

RECONSIDERING ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS. REFLECTIONS ON THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF ATHENA'S TEMPLES

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An overview on Athena temples' archeological evidence on the Athenian Acropolis

The existence of a Mycenaean palace on the Athenian Acropolis, far from being unanimously accepted, is traditionally assumed on the basis of two steps, a substructure curtain wall and two *poros* column bases in the northern area of the Acropolis.¹

In this early age, evidence of worship of a divinity corresponding to Athena could, perhaps, be proved by the text of some linear B Mycenaean tablets (coming from Pilos) mentioning «*a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*», usually translated as «Mistress of Athens» or «Mistress Athena». The famous *xoanon* representing Athena *Polias*, attested by ancient authors (see, for example, Paus. I 26, 6; Athenagoras *Inter. Chret.* 17, 14; Tert. *Ap.* XVI 6), is supposed to belong to the Mycenaean period.²

According to some scholars, the above-mentioned *poros* bases should be more convincingly referred to a later phase, as the site was probably occupied during the Orientalizing Age by a hypothetical (because of the lack of archaeological remains other than these bases) yet necessary temple. Hence, the first *neos* dedicated to Athena *Polias*, dated to 700-650 B.C., could have been a small-sized distyle *in antis* building.

Classical literary sources document the presence of an *agalma* and of an altar between 640-620 B.C. (Hdt. V 71; Thucyd. I 126, 3-11; Plut. *Sol.* 12, 1-2) when referring to Kylon's unsuccessful coup.

During the archaic period (fig. 1), around 570 B.C. (the span of time for its dating actually ranges from 600 to 560 B.C.), Athenians built the first peripteral shrine for Athena *Polias*, almost certainly in the northern site of the Acropolis, where the Mycenaean palace and the Orientalizing *neos* had stood.

The construction was most likely related to the establishment of Panathenaic festival in 566 B.C. The Doric temple, built mainly of *poros* coming from the Piraeus, measured circa 40 x 20 m, had six columns front and rear and twelve or thirteen columns down the long sides. One of its pediments (the eastern one?) represented a lion and a lioness killing a bull in the centre, Herakles combating a sea monster on the left corner and a three-bodied monster (so-called ‘Bluebeard’) on the right. The other one (the western one?) represented a Gorgon in the centre, two lions, Athena’s birth and Herakles’ apotheosis and two snakes on the corner.

Inscription *IG II² 334* proved the existence of a *bomos* where the hecatomb took place, by dealing with the Panathenaic feast.

A new archaic temple dedicated to Athena *Polias* was built around 520 B.C. (the dating range moves from 540 to 510 B.C.), its scheme closely resembling that of its predecessor, repeating the Doric peripteral plan characterized by six columns along the short sides and twelve on the flanks, the same material (*poros*, except in some marble architectural details) and the same dimensions (43 x 21 m) as well. Internal planimetry showed an eastern cella – devoted to hosting and preserving the simulacrum – with a nave and two aisles and a western one divided into three rooms, the first one giving access to other minor two. Marble pediments sculptures’ theme was once again lions killing a bull on one side and Athena defeating *Enkelados* and further combat scenes against giants on the other side.³

As the so-called ‘Dörpfeld foundations’ (fig. 2) are the only archeological evidence for temple foundation on the Acropolis in the VI century B.C., it is very probable that both archaic Athena *Polias* temples were erected, on the same place, upon them (the most recent one succeeding to the former).

Following this theory, the temple of Athena *Polias* saw three phases: the first one during the Orientalizing Age (VII century B.C.), the second one around 570-560 B.C. and the most recent one dated to 540-510 B.C. Such interpretation seems to be confirmed by literary sources, that mention only one sacred building dedicated to Athena during the Archaic Age.

However, according to a different hypothesis, the Athenian Acropolis in the VI century hosted two different temples of Athena: in the northern shrine (placed on the Dörpfeld foundations) Athena was worshipped as *Polias*, whereas in the southern part of the Acropolis there was the archaic temple of Athena *Parthenos* (also known as ‘Ur-Parthenon’). This theory maintains

that the most prestigious edifice was the southern one, built around 570-560 B.C. Given the importance of this hypothetical first predecessor of the Parthenon, the smaller Orientalizing shrine was not replaced until 540-510 B.C. A significant flaw of the latter theory is that it does not point out which of the two temples enshrined the *agalma* of the goddess.⁴

Afterward, around 490 B.C. (probably after the Marathon victory), a marble temple – in current scientific literature named Old Parthenon⁵ – dedicated to Athena and located in the southern area of the Acropolis was built on a massive *poros* foundation (length: 77 m, width: 31 m, thickness: 7 m). Since the building's *krepis* (whose stylobate measured 23 x 67 m), still visible nowadays under the Periclean Parthenon, is not perfectly aligned with the foundation, it is possible to assume that the construction underwent two different phases, the elder dating back to 500 B.C. and originally aimed to support a *poros* building. The project, never completed because of the Persian invasion, foresaw a 6 x 16 columns peristasis, an eastern cella – a hundred feet long (*hekatompedon neos*) – with a nave and two aisles, a western square room and no altar.

Parthenon construction began in 447 B.C. and was completed in 438 (when the chryselephantine statue representing Athena *Parthenos* was inaugurated), although further works, mostly connected to architectural decorations, went on until 432.⁶ As the temple architecture is well-known, it is enough to remind that it was a marble peripteral construction, whose stylobate measured 31 x 69 m, with 8 Doric columns front and rear and 17 down the long sides. The interior was composed by a *pronaos* with 6 columns on the front, a cella which hosted the chryselephantine image and was organized in a central nave and two lateral aisles, a western cella with four Ionic columns, a *opisthodomos* with 6 columns. As far as the architectural decoration is concerned, the building showed pediments describing Athena's birth (east) and the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the ownership of Attica (west); metopes dealing with the Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, Centauromachy; a Ionic frieze running around the exterior walls of the cella regarding the Panathenaic procession. The temple had no altar, as none of the ancient sources nor archaeological evidence document it.

Pericles' architectural program also included, *inter alia*, the small shrine where Athena *Nike* was worshipped, although its completion dates to post-Periclean period.⁷

Finally, it has to be noted that, according to some interpretations, the sacred structure known as Erechtheum, standing further north the ancient temple of Athena *Polias*, whose building was initiated in 421 B.C., then stopped until 409 and completed in 405, represents the last phase of Athena *Polias* shrine.

A brief analysis of the so-called 'hekatompedon inscription' (i.e. IG P 4)

The discussion concerning the location of the archaic temples is also connected to the problem of the number of Parthenon's construction phases and to the interpretation of the term *oikema* as well. The 'hekatompedon epigraph' (IG P 4),⁸ that indeed poses several questions related to the archaic period of the Acropolis, underpins the debate.

The text, found in forty-one fragments, was inscribed on the rear face of two metopes coming from the 570-560 B.C. Athena's temple and is now kept in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (EM6794). It is dated after 508/507 B.C., i.e. after the establishment of democracy, as the decree appears enacted by the *demoi*; A. Kirchoff proposed to identify the archon mentioned in the inscription with Philocares and therefore dated it to 485/484 B.C.

The face B of the decree rules a series of prohibitions to commit nuisances, such as the ban to throw waste into different buildings, thus proving to be a telling instrument to pick out the Acropolis topography.

It distinguishes the *neos* (line 9), which should certainly be interpreted as the archaic temple of Athena *Polias*, the altar or *bomos* (line 9) and the *hekatompedon* (line 11), that is a stand-alone construction.

Afterward, the writ sets out tasks that have to be carried out by the *tamiai*. Among these is included the duty to periodically check the *oikemata*, that, as illustrated by the very beginning of face B of the text, seem to have functioned as goods storages, being basically devoted to host *ta kalkia*.

The term «*hekatompedon*», in the context of the epigraphic text, appears to be clearly connected to the *oikemata*, since it comes immediately after them in the dative case (lines 17-18). The nature of such relationship is widely debated (is it a relation of proximity, with the dative case suggesting closeness, i.e. the *oikemata* standing 'near' the *hekatompedon*? of overlapping, i.e. the *oikemata* standing 'on' the *hekatompedon*? of inclusion, i.e. the *oikemata* standing 'inside' the *hekatompedon*?).

Hence, the word *hekatompedon* has been variously understood by different scholars. Some archaeologists assumed that the *hekatompedon* was an open enclosure or *temenos* containing the *oikemata*, that should thus be considered independent structures similar to the *thesauroi* of Delphi or Olympia; others thought that the *hekatompedon* was a platform, because of the massive dimension of the foundation found under the Old Parthenon, which was hence meant to support the *oikemata/thesauroi*, like Olympia's terrace of the *thesauroi*; finally, some scholars maintained that the *hekatompedon* was a temple or a cella of a temple.

The first two hypotheses tried also to explain the function of several archaic architectural remains, consisting mainly in small-sized pediments representing, for example, Herakles' apotheosis, Herakles combating the Hydra, an olive tree and so on.⁹ These remains belonged to structures, usually small dystyle *in antis* buildings, that date back to the archaic period (mainly to the VI century B.C.) and that are usually known in scientific literature as *oikoi*. As these buildings are too small to function as temples, and also due to the high quality of their sculptures and finally to their plan, that shows evident similarity to Olympia and Delphi's buildings, it has been assumed that they were a sort of *thesauroi* and that they were located (as pointed out by the dative case) somehow 'on' or 'within' the structure known as *hekatompedon*. These hypotheses, therefore, explained the purpose of the small archaic *oikoi*, by identifying them with the *oikemata* mentioned in the inscription.

Yet, these two interpretations should be definitively rejected. Firstly, because the advisable framework for *thesauroi* should have been a Pan-Hellenic sanctuary, and not the Athenian Acropolis – given that the *temenos* dedicated to Athena *Polias* was never meant to be a Pan-Hellenic sacred area like Olympia or Delphi. The Athenian Acropolis, although its importance was widespread through all Greece, was indeed the sanctuary of Athena *Polias*, of Athena protector of the city of Athens. The 'non Pan-Hellenic' nature of the Athenian Acropolis is also archaeologically documented, since the most part of known names of people who made dedications were Athenians.

Moreover, it should be considered that an *hekatompedon* is essentially a hundred feet *neos* (cella or whole temple) in its original sense. The original meaning of the term, thereby, is not 'platform' or 'enclosure', but one hundred feet temple or one hundred feet cella.

Finally, it should be noted that *hekatompedon* was the name applied by ancient sources to classical Parthenon, whose eastern cella was officially

called *hekatompedon* (see, for instance, inventory lists) and the whole structure was likewise known as *hekatompedon* and *hekatompedos* in ancient epigraphic and literary sources (for example: Plutarch, Hesychios, Suidas, etc.).

For these reasons, it seems preferable to assume that the *hekatompedon* mentioned in the decree was the cella (or, eventually, the whole structure) of the 500 B.C. temple which stood in the southern area of the Acropolis or its 490 B.C. post-Marathon reconstruction.

Accepted that the term *hekatompedon* is referring to a temple and not to an enclosure or to a platform, the problem concerning the interpretation of *oikemata* still remains. Such *oikemata* could be now considered as freestanding buildings located near the *hekatompedon* (the dative case suggesting proximity), maybe in the site later occupied by Chalkotheke;¹⁰ otherwise, they can be regarded as internal rooms of the *hekatompedon*.

The latter hypothesis should be opted for, since it is consistent with the subsequent role of the Parthenon, that, as will be shortly illustrated, had essentially an economic purpose, being a sort of an Athenians' treasures depository. Epigraphic texts clearly document that such treasures were, in fact, preserved in its rooms (namely the *pronaos*, the *hekatompedon*, the *parthenon*, the *opisthodomos*).

In that way, a sound continuity between the *hekatompedon* mentioned in the decree – consisting of *oikemata* containing *ta kalkia* – and the Classical Parthenon can be proved with regard to terminology (*hekatompedon*), location (southern part of the Acropolis), contents (valuable goods) and function (hoarding).

The economic role of the Parthenon

Sacrifice was the central ritual act in Greek religion, and therefore, the fundamental element for the establishment of a sanctuary was the altar, the temple being not indispensable for the existence of the *temenos*. Although early Greek cult practices did not necessarily foresee a building aimed to host the simulacrum, it can be nevertheless observed that, as the sacred area gradually began to acquire a more organized structure which included various kinds of architectural types (such as *thesauroi*, *hestiatoria*, *tholoi*, etc.), different temples, simultaneously existing side by side, could be found in some

temene. The usual approach towards sanctuaries presenting several *neoi* is to attempt to refer each of them to a separate deity, even in the absence of reliable evidence, in spite of the existence of sacred areas comprising more than one temple dedicated to the same god or goddess who is the owner of the entire *temenos* – cases can be quoted from Delos, from Samos, etc.

A similar situation can be observed for the Athenian Acropolis, where two major shrines were consecrated to Athena, i.e. the temple of Athena *Polias* located in the northern side, probably since the Orientalizing Age, and the *hekatompedon/Parthenon* in the southern one, plus secondary cult places where Athena was worshipped as *Nike*, *Hygieia*, *Ergane*.¹¹ Question arises with regard to the role and function of the reduplication of the main templar edifice.

Religious, cult purpose clearly characterizes Athena *Polias* shrine, which was provided with an altar attested in literary and epigraphic documents (as well as by archaeological evidence, if one recognizes *bomos*' traces in the rock leveling 17 m east of the temple, maybe its southern limit; on this basis, W. Dörpfeld reconstructs it as a 15 m wide structure) and thereby intended firstly as a place of worship, whose *agalma* was considered a sacred image of veneration.

As far as the Parthenon (and its predecessor/s) is concerned, its main economic use – as deposit for precious goods belonging to the sanctuary and, possibly, to whole Athens – could be elicited by several ancient sources hereafter discussed.

The expression 'temple-trésor' was introduced for the first time by G. Roux – meaning a temple which not necessarily served as a cult building, but mainly as a 'wealth-storage depository'.¹² Roux took the Parthenon as an example, stressing how the only actions documented by ancient texts regarding it had financial nature (inspection of the chryselephantine statue, record of the valuable metal objects, etc.).

One of the most notable Parthenon's features suggesting its lack of cult purpose is the absence of a pertaining altar, not attested by any archaeological, epigraphic, literary source, whereas we are informed about Athena *Polias* temple's *bomos* involvement in Athenian religious rituals. There are no documents attesting any celebrative or worship practice related to the Parthenon, nor are there elements suggesting any kind of priesthood connected to the edifice.

Besides, in 304/303 B.C. Demetrius Poliorcetes lodged in the western cella of the Parthenon (Plut. *Demetr.* 23, 5; 26, 5), act that could not have been permitted if the temple had been really considered as a pure cult building, deprived of any less sacred implication.

Furthermore, the ancient *xoanon* preserved in the Athena *Poliias* shrine was perceived as the utmost sacred object on the Acropolis, as Pausanias states (probably, because of its sacredness, the image was never definitively moved from the temple erected on the so-called Dörpfeld foundations, although some scholars maintain that it was transferred in the Erechtheum). On the contrary, the statue realized by Phidias was conceived as an instrument to hoard Athenian community's economic resources, to the point that, during hard periods, Athenians did not hesitate to melt its gold parts, substituting them with less precious metals – Pericles himself claimed that, in case of public necessity, the gold of the statue could be used (see Thyc. II 13, 5). In fact, Lachares, also known as «the one who stripped Athena naked» (Plut. *Isis et Osiris*, 71), used the simulacrum gold to pay his soldiers (Paus. I 25, 7).

Thus, Parthenon's role as a wealth deposit and not primarily as a place of worship appears confirmed by the above-mentioned factors and can be further inferred by inventory lists' analysis.

Inventory lists

From 434 B.C. to 300/299 B.C. the Treasurers of the Athenian Acropolis annually listed the contents hosted by the Acropolis' temples by drawing up texts known as 'inventory lists', that have survived in over 200 fragments. The inscriptions always began with prescripts mentioning the names of the Treasurers, specifying whether only the Treasurers of Athena or also the Treasurers of the Other Gods were involved in publishing the text.

From 434 B.C. to 405/404 B.C. separate *stelai* for the *proneos*, the *hekatompedon*, the *parthenon* and the *opisthodomos* were inscribed. After 405/404 B.C. the contents of the *proneos* were no longer listed, and the *opisthodomos* was only irregularly inventoried (distinguishing the objects that were still in it from the ones that were in the *hekatompedon*, but had been originally placed in the *opisthodomos*). Since 399/398 B.C., a similar situation can be observed for the *parthenon*, as objects that had formerly been in the western room began to be listed «in the *hekatompedon*», under the sub-

heading «from the *parthenon*» (which could be hence considered the rear chamber of the Parthenon, the one characterized by four Ionic columns). In fact, since the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Treasurers started to list items coming from the different chambers of the Parthenon temple under a single heading, «in the *hekatompedon*». *Hekatompedon* should then indicate the whole Parthenon without differentiating the rooms within it.

After 375 B.C., items regarding the Archaïos Neos were inventoried as well, until 304/303 B.C. From the third century B.C. no inventories have been identified with certainty.

Inventory lists' relevance is twofold. Firstly, they clearly show how Athenians considered the gold and silver kept on the Acropolis as an important financial resource of their empire.¹³ At the end of the Peloponnesian war, for example, some objects coming from the Acropolis' treasures were melt in order to mint coins and Philocoros (*FGrH* 328 F 141) openly claims that 407/406 B.C. coinage was made possible thanks to the merger of gold *nikai* coming from the Parthenon.

Secondly, inventory lists show how *hekatompedon* was the name applied to Parthenon and we can consequently suppose that the same term was applied to its predecessor.

Finally, the different purposes served by the Parthenon and by the Athena *Polias* temple (i.e. the Archaïos Neos) can be easily inferred by the items recorded in their respective lists.

The treasures contained in the Parthenon were huge. They were composed of heterogeneous objects such as weapons, furniture, clothes, coins, the golden simulacrum and other statues, jewels, musical instruments, containers, ritual objects, wreaths. The majority of the items listed were made of precious metals, mainly silver and gold, and seem to have been there for the intrinsic value of their metal, in order to constitute a collective economic fund.

The contents of Archaïos Neos' inventory lists look far more exiguous compared to Parthenon's ones, thus proving the fundamental religious nature of the building, revolved on the preservation of the statue, which was the linchpin of the worship practice. The lists, in fact, reported the Athena *Polias* statue and ornaments belonging to it; figurines related to the goddess (representing, for example, an owl, a snake, a *palladion*); a second male *agalma*; undersized and clearly votive weapons; containers; ritual instruments such as a sacrificial knife, an incense burner, *phialai*; wreaths. Inventory lists

provide a portrayal of the Athena *Polias* ancient sacred simulacrum, that indeed corresponds to the description made by ancient authors, with the *phiale* in the right hand and an owl in the left one. The male image could possibly be the Hermes image noticed by Pausanias, who wrote that «in Athena *Polias* temple there is the statue of Hermes, that has been dedicated by Kekrops» (Paus. I 27, 1). The picture that can be sketched from the items recorded by the inventory list denies any plan to hoard a gold and silver reserve.

In fact, coins, jewels (except one), golden *phialai* and *hydriai* – whose presence was considerable in the Parthenon – were absent. A further indication of the lack of interest for the intrinsic value of the objects kept in the Archaios Neos is the fact that they were not weighed.

Besides, a noteworthy element emerging from the inventory lists is the presence of various deities connected to the objects reported in the Parthenon inscriptions, such as Athena, Artemis, Zeus, Demeter, Kore, Asclepius, Aphrodite, Dioskouroi. On the contrary, the Archaios Neos appears focused solely on Athena, who is exactly the goddess to whom the whole sacred area belongs. This situation confirms once again that the Acropolis' most important edifice, from a religious point of view, was the Archaios Neos, that was totally dedicated to the worship of Athena *Polias*, i.e. the owner of the whole sanctuary.

Conclusions

The Archaios Neos, the edifice consecrated to Athena *Polias*, was the real 'temple' of the Acropolis sanctuary, the Parthenon being a 'reduplication' of the main Athena's temple, with a less religious nature.

The Athenian Acropolis should be understood as a sanctuary belonging to Athena *Polias*, who is the owner of the whole *temenos*. The goddess' main cult place was the *neos* located in the northern side of the area, which existed since an early age and which was the core of the whole *temenos*. The edifice's linchpins were the worship of the goddess, whose sacred image was preserved inside it, and the ritual practice, as the presence of a corresponding altar confirms.

Around 500/490 B.C., a reduplication of the shrine was built in the southern area of the Acropolis, namely the Pre-Parthenon. The construction, titled *hekatompedon*, was primarily used as a wealth-storage building, as it

consisted of *oikemata* containing precious metals, *ta kalkia*. Its site was later occupied by the Parthenon, that continued to function as an instrument of collective goods hoarding, as indicated by inventory lists.

The Athenian Acropolis could be the model for the interpretation of other sanctuaries with two (or even more) temples dedicated to the same deity, by showing how the major temple was dedicated to cult practice and religious devotion while its reduplications could serve less ritual and more economic purposes.

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NOTES

¹ On the Mycenaean Acropolis see: Iakovidis 2006; Shear 1999; Mountjoy 1995; Wright 1994; Mountjoy 1981; Dinsmoor Jr. 1980; Bundgaard 1976; Bötticher 1963; Nylander 1962; Broneer 1939; Balanos 1938.

² Kroll 1982.

³ On the Athenian Acropolis' edifices built during the Archaic Age see: Ferrari 2002; Vlassopoulou 2000; Marszal 1998; Korres 1997; Butz 1995; Moore 1995; Childs 1994; Tölle-Kastenbein 1993; Beyer 1977; Beyer 1974; Schuchhardt 1963; Plommer 1960; Riemann 1950; Dinsmoor 1947; Schuchhardt 1935/1936; Judeich 1929; Schrader 1928; Dörpfeld 1919; Frickenhaus 1908; Freericks 1905;

Wiegand 1904; Dörpfeld 1897; Dörpfeld 1890; Dörpfeld 1887; Dörpfeld 1886; Dörpfeld 1885.

⁴ For the theory which identifies two archaic phases of the Athena *Polias* shrine, i.e. two temples both located on the Dörpfeld foundations, see: Beyer 1977; Beyer 1974.

For the theory according to which one of the two archaic temples was located in the southern part of the Acropolis, dedicated to Athena *Parthenos* and built on the same place where the Periclean Parthenon would have been erected, see: Korres 1997; Korres 1996; Herington 1955; Dinsmoor 1947; Heberdey 1919.

⁵ Seki 1984; Drerup 1981; Riemann 1940; Dinsmoor 1934; Hill 1912; Dörpfeld 1902.

⁶ General publications on the Parthenon are: Hellmann 2006; Neils 2005; Cosmopoulos 2004; Beard 2003; Collignon 1914; Michaelis 1871.

⁷ Mark 1993.

⁸ The text of the epigraph reads as follows: [τὰ χαλχία τὰ ἐ]μ πόλει : ὅσαι χρόνται : π[λ]ῆν ὅσα / [..6...] σεσεμ[α]σμένοις : οἰκῆμ[α]σι ἐ]γαμ παρ ἐκάστ / [...9.... κα]τὰ τὴν πόλιν : γρά[φ]οι[σ]θαί : τὸς ταμί-/[α]ς ::: ὅταν δρό[σ]οι : τὰ ἱερά : δι ἔ[ν]δο[ν] : ἱε[ρ]οργόντ-/[ε]ς, μὲ παρηστ[ι]άναι : χύτραν : μεδὲ [...7...].αν μεδὲ/[...13.....] μεδὲ τὸ πῦρ : ἀν[...].εν δὲ τις : τ-/[ο]ύτον τι δρᾶι εἰ]δός : ἐχσένοι θ[ο]ᾶ]ν : μέχ[ρ]ι τριῶν [ῶ]-/[βελῶν τοῖσι τ]αμίαισι ::: τὸς ἱε[ρ]οργόντα[ς] μ[...5...]/τοθεν : τ[ῶ] ν]εὸ : ἐντὸς τῶ Κ[εκροπι] μεδ ἀν]ὰ πᾶν : τὸ ἐ-/κατόμ[ε]δ]ον : μεδ ὀνοθ[ο]ν] : ἐγβ[α]λῆν ἐάν] δὲ τις : τοῦτο-ν τι δρᾶι εἰ]δός ἐ]χσ[ε]ναι : θοᾶν [μὲ]χρ[ι] τριῶν : ὀβελῶ-ν] : τοῖσι ταμί[α]σι ::: τὰς] ἱερέα[ς] τὰς ἐμ πόλει : καὶ τ-/ὰς ζακόρος [μὲ] ἔχεν οἰ]κεμα ταμειῶν : ἐμ πόλει : μ/εδὲ ἵπνε[ύ]σθαι : ἐάν δὲ τις τ[ο]ύτον τι δρᾶι : εἰθῦ-/νε[σ]θαί ἑκατὸν] : δραχμῆσι καὶ] τος ταμίας : ἐάν ἐδ-/σι εἰθῦνεσθαι] ἑκατὸν δραχμῆ[σ]ι :::] τὰ οἰκέματα/[... τὸι ἑκατ]ομπέδοι : ἀνοιγεν : [τὸς] ταμίας : μὲ δ-/[λειζον τρίς τ]ῶ μενός] θεᾶσθαι : τὰ[ς] ἡέν]ας : ἐμέρας/[τὰς πρὸ τῆς νο]μενίας[ς καὶ τ]εῖ [δεκάτει κα]λῖ τῆι εἰ-/[κάδι ὑπὲρ : ἐμ]ισυ : πα[π]όντα[ς] : ὅς δ ἂν λεί]πει : δυν-/ατὸς ὄν ἀποτίνε]ν : δύο δραχμα[ῶ] ἑκαστον : ἐσπ[ρ]άττε-/[ν δὲ τὸπ]ρύ[τανιν] {²⁶τὸν πρύτανιν} ²⁶ ἄ.]ν δὲ μέ, κα[λ]ι αὐτὸν κατὰ ταῦτ] εὔθ-/[ύνεσ]θαι : φα[λ]ινεν δὲ : τὸπ[ύ]τανιν {²⁶τὸν πρύτανιν} ²⁶ τὰ ἀδικήματα] το-/[ῖς] ταμίαισι : τὰ ἐν τοῖ λί[θοι] γεγραμμένα] /vacat/ταῦτ ἔδοχσεν : τοῖ δέ[μοι] ἐ]πι Φ[ιλοκρά]τος ἀρχοντ]-/ος : τὰ ἐν τοῖν λίθοι[ν] τούτ]οι.

⁹ Klein 1991; Bancroft 1979; Schuchhardt 1963; Heberdey 1919; Wiegand 1904.

¹⁰ The theory is based on the circumstance that the Chalkotheke is also attested as an *oikema* and, like the *oikemata*, it contained *kalkia* (see Holtzmann 2003, 73).

¹¹ On the different roles of Athena: Villing 2001; Wagner 2001; Heintze 1995; Heintze 1994; Heintze 1993, 385-418; Herington 1955.

¹² Roux 1984.

¹³ On the treasures of the Acropolis, see: Lapatin 2005; Harris 1995; Osborne, Hornblower 1994, 213-225; Harris 1990-1991; Giovannini 1990; Linders 1975.

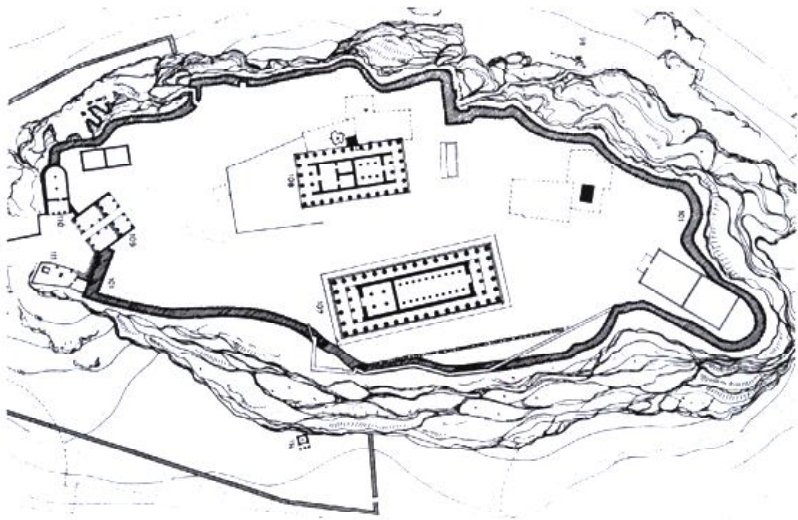


Fig. 1. Athenian Acropolis around 490 B. C. North: Athena *Polias* temple. South: Old Parthenon. (Travlos 1971).

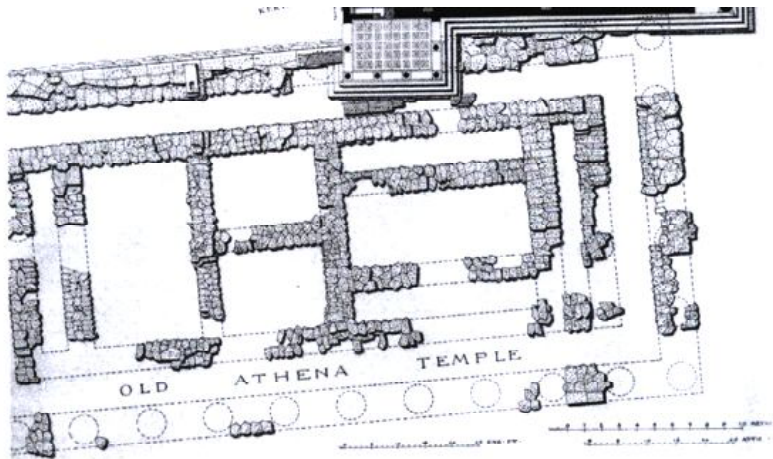


Fig. 2. Dörpfeld Foundations. (Paton, Stevens 1927).