

THE POWER OF PROCESSION: THE GREATER PANATHENAIA
AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF ATHENIAN PUBLIC SPACES

By

Samantha Richter

Copyright © Samantha Richter 2020

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES
AND CLASSICS

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
WITH A MAJOR IN CLASSICAL
ARCHAEOLOGY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2020

As members of the Thesis Committee, we certify that we have read the thesis prepared by Samantha Richter entitled "The Power of Procession: The Greater Panathenaia and the Transformation of Athenian Public Spaces" and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.



Eleni Hasaki

May 27, 2020

Faculty

Date

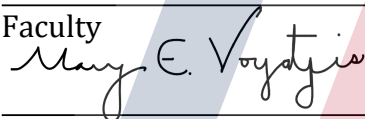


David Gilman Romano

May 28, 2020

Faculty

Date



May 28, 2020

Faculty

Date



John R. Senseney

May 28, 2020

Faculty

Date

Final approval and acceptance of this thesis is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the thesis to the Graduate College. I hereby certify that we have read this thesis prepared under our direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the thesis requirement.



Eleni Hasaki

May 27, 2020

Faculty, Thesis Co-Director

Date



David Gilman Romano

May 28, 2020

Faculty, Thesis Co-Director

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am exceptionally grateful for the wonderful faculty at the University of Arizona who helped make this thesis possible. The continual, unwavering support from Dr. David Gilman Romano, Dr. Eleni Hasaki, Dr. Mary Voyatzis, and Dr. John Senseney enabled me to explore a rather difficult topic, but one I have found a passion for. To Dr. David Gilman Romano, thank you for the steadfast encouragement and guidance, the many loaned books, and for giving me the confidence to question everything. To Dr. Eleni Hasaki, thank you for the motivation to explore this topic, the late-night email threads, and the inspiration to persevere through unexpected obstacles. To Dr. Mary Voyatzis, thank you for your unwavering passion, attention to detail, and reassurance of my capabilities. Finally, to Dr. John Senseney, thank you for introducing me to the fascinating field of ancient urban architecture, for asking the important questions, and providing me with future avenues of research.

I would also like to thank all of the wonderful friends and colleagues I have gained through the M.A. program at the U of A. I will be forever grateful for your continual support and strength. I wish to extend a special thank you to Miranda Lovett and Julia Paré, who have become lifelong friends and whose passion and dedication to the field inspire me to continue my studies and grow as a scholar.

Finally, I wish to thank my family. To my father, Jeff Richter, thank you for your lightheartedness and continual support for every adventure I embark on. To my sister, Amanda Richter, thank you for the strength you share with me, your love for life, and for your unwavering friendship. To my mother, Kathy Richter, for whom I could write an acknowledgements page entirely for, thank you for everything; you are my inspiration and life coach. And finally, thank you to my partner, Eugene Clarke, whose continual support was crucial to my success in this program and in the writing of this thesis. Thank you for sharing my love of Greek archaeology, camping, tacos, and ice cream. I love you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	5
ABSTRACT	7
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 REVIEW OF MODERN SCHOLARSHIP ON ATHENIAN FESTIVALS.....	10
1.2 ANCIENT EVIDENCE.....	13
1.2.a Textual Evidence.....	13
1.2.b Archaeological Evidence.....	15
1.3 METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF THE PROJECT.....	18
1.3.a Theoretical Framework.....	18
1.3.b Significance of this Study.....	20
CHAPTER 2: PANATHENAIC FESTIVAL – THE TEXTUAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE	21
2.1 THE PROCESSIONAL ROUTE AND THE PANATHENAIC WAY.....	21
2.2 STOP NO. 1: THE POMPEION.....	26
2.3 STOP NO. 2: THE EARLIEST <i>DROMOS</i>	29
2.4 STOP NO. 3: THE EARLIEST ORCHESTRA AND THE ODEION OF PERICLES.....	32
2.5 STOP NO. 4: THE ACROPOLIS.....	34
2.6 STOP NO. 5: THE PNYX HILL.....	37
CHAPTER 3: AN OUTLINE OF THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO URBAN SPACE TRANSFORMATION	42
3.1 THE “URBAN ARMATURE” AND “RITUAL ARMATURE”.....	42
3.2 JENSEN’S ‘MOBILITIES IN SITU’ MODEL.....	45
3.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE ‘MOBILITIES IN SITU’ THEORY.....	53
CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY – THE PANATHENAIC PROCESSION	55
4.1 MIS STOP NO. 1: THE POMPEION.....	56
4.1.a The Physical Setting.....	56
4.1.b Social Interactions.....	62
4.2 MIS STOP NO. 2: THE AGORA – SPACES ALONG THE PANATHENAIC WAY.....	67
4.2.a Transforming Spaces in the Northern Agora.....	68
4.2.b Transforming Spaces in the Central Agora.....	70
4.3 MIS STOP NO. 3: THE ACROPOLIS.....	76
4.3.a The Physical Setting.....	76
4.3.b Social Interactions.....	81
4.4 MIS STOP NO. 4: THE PNYX HILL.....	83
4.4.a The Physical Setting.....	83
4.4.b Social Interactions.....	88
4.5 THE PROCESSION AS A ‘MOBILE WITH’.....	90
4.6 EMBODIED PERFORMANCES.....	92
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	96
APPENDIX A	100
APPENDIX B – FIGURES	101
WORKS CITED	121

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Program of the Panathenaic festival events.....	101
Figure 1.2.b.1: East frieze of the Periclean Parthenon.....	101
Figure 1.2.b.2: Route of the Panathenaic Procession.....	102
Figure 2.1: Panathenaic Amphora, 500-480BC.....	102
Figure 2.2: Map showing Stops Nos. 1-5 (Chapter 2), and MIS Stops Nos. 1-4 (Chapter 4)....	103
Figure 2.1.2: Plan of the Erechtheion.....	104
Figure 2.2.1 (Stop No. 1): Plan of the Pompeion. IV: Dipylon Gate; III: Sacred Gate. Rooms A, B, and C contained the foundations of 66 dining couches.....	104
Figure 2.2.2 (Stop No. 1): Reconstruction of the interior of an <i>andron</i> from the Pompeion.....	105
Figure 2.2.3 (Stop No. 1): Drawing of the graffiti written by the ephebes, the name Menandros is very prominent.....	105
Figure 2.2.4 (Stop No. 1): Plan of the Dipylon fountain house.....	106
Figure 2.3.1 (Stop No. 1): Marked location of the early dromos.....	106
Figure 2.5.1 (Stop No. 4): Plan of the Acropolis.....	107
Figure 2.5.2 (Stop No. 4): Suggested location of the Great Altar to Athena.....	107
Figure 2.6.1 (Stop No. 5): The Pnyx facing east.....	108
Figure 2.6.2 (Stop No. 5): Boundary stone of the Pnyx, inscription <i>IG I2 882</i>	108
Figure 2.6.3 (Stop No. 5): Plan of the Pnyx Hill showing the two embankments reconstructed as unfinished stoas.....	109
Figure 3.1.1: Map of Djemila depicting the main thoroughfare leading directly from a gate to the forum.....	110
Figure 3.2.1: Staging mobilities diagram.....	111
Figure 4.1: Table showing MIS Stops, related ancient evidence, and corresponding dates.....	112
Figure 4.1.a.1 (MIS Stop No. 1): Designated area for temporary enclosure outside of the Dipylon Gate along the Academy Road.....	113

Figure 4.1.b.1 (MIS Stop No. 1): Outline of the Pompeion’s boundary as per the Kerameikos excavations.....	113
Figure 4.2.a.1 (MIS Stop No. 2): 2012 ASCSA excavation trenches near the Stoa Poikile.....	114
Figure 4.2.a.2 (MIS Stop No. 2): Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius.....	114
Figure 4.2.b.1 (MIS Stop No. 2): Altar of the Twelve Gods.....	115
Figure 4.2.b.2 (MIS Stop No. 2): The square peristyle is labeled as D on this plan.....	115
Figure 4.2.b.3 (MIS Stop No. 2): Plan of the South Stoa.....	116
Figure 4.2.b.4 (MIS Stop No. 2): Plan of the precinct surrounding the Eleusinion.....	116
Figure 4.3.b.1 (MIS Stop No. 3): Gathering location for the dedication of the peplos outside of the Erechtheion.....	117
Figure 4.4.a.1 (MIS Stop No. 4): The Great Altar in front of the Metroön in the Agora.....	117
Figure 4.4.a.2 (MIS Stop No. 4): Plan of the assembly area on the Pnyx Hill in relation to the altar above the bema.....	118
Figure 4.4.a.3 (MIS Stop No. 4): Bust of Athena from the Pnyx Hill.....	118
Figure 4.4.a.4 (MIS Stop No. 4): Plan showing Melite Street.....	119
Figure 4.4.a.5 (MIS Stop No. 4): Northern most outlet of the Melite Street.....	120

Abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which the classical Panathenaic procession was able to transform the landscape and urban spaces of Athens, using literary and archaeological evidence. I discuss the major physical settings (buildings and spaces) associated with the procession and the ways in which they transform throughout their contact with the procession. I use the urban theory of ‘Mobilities in Situ’ (MIS) put forward by the modern urban theorist Ole B. Jensen (2013) as a framework for explaining how we can successfully apply these theories to a well-known Athenian procession, the Greater Panathenaia. Athenian social interactions, as a result of the Panathenaic procession, are considered transformative forces themselves and are discussed within the context of physical spaces throughout the city. This new approach aims to enhance our understanding of the physical and transformative nature of classical Athenian processions as a whole.

This thesis offers a new lens with which to view this celebrated Athenian procession, one of many, with the intent of emphasizing its importance as a living, non-static entity that is made up of more than just its route and symbols. I discuss the expansion of the Athenian sacred landscape, with the inclusion of a number of buildings and spaces, a process which completely transforms the city from its usual appearance. In addition, I provide a thorough discussion that sheds new light on the location of the Panathenaic sacrifices to Athena. This study aims to provide a new understanding of the overall importance of processions in Athenian life, while offering a framework for discussing the transformation of space in other processions throughout the Mediterranean.

Chapter 1: Introduction

An Athenian participating in any of the numerous processions in ancient Athens would have traversed a built sacred landscape, one thoroughly saturated with symbolic meaning and cultural significance. The all-encompassing goal to promote cultural memory and collective identity determined these routes and their related experiences. Religious and commemorative processions in classical Athens occurred frequently throughout the year and took on a wide array of functions, purposes, and activities. Though the motivation for each procession may differ in execution, the creation of a useable space in which to conduct a procession remains pertinent for its successful completion. When not occupied by a procession, these spaces served other functions of daily life.

Previous scholarly discussions on processions have placed an emphasis on the Athenian examples, especially regarding their participants and routes,¹ without fully analyzing the logistics involved in incorporating the route into space previously having a different function and association. The present study, however, aims to examine the process of the internal transformation of Athenian public spaces to accommodate processions. I focus on the logistics behind the transformation of space in order to accommodate Athenian processions by looking at how spaces became an extension of the religious procession, how the procession moved through the city, and how temporary and permanent architectural structures were used to host spectators or to enact other elements of the procession.

By the Classical period, the ancient Athenian calendar consisted of almost 120 festivals,² many of which possessed their own procession. The sheer number of Athenian processions

¹ See Arrington (2010), Parke (1977), Shear (2001), and Simon (1983).

² Neils 1992, 13.

makes it impossible to fully analyze all of them within the scope of this thesis. Therefore, only the Greater Panathenaic procession will be analyzed here, specifically within the Classical period from 350-325 BC. This quintessential period of Athenian history, politics, and art preserves the greatest amount of literary and archaeological data to aid in the construction of an argument. Emphasis is therefore placed on the Panathenaia, which is representative of classical processions in Athens as a whole. The selection of this festival is based on the large amount of evidence that has survived into the modern period, including archaeological, epigraphical, and textual sources.

In general, Athenians took pride in the number of festivals in which they participated, but the most celebrated and important was the Panathenaia in honor of the birthday of Athena.³ There were two versions: the Greater and the Lesser Panathenaia, the Greater was held once every four years while the Lesser occurred annually.⁴ The Greater Panathenaia is said to have been formalized by Peisistratus c. 566 BC.⁵ With its reorganization in the 6th c BC, there were musical competitions added, as well as recitations of Homer, gymnastic and equestrian events, dances in armor (*pyrrhike*), torch racing, and a regatta. There is also some evidence to suggest that the Lesser's procession was much less inclusive, with participation of only the male citizens, their wives and daughters.⁶ The days on which specific events occurred is debated, however, this thesis will adhere to the program suggested by Miller. He places musical and dramatic competitions on days one through three, footraces/gymnastic events on days four and five, equestrian and tribal events through day eight, and the procession on day nine.⁷ Neils suggests a different timeline of the festival, an outline of which can be found on Figure 1.1.

³ Neils 1992, 14.

⁴ Neils 1992, 13.

⁵ Scholiast on Aelius Aristides *Panathenaicus* 13.189.4-5; Marcellinus *Vita Thukydidis* 2-4.

⁶ Shear 2001, 118-119.

⁷ Miller 2004, 152.

For the Panathenaic procession the main space was the street itself, the Panathenaic Way, an area wide enough to accommodate a large number of people. The significance of monuments and buildings surrounding the street would have been emphasized on the day of the procession, and their purposes altered. For those partaking in the procession, the monuments they passed and the spaces that they inhabited would have acquired a significance more rooted in the sacred realm than they had been prior to the beginning of the procession, say the day before. Spaces for spectatorship would have been created by climbing upon houses, sitting on the nearest set of stairs, jostling one's way to a spot closer to the street, or finding a spot on the *ikria*, wooden structures built specifically for spectators. Transformation of space thereby deliberately placed processions outside of one's everyday experience.⁸

I aim to create a framework for viewing the transformation of space within processions; the primary reference point in creating this model is the Panathenaic procession as this is best documented in the archaeological record. Starting with this procession eliminates as many gaps in the foundational research as possible while also providing the necessary tools to address new questions and issues.

1.1. Review of Modern Scholarship on Athenian Festivals

Scholarship covering the festivals and processions of Athens is extensive. Excavations in the Agora began in 1931, and the recent exponential growth of scholarship surrounding Athenian processions has created new avenues for discussion and comprehension. In most cases, the dialogue is centered around the participants of the procession, the route, and the various activities

⁸ Warford 2015, 38.

that occur in each, with special emphasis placed on the religious implements and sacrificial elements.

The two major works on Athenian festivals and their processions are *Festivals of the Athenians* by H.W. Parke (1977) and *The Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* by Erika Simon (1983). Parke focuses on the major festivals as they appear in the Athenian calendar in order to acquire a picture of the religious year.⁹ In so doing, he goes through each month of the year listing the festivals, or lack thereof, that occur. He outlines each individual festival in terms of the processional route, participants, offerings, and subsequent religious activities, such as games or dramatic contests. He relies primarily on textual evidence rather than excavation reports and archaeological theory.

Unlike Parke, Simon's analysis takes an archaeological approach. She arranges the festivals by the god with whom they are associated. Her work focuses on the main ancient sources, with emphasis on representations in artwork that provide information on each festival, as well as their date within the calendar year, the events of the festival, and the participants. Simon does not mention much, if anything, about the spatial component of the festivals or processions, or the structural units that were incorporated into the processions.

Neils focuses on the Panathenaic festival comprehensively, and discusses the Panathenaic Amphorae, the athletic and musical competitions, as well as the cult images of Athena and her sacred peplos.¹⁰ Her work provides an overview of the major aspects of the festival, using both archaeological and textual evidence throughout the Panathenaea's history. However, her interest is not in the spatial components of the festival or procession.

⁹ Parke 1977, 13.

¹⁰ Neils 1992, 13-27.

More recently, Julia Shear in her dissertation was the first to write on the overall development of the Panathenaia with a focus on how it affected the city topographically.¹¹ She states that most of the prior research was focused on the religious context of the Panathenaia, or specific questions of inquiry. She has a relevant discussion on the Panathenaia that emphasizes how structures derived a meaning from their location near festival venues.¹² Though her dissertation is certainly comprehensive and addresses the connection between the Panathenaia and the city's topography, it only touches on the importance of transitional space to Athenian processions.

Emphasis in previous scholarship has also been placed on the importance of the route in the landscape, and its subsequent effects on structures it encountered. For example, Gerding argues that the Old Temple of Athena Polias was moved specifically to make more room for the Panathenaic Procession.¹³ He uses estimated numbers of participation and the necessary room required for accommodation in guiding and formulating his argument, as well as suggesting a possible route for the procession to follow once they reached the Acropolis.

Like Shear, Warford in her dissertation is more interested in space than the previous scholarship before her. She provides a comprehensive study of all Attic processions, for which routes, symbols, and participants are known, and investigates why these processions were so vital to the Athenians. For the Panathenaic festival, amongst other things, she discusses the location of the starting point for the procession, and states that the act of gathering in this space

¹¹ Shear 2001, vi.

¹² Shear 2001, 661.

¹³ Gerding 2006, 389.

would have created a powerful social memory.¹⁴ She also focuses more on the sacred landscape, which is critical to my own research.

Furthermore, the central act of any ancient Greek festival, and the culmination of the Panathenaic procession, was the sacrifice,¹⁵ a topic that is heavily discussed in scholarship. It may be, however, more productive not to limit the discussion of such a multi-faceted undertaking to one event. The oversimplification of religious festivals, and their subsequent processions, is typically encountered in scholarship. Scholars continuously grapple to find an adequate and replicable way to approach a phenomenon that seems all but lost to the archaeological record. Some have categorized processions in terms of their directionality, how they traverse through the urban landscape.¹⁶ Others have focused on the month in which the procession occurs or they have organized them based on their patron deity.¹⁷ Still others focus on the religious symbols (such as the Panathenaic peplos) present in each procession and the route taken.¹⁸ Of course, each of these methodologies is a valuable way to study processions, but it seems equally valuable and more comprehensive to study them as a cultural experience by placing the two common denominators back into the equation, the people and the physical structures themselves as transformed by a procession.

1.2. Ancient Evidence

1.2.a. Textual Evidence

The textual evidence for the Panathenaic procession comes to us from a range of ancient scholarship and literary genres, from inscriptions and political documents, to comedic and tragic

¹⁴ Warford 2015, 50.

¹⁵ See Parke 1977, 18.

¹⁶ See Parke 1996.

¹⁷ See Parke 1977 for festival months and Simon 1983 for emphasis on the patron deity.

¹⁸ See Warford 2015, 68-79; 85-88.

plays. The principal sources for processions come from Attic inscriptions, such as *IG II2 23II*, a 4th c BC inscription that discusses the events and prizes of the Panathenaic Games.¹⁹ Another example is *IG II2 334*, which is important for this thesis as it is the only mention of the Great Altar of Athena where the sacred *hekatomb* was sacrificed.

In the realm of drama and entertainment, there are a number of references to Athenian processions. The *Ecclesiazusae* by Aristophanes has a brief section that describes a character, Chremes, bringing out his goods from his house to sell them at the market and ordering his attendants to arrange themselves as if they were participating in a procession.²⁰ Other sources come from documents concerning government organization, such as the *Constitution of the Athenians*, written by Aristotle in the late 4th c BC, which lists the government positions in charge of administering the festival, such as the *athlothetai*. In Roman times, Pausanias, in his *Description of Greece*, helped to identify the Pompeion located near the Dipylon Gate, describing it as the building for the preparations of the processions.²¹ Throughout his work there are multiple references dealing with Athenian processions, such as the discussion of a ship that was specifically built for the Panathenaic procession and was kept near the Areopagus,²² and a description of the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis.²³

In sum, our ancient sources covering the Panathenaic procession are numerous, but they paint a picture that must be looked at critically, as well as analytically. The question of the sources' date requires further comment, especially with works such as Pausanias' 2nd c AD *Description of Greece*. Athenian festivals were not static, they changed and evolved with the

¹⁹ *IG II2 23II* and *IG II2 334*.

²⁰ *Ar. Ec.* 730-759.

²¹ *Paus.* 1.2.4.

²² *Paus.* 1.29.1.

²³ *Paus.* 1.36.3-1.37.7.

political and topographical developments of the city, conceivably going back to the Late Bronze Age. In a way these processions were living entities, a reflection of the sentient humans who populated them. What was important to the Athenians at any specific time would have manifested itself through the festival. While Pausanias provides modern scholars with an abundance of information that would be otherwise unattainable, it is necessary to remember he was writing in the 2nd c AD, five centuries after the height of the Classical period.

The context in which these works were produced must also be kept in mind. For example, Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* was written as a comedy and, as such, the scenes which demonstrate processions were purely satirical. Of course, satire is only successful when it demonstrates a phenomenon or subject matter that is relatable to the audience, so the works of Aristophanes likely still hold a kernel of truth. The final, and perhaps most important thing to note in regard to ancient literature, is the fact that these sources do not directly address the issue at hand, leaving the scholar to draw parallels and make conclusions by reading between the lines of a given body of work.

1.2.b. Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence for classical Athenian processions ranges from iconographic representations on vases and marble reliefs, to the remnants of structures and roads. The Panathenaia was the most important religious festival for the Athenians, resulting in the preservation of the largest body of evidence of all Athenian processions.

One of the most contested pieces of evidence in this assemblage is the Ionic frieze of the Periclean Parthenon [Figure 1.2.b.1]. The scene depicted on the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon is traditionally interpreted as the Panathenaic procession, complete with the cavalry and folding of the peplos. Osborne, discusses the implications of the Panathenaia on the frieze in terms of the

democratic nature of the Athenian polis.²⁴ Simon stresses the point that the scene on the frieze was taken from cult, not from myth.²⁵ Shear is also in favor of Simon's view.²⁶ However, Connelly challenges the traditional viewpoint, pointing out the numerous discrepancies between the frieze and known events of the procession,²⁷ and suggests that the Ionic frieze actually portrays the sacrifice of three of the daughters of the Athenian king Erechtheus, a sacrifice that helped Athens win a battle against Eleusis.²⁸

The implications of the scene on the Parthenon frieze are significant to this study. If the frieze does not depict the Panathenaic procession,²⁹ this could be used to bolster the argument that the Panathenaic sacrifice did not occur on the Acropolis (a discussion of which is forthcoming). Conversely, discussing the location of the sacrifice might help to determine the scene depicted on the frieze. Thus, the present study will provide a new lens with which to view the discussion and interpretation of the Parthenon frieze.

Also pertaining to the Panathenaia, are the Panathenaic amphorae which served as prizes for the victors of the Panathenaic Games. Although not informative on spatial issues, they provide evidence for the long-term planning and management required and undertaken by the Athenians in order to successfully generate a festival. The amphorae also served as instruments of propaganda, as they were spread far and wide throughout the Mediterranean, facilitating foreign participation in athletics as well as demonstrating the power and prestige of Athens.³⁰

²⁴ Osborne 1994, 143.

²⁵ Simon 1983, 58.

²⁶ Shear 2001, 3.

²⁷ These include the lack of *kanephoroi* (basket bearers), *skiaphoroi* (tribute bearers), Athenian hoplites, the famous ship on which the peplos was carried, etc. (Connelly 54, 1996).

²⁸ See Connelly 2014; Connelly 1996.

²⁹ The earliest suggestion that the frieze mirrors the Panathenaic procession comes from Stuart and Revett in 1787.

³⁰ Neils 1992, 29.

In terms of sites, the area that was of utmost importance for the accommodation of the Panathenaic procession was the road known as the Panathenaic Way, which ran from the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos, through the Agora, and up to the Acropolis [Figure 1.2.b.2]. It wove together places of both sacred and secular significance, blending those lines of division during days of procession. It is analyzed in this thesis for its ability to successfully hold a procession of great size, as well as for its connections with the structures and buildings that ran alongside it.

The archaeological remains of buildings along the route of the procession have often been analyzed as isolated structures, such as the Stoa Poikile or the Eleusinion. How these structures work with the processional route has not received enough attention in scholarship as their suggested function, measurements, and two-dimensional plans have. I believe that the buildings in the Agora, those alongside the aforementioned roads, and those outwardly associated with processions, obtain new and significant meaning within the expanded sacred space. For example, the stoas that lined the Panathenaic Way just north of the Agora (Stoa Poikile and Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius) provided a shady meeting place for the people living in Athens, facilitating conversation and other forms of social interaction, while also housing shops in the back for purchasing items.³¹ On procession days, these spaces would still retain their social atmosphere, but would be incorporated into the sanctity of the landscape as it pertained to the procession. They would become an area of spectatorship, providing breezy seats for those not participating in the procession to view the festivities.

³¹ These structures served as ‘way stations,’ a term described by MacDonald (1986, 99-107). These will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

1.3. Methodology and Scope of Project

1.3.a. Theoretical Framework for Religious Processions and Urban Space Transformation

Since the question of how classical Athenian processions caused spatial transformations has not yet been specifically answered in the scholarship, I pull from a range of sources that cover classical Athenian processions more generally. I integrate ancient evidence and modern scholarship on processions with theories of urban space in order to analyze the transformative properties of the Panathenaic procession on the city of Athens.

William MacDonald was perhaps one of the first scholars to appreciate the importance of urban planning, space, and architecture within a framework of cultural development and significance. Using examples of architecture from the Roman Empire, he introduced the idea of the “urban armature,” which he defined as a “formation of cities and towns around a clearly delineated, path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas that provided uninterrupted passage throughout the town and gave ready access to its principal public buildings” (see also Appendix A).³² It is a model that stresses the experience of the relationship between individual architectural structures and the streets that connect them. The “urban armature” features heavily in my thesis, as it provides an opportunity to focus on the urban landscape of Athens as a unit that is transformed and obtains significance through the cultural processes of the city, as in the case of a major procession.

In addition to the use of the “urban armature” model, my thesis is structured around the methodologies put forward by Jensen in his work dealing with staging and designing contemporary mobilities within the framework of the ‘New Mobilities Paradigm’ (NMP).³³

³² MacDonald 1986, 3.

³³ For more discussion on the ‘New Mobilities Paradigm,’ see Kristensen 2018, 86-88.

Troels Myrup Kristensen builds upon Jensen's work and discusses the importance of applying this NMP to social gatherings and other mobile situations in ancient Greece.³⁴ Places of gathering are often studied in isolation, and pale in comparison to the amount of work done on the monumentality and physical manifestations of Greek religion. Because of the lack of scholarship on transient practices like processions, Kristensen applies the NMP to the *exedrae*³⁵ in Epidaurus, stating their importance as gathering points for ephemeral activities. Similarly, I apply this theory using major terms from Jensen's work in order to explain the importance and logistics of gathering and preparing for the Panathenaic procession.

Jensen's MIS model serves as the basis of my theoretical framework, supplemented by the work of MacDonald and his "urban armature." The Panathenaic procession is analyzed within the confines of the three important elements of the MIS model, all viewed under the overarching umbrella of the "ritual armature" of Athens. This framework allows for the reinterpretation of physical structures, as well as the study of processes that are currently invisible in the archaeological record, but that would have played an equally important role in transforming the city in ancient times. Furthermore, as it is a modern, urban theory, the MIS model allows for better understanding of the ancient procession, as it is was created within the familiarity of the 21st c AD.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the main pieces of archaeological evidence available to us on the Panathenaic Festival as a whole. Chapter 3 offers an outline and discussion of the theoretical models used to view the Panathenaic procession. In Chapter 4, using the models and discussions put forward by Jensen and MacDonald, I construct my own analysis of the classical

³⁴ See Kristensen 2018, 87-88.

³⁵ *Exedrae* are defined by Kristensen (2018) as freestanding, relatively small, semicircular or rectilinear monuments with benches that provided seating for small groups to watch a procession.

Athenian Panathenaic procession. I apply the models onto the Panathenaic procession and discuss the ways in which the procession transforms the landscape. I do this by examining the considerable impact that the Panathenaic procession had on the city's physical form, as well as on the cultural significance of buildings and spaces as they might have been registered by the Athenians.

1.3.b. Significance of this Study

This study contributes more information to the overall importance of processions in classical Athenian life and enhances our understanding of how Athens was utterly transformed on the day of the Panathenaia, as well as during other substantial processions. Static structures and archaeological ruins are revitalized with the inclusion of people, and their subsequent effect on the archaeological landscape. I argue that we need to reevaluate structures previously interpreted as isolated units, connecting them back to an intricate network of social and religious associations. This project presents a framework for discussing the transformation of space in other processions not only in Athens, but throughout the ancient Greek world and, more widely, the ancient Mediterranean; Athens did not exist within a vacuum but was part of a much larger interconnected world that shared its ideas and values as much as it did its tradable goods.

Chapter 2: Panathenaic Festival – The Textual and Archaeological Evidence

In this chapter I provide an overview of the Panathenaia itself, as well as the major events and activities that constituted the festival. Special emphasis is placed on activities and spaces associated with the procession, as well as a summary of the known literary and archaeological evidence as it pertains to the processional route. The goal of this chapter is to lay the foundations for the textual and archaeological evidence in order to apply the theoretical component to the Panathenaic procession in future chapters.

I start by briefly outlining the route of the Panathenaic procession in the Classical period, which occurred on day nine of the nine-day festival program,³⁶ and discuss the major festival events of the program (such as athletic and musical competitions) that occurred along sections of the road, starting with the Pompeion. I have chosen to highlight five stops along the Panathenaic Way: the Pompeion, the early *dromos*, the early orchestra and the Odeion of Pericles, the Acropolis, and the Pnyx Hill due to their prominence in the archaeological record, proximity to the Panathenaic Way, and association with the Panathenaic festival. A similar structure of stops along the Panathenaic Way is adopted in Chapter 3. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the Acropolis and the Pnyx Hill as possible locations for the site of the sacrifice [Figure 2.2].

2.1. The Processional Route and the Panathenaic Way

The location and course of the Panathenaic Way remained largely unchanged for centuries and on all days of the year. Its northernmost outlet was located at the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos district.³⁷ From there it ran southeast through the city, passing domestic quarters

³⁶ Miller 2004, 152.

³⁷ See Neils 1992, 18 for the course of the Panathenaic Way.

and public spaces, such as the Stoa Poikile, until it came to a large intersection at the Altar of the Twelve Gods.³⁸ From the Altar it bore right, running directly through the heart of the Athenian Agora [refer back to Figure 1.2.b.1]. Tracing the Agora and some of its most important buildings, the street passed by the early Orchestra and the 5th c BC law courts, and the later 4th c BC square peristyle. It made its way past the Eleusinion, the Peripatos, and up the west side of the Acropolis, where it finally entered the sanctuary of Athena; the peplos was ultimately dedicated at the temple of the goddess, the Erechtheion [Figure 2.1.1]. The great sacrifice would then follow on to the goddess' altar, where the fire was lit by the flame from the torch race, and the meat was roasted and distributed to all.³⁹ The route weaves together places of both sacred and secular significance, blending those lines of division during days of procession.

There are numerous athletic events, and occasionally structures, that are directly associated with the Panathenaic Way. Not only does the street provide a flat area for athletic competitions and the construction of *ikria*, or wooden temporary spectator stands, but it also stimulates the recollection of these events while the procession is underway, giving more prestige to the victors and participants, power to the religious festivities, and propaganda for Athens.

A number of festival events occurred within the vicinity of the Panathenaic Way, if not directly on it. We will walk the route of the Panathenaic procession, making stops along the way to discuss the events that occurred at any given section. This journey provides necessary background information, without losing sight of the procession throughout the festival.

³⁸ The Altar of the Twelve Gods was the center point from which all Athenian roads were measured. [Travlos 1971, 460]

³⁹ Ditt. *Syll* 271.

First, we discuss the Panathenaic Way itself starting with its daily usage. There has been little work done on this topic specifically, as the majority of scholarship has been focused on the use of the Panathenaic Way in its religious context. Furthermore, a large section of the Panathenaic Way (from the northwest corner of the Agora to the Dipylon Gate) has not been excavated. With such a large section of the processional route unexplored, it is inevitable that we will approach this discussion with some speculation.

The Panathenaic Way was a main thoroughfare of 1000 m in length,⁴⁰ and varied from 10-12 m in width.⁴¹ It ran from the outskirts of Athens directly to its center, the Acropolis.⁴² MacDonald defines a thoroughfare as a road that connects a main gate with a cardinal plaza, a definition that fits the Panathenaic Way well.⁴³ The main gate in association with the Panathenaic Way is the Dipylon Gate located on the western side of the city, while the cardinal plaza is the Agora. As a thoroughfare, the Panathenaic Way was part of the city's "urban armature," the definitive frame of the town's essence.⁴⁴ In terms of the Athenian armature, the high street was the Panathenaic Way and was thus the ultimate source of the "urban armature." It leads inward from the periphery of Athens to the Agora, the main marketplace of the city.⁴⁵

The "urban armature" is a way to describe the interconnectivity of the public buildings and streets of a town, stressing their existence as integrated, functional, and symbolic wholes,

⁴⁰ Travlos 1971, 422.

⁴¹ Thompson 1959, 94.

⁴² See Ficuciello 2008 for a detailed topography of the streets of Athens. See pages 33-40 for information on the Panathenaic Way.

⁴³ MacDonald 1986, 33. It should be noted that MacDonald's work centers around Imperial Roman era urban contexts, the city planning of which can differ greatly from that of Classical Athens. However, the concept is still applicable as the main components of his discussion are present in Athens (a main thoroughfare leading to a forum or agora), albeit in different cultural contexts and political propaganda. Though the main thoroughfare in Roman streets often moved from one city-gate straight through the city to another, they were still intimately connected with the city forum, a space which is clearly mirrored in the Greek agora.

⁴⁴ MacDonald 1986, 9.

⁴⁵ MacDonald 1986, 17.

whose dominant characteristic is directional and spatial unity.⁴⁶ The importance of streets within this “urban armature” cannot be overstated, as they are the urban platform with which people traversed a landscape of built symbolism and social memory, which is especially important for a street that was used for religious processions. This directional and spatial unity is just as important on a typical day in Athens as it is on a day of procession. Unity of space must infiltrate days of both secular and religious significance in order for the built symbolism to maintain its power. Though the space remains the same, as well as the permanent buildings that surround it, the use and interpretation of the space changes drastically.

Excavations of the Panathenaic Way uncovered several dozen very hard-packed, level road surfaces.⁴⁷ The layers dating to the Classical period were unlike any other road surface in the Agora at that time,⁴⁸ as they appear to have been worn completely smooth by heavy amounts of foot traffic. The layers that correspond to the second half of the 5th c BC seem to have been laid down with great care and, similarly, those dating from the 4th to 2nd c BC were hard-packed, worn smooth by foot traffic with no evidence of wheel ruts.⁴⁹ This suggests that there was a careful, regular renewal of specially prepared surfaces for the Panathenaic Way throughout the Classical period.⁵⁰ The lack of wheel ruts as evidence for wheeled carts or wagons⁵¹ suggests that wheeled traffic was prohibited from regularly using the Panathenaic Way not just on processional days, but on all days of the Athenian year. Since the only way to traverse the

⁴⁶ MacDonald 1986, 5.

⁴⁷ Camp 1996, 231.

⁴⁸ Camp 1996, 233.

⁴⁹ Camp 1996, 233.

⁵⁰ The older layers of the road were full of a deep, loose, sandy fill that was interpreted as representing the debris after the Persian sack in the early 5th c BC; beneath this layer, the excavators hit the water table and found no evidence for any earlier use (Camp 1996, 233). This indicates that the route of the Panathenaic Way used in the Classical and later periods was only established in the 5th c BC, after Athens was sacked by the Persians in 480 BC.

⁵¹ Camp 1996, 233.

Panathenaic Way was by walking, this preserved a connection with the slow-moving, pedestrian processions that traveled the same route. Additionally, the active maintenance by the city to keep the road smooth and free of large stones for foot traffic (and athletic events) shows the importance of the Panathenaic Way throughout all seasons. In this way, we can see that the Panathenaic Way maintained a portion of its special quality whether it was engaged with a festival, an active procession, or just daily traffic.

The Classical Panathenaic Way led directly into the commercial heart of the city, the Classical Agora, as well as to the religious heart, the Acropolis. This created an efficient and direct route for pedestrians to enter and leave the city, to cut through the Agora to reach any number of important public buildings, and to ascend the Acropolis without having to leave a main thoroughfare. It therefore seems quite likely that the Panathenaic Way was constructed before the majority of the buildings in the Classical Agora, and thus had a heavy influence on their location and orientation.⁵²

It could be argued that the Panathenaic Way's very construction was contingent upon its use as a processional way, and its maintenance continued to uphold the original and primary function of the street. The buildings situated alongside it were built in association with its significance, and other roads of sacred importance intersected the Panathenaic Way at various points near the Acropolis, creating the "ritual armature" that built up the sacred landscape of Athens.

⁵² For a discussion on the dating of the Altar of the Twelve Gods see Camp 1986, 40-42; Gadbery 1992.

2.2. Stop No. 1: The Pompeion

The first stop along our processional route also serves as the starting point for the procession, the Pompeion. Preparations for the procession were made at the Pompeion in the Kerameikos, where the sacred items were stored.⁵³ The most important of these sacred objects was the peplos which was woven over a period of nine months by women and girls from distinguished Athenian families.⁵⁴ During the procession it was carried through the Kerameikos and up to the Acropolis⁵⁵ where it was draped on the cult image of Athena by the *ergastinai*, the women who wove it.⁵⁶ Almost everyone walked in the procession, and many held offerings like olive branches, bowls, vases, trays, or baskets as described by Neils.⁵⁷ The Athenian cavalry also participated, as did the sacrificial animals.⁵⁸ The Pompeion worked as a point of gathering for all those involved.

Pausanias mentions the Pompeion briefly,

ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστὶ τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. (1.2.4.)

Having entered the city there is a building for the preparation of the processions, some which are sent forth every year, whereas others at long intervals in between.⁵⁹

The archaeology supports this identification. The Pompeion is located between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos and was the traditional starting point for great processions [refer to Figure 1.2.b.1].⁶⁰ Indeed, it takes its name from the Greek word for

⁵³ Paus. 1.2.4.

⁵⁴ See *IG II* 1060 and 1036.

⁵⁵ Plut. *Demetr* 12.2.

⁵⁶ Parke 1977, 43.

⁵⁷ Arist. *Ath* 18.2; X. *Smp* 4.17; Neils 1992, 23.

⁵⁸ Th. 6.56.2; Cavalry depicted on the frieze of the Parthenon.

⁵⁹ Greek provided by the Loeb Classical Library, edited by Jeffrey Henderson. All translations are my own.

⁶⁰ Parke 1977, 22.

procession πομπή, or *pompe*.⁶¹ Rectangular and oblong, it consisted of a large open court, about 43x15 m, surrounded by a colonnade containing rooms that were most likely used as storage.⁶² Some were used as dining rooms, or *androns*, as a total of 66 dining couches (*klinai*) have been discovered within them [Figure 2.2.1].⁶³ It seems likely that officials and priests consumed their share of the sacrificial feast within these *androns*. Further evidence to support this are the remains of cattle bones found in the moat just outside of the Themistoklean wall.⁶⁴

The Pompeion is constructed of limestone blocks with limestone columns that are spaced far enough apart to suggest an upper story supported by wood.⁶⁵ Access was gained on the east side, where there is evidence for a large marble propylon.⁶⁶ The entrance was positioned as far north as possible, allowing those leaving the building to step almost directly on to the Panathenaic Way [Figure 2.2.1].⁶⁷ Wheel ruts have been identified in the propylon that may indicate the sacred ship, which carried the peplos in the Panathenaic procession, was stored within the peristyle court.⁶⁸ The wheel ruts were also used by carts carrying materials necessary for the procession. The carts would have entered through the middle set of double doors in the propylon, which opened directly into the peristyle court⁶⁹ and would have been a convenient way to move materials for the Panathenaic procession in and out of the building.

The courtyard, and the close spatial association of the building to the Panathenaic Way, would have provided plenty of suitable space for assembling participants of the procession and

⁶¹ Camp 2001, 135.

⁶² Parke 1977, 22.

⁶³ Travlos 1971, 477.

⁶⁴ Knigge 1991, 80; Gruben 1969, 36.

⁶⁵ Camp 2001, 135.

⁶⁶ Knigge 1991, 80.

⁶⁷ Camp 2001, 136.

⁶⁸ Knigge 1991, 79; Camp 2001, 137; Plu. *Demetr.* 10.5. and 12.3.

⁶⁹ Knigge 1991, 81.

organizing the lineup. There are a number of postholes scattered in the general vicinity that were used for temporary structures, such as the *ikria* or other tents and awnings associated with the Panathenaic festival and procession.⁷⁰ The postholes date to the Classical and Hellenistic layers of the road in front of the Dipylon Gate.⁷¹ It has been suggested that these postholes supported tents that were set up during the Panathenaic festival to provide shade for the Athenian citizens as they feasted on the sacrificial meal.⁷² This suggests that the feasting most likely did not happen in the Agora, but rather, in the Kerameikos near the Pompeion, as Knigge suggests.

The building dates to 400 BC, 166 years after the formalization of the Greater Panathenaia.⁷³ Travlos believes that the older building was probably in the same location as the new one due to a passage from Thucydides that describes the murder of Hipparchos during the Panathenaia within a special area outside the city and circuit wall of that period, essentially in the Kerameikos where the procession was assembled.⁷⁴ With that in mind, we can assume that the site where the Pompeion now stands has always been identified with, and was important to, the organization of the procession.

Though its primary function was as a preparatory facility for the procession, it was also used for storing grain,⁷⁵ and as a gymnasium, as indicated by the graffiti with names of ephebes written on the inside wall beside a door in the southeast corner [Figure 2.2.3].⁷⁶ It seems to have been a busy place, with open access to those in specific groups⁷⁷ who wished to utilize the large open peristyle court. There is also a fountain house just north of the Panathenaic Way and the

⁷⁰ Knigge 1991, 79.

⁷¹ Knigge 1991, 158.

⁷² Knigge 1991, 69.

⁷³ Travlos 1971, 477.

⁷⁴ Travlos 1971, 477; Th. 4.57.

⁷⁵ Dem. 34, 39.

⁷⁶ Knigge 1991, 80.

⁷⁷ Knigge 1991, 80 mentions that a later source by Diogenes (6.22) that he used to spend time in the Pompeion.

Dipylon Gate, across from the Pompeion [Figure 2.2.4].⁷⁸ This would have provided the ephebes, as well as the participants and spectators of the procession, with a continuous supply of fresh water all year round. The Pompeion would not have been as successful in its role as a preparatory structure without this fountain.

2.3. Stop No. 2: The Earliest *Dromos*

The second stop along our processional route is the location of the earliest *dromos* in Athens, where the footraces of the Panathenaic Games would have been held in the late Archaic and early Classical periods. The footraces fell on days four and five of the nine-day festival.⁷⁹ The earliest definitive evidence for the games comes from three 6th c BC inscriptions (the first dating to 566 BC, the others shortly after) dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis which record celebrations of the Greater Panathenaia and reference a *dromos* and an *agon*.⁸⁰ Although the *dromos* is mentioned in the inscriptions (though it is most likely referring to the contests) and the location of the festival is known to have been the Agora, the exact location of the *dromos* for the earlier games is a point of much contention in the academic community. Archaeological remains that point directly to a stadium dating before the 2nd c AD do not exist. For this reason, there are a number of theories that have been proposed dealing with the location of the stadium for the running events, as well as the gymnastic events, of the Panathenaic Games.

The earliest *dromos* was thought to be located in the Classical Agora due to the discovery in 1972 of five square bases with central sockets placed at 1.86m intervals across the line of the Panathenaic Way, in the north-west corner of the Agora.⁸¹ They were interpreted as an early

⁷⁸ Knigge 1991, 74.

⁷⁹ Miller 2004, 152.

⁸⁰ Raubitschek 1949, 347, nos. 326-328.

⁸¹ Camp 2015, 473.

balbis, or starting line, since the agoras at both Corinth and Argos are believed to have had racecourses within them.⁸² However, this identification has recently been disproven as excavations uncovered more, identical postholes just 12 m south of the original, running parallel to it.⁸³ This makes it impossible for the feature found in 1972 to be a starting line. Later excavations uncovered more postholes to the east and west of the originals marking an enclosed area, capable of being roped off, of about 180 m². The excavation team has reidentified this area as the *Perischoinisma*, a place where the statue of Demosthenes stood.⁸⁴

With the lack of information on the early *dromos*, it seems likely that its location was on the Panathenaic Way, between the north entrance of the Agora and the Dipylon Gate, before the *Kerameikos* [Figure 2.3.1].⁸⁵ The Panathenaic Way provides an exceptionally flat, smooth, leveled surface and a straight course on which the athletes would compete. Furthermore, the sacred street remained in the same location throughout the history of the formalized games. Most areas in the Agora were constantly being built or rebuilt, with new structures added and old ones torn down or repaired. The Panathenaic Way was static and was just about the only feature to remain so in the Agora. The early Panathenaic games before the mid 6th c BC were most likely smaller affairs, with less athletes competing and less spectators observing. It thus seems plausible that the Athenians would have repurposed a feature that was already prominent on their landscape.

⁸² Camp 2015, 473.

⁸³ Camp 2015, 473.

⁸⁴ As seen in Plut. *Lives of the Ten Orators* 847A.

⁸⁵ This is also suggested in Ficuciello 2008, 33-35; See Fig 4 on pg. 38.

Also worth mentioning is the tribal event known as the torch race, a relay from the Academy into the city occurring on day eight of the festival; the winning team had to be the fastest and keep their torch ablaze.⁸⁶

ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας: (1.30.2)

And in the Academy is an altar to Prometheus, and from it they run into the city carrying burning torches.⁸⁷

Pausanias does not tell us exactly where the torch race ends or how far into the city the race went. It has been generally accepted that the race ends at the Acropolis, where the torches would be used to light the Great Altar to Athena.⁸⁸ If the altar was on the Acropolis, then the easiest route for the runners to take would be the Panathenaic Way, a length of about 2500m.⁸⁹ This is itself evidence for the Panathenaic Way functioning as a *dromos*. However, this does not rule out the possibility of the altar being located somewhere else, such as on the Pnyx, as discussed later in section 4.4.a.

This section of the Panathenaic Way is near the Dipylon Gate and the Pompeion, allowing for easy access to and from the Pompeion to acquire the necessary items for conducting the athletic events. If athletic equipment were to be found in the Pompeion, this would further bolster my argument. The *dromos* would thus be close enough to the Agora to provide a central location, while also being out of the way of the hustle and bustle of activity from those not competing or watching the events. For those that did wish to watch the games, there were a number of (restored) stoas lining this part of the Panathenaic Way, as well as large open areas

⁸⁶ Paus. 1.30.2.

⁸⁷ Greek from Loeb Classical Library, translation is my own.

⁸⁸ Kyle 2015, 157.

⁸⁹ Kyle 2015, 157.

which would have provided more than enough space for a gathering of significant size. Furthermore, there is evidence for *ikria* right alongside the Panathenaic Way in this area.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the excavations did not find any postholes for *ikria* in association with the smooth, 5th c BC layer of the Panathenaic Way that was mentioned earlier.⁹¹ However, it is quite possible that people would stand around the *dromos* to watch the races, as they did at Olympia. After all, the word stadion comes from the ancient Greek word ἵστημι, “to make stand,” and the adjective στάδιον literally means, “standing firm.”⁹²

Using the Panathenaic Way as the early *dromos* would have also provided strong religious and symbolic connotations for both athletes and spectators alike. Running down the track would have reinforced the religious implications of the games and the fact that the athletes were competing because of, and for, Athena during her most sacred festival. The athletes would have been competing on the processional route, that would be transformed in just a few days. On the other hand, it would have been a profound experience to participate in the procession after these athletic events, as victors would get to relive their glory on the racecourse, and spectators would get their opportunity to traverse the ground of victors, as if they too could share in that glory.

2.4. Stop No. 3: The Earliest Orchestra and the Odeion of Pericles

The third stop is in the center of the Agora at the location of the earliest orchestra for the musical competitions, dating to the early Classical period. There were four music events associated with the Panathenaia; kithara singers, aulos singers, kithara players, and aulos

⁹⁰ Camp 1996, 233.

⁹¹ Camp 1996, 233.

⁹² Romano 1993, 13-16.

players.⁹³ These musical competitions occurred on days one to three of the nine-day festival.⁹⁴ They were held at several different locations throughout the games' history. There is a small amount of archaeological evidence to suggest that there was an early theater, or orchestra, dating to the 6th c BC within the Agora. This evidence largely comes from postholes associated with *ikria*. Traces of these structures have been found at several places along the Panathenaic Way⁹⁵ and suggest that there were events for spectators occurring in their general vicinity. Excavations in the Agora have discovered *ikria* near to where the statues of the Tyrannicides once stood.⁹⁶ This location becomes important when looking at a quote by Timaios in which he states that a central place for the theater, and a place for festivals, was nearby the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.⁹⁷ On a similar note, Xenophon (*Hipparchicus* 3.2) states that at the Dionysia, the choruses would perform dances in honor of the Twelve Gods.⁹⁸ This information is significant because the Altar of the Twelve Gods is just north of the suggested site of the early orchestra.

In the early stages of the Greater Panathenaia, it is safe to assume that the games were much smaller, with fewer contests and spectators. Because of this smaller size, the large open space in the Agora may have been sufficient to serve as an orchestra, with the construction of temporary *ikria* for the spectators. As the reputation and prestige of the Panathenaia started to grow, the Athenians then looked for another location to house their musical contests, resulting in the construction of the Theater of Dionysus around 500 BC on the south slope of the Acropolis, as well as the Odeion of Pericles.⁹⁹

⁹³ See *IG* II² 2311.

⁹⁴ Kyle 2015, 152.

⁹⁵ Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 126.

⁹⁶ Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 127.

⁹⁷ *Lexicon Platonicum*, ὀρχήστρα.

⁹⁸ Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 127.

⁹⁹ Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 127.

In 435 BC Pericles built an Odeion on the south slope of the Acropolis near the Theater of Dionysus, specifically for musical contests.¹⁰⁰ Though not directly along the processional route, this building is important to the Classical Panathenaic Games and is therefore briefly discussed. It was a large, square building on the south slope of the Acropolis, with a conical roof and large wooden columns, supposedly made from the Persian fleet after the Battle of Salamis.¹⁰¹ There was a raised platform in the middle for the musicians and singers. Nearby, there were large postholes, which serve as evidence for the *ikria* once again in connection with musical competitions. The location of the Odeion in association with the Panathenaic procession was not ideal, as it was on the far side of the Acropolis, making it invisible for the entirety of the procession.¹⁰²

2.5. Stop No. 4: The Acropolis

One of the final stops is the Acropolis, where the great sacrifice to Athena is believed to have occurred [Figure 2.5.1]. The Acropolis stood at the heart of the “ritual armature” of Athens across all points of Athenian history, and on all days of the Athenian calendar. It is perhaps the only space in Athens whose religious significance is unequivocally accepted, and studied as such. The Acropolis was always a site of religious importance, as were all the buildings located on its surface, and all designated spaces upon it as well.

¹⁰⁰ Plut. *Per* 13.5.

¹⁰¹ Valavanis 2017, 328.

¹⁰² Despite its location, the Odeion of Pericles was admired even into the 3rd c BC, where pseudo-Dikaiarchos calls it the finest Odeion in the world (*Frag. Hist. Gr II*). Even in the 1st c BC Strabo (9.1.17) was writing about it, saying it was among the most famous places in Athens (Thompson 1950, 89). However, the Odeion had its shortcoming, and due to its design going out of style, or the supposed lack of view caused by all the columns (Thompson 1950, 89), the Odeion of Pericles was eventually replaced by the Odeion of Agrippa in the 1st c BC.

The Acropolis had a number of sacred areas to a variety of divinities: Athena Parthenos, Athena Polias, Athena Nike, Zeus Polieus, Artemis Brauronia, and Erechtheus. The Acropolis was always a busy place, Panathenaic procession or not. Athenians could ascend and descend the Acropolis at any point in the year, could visit or give thanks to their favorite divinity whenever was necessary, and could set up dedications. Many of these dedications have survived into the modern period and demonstrate just how prevalent the spiritual sphere was in the daily lives of the Athenians. In this way, one could say that the everyday use of the Acropolis was for religious purposes, a fact that does not change through the course of the Panathenaic procession. However, a case could be made that the religious function was enhanced and reached its pinnacle during the Panathenaic procession.

At the base of the Acropolis, the peplos was carried up by Athenian maidens to the Erechtheion, the temple that housed the most sacred cult statue to Athena [Figure 2.1.2]. The Erechtheion was a joint temple to Athena and Poseidon/Erechtheus and was established on the Acropolis in the later 5th c BC; the earlier 6th c building was located further to the south and is marked by the Dörpfeld foundations.¹⁰³ The Periclean phase of the building was an Ionic temple finished around 406 BC.¹⁰⁴ The eastern hall is thought to be sacred to Athena Polias, while the western to Poseidon/Erechtheus. The South Porch has the famous Caryatids as structural and decorative adornments. Even though Pericles commissioned the construction of the Parthenon with its chryselephantine cult statue, the Panathenaic festival was held in honor of Athena Polias, not Parthenos. Thus, the Erechtheion was considered to be more sacred than the Parthenon, which likely functioned mostly as a treasury.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Travlos 1971, 213.

¹⁰⁴ Travlos 1971, 213.

¹⁰⁵ Hurwit 2004, 112.

In terms of preparing for the presentation of the peplos to Athena's cult statue, not much needed to be done as the building was a permanent structure on the landscape within the "ritual armature." Not much is known concerning how exactly the peplos was offered or draped on the cult statue. We can assume that the maidens might have entered the Erechtheion from the east (which is the entrance) directly into the area sacred to Athena. From there, the proper ritual for the presentation would have been undertaken, and the maidens would have successfully fulfilled one of the most important parts of the Panathenaia.

The Caryatids on the south porch are worth a brief comment here. It has been suggested that the caryatids represent or reflect the maidens who led the Panathenaic procession.¹⁰⁶ Some have even gone so far as to suggest that some of their arms may have been raised, supporting baskets of offerings on their head that have taken the architectural form of the capital. If this interpretation is correct, then the Athenians made an active decision to incorporate an image of the Panathenaic procession within the architecture. This would then be an echo of the Panathenaic procession upon a permanent structure within the "ritual armature."

The main event that took place on the Acropolis during the procession was the sacrifice, and its structure was a permanent feature on the landscape: the Great Altar to Athena. Traditional interpretations place the altar just east of the Erechtheion and the Old Temple of Athena, which had stood on the Dörpfeld foundations.¹⁰⁷ The altar dated to at least the 7th c BC and is marked by a cutting in the bedrock 12 m east of the Archaic Temple forming a rectangular structure about 8.5 m wide from east to west [Figure 2.5.2].¹⁰⁸ There was most likely a staircase that led

¹⁰⁶ Schwab 2015, 3. There are earlier depictions of caryatids on other structures, such as the Siphnian Treasury from the late 6th c BC. Their existence does not necessarily void Schwab's argument, but the reader should be aware of other comparanda for the caryatids on the Erechtheion.

¹⁰⁷ Hurwit 2004, 112.

¹⁰⁸ Hurwit 2004, 206.

up to the sacrificial platform.¹⁰⁹ As a permanent structure, the altar did not need to be prepped in any significant way, especially since it was soon to be covered in blood.

There is an issue with the location of the Great Altar of Athena. Its current, accepted location comes from the knowledge of the existence of an earlier altar on the Acropolis as mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* 2.547). However, there are no physical remains of the Great Altar to confirm or deny its existence on the Acropolis. The inscription that provides the most details about the procession, *IG II2* 334 dating between 336-330 BC, is also the only inscription that mentions the Great Altar while not specifically saying where it is located. Another possible location for the Great Altar is on the Pnyx Hill.

2.6. Stop No. 5: The Pnyx Hill

It has been suggested by D. G. Romano in two articles that the Pnyx Hill is another possible location for the Great Altar of Athena, as well as for the stadium of Lykourgos and the site of the Panathenaic festival.¹¹⁰ The Pnyx is located west of the Acropolis and south of the Kerameikos and Dipylon Gate, and is most famous for being the site where the Athenian Assembly convened [Figure 2.6.1]. A boundary stone with inscription *IG I2* 882 from the mid 5th c BC confirms this identification [Figure 2.6.2]. The Pnyx went through several different phases, the second of which occurred in 404/403BC when the direction of the assembly switched from facing the city, to facing south with their backs the city.¹¹¹ The floor of this assembly sloped with the natural slope of the hill,¹¹² and the retaining wall behind the bema (119m) supported a great

¹⁰⁹ Hurwit 2004, 206.

¹¹⁰ See Romano 1985 and Romano 1996.

¹¹¹ Travlos 1971, 466.

¹¹² Kourouniotis and Thompson 1932, 111.

upper terrace.¹¹³ The third and last phase dates to the time of Lykourgos, 330-326 BC, and included the remains of what Homer Thompson identified as two great stoas during his excavations of the Pnyx in the 1930s;¹¹⁴ another interpretation is that these remains are the possible embankments for the 4th c BC stadium as discussed by Romano.

The Athenians constructed the Lykourgos stadium around 330 BC.¹¹⁵ The traditional view is that the early Lykourgan stadium is located on the site of the Panathenaic Stadium built in the 2nd c AD by Herodes Atticus across the Ilissos River. This viewpoint is based on literary references, such as Plutarch, who writes how the area for the stadium was originally owned by Deinias, who transferred the land to the city.¹¹⁶ Additionally, inscription *IG II2 351* has the decree of the Boulé in 330/329 BC which records that Eudemos from Plataeae donated 1,000 pairs of oxen for raising the stadium, with the track and the theater (for spectators). A section of *IG II2 351* reads:

[δ]ραχμὰς καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ι[δέδ]ω[κεν]
εἰς τὴν ποιήσιν τοῦ σταδ[ί]ου
καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθη[ναῖ]

And now they had given up drachmas
for the creation of a stadium
and of the theater of the Panathenaia.¹¹⁷

Romano has suggested that this portion refers to a Panathenaic Stadium and a Theater on the Pnyx, separate from the Theater of Dionysus.

There is not any instance in the literature that specifically refers to a stadium underneath the stadium of Herodes Atticus in association with Lykourgos. Furthermore, excavations in the

¹¹³ Kourouniotis and Thompson 1932, 139.

¹¹⁴ See Thompson 1943; Kourouniotis and Thompson 1932,

¹¹⁵ Plut. *Lives of the Ten Orators*, VII., Lycurgus.

¹¹⁶ Plut. *Lives of the Ten Orators*, VII., Lycurgus.

¹¹⁷ Greek provided by *IG*; translation is my own.

area have produced no direct evidence for an earlier stadium that predates the one by Herodes Atticus. Miller makes an attempt to prove the existence of the Lykourgan stadium below the one of Herodes Atticus by saying that “the lack of evidence is because no one has ever looked for it.”¹¹⁸ However, much of the evidence he discusses from Ziller’s excavation accounts¹¹⁹ show that the earliest usage date must have been in the 2nd c AD, such as restating Ziller’s original theory that the tunnel into the Panathenaic Stadium was, at the earliest, contemporary with Herodes Atticus.¹²⁰ His main arguments on the contrary are first, that the tunnel must have existed before the Herodes Atticus’ stadium was constructed because Hadrian used it to usher in animals for his games before his death in 138 AD.¹²¹ The second, that the squared limestone blocks just inside the mouth of the tunnel stand out against the rest of the construction and could be older than the blocks associated with the Herodes Atticus stadium.¹²² These arguments by themselves are not convincing, as it is just as plausible that the Lykourgan stadium Hadrian used for his games was located elsewhere, and that the existence of a tunnel was unnecessary as it is not specifically stated in the literature. The lone limestone blocks at the mouth of the tunnel are certainly not enough to push the rest of the confirmed Roman era tunnel into the realm of the late 4th c BC and that of Lykourgos. Because of this and other associated information, Romano proposes the Pnyx as the location for the Panathenaic Stadium and theater of Lykourgos.¹²³

On the Pnyx, the remains originally identified as the foundations of two unfinished stoas, have been reinterpreted by Romano to be stone embankments built for spectators to view the

¹¹⁸ Miller 2001, 211 no. 510.

¹¹⁹ The Panathenaic Stadium was excavated by E. Ziller from 1869-1870, which aided in the construction of the modern Panathenaic Stadium for the Olympic Games in 1896.

¹²⁰ Miller 2001, 212.

¹²¹ Miller 2001, 213; *Hist. Augs., Hadr.* 19.3.

¹²² Miller 2001, 219.

¹²³ Romano 1985, 441; Thompson and Scranton, 1943 292.

games and the spectacle of the Panathenaia [Figure 2.6.3].¹²⁴ The west foundation measures 148.105 m x 17.21 m, while the east measure 65.80 m x 17.86 m.¹²⁵ He also identifies the artificially leveled terrace as the racecourse.¹²⁶ One of his most convincing arguments was his discussion on what was originally identified as the unfinished interior walls of the stoa. Typically, walls are only left unfinished when they were out of eyesight, but these walls could not reasonably be the interior walls of a stoa as they would have been visible to visitors. It is more likely, as Romano points out, that they were the interior walls of an embankment, which would have been covered by earth, leaving only the finished exterior visible.¹²⁷

This embankment would have provided the perfect area for spectators to view the activities going on in the racecourse, or *dromos*, which Romano suggests to be the levelled terrace in front of the West Foundation. Romano uses the length of the stadium, normally 600 feet, to further prove this point. The foot of the stadium on the Pnyx, as proposed by Romano, is approximately 0.213 m, which he suggests to be the same length as the foot used to measure the Old Athena Temple, as well as the Peisistratid Temple of Olympia Zeus at Athens.¹²⁸ According to this theory, this foot is clearly associated with the construction of religious structures, making it an apt choice for Lykourgos' stadium, a structure associated with the religious games of the Panathenaia. Because of the evidence provided, it seems more than likely that the Panathenaic Stadium was indeed located on the Pnyx, at least until the stadium of Herodes Atticus was built in the 2nd c AD.

¹²⁴ Romano 1985, 441.

¹²⁵ Romano 1994, 75.

¹²⁶ Romano 1985, 441.

¹²⁷ Romano 1985, 446.

¹²⁸ Romano 1985, 449.

Though religion was undoubtedly inseparable from Athenian government, the Pnyx as it has been understood was not necessarily a spot for worship, sacrifice, or dedication. However, these new interpretations that have challenged this viewpoint. This use of the Pnyx would indicate a religious significance in addition to a secular one, as this stadium would have been used for athletic events during religious festivals such as the Panathenaia. The possible embankments present a discussion point for us, as they could have been used to house spectators for the Panathenaic games, and maybe also the procession. Another interpretation was also a suggestion made by Romano, that the Pnyx was actually the location for the Great Altar to Athena, and thus the location for the great sacrifice of the Panathenaic festival. These interpretations are discussed at greater length in Chapter 4, section 4.4.

Chapter 3: An Outline of Theoretical Approaches to Urban Space Transformation

In this chapter, I outline the theory to be applied to the Panathenaic procession in the next chapter, mainly that of Jensen's 'Mobilities in Situ' (MIS) model. In addition, I discuss my expansion on MacDonald's "urban armature," discussed in the introduction, as a way to view processions within an overarching framework of sacred meaning and connectivity. I examine how adopting this theory as a supplemental tool with which to view the Panathenaic procession is beneficial for our understanding of all processions. This model provides a unique way to engage with the study of processions, while providing a framework for comparanda to use in future studies. Finally, the limitations and problems with the application of this theory are also analyzed.

3.1. The "Urban Armature" and "Ritual Armature"

As a reminder, an "urban armature" is the "formation of cities and towns around a clearly delineated, path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas that provided uninterrupted passage throughout the town and gave ready access to its principal public buildings." As an example, MacDonald's discusses the "urban armature" of Djemila, a town in western Numidia [Figure 3.1.1]. He states that the armature is typical, having all the usual main streets, square, and essential public buildings of a Roman typology and imperial urbanism.¹²⁹ The city was founded at the end of the 1st c AD, and the central street of the armature (or core thoroughfare) runs northwest to southeast from one main gate to another.¹³⁰ The forum (or main plaza) was built on the east side of the main street and was the center of the town with principal public buildings like

¹²⁹ MacDonald 1986, 5.

¹³⁰ MacDonald 1986, 5.

a basilica, curia, temples, public fountain, and bath building.¹³¹ As MacDonald states, “Djemila conformed to Roman tradition in having a main street traversing the entire town, gate to gate, and leading undeviatingly to the forum,”¹³² the essence of the “urban armature.”

The benefit of viewing processions within the context of an “urban armature,” reinforces the undeniable fact that the buildings and spaces along the processional route were not just static, isolated structures with an altogether different meaning. Instead, they were dynamic, changing formations that became physically incorporated into the sacred space of the procession, associated with new meanings in the eyes of the Athenians, and utterly transformed by this movement and altered usage. The “urban armature” of Athens promoted civic pride and linked its main thoroughfare, the Panathenaic Way, to the Agora, the center of town. With this in mind, I propose to use the term “ritual armature,” a notion which works in the same way as MacDonald’s “urban armature,” as applied to ancient Roman architecture, but is specifically focused on the buildings and streets within a city that make up its religious core. Modeling from the definition of “urban armature” provided by MacDonald, “ritual armature” is the religious formation of cities around a core of processional thoroughfares and sacred spaces/buildings that are spread throughout the town, are delineated, and give ready access to its principal sacred areas.

The “ritual armature” should be seen as an extension of the “urban armature,” encompassing the connected physical settings (buildings, structures, open plazas, i.e., agoras), main thoroughfares, and other architectural monuments that work together to delineate sacred spaces in the city. The “ritual armature” encompasses more than just the religious buildings (like

¹³¹ MacDonald 1986, 5.

¹³² MacDonald 1986, 9.

temples) of a city which are always part of the “urban armature.” It includes the areas that existed throughout the year, mostly in the secular realm, that acquired religious associations and significance from those designated times when they were traversed and actively engaged in ritual, i.e., festivals and processions. In other words, the spaces and buildings that are discussed below within the ‘Mobilities in Situ’ model are all active participants that make up the Athenian “ritual armature.”

Another concept that is used by MacDonald and relevant to this discussion, is the ‘way station.’ These are architectural units that serve as social structures for pausing or resting.¹³³ He states that they were often fitted with features for leaning and sitting (steps, ledges, seats, etc.) and opened directly onto thoroughfares or plazas.¹³⁴ Many ‘way stations’ provided locations for gathering informally and allowed for the observation of “the human parade,”¹³⁵ or whatever event was occurring within the city. MacDonald provides us with the example of *exedrae*,¹³⁶ which appear in classical architecture around the mid 5th c BC in Delphi and provided seating for small groups watching a processional event, or just needing a break.¹³⁷ In general, ‘way stations’ expanded the armatures of the city and were differentiated locations for people to head for and stop at.¹³⁸ They were for purely social interactions, as no traffic flowed through them and they did not lead anywhere, they were fixed structures.¹³⁹ A necessary architectural feature of a ‘way station’ was that it was entirely open on one side with the result that the structure was both wide

¹³³ MacDonald 1986, 99.

¹³⁴ MacDonald 1986, 99.

¹³⁵ MacDonald 1986, 105.

¹³⁶ *Exedrae* are defined by Kristensen (2018) as freestanding, relatively small, semicircular or rectilinear monuments with benches that provided seating for small groups to watch a procession.

¹³⁷ MacDonald 1986, 103.

¹³⁸ MacDonald 1986, 107.

¹³⁹ MacDonald 1986, 107.

open and partially enclosed.¹⁴⁰ There are a number of these ‘way stations’ scattered throughout Athens and the Agora that will be shown to have been associated with the Panathenaic procession in Chapter 4.

3.2. Jensen’s ‘Mobilities in Situ’ Model

Ole B. Jensen’s research is focused on mobilities and urban spaces, where they connect, and how they affect one another. In his book, “Staging Mobilities,” he emphasizes how mobilities are more than just getting from point A to point B; they can help explain the movement of people, goods, and information within a built environment. His work can be of use to those studying sociology, urban and/or mobility studies, architecture and cultural studies,¹⁴¹ as well as archaeologists studying ancient cultures. The application and construction of his theory is within the context of our modern, urban, 21st c world. He uses examples from bustling cities like New York City and traces the movements of people walking to work, or using other forms of modern transportation, as well as going out to eat, etc. In doing so, he shows that all of our movements, no matter how ordinary or mundane, are regulated by staging processes, i.e., those form above and below. The government sets up streets and sidewalks, builds structures and maintains open spaces (staging from above), while people walk through them at their own leisure and interact with one another unregulated (staging from below). It is within this context that he creates the ‘Mobilities in Situ’ model that I apply to the Panathenaic procession.

Mobilities, such as processions, depend on a number of immobile infrastructures that leave a material footprint.¹⁴² This is paramount for archaeologists, as this material footprint is

¹⁴⁰ MacDonald 1986, 106-107.

¹⁴¹ Jensen 2013, i.

¹⁴² Kristensen 2018, 88.

traceable and allows us to learn more about a process that would otherwise be invisible in the archaeological record. Processions fall into Jensen's 'Mobilities in Situ' (MIS) schematic, which consists of three important elements: physical settings, social interactions, and embodied performances [Figure 3.2.1].¹⁴³ These mobilities are always staged or designed in order to facilitate particular cultural conditions and are regulated by the use of signs or other laws;¹⁴⁴ they can be formal (processions) or unofficial. They are simultaneously 'staged from above' and 'staged from below.' 'Staging from above' requires the perspective of architects, patrons, and priests who are responsible for the construction of major monuments, while 'staging from below' is a way in which groups and individuals embodied and performed different mobilities.¹⁴⁵ Processions arise from the active influence of both, and thus the theory can be easily applied.

The first element of Jensen's model is the physical setting, the discussion of which will be focused on the inherent importance of the buildings and spaces themselves, and the ways in which they transform, as perceived by the Athenians. The Panathenaic procession included a wide range of physical settings; the Pompeion, Panathenaic Way, buildings in the Agora, the Acropolis, and the Pnyx Hill.

The second element, social interactions, emphasizes the role of social interactions as facilitators of spatial transformations, comparable in importance to the physical settings. The role of the "ritual armature" becomes apparent with this element, as it provides locations for a range of unique and special social interactions and informal mobilities, such as those gathering for the purpose of walking together to the Pompeion before the start of the procession. This differs from the emphasis of the first element, physical settings, since what is important here are the ways in

¹⁴³ Kristensen 2018, 88.

¹⁴⁴ Kristensen 2018, 88.

¹⁴⁵ Kristensen 2018, 92.

which the procession causes unique social interactions between Athenians that then transform the buildings and areas into the first element, physical settings. This theory works on the Panathenaic procession in the same way that a feedback loop does.

Within the second element of the MIS model, Jensen proposes the idea of ‘mobile withs.’ Though this concept was created in the context of our modern, 21st century urban life, it can be easily applied to ancient situations of social gathering. ‘Mobile with’ refers to a variety of social interactions that take place when people move together in a group, and thus fits nicely within the second element of MIS model, social interactions. If we are to apply this idea to an ancient procession, we can see that the participants are ‘mobile with’ one another in ways that facilitate behaviors and exchanges that are outside the norm, and also connects participants in motion.

‘Mobile withs’ can range in size from a party of two, up to larger ambulatory units that encompass gatherings of the size of the Panathenaic procession.¹⁴⁶ The fundamental aspect of these units, no matter the size or function, is that they are social encounters formed by social agents moving in ways regulated by physical space.¹⁴⁷ These relevant physical structures that make up the physical space of the Panathenaia, as well as their effect on the movement of people, are all topics to be discussed in the following chapter.

Open spaces within Athens worked as stages for these ‘mobile withs’ and facilitated meetings of all kinds, most often face-to-face interactions.¹⁴⁸ These meetings were often informal and consisted of both social interactions and places that existed outside the daily norm. In other words, the physical spaces were used for different purposes when not associated with the Panathenaic procession, and the social interactions differed in terms of content, length, and

¹⁴⁶ Goffman 1983, 6.

¹⁴⁷ Jensen 2013, 79.

¹⁴⁸ Jensen 2013, 75.

participants. Many of those in Athens during the Panathenaia would have slipped in and out of different ‘mobile with’ situations throughout the course of the festival and procession, forming ‘temporary congregations.’¹⁴⁹ They could consist of strangers, or family and friends (focused interactions).¹⁵⁰ In ancient Athens citizens, metics, slaves, and foreigners alike would have entered into these ‘temporary congregations’ of ‘mobile withs,’ with those whom they knew as well as with strangers. We can see this occurring in all stages of the Panathenaic procession, including the time leading up to it. They also occurred on a smaller scale, in much less-formal situations that were almost coincidental.¹⁵¹

The context of these social interactions would have been vastly different from daily communication. The discussion would likely have been different, as most of the excited chatter would be centered around the forthcoming procession and any associated activities. Furthermore, the place of engagement would have been different since these ‘temporary congregations’ were just as likely to meet up on a random street corner as they were in the Agora, the usual place for social and communal gatherings. And finally, the company would have been different with the addition of women. If we are to assume that most high-born women were not commonly seen in public for the majority of the year and that they were allowed to participate in processions, we can conclude that women would have been a large part of these coincidental ‘mobile withs,’ and would have emphasized the altered state of Athens during a procession. More specifically, we know of the *arrephoroi* and the *ergastinai*, groups of women

¹⁴⁹ Jensen 2013, 81.

¹⁵⁰ Jensen 2013, 82.

¹⁵¹ Jensen 2013, 82.

who wove the peplos, starting nine months before the Panathenaia.¹⁵² They would have been actively working, well-known, and visible.

This altered state extends to include the use of space. Streets throughout Athens would have been intermittently filled, and then refilled, with gatherings of people ranging in size and composition, each travelling to a specific location within the city in order to engage in one of the many activities associated with the procession. Along the way, streets maintained their original function as main thoroughfares, but were supplemented with loci for ‘mobile withs,’ ones that were specifically separate from the social interactions that occurred in the same location on non-procession days.

As always, it must be remembered that the streets that functioned as stages for ‘mobile withs,’ were a main component of the “ritual armature” that constituted Athens. The “ritual armature” is, in its essence, a circulator of social interactions, mobilities, and a site of cultural meaning. “Streets are the dwelling place of the collective.”¹⁵³ In this way, the “ritual armature” is a living entity, one that swells with its inhabitation and conveys cultural expression, providing avenues for performance and gatherings. The “ritual armature,” and thus Athens, transformed with the introduction of social interactions within ‘mobile withs’ and their subsequent dissolving. The Panathenaic procession was a huge initiator of these processes and provides an excellent example of the importance of viewing processions through the lens of the MIS model.

The third element of the MIS model, and the final piece of the puzzle, is something that Jensen refers to as an embodied performance. To explain this component, he discusses the relationship between people and mobilities by exploring different modes of transportation in

¹⁵² Neils 1992, 17.

¹⁵³ Benjamin 2002, 879.

order to explore what norms are being produced and re-produced in the process.¹⁵⁴ Essentially, it is a way to explore visual perception and motion, as well as the presentation of self and interactions in motion.¹⁵⁵ His goal in discussing this third part of the MIS model is to provide,

“...new insights that may be provided by a theoretical framing connecting perception and bodily motion with an understanding of face-to-face interaction and an explicit awareness of the meaning of the physical design of the sites and places of the bodily mobilities and interaction.”¹⁵⁶

This final piece of the model connects the two previous parts, physical settings and social interactions, in a way that explains how humans create meaning and culture from their relationship. It is possible, as with the other two elements, to apply this third and final part to our study of the transformation of Athens during the Panathenaic procession. By understanding the embodied performances, we can also understand the meaning and cultural importance behind the procession as a whole. We come to see that in its essence, the Panathenaic procession is itself an embodied performance, and a perfect example of a mobility for the MIS model.

Jensen presents another way to study social interactions as mobilities that change and alter the city. The concepts of ‘mobile sociofugal space’ and ‘mobile sociopetal space’ are ways to explain and understand the dynamic relationship between space and social situations.¹⁵⁷ He states that, “places must be seen relationally and as shaped by our [people’s] mobilities and immobilities.”¹⁵⁸ Essentially, sociofugal places are those that force people apart, dissolving groups by separating them spatially, while sociopetal places bring people together. A good

¹⁵⁴ Jensen 2013, 92.

¹⁵⁵ Jensen 2013, 93.

¹⁵⁶ Jensen 2013, 93.

¹⁵⁷ Jensen 2013, 46.

¹⁵⁸ Jensen 2013, 46.

example of a sociofugal space in our modern world is Grand Central Station or an airport. The main point to emphasize is just that they redirect social groups from one another.

Sociopetal spaces, on the other hand, draw people in by offering interesting activities, or stimulating company. As Jensen puts it, “they are sites and settings that are particularly well tuned in getting people to go there and unfold their activities.”¹⁵⁹ In our modern world places like concert halls, movie theaters, auditoriums, or shopping malls are great examples of sociopetal spaces. We can transfer this model back to ancient Athens and use it as a lens with which to view processions such as the one that occurred during the Panathenaia.

An example of Jensen’s ‘Mobilities in Situ’ model can be extracted from his multiple discussions surrounding New York City (NYC). He designates each essential element of the model to a chapter, within which he uses NYC, amongst others, to demonstrate the theory. In terms of physical settings, NYC has many sociopetal and sociofugal spaces. He discusses how Grand Central Station function as both a sociopetal and sociofugal space, sending people away from one another while also bringing them together.¹⁶⁰ Shopping malls function in a similar way. Jensen also discusses how people observe the city through movement and recreate the city and different buildings and structures they come in contact with by moving through it.¹⁶¹ In this way, paths or streets in NYC are one of the most important physical settings of the city as they construct the meaning behind the structures in terms of the observers.¹⁶² Finally, he states that buildings and other pieces of infrastructure in NYC are coded with signs that are part of a larger cultural context, of which people are cognizant and understand what is expected of them when

¹⁵⁹ Jensen 2013, 47.

¹⁶⁰ Jensen 2013, 47.

¹⁶¹ Jensen 2013, 50.

¹⁶² Jensen 2013, 51.

associating with specific structures.¹⁶³ For example, people know what to expect when entering an airport, going through security, boarding a plane, speaking with a gate agent, etc.

For the second element, social interactions, Jensen discusses how ‘mobile withs’ often occur at places like streetlights in cities, like NYC.¹⁶⁴ When waiting for the light to change, individuals and smaller groups come together in the same area, creating a temporary and different ‘mobile with’ than they were a part of before. ‘Mobile withs’ can also occur in shopping malls, when running into an old friend, or waiting in line to checkout. People become part of a ‘mobile with’ when carpooling, riding a bus, or flying on an airplane. Essentially, social interactions, where different groups or people come together, are produced by and reproduce cultural norms within cities like NYC.

The final element, embodied performances, come in many different types within a city. There is walking, running, biking, driving, and mass transportation just to name a few. The embodied performance within a city like NYC is created when staging from above and below meet, resulting in the movement of people through the city. The streets are designed and constructed from above, while the people who choose how and when to move through them are staging from below. As a person walking through NYC you are both responding to the cultural norms as staged from above (by walking on crosswalks and adhering to traffic laws), while also creating and embodying them as staged from below (choosing how you move on these crosswalks, who you walk with, your destination, etc.). Jensen considers this performative, as we are staged and act in a certain way in front of others depending on why, how, and when we are moving through any given space.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Jensen 2013, 55.

¹⁶⁴ Jensen 2013, 81.

¹⁶⁵ Jensen 2013, 120.

3.3. Limitations of the Mobilities in Situ Theory

With any theory, there are limitations to its application, and the MIS model is no exception. There are two main limitations to this theory that are worth discussing, namely that it was created by a modern scholar based on modern cities, and that it was created for analyzing everyday situations. Jensen arrived at the framework for his MIS theory by studying modern urban theorists' work that had come before him,¹⁶⁶ while examining the flow of people through buildings and streets of major cities like New York City. Many of his elements are based on modern technologies that enable movement like the bicycle, automobiles, or airplanes; forms of transportation that did not exist in classical Athens. Although this may seem problematic at first, further examination into the theory demonstrates that it is not as great a limitation as originally thought.

I believe that the MIS model can still make significant contributions. Jensen does not limit this model to modern urban life, and if these details and case studies are removed, the core structure and framework of the theory remain and are no less convincing. Furthermore, analyzing an ancient mobility within this theory requires little to no tweaking or forceable application: the elements of the theory (physical settings, social interactions, and embodied performances) are inherent in the procession itself, allowing for the successful application of a modern theory onto an ancient phenomenon. Finally, the model is firmly rooted in material aspects of mobility (or processions), which is useful and applicable for archaeologists analyzing the material remains of the city.

¹⁶⁶ See work by sociologist Erving Goffman (1982).

Another limitation is that this theory was created within the context of everyday life. Religions processions in classical Athens and elsewhere were not, by any means, an everyday occurrence. They are removed from the daily activities of the Athenians and are the driving force behind this whole thesis that allows for the study of the transformative nature of the procession's associated spaces. However, even though Jensen created the model within everyday life, much of his theory is contingent upon the existence of exceptional circumstances within his mobilities. In fact, many of the elements discussed in this study stress the necessity of the existence of special qualities which set them outside of everyday life. The fact that each of the elements within the MIS model requires a factor of atypical behavior allows for the procession to be viewed within this lens. Furthermore, Jensen does not state that the model only works within the context of daily life, it was just the original test case for his theory. Finally, with close to 130 festivals every year, the Athenians had one almost every three days. Clearly processions were a common enough occurrence to justify the use of this model.

Chapter 4: Case Study – The Panathenaic Procession

Now that we have established the archaeological data available to us, as well as the essential theoretical components of urban space transformation, we can now apply the theoretical model to the Panathenaic procession. This chapter works as a case study to determine how the data responds to the model, as well as the results we can achieve by applying the MIS model and the “ritual armature” to an ancient procession in order to determine its validity and usage for other processions across the Mediterranean. The chapter is split up into sections each addressing a different space or structure associated with the Panathenaic procession with each analyzed in terms of their physical space and social interactions. The final two sections discuss the procession as a ‘mobile with’ and as an embodied performance.

In this chapter, I have adopted a structure with Stops, similar to Chapter 2, within the context of the MIS model for the Pompeion, the Agora, the Acropolis, and the Pnyx Hill [Figure 4.1]. Each of these Stops is analyzed between 350-325 BC. The Classical period in Athens is an exceptionally diverse era, one whose urban space evolves and changes quickly; the Classical period of 480 BC is completely different than the one of 400 BC, and even more so than the one of 323 BC. The years between 350 and 325 BC offer some of the most interesting changes throughout the city, many of which are a result of the Lykourgan building program. However, the important buildings and spaces of the earlier Classical period (i.e. the Periclean Acropolis, major stoas in the Agora, the Eleusinion, the Pompeion, the Pnyx etc.) still remain prevalent structures and serve major functions for the Athenians of the later Classical period.

More specifically, this time period allows for the application of the theoretical models to a greater number of spaces throughout Athens, including the earlier spaces (as listed above), and later classical developments such as the square peristyle of Lykourgos in the Agora, the

unfinished stoas (or embankments) and the altar base on the Pnyx Hill, as well as the Lykourgan stadium and theater built c. 330 BC. Furthermore, important pieces of textual evidence pertaining to the Panathenaic festival and procession come from this period including Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians* (328-325 BC), which provides a significant amount of information on the organization and administration of the Panathenaic festival; inscription *IG II2 351* (329 BC), which records the construction of a stadium and theater for the Panathenaia; and *IG II2 334* (336-330 BC), the primary source that discusses the great sacrifice to Athena during the Panathenaia. As such, an earlier phase of the Classical period would be without these structures, spaces, and imperative pieces of textual evidence, the lack of which serves as the justification behind analyzing this 25-year period at the end of the Classical period.

4.1. MIS Stop No. 1: The Pompeion

4.1.a. The Physical Setting

The first element of the MIS model is the physical setting. As there are a number of physical settings that pertain to the Panathenaic procession, each is discussed in this chapter in terms of their usage and transformation of space. The first physical setting to be analyzed is the Pompeion. I first briefly address the use of the Pompeion on an everyday basis in order to get a fuller sense of how the procession ultimately transformed the space.

Although its main function was for storing the sacred items, the Pompeion was still accessible other days of the year, as we have already seen with the ephebes. However, since it was located so close to one of the main gates of the city, practically sitting on top of the Panathenaic Way, the *athlothetai* and *hieropoioi* must have taken measures to prevent any Athenian or foreigner from coming in contact with the sacred items. Because of this very specific use, the Pompeion had a continuous association with festivals, specifically with their

corresponding processions, throughout the course of the year. It is also important to mention its close proximity to the Dipylon and Sacred Gates, as these were two of the major gates of the city. Its location brought the Pompeion in contact with countless individuals, both Athenian and non-Athenian, on a daily basis. As a result, even when a procession or festival was not underway the Pompeion stood as a permanent architectural marker within the urban landscape, a symbol for the religious landscape of the Athenians.

The ephebes were a class of younger male Athenians who were in the process of learning how to become citizens through their training as soldiers. They would have used the Pompeion for athletic and training purposes, utilizing the large peristyle court and the fountain house nearby. The *androne*s around the courtyard could have served as gathering locations for lessons or discussions, as well as places for symposia. In this way, the Pompeion served the religious purposes of the Athenians, as well as military and secular functions.

Together with the Panathenaic Way and the Acropolis, the Pompeion created the foundation of the “ritual armature” associated with the Panathenaic procession. The Pompeion was the start of this armature, the first structure that participants would have come in contact with, and that facilitated all later trajectories of religious movement through Athens. Moreover, it was one of the few permanent structures associated with not just the Panathenaic procession, but all major processions in Athens. The important use and function of the Pompeion warranted that it be a permanent structure whose location remained unaltered throughout the year, even on days when it was not occupied with a procession.

Moving on from daily use, the Pompeion provided the fulfillment of the preparations that were required to facilitate the large-scale and fantastic spectacle that was the festival’s main event. In the days and hours leading up to the procession, inventory of the stored items was

likely taken to assess what objects were needed or, gods forbid, missing. Robes, armor, sacrificial implements, bronze or silver trays, hydrias, baskets, musical instruments, carts, and other non-perishable items to be carried in the procession were pulled out of storage, catalogued, and organized. The dining rooms were prepared accordingly so that the priests and officials could eat their sacrificial helping on one of the dining couches. Once completed, the peplos was brought to the Pompeion and would have been inspected and marveled at. If the ship was indeed stored in the Pompeion, it would have been pulled out onto the Panathenaic Way, dusted off, decorated, and adorned with the beautiful peplos as its sail.

The Pompeion would have also acted as a gathering point for fresh items needed for the procession that were not already stored there. Fresh green branches for the *thallophoroi*, cakes and honeycombs to carry on trays, flowers, and oak branches for freed slaves and barbarians¹⁶⁷ were all brought in. Sacrificial animals were also brought to the space surrounding the Pompeion, as well as the horses that would make up the Athenian cavalry in the procession. I can only assume that there was a makeshift enclosure constructed where the animals could be placed until it was time for the procession to begin. It would have been exceptionally difficult for the cows to have been held in place by hand for any longer period of time. The noise, smells, and close quarters of the area surrounding the Pompeion would have placed the animals on edge. It would have been unrealistic to have 100 pairs of humans and cows forced into such a small space for the duration of the preparations for the procession. It seems more likely that there was a temporary corral set up nearby to separate the animals from the majority of the chaos, and to free up human hands to help with other preparations. The question then becomes, where would the corral have been built, and how did it transform the landscape?

¹⁶⁷ Neils 1992, 23.

The location of the enclosure needed to be close enough to the Pompeion to limit the time and effort required to escort the cows to the processional lineup. However, it had to be some distance from the Pompeion to keep the animals out of the way of the preparations, and to hopefully keep them calm. The most basic requirement for the location was that it provided enough space to fit 100 cows in the same enclosure. This of course implies the existence of a large, open area unbroken by any monuments, gates, or buildings. With these necessities in mind, there are only one or a few spaces that would work. The most likely candidate is the space within the Kerameikos on the Road to the Academy just outside of the Dipylon Gate [Figure 4.1.a.1]. There is a possibility of constructing quite a large enclosure here, since the width of the road at this point is 40 m and can be extended as far north as necessary. The average length of a cow today is about 6 ft (1.8 m). The University of Kentucky suggests that the average cow needs about 14 ft² (4.3 m²) of space in a temporary holding area.¹⁶⁸ With 100 cows, the Athenians would have needed a temporary enclosure of about 1400 ft² (426.7 m²) to plausibly hold them for any length of time. The holding area would then need to be just under 38 x 38 ft (21 x 21 m). This is well within the confines of the Road to the Academy just outside the Dipylon Gate. I have marked a proposed location on Figure 4.1.a.1.

The enclosure was only half the width of the road, leaving room for pedestrian traffic to enter and exit the city as needed. This would be especially helpful while preparations for the procession were being undertaken, since the Pompeion could still be accessed from two directions. Additionally, this location was always free of any funerary or other monuments, as it was a road throughout the year. Furthermore, the cows would have been led to the Pompeion for processional preparations from farms outside of the city, and therefore outside of the Dipylon

¹⁶⁸ Bicudo et al. 2003, 29.

Gate; constructing the temporary holding location outside of this gate would have made access that much easier. For these reasons, the marked location is assumed to have held the sacred *hekatomb* for Athena prior to the procession.

As the holding area for the cows was temporary, there must have been a team set up to build it a day or two before the festival. I can only assume this project was also organized by the *athlothetai* or *hieropoioi* as they were in charge of coordinating the rest of the major events of the Panathenaia. Once the enclosure was built, those providing the cows would lead them to the city from the countryside of Attica. Reaching the pen, an administrator or official would have recorded the contribution and, maybe with the help of a few men, would have ushered the new arrival(s) into the enclosure. With any luck, most of the cows would have arrived at the same time, keeping the length of time the cows spent in the small enclosure to a minimum.

In any case, one can imagine that during the preparations, the space outside of the Pompeion, and in between the Dipylon and Sacred Gate, would have been absolutely full of people, animals, and objects that would otherwise never have assembled in such a manner. Every spare inch was full of officials inspecting participants and lining them up in the proper order, giving people their respective items to carry, making sure the sacrificial animals were accounted for, etc. Horses were mounted, musicians were practicing, final outfit preparations were made; the cacophony of music and voices, and the smells of incense, perfume, and animal musk filled the air. The Pompeion had successfully served its purpose and prepared the people of Athens for the onset of the procession.

Once the time came for the procession to officially commence, the area surrounding the Pompeion would be buzzing with last minute, nervous energy. Final checks would be made, people would be assuming their official positions, cavalry and cattle would be in place, and the

musicians would begin playing their songs. Beginning their slow walk to the Acropolis, the Pompeion would have been slowly left behind, a sudden emptiness and silence would encompass its surroundings in place of the previous cacophony of animals and humans alike. There would have been the odd straggle here and there that was not a participant or a spectator, but it seems likely that the majority of the precinct was once again vacant. But not for long.

The procession in and of itself must have taken up a significant amount of time, but the sacrifice even more so. If we are to assume that a *hekatomb* was indeed sacrificed on the altar of Athena located on the Acropolis, then maneuvering 100 cows up through the Propylaia to the altar amongst thousands of people was no easy task. Once that was accomplished, the actual sacrifice would have been time consuming, as each cow was brought to the altar, slaughtered, and their carcass dragged to a separate location. Once it was complete, the Athenians would have descended the Acropolis (or the Pnyx), roasted the meat, and divvied it up amongst themselves. It was here that the Pompeion came back onto the scene.

As mentioned earlier, there is evidence for 66 dining couches in the Pompeion for officials to dine on their sacrificial portion [Figure 2.2.2].¹⁶⁹ It certainly would have been a meaningful way to celebrate all the hard work and preparation they had done over the past four years. The rest of the Athenian citizens would have been feasting nearby in the Kerameikos as well, so they would be connected to the officials by proximity. We know that the Athenians feasted on the sacrifice near the Pompeion because of an inscription that states the meat from the sacrifice was distributed in the Kerameikos.¹⁷⁰ In addition to the wide open spaces and the

¹⁶⁹ Knigge 1991, 81.

¹⁷⁰ Knigge 1991, 80; See *IG II²* 334. It is important to keep in mind that the word Kerameikos on this inscription is partially restored.

androns, the Pompeion was a great place to feast because it tied the whole procession together; it ended where it all began.

4.1.b. Social Interactions

The second element of the MIS model is social interaction. This section focuses on the social interactions that may have occurred at/around the Pompeion as caused by the procession, and how they subsequently transformed the space. Because of its importance to the successful completion of the procession, this space served as a stage for mobilities throughout all phases of the procession. The Athenians would have been in a flurry of preparations and activities that facilitated a number of different ‘mobile withs.’ Gathering at the Pompeion would have created unique social interactions since the activities associated with the procession would have caused people to work with those they may not normally interact with on a daily basis, or even know.

Though speculative, we can attempt to trace what these interactions would have looked like in the physical landscape and what structures or archaeological remains were incorporated as part of these social interactions. For argument’s sake, we can identify the boundary of the surrounding area of the Pompeion as the area that has been excavated in the Kerameikos by the German Archaeological Institute [Figure 4.1.b.1]. Within these confines, a number of social interactions took place between a variety of people. For starters, we can look at who was interacting with whom in this space, and why.

Administrative personnel would have been in charge of the Panathenaic procession working within the confines of the Pompeion’s space. First and foremost were the *athlothetai*. As administrators, they were perhaps the group that came into contact with the largest number of people, and thus the largest number of ‘mobile withs.’ Being in charge of the procession granted them an authority that manifested itself in formal social interactions with those participating in

the procession. Every group that entered or formed within the boundary of the Pompeion would have come into contact with the *athlothetai* in order to receive their instructions. These interactions would likely have been occurring simultaneously in different spaces all around the Pompeion, as it would have been more efficient for a single administrator, or small group, to be in charge of a specific aspect of the procession. The following is a selection of comparanda to demonstrate these interactions.

The first interaction is one that has already been mentioned, the construction of the temporary enclosure for the cows. This undertaking would have required a significant workforce, one that engaged in social interactions that were outside the norm of their daily mobilities. Moreover, constructing this enclosure may not have aligned with their primary profession or specialty, further emphasizing the abnormalities that can come along with ‘mobile withs.’ Before this workforce was able to begin any formal construction, there must have been a series of preceding social interactions. It is safe to assume that those in the workforce were aware of their assigned occupation before the commencement of any official processional preparations. It thus follows that the first formal interaction between them and the *athlothetai* was presumably at the Pompeion on the first day of building the enclosure. Where exactly this occurred is difficult to say, though it seems likely that the workers each arrived at the Pompeion at a specified time and gathered as a group in order to wait for the rest of the workforce and the address by the administrator in charge of the enclosure’s construction.

The open area just east of the Pompeion, and south of the Panathenaic Way, would have served as a great space for the workforce to gather and receive their instructions from the *athlothetai* [Figure 4.1.b.1]. Gathering together and forming a new ‘mobile with,’ they would have then worked their way through the Dipylon Gate into the Kerameikos where the

construction of the enclosure would then begin. The administrator, having given the workforce their initial instructions, would have returned to the Pompeion to aid in other preparations and to advise other groups, while still occasionally checking back in on the construction of the enclosure to ensure there were no issues. Thus, the *athlothetai* were continuously entering and exiting, and forming and reforming distinct ‘mobile withs’ as they engaged with different groups of participants and other administrators, giving them instructions and delegating jobs. The Pompeion was altered by their perpetual traversal of the space, as they introduced new ‘mobile withs’ into the area, which resulted in spaces taking on new meanings, usages, and connotations, all as a result of the Panathenaic procession.

Similarly, the men building the enclosure would be engaging in a ‘mobile with’ that created a new, temporary space specifically associated with the procession. The social interaction they were a part of was unique enough to be set apart from everyday normality, which affected the workmen, and ultimately resulted in the construction of the space they were involved in. Like the *athlothetai*, the area in which they were building the enclosure would have taken on new meanings, ultimately transforming the space as a result of the social interactions. Furthermore, the men who were a part of this workforce would most likely create new relationships with one another, if they were not already established, which would be beneficial if they were once again chosen by the *athlothetai* to create the enclosure and transform that space another year.

Other examples of ‘mobile withs’ that occurred in the area of the Pompeion were largely associated with the organization of the participants, as well as those delivering items to be carried or featured in the procession. As it was with the workforce for the cows’ enclosure, many of these gatherings would have entered and formed in the open area just east of the Pompeion. The administrators would have met with the participants they were in charge of organizing and

made sure they knew their role and place in the lineup. Provisions and necessary items would have been gathered from the storage rooms inside the Pompeion, brought out, and distributed as needed. The fresher items that were brought to the Pompeion on the day of the procession would have facilitated further social interactions between the administrators and those handing over the items. Many of them may have been participants themselves, which adds another layer of interaction as the administrators would have catalogued the items and then given the participant their instructions. The ephebes, as they often frequented the Pompeion, must have had some hand in the preparations, as well as being participants in the procession, so they would have been engaging in a variety of ‘mobile withs’ with one another, and others.

The interactions between the supervisors and the participants are better classified as formal since they were officially organized in order to ensure a successful procession. However, many of the social interactions would have been informal, especially between the participants. Within the confines of the Pompeion, many ‘mobile withs’ would have been formed due to the participants mingling, waiting for instructions, catching up with old friends, or becoming acquainted with those they were to stand next to during the procession. The internal social interactions within workforces were a mix of formal and informal, as their reason for gathering was formal, but the majority of their conversations were most likely informal.

There were social interactions occurring after the procession within this space as well. When the Athenians returned to the Pompeion to consume their share of the sacrificial feast, this would have resulted in a number of different ‘mobile withs.’ The biggest would have been between the administrators, participants, and spectators of the procession as they were making their way back to the building. Assuming they had watched the sacrifice, all those participating in the feast would have gathered together and walked back along to the Kerameikos along with

the carts full of meat. Once they had arrived at the Pompeion, the officials would have entered in the main door on the southeast side of the building and broke off into the *androns* as they saw fit, separating and reforming into a different ‘mobile with’ that consisted of their close friends or colleagues. The rest of the Athenians would have gathered in any of the large spaces within the Kerameikos, near the Pompeion, and would have been busy roasting, distributing the meat, and feasting all while entering and exiting a variety of ‘mobile withs.’

In sum, the dining (and feasting) that occurred back at the Pompeion facilitated a number of social interactions that then, in turn, transformed the space into its secondary function, a place for ritual feasting. Even though the main event had been completed, the “ritual armature” still held prevalence and was in use, as the social interactions occurring within these moving ‘mobile withs’ were traversing its main branches to arrive at the next designated space for the subsequent activities. These mobilities maintained the sanctity of the “ritual armature” for that much longer and aided in the creation and preservation of social memory for the spaces that were touched by their movement. In turn, the usage of space remained transformed within Athens for as long as the ‘mobile withs’ that were connected with the procession, and its associated activities, lasted. In this way, it was the social interactions of the Athenians as they formed ‘mobile withs’ that determined the meaning behind each of these places at any given time and transformed the spaces accordingly.

Within the course of a few days, the Pompeion transformed due to social interactions through three separate phases; it had shifted from its daily usage, to its primary function as a preparatory facility for the procession, and finally to its secondary function as a feasting establishment for the administrators. We can see that the procession utterly transformed this space in ways that can only be truly understood by the acknowledgement and understanding of

the social interactions that occurred within its boundaries. The application of the MIS model allows for the recognition of certain definite ‘mobile withs’ that were as much a part of shaping the processional circumstances as the physical spaces were.

4.2. MIS Stop No. 2: The Agora – Spaces along the Panathenaic Way

This section covers the physical settings and social interactions of certain spaces within the Agora along the Panathenaic Way, many of which can be considered ‘way stations.’ In general, the Agora was more associated with secular human activities; the distribution and acquisition of goods, politics and local gossip, seat of the government, international affairs, etc. Certainly, there were shrines, such as the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Temple of Hephaestus, amongst others, but these were designated areas within the overarching secular function. This aspect is important, as it speaks to the level at which the Panathenaic procession transformed more of the Agora’s spaces into those with religious significance.

The Panathenaic Way outlined the path that the procession traversed through the Agora, and delineated specific areas that the procession would come in contact with. As such, it was a major player in aiding the transformation of spaces within the Agora. Many of these spaces are not physical settings associated with the procession in their own right, but their proximity to the Panathenaic Way and, more importantly, the social interactions that occurred within them, caused the extension of the “ritual armature” to include them by ultimately transforming their function, meaning, and significance.

During the procession, the Panathenaic Way would have been lined on all sides with spectators eagerly awaiting a glimpse of the fantastic spectacle that had already begun transforming the street they were all familiar with, as well as the entirety of Athens’ urban landscape; the “ritual armature” now trumps the ‘urban armature.’ Instead of serving as a main

thoroughfare for Athens, the Panathenaic Way was now serving a very specific religious function, to transport the religious symbols, dedications, sacrificial animals, and peplos to the Acropolis. The sacred boundary of the Acropolis had extended across the entire length of the Panathenaic Way in order to include the entire route and its procession, encompassing multiple different areas of the city, and directly affecting the Agora.

Furthermore, if the early *dromos* was located on the Panathenaic Way between the Agora and the Dipylon Gate, then the processional route would have been transformed an additional time. The torch race also made use of the Panathenaic Way, as was discussed previously in section 2.3. Not only would the Panathenaic Way have been utilized as a major thoroughfare and as a processional route, but it also would have had the third function of serving as a *dromos* for the Panathenaic games. The athletes would be reminded of the procession while competing, and the participants of the procession would be reminded of the athletic competitions held there a few days before. These social interactions occurring were actively transforming the Panathenaic Way.

4.2.a. Transforming Spaces in the Northern Agora

Just before entering the Agora, the procession would have passed the Stoa of the Herms and the Stoa Poikile to the north. Both buildings were essentially commemorative monuments for Athenian military success.¹⁷¹ The Stoa Poikile had paintings of the Battle of Marathon and Troy, as well as the successes over Sparta and the Amazons [Figure 4.2.a.1].¹⁷² Aeschines even states in one of his speeches, “pass on in thought to the Stoa Poikile too, the memorials of all your great deeds are set up in the Agora.”¹⁷³ Similarly, the Stoa of the Herms was a repository of

¹⁷¹ Camp 2015, 507.

¹⁷² Camp 2015, 507.

¹⁷³ Aeschines *In Ctes.* 186.

at least two decrees passed by cavalrymen.¹⁷⁴ To the south of the Panathenaic Way, across the street from these two buildings, was the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius [Figure 4.2.a.2]. According to Pausanias, this building was used to display the armor of those who died fighting to preserve the freedom of Athens.¹⁷⁵ Clearly, the northwest corner of the Agora square was an area in which the Athenians commemorated military valor.¹⁷⁶

This is important to emphasize in regard to their physical and symbolic relationship with the Panathenaic Way. Just in terms of proximity, these buildings were incorporated in the procession and were thus an extension of the Panathenaic Way, i.e., physical settings transformed by the procession. Symbolically, their military commemoration was especially appropriate for the Panathenaia, a festival wholly dedicated to promoting the grandeur of Athens while also revering Athena, the goddess of war. Passing these buildings during the procession would have been a reminder to those participating, as well as those spectating, of the true military valor and impressiveness of the Athenians in the Persian Wars, as well as the Peloponnesian Wars, linking the buildings with the procession symbolically as well as physically.

Furthermore, these structures were stoas – long, wide-open buildings that served as ‘way stations,’ perfect gathering spots for meetings, important conversations, and political discussions. In other words, they were the ideal spaces to facilitate social interactions, the second element of our MIS model. More specifically, the stoas served as excellent locations for the ‘mobile withs’ that formed to watch the procession; the steps provided a suitable place for sitting, while those who would rather stand could gather in the large areas separating the columns on the portico.

¹⁷⁴ Camp 2015, 507.

¹⁷⁵ Paus. 1.26.2., 10.21.5-6.

¹⁷⁶ Camp 2015, 507.

The social interactions occurring within the stoas were more informal than those between the administrators and workforce. Gatherings may have consisted of Athenian citizens, metics, and slaves who, if not already connected as friends or family, might not have come in contact with one another on a daily basis. However, they were all there for the same reason, resulting in the formation of ‘mobile withs’ unique to the Panathenaic procession. These social interactions were formed solely by the desire to watch the Panathenaic procession as it traversed the Panathenaic Way through the Agora. These social interactions, in turn, transformed the physical setting of the stoas from a secular meeting place to a gathering space for a religious procession. In this way, these militarily significant buildings became part of the “ritual armature” of Athens.

4.2.b. Transforming Spaces in the Center of the Agora

Next, the procession turned southeast on the Panathenaic Way, where it would come to pass the Altar of the Twelve Gods [Figure 4.2.b.1]. Like many of these spaces, the Altar of the Twelve Gods was not a monument specifically incorporated within the festivities of the Panathenaic procession. However, it was incorporated within the “ritual armature” and transformed by the social interactions that occurred there. It served as a great location to facilitate ‘mobile withs’ for a few reasons. First, it was the point of Athens from where all road distances were measured,¹⁷⁷ and is often described as the center of Athens, an association that made it a prominent and important monument in and of itself. Second, it was erected by Peisistratus, grandson of the tyrant Peisistratus, in 522BC.¹⁷⁸ As we know, Peisistratus is credited with organizing the Panathenaic festival as it would remain from 566BC onwards; a monument associated with his family would be significant during the Panathenaic procession as it was

¹⁷⁷ Hdt. 2.7.; *IG II²* 2640.

¹⁷⁸ Th. 6.54.

prominent with Athens' social memory. And finally, John Camp states that the Altar was the heart of Athens specifically because of its proximity to the Panathenaic Way.¹⁷⁹ This location reinforces the importance of the Panathenaic Way within the Athenian landscape and grants it an active role in giving the monuments surrounding it a significance within the "ritual armature." The Altar to the Twelve Gods is a prime example of a key structure playing such a role.

The Altar was located inside a sanctuary that was fenced off from the surrounding area. There was ample space within its boundaries for several people to be worshipping or making sacrifices at once. As it was immediately adjacent to the Panathenaic Way, the sanctuary would have been quickly incorporated into the procession, facilitated still further by the people gathering within its confines/general proximity to watch the spectacle. Moreover, I can only imagine that offerings to Athena were made more frequently at the Altar of the Twelve Gods during the time of the Panathenaia, so the altar might be considered a physical setting of the festival in its own right. For a brief time, the Altar became more closely associated with Athena than it was with the other eleven gods it represented, transforming its primary purpose into one that fits the social context of the day...the Greater Panathenaia and its great procession.

Just past the Altar, and right next to the Panathenaic Way, is a pit with a cylindrical chamber that scholars call a sacred repository due to the large amounts of votive objects found deposited within.¹⁸⁰ The objects are thought to have been dedicated to the heroic dead from an earlier burial that had been disturbed, leaving the Athenians to gather the votive offerings and carefully rebury them in the stone-lined container.¹⁸¹ What is important for our discussion is not for whom the votive offerings were originally intended, but rather that the Athenians made a

¹⁷⁹ Camp 2010, 90.

¹⁸⁰ Camp 2010, 113.

¹⁸¹ Camp 2010, 113.

conscious decision to dig a pit and place these precious materials so close to the Panathenaic Way. The proximity to the sacred road might suggest an unwritten social agreement or understanding that the area surrounding the Panathenaic Way was sacred, making it an apt place to deposit the votives. This reconfiguration reconfirms the idea that spaces surrounding the Panathenaic Way could become associated with its religious significance, which is evidence for the incorporation of areas not specifically designated as physical settings for the Panathenaic procession originally, into the “ritual armature”

Moving along the Panathenaic Way still further into the Agora, the procession would have passed a single building complex to the east on the site that would later become the Great Square Peristyle built by Lykourgos, and later still the Stoa of Attalos in the Hellenistic Period. The single building complex is believed to have been a civic building, potentially a lawcourt due to the ballots that have been excavated in its general vicinity [Figure 4.2.b.2].¹⁸² The building was replaced by the Square Peristyle in the 4th c BC.¹⁸³ Though the shape of the building might not have been conducive for watching the procession, the open space in front of it might have provided a good space for groups to gather together to move towards a more convenient location, or even to set a blanket up on the ground to wait for the events to commence. In any case, both the early lawcourt and the later 4th c BC Square Peristyle building would have been relatively close to the Panathenaic Way and its Panathenaic procession, providing a religious context and significance to its meaning. And just like the stoas, these buildings provide the perfect location for the formation of ‘mobile withs’ in order to watch the procession. The social interactions give the area surrounding the building a new meaning because of the desire to watch the procession.

¹⁸² Travlos 1971, 520.

¹⁸³ Travlos 1971, 520.

Within the center of the Agora along the Panathenaic Way were the *ikria*, or temporary wooden seating structures for spectators of the procession. Continuing the trend of this section, the *ikria* were not physical settings of the procession themselves, but the social interactions they allow (and are created by) are the forces that actually transform and associate the space. They were also ‘way stations,’ as they invited those watching the procession to sit and relax. In Athens, there were men called the *ikriopoi* who were in charge of constructing the *ikria* around the Agora.¹⁸⁴ The areas of the Agora where the *ikria* were built had been utilized in different ways prior to their construction, which shifted the meaning of the space for the procession. This would have created a variety of social interactions and different ‘mobile withs,’ once again, between the administrators and the workforce, as well as internal social interactions within the workforce. The formal interactions between administrators and those in the workforce would have played out in much the same way as they did with the cows’ enclosure; the *ikriopoi* received their instruction from the administrators in the Agora, most likely in the areas where the stands were to be built. The administrators would check in regularly, and the workforce would engage in informal social interactions amongst themselves. As was stated earlier, there are a number of locations with evidence of postholes for the *ikria*, many of which are alongside the Panathenaic Way.

It is also important to note that these postholes come in different shapes and sizes,¹⁸⁵ which might suggest that they were a part of different structures. It seems plausible to assume that they were still linked with structures built for, or associated with, the Panathenaic procession. Some of these postholes might have supported tents for vendors to sell their

¹⁸⁴ Thompson 1972, 126.

¹⁸⁵ Shear 1975, 362.

merchandise. Just as was required for the *ikria*, the pitching of tents or vendor stands would have required some preparation, presumably with a system set in place to assign vendors their locations and provide them with the necessary skill and manpower to pound posts into the ground. Many of these vendors might have had an already well-established location and stand for their wares, since the Agora was always the main market space of the city. However, a passage from Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* suggests that there were indeed people who brought out their goods to sell in the market from time to time, implying that they occupied a space within the Agora only occasionally and temporarily.¹⁸⁶

Working its way through the Agora, the procession would then pass those buildings on the very south edge of the Agora. On the west side of the road, they would have passed the Mint, which was in turn next to the South Stoa [Figure 4.2.b.3]. The South Stoa was built at the end of the 5th c BC, with its back against an older road that led out of the Periaic Gate.¹⁸⁷ It appears to be the first stoa that was built with two aisles and 15 rooms in the back, and may have originally had two-storeys.¹⁸⁸ The back rooms look very similar to the *androns* found at Olynthus, with the offset door and the remains of seven dining couches.¹⁸⁹

The South Stoa faces north and was placed on softly rising ground, which provided it with a great view of the Agora.¹⁹⁰ Of course, this means it also had a clear view of the Panathenaic Way and of the procession. The South Stoa was most likely another building transformed by social interactions and 'mobile withs' as a result of serving as a location for spectators of the Panathenaic procession as a 'way station.' It would have functioned much the

¹⁸⁶ Ar. *Ec.* 730-759.

¹⁸⁷ Travlos 1971, 534.

¹⁸⁸ Thompson 1972, 75.

¹⁸⁹ Travlos 1971, 534; For Olynthus see Cahill 2002, 80.

¹⁹⁰ Thompson 1972, 75.

same as the Stoa Poikile and the others we have already discussed, and similar ‘mobile withs’ would have formed. These would have consisted of mainly familial, informal groups who took advantage of the view and space within the South Stoa to watch the procession. Because of these groups, the South Stoa was transformed into an active structure associated with the Panathenaic procession and as part of the “ritual armature,” a transformation that would not have occurred if not for the social interactions it housed.

Similar to the Pompeion, the South Stoa would have moved through two different functions throughout the course of the festival; first, its daily usage as a stoa and meeting place within the Agora, and second, its usage as a gathering place for spectators of the procession. These transitions were not caused by the inherent association that the South Stoa had with the Panathenaic procession, but rather the social interactions that occurred within it, forming ‘mobile withs’ for the sole purpose of watching the procession.

Just outside of the Agora proper on the southeast side, the procession would have come in contact with the Eleusinion [Figure 4.2.b.4]. It was an older building,¹⁹¹ whose main function was to hold the *hiera*, or sacred items, for the Eleusinian Mysteries.¹⁹² It had a precinct wall that ran along the Panathenaic Way, and was bounded on its north and south sides by other roads.¹⁹³ It was also elevated on a terrace, allowing it to be seen by those coming into Athens from Eleusis.¹⁹⁴ We can see that the Eleusinion was an important, religious precinct in its own right, even if it was associated with another festival and marked the beginning of the sacred procession to Eleusis. Passing the Eleusinion would have prompted the merging of two separate wings of

¹⁹¹ Travlos 1971, 198. Miles 1998, 1-2; See Miles 1998, 59-71 for the Eleusinion in the 4th c BC.

¹⁹² *IG II* 1078; Agelidis 2019, 181.

¹⁹³ Travlos 1971, 198.

¹⁹⁴ Travlos 1971, 198.

the Athenian “ritual armature.” Those in the procession who were once initiates of the cult of Demeter would see the building and perhaps remember their initiation. This would create a subgroup of people (or ‘mobile with’) within the procession created through the shared memory of the experience of the Eleusinian Mysteries. For those not yet part of the cult, they may consider the potential of joining the cult of Demeter at Eleusis. All would pass by it and remember its importance to the city, and perhaps see its significance in terms of the cult of Athena and the power of Athens.

As the main sociopetal space in Athens, the Agora provided numerous reasons to visit its space throughout the course of the year, but especially on a procession day. During the Panathenaia, the connotations and associations of buildings and spaces were drastically different and the corresponding ‘mobile withs’ that occurred within these areas matched this unique distinction. Each of these ‘mobile withs’ were drawn into the Agora for a job, activity, or reason that was purely unique to the needs of the procession. These ‘mobile withs’ and their corresponding social interactions were a major part of what transformed the city, as they connected the spaces with the procession and made them part of the “ritual armature.” Their movement through the Agora, and the paths that were then traversed, aided in the transformation of space during the Panathenaic procession.

4.3. MIS Stop No. 3: The Acropolis

4.3.a. The Physical Setting

The next physical setting transformed by the Panathenaic procession was the Acropolis. As already stated, the Acropolis was a constant religious element in the Athenian landscape and was representative of the “ritual armature” as a whole. The Panathenaic procession culminated in a great sacrifice, which is generally accepted to have occurred on the Acropolis. It is said that

100 cows, or a *hekatomb*, were sacrificed on the altar of Athena during the Panathenaia.¹⁹⁵ We have already mentioned these sacrificial animals while discussing the preparation measures needed at the Pompeion. Just as it was required there, it was necessary for the Acropolis to possess an enclosure of some sort in order to restrain the cows in one area. It is unlikely that they were constrained by hand for the entire time, as the cows would have become increasingly more terrified and exceptionally difficult to control throughout the chaos of the sacrifice. This is where the issues with the theory that the sacrifice took place on the Acropolis begin to arise. Where were the animals kept? Was the structure permanent or temporary? As Hurwit states, it is difficult to envision the existence of a rustic fence for any length of time on the pristine, marble Acropolis.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, if the sacrifice did indeed occur on the Acropolis, this structure was of necessity to the Athenians and I doubt the aesthetic of the enclosure was most forward in their minds.

East of the altar was a sanctuary to Zeus Polieus, the main event of his worship was the *bouphonia*, or ox-slaying.¹⁹⁷ Pausanias mentions the ritual,

τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθᾶς καταθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακὴν: ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἄπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν. καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον, ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν καὶ ταύτη τὸν πέλεκυν ρίψας—οὕτω γάρ ἐστὶν οἱ νόμος—οἴχεται φεύγων: οἱ δὲ ἄτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν. (Paus. 1.24.4)

Upon the altar of Zeus Polieus, they placed barley, having been mixed with wheat, and they have no one guarding [the altar]. The ox, which they keep having prepared it for sacrifice, takes part in the seeds upon the altar. One of the priests they call the ox-slayer, having killed the bull, threw the axe – for this is the way of the ritual, and goes fleeing. The others bring the axe to trial, as if not knowing the man who did the deed.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ *IG II* 14.96-98-101 mentions a hekatomb in association with the Panathenaia.

¹⁹⁶ Hurwit 2004, 209.

¹⁹⁷ Hurwit 2004, 207.

¹⁹⁸ Greek provided by Loeb Classical Library. Translation is my own.

About 8 m northeast of the Parthenon and east of the precinct of the sanctuary to Zeus Polieus, there are a series of five parallel rows of small rectangular cuttings, totaling 55.¹⁹⁹ These cuttings are suitable in size to receive wooden posts.²⁰⁰ The northern and southern rows are laid out irregularly, which Stevens suggests is an indication of a strong, twisty wattle work for a fence, the kind which still exists in rural districts today.²⁰¹ It is tempting to interpret these cuttings as postholes for wooden fences that held the cattle for the festival of Zeus Polieus. The center three rows were aligned different than the outer two, being quite regular and straight. Stevens suggest these might have been the foundations for a barn to house the sacrificial bulls of the *bouphonia*, with a watering trough located on the western end.²⁰² The posts of the fences are large enough to contain the strong animals, and the second phase of the building, dating to the Periclean age, is extended to the north and reworked in stone.²⁰³

This is important for the Panathenaia because Hurwit suggests that the area of the associated precinct is actually much bigger than it seems, was walled off, and may have stretched all the way to great altar of Athena, an area of 42 m x 35 m.²⁰⁴ This would have created a large enough enclosed space that was close to the altar in which to corral the sacrificial animals. It was also near the potential barn that housed oxen, which would have provided the sacrifice to Athena with any necessary items or equipment. However, it seems extremely unlikely that the cows to be sacrificed in the Panathenaia were kept in the associated barn on the Acropolis. Not only is it too small to hold an entire *hekatomb*, but we also know from literary and iconographic evidence

¹⁹⁹ Hurwit 2004, 208.

²⁰⁰ Stevens 1940, 85.

²⁰¹ Stevens 1940, 85.

²⁰² Stevens 1940, 85.

²⁰³ Stevens 1940, 86.

²⁰⁴ Hurwit 2004, 209.

that the cows were a part of the procession and traveled to the altar. That being said, if the sacrifice did indeed occur on the Acropolis, this is the most reasonable area to hold the cows. It is large enough, unobstructed by buildings, a good distance away from the entrance so as not to impede traffic, and close by the altar of Athena.

Even if it was a sufficient enclosure for the cows on the Acropolis, there are still a number of issues with sacrificing an entire *hekatomb* on its surface. First, there is the matter of getting all 100 cows up to the Acropolis. Indeed, there was a straight ramp leading up to the Propylaia that was doubled in size and converted to stone in the Classical period,²⁰⁵ but there was only one main point of access through the Propylaia which was located in the middle of the monumental archway between two columns. Being jostled amongst thousands of Athenians while also encountering new smells and loud noises would have caused the cows to become exceptionally stressed. Cows are large and strong animals that can become very aggressive when threatened, uncomfortable, or distressed. Trying to usher 100 of them through a relatively small space, up a slippery marble slope would have been extremely difficult, especially while simultaneously trying to usher up thousands of people who were carrying a range of items. However, if they were successful and managed to get every cow up to the Acropolis, over to the altar, and then ushered into the enclosure, they could then theoretically begin the sacrifice.

This presents another set of issues. Once the first cow is removed from the enclosure and has had its throat slit, every other sacrificial animal in the vicinity has the potential to become frightened, stressed, perhaps aggressive, and will no longer go to the altar willingly. This becomes an issue when trying to maneuver the next cow out of the pen and over to the altar, especially when there are thousands of Athenians in the general vicinity, not to mention the

²⁰⁵ Hurwit 2004, 156.

hundreds of monuments and votive statues that covered the entirety of the Acropolis. Moreover, the amount of blood that would have pooled around the altar would have created slippery conditions for both cow and human, since marble does not have the ability to soak up liters of blood in the same way the ground can.

Similarly, once each cow was sacrificed, what was done with the carcass? The meat certainly was not roasted and distributed on the Acropolis, which means that they had to transport the dead cows, likely on horse drawn carts, back down the ramp and back to the Kerameikos. This would mean that there would have to be a separate space reserved for piling up 100 dead carcasses that would later be removed. It seems implausible to imagine that they were moving each cow down immediately after it was sacrificed for two reasons. First, this required a constant flow of horses and carts ascending and descending the Acropolis to deliver the carcasses to the Kerameikos. The second reason is simply space; the constant removal of carcasses would require space for the horses and carts to approach and leave the altar, space that would be hard to find among the crowds of participants and the significant number of dedications and votive monuments sprinkled across the Acropolis.

My discussion of these issues is not in the interest of stating a definitive new location for the Great Altar of Athena or making the claim that the sacrifice did not occur on the Acropolis. However, since this study is focused on the ways in which the Panathenaic procession transformed the city of Athens, it is crucial to outline the issues with the most accepted theory and discuss the validity of others. This allows for the most comprehensive study of all the physical settings that could have been associated with the procession. Discussing all possible locations for the main events of the procession allows us to understand the transformative nature of religious processions as a whole.

4.3.b. Social Interactions

Even though holding a massive sacrifice on the Acropolis may have been problematic, there is still another reason for the procession to have traversed its rocky precipice, and that was to dedicate the peplos of Athena. Unlike many of the buildings in the Agora, the Acropolis was a physical setting associated with the procession in its own right. However, there were still ‘mobile withs’ that formed on its surface in response to the events that occurred on the Acropolis, which further solidified its part in the “ritual armature” and helps explain its transformation.

The dedication of the peplos was perhaps one of the most important events during the Panathenaia. As stated earlier, the peplos was woven by women and girls from distinguished families and draped upon the cult statue of Athena.²⁰⁶ This was not the fabled chryselephantine image of Athena in the Parthenon, but rather the (presumably) old wooden cult statue in the Erechtheion, which was dedicated to Athena Polias. The girls who carried the peplos up to the Acropolis would have gathered in front of the Erechtheion before entering the cella. The other participants of the procession would have followed them to the Erechtheion but would have stayed outside while the girls dedicated the peplos within. The procession, once again, acted as a facilitator for the formation of ‘mobile withs,’ but in this case, resulted in a group that consisted of the people in the procession who wished to watch the dedication. Up until this point, the ‘mobile withs’ we have encountered were formed because of the procession, but, separate from it.²⁰⁷ In this instance, however, we have an example of a gathering that was still formed because of the procession, but was also very much a part of it. As a sub-section of the procession, this group still maintained their original social interactions as participants but gained an additional

²⁰⁶ Neils 1992, 13 and 103-117; Connelly 2014, 274-277.

²⁰⁷ I.e. the workforce at the Pompeion and for the *ikria*, as well as all of the ‘mobile withs’ formed in spaces and buildings within the Agora in order to watch the procession.

connection specifically with the dedication ceremony of the peplos. In this way, they were forming a 'mobile with' within the procession for the purpose of attending the dedication ceremony.

This sub-section of the procession would have been a mix of people, Athenians, metics, and slaves. They most likely would have gathered just south of the Erechtheion [marked on Figure 4.3.b.1] where the maidens holding the peplos would have rounded the corner on the eastern side and climbed the stairs onto the east porch, which was sacred to Athena. I would argue that during the Panathenaic procession, Athena Polias became the focus of all ritual activity on the Acropolis and the Erechtheion. This is partially because of the social interactions that were occurring on the Acropolis, as they themselves were part of a 'mobile with' formed to worship Athena, and thus their traversal extended this sanctity, ultimately transforming the space to fit with the agenda of the Panathenaia.

If the Acropolis was indeed the location for the sacrifice to Athena, then there would have been a number of 'mobile withs' formed by those within the procession. Those watching the sacrifice would have made their way up to the Acropolis and passed prominent Athena Promachos, the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and numerous votive monuments, finally stopping at the location of the Great Altar to Athena. It was here that the procession officially ended, and all the participants now became spectators for the sacrifice. I can only assume that some not involved in the procession had made their way up to the Acropolis to watch the sacrifice as well. It would have been an incredibly tight space for thousands of people to gather for an extended period of time. The 'mobile withs' that were created for this event spread out across the majority of the Acropolis' surface, thus transforming the space from religious significance for a number of gods, to that of specifically Athena.

Overall, the Acropolis was heavily transformed by the social interactions that occurred within its vicinity. However, the location of the great sacrifice is still an issue, and directly affects many of the discussion points in this section. The space would have looked very different depending on whether it hosted the sacrifice or not, as this would have altered the number of people gathering to watch and the types of mobilities created.

4.4. MIS Stop No. 4: The Pnyx Hill

4.4.a. The Physical Setting

This next section has been included as a possible alternative location for the sacrifice that occurred during the Panathenaic festival, and thus another potential physical setting for the procession. Though not traditionally seen as a major physical setting for the Panathenaic procession, it will be treated in the same way as those previously discussed in order to fully analyze all possibilities of transformative spaces within the Athenian “ritual armature.”

David Romano has argued that many of the traditional explanations for the structures and monuments found on the Pnyx Hill are not completely satisfactory, nor do they account for all the evidence found there.²⁰⁸ He suggests that the Pnyx was the site of the Panathenaic Games and the Great Altar of Athena under Lykourgos in the 4th c BC. One element of his theory has to do with an 8.9 m x 6 m altar base located just south of the bema and the assembly area on the middle terrace [Figure 4.4.a.1]. It was excavated by Thompson, who identified it as a base for a monumental altar facing the theater, with steps on its southwest side.²⁰⁹ About the altar

Thompson states,²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Romano 1985, 441; Romano 1994, 71.

²⁰⁹ Thompson 1943, 300.

²¹⁰ Thompson 1943, 300.

“Placed thus, the altar would have been readily accessible from the bema, sacrifices on its top would have been made in full view of the entire audience, and the structure would have served as a focal point for the whole scheme of auditorium, stoas, and propylon.”

This is all he says on the structure, however, I think its implications are quite important for a study such as this. First, and most importantly, he confirms the fact that the bedding on the middle terrace is indeed a base for a monumental altar, one that would have been easily accessible and visible by all in the audience. Secondly, he stresses the fact that it would have been a focal point for the surrounding area. Finally, in a footnote he states that the altar in front of the Metroön in the Agora most likely came from this very base, and at one time stood on the Pnyx [Figure 4.4.a.2].²¹¹ This is fascinating, as the altar he is describing dates to the Classical period (4th c BC), is made of Pentelic marble, and is marvelously carved. These reasons, among many, have caused Romano to reconsider the use of the Pnyx.

Romano suggests that this altar base, with what has tentatively been identified as the Altar of Zeus Agoraios in front of the Metroön, is actually the Great Altar to Athena that would have been used for the great sacrifice of the Panathenaia.²¹² The altar would have been centrally located, and as Thompson mentioned, visible to all in the audience of the assembly as well as spectators on the Acropolis itself. The assembly area is certainly massive, about 110 m wide from east to west on the southern edge and 65 m from north to south, which would have been ample space to hold quite a large crowd like the one associated with the Panathenaia. Additionally, it seems likely that this altar was associated with Athena rather than another god, as they found a beautiful bust of her in 1931 next to the great stairway on the Pnyx [Figure 4.4.a.3].

²¹¹ Thompson 1943, 300.

²¹² Romano 1996, 82.

Furthermore, this location would have been significantly more convenient for sacrificing a *hekatomb*. It is accessible from two directions, on a road that goes directly past the altar. This would have allowed the Athenians to bring up one cow (or a few) at a time, or maybe a slow and steady stream, and then move the carcass out of the way, possibly even down the road and into the Kerameikos. There would have been room for carts and horses nearby, as well as ample space to the south of the roadway from the altar for a makeshift enclosure to hold the cows. Additionally, unlike on the Acropolis, those watching the sacrifice would be removed from the center of activity. This would have left more room for people to conduct the sacrifice without worrying about maneuvering a horse and cart through the crowd, or about managing a cow that got aggressive and out of control in a tight space.

Clearly, this argument offers solutions to many of the issues presented when sacrificing a *hekatomb* on the Acropolis. The question then becomes, if the animals were sacrificed on the Pnyx, what about the presentation of the peplos on the Acropolis? One can address this issue by suggesting that the procession split off at a designated point along the Panathenaic Way. It is difficult to pinpoint where this occurred. However, there is a rich network of roads that lead directly to the Pnyx from the Kerameikos, the Agora, and the Acropolis. The excavation reports by John Camp detailing the nature and composition of the Panathenaic Way near the Agora suggest that in the 5th–2nd centuries BC there is no evidence of wheel ruts or road metal that would be associated with vehicular traffic. He has concluded that the Panathenaic Way was exclusively for foot traffic. Therefore, there must have been a different route for the cows and the carts than for the throngs of people on foot. Those in charge of sacrificing the cows could have split off from the rest of the group. It is not implausible to think that the group who presented the peplos to Athena would have met back up with those who went with the sacrificial animals to the

Pnyx. It would have taken the latter group some time to lead the animals to the Pnyx, pen them in, and complete the necessary preparations for the sacrifice. This would have given those on the Acropolis enough time to make their way down from the sacred rock, over to the Pnyx, and into the assembly area. The Pnyx hill is clearly visible from the Acropolis and vice versa.

The road that seems likely to have been used for the group with the sacrificial cows is Melite Street, marked on Figure 4.4.a.4, which runs through Athens from north to south.²¹³ The southern outlet was the Pnyx, and the northern was the square directly in front of the Pompeion [Figure 4.4.a.5],²¹⁴ providing direct access to the potential sacrificial altar. Furthermore, during the excavations conducted by Dörpfeld on the south-western slopes of the Areopagus, the road reached a width of at least 4 m and had evident traces of carriageways on the surface,²¹⁵ which is important for two reasons. First, 4 m (~13 ft) is wide enough to facilitate the movement of a few cows abreast along with carts, humans, and sacrificial paraphernalia. Second, the presence of wheel ruts is evidence for the road being used by carts with large loads over a significant period of time, a feature we would expect to see in a road that carried the heavy carcasses of the sacrificial animals.

This is not what we see with the Panathenaic Way, being smooth and reserved for foot traffic. If the sacrifice had occurred on the Acropolis, we would expect to see wheel ruts in the road as a result of the heavy carcasses being pulled back down into the Agora and on to the Kerameikos. The lack of this evidence makes it clear that the Panathenaic Way was not used for transferring the meat after the sacrifice and, consequently, it could be argued that the Acropolis could not have been the location of the great sacrifice to Athena. The wheel ruts on Melite Street

²¹³ Ficuciello 2008, 109.

²¹⁴ Ficuciello 2008, 110.

²¹⁵ Ficuciello 2008, 109.

serve as further evidence for the great feast occurring in the Kerameikos and not in the Agora, since hauling the heavy carcasses back north to the Kerameikos would have contributed to the wheel ruts.

This suggested route for the cows still would have allowed for all the preparations to occur at the Pompeion, but once it began, the group with the sacrificial cows would head south down Melite Street to the Pnyx, while the rest of the procession took the Panathenaic Way all the way through the Agora and up to the Acropolis. By splitting in two, the Panathenaic procession incorporated more of the Athenian landscape into its “ritual armature” than previously thought. Not only was the entire Agora and Acropolis encompassed within this sacred space, but also the Pnyx Hill, its associated monuments, and Melite Street leading up to it. The Pnyx would have been the physical setting of the Panathenaic procession that stayed transformed for the longest. The sacrifice of a *hekatomb* would have produced a very large amount of blood and other bodily fluids from the cows. These would have seeped into the ground and stained the landscape for days after the sacrifice had ended. In this way, even after the procession had passed, the Pnyx would still boast its memory and remain transformed by it for that much longer.

If the 4th c BC Lykourgos stadium was located on the Pnyx, then an effect similar to what we saw with the earlier *dromos* on the Panathenaic Way would have occurred. Not only was the Pnyx an assembly place, but it was a religious site in its own right associated with the Panathenaia through both the games and the sacrifice. In this way, the Pnyx might be interpreted as one of the most important physical settings for the Panathenaic festival because of its associations with these two major events of the festival program. The Panathenaic procession would have transformed the Pnyx from an assembly space, to an athletic facility as well as a theater for the musical contests of the Panathenaia, and finally to a location of sacrifice.

When the Pnyx had returned to its daily usage, every time the assembly met and looked up towards the bema, they would be in the same positions and engaging with the same viewpoints as they did when they were watching the sacrifice to Athena. They would have remembered the grand athletic events as well, some in the crowd being the victorious athletes themselves. This would have been a very significant and powerful way to incorporate the divinity of Athena into the secular events occurring on a daily basis on the Pnyx Hill. In many ways, it would have legitimized acts of legislature, while also reminding the magistrates and political leaders of Athena's continuous presence. Once again, the "ritual armature" of Athens had eclipsed not only the "urban armature" of the city but had also employed social memory to influence the secular realm.

4.4.b. Social Interactions

The 'mobile withs' found on the Pnyx were formed under similar circumstances as those on the Acropolis regarding the sacrifice, but with more complexity. If we are to assume that the procession did indeed split off and take the routes I previously outlined, then there would have been a constant influx of groups climbing the Pnyx at different times and coming from different places. For example, the first 'mobile with' to arrive was the part of the procession with the sacrificial animals. Assuming there was one man to each cow, this would have been a large 'mobile with' consisting of at least 100 people, most likely more. As we will see in the next section, this 'mini-procession' was transforming the spaces it encountered with the social interactions occurring within the group. As we have already seen, these social interactions have the ability to transform spaces that are not physical settings for the procession in their own right. Along the way, the people and their cows would have transformed the area of the city they

moved through and affected the monuments and buildings they passed in the same way that those in the Agora were changed.

Once this large ‘mobile with’ reached the Pnyx, they would have moved the cows into the temporary enclosure that would have been built with similar social interactions that occurred at the Pompeion. Around this time, another ‘mobile with’ arrived at the Pnyx, the second half of the procession now finished with dedicating the peplos to Athena on the Acropolis. This group would have gone into the assembly area to wait for the sacrifice to begin. Meanwhile, the spectators of the procession would have also entered the assembly area, mingling with those who had dedicated the peplos, forming new ‘mobile withs.’ The social interactions between these two groups would transform the use of the assembly from a secular function, to one with religious purpose and significance. Its primary use as an assembly was set aside for its secondary use as a viewing platform from which to view the sacrifice to Athena. This transformation was one that could be felt and easily remembered every time the Athenian body met to decide on what legislature to pass, amongst other things.

Additionally, a number of situational and spontaneous ‘mobile withs’ would have been formed by people breaking off into familiar ‘mobile withs’ with those they had been watching the procession with. A number of these separate groups (spectators and participants) that were so distinct during the procession would now merge as one taking up new ‘temporary congregations.’

Those in charge of the sacrifice would have been in close contact with one another in order to keep everything organized and moving smoothly. These social interactions expanded across the area of the Pnyx, as they were occurring between those at the cattle enclosure, those leading the cows to the altar, those killing the cows, and those pulling the carcasses off to the

side to be transported by horse and cart down into the Agora. This expansion encompassed a wide portion of the Pnyx that exceeded the altar, enclosure, and assembly area. The entire hill had become a sacred space for Athena and was transformed as such by the social interactions that occurred upon its surface.

4.5. The Procession Itself as a ‘Mobile with’

As was alluded to in the previous section, the procession itself was one massive ‘mobile with’ that was sustained over a longer period of time. The social interactions that occurred while the group was making its way through the Agora and up to the Acropolis (or the Pnyx) completely altered the landscape along the processional route. The state-sponsored procession is undoubtedly a formal mobility, as every aspect of it was controlled and staged from the top. The Panathenaic procession was organized, directed, preordained, and controlled in every aspect. The participants were chosen (to a degree), the lineup was organized and most likely controlled by tradition over any other driving factor, as well as the time of the year and time of day. More importantly, the route of this ‘mobile with’ was pre-established, which we have seen in the previous section.

More specifically, the Panathenaic procession was a ‘stretched mobile with,’ a movement that is coordinated and communicated in real time across distances.²¹⁶ Up until this point, there has not been much discussion surrounding the procession’s ability to communicate with the Athenians in real time, across distances. The Panathenaic procession was communicated in real time to those in two separate situations: participants or spectators. The significance and movement of the procession was communicated to each of these groups using a combination of

²¹⁶ Jensen 2013, 82.

all five senses. The most employed sense was sight, most likely followed by hearing, scent, touch, and then taste. In this regard, the main difference between the participants and the spectators was the way in which these senses were experienced.

The spectators were engaged in an immobile 'mobile with' in real time, as they remained stationary while the procession crossed in front of them, communicating its movement as a separate unit. The participants, on the other hand, were physically a part of that movement in real time. They themselves were the movement as part of the 'stretched mobile with' and communicated with the spectators or, in other words, provided them with the sensory experience. At the same time, they communicated the cultural importance and significance of the procession to themselves and the other participants.

As a 'mobile with,' the procession had the ability to transform all spaces within its vicinity by means of the social interactions that occurred within it. The people who made up the procession were those that gave power to certain buildings and spaces they encountered, associating them with the procession as they saw fit. These social interactions were prevalent during all stages of the Panathenaic procession and would have lived on in the Athenian social memory even after they were disbanded. Locations throughout Athens would have held specific meaning to each individual depending on the 'mobile with' they had encountered in that space, as well as which part of the procession they had been interacting with at that time. As with the physical settings, these 'mobile withs' would have maintained a continuous association with the Panathenaic procession, an invisible and imperceptible reminder of the way in which the city transformed on the day of a procession.

4.6. Embodied Performances

The third, and final, element of the MIS model are embodied performances, which are analyzed in this section by directly applying the idea to the Panathenaic procession itself. Processions are mobilities. Mobilities, in turn, are embodied performances that are highly sensorial and complex information-processing events.²¹⁷ Thus, processions are embodied performances that require all five senses in order to process and produce highly complex information. One of the ways this is accomplished is with something called a ‘scenescape,’ or a space with performances where the aspects that are staged from above, meet those that are staged from below.²¹⁸

The procession as a whole was an aspect that was staged from above, as it was organized and funded by the state, and portrayed the values and culture of the Athenians to show how powerful and formidable the city-state was. It served as a large, moving, living piece of propaganda for the Athenians and those visitors from other city-states across the Greek world. Staging from above included aspects of the administration, the traditions that the *athlothetai* had to uphold, the ways in which the procession was organized, how everyone was arranged, which items were to be held, the creation of the peplos, and of course the sacrifice of the cows. Features that were staged from above were not limited to the procession itself but are found in all aspects of the preparations as well. Staging from below was the way in which the procession was actually performed and processed by the individual participants and spectators; the way they walked in the procession, how they interacted with one another, the immediate reception and perception of the procession while engaging with it, etc.

²¹⁷ Jensen 2013, 94.

²¹⁸ Jensen 2013, 94.

There are many points at which ‘scenescapes’ appeared, and they were processed relative to the individual or group interacting with it at that particular time. The procession was a massive ‘scenescape,’ and was interpreted in an infinite number of ways. Once the procession had started, the ‘scenescape’ was officially formed, as the organization and establishment of the event met the performance of the participants, and acknowledgement of the spectators. As the procession made its way down the Panathenaic Way, those who had seen it before would recognize many of the same, common features that are portrayed in each Panathenaia, the aspects of staging from above, but would also notice different, unique adaptations of the procession that came from the different participants’ interpretations of their role in the lineup, which are aspects of staging from below. The convergence of these two characteristics are what made the procession so powerful and allowed it to alter the Athenian landscape throughout the “ritual armature.”

As an embodied performance, these ‘scenescapes’ created visual images and perceptions that were drastically different from those that existed on a daily basis. These images, coupled with their associated movements, emphasized different parts of the landscape while also reminding the viewers of their religious connotations and sacred importance. On the day of the Panathenaic procession, the magnificent image of the brightly colored, varied procession replaced the daily image of the Agora filled with its vendors and secular activities. The participants of the procession were, in a way, part of the ‘scenescape’ and thus had different experiences than the spectators and may have been even more affected by the transformation. If all their previous experience had been as a spectator, then their perception would have been much changed switching to the view of a participant. They would have come in contact firsthand with the agents and processes of the preparations that were directly staging from above, the administrators and others in charge of organizing the procession. Moreover, they would have

become a part of the aspect of staging from above through their participation, while also maintaining their ability to stage from below as they were the ones actually performing, essentially embodying what it was to be an embodied performance.

Moving through this ‘scenescape’ in the procession along the Panathenaic Way, the participants conceptualized the city in a vastly different way than they had a day before. The city was no longer a vast network of streets and buildings but was now centered on a very specific portion of the “ritual armature.” In the minds of these Athenians, their urban landscape had drastically been altered by the introduction of the procession. They were not just making their way through their city, instead, they were traversing a very specific path with the sole intention of getting the procession from the Pompeion all the way to the location of the sacrifice. In this way, processional participants epitomize the relationship between people and mobilities, and are a great example of the ways in which the mobilities of people completely altar the landscape within its cultural significance.

The MIS model allows for the application of different modes of transportation in order to explain the idea of an embodied performance. Besides the Athenian cavalry, the majority of the Panathenaic procession was on foot for the length of the Panathenaic Way. Walking was the most sensible mode of transportation for a procession, not only was it simple, requiring no extra equipment or animals, but it also created the effect of the slow-moving, religious procession. Cameron Duff, an urban theorist, discusses that walking has a deep relationship with the person and their understanding of space saying,²¹⁹

“to walk in the city is to be affected by the city, just as one’s walking affects the city that this walking produces...to walk is to be affected by place to simultaneously contribute to the ongoing co-constitution of self and place.”²²⁰

²¹⁹ Jensen 2013, 102.

²²⁰ Duff 2010, 4; 7.

This statement justifies and solidifies what we have spent this entire chapter discussing. A procession was affected by the city it traversed, but the city was equally affected by the procession. They worked together to produce and reproduce the cultural symbols that displayed what it meant to be an Athenian on the day of the Panathenaic procession. Both participants and spectators would have been aware of their role within Athenian society, as well as their place within the “ritual armature” of the landscape. Their interactions with one another within certain spaces throughout Athens would have transformed the city from its daily organization and usage, to one that was completely absorbed with the Panathenaic procession and all of its connotations.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis has analyzed the transformation of Athenian public spaces caused by the Panathenaic procession using literary and archaeological evidence. The MIS model has been successfully applied to the Athenian procession and has provided a unique approach to analyzing processions in other Mediterranean cultures. The emphasis on the transformative nature of Athenian public spaces is quite novel in the larger discussion of ancient Greek processions and opens up new avenues for exploration. It also makes significant contributions to the field of Greek religion, spatial analysis, and Athenian landscape studies. I have provided a way to study processions that is not oversimplified by focusing on one aspect of the procession but rather, emphasizes the importance of the connectivity of the people and spaces that constitute the processional route. I expanded on MacDonald's "urban armature" theory by adding the notion of the "religious armature," which has allowed me to further demonstrate the spatial involvement of the procession in a way that focuses on the how religious events alter the landscape as a unit. It provides a term for a phenomenon that perhaps has been without a name until this point. Additionally, I have discussed problematic aspects in some widely held theories involving the spaces of the Panathenaic procession and have considered other sites for the sacrifice of the *hekatomb* to Athena. These additional spaces further extend the "religious armature" into areas not traditionally considered to be associated with the Panathenaic procession.

The significance of this thesis rests in its ability to provide a novel framework for analyzing processions which help us living in the modern 21st c. AD world, to better understand a phenomenon that is not completely documented in the sources, nor visible in the archaeological record. By studying the ways in which physical settings and social interactions affect one another as mobilities on the landscape, an aspect of the Panathenaic procession has been revealed that is

not discerned from the archaeological remains. The social interactions allow for the addition of various different spaces and buildings into the areas associated with the procession that are not perhaps obvious by proximity, sources, material remains, or the lack of specific events occurring within their vicinity. Ultimately, in this thesis I have shown that by viewing the people, buildings, and spaces as elements that directly affect one another, the Panathenaic procession not only utterly transformed Athens both physically and symbolically, but also incorporated a larger amount of space within its “religious armature” than previously thought.

These new spaces are not always visible in the archaeological record, which highlights the importance of recognizing these mobile units as active agents of transformation on the Athenian landscape. It is not enough to study the forms we can see such as buildings, roads, the occasional posthole for the *ikria*, or even the literary sources. The transformation we have traced in this thesis was equally reliant on social interactions; processes that are only truly visible when put through an urban theory such as that of ‘mobile withs.’ Both the physical and social aspects must be acknowledged and included in order to get as clear of a picture as possible, being 2500 years removed.

The areas of the city most affected by the procession were the Pompeion, certain areas within the Agora, the Acropolis, and possibly the Pnyx Hill. The Pompeion, Acropolis, and possibly Pnyx were all physical settings inherently associated with the Panathenaic procession and acquired this secondary significance immediately on the day of the procession. With these spaces, the social interactions were required to perform the specific function of the building or, in other words, to make sure it fulfills its purpose. The Pompeion was a permanent landmark that was automatically associated with the procession, but it required the social interactions between the administrators and the participants to actually conduct the preparations. Similarly, the

Acropolis and possibly the Pnyx were associated with the procession because of the permanent structures located on them (the Erechtheion and the Great Altar to Athena), but they still required the social interactions of the Athenians to carry out the dedication of the peplos and the sacrifice.

On the other hand, certain spaces within the Agora were not directly associated with the Panathenaia, making the social interactions the driving force behind their affiliation. The events of the Panathenaic procession caused ‘mobile withs’ to form, which in turn affected the buildings and spaces they came in contact with, adding them to the “ritual armature” of Athens. It was the people that transformed these spaces on the day of a procession. The fundamental part played by the Athenian people highlights the reason for applying such a model to ancient processions; without acknowledging the role that people have in affecting an urban landscape, the majority of the buildings in the Agora would not be considered as aspects of the Panathenaic procession, when there is clearly merit in studying them as such.

In the future, this model can be applied to other classical Athenian processions. The procession of the Great Dionysia would be a great case study and may provide interesting comparanda for the Panathenaic procession, as it did not go directly through the Agora.²²¹ Furthermore, it would be beneficial to apply the MIS theory to pilgrimages, like the Eleusinian Mysteries.²²² Pilgrimages add new levels of complication as processions move outside city boundaries and connects more than one city-state. Would the “ritual armature” then extend to include all the unincorporated territory? Would the two cities’ “ritual armature” become one? These are interesting questions that could be answered by the application of this model.

²²¹ See Simon 1983 starting on page 101; Parke 1977 starting on page 125.

²²² See Dillon 1997, Chapter 3; Elsner and Rutherford 2007.

Overall, this thesis has attempted to show the importance of studying processions as a transformative force that is fueled by both its associated structures and social interactions. There is value in a study such as this one, as it has the ability to reconstruct the story of the use of key areas and structures that are often invisible in the literary and archaeological evidence, and are, as a result, less understood. It is clear that the Panathenaic procession transformed the urban realities of Athens and left an enduring footprint upon its urban structure and population.

Appendix A

Terminology

1. Procession: used for ritual procession; from the Latin word *procedere* meaning “to proceed,” specifically to advance or proceed with offerings to the deity, accompanied by an escort of a large group of people, musicians, sacrificial items, and animals.
2. “Urban armature”: Model proposed by MacDonald, the “formation of cities and towns around a clearly, delineated, path-like core of thoroughfares and plazas that provided uninterrupted passage throughout the town and gave ready access to its principal public buildings.”²²³
3. MIS: ‘Mobilities in Situ’ model produced by Jensen in order to discuss the different elements required for an urban mobility as staged from above and below: physical settings, social interactions, and embodied performances.
4. ‘Mobile withs’: Term coined by Jensen to discuss social encounters formed by social agents moving in ways regulated by physical space.²²⁴ Specifically regarding abnormal social interactions seen within spaces.
5. Sociofugal space: Spaces that force people apart and dissolve groups by separating them spatially, like ancient harbors.
6. Sociopetal space: Spaces that bring people together, like the ancient Agora.
7. Way Station: Architectural units that serve as social structures for pausing or resting.²²⁵

²²³ MacDonald 1986, 3.

²²⁴ Jensen 2013, 79.

²²⁵ MacDonald 1986, 99.

Appendix B – Figures

Chapter 1 Figures

- Day 1 Musical and Rhapsodic Contests
- Day 2 Athletic Contests for Boys and Youths
- Day 3 Athletic Contests for Men
- Day 4 Equestrian Contests
- Day 5 Tribal Contests
- Day 6 Torch Race and *Pannychis*
Procession and Sacrifice
- Day 7 Apobates
Boat Race
- Day 8 Awarding of Prizes
Feasting and Celebrations

Figure 1.1: Program of the Panathenaic festival events [Neils 1992, 15]



East frieze, Parthenon, showing groups of maidens, men, gods, and the family of Erechtheus.

Figure 1.2.b.1: East frieze of the Periclean Parthenon. [Connelly 2014, 185]

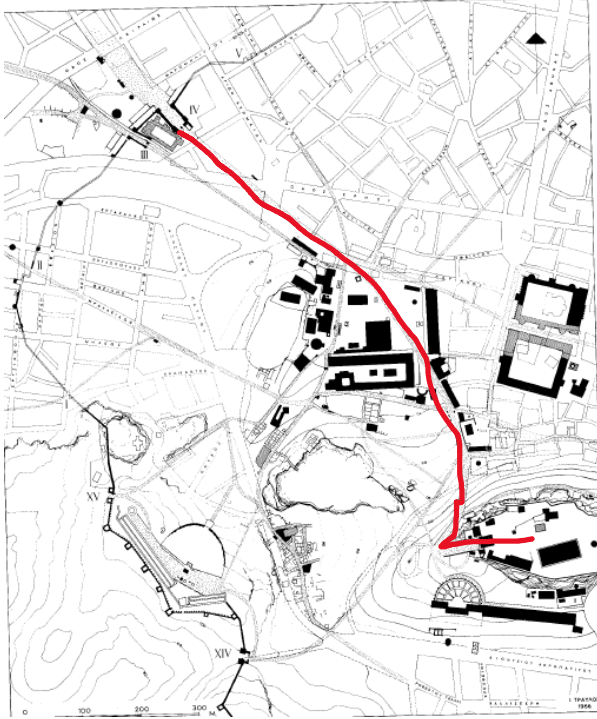


Figure 1.2.b.2: Route of the Panathenaic Procession [Travlos 1971, 20]

Chapter 2 Figures



Figure 2.1: Panathenaic Amphora, 500-480BC. Getty Museum, 77.AE.9.

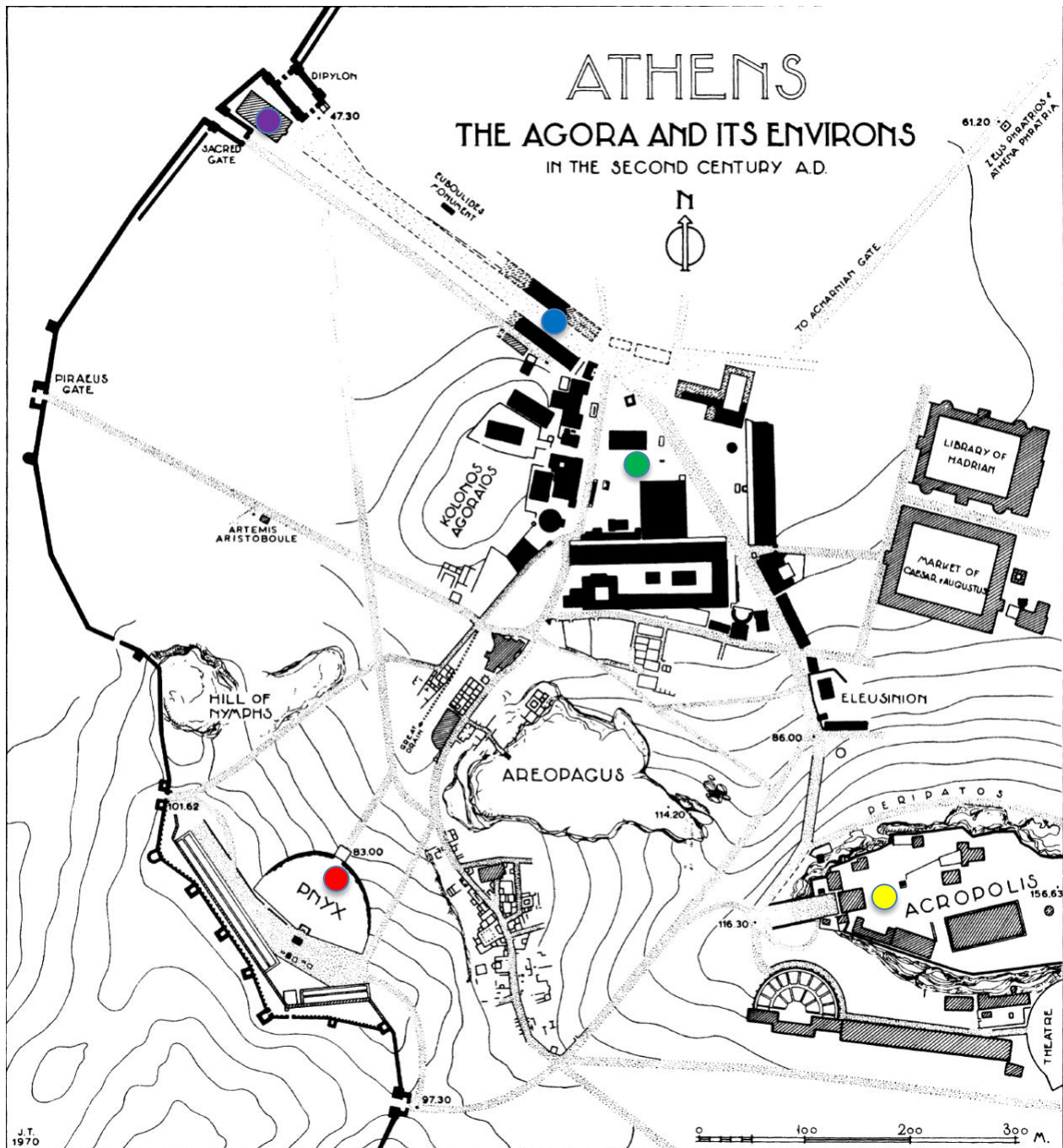


Figure 2.2: Map showing Stops Nos. 1-5 as discussed in Chapter 2, and MIS Stops Nos. 1-4 as discussed in Chapter 4 [Thompson and Wycherley 1972, Plate 1]

Map Key:

- : Stop No. 1 (Chapter 2) and MIS Stop No. 1 (Chapter 4) – The Pompeion
- : Stop No. 2 (Chapter 2) – The earliest *dromos*
- : Stop No. 3 (Chapter 2) and MIS Stop No. 2 (Chapter 4) – The earliest orchestra/the Agora
- : Stop No. 4 (Chapter 2) and MIS Stop No. 3 (Chapter 4) – The Acropolis
- : Stop No. 5 (Chapter 2) and MIS Stop No. 4 (Chapter 4) – The Pnyx Hill

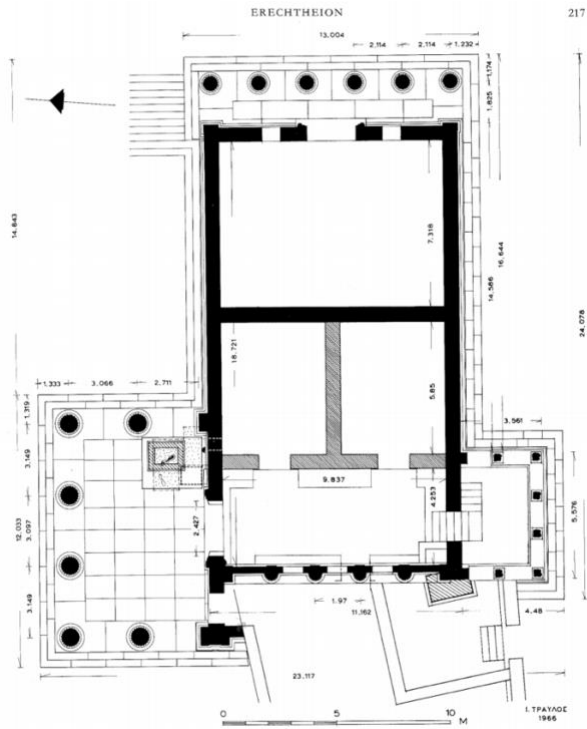


Figure 2.1.2: Plan of the Erechtheion [Travlos 1971, 217]

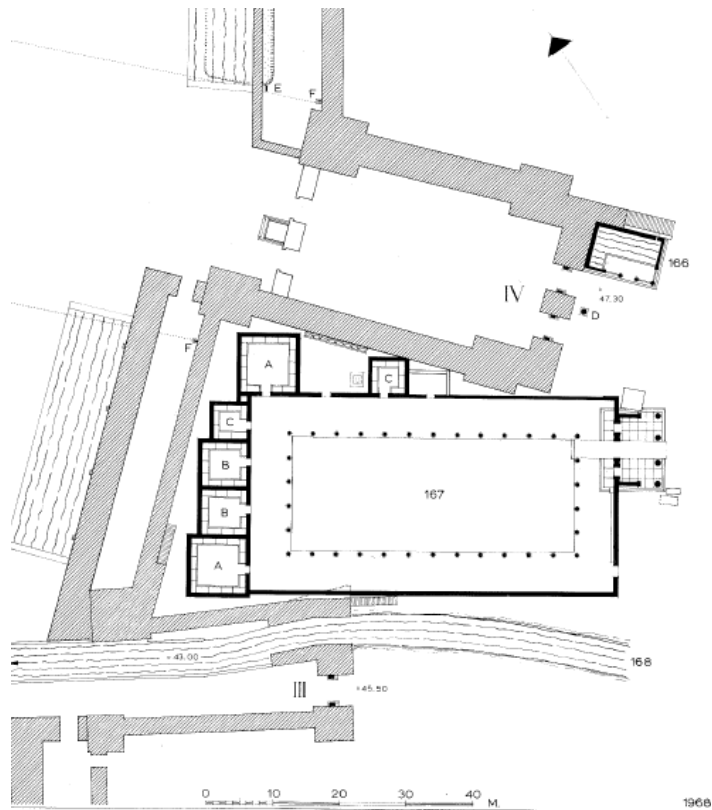


Figure 2.2.1 (Stop No. 1): Plan of the Pompeion. IV: Dipylon Gate; III: Sacred Gate. Rooms A, B, and C contained the foundations of 66 dining couches. [Travlos 1971, 478]

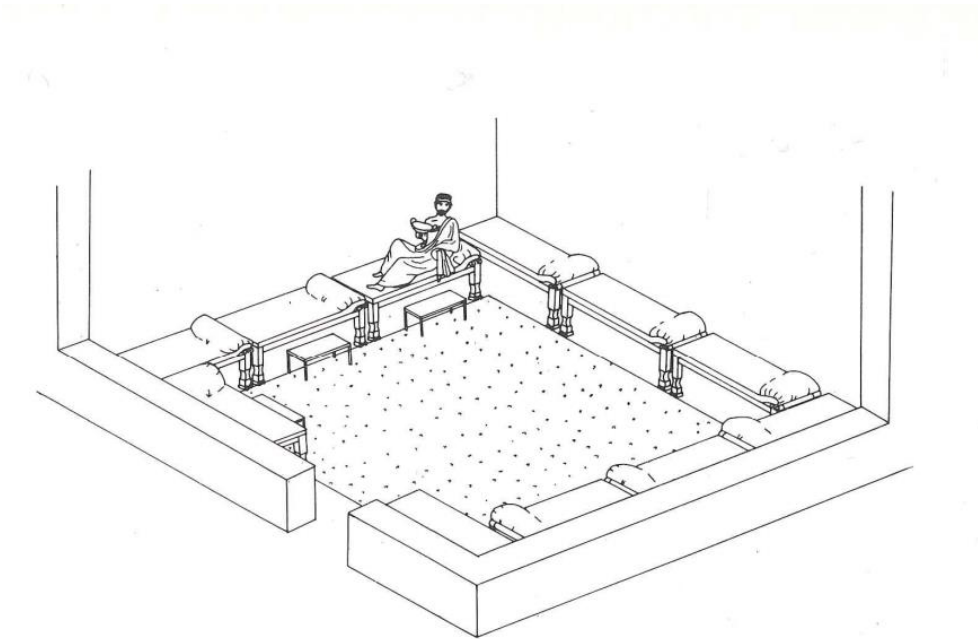


Figure 2.2.2 (Stop No. 1): Reconstruction of the interior of an *andron* from the Pompeian [Knigge 1991, 83]

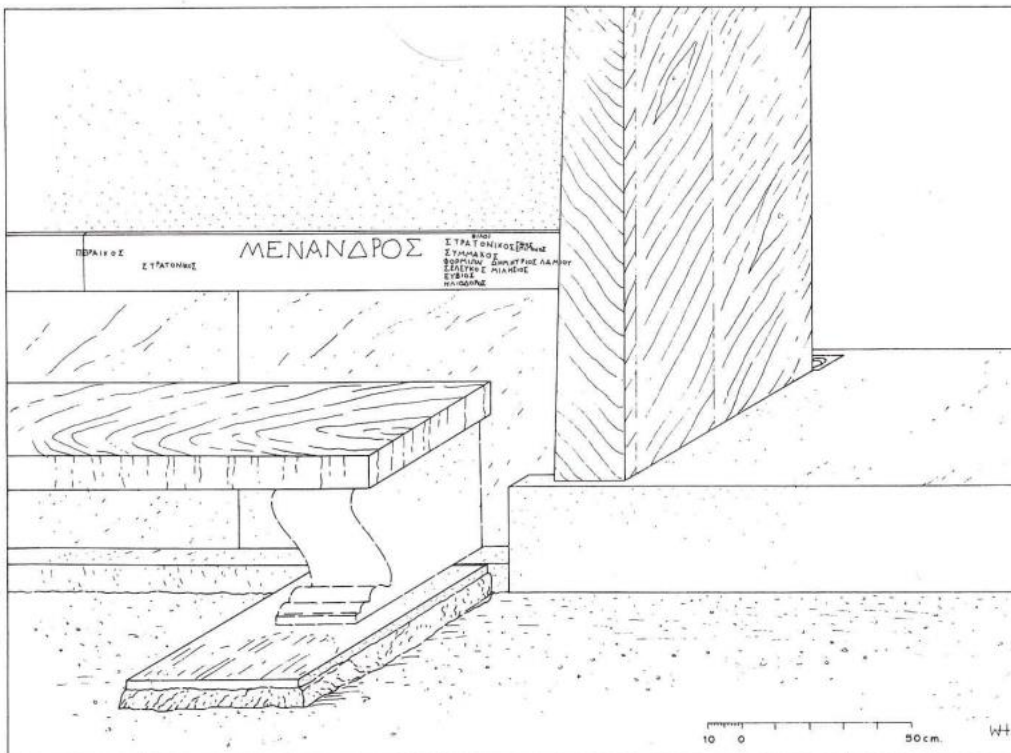


Figure 2.2.3 (Stop No. 1): Drawing of the graffiti written by the ephebes, the name Menandros is very prominent [Knigge 1991, 82]

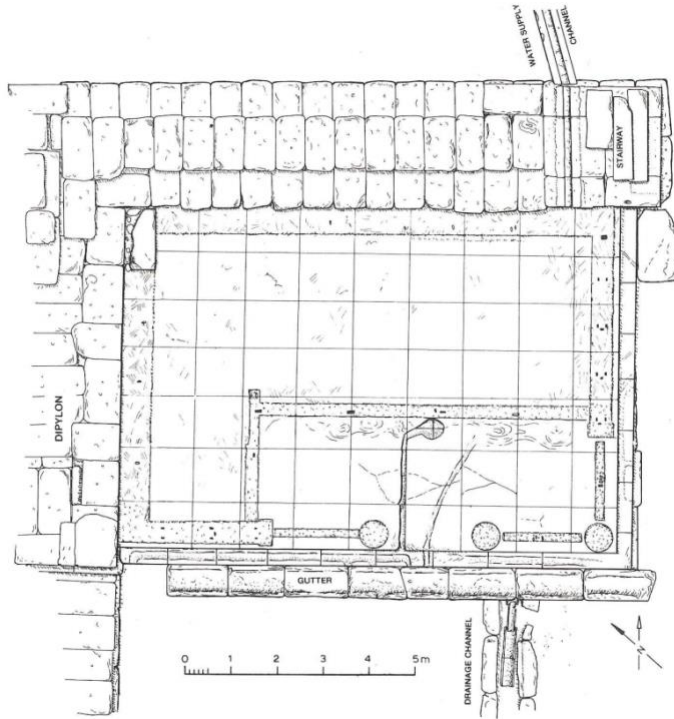


Figure 2.2.4 (Stop No. 1): Plan of the Dipylon fountain house [Knigge 1991, 74]

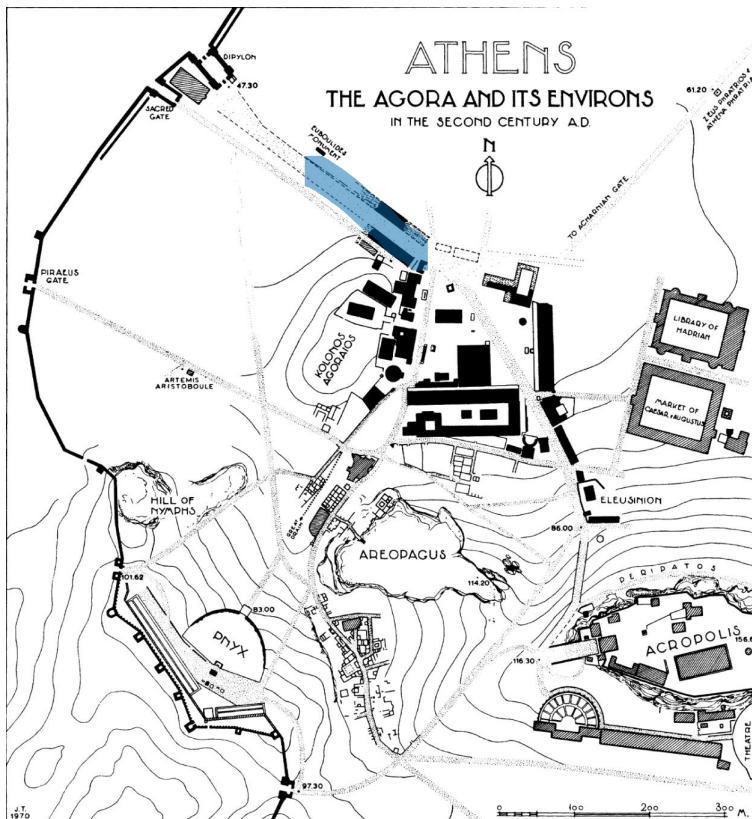


Figure 2.3.1 (Stop No. 1): Marked location of the early *dromos* [Thompson and Wycherley 1972, Plate 1]

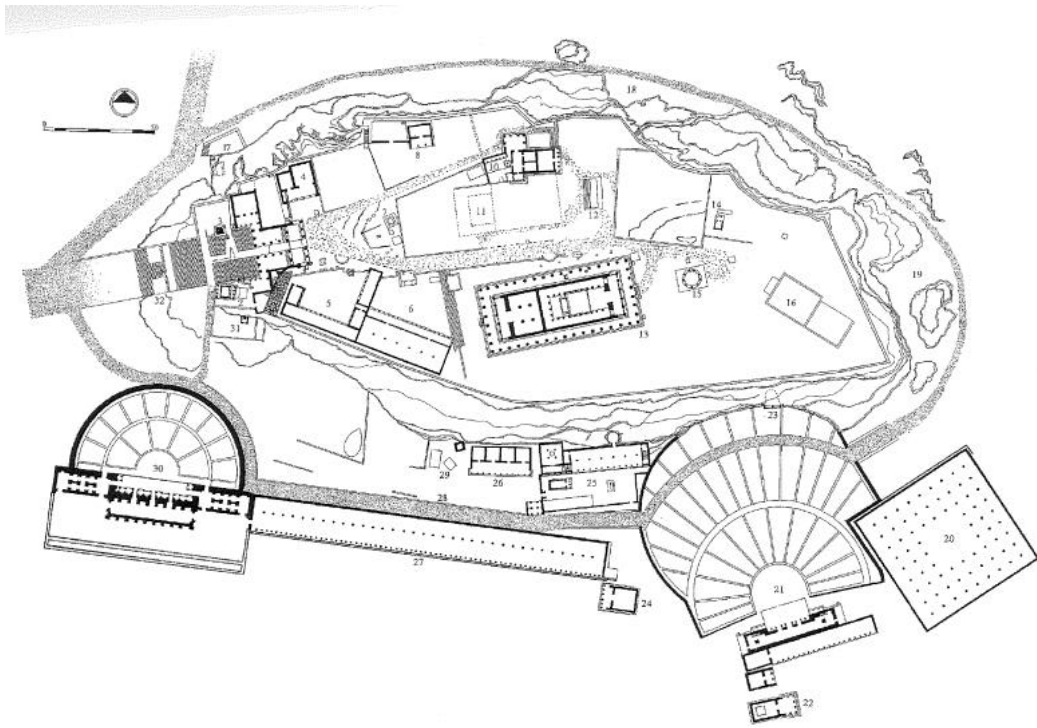


Figure 2.5.1 (Stop No. 4): Plan of the Acropolis [Hurwit 2004, 3]

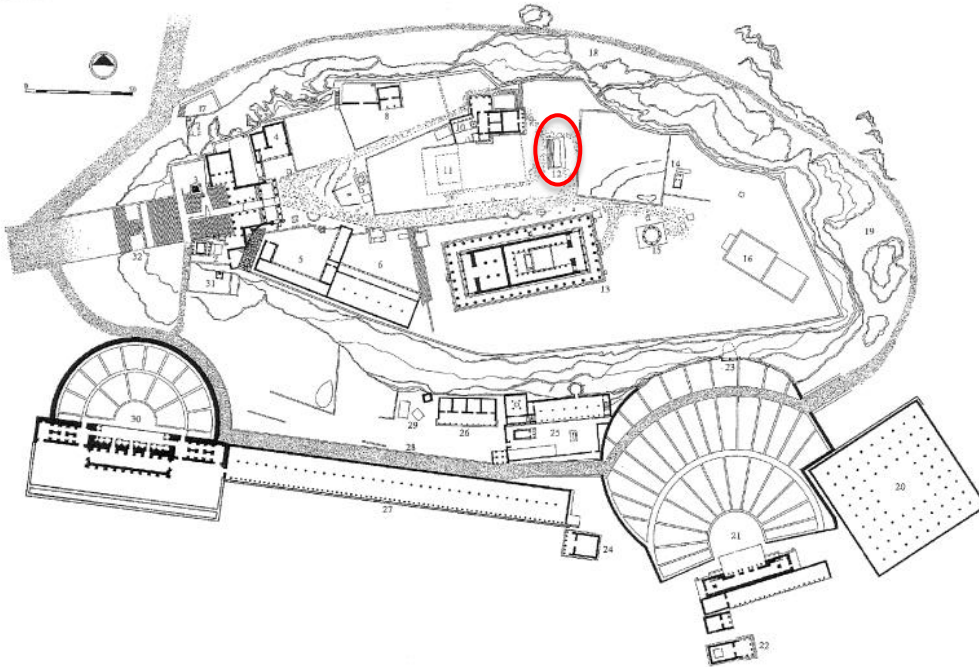


Figure 2.5.2 (Stop No. 4): Suggested location of the Great Altar to Athena [plan by Hurwit 2004, 3]



Figure 2.6.1 (Stop No. 5): The Pnyx facing east. [Photo by Thomas Dowson, Archaeology Travel]



Figure 2.6.2 (Stop No. 5): Boundary stone of the Pnyx, inscription *IG I2 882*. [Kourouniotes 1932, 108]

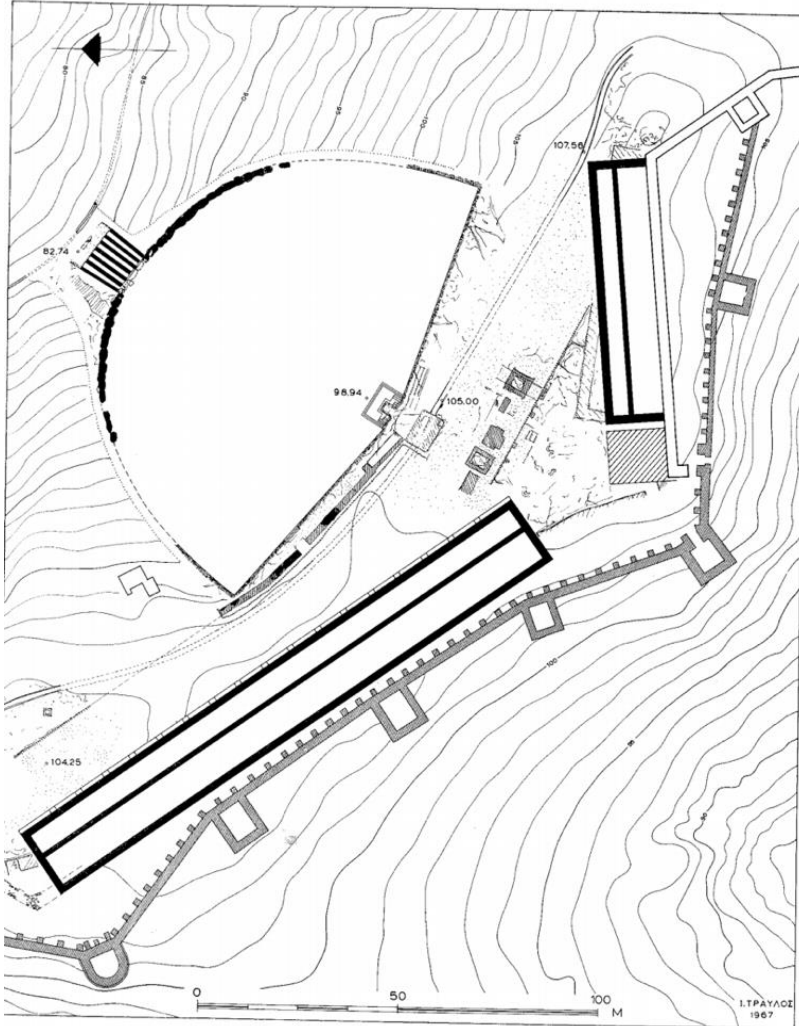


Figure 2.6.3 (Stop No. 5): Plan of the Pnyx Hill showing the two embankments reconstructed as unfinished stoas [Travlos 1971, 469]

Chapter 3 Figures

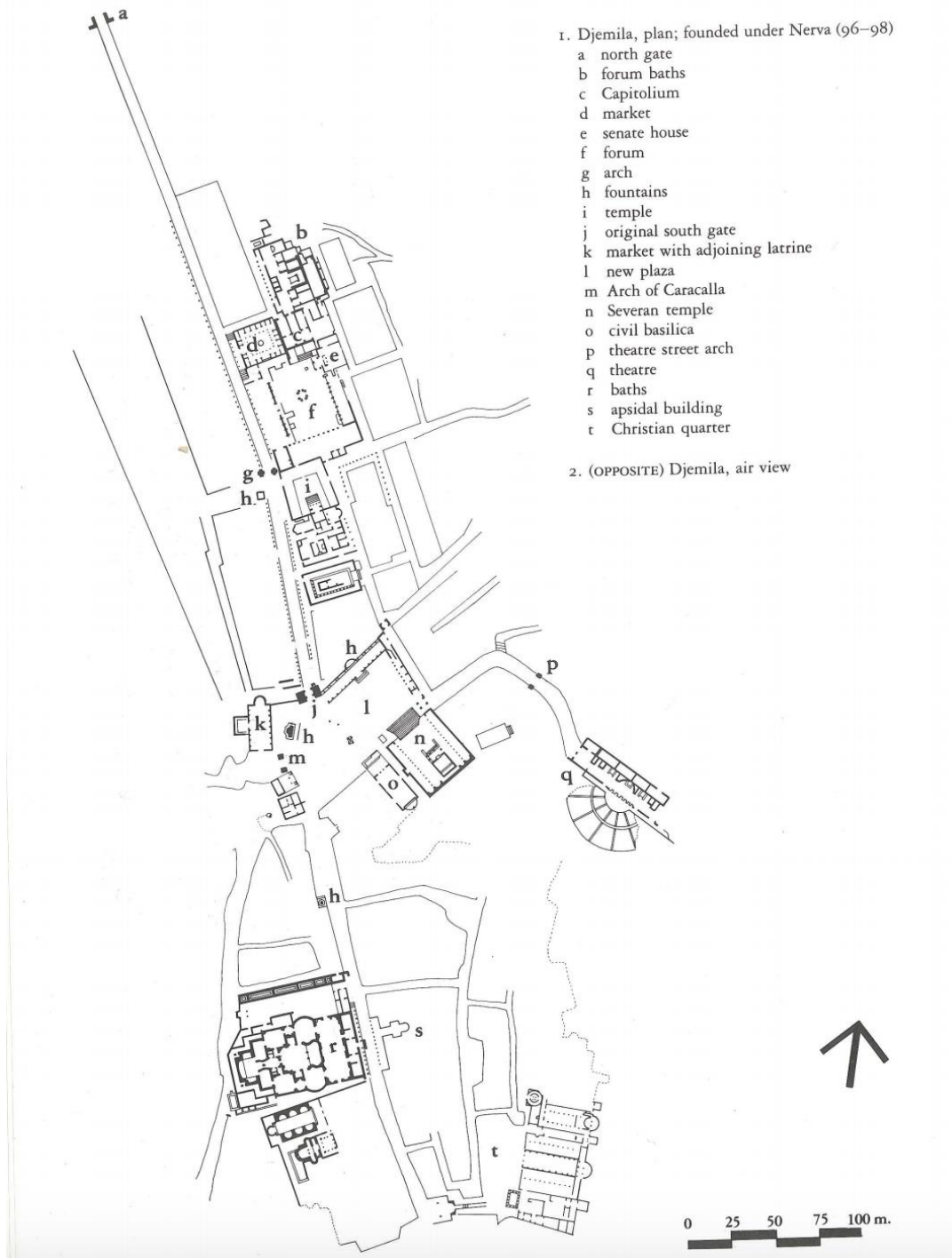


Figure 3.1.1: Map of Djemila depicting the main thoroughfare leading directly from a gate (a) to the forum (f) [MacDonald 1986, 6]



Figure 3.2.1: Staging mobilities diagram [Jensen 2013, 6]

Chapter 4 Figures

MIS STOPS	ANCIENT EVIDENCE	DATE
MIS Stop No. 1: The Pompeion	Pompeion	400 BC (earlier phases attested)
	Androns (<i>klinae</i>)	400 BC
	Arist. <i>Ath.</i>	~328-325 BC
	Paus. 1.2.4.	Mid 2 nd c AD
	<i>IG II₂</i> 1060 and 1036	~108 BC
MIS Stop No. 2: The Agora	Stoa Poikile	Early 5 th c BC
	Stoa of the Herms	Early 5 th c BC
	Stoa Zeus Eleutherius	425-410 BC
	Altar of the Twelve Gods	~522 BC
	Square Peristyle of Lykourgos	~330 BC
	<i>Ikria</i>	Starting in mid 5 th c BC
	South Stoa	425-400 BC
	Eleusinion	Early 5 th c BC
MIS Stop No. 3: The Acropolis	Periclean Erechtheion	Completed 406 BC
	Periclean Parthenon	Completed 432 BC
	Periclean Propylaia	437-432 BC (unfinished)
	Sanctuary of Zeus Polieus	~500 BC
	<i>IG II₂</i> 334	336-330 BC
MIS Stop No. 4: The Pnyx Hill	The Pnyx	Starting ~507 BC
	Unfinished Stoas/Embankments	~330-326 BC
	Altar base	4 th c BC
	Altar	4 th c BC
	Melite Street	“from early times” (Young 1951,167)
	<i>IG I₂</i> 882	Mid 5 th c BC
	<i>IG II₂</i> 334	336-330 BC
<i>IG II₂</i> 351	329 BC	

Figure 4.1: Table showing MIS Stops, and related ancient evidence and their corresponding dates.

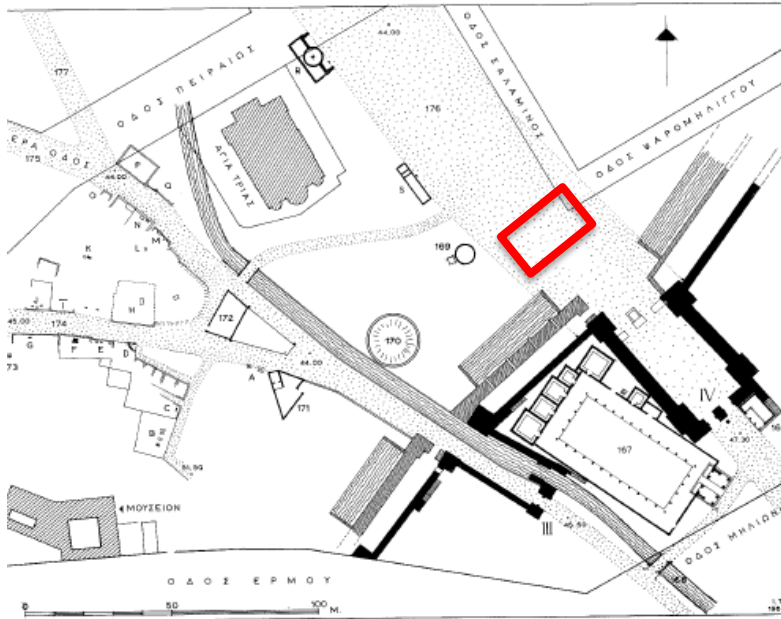


Figure 4.1.a.1 (MIS Stop No. 1): Designated area for temporary enclosure outside of the Dipylon Gate along the Academy Road [plan provided by Travlos 1971, 303]

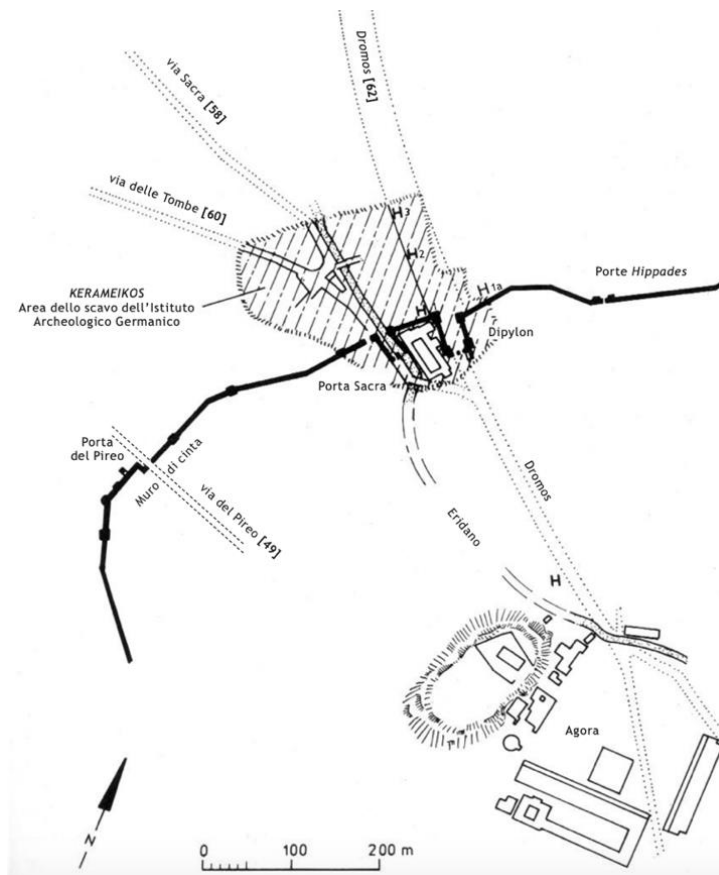


Figure 4.1.b.1 (MIS Stop No. 1): Outline of the Pompeion's boundary as per the Kerameikos excavations [Ficuciello 2008, 38]

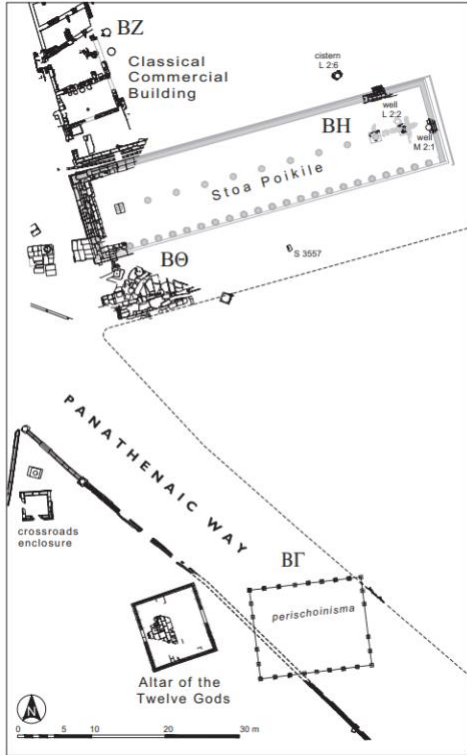


Figure 4.2.a.1 (MIS Stop No. 2): 2012 ASCSA excavation trenches near the Stoa Poikile. [Camp 2015, 468]

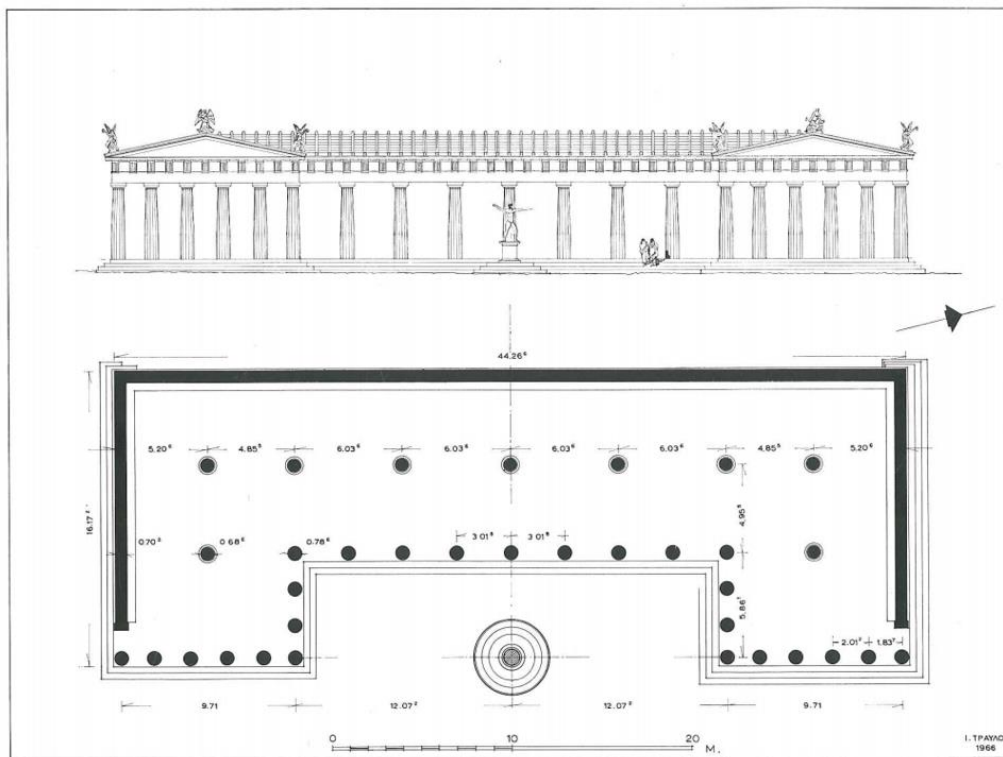


Figure 4.2.a.2 (MIS Stop No. 2): Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius [Travlos 1971, 529]



Figure 4.2.b.1 (MIS Stop No. 2): Altar of the Twelve Gods [Travlos 1971, 460]

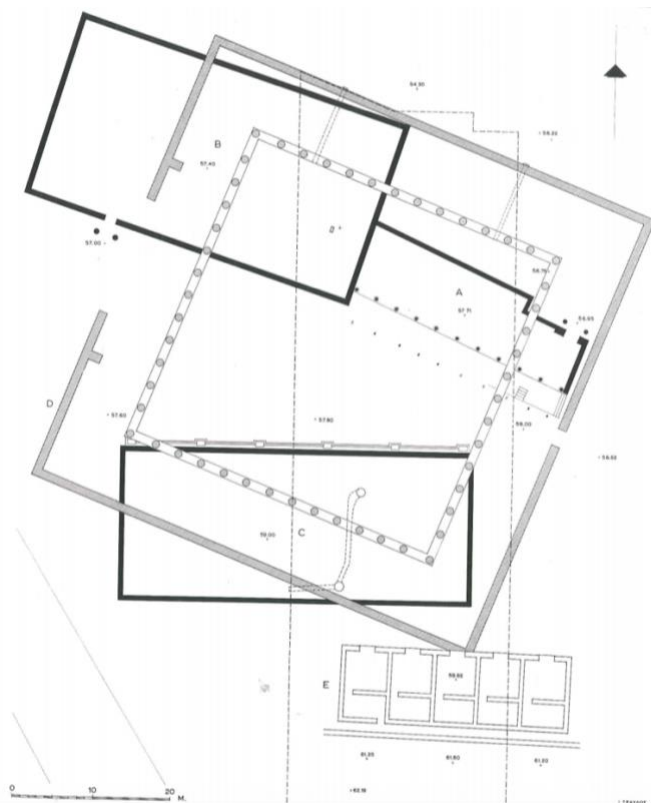


Figure 4.2.b.2 (MIS Stop No. 2): The square peristyle is labeled as D on this plan. [Travlos 1971, 521]

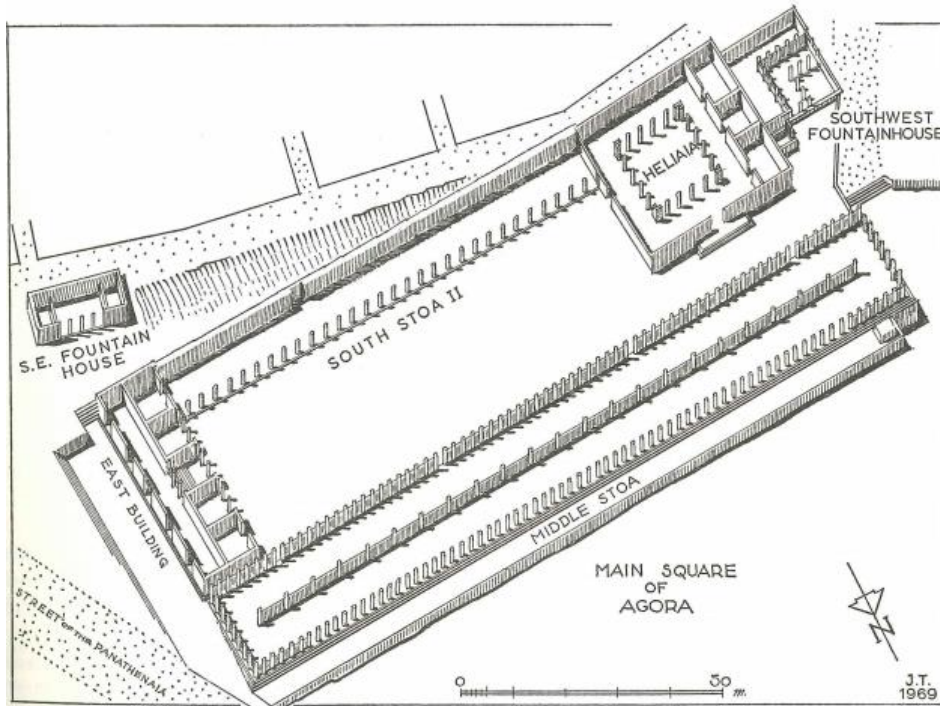


Figure 4.2.b.3 (MIS Stop No. 2): Plan of the South Stoa [Thompson 1972, 65]

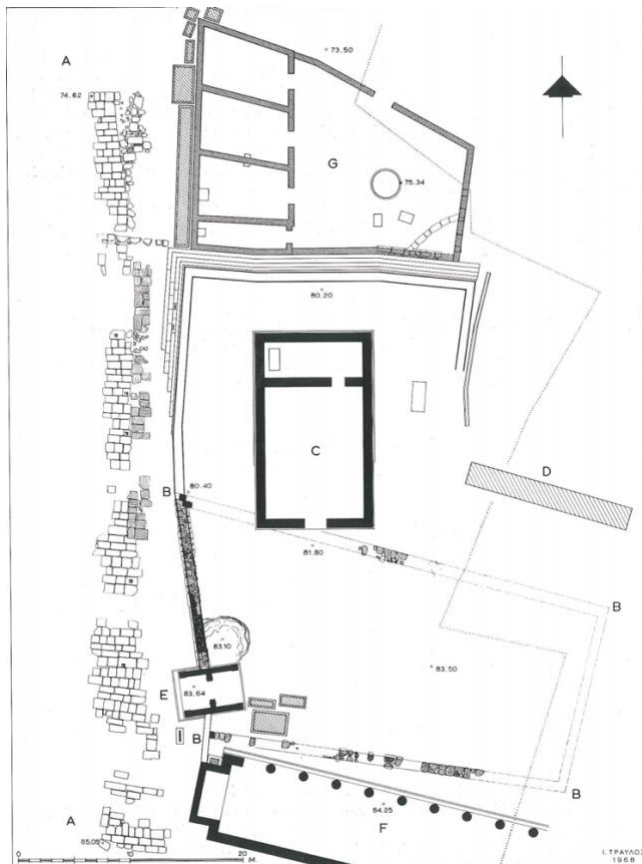


Figure 4.2.b.4 (MIS Stop No. 2): Plan of the precinct surrounding the Eleusinion, labeled C. [Travlos 1971, 200]

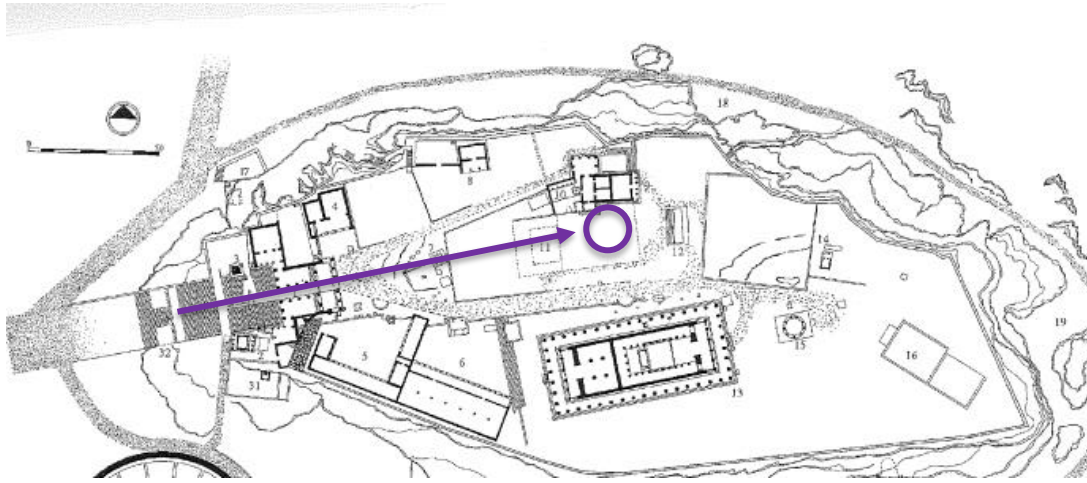


Figure 4.3.b.1 (MIS Stop No. 3): Gathering location for the dedication of the peplos outside of the Erechtheion [plan by Hurwit 2004, 3]

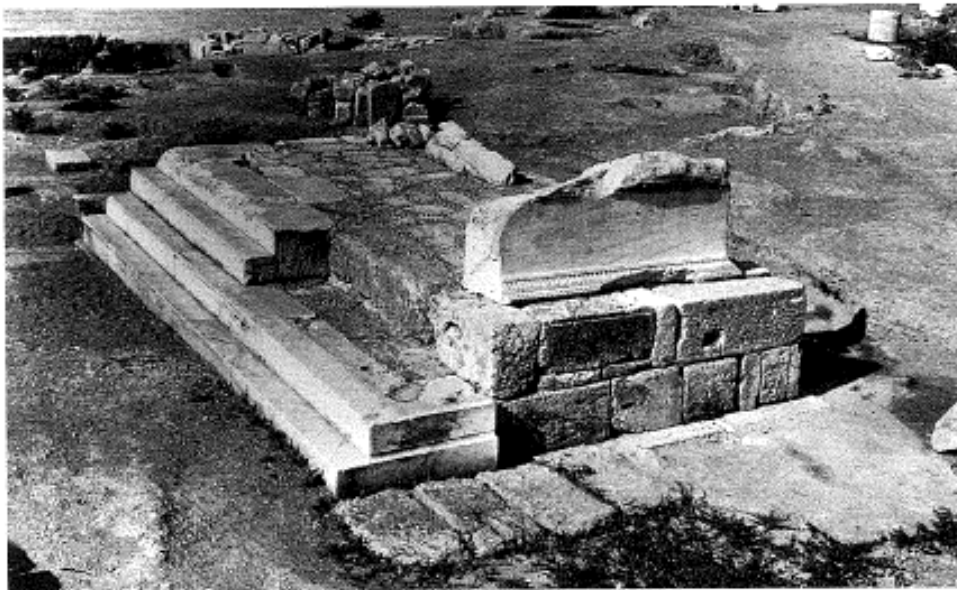


Figure 4.4.a.1 (MIS Stop No. 4): The Great Altar in front of the Metroön in the Agora. [Romano 1996, Fig. 32]

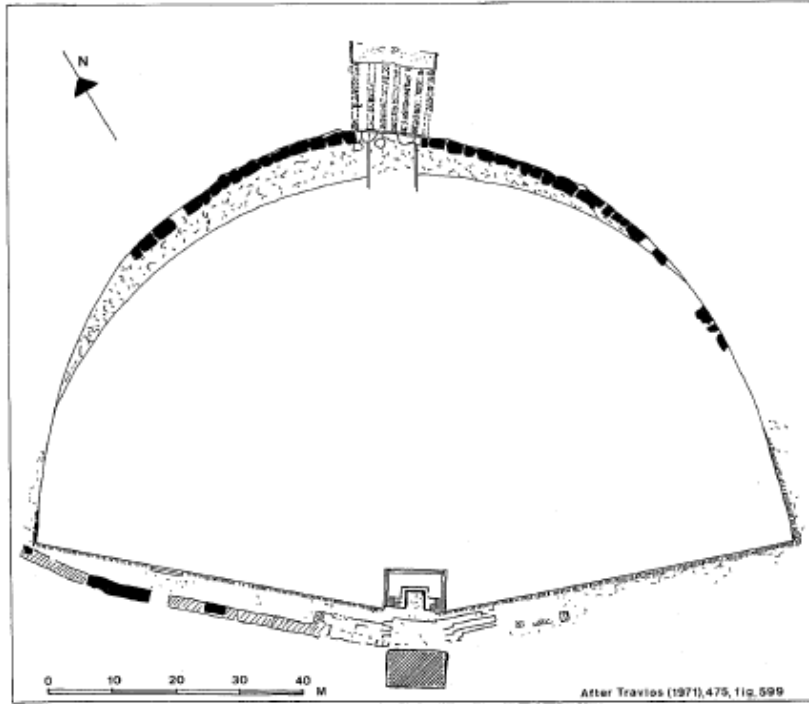


Figure 4.4.a.2 (MIS Stop No. 4): Plan of the assembly area on the Pnyx Hill in relation to the altar above the bema. [Romano 1996, Fig. 33]



Figure 4.4.a.3 (MIS Stop No. 4): Bust of Athena from the Pnyx Hill. [Travlos 1971, 476]

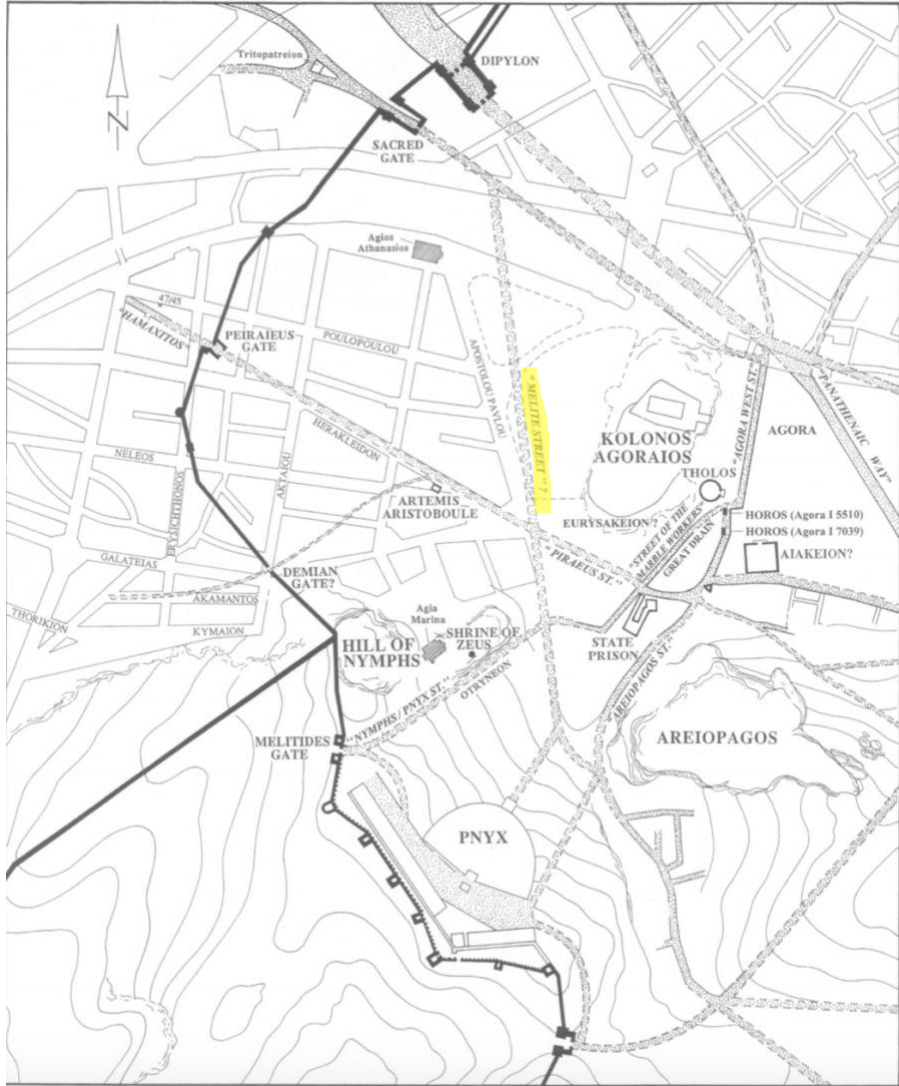


Figure 4.4.a.4 (MIS Stop No. 4): Plan showing Melite Street [Lalonde 2006, 84]

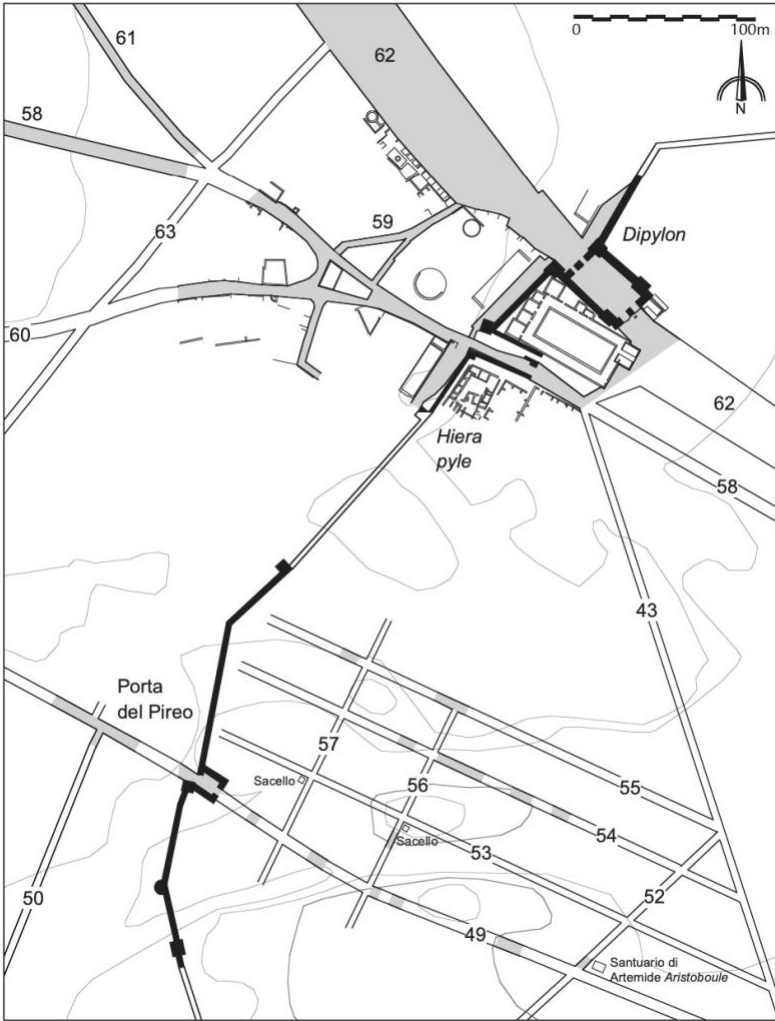


Fig. 66 - La rete stradale del quartiere dell' Heptachalkon

Figure 4.4.a.5 (MIS Stop No. 4): Northern most outlet of the Melite Street into the Pompeion, labeled as 43 on the plan [Ficuciello 2008, 225]

Works Cited

- Arrington, Nathan. 2010. "Topographic Semantics: The Location of the Athenian Public Cemetery and Its Significance for the Nascent Democracy." *Hesperia* 79, 4: 499-539.
- Benjamin, Walter. 2002. *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bicudo, José R., Roy Burris, et al. 2003. "Handling Beef Cattle." *University of Kentucky College of Agriculture, Food, and Environment*.
- Cahill, Nicholas. 2002. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Camp, John. 1986. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Camp, John. 1996. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1994 and 1995." *Hesperia* 65, 3: 231-261.
- Camp, John. 2001. *The Archaeology of Athens*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Camp, John. 2015. "Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 2008-2012." *Hesperia* 84, 3: 467-513.
- Connelly, Joan B. 1996. "Parthenon and Parthenoi: A Mythological Interpretation of the Parthenon Frieze." *AJA* 100, 1:53-80.
- Connelly, Joan B. 2014. *The Parthenon Enigma*. Knopf.
- Connolly, Peter and Hazel Dodge. 1998. *The Ancient City: Life in Classical Athens & Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dillon, Matthew. 1997. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge.
- Duff, Cameron. 2010. "On the role of affect and practice in the production of place." *Environment and planning D: Society and Space* 28, 5: 881-895. "
- Elsner, Jas and Rutherford, Ian. 2007. *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ficuciello, Laura. 2008. *Le strade di Atene (SATAA 4), tavv. I-II, figg. 65-66 fuori testo*. Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene-Pandemos.
- Gadbery, Laura M. 1992. "The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora: A Revised View." *Hesperia* 61, 4: 447-489.
- Gerding, Henrik. 2006. "The Erechtheion and the Panathenaic Procession." *AJA* 110, 3: 389-501.

- Goffman, Erving. 1982. *Interaction on Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gruben, Gottfried. 1969. "Untersuchungen am Dipylon, 1964-1966." *AA* 84: 31-40.
- Hurwit, Jeffrey. 2004. *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jensen, Ole B. 2013. *Staging Mobilities*. London: Routledge.
- Knigge, Ursula. 1991. *The Athenian Kerameikos: History-Monuments-Excavations*. Krene.
- Kourouniotes, Konstantinos and Homer Thompson. 1932. "The Pnyx in Athens." *Hesperia* 1: 90-217.
- Kristensen, Troels Myrup. 2018. "Mobile situations: *Exedrae* as stages of gathering in Greek sanctuaries." *World Archaeology* 50, 1: 86-99.
- Kyle, Donald G. 1992. "The Panathenaic Games: Sacred and Civic Athletics." In *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*. Hanover, N.H.: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College. 77-101.
- Lalonde, Gerald V. 2006. "IG I³ 1055 B and the Boundary of Melite and Kollytos." *Hesperia* 75, 1: 83-119.
- MacDonald, William. 1986. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II: An Urban Appraisal*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Miles, Margaret M. 1998. *The City Eleusinion*. The Athenian Agora, Vol. 31. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Miller, Stephen. 2001. *Excavations at Nemea II: The Early Hellenistic Stadium*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Miller, Stephen. 2004. *Ancient Greek Athletics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Neils, Jenifer. 1992. *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*. Princeton University Press.
- Osborne, Robin. 1994. "Democracy and Imperialism in the Panathenaic Procession: The Parthenon Frieze in its Context." In *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*. Proceedings of an International Conference celebrating 2500 years since the birth of democracy in Greece, held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4-6, 1992.

- Papanicolaou-Christensen, Aristeia. 2003. *The Panathenaic Stadium: Its History Over the Centuries*. Hellenic Republic - Ministry of Culture, General Secretariat for the Olympic Games.
- Parke, Herbert W. 1977. *Festivals of the Athenians*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Raubitschek, Antony E. 1949. *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* Archaeological Institute of America: Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Romano, David Gilman. 1985. "The Panathenaic Stadium and Theater of Lykourgos: A Re-Examination of the Facilities on the Pnyx Hill." *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, 3: 441-54.
- Romano, David Gilman. 1993. *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: The Origins of the Greek Stadion*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Romano, David Gilman. 1996. "Lykourgos, the Panathenaia and the Great Altar of Athena: Further Thoughts Concerning the Pnyx Hill." In *The Pnyx in the History of Athens: Proceedings of an International Colloquium Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, 7-9 October 1994*. Edited by Björn Forsén and Greg Stanton. Finland.
- Schwab, Katherine and Marice Rose. 2015. "Fishtail Braids and the Caryatid Hairstyling Project: Fashion Today and in Ancient Athens." *Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty, and Style* 4, 2: 1-24.
- Shear, Julia. 2001. "Polis and Panathenaia: The History and Development of Athena's Festival." PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Shear, Leslie. 1975. "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1973-1974." *Hesperia* 44, 4: 331-374.
- Simon, Erika. 1983. *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stevens, Gorham. 1940. "The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon." *Hesperia Supplements* 3: 1-91.
- Thompson, Homer and Robert L. Scranton. 1943. "Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx." *Hesperia* 12, 4: 269-383.
- Thompson, Homer. 1950. "The Odeion in the Athenian Agora." *Hesperia* 19, 2: 31-141.
- Thompson, Homer. 1959. "Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1958." *Hesperia* 28, 1: 91-108.

Thompson, Homer and Richard E. Wycherley. 1972. *The Agora of Athens Volume XIV: The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Travlos, John. 1971. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Valavānes, Panos. 2017. *Games and Sanctuaries in Ancient Greece: Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Athens*. Kapon Editions.

Warford, Erin. 2015. "The Multipolar *Polis*: A Study of Processions in Classical Athens and the Attic Countryside." PhD dissertation, University at Buffalo.

Young, Rodney. 1951. "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens." *Hesperia* 20, 3: 135-288.