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The Parthenon Treasury on the Acropolis of Athens

JAN Z. VAN ROOKHUIJZEN

A location referred to as “Parthenon” appears in the fifth- and fourth-century BCE inventories of Athena’s riches as one of the treasuries on the Acropolis of Athens, along with the Hekatompedon, the Proneos, the Opisthodomos, and the Archaïos Neos. It is usually identified with the west room of the building today known as the Parthenon. Here, I offer a thorough review of the epigraphical, archaeological, and literary evidence and propose that the treasury called the Parthenon should be recognized as the west part of the building now conventionally known as the Erechtheion.¹

INTRODUCTION

Why do we call the Great Temple on the Athenian Acropolis the “Parthenon,” or Virgin Room? The usual answer is that the name derives from the divine resident of the building, Athena Parthenos. Her colossal chryselephantine statue stood in the temple’s cella, the great room opening to the east (fig. 1). However, in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, long before the earliest attestations of the name “Parthenon” for the whole temple, the statue is mentioned in the inventories of treasures inside the “Hekatompedos Neos” (Hundred-Foot Temple). This, then, was the name of the cella, the only possible location of the statue. In those same centuries, separate inventories were made of a different treasury on the Acropolis, also called “Parthenon.” Where, then, was this Parthenon treasury located, and what is the origin of its name?

Under the assumption that the Parthenon treasury must be a part of the building that was later called the Parthenon, scholars have nearly unanimously identified the Parthenon treasury with the west room of the Great Temple (the room with four columns that opens to the west in fig. 1, hereafter called the West Room).² It is not clear, however, why precisely this space

¹ I am grateful to the Netherlands Institute at Athens, the Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens for their support. For astute comments that have greatly improved the article, I thank the editors of the *AJA*, the anonymous reviewers, Josine Blok, Mathieu de Bakker, Christine de Haan, Mary Hollinshead, Brady Kiesling, Jeremy McInerney, Marion Meyer, Arjan Nijk, Robert Pitt, Spencer Pope, David Scahill, Gerald Schaus, Allaire Stallsmith, David Stuttard, Stephen van Beek, Floris van den Eijnde, and Folkert van Straten. Dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated. Quotations of Greek literary texts, and forms of work titles, are taken from *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature* (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>). Quotations of inscriptions are taken from *Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress*, The Packard Humanities Institute (<https://inscriptions.packhum.org>). Translations are my own unless otherwise noted. This research was carried out as part of a Veni project funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO).

² E.g., Ussing 1849, 8–9; Dörpfeld 1881, 296–302; 1887a, 37, 47, 49–50; 1887b, 201, 209; Petersen 1887, 69; Reinach 1908, 508; Paton 1927, 472; Dinsmoor 1932a, 307; 1974, 171; Orlandos 1976–1978, 2:99; Tölle-Kastenbein 1993, 71; Harris 1995, 81; Hurwit 1999, 161–63; Lapatin 2005, 283; Parker 2005, 229–30; Linders 2007, 778; Davison 2009, 1:71–72; Connelly 2014, 92, 228–29; Shear 2016, 102; Meyer 2017, 18, 129, 135–37.

would be called the Parthenon. Nor has any convincing explanation been offered for how and why the space would later have given its name to the whole temple.

This article puts forward what has been called a “heretical”³ argument that the Parthenon treasury of the inventories referred not to our Parthenon but to the west part of the building that we usually call the Erechtheion (the temple of Erechtheus, a mythical king of Athens). For clarity, I refer to these buildings as, respectively, the Great Temple and the Karyatid Temple (fig. 2). In this article, I first discuss why the name “Parthenon” is incompatible with the West Room of the Great Temple and confirm earlier surmises that the West Room was instead called the Opisthodomos. I then consider the problem of identifying the Karyatid Temple with the building known in ancient sources as the Erechtheion and propose that the Parthenon treasury was inside the Karyatid Temple as early as 434/3, the date of the first attestation of the word “παρθενών” in the inscriptions. Finally, I provide overlooked evidence for the identification of the Parthenon with the west part of the Karyatid Temple by reexamining the inventories of treasures deposited in the temples on the Acropolis.

THE PARTHENON AS THE GREAT TEMPLE

The earliest attestations of “Parthenon” referring to the Great Temple as a whole (fig. 3) are found in speeches of Demosthenes (*Adversus Androtionem* 13; 76; *In Timocratem* 184) dating to 355–353.⁴ The orator mentions the Parthenon along with the Propylaea, stoas, and ship sheds as testimonies to the architectural glory of Athens but does not mention any distinctive feature of this Parthenon. Nevertheless, the contexts, which imply a building of conspicuous size and prominence, suggest that Demosthenes’ Parthenon is the Great Temple. Less vague is Heraclides Criticus (*Descriptio Graeciae* F 1.1), usually dated to the third century BCE.⁵ Heraclides describes Athens as a city in decline, though its monuments were still

³Harris 1995, 4. Cf. Davison 2009, 1:567.

⁴Cf. Herington 1955, 13; Hurwit 1999, 161; Linders 2007, 778 n. 11; Davison 2009, 1:71, 565; Connelly 2014, 414 n. 78; Meyer 2017, 99.

⁵On the date, see Arenz 2005, 51–83 (proposing 279–267 BCE).

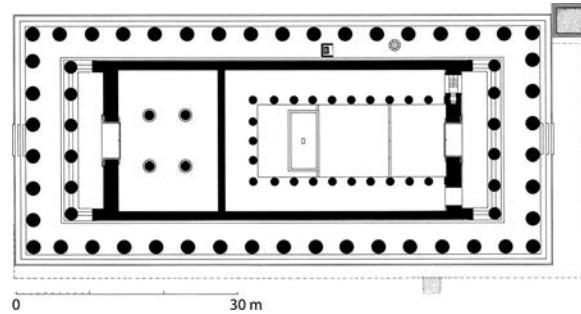


FIG. 1. Plan of the Great Temple; top is approximately north (after drawing by M. Korres; Korres 1994, fig. 2; courtesy Melissa Publishing House).

awe-inspiring. Here stood “Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πολυτελές, ἀπόσιον, ἄξιον θεᾶς, ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενών, ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ θεάτρου. μεγάλην κατάπληξιν ποιεῖ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν” (Athena’s very costly temple, conspicuous, worth seeing, the so-called Parthenon, lying above the theater. It leaves those who behold it in awe). The theater is that of Dionysos on the south slope of the Acropolis, and the so-called Parthenon must be the Great Temple (see fig. 2).

In the Roman period, Strabo (9.1.12, 16) uses the name “Parthenon” for a structure built by Ictinus and housing Phidias’ ivory statue of Athena.⁶ Pliny the Elder (*HN* 34.54) mentions the Minerva of Phidias in the Parthenon. Plutarch refers frequently to the Great Temple as “ἑκατόμπεδος” (hundred-foot temple), “Παρθενών,” or “ἑκατόμπεδος Παρθενών” (hundred-foot Parthenon).⁷ Once, he uses the plural “παρθενῶνες ἑκατόμπεδοι” (hundred-foot parthenons) in an enumeration of buildings counting among the greatest tokens of Athenian power.⁸ Clearest of all is Pausanias (1.24.5), who describes the mythological scenes of the pediments as well as the chryselephantine

⁶Vitruvius (*De arch.* 7.0.12) mentions that Ictinus and Carpinus wrote a book about the Doric temple of Minerva on the Acropolis.

⁷Plutarch’s references: ἑκατόμπεδος: *Cat. Mai.* 5.3; *De soll. an.* 13. Παρθενών: *Comparatio Demetrii et Antonii* 4.2; *De exil.* 17.1 (mentioned with the Theseion and the Eleusinion as especially revered by all); *Demetr.* 23.3, 26.3. ἑκατόμπεδος Παρθενών: *Per.* 13.7.

⁸Plut., *De glor. Ath.* 7. Plutarch may refer to multiple buildings worthy of the name “Parthenon.” Cf. Gallo and Mocchi 1992, 102 n. 82. Plutarch elsewhere (*De glor. Ath.* 8) uses the term “ἑκατόμπεδοι” as a substantive.

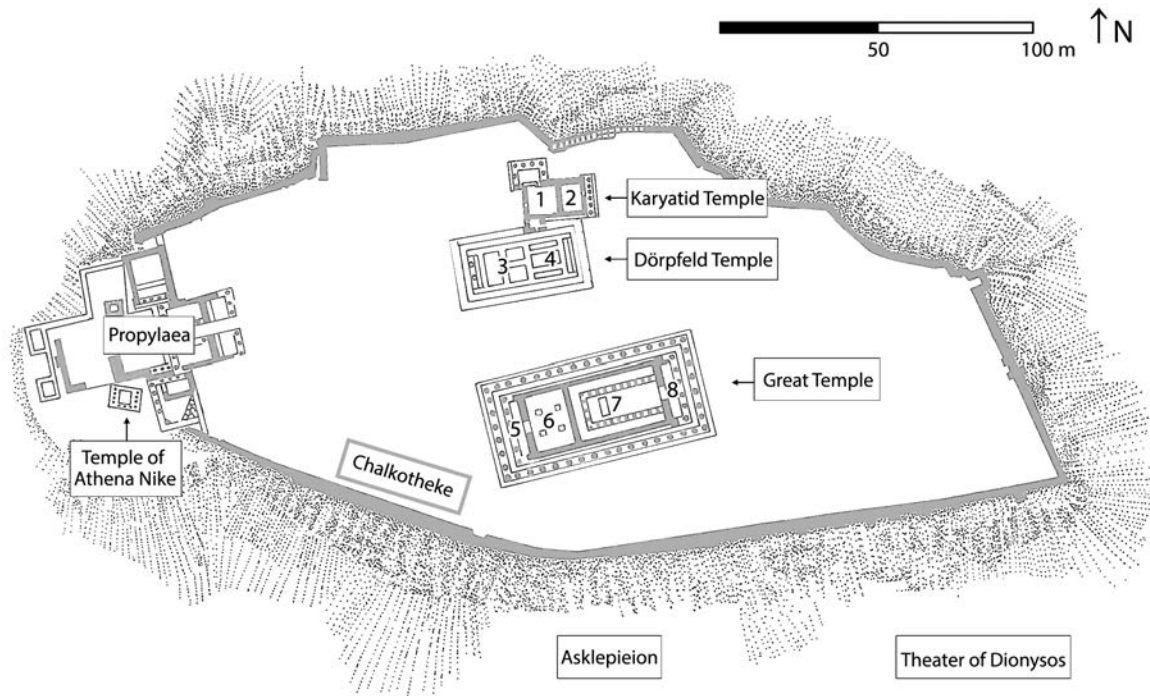


FIG. 2. Simplified plan of the Acropolis, indicating major structures and spaces referred to in the text (drawing by R. Reinders and J.Z. van Rookhuijzen).



FIG. 3. Interior of the Great Temple looking west (W. Hege 1928/9; DAI Athens, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Hege 1890).

statue of “τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν” (the temple that they call Parthenon).⁹ Evidently, the Great Temple on the Acropolis could have been called Parthenon by the days of Heraclides Criticus and probably already by those of Demosthenes, and that practice continued into the Roman period. Meanwhile, it was also called “the (great) temple (of Athena).”¹⁰

THE INVENTORIES OF ATHENA’S TREASURES

This nomenclature for the Great Temple differs from that preserved in fifth- and fourth-century inscriptions. For present purposes, the most important category of inscriptions is the annual inventory of Athena’s treasures stored in buildings on the Acropolis. These were compiled by the *tamiai* (treasurers) between 434/3 and 304/3. The practice of recording annual inventories, which postdated the completion of the Great Temple, carried out the instructions in the Kallias inscription, a set of two decrees dating to the 430s, both concerned with financial matters.¹¹ The inventories give the number of treasures in addition to the weights of the gold and silver objects. Thucydides (2.13.3–4) mentions the categories and total value of the wealth stored on the Acropolis on the eve of the Peloponnesian War:

ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων [. . .] χωρὶς δὲ χρυσοῦ ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίῳις καὶ δημοσίῳις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκευὴ περὶ τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκυλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτοτρόπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος [ἦν] ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων.

There were on the Acropolis then still 6,000 talents of coined silver, . . . excluding the uncoined gold and silver in private and public dedications, and so many sacred

implements for processions and games, Persian spoils, and similar treasures, worth no less than 500 talents.

In the inventories, we find the names “Hekatompedos Neos” (and variants), “Parthenon,” “Proneos,” “Opisthodomos,” and “Archaïos Neos” in relative abundance. The names designate individual rooms in which the treasures were kept. The identifications of these rooms have been the subject of long-standing and unresolved debates.¹² The name of the location is not always indicated or preserved in the inventory inscriptions. Nevertheless, some inventories may be attributed to a certain location by comparison with other inscriptions in which the location of the same objects is specified and preserved. It appears that some locations were only inventoried for a limited amount of time. For each location, I have compiled the dates of the first and last inventories that may be associated with it and the dates of the first and last attestations of the location names in these inventories (table 1).

THE HEKATOMPEDON

Only one of the locations in the inscriptions has a certain archaeological identification. The title “(ὁ νεὸς) ὁ ἑκατόμπεδος” (the temple that is a hundred feet long), or “ἑκατόμπεδον,” appears in the inventory inscriptions for the first time in 434/3 (see table 1). I refer to this location as the “Hekatompedon.” The name had earlier been used, in an inscription of 485/4, to refer to an archaic building on the Acropolis containing treasures.¹³ Elsewhere in the Greek world, 100-foot temples were built from the Archaic period onward, and the Athenian Hekatompedon was part of that fashion.¹⁴ In 434/3, the location identified as the Hekatompedon contained only a few items, but over the years it became the repository of most of Athena’s gold treasure and was particularly noted for its golden

⁹Pausanias (8.41.9) mentions Ictinus as the architect of “τὸν Παρθενῶνα καλούμενον” (the so-called Parthenon). Cf. Paus. 1.1.2.

¹⁰E.g., Arist., *Hist. an.* 6.24; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.45; Paus. 1.37.1; (possibly) Plut., *Cim.* 5.3; *IG* 2² 212 (347/6), lines 33–36. According to a scholion on Aristophanes (*Pax* 605), the third-century historian Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328, F 121) specified that “τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν νεὸν τὸν μέγαν” (the gold statue of Athena was installed in the great temple).

¹¹*IG* 1³ 52.A, lines 18–30; 52.B, lines 26–29. For a different view, see Samons 1996. The dates of the decrees are debated; see Blok 2014, 108–9; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 255.

¹²Cf. Harris 1995, 31: “The business of assigning buildings to these names (Hekatompedon, Opisthodomos, Proneos, Parthenon) is still problematic for us today.” Hurwit 1999, 163: “The problems of nomenclature may not be entirely resolvable.”

¹³The name “Hekatompedon” appears for the first time in the “Hekatompedon inscription” (*IG* 1³ 4.B, lines 10–11, 18) of 485/4 that sets forth rules for the worship on the Acropolis.

¹⁴Examples of temples measuring 100 feet include Temples B and C at Thermos, the Temple of Hera on Samos, and the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria. The Temple of Hera at Plataea is explicitly called “ἑκατόμπεδος” by Thucydides (3.68). Cf. Tölle-Kastenbein 1993, 43–47.

TABLE 1. Locations of Athena's treasure given in the inventory inscriptions, with dates of first and last associated inventory and of first and last attestation of the location name (all dates BCE).

	Inventory		Attestation of location name	
	First	Last	First	Last
Hekatompedon				
Date	434/3	304/3	434/3	304/3
IG	1 ³ 317	2 ² 1477+1467+1485+ 1473+1490	1 ³ 317, line 4	2 ² 1477, lines 9, 11
Parthenon				
Date	434/3	304/3	434/3	367/6
IG	1 ³ 343	2 ² 1485 add., lines 55–61	1 ³ 343, line 4	2 ² 1428, lines 197, 206
Proneos				
Date	434/3	ca. 407/6	434/3	ca. 407/6
IG	1 ³ 292	1 ³ 316	1 ³ 292, line 6	1 ³ 316, line 67
Opisthodomos				
Date	403/2	after 316/5	399/8	after 319/8
IG	2 ² 1399	2 ² 1478, lines 26–30	2 ² 1378+1398, lines 12–13	2 ² 1471.B, line 60
Archaïos Neos				
Date	376/5	after 306/5	376/5	368/7
IG	2 ² 1445, lines 43–47	2 ² 1487, lines 31–49	2 ² 1445, line 43	2 ² 1425, line 283

wreaths.¹⁵ The name is still found in the inventory inscription of 304/3, possibly the last one produced.¹⁶

Literary sources leave no doubt that the Hekatompedon was the Great Temple, which was later sometimes called “Parthenon” (table 2). The lexicographer Harpocration (second century CE) comments on the use of the term “ἑκατόμπεδον” by Lycurgus, an Attic rhetorician of the fourth century: “ὁ παρθενῶν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἑκατόμπεδος ἑκαλεῖτο διὰ κάλλος καὶ εὐρυθμίαν, οὐ διὰ μέγεθος, ὡς Μενεκλῆς ἢ Καλλικράτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀθηνῶν” (The Parthenon was called Hekatompedos [a hundred feet long] by some because of its beauty and good proportions, not because of its

size, as Menekles or Kallikrates do in *On Athens*).¹⁷ Many other lexica also equate “Hekatompedon” and “Parthenon” (the latter term then referring to the Great Temple).¹⁸ Hesychius defines “ἑκατόμπεδος” as “νεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει <τῇ> Παρθενῶν κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μείζων τοῦ ἐμπρησθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ποσὶ πενήκοντα” (a temple on the Acropolis constructed for the Virgin by the Athenians, 50 feet bigger than the one burnt by the Persians).

The meaning of the name “Hekatompedon” and its later identification with the Great Temple strongly suggest that the treasurers, too, used this term for the Great Temple. A decisive indication is the appearance of “τὸ ἄγαλμα” (the statue) holding a Nike with a

¹⁵ On the Hekatompedon treasury and its history, see Harris 1995, 104–15; Hamilton 2000, 250, 252–54; Linders 2007, 778.

¹⁶ Cf. Koumanoudes and Miller 1971; Lewis 1988. The name was still used in the Imperial period (*SEG* 21 511, lines 6–7).

¹⁷ The text of Lycurgus (fr. 2 of *Κατὰ Κηφισοδότου*) is preserved in the *Lex. Patmense* (160), in which only the name ἑκατόμπεδος is used.

¹⁸ *Etym. Magn.*, *Lex. Segueriana*, *Phot. Lex.*, *Suda*: s.v. “ἑκατόμπεδος”; *Lex. Patmense* 159.

TABLE 2. Proposed references in literary sources and inscriptions to the Great Temple or its cella.

Source	Designation	Date
Hekatompedon inscription: IG 1 ³ 4.B, lines 10–11, 18	Ἑκατόμπεδον	485/4 BCE
Hekatompedon inventories (name only)	(ὁ νεῶς) ὁ Ἑκατόμπεδος and Ἑκατόμπεδον	434/3–304/3 BCE
IG 2 ² 1504, line 8	ὁ νεῶς ὁ Ἑκατόμπεδος	ca. 400–390 BCE
Dem., <i>Adversus Androtionem</i> 13; 76	Παρθενών	355 BCE
Dem., <i>In Timocratem</i> 184	Παρθενών	353 BCE
IG 2 ² 212, lines 33–36	νεῶς	347/6
Lycurg., <i>Κατὰ Κεφισοδότου</i> F 2	Ἑκατόμπεδον	before ca. 325 BCE
Arist., <i>Hist. an.</i> 6.24	νεῶς	before 322 BCE
Heraclides Criticus, <i>Descriptio Graecae</i> F 1.1	Παρθενών	after 279 BCE
Philoch., <i>FGrH</i> 328, F 121	ὁ νεῶς ὁ μέγας	before ca. 260 BCE
Cic., <i>Verr.</i> 2.1.45	aedis Minervae	70 BCE
Vitr., <i>De arch.</i> 7.0.12	aedis Minervae	before 27 BCE
Strabo 9.1.12; 9.1.16	Παρθενών	7 BCE
Plin., <i>HN</i> 34.54	Parthenon	79 CE
Plut., <i>Cat. Mai.</i> 5.3	Ἑκατόμπεδος	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>Cim.</i> 5.3	ναός	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>Comparatio Demetrii et Antonii</i> 4.2	Παρθενών	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>De exil.</i> 17.1	Παρθενών	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>De glor. Ath.</i> 7	Παρθενῶνες ἑκατόμπεδοι	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>De glor. Ath.</i> 8	Ἑκατόμπεδοι	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>De soll. an.</i> 13	Ἑκατόμπεδος Νεῶς	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>Demetr.</i> 23.3; 26.3	Παρθενών	before ca. 120 CE
Plut., <i>Per.</i> 13.7	Ἑκατόμπεδος Παρθενών	before ca. 120 CE
SEG 21 5 1, lines 6–7	Ἑκατόμπεδο(ς/ν)	Imperial period
Harp., s.v. “ἑκατόμπεδον”	Παρθενών	ca. 100–200 CE
Harp., s.v. “ὀπισθόδομος”	νεῶς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς	ca. 100–200 CE
Aristid., <i>Ἱεροὶ λόγοι</i> 5, p. 359.24	νεῶς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς	ca. 160 CE
Paus. 1.1.2; 1.24.5; 8.41.9	Παρθενών	before 180 CE
Paus. 1.37.1	ὁ ναός ὁ μέγας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς	before 180 CE
IG 2 ² 1076, line 28	Παρθενών	196–217 CE
Strasbourg Papyrus, line 3	Παρθενών	ca. 300–500 CE
Hsch., s.v. “ἑκατόμπεδος”	Ἑκατόμπεδος Ναός	ca. 400–500 CE

Note: The references in tables 2–5 follow the discussion in the article and are not exhaustive. Scholia and late lexica have not been included. Designations have been given in the nominative and do not show restorations. For the inventories, the first and last dates of the attestation of the name of the treasury location have been given.

gold wreath in inventory lists of the Hekatompedon.¹⁹ The statue must be Phidias' chryselephantine Athena, who held an approximately life-sized Nike in her outstretched hand (fig. 4). The Athena, of course, stood inside the cella of the Great Temple and was called "the statue" or "the golden statue" in the inscriptions that record its financing.²⁰ The term "Hekatompedon," therefore, not only was the name of the whole temple but also could designate its main, 100-foot-long room (see fig. 2[7]).²¹ The chryselephantine Athena was a treasure in a literal sense: Thucydides (2.13.5) says that her golden peplos was a last resort to finance wars. Pausanias (1.24.5–6) explains that the griffins mounted on her helmet "guard gold"—a fitting reference to the many gold treasures stored in her abode.

THE PARTHENON TREASURY AS A ROOM IN THE GREAT TEMPLE

Although later sources equate the Hekatompedon with the Parthenon, these names clearly refer to different locations in the epigraphical record of the fifth century, when the treasurers kept separate records for the Proneos, the Hekatompedon, and the Parthenon.²² The first Parthenon inventory dates to 434/3 (see table 1). We possess Parthenon inventories inscribed on separate stones until 406/5 or 405/4.²³ (The situation after 405/4 is complex and will be discussed below.) The inventories offer a wondrous glimpse inside the Parthenon treasury. Here lay weapons, arms, baskets, figurines, furniture, jewelry, musical instruments, vessels, and wreaths. Most treasures were made of gold, silver, bronze, and ivory. Among them were gilt gems including a flower necklace, a silver mask, and even a wheat field with 12 stalks. Some of the items



FIG. 4. Small-scale plaster model of the chryselephantine statue of Athena by Sylvia Hahn and Neda Leipen, 1958–1962. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum (© Royal Ontario Museum).

can be recognized as the cult objects and Persian spoils stored on the Acropolis according to Thucydides (2.13.4).²⁴ Several other literary sources associate the Persian spoils with a temple of Athena; some of them call the location the Parthenon.²⁵

As shown above, the name "Hekatompedon" certainly designated the Great Temple or its cella. A minority of scholars, assuming that the statue of Athena

¹⁹ Nike's gold wreath: Harris 1995, 5.94. Statue of Athena: Harris 1995, 5.89.

²⁰ *IG* 1³ 458 (440/39), lines 2–3; 459 (440/39), line 3; 460 (438/7), lines 18–19. Cf. *Ath. pol.* 47.1; Davison 2009, 1:126–40; Meyer 2017, 17 n. 47.

²¹ E.g., Ussing 1849, 8; Michaelis 1871, 21–26; Dörpfeld 1881, 296; 1887a, 34; Collignon 1914, 56; Orlandos 1976–1978, 2:99; Tölle-Kastenbein 1993, 71; Harris 1995, 5–8, 105; Lapatin 2005, 283; Linders 2007, 778; Davison 2009, 1:565–66; Connelly 2014, 92, 230; Shear 2016, 100; Meyer 2017, 129.

²² Proneos: *IG* 1³ 292–316. Hekatompedon: *IG* 1³ 317–42. Parthenon: *IG* 1³ 343–62. Cf. Harris 1995, 2–4.

²³ *IG* 1³ 362 (406/5 or 405/4). The last inventory inscription in which the label "ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι" (in the Parthenon) has been restored is *IG* 1³ 357 (412/1), lines 57–58. Cf. Hamilton 2000, 250–51.

²⁴ Cf. Harris 1995, 28–29; Hurwit 1999, 47–48; Linders 2007, 778; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 411. A fourth-century inscription mentions the "πομπεῖα" (processional objects): *IG* 2² 216/217+261 (346/5 or 373/2), lines 8–9.

²⁵ Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.3.20) refers to the dedication of weapons by the Thirty Tyrants in a temple on the Acropolis. Demosthenes (*In Timocratem* 129) says that a tithe of the spoils had been given to the goddess herself. Elsewhere (*Adversus Androtonem* 13), he seems to specify that not the Parthenon, which was for him likely the Great Temple, but the other temples were adorned with Persian spoils. Harpocration (s.v. "ἀργυρόπους δίφορος") mentions that Xerxes' chair stood in Athena's Parthenon. Aelius Aristides (*Λευκτρικός* 1, p. 425.2–3) speaks about "τὸν Παρθενῶνα καὶ τὰ λάφυρα" (the Parthenon and the spoils). On the spoils in general, see Miller 1997, 29–62. On spoils in the inventories, see Kosmetatou 2004, 146–51.

Parthenos inspired the name “Parthenon,” have argued that “Parthenon” denoted a special compartment of the cella, somehow embedded in, though distinct from, the Hekatompedon.²⁶ Yet, there is no architectural basis for this hypothesis; the inventories, which consistently distinguish between the Parthenon and the Hekatompedon, should preclude it.²⁷ One other space of the Great Temple remains to which the name “Parthenon” could have applied: the four-columned room behind the cella, or West Room (see fig. 2[6]). For many scholars, this is the usual solution to the problem.²⁸ By Demosthenes’ time, it is believed, the Parthenon of the inventories (i.e., the West Room) would have come to refer to the whole temple, and this name for the temple eventually replaced “Hekatompedon.” This idea has become a linchpin in the study of the nomenclature of the Acropolis temples. However, attempts to apply the name “Parthenon” to the West Room are beset with problems.

“ATHENA PARTHENOS”

It may seem obvious to regard the name “Parthenon” as a derivation from “Athena Parthenos,” as a few scholars have argued.²⁹ However, the name paradoxically belonged at first to a part of the Great Temple where the Parthenos never stood.³⁰ Even if the term for a part of the temple was derived from “Athena Parthenos,” one would suppose that it would have been not “Parthenon” (ὁ Παρθενών) but rather “Parthenion” (τὸ Παρθένιον or Παρθένειον). Yet, most importantly, there are virtually no sources for a cult of

a goddess called Athena Parthenos.³¹ Athena from an early date and continuing into the fourth century was called “παρθένος” (virgin), as various literary texts and inscriptions demonstrate.³² However, such invocations cannot be regarded as proof that “Parthenos” was an established cultic title of Athena separate from “Πολιάς” (of the City), “Νίκη” (Victory), and several others; these Athenas were no less virgins.³³ There is no indication that the invocations of Parthenos were associated with the Great Temple or its predecessors. As noted above, the chryselephantine statue was usually called “the (golden) statue.”

The first sources in which the chryselephantine statue was certainly called Parthenos date to the Roman period. An Imperial-period inscription mentions a dedication for the Parthenos “ἐν τῷ Ἑκατομ[πέδῳ]” (in the Hekatompedon), and Pausanias, Himerus, and Hesychius use the name Parthenos for the statue in the Great Temple.³⁴ These late attestations do not indicate that the statue was called Parthenos in the Classical period and do not demonstrate the existence of a cult for Athena Parthenos distinct from Athena Polias. If Parthenos was an *epiklesis* of Athena, we should expect the combination “Ἀθηνᾶ Παρθένος,” or variants thereof, to have left traces in the textual record, but with only one exception, the terms are not found juxtaposed until the Byzantine period, and these attestations generally do not refer to the cult statue in the Great Temple.³⁵

²⁶ E.g., *CIG* 1, 177; Michaelis 1871, 25–28; Roux 1984, esp. 310–17; Nick 2002, 120; Kaldellis 2009, 24. Cf. Orlandos 1976–1978, 3:413.

²⁷ Tréheux 1985, 237–38, 240–42. The inventories occasionally list the “ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ” (the golden statue in the Hekatompedon; Harris 1995, 5.89), and one inventory specifies that the statue was received intact “κατὰ τὴν στήλην τὴν χαλκὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρθενῶνι” (according to the bronze stele in the Parthenon; *IG* 2² 1407 [385/4], lines 5–6). The Hekatompedon and the Parthenon therefore appear to be different locations.

²⁸ *Supra* n. 2.

²⁹ Herington (1955, 14) proposed that the name “Parthenon” was the remnant of an unattested earlier cult of Athena Parthenos. Bruno (1974, 67–68) argued that the name was new at Athens and underlined a new conception of the goddess “beyond the practical.” Meyer (2017, 136) suggests that the name made clear that not only the cella but also the West Room were sacred to the Parthenos.

³⁰ Cf. Roux 1984, 304.

³¹ Dörpfeld 1887a, 29; 1887b, 192–98; Herington 1955, 6–12; Shear 2016, 359–60. Parker (2005) does not mention Athena Parthenos. On this issue, see also Reinach 1908, 507–8; Collignon 1914, 52; Hooker 1963, 17; Roux 1984, 311; Lipka 1997; Hurwit 1999, 27, 162–63; Nick 2002, 113–16; Lapatin 2005, 284; Davison 2009, 1:69–72; Meyer 2017, 16–18.

³² *Ar.*, *Av.* 370; *Ar.*, *Thesm.* 1139; *Eur.*, *Tro.* 971; *Hom. Hymn to Athena* 28.3; *Philippides* F 25; *Pind.*, *Pyth.* 12.7; *IG* 1³ 728 (500–480?), 745 (500–480?), 850 (470–460?); *SEG* 21 511 (Imperial period), line 6; *Agora* 16.340 (after 196 CE), line 17.

³³ Cf. Graindor 1938, 193; Nick 2002, 116–17, 140–57 (on the various Athena cults on the Acropolis).

³⁴ *Himer. Or.* 64.45; *Hsch.*, s.v. “ἑκατόνπεδος”; *Paus.* 5.11.10, 10.34.8; *SEG* 21 511 (Imperial period), lines 6–7. The name “Athena” appears in Pausanias 1.24.5 and Strabo 9.1.16. Cf. Lapatin 2005, 262; Shear 2016, 363; Meyer 2017, 17 n. 46.

³⁵ Bacchylides (*Dithyrambi* 2.21) speaks of the “Παρθένος Ἀθάνα,” but the context is non-Athenian. The first author who certainly refers to the statue by the name “Parthenos Athena” is a scholiast on Demosthenes 22.45: “παρθενῶν ναὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει παρθένου Ἀθηνᾶς περιέχων τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Φειδίας ὁ ἀνδριαντοπλάστης ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος” (The Parthenon was a temple on the Acropolis of

The absence of Athena Parthenos in the textual record contrasts sharply with the abundant attestations of Athena Polias, often in tandem with Athena Nike.³⁶ Athena Parthenos did exist for some learned Christian Greeks, though not as an official cult title. They, aware that the great church of the Theotokos at Athens had originated as a pagan sanctuary, emphasized the virginity of its previous occupant and recognized in her the harbinger of the Holy Virgin.³⁷

The most economical explanation for the apparent lack of a cultic infrastructure for and invocations of Athena Parthenos is that both the Great Temple and the chryselephantine statue belonged to the cult of Athena Polias, the mistress of the Acropolis.³⁸ The colossus is indeed certainly called Athena Polias by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 4.47, 4.52). The Hekatompedon inventories list many offerings dedicated to Athena Polias.³⁹ The accounts of funds borrowed from the treasuries on the Acropolis consistently mention Athena Polias (along with Athena Nike) as the owner of the money.⁴⁰ The chryselephantine colossus had better credentials as a Polias than as a Parthenos. She donned spectacular accoutrements decorated with mythological scenes in honor of the city of Athens, including the Athenian Amazonomachy on the shield, probably with illustrations of the Acropolis itself.⁴¹ By extending a statue of Nike to her devotees,

the Virgin Athena, housing the statue of the goddess that Pheidias the sculptor made of gold and ivory).

³⁶ Polias: e.g., Acusilaus, *FGrHist* 2, F 35; Aeschin., *De falsa legatione* 147; Din., *In Demosthenem* 64; Hdt. 5.82; Lycurg. F 6.11; Zen. 1.56; *IG* 1³ 363, 369, 373, 1051; *IG* 2² 687, 928. Polias and Nike: e.g., Soph., *Phil.* 134; *IG* 1³ 369, 376. Cf. Meyer 2017, 18–19.

³⁷ Cf. the Byzantine *Tübingen Theosophy* (ca. 500 CE), 53–54. On the Christian conversion of the Parthenon, see Ousterhout 2005, 302–7; Kaldellis 2009.

³⁸ Cf. Dörpfeld 1887a, 29; 1887b, 192–93, 197–98; Graindor 1938, 193; Anderson and Dix 1997, 130; Shear 2016, 360; Meyer 2017, 19–23.

³⁹ Dedications to Athena Polias stored in the Hekatompedon include 27 silver hydriai (Harris 1995, 5.260, from 402/1), a cup and a protome of Pegasus (5.241, 405/4), a washbasin and a silver *pinax* (5.221 and 5.225, after 318/7), a rhyton and gold necklaces dedicated by Roxane to Athena Polias (5.141, ca. 305/4). *IG* 2² 212 (347/6), lines 33–36, orders the dedication of gold wreaths to Athena Polias in the νεώς. Cf. *IG* 1³ 342 (405/4?), lines 15–24.

⁴⁰ *IG* 1³ 369 (426/5–423/2).

⁴¹ Paus. 1.24.5–7; Plin. *HN* 36.18–9. Cf. Harrison 1966, 128–29; 1981, 295–310; Lapatin 2005, 262–69; Davison 2009, 1:94–117.

she seems to represent the city's wealth and victory obtained through its martial prowess.⁴² The statue in the Hekatompedon was large, new, assembled from precious materials, and made by a famous sculptor. It contrasted with the religiously more important statue in the Karyatid Temple that was small, ancient, made of olive wood, and had once fallen from the heavens. Yet, both embodied Athena Polias.

THE MEANING OF “ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝ” (PARTHENON)

If the origin of the name “Parthenon” cannot be explained by recourse to Athena Parthenos, the attestations of the word “παρθενών” in different contexts may hold some clues. The word normally designated a communal apartment for maidens, in congruence with other words ending in -ών such as “ἀνδρών” (men's room) and “γυναικῶν” (women's room).⁴³ It is attested as “maidens' room” in Aeschylus, Euripides, and various later sources.⁴⁴ The *Suda* defines “παρθενῶνος” as “τοῦ τῶν παρθένων χοροῦ” (the place of the virgins).⁴⁵ In Byzantine Greek, the word denoted women's monasteries where celibacy was practiced.⁴⁶

In inscriptions from around the Aegean, the word “parthenon” is attested for structures in sanctuaries of Artemis and various mother goddesses.⁴⁷ A second-century inscription from Magnesia on the Meander concerns festivities for Artemis Leukophryene and celebrates the dedication of her wooden statue in the just-finished parthenon, which is described as a temple “μεγαλοπρεπέα πλεῖστον διαφέρων τοῦ ἀπολειφθέντος ἡμῖν τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων” (differing greatly in magnificence from the temple left to us long ago by our forefathers).⁴⁸ Only here did the designation “parthenon” certainly describe the entire

⁴² Herington 1955, 35–67; Davison 2009, 1:73.

⁴³ Reinach 1908, 508–9; Graindor 1938, 194–95; Tréheux 1985, 238–39; Brulé 1987, 247–48; Parker 2005, 230; Connelly 2014, 232.

⁴⁴ E.g., Aesch., *PV* 646; Eur., *IT* 826; Eur., *Phoen.* 89; Plut., *Alex.* 5.21.

⁴⁵ Reinach (1908, 511–12) proposed that the Parthenon originally referred to a place where maidens danced. He based this idea on the *Suda* and took “χορός” to mean “dancing ground.” This word may, however, also mean simply “place.” Cf. Graindor 1938, 199–200.

⁴⁶ E.g., [Zonar.], *Lex.*, s.v. “Παρθενῶνες.” Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.* 5.15.5) speaks of “παρθενῶνας ἱερῶν παρθένων” in Kyzikos.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of most of these, see Reinach 1908; Graindor 1938, 197–99; Tréheux 1985, 239–40; Despinis 2004, 297–98.

⁴⁸ *Magnesia* 3, lines 5, 14, 23; see McCabe 1991a.

temple of a virgin goddess. Parthenons at other places were not whole temples but rooms or subsidiary structures, plausibly used by virgins in cult. The parthenon in the sanctuary of Demeter at Hermione was built for “ἱερείαις” (priestesses).⁴⁹ Likewise, the parthenon of Kyzikos was a part of the temple with a special connection to the priestess; the inscription specifies that a painted portrait of the priestess Kleidike was to be placed “ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ [τῆς Μητρὸς τῆς Πλακιανῆς ἐν τῷ παρθενῶνι” (in the temple of Meter Plakiane in the parthenon).⁵⁰ The parthenon of Apollonia was a structure that supplemented the temple of the Mountain Mother.⁵¹ The parthenon of Xanthos was possibly a shrine for the Lycian *Elijāna* (nymphs).⁵² The parthenon of Brauron (the only classical example outside Athens) may have been a part of the old temple of Artemis, but it has also been interpreted as the name of a new temple.⁵³ Further parthenons existed in the sanctuaries of Artemis in Ephesus,⁵⁴ Olymos,⁵⁵ and Bargylia.⁵⁶

Why would the West Room of the Great Temple of the patron goddess of Athens have shared a name with structures that housed multiple virgins or priestesses? Some scholars have suggested that the name derived from the virgins who participated in the Panathenaic procession, whose items are listed in the Parthenon inventories, or from the *Ergastinai*, the virgins who wove the peplos for Athena.⁵⁷ Connelly, resurrecting

a theory originally proposed by Furtwängler, suggests that the West Room was called “Parthenon” because it was the burial place of the virgin daughters of Erechtheus mentioned in a fragment of Euripides’ play *Erechtheus*.⁵⁸ Others recognize in the West Room Athena’s private bedroom or that of the virgin daughters of the mythical king Kekrops (Pandrosos, Herse, and Aglauros).⁵⁹ While it is reasonable to turn to mythical or real virgins associated with cults on the Acropolis to explain the name “Parthenon,” the West Room cannot be shown to have been a cult site, working space, or residence for virgins.⁶⁰

THE OPISTHODOMOS

A further complication for the identification of the name “Parthenon” with the West Room is that this room seems to have been called, instead, the “Opisthodomos.” The word “ὀπισθόδομος” designated the back part of a building and can be translated as “back room” or (less commonly) “back porch.”⁶¹ A treasury location called the Opisthodomos appears for the first time in the Kallias decrees of the 430s. These stipulate that the Opisthodomos was the place where the riches of Athena and of the other gods were to be stored.⁶² Remarkably, however, no Opisthodomos inventories are attested for a period of about 30 years following the Kallias decrees. During that period, the name does, nevertheless, appear in several inscriptions, not produced by the treasurers of Athena, that mention financial transactions in the Opisthodomos⁶³ and in a

⁴⁹ IG 4 743 (100–300 CE), line 1.

⁵⁰ *IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* 1433 (end of first century BCE), line 6; see Barth and Stauber 1996.

⁵¹ *Apollonia Salbake* 7 (late second or early third century), line 5; see McCabe 1991b.

⁵² *Létōn inv.* 5729 (ca. 150), lines 5–6; see Bousquet and Gauthier 1994, 350–52. On the identification of the virgins with the *Elijāna*, see Bousquet and Gauthier 1994, 358–61.

⁵³ *Ergon* (1961) 24/25 (ca. 250), line e.1; IG 1³ 403 (ca. 416/5), line 24; IG 2² 1517 (after 341/0), lines 3, 40; 1524 (after 335/4), lines 46–47, 52. Part of the old temple: Robertson 1983, 278; Mylonopoulos and Bubenheimer 1996, 7–16. Separate new temple: Despina 2004, 291–99; Goette 2005, 29; Parker 2005, 229–30; Meyer 2017, 136–37. Cf. Brulé 1987, 245–48. The origin of the name “Parthenon” at Brauron has been associated with the virginal aspect of Artemis (Despina 2004, 296–98; Meyer 2017, 136–37), but a connection with a cult practiced by multiple virgins cannot be excluded (cf. Brulé 1987, 245–48).

⁵⁴ *Ephesos* 1210 (imperial); 1807 (no date); see McCabe 1991c.

⁵⁵ Robert 1935, 159 (unedited).

⁵⁶ *SEG* 44 868 (undated), line 10.

⁵⁷ Dörpfeld 1887b, 201; 1897, 170–71; Reinach 1908, 511;

Collignon 1914, 53, 57; Brulé 1987, 102. However, there is no indication that the peplos was produced in the West Room, which was too dim for such work (Graindor 1938, 196; Roux 1984, 305–6; Hurwit 1999, 162).

⁵⁸ Eur., *Erechtheus* F 65, lines 64–100 (in Austin 1968); Furtwängler 1893, 172–74; Connelly 2014, 232–35; refuted by Meyer 2017, 135.

⁵⁹ Athena: Harris 1995, 81. Kekropidai: Robertson 1983, 273–74.

⁶⁰ Graindor 1938, 197; Roux 1984, 302; Hurwit 1999, 162.

⁶¹ Hollinshead (1999, 210–13) demonstrates that opisthodomoi were usually rooms, not porches. The name is used by several ancient authors in contexts consistently suggesting that the structure was a part of a temple: e.g., *Anth. Pal.* appx. 66; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 11.45; Diod. Sic. 14.41.6; Paus. 5.10.9, 5.13.1, 5.15.3, 5.16.1; Poll., *Onom.* 1.6; Polyb. 12.11.2.

⁶² IG 1³ 52.A, lines 14–18; 52.B, lines 22–25. Cf. Harris 1995, 21–22, 40–43. On the date, see supra n. 11.

⁶³ Payments from the treasury of Athena: IG 1³ 369 (426/5–423/2), line 20; 378 (ca. 406/5), line 19. Loans made by overseers of projects at Eleusis to the treasurers of Athena, for which a pledge was kept in the Opisthodomos: IG 1³ 386 (408/7), line

decree that orders the installation of a column close to the Opisthodomos.⁶⁴ In 403/2, the treasurers launched a new style of compiling the inventories, this time in the Ionic script.⁶⁵ From that year until after 316/5, inventories survive that may be associated with the Opisthodomos. In these, the name is attested between 399/8 until after 319/8 (see table 1).⁶⁶

The literary sources characterize the Opisthodomos as a well-guarded room where valuables were stored. In Aristophanes' *Plutus*, dated to 408 or 388, Wealth itself is said to have dwelled in the Opisthodomos (line 1193). Demosthenes (*Περὶ συντάξεως* 14) reports that thieves broke into the space, and elsewhere (*In Timocratem* 136), he mentions a fire there. Lucian (*Timon* 53) also associates the Opisthodomos with the storage of money. Lexica and scholia commenting on Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and Lucian define "ὀπισθόδομος" as "the οἶκος [house or room] behind the temple of Athena in which they stored the money."⁶⁷ The Opisthodomos inventories are congruent with the literary sources; they list mostly silver and some gold items, including many phialae, as well as chests containing more valuables and votive money.⁶⁸

178; 387 (407/6), lines 14–18. On the lack of Opisthodomos inventories in this period, cf. Harris 1995, 41.

⁶⁴IG 1³ 207 (ca. 440–420), lines 13–14. The preposition describing the future place of the column in relation to the Opisthodomos is only partially preserved as "ἐν" and is therefore unclear.

⁶⁵Harris 1995, 25.

⁶⁶The inventory of 403/2 belongs to the Opisthodomos because it lists some items later described as from there, most clearly the gilt bronze incense burner with curvy leaves (lines 7–8; Harris 1995, 2.9), attested at the beginning of the fourth century in a list of items "from the Opisthodomos" (IG 2² 1396, lines 14–16). There are different lists of items "in the Opisthodomos" and "from the Opisthodomos." Cf. Harris 1995, 41–42; Hamilton 2000, 255–56; Linders 2007, 779. The implications of this distinction do not concern us here; what is important is that the term "from the Opisthodomos" was not used by the treasurers before 403/2. The term is still found in a noninventory inscription at the end of the second century (IG 2² 1137, line 6).

⁶⁷Harp., s.v. "ὀπισθόδομος." Similar phrases are found in Hsch., *Lex. Segueriana*, Phot. *Lex.*: s.v. "ὀπισθόδομος"; and in scholia on the following: Ar., *Plut.* 1193; Dem., *Περὶ συντάξεως* 14, *In Timocratem* 136; Luc., *Timon* 53. I do not understand why the use of the preposition "ὀπισθεν" or "ὀπίσω" (behind) to indicate where the Opisthodomos was in relation to the Temple of Athena would prove that the Opisthodomos was a freestanding structure (Dörpfeld 1887a, 39; Ferrari 2002, 15; Davison 2009, 1:568–69). That "οἶκος" means room is widely attested (*LSJ Online*, s.v. "οἶκος"). Cf. Meyer 2017, 130–31.

⁶⁸Harris 1995, 61–62; Hamilton 2000, 255–56; Lapatin

The treasurers were concerned only with recording the relatively few dedications kept in the Opisthodomos; the money of the state is not attested in the inventories.⁶⁹ Unlike the inventories of other locations, the Opisthodomos lists often include items owned by other gods, as the Kallias decrees had ordained.⁷⁰

Many scholars identify the Opisthodomos with a part of the building that once stood on the great foundations between the Karyatid Temple and the Great Temple of Athena (fig. 5).⁷¹ The excavator of those foundations, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, immediately identified them as the Archaïos Neos (Ἀρχαῖος Νεός, Old Temple), destroyed by the Persians in 480 but known from inscriptions and literary texts. The present discussion refers to the foundations more neutrally as the "Dörpfeld Temple." The Dörpfeld Temple clearly predated the Karyatid Temple, because the porch of the Karyatids rests on the outer north wall of the foundations. Dörpfeld theorized that some portions of the earlier building were repaired and remained in use throughout antiquity. In particular, he believed that the building's rebuilt west half (see fig. 2[3]) was the treasury location called the Opisthodomos.⁷²

It is not generally believed today that the Dörpfeld Temple continued to be known as the Archaïos Neos after the completion of the Karyatid Temple in the last decade of the fifth century.⁷³ However, many scholars do accept Dörpfeld's theory that the west half remained in use as the Opisthodomos.⁷⁴ Despite the

2005, 283; Linders 2007, 777–79.

⁶⁹Harris 1995, 61–62; Linders 2007, 779.

⁷⁰Hamilton 2000, 247–48, 255 n. 49, 417–18.

⁷¹E.g., Dörpfeld 1887a, 33–49; 1934, 249; Dinsmoor 1932a, 320–21; 1947, 111 n. 14, 128; La Follette 1986, 79; Harris 1995, 4–5, 40–41; Ferrari 2002, 14–15; Lesk 2005, 14; Connelly 2014, 230. Cf. Hurwit 2005, 23–25; Davison 2009, 1:568–70; Meyer 2017, 131. For the remains of the Dörpfeld Temple foundations, see Hurwit 1999, 121–26, 142; Meyer 2017, 71–93.

⁷²Dörpfeld 1885; 1886; 1887a; 1887b; 1890; 1897; 1919; Wiegand 1904, 115–26; Orlandos 1976–1978, 2:11–33. Ferrari (2002), like Dörpfeld, argues that the names "Opisthodomos" and "Archaïos Neos" always applied to the Dörpfeld Temple, and that this structure continued to house the ancient statue of Athena throughout antiquity.

⁷³For rebuttals of the theories of Dörpfeld and Ferrari, see Frazer 1898, 2:553–82; Lesk 2005, 48–49; Pakkanen 2006; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 493–94.

⁷⁴E.g., Dinsmoor 1932a, 320–21; 1947, 111 n. 14, 128; La Follette 1986, 79; Harris 1995, 4–5, 40–41; Lesk 2005, 14; Connelly 2014, 230. Cf. Hurwit 2005, 23–25; Davison 2009, 1:568–70; Meyer 2017, 131.



FIG. 5. The Dörpfeld Temple foundations and the Karyatid Temple looking north (unk. photographer 1887; DAI Athens, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Akropolis 0015).

position of the Karyatid porch on top of the outer wall of the foundations,⁷⁵ it is possible that all or part of the core building of the Dörpfeld Temple continued to stand. The outer perimeter of the foundations, which perhaps supported a peristyle, was not structurally part of the core of the Dörpfeld Temple.⁷⁶ The Periclean Propylaea directly face the foundations, which could imply that the significance of the site had not been diminished by the calamity of 480.⁷⁷ There is, neverthe-

⁷⁵ Cf. Hurwit 1999, 144; Gerding 2006.

⁷⁶ The limestone of the outer foundations differs from that in the inner foundations (Frazer 1898, 2:554), and no evidence for column bases has been found in the outer foundations (Dörpfeld 1886, 338). It is possible that it (but not the interior building) was torn down before the Karyatid Temple was built (Dörpfeld 1890, 425).

⁷⁷ Bates (1901) argued that a rebuilding of the Dörpfeld Temple would run against the “oath of Plataea” (Diod. Sic. 11.29.1–4; Lycurg., *Leoc.* 81; Paus. 10.35.2–3), which required that the temples destroyed by the Persians not be rebuilt. Cf. Ferrari

less, no certain textual or archaeological indication that proves or disproves that a part of the Dörpfeld Temple continued its career in the Classical period.

Dörpfeld, in defense of his theory that the Opisthodomos had been part of the structure he had discovered, pointed out that the left and right sides of the Opisthodomos, described in the second Kallias decree, could be recognized in the two rooms that formed the east part of the west half of the foundations.⁷⁸ However, the Kallias decree does not speak of separate rooms but of separate sides, and this feature of the Opisthodomos does not favor its identification with a part of the Dörpfeld Temple to the exclusion of other solutions; for example, the left and right sides of the West Room

2002, 12–14, 26, 29.

⁷⁸ IG 1³ 52.B, lines 24–25, designates the left and right sides (the restored text includes “ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιῶν” and “ἀριστερῶν”) of the Opisthodomos for storing the treasures of Athena and those of the other gods, respectively; Dörpfeld 1887a, 38.

of the Great Temple could have been demarcated by its four columns.⁷⁹

It would indeed seem preferable to situate the Opisthodomos in the Great Temple. Some literary sources associate the Great Temple with the storage of money;⁸⁰ since, as discussed, other sources and the inventories themselves associate the Opisthodomos with the storage of money, there is reason to locate the Opisthodomos in the Great Temple. Plutarch (*Demetr.* 23.3) recounts that the Macedonian warlord Demetrius Poliorketes, after taking Athens, resided with his harem “in the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon.”⁸¹ This indicates that the Opisthodomos was an inhabitable room and that it was a part of a building called (in Plutarch’s day) the Parthenon.⁸² Clearest is Aelius Aristides (*Ἱεροὶ λόγοι* 5, p. 359.24), who relates a dream in which he resided in the house of a doctor who lived “ἐξόπισθε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως” (behind the Acropolis; i.e., to its south, presumably close to the Asklepieion, see fig. 2); from there he could see “τοῦ δὲ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς . . . τὸν ὀπισθόδομον” (the Opisthodomos of the temple of Athena), even though the house was situated at a low-lying point. Aelius’ Opisthodomos must be the western part of the Great Temple.

The inventory inscriptions reinforce the assignment of the name “Opisthodomos” to a part of the Great Temple. Material that had fallen off the richly decorated doors of the Hekatompedon was stored in

the Opisthodomos.⁸³ In inscriptions that combine the inventories of several locations, the Opisthodomos lists are always found directly before or after the Hekatompedon lists.⁸⁴ The inventory of the year 371/0 (*IG* 2² 1424a) is especially revealing because it is nearly complete and indicates the locations of some treasures (fig. 6). The inscription is divided into two main parts. The lower part is entirely devoted to the treasures “in the Chalkotheke.” In the upper part, the first column begins with three sections of gold treasures, certainly located in the Hekatompedon (as among them the statue and her Nike are mentioned), and continues with a list of items “in the Opisthodomos.” The second column contains 11 sections of mainly silver items, owned by Athena and other gods. These too belong in the Opisthodomos, which was always associated with silver treasures of Athena and other gods. The third column lists items associated with the Parthenon and the Archaïos Neos. This presentation, in which the Hekatompedon and the Opisthodomos inventories are next to each other, may imply their close spatial relationship on the Acropolis.

The evidence from the literary sources and inscriptions has led many scholars (those who locate the Parthenon treasury in the cella of the Great Temple rather than in the West Room⁸⁵) to identify the Opisthodomos with the West Room. According to the prevalent opinion, however, the West Room should be identified as the Parthenon treasury and so cannot be the Opisthodomos treasury. The name “Opisthodomos” is thus often identified with the porch in front of the West Room (see fig. 2[5]).⁸⁶ However, the porch does not seem to be a secure place to store large quantities of money and precious metals, which would then be in

⁷⁹ Paton 1927, 471–72. On the three-aisle plan, see Orlandos 1976–1978, 3:407.

⁸⁰ The *Strasbourg Papyrus* (*Anonymous Argentinensis*, commenting on Dem., *Adversus Androtonem* 13, ca. 300–500 CE, 84, lines 3–9,) says that the construction of the Great Temple was financed with tribute money and associates the building with the storage of such money. Photius (s.v. “ταμίαι”) says that the treasurers were responsible for “τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν ἀκροπόλει χρήματα ἱερά τε καὶ δημόσια” (the sacred and public money in the temple of Athena on the Acropolis) and for “αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς” (the statue of Athena itself). Cf. *Ath. pol.* 47.1.

⁸¹ “τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ κατάλυσιν, κάκεϊ δίαίταν εἶχε, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτόν, οὐ πάνυ κόσμιον ξένον οὐδ’ ὡς παρθένῳ πρῶως ἐπισταθμεύοντα” (They assigned to him the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon as a place to stay, and there he lived, while Athena was said to welcome and accommodate him, who was not a very well-behaved guest and did not take up his quarters there gently, as if with a virgin).

⁸² It is not certain to which temple Plutarch refers. On Plutarch’s complex nomenclature of the Acropolis temples, see supra nn. 7, 8.

⁸³ *IG* 2² 1455 (341/0), lines 36–49; 1457 (after 316/5), lines 9–21. The first parts of the inscriptions in which the doors are mentioned refer to the Opisthodomos. The inventories of the Hekatompedon start after the description of the material from the doors. Cf. Harris 1995, 4; Hurwit 1999, 144.

⁸⁴ E.g., *IG* 2² 1388 (398/7); 1424a (371/0); 1455 (341/0); 1457 (after 316/5).

⁸⁵ *Supra* n. 26.

⁸⁶ E.g., Ussing 1849, 7–8; Dörpfeld 1881, 296–300 (before his discovery of the foundations); Frazer 1898, 2:560–64; Collignon 1914, 58–59; Paton 1927, 472–73; Hurwit 1999, 162; Lapatin 2005, 283. Meyer (2017, 133–34, 137–38) suggests that Opisthodomos designates a combination of the porch and the West Room in the Kallias decrees but only the west porch in the inventories.

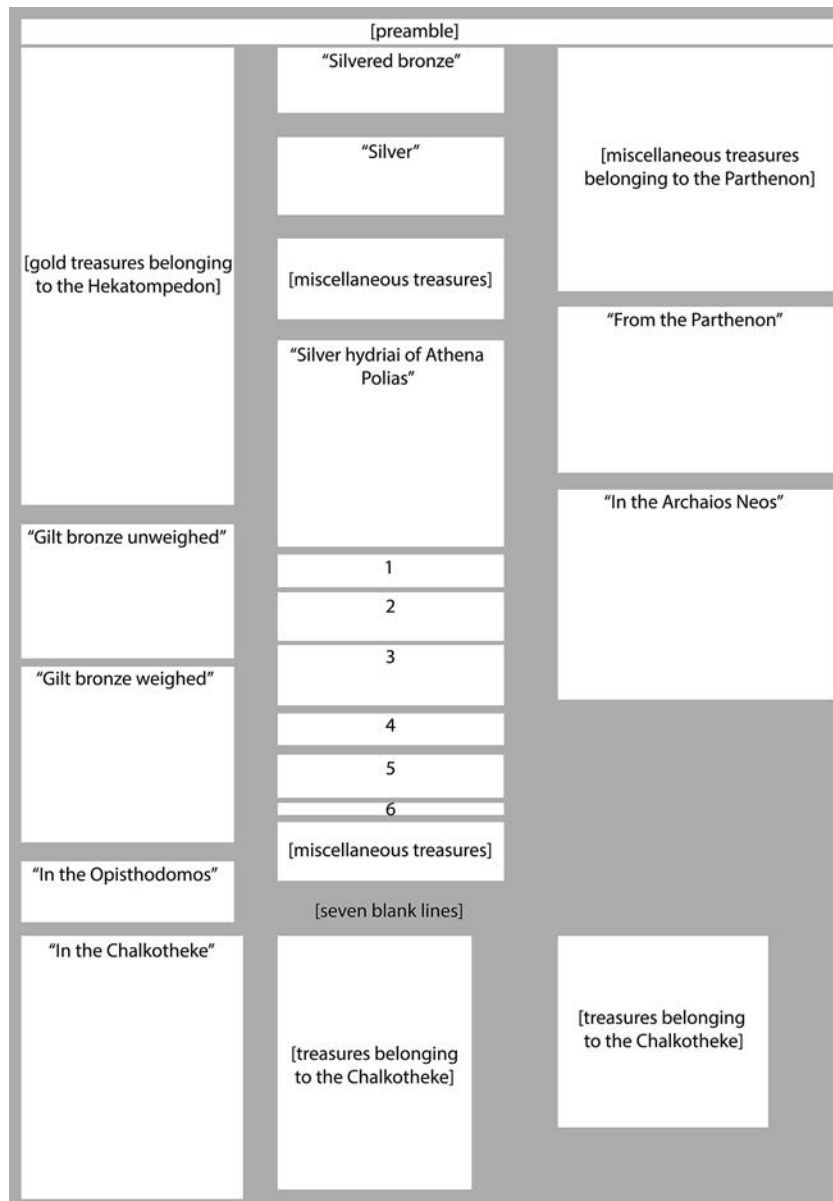


FIG. 6. Schematic drawing of IG 2² 1424a (371/0) indicating the contents of different sections of the inscription. Labels in quotation marks represent preserved headings. Labels in square brackets summarize the contents of the section. 1, "New silver hydriai"; 2, "Hydriai of Athena Nike"; 3, "Silver hydriai of Artemis Brauronia"; 4, "Hydriai of the Anakes"; 5, "Silver hydriai of Demeter and Kore"; 6, "Silver hydria of Aphrodite" (drawing by J.Z. van Rookhuijzen; not to scale).

plain sight for any visitor to the Acropolis.⁸⁷ The first Kallias decree mentions the opening, closing, and sealing of the doors of the Opisthodomos, demonstrating that it was a well-protected space.⁸⁸ It is often supposed

⁸⁷ Cf. Paton 1927, 472; Roux 1984, 306, 310; Linders 2007, 778: "The state bank, with its sacks and chests of money, needed stronger protection than wooden grills."

⁸⁸ IG 1³ S2.A, lines 16–18. On the date, see n. 11.

that the porches were protected by grills on the basis of holes present in the stylobate and the columns,⁸⁹ but the presence of grills need not indicate a treasury. The grills were perhaps meant to further protect the temple interior or to safeguard the great doors, inlaid with gold, bronze, and ivory, leading into the West Room

⁸⁹ E.g., Stevens 1940, 71–74; Lapatin 2005, 283; Linders 2007, 778.

and the cella.⁹⁰ These doors were reinforced on the inside with iron bars and left deep circular traces on the floor, indicating that they were heavy and plausibly designed for secure containment.⁹¹ It is improbable that large quantities of treasure were kept in a small porch when the spacious and well-protected West Room was immediately behind it.⁹² One Opisthodomos inventory speaks of the “τ[ο]ίχο τῷ μακρῷ” (long wall), which cannot be associated with the porch but might be understood as the wall separating the West Room from the cella.⁹³ A scholion on Lucian’s *Timon* 53 specifies that the Opisthodomos was “ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ἀδύτου” (behind the adyton), and therefore directly behind the sacred place of the temple, which in the case of the Great Temple was the cella.⁹⁴

Another solution is to view the terms “Parthenon” and “Opisthodomos” as alternative names for the West Room.⁹⁵ A forceful statement of this theory by Linders suggests that the term “Opisthodomos” applied to a part of the Dörpfeld Temple, and the term “Parthenon” to the West Room until 406/5. In that year, says Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.6.1), a fire damaged “ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶς” (the old temple of Athena). Linders locates the fire in the Dörpfeld Temple. Following the fire, she argues, the contents and the name of the Opisthodomos were moved to the West Room, and the items previously stored in the West Room were moved to the Hekatompedon. The name “Opisthodomos” thus replaced the name “Parthenon,” which vanished after 367/6.⁹⁶ However, this complex scenario must be ruled out because separate, simultaneous lists containing different items were produced for the Opisthodomos and the Parthenon from 403/2 until at least 367/6.⁹⁷

⁹⁰ Orlandos 1976–1978, 2:332–33, 3:425–30; Roux 1984, 306–8; Pope and Schultz 2014. On the remains of the doors, see Büsing-Kolbe 1978, 156–59.

⁹¹ Stevens 1940, 74–77.

⁹² Hollinshead 1999, 213. Cf. Meyer 2017, 133.

⁹³ *IG* 2² 1399 (403/2), line 3.

⁹⁴ Hollinshead (1999, 190–94) discusses the different meanings of “ἀδύτον” and concludes that it usually designated a sacred place.

⁹⁵ Petersen 1887, 69–71; Furtwängler 1893, 177–83. Meyer (2017, 133–34, 137–38) believes that the West Room was designated as Opisthodomos only in the Kallias decrees and as Parthenon in the fifth-century inventories. Cf. Hurwit 1999, 144.

⁹⁶ Linders 2007, 780. Rejected by Meyer 2017, 132–33.

⁹⁷ See table 1. *IG* 2² 1424a (371/70) has a list labeled “[ἐν] τῷ Ὀπισθοδόμῳ” (in the Opisthodomos; line 115) and a differ-

THE PRONEOS

Unlike the term “Opisthodomos,” the term “πρόνεως” (space in front of a temple) was used exclusively by the treasurers of Athena, who produced separate inscriptions for the Proneos inventories from 434/3 until ca. 407/6 (see table 1). The Proneos contained, almost exclusively, large numbers of undecorated silver phialae that here not only had a cultic function but could be converted into cash, much like modern gold bars.⁹⁸ In 408/7, the last complete inventory of the Proneos, the silver was still in place.⁹⁹ The next inscription on the same stone, probably dating to 407/6, does not list any phialae but mentions only that one gold crown was taken from the Proneos.¹⁰⁰ This is the last attestation of the Proneos in the inventory inscriptions. It is unclear what happened to the silver phialae, but they may have been melted down, as were some treasures from the Parthenon in this same period, during the final years of the Peloponnesian War.¹⁰¹

The Proneos has without exception been identified with the east porch of the Great Temple, the shallow space between the east prostyle columns and the entrance of the cella (see figs. 2[8], 7).¹⁰² We should reconsider this identification based on the same argument used above to dissociate the Opisthodomos from the west porch: it is unlikely that valuable treasures were stored on a porch. The inventory inscriptions pose additional problems if the standard identification of the Proneos and one of the usual identifications of the Opisthodomos (the west half of the Dörpfeld Temple or the west porch of the Great Temple) are accepted. Why do we hear no more of the Proneos after ca. 407/6, even though the east porch of the Great Temple continued to exist? Why, conversely, does the term “Opisthodomos” suddenly appear in

ent list labeled “ἐκ τῷ Παρθενῶνος” (from the Parthenon; line 323); cf. fig. 6.

⁹⁸ Harris 1995, 78–88; Hamilton 2000, 249; Lapatin 2005, 283; Linders 2007, 778.

⁹⁹ *IG* 1³ 315 (408/7).

¹⁰⁰ *IG* 1³ 316 (ca. 407/6).

¹⁰¹ Harris 1995, 28–29, 65.

¹⁰² E.g., Stuart and Revett 1825, 28, 36–37; Ussing 1849, 7; Michaelis 1871, 22, 27; Dörpfeld 1881, 296; 1887a, 34; Collignon 1914, 56; Orlandos 1976–1978, 2:99, 2:293–332 (archaeological discussion); Harris 1995, 2, 64–65; Nick 2002, 120; Lapatin 2005, 283; Linders 2007, 778; Davison 2009, 1:566; Connelly 2014, 230; Meyer 2017, 133.

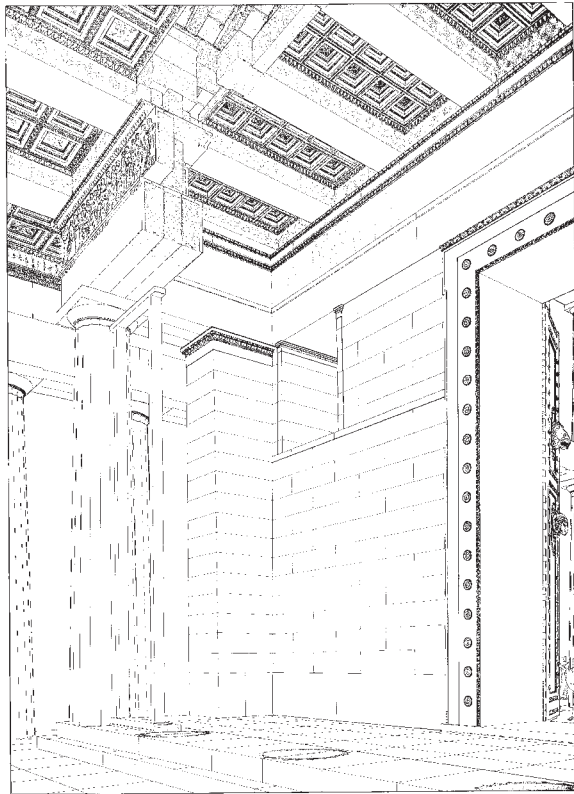


FIG. 7. Reconstruction of the east porch of the Great Temple (drawing by M. Korres; Korres 1994, fig. 36; courtesy Melissa Publishing House).

the inventories as late as 399/8? Had it been empty for all these years? Why do the inventories keep silent about the Opisthodomos until 399/8, whereas other inscriptions attest that financial transactions took place in it between the 430s and 399/8?

These difficulties would be removed if we allow “Proneos” to be synonymous with “Opisthodomos” and to designate the West Room of the Great Temple (table 3). The fact that the Proneos records appear along with those of the Parthenon and the Hekatompedon distinguishes these three locations from one another. Conversely, there exist no simultaneous records of the Opisthodomos and the Proneos, and the words never appear in a single inscription. The Proneos can thus not necessarily be distinguished from the Opisthodomos. Both the Proneos and the Opisthodomos were noted for their valuable contents of liquefiable silver, whereas the Hekatompedon contained gold objects, and the Parthenon had a stable collection of cult items and spoils. That both names, “Proneos” and “Opisthodomos,” are associated with the same type of items reinforces the possibility that

they referred to one and the same space.¹⁰³ The Proneos inventories complement the conspicuous absence of Opisthodomos inventories until 403/2. Apparently, “Opisthodomos” replaced “Proneos” at some point between ca. 407/6 and 403/2, which coincides with other changes to inventory methods in this period, such as the introduction of the Ionic script and the appearance of inventories combining the treasures of Athena with those of the other gods.¹⁰⁴ The inventory inscriptions indicate that the Proneos was emptied during the Peloponnesian War, with only one item remaining in the last Proneos inscription.¹⁰⁵ The gap between the last Proneos inventory of ca. 407/6 and the first Opisthodomos inventory of 403/2 (which seems to list only a few items) may be explained as the time that elapsed before the Athenians began to repay their goddess.

How could two terms with seemingly opposite meanings be associated with the same location? It seems natural for the West Room to be called the Opisthodomos; but why would the same room have been called the Proneos? It seems possible that the nomenclature of the West Room was influenced by the orientation of the Great Temple on the Acropolis (see fig. 2). A visitor who had just passed through the Propylaea would first see the temple’s rear, where the entrance to the West Room was located. From that perspective, “Proneos” was an accurate description of the West Room.¹⁰⁶ While modern archaeological parlance reserves the term “pronaos” for the porch fronting the entrance to the cella of a Greek temple, the Greek word “πρόναος,” as an adjective, describes anything in front of a temple.¹⁰⁷ As a substantive, Pausanias uses the term exclusively for rooms in which statues or treasures were kept.¹⁰⁸ Vitruvius employs it for an interior temple

¹⁰³ Hamilton (2000, 249 n. 17) seems to hint at this possibility.

¹⁰⁴ On the amalgamation of the board of treasurers of Athena and the board of treasurers of the other gods, see Harris 1995, 21–22, 40–43.

¹⁰⁵ IG 1³ 316 (perhaps 407/6). Cf. Thuc. 2.13.2–9; Harris 1995, 28–29, 65.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the observations in Leake 1821, 236–38. Herodotus (5.77) may, ca. 430, have designated the West Room as “τὸ μέγαρον τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον” (the west-facing hall); see Jeppesen 1987, 38–39.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Aesch., *Eum.* 21; Aesch., *Supp.* 494; Hdt. 8.37, 8.39; Paus. 9.10.2.

¹⁰⁸ Paus. 2.1.7 (Isthmus, Poseidon); 2.17.3 (Argos, Hera); 5.12.5 (Olympia, Zeus); 9.4.2 (Plataea, Athena Areia); 10.8.6 (Delphi, Athena Pronaia); 10.24.1 (Delphi, Apollo).

TABLE 3. Proposed references in literary sources and inscriptions to the West Room of the Great Temple.

Source	Designation	Date
Kallias decrees: IG 1 ³ 52.A, lines 14–18; 52.B, lines 22–25	ὀπισθόδομος	440–430 BCE
Proneos inventories (name only) Hdt. 5.77	πρόνεως τὸ μέγαρον τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένον	434/3–ca. 407/6 BCE ca. 430 BCE
IG 1 ³ 207, line 14	ὀπισθόδομος	ca. 440–420 BCE
IG 1 ³ 369, line 20	ὀπισθόδομος	426/5–423/2 BCE
Ar., <i>Plut.</i> 1193	ὀπισθόδομος	408 or 388 BCE
IG 1 ³ 386, line 178	ὀπισθόδομος	408/7 BCE
IG 1 ³ 378, line 19	ὀπισθόδομος	406/5 BCE
Opisthodomos inventories (name only)	ὀπισθόδομος	399/8–319/8 BCE or after
Dem., <i>In Timocratem</i> 136	ὀπισθόδομος	353 BCE
Dem., <i>Περὶ συντάξεως</i> 14	ὀπισθόδομος	after 351 BCE
IG 2 ² 1137, line 6	ὀπισθόδομος	ca. 110–100 BCE
Plut., <i>Demetr.</i> 23.3	ὀπισθόδομος	before ca. 120 CE
Harp., s.v. “ὀπισθόδομος”	ὀπισθόδομος	ca. 100–200 CE
Aristid., <i>Ἱεροὶ λόγοι</i> 5, p. 359.24	ὀπισθόδομος	ca. 160 CE
Luc., <i>Timon</i> 53	ὀπισθόδομος	before ca. 180 CE
Hsch., s.v. “ὀπισθόδομος”	ὀπισθόδομος	ca. 400–500 CE

space occupying a considerable part (3/8) of the temple interior.¹⁰⁹ It is unsurprising that this ratio roughly fits the pronaos of Roman temples such as the Maison Carrée in Nîmes, France, and the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Pula, Croatia; but it also roughly fits the West Room of the Great Temple. Possibly following their knowledge of Vitruvius, several Renaissance travelers who visited the Great Temple before the Venetian bombardment of 1687 called the West Room the “pronaos.”¹¹⁰ Vitruvius (*De arch.* 4.8.4) also provides evidence that the term “pronaos” could describe rooms that we today call “opisthodomoi.” He mentions the Temple of Minerva Pallas at Athens as an example of

a temple in which columns are placed on both sides of the pronaos. This is clearly the lower, west half of the Karyatid Temple (see fig. 2[1]), flanked by columns on the north and Karyatids (which act as columns) on the south. The higher, east half of the Karyatid Temple (see fig. 2[2]), where the cult statue probably stood, did not have columns on its sides.¹¹¹

In summary, the cella of the Great Temple was the Hekatompedon, and the West Room was plausibly called the Proneos in the earlier inventory inscriptions and, from 403/2, the Opisthodomos. The name “Parthenon” was applied to the Great Temple but not until about a century after it was built and for reasons

¹⁰⁹ E.g., Vitruvius, *De arch.* 4.3.10–4.1. Cf. Gros et al. 1997, 1:279–80.

¹¹⁰ Francis Vernon, in a letter to Mr. Oldenburg from 1675/6, in Ray 1693, 2:19–29 (“pronaos” mentioned at 22); Spon and Wheler 1678, 2:143; Wheler and Spon 1682, 362.

¹¹¹ On the identification of the Temple of Minerva Pallas with the Karyatid Temple, see Gros et al. 1997, 1:512–15. Cf. Paton 1927, 476–78; Meyer 2017, 45 n. 294. In Lucian’s *Piscator* (21), the “πρόναος τῆς Πολυιάδος” features as the location of an imaginary trial; cf. Bernard 1996, 502 n. 72.

that we do not understand. It does seem, however, that the name was primarily colloquial, as indicated by “the so-called Parthenon” (Heraclides and Pausanias) and “the temple that they call Parthenon” (Pausanias). Perhaps the colloquial name was deemed appropriate for the Great Temple because many virgins (and other women) are represented in its sculptural program.¹¹² As Dörpfeld correctly saw, the new colloquial name of the building made it natural to call the chryselephantine statue “Parthenos.”¹¹³ The new name of the statue, in turn, became the false etymology for the name Parthenon.

If we exclude the east and west porches as spaces for the storage of treasure, there is no remaining location for the Parthenon treasury in the Great Temple. We must look elsewhere on the Acropolis for a space that could have contained Athena’s oldest and holiest treasures and been called the Parthenon.¹¹⁴ The remainder of this article argues that the Parthenon treasury was housed in the west half of the Karyatid Temple (fig. 8).

THE ANCIENT TEMPLE OF THE POLIAS

The Karyatid Temple, from the third century on, is attested in literary sources and inscriptions as the “νεὸς (τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς) τῆς Πολιάδος” (Temple of [Athena] Polias), the dwelling of the goddess who protected the city (table 4).¹¹⁵ Pausanias (1.26.6–27.1) describes what he saw inside: the venerable ancient statue of Athena that had fallen from the sky, an ever-burning golden lamp with a bronze chimney shaped like a palm tree, and many other treasures. Before moving on to the temple of the mythical princess Pandrosos, which was “συνεχής” (continuous) with the Temple of the Polias, Pausanias notes Athena’s sacred olive tree. We

can identify the Temple of the Polias with the Karyatid Temple through scrutiny of three inscriptions dating to 409/8 and 408/7 that document a late phase of construction work on a temple on the Acropolis.¹¹⁶ The first of these (*IG* 1³ 474, hereafter referred to as the “Building Report”) records the temple’s state when the project was restarted after an interruption of unknown length and lists the unplaced and unfinished blocks. *IG* 1³ 475 and 476 are accounts of the work and expenditures. The three documents refer without doubt to the Karyatid Temple because they mention many diagnostic architectural elements, including, as “κόραι” (girls), the Karyatids themselves.¹¹⁷ The Building Report was commissioned by the “[ἐ]πιστάται τῷ νεῷ τῷ ἐμ πόλει ἐν ἡοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα” (oversers of the temple on the Acropolis in which the ancient statue is).¹¹⁸ The ancient statue also appears elsewhere in the inscriptions in relation to a wall and a ceiling.¹¹⁹ It is widely believed that it stood in the east half of the building (see fig. 2[2]).¹²⁰ We do not know where the ancient statue stood before the Persian siege of the Acropolis in 480 nor where it was stored in the period between that event and the first appearance of the Ἀρχαῖος Νεὸς in the inscriptions.

The Archaïos Neos first appears in a decree, now roughly dated to 460–420, about the Praxiergidai, the priestly family involved in the cult of the statue.¹²¹ From about the year 406/5, the Archaïos Neos is mentioned in several other inscriptions.¹²² Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.6.1), ca. 393, referred to a fire in “ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὸς” (the old temple of Athena) that had taken place in the year 406/5. Treasure invento-

¹¹⁶ *IG* 1³ 474 (409/8); 475 (409/8); 476 (408/7).

¹¹⁷ *IG* 1³ 474, line 86. See Ferrari 2002, 16–21; Pakkanen 2006.

¹¹⁸ *IG* 1³ 474, line 1. This designation may have been used before: *IG* 1³ 64 (ca. 430–420), lines 20–21, an inscription concerning the Temple of Athena Nike, speaks of “ἐπιστάται [τῷ ἀρχαῖο νεῷ ἐν ἡοὶ] | [κ]α[ὶ] τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα.” Cf. Shear 2016, 381 n. 111 with earlier literature.

¹¹⁹ *IG* 1³ 474, line 75; 475, lines 269–70.

¹²⁰ E.g., Dörpfeld 1887a, 57–61; 1904, 103; Petersen 1887, 62–64; Paton 1927, 424–25, 456–57, 482–83; Hopper 1963, 3–4; Bundgaard 1976, 85; Rhodes 1995, 131; Hoepfner 1997, 158–59; Sourvinou-Inwood and Parker 2011, 72–73; Shear 2016, 382–84; Meyer 2017, 47–59. Cf. Hollinshead 2015, 185.

¹²¹ *IG* 1³ 7, line 6. Osborne and Rhodes (2017, 53) point out that the dative plural in -αις is typical only after ca. 420.

¹²² *IG* 1³ 341 = *IG* 2² 1383 (perhaps 406/5), line 2; *IG* 2² 1504 (beginning of the fourth century), line 7; *Agora* 16.75[1] (ca. 337), lines 34–35; *IG* 2² 334 (ca. 335/4), lines 9–10.

¹¹² The virgin daughters of Kekrops and perhaps those of Erechtheus occupied most space in the temple’s salient west pediment. The east side of the frieze features a procession of possibly virgin devotees carrying sacred objects.

¹¹³ Dörpfeld 1887b, 192; 1890, 430.

¹¹⁴ There is perhaps only one previous attempt to locate the Parthenon treasury outside the Great Temple: Graindor (1938, 202–11) identified it with the west half of the Dörpfeld Temple. Fougères (1906, 63–64, 67) suggested that the Dörpfeld Temple was called the Parthenon because he associated the archaic korai with this building, but he did not locate the classical Parthenon treasury here. Cf. Brulé 1987, 248–49.

¹¹⁵ Clem. Al., *Protr.* 3.45.1; Himer., *Or.* 5.211; Luc., *Piscator* 21; Philoch., *FGrHist* 328, F 67; Strabo 9.1.16; 21; *IG* 2² 687 (266/5), line 44; 1055 (ca. 100), lines 24–25; 1036 (first century), line 25. Cf. Meyer 2017, 45.



FIG. 8. West facade of the Karyatid Temple (W. Hege 1928/9; DAI Athens, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Hege 1478).

ries of the *Archaïos Neos* survive from 376/5 until after 306/5 (see table 1). The objects in the *Archaïos Neos* were never as multitudinous as those of the other spaces.¹²³ They include ceremonial knives, miniature shields, helmets, swords, sabers, an owl, a *Palladion*, a snake, vessels (including many *phiale*), and gold wreaths. Strikingly, here also appears the ancient statue of the goddess with her diadem, earrings, collar, necklaces, owl, aegis, *gorgoneion*, and *phiale*.¹²⁴ The “*Archaïos Neos*” of the inventories, where the ancient statue was located, was thus apparently synonymous with “*Temple of the Polias*,” where Pausanias saw the ancient statue. Indeed, a second-century inscription concerns the installation of a bronze equestrian statue of a certain *Ptolemaios* at the “*νεὸς ὁ ἀρχαῖος τῆς Ἀθηνῶς τῆς Πολιάδος*” (the ancient temple of Athena *Polias*).¹²⁵ Strabo uses a nearly identical term for the temple where the unquenchable lamp stood (9.1.16). This was the full name for the Karyatid Temple and for its *cella* specifically. The name “*Archaïos Neos*” is

still used in an inscription dating to 196–217 CE concerning the rededication of the temple to the empress *Julia Domna*.¹²⁶

The attestations of *Archaïos Neos* before the inventories are usually associated with the *Dörpfeld Temple*.¹²⁷ However, while the Karyatid Temple was certainly called the “*Archaïos Neos*,” there is no attestation of this name that must be associated with the *Dörpfeld Temple*. It is therefore the most economical option to see all attestations of the *Archaïos Neos* as referring to the Karyatid Temple.¹²⁸ The name “*Ancient Temple*” was appropriate for the Karyatid Temple because the present structure encased an earlier structure that was truly old, as discussed below. Therefore, the Karyatid Temple could have been seen, at the time of its construction, as a renovation rather than a new temple.

¹²³ Harris 1995, 221.

¹²⁴ Harris 1995, 6.20.

¹²⁵ *IG* 2² 983 (middle of the second century), lines 5–6.

¹²⁶ *IG* 2² 1076, lines 21–22. At lines 27–28, the Great Temple is mentioned as the *Parthenon*. Cf. Mansfield 1985, 202–3.

¹²⁷ E.g., *Dörpfeld* 1885, 275; 1887a, 47–48; 1887b, 195–97; 1934, 250; Harris 1995, 201–4; Ferrari 2002, 15; Hurwit 2005, 23; Lesk 2005, 34–35; Meyer 2017, 93–95.

¹²⁸ Frazer 1898, 2:331, 2:564–70; Michaelis 1902, 1, 10–14.

TABLE 4. Proposed references in literary sources and inscriptions to the Karyatid Temple or its cella.

Source	Designation	Date
Praxiergidai decree: <i>IG</i> 1 ³ 7, line 6	ἀρχαῖος νεώς	ca. 460–420 BCE
<i>IG</i> 1 ³ 1454, lines 9–11	ὁ νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηναίας τῆς Ἀθηνῶν μεδεόσης	435 or 434 BCE
<i>IG</i> 1 ³ 64, lines 20–21	ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα	430–420 BCE
Building Report: <i>IG</i> 1 ³ 474, line 1	ὁ νεὸς ὁ ἐμ πόλει ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα	409/8 BCE
<i>IG</i> 1 ³ 341, line 2	ἀρχαῖος νεώς	perhaps 406/5 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 1504, line 7	ἀρχαῖος νεώς	ca. 400–390 BCE
Xen., <i>Hell.</i> 1.6.1	ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς	ca. 393 BCE
Archaïos Neos inventories (name only)	ἀρχαῖος νεώς	376/5–368/7 BCE
<i>Agora</i> 16.75[1], lines 34–35	ἀρχαῖος νεώς	ca. 337 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 334, lines 9–10	ἀρχαῖος νεώς	ca. 335/4 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 687, line 44	νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος	266/5 BCE
Philoch., <i>FGrHist</i> 328, F 67	νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος	before ca. 260 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 983, lines 5–6	ὁ νεὸς ὁ ἀρχαῖος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος	ca. 150 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 1055, lines 24–25	ναὸς τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς	ca. 100 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 1036, line 25	ναὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος	98/7 BCE
Lucr. 6.749–55	templum Palladis	before ca. 55 BCE
Vitr., <i>De arch.</i> 4.8.4	(aedis) Palladis Minervae	before 27 BCE
Strabo 9.1.16	ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος	7 BCE
Luc., <i>Piscator</i> 21	(ναὸς) τῆς Πολιάδος	before ca. 180 CE
Paus. 1.27.1–3	ναὸς τῆς Πολιάδος	before 180 CE
Clem. Al., <i>Protr.</i> 3.45.1	νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος	ca. 195 CE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 1076, lines 21–22	ἀρχαῖος νεώς	196–217 CE
Himer., <i>Or.</i> 5.211	νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος	before 383 CE

THE VIRGINS OF THE KARYATID TEMPLE

In contrast to the West Room of the Great Temple, the west half of the Karyatid Temple has excellent credentials as a “Virgin Room.” The building accounts of the Karyatid Temple repeatedly describe the west wall of the building as “πρὸς τὸ Πανδροσεῖο” (on the side of the Pandroseion).¹²⁹ Literary sources describe Athena’s olive tree as in or close to the Pandroseion, which may have been a courtyard to the west of the Karyatid Tem-

ple.¹³⁰ Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.189) relates that Pandrosos was a virgin daughter of Kekrops. Athena entrusted to her a basket containing the infant Erichthonios and snakes, which she was not allowed to open. However, her disobedient sisters Aglauros and

¹²⁹ *IG* 1³ 474 (409/8), lines 45, 170, 177; *IG* 1³ 475 (409/8), lines 131, 258.

¹³⁰ Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.178; Philoch., *FGrHist* 328, F 67; cf. F 10. Pausanias (1.27.2) mentions the olive tree at the end of his description of the Temple of the Polias, immediately before introducing the Pandroseion. Herodotus (8.55) instead associates the olive tree with the Temple of Erechtheus, which seems to have been adjacent as well (possibly in the Dörpfeld Temple). Cf. Hurwit 1999, 204; Meyer 2017, 68–70, 297–99.

Herse did open the basket, saw the snakes, and threw themselves from the Acropolis.

Fourteen of the Acropolis korai (Archaic sculptures depicting young women) were found in a deposit northwest of the Karyatid Temple.¹³¹ An attractive theory is that the korai are honorary statues of virgins who had served the goddess.¹³² From the third century onward, inscriptions survive that belonged to statues commissioned by the proud parents of young maidens who had finished their service as an Arrephoros, priestess of Athena. Some of these inscriptions address Pandrosos and Athena Polias as the recipients of the offering.¹³³ Pausanias says that two Arrephoroi, whom he describes as “parthenoi,” lived with Athena Polias herself.¹³⁴ Two first-century BCE honorary inscriptions contain a long list of parthenoi who had worked the wool for the peplos of Athena; one of these inscriptions specifies that it was to be installed near the Temple of the Polias.¹³⁵

The Karyatid Temple itself was decorated on all sides with a frieze of unknown subject but featuring a striking number of female figures.¹³⁶ The building’s most conspicuous architectural part is the south porch with the six karyatid statues (see fig. 8). Whom they represent is much debated, but they too were parthenoi; they were designated in the Building Report as “κόραι” (girls), and they wear braids, typical of parthenoi, wrapped around the upper part of their heads (fig. 9).¹³⁷ The Temple of the Polias is also associated with the grave of the daughters of Erechtheus, who are

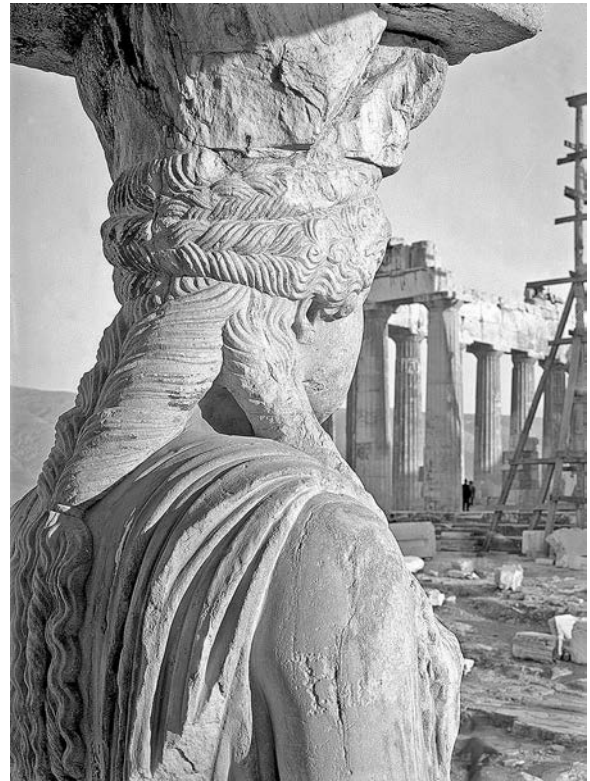


FIG. 9. Upper back part of Karyatid E (W. Hege 1928/9; DAI Athens, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Hege 1538).

described as parthenoi and were, according to some sources, six in number.¹³⁸

The concentration of evidence for parthenoi and korai in this area of the Acropolis favors the identification of the Parthenon treasury with a part of the Karyatid Temple. If that identification is correct, the name “Parthenon” was used in its normal sense of “virgin room.” However, there are two main difficulties with locating the Parthenon treasury in the Karyatid Temple. First, it is generally believed that the temple’s east half held the ancient statue and was the site of the cult for Athena Polias and that the west half housed the cults of the Erechtheion; consequently, the Karyatid Temple would not have had space available for a treasury. Second, it is thought that the Karyatid Temple

¹³¹ Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, 24–32; Richter 1968, 5–6. On the korai generally, see Keesling 2003.

¹³² Graindor 1938, 210–11; Robertson 1983, 242 n. 2; Brulé 1987, 248–49; Hurwit 1999, 58.

¹³³ Athena Polias and Pandrosos are mentioned in *IG* 2² 3472 (200–150); 3488 (first century); 3515 (Augustan). Cf. Philoch. *FGrHist* 328, F 10. Many other inscriptions mention only Athena Polias; for references, see Parker 2005, 219.

¹³⁴ Paus. 1.27.3–6. Cf. Robertson 1983; Brulé 1987, 79–98; Parker 2005, 218–28; Meyer 2017, 280–83.

¹³⁵ *IG* 2² 1034 (98/7); 1036 (first century), lines 24–25. Cf. von Heintze 1995, 220–21.

¹³⁶ For the remains of the frieze, see Fowler 1927, 239–76; Boulter 1970; Glowacki 1995.

¹³⁷ Paus. 10.25.10; *IG* 1³ 474 (409/8), line 86; Scholl 1998, 33. The term “κόρη” (girl, daughter) refers to age and naturally largely overlaps with “παρθένος” (virgin, maiden, unmarried girl). On the Karyatids generally, see Scholl 1998; Lesk 2005, 102–8; Meyer 2017, 56; all with rich earlier literature. For the sculptures, see, e.g., Fowler 1927, 232–38.

¹³⁸ Favorinus of Arles, F 96,9: “[α]ὐτοὶ δὲ Κέκροπα μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἰῆθαπτον, τὰς δὲ Ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρας <ς> παρ’ ἰ αὐτῆ σχεδὸν τῆ Πολιάδι” ([the Athenians] buried Kekrops in the Acropolis and Erechtheus’ daughters hard by the Polias herself). Cf. Apostolius, *Paroemia*, s.v. “Παρθένους ἐξ ἐφάμιλλος”; Eur., *Erechtheus* F 65, lines 64–100 (in Austin 1968); Eur., *Ion* 278; Phot. *Lex.*, *Suda*, s.v. “παρθένου.”

could not contain treasures in 434/3 (the date of the first Parthenon inventory) because it had not yet been built, or, if it had been, it still lacked a roof. However, the location of the Erechtheion and the architectural history of the Karyatid Temple are subject to debate.

THE ERECHTHEION

Several scholars have concluded that the Erechtheion was not part of the Karyatid Temple.¹³⁹ They show that textual sources represent the Erechtheion and the Temple of Athena Polias as two different buildings and argue that the cults of the Erechtheion cannot certainly be located in the Karyatid Temple. The attempts to detach the Erechtheion from the Karyatid Temple have not been generally accepted, perhaps because they have not offered convincing solutions either for the true location of the Erechtheion or for alternative functions of the Karyatid Temple, whose atypical design presupposes the existence of different cults there. This is not the place to tread into this intricate discussion.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the previous objections that scholars have raised to the usual siting of the Erechtheion remain valid today.

If the Erechtheion was located elsewhere, the Parthenon treasury could have been kept in the west part of the Karyatid Temple. Some support comes from a spectacular bronze lamp shaped like a warship (fig. 10) that was excavated there. Upon its discovery, it was believed to provide evidence for the location of the Erechtheion in the west half of the Karyatid Temple, because Erechtheus was closely associated with Poseidon, the god of the sea. However, when the piece was cleaned, an inconvenient inscription became legible: “ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς” (holy property of Athena).¹⁴¹

THE DATE OF THE KARYATID TEMPLE

It is not certain how long before the Building Report of 409/8, when construction was resumed, the

Karyatid Temple was begun.¹⁴² It is unlikely that the moment can be found in the period immediately following the passing of the second Kallias decree of the late 430s, which seems to halt the construction of the Propylaea in order to prepare the city's finances for the impending Peloponnesian War.¹⁴³ The inception of construction is often dated to 421/0, when the Peace of Nikias brought an opportunity to embark on a new building project.¹⁴⁴ However, peace was not a prerequisite for the building of temples.¹⁴⁵ Shear has recently pointed out, regarding the usual date, that “no particularly compelling case has ever been made to urge its acceptance to the exclusion of other solutions.”¹⁴⁶

Shear instead proposes a date of 425/4 based on a fragmentary decree concerning an unspecified temple and its architect.¹⁴⁷ The decree has previously been broadly dated to 450–400, and the temple has usually been identified with the Temple of Athena Nike. Shear dates the inscription to 425/4 because he identifies Smikythos, the presiding officer, as the Smikythos restored as the presiding officer in a fragmentary inscription, previously dated to 427/6, detailing a settlement between Athens and Mytilene.¹⁴⁸ Shear argues that the inscription employs a tone of reconciliation toward Mytilene that would better fit in 425/4 and that Smikythos presided in the same assembly that decided about work on the temple. It would follow that the decree about the temple also dates to 425/4. If this is true, Shear concludes, the temple in the decree could not be the Temple of Athena Nike, which was possibly already finished, and the only remaining candidate is the Karyatid Temple.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴² The generally accepted date for the construction of the Karyatid Temple is 421–406. For various, sometimes problematic proposals for the dating, see Lesk 2005, 64–71; Meyer 2017, 48.

¹⁴³ *IG* 1³ 52.B, lines 1–14. Cf. Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 255–56.

¹⁴⁴ E.g., Michaelis 1889, 362–63; Caskey 1927, 298; Paton 1927, 452–56; Dinsmoor 1947, 111 n. 14; Gerding 2006, 389.

¹⁴⁵ Anderson and Dix 2004, 22; Lesk 2005, 65.

¹⁴⁶ Shear 2016, 376.

¹⁴⁷ *IG* 1³ 132; Shear 2016, 376–81. Lesk (2005, 67–68) maintains that the Karyatid Temple was conceived by Pericles but arrives at a similar date for the beginning of construction.

¹⁴⁸ *IG* 1³ 66. Cf. Thuc. 3.36–49.

¹⁴⁹ On the date of the Temple of Athena Nike, see Meyer 2017, 25–26.

¹³⁹ Jeppesen 1979; 1983; 1987; Mansfield 1985, 245–52; Robertson 1996, 37–42; Pirenne-Delforge 2010. Hurwit (1999, 200–2) acknowledges the problem of locating the Erechtheion in the Karyatid Temple.

¹⁴⁰ A future article will explore the identification of the Erechtheion with the Dörpfeld Temple.

¹⁴¹ Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. NAM X 7038; *IG* 1³ 549bis (perhaps 410–400); Boetticher 1863, 194; Paton 1927, 572; Wachsmann 2012, 248–55. See also *IG* 2² 4348, an inscribed base found in the Karyatid Temple with a dedication to Athena Polias.



FIG. 10. Bronze lamp in the shape of a warship, inscribed “ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνῶς,” ca. 410–400 (inscription), 29 cm long, found in the west half of the Karyatid Temple. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. NAM X 7038 (S. Mavrommatis; © Acropolis Museum).

However, Shear’s scenario cannot settle the date of the temple because it relies on four uncertainties. First, the restoration “Σμίκυ]θος” in the Mytilene decree is doubtful because, in the period 450–400, 10 different names ending in -θος are attested.¹⁵⁰ Shear comments that many of these are known only from funerary inscriptions. Yet, deceased persons may in their lifetimes have served as presiding officers of the boule. Second, even if we accept the reading “Σμίκυ]θος” in the Mytilene decree, that Smikythos need not be identical to the Smikythos in the decree about the temple. At least three different Smikythoi occur in the period 450–400, and a mere coincidence in personal names, without a patronym and deme, is not sufficient to argue that they are the same person.¹⁵¹ Third, Shear’s date for the Mytilene decree on the basis of its tone of reconciliation is hazardous because the language of Athenian decrees is often at variance with the aggressive picture found in historical authors.¹⁵² Fourth, there is no guarantee that the temple in question stood on the Acropolis, nor that the decree ordered the beginning (rather than a later phase) of its construction. Shear himself admits that his date for the construction of the Karyatid Temple cannot be conclusively proven.¹⁵³ Osborne and Rhodes rightly classify the date of the decree and the identification of the building as uncertain.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Athenian Onomasticon, <http://www.seangb.org>. We can infer that more individuals called Smikythos lived in the period 450–400 from the occurrences of the name within two generations before and after that period (i.e., ca. 500–450 and 400–350), because, in Athens, grandsons were usually called by the same name as their grandfathers.

¹⁵¹ Blok (2015, 99–100) shows that in a single year (406) there were possibly three different men called Archedamos active as a financial officer.

¹⁵² Low 2005, esp. 104 n. 49.

¹⁵³ Shear 2016, 381.

¹⁵⁴ Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 492.

Other considerations point toward a Periclean date for the inception of the Karyatid Temple, as many scholars have either allowed or argued.¹⁵⁵ First, blocks of the Older Propylaea, which had become available before the commencement of work on the Periclean Propylaea (438/7–432), were used in the foundations of the Periclean Propylaea as well as in the foundations of the north wall of the Karyatid Temple. Here, an anta block of the Older Propylaea was reused east of the passageway linking the interior of the Karyatid Temple with the crypt under its north porch.¹⁵⁶ It is not entirely certain when those blocks became available or by what date they must necessarily have been used, but they might indicate that the Karyatid Temple was begun in tandem with the Periclean Propylaea, as may be implied by architectural similarities between the two structures: the innovative design, the variation in floor levels, and the inclusion of Eleusinian limestone.¹⁵⁷ The temple is not explicitly mentioned in the discussion of Periclean buildings on the Acropolis in Plutarch’s *Pericles*, unlike the Hekatompedos Parthenon and the Propylaea (13.6–13.14).¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Plutarch (12.2) refers to public outcry about the costly “ναοί” (temples) commissioned by Pericles to adorn Athens.

Another possible clue for the date is provided by a decree of ca. 445–430 from Karpathos. It mentions the offering by the Eteokarpathians of a cypress tree

¹⁵⁵ Stuart and Revett 1825, 65; Dörpfeld 1904; Touchais 1988, 612 [M. Korres]; Hurwit 1999, 205–6, 316, 322; Anderson and Dix 2004, 21–22; Brinkmann 2016, 40; Meyer 2017, 48; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 492.

¹⁵⁶ Touchais 1988, 612 [M. Korres]; Korres 1997, 243; Hurwit 1999, 206; Goette 2001, 27–28; 2016, 137; Anderson and Dix 2004, 21–22; Meyer 2017, 48; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 492.

¹⁵⁷ Hurwit 1999, 205–6; Goette 2016, 137–40.

¹⁵⁸ Line 3 of the *Strasbourg Papyrus* mentions the Parthenon in relation to the Periclean building project. Cf. supra n. 80.

(or cypress wood) “ἐπὶ τὸν νε[ὼ]ν τῆς Ἀθηναί[ας] τῆς Ἀθηνῶν μι[ε]δεόσης” (for the temple of Athena who protects Athens).¹⁵⁹ Anderson and Dix have argued that the temple mentioned here is the Karyatid Temple because the description of Athena as the protectress of Athens echoes the cult title “Polias”; the cypress, they believe, would be destined (though perhaps not immediately used) for the roof.¹⁶⁰ However, the offering of the Eteokarpathians may have been meant for the Great Temple, which was also a temple of Athena Polias in which cypress wood was used.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, Osborne and Rhodes argue that the inscription should immediately predate the beginning of tribute payments to Athena by the Eteokarpathians in 434/3, and hence they arrive at a date of 435 or 434.¹⁶² If they are right, the temple in question must be the Karyatid Temple, because the Great Temple had, save for its sculptures, already been finished.

If the Karyatid Temple was begun ca. 435–434 or before, the second Kallias decree of the 430s, which restricted expenditures for building activity on the Acropolis, could conveniently explain why the temple’s construction was temporarily suspended.¹⁶³ There survives from ca. 450 a neglected account of an unidentified building project on the Acropolis that lasted at least eight years and cost approximately 40–60 talents.¹⁶⁴ The account is inscribed on Pentelic marble, and, as Pitt remarks, “the arrangement of the text resembles a primitive form of the Promachos, Parthenon, and Propylaea accounts, and as such should perhaps be placed alongside the earliest in the series.”¹⁶⁵ I tentatively suggest that it could document the first construction phase of the Karyatid Temple.

THE ANCIENT SHRINE INSIDE THE KARYATID TEMPLE

Work on the Karyatid Temple may have begun before the first inventory inscriptions, but had construction progressed far enough for the temple to house treasures by 434/3? The Building Report of 409/8

demonstrates that work concentrated at the southwest corner, where some blocks in the upper courses of the walls had not yet been placed.¹⁶⁶ The building accounts of 409/8 and 408/7 also mention work on rafters, cross-rafters, and roof tiles.¹⁶⁷ Yet, it is remarkable that the completely preserved list of unplaced blocks in the Building Report of 409/8 mentions ceiling blocks still to be placed in the north and south porches but none awaiting placement in the main building.¹⁶⁸ In the same year, coffers were painted “ἐπὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἐπὶ τὰς σελίδας τὰς ὑπὲρ [τῶ] ἀγάλματος” (on the ceiling on the beams above the statue).¹⁶⁹ As the Building Report indicates, the ancient statue already stood in the temple when work on it was recommenced in 409/8, a fact that shows that the temple then had protection from the elements. It seems that the temple, as work on it progressed, continued to be operational.¹⁷⁰ This might explain why the overseers were concerned with finishing details like smoothing and ornamental carving, including the (never-executed) rosettes on the architraves of the Karyatid porch.¹⁷¹

As many scholars have argued, the functioning of the Karyatid Temple during its construction was enabled by the survival of an earlier temple inside, indicated by the remains of older walls in both halves of the building.¹⁷² The north face of the Dörpfeld Temple’s foundations is smoothed along (at least) the west half of the Karyatid Temple. This work was not done in preparation for the construction of the Karyatid Temple, because a gap remained between the Dörpfeld Temple’s foundations and the Karyatid Temple. Instead, the north wall of the foundations

¹⁶⁶ On the state of the ceiling and roof in 409/8, see Caskey 1927, 301–8, 362–68; Ferrari 2002, 17; Goette 2005, 29 n. 16; 2016, 135; Lesk 2005, 69–70, 95–99; Pakkanen 2006, 279–80; Meyer 2017, 48, 50; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 494.

¹⁶⁷ Work on the roof is referred to in IG 1³ 474, lines 77–89, 239–58; 475, lines 143–61, 179–85, 190–224, 240–43, 248–62; 476, lines 7–11, 14–21, 25–27.

¹⁶⁸ IG 1³ 474, lines 77–89.

¹⁶⁹ IG 1³ 475, lines 267–70.

¹⁷⁰ Lesk 2005, 70–71.

¹⁷¹ IG 1³ 474, lines 44–76, 83–92.

¹⁷² Dörpfeld 1887b, 196–97; Holland 1924a; 1924b, 409–17; Paton 1927, 457–58, 468–70; Paton et al. 1927, 137–46; Dinsmoor 1932a, 318–19; Bundgaard 1976, 103, 109–10; Orlandos 1976–1978, 2:3–10; Mark 1993, 133; Harris 1995, 202–3, 221; Korres 1997, 227–29; Hurwit 1999, 145; Goette 2001, 9; 2005, 29 n. 16; Lesk 2005, 33–34; Meyer 2017, 50–53, 59–70.

¹⁵⁹ IG 1³ 1454, lines 9–11.

¹⁶⁰ Anderson and Dix 1997, 2004; Meyer 2017, 45.

¹⁶¹ Meiggs 1982, 200–1. Cf. IG 1³ 461 (438), line 35.

¹⁶² Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 212–13.

¹⁶³ *Supra* n. 143.

¹⁶⁴ IG 1³ 433 (ca. 450; the date is based on letter forms and a prosopographical link). Cf. Pitt 2015; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 260.

¹⁶⁵ Pitt 2015, 700.

might have functioned as the south wall of a temenos in the area now occupied by (at least) the west half of the Karyatid Temple.¹⁷³ The older building is usually thought to have existed only in the east half of the Karyatid Temple, but it is not possible to exclude that it extended into the west half as well. The encapsulation and veneration of an ancient temple inside a new building is a well-known phenomenon in religious architecture. A particularly close parallel to the proposed arrangement of the Karyatid Temple is the Santa Casa inside the basilica of Loreto, Italy.¹⁷⁴ This is a humble sandstone and brick chapel for the worship of a small cedar wood statue of the Holy Virgin. Parts of its walls are claimed to be the remains of the house of Mary that was transported from Nazareth by angelic beings. In the Renaissance, the supposed ancient house of the Madonna was surrounded by marble walls, and, similarly, in the Classical period, the Ancient Temple of the Polias was encased in a marble temple.

The predecessor of the Karyatid Temple may be represented by the archaic Olive Tree Pediment found on the Acropolis (fig. 11). The representation of a building projects from the background, and fragments of four female figures and one male figure have been associated with the pediment. An olive tree behind a low wall is incised on the background to the left of the projecting building. It is generally believed that the olive represents Athena's sacred tree.¹⁷⁵ Because the tree certainly stood near the west wall of the Karyatid Temple,¹⁷⁶ it follows that the Olive Tree Pediment depicts the earlier building.

There is, in sum, reason to admit the possibility that the Karyatid Temple or its predecessor was used to store treasures in 434/3, the date of the earliest Parthenon inventory. We may test this possibility by examining the inventories of the Parthenon collection for evidence that the Parthenon treasury was the west part of the Karyatid Temple (see fig. 2[1]; table 5).

THE FIRE IN THE "OLD TEMPLE"

For unknown reasons, the Parthenon collection was broken up nearly 30 years after it was first re-

corded. A fragmentary inscription from ca. 405/4 seems to indicate that treasures were removed "ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος" (from the Parthenon).¹⁷⁷ Until 367/6, most objects that can be recognized as belonging to the old Parthenon collection are identified by this phrase. The lists appear at first in separate inscriptions and later in inscriptions combining treasures from different locations.¹⁷⁸ The objects ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος were clearly no longer stored in the Parthenon treasury. They were apparently taken to another place, perhaps to the Hekatompedon,¹⁷⁹ but we lack secure evidence for the location of these objects.¹⁸⁰ The two instances of "from the Parthenon" that can be plausibly restored in 367/6 on the basis of the inscriptions of the two preceding years are also the last mentions of the word "Parthenon" in the inventory inscriptions (see table 1).

Other treasures known from the fifth-century Parthenon inventories appear together in several fourth-century inventories that combine objects stored in various locations.¹⁸¹ No headings survive that specify the location of these treasures, and we do not know whether or not they had been removed from the Parthenon. The layout of *IG* 2² 1424a (371/0, see fig. 6) is especially revealing. In the upper part of this inscription, the second column (listing objects probably belonging to the Opisthodomos) ends with seven blank lines. Therefore, the list of items in the second column is not continued in the third column. The third column begins with a section listing items known from the fifth-century Parthenon inventories, immediately followed by a section listing objects "from the Parthenon." The proximity of the two sections indicates that the items in them continued to belong together as the

¹⁷⁷ *IG* 2² 1686, lines 7–8, 14–15.

¹⁷⁸ Separate lists: *IG* 2² 1377 (399/8), lines 9–10; 1395 (395/4), line 10. Combined lists: *IG* 2² 1424a (371/0), line 323; 1425 (368/7), line 250; 1428 (367/6), lines 197, 206. Cf. Hamilton 2000, 247–48.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Paton 1927, 473; Tréheux 1985, 241; Harris 1995, 30, 115.

¹⁸⁰ Hamilton (2000, 251–52) notes that it is not certain that the items "from the Parthenon" were stored in the Hekatompedon. After 406/5, the use of the label "in the Hekatompedon" is rarely attested as the heading of an inventory: *IG* 2² 1370 (403/2), line 12; 1388 (398/7), lines 15–16; 1423 (374/3), line 9; 1457 (after 316/5), line 20. It never introduces the treasures previously listed as in the Parthenon.

¹⁸¹ E.g., *IG* 2² 1424a (371/0), lines 290–306; 1425 (368/7), lines 206–19; 1428 (367/6), lines 138–42.

¹⁷³ Meyer 2017, 59–70.

¹⁷⁴ Grimaldi 1975, 88–128.

¹⁷⁵ Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. Acr. 52. Cf. Wiegand 1904, 197–204; Heberdey 1919, 16–28; Meyer 2017, 38–41.

¹⁷⁶ *Supra* n. 130.



FIG. 11. The archaic Olive Tree Pediment depicting a building, with an olive tree incised at the left; poros limestone, orig. est. dimensions 5.70 m wide x 0.685 m high, found south or east of the Great Temple. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. Acr. 52 (V. Tsiamis; © Acropolis Museum).

Parthenon collection.¹⁸² Until 304/3, the year of the last inventories, items that had 130 years earlier been listed as “in the Parthenon” still appear grouped together.¹⁸³ Though the term “Parthenon” is not preserved in the inventories after 367/6, it is possible that these items were stored in the Parthenon treasury.¹⁸⁴ After the disappearance of the label “from the Parthenon”

¹⁸² Cf. Harris 1995, 30–32; Hamilton 2000, 251. *IG* 2² 1425 (368/7) and 1428 (367/6) also employ the columnar format. In these inscriptions, the inventories of items previously listed as in the Parthenon are part of a larger miscellaneous group. The treasurers were no longer concerned with specifying the location, as is also indicated by the omission of the label “in the Opisthodomos” in 368/7 and the omission of “in the Archaioi Neos” in 367/6.

¹⁸³ E.g., *IG* 2² 1463 (349/8), lines 4–11; 1443 (344/3), lines 190–93; 1501 (after 330?), lines 18–21; 1460 (after 330/29), lines 3–15; 1485 add. (304/3), lines 55–61. Cf. *IG* 2² 1456.B (after 313/2). The treasures in these lists cannot be automatically associated with the Hekatompedon (supra n. 180) and they may have been in the Parthenon still (cf. Hamilton 1996).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Lewis 1988, 301; Hamilton 2000, 251: “Perhaps not coincidentally, the Parthenon treasure is the only treasure to remain a recognizable unit (usually so labeled) throughout the history of the Acropolis inventories”; 265–70; Kosmetatou 2002, 188. Meyer (2017, 132–33) points out that the disappearance of the label “from the Parthenon” does not imply that the Parthenon was no longer used, because this collection was growing in the fourth century.

in 367/6, the treasures that had been recorded under that label may have been returned to the Parthenon.

The reason for the removal of treasures “from the Parthenon” ca. 405/4 is not fully understood. These objects were evidently not used as bullion.¹⁸⁵ Meyer sees the removal of treasures from the Parthenon as part of a general reorganization of the inventories caused by the Peloponnesian War.¹⁸⁶ However, it is difficult to understand why all aspects of this reorganization—including the nomenclature of the treasuries, the removal of items from the Parthenon, and the identification of these items as “from the Parthenon”—would depend directly on the political situation. A more plausible and pressing reason for the removal of sacred treasures from a temple is architectural damage. Excellent evidence for such damage coincides with the first occurrence of the label “from the Parthenon” in possibly 405/4. As mentioned above, Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.6.1) reports a fire in the “παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶς” (the old temple of Athena) in the year 406/5. Inscribed accounts of the Karyatid Temple from 405/4 refer to “τ]ὸ [τ]ε [ν]εὸν τὰ κεκα[υ]μένα” (the burnt parts of the temple) and record payments for work on walls

¹⁸⁵ Dörpfeld 1887a, 35; Harris 1995, 28.

¹⁸⁶ Meyer 2017, 137.

TABLE 5. Proposed references in literary sources and inscriptions to the west half of the Karyatid Temple.

Source	Designation	Date
Parthenon inventories (name only)	Παρθενών	434/3–367/6 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 1407, line 6	Παρθενών	385/4 BCE
<i>IG</i> 2 ² 1504, line 6	Παρθενών	ca. 400–390 BCE
Vitr., <i>De arch.</i> 4.8.4	pronaus Palladis Minervae	before 27 BCE
Harp., s.v. “ἀργυρόπους δίφρος”	Παρθενών τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς	ca. 100–200 CE
Aristid., <i>Λευκτρικός</i> 1, p. 425.2–3	Παρθενών	ca. 160 CE
Luc., <i>Piscator</i> 21	πρόναος τῆς Πολιάδος	before ca. 180 CE
Philostr., <i>V A</i> 2.10	Παρθενών	ca. 220–240 CE
Nonnus, <i>Dion.</i> 13.173; 27.117; 27.321	Παρθενέων	before ca. 500 CE

at the Pandroseion.¹⁸⁷ Another inscription tentatively dated to 406/5 refers to the transfer of items from the Archaïos Neos to the Hekatompedon.¹⁸⁸ Dörpfeld and Dinsmoor already proposed associating the removal of treasures from the Parthenon with the fire of 406/5. However, since they identified the Parthenon as the West Room of the Great Temple, they were compelled to see the fire mentioned by Xenophon and another fire in the Opisthodomos mentioned by Demosthenes (*In Timocratem* 136) as a single incident and, implausibly, to date the fourth-century fire in the Opisthodomos to 406/5.¹⁸⁹ If, as proposed here, Xenophon’s “παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς,” like the Archaïos Neos, designated the Karyatid Temple, and if the Parthenon treasury was located there, then the fire is an attractive reason for the removal of treasures from the Parthenon.

THE ARCHAÏOS NEOS AND THE PARTHENON

The close relation of the Archaïos Neos and the Parthenon is supported by the inventory inscriptions.

When an inventory of the Archaïos Neos and an inventory of treasures “from the Parthenon” are both preserved in the same inscription, they are always contiguous.¹⁹⁰ For example, the third column of *IG* 2² 1424a (see fig. 6) begins with items previously associated with the Parthenon, continues with a section listing items “from the Parthenon,” and then gives the Archaïos Neos inventory. The arrangement of the sections in this inscription makes sense if the locations of the Parthenon and the Archaïos Neos were physically adjacent. Weapons constitute an important category in both the Parthenon and the Archaïos Neos inventories (in the latter as miniature votive offerings), but they never appear in the Opisthodomos and hardly ever in the Hekatompedon.¹⁹¹ Both the Parthenon and the Archaïos Neos also contained many nonmetal items, but the contents of the Opisthodomos and the Hekatompedon were largely metallic.¹⁹² In the fourth century, the treasures of the Hekatompedon and the Opisthodomos frequently disappeared, possibly because they were melted down, but the Parthenon and

¹⁸⁷ *IG* 2² 1654, lower fragment+*IG* 1³ 478 (405/4), lines 26, 34–35. On the date, see Lambert 2000.

¹⁸⁸ *IG* 1³ 341 = *IG* 2² 1383.

¹⁸⁹ Dörpfeld 1887a, 42–45; 1887b, 203; 1934. Dinsmoor (1932b) initially equated the two fires and dated them to the fourth century. He later decided that the date of the fire given by Xenophon was correct (1947, 111 n. 14). Petersen (1887, 64–65) argued against the identification of the two fires. Linders (2007, 779) believed that the fire caused the transfer of the Opisthodomos collection and its name to the West Room and the transfer of the Parthenon collection from the West Room to the Hekatompedon.

¹⁹⁰ *IG* 2² 1426 (375/4); 1424a (371/0), lines 323–73; 1425 (368/7), lines 250–83; 1428 (367/6), lines 164–226. Cf. *IG* 2² 1504 (beginning of the fourth century).

¹⁹¹ Cf. Harris 1995, 107. Harris (1995, 5.2; from 385/4 to after 330/29) assigns to the Hekatompedon an iron *akinakes* (Persian sword), arrows (5.3; from 371/0 until 367/6), and spearpoints (5.4; from 371/0 until 368/7). However, these weapons appear among items of the old Parthenon collection. The only weapons that can be associated with the Hekatompedon are small ivory javelins (5.17; recorded only in 330/29).

¹⁹² Cf. Hamilton 2000, 272–73; Osborne and Rhodes 2017, 411.

Archaïos Neos collections remained largely intact.¹⁹³ This suggests that the treasures in the latter two collections had an intangible value exceeding their weight in gold or silver. If the thesis argued here is correct, Athena's holiest and most ancient possessions, among which were many weapons, were fittingly associated with the temple that housed the ancient idol that protected the city, not with a building in which even the dress of the goddess could be removed in times of financial hardship.¹⁹⁴

THE FOLDING CHAIR, THE CUIRASS, AND THE SWORD

Striking validation for the proposed identification of the Parthenon is found in Pausanias' account of the treasures in the Karyatid Temple (1.27.1):¹⁹⁵

ἀναθήματα δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίου θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι.

As regards the votive offerings worth mentioning, among the ancient ones there are a folding chair, a work of Daedalus, and Persian spoils: a cuirass of Masistios, who had the leadership of the cavalry at Plataea, and an *akinakes* [Persian sword] said to be of Mardonios.

The collection is reminiscent of that of the ancient temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Lindos on Rhodes, which possessed such heirlooms as a cuirass of the pharaoh Amasis, a krater of Daedalus, and an *akinakes* of the Persian general Datis.¹⁹⁶ It appears that Pausanias saw these treasures in the building's west part, specifically; immediately after these objects, he mentions the olive tree, which certainly stood at the temple's west side. The fourth-century inventories

¹⁹³ On the disappearance of items from the treasuries over the years, see Harris 1995, 25–39. On the history of the Parthenon collection, see Hamilton 2000, 250–51, 254, 256–70.

¹⁹⁴ Harris (1995, 82) points out that the Parthenon collection, containing furniture, does not fit well in the West Room, for which a cultic function is not known. Cf. Dörpfeld 1881, 301. The chronicle of the temple of Athena at Lindos stresses the antiquity of the treasures and the temple itself: *Lindos* 2 (99) A, lines 2, 4; see Blinkenberg 1941. Cf. Shaya 2005, 428–29.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 2.36; *Hdt.* 9.22, 9.80; Miller 1997, 46–48.

¹⁹⁶ *Lindos* 2 (99) C, lines 21–22, 36; D, line 38; see Blinkenberg 1941.

of the Archaïos Neos include none of the remarkable treasures that Pausanias recorded in the Temple of the Polias.¹⁹⁷ However, the treasurers did list many ὀκλαδίαι (folding chairs), θώρακες (cuirasses), and ἀκινάκαι (Persian swords) together in only one place: the Parthenon treasury.¹⁹⁸ The objects singled out by Pausanias must have been among them. Current interpretations of Acropolis topography locate the Parthenon treasury in the Great Temple. If, however, the Parthenon was in the Karyatid Temple, then the items seen by Pausanias would be where he says he saw them.

After the breaking up of the Parthenon collection in or after 406/5, the folding chairs continued to be registered, always together with other treasures from the old Parthenon collection. They are last recorded in an inscription dated to after 330/29.¹⁹⁹ The cuirasses continue to be mentioned in lists of objects “from the Parthenon,” and they might be the cuirasses in the very last inventory inscription of 304/3.²⁰⁰ The Persian swords vanish, but from 385/4 to after 330/29 a single iron specimen with a gold handle, a sheath of ivory and gold, and a gold knob was registered, often in proximity to treasures previously recorded in the Parthenon.²⁰¹ A different, gilt specimen was added to the Parthenon collection in 428/7, consistently appeared in lists of objects “from the Parthenon,” and is last attested in the list of 367/6.²⁰²

One might object that the apparent overlap of the Parthenon inventories with the items seen by Pausa-

¹⁹⁷ *Supra* n. 123. Linders (2007, 781) believed that the treasures “are absent from the inventories of the Temple of Athena Parthenos.”

¹⁹⁸ Nine ὀκλαδίαι (4.29), first attested in *IG* 1³ 345 (432/1), line 47; 14 θώρακες (4.6), first attested in *IG* 1³ 349 (428/7), line 54; six ἀκινάκαι περίχρυσοι (4.1), first attested in *IG* 1³ 344 (433/2), line 24. All are to be restored in the earliest inventory, *IG* 1³ 343 (434/3), lines 14, 13, 8. Cf. Furtwängler 1893, 176; Thompson 1956, 281–86; Morris 1992, 265–68; Harris 1995, 204–5; Kosmetatou 2004, 147–48.

¹⁹⁹ *IG* 2² 1379 (402/1 or 401/0), lines 4–5; 1394 (397/6?), lines 1819; 1413 (between 384/3 and 378/7), line 30; 1421 (374/3), line 111; 1424a (371/0), line 300; 1425 (368/7), line 218; 1428 (367/6), line 141; 1460 (after 330/29), lines 9–10.

²⁰⁰ *IG* 2² 1433 (between 384/3 and 378/7), line 6; 1426 (375/4), line 28; 1424a (371/0), line 328; 1425 (368/7), line 256; 1428 (367/6), line 205; 1485 add. (304/3), lines 60–61.

²⁰¹ Harris 1995, 5.2. Many *akinakai* are attested in the Chalkotheke in *IG* 2² 1424a (371/0), line 377, and *IG* 2² 1425 (368/7), line 395.

²⁰² *IG* 1³ 349 (428/7), line 59; *IG* 2² 1428 (367/6), line 222; Harris 1995, 4.2.

nias was only coincidental. However, we have it on the authority of Thucydides that the Persian spoils were inventoried in the fifth century: the historian says that, in Pericles' time, the Persian spoils were counted among the city's capital as a last resort to finance war, and he includes them in the combined value of the uncoined treasures amounting to 500 talents (2.13.4). One could also hypothesize that the treasures seen by Pausanias in the Karyatid Temple had arrived there from the West Room of the Great Temple only at a late date, possibly after a temporary sojourn in a different location during the period when items were listed as "from the Parthenon" (405/4–367/6). However, a simpler itinerary is the one proposed here: the chair, the cuirass, and the sword were originally in the Karyatid Temple. Wherever they were after the fire of 406/5, the cuirass and the sword were still labelled as "from the Parthenon," thus from Athena's holiest treasury, to which they were eventually returned. The folding chair, it seems, never left the Karyatid Temple in the first place.

XERXES' CHAIR

A scandal of the mid fourth century concerns the sword of Mardonios seen by Pausanias half a millennium later. It was stolen, along with a Persian "ἀργυρόπους δίφρος" (silver-footed chair), by a thief whom Demosthenes (*In Timocratem* 129) in 353 identified as Glauketes, a former treasurer. The sword was apparently recovered, if Pausanias really saw the same item. Harpocration (s.v. "ἀργυρόπους δίφρος") explains that the silver-footed chair stolen by Glauketes was "ὁ Ξέρξου, ὃς αἰχμάλωτος ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἐφ' οὗ καθεζόμενος ἐθεώρει τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ἀνέκειτο δὲ εἰς τὸν παρθενῶνα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς" (that of Xerxes, which was also called "looted," sitting on which he watched the sea battle [of Salamis]). It was dedicated in Athena's Parthenon.²⁰³

Frazer believed that Harpocration was mistaken about the location of the δίφρος and suggested that it stood instead in the Karyatid Temple, where Pausanias saw the other Persian spoils.²⁰⁴ Indeed, Glauketes probably stole the two Persian items from a single treasury. Another correspondence between the literary records and the inscriptions supports Frazer's surmise. Following the removal of treasures from the Parthenon,

²⁰³ Cf. *Lex. Segueriana*, Phot. *Lex.*, *Suda*: s.v. "ἀργυρόποδα δίφρον"; *Lex. Vindobonense*, s.v. "ἀργυρόπους."

²⁰⁴ Frazer 1898, 2:342–43. Cf. Furtwängler 1893, 176 n. 2.

five "δίφροι στρογγυλόποδες" (round-footed chairs) are recorded between 397/6 and 382/1; one of them was "ἀργυρόπους" (silver-footed), and this may be the one that Harpocration assigned to Xerxes.²⁰⁵ The five chairs appear along with treasures that were listed in the fifth-century inventories as "in the Parthenon." Therefore, the four chairs attested in those lists are probably among them.²⁰⁶ After 382/1, five chairs are still listed in inventories of items associated with the Parthenon.²⁰⁷ If the Parthenon was in the Karyatid Temple, Frazer's surmise that Xerxes' chair stood in the Karyatid Temple was right, and Harpocration's assertion that it was dedicated in "Athena's Parthenon" was not wrong.

THE BIRD TRAP

A narrative element sometimes added to the myth of Pandrosos in the Hellenistic and Roman periods provides additional support for the placement of the Parthenon in the west part of the Karyatid Temple.²⁰⁸ In Ovid's version, a spying crow saw Pandrosos' sister Aglauros open the box containing the infant Erichthonios. The crow reported this to Athena. The goddess, enraged with the bird for telling her the bad news, banned it from the Acropolis and instead chose the owl as her companion. Lucretius refers to this myth in his description of noxious places that drag birds flying above them into the earth (6.738–55). At Athens, one such place could be seen on the Acropolis "Palladis ad templum Tritonidis almae" (next to the temple of

²⁰⁵ *IG* 2² 1394 (397/6?), lines 13–14; 1414 (385/4), lines 12–13; 1412 (382/1), lines 4, 9; Harris 1995, 5.118. Thompson (1956, 286–91) identifies the δίφρος ἀργυρόπους as a Persian-type seat and as the one regarded as Xerxes' throne. Morris (1992, 266–68) suggests that it could be the ὀκλαδίας of Daedalus seen by Pausanias. Kosmetatou (2004, 148–49) argues that Harpocration's identification of the throne as that of Xerxes is incorrect.

²⁰⁶ Harris 1995, 4.27; first attested in *IG* 1³ 345 (432/1), line 47, and restored in the two earlier inventories.

²⁰⁷ One "δίφρος κατεαγώς" (broken chair) and two "ὑγιεῖς" (in good condition) are recorded between 374/3 and 367/6: *IG* 2³ 1421 (374/3), line 107; 1424a (371/0), lines 297–98; 1425 (368/7), line 215; 1428 (367/6), line 140; Harris 1995, 5.116. Two other δίφροι are found in the lists of treasures "from the Parthenon" and in some later inscriptions: *IG* 2² 1424a (371/0), line 345; 1425 (368/7), line 282; 1428 (367/6), line 221; 1443 (344/3), line 191; 1460 (after 330/29), line 6; 1464 (after 316/5), line 5; Harris 1995, 5.117.

²⁰⁸ E.g., Amelesagoras, *FGrHist* 330, F 1; Andron, *FGrHist* 360; Callim., *Hecale*; Hyg., *Fab.* 166; Ov., *Am.* 2.6.35; Ov., *Met.* 2.552–64. Cf. Bernard 1996, 497.

nourishing Pallas Tritonis), where crows stay away, not because of Athena's anger but because they flee from this dangerous place. In the *Vita Apollonii* (2.10), Philostratus discusses the origin of the name of a mountain in India called ἄορνος (Birdless). He then relates:

ἀλλ' ἐν κορυφῇ τῆς πέτρας ῥῆγμα εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπισπώμενον, ὡς Ἀθήνησί τε ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος

But they say that on the summit of the rock there is a cleft that draws in birds flying above it, as can be seen in Athens in a porch of the Parthenon.²⁰⁹

What was the bird-killing cleft on the Acropolis “next to the temple of nourishing Pallas,” “in a porch of the Parthenon”? There is no crevice in either of the porches of the Great Temple. However, there is one in the north porch of the Karyatid Temple (fig. 12), with a corresponding opening in the roof. Accordingly, Bernard identifies it as the cleft described by Philostratus. However, in the belief that the west part of the Karyatid Temple was the Erechtheion, he surmises that Philostratus (who, having lived some part of his life in Athens, is unlikely to have confused the names of the temples) employed the incorrect name “Parthenon” to satisfy his taste for illustrious names.²¹⁰ Yet, if the thesis of this article is correct, Philostratus was correct as well.²¹¹

CONCLUSION

Epigraphical, archaeological, and literary evidence demonstrates that the Great Temple was the “Hekatompedon” and that its West Room was the “Opisthodomos.” The treasury called the “Parthenon” was not here but rather was in the west part of the Karyatid Temple. The Karyatid Temple was not the “Erechtheion” but rather was the renovated “Archaïos Neos,” where Athena herself resided as the ancient statue that had fallen from the heavens. Here, behind marble



FIG. 12. North porch of the Karyatid Temple. An opening in the pavement is visible to the left of the doorway (W. Hege 1928/9; DAI Athens, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Hege 1840).

parthenoi, in the “Virgin Room” of the city’s protectress, a collection of ancient heirlooms and Persian spoils was gathered, traceable from Periclean times to the days of Pausanias.

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²⁰⁹ The word “πρόδομος” sometimes means “anteroom,” but many lexicographers explain that it was an αἴθουσα, παστάς, προστάς, προστώφον, or στοά, all meaning “porch,” in front of a house: *Etym. Magn.*, Hsch., [Zonar.] *Lex.*: s.v. πρόδομος; Phot. *Lex.*, *Lex. Segueriana*, *Suda*: s.v. προδόμῳ.

²¹⁰ Bernard 1996, 496–503.

²¹¹ Other late attestations of “Parthenon” for the west part of the Karyatid Temple: Aristid., *Λευκτρικός* 1, p. 425.2–3; Harp., s.v. “ἀργυρόπους δίφρος”; Nonnus, *Dion.* 13.171–74, 27.113–17, 27.321–23.

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