STAVROS NIARCHOS FOUNDATION DIGITAL LIBRARY

Copyright information

White, John Williams, 1849-1917.

The opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens.

[pref.: Athens, 1894]

ICLASS Tract Volumes T.11.8

For the Stavros Niarchos Digital Library Euclid collection, click here.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License.

This book has been made available as part of the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Digital Library collection. It was digitised by UCL Creative Media Services and is copyright UCL. It has been kindly provided by the Institute of Classical Studies Library and Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies, where it may be consulted.

Higher quality archival images of this book may be available. For permission to reuse this material, for further information about these items and UCL's Special Collections, and for requests to access books, manuscripts and archives held by UCL Special Collections, please contact UCL Library Services Special Collections.

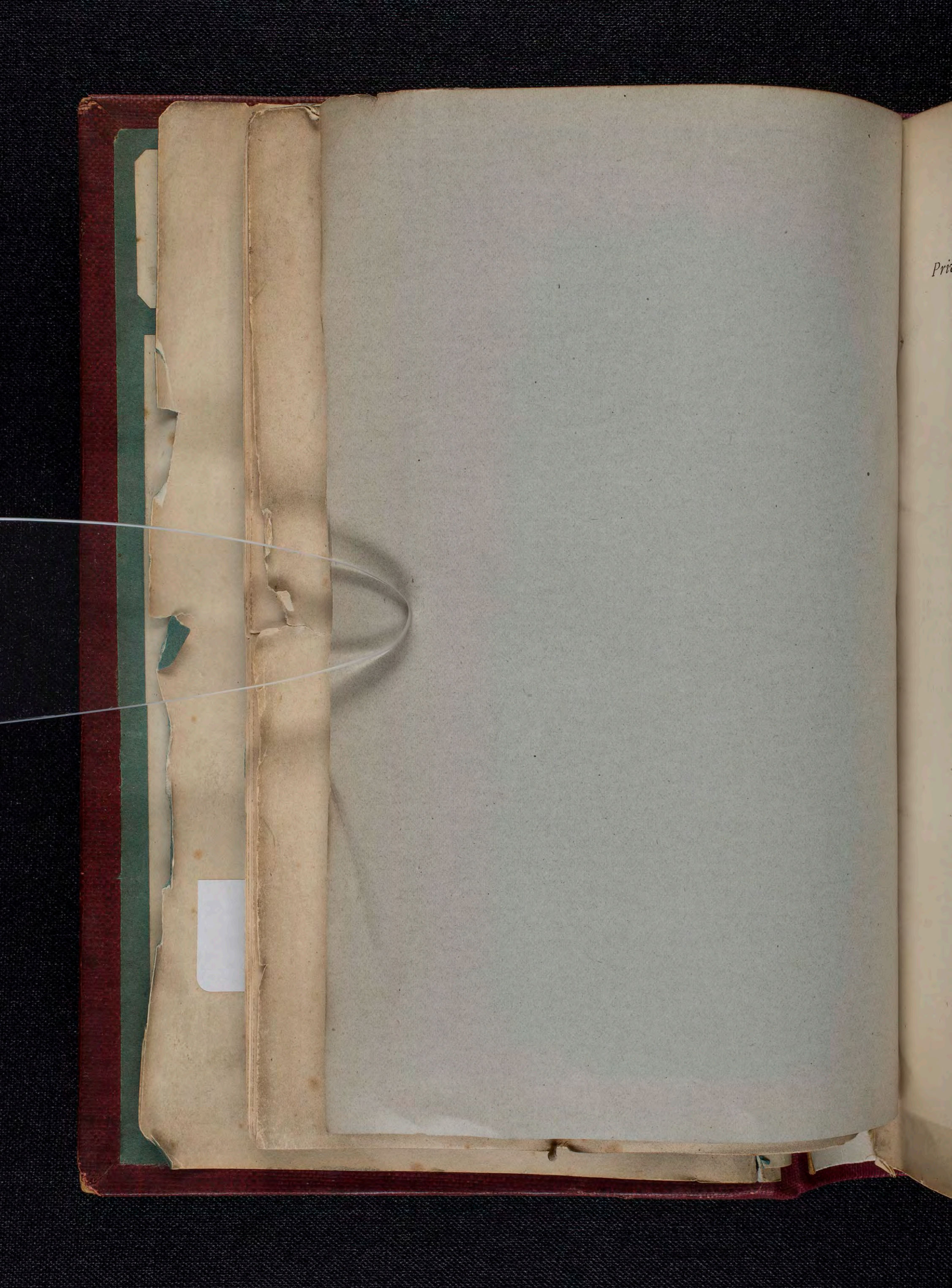
Further information on photographic orders and image reproduction is available here.

With thanks to the Stavros Niarchos Foundation.

UCL Library Services
Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7679 2000
ucl.ac.uk/niarchoslibrary

NOT TO BE
REMOVED
FROM THE
LIBRARY

8



8

Privately printed.

J. W. White

THE OPISTHODOMUS ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following discussion is the substance of a lecture given at the American School of Classical Studies on March 1, 1894. Since that time I have fortunately been able to lay the argument before Dr Fränkel of Berlin and Professor Loeschcke of Bonn. I am indebted to both these gentlemen for valuable criticisms and suggestions; but neither of them is responsible for the argument as here advanced.

The present paper is privately printed in a limited number of copies. It will appear later in fuller and revised form.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE.

ATHENS, GREECE,
May 5, 1894.

THE OPISTHODOMUS ON THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

IN inscriptions of the 5 Cent. and 4 Cent. B.C. and in Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Lucian, references occur to a structure on the Acropolis at Athens which is called simply ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, without further designation. The scholiasts, however, on the passages in which the Opisthodomus is thus referred to and the ancient lexicographers define its situation with singular unanimity.

August Boeckh believed that the Opisthodomus in question was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon, and maintained this view with vigour[1]. So Leake[2], K. F. Hermann[3], Boetticher[4], Michaelis[5] and many others. This has been and remains the generally accepted view. It makes the "Parthenon" in the restricted sense,—the well-known treasure-chamber named in inscriptions[6],—a part of the νεὼς ἑκατόμπεδος and places within it the great chryselaphantine statue of Athena. Ussing believed that the western chamber of the cella was the "Parthenon," that the western portico was the Opisthodomus proper, and that the two together constituted the Opisthodomus of the inscriptions[7]. This is also Petersen's view[8]. Köhler maintains that the statue stood in the Hecatompedos, not in the "Parthenon," but refuses to identify the western chamber of the

[1] *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*[3], 1886, I. p. 517 ff., especially p. 519, note c. See also *CIG*. I. p. 177 f.

[2] *Topography of Athens*[2], 1841, I. p. 559.

[3] *Die Hypäthraltempel des Alterthums*, 1844, p. 27 f.

[4] *Philologus*, 1862, XVIII., plan; *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, 1863, p. 165 ff.

[5] *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 26 f. See also p. 109.

[6] See the important series, *CIA*. I. 161 ff.

[7] *De Parthenone ejusque partibus disputatio*, 1849. Also *Griech. Reisen und Studien*, 1857, p. 145 ff.

[8] *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 71.

cella, which he believes to have been the Opisthodomus, with the "Parthenon[9]." Lolling also believed this to be the Opisthodomus, although he held new and revolutionary views in regard to the application of the terms "Parthenon" and Hecatompedos[10]. Dörpfeld, on grounds independent of those on which Ussing had based his argument, concluded that the western chamber of the cella was the "Parthenon," and that, in official language, Opisthodomus always meant the western portico of the temple[11]. This view was adopted by Fränkel[12], and is held by Frazer[13]. Recently Furtwängler has declared for a complete identification of "Parthenon" and Opisthodomus; not only does he believe, with Ussing, that the term Opisthodomus was applied to the western chamber of the cella and the western portico, taken together, but also declares expressly that the name "Parthenon" likewise included them both[14]. Finally, since the discovery of the Hecatompedon[15], Dörpfeld has maintained that the term Opisthodomus in the inscriptions and authors designates the complex of three rooms constituting the western half of this temple, which, as is well known, he believes to have been still in existence in the time of Pausanias[16].

One might conclude that this variety of views exhausted the possibilities; and, with the difficulties of a choice among them so considerable, not unnaturally feel disposed to resent as obtrusive any further suggestion as to the situation and nature of the vexed structure called the Opisthodomus. Nevertheless, I venture again to present for consideration our sources of information about it, and purpose to discuss as the main thesis of this paper the proposition

[9] *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1880, V. p. 89 ff., especially p. 100.

[10] Ἀθηνᾶ, 1890, II. p. 627 ff.

[11] *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1881, VI. p. 283 ff.

[12] In Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*[3], 1886, II. p. 106*, note 729.

[13] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1892—93, XIII. p. 153 ff.

[14] *Meisterwerke der Griechischen Plastik*, 1893, p. 177.

[15] The temple of Athena whose foundations lie close to the Erechtheum on the south. For Dörpfeld's description of it as a structure, see *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. p. 337 ff. See also *Mitth.* 1885, X. p. 275 ff. and *Antike Denkmäler*, 1886, plates I., II. Dörpfeld himself names it "alter Athena-Tempel," but this name seems to be misleading to those who do not believe that it was the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis. Petersen calls it "Peisistratischer Tempel" (note 8 above), Frazer "Pre-Persian Temple" (note 13 above). Dörpfeld maintains that the name which he has assigned to it is correct (*Mitth.* 1892, XVII. p. 158, note 1). The official name, which will be used in this paper, is τὸ Ἑκατόμπεδον. See *CIA.* IV. p. 137 ff.; Δελτίον Ἀρχ. 1890, p. 92 ff.; Ἀθηνᾶ, 1890, II. p. 627 ff.

[16] *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 25 ff., 190 ff., 1890, XV. p. 420 ff.

that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis, referred to in the inscriptions and authors simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, was not, as has been supposed, a part of some existing temple, but was *a separate building*, complete in itself.

The current view, if I may so name it, would seem to be expressly contradicted by the testimony of the lexicographers and scholiasts. An important part of this testimony, with the original passages in the authors of which it is an explanation, is the following:

οἷον (ὅπως δὲ μὴ θορυβήσει μοι μηδείς, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντα εἴπω) ἀνέῳξαν δήπου πρῴην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. [Dem.] XIII. 14.

Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως· ἀνέῳξαν δήπου πρῴην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. ὁ οἶκος ὁ ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα. Harpocration *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος.

οἶκος ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα· ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τόπος ἔνθα τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον ἀπέκειτο καὶ ὁ φόρος. Schol. FY [Dem.] XIII. 14[17].

μέρος τι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔνθα ἦν τὸ ταμιεῖον, ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίθεντο τὰ χρήματα. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ συντάξεως· ἀνέῳξαν δήπου πρῴην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. Suidas *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος[18].

ἱδρυσόμεθ' οὖν αὐτίκα μάλ', ἀλλὰ περίμενε,
τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὗπερ πρότερον ἦν ἱδρύμενος
τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ.
Arist. *Plut.* 1191—1193.

ὀπίσω τοῦ νεὼ τῆς καλουμένης πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦς τοῖχος (οἶκος?) ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. Ἄλλως. ἐπεὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειτο. μέρος δέ ἐστι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἔνθα ἦν ταμιεῖον, ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ. Schol. RV Arist. *Plut.* 1193[19].

ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. Schol. LB Arist. *Plut.* 1191.

[17] The statement, ἐν τῇ...φόρος, is also in B.

[18] ὀπισθόδομος μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως...χρήματα. Schol. V Lucian *Fug.* 7. The Scholiast did not observe that Lucian was talking about an opisthodomus at Olympia!

[19] The scholium is complete in neither R nor V. See Dübner's note (*Schol. Graeca in Arist.* 1841, p. 613), who also gives the variant in Par. 2821.—οἶκος is the conjecture of Michaelis (*Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.*, 1880, p. VI. *add. ad c.* 24, 47 *u.* 7 *a fine*), and must be right. He compares Paus. I. 26. 5, διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἴκημα.

ταμιεῖον τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ. Photius *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος.

Ἀθήνησι δὲ τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ἐπεὶ ἦν ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. E. M. *s.v.* ὀπισθόδομος.

Ἀθήνῃσι δὲ τὸ ταμιεῖον τῶν χρημάτων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐπεὶ ἦν ὄπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 286, 26.

καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ὧν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι τούτῳ ἦσαν ἕως ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. Dem. XXIV. 136.

ἰστέον ὅτι <τὰ ἱερὰ> χρήματα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [ἱερῶν τῶν] θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔκειτο ἔν τινι οἰκήματι ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως (τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ?), τῷ καλουμένῳ ὀπισθοδόμῳ, καὶ ἦσάν τινες τεταγμένοι ταμίαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τούτων. Schol. ATCV Dem. XXIV. 136[20].

ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὗ τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον ἀπέκειτο [πρὸς τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ] καὶ ὁ φόρος. Hesychius *s.v.* ὀπισθοδόμος (*sic*)[21].

The meaning of the interpreters here seems to be clear. With singular unanimity they say that the Opisthodomus was *a house*, or *a place on the acropolis*, or *a part of the acropolis, behind the temple of Athena, which was used as a treasury.*

These old Greek interpreters have been variously dealt with by modern writers who have discussed the Opisthodomus. By the most of the scholars named above they have been silently ignored, for whatever reason; by others they have been taken seriously[22]; by others still their testimony has been rejected as worthless[23]. In some instances it is impossible to tell by what interpretation of the Greek lexicographers and scholiasts some of the moderns arrive at the conclusion embodied in the current view[24].

[20] The text of the scholium is a jumble. The first correction seems probable. ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως is a bit of arrant nonsense, comparable to the definition in Pollux (IX. 40), τὸ κατόπιν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως (*sc.* ἂν εἴποις) ὀπισθόδομον.

[21] *Cf.* the schol. [Dem.] XIII. 14 quoted above.

[22] By Boeckh, for example (*CIG.* I. p. 177 f.), whose interpretation is discussed p. 21 f. His interpretation is now also that adopted by Dörpfeld, as communicated to me by letter on March 9, 1894.

[23] By Michaelis, whose treatment of the evidence is considered on p. 12 f.

[24] Leake, for example, cites the lexicographers and scholiasts, but gives no explanation how from their statements he reaches the conclusion that the Opisthodomus was the western apartment of the cella of the Parthenon. Frazer (p. 157) says: "The scholiasts and lexicographers tell us that the *opisthodomus* was a compartment (οἶκος) or treasury at the back of the temple of Athena." Frazer is here restating Dörpfeld's view, who in interpreting the phrase ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ had used the phrases "hinter dem Tempel" (*Mitth.* 1887, XII. p. 34) and

If in the interpretation as quoted above the words νεώς and ἱερόν mean *temple*, it is possible to obtain the definition of Opisthodomus adopted in the current view only by attaching to ὄπισθεν the meaning *in the back part of*. οἶκος ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ would then mean *a room in the back part of the temple of Athena*. But this meaning of ὄπισθεν with the genitive expressing the place where cannot be established. It is recognized by none of the lexicographers. In order to express the desired meaning ὄπισθεν must be combined adjectively with the article; the genitive that follows is then partitive. Pausanias, for example, in telling where certain paintings are in the temple of Messene, daughter of Triopas, says (IV. 31. 11), γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὄπισθεν οἱ βασιλεύσαντές εἰσι Μεσσήνης, *i.e. in postica templi eius parte*.

It may be well to establish the uses of ὄπισθεν in this author, who naturally had occasion to use the word often. In Pausanias ὄπισθεν may be used, as above, adjectively[25]. Sometimes it is used adverbially[26]. In the great majority of the instances of its occurrence, it is followed, as an adverb of place, by the genitive. In the most of these it clearly means *behind;* in some cases the meaning is indeterminable, because the statement is brief, and we have no other means of arriving at the facts; in no instance can it be proved that the word means *in the back part of*.

In the following cases ὄπισθεν signifies, in my judgment, *behind*: καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὄπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ. I. 18. 6. Pausanias has just said that the peribolus of the temple (the Olympieum at Athens) is full of statues of Hadrian; but the Athenian colossus overtopped all of the rest. The statue had a commanding position, facing the Acropolis. *Cf.* VIII. 9. 6; 30. 7; 30. 8. ἔστι δὲ ὄπισθεν τοῦ Λυκείου Νίσου μνῆμα. I. 19. 4. *Cf.* II. 31. 3. Here also probably belong III. 16. 6; VIII. 14. 10. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξειργάσθη τοῦ Διός . . . ὄπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα . . . ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον. I. 40. 4, 5. The phrase ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ makes it certain that the ξύλα ἡμίεργα

"hinter dem Athenatempel" (*ibid.* p. 39). Frazer himself would seem (p. 164) to take νεώς in the Greek phrase just quoted in the sense of "temple." There is at least no intimation that he here attaches to the word the meaning *cella*. Opisthodomus he defines to mean literally *back-building*.

[25] I. 24. 5; II. 20. 7; V. 10. 8; VI. 5. 6; VIII. 45. 7; X. 19. 4.

[26] I. 3. 3; V. 20. 2; VI. 5. 6; X. 26. 5.

were not in the temple. τὴν δὲ πηγήν, ἥ ἐστιν ὄπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. II. 5. 1. τούτου δὲ [τοῦ θεάτρου] ὄπισθεν ᾠκοδόμηται σταδίου πλευρὰ μία, ἀνέχουσά τε αὐτὴ τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντὶ ἐρείσματος ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ χρωμένη. II. 29. 11. ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ταύτης ὄπισθεν ἡρῷα. III. 15. 1. *Cf.* I. 1. 3. ὄπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης. III. 17. 5. καὶ ὄπισθεν γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. V. 17. 9. *Cf.* V. 19. 6. ἕστηκε δὲ [ἅρμα Κλεοσθένους] ὄπισθεν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. VI. 10. 6. *Cf.* X. 9. 9. ὑπομένοντες τῆς τάξεως ὄπισθεν οἱ οἰκέται τοσάδε σφίσιν ἐγίνοντο χρήσιμοι. X. 19. 10. The following are indeterminable, but that in them ὄπισθεν means *behind* can hardly be doubted in view of the preceding clear instances of this meaning: II. 11. 1; II. 13. 7; V. 15. 7; VIII. 22. 7. In Pausanias ὀπίσω[27] is almost always an adverb accompanying a verb of motion; the following example shows its meaning when followed by the genitive: ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ὀπίσω Ἀφροδίτης ναός. VI. 25. 2. It should finally be noted, as important in establishing the meaning of ὄπισθεν and ὀπίσω with the genitive of place, that the counter-idea is generally expressed by πρό with the genitive, where by no contrivance can the preposition signify *in the front part of*.

In view of these facts, it is impossible to interpret ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ to mean *in the back part of the temple of Athena*.

But, as is well known, νεώς may signify *cella*, as well as *temple*, although this is comparatively very rare both in the literature and in inscriptions. If this signification of the word could be established for the phrase οἶκος ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ, we should arrive at the meaning demanded by the current view as to the situation of the Opisthodomus.

The question is limited to the use of νεώς in its actual application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens[28]. Fortunately the successive labours of scholars have collected the existing literary and epigraphical evidence not only for the word νεώς but also for

[27] This occurs above in the schol. Arist. *Plut.* 1193 and in the schol. Dem. XXIV. 136.

[28] The consideration of the etymology of the word πρόναος is pertinent, but does not establish the meaning *cella* for ναός. That which πρόναος names doubtless marked the first stage of development of the original ναός from a single room to a more complicated structure; at this time πρόναος meant (*porch*) *before the temple*. ναός and ἄδυτον were then identical. The original ναός kept its name when, with the permanent addition of the porch in front and the porch behind, that name received a larger application and designated (as it had exclusively at first) the entire structure. *Cf.* δόμος and πρόδομος (ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου, *Od.* IV. 302),

the other terms designating these temples and their parts[29], and it is now not difficult to reach trustworthy conclusions in regard to their use and application. The law of use for νεώς and ἱερόν[30] requires that, when they have the limited sense *cella, this shall always be clearly indicated either by an added epithet or by the context.* Such instances are surprisingly rare. I proceed to an examination of the evidence.

We meet first cases in which the old temple of Athena[31] is referred to as ἀρχαῖος or παλαιὸς νεώς[32], where the epithet excludes the meaning *cella* for νεώς. Xenophon records that the old temple was set on fire; Strabo contrasts it with the Parthenon. It would be as forced to suppose that νεώς means *cella* in any of these instances as in the scholium on Arist. *Pax* 605, the source of which is Philochorus, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν νεὼν τὸν μέγαν, in which it is important to note the epithet. Here ὁ μέγας νεώς is the Parthenon, and yet we know that the statue was in the *cella.*

The meaning *cella* for νεώς is excluded also in the inscriptions that relate to the building of the old temple of Athena and to its restoration after the burning described by Xenophon; also in those referring to the setting up of stelae παρὰ τὸν νεώ and to the approach of the panathenaic ship[33].

There are other instances in which νεώς certainly means *temple,* although it is not easy to categorize them. Some of these refer to

and the theatre-terms σκηνή and προσκήνιον. The original etymological force of πρόναος is seen in its adjectival use, which is not uncommon. *Cf.* βωμοὺς προνάους, Aesch. *Suppl.* 494; τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, Hdt. VIII. 37; Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ὀνομαζόμενοι Πρόναοι, Paus. IX. 10. 2.

[29] See Michaelis, *Parthenon,* 1871, pp. 285—317; Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descrip. arc. Athen.,* 1880; Milchhöfer in Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen,* 1891, pp. XX.—XXII.

[30] ἱερόν occurs twice above, in the schol. Arist. *Plut.* 1191 and in E. M.

[31] In this paper "old temple of Athena" means the Erechtheum or its predecessor on the same site.

[32] *CIA.* IV. 1 C, 27 (p. 3 f.); I. 93, 6; II. 74 a, 14; 163, 9; 464, 6; 672, 43; 733 A, col. II. 6; Xen. *Hell.* I. 6. 1; Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 273; Strabo IX. p. 396. *CIA.* II. 751 B, d, 19, and 758 A, col. II. 8, do not belong here. See Lehner, *Ueber die athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse,* 1890, p. 79. Some others also of these examples may have to be excluded for the same reason.

[33] *CIA.* I. 60, 3; 322, 1, 4, 8; IV. 321, col. III. 27 (p. 74 ff.); II. 332, 44; 829, 3; *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen,* 1883, VIII. p. 59, 25; *CIA.* III. 776, 3.

the Parthenon[34], others to the old temple of Athena[35]. In some of them, although the object referred to was probably in a specific part of the temple, it is still clear that the temple as a whole was in the speaker's mind when he used the word νεώς[36]. These are of the same nature as the quotation from Philochorus above (schol. Arist. *Pax* 605)[37].

There are three passages in dispute[38]. If in these ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος νεώς means *the cella of the Polias*, it should be observed that this results solely *from the demands of the context*[39]. For in the majority of the instances of the occurrence of the phrase it is generally agreed that the reference is to the *temple* of Athena[40]. The argument

[34] Aristot. *hist. an.* VI. 24, p. 577 b, 30 (*cf.* Aelian *de nat. an.* VI. 49); Philochorus in schol. Arist. *Pax* 605; Plut. *de soll. an.* 13, p. 970 B; Paus. I. 24. 5 and 8; Schol. Dem. XXII. 13; Hesych. *s. v.* Ἑκατόνπεδος; *Pat. Bib.* in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, I. p. 149, Ἑκατόμπεδον; E. M. *s. v.* Ἑκατόμπεδον (*cf.* Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 283, 15); Suidas *s. v.* Ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς.

[35] Hom. *Il.* II. 549; *CIG.* 6280 A, 31 = Kaibel *Ep. Gr.* 1046, 90; Plut. *quaest. con.* IX. 6, p. 741 B; Paus. I. 27. 2 and 4; Himer. *Ecl.* V. 30; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* III. 45, p. 13 Sylb. (*cf.* Apollod. III. 14. 7); Eust. *Il.* XXII. 451 (*cf.* Hesych. *s. v.* Αἰδοῦς βωμός); Eust. *Od.* I. 357; Schol. Arist. *Lys.* 759. The last two relate to the sacred snake, a sort of invisible *genius loci*, about whose exact lodging place there was no fixed tradition. The snake was in the old temple, for there the ἐπιμήνια were set out. Hesychius (*s.v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν) alone names an exact spot, and places the snake where we should expect to find it, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. This must interpret for us the σηκός of Plutarch (*Them.* 10). In Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XIV. 2 similarly we find ἐν τοῦ γηγενοῦς Ἐρεχθέως τῷ σηκῷ, where he is speaking of the olive. See, for the snake, the passages in Jahn-Michaelis, *Paus. descr. arc. Athen.* 1880, p. 27 (c. 27, 7*).

[36] Plut. *Cim.* 5; *Anth. Pal.* VI. 2 (Simonides); Xen. *Hell.* II. 3. 20.—If Paus. I. 24. 3 is to be taken into account, it belongs in this general category.

[37] To this category belongs also Hdt. VIII. 55, if one believes that there Ἐρεχθέος νηός refers to the whole building, as in the prevailing modern use of the word "Erechtheum." If one does not believe this, but that the οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον of Pausanias (I. 26. 5) is the double western half of the old temple, then the expression in Herodotus is not to be taken into account, since the present inquiry is limited to the investigation of the meaning of νεώς and ἱερόν in their application to temples of Athena.

[38] Philochorus frg. 146 (Dion. Hal. *de Din.* 13); Paus. I. 27. 1 and 3.

[39] See Michaelis's discussion of the passages, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1877, II. p. 31 ff., with notes 25 and 27. The negative argument by which in Paus. I. 27. 3 ὁ νεὼς τῆς Πολιάδος is made to refer to the *cella* of the Polias has not met with acceptance.

[40] Strabo IX. p. 396; *CIA.* II. 332, 44; *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1883, VIII. p. 59, 25; Himer. *Ecl.* V. 30; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* III. 45, p. 13 Sylb.; Eust. *Il.* XXII. 451 and *Od.* I. 356.

from the context, in fact, led to this interpretation of these three passages.

There are two instances in which νεώς means *cella*. In the first of these[41] the inscription names the whole building, the Hecatompedon, and then its parts, ὁ νεώς, τὸ προνήιον, and τὰ οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ. Here the signification of νεώς is made clear by its collocation with προνήιον. The second instance is the well-known use of the word in the treasury-documents[42], where it always has an epithet, ὁ νεὼς ὁ ἑκατόμπεδος.

The facts for the use of ἱερόν are altogether similar. In some instances it signifies either *sacred precinct* or *temple*[43], generally the latter; in two it refers to the Parthenon[44]. In none of these has it a more limited meaning than *temple*[45].

In a single instance it means *cella*[46]. But here, as above in the case of νεώς, its meaning is made clear by the context, since it is interpreted by the preceding ἄδυτον.

Here, then, we have abundant instances, both literary and epigraphical, of the uses of νεώς and ἱερόν, extending from the earliest to the latest times, and among them all only three in which they certainly signify *cella*. In each of these three instances, moreover, the context or an added epithet makes clear that this is the signification. In the passages from the lexicographers and scholiasts, on the contrary, that are quoted above, no limitation whatever of the meaning of νεώς and ἱερόν is indicated. And yet the especial purpose of these exegetes was to give a definition; nor were they ignorant of the fact, had νεώς and ἱερόν seemed to them to be liable to misinterpretation, that the unmistakable ἄδυτον, an Homeric word, and σηκός were ready to their hand[47].

If, nevertheless, we seek to attach to νεώς and ἱερόν in these passages the restricted sense of *cella*, we encounter an unexpected difficulty. The schol. Arist. *Plut.* 1193 says that the Opisthodomus

[41] *CIA.* IV. p. 137 ff.

[42] *CIA.* I. 146, 157, 158, 159; II. 652 A, 15.

[43] Hdt. V. 90; VIII. 41, 51 (*bis*), 53, 54, 55 (*bis*); Thuc. I. 126; Phot. *s. v.* ταμίαι (quoting Aristot., frg. 402 Rose, Bekk. *Anec.* p. 306, 7, and note Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* c. 47, 1); Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XIV. 2; Hesych. *s. v.* Αἰδοῦς βωμός.

[44] Ps. Dicaearchus frg. 1, 1; Schol. *Pat.* Dem. XXII. 13 (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, I. p. 13).

[45] See Hesych. *s. v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν, and note 37 above.

[46] Hdt. V. 72.

[47] Hesych., Suidas, E. M., *s. v.*; Bekk. *Anec.* I. p. 345, 25.

lay behind the νεώς of *Athena Polias*. Those, therefore, who hold the current view in regard to the situation of the Opisthodomus must either establish the worship of Athena Polias in the Parthenon or Hecatompedon, or reject the evidence. If the evidence is trustworthy and if the term Polias designates, as is commonly believed, Athena of the Erechtheum or of the temple that preceded it on the same site, then we are forced, on the supposition that νεώς here has the restricted sense, to the conclusion that the Opisthodomus lay in the Erechtheum. But this is impossible. Boeckh saw these difficulties, and felt himself forced to declare that the scholiast had blundered[48]; although he himself accepted and in part sought to explain the remaining testimony of the scholiasts and lexicographers.

That in the phrase οἶκος or οἴκημα ὄπισθεν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώ the words οἶκος and οἴκημα may signify *house* will at once be granted. This is the first and common meaning of οἶκος and is perfectly established for οἴκημα, and if demanded by other considerations, namely the use of ὄπισθεν and νεώς just discussed, it must be allowed. This use of οἶκος to denote a separate structure that was a treasury receives striking confirmation from the names officially recorded of four of the treasuries and magazines at Delos, Ἀνδρίων οἶκος, Ναξίων οἶκος, Δηλίων οἶκος, and Πώρινος οἶκος[49]. In charge of the anathemata and materials stored in these were the ἱεροποιοί, whose functions corresponded closely to those of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ at Athens.

The same word is used by Hesychius in defining θησαυρός, namely: εἰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ χρημάτων [ἢ] ἱερῶν ἀπόθεσιν οἶκος.

If the preceding discussion of the terms ὄπισθεν, νεώς, and οἶκος is sound, we must either agree that the Opisthodomus was neither in the Parthenon nor in the Hecatompedon, but was a separate building, or else reject the testimony of the lexicographers and scholiasts as to its situation. This Michaelis does, declaring their explanation of the name for the most part worthless[50]. He makes an exception in favour of Harpocration, but the reasons for this are not apparent. In Harpocration's definition, ὁ οἶκος ὁ ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὕτω καλεῖται, one might be tempted to construe ὁ ὄπισθεν οἶκος τοῦ νεώ, and render *the back chamber of the temple*; but this construction is excluded by the phraseology of the Epitome, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ οὕτως ὁ

[48] *Staatshaushaltung*[3], 1886, I. p. 517 f.

[49] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882, VI. pp. 48, 87, 88, 91, 100, 135; 1884, VIII. p. 322; 1890, XIV. p. 509, note 3; 1891, XV. p. 141.

[50] *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 293.

ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οἶκος, where the genitive τοῦ νεώ cannot be partitive. Michaelis's rejection of the evidence seems to justify the conclusion that he did not believe it possible to interpret ὄπισθεν and νεώς in the manner demanded by the current view.

The testimony of these later writers receives unexpected confirmation from an early and important inscription :

τ]ὸ δὲ ἱερὸ ἀργυρί[ο τὸ μὲν ἐκ
τ]ῆς [γενόμ]εν[ον ταμιεύ-
ε]σθαι [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι τοῖ νότο-
θ]εν τὸ τῆς Ἀθεναία[ς ἀρχαίο ν-
ε]ὸ ἐμ πόλει· *CIA.* IV. 1 C, 25—29 (p. 3 ff.).

This inscription, to which we shall return, says at least so much, if we accept the restorations[51], that in the first half of the 5 Cent. B.C. treasure of the Eleusinian goddesses was kept in an enclosure to the south of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis ; that is, here is a clear statement, strikingly similar to those of the lexicographers and scholiasts quoted above, that the money was *not* kept in that temple.

We have, further, excellent testimony to the existence of a treasury at Athens, which is mentioned in connexion with the Stoa Poecile and Temple of Castor and Pollux in such a manner as to make it highly probable that it was a separate structure.

Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας· περὶ Πολυγνώτου τοῦ ζωγράφου, Θασίου μὲν τὸ γένος, υἱοῦ δὲ καὶ μαθητοῦ Ἀγλαοφῶντος, τυχόντος δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ἤτοι ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἔγραψε προῖκα, ἤ, ὡς ἕτεροι, τὰς ἐν τῷ Θησαυρῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀνακείῳ γραφάς, ἱστορήκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ ζωγράφων καὶ Ἰόβας ἐν τοῖς περὶ γραφικῆς. Harpocration *s.v.* Πολύγνωτος.

In Photius and Suidas (*s.v.* Πολύγνωτος) and in Eudocia (340, ed. Flach, 1880), this reads as follows :

οὗτος ζωγράφος μὲν ἦν τὴν τέχνην, Θάσιος δὲ τὸ γένος, υἱὸς δὲ καὶ μαθητὴς Ἀγλαοφῶντος, τυχὼν δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ἢ ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἀνέγραψε προῖκα, ἤ, ὡς ἔνιοι, τὰς ἐν τῷ Θησαυρῷ καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀνακείῳ γραφάς.

The only authenticated reading is τῷ Θησαυρῷ. Editors without due warrant have changed this by conjecture to Θησείῳ or Θησέως

[51] Dittenberger, *SIG.* 385.

ἱερῷ[52]. In this they have disregarded the testimony of Pausanias, who ascribes the paintings in the Theseum to Micon[53]. The supposition, expressed above, that this Θησαυρός at Athens which was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus was a separate building, is strengthened by the well-known fact that the treasure-houses at Olympia and Delphi were called θησαυροί—and were separate structures[54]. I shall endeavour to show below that it is probable that the Θησαυρός of the passages quoted above is identical with the Opisthodomus of the lexicographers and scholiasts.

If the theory that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building is contradicted by any inscriptional or literary evidence, it must be abandoned. Is it thus contradicted? This Opisthodomus is mentioned four times in Greek literature. Three of the passages are quoted above[55]. The fourth is the following:

ΔΗΜ. ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτεῖς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον διορύξας. ΤΙΜ. οὐ διώρυκται οὐδὲ οὗτος, ὥστε ἀπίθανά σου καὶ ταῦτα. Lucian, *Timon* 53.

There is no intimation in any one of these four passages that the Opisthodomus mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the cella either of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon. On the contrary, so far as they contain any implication at all, it is easier to suppose that the burning recorded by Demosthenes and the spoliation imagined by Lucian relate to a building that stood apart and was at least of a semi-secular character than to a part of a great temple. It is fairly incredible that the Parthenon should have been set on fire in the early years of the 4 Cent. B.C., and no distinct mention of so notable an event have come down to us; and one may well wonder how Lucian imagined Timon to have set to work to dig through its massive walls.

There are two other references to an opisthodomus on the Acropolis:

τὸν γὰρ ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῷ (the Athenians to Demetrius) κατάλυσιν, κἀκεῖ δίαιταν εἶχε. Plut. *Demet.* 23.

[52] See Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, 1868, no. 1042; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, 1871, p. 27, note 84; Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*[3], 1886, I. p. 518, note c.

[53] I. 17. 2—4. See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, no. 1086.

[54] Paus. VI. 19; X. 11. 1, 2, and 5. *Cf.* the definition of θησαυρός by Hesych., quoted above.

[55] [Dem.] XIII. 14 (p. 5); Arist. *Plut.* 1191-1194 (p. 5); Dem. XXIV. 136 (p. 6).

· ἔχοντι δὲ οὕτω μοι γίγνεται ὄψις ὀνειράτων τοιάδε· ἐδόκουν εἶναι μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρτι κατηρκώς, οἰκεῖν δὲ ἐξόπισθε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐν οἰκίᾳ Θεοδότου τοῦ ἰατροῦ, εἶναι δ' αὐτὴν πρώτην πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα· τοῦ δὲ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁρᾶσθαι τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶναι πολὺ κατωτέρω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὴν οἰκίαν. Aristides, I. p. 548, 14, Dindorf.

The disgraceful housing of Demetrius and his mistresses in the Parthenon is a well-known event. Plutarch's record of it contains an implication of importance to the present discussion. When, namely, the Opisthodomus is referred to by Demosthenes, Aristophanes and Lucian, no specification of its situation is necessary. It is sufficient to say ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. But Plutarch in designating the place in which Demetrius was lodged felt it necessary to name it τὸν ὀπισθόδομον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος. Aristides, likewise, who as the context shows undoubtedly refers to the Parthenon[56], says τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον, not simply τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. The inference is that these two opisthodomi were not the same. This tells against the view of those who believe that the Opisthodomus was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon.

The theory that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis which was used as a treasury was a separate building is not contradicted by any references to it in literature. The references to it in inscriptions are the following:

οὗτοι δὲ ταμιευόντων ἐμπόλει ἐν τῷ ὀπισθ[οδό]μῳ τὰ τῶν θεῶν χρήματα, ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον, καὶ συνανοιγόντων καὶ συγκλῃόντων τὰς θύρας τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου καὶ συσσημαινόσθων τοῖς τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ταμίαις. *CIA.* I. 32 A, 15—18.

[ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκ τῶ]ν διακοσίων τα[λάντω]ν, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐ[ψήφισται ὁ δῆμος τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἀ[ποδοθ]ῇ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, τα[μιευέσθω τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθη]ναίας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδόμου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θ]εῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ά. *CIA.* I. 32 B, 20—24.

τάδε παρέδοσαν οἱ τα[μίαι Φωκιάδης ἐξ Οἴ]ου καὶ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐπὶ Σ[τρα]τοκλέους ἄρχοντος κ[αὶ] ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ᾗ Πλ[ειστίας πρῶτος ἐγραμ]μάτευε, στρατηγοῖς περ[ὶ Πε]λοπόννησον Δημοσθένει Ἀλκισθένους

[56] ἐξόπισθε τῆς ἀκροπόλεως means *south of the Acropolis.* *Cf.* Hdt. VIII. 53, ἔμπροσθε πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως.—I am indebted for the reference to Aristides to Professor Edward Capps of the University of Chicago. Search might reveal other references to an opisthodomus on the Acropolis in other late writers. There is no such reference, other than those cited in this paper, in Homer, the Dramatists, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, the Orators, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, or Pausanias.

Ἀφιδ[ναίῳ ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ηίδος] πρυτανείας τετάρτης [πρυτα]νευούσης, τρίτῃ ἡμ[έ]ρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας ἐ[σεληλυθύας, ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθ]οδόμου· ♀ ♀ ♀ *CIA.* I. 273 ab, 16—20.

καταθεῖναι ἐν [πόλει . . . θ]εν τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου ἐπ[ὶ τῆς Ἱππωθ]ωντίδος πρυτανεία[ς]. *CIA.* I. 109.

ταμίαι[ς τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τοῖς] ἐπὶ Εὐκ[τήμονος ἄρχοντος, οἷς] Δωρόθεο[ς . . . ἐγραμμάτευε], κατὰ ψή[φισμα τοῦ δήμου παρέδομεν] ὑποθέμ[ενοι τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ] ὀπισθοδ[όμῳ . . . *CIA.* IV. 225 c (p. 168), A col. II. 31—36.

[ὀπισ]θοδόμου. *CIA.* I. 191, 3.

ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδό[μου]. *Sitz. Ber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1887, p. 1201, no. 45, 11.

τάδε ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῆς Βραυρων[όθε]ν· ἱππικὸς κεκρύφαλος, ἐχήνια, Ξενότιμος Καρκίνου ἀνέθηκε. *CIA.* II. 652 B, 23, 24. Repeated in *CIA.* II. 660, 61, 62.

[ὀπισθοδό]μου. *CIA.* II. 685, 2.

[ὀπισθ]οδόμου. *CIA.* II. 720 A, col. II. 6. ὀπισθόδομος. *Id.* B, col. I. 32.

[τ]ῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ὀπ[ισθοδόμου]. *CIA.* II. 721 B, col. II. 19.

[τάδε προσπαρέδοσαν] ταμίαι οἱ ἐπ[ὶ Λυκίσκου ἄρχοντο]ς ταμ[ίαις τ]οῖς ἐπὶ Πυθοδότ[ου χαλκοθήκης ἐν τῷ ὀπ]ισθο(δ)ό(μ)ω[ι]· σκ[εύη κρ]εμαστά. *CIA.* II. 721 B, col. II. 21—23.

The striking fact here, as before, is that the great treasure-house of Athens is referred to simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος. Whatever other information about it we may be able to gather from these important records, there certainly is no implication in any one of them that the Opisthodomus mentioned was the western chamber or chambers of the cella either of the Parthenon or of the Hecatompedon.

The case, therefore, now stands as follows: The assumption that the Opisthodomus was not a separate building involves the rejection of the testimony quoted above of the lexicographers and scholiasts, who, as Harpocration, were often drawing on excellent sources and whose special purpose was a definition. The authors and inscriptions, on the contrary, say nothing about the situation of the Opisthodomus because they unconsciously assume that this is known. On the other hand, the assumption that the Opisthodomus was a separate building, a fact clearly declared by the lexicographers and scholiasts, finds no contradiction in passages in the authors or in inscriptions that refer to the Opisthodomus, and is supported by two independent

considerations of weight. In other words this theory reconciles the evidence.

The question that now evidently presses for answer is the following. If the Opisthodomus was not the rear chamber or chambers of an existing temple, either the Parthemon or the Hecatompedon, but a separate building, where on the Acropolis was it situated?

Here, as before, and for the same reason, we expect no help from the authors and inscriptions; but the lexicographers and scholiasts give us the desired information. They say that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena*, and specifically *behind the temple of Athena Polias*. If, further, the generally accepted restoration of ἀρχαίου in *CIA.* IV. I. 28 be allowed, we have evidence that money was kept, although the Opisthodomus is not here named, *to the south of the old temple of Athena*, νότοθ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαίου νε]ὼ ἐμ πόλει, at least as early as 460 B.C.[57]

What was the temple of Athena Polias? Until very recently there was but one answer to this question. The term Πολιάς, when used of the protecting goddess of Athens, was the epithet of Athena in her oldest temple on the Acropolis, as distinguished from Ἀθηνᾶ Παρθένος and Ἀθηνᾶ Πρόμαχος, and this oldest temple, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς, was the Erectheum or the temple that preceded it on the same site. The eastern chamber of the cella of this temple had been from early times the shrine of the ancient wooden image of the goddess to which alone belonged the title of Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς.

On the discovery of the Hecatompedon, Dörpfeld took issue with the prevailing view. The oldest temple on the Acropolis was the Hecatompedon, not the Erechtheum, which was only a shrine of Erechtheus. The Hecatompedon was the original temple of Athena Polias, but not the only one; the temple of Athena Polias *par excellence* was the Parthenon[58].

Dörpfeld's attempt to wrest the name *temple of Athena Polias* from the Erechtheum has not met with acceptance. It has been considered and successively rejected by Petersen[59], Curtius[60], Frazer[61], and Michaelis[62], all of whom maintain the traditional view that the

[57] Quoted in part on p. 13. See also below, p. 23.

[58] *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 190 ff.

[59] *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 62 ff.

[60] *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 1891, pp. 124, 151.

[61] *Journal of Hell. Stud.* 1892—93, XIII. p. 153 ff.

[62] *Altattische Kunst*, 1893, p. 16. See also *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1889, XIV. p. 349 (note the title).

oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis was the temple of Athena Polias and that this was the Erechtheum[63].

I here rest upon the traditional view[64].

What is meant, then, when it is said that the Opisthodomus lay *behind the temple of Athena Polias?*

If the front of the old temple of Athena, *i.e.* of the Erechtheum, was at the east of the temple, as was generally true of Greek temples, the Opisthodomus must have lain to the west of it, behind the Pandroseum, and must be sought for there. On this supposition there must have once existed at this place a substantial and independent structure, no trace of the foundations of which, however, have been brought to light by the recent thorough excavation of the Acropolis.

This brings us face to face with a question of great apparent difficulty. Namely, how is it possible that the treasury of Athens, a separate building as has been proved, was called an *opisthodomus*?

Pollux (I. 6) after defining the uses of the word σηκός continues: τὸ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρόδομος, καὶ τὸ κάτοπιν ὀπισθόδομος. Varro (*de lingua Lat.* V. 160, ed. Müller) gives the same definition: *domus Graecum et ideo in aedibus sacris ante cellam, ubi sedes dei sunt, Graeci dicunt* πρόδομον, *quod post* ὀπισθόδομον. This use of ὀπισθόδομος, to designate the back portico of a temple, is confirmed by its actual employment in the literature. It is thus applied to the western porticos of the temples of Zeus and Hera at Olympia[65].

This established application of the word seems to contradict hopelessly the view that the Opisthodomus on the Acropolis was a separate building; but in fact it itself indicates the solution of the difficulty.

[63] Lolling also denies that the Parthenon could have been called the temple of Athena Polias (Ἀθηνᾶ, 1890, II. p. 661, note 4), but shares Dörpfeld's opinion that after the Parthenon began to be built the Hecatompedon could be called ἀρχαῖος or παλαιὸς νεώς (p. 643). Furtwängler assigns these terms wherever they occur exclusively to the Hecatompedon to the end of the 5 Cent. B.C. Then he transfers them bodily to the Erechtheum, although according to his view the Parthenon was an older temple than the Erechtheum (*Meisterwerke*, 1893, p. 182). He believes that the Erechtheum, notwithstanding the difference of level of its eastern and western parts, was built in exact imitation of the Hecatompedon, and was its direct successor and heir.

[64] I reserve the consideration of the application of the terms Πολιάς and ἀρχαῖος or παλαιὸς νεώς for the fuller discussion of the present theme mentioned in the prefatory note.

[65] Paus. V. 10. 9; 13. 1; 15. 3; 16. 1; Lucian *Hdt.* 1; *Fug.* 7; *de morte Perig.* 32.

Whether in early times the northern or eastern portico of the Erechtheum was regarded the front of the temple cannot be surely determined; but it seems probable that, at least in the time of the sources from which Harpocration and the other lexicographers and the scholiasts drew their information, the front of the temple was thought to be at the north. Here lay the broad portico through which Pausanias entered the temple[66]. If the front of the temple was at the north, the Opisthodomus, which was situated *ὄπισθεν τοῦ νεώ*, must have lain to the south of the Erechtheum.

Here in fact we find it, the Opisthodomus of the old Hecatompedon, rebuilt, after the destruction of the temple in the Persian Wars, to serve as it had served before the coming of Xerxes[67] as treasury of the gods and of the state. The peristyle of the temple disappeared[68]; its cella was not restored; the Opisthodomus, consisting of the complex of three rooms and the western portico, was alone rebuilt[69]. This was the Opisthodomus to which reference is made, in the times following the Persian Wars, simply as *ὁ ὀπισθόδομος*, the *θησαυρός* that was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus[70]. It was a treasury and was doubtless so spoken of, but its official name was *ὁ ὀπισθόδομος* and in the 4 Cent. B.C. this name became current as its general designation[71]. Aristophanes, Demosthenes,

[66] I. 26. 6 ff.

[67] The mention of the *ταμίαι* in the Hecatompedon inscription (*CIA.* IV. p. 137 ff.) makes this certain. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 160), who denies that the *οἰκήματα* in the western part of the cella of the Hecatompedon were used as a treasury, says that the *ταμίαι* of the inscription were not "*bloss* Schatzverwalter." This is true, but they were none the less Schatzverwalter, and by all analogy the treasure under their charge must have been housed in the temple. See Frazer, *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 1892—93, XIII. p. 162, note 24. For the pre-Persian *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ*, see also Hdt. VIII. 51, and Lolling, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 1890, II. p. 646. For the general functions of the *ταμίαι*, see Thumser in Hermann's *Griech. Staatsalt.*[6], 1892, I. 2, p. 625 ff.

[68] So also Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 200.

[69] See the plan, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1886, XI. p. 337.

[70] For the date of Polygnotus, see Brunn, *Geschichte d. Griech. Künstler*, II. 14 ff.

[71] Frazer (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892—93, XIII. p. 152 f.) thinks it remarkable, if the Opisthodomus was in use as a treasury after 480 B.C., that the first mention of it occurs in two decrees of 435 B.C., and draws the inference *ex silentio* that there was no Opisthodomus before the completion of the Parthenon. This apparently remarkable fact is accounted for by our lack of documents for the time between 480 and 435 B.C. The name Opisthodomus for the Athenian treasury does not indeed occur during that time, *nor does any other*. In fact we have only

and Lucian could so speak of it, without danger of confusion. There was another opisthodomus on the Acropolis, but when this was meant the speaker said ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τοῦ Παρθενῶνος or used an equivalent expression[72].

This solution, which we owe to the insight of Ernst Curtius[73], explains at once the name[74] Opisthodomus in its application to the Athenian treasury and some apparently contradictory testimony of the scholiasts. To what extent the tradition that this treasury was once in fact the rear chambers in the cella of an actual temple was preserved in the centuries that followed the invasion of Xerxes is uncertain; the name ὀπισθόδομος would serve to keep the tradition alive, and it probably never completely died out so long as there was an Opisthodomus. It must certainly have been well known

a single reference in all of these years to a *place* on the Acropolis where money was kept (CIA. IV. 1, quoted on p. 13 and discussed on p. 23), and yet we know that the public and sacred money-treasure housed on the Acropolis was greater between 454 and 435 B.C. than ever afterwards. Frazer himself says (p. 162) that in this time the Athenians must certainly have had some strong place in which to store the public and sacred treasures, but comes simply to the conclusion that we do not know where this was. I cannot agree with him, further, in thinking that in the two decrees of 435 B.C. (quoted in part on p. 15) the Opisthodomus is mentioned as if it were now for the first time to be used as a treasury. The references to it there (it is called simply ὁ ὀπισθόδομος) seem to me, on the contrary, to imply that it was a well-known place whose use was already established. See p. 25 ff.

[72] Plut. *Demet.* 23, Aristides, I. p. 548, 14, Dind., quoted on pp. 14, 15.

[73] Curtius, in the November session of the Archaeological Society of Berlin, 1890 (see *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 163): "Der alte Tempel nach der Zerstörung durch die Perser wurde nur in seinem Hinterhause wieder aufgebaut, um als Schatzkammer zu dienen. Es sind zahlreiche Zeugnisse vorhanden nach denen der Opisthodom ein selbständiges Gebäude der Akropolis gewesen sein muss." See also *Stadtgeschichte*, 1891, pp. 132, 152. I came independently to the conclusion that the Opisthodomus must have been a separate building, convinced by the testimony of the lexicographers and scholiasts, but erred at first in supposing that it lay west of the Erechtheum. Curtius's suggestion has been received with favour.

[74] The word was so peculiar a name for a separate building that, as we should naturally expect, we find it defined etymologically, quite without reference to its application. Photius, the Et. Mag., and Bekk. *Anec.* p. 286, 26, prefix to their clear explanation of the true Opisthodomus, as given above p. 6, the remark τὸ ὄπισθεν παντὸς οἰκήματος, where they are evidently, as lexicographers, attempting an etymological explanation. So the scholiasts on Arist. *Plut.* 1193: τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ οἴκου, ἤγουν τοῦ ναοῦ. LB. τὰ ὄπισθεν τοῦ δόμου. Dorv. τὸν ὄπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. Par. 2827. And on *id.* 1191: τὸν ὄπισθεν οἶκον τῆς θεοῦ. LB.

to Aristophanes and Demosthenes; and probably the exegetes who first explained their references to the Opisthodomus had some knowledge of the truth. This supposition is not contradicted by the fact that the scholiasts and lexicographers already quoted give no intimation that they had knowledge of the tradition; for the Opisthodomus in the time of which they take cognizance was in fact a separate building, and their purpose was to explain the word conformably to the facts then existing. On the other hand, we ought not to be surprised if we sometimes get an explanation that seems to take cognizance of the tradition. We have one explanation of this sort, perhaps two.

τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ὀρύξας] *ὡς ἱερόσυλον διαβάλλων ταῦτά φησιν· ὁ γὰρ ὀπισθόδομος ἱερόν· τὸ ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλέγετο.* Schol. V Luc. *Tim.* 53 (quoted on p. 14).[75]

The point of view of the scholiast should here be noted. His mind is dwelling, not on the Opisthodomus, but on the act of sacrilege. He adds the statement *τὸ ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἐλέγετο* in explanation of the previous predication *ἱερόν*. Any opisthodomus was a sacred place because it stood behind the sanctuary of the god, as did this Opisthodomus originally. His point of view, in other words, is essentially different from that of the lexicographers and scholiasts quoted above.

Of the same nature, perhaps, is the following:

ταμίαι] *ἦν δὲ ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τὸ ὄπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ, ὅπου ἦν καὶ τὰ χρήματα.* Schol. RY Dem. XXIV. 136[76].

Boeckh[77] bases his belief that the Opisthodomus was the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon on the scholium on Luc. *Tim.* 53. In two other passages to which he refers[78] he thinks that *ναός* is equivocal and must be interpreted by the single scholium on Lucian. This ignores, as we have seen, the established use of the word *ναός*

[75] The variant on this reads: *ὅτι ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἱερόν, τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἀδύτου οὕτως ἔλεγον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ δημόσια ἀπέκειτο χρήματα.* (This should probably be: *ὅτι ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἱερόν· τὸ ὄπισθεν* <*δὲ*> *κτλ.*)

[76] The phraseology is so odd in this scholium that one may well feel doubt what the exegete meant. *τὸ ὄπισθεν τῆς θεοῦ* may signify *the place behind the goddess* in the sense of *behind her temple* quite as naturally as in that of *behind her statue.*

[77] *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

[78] In this paper all of the evidence bearing on the question under discussion that is known to the writer has been quoted in full.

in its application to temples of Athena on the Acropolis. The existence of the Hecatompedon, brought to our knowledge by Dörpfeld's brilliant discovery, was not known to Boeckh. If it had been, he would not have maintained with such vigour against Osann[79] and "Brittanni nonnulli[80]" the thesis that there was no other opisthodomus on the Acropolis than that in the Parthenon[81].

If the conclusion that the Opisthodomus was a separate building and that it consisted of the rebuilt complex of three chambers and western portico that before the Persian Wars constituted the western half of the cella of the Hecatompedon is correct, it should be confirmed by a consideration of the uses to which the Opisthodomus was put. If it fails, as thus constituted, to account adequately for any established facts, the conclusion is in so far invalidated.

The lexicographers and scholiasts, in the first place, call it a ταμιεῖον or θησαυροφυλάκιον. In it, by their testimony, were housed τὰ χρήματα, both the sacred treasure, τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα, τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν, and the public treasure, τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, τὸ δημόσιον ἀργύριον καὶ ὁ φόρος.

Our earliest documentary proof of the existence of the hecatompedon is the celebrated inscription, already referred to[82]. This inscription names the ταμίαι frequently[83], and, although much mutilated, evidently contained important prescriptions of their duties. Among these it is specified τὰ οἰκήματα [τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατ]ομπέδῳ ἀνοίγειν [τοὺς] ταμίας (II. 17, 18). It is generally agreed that the chambers here referred to are those in the western half of the cella and that they were treasure-chambers[84]. These are the rooms which accord-

[79] *Sylloge Inscr. Ant. Graec. et Lat.* 1834, p. 62, note 13.

[80] Dodwell, *Classical Tour in Greece*, 1819, I. p. 345; Wilkins, *Atheniensia or Remarks on the Topog. and Buildings of Athens*, 1816, p. 98, note. Michaelis has a remark about the Englishmen: "Die früher vielfach beliebte Unterscheidung des Opisthodoms im Parthenon und eines zweiten Opisthodoms als selbständigen Staatsschatzhauses hat jetzt nur noch historisches Interesse"! (*Der Parthenon*, p. 27, note 85.) I must confess, with shame, that I knew nothing about the views of the Englishmen until my own views on the question were already formed and expressed in writing.

[81] "*Sed nullus alius fuit usquam: opisthodomus est solius Parthenonis.*" *CIG.* I. p. 177 f.

[82] See note 15, end.

[83] I. b (?), r (?), II. 3, 8, 13, 16, 18, 25.

[84] Furtwängler denies this. (See note 67.) Where the treasury was at this time he does not know (*Meisterwerke*, p. 160). In these chambers he establishes the cult of Erechtheus (p. 155 ff.), which was afterwards transferred to the Erechtheum

ing to the conclusions to which we have come constituted the treasury referred to as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος in later times.

The inscription quoted in part on p. 13, which in date falls between 480 and 460 B.C.[85], records the fact that treasure was kept in a precinct south of the old temple of Athena. The περίβολος here mentioned, if the lacuna has been properly supplied, was that of the Hecatompedon, in which at the time of the decree stood the restored treasury, and in this treasury the money in question must have been kept. That it was safely housed is certain, however general the phrase [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι] may be; the treasure was not kept in the open[86].

(p. 192 ff.). In the western chamber of the cella of the Parthenon he establishes the cult of the παρθένοι (p. 171 ff.), where he also puts the treasury, thus identifying ὀπισθόδομος and παρθενών (p. 177 ff.). So far as considerations of worship affect the question, there is no reason why the treasury should not be set up in one cult-chamber as soon as in the other.—Against the identification of ὀπισθόδομος and παρθενών, see the weighty considerations urged by Dörpfeld, *Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. pp. 35, 204 with note 2, 209 f. Furtwängler says truly (*Meisterwerke*, p. 177 f.) that *CIA*. I. 184, 185, A, 12, which he regards to be the "Hauptstütze" of his argument for the identification of Opisthodomus and "Parthenon," proves the existence of money in the "Parthenon," and properly objects to Dörpfeld's explanation of the fact (*Mitth.* 1887, XII. p. 35). But this is an isolated instance (no other can be adduced), and, significantly, falls in the last four months of 412—11 B.C., the troubled time of the rule of the Four Hundred. The natural supposition is that the ταμίαι transferred the treasure temporarily from the Opisthodomus to the "Parthenon" for its greater safety. We have proof (*CIA*. IV. 225 c, p. 168, quoted on p. 16) that in 408—7 it was again in the Opisthodomus, and probably the re-transfer occurred much earlier. *Cf.* also *CIA*. I. 191 (406—5 B.C.).

[85] See Dittenberger, *SIG*. 384.

[86] It is by no means certain that [περιβ]όλο[ι] is right. The phrase [ἐν περιβ]όλο[ι] gives a suspiciously vague designation of the place where the money was kept. It occurred to me that the letters preserved on the stone, which I had not been able to examine, might be ΟΔΟ. In this case we should read

ταμιεύ-
ε]σθαι [ἐν ὀπισθ]οδό[μοι τοῖ ὄπισ-
θ]εν τὸ τὲς Ἀθεναία[ς ἀρχαίο νεὸ
τ]ὸ ἐμ πόλει,

with twenty-five letters to the line, and possibly [ἀποτίθε]σθαι for [ταμιεύε]σθαι. (*Cf.* Harpocration and the others quoted above, p. 5 f.; and for τὸ νεὸ τὸ ἐμ πόλει, *cf.* τὸ νεὸ τὸ ἐν πόλει, *CIA*. I. 322, 1.) But Dr Murray of the British Museum kindly informs me that the stone undoubtedly reads ΟΛΟ. Curtius (*Stadtgeschichte*, p. 132, note) conjectures [ἐν τεῖ θ]όλο[ι], but this falls short by a letter. We might read [ἐν ταῖς θ]όλο[ισιν ὄπισ|θ]εν (with 23 letters to the line), if it were certain that Hesychius *s. v.* θόλος, in his definition: κυρίως καμάρα, meant by καμάρα a vaulted room. Still—even then a group of three such rooms would be odd, whereas

In 454 B.C. the chest of the Delian Confederation was transferred to Athens, and from this date the funded treasure of the state, which consisted of the surplus of its yearly income and was kept on the Acropolis, was large[87]. This was public money, δημόσια, in contrast with sacred treasure, ἱερά. The two funds were kept separate[88], but the reserve treasure of the state as well as the other was under the charge of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, to whom the hellenotamiae paid over the yearly surplus of the tribute, and from whom they received the sums which they dispensed under the terms of their office[89]. This system of financial control existed from the time of the transfer of the Delian fund to Athens[90].

Now the theory that the public and sacred treasure of Athens was stored in the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon fails to provide a place for it before the completion of that temple in 438 B.C. This fact is so formidable that once the advocates of the theory even resorted to the supposition that the opisthodomus of the Parthenon must have been completed and put to use as early as 454 B.C. when the Delian fund was brought to Athens. The view, on the contrary, that makes the restored Opisthodomus of the Hecatompedon the treasury on the Acropolis provides adequately for all demands from the Persian Wars to the latest times.

After the Persian Wars to the time of the completion of the Parthenon the treasures *in kind* of Athena must have been stored partly in the old temple[91], partly in the treasury. In the latter was

Curtius's suggestion of a single θόλος would be intelligible, if otherwise permissible. The dual is excluded by Lolling's objection (Ἀθηνᾶ, 1890, II. p. 654, note 4) that there are *three* οἰκήματα to be accounted for.—[ὄπισθ]εν is Dörpfeld's conjecture (*Mitth. d. Inst. Athen*, 1887, XII. p. 39), but he there fails to take account of the preceding ΟΛΟ. Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 165, note 3) is in error in saying that [ὄπισθ]εν contains one letter too many. The original of the remnant ΟΛΟ perhaps yet remains to be found.

[87] There was a fund before this time, but it was relatively small. See Thumser, Hermann's *Griech. Staatsalt.*[6], 1892, I. 2, pp. 629 and 662.

[88] Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 175, note) rightly emphasizes this important fact. In this he supports Kirchhoff (*Geschichte der Athenischen Staatsschatzes*, 1876, p. 33), however much he differs from him on his main proposition. See p. 27 below.

[89] *CIA.* I. 273, 2 ff., 25 ff.; 180, 7 ff., 18 f.; 183, 9 f., 11 f., 13 f., 15 f.; 184, 185, A, 22 ff.; 188, 3 ff. *Cf.* also *CIA.* IV. 179 b, 7, 179 c, 7 (p. 30 ff.).

[90] Kirchhoff, *Athen. Staatssch.* pp. 32, 33. The language of *CIA.* I. 32 shows the previous existence of a large fund. See p. 25 f. below.

[91] Some of the Persian spoils were still there in the time of Pausanias (I. 27. 1).

also the sacred money of Athena, and, as we have seen[92], likewise of some of the other gods. On the completion of the Parthenon the treasures in kind were transferred, as is well known, to the Pronaos, Neos Hecatompedos and "Parthenon" of the new temple[93]. In 435—4 were passed the two celebrated decrees (*CIA.* I. 32 A, B) which brought all of the finances of the state into order. In them we clearly perceive the influence of Pericles, under whose careful financial policy Athens was preparing herself for the great struggle with Sparta that was to follow. The provisions of these two decrees are met with singular fitness on the supposition that the public and sacred money was housed in the restored Opisthodomus of the Hecatompedon.

The money now stored in the treasury had become a great sum (A 2 ff.). This fact is confirmed by the testimony of Thucydides[94]. The amount of coined silver on the Acropolis at the time when the decree was passed was 9700 talents[95]. This included both the state-reserve and the treasure of the goddess. The existence of so great a

[92] *CIA.* IV. 1 (p. 13) is a decree relating to the Eleusinian goddesses.

[93] But not the money. Frazer's argument (*Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 1892—3, XIII. p. 163 f.) for making the western portico of the Parthenon the Opisthodomus (in brief, that the treasury documents name four compartments where treasure was stored, and that if three of these were in the Parthenon the natural inference is that the fourth, namely the Opisthodomus, was also there) overlooks the important fact that the objects stored in these three compartments were essentially different from the contents of the fourth. We have no evidence that anything except money was stored in the Opisthodomus from the completion of the Parthenon to the end of the Peloponnesian War. It was a treasury, and a treasury in which was kept a great sum of money. Against this view, moreover, is the testimony of Plutarch (quoted on p. 14), who tells us distinctly what the opisthodomus of the Parthenon was. Nobody supposes that Demetrius was lodged in the western portico.

[94] II. 13.

[95] Loeschcke, *de titulis aliquot atticis quaestiones historicae*, 1876, p. 3 ff.; Kirchhoff, *Staatssch.* p. 22; Dittenberger *SIG.* 14, note 1.—The fact of the existence of this great treasure seems to me to be fatal to the view that the Opisthodomus was the western portico of the Parthenon. (See Dörpfeld, who formerly held this view, and Frazer, as cited on p. 4.) This portico was altogether inadequate for the purpose. (See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 177.) It is pertinent, further, here to add that it was open to view on three sides, where bronze gratings between the columns were all that barred a thieving public. Can we believe, moreover, that this great treasure was cramped into this small place, and yet that the large room beyond it, the "Parthenon" in the limited sense, was left practically empty, containing, as the treasure documents show (*CIA.* I. 161—175), only a relatively small number of articles employed at festival-time ("einige Dutzend Klinen und Stühle," Petersen, *Mitth.* 1887, XII. p. 69)?

treasure in 435 B.C., which must have been the accumulation of years, necessarily implies the existence of a treasury before the completion of the Parthenon.

It is noteworthy that the decrees assume certain facts. The fact of the existence of a treasury is taken for granted, just as that of the boards of the hellenotamiae, logistae, and ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας. The treasury is named three times (A 15, 17, B 23), simply as ὁ ὀπισθόδομος, in such a way as to imply that it was a well-known place in established use. The specification, further, of the duty of the hellenotamiae in B 18 ff. to deposit the yearly surplus from the tribute with the treasurers of the goddess simply recognizes and emphasizes, as Kirchhoff has shown[96], a previous practice. The one important new provision is the establishment of the board of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (A 13 ff.). This necessitated certain rearrangements in the use of the Opisthodomus. From this time the tamiae of Athena are to store her money-treasure ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου, the tamiae of the other gods ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. This must mean, as Dörpfeld has already pointed out[97], the room to the right and the room to the left in the back part of the Opisthodomus. Since now we know that there was a third treasure, and that it was large, which although under the charge of the treasurers of Athena was still kept separate, we cannot but conclude that it was stored in the larger chamber that lay in front of the two smaller chambers[98]. It had probably been here from the first establishment of a state-fund. This use of the larger chamber explains the provision in A 15 ff. (quoted on p. 15). This provision, in which the words ὅσα δυνατὸν καὶ ὅσιον imply a limitation, means, as I think, that the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν are not to have access to the chamber in which the treasure of which they are in charge is stored except

[96] *Athen. Staatssch.* p. 33.

[97] *Mitth.* 1887, XII. p. 38.

[98] Is this division into a "double house" (the half to the east being set aside to the gods, that to the west to the state) what the scholiast on Arist. *Plut.* 1193 (quoted on p. 5) means? The Hecatompedon was probably modelled on the old temple of Athena (see Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 194 f., who however reverses the case!), and of the western division of this Pausanias says διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἴκημα (I. 26. 5). The "door" named by the scholiast would be the large door which was the only means of entering the double structure from the western portico. For parallel expressions to that just quoted, see Paus. II. 10. 2; 25. 1; VI. 20. 3; VIII. 9. 1, and Schubart, *Philologus*, 1859, XV. 394 f. See also Borrmann, *Mitth.* 1881, VI. p. 372 ff.

in company with the *ταμίαι τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, not that they are always to be present when the other rooms are opened. To reach their own chamber they were obliged to pass through that set aside for the reserve fund of the state, which was in charge, under the authority of the state, of the more ancient and much more important board. It must not be forgotten that the state exercised absolute control over all of these treasures, although it employed the form of a fictitious loan when it drew upon the resources of Athena and of the other gods. The outward symbol of this authority was the key of the treasury held by the *ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων*, of whom Aristotle says[99], *τηρεῖ δ' οὗτος τὰς κλεῖς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν*[100] *ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματά ἐστιν καὶ <τὰ> γράμματα τῇ πόλει.* The custody of the key did not imply responsibility for the actual management of the funds.

In the previous discussion I have assumed that the prescription in *CIA.* I. 32 B, 18—20, [*ἐκ δὲ τῶν φόρω*]*ν κατατιθέναι κ*[*ατὰ τὸ*]*ν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά*[*στοτε γενόμενα παρὰ το*]*ῖς ταμίασι τῶν* [*τῆς Ἀθ*]*ηναίας τοὺς Ἑλληνο*[*ταμίας*], means that only the surplus of the tribute was paid over to the *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ* by the hellenotamiae, after deducting the sums necessary for the purposes of the confederation. Even this view establishes a state treasure on the Acropolis. It is obvious, however, that the argument advanced in this paper is strengthened if the interpretation of Kirchhoff[101] and others is accepted, namely that the hellenotamiae turned over the whole of the tribute when they had received it to the *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ* and drew on them for all of the expenditures with which they were charged. A place must then be provided on the Acropolis for the entire treasure of the Athenian state.

[99] *Ath. Pol.* 44.

[100] The first of the two *ἱερά* here meant is the Opisthodomus. (The other was the Metroum, down in the town.) *Cf.* Poll. VIII. 96: *ἔχει δὲ οὗτος τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς κλεῖς ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ γράμματα.* Eust. *Od.* XVII. 455: *τάς τε κλεῖς <τῶν ἱερῶν* Rose> *ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματά εἰσι φυλάττει καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῆς πόλεως. Cf.* also Suidas and E. M. *s. v. ἐπιστάτης.* Less exactly the Argument to Dem. XXII. p. 590. See Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, 1890, II. 1, p. 338.

[101] *Geschichte des Athen. Staatsschatzes*, 1876. For the literature of the discussion, see Thumser, Hermann's *Griech. Staatsalt.*[6], 1892, I. 2, p. 630, note 1. See also Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 175, note 1.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. & SONS, AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

14

XST.30

OVERBECK'S

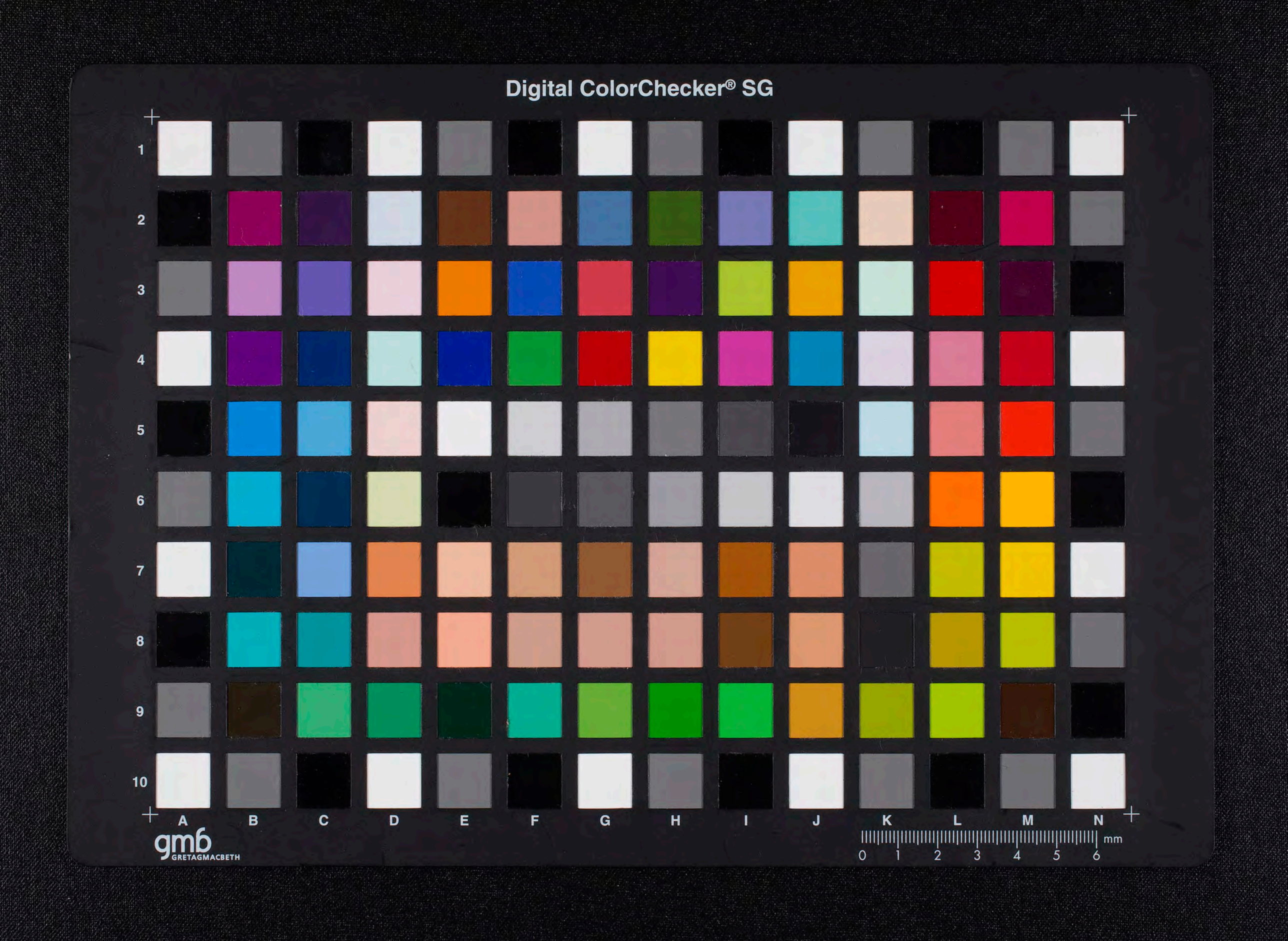
TRACTS.

II

ARCHITECTURE

& TOPOGRAPHY.

CAMDEN SOCIETY


Digital ColorChecker® SG
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N
gmb
GRETAGMACBETH
0 1 2 3 4 5 6
mm