CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Panathenaic Procession: Athens' Participatory Democracy on Display?

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Introduction

The Panathenaia was a state festival celebrated in honor of Athena, Athens' patron divinity.[1] It took place over a period of roughly a week and included musical and athletic contests, sacrifices, a boat regatta, a procession, an all-night revelry, a torch race, and, most importantly, a dedication of a garment to Athena. The Panathenaia has been called the "most political" of Athens' festivals and has been treated as distinctly democratic or populist.[2] This modern assessment echoes that of the Athenians themselves, who saw the Panathenaia as the event that occasioned the defeat of the tyrants and the birth of democracy.[3] And indeed, the festival is exceptional for its inclusiveness—which many scholars have read as an expression of a specifically democratic impulse. Jenifer Neils' recent comment is representative of this reading of the democratic and civic aspects of the Panathenaia. "In its inclusiveness, it exemplified the city's participatory democracy; in its contests it demonstrated the competitive spirit of its people; with its prizes it displayed the skills of its artisans and the wealth of its produce; and above all it celebrated Athena as the divine protectress of a glorious city."[4]

While Neils is no doubt correct in identifying many of the festival's politically inclusive features, her analysis is too simple a summation of the ways in which the Panathenaia and Athens' civic life intersected.[5] In particular, Neils assumes that the Panathenaia "exemplified" or "displayed" the nature of Athens as a democratic city—that is, that the Panathenaia did not so much contribute to the civic life of Athens as simply reflect its political and social structures and val-

ues. In this respect, her comments are typical of scholarly opinion on the ways Athenian democracy influenced the city's religious life. Certain religious practices such as the cult of the Tyrannicides and the myths and rituals associated with Theseus, for example, rightly have been treated as symptomatic of Athens' developing democracy. Yet, not all religious practices in Athens were so obviously politically motivated.[6] The Panathenaia, in particular, existed long before democracy took root in Athens, and we might wonder to what degree it really became a specifically democratic festival in the fifth and fourth centuries, as Neils implies. Conversely, we may ask whether the festival, particularly its traditional elements that persisted over a long period, contributed to or even challenged Athenian democratic values.

In this chapter, then, I will examine Athens' most political festival, the Panathenaia, and thereby explore the relationship between Athens' democracy and Athens' religious practices. In particular, the procession, which will be the focus of this study, was the most inclusive event of the festival because elite and nonelite citizens marched, as did noncitizens: women, resident aliens (metics), and freed slaves.[7] Was this inclusiveness an expression of Athens' participatory democracy? Or did the participation of a broad spectrum of Athenian residents in the Panathenaic procession, a predemocratic and traditional feature of the Panathenaia, challenge political definitions of the Athenian community that carefully demarcated citizens from noncitizens? In narrowing the question of how Athenian democracy may have influenced or co-opted traditional religious practices to an examination of one feature of one festival, I hope to suggest the complexity of the issue at hand, namely the interplay between classical Athens' political and religious spheres. More importantly, this analysis of the Panathenaic procession should demonstrate that any analysis that sees religion, or religious activities such as a festival, as a mere reflection of politics will necessarily be incomplete and never capture the vitality of Athens' civic life which was shaped by the interplay of both its religious and political commitments.

The Panathenaic Procession

The Panathenaic procession, like the Panathenaic musical and athletic contests, had its own rules about who was permitted to march and how the marchers were to conduct themselves. The self-presentation of all participants was determined by the order in which they marched and items they wore or carried. These two parameters, order and items, partly registered the marchers' social status and partly reorganized them under Athena's aegis into a hierarchical order that did not necessarily reflect current political and social hierarchies of male over female, elite over nonelite, citizen over metic.

Athenian citizens who marched were distinguished by various male civic identities: magistrates, cavalry men, heavily armed soldiers (hoplites), military recruits (ephebes). Demesmen, a category that would have included all economic classes of citizens, also marched; a late-fourth-century inscription records them as recipients of meat from Panathenaic sacrifices.[8] All citizens with more clearly marked processional roles than simply "demesman," though, would have come largely from the upper half of Athenian society. Among the noncitizens with clearly marked roles, there were Athenian girls, young women and wives as sacrificial ministrants, all from elite families,[9] and metics. While there is no evidence about the selection or background of these metics, they had to be able to afford appropriate costumes, and thus they probably were wealthy. Missing from the well-marked procession of armed citizens were the thetes, members of the lowest economic class. These citizens were often rowers on Athens' fleet, light-armed soldiers, or archers, and they were increasingly responsible for Athens' military might. Even if included among the demesmen, they were noticeably absent from the procession proper.[10] So were Athenian females from nonelite families. To say that the Panathenaia was inclusive, then, obscures the distinctions that its processional order made between nonelite citizens, who could only march among the demesmen, and elite citizens, who could both occupy clearly marked processional roles and march among the demesmen and who, curiously, were accompanied in the procession proper by noncitizens, i.e., females and metics.

The sequence of these participants in the Panathenaic procession no doubt varied over the years. Certain general features, however, would have remained constant. Those carrying items used in the sacrifice preceded all others and the cavalry consistently seems to be last in the procession proper. The latter's order can be approximated from three types of sources: literary descriptions of processional orders, which are likely to have been analogous to the Panathenaia;[11] scattered literary testimonia about Panathenaic marchers,[12] although these seldom provide information about the placement of marchers; and the Parthenon frieze (fig. 1). Of these, the frieze offers the most impressive evidence for the order of marchers, despite scholarly questions about whether the Parthenon frieze represents the Panathenaic procession.[13] In my opinion, for example, John Kroll's treatment of these questions illustrates well why and how the frieze can indeed impart useful information about the procession's order.[14]

That the frieze represents the Panathenaic procession has been questioned because it does not depict the marchers mentioned in some late and scattered literary sources.[15] While it is doubtful whether such late sources are valid for the interpretation of a fifth-century monument, this line of inquiry raises an issue

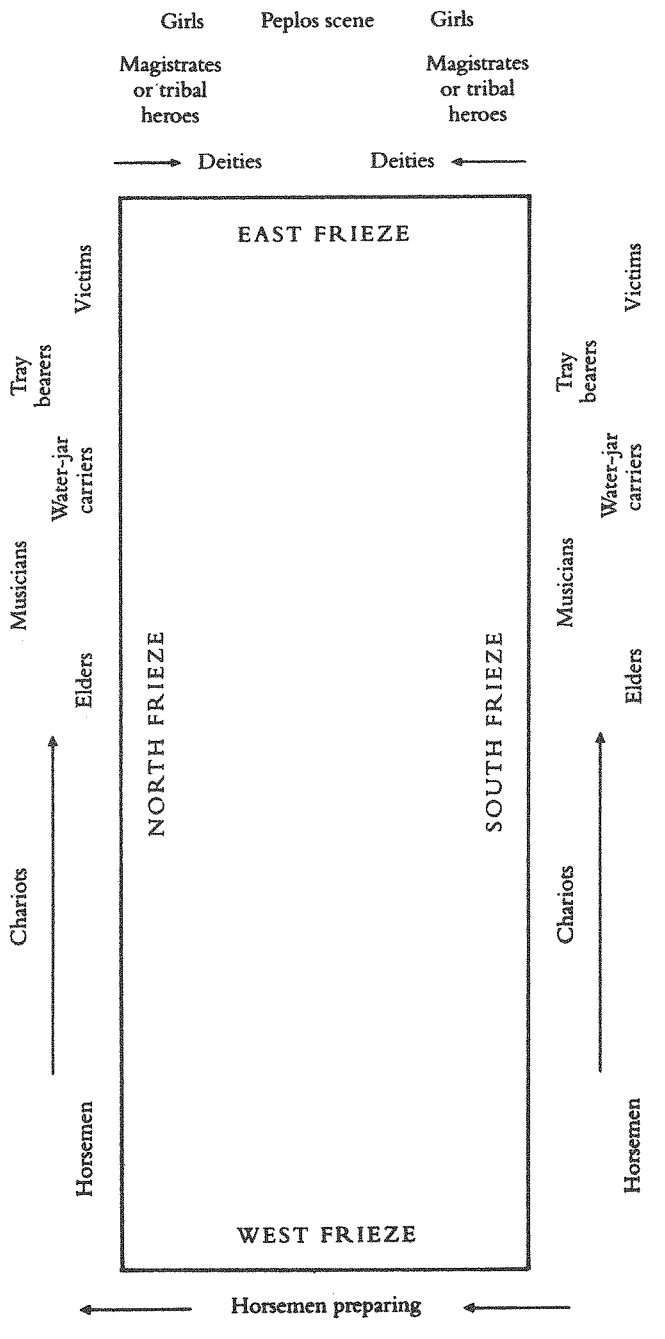

Figure 1 Plan of the Parthenon frieze. Jenkins 1994.82, fig. 12b. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum, British Museum Press.

worth considering: the preponderance of horsemen who dominate the west, north, and south sides of the frieze. Horsemen and charioteers certainly did participate in the procession, but why do they appear on the frieze in such abundance and to the exclusion of hoplites and Athenian demesmen, who no doubt were more numerous both in the procession and the city?[16] The explanation lies in the significance of horses in classical Athens. Although hoplites massively outnumbered cavalry in the Athenian military, soldiers were often represented as horsemen on individual funerary monuments. Public grave monuments also overrepresent cavalry while denying horses to defeated enemies.[17] Yet traditionally horses were the privilege of the aristocracy; even when the state funded the maintenance of horses for its newly formed cavalry, equestrian pursuits maintained their aristocratic associations.[18] Thus, while horsemen are typical of Ionic friezes, and in this respect the Parthenon is predictable,[19] the horsemen on the Parthenon are not simply decorative or representational.

In part, their significance is indicated by the nudity of some horsemen on the frieze. While competitors in athletic contests may have competed without clothes, neither soldiers nor marchers performed their duties nude. Larissa Bonfante has argued that nudity was a "costume" in classical Athens, where "it comes to mean something special. No longer does it mean vulnerability; it means, on the contrary, the readiness to stand up and fight even though one knew one was vulnerable . . . The relation of this manly nudity to the nudity of the gods is also crucial: the gods could be nude because they relied on themselves."[20] The horsemen of the Parthenon frieze, both nude and clothed, then, might be understood as representing all citizen marchers, demesmen, hoplites, and cavalry, in strikingly heroic guise. Whether this particular construction of the demos can be read as its own appropriation of elite prerogatives or as the elite's success in setting itself as the benchmark for manly and civic courage and divine favor may be disputed.[21] What is clear is that the frieze does not represent the Panathenaic procession with photographic likeness. Nonetheless, it agrees in general outline with the literary, epigraphical, and iconographical evidence about the order of marchers.

Unlike the frieze, however, this evidence is not from the fifth and fourth centuries, when Athens' democracy was at its height, and this again causes interpretative problems. It is difficult to determine to what degree our literary sources—grammarians and scholiasts (commentators) writing many centuries later—describe the Panathenaic procession of the classical age. An early representation of the Panathenaic procession on a cup from the beginning of the sixth century may provide some clues.[22] It includes only basket-bearers (*kanēphoroi*), musicians, branch-bearers (*thallophoroi*), hoplites, and cavalry, suggesting that the

early procession included only sacrificial ministrants and the population under arms, that is, fewer groups than were in the procession later on. In this early, pre-democratic procession there are, for example, no tray-bearers or stool-bearers. In the later procession, metics performed these duties. Since the institution of *metoikia* which formalized the status of resident aliens was legally established not before Kleisthenes' reforms, positions occupied by metics were most likely created sometime after these reforms.[23] The absence of female basket-bearers (*kanēphoroi*) and weavers (*ergastinai*) on the cup is also notable: both groups of females were no doubt included in the early procession because dedications of robes to goddesses were typically the responsibility of women.[24] Thus, this representation is no more a "photograph" of the early Panathenaic procession than the frieze of the fifth-century version. If it is representative at all, it suggests, nevertheless, that the earlier procession, although structured by the threefold division evidenced for the later procession by the frieze and other sources, had fewer dignitaries and specialized roles than its later counterpart. The following list of marchers, although derived from late and scattered literary sources, can thus be understood as representing the Panathenaic procession of the fifth and fourth centuries, that is, at the height of its formalization.

Procession proper:[25] (1) basket-bearers (*kanēphoroi*): Athenian girls,[26] (2) parasol-bearers (*skiadēphoroi*): metic girls,[27] (3) stool-bearers (*diphrophoroi*): metic girls,[28] (4) weavers (*ergastinai*): Athenian girls or wives,[29] (5) carriers of sacred objects (*arrhēphoroi*): Athenian girls,[30] (6) animals for sacrifice, (7) tray-bearers (*skaphēphoroi*): metic men,[31] (8) water-bearers (*hydriaphoroi*): metic girls,[32] (9) musicians,[33] (10) boys with a decorated branch known as an *eiresionē*, (11) branch-bearers (*thallophoroi*): Athenian men or women, (12) officials, (13) representatives of other cities, (14) victors in contests, (15) ephebes, (16) hoplites, (17) charioteers (*apobatai*), (18) cavalry. End of procession proper: (19) citizens (demesmen), (20) noncitizens and freed slaves (with oak branches).[34]

Assuming that the center of the east frieze, on either side of the gods, is the front of the procession, and following the north frieze to the west, its processional order is as follows: (1) girl with peplos (cloth) (*arrhēphoros*): E 35, (2) females with sacred furniture (*diphrophoroi*):[35] E 31–32, (3) females handing over box (*kanēphoroi*): E 16, 17, 50–51, 53–54, (4) females with incense burners (*thymiatēria*): E 57, 12–15, (5) females with pitchers (*choes*): E 7–11, 58–59, (6) females with offering bowls (*phialai*): E 2–6, 55, 56?, 60–63. North side moving westerly: (7) young boys with cows and sheep: N 1–12, (8) men carrying trays (*skaphēphoroi*): N 13–15, (9) men carrying water pitchers (*hydriaphoroi*): N 16–

men (*thallophoroi*): N 28–41, (13) men facing west (magistrates): N 42–43, (14) charioteers (*apobatai*): N 44–68, (15) man facing west (marshal): N 69, (16) *apobatai*: N 70–74, (17) horsemen: N 75–135 (N 136: young boy), (18) man (marshal): W 1, (19) horsemen: W 2–30.

In two places these lists do not overlap. First, as discussed above, the hoplites and demesmen are absent—or represented as horsemen—on the frieze. Also absent are athletic victors, allies, slaves, as well as parasol- and stool-bearers, two duties performed by the wives and daughters of metics.[36] Second, the water-bearers on the frieze are male, rather than female, as the literary sources would lead us to expect.[37] The branch-bearers, if the older men on the north are identified as such,[38] are also male, though there is some evidence that old women also performed this duty.[39] These omissions suggest that the frieze gives a highly stylized version of the Panathenaic procession. Just as the hurly-burly of the procession is replaced by the assured muscularity of the horsemen and the dignity of the other marchers, only Athenians, and perhaps only elite Athenians, are present on the frieze. The possible change in gender that the frieze performs on the water- and branch-bearers bespeaks another aspect of the frieze's representational strategies. By making these figures male, the frieze draws a marked and spectacular contrast between the east and its other sides, for the east, which represents the front of the procession, becomes the only side that includes females.

On this point the literary evidence for the Panathenaic procession agrees with the frieze: Athenian females, usually attended by female metics, were at the front of the procession. As sacrificial ministrants, they reached the Acropolis and partook of the sacrifice in a way that the majority of marchers, mostly male, did not. Next in line were the metics, and not far behind them the magistrates and the branch-bearers (*thallophoroi*), men too old to bear arms. It seems that the procession proper created, and the frieze highlights, an opposition between the arms-bearing citizens on the one hand, and noncitizens, mostly female, on the other. Moreover, the procession, and the frieze even more so, makes an equation in which the female is associated more closely with the divine and accorded a certain honor for this capacity, even though the males at the rear by their sheer number and gaudy display also qualify for honor in the procession's dynamic unfolding.

It is a priori likely that the front of the procession was its most prestigious part. Based on a survey of Greek processions, Arthur Leacock confirms this[40] and, in the case of the Panathenaia, a practical consideration lends further support.[41] The Acropolis was the *sanctum sanctorum*, and the procession moved toward this holy center, reversing the movement of those the city sent out of its bounds as unwanted: ritual scapegoats (*pharmakoi*), the ostracized, exiles, mur-

derers. The high prestige of the front of the procession was enhanced even more by its proximity to the sacred sphere and the goddess Athena herself. On a religious axis, then, those who marched in the front of the procession could attain the greatest status.

Those who entered the procession with the greatest social status, however, came at the end: the cavalry who did not walk like the other marchers but rode their horses and thereby dramatically marked the close of the procession proper. On a civic axis, then, these riders had an honorific place comparable with those in the front. The procession, it seems, accommodated both males and females and celebrated their different contributions to the city: in the former case, their military power necessary for the protection of the city, and in the latter, their religiosity and fertility[42] necessary for the city's continuance and security. Each therefore occupied a position that, in the procession's logic, was prestigious. Between these two poles, I suspect, was a modulated drop in status, impossible to capture or delineate from the fragmentary nature of our evidence. Finally, behind the cavalry and the charioteers, came the demesmen.[43] The Panathenaic processional order did not create a hierarchy between male and female, between the relative values of the respective civic and religious duties of each that it helped represent and establish. Instead, it created a space in which these marchers, as well as those between them, could display themselves and claim public recognition and honor for their contributions to the city in a way unparalleled in other public events—unparalleled because males and females were on display at the same time and in the same public place. In sum, then, the order of the Panathenaic procession in part registered the amount of status and honor one had before entering the procession and in part determined the amount of honor one could attain.

In addition to marchers' place in the procession, costume and items also registered and bestowed honor upon their holders. Certain items, such as the sacrificial knife and barley in the basket-bearer's basket, were used in the sacrifice that followed the procession. So too was the water in the water pitchers carried by the water-bearers and the honeycombs and cakes in the trays of the metics, typically offered to chthonic deities, here perhaps to Ge Kourotrophos who was honored alongside Athena.[44] Since music would have accompanied the sacrifices, musical instruments too had a functional value. Other items, such as stools, parasols, branches, had no functional value in the sacrifice.[45] This distinction—between items used in the sacrifice and those that were not—is important but does not illuminate how such items defined their carriers or the value and meaning attached to them. For this purpose, one must look to a broader social context outside the sacrifice.

In the front and back of the Panathenaic procession, items carried or worn were of high value. The importance attached, for example, to the *kanēphoroi* and their baskets filled with sacrificial knife and barley[46] is documented by an inscription that includes basket-bearers among those select few who receive a reserved share of sacrificial meat.[47] The relative values of hoplite armor, horses, and chariots, used by Athenian citizens at the back of the procession, obviously are unambiguously great as well. It is uncertain whether the weavers of Athena's peplos (*ergastinai*), who are variously identified as young or married women, and carriers of sacred things (*arrhēphoroi*), young girls who helped weave the peplos, carried anything in the procession. In a few inscriptions honoring weavers (*ergastinai*), they request permission to dedicate an offering bowl (*phialē*).[48] Since many young women on the frieze carry such a *phialē*, perhaps they might be identified as weavers. The *arrhēphoroi* may simply have assisted in escorting Athena's garment.

The items carried by metics also marked their bearers. Female metics carried stools and umbrellas for Athenian basket-bearers. Both of these items were associated with Eastern luxury, and in classical Athens they were carried by slaves for wealthy Athenians.[49] Thus, these items, normally used to mark a class difference, here mark the difference between citizen and metic and implicitly link metic with slave.[50] Female metics also carried water jugs, while male metics carried trays (*skaphai*). The value attached to these items, and hence their bearers, was contested. In Aelian and New Comedy the term *skaphai*, by which metics were known, appears to be an insult.[51] Hesychius, however, writes that the purpose of this function was that by "partaking in sacrifices, they may be included as to be of good will."[52] Hesychius' emphasis on "goodwill" recalls the ending of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. After the Erinyes are persuaded to dwell in Athens and receive purple robes, they are enjoined to be of "goodwill."[53] Since male metics wore purple robes during processions,[54] the Erinyes, in accepting and donning purple robes, symbolically become resident aliens in Athens. Their accommodation in Athens is presented as a boon by Aeschylus, who emphasizes the honors the Erinyes will receive.[55] This suggests that it was likewise perceived as an honor for the metics to be included in the procession. This notion is reinforced by the fact that ephebes, young Athenians being prepared for their military and civic duties, also wore purple robes during processions.[56]

These divergent sentiments about metic participation in the Panathenaic procession, i.e., as both an honor and a disgrace,[57] perhaps reflect historical evolution, but it may be that the Athenians always viewed the inclusion of metics in this and other processions with ambivalence. For, if metics were included in the procession proper in order to demonstrate their incorporation in the Athenian

community, their very participation distinguished them positively from onlookers and demesmen, even if their items had low or servile connotations. Could their participation be distinguished clearly from that of citizens? Or did they too become invested with the legitimate authority to worship Athena before and even on behalf of the Athenians? Did their derision in comedy mask this fact? The conflicting responses the inclusion of metics provoked may have been exacerbated if metics performed their duty with aplomb and treated their participation as an honor.

Such divergent interpretations of the role of metics were in some ways matched by those attached to the branches carried by Athenian citizens. While Xenophon writes that branches were carried by older men chosen for their beauty and hence were a sign of honor, in Aristophanes this function is soundly abused, according to the scholia, because it marked the person as feeble, good only for sweeping the roads.[58]

What is clear in all this is that the same item or ritual behavior could have multiple meanings in different contexts and among different groups. A fragment of the comic poet Alexis, ridiculing the distribution of awards to elites during the Panathenaia for their benefactions to the city, underscores such multiplicity of meanings:[59] fishmongers promise to install at the next Panathenaia in the fish market a statue of one Kallimedon with a crayfish in his hand because his prodigious love of fish has sustained their business. While some Athenians, especially among the elite and wealthy, profited from such awards and might endorse their value and social significance, those from other social groups might cast a more skeptical eye on this practice.

To conclude, as the examples discussed above suggest, although high value was attached to some items carried by elite Athenians, the marchers in the center of the procession bore objects of ambiguous value. Conflicting interpretations and sarcastic comments indicate that there was a general awareness of, though not necessarily a general consensus on, the significance of ritual behavior. In the next two sections I shall offer more detailed analyses of the meaning of such processional display and a consideration of the ways its well-ordered inclusiveness may have reflected Athens' participatory democracy or, conversely, challenged it.

Integration and Celebration

In François de Polignac's analysis, the Panathenaic procession was unique, for unlike most Archaic Greek processions which moved from the center to the periphery of a city and functioned to demonstrate the extent of a city's territory, the Panathenaic procession moved from the Kerameikos to the Acropolis, that is,

from periphery to center.[60] As de Polignac puts it, "the whole society solemnly marched before itself in a ceremony that manifested its own particular concept of its constitution and its space."[61]

Indeed, civic processions are often understood as a form of self-representation in which a polity attempts to describe and celebrate its political system, social or religious groups, or important civic members.[62] Yet, such attempts at self-representation, or perhaps rather self-understanding, are not fully realistic: like works of art, they may highlight certain elements and ignore others to create an idealizing or even utopian image, representing society not as it is but as certain members would like it to be. The best and most esteemed members of a community, dressed in their finest clothing and exhibiting distinctive traits, may be displayed prominently, while those from lower stations may be relegated to the margins, if included at all. Such an idealized image may serve the interests of those who have the economic or political power to prescribe the form of the procession; it may ignore social ills and dissension, promoting the status quo in the service of those who benefit from it. In the case of the Panathenaia, therefore, when we ask how, if at all, the procession exemplifies Athens' constitution, that is, its participatory democracy, we must remember that the procession is not a "photograph" of Athens' community. Like the Parthenon frieze, it may emphasize the role of certain members and ignore others in order to create, in the interest of the elite, an idealized image.[63]

What image of Athens was displayed in the Panathenaic procession? In the procession proper, almost all the marchers carried something as they marched. W. R. Connor argues that the procession "sends important messages about how members of its society *should* participate in it and relate to one another. It reinforces a system of social values by representing its participants primarily as contributors."[64] In this view, the Panathenaia reinforced the notion that Athens was a society that relied on and rewarded its members' participation in and contribution to the community. The procession, therefore, can be seen as inculcating civic responsibilities in a broad spectrum of Athens' residents and honoring all of them for their performance of these duties. In short, the festival integrated everyone and their contributions in a celebration of Athena's city.

Yet, the procession represents the Athenian community quite differently from the democracy. Just as the frieze favors the cavalry and ignores the hoplites, the procession featured both but ignored the thetes. As said before, the thetes, although certainly more important to Athens' continued military success than the cavalry who seem to dominate the procession, most likely marched, if at all, among the demesmen who followed the procession proper. Thus, their contribution to the city was deliberately occluded. In this respect, the procession

clearly did not represent the political reality of Athenian society, but instead gave a distorted view of it.

One reason for this "distortion" may be found in the difficulty the thetes presented in terms of the order of the procession. As citizens of a democracy that valued the principle of equality, the thetes in theory were equal to the horsemen and hoplites. Nonetheless, the ideal of citizen-soldier was based on the figure of the hoplite who confronted the enemy head-on, not on the oarsman who rowed in the bowels of a trireme, as many thetes did. This hoplite ideal was matched by the romance the Athenians had with equestrian pursuits as markers of manly virtue. Moreover, both hoplites and cavalrymen belonged to higher economic classes than thetes, and exercised considerable power in the city, despite Athens' egalitarian ideals.[65] Therefore, to place the thetes in an equal or inferior position in the procession would have been tantamount to sacrificing either heroic ideals or egalitarian principles. To avoid this dilemma, the thetes were not included in the procession proper at all.

The metics in the procession, both men and women, represent another distortion. It obviously was in the best interest of the city to encourage all its members, however marginal politically, to contribute freely to the community, each according to his/her ability, and for this reason to promote the inclusion of metics in the procession. However, in displaying their contributions and providing them with an opportunity to earn honor, the procession contradicted the democracy. For the inclusion of those who were not part of Athens' political community implicitly raised questions about their "proper" place within the city's political life—just as the exclusion of thetes avoided a similar dilemma.

That females, who were noncitizens, marched in the procession proper is also a distortion of sorts, for in the democratic city women typically did not share public places with male citizens. Clothing, items, and positions define women as highly honored members of the procession. Their contributions to the community, particularly their economic service of weaving evident in the dedication of Athena's robe, are displayed and celebrated. How are we to evaluate their inclusion? Clearly, this religious representation of Athens in which women occupy a prominent position is not simply a reversal of the political hierarchy of male over female or a form of tokenism.[66] Rather, it reflects a comprehensive view of the city that derives its power from Athena's authority and from the force of a long-standing tradition. The Panathenaia does not represent the democracy's exclusion of women and emphasis on the male citizen body, nor did it change to accommodate such a view. Moreover, the presence of women should not be read as a mere holdover that had lost its meaning. Since the Panathenaia did evolve, and since the vitality and significance of the procession

could not be fully controlled or limited to certain marchers, the women's esteemed positions allowed them to gain honors comparable to those of other marchers.

The position of metics in the procession is unlike that of either the thetes or the women. Noncitizens but permanent members of the community, they paid taxes, served in Athens' military forces, and performed liturgies. Were they to be esteemed as valuable members of Athens, perhaps even getting close to the rights of citizenship, or was their lower status to be permanent and emphasized as such? Their processional roles registered this very ambiguity. Their purple robes, shared with the ephebes who were on the brink of becoming full citizens, and their positions in the procession proper suggest an honored station, fitting for potential citizens or citizens in spirit. Yet the items they carried had servile connotations and implied that, much like slaves, the metics were far removed from the ranks of citizens. Such contradictions reflect ambiguity and questions in Athens' ongoing debate about the definition of citizenship in a democratic community.

While the role of females and thetes, reflecting a distortion of the status quo, argues against reading the procession simply as a reflection of Athens' participatory democracy, the ambiguous position of the metics signals the complex reality that stands behind the seamless unity of the procession and suggests that the procession was an occasion when the relationship between participation in Athens' civic and religious life and citizenship was put on display and questioned. Whether this question was implicit or explicit, that is, whether Athenian residents perceived the questions raised by the prominent or ambiguous positions of noncitizens, depends on the degree to which participating in a procession and thereby gaining public recognition and honor were valuable assets—ones that noncitizens could deploy and citizens could accept in the community's discourse about citizenship.

Honor and Civic Identity

Nicole Loraux enigmatically describes the Panathenaia as "the competition between the *apobatai*, the *kanēphoroi*, and the *thallophoria* [*sic*]."[67] Her choice of the word "competition" recalls an early description of the whole Panathenaic program, presumably including the procession as "a competition (*agōn*) for the grey-eyed maiden."[68] Since *agōn* in its early stages referred to an assembly of the people and only later to athletic competitions, these two types of gatherings may have had more in common than initially appears.[69] That is, all public gatherings, especially those in a festival setting, may have been perceived as inherently competitive. Thus, while the Panathenaic procession did not have a mechanism by

which performances could be formally judged, it was a competition for honor among some of Athens' residents. More specifically, by such competition I mean the engagement on the part of a marcher in the procession's logic of distributing prestige to those who display their devotion to Athena and Athens by marching with a particular item and in a particular place in the procession. While this competition was less dramatic and regulated than musical and athletic contests, it represented nonetheless, on the part of individual marchers, an assertion of and bid for communal recognition and honor. Just as athletes competed for honor and acclaim in addition to an amphora of sacred olive oil, participants in the procession marched to make a public statement about their place and importance in Athena's city as well as to worship Athena. Such individual bids for recognition and prestige, although potentially divisive, were tolerated because they were harnessed to wider community interests in the worship of Athena.[70] Thus, in addition to celebrating and integrating the members of the Athenian community and their contributions, the Panathenaic procession paradoxically was also a site for competitive public displays among its marchers. In this respect, it was not unlike other areas of Athenian civic life.

Athenian social relations were essentially competitive, for individuals "defined themselves through a politics of reputation."[71] Elites dominated this competition because their wealth enabled them to compete for honor in athletic contests, liturgies, and spontaneous benefactions given to the city.[72] Since the city benefitted from such competitive activities, nonelites encouraged them and often took part in them, as recipients of elite largess and as judging audience.[73] While there is an obvious difference between the role of performer and judge, Athenian competition nonetheless established an "equality of honor" in which, in principle, all citizens could take part.[74] For example, while elite citizens sponsored tragic choruses, nonelite citizens, chosen by lot, voted on these choral performances and thereby bestowed honor upon the elite person whose chorus was judged best.[75] More pointedly, in the assembly, competition among elites for leadership meant that they vied to serve the interests of nonelites rather than those of their own class. Thus, the competitive behavior of elites, whether in the theater, war, or assembly, was seen to be tied to and regulated by the wider interests of the city.[76]

Love of honor, or *philotimia*, was the impetus behind such competitive social relations and a pivotal trait for defining membership in the Athenian polity. In Xenophon's words, "*Philotimia* is not bred in unreasoning beasts or all human beings. Indeed those in whom there is a love of honor and praise differ most from beasts and are considered not merely human beings but men."[77] Xenophon conflates social death (not having the inclination or capacity to compete) with a

symbolic degradation. In his reasoning, *philotimia* simultaneously distinguishes human beings from beasts and men from mere human beings, that is, Athenian citizens from noncitizens who were precluded, in theory, from competing for honor. As several inscriptions record, the Panathenaic procession was a site for the display of *philotimia*.[78] One would think, therefore, that the Panathenaic procession portrayed a community engaged in a competition for honor and that this community consisted only of Athenian, if not elite, citizens.

Surprisingly, however, as we have seen, this was not the case. In contrast to the courts and assembly, the Panathenaic procession included both metics and women, that is, noncitizens, and some of these nonelites as well. The procession thus created a unique social practice in which competitive participation and identity in the Athenian community were negotiated among a broader spectrum of constituents than simply citizens. As observed before, it did not merely replicate competitive displays among citizens in more overtly political institutions and did not reproduce Athens' participatory democracy. Rather, it was a counterpoint to democratic notions of identity.[79]

To what degree, if at all, did Panathenaic marchers consciously participate in this public discourse about honor and exclusion or inclusion in Athens' community? This question may seem dangerously speculative insofar as it attempts to capture the intentions of the persons involved, a goal that, in the case of authors, literary criticism has revealed as problematic. We can, nonetheless, conceive of a ritual actor as a " 'horizon' of expectations," that is, subject to a historically shaped set of expectations, of ways of reasoning and behaving that are common to his/her society and can be reconstructed.[80]

Orations, philosophical dialogues, and essays from the fourth century suggest that participants in processions defined themselves through such public displays, and that these "definitions" were significant because they had consequences beyond the festival. In an extreme case, Demosthenes recalls the death sentence one Ktesikles received for profaning the festival by marching while drunk and carrying a leather lash which he used to whip a personal enemy.[81] More generally, orators criticize their opponents for breaches of decorum during a procession. Demosthenes chastises Meidias for riding a horse he did not own when as cavalry commander he marshalled a procession.[82] This office was particularly important for elites, as witnessed by Xenophon's treatises *On Horsemanship* and *The Cavalry Commander,* which provide extensive instructions on how to march properly on horseback.[83] Similarly, Aeschines and Demosthenes debate in their speeches *On The Embassy* whether Epikrates had marched properly at the Dionysia. Demosthenes castigates Epikrates for not wearing a mask in the procession, while Aeschines stoutly denies the charge and its implications.[84]

Costume as much as decorum was a part of the display. Demosthenes, for example, accuses Meidias of destroying the golden cloak and crown Demosthenes had commissioned a smithy to make for his participation in the procession at the Dionysia.[85] It is significant not only that Demosthenes had this expensive costume made but that he could plausibly accuse Meidias of destroying it as a way of diminishing Demosthenes' status. Similarly, Isokrates in the *Areopagiticus* chastises his contemporaries for appearing in processions in gold-spangled cloaks, despite living the rest of the year in the garments of the impoverished. His comments are part of a broader critique of the decline of values in Athens that has reduced processions in honor of the gods from acts of civic piety to occasions for personal display and rivalry.[86] It is clear, then, that for the Athenian citizens participating in a procession was an opportunity to see and be seen and that they took displays and the judging of displays seriously. Hence Sokrates' ambiguous comment at the opening of the *Republic:* the procession of the citizens was fine, but that of the Thracians no worse.[87] Processions defined their marchers in ways both great and small; participating thus was a serious matter, not only because it was part of cult and worship but also because it played an important role in defining community members, both during and after the festival.

In a telling vignette from Lysias, for example, Agoratos, accused of murder, attempts to march in a procession of armed men from the Piraeus to the Acropolis.[88] Aisimos, the armed men's leader, forcefully removes Agoratos from the ranks, shouting, "Go to hell. A murderer like you ought not to join in the procession to Athena." True, this procession took place during a crisis, but the cultural logic of Lysias' speech nonetheless makes clear that Agoratos' crime and his relationship to the polis were reflected in his ouster from this procession, and that this act sealed his identity as an outcast.[89] The depiction of the Panathenaic procession at the end of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* also suggests that participating in a procession could have longer-lasting consequences.[90] When the Erinyes accept Athena's offer to reside in Athens, their change of residence and identity is dramatically marked by their receiving new purple robes, typically worn by metics during processions, and fully realized when they display their new costumes on the imaginary streets of Athens during their final march on stage, a march that has been compared to the Panathenaia.[91] Their new identity and power are thus valorized, and a new politico-religious order is brought into being, through the material representation of its existence.[92]

Marching, in whatever guise, then, was a means by which one could assert one's identity and earn honor (or opprobrium) and have that identity legitimated by the community at large, even after the festival ended.[93] Because the procession instituted and communicated to society at large an honorific role for its marchers as the community's representatives and designated worshippers of Athena, these marchers acquired honor and prestige.[94] Reasonably, they used their marching subsequently as proof of their elevated status. In conclusion, the Panathenaia and other public festivals shaped ritual actors to expect and aim for honor through ritual acts that were at once both devotional acts by which gods were worshipped and competitive acts by which individuals tried to improve their standing before the social group.[95]

The Honor of All Athena's Worshippers

It is not difficult to imagine that cavalrymen, magistrates, ephebes, or hoplites, that is, male citizens such as Demosthenes, Meidias, or Agoratos, used processions as vehicles for self-presentation and the acquisition of honor. We might wonder, though, whether Athenian females and metics, as noncitizens, did so too. To what degree did they deploy the ceremonial idiom of the procession, their items and clothing, to gain honor? Did they, by marching, implicitly make a claim that they too were members of Athens' community of lovers of honor? If so, did the participation of noncitizens implicitly challenge their exclusion from the ranks of citizens?

Both females, who were part of the Panathenaia before the establishment of democracy, and metics, who became part of it during the democracy, had limited opportunities for manipulating the procession to their own ends.[96] Since, most likely, they could not choose the ritual item they carried or their place in the procession, their individual bids for prestige were limited and they could not fully control their own representation. This does not mean, however, that noncitizen marchers had no capacity or imagination to use the Panathenaia to their own ends. Once given a toehold in the procession proper, we can infer that noncitizens were as fully engaged as male citizens in public competitions for honor. Anthropologist A. W. Geertz describes cultural invention as "the creative interaction between paradigm and agent, where the agent continuously reworks pieces of the cultural repertoire in order to construct, adjust, and reconstruct interpretations of experience. The term 'invention' also implies replication and representation. It implies the living into reality of what is perceived about reality."[97] Panathenaic performances were the "living into reality" of what marchers perceived about their experiences and their role and identity in the city. The views of women and metics of their place in the city probably differed greatly from those of Athenian citizens. We can imagine that their marching was subject to various interpretations, and one of these was that they marched to assert their importance to Athens and win honor for themselves, their families, and their wider social groups.

If, for example, the women of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* offer to donate rich mantles of wool, cloaks, ties, and gold jewelry to the girl—whosoever's daughter she may be—who is chosen as a basket-bearer,[98] they clearly understand, or so Aristophanes implies, the importance of costume for young basket-bearers. Sumptuary laws limiting women's display at rituals and threatening penalties for the violation of certain dress codes also indicate that women were usually engaged in dressing and presenting themselves beautifully, and that they were aware to some extent of the social and religious implications of their ritual acts.[99] Such legislation also suggests that women's clothing, jewelry, and carriages, apparently censured for social, not economic, reasons, were perceived as a symbolic and competitive assertion of status.[100] Numerous stories in which female marchers are pursued by male onlookers, moreover, indicate that Panathenaic marching was a coming-of-age ritual in which young (elite) women announced their eligibility for marriage.[101] This perhaps explains their persistent presence in the procession, from long before and throughout democracy. Their marching had many purposes, both symbolic and practical, and these purposes, like the clothes they wore to fulfill them, suggest that Athenian females were aware that, in presenting themselves well, they and their families might gain honor and prestige and thereby increase their status.

Four inscriptions honor young girls who marched in the Panathenaia for their *philotimia*.[102] These inscriptions specify as a reward only the right to dedicate an offering bowl (*phialē*) and to have their names inscribed on a votive. However, in another inscription, the Delphians inform the Athenians who have performed a Pythian procession to Delphi that, because the priestess of Athena, Chrysis, daughter of Niketes, led the procession appropriately, she and her family will receive from the Delphians *proxenia*, the right to consult the oracle, safe conduct, freedom from taxes, and a front seat at the contests held by the city.[103] Although this is a late inscription and does not pertain to the Panathenaia, it suggests that marching with decorum could result in honor and, in turn, in economic and political gain.

Although no evidence hints at the conscious engagement of metics in the Panathenaic procession in which they too wore special cloaks and carried special items,[104] there is no reason to assume that they were unaware of the possibilities involved. Their participation may have been dismissed, for example, by those who saw a joke in the term "trays" (*skaphai*). Conversely, it may have earned them respect among others, and perhaps this is what the joke served to mask: that noncitizens, like citizens, could and did participate in competitions for honor in religious festivals and that they could and did present themselves as lovers of honor and lovers of Athena and Athens.

Inscriptions also commend the *philotimia* of metics. As David Whitehead demonstrates, from the mid-fourth century, the *philotimia* of non-Athenian benefactors of the city was regularly acknowledged in inscriptions, rewarding them with the right to be taxed on the same basis as citizens (*isoteleia*) and to own property in Athens (*enktēsis*), if not with citizenship.[105] Such rewards in the fourth century were, of course, a result of the crises of 411 and 403, during which the definition of citizenship fluctuated, and of the growing nonlanded wealth of noncitizens on which the city increasingly depended. I suggest that the capacity of metics to use their wealth to gain citizenship was enhanced at least in part by the fact that, for more than a century before the first attested citizenship awards,[106] they had been marching in the Panathenaia and thus competing with citizens in contests of honor, implicitly claiming membership in Athens' political community. In other words, eventually metics could be perceived as not having bought citizenship in Athens but as having earned it through their contributions to and participation in Athens' social, military, and religious life. If so, this confirms the Panathenaia's capacity to shape the discourse about citizen identity by displaying its participants' honor and contributions to the city's religious life. In short, the procession offered a material representation of a "religious status" which differed from political or economic status and could influence these other criteria for defining membership in the Athenian community.

Conclusion

Religious status, belonging to a religious community by virtue of performing certain religious acts, or, in de Polignac's terms, "religious citizenship" in Athens represented an axis for defining community that did not necessarily coincide with or reflect political citizenship. Religious citizenship, materially reflected in the solemn pathways that developing Greek cities created between their centers and an extra-urban or suburban sanctuary, were, in de Polignac's argument, a model for social integration around which cities formed. Reversing the usual order between religion and politics, de Polignac argues that the formation of the Greek city-state followed upon religious practices: "the *polis* constituted a formal expression of a religious cohesion."[107] These early processions, crucial for the development of the city-state, typically included all the residents of a given territory, not only armed men, but also women, elders, and children, that is, they embraced all those as well who may not have had any political role in the governing of the territory and would, in the case of Athens, eventually become noncitizens or "passive citizens."[108] While the Panathenaia differed in essential ways from these early processions, it nonetheless similarly instantiated a vision of community in which political participation, that is, the capacity to judge (in the courts)

and rule (in the assembly),[109] was not a defining criterion for membership. In this light, the eventual inclusion of the metics in the procession was in keeping with its original all-inclusive function.

From before the democracy, in the seventh and sixth centuries, and during the democracy in the fifth and fourth centuries, then, the Panathenaic procession persisted as a form of ritual that defined the Athenian community as a collection of individuals who dwelt in the same land and worshipped the same goddess. In other words, it realized religious citizenship, and this religious citizenship did not change as the political definition of citizenship in democratic Athens evolved. In fact, it increasingly diverged from political citizenship because it continued to embrace passive citizens, i.e., those who did not participate in ruling and judging, such as the metics. The Panathenaia's inclusiveness, then, was decidedly not the result of a democratic impulse but, rather, it was typical of Archaic processions, wherein all residents of a territory marched in a display of social solidarity marshalled in honor of a goddess. Moreover, the Panathenaic procession remained a model for community inclusiveness that could be imitated by political action, as the enfranchisement of some metics in the fourth century shows. Thus, the procession created a world, albeit temporary, whose parameters differed from political institutions in which honor and membership were monopolized by male citizens. More importantly, it could even challenge the strictly political parameters of the debate over identity and inclusion within the Athenian community as all participants displayed their notion of and claims to status and identity.

This is not to say that the Panathenaic procession was impervious to the democracy that grew up around it or, more accurately, that it did not intersect with its political and social setting during the fifth and fourth centuries. Of course it did. As I have argued, the Panathenaic procession was a site where Athens' residents could compete, as well as be joined, in their shared attempts to honor Athena. In other words, the procession could integrate all members of the city, in a manner akin to other democratic institutions. Thus, the Panathenaic procession assumed a functional role in the democracy, as did the courts, assemblies, theater, and war, as its procession was shaped by its participants, mostly elite, into a vehicle for gaining status while worshipping Athena on behalf of the community, not only themselves.

The procession, and hence the festival, thus were not simply inclusive, nor simply contestatory or competitive. Rather, the procession presented two visions of Athens simultaneously: in one, Athens was an inclusive community of religious identity; in the other, Athens appeared as an exclusive community of political identity. Each vision challenged the other, and the simultaneous presentation of both exposed the tensions between these different modes of individual and communal self-definition. The democracy therefore did not completely subsume and reshape Athenian religious life. While it influenced some aspects of the community's festivals, its religious practices, particularly those that predated the development of democracy, often retained their integrity and earlier function. If so, the vitality of Athens' democracy and hence its civic community during the fifth and fourth centuries did not only or perhaps even mainly rest on the consonance between its religious and political spheres, but on their differences, which encouraged debate about the very definition of community.