Orphic version (Orph. fr. 49.53–54 Kern), which also names three, not four daughters: Kalliope, Kleisidike, and Damonassa.

⁹⁸ Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 183–184.

⁹⁹ Two observations, however, regarding the identity of these figures may be offered. First, Figure T, since she is so closely connected with Figure S, must be associated with him in myth or cult. I identify Figure S below as Triptolemos. Presumably, the Keleid represented by Figure T was associated with Triptolemos in some way. Second, a possible identification of Figure U is Diogeneia. This supposition is based on the putative identity of Diogeneia, the daughter of Keleos, with a Diogeneia mentioned by Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.1 (so Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 184). The latter was the daughter of Kephisos, the wife of Phrasinos, and the mother of Praxitheia, who later married Erechtheus. See Toepffer, *Genealogie*, p. 292. If these two figures are identical, then the Diogeneia represented on the west pediment would presumably be shown with her daughter Praxitheia. She might then be identified in Figure U, if Akropolis 888 may be assigned to this figure, and if, like its putative Eleusinian copy (N.M. 202), this sculpture originally held a child (see footnote 9 above). This identification would unite the two halves of the pediment, suggesting a connection between the descendants of the Kekropids and those of the Keleids (compare the discussion of Figures A and W below). There is no evidence, however, other than the similarity in names to associate the two Diogeneias, and they are apparently the products of two different mythological traditions, one Athenian and the other Eleusinian. The identification of the Diogeneias therefore seems unlikely.

The identification of these figures on the right side of the pediment as the daughters of Keleos and Metaneira is supported by the numerous parallels which exist with the corresponding figures on the opposite side of the pediment, the daughters of Kekrops and Aglauros. First, the number of daughters is the same: three Kekropids and, following Homer, “Pamphos,” and Pausanias, three Keleids. Moreover, the myths regarding these two filial groups are remarkably similar.¹⁰⁰ A divinity appears to the daughters of the king and asks them to perform some task. So, Athena appears to the Kekropids and asks them to guard the basket containing Erichthonios; Demeter appears to the Keleids and asks to be taken to the palace to serve as a nurse there. Then, something which the divinity had wished to remain hidden is revealed: the basket containing Erichthonios is opened; Demeter is discovered immersing the son of Keleos and Metaneira in fire. Finally, the daughters of the king suffer the wrath of the divinity over the revealed secret: Aglauros and Herse are driven mad and cast themselves from the Akropolis; the Keleids attempt to propitiate the angry Demeter.

The cults associated with the two filial groups at Athens and Eleusis are also similar.¹⁰¹ Mystery rituals are associated with the cults of both groups: the Keleids with the Eleusinian Mysteries, the Kekropids with other *teletai* conducted at Athens.¹⁰² Ephebes play an important role in both cults. At Athens, the ephebes took their oath at the sanctuary of Aglauros and participated in the Panthenaic procession and games.¹⁰³ At Eleusis, they took part in the sacrifices preliminary to the Eleusinian Mysteries, in the procession from Eleusis to Athens, and possibly in the ritual of the *balletus*.¹⁰⁴ Ritual dancing seems to have been an important element in both cults. There was an area on the Akropolis called the dancing ground of the Kekropids.¹⁰⁵ This may be paralleled by the Kallichoron Well at Eleusis, where the Keleids met Demeter, and where the Eleusinian women first danced and sang in honor of Demeter.¹⁰⁶ The ritual containers called *kistai* were important elements in both cults. In the festival of the Arrhephoria, which was closely associated with the Kekropids, the young handmaidens of the cult carried *kistai* on their heads from their sanctuary on the Akropolis to the Garden of Aphrodite on the lower slopes.¹⁰⁷ In the Eleusinian Mysteries, the priestesses carried *kistai* on their heads in the procession from Athens to Eleusis.¹⁰⁸ Given the close similarities in myth and cult between the Kekropids and the Keleids, it seems logical that they be represented in parallel positions on the Parthenon pediment.

¹⁰⁰ For the myths regarding the Kekropids, see footnote 91 above. For the myths concerning the Keleids, see *Hom. Hymn Dem., passim*; Pausanias, 1.38.3; *Suda, s.v. Εὐμολπος*. For the comparison between the Kekropids and the Keleids, see Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 234–235.

¹⁰¹ For the cult sites of the Kekropids on the Akropolis, see footnote 49 above. For the cult site of the Keleids at Eleusis, see Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protr.* 3.45.1 Stählin. For the following comparison of the cults of these two groups, see Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 234–236.

¹⁰² Keleids: Pausanias, 1.38.3; *Suda, s.v. Εὐμολπος*. Kekropids: Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 1. Richardson (*Hymn*, pp. 234–235) suggests that the Keleids were the mythological prototypes of the Eleusinian priestesses, as the Kekropids were the prototypes of the Arrhephoroi.

¹⁰³ Demosthenes, 19.303 with scholia; Lykourgas, *Leocr.* 76; Plutarch, *Alc.* 15.4; Philostratos, *Apollon.* 4.21.

¹⁰⁴ Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 235, pp. 245–248.

¹⁰⁵ Euripides, *Ion* 495.

¹⁰⁶ Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 235, 326–328.

¹⁰⁷ Pausanias, 1.27.3. For the Arrhephoria and its connection with the Kekropids, see Burkert (footnote 51 above), *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 235.

Turning to the young children on the two sides of the pediment, Figure E, given his juxtaposition to the figures of Kekrops and his daughters, must be either the King's son Erysichthon or his adopted son Erichthonios.¹⁰⁹ Like the Kekropids, Erysichthon was the child of Kekrops and Aglauros.¹¹⁰ He died young, however, and without issue, and so does not figure in the Athenian king lists.¹¹¹ Erysichthon, in fact, has little importance in Athenian mythology, cult, or art.¹¹² He is associated with Prasiai and Delos rather than Athens, and his cultic associations are with Apollo and Eileithyia rather than with Athena. Thus, we learn that Erysichthon led the first sacred mission from Attica to Delos, where he dedicated the oldest *xoanon* to Apollo and built the Temple of Apollo.¹¹³ He brought back a statue of Eileithyia from Delos to Attica but died on the trip back and was buried at Prasiai.¹¹⁴ Kron has speculated that Erysichthon was originally a local hero of Prasiai and Delos and only later became incorporated into Athenian mythology.¹¹⁵ Erysichthon, then, has few associations with Athena, the Akropolis, or the Kekropids.¹¹⁶

In contrast, Erichthonios is closely connected with all three.¹¹⁷ He was the foster child of Athena, born from her attempted rape by Hephaistos. The goddess entrusted him to the Kekropids, but when that trust was betrayed, she herself took him and raised him in her sacred precinct on the Akropolis. Erichthonios was later adopted by Kekrops at Athena's instigation and succeeded to the throne. He set up the wooden image of Athena on the Akropolis and instituted the Panathenaic festival in her honor. When he died, he was buried in the goddess' sacred precinct. In art, Athena is often represented at the birth of Erichthonios or at his discovery by the Kekropids.¹¹⁸ Thus, like Kekrops and the Kekropids, Erichthonios was significant in Athenian myth, cult, and art and was intimately associated with Athena and the Akropolis. He therefore is an appropriate figure for Athena's side of the pediment.

Figure E is paralleled on the right side of the pediment by Figure S. No scholarly consensus exists for the identification of this figure.¹¹⁹ Figure S must be male, rather than

¹⁰⁹ Most scholars have identified this figure as Erysichthon: see Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 167, 182; Becatti, "Postille," pp. 75–76. Brommer also cites other identifications of this figure as Iakchos and Itys. Jeppesen ("Bild," pp. 76–77) questioned the identification of Erysichthon and proposed Erichthonios, which Harrison ("U," p. 9, note 55) also accepted. Weidauer ("Eumolpus," p. 206) suggested Ion or Kreousa. A female identification for the figure seems unlikely, given its apparent nudity in the Carrey drawings, and Kreousa's son Ion has nothing to do with the Kekropids.

¹¹⁰ Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.2; Pausanias, 1.2.6.

¹¹¹ Kron, *Phylenheroen*, p. 69.

¹¹² For the few representations of Erysichthon in Attic art, see U. Kron, *s.v.* Erysichthon II, *LIMC* IV, i, 1988 (pp. 18–21), pp. 19–20.

¹¹³ Sacred mission: Phanodemos, *FGrHist* 325 F 2; Pausanias, 1.13.2. *Xoanon*: Plutarch, *Mor.* fr. 158 Sandbach. Temple of Apollo: Eusebios in Hieronymos, *Chron.* 43b Helm.

¹¹⁴ Statue of Eileithyia: Pausanias, 1.18.5. Burial at Prasiai: Pausanias, 1.31.2.

¹¹⁵ Kron (footnote 112 above), p. 18. Kron notes that certain Delian inscriptions (*ID* 2517 and 2518) refer to a clan of the Erysichthonidai.

¹¹⁶ So also Jeppesen, "Bild," p. 75. Compare, however, the tradition that Erysichthon was a judge of the contention of Athena and Poseidon (Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.1).

¹¹⁷ For the myths concerning Erichthonios, see footnote 48 above.

¹¹⁸ For representations of Athena at the birth of Erichthonios, see footnote 52 above. For Athena at the discovery of Erichthonios by the Kekropids, see Kron (footnote 91 above), pp. 288–289.

¹¹⁹ See Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 169, 182. Brommer identifies Figure S as Ion. He cites former identifications of this figure, including Aphrodite, Herakles, Melikertes, and Kephalos. Since Brommer's publication,

female, as some scholars have suggested, since it is portrayed in the nude.¹²⁰ In the Carrey drawing, this figure sits upon the knees of Figure T, whom I have identified as one of the Keleids. Figure S should therefore be closely associated with the Eleusinian royal family. I propose that this figure is the boy Triptolemos.¹²¹ According to some versions of the Eleusinian myth, Triptolemos was the son of Keleos and Metaneira and the nursling of Demeter.¹²² Like the Keleids, this child bears a different name in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (line 234), Demophoon. This name, however, may again be an invention of the author of the hymn and Triptolemos the name assigned to him in the local Attic tradition.¹²³ The representation of Figure S accords well with depictions of Triptolemos in the Classical period, when he was commonly shown as a youth.¹²⁴ Moreover, in this period representations of Triptolemos had become increasingly common, as the myth of the Mission of Triptolemos took on special significance in Athenian propaganda.¹²⁵ Triptolemos' significance in this period also is signaled by the production of Sophocles' play, the *Triptolemos*, which focused on the young Attic hero and the benefactions he bestowed on mankind.¹²⁶ The appearance of Triptolemos on the west pediment of the Parthenon further reflects his importance in this period.

The identification of Figure S as Triptolemos is supported by numerous parallels between the figure and its counterpart, Figure E, Erichthonios.¹²⁷ Triptolemos is the nursling of Demeter, Erichthonios of Athena. Both figures are associated with a secret, something hidden from mortals. Triptolemos is treated secretly by Demeter to make him immortal; Erichthonios is hidden away in a basket by Athena. Both are also betrayed by their relatives, who reveal the secret. Metaneira interrupts the treatment of Triptolemos, and the Kekropids open the basket containing Erichthonios. Both youths become the priests of their patron goddesses: Triptolemos is sent on a mission by Demeter to spread the knowledge of agriculture throughout the world, and Erichthonios tends the sacred precinct of Athena. Given these close parallels, it is fitting that Erichthonios and Triptolemos serve as pendants in the composition of the west pediment.

The two other children of the pedimental composition, Figures P and R, have no counterparts on the left half of the pediment. They are subsidiary figures, closely related to the

Becatti ("Postille," p. 76) and Harrison ("U," p. 9, note 55) have also proposed Ion. Jeppesen ("Bild," p. 80) suggested Triptolemos, and Weidauer ("Eumolpos," p. 206) proposed Eumolpos.

¹²⁰ Brommer, *Skulpturen*, p. 169.

¹²¹ Jeppesen ("Bild," p. 80) also identified this figure as Triptolemos but on the basis of his identification of Figures T and U as Kore and Demeter.

¹²² Ovid, *Fast.* 4.539, 550; Pausanias, 1.14.2; Aelius Aristeides, 22.4; Nonnus, *Dion.* 19.84. For alternate genealogies of Triptolemos, see Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 195–196.

¹²³ Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 195–196. See also J. Day, *The Glory of Athens: The Popular Tradition as Reflected in the Panathenaicus of Aelius Aristeides*, Chicago 1980, p. 20.

¹²⁴ C. Dugas, "La mission de Triptolème d'après l'imagerie athénienne," *MélRome* 62, 1950, pp. 7–31.

¹²⁵ Day (footnote 123 above), pp. 18–26; I. and A. Raubitschek, "The Mission of Triptolemos," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20), Princeton 1982, pp. 109–117.

¹²⁶ On Sophocles' *Triptolemos*, see *The Fragments of Sophocles* II, A. Pearson, ed., Amsterdam 1963, pp. 239–253.

¹²⁷ Triptolemos is identified here with Demophoon of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. For the connections between Erichthonios and Demophoon, see Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 234–235.

female Figure Q, and probably are her children. These figures are commonly identified by scholars as Oreithyia and her twin sons Zetes and Kalais by the wind god Boreas.¹²⁸ As we have seen above, the identification of Figure Q as Oreithyia is suspect. Without this identification, that of figures P and R as the Boreads is unsupported. Moreover, the Boreads are generally represented with wings, which are lacking in the Carrey drawing of Figures P and R.¹²⁹

If we accept that Figure Q is one of the Keleids, then Figures P and R should also have some relation to the Eleusinian royal family. Unfortunately, we have little information about the immediate offspring of the daughters of Keleos and Metaneira.¹³⁰ According to one myth, the Keleid Saisara wed Krokos, who was the eponymous ancestor of the Krokonidai.¹³¹ Perhaps the children are their offspring, unknown from other sources. Alternatively, the two children may be other Eleusinian heroes, less directly connected with the Keleids. Possibilities include Diokles, Polyxeinos, or Dolichos, all named among the Eleusinian princes in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines 153–155, 473–478), and worshipped at Eleusis, probably by the Eumolpidae, as is noted in an official state calendar of Athens, the Law Code of Nikomachos.¹³² Another possibility is that the children are the Eleusinian heroes Hippothoon and Kerkyon. According to one tradition, Hippothoon was the son of Poseidon.¹³³ He was also an Eleusinian prince and priest of the Eleusinian Mysteries.¹³⁴ Hippothoon had a cult at Eleusis and was the eponymous hero of the phyle Hippothontis, to which Eleusis belonged.¹³⁵ In art, Hippothoon is sometimes represented as a child.¹³⁶ Kerkyon was also called the son of Poseidon, and he is sometimes called the brother of Triptolemos.¹³⁷ He seems originally to have been a native Eleusinian hero, who was later turned into the robber who fought with Theseus.¹³⁸ The representation of Hippothoon and

¹²⁸ See Brommer, *Skulpturen*, pp. 168–169 and 182. Brommer also cites the previous identifications of Figures P and R as the children of Herakles or of Tyro. Since Brommer's publication, most scholars have followed the identification of Zetes and Kalais for these figures: Becatti, "Postille," p. 75; Harrison, "U," p. 9, note 55; Weidauer, "Eumolpus," p. 206. Jeppesen ("Bild," p. 81) suggested Otos and Ephialtes.

¹²⁹ Attic depictions of the Boreads generally show the figures with wings. See K. Schefold, *s.v.* Boreadai, *LIMC* III, i, 1986 (pp. 126–133), p. 132. Schefold (p. 133) notes, however, that according to Ovid, *Met.* 6.714–718, the Boreads first grew wings when they grew beards, and so as children they would not yet have either.

¹³⁰ For possible offspring of Diogeneia, see footnote 99 above.

¹³¹ Pausanias, 1.38.2. See Toepffer, *Genealogie*, p. 101.

¹³² *IG* I³, 5, *ca.* 500 B.C. See J. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 4, 1935, pp. 19–29 and K. Clinton, "IG I² 5, the Eleusinia, and the Eleusinians," *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1–12. On Diokles, Polyxeinos, and Dolichos, see Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 196–199.

¹³³ For Hippothoon as the son of Poseidon, see footnote 58 above.

¹³⁴ So Herodian, 2.915.22 Lenz (= Hesiod, fr. 227 Merkelbach-West).

¹³⁵ For worship of Hippothoon at Eleusis, see *IG* II², 1672.290–292; Pausanias, 1.38.4; Hesychios, Photios, *s.v.* Ἴπποθοῶντειον. For Hippothoon as the eponymous hero of the deme Hippothontis, see Pausanias, 1.5.2–3, 1.38.4.

¹³⁶ See, e.g., the red-figured vase of the Kerch style in Tübingen, *ca.* 320 B.C. (Tübingen Univ. 1610: Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pl. 26.5). For other representations of Hippothoon, see Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pp. 182–186, 276–278; Weidauer, "Eumolpus," p. 198, note 23.

¹³⁷ For Kerkyon as the son of Poseidon, see footnote 58 above. For Kerkyon as the brother of Triptolemos, see Pausanias, 1.14.3.

¹³⁸ Kron, *Phylenheroen*, p. 179. For Kerkyon and Theseus, see Isokrates, *Helena* 29; Bacchylides, 17.26; Diodoros, 4.59.5; Pausanias, 1.39.3; *Suda*, *s.v.* Κερκῶν.

Kerkyon on the right side of the pediment would strengthen its ties to Poseidon. The genealogy of these figures, however, is difficult to reconcile with their representation on the pediment. Thus, although Figures P and R are both shown as young children, according to Pausanias (1.5.2), Kerkyon was the grandfather of Hippothoon. Clearly, without further information, the identification of the subsidiary Figures P and R must remain obscure.

We reach finally the figures in the angles of the pediment: Figures A and A* on the left side and Figures V and W on the right. As I noted earlier, Figures A and W are often identified as river divinities.¹³⁹ No scholarly consensus exists for Figures A* and V, although they are also sometimes identified as river gods.¹⁴⁰ The position and orientation of these figures in the Carrey drawings provide some clues for their identifications. As I have noted previously, Figures V and W are turned toward one another, forming an intimate group. The parallelism exhibited throughout the composition suggests that the same may have been true of Figure A and the missing Figure A*. Since the other groups of spectator figures on the pediment are familial groups, we would expect the same to be true of the two groups of Figures V–W and Figures A–A*. I propose that Figures V and W are the Eleusinians Eumolpos and his mother Chione, and Figures A and A* are the Athenians Erechtheus and his brother Boutes. The opposing position of Eumolpos and Erechtheus on the pediment recalls their conflict in the war between the Athenians and Eleusinians. The conflict, as we have seen, represents the transference of the contention of Athena and Poseidon to a heroic level. The appearance of Chione and Boutes in the pediment suggests the ultimate resolution of both heroic and divine conflict through the association of each of these figures with the opposite side of the pediment (see pp. 356–357, 359 below).

The identification of Figure V as Eumolpos is based on his close associations with Eleusis, the Eleusinian royal family, and Poseidon, and on his opposition to Erechtheus and the Athenians. Our earliest source for Eumolpos is the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines

¹³⁹ See footnote 22 above. Brommer (*Skulpturen*, pp. 165–166, and 182) reports the previous identifications of Figure A as the river god Kephisos, Ilissos, or Eridanos. He himself prefers the identification of an Attic hero for this figure: Kranaos, Aktaios, Amphiktyon, Boutes, or Buzyges. Since Brommer's publication, Becatti ("Postille," p. 66) and Weidauer ("Eumolpus," p. 207) have accepted the river god identification (Kephisos). Harrison ("U," p. 9, note 55) preferred the identification as an Attic hero (Aktaios). Jeppesen ("Bild," p. 78) proposed Hephaistos. For Figure W, Brommer (*Skulpturen*, pp. 169–170, 182) notes the common identification as the spring divinity Kallirrhoe. He also records the identification of this figure as Arete, Prokris, or the wife of Boutes. He himself leans toward the identification as Prokris. Since Brommer's publication, Becatti ("Postille," p. 62) has accepted the identification of this figure as Kallirrhoe, while Weidauer ("Eumolpus," p. 206) has proposed the Eleusinian spring divinity Alope. Also seeing an Eleusinian connection, Harrison ("U," p. 9, note 55) suggested Chione. Jeppesen ("Bild," pp. 78–79) proposed Tethys.

¹⁴⁰ Brommer (*Skulpturen*, pp. 166, 182) reports the frequent identification of Figure A* as a river god, either Eridanos or Kephisos. He also records the suggestion that the figure may be the wife of Buzyges. He himself prefers an Attic hero again: Kranaos, Aktaios, Amphiktyon, Boutes, or Buzyges. Since Brommer's publication, the identification of this figure as a river god or Attic hero has generally been followed: Eridanos (Becatti, "Postille," p. 66), Kranaos (Harrison, "U," p. 9, note 55), Kekrops (Weidauer, "Eumolpus," p. 206). Jeppesen ("Bild," p. 78) proposed Gaia. For Figure V, a variety of proposals have been made. Brommer (*Skulpturen*, pp. 169–170) reports the identification of this figure as a river god (Ilissos, Kephisos, or Eridanos) or as an Attic hero (Boutes, Alkinoos, Kephalos). He himself leans toward the identification of this figure as a river god. Since Brommer's publication, Becatti ("Postille," p. 64) accepted this identification. An Eleusinian connection was made by Harrison ("U," p. 9, note 55), who identified the figure as Eumolpos, and by Weidauer ("Eumolpus," p. 206), who proposed Hippothoon. Jeppesen ("Bild," pp. 78–79) suggested Okeanos.

154 and 475), which names him as one of the Eleusinian princes to whom Demeter first entrusted her Mysteries. According to Pausanias (1.38.3), Eumolpos and the daughters of Keleos were the first celebrants of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In other sources, Eumolpos alone is named the founder of the Mysteries.¹⁴¹ Elsewhere, Eumolpos is identified as the poet who wrote or edited the songs of the Mysteries.¹⁴² He was the mythical paradigm for the *hierophant*, the chief priest of the Mysteries, and the eponymous ancestor of the Eleusinian priestly clan of the Eumolpidai, whose members held this office.¹⁴³ Eumolpos is shown in the company of other Eleusinian heroes and divinities on vase paintings of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.¹⁴⁴ This evidence illustrates Eumolpos' close association with Eleusis and its royal family. His appearance on the west pediment in the company of Metaneira, the Keleids, and Triptolemos is eminently suitable.

Eumolpos' connection with Poseidon further indicates the appropriateness of his appearance on the right side of the pediment. According to many sources, Eumolpos was the son of Poseidon.¹⁴⁵ As we have seen, he pressed Poseidon's claim to Attica in the war against Erechtheus.¹⁴⁶ When Eumolpos was killed, Poseidon sent a terrible earthquake to punish the Athenians.¹⁴⁷ In art as well as myth, Eumolpos and Poseidon are closely linked. On the skyphos by Hieron and Makron mentioned above, Eumolpos is matched with Poseidon.¹⁴⁸ This vase, dated to *ca.* 480 B.C., depicts the Mission of Triptolemos. On one side of the composition appears Eumolpos, while Poseidon parallels him on the other side. The figures are depicted in similar fashion: they are seated, hold sceptres, and are accompanied by their attributes, a swan for Eumolpos¹⁴⁹ and a dolphin for Poseidon. The parallel position and

¹⁴¹ *POxy* 2622.i.a and *PSI* 1391; Eur., *Erech.* fr. 18.100–110 Carrara; Andron, *FGrHist* 10 F 13; Istos, *FGrHist* 334 F 22; Akestodoros in Schol. Sophokles, *OC* 1053; *Marm. Par.* ep. 15; Plutarch, *Mor.* 607B; Lucian, *Demon.* 34; *Suda*, s.v. *Εὐμόλπος*, *Εὐμόλπίδαι*.

¹⁴² *Marm. Par.* ep. 15; *Suda*, s.v. *Εὐμόλπος*.

¹⁴³ *IG* III, 713; Sokolowski (footnote 59 above), no. 3 C 16–20 (= *IG* I³, 6); Aelius Aristides, 22.4; Hesychios, s.v. *Εὐμόλπίδαι*. See also Toepffer, *Genealogie*, pp. 44–54 and Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 8, 197.

¹⁴⁴ See L. Weidauer, s.v. Eumolpos, *LIMC* IV, i, 1988, nos. 4–14 and 20–31, pp. 56–59. See also Weidauer, “Eumolpos,” pp. 209–210; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, Berlin/New York 1974, pp. 61–66.

¹⁴⁵ For Eumolpos as the son of Poseidon, see footnote 58 above. Other sources name him the son of Mousaios: Andron, *FGrHist* 10 F 13; *Marm. Par.* ep. 15; Schol. Aischines, 3.18. See also a red-figured pelike by the Meidias Painter, dated to *ca.* 410 B.C., which depicts the child Eumolpos, his mother Deiope, and his father Mousaios in Thracian dress: New York, M.M.A. 37.11.23: *ARV*² 1313, 7; L. Brun, *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford 1987, pls. 35–37. The alternative genealogy which connects Eumolpos with Mousaios, however, is later than the Parthenon composition. All the extant sources which associate Mousaios and Eumolpos postdate the Parthenon. Eumolpos' connection with Poseidon is demonstrably earlier. See the discussion of the skyphos by Makron and Hieron (footnote 56 above). This skyphos, dated 480 B.C., closely associates Eumolpos and Poseidon. The alternative genealogy of Eumolpos, I suggest, is connected with his division into two different figures: one a Thracian barbarian and the other an Eleusinian priest. It is Eumolpos the Eleusinian priest who is descended from Mousaios; the Thracian warrior's father is given as Poseidon (pp. 340–341 above; so also Simms [footnote 64 above], p. 201, note 27). I argue below (pp. 355–356) that the division of Eumolpos into two or more figures may be traced to Euripides' *Erechtheus* and hence also is later than the Parthenon composition.

¹⁴⁶ Pp. 341–343 above; Isokrates, 12.193; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 854.

¹⁴⁷ Euripides, *Erech.* fr. 18.45–58 Carrara. Cf. Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.5.

¹⁴⁸ See footnote 56 above.

¹⁴⁹ “Eumolpos” means “he who sings well”, from *εὖ* + *μέλλειν* (see P. Chantraine, s.v. *μέλλω*, *Dictionnaire*

the similar depictions of Eumolpos and Poseidon suggest an intimate association between them. As we have seen, two vases from the end of the 5th century, the Policoro pelike and the Pella hydria, also associate Eumolpos and Poseidon.¹⁵⁰ They appear on Side A of the Policoro pelike, facing Athena and an Erechtheid on Side B. On the Pella hydria, Eumolpos appears above Poseidon, who is engaged in the contention with Athena. Eumolpos' close associations with the god thus support his identification on Poseidon's side of the pediment.

The opposition of Eumolpos to Erechtheus and the Athenians adds further evidence for his identification in Figure V of the right side of the pediment. As we have seen, Eumolpos was the leader of the forces opposing the Athenians in the war with Erechtheus.¹⁵¹ To be sure, some sources attempt to distinguish the Eumolpos who founded the Eleusinian Mysteries from the one who attacked Athens.¹⁵² The former may be identified as a native Eleusinian and the latter as a barbarian Thracian. It should be noted, however, that the name "Eumolpos" is of Greek origin.¹⁵³ Moreover, many of the sources for the war with the Athenians do not actually name Eumolpos as Thracian himself but merely say that he attacked Athens "with Thracians," or that the Thracians attacked Athens "with Eumolpos."¹⁵⁴ This indirect association may have been interpreted by some authors to mean that Eumolpos actually was Thracian. Eumolpos' associations with Thrace may perhaps be traced to Euripides' *Erechtheus*, when Thracians were added to or substituted in the story of the war of the Eleusinians and Athenians.¹⁵⁵ Once the connection with the barbarian Thracians was made, the leader of these forces could also be considered a barbarian. Such a person could hardly be the founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which were so closely tied to Athens. Therefore, at the end of his play (fr. 18.100–110 Carrara), Euripides distinguished a second Eumolpos, the descendant of the one who was killed by Erechtheus. This later Eumolpos would found the Eleusinian Mysteries. This artificial genealogy conflicts with the *Marmor Parium* (ep. 12), which relates that Demeter came to Eleusis in the reign of Erechtheus and that Eumolpos first celebrated her Mysteries at this time (ep. 15). Some

étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots, Paris 1968), and swans were known for their song (see Gossen, *s.v.* Schwan, in *RE* III, 2nd ser., Stuttgart 1921, cols. 785–787.

¹⁵⁰ See footnotes 68 and 71 above.

¹⁵¹ See footnote 66 above.

¹⁵² Euripides, *Erech.* fr. 18.100 Carrara; Istros, *FGrHist* 334 F 22; Andron, *FGrHist* 10 F 13; Akestodoros in Schol. Sophokles, *OC* 1053; Photios, *s.v.* Ἐὐμόλπιδαί. See also Simms (footnote 64 above), pp. 201–203.

¹⁵³ See footnote 149 above.

¹⁵⁴ For Eumolpos merely associated with Thracians, see Isokrates, 4.68, 12.193; Lykourgos, *Leocr.* 98, Strabo, 8.71; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.4–5; Lucian, *Anach.* 34. For Eumolpos himself as Thracian, see Istros, *FGrHist* 334 F 22; Demartos, *FGrHist* 42 F 4; Pausanias, 1.38.2–3; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 854. There is some other evidence to identify Eumolpos as Thracian, connected with the alternative genealogy of Eumolpos, in which he is the son of Mousaios (footnote 145 above). According to Aristoxenos (fr. 91 Wehrli), there are two different accounts of the origin of Mousaios; one makes him an Eleusinian autochthon and the other a Thracian. On the red-figured pelike by the Meidias Painter (see footnote 145 above), Mousaios is shown in Thracian dress along with his son Eumolpos. Graf ([footnote 144 above] pp. 17–18) has suggested that Mousaios came to be connected with Thrace towards the end of the 5th century B.C., probably through the influence of his association with the Thracian Orpheus in this period. If Eumolpos' father were Thracian, Eumolpos himself could be considered Thracian. In any case, however, since Eumolpos' association with Mousaios seems to postdate the Parthenon, his Thracian connection through his father also is later than the pedimental composition.

¹⁵⁵ So Carrara, *Eretteo*, pp. 24–27. See footnote 65 above.

sources later than Euripides follow his version in which there was more than one Eumolpos and also maintain that one of these was Thracian.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, as we hear from one late source, the clan of the Eumolpidai themselves refused to acknowledge the Thracian Eumolpos as their ancestor.¹⁵⁷ Other sources, however, maintain that the Eumolpos who founded the Mysteries and the one who fought with Erechtheus were the same.¹⁵⁸ In any case, since Euripides' play represents the first known source to distinguish two different Eumolpoi and to associate one of them with Thracians, and since this play postdates the Parthenon, we have no reason to reject the unity of the person of Eumolpos in this period or to doubt his identity as an Eleusinian.¹⁵⁹ Thus, at the time of the Parthenon composition, Eumolpos was an Eleusinian hero, son of Poseidon, antagonist of Erechtheus in the battle against the Athenians, and founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Given these associations, the identification of Figure V as Eumolpos is highly probable.

The identification of Figure W, the female figure which appears next to Figure V in the right corner of the pediment, is based on its close relationship with this figure and on its presumed familial relationship to it. In myth, cult, and art, two women are related to Eumolpos: his wife Daeira and his mother, who is identified as either Deiope or Chione.

Daeira is named the wife of Eumolpos by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 3.45.1 Stählin). Clement also noted that she was the mother of Eumolpos' son Immarados, who was buried beneath the Eleusinion in Athens. The mention of Immarados brings to mind again the war between Athens and Eleusis. According to Pausanias (1.5.2, 1.27.4, 1.38.3), Immarados was killed by Erechtheus in this war. Pausanias (1.38.7) also informs us that Daeira was the mother of the eponymous hero Eleusis by Poseidon. Her appearance on the pediment would thus represent a further reference to the war between the Athenians and the Eleusinians and connect Figure W herself with Poseidon.

Some problems, however, exist with the identification of Figure W as Daeira. In other sources, she is an Eleusinian divinity. According to Eustathius (648.36–41 [*Il.* 6.378]), Daeira is the sister of the Styx and the guardian of Persephone in the underworld. Other sources even identify her directly with Persephone.¹⁶⁰ She is named among other Eleusinian divinities in a cult calendar from the deme Paiania, dated to the 5th century, and she had her own priest, the Daeiritēs, at Eleusis.¹⁶¹ She also received sacrifices at other sites in Attica.¹⁶² Given her early cultic associations and the lateness of her identification as the wife of Eumolpos, the identification of Daeira in Figure W of the west pediment seems unlikely.

¹⁵⁶ See, e.g., Andron, *FGrHist* 10 F 13; Istros, *FGrHist* 334 F 22; Akestodoros, in Schol. Sophokles, *OC* 1053.

¹⁵⁷ Photios, *s.v.* *Εὐμόλιδοι*. Based on this passage, Carrara (*Eretteo*, pp. 26–27) suggested that Euripides based his distinction of two different Eumolpoi on the Eumolpid genealogical tradition. Photios, however, is very late evidence for a tradition which is supposed to predate Euripides. I propose that this tradition postdates Euripides' play and is actually derived from his creation of a barbarian Eumolpos. Once this Eumolpos was accepted into the tradition, the Eumolpidai had to distinguish between their eponymous ancestor and this barbarian warrior.

¹⁵⁸ Pausanias, 1.38.2–3; Plutarch, *Mor.* 607B; Lucian, *Demon.* 34.

¹⁵⁹ On the date of the play, see footnote 64 above.

¹⁶⁰ Aischines, *Psychagogoi*, fr. 277 Nauck; Schol. Apollonios Rhodios, 3.847.

¹⁶¹ For the cult calendar from Paiania, see Sokolowski (footnote 59 above), no. 18 B 15. For the *δαειρίτης*, see Pollux, 1.35.

¹⁶² *IG* II², 1496.103 (Lenaia); Protz, *Leges graecorum sacrae* 26.11 (Tetrapolis).

Figure W, then, should be the mother of Eumolpos. The sources name two different women for the role: Deiope and Chione.¹⁶³ Deiope was the wife of Mousaios.¹⁶⁴ On a pelike of the late 5th century by the Meidias Painter, Mousaios appears in Thracian dress, accompanied by Deiope and his young son Eumolpos, all of whom are identified by inscriptions.¹⁶⁵ The association of Deiope with Mousaios belongs to an alternative genealogy for Eumolpos, identifying his father as the latter rather than Poseidon and hence dissociating him from the god. Moreover, this other genealogy may be associated with Eumolpos' division into two different figures, one an Eleusinian priest, and the other a Thracian warrior. It is Eumolpos the Eleusinian priest who is descended from Mousaios.¹⁶⁶ The division of Eumolpos and his association with Mousaios both postdate the Parthenon. Since Deiope is connected with Mousaios and hence with this later identification of Eumolpos, there is no support for her appearance in the composition of the west pediment.

Figure W may be identified as Eumolpos' mother Chione. According to one story of Eumolpos' birth, he was the son of Poseidon and Chione.¹⁶⁷ Other sources also link the god with Chione: Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.32.1 Stählin) names her among the various loves of Poseidon, and she has been recognized as the woman fleeing Poseidon in the tondo of an Attic red-figured cup from the circle of the Brygos Painter dated to *ca.* 480 B.C.¹⁶⁸ This association makes her appearance on Poseidon's side of the pediment seem likely. The only difficulty with this interpretation is that Chione is also said to be the daughter of the Erechtheid Oreithyia by the wind god Boreas,¹⁶⁹ connecting Chione with Erectheus and hence with the other side of the pediment. It can be shown (p. 359 below), however, that the other angle figure of the composition, Figure A, also shows certain associations with the opposite side of the pediment. These angle figures, I propose, are meant to connect the two sides of the pediment and hence to suggest the ultimate resolution of the conflict which it portrays.

The figures corresponding to Figures V and W on the opposite side of the pediment are Figures A* and A. Although A* does not appear in the Carrey drawings, its existence is suggested by the gap shown in this spot in the composition. Like their pendants, Figures A* and A should also be closely related. I identify these two figures as Erechtheus and his brother Boutes.

¹⁶³ Deiope: Istros, *FGrHist* 334 F 22; Photios, *s.v.* *Εὐμόλπιδαί*. Chione: Lykourgos, *Leocr.* 98; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.4; Pausanias, 1.38.2; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 854; Hyginus, *Fab.* 157.

¹⁶⁴ [Aristot.], *Mir. Ausc.* 131.

¹⁶⁵ See footnote 145 above.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ See footnotes 58 and 145 above.

¹⁶⁸ Frankfurt, Liebieghaus ST V 7: *ARV*² 386, bottom and 1649; *CVA*, Frankfurt am Main 2 [Germany 30], pls. 60 [1451]:5 and 6, 61 [1452], and 62 [1453]:1 and 2. The figures on this vase are unlabeled. For the identification of the woman as Chione, see U. Kron, *s.v.* Chione, *LIMC* III, i, 1986, pp. 269–271. On the outside of the vase are depicted the Mission of Triptolemos, with Eumolpos and Poseidon as onlookers, and the Punishment of the Kekropids, with Kekrops and his daughters. The vase thus neatly connects the same figures which I have postulated are associated on the west pediment of the Parthenon. For Eumolpos on this vase, see Weidauer, "Eumolpos," pp. 197–200. For the association of the various scenes depicted on the vase, see Kron, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

¹⁶⁹ Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.2; Pausanias, 1.38.2; Schol. Apollonios Rhodios, 1.215d; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 854.

The identification of Figure A* as Erechtheus is supported by his close connections with Athena and his opposition to Poseidon and Eumolpos.¹⁷⁰ Erechtheus' association with Athena is mentioned in Homer. In the *Iliad* (2.546–549), we are told that Athena raised the earth-born Erechtheus in her sanctuary at Athens. In the *Odyssey* (7.78–81), Athena returns to the “well-built house” of Erechtheus. In Euripides' *Erechtheus* (fr. 10.46–49 Carrara), the hero defends the golden gorgon and the sacred olive of Athena from the encroachments of Eumolpos and Poseidon. At the end of the play (fr. 18.55–100 Carrara), Athena prevents Poseidon from destroying Athens and the family of Erechtheus. She proclaims the establishment of the cults of Poseidon and Erechtheus and of Athena Polias. This proclamation refers to the Erechtheion, which housed these cults along with those of Boutes and Hephaistos.¹⁷¹ The Erechtheion also contained the olive tree and salt spring, tokens of the contention of Athena and Poseidon.¹⁷² The presence of these tokens in the Erechtheion connects Erechtheus with the contention of the two gods. The linkage of Erechtheus and Athena in cult is also suggested by a story in Herodotos (5.82). He reports that the Athenians required the Epidaurians to make sacrifices and present gifts to both Athena and Erechtheus before allowing them to cut olive trees in Attica. In art as well, Erechtheus is closely associated with Athena. He appears with the goddess on several Attic red-figured vases of the 5th century depicting various Attic legends.¹⁷³ Given the close associations of Erechtheus with Athena, it is appropriate for him to appear on her side of the pediment.

Erechtheus' opposition to Poseidon and Eumolpos supports his identification in Figure A* of the pediment. In the myth of the war of the Athenians and Eleusinians, Erechtheus and Eumolpos battle for Attica through a transference of the divine conflict of Athena and Poseidon to a heroic level (see pp. 341–344 above). At the end of this battle, Erechtheus is killed either by Poseidon when the god strikes the earth with his trident, opening up a hole which swallows the hero, or he is killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt at the request of Poseidon.¹⁷⁴ The antagonism between Poseidon and Erechtheus, however, is ultimately transformed. At the end of Euripides' *Erechtheus* (fr. 18.92–94 Carrara), Athena proclaims the combined worship of Poseidon and Erechtheus. Other evidence indicates that there was an

¹⁷⁰ The objection may perhaps be raised that Erechtheus (Figure A*) and Erichthonios (Figure E) are doublets of one another and so cannot appear together on the pediment. For Erechtheus and Erichthonios as doublets, see *Etym. Magn.*, *Etym. Gud.*, s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς. N. Laroux (*Les enfants d'Athéna. Idées Athéniennes sur la citoyenneté et la division des sexes*, Paris 1981, pp. 42–46), however, has shown that, at least in the 5th century, these two figures were distinct. Erichthonios was the miraculous child of Athena, and Erechtheus was the Athenian king and adult father of a line of children. On a cup by the Kodros painter of the mid-5th century, Kekrops, Erechtheus, and Aegeus appear around the infant Erichthonios: West Berlin, Staatliche Museum F2537; *ARV*² 1268–1269, 2; *CVA*, Berlin 3 [Germany 22], pls. 113 [1042], 115 [1044]:2, 116 [1045]:2, 117 [1046]:1, 132 [1061]:4 and 8. On the relationship of Erichthonios and Erechtheus, see also Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pp. 37–38; Lacore, pp. 228–232; F. Brommer, “Attische Könige,” in *Charites. Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift E. Langlotz*, Bonn 1957 (pp. 152–164), pp. 160–161; Kron, “Erechtheus”, p. 923.

¹⁷¹ For the cults of the Erechtheion, see Pausanias, 1.26.5–1.27.1. For Athena's proclamation in the *Erechtheus* and its association with the Erechtheion, see Carrara, *Eretteo*, p. 35; Lacore, pp. 222–227.

¹⁷² Herodotos, 8.55; Pausanias, 1.26.5, 1.27.2.

¹⁷³ See Kron, “Erechtheus”, pp. 937–938.

¹⁷⁴ For Poseidon's killing of Erechtheus, see Euripides, *Erech.* fr. 18.55–60 Carrara; Euripides, *Ion* 281–282. For Zeus' killing of Erechtheus at the request of Poseidon, see Hyginus, *Fab.* 46.

association of these two figures in cult dating back to the middle of the 5th century.¹⁷⁵ Lacore has suggested, however, that the actual cultic fusion of Poseidon and Erechtheus into one divinity was an invention of Euripides designed to restore serenity at the end of his patriotic drama.¹⁷⁶ With this fusion, the conflict between the divinity and the hero was resolved, indicating an end to both the heroic and the divine strife. This suggestion of the resolution of conflict is also present in the Parthenon pediment in the two angle figures of the composition (see pp. 356–357 above and p. 359 below). Thus, the identification of Figure A* as Erechtheus is supported by his position on Athena's side of the pediment and his role as a pendant to Figure V, Erechtheus' antagonist, Eumolpos.

Figure A, next to Erechtheus (Figure A*), is the final figure on the left side of the pediment, whom I identify as Boutès, the twin brother of Erechtheus.¹⁷⁷ According to Apollodoros (3.15.1), when Erechtheus succeeded to the kingship, Boutès became the priest of Athena and of Poseidon Erechtheus. The priesthood links Boutès with the reconciliation of Poseidon and Athena and with the synthesis of Poseidon and Erechtheus at the end of Euripides' *Erechtheus*. This linkage is also supported by the evidence that men of the clan of the Eteoboutadai, of which Boutès was the eponymous ancestor, held the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus, while its women held that of Athena Polias.¹⁷⁸ In the Erechtheion, the altar to Boutès stood in the same area as that of Poseidon and Erechtheus.¹⁷⁹ The figure of Boutès, then, is closely associated with the worship of Poseidon, Erechtheus, and Athena, and his appearance on the west pediment signals the ultimate reconciliation of the divine combatants, Athena and Poseidon. Boutès is thus an appropriate pendant to Figure W, Chione, who also shows connections to the two opposing groups of the pediment (see pp. 356–357 above). Further, the reference to the Eteoboutadai through the presence of Boutès on the left side of the pediment balances the reference to the Eumolpidai through that of Eumolpos on the right.

The new identifications of the spectator figures of the west pediment are summarized in the chart on p. 360 below. The antithetic response between the figures on the two sides of the pediment may be recognized by reading the chart horizontally; the association between the individual figures on one side of the pediment may be perceived by reading the chart vertically.

CONCLUSIONS

The composition of the west pediment of the Parthenon is thus revealed as divided between two camps of spectators: Athenians on Athena's side of the pediment and Eleusinians on Poseidon's side. The division suggests that the pediment be read on two levels. On

¹⁷⁵ *IG* I², 580 (460–450 B.C.). For other sources for this cultic association, see *IG* II², 4071; III, 805; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.15.1; [Plutarch], *X orat.* 843 B.

¹⁷⁶ Lacore, pp. 214, 231–234.

¹⁷⁷ For Boutès as the brother of Erechtheus and son of Pandion and Zeuxippe, see Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 3.14.8, 3.15.1; Stephanos Byzantinos, *s.v.* *Βουράδαι*. Other sources name him the son of Poseidon (Hesiod, fr. 223 Merkelbach-West) or of Teleon and Zeuxippe (Apollonios Rhodios, 1.95–96 and scholia; Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 1.9.16; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.9). On Boutès, see E. Simon, *s.v.* Boutès, *LIMC* III, i, 1986, pp. 152–153.

¹⁷⁸ For the descent of the Eteoboutadai from Poseidon, see Harpokratian, *Suda*, *s.v.* *Βούρρης*. For their priesthoods of Poseidon Erechtheus and Athena Polias, see [Plutarch], *X orat.* 843B–C; Schol. Aischines, 2.155.

¹⁷⁹ Pausanias, 1.26.5.

<i>LEFT</i>		<i>RIGHT</i>	
A	Boutes	W	Chione
A*	Erechtheus	V	Eumolpos
B	Kekrops	U*	Metaneira
C	Kekropid	U	Keleid
D	Kekropid	T	Keleid
E	Erichthonios	S	Triptolemos
F	Kekropid	PQR	Keleid with two children

the primary level, it represents the struggle between Athena and Poseidon for Attica; on the secondary level, it suggests the battle of the Athenians and Eleusinians for the same prize. Underlying both levels of meaning is the understanding that the conflict, in both divine and heroic form, was eventually resolved: Athena and Poseidon came to be worshipped together on the Akropolis, and Eleusis was incorporated into an Attica under Athenian control. The pediment, through presenting the conflict, also suggests its resolution. The angle figures, moreover, imply that resolution through their associations with the opposing group on the pediment.

The west pediment has yet a third level of meaning. In suggesting the victory of the Athenians over the Eleusinians, the composition also implies Athenian unification with Eleusis and hence the establishment of joint control over the most important Eleusinian cult, the Mysteries of the goddess Demeter. Evidence from the 6th century B.C. onwards indicates that the Athenians were especially interested in exercising control over the Eleusinian Mysteries and in exploiting their control for political purposes.¹⁸⁰

Athenian interest in Eleusis and its primary cult is reflected by the construction of the Eleusinion near the Athenian Agora in the 6th century B.C.¹⁸¹ This building program was connected with Athenian attempts to assert control over the Eleusinian Mysteries and to associate them with Athens. Before the celebration of the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis, the cult objects were brought to the Eleusinion at Athens in a procession from Eleusis and were returned in another procession during the festival.¹⁸² Nilsson has suggested that this procession originally represented an attempt by the Athenians to usurp the Mysteries and

¹⁸⁰ For the development of Athenian control over the Eleusinian Mysteries and the political exploitation of that control, see F. Walton, "Athens, Eleusis, and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter," *HTHR* 45, 1952, pp. 105–114; D. Feaver, "The Priesthoods of Athens," *YCS* 15, 1957 (pp. 123–158), pp. 126–128; G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, pp. 127–128; R. Padgug, "Eleusis and the Union of Attica," *GRBS* 13, 1972 (pp. 135–150), pp. 144–145; R. Simms, "The Eleusinia in the Sixth to Fourth Centuries B.C.," *GRBS* 16, 1975, pp. 269–279; S. Cataldi, "Un regolamento ateniese sui Misteri eleusini e l'ideologia panhellenica di Cimone," in *Studi sui rapporti interstatali nel mondo antico*, S. Cataldi et al., edd., Pisa 1981, pp. 73–146.

¹⁸¹ On the Eleusinion, see T. Shear, "The Campaign of 1938," *Hesperia* 8, 1939 (pp. 201–246), pp. 207–212; H. Thompson, "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1959," *Hesperia* 29, 1960 (pp. 327–392), pp. 334–338; R. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, pp. 74–85; H. Thompson and R. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 152–153; M. Miles, "The Temple of Triptolemos in the City Eleusinion," *AJA* 86, 1982, p. 276. Miles' publication of the City Eleusinion is in preparation.

¹⁸² See Mylonas (footnote 180 above), pp. 245–247.

celebrate them in Athens itself.¹⁸³ An inscription records that when the cult objects from Eleusis were received in the Eleusinion, one of the cult personnel went up to the Akropolis and reported their arrival to the priestess of Athena Polias.¹⁸⁴ Philostratos (*Vit.Soph.* 2.1.7) reports that during the Panathenaic procession, the Panathenaic ship rounded the Eleusinion on its way up to the Akropolis. These rituals established a connection between Athenian and Eleusinian cult, and their institution may represent an attempt to integrate Eleusinian cult with Athenian state religion. The west pediment of the Parthenon, through its implication of Athenian unification with the Eleusinians, fits into this program of emphasizing Athenian control over Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Evidence for the continuing importance to Athens of her relationship with Eleusis is provided by the Rheitoi relief and inscription.¹⁸⁵ The inscription, *IG I*³, 79, which is dated to 422/1 B.C., concerns the building of a bridge over the Rheitoi near Eleusis. The relief shows Demeter and Persephone to the left, and to the right, Athena shaking hands with another figure, probably a personification of the Demos of Eleusis. The inscription and relief signal that Eleusis' separate identity was maintained in the last quarter of the 5th century and that the Athenians were concerned to represent the connection of their patron goddess with the patron divinities of Eleusis.

The connection between Athens and the Eleusinian Mysteries became an important element of Athenian political propaganda in the late 5th and the 4th centuries. For example, the First Fruits Decree (*IG I*³, 78), dated to the second half of the 5th century, indicates that the Athenians were attempting to exploit their control of the Mysteries to enhance their position among the other Greek city states.¹⁸⁶ The decree requires that the Athenians and their allies make first-fruit offerings every year at Eleusis, and it recommends that the other Greek city states do the same. The proceeds of the sale of these offerings were to be used for sacrifices to Athena as well as to various Eleusinian divinities. The final provision of the decree states that benefits should accrue to whomever fulfills its provisions and also "... should not do wrong to Athena, to the city of the Athenians, or to the two goddesses." The decree thus effectively links Athens and her patron goddess to Eleusis and her divinities and provides that the city states which honor one should also honor the other.

The significance which Athenians placed on their association with Eleusis and the Mysteries is further indicated by a passage from Isokrates (4.28–29). The orator is relating the characteristics of Athens which support her claim to be leader among all the Greek city states. As proof of the superiority of Athens, he points to the many benefits which the city has brought to the rest of the world. First of these, he says, were the gifts of the cultivation of

¹⁸³ M. Nilsson, "Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult," *JdI* 31, 1916 (pp. 309–339), pp. 313–314.

¹⁸⁴ F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, no. 8.16–18.

¹⁸⁵ K. Kanta, *Eleusis: Myth, Mysteries, History, Museum*, W. Phelps, trans., Athens 1979, p. 47, fig. 10.

¹⁸⁶ On this inscription, see F. Cornford, "The *Aparchai* and the Eleusinian Mysteries," in *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge 1913, pp. 153–166; E. Weil, "Sur le décret athénien *IG I*² 76 visant l'attribution des prémices des récoltes aux déesses d'Eleusis," *REG* 61, 1948, pp. 1–18; P. Guillon, "Le décret athénien relatif aux prémices d'Eleusis et la paix de Nicias," *BCH* 86, 1962, pp. 467–475; R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, ed., *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1969, pp. 220–223; Simms (footnote 64 above), pp. 272–273; M. Cavanaugh, *Eleusis and Athens: Documents in Finance, Religion, and Politics in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C.*, diss., Cornell University 1980, pp. 33–139.

crops and of the Mysteries, which Demeter entrusted to the Athenians, and which they then passed on to the rest of the world (Isokrates, 4.29):

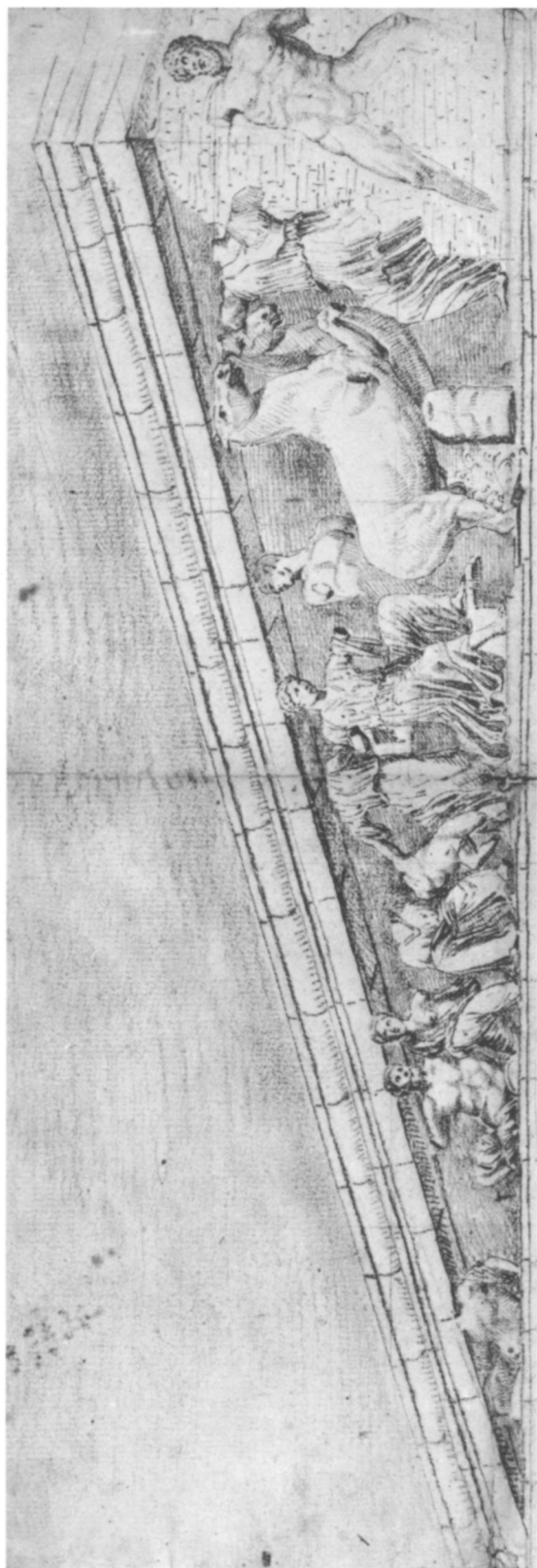
Our city was not only so beloved of the gods, but even so loving of mankind that, when she had become mistress of these gifts, she did not refuse them to others out of envy, but she shared a part of the things which she received with all men. And as for the one (i.e., the Mysteries), we still even now reveal them each year, and as for the other (i.e., the cultivation of crops), in short, (our city) has taught their uses, their husbandry, and the profits which come from them.

According to Isokrates, then, the Athenians derived their cultural prestige and their pre-eminent position in the Greek world at least in part from their association with Eleusis and its cult of the goddess Demeter. The west pediment of the Parthenon also refers to the prestige derived from this association through its indirect reference to Athenian unification with Eleusis and its incorporation of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The pedimental composition thus points to the superiority of Athens on three different levels. On the primary level, it refers to the mythical supremacy of Athena in the struggle against Poseidon. On a secondary level, it suggest the military victory of the Athenians in the legendary war against the Eleusinians. On a third level, it implies Athenian control of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the cultural superiority of Athens in the Greek world. The composition of the west pediment of the Parthenon symbolizes the mythic, military, and cultural superiority of Athens, a fitting subject for the crowning monument of Periclean Athens.

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a. Left half of the west pediment of the Parthenon



b. Right half of the west pediment of the Parthenon. Drawings by J. Carrey, Courtesy Louvre Museum