

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

THE JOURNAL OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

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Also 10 Tribal Units: The Grouping of Cavalry on the Parthenon North Frieze

TOSHIHIRO OSADA

Abstract

This article proposes a new interpretation of the grouping of the horsemen on the north frieze of the Parthenon, based on close observation of the rendering of horses' manes. The north and south sides of the frieze each depict 60 horsemen. Whereas the south frieze horsemen can be divided into 10 groups of six riders, the cavalry of the north frieze shows a more complicated composition, the grouping of which has been much debated. I argue here that the north frieze also illustrates 10 groups of six horsemen. The 10 groups of the south cavalry are distinguishable not only by their dress but also by the rendering of the horses' manes. Although the northern riders wear utterly different clothes and could not be classified into any groups by their dress, the styles of the horses' manes suggest that the cavalry on this side also consists of 10 groups. It is notable, too, that the 10 groups each include a "rank leader." Although the interpretation of the north frieze has often been related to the four archaic tribal divisions of Attica, it is now clear that both the north and south cavalries were intended to depict the 10 phylae of Periclean Athens.*

INTRODUCTION

The Parthenon frieze is generally believed to depict the Panathenaic procession. Regarding its precise meaning, however, disparate views have been proposed, and the interpretations of Jenkins, Pollitt, Wesenberg, Connelly, and Neils, for example, have

evoked wide discussion.¹ The cavalry scenes on the north and south sides offer an important key. This article does not aim to propose another grand theory about the interpretation of the entire Parthenon frieze, but close observation of the rendering of the horses' manes does resolve certain questions about the frieze and reveals that the north and south cavalries depict identical scenes.²

SOUTH CAVALRY

Harrison first divided the south cavalcade into 10 groups on the basis of their attire; her argument has had a lasting impact on later scholarship on the frieze.³ As she noted, the horsemen on the south frieze can be divided into 10 groups of six riders clearly distinguished by their dress. A horseman may sport a Thracian cap, a petasos, an Attic helmet, or nothing on his head and may wear a chiton, double-belted chiton, animal skin, chlamys, leather cuirass, or metal cuirass. For shoes, he may have either sandals or boots, or he may have bare feet. Each of the 10 ranks wears distinctive attire. For example, all the riders on the well-preserved, most western rank wear Thracian caps, chitons, chlamydes, and boots.⁴

Each rank of the south cavalcade is also distinguishable by its composition. The ranks are separated by a space; this spacing is especially clear between the

*This article is one of the results of the Parthenon Project Japan (1994–1996, 2007–2009), supported by the Grant-in-Aid for Exploratory Research, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. I am much obliged to A. Mizuta, Tokyo Gakugei University, who let me participate in the first project and has continued to contribute to it. Here I mention only the scholars who supported the project from 2007 to 2009, but we are thankful to everyone who assisted in the whole project. Without the kind and ceaseless assistance of I. Jenkins, the British Museum, and A. Mantis and C. Vlassopoulou, the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, the project never would have succeeded. We express also our deepest gratitude to M.C. Miller, the University of Sydney, J. Neils, Case Western Reserve University, O. Palagia, the University of Athens, K. Schwab, Fairfield University, and A. Shapiro, the Johns Hopkins University, who kindly cooperated in our research and gave us stimulating advice. The results presented here were first introduced at a poster session

at the 110th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (Philadelphia, 2009).

¹ Pollitt 1993; Jenkins 1994; Wesenberg 1995; Connelly 1996; Neils 2001; Jenkins 2005; see also, e.g., Simon 1982; Boardman 1984.

² This paper uses the numbering system found in Jenkins (1994) to refer to frieze blocks and figures. For the arrangement of the blocks, see also Harrison 1984, 230; Jenkins 1994, 49–51, 99; Neils 2001, 261 n. 25. As to the total count of horsemen, Harrison (1984, 230) assumes 61. She sees a fragment from the Agora depicting the rear legs of a horse (S1776) as belonging to block XXXV of the north cavalry and thus adds an additional rider; see also Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 96. Jenkins (1994), however, reconstructs 60 cavalrymen in total.

³ Harrison 1984.

⁴ See esp. Harrison 1984, 230–32.

first three ranks. The closer the rank is to the head of the parade, the larger the space is between it and its neighbors. The scene is thus intended to be read by viewers as follows: the earlier ranks are slipping out and going ahead of the parade, while the others are lingering or have just started the procession.

PREVIOUS THEORIES ON THE NORTH CAVALRY GROUPING

On the south side, the horsemen are more regular and are depicted in neat ranks, while on the north side, the composition is more complicated, with rich variations. The horses overlap one another; the riders do not fall into uniform groups, and they wear utterly different clothing and armor. This makes it difficult to identify any grouping of horsemen or in fact any other grouping.⁵ Harrison points out that the south frieze is conspicuously organized by tens, while the north frieze is organized in fours. On the north side there are four heifers, four rams, four hydria carriers, four aulos players, and four kithara players, for example. Bearded pedestrians also appear, perhaps originally 16 in total. Harrison and others see in these groups of four an allusion to the four Ionian tribes of archaic Athens.⁶ Groups of 10, in contrast, are emphasized on the south frieze, where we see, for example, 10 chariots, 10 heifers, and 10 ranks of horsemen, which could refer to the 10 democratic tribes established at Athens by Kleisthenes. Many scholars accept Harrison's theory about the groups of tens and fours on the south and north sides.⁷

Harrison does not, however, see any obvious grouping in the cavalrymen on the north frieze, in contrast to the clear division of 10 tribes on the south frieze. Instead, she suggests the keynote here may be that of brotherhood, and she posits that the riding group may represent the phratry.⁸

Beschi also divides the northern riders into 10 groups of six horsemen each. His groupings differ considerably from those proposed here, in part because he assumes there were 62 riders on the north side. Moreover, he argues that two riders on the north side do not belong to any of the northern groups but should instead be taken together with the preparation scene on the west side. The remaining 60 horse-

men on the north side can then be added to the 12 on the west side. As 72 is divisible by four, he follows Harrison in reading them as representations of the four Attic tribes.⁹

Jenkins has also considered the grouping of the northern riders, which he divides into 10 ranks of unequal number—that is, ranks of eight, seven, seven, five, six, four, eight, seven, two, and six riders, moving from the first rank on the western end to the tenth. He argues that the division between ranks is clearly marked by the horse and rider shown at the top of the relief—that nearest the viewer—and not overlapped by any other figure in that rank.¹⁰ In antiquity, the divisions might also have been distinguished by the application of color.¹¹ In 1998, Jenkins and Bird produced the schematic plan of the arrangement of the entire procession, including the illustration of the formation of the cavalry.¹²

Besides grouping the north cavalcade, Jenkins applies digital technology to reconstruct a three-dimensional model of the cavalry, rendered in three-point perspective; this model demonstrates how the frieze was designed and intended to be seen. He suggests that the frieze depicts how the horsemen lined up and marched, rank by rank, side by side, in the Panathenaic parade. The riders are intended to be read running abreast in ranks, following one another as they “would appear if the spectator were to stand in the path of a line of horsemen moving along, say, the *dromos* of the agora.” Many riders who appear to be turning around, such as N92, N126, and N131, were intended to be seen not as looking to the rear but as looking across the breast line of others in the rank.¹³

Berger divides the 60 horsemen into four groups of 15 each. Each group is said to be led by one of four figures depicted with bare chests, often looking backward and placed topmost as *Gruppenleiter* or *Reiterchef*: N89, N105, N120, and N135.¹⁴ He accepts Harrison's theory that the 60 cavalrymen may belong to the four archaic tribes. Berger's classification, however, seems difficult to accept. For example, figure N105 should be one of the four leading riders, yet more than half of the body of his horse is overlapped by the next horse.

Neils thinks that the north cavalcade can be divided into eight ranks of seven or eight riders each. The

⁵ Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 90; Choremi-Spetsieri 2004, 182–91.

⁶ Simon 1983, 65; see also Deubner 1969, 27.

⁷ Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996; Choremi-Spetsieri 2004, 179, 218–21.

⁸ Harrison 1984, 233.

⁹ Beschi 1984, 185–86, 194; see also Jenkins 2005, 152; Berg-

er and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 87.

¹⁰ Jenkins 2005, 152–59; see also Hurwit 1999, 182.

¹¹ Neils 2001, 90–1; 2005, 218; Jenkins 2005, 153.

¹² Bird et al. 1998, 18–19.

¹³ Jenkins 2005, 153–54; see also Neils 2004, 47.

¹⁴ Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 87–91.

leader of each rank may be distinguished by his pose of looking back and/or by his nudity.¹⁵ She also connects the figures W2–11 and W13–21 of the west side to the eight ranks of the north so that 10 ranks may be represented.¹⁶

Wesenberg, who challenges the prevailing interpretation of the frieze, divides the north cavalcade into 10 ranks of unequal numbers. He regards the west and north cavalcades as realistically depicting the parade of a phyle.¹⁷

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO HORSES' MANES AND HORSEMEN'S HEADS

The problem of the grouping of the north cavalcade has been thus debated without any clear solution. However, close observation of the style of the horses' manes reveals that the northern horsemen may be, as on the south side, simply divided into 10 ranks of six riders each.¹⁸ Note the following:

1. There are several places where the changes in the horses' manes (the alteration of each mane type) are clearly distinguishable by rank. These changes fall, without exception, into the supposed division of 10 groups of six riders.
2. There are places where the alteration of the head types of the riders is recognizable, and they also fall into the division of 10 ranks of six riders.
3. The 10 ranks of six riders each always include only one marker rider, who is placed nearest the viewer and who is often recognizable by his nudity and/or his gesture of looking back.
4. On the north side, as on the south side, composition is used to distinguish each rank of riders.

The Horses' Manes

Although observations made by earlier scholars about the style of the frieze relief (the so-called *Meisterfragen*) are almost never referred to nowadays, it should be noted that in the 1930s, Schuchhardt had already

grouped the south cavalcade into 10 groups. His argument was based on an analysis of style; Harrison's study was primarily an iconographic one based on attire. That both studies reached similar conclusions seems significant, although it has not been discussed.

Schuchhardt based his conclusions, in part, on the rendering of the horses' manes. He recognized 10 different styles, or "sculptors," in the south cavalry. According to his analysis, the rendering of the horses' manes changes with every six horses: S2–7, S8–13, S14–19, S20–25, S26–31, S32–37, S38–43, S44–49, S50–55, and S56–61. See, for example, the beautifully carved manes of the six horses in the second rank: S8–13.¹⁹ The divisions fall exactly into the groups Harrison later recognized.

According to Schuchhardt, the north cavalcade can be divided into nine groups of five to 12 horsemen each, distinguishable by one of nine respective styles. His divisions, however, are based on the older arrangement of the frieze blocks.²⁰ His methodology of dividing the whole relief into several different "hands" can lack clarity compared with the standard of accuracy and objectivity in recent scholarship. The goal of this article is not to group the figures by style or by recognition of the sculptor's "hand"; rather, I propose to narrow the issue by observing whether stylistic changes in the horses' manes occur regularly or whether the alteration of certain features reveals a pattern (figs. 1–10). This analysis, therefore, is based only on distinguishable details. If the north cavalymen represent 10 ranks of six riders, they could be numbered, beginning at the western end, as first rank, second rank, and so on.

First Rank (N130–135). In the first rank, the manes are visible on five horses: N131–135 (see fig. 1a–e). Whereas in the other nine ranks, each group contains a single mane style, the horses' manes of the first rank alone contain some variation: the six manes are each intentionally differentiated. It is the very same feature used to delineate the west cavalcade.²¹ Hence, the west-

¹⁵ Neils 2001, 55–6; 2004, 48–51.

¹⁶ Neils 2001, 60; 2004, 46–51. The total count of the cavalymen is then 60 on the south side but 77 on the west and north sides.

¹⁷ Wesenberg 1995, 172–76, 177–78; see also Fischer 2001, 186.

¹⁸ In Osada (2001), I discuss types of horse manes over the entire Parthenon frieze; however, following subsequent research in the British Museum and the Acropolis Museum, my conclusions here regarding the classifications of the north frieze are somewhat different from those in my initial paper.

¹⁹ More correctly, the horses' manes of the south cavalcade are classified not into 10 groups but into nine. The 12 horses' manes of the third and fourth ranks (S14–25) all show, as in Schuchhardt (1930, 246–47), a single similar type. According

to him, the relief styles of the third and fourth ranks are very close to each other but definitely different.

²⁰ Schuchhardt's (1930) analysis is discussed below.

²¹ As Berger and Gisler-Huwiler (1996, 39–40) note, many scholars think that the execution of the Parthenon frieze started from the western side (Osada 2001, 356; for the carving, see Neils 2001, 76–93). It is possible that the carving of the north frieze began on its western end. If the carving of the cavalcade on the west frieze can be used as a model for the carving of the cavalcade on the north frieze, each horse mane could also be differentiated on the western end of the north side. But subsequently this might have been abandoned because carving more than 200 horses would have been time-consuming and expensive.

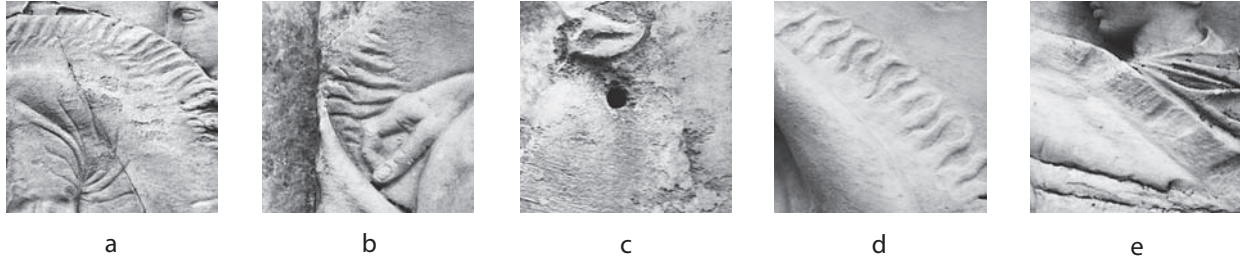


Fig. 1. The first rank: *a*, horse mane N131; *b*, horse mane N132; *c*, horse mane N133; *d*, horse mane N134; *e*, horse mane N135. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).



Fig. 2. The second rank: *a*, horse mane N124; *b*, horse mane N125; *c*, horse mane N126; *d*, horse mane N127; *e*, horse mane N129. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).

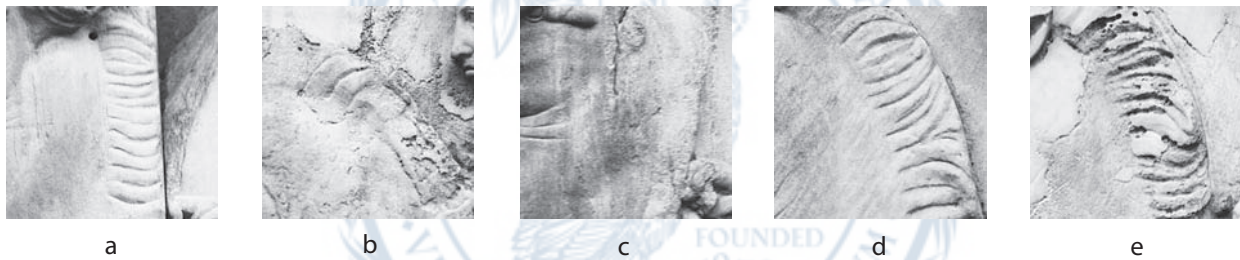


Fig. 3. The third rank: *a*, horse mane N118; *b*, horse mane N120; *c*, horse mane N121; *d*, horse mane N122; *e*, horse mane N123. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).

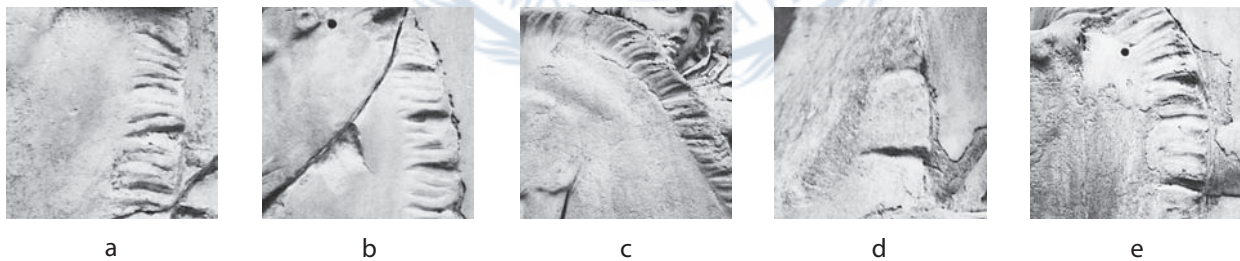


Fig. 4. The fourth rank: *a*, horse mane N112; *b*, horse mane N113; *c*, horse mane N115; *d*, horse mane N116; *e*, horse mane N117. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).

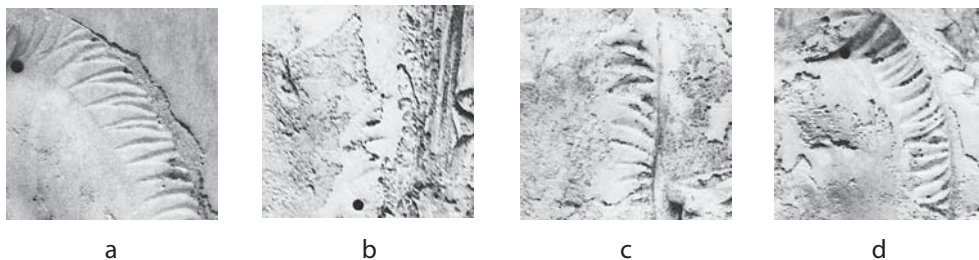


Fig. 5. The fifth rank: *a*, horse mane N107; *b*, horse mane N108; *c*, horse mane N110; *d*, horse mane N111. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).

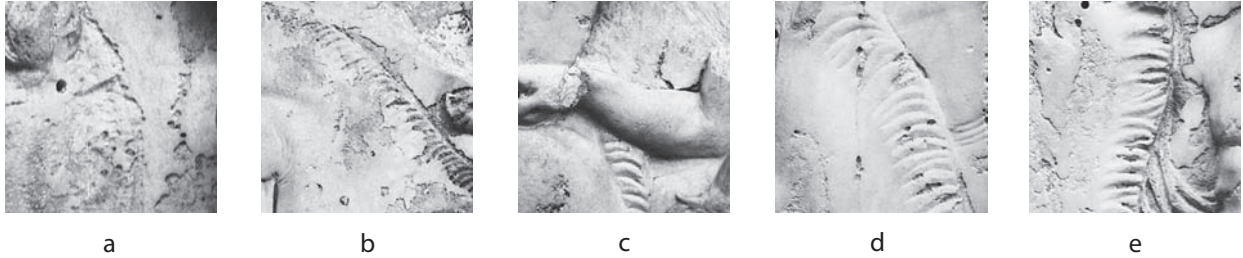


Fig. 6. The sixth rank: *a*, horse mane N100; *b*, horse mane N101; *c*, horse mane N102; *d*, horse mane N103; *e*, horse mane N105. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).

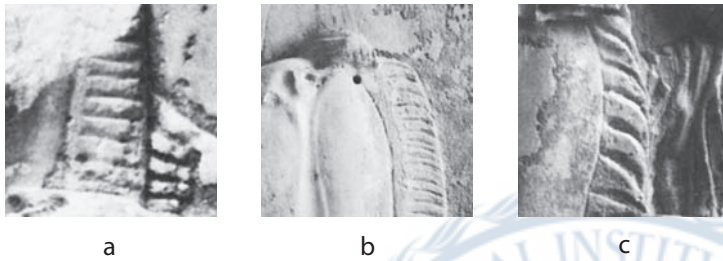


Fig. 7. The seventh rank: *a*, horse mane N95; *b*, horse mane N98; *c*, horse mane N99. Athens, Acropolis Museum (after Delivorrias 2004, 111–12; courtesy Melissa Publishing House).

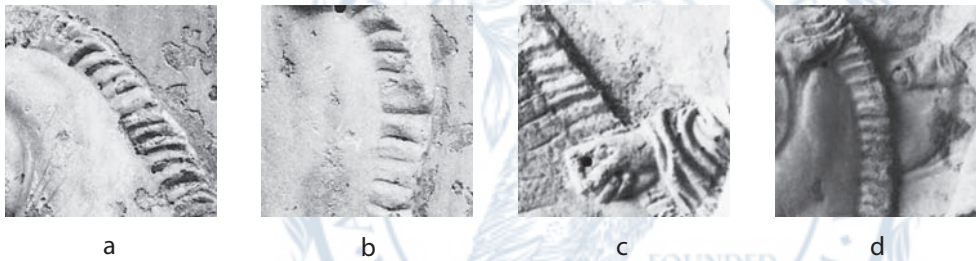


Fig. 8. The eighth rank: *a*, horse mane N87; *b*, horse mane N88; *c*, horse mane N89; *d*, horse mane N91 (*a, b*, London, The British Museum [T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan]; *c, d*, Athens, Acropolis Museum [after Delivorrias 2004, 110; courtesy Melissa Publishing House]).

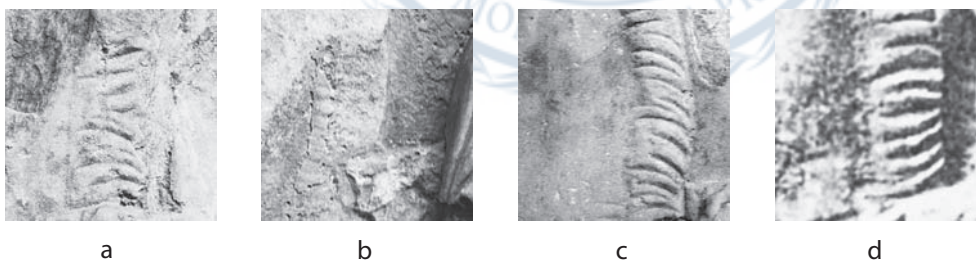


Fig. 9. The ninth rank: *a*, horse mane N81; *b*, horse mane N82; *c*, horse mane N83; *d*, horse mane N86 (*a-c*, London, The British Museum [T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan]; *d*, Athens, Acropolis Museum [after Jenkins 1994, 96; © The Trustees of the British Museum]).

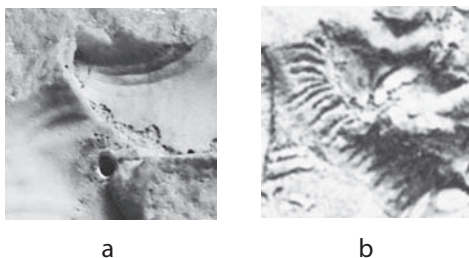


Fig. 10. The tenth rank: *a*, horse mane N77. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan); *b*, horse mane N79. London, The British Museum (after Jenkins 1994, 95; © The Trustees of the British Museum).

ern end of the north frieze is stylistically consistent with the adjoining western frieze. Placed continuously around the western corner, they each seem to render the same preparation scene.

The horse mane of N135 (see fig. 1e) shows a kind of geometric rendering. It is made of a file of rectangles (or parallelograms). These alternate in high and low relief. The horse mane is curved in a belt shape, and the width of this belt (i.e., the length of the hair) is 2.1–4.3 cm. The horse mane of N134 (see fig. 1d) is distinctively rendered to resemble a flame; it measures about 3.0 cm wide. The horse mane of N133 (see fig. 1c) is made of a flat band showing no cut or groove of hair and measures 2.5–3.8 cm wide. The horse mane of N132 (see fig. 1b) is similar to that of N134, but the shape of the flame is straighter and longer. The width of this mane is 4.2 cm. The horse mane of N131 (see fig. 1a) is also noteworthy, as it consists of two layers, each forming a row of hair.²² The shorter row of hair lies on top of the longer row. The width of the mane is 2.7–4.2 cm. The hair shows a naturalistic S-shaped curve. Its rendering is clearly different from the type that is common to the six horses of the second rank.

Second Rank (N124–129). The manes of five horses in this rank are visible: N124–127 and N129 (see fig. 2a–e). They all belong to a single type, which has shorter, coarser, bristly hair, reminiscent of a deck brush. The grooves are thicker, deeper, and regularly cut. Almost all of them are straight; only those of N125 (fig. 2b) and N129 (fig. 2e) are gently curved. The width of the mane varies from 2.5 to 3.4 cm.

Third Rank (N118–123). Again, five horses preserve a visible mane: N118 and N120–123 (see fig. 3a–e). They, too, conform to a single type, which has longer and softer hair, ruffled here and there, reminiscent of a mop.²³ The groove is thinner and shallowly cut; none is straight. The tips of the curved, entangled hair are naturalistic, touching in some places. The width of this mane varies from 2.7 to 4.5 cm.

Fourth Rank (N112–117). A mane of coarser hair appears on five horses in this rank: N112, N113, N115–117 (see fig. 4a–e). The grooves delineating the hair are not regularly cut, often showing Y and V shapes. A typical feature is the presence of two kinds of grooves: one shallow, fine, and consistently carved throughout, with a second, deeper groove (like parted hair) appearing

at intervals along the mane.²⁴ The width of the mane is often longer, varying from 3.5 to 4.1 cm.

Fifth Rank (N106–111). The manes of four horses are visible in this rank: N107, N108, N110, and N111 (see fig. 5a–d). These, too, display a single type. It is simply rendered with a groove that is thinner and shallowly cut in characteristic Y and V shapes. The width of the mane is shorter, from 2.9 to 3.6 cm.

Sixth Rank (N100–105). There is a visible mane on five horses: N100–103 and N105 (see fig. 6a–e). On these horses, the grooves delineating the hairs of the manes are not straight but curved. They are not always regularly cut and sometimes show V and Y shapes.²⁵ The width of the mane is relatively short, from 2.3 to 3.5 cm.

Seventh Rank (N94–99). Three horses preserve a visible mane: N95, N98, and N99 (see fig. 7a–c). They belong to a similar type, of which N99 is especially characteristic; its grooves are thick and cut in soft curves or S-shapes at longer regular intervals. The surface remains flat and without any rendering between the grooves of the mane. The manes of N95 (see fig. 7a) and N98 (see fig. 7b) also have some peculiarities. A flat, narrow band runs at the hairline between the horse's neck and mane hair. The grooves of the hair are gently curved, thinner, and shallowly cut. There are no Y or V shapes "tangling" the mane. The width of these three horses' manes varies from 3.0 to 3.5 cm.

Eighth Rank (N87–89, 91–93). The manes are visible on four horses: N87–89 and N91 (see fig. 8a–d). They show a single similar type. The grooves are coarser and regularly cut without any V cuts; they do not appear very naturalistically rendered, never conveying a sense of being ruffled or blown by the wind. Almost all the grooves are straight; a gentle curve is found only in N87 (see fig. 8a). Here, the grooves are reminiscent of those in the second rank, but they are much shallower. The width of the horses' manes varies from 2.5 to 3.5 cm.

Ninth Rank (N81–86). The manes of four horses are visible: N81–83 and N86 (see fig. 9a–d). The grooves of the manes in this rank are thin and shallowly cut. They are not straight but softly curved and show the characteristic V and Y shapes. The width of the mane is 2.5–3.5 cm.²⁶

Tenth Rank (N75–80). The manes are visible on two horses: N77 and N79 (see fig. 10a, b). The grooves in these manes are regularly cut at short intervals.

²² Mizuta compares the style of the mane of N131 with N132; see his comment in Mizuta et al. 2001, 209, 211 ("style note").

²³ See Brommer (1977, 61), who refers to the rendering of the horse mane of N118. On the horse manes of N100, N121, and N133, see Brommer 1997, 96. On the mane of N118, see Mizuta's comment in Mizuta et al. 2001, 203 ("style note").

²⁴ Brommer (1977, 59, 85) compares the horse mane of N115 with S32.

²⁵ Mizuta compares the style of the mane of N103 with N111; see his comment in Mizuta et al. 2001, 195 ("style note").

²⁶ On the manes of this rank, see Mizuta's comment in Mizuta et al. 2001, 181 ("style note").

The three best, most prominent examples of the divisions between the types of horses' manes are (1) between figures N124 in the second rank (see fig. 2a) and N123 in the third rank (see fig. 3e); (2) between figures N118 in the third rank (see fig. 3a) and N117 in the fourth rank (see fig. 4e); and (3) between figures N112 in the fourth rank (see fig. 4a) and N111 in the fifth rank (see fig. 5d).

The Horsemen's Heads

Also significant is that it is not only the type of horse mane that alters according to the division of 10 ranks of six riders. There are several places where the style of the horsemen's heads changes, also corresponding to the division of 10 ranks, just as in the case of the south cavalcade.²⁷ Here, I do not describe all the types of heads but take up only the well-preserved examples (figs. 11–17).

First Rank (N130–135). The heads of four horsemen in this rank are well preserved: N130, N133–135 (see fig. 11a–d). All show a similar carving of wavy wisps of hair, which is different from the three heads in the fourth rank (see figs. 14b–d). The cheek of this head type is more exposed; the ear is placed toward the back so that the line between ear and chin is not so steep (at an angle), as it is in the heads of the other ranks. Compare, for example, the line of the chin in N134 (see fig. 11c) with that of N120 in the third rank (see fig. 13c). The lip of this type is rather full but notably small.

Second Rank (N124–129). Although heavily damaged, three heads in this rank are preserved: N125, N126, and N129 (see fig. 12a, b).

Third Rank (N118–123). The heads of five horsemen in this rank are well preserved: N118–120, N122, and N123 (see fig. 13a–e). The hallmark of this famous head type is its mouth: the lip is tightly shut so that its corners fall down. One feels it expresses a religious solemnity. The cheek is not exposed, as in the first rank, nor is it rounded. The top of the skull is big, and the back of the rounded head projects outward.

Fourth Rank (N112–117). The heads of four horsemen are preserved: N112, N114, N116, and N117 (see fig. 14a–d). Although not recognizable from the photographs, all the heads of the fourth rank are notably smaller than the others. They show a similar carving of hair: each wisp is formed in a clear crescent shape. The eyes are small. The chins are also small and not

round, so the heads of this rank rather resemble those of boys.

Fifth Rank (N106–111). Again, four heads are preserved in this rank: N107, N108, N110, and N111 (see fig. 15a–d). The cheek is exposed and the ear is placed toward the back of the head, like in the first rank. The eyes, however, are more closed, and the mouth is not as small as in the first rank.²⁸

Sixth Rank (N100–105). The heads of five horsemen in this rank are preserved: N100, N101, N103–105 (see fig. 16a–e). The eyebrows and eyes are both unique. The eyebrow does not form a bow shape, as it does on all the other heads in the frieze, but rather a straight line descending from the center of the face toward the sides. The eye is not round; both its top and bottom are straight, so the form of the eye resembles a triangle. One feels it adds to the facial expression a feeling of sadness or sorrow.

Seventh Rank (N94–99). Only the heads of N98 and N99 are preserved in this rank (see fig. 17a, b).

Just as the groupings according to the type of mane are more conspicuous for the south cavalry than for the north, so, too, is the different head type much easier to distinguish in the south frieze than in the north. Indeed, the rendering or style in the north frieze is more homogeneous, and the uniformity is thus intentionally emphasized.

As already noted, Schuchhardt had to analyze the style of the frieze relief on the basis of the older reconstruction. However, his argument still has some merit. In fact, there are many correspondences between his stylistic division of the relief and the classification of horse manes discussed here; see the comparison below, where the numbers in parentheses show the count of horsemen in each rank, and the italicized type shows where both classifications accord with each other.

The grouping of the north cavalymen by Schuchhardt: N75–80 (6), N81–86 (6), N87–91 (5), N95–99 (5), N100–111 (12), N112–117 (6), N118–124 (7), N125–129 (5), N130–136 (7).²⁹

The grouping of the north cavalymen by the author: N75–80 (6), N81–86 (6), N87–93 (6), N94–99 (6), N100–105 (6), N106–111 (6), N112–117 (6), N118–123 (6), N124–129 (6), N130–135 (6).

So the correspondences between the stylistic division of Schuchhardt and the classification discussed here

²⁷ In previous studies, Fukube (2001) is one of the few scholars who have discussed the style of the riders' heads in the cavalcade. Fukube (2001, 321–23) identifies at least six different styles between N96 and N136: N96–100, N101–111, N112–117, N118–122, N123–129, and N130–136; see also his

comment in Mizuta et al. 2001, 176–213 (“style note”).

²⁸ On the heads of N110 and N111, see Mizuta's comment in Mizuta et al. 2001, 199 (“style note”).

²⁹ Schuchhardt 1930.



Fig. 11. The first rank: *a*, head N130; *b*, head N133; *c*, head N134; *d*, head N135. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).

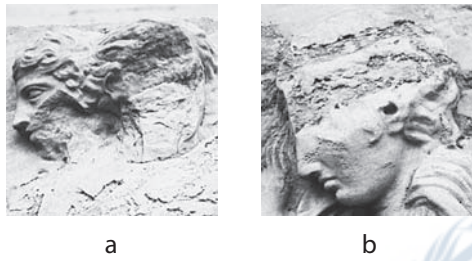


Fig. 12. The second rank: *a*, head N125, N126; *b*, head N129. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).



Fig. 13. The third rank: *a*, head N118; *b*, head N119; *c*, head N120; *d*, head N122; *e*, head N123. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).



Fig. 14. The fourth rank: *a*, head N112; *b*, head N114; *c*, head N116; *d*, head N117. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).



Fig. 15. The fifth rank: *a*, head N107; *b*, head N108; *c*, head N110; *d*, head N111. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).



Fig. 16. The sixth rank: *a*, head N100; *b*, head N101; *c*, head N103; *d*, head N104; *e*, head N105. London, The British Museum (T. Kaneko; courtesy the Parthenon Project Japan).



Fig. 17. The seventh rank: *a*, head N98; *b*, head N99. Athens, Acropolis Museum (after Delivorrias 2004, 112; courtesy Melissa Publishing House).

are found in six places: the divisions between the first (N130–135) and second (N124–129) ranks; the third (N118–123) and fourth (N112–117) ranks; the fourth (N112–117) and fifth (N106–111) ranks; the sixth (N100–105) and seventh (N94–99) ranks; the eighth (N87–93) and ninth (N81–86) ranks; and the ninth (N81–86) and tenth (N75–80) ranks.³⁰

This leads to a rather simple solution. It appears most reasonable to suppose that the process of creating the north cavalcade was akin to that of the south cavalcade: on the basis of the stylistic analysis above, there would have been 10 different workshops (*Werk-schar* or *Werkgruppe*),³¹ each of which seems to have taken charge of one of the 10 different ranks, just as in the case of the south cavalcade.

The Marker Rider

If one assumes the presence of 10 ranks of six riders each, then each rank would be distinguished by

one marker rider. These marker riders, as identified by Jenkins and others, are N80, N82, N89, N98, N102, N108, N113, N120, N127, and N133 (fig. 18).³² They are the riders placed nearest the viewer, often distinguishable by their nudity, the pose of looking back over a shoulder, or the gesture of raising a hand. They clearly appear to be leading the ranks. However, the marker rider does not always run at the head of his rank. In other words, the rider could be anywhere in the rank. The marker rider runs side by side with five compatriots, sometimes ahead, sometimes behind, yet always closer to the viewer.

Composition

Finally, the composition offers another key to the grouping. Fortunately, the arrangement of the frieze blocks, at least in the north and south cavalcades, is now almost certain.³³ Although heavily damaged on the eastern parts of the long side, there is little doubt

³⁰The other three divisions do not fall in the same place, but two of them are caused by the damage to the relief: the divisions between the second (N124–129) and third (N118–123) ranks and the seventh (N94–99) and eighth (N87–93) ranks. The stylistic analysis of those slabs is very difficult, if not impossible (see Schuchhardt 1930, 241–44). Regarding the division between the fifth and sixth ranks, Schuchhardt sees this as a special case. He feels that the whole two ranks (N100–111) show a single style consisting of similar-looking figures and horses, and it is difficult to divide them into two groups. As a

result, he attributes these 12 riders and horses to two sculptors whose styles were very close to each other (Schuchhardt 1930, 242). As noted above, I do not attempt to recognize a sculptor's "hand," but the renderings of the horses' manes of the fifth and sixth ranks certainly appear very similar.

³¹Brommer 1977, 273.

³²Jenkins 2005, 152–59; see also Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 87–91; Neils 2004, 46–51.

³³On the reconstruction of the frieze blocks, see esp. Jenkins 1994, 49–51.

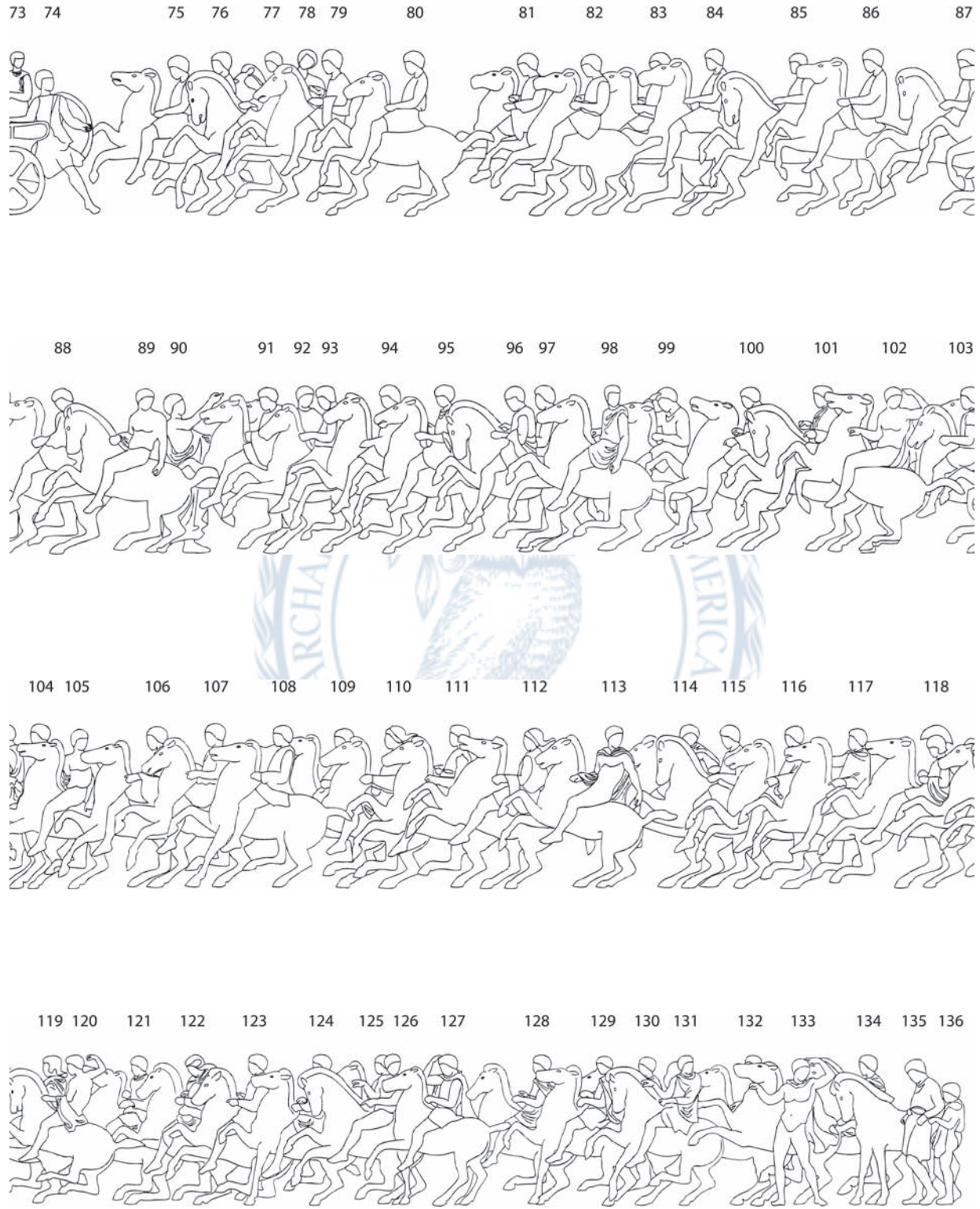


Fig. 18. The cavalry on the Parthenon north frieze (N75–136) (drawing by R. Rosenzweig; after Neils 2001; © Jenifer Neils).

regarding the reconstruction of the blocks of the cavalcade, as proposed with small variations by Dinsmoor, Berger, Gisler-Huwiler, and Jenkins.³⁴ The composition shows clearly that the tenth and ninth ranks are distinguished from the others; in these ranks, a space separates the two lines of galloping horses (see fig. 18). Note the wider spaces between N80 (tenth rank) and N81 (ninth rank) and between N86 (ninth rank) and N87 (eighth rank). As on the south side, the six horsemen are thus recognizably grouped.³⁵ The faster ranks, having finished their preparations, have gone ahead, already starting the procession. The preparation scene covers the entire west side, so the departing process seems to be continuously depicted from the west side to the western part of the north frieze.³⁶ As stated, the north and south cavalcades seem to represent the same scene: the front ranks are gaining speed, while the other ranks are lingering in the congestion of preparation.

CONCLUSION

As often noted, the 10 ranks are each made up of six horsemen. The number six seems to have had some significance in the design of the frieze and may allude to the size of the Athenian cavalry when the Parthenon frieze was designed. Sources for the size of the Athenian cavalry in the fifth century vary. The literary tradition records three figures: 300,³⁷ 600,³⁸ or 1,000 (1,200 if one includes the 200 mounted archers).³⁹ As a result of military reforms, the size seems to have been increased—from 300 to 1,000—between the end of the Persian Wars (479 B.C.E.) and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.E.). Whether the increase happened all at once or gradually is debated.

The prevailing idea is that Perikles was responsible for this increase. Bugh has suggested that the number of the Athenian horsemen differed over time,⁴⁰ a likely scenario if the cavalry was reformed in stages. Since the scholiast on Aristophanes mentions a cavalry of 600, it is likely that the first reform increased the number from 300 to 600 and that a later reform resulted in a cavalry of 1,000. If the increase to 600 corresponded with the date of the design of the Parthenon frieze,

that could explain the division of horsemen on the frieze into 10 ranks of six horsemen each. Alternatively, the size of the cavalry could have already been 1,000 when the frieze was designed, and the six horsemen of each rank on both long sides, 120 in total, may thus have represented the number 1,000 with 200 additional mounted archers.

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³⁴Dinsmoor 1954; Jenkins 1994, 49–50; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, 57–8. There is no doubt about the reconstruction of any of the frieze blocks of the south cavalry or about blocks XXXV–XLVII of the north cavalry (see Jenkins 1995). Regarding blocks XXIX–XXXV of the north cavalry, various reconstructions of the lost figures and horses have been attempted by the British Museum and Skulpturhalle Basel.

³⁵In the midst of the eighth rank (N87–93), a marshal stands facing backward, calling the riders. His presence produces a gap between N89 and N91. It is difficult, however, to

discern the meaning of his action in this position.

³⁶Wesenberg 1995, 175.

³⁷Andoc. 3.5.

³⁸Scholiast to Ar. *Knights* 627.

³⁹Andoc. 3.7; Ar. *Knights* 225; Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 24.3; Philoch. (in *FGrHist* 328, F 39); Thuc. 2.13.8; see also Bugh 1988, 39–78; Hurwit 1999, 182, 233; Fischer 2001, 187–95; Jenkins 2005.

⁴⁰Bugh 1988, 40; see also *FGrHist* 328, F 39; Helbig 1902, 10.

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