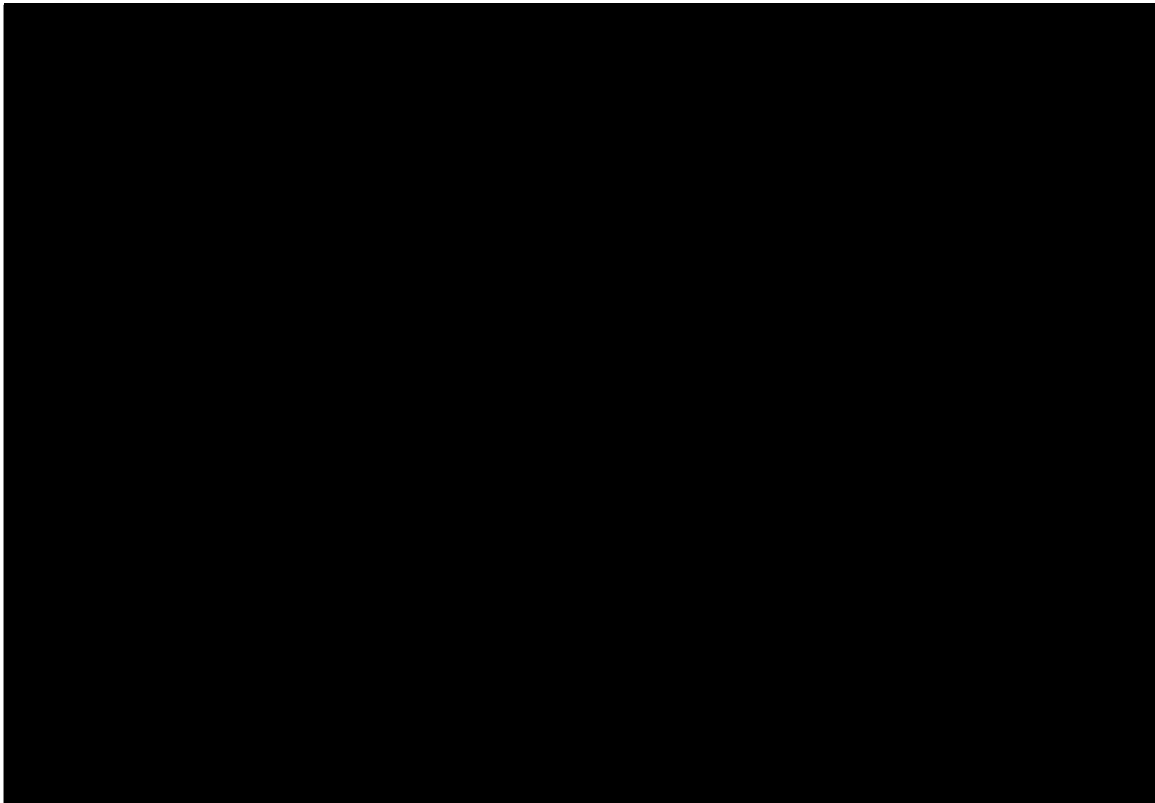


**DEDICATION PRACTICES ON THE ATHENIAN
ACROPOLIS
8TH TO 4TH CENTURIES B.C.**

Claudia Wagner



**A thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Merton College, University of Oxford
Trinity Term 1997**



ABSTRACT

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A society that regards nature as divine is constantly reminded of its dependence on the gods. It comes, therefore, as no surprise to find the sanctuary as major focus of the Greek community, in Athens literally occupying the centre of the city, the Acropolis. A central part of ancient religious life was the practice of offering gifts to the gods. The abundance of dedications on the Acropolis - which includes the full range from the simple terracotta figurines to exquisitely decorated pottery and life size marble sculpture - gives ample evidence of this.

The Acropolis offers a unique opportunity to study the dedications of Athens' city sanctuary in its most important period of growth and power. The continued use of the sanctuary over centuries is not on all accounts a blessing. The history of the Acropolis and its buildings has yet to find a conclusive interpretation owing to the destruction of earlier evidence by later building phases. In *Chapter II* I give a brief summary of the different theories and their limits in satisfying all the evidence. The chapter is not intended as a detailed architectural study, but to establish as closely as possible when cults were introduced on the Acropolis and when building activity might have influenced the storage and disposal of dedications.

The survival of the dedications themselves has been affected by the length of the sanctuaries' use. Different classes of objects have better chances of survival than others, some classes will have left no record in corpore. In *Chapter III* I introduce all sources: the objects (pottery, bronzes, sculpture, terracotta, etc.), the epigraphic and the literary evidence, and assess their value and completeness. The chapter is also an archaeological and iconographical study of the dedications. The objects are classified by type, and changes in decoration and shape of chosen dedications are explored. Flow charts show numerical changes in classes and types of objects during the centuries. In some cases it is also possible to make more conclusive statements about the dedicators. Inscribed names give the opportunity to recognize persons we know from history. I enquire into the identities and status of some of the dedicators and their motive for dedication and try to show how these motives might have changed with time.

In *Chapter IV* the evidence concerning the placing of the dedications on the Acropolis is collected. What kind of dedications were stored in temple treasuries and if they were in the open (as statues), where were they placed on the Acropolis?

In the conclusion I try to point out how changes in society and religion are reflected in the dedications.

Dedication Practices on the Athenian Acropolis

8th to 4th centuries B.C.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Dedications give us a clear picture of how central a part religion played in ancient Athenian life. The songs of processions, the sacrificial blood, wine, honey-cakes have all vanished, but what remains to tell us about religious practices at first hand are the objects dedicated to the gods. It is not only religious practices that are illuminated through the dedications, they also offer an unrivalled glimpse of history which otherwise might elude us. On a wider level, economic developments find themselves reflected in the wealth of the dedications, in tithes and firstfruits. Political developments have also left their mark on the life of the sanctuaries. On a more individual level the dedications provide us with names, of families and their members, some known through other sources, some providing new names.

The custom of giving dedications to the gods is a practice which can be traced back to the beginnings of religion in the Mediterranean.¹ Even throughout the dark ages evidence for the continuous observance of the tradition is attested.² Before the eighth century B.C., however, the numbers of dedications are small and only in the sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. does the number of dedications in temples and their treasuries reach the level, which has led scholars to use expressions such as ‘forest of statues,’³ and ‘unübersehbar’⁴ to describe the wealth of the gifts.

Even the production of dedications becomes such an important feature of Greek society, that the artisan manufacturing the gift is turned into a popular topic of vase-painting from the second half of the sixth century onwards.⁵ And in the fourth century the author Theopompos is the first of a series of writers devoting entire monographs to dedications.⁶

¹ E. Vermeule *Götterkult, Arch. Hom. III* (1974) 7ff; B. C. Dietrich *The Origins of Greek Religion* (1974) 299ff; B. Rutkowski *Cult Places in the Aegean World* (1972) 136ff; M. P. Nilsson *Minoisch-Mykenische Religion*² 466ff

² This can be seen in the unbroken series of the bronze-age bull votives (B. C. Dietrich *The Origins of Greek Religion* (1974) 225, and V. R. d’A. Desborough *The Greek Dark Ages* (1972) 278ff).

³ A. H. Borbein *JDAI* 88 (1973), 16.

⁴ H. Bloesch, *Agalma*, (1943), 16

⁵ J. Ziomecki, *Les représentations d’artisans sur les vases attiques* (1975) 64f, fig. 23f; 82, fig.33; 152, no. 23

⁶ ‘peri anathematon,’ *FGH* 115 F 247ff; IIIB [commentary], 445.

The most important source for the identity of the dedicators is the inscriptions on the votives. Here we have access to a plethora of names, many sadly not otherwise known. Some inscriptions give additional information about the status of the dedicator. Further evidence might be concealed in the offering itself, e.g. in the choice of decoration. The motive for dedicating a particular piece might also be revealed in the choice of the object. However, the only unequivocal deduction of the reason why the object was chosen can be gained from inscriptions telling us what it was. Inscriptions, however, might easily miss underlying motives: e.g. the dedication of a valuable item to show off one's wealth and status.

When Polemon of Ilion wrote an account of the dedications on the Athenian Acropolis in the second century B.C. he found himself filling four volumes.⁷ Unfortunately the mention of its existence is the only remnant of the work. Many of the items described in Polemon's account could not survive the ravages of time. Famous objects such as the wooden cult statue of Athena Polias or the richly embroidered Peplos cloaks dedicated at the festival of the Panathenaia fell into decay well before our time. Precious materials such as the gold and ivory of the statue of the Parthenos were reworked and sold, marble sculptures were used as building material and later on small objects of art would be scattered all over Europe as souvenirs of the *Grand Tour* to Athens.

In spite of the vast number of missing objects the excavations on the Acropolis brought forth more than enough material for a number of catalogues. Notably, the sack of Athens by the Persians in 480/479, which left the Acropolis burned and its monuments torn down, ensured the survival in the debris of objects, which in times of peace would perhaps have been disposed of differently.

The volume of material found on the Acropolis is vast. It is therefore easy to say what this thesis cannot be: a comprehensive catalogue of the objects. It is possible, however, to allow a glimpse of an aspect of Greek Religion strictly based on the surviving primary evidence.

Athens and her main sanctuary offers possibilities of exploration richer than those available in the study of many other ancient places of worship. This is partly the result of the abundance of material evidence preserved and of its peculiar nature in documenting the

⁷ FHG III 108-148; L. Preller, *Polemonis periegeta fragmenta*, Leipzig (1838); Deichgräber *RE* XXI, 1288 ff

‘visual experience’ of the Athenians; partly of having other, non-archaeological sources to fill in some gaps and to turn to for guidance in interpretation.

The time-span looked at in this thesis is the eighth to the fourth centuries B.C. The upper limit is determined by the earliest evidence of dedications from the Acropolis. Literature and pictorial evidence predate 700 B.C. only by a small margin. The subsequent centuries brought a time full of social, economic, military, intellectual and cultural upheavals. The end of the fourth century presents itself as a natural lower limit of an epoch with the widening of the Greek sphere of influence and the creation of a new Greek World under Alexander.

The aim of this thesis is to present the dedications from the Acropolis, to describe the objects and analyse the types and the worshippers who gave the dedications to Athena and the other gods on the Acropolis. I have tried to avoid lengthy discussions of individual objects: it is the dedications in their bulk that interest us here. I have not loaded the commentary and notes with references to *LIMC* or other discussions, unless they relate to the function of the piece as a dedication or its appearance. The reader will need Graef/Langlotz, *AMA* and Raubitschek, *DAA* at hand. The illustrations are primarily of the unfamiliar or unpublished.

The material is presented chronologically and the changes in numbers of dedications is demonstrated in flow-charts.⁸ Making use of electronic data-processing I was able to take the peculiarities of dating into account while presenting what I hope to be an undistorted picture of the development of dedication practices on the Acropolis.

At this point it is important to make a few cautionary remarks about the dates used in this thesis. The dating of all Greek objects, from vases to sculpture to inscriptions, is less secure than we would wish. The detailed studies of the different classes of objects have allowed us to relate individual pieces to each other and to date them accordingly. This is based on the premise that the stylistic development follows a chronological order. The general validity of this method is beyond dispute. The relative chronology achieved thus has unfortunately very few links to absolute dates for the pre-classical periods; and taken on their own doubt can too easily prepare us to shift these, like the construction of

⁸ The programme, *claudia.4*, was custom designed and is available from the author by request.

the Siphnian treasury at Delphi and the end of output from Siphnian mines.⁹ Even the destruction level on the Acropolis is not without problems.¹⁰ It is, therefore, important to remind the reader that specific dates I attribute to pieces are not to be taken as absolute dates but refer to the relative chronology of the individual class. The form of a specific date, e.g., 'last quarter of the fifth century', is the most convenient way of describing the position of an object in its stylistic context, and although I believe that the correlation of this date and the real date cannot be far apart, it is undoubtedly important not to take the date at face value. Working with stylistic evidence we also have to make allowances for the stubbornness of human beings in keeping to their old traditions. The line of stylistic development is probably not straight but slightly ragged. This probably affects the sculptor with a relatively low output of perhaps one marble figure per year more than the potter who has to finish several vases a day.

My computer programme, claudia.4, is developed to take account of the peculiarities, the strength and weaknesses, of traditional dating.

Numbers make the best statistics: therefore the vast amount of pottery is our safest guide to developments on the Acropolis. The dense net of relationships of potter/painter workshops and pupil-teacher relationships which make up the stylistic development is a secure base for a relative chronology. I have devised my own chart [*Fig. 5*], trying to combine the vast amount of scholarship following Beazley in establishing the links. This was most strongly influenced by Boardman and Robertson, who both made valuable suggestions for the finished product.

The dating of any shard from the Acropolis is linked to this relative chronology. The database frees us from giving an 'exact' date; if a piece is contemporary to late Exekias, for example, it takes up the period designated to him on the relative chronology chart. Thus the value of the pot is not counted once for one year, but spread out over a twenty or thirty year period and then only counted as one-twentieth, or one-thirtieth of the value in every year. The period of time in which the shard is dated is as long or short as the quality of the individual piece allows. The evidence of 4000 vases gives us a flow-chart of

⁹ Herod. III, 57-58 and Paus. X, 11, 2 which allows a good comparison of its Ionian-style caryatids with the korai, as does the *Perserschutt* (which will be discussed later) as terminus ante quem. An attempt to upset the use of the Treasury as a dating point is fully answered by P. Amandry, *BCH* 112 (1988) 591-610.

¹⁰ J. A. Bundgaard *The Excavation of the Athenian Akropolis 1882-1890* (1974); J. M. Hurwit *The Art and Culture of Early Greece 1100-480* (1985) 336-47 and *AJA* 93 (1989) 41-80

the Acropolis pottery true to the relative chronology. The absolute chronology, displayed on the y-axis of the chart, is free for adjustments. The relative chronology stands firm.

The relative dates I have used in this thesis are derived from the studies of the objects in their own class. For the marble sculpture I used the stylistic development inspired by Payne¹¹ and modified by Langlotz, Schrader and Schuchardt.¹²

For the relative chronology of the inscriptions I have oriented myself on the revised *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* I³ and David Lewis.¹³

Unfortunately I was not able to work with the objects themselves. The director of the National Museum, Dr. Alexandri, was only permitted to allow me a tantalising glimpse of the storeroom in which the small-finds from the Acropolis are kept. This thesis would have benefited immensely from a closer study of the crates filled lavishly with bronze handles and other small fragments, and in particular of the contents of the cardboard box in the corner, filled with about half a cubic metre of unpublished pottery fragments. As far as I know only Callpollitis-Feytmans made ample use of this source by sifting all the plate-fragments out of the mass. The majority of the visible shards were small fragments of cups, more substantial pieces, however, might have sunk nearer to the bottom of the box. Apart from the objects in the exhibition-rooms¹⁴ of the National Museum and the Acropolis Museum my primary source of study was the photographic material. In addition to the published catalogues I was allowed to work with the photos of the archive in the German Institute. These were the original plates taken for Graef and Langlotz. Graef conscientiously deposited a photo of all the fragments published in the text of his part of the catalogue in the archive.¹⁵ Langlotz was less thorough and since the National Museum is only permitting the study of pottery fragments published with a photo we will have to trust Langlotz's keen eye and dating skills for the time being. Even though the quality of the pictures was very often not good and the dating of the fragments difficult they are definitely of statistical importance. In cases where I mention a vase with its Acropolis

¹¹ H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (1950)²

¹² Langlotz, *AMA*; Schrader, *AMA*; Schuchardt, *AMA*.

¹³ See also the Appendix

¹⁴ The bronze-room in which the Acropolis exhibits were displayed has been closed and the door boarded up for refurbishment since 1990. A promise to allow me to look at the material was not honoured. Professor Boardman has shown me photographs of unpublished clay plaque fragments which he saw in the 1950s.

¹⁵ See Fig. 53-75

number and leave out the plate reference, the photo is obtainable in the German Institute. Copies of the more interesting photos have been acquired by the Beazley Archive.

The sources put to use in the study of dedications are twofold: the objects themselves, recovered in the excavation of the sanctuary, and the epigraphic evidence, the various texts mentioning dedications, inventory lists, inscriptions on the objects and on bases on which dedications were displayed.

The Acropolis has been fully excavated and the excavations have supplied us with a wide range and great number of objects of art. Marble sculptures, bronzes, terracotta figurines, decorated vases and various small finds have been found, usually in a fragmentary condition. The epigraphic evidence is in an equally fragmentary condition. Inscriptions are incomplete, literary evidence is often vague and of a considerably later date than the objects.

A considerable amount of votive material does not appear in any source. The natural decay caused by the ravages of time has eliminated the physical evidence and their insignificance has prevented their appearance in literary accounts or inscriptions. It is very likely that the ancient worshipper at the sanctuary did not feel the difference between momentary sacrifice and permanent dedication as much as the modern archaeologist. Sacrifice and dedication seem to have gone hand in hand in Antiquity, and where we might wish clear borders between the two a plethora of semi-permanent objects might have filled the gap. No physical trace of sacrifice itself has remained, many semi-permanent objects have perished and not all objects of more enduring material have survived. Thus we come to the difficult subject of assessing the completeness of the material.

Assessing the completeness of sources is problematic because it forces us to speculate about 'missing objects' - the items which in their nature have left no physical evidence of their existence. The reasons for assuming such a corpus of lost material are all too clear and include knowing how the objects were treated in Antiquity and the shortcomings of excavators and restorers in modern times.¹⁶

The loss of objects in Antiquity probably began with the way the dedications were managed by the treasurers. There is little evidence for the disposal of objects which were broken, and the issue was most certainly settled in different ways during different stages of the history of the Acropolis, but it seems certain that disposal might have included the

¹⁶ For 'post-depositional' factors see D. L. Clarke, *Archaeology: the Loss of Innocence*, in *Antiquity* 47 (1973) 6-18.

removal of objects from the sanctuary altogether. This solution is not very likely for any dedications destroyed when the Persians sacked the sanctuary, and for those which had to be removed in the time following the event, when the site was at first left as a ruin, and later levelling and rebuilding must have offered easily accessible dumping space. The continuous use of the site as a sanctuary makes occasional tidying an imperative; after the completion of the building programme, however, deposit pits on the Acropolis seem less likely, and from this stage onwards we have to assume that items were bodily removed, or changed beyond recognition when small metal dedications and scrap material were recast.

Dedications were not exclusively removed by the treasurers of Athena: the invasion of the Acropolis in the Persian wars created the unique circumstances which led to the preservation of many dedications for excavators and also occasioned the removal of many valuable items by looting Persians. Many of the more valuable dedications must have been evacuated during the preparations for the war and were returned to Athena's treasury.¹⁷ Statues and big objects which could not be easily transported in haste were left to the Persians.¹⁸ Plundering and pillaging of the sanctuary were not restricted to this one occasion; the most serious looters of precious dedications appear almost two centuries after the Persians: the Macedonian Demetrios Poliorketes and Lachares of Athens.¹⁹ Occasional theft of items, however, occurred during the entire history of the sanctuary, as the silver footed *diphros* which was stolen from the Acropolis along with the *akinakes* of Mardonios show.²⁰ The treasurers of Athena must have been in a unique position to steal items from the treasury undetected. They were most certainly not beyond suspicion as the cases show in which an *exetasmós*, or second inventory to check against the first, was demanded.²¹

The Acropolis was at no stage of its history left entirely unoccupied and both buried and standing dedications must still have suffered losses. Under the influence of time organic matter has naturally decayed. More endurable dedications were used as readily available building material for the renewal of the Acropolis fortifications against, for

¹⁷ See Harris, *Treasures* 16. Only B. D. Meritt, M. F. McGregor, H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, iii (1939-53) 337-8 believe the treasures of Athena to have remained intact on the Acropolis.

¹⁸ Plut. *Them.* 31

¹⁹ Paus. I. 25. 7, Lachares took the golden shields and stripped the statue of Athena of its removable ornament.

²⁰ Demosthenes 24.129

²¹ Harris, *Treasures* 16

example, the Herulians who sacked the city in 267 A.D. Sculptures were deliberately destroyed and mutilated after the sanctuary fell into disuse and the temples were claimed as Christian churches, and the various settlers on the Acropolis, from the bishop of Athens to the Turkish garrison, must also have had some impact on the preservation of dedications.

Finally the excavation itself has to be judged: not all items excavated received the same attention and the spoil heap might still be full of small inexpensive dedications.²² The excavators' neglect in recovering objects of 'inferior' material or period probably also extended to the care given in their restoration.²³ New evidence might be gained from the area underneath the Parthenon which has not been excavated.

One more caveat has to be considered: the corpus of finds from the Acropolis might not be completely votive. Objects brought to the Acropolis inadvertently might have been intermixed with the dedications. Langlotz already pointed out that the levelling of the terrace south of the Parthenon required more soil than available on the Acropolis itself. That Langlotz is right seems to become evident in the fragments of geometric grave-amphorae and grave-kraters found there.²⁴ Seen in relation to the numerous fragments belonging to the Acropolis the percentage of infiltrated material is very likely low: only 17 pieces of funerary vases among more than 1000 excavated geometric fragments were identified.²⁵

Some of the objects, in particular the vessels and instruments, may have been part of the sanctuary's 'furniture.' Sacrifices required a great number of objects, from the sacrificial basket, water-jugs, incense burners, knives, spits, cooking-pots. Are these strictly speaking dedications? Again the borders between votive and utensil seem blurred. The treasuries, once simply utilitarian sheds to keep the rain off the more delicate dedications, become in time themselves ornate dedications.

All major European Museums have odd objects labelled with the provenance 'from the Acropolis.' Until well after the second World War it was indeed very easy to take stray objects out of Greece. Some of these items are verified without doubt because they can be

²² Thoughts about these 'post-depositional' factors have also been assembled by A. M. Snodgrass, 'The Economics of Dedication at Greek Sanctuaries,' *Scienze dell'Antichità*, 3-4 (1989-90) 287-294.

²³ See also Snodgrass, *op. cit.* 287-294.

²⁴ Langlotz, *AKR* p.xxiv. Here he also suggests the erotic scenes as evidence. However, I see no reason why these might not be seen as dedications.

²⁵ *AKR*. 241-256, 289 and 295

shown to fit to other pieces still in Athens. If such proof cannot be found the label must be regarded with great suspicion: any tourist or trader will have found the provenance an easy one to put on any object from the town.

The most obvious 'missing objects' are, of course, the dedications made from perishable materials, all organic substances, as for example wood, cloth, leather, bone and many others.

Among these wood was probably the material which served the most diverse votives. Carved objects were not just little figurines and statues (after all, the venerated cult-image of Athena was made of wood), but also vessels, like the miniature tripods described by Pausanias,²⁶ bases, votive plaques and probably many others.²⁷

There is evidence for dedications of firstfruits and tithes which were not converted to a monetary equivalent but were directly given from the profits gained through the god's good will. Farmers are known to have given of their harvest and vintage, but the evidence in literature is scarce and it is difficult to assess to what extent the ancient rites were binding and for how long farmers felt compelled to keep them up.²⁸ No source from the Acropolis records such a custom, but a Rhodian inscription speaks of a dedication of olives for Athena.²⁹ Offerings of this kind are not impossible for the Acropolis but were perhaps more common in countryside sanctuaries.

²⁶ Paus. IV 12, 8: 8th century tripods from Messenia

²⁷ For the importance of wood-carving see the finds from Samos, H. Kyrieleis, *AM* 95 (1980) 87-147, with references, and H.-V. Hermann, *AA* (1974), 636ff.)

²⁸ Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 42-48, already asks this question and illustrates the inconclusiveness of the evidence in his collection of sources for the sacrifice to Pan and the Nymphs.

²⁹ *IG* ii 781 and Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 49

The same applies to huntsmen. For Artemis an elephant's skull dedicated in a shrine in Campania.³⁰ In the *Anthology* the skin and antlers of a stag³¹ and a parcel of fish are mentioned³² Xenophon gave a tithe of his hunting.³³ For Poseidon the dedication of fish is mentioned: Antigonos preserves the tradition of the first tunny caught being given to Poseidon.³⁴

³⁰ Paus. v. 12.3

³¹ *Anth. Pal.* vi. 111.

³² *Anth. Pal.* vi. 105.

³³ Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 9.

³⁴ Antigonos *ap. Ath.* vii. 297D

II. THE ACROPOLIS AND ITS BUILDINGS

Which buildings stood on the Acropolis? No other question about the history of the Acropolis has initiated an equal amount of specialised literature and heated debate. It always comes as a surprise how little we know about such an important and famous site and how controversial this knowledge is. The main reason for the lack of information is, however, directly connected to the importance of the site: the continuous occupation of a thriving sanctuary has repeatedly destroyed evidence of earlier building phases, building new structures over old.

The appearance of the Acropolis has changed considerably over the centuries. The original surface was rougher and smaller than the area visible to the visitor today. The fortification of the Acropolis provided retaining walls to enlarge and level the surface. On the other hand, major soil erosion on the slopes of the Acropolis was already lamented by Plato.¹

The early settlers of the Acropolis have barely left a trace of their former presence. Prehistoric remains were found only in small crevices and hardly accessible areas of the rock, and no buildings from this period are preserved. The lack of remains allows only a very sketchy reconstruction of the early settlement. Prehistoric habitation is suggested by finds of pottery. Middle Neolithic pottery was found on the south slope (near the Asklepieion), late Neolithic and transitional to Early Bronze Age pottery was found in the wells of the north-west slope (twenty-one wells).² Only a scatter of shards was found on the north slope and few finds were made on the upper surface of the rock. Early Bronze Age pottery is well attested by many finds, in particular from the south slope (mainly from the small caves in the cliff face), south-east of the Acropolis, and around the Neolithic wells in the north west. On the rock both shards and obsidian flakes were present.

Our next evidence is from the Middle Bronze Age: Minyan ware from the south slope, and a grave with six bodies and obsidian arrow heads; two small graves, house-walls and five wells near the Klepsydra on the north west slope filled with Middle Bronze Age

¹ Plato, *Kritias*, 112 a

² S. A. Immerwahr, *The Neolithic and Bronze Ages. The Athenian Agora* XII, 1971

pottery. On the upper surface five small cist graves on the north-western edge of the surface have to be dated to the Middle Bronze Age. Other graves from this period might well have existed: later legend identifies the grave of the mythological King Kekrops near the site of the Erechtheion - this might have been a Bronze Age grave.³

The only possible evidence of occupation on the surface itself comes from east of the Erechtheion, the remains of structures which are most likely to be interpreted as the foundations of a house, dated by the Middle and Late Helladic I pottery found in it. If other houses or structures were present at the same time the most suggestive region is to the north-west of the highest point of the rock, where extensive levelling of the Acropolis surface created five terraces, reached by a path and stairs from the north-east. Pottery shards from the fill suggest a date in the earlier part of Late Helladic IIIB for the building activity, a time when in Mycenae evidence of prosperity is apparent. Grave goods from the elaborate 'beehive' tombs mirror the affluence of the major citadels, as Mycenae and Tiryns, but while these have remains of impressive palace architecture, no trace has been found of an equivalent structure in Athens. The interrelated terraces are most likely explained as foundation for such a palace. In Athenian folk-memory the Acropolis was connected with their mythical kings, in particular the area of terrace III, where later the 'old Temple of Athena' and the Erechtheion were built. A conglomeration of cults that go back to Mycenaean origin was associated with the location. The most suggestive for the identification of the site with the palace is the cult of Erechtheus, mythological founder and king of Athens. It is also very difficult to pinpoint the possible date for the destruction and removal of such palace remains. The invasions and other disturbances in Greece in about 1050 B.C. might already have led to the fall of the old society and its buildings; the palace might equally likely have remained standing for several more centuries.

Imposing walls with a width of up to six metres give evidence of the conversion of the Acropolis into a fortress.⁴ The pottery fragments found under several sections of the wall date the construction of the fortifications to Late Helladic IIIB. The main entrance

³ The circumstances in which early graves became the focus of a hero cult are well documented in the Agora, e.g. G.V. Lalonde, 'A 5th-Century Hieron Southwest of the Agora' *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 123-33 and 'A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora' *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 97-105; H. Thompson, 'Some Hero Shrines in Early Athens', *Athens comes of Age: From Solon to Salamis* (ed. W.A.P. Childs et al. 1978) 96-105. On problems of identity of cults at prehistoric tombs see now J. Whitley in *Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology* (ed. N. Spencer 1995) ch. 4.

⁴ S. E. Iakovides, *Die mykenische Akropolis von Athen* (1962)

remained on the west side, under the site on which the Nike bastion was to be built. The terracing and the walls suggest a sizeable community. Access to the most important commodity in a siege, water, was ensured by building a subterranean path under the north wall to enable a secret approach to a well.⁵

Our ignorance is only slowly dispersed in the eighth century when we are faced with completely changed circumstances. The gods have taken 'residence' on the Acropolis and have transformed it into a place of religion, a sanctuary. This change has again left no identifiable remains of buildings, but the dedications are a telling source of the transformation. The first monumental altar should be expected on the Acropolis in this period. The only access to the hill from the west (the assumed south entrance was probably abandoned in the early sixth century) was enhanced with a broad earthen ramp and a paved courtyard.

Of course it is conceivable that a temple was already present. Travlos suggests some seventh century terracotta tiles as possible evidence of a predecessor of the old Athena temple; and the big bronze Gorgon plaque [Fig. 92] has been tentatively identified as an acroterion of the early structure.⁶ But hopes of proof of the existence of a grand temple yet undiscovered should not be set high. The archaeological record of post-Geometric Athens knows of no major building and the economic and political state of Athens is clearly shown to be in a dire state, as the historical events of the end of the seventh century testify (Kylon's attempted coup d'état and shortly afterwards the reform programme of Solon). Yet, the most sacred cult statue of Athena Polias, the heaven-sent *xoanon*, was believed to be of considerable age and it is very difficult not to imagine a protective roof at her shrine.

Small buildings, perhaps modest wooden huts, for the storage of the more fragile or costly votives are also a possibility. [Fig. 1] Finds of early roof tiles support this theory.⁷ However, clear archaeological evidence of both temple and small treasuries is not attested before the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. Fragments of large-scale poros architecture, also known as Hekatompedon or H-architecture, belong to the earliest certain

⁵ P. A. Mountjoy, *Four early Mycenaean Wells from the South Slope of the Acropolis at Athens*. *Miscellanea Graeca* 4, (1981)

⁶ Travlos, *PDA* 143, figs. 194-95; E. Touloupa, *BCH* 93 (1969) 862-864

⁷ C. Nylander 'Die sogenannten mykenischen Säulenbasen auf der Akropolis zu Athen' *Opusc. Athen.* 4 (1962) 31-77

remains of a temple on the Acropolis and a group of two or three small buildings, so similar in style that they were first believed to belong to one structure, are most likely contemporary treasuries.⁸

The H-architecture has been placed in the context of the reorganisation of the Panathenaic procession 566/5 B.C., which was connected in antiquity with Peisistratos.⁹ This probably refers to the introduction of athletic contests and equestrian and musical competitions.¹⁰ The attribution of these innovations seems to be in keeping with Peisistratos' policies and the decision to build a new, richly decorated temple might well have found its impetus in the enrichment of the Panathenaia.¹¹

No foundations for the treasuries have been found in the excavation and the attribution of foundations to the large-scale architecture is hotly disputed. The most obvious place for the poros fragments seems to be the Doerpfeld foundations, which no doubt are rightly identified as the site of the old temple of Athena Polias. The original size of the poros architecture has to be reconstructed from an incomplete set of fragments which were in part heavily overworked. The size of the foundations and the architecture seem to correspond roughly, even though Dinsmoor's calculations leave the architecture too small for a perfect fit. The strongest objection to the link of the Doerpfeld foundations and the poros architecture, however, are the marks of the claw-chisel on the foundations. The architecture shows no sign of the use of this tool and appears to leave us with the conundrum of a temple which is older than its foundations. Of course, it is possible to imagine the builders of the temple to have used a 'new tool' only for the foundations - after all, our knowledge of the invention and first use of the claw-chisel is less certain than we would like.¹² The marks of the claw-chisel could also have been made in a reworking of the whole foundations when the temple was refurbished in marble. The explanations seem possible but not very satisfying. An alternative theory for the placing of the H-

⁸ Schuchardt, *AMA*; the presumed treasuries might have been dedications by Athenian aristocrats, see J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (1970) 14

⁹ W. B. Dinsmoor *AJA* 51 (1947) 110 and note 12. Reorganisation of Panathenaia, J.A. Davison *JHS* 78 (1958); C. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien* (1929) 145-46; W.-H. Schuchardt, 'Die Sima des Alten Athenatempels der Akropolis,' *AM* 60-61 (1935-36) 1-111; H. Riemann, 'Der peisistratidische Athenatempel auf der Akropolis zu Athen' *MdI* 3 (1950) 7-39; F. Preishofen, 'Zur Topographie der Akropolis' *AA* (1977) 74-84

¹⁰ Hignett, 1952, 330-1; J. A. Davison *JHS* 78 (1958) 26

¹¹ J.S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.*, (1970), 14

¹² On the claw-chisel see now O. Palagia, *OJA* 13 (1994) 185-197; C. Nylander, *Archaeologia Classica* 43 (1991) 1037-52

architecture has been put forward by Dinsmoor: he suspects foundations hidden under the present Parthenon and its never finished predecessor, the Old Parthenon. Cores taken through the platform of the Parthenon by Manolis Korres suggest the possible existence of a structure beneath it,¹³ and architectural fragments, such as the block later reused for the Hekatompedon inscription, slabs in the Propylaia and several reliefs of panthers and other animals have been associated with a temple on the site.¹⁴ However, until a full excavation has revealed more conclusive evidence this will remain speculation. Moving the H-architecture from the Doerpfeld foundations to the Parthenon site also means leaving the site of the old temple of Athena without any architectural remains before the end of the century. The unusual lay-out of the Doerpfeld foundations requires some explanation. The steps up to the stylobate are only two and the proportions are decidedly squat compared to the canonical long and narrow Archaic temple.¹⁵ The strange proportions are most likely caused by the conglomeration of several old cults in one building, which also affected the lay-out of the Erechtheion.¹⁶ Can we justify a theory which leaves the site of the major centre of cults and the cult figure of Athena Polias with no visible predecessor to the post-Peisistratid temple? Furthermore, which function do we attribute to a predecessor of the Old Parthenon? A shrine for the statue of Athena Promachos as depicted on the Panathenaic amphorae has been suggested but this is again highly speculative.¹⁷ The north pteron of the Parthenon shows traces of an altar and a small shrine which might be of considerable age [Fig. 133].¹⁸

It is not much easier to determine when the numerous other cults besides Athena Polias were established on the Acropolis. Poseidon had his cult-marks on the rock, a crevice and a salt spring next to the olive-tree of Athena Polias.¹⁹ On the highest point of

¹³ W. A. P. Childs, 'The Date of the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis' in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (ed. W. Coulson et al 1994) 5 note 14

¹⁴ H. Drerup, 'Parthenon und Vorparthenon' *AK* (1981) 21-38; B. Kilerich, 'The Athenian Acropolis. The position of the Lions and Leopards' *A Arch* 59 (1988) 229-234; M. Korres 'Dörpfelds Forschungen zum Vorparthenon and Parthenon' *AM* 108 (1993) 59-78 and *BCH* 118 (1994) 698

¹⁵ Cf. the Heraeum at Olympia

¹⁶ Childs, *op. cit.*, 1

¹⁷ Herington 1955, 35; 1963, 61 note 1. c.f. Niemeyer 1964, 108-9

¹⁸ H. Catling, *JHS, Archaeological Reports* 35 (1989) 8-9; F. Preishofen, 'Zur Topographie der Akropolis' *AA* (1977) 74-78 and esp. B. S. Ridgway, 'Images of Athena on the Akropolis' in *Goddess and Polis*, 1992, 125.

¹⁹ Doerpfeld, 1885-7; Kavvadias-Kawerau 1906, cols. 31-2, 83-4; T. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, 1904, 49-; Judeich 1931, 261-70; H. Riemann, 'Der Peisistratidische Athenatempel auf der Akropolis zu Athen' *Mdl* 3 (1950) 7-39; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of* [Footnote continued on next page]

the hill, south-east of the Parthenon, a small temple was dedicated to Zeus Polieus. The earliest evidence of the cult are probably a series of rock-cuttings north-east of the Parthenon and the two undated small distyle in antis temples in the northern precinct.

Another 'old' cult was the shrine of Athena Nike²⁰ established probably as early as the end of the sixth-early fifth century with an altar and temple or unroofed abaton on the Mycenaean Bastion. The retaining Mycenaean wall of the bastion was heightened when the cult was established.²¹ The poros fragments from a naiskos on the site are not burned and probably must be considered to be post 480. Athena was also worshipped as Hygieia, probably on an altar near the Propylaia, a cult said to have been founded 'by the most ancient of the Athenians'.²²

A great number of heroes such as the mythological kings of Athens, Erechtheus and Kekrops, and Kekrops' daughter Pandrosos and Aglauros were venerated on the hill. All these cults were probably located in the north. Further to the east was the cult area of the old Attic hero Pandion.

Peisistratos' role in initiating the installation of the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia²³ on the Acropolis is generally accepted. His family was native to the deme of Brauron, which makes him the most likely connection for the institution of a branch of the cult on the Acropolis. The earliest firm proof of the existence of cult is the dedication of krateriskoi and possibly two marble hounds at the end of the sixth century. The site is west of the Chalkotheke terrace, next to the Acropolis wall, a stoa with two wings; later a second stoa was built on north-east side. If a find is correctly identified as the head of the cult-figure made by Praxiteles perhaps a temple is to be proposed within the temenos.²⁴

During the Peisistratan period the western entrance, the old Propylon, was modified.

Ancient Greece, 1950, 90-1; I. T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens*, 1953, 136-40; Plommer 1960 I, 129-34; Schuchardt (1963) I, cols. 820-1

²⁰ I. S. Mark, *Hesperia* Suppl. 26 (1993) (with earlier literature); H. Eiteltjorg, *The Entrance of the Athenian Acropolis before Mnesicles* 1995.

²¹ G. Welter, 'Vom Nikepyrgos' *AM* 48 (1923), 194-201; *AA* (1939), cols. 9-14; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 1931, 219-21

²² Aristides, *Or.*, II. vol. I. 22, ed. Dindorf; Plutarch, *Perikles*, 13

²³ G. P. Stevens, 'The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens' *Hesperia* 5, 1936, 461-6, I.T. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* 1953, 179

²⁴ G. Despinis, 'Neues zu einem alten Fund' *AM* 109 (1994) 173-189

Aristotle reports that the Acropolis was used by the Peisistratids as seat of government and as place of permanent residence,²⁵ and was only given back to the Athenians after the overthrow of the tyranny by the Spartans. The academic community is split about the theory of Peisistratos taking residence on the Acropolis.²⁶ Most modern scholars judge it 'politically unsound' for Peisistratos to be so closely associated with the old palace of the Kings of Athens and cite in particular Hippias' behaviour in 511 against the theory of the Peisistratids ever living on the Acropolis: his fortification of Mounichia Hill in Peiraieus,²⁷ which might be seen as superfluous with the stronghold of the Acropolis in the hands of the Peisistratids and the private collection of oracles he left in the Temple of Athena when he was fleeing the city,²⁸ which could have been stored in the hypothetical palace on the Acropolis. None of these arguments are particularly compelling. The association of the Acropolis as a sanctuary sacred to Athena was probably much more immediate to the common people of Athens than the distant occupation of the mythological kings. Peisistratos as 'close relative' of Athena might well have evoked ties to the goddess rather than the kings of old. The fortification of Mounichia seems a prudent project for a Peisistratid who might need a quick escape over the water. The Acropolis was well suited to serve as a safe haven for a limited period, as indeed it did when Kleomenes of Sparta invaded Attica,²⁹ but it would not have proved suitable in a siege.

If Peisistratos decided to live on the Acropolis it proved less intrusive for the working of the sanctuary than the gut-feeling of many scholars deem it to have been.

The greatest building project of the new democracy is probably the refurbishment of the old temple of Athena with the grand marble gigantomachy. The building was probably begun shortly after the triumph of Kleisthenes over Isagoras in 508/7 and the sculpture dates around 500 B.C.³⁰ These dates are more convincing than the old 'Peisistratid' attribution both on stylistic and political grounds.

²⁵ Arist., *AthPol.* 19,6 and 1315b.

²⁶ The theory that Peisistratos took up residency on the Acropolis is followed by: Wachsmuth 1874-90 I, 497; Holland 1924, 168-9 (but cf. 1939); Glotz-Cohen 1925-38 I, 449; Cornelius 1929, 24,58; Zschietzmann 1934, 216 (but cf. *Kl. Pauly* s.v. Athenai); Meyer 1925-26 III, 717; Andrewes 1956, 113; Berve 1967, 549 hesitates. Against: J. S.Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.*, 1970, 14-15; Kluwe 1966, 33

²⁷ Arist., *Athen. Pol.* 19.2; c.f. Thuc. VI. 59.2; Her. V.64.

²⁸ Herod. V.90

²⁹ Herod. V.90-2

³⁰ W. A. P. Childs, 'The Date of the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis' in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, 1994, 3; H. A. Shapiro, 'Religion and Politics in
[Footnote continued on next page]

Not long after the beginning of this project the old Parthenon must have been started and destroyed before it could be finished. In 480/79 B.C. the Persians plundered and sacked the Acropolis. Bound by an oath the Athenians left the sanctuary a ruin, as a monument to the impiety of the 'barbarians' and reminder of their threatening presence. The sanctuary, however, remained in use. The old temple of Athena was returned to operation by building a roof over the cella. The destroyed columns, architrave, metopes and triglyphs of the old Parthenon and fragments from the old Temple of Athena were built into the north wall of the Acropolis. Many architectural fragments from the old Parthenon were not finished at the time of their destruction.

In 450/49 B.C., with the financial security of the Attic-Delian League and the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, the assembly decided on the construction of the Parthenon, the Propylaia and the temple of Athena Nike. The Parthenon was dedicated in the astonishingly short time of 9 years (in 438/7) in the still not completely finished building. The last accounts for the Parthenon are in 433/32 B.C. The Propylaia were built even faster. The first account is from 437/6 B.C. and work is halted together with the Parthenon in 433/2 B.C. The temple of Athena Nike was also considered in the renovation programme of the Acropolis. Already in 449/448 B.C. the decision was taken to build a new temple. But the work on the temple and the altar was only started in 425/4 B.C. Work on the Nike parapet was begun around 410 B.C. The sanctuary of Zeus Polieus was also remodelled in the Parthenon programme when the southern precinct was extended,³¹ and the temenos walls and stoa of the Artemis Brauronia sanctuary are thought to be part of the refurbishment from around the middle of the fifth century B.C.

Our knowledge of the architecture of the fifth century buildings is not as complete as we could wish [Fig. 3 and 4]. The greatest challenge is the reconstruction of the interior architecture of the buildings. In particular the Parthenon, virtually gutted by the various reuses under Christian and Turkish occupation, exemplifies this. Even more difficult is the assignation of rooms whose names we know from epigraphical sources [Fig.31]. The inventory lists give us the names of four storage spaces in which the

Democratic Athens' in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, 1994, 123; K. Staehler, 'Zur Rekonstruktion und Datierung des Gigantomachiegiebels von der Akropolis' in *Antike und Universalgeschichte*, Festschrift H. E. Stier, 1972, 88-112; B. S. Ridgway (*The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, 1977, 205-208) even suggest a decade later (500-490). For an early date see F. Croissant, *REA* 95 (1993) 61-77

³¹ G. Ph. Stevens, *Hesperia* 15 (1946), 12-5

treasures of Athena were kept in the fifth century. The Pronaos, the Hekatompedos Neos, the Parthenon, and the Opisthodomos. The most convenient explanation locates all four in rooms and areas in the Parthenon building. The Pronaos is the most secure identification, it must be the eastern portico. The Hekatompedos Neos is probably the room behind, containing the statue of Athena, and as largest room of the building best qualified to bear the name 'one-hundred-foot cella'. The only room left is the western chamber with the four Ionic columns. This was probably the Parthenon room. The west portico is the only space left in the building for identification with the Opisthodomos, an identification favoured traditionally. However, the literary sources rather suggest a structure independent of the temple.³² West of the Parthenon a storage hall, the Chalkotheke, had a front of columns erected only in the fourth century.³³

The building of the Propylaia was begun after the shell of the Parthenon was already standing.³⁴ The architect entrusted with the plans of the building was Mnesikles. It was the most ambitious entrance structure of its time and the original conception was never to be completed exactly as intended. This might be read as 'democracy at work,' however, other historical factors contributing to the compromises evident in the building can also be pin-pointed. The lack of symmetry caused by the cropping of the south-wing allows more room and access to the temple of Athena Nike and preserves the Mycenaean wall. The Peloponnesian war is often cited as the main reason for the unfinished wall of the south-wing. However, work on the Propylaia was already stopped in 432 B.C., a year before the declaration of the war. Money problems also seem a not very convincing explanation, the final smoothing of the wall and removing of the bosses could not have amounted to a costly or time consuming process. The Propylaia offered several rooms, the left wing recalls the small treasury buildings in its plan. It was known as the Pinakothekē and was the home of a number of famous paintings described by Pausanias. Wooden klinai were once placed here and the room was primarily used for the worshippers' comfort and rest.

³² For a collection of the textual evidence see Harris, *Treasures* 4 n. 10; for evidence that places the Opisthodomos behind the temple of Athena Polias see G. Roux, 'Pourquoi le Parthénon' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et belles lettres* (1984) 301-17 fig. 3

³³ L. La Folette, with different view.

³⁴ T. Tanoulas, *Jdl* 102 (1987) 415 and pl. 2/3

The temple of Athena Nike was a very modest structure in size, resembling rather a treasury than a temple. It made up for this deficiency in the quality of its decoration. The temple itself had a frieze and the parapet had a relief cladding.

The Erechtheion was probably begun before the Peloponnesian war and finished at the end of the fifth century.³⁵ Its layout is equally puzzling, next to its main function in housing the old xoanon of Athena,³⁶ according to Pausanias, we would have found an altar of Poseidon inside the entrance, which he shared with Erechtheus. Poseidon's trident marks were in the small southern hall opposite the Caryatid chamber. Other altars, one to the hero Butes and another to Hephaistos were nearby.³⁷ The Caryatids have been suggested as custodians of the grave of Kekrops.³⁸ An open area with naiskos at the west could be identified with the Pandroseion.

³⁵ U. Schädler 'Ionisches und Attisches am sogenannten Erechtheion in Athen' *AA* (1990) 361-378

³⁶ N. Robertson's suggestion that the Erechtheion has been wrongly identified has yet to be generally assessed: in *Worshipping Athena* ed. J. Neils (1996) 37-44

³⁷ Paus. I, 26, 5

³⁸ A. Scholl, 'CHOEPHOROI, Zur Deutung der Korenhalle des Erechtheion' *JdAI* 110 (1995) 179-212

III. THE DEDICATIONS AND THE DEDICATORS

I. POTTERY

Among all the classes of objects from the Acropolis the pottery is represented by the greatest number of items. Fragments of broken vases are virtually indestructible: once fired the clay will remain intact through centuries unless a conscious effort is made to grind a shard to powder. A single fragment of a shattered pot, however, is worthless enough to be ignored and become a part of the general deposit of a sanctuary. This natural characteristic of pottery promises a good percentage of preserved items. Nevertheless, the thought that the majority of vases is only represented with a single shard is very sobering: if most fragments of a broken pot have not been found, the single pieces might have to be regarded as exceptions to the norm. The iconographical value of the vases is also much reduced by the limited evidence for the whole decoration of the vessel, and this is only overcome by statistical analysis of the corpus of pottery *en masse*.

The toughness of vase fragments, however, might not have been altogether beneficial. The same characteristics which ensured that fragments of vase-dedications remained on the Acropolis might have made it possible that shards went unnoticed when, for example, soil was brought up to the sanctuary for building and levelling purposes.

The low value of the material has probably also caused a great loss of pottery fragments at the time of excavation. This has presumably influenced the completeness of the early pottery most strongly; Graef himself reports how the workmen were discarding geometric fragments which they believed to be worthless Turkish shards.

No secondary sources give evidence about the lost pottery dedications. The affordable price which presumably made vases such a popular votive ensured that they have not been taken notice of in inventories and literature.

For the modern scholar vases, even though gifts of a comparatively humble kind, prove to be very valuable indeed. They allow us insight into the dedication practices of a wide cross-section of Athenian society. The price of vases is still hotly debated, but there

can be no doubt that they must have been more affordable than votives made of more expensive material or of more monumental size, such as metal vessels or marble sculpture. The fact that scholarly interest has been strongly centred on pottery is another advantage. Knowledge about potters, painters and their interrelations provides us with the most secure dates obtainable for objects of the period. Even though the conventional chronology has come under attack, the interwoven net of teacher-pupil and workshop relationships in the Kerameikos stands up well under criticism. My version of these correlations is found on [Fig. 5] (which has kindly been checked and improved by Professor Martin Robertson). I have linked it to the conventional chronology, which, I believe, is still the most plausible.

Dating the often very fragmentary pottery from the Acropolis proves difficult, at best a piece can be placed within a time span of ten years (plus or minus five years), for other fragments an error of twenty or thirty years is the best obtainable. To take these differences in the accuracy of dating into account, I devised a computer programme which registers the value of each piece according to the precision of its dating. This means that a vase dated to within one year gives the value of one to that year, whereas a vase dated within ten years has the value of one tenth for each of these years. Unfortunately I am not able to consider every piece listed in Graef-Langlotz. Financial reasons have allowed only a fraction of the excavated material to be published with a photo. The archive of the German Institute in Athens kindly provided me with a number of copies of the original photographs taken for the catalogue. This includes many of the unpublished black-figure and a few red-figure pieces. It would have been very beneficial to work with the original pieces instead of having to rely on black-and-white photos, but the National Museum was not able to give me access. The study of the originals would prove especially fruitful for a reassessment of the shapes. Small fragments are notoriously difficult to assign to their original form and Graef's assessment of some shapes has nowadays to be reconsidered. Thus, a fellow student working on the loutrophoroi, found that most of the pieces listed by Graef under this shape are more likely thymiateria. Reassessments of this kind are unfortunately not possible from two dimensional reproductions.

Altogether about 5000 pieces were regarded as worth publishing by Graef and Langlotz [Fig. 6], a further 10,000 were found. The numbers of red and black-figure fragments are almost equal although the red-figure fragments are distributed over a wider

time-span [Fig. 7-9]. The entire period of the production of decorated vase painting from Helladic to the fourth century is represented. The finds range from early traces of Helladic to fragments of Geometric pottery; they include a small number of archaic imports, e. g. Proto-Corinthian and Chiot. The fragments increase slightly in number in the Proto-Attic period, the total, however, remains small. From 580 onwards, as black-figure finds its way into the export market around the Mediterranean, the amount of vases on the Acropolis rises steeply, finding a first maximum in 560 B.C. and a second maximum after a less dramatic increase at around 500 B.C. Red-figure is present on the Acropolis right from the beginning of its production, within two decades the amount rises to bring it to an even higher level than the greatest peak of the black-figure [Fig. 9].

While the black-figure already shows a decline over two decades from 490 B.C. onwards, the red-figure mirrors the decrease a decade later. However, it does not vanish completely and Panathenaic amphorae and red-figure pieces of various shapes are found well into the fourth century.

The fragmentary condition of most vases also opens pitfalls for the iconographical assessment of the Acropolis pottery. The odd crumbs of preserved figure decoration are often too little to identify the subject. But even if we can name the topic of the particular scene, we have to bear in mind that most shapes carry figure decoration on more than one part of their body. Cups for example might bear decoration on both sides, under the handles and in the interior. We cannot be sure if our part of the vase is the part intended to display the most important scene. Fashionable subject matter, such as animal friezes, sphinxes, chariots, horses or Dionysian scenes might just be the unimportant decorative motif accompanying the main picture, which may be lost.

The pottery on the Acropolis spans the entire range of shapes. Every vase chosen from the stock of shapes employed for general use, however, leaves us with the problem of determining whether the iconography is in any form connected to its use as a gift to Athena. To avoid this difficulty it is important to establish the range of suitable dedicatory subjects; shapes proven to be exclusively votive help to create such a list. A number of vase-shapes are closely linked to votive practices, such as plaques, miniature shields, plates or phialai and these vase shapes will enable us to identify subjects thought most appropriate as votive for the goddess.

The discussion of the special vase-shapes, and of other shapes which are very likely to be votive in character, will come first and in greater detail. This will be followed by a brief account of the distribution of the other shapes over time.

The vases are referred to by their number in Graef/Langlotz. AKR for the black-figure vases published in volume one by Graef, II AKR for the red-figure fragments published in volume two by Langlotz. The plates are referred to by their number in Callipolitis-Feytmans (C-F).

1. Plaques

The plaque is a shape so far found only in non-profane context¹ and, as a shape which is immediately associated with dedication, it should reveal its deliberate manufacture as a votive object. In producing a plaque the potter/painter knew its future purpose as an offering and would surely have decorated it suitably, whereas other shapes also used in daily life might have been chosen from a stock everyday of products - as the numerous votive inscriptions incised after firing seem to indicate.² Therefore a pot might only represent the most appropriate vase available to the customer. The scenes on plaques provide us with a catalogue of subjects thought to be proper for dedication and therefore they need thorough examination.

Plaques are flat painted slabs, usually in a simple rectangular form, sometimes with rounded edges, provided with holes for suspension in the sanctuary (they were either hung or nailed to walls or trees or other objects). The size of the pieces can vary between 5 and 30 cm; the decoration follows the vase painter's repertoire and usually one, sometimes both sides bear a picture - this probably reflects the various possibilities of display. While pieces hung on a wall require only one ornamented side, freely hanging pieces have to be decorated on both sides.³ The problems in the identification of plaques unfortunately also present themselves in most of the pieces from the Acropolis: fragments of boxes can be

¹ For a thorough examination of this shape see J. Boardman, *BSA* 49 (1964) 183-201 and *JHS* 76 (1956) 20-25.

² But of course, a fair number of painted inscriptions show also that pots were ordered for dedication (e.g. AKR 309, pl. 11; 368, pl. 13).

³ J. Boardman, *BSA* 49 (1964) 192-193

almost indistinguishable with their flat shape and their holes for fastening, and parts of furniture, mirrors, stands, tripod legs, etc. can also deceive.

The earliest plaques from the Acropolis are late Geometric. Until the second half of the sixth century the shape is only represented by occasional pieces. From about 560 B.C. onwards the shape becomes popular and the numbers of finds remain constant until decline and final abandonment in the second quarter of the fifth century after a short experiment in red-figure [Fig. 10]. The technique of covering the background with a white slip is a dominant feature of the earliest pieces and again of the latest. This is a strong reminder of the literary evidence, which refers to wooden plaques being prepared for decoration in this manner. The clay examples, of course, do not require this preparation and their employment of white-ground seems rather a reflection of the practice necessary for their wooden counterparts. If this assumption is correct wooden plaques must have been a very common dedication, very likely outnumbering the clay variant with its more costly production process.⁴ The large number of early white-ground clay plaques pays tribute to a strong dependence on the wooden model. The steady increase of white-ground towards the end of its production might well be an indication of a new popularity for the wooden plaque, of new painting techniques which have outgrown the possibilities of decoration on clay. Despite this, it is important to keep in mind that white-ground is also used on other black figure vases, and continues on them well into the fifth century. The complete abandonment of the clay plaque is not necessarily the result of discontinuation of the shape, but of a gradual change of fashion towards the wooden plaque.

The majority of Acropolis plaques display high quality decoration, leading painters -the Nettos Painter, the Amasis Painter, the Euphiletos Painter, Skythes, the Rycroft Painter and the Nikoxenos Painter decorated plaques for the Acropolis. The scruffy white-ground ticket plaques found in provincial sanctuaries such as Eleusis or smaller shrines in Athens were presumably not dedicated on the Acropolis.⁵

The Geometric plaques are rather late in the period, only six fragments can be securely identified. Two of them display boats; AP 1682,⁶ a double sided plaque which

⁴ For the argument see Boardman, *op. cit.* 188. Wooden plaques were found in the sanctuary of Nymphs at Pitsa near Sicyon, published by Orlandos in *EAA* 6 (19) 201-6.

⁵ Boardman, *op. cit.* 188-189

⁶ North Slope, well A. *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 164, no. 25, fig. 14

shows ‘the bows of a ship with zigzag filling above and a fish below’⁷ and ornament on the back. The fragment Boardman 2⁸ depicts boat and fish on one side (legs on the other). Boardman regards it as close to the warship of the Sunium votive plaque, which is dated to about 700 B.C.⁹ Must these plaques be regarded as offerings by a sailor or at least by a person making profit out of seafaring? On funerary pots ships are also popular. Does this allow a connection of the life of the deceased with boats? Or is the dedicator choosing to commemorate an important factor in the well-being of the city: piracy?

Warriors appear on two late geometric plaques. AP 2497,¹⁰ also double sided, shows a warrior on one, a meander on the other side; fragment Boardman 6¹¹ depicts ‘two warriors with shields and two lances’ and the ‘legs of four horses (drawing a chariot)’.¹² Defending the city was a very urgent task, which must have been regarded as heroic; here again we seem to have the commemoration of worthy service. But horses and chariots are well chosen as dedication to Athena for another obvious reason: her identification as Athena Hippiia.

Two other plaques are late geometric. AKR 286 pl. 10 shows a woman with ‘Gegenständen’ suggested to be a horse’s head and a winnowing fork by Boardman, and AKR 287 displays a man to the right.

Only one early Proto-Attic plaque was found, the very fragmentary AKR 346, probably depicting the body of an animal.

The evidence from plaques for the second half of the seventh century remains rather scarce and the pieces are very fragmentary. The mid-seventh-century plaque Boardman 8¹³ is the earliest Acropolis plaque bearing a graffito: *qor/* retrograde; remains of a foot and dress can be identified on the white ground. If the restoration as *kore* is correct, the depiction was probably of Athena herself and the plaque was carrying the earliest portrayal of the goddess on Acropolis pottery. The use of the *qoppa* for *kore* is paralleled on AKR 391 pl. 14 by the Nettos Painter and the *Phu/*-- and --*gl/aukopidi k[orei*

⁷ Boardman, *op. cit.* 196

⁸ Boardman, *op. cit.* 196, pl. 16, 2

⁹ J. M Cook, *BSA* 35 (1934/5) pl. 40 b; attributed to the Analatos Painter.

¹⁰ North Slope, well A. *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 163, no. 19, fig. 13; Boardman 3.

¹¹ Boardman, *op. cit.* 196

¹² Boardman, *op. cit.* 196

¹³ Boardman, *op. cit.* 196

on the fragments of the plinth IG I² 466, found on the Acropolis and dated by Jeffery and Hansen to the first quarter of the sixth century.¹⁴

Nearer to the end of the century are the joining fragments AP 1664 and 2524,¹⁵ also white ground. They display 'part of a naked man on a horse and the corner of a *kithara*'.¹⁶ The Nettos Painter plaque AP 1085,¹⁷ dated to about 610, shows a man receiving a *kithara* - Boardman suggests Chiron teaching Achilles.¹⁸ On AP 1113 (found together with the previous piece)¹⁹ Broneer recognizes a wing, probably of a sphinx. These plaques do not offer much help except a possible confirmation of the hypothesis of the connection of dedication, and *kithara* and music assumed for AKR 303.

Plaques from the early sixth century are also scarce: AKR 414 depicts a single warrior to the right [Fig. 41]. The good quality of this piece should be taken as emphasising the suitability of the subject for decoration. Still before 580 might be AKR 2521, portraying a bearded man and an owl [Fig. 47]. The presence of the owl suggests that the bearded man might be identified as Zeus, the subject as the birth of Athena. On such a plaque, dedicated on the Acropolis, it seems very appropriate that this earliest depiction of the subject in Athens should occur.

The second quarter of the sixth century sees a dramatic increase in votive plaques which heads for a peak in the middle of the century; thirty-three pieces survive. The favourite motif for their decoration was without doubt Athena. The goddess is depicted on substantially more than a third of the plaques. Athena is generally portrayed as 'Promachos', armed with shield and spear striding forward energetically.²⁰ Where the upper part of her body is preserved her snaky aegis can be seen,²¹ the pattern of her dress seems to be usually squares filled with crosses - AKR 2502 pl. 103 offers the only preserved alternative, scales. The fragmentary condition of the pieces makes it impossible to decide if the goddess was depicted alone or if she was accompanied, as on AKR 2507 pl. 101, by the

¹⁴ Raubitschek suggests a more careful 'ante 550', *Dedications*, no. 1, Jeffery, *Local Scripts* 77/13, P.A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr. n.* (1983).

¹⁵ *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 164 ff., nos. 26, 27, fig. 14

¹⁶ Boardman, *op. cit.* 196-197

¹⁷ North Slope, Well M.; O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 224 ff., fig. 58, pl. 1 - attributed to the Nettos Painter by Beazley, *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 39, no.8; *ABV* 6, 13

¹⁸ Boardman, *op. cit.* 200

¹⁹ North Slope, Well M.; O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 228, fig. 59

²⁰ AKR 2503, 2484, 2507, 2493, 2502, probably 2505, 2502 and 2540 (pl. 100, 101, 103, 108).

²¹ AKR 2503, 2507

small Sphinx or Siren behind her; or on AKR 2540 pl. 108, where a larger scale woman (worshipper?) might indicate that indeed in this case a cult statue was meant; or on AKR 2505 pl. 103, where the goddess stands in a frieze showing two youths chatting next to a sphinx; or on the double-sided AKR 2493 pl. 101, where her owl is sitting above her shield and Herakles is depicted on the other side. The popularity of the Promachos type is reflected in the decoration of the Panathenaic amphorae, which were established as prizes for the reorganised Panathenaia at the same time. It has been suggested that the image derives from a new cult statue.

The first securely identifiable depiction of Athena's birth on AKR 2578 pl. 109 is very important. The plaque is painted in Corinthian style and apparently on Corinthian clay,²² but the inscription seems atticised and the subject remains a singular piece in Corinthian vase painting.²³

Assemblies of the gods seem to become another favourite subject. On two plaques Athena is sitting on a chair among them.²⁴ A number of plaques strongly suggest the presence of Athena. AKR 2522 pl. 101 and AKR 2508 preserve the owl, the latter also has a shield hanging above the bird [*Fig. 56*]. The size of both fragments would make completion with an Athena logical. The double-sided AKR 2493 pl. 101, depicting Athena on one, Herakles on the other side, reminds us that the three other plaques representing Herakles also suggest the attendance of his protecting goddess. On two pieces the hero is standing next to Hermes.²⁵ On AKR 2545 pl. 105 he is fighting, probably in a battle against Kyknos as the fragmentary inscription *ky/knos* hints.²⁶

Chariots appear on three plaques. AKR 592, near Sophilos,²⁷ shows a charioteer and two cars, AKR 2541 and 2527 a woman standing behind reins.²⁸ On the better preserved AKR 2541 she wears a scaly dress and carries torches or a whip. On the latter two plaques

²² J. Boardman points out that both Lorber and Amyx fail to include the piece in their recent comprehensive studies of Corinthian vase inscriptions and painting ('Culture and City' in *Culture et Cité* ed. A. Verbanck-Piérard/ D. Viviers (1995) 9 n. 15.

²³ *LIMC*, s.v. Athena no. 343

²⁴ The double-sided AKR 2494 pl. 101 and AKR 2543 pl. 105 (the suggestion, that the shield might be hanging behind her is not convincing).

²⁵ AKR 2534 and 2495 (pl. 104, 103).

²⁶ *LIMC* VII s.v. 'Kyknos I' no. 69

²⁷ *ABV* 43,1

²⁸ pl. 105 and 104

the subject is very likely a mythological wedding, which can, of course, be considered as linked to the event in an Athenian household. Horsemen are represented on two pieces.²⁹

Three plaques depict domestic scenes. On AKR 2531 weaving women are shown [Fig. 40]. An early lekythos by the Amasis Painter in New York depicts the complete scene: fragment (a) of our plaque corresponds with the left corner of the loom, the horizontal line is the shuttle. Fragment (c) compares with the lower part of the loom, piece (b) shows a woman approaching a wool-basket under a chair.³⁰ This might be commemorating the simple household activity since Athena was known to have invented weaving as Ergane,³¹ I could also imagine, however, a more important event as occasion for the creation of this plaque: the weaving of Athena's peplos. This would certainly be more deserving of commemoration and one of the women chosen to do this honourable work could well be the dedicator of this piece. The next two plaques offer a greater problem in assigning the exact subject. AKR 2525 shows a woman in front of a table preparing something [Fig. 36]. A naked girl is sitting on the floor. A shelf with objects, a loom and a basket on the wall determine the domestic setting. AKR 2524 [Fig. 80] shows a girl sitting in front of a table or chair. On its top a helmet is lying, beneath it probably a shield.

After the middle of the century pottery dedications in general see a further increase, in particular in cups. The number of plaques, however, stays roughly the same. Athena is still the favourite motif but not as dominant as before. The image of the armed goddess as main image of the plaque loses popularity in favour of more narrative pieces. On four fragments the armed goddess seems to be the only decoration, on another five she appears in an architectural setting and on two she accompanies Herakles.

The plaques featuring Athena alone still follow the Promachos type. The Amasis Painter shows her striding to the right [Fig. 34];³² the snakes of her aegis are growing directly out of her side and she is wearing the ependytes. On AKR 2509 she is heading to the left;³³ the shield is in front of her and her owl is sitting on its rim in a similar fashion to

²⁹ AKR 2544 pl. 108, AKR 2546 pl. 105 attributed to Lydos by Beazley, *ABV* 113, 85.

³⁰ Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter* (1985) 185, no. 48

³¹ Athena Ergane: see P. Demargne, *LIMC* II, 1, 961, A5 with bibliography.

³² AKR 2510 pl. 104, *ABV* 157, 92; *Para* 65

³³ AKR 2509 pl. 103

double sided plaque AKR 2493 [Fig. 40]. On the two plaques by the Euphiletos Painter Athena is also striding to the left.³⁴

The five plaques showing Athena in an architectural setting suggest the goddess as being in a temple - very likely her temple on the Acropolis is meant, even though the order of the architectural pieces is represented as Ionic on some plaques, as on fragment AKR 2547 [Fig. 26], which depicts Athena inside an Ionic building. She is standing with shield and owl in front of a table on which fruit-like objects are lying, Hermes is accompanying her. Very similar to this plaque is AKR 2548 [Fig. 54]. Again the temple is Ionic, the owl is sitting on the outstretched hand. Another Ionic temple is depicted on AKR 2549.³⁵ Athena is sitting on a chair holding her helmet on her lap. The badly preserved phorminx-player has been identified as Apollo, or - perhaps more plausible - Herakles.³⁶ Only the head of Athena with the inscription *athenaia* and a Doric-style capital are preserved on AKR 2513. On the rim *Jtron* is incised. AKR 2550 reveals only the Doric-style column and panther akroterion of a temple.

Another subject gaining in popularity was the departure of a chariot. Three times Herakles appears as charioteer. On AKR 2572 a woman is accompanying him in the car, and since Athena is striding next to the chariot with raised spear the woman might be identified as Hebe and the scene as the wedding of Herakles.³⁷ With this interpretation two questions arise: who is the bearded man and why is Athena about to launch an attack? On AKR 2566 Herakles can be seen on fragment (a), a spear in front of him might be Athena's; fragment (b) shows the four horses attended by Hermes. On AKR 2552 only Herakles in the pose of a charioteer is preserved [Fig. 62]. Herakles is also depicted in a silhouette frieze on AKR 2498. The friezes seem to have served as decorative borders for the main picture, a woman (Athena again?) striding to the left. On the badly finished back an *epoiesen* inscription was painted.³⁸

Chariots can be identified on five plaques. AKR 2564 preserves an unidentifiable charioteer [Fig. 64], AKR 2580 a frontal chariot, AKR 2563 [Fig. 63] and AKR 2497 a race and on AKR 2554 four warriors are fighting against a chariot [Fig. 40]. Warriors appear on

³⁴ AKR 2517 pl. 103 and AKR 2511 pl. 104, *ABV* 325, 43 and 42. Rumpf restores the inscription on AKR 2517 as *E[uph]ile[os k]al[os]* (*Gnomon* 14, (19), 455; see also Beazley, *AJA* 47 (1951) 443, no. 12)

³⁵ AKR 2547 and 2549 pl. 105

³⁶ For the discussion see J. Boardman, in *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 1453

³⁷ AKR 2572 pl. 108.

³⁸ AKR 2498 pl. 101 with the inscription *epoie[sen ...]des*.

two other plaques. On AKR 2537 a city-siege is depicted. The warrior on AKR 2555 is very likely Kyknos.³⁹

On two fragments gods other than Athena appear as protagonists. Plaque AKR 2523 shows a male (god?) behind an altar, his lyre suggests Apollo, and a woman holding a pomegranate is approaching from the left. AKR 2526 has Aphrodite holding Eros and Himeros [Fig. 35]; the attention of the two children and their mother is fixed on the missing main part of the piece, perhaps another birth of Athena? Eris might be depicted on AKR 2500.⁴⁰

On plaque AKR 2551 only a woman's foot in front of a tripod is preserved. A cult scene might be depicted here.⁴¹

Towards the end of the century the number of plaques is already slightly decreasing; a decline which continues into the second quarter of the fifth century, when the dedication of clay plaques seems to have ended. On the latest plaques Athena is still the most popular motif. In particular the white-ground pieces revive the image of the armed goddess. She appears as Promachos on eleven pieces - more than half of these are white-ground.⁴² Among them AKR 2590 is especially noteworthy for a rough painted sketch of an Athena on its back [Fig. 38]. Fragment AKR 2520 is in the style of Panathenaic amphorae (with columns topped by cocks) [Fig. 53]. Also on fragment (b) of AKR 2512 a cock is preserved. AKR 2583 shows the goddess - again as Promachos - being approached by a male worshipper with wreaths and twigs. The piece has been signed by Paseas.⁴³ On four plaques Athena is depicted fighting in the gigantomachy.⁴⁴ Two of these are white ground, AKR 2559 and the double sided AKR 2499, with Athena's owl on side A, the goddess fighting a giant in the bottom frieze of side B.

On four plaques (three of them white ground) Athena accompanies Herakles' chariot. On AKR 2569 she herself is the charioteer and Herakles seems to harness the chariot in front of a temple. Also on the white ground AKR 2586 [Fig. 33] Athena is

³⁹ The inscription *kukf*.. and the shield device (swan) give rise to this suggestion. *LIMC* VII s.v. 'Kyknos I' no. 15 b

⁴⁰ The inscription *eris kale* allows this identification.

⁴¹ AKR 2536 [Fig. 80], 2533 and 2539 (pls. 104, 108 and 108) are too fragmentary to be identified.

⁴² AKR 2514, 2515, 2516 [Fig. 55], 2518 (pl. 103); white-ground: AKR 2585 [Fig. 30], 2587, 2589 [Fig. 59], 2590 (pl. 109) (which joins a piece in Oxford; Beazley, *JHS* 51 (1931) 53; J. Boardman, *JHS* 76 (1956) 20-1, attributed to Euthymides; *ARV* 1598).

⁴³ C. Roebuck, *AJA* 43 (1947) 467ff; J. Boardman, *JHS* 75 (1955) 154f.

⁴⁴ AKR 2588 and 2584 pl. 109, white-ground: AKR 2559 pl. 108 and 2499 pl. 102

depicted as charioteer and on the very right Hermes is attending. Skythes signed this piece as painter. Also signed by him is the very similar plaque AKR 2591 [Fig. 31], which this time shows Herakles and Iolaos in the car, Athena standing in the background. Athena is not preserved on AKR 2557 [Fig. 32], only Herakles in the car attended by Hermes. Also on AKR 2553 only Herakles remains. Herakles as charioteer, Athena in the background and Hermes attending can be seen on the white ground AKR 2592. Assemblies of gods, including Athena, might be depicted on three plaques. On AKR 2576 (Athena and Dionysos are shown) [Fig. 57], on the double sided AKR 2499 (B side in the third frieze) and on AKR 2577 [Fig. 60]. Athena appearing in a vineyard might allude to the goddess in her role of Ergane;⁴⁵ even though Ergane is usually connected to the artisans craft, and would rather be expected in the potters workshop depicted on AKR 2579 pl. 109, if the inexperienced painter had had the ability. For this low-quality work Boardman is surely justified in suspecting the hand of the potter or an untrained associate in the figure work.⁴⁶ The unpublished fragment [Fig. 24, left] might also show a potter's workshop.

With the Herakles-Athena/chariot scenes already discussed, chariots still remain a favourite feature on plaques. Five pieces preserve horses, a car or a charioteer.⁴⁷ A plaque of very fine quality is II AKR 1037 related to Euthymides [Fig. 39]. The white-ground piece depicts a warrior with the original inscription *Megakles kalos*. The Megakles was erased and substituted by *Glaukytes*.⁴⁸

Towards the end of the century the first red-figure plaques appear. In red figure the shape will never regain its popularity - only 14 pieces were found altogether - and no piece is later than the second quarter of the fifth century. The first plaques conform to the Athena-centred subject matter. II AKR 1041 and II AKR 1038 show her as Promachos [Fig. 25], on II AKR 1042 the Judgement of Paris⁴⁹ is depicted. A plaque bearing the dedicatory *anetheken* is II AKR 1043 by the Nikoxenos Painter: a chariot is accompanied by a youth and a dog. Especially noteworthy is the depiction of an erotic scene on II AKR 1040. Being painted on a plaque the appearance of the subject cannot be explained otherwise than as being intended as dedication. The dedicator might well have been a hetaira, who is

⁴⁵ AKR 2560

⁴⁶ BSA 49 (1964) 189, note 60

⁴⁷ AKR 2565, 2568, 2538, 2562, 2567 [Fig. 65]

⁴⁸ ARV 1598; J. Boardman, JHS 76 (1956) 20-22

⁴⁹ This plaque is by Phintias, see *Hesperia* 4 (1935).

commemorating her trade just as the potter or farmer in other cases.⁵⁰ Perhaps this should not come as a surprise since dedications by hetairai are attested elsewhere.⁵¹

The plaque II AKR 2519 carries the painter or potter signature of Timachos [Fig. 58].⁵² Several pieces are too fragmentary to allow the identification of their subject matter.⁵³

2. Miniature Shields

An unusual shape found on the Acropolis is the miniature shield. Its appearance is that of round plaques or plates and only if traces of two handles on the back are preserved can it be distinguished from the other shapes. This can explain the very low number identified on the Acropolis: nine black-figure and five red-figure shields are published. The earliest pieces are from the middle of the century. Athena is figured pacing to the right, *Anphi*[... can be identified by the inscription.⁵⁴ Towards 530 Athena is also depicted on a shield.⁵⁵ Later is the small fragment figuring Hermes on a goat.⁵⁶ Two fragments depicting horsemen belong to the end of the century.⁵⁷ The majority of the red-figure shields date to the turn of the century. Traditional shield devices such as the gorgoneion, the deer or a head are used.⁵⁸ The two later pieces depict Nike with *aphlaston*.⁵⁹ The attribution of the pieces to the Boreas Painter and the Alkimachos Painter make a date shortly after 470 B.C. likely. This date might link the dedication of the two shields to the battle of Salamis.

The miniature shield is connected with warriors and battles by its very nature. In a metaphysical sense it might also serve as a new shield for Athena.

⁵⁰ AKR 2579 pl. 109, AKR 2560 pl. 107. For another erotic plaque, by Paseas, see A. Greifenhagen in *Essays in Archaeology* (in mem. O. Brendel 1976) 43-48; now in the Ashmolean, Oxford 1984. 131-2

⁵¹ E. g.: at Delphi: Herod. ii, 92 (Rhodopis); *BCH* 15, 113

⁵² J. Boardman, who was able to study the original, reports that the epsilon for *m'e[poiesen* or *m'e[graphsen* is still preserved, and therefore excludes Langlotz's reading of *m'[anetheken*. He confirms the reading of the *tau* in Timachos. *BSA* 49 (1964) 192

⁵³ II AKR 1044 - 1046, 1048, 1050

⁵⁴ AKR 2484 pl. 100, 2486 pl. 100. The shields AKR 2485, 2487 are so fragmentary that only ornament or an eagle with snake are the remains of the decoration.

⁵⁵ AKR 2488 pl. 100

⁵⁶ AKR 2489 pl. 100

⁵⁷ AKR 2490 pl. 100 with the inscription ...*m...epo]oie[sen*, and 2491 pl.100 figuring the horse under a palm tree.

⁵⁸ II AKR 1069, 1070

⁵⁹ II AKR. 1071, 1072

3. Boxes

Boxes are known in two basic shapes: the 'square' box, made of flat slabs, and the 'round' box, thrown on the potter's wheel.

Fragments of 'square' boxes can be almost indistinguishable from a variety of other shapes. The flat shape and holes for fastening are also characteristics of plaques, furniture, mirrors, stands, tripod legs, etc.

Among the Geometric pottery on the Acropolis eight plaque-like fragments have been cautiously identified as parts of 'square' boxes. All pieces have a rough, unfinished back and display breaks of the joining parts on their edges. The decoration of the fragments lends weight to their identification as votive objects. The motif of the boat, which seemed so popular on Geometric plaques is also represented on two fragments of boxes.⁶⁰ 'Heroic' warriors in contrast to mourning attendants of a funeral are depicted on three.⁶¹ As on plaque Boardman 6 a chariot seems to accompany a warrior on AKR 279. A sacrificial scene might be indicated by the two men and the animal on two joining fragments⁶². The very fragmentary AKR 280 might well have represented the same subject. Also the motive of the chain-dance (on AKR 282 pl. 9) seems suitable as dedication.⁶³

'Round' boxes with lids - pyxides⁶⁴ - are known in various shapes.⁶⁵ The box type A with slightly concave sides is the most numerous type on the Acropolis, followed in popularity by the tripod pyxis.

Pyxides were used as receptacles for miscellaneous things; in the fifth century they are recorded as containers of jewellery,⁶⁶ cosmetics (psimythion, alkanet) or of incense. Athenaios mentions the pyxis as a utensil for physician's equipment and the frequent occurrence of the word *kylichnis* in inventory lists of Asklepios confirms our source.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ AKR 276 and 277, illustrated in *Athen. Mitt.* 42, (19), 298, pl.5/6; AKR 277 is rather late with the incision of the eye.

⁶¹ AKR 279 pl. 9; AKR 283 pl. 9; AKR 285 pl. 10

⁶² AKR 281 pl. 9 and the joining AKR 278

⁶³ AKR 284 pl. 9 preserves only the decoration of the strip of a box, two running hares.

⁶⁴ The classical name of this vase, however, was more likely *kylichnis* (cf. M. J. Milne, 'Kylichnis' *AJA* 43 (1939).

⁶⁵ G. M. A. Richter/ M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (1935) 794-795

⁶⁶ *AJA* 43 (1939) 247-254

⁶⁷ Athenaios *Deipnosophistae* XI 480 c

Pyxides were made in various materials: clay, stone, marble, bronze, ivory, wood and silver.

The earliest pyxides from the Acropolis are from the first half of the seventh century and are decorated with simple ornaments such as tongues,⁶⁸ or with friezes⁶⁹ of animals and monsters, for example sirens or sphinxes, or horsemen. Their source is distinctly Corinthian.

In the early sixth century a slight variation of the shape appears on the Acropolis: the tripod pyxis. The earliest attributed piece is by a painter of the Group of the Dresden Lekanis.⁷⁰ The Gorgon Painter and the KX Painter also decorated this shape.⁷¹ Animal friezes and lotos-palmette chains remain the dominant decoration. In a similar style but later in the century are the two tripod pyxides from the Swan Group.⁷² Towards the middle of the century mythological scenes appear. The lid AKR 2112 by the C Painter shows Athena introducing Herakles to Olympus and the departure of Amphiaraos. Contemporary with the C Painter's work is AKR 590, depicting the funeral games in honour of Pelias. The piece is larger than most tripod pyxides.⁷³ Slightly later is a birth of Athena⁷⁴ and two fights of Herakles with the lion.⁷⁵ AKR 2077 requires special attention: again Athena is depicted as Promachos, but this time clearly a cult statue is meant since attendants sacrifice to her at the altar. Another sacrifice is depicted on a pyxis with high foot, and a procession of women towards a temple,⁷⁶ the subject of weaving is also rendered.⁷⁷ Other subjects are the typical favourites of the time: chariot races, horsemen, fighting warriors, amazons, satyrs and maenads and animals.⁷⁸ Towards the end of the century and the beginning of the next the popularity of the shape rises. Black-figure pieces are painted by the Rycroft Painter, the Diosphos Painter, the Palmette-and-Swan Group and the Haimon Painter.

⁶⁸ AKR 438, AKR 439, AKR 440

⁶⁹ AKR 443 pl. 15, AKR 444 pl. 16

⁷⁰ Group of the Dresden Lekanis AKR 510 pl. 21 (*ABV* 22,10) and 506 pl. 19

⁷¹ Gorgon Painter AKR 506 pl. 19, KX Painter AKR 504 pl. 20. Other tripod pyxides in their style: AKR 505, AKR 507-509, AKR 511-513

⁷² AKR 569 and AKR 570

⁷³ For the joining fragment AP 906 see: *Hesperia* 2 (19), 9

⁷⁴ AKR 2119 pl. 93

⁷⁵ AKR 2121 and AKR 2122

⁷⁶ AKR 2185 pl. 95, 2189 pl. 95

⁷⁷ AKR 2081 [*Fig. 70*], and the high foot AKR 2188 pl. 95

⁷⁸ As for example AKR 2073 pl. 92, 2075, 2076, 2078, 2080, 2125 pl. 95, 2128 or 2118 by the Elbows-out Painter

Athena appears in an assembly of gods and on her own on a lid.⁷⁹ Peleus and Thetis are the subject of two lids.⁸⁰ A puzzling scene is of women with big baskets on two pieces.⁸¹ Other scenes are the Troilos adventure, a hunting scene and several of the typical maenad-satyr, horsemen, chariot and warrior scenes.⁸² Graef observed traces of red lead inside AKR 2104 [Fig. 68].

Together with the increase of pyxides in general at the end of the century, the first red-figure pieces appear. Early pyxides are painted by the Thaliarchos Painter, Makron and Douris and later ones by the Penthesileia Painter, the Splachnopt Painter or the Painter of Munich 2676. Later red-figure pyxides are known for their introduction of predominantly feminine topics,⁸³ and the majority of pieces on the Acropolis confirm this: brides, sitting women and domestic scenes dominate. The pyxis by the Penthesileia Painter portraying the bride Heras is the largest red-figure pyxis extant.⁸⁴ Less usual subjects appear on II AKR 563, which shows a goddess sitting next to a blood-stained altar and II AKR 566, depicting a goddess in a mountain setting. An altar with an attendant youth is also shown on a lid which probably belongs to a pyxis.⁸⁵ Athena appears on lids: II AKR 587 by the Splachnopt Painter depicts her in the Judgement of Paris and the Mikion Painter⁸⁶ shows her next to her sacred olive-tree, and at the salt-spring he shows Erechtheus or Kekrops and Dionysos. The same Mikion might have painted the plaque II AKR 1051. The phallos-bird on II AKR 573 is also remarkable.⁸⁷

4. Plates

Plates share many features with the plaques.⁸⁸ On both shapes the decoration is displayed on a flat clay surface and the drilled holes in the rim of most plates suggest

⁷⁹ AKR 2084 [Fig. 70], 2106

⁸⁰ AKR 2086, 2087

⁸¹ AKR 2090 [Fig. 70], 2130

⁸² As AKR 2115 pl. 95, 2102, 2111, 2083, 2088, 2089, 2091, 2092

⁸³ S. Rutherford-Roberts *The Attic Pyxis* (1978) has shown this very convincingly.

⁸⁴ II AKR 569 with the inscription ...on[k]alos he[r]askale.

⁸⁵ AKR 587 pl. 25

⁸⁶ AKR 594 pl. 45 [Fig. 43]. Langlotz suggests the reading as *Athena [anetheken] eue[m]po[ros] [ho deina] ep[oiesen]*.

⁸⁷ J. Boardman, *RA* (1992) 232

⁸⁸ D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les plats attiques* (1974) provides the most comprehensive study of the black-figure plates. Many of the Acropolis plates have been further restored by her with joining fragments from

[Footnote continued on next page]

similar suspension to the plaques. It has been remarked, that the figure decoration with its many unglazed areas prove plates to be unsuitable for contact with food.⁸⁹ Therefore the use of the shape has been explained as being restricted to religious or funerary purposes. The rarity of plates seems to support this theory.

The development of numbers of plates on the Acropolis is quite similar to the plaques [Fig. 11]. The earliest pieces remain scarce until about 570, when the numbers slowly build up to a peak at the middle of the century. From then onwards there is a steady increase to about twice the numbers, with a peak after 520. The numbers are roughly kept until the decline of the shape in 470. As the plaques, the plate is not revived after the first quarter of the fifth century.

The beginning of Attic black-figure plates has been attributed to the Gorgon Painter⁹⁰ and his work is represented by four pieces on the Acropolis. The decoration of these early plates bears no correlation to the plaques, it is entirely ornamental. Lotus-palmette-chains, sirens and sphinxes are the dominant feature on pieces by the Gorgon Painter⁹¹ and the Gecko Painter.⁹²

The next prolific painter of plates is Lydos, and his companions and followers, who remain interested in the shape. Lydos is the first painter to decorate plates on the Acropolis with a dedicatory formula and Athena-related decoration. One of his early works is NM 2411, the earliest representation of Athena on a plate.⁹³ As Promachos she is striding to the left, her figure fills the tondo completely. This plate has been made on purpose as a dedication, since the last letter of the name of the dedicator (an *alpha*) together with the *m'anetheken* and *athe/jnaia* were painted next to the goddess before firing. The *alpha*-ending points to a female dedicator.⁹⁴ Another plate by Lydos showing Athena in an amazonomachy has the dedicatory inscription *anethe/jken*.⁹⁵ Two gigantomachies in the

the material not published by Graef and newly found pieces from later excavations on the Acropolis. Plates only published by Callipolitis-Feytmans will be referred to as C-F.

⁸⁹ C-F, text 12

⁹⁰ *ABV* 9-10, 18-21; *Para* 7, 18 and 19. See also C-F, text 63-67 for a detailed discussion.

⁹¹ AKR 514 (sirens); 515 pl. 23 (sphinx, frieze); 516 pl. 23, 517 (lotus-palmette-chain)

⁹² AKR 2396, C-F 65. 30bis, C-F 65. 33bis (lotus-palmette-chain), C-F ch. V, 2, 68bis (floral-cross), C-F 65. 44bis (gorgoneion)

⁹³ F. Studniczka, *Ephem.* 1886, pl. 8, 2; with later additions by D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, C-F pl. 20 no. 24. She connects the plate to the young Lydos in the 'atelier des godrons'.

⁹⁴ D. Callipolitis-Feytmans suggest a second *athenaia* (C-F, text 313). The repetition, however, seems rather unlikely to me.

⁹⁵ AKR 2410 pl. 97/98 and four new pieces attributed by S. Karouzou *BCH* 79 (1955) 8.

manner of Lydos are preserved.⁹⁶ Also four plates starring Herakles in several adventures are in the manner of Lydos. His fights against the Nemean lion, against Geryoneus, against Nessos and twice against Triton can be seen.⁹⁷ Other mythological scenes are Apollo and Artemis pursuing Tityos with Leto and Hermes with women in an unidentified scene. Two Boreads are painted on a plate painted by Lydos and dedicated by the potter.⁹⁸

The topic of the couple in a chariot already observed on the plaques also appears on plates. However, no indication is given that the woman could be Athena. Here the pair in the chariot and their attendants represent a scene of a wedding, whether a mythological couple or a scene of ordinary life is alluded to cannot be established.⁹⁹ Chariots,¹⁰⁰ horsemen and warriors,¹⁰¹ and in one case warships are shown.¹⁰² Gorgoneia are common and AKR 2404 depicts a running Gorgon.¹⁰³ Two plates feature winged men in a similar style.¹⁰⁴

In the decades before the turn of the century black-figure plates are still very numerous and painters keep to the established topics in the decoration. Twice Athena is depicted in the style of Panathenaic amphorae, flanked by columns with cocks.¹⁰⁵ As armed goddess she also appears on AKR 2442 pl. 100. She is featured in a gigantomachy and an assembly of gods¹⁰⁶ and she attends Herakles in his fight with the Nemean lion.¹⁰⁷

Dionysos and his companions increase in popularity on plates. Five pieces show him or his party of satyrs and maenads.¹⁰⁸ A mythological chariot scene is depicted on one plate - with a goddess as charioteer and Apollo and Hermes attending.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁶ AKR 2403 pl. 97 and C-F pl. 27 no. 50

⁹⁷ AKR 2424 pl. 98, C-F pl. 20 no. 26, AKR 2402 pl. 97, C-F pl. 27 no. 18

⁹⁸ *ABV* 112, 54; H. Immerwahr, *James Sprunt Studies* 46 (1964) 16.

⁹⁹ AKR 2400 pl. 98

¹⁰⁰ C-F pl. 5 no. 23; AKR 589 pl. 25

¹⁰¹ AKR 2428 pl. 90, AKR 2422 pl. 98

¹⁰² AKR 2414 pl. 98

¹⁰³ AKR 2404 pl. 98.

¹⁰⁴ AKR 2441 pl. 97 and AKR 2418 pl. 98. See H. Kenner, 'Flügelfrau und Flügeldämon' *Oe. Jh.* 31 (1939) 84. Compare to AKR 2415.

¹⁰⁵ AKR 2408 with fragment AP 1859 (C-F pl. 33 no. 27), with the inscription: *Sotes m'ep[oie]sen Paideros egrapse[n]* and C-F pl. 55 no. 26ter.

¹⁰⁶ Gigantomachy: C-F pl. 60 no. 20 bis; assembly: pl. 34 no. 1A (with Hermes and possibly Dionysos as on the plate Toronto no. 283); also pl. 13 no. 63 might depict an assembly of gods.

¹⁰⁷ AKR 2425 pl. 98

¹⁰⁸ AKR 2433 pl. 99 with the inscription *aga]lm[a*, AKR 2467, AKR 2423 pl. 99, C-F chapter IV no. 13 bis and C-F chapter IV no. 21 bis.

¹⁰⁹ AKR 2452 pl. 99 (C-F pl. 34 no. 30)

The majority of red-figure plates appear contemporary with the later black figure plates of this period. Their number is small and throughout the following decades the shape will never reach the popularity of the black-figure version.

On the early red-figure plates the well known dedicatory subjects appear: two plates display Athena as Promachos, II AKR 6, signed by Epiktetos as painter and potter, and II AKR 7, attributed to Psiax.¹¹⁰ The Epiktetos plate has been suggested as example of a dedication by the painter himself.¹¹¹ The plate remains the only vase signed by Epiktetos as potter and the shape of the plate is unlike the models usually decorated by Epiktetos.¹¹² Two of the remaining three plates are signed: II AKR 3 by the potter Kachrylion and II AKR 5 by Hermokrates.¹¹³ From the turn of the century and the first decades of the fifth century the number of black-figure plates still dominates over the red-figure. This is partly due to vase painters such as the Kleiboulos Painter, with exceedingly high output and diminished quality. The range of motifs displays the old favourites: Athena appears as armed goddess on six pieces, three of these are miniature plates;¹¹⁴ a gigantomachy and two assemblies of gods include her¹¹⁵ and on a plate from the Snake-and-Spot Painter a woman is approaching Athena.¹¹⁶

Herakles is twice depicted, fighting the Nemean lion¹¹⁷ and in an amazonomachy.¹¹⁸ In this period Dionysos and his satyrs and maenads seem to be an even more popular motif on plates. Eight pieces depict him or his companions, four of these are from the Kleiboulos Painter;¹¹⁹ one from the Berkeley Class, one from the atelier of the Painter of AP 428 and another one from the Gorgoneion Class.¹²⁰ A Dionysian procession seems to be depicted on a plate from the east slope.¹²¹ A woman dancing with branches

¹¹⁰ II AKR 6 pl. 2, *Epiktetos epo[iesen kai egr]apsen*; ARV² 78, 102; II AKR 7 pl. 1; ARV 8, 12.

¹¹¹ see Robertson, *Vase-Painting*, 18

¹¹² The plate appears to be much later than all other plates in Epiktetos' oeuvre; see also C-F, 216-17

¹¹³ II AKR 3 pl. 2, *Ka]chryli[on*, ARV 109, 30: only an arm and basket are preserved; II AKR 5 pl. 1 *Hermokrates egraphsen*, ARV 172: man playing the flute.

¹¹⁴ AKR 2465 pl. 99 (attributed to the Snake-and-Spot Painter by C-F), AKR 2440 pl. 100, AKR. 2472 pl. 94, AKR 2474, C-F pl. 94 no. 6 and chapter XII no. 29 bis (attributed to Kleiboulos by C-F)

¹¹⁵ Gigantomachy: C-F pl. 72 no. 4 bis (in the manner of Oltos by C-F), assembly: pl. 72 no. 4 bis and pl. 83 no. 15

¹¹⁶ C-F pl. 77 no 7 bis

¹¹⁷ AKR 2450 and the Kleiboulos Painter's C-F pl. 88 no. 15

¹¹⁸ AKR 2449 and a piece attributed by C-F pl. 47 no. 11

¹¹⁹ Kleiboulos: C-F pl. 91 no. 27 bis, Maenads: pl. 88 no. 29, AKR 2459; Satyr and Maenad: pl. 91 no. 10 bis

¹²⁰ AKR 2435 pl. 99, AKR 2443, pl. 84 no. 19 bis

¹²¹ *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 269, fig. 18 no. 27

from the Painter of AP 428 might also be a maenad.¹²² Pieces of five plates with this motif survive. Dancers appear also on three plates by the Painter of the Dancer.¹²³ Other mythological scenes are Theseus, two poorly preserved Judgement of Paris plates and Europa and the bull.¹²⁴

After the turn of the century the Kleiboulos Painter was, without doubt, the dominant decorator of black-figure plates.¹²⁵ Among the numerous plates found on the Acropolis the kithara player is a favourite motif, appearing four times.¹²⁶ The Kleiboulos Painter is also represented with five plates depicting Nike flying over a chariot;¹²⁷ a motif also used in the Class of the Dancer.¹²⁸ Three plates from the Ready Group figure a chariot, on one of these a kithara player is preserved.¹²⁹

Miniature plates are represented with three pieces.¹³⁰

One of only two known plates decorated in Six's technique was found on the Acropolis.¹³¹

The red-figure plates show a greater diversity of subjects. Maenads and Dionysian scenes do appear, but the presence is not as dominant as in black-figure. Archers, warriors, youths in unidentified subjects, woman flute players are the miscellaneous subjects.

Among them are only few pieces, which might have been made as dedication. Two plates by the Berlin Painter¹³² and on one of the last plates from the Acropolis, the mid-fifth century II AKR 33, Athena was depicted. A youth pouring a libation at an altar appears on II AKR 26.

¹²² C-F pl. 50 no. 19a, no. 19c, pl. 51 no. 19d, no. 20, no. 22

¹²³ C-F pl. 85 no. 3 bis, no. 8 bis, pl. 86 no. 3

¹²⁴ AKR 2463 pl. 11 by Kleiboulos, AKR 2432 pl. 99, C-F pl. 35 no. 4, AKR 2451 pl. 99

¹²⁵ The work of the painter has been put together in C-F, text 266-276, 395-399, nos. 1-40.

¹²⁶ AKR 2455 (C-F pl. 87 no. 6), pl. 88 no. 7 bis, pl. 91 no. 30 bis, AKR 2456 (C-F pl. 89 no. 14) and perhaps also AKR 2460. I would also consider AKR 2457 (C-F pl. 13 no. 83) to belong to this series. A comparison with the plate BM B592 shows that this plate is most likely by the Kleiboulos Painter, too.

¹²⁷ AKR 2448, C-F pl. 91 no. 25, AKR 2447 (only the Nike survived), AKR 2446, AP 259.

¹²⁸ C-F pl. 84 no. 21ter

¹²⁹ C-F pl. 37 no. 17 bis, no. 28 bis, no. 45

¹³⁰ AKR 571 (C-F pl. 67 no. K1), pl. 91 no. K6, pl. 91 no. 17 bis - all figuring swans.

¹³¹ II AKR 1074. The other piece was found in the Agora: *Agora XIII*, 1411 (pl. 96)

¹³² Berlin Painter: II AKR 427 (*ARV* 214, 244), II AKR 23 (*ARV* 214, 245), with Herakles

5. Panathenaic Amphorae

The Panathenaic amphorae have to be discussed separately from the other big vases, because unlike them they were not freely available in the potter's shop for use in the household, but served as prizes at the festival of the Panathenaia. The earliest prize amphorae emerge before the middle of the sixth century, to argue from the date of the reorganisation of the festival in 566 B.C., ascribed to Peisistratos.¹³³ In literature they are mentioned as early as Pindar who referred to the 'fruit of the olive in gaily bedecked jars.'¹³⁴

For the winners of the games the value of the prize was not only in the beautifully decorated Panathenaic amphorae themselves, but also in the oil with which they were filled and which was made from the olives from Athena's sacred grove at the Academy. The shape of the prize amphora is therefore, in line with its use, similar to a storage amphora with a small foot. The decoration of the Panathenaic amphora follows a canonical scheme, which is established by the middle of the sixth century, both sides of the amphora are decorated with panels, on the obverse Athena appears between two columns topped with cocks, the reverse generally shows a scene from the games, which might have been related to the specific sport for which the vase was intended to be an award. AKR 923 shows the most interesting deviation from this pattern. Here the reverse shows Athena again, facing her father Zeus in the centre of an assembly of gods.

The Panathenaic amphora is of an average height about 0.63 m, a width roughly 0.43 m, and could hold 38 to 39 litres of oil. A number of slightly undersized prize amphorae have been found¹³⁵ and have to be regarded with caution as Panathenaic. The same circumspection is due in cases of vases without inscription, which have been explained as competition samples,¹³⁶ or simply as overruns in production, which were sold

¹³³ For a bibliography of the early literature see Beazley, *Development*, chap. VIII, literature until 1986: M. B. Moore/ M. Z. P. Philippides, *The Athenian Agora*, XXIII, (1986), 12f note 1. For a more recent account M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting* (1992) 65f.

¹³⁴ Schol. Pind. *Nem.* X. 64; transl. by Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 152

¹³⁵ M. Vos, 'Some Notes on Panathenaic Amphorae' *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 62 (1981) 33-46; Bothmer in *Agora XIII* (1986) note 4, is recorded to be of the opinion that these vases were test vases, Vos offers the explanation, that smaller vases might have been given in times of 'war or financial stringency'.

¹³⁶ M. Tiverios, 'Panathenaika' *Delt.* 29 (1974) [1977] 142-153 The overrun must have consisted of unfired vases which were finished without adding the the inscription. See also *Agora XIII* note 4

off without inscription if they were not needed for the prizes. More than half of the 200 prize amphorae found on the Acropolis have been claimed to fall under these categories and were considered as non-prize vases.¹³⁷ Frel claims the small size, smaller than the standard prize amphorae, and the absence of inscription as support for his theory. Both observations, however, are not convincing: measuring and comparing the size in the photos published in Graef with accepted prize-amphorae establish the Acropolis fragments as equal in proportion; furthermore, all pieces which preserve the neck of the vases prove the distinctive shape of the prize-amphorae.¹³⁸ The argument from missing inscription is shaken too if we consider that only AKR 936 and AKR 980 would definitely not allow space for an inscription and that only a very small number of definitely uninscribed vases is known.¹³⁹

The Acropolis is one of the major single sites for Panathenaic amphorae with about 200 pieces; although the vast majority of other preserved vases come from burial contexts.¹⁴⁰ The earliest prize amphorae on the Acropolis are not much later than the invention of the type before the middle of the century [*Fig. 15*].¹⁴¹ In the first 20 years slightly less than one Panathenaic per year (until 520) can be identified; this increases to four around 490. A sharp decrease comes in 470. No other graph seems to show a curve so easily associated with the events of the 'Perserschutt': the slow increase of vessels before 480, when the sack of the Acropolis ensured in particular the newest dedications, which in time might have been disposed of elsewhere, were preserved on the site. The slight decrease after 480 and the strong decrease after 470 probably shows the Acropolis still operational but tidied up more and more towards the middle of the fifth century. The peak of the Panathenaics, four vases per year, converted into the four-year rhythm of the Greater Panathenaia translates to ten vases per festival.

The most obvious candidates for the dedication of the Panathenaic amphorae are the athletes who won them as prizes in the Panathenaic Games. We should expect them to show their gratitude for their good fortune and to offer a tithe of their substantial winnings. Did athletes take this literally and dedicate a tenth of their amphorae? This seems unlikely. The

¹³⁷ J. Frel, 'Arx Atheniensium: Panathenaica' *AAA* 2 (1969) 379: nos. 932-1081

¹³⁸ See for example AKR 932 pl. 60, 933 pl. 56, 989 pl. 61, 991 pl. 61, 992 pl. 60, 993 pl. 61

¹³⁹ *Agora* XIII note 4.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. E. Langlotz, *Wiss. Ztschr. Rostock* 16 (1967), 474. Prize amphorae have also been found at the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda (P. Hellström, *Act. Inst. Ath.* V, II, 1).

¹⁴¹ AKR 913-920 pl. 58, 57, 60

value of the prize was primarily the oil stored in the Panathenaics. This oil could be sold tax-free by the athletes and its special quality was generally acknowledged.

Well known vase painters are represented among the artists: before 530 Exekias,¹⁴² the Princeton Painter,¹⁴³ the Antimenes Painter,¹⁴⁴ the Michigan Painter and the Painter of the Havana Owl¹⁴⁵; before the end of the century Euphronios¹⁴⁶ and the Euphiletos Painter¹⁴⁷; at the beginning of the fifth century the Berlin Painter,¹⁴⁸ the Kleophrades Painter¹⁴⁹ and in overwhelming number the Eucharides Painter¹⁵⁰ with 35 pieces. The sports depicted on the reverse of the vases show a wide range and no special favouring of one sport can be seen. The Acropolis Panathenaics follow roughly the pattern of depictions observed on Panathenaics in general, slightly more than a third show foot-races, a third equestrian events and the rest are split between combat sports, javelin-throwing, discus-throwing, and long-jumping.

The Panathenaic amphorae give us a good benchmark to calculate the survival-rate of pottery. Literary evidence suggests that the number of amphorae given as prizes every four years was 1300.¹⁵¹

6. Drinking Vessels

Drinking vessels account for the majority of vases on the Acropolis [*Fig. 12-14*]. The cup is so numerous, that it outnumbers all other shapes. This dominance on the Acropolis becomes evident towards the middle of the century, when nearly one in four vases dedicated was a cup. The number rises steadily, until at its peak, around 500 B.C., the proportion reaches nearly half of all the pottery.

¹⁴² AKR 929

¹⁴³ AKR 921 pl. 59

¹⁴⁴ AKR 928 pl. 56, 929

¹⁴⁵ AKR 927 pl. 57

¹⁴⁶ AKR 931 pl. 56

¹⁴⁷ AKR 962 pl. 54, 963

¹⁴⁸ AKR 981 pl. 58, 1001 pl. 61, 1007, 1023 pl. 58 attributed by J. Frel, op. cit. 382: 1013, 1014,

¹⁴⁹ AKR 969, 1048, 1049/1050

¹⁵⁰ Attributed *ABV* 396: AKR 932 pl. 60, 933 pl. 56, 935 pl. 60, 936 pl. 57, 938 pl. 56, 939 pl. 58, 941 pl. 57, 947 pl. 61, 952 pl. 61, 958 pl. 57, 1060 pl. 62; C-F. Frel: AKR 934, 937 (by J. Binder), 940 (by J. Binder), 942, 943, 944, 945 pl. 56, 946 (by J. Binder), 948 (by J. Binder), 949, 950 (by J. Binder), 951, 952 pl. 61, 953, 954 pl. 57, 955-957, 959, 960, 1002, 1003, 1006, 1063, 1073, 1075, 1078, 1081

¹⁵¹ Cf. A. W. Johnston in *Papers on the Amasis Painter* 1987, 126, with references. The overall survival rate of the shape is between 0.3 and 0.8 per cent (T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1972) 3-4 and R.M. Cook, *JDAI* 74 (1959) 119).

The cups and skyphoi demonstrate the limits of our knowledge more than other shapes. Most fragments are very small; even the better preserved often show only one figure, a part of a horse or ornament. A single figure, unfortunately, can seldom identify complicated iconographic subjects.

The decoration of most of the earlier drinking vessels has nothing of great interest for us. The traditional animal friezes, sphinxes and ornaments like the lotus-palmette chain are the rule, especially among the cups, and the convention continues until the very late pieces of the Swan Group. Fragments of the KY Painter,¹⁵² the Griffin-Bird Painter,¹⁵³ the Tleson Painter¹⁵⁴ and numerous unattributed pieces (mainly from the first half of the sixth century)¹⁵⁵ bear witness to this.

In the first half of the sixth century it is the skyphos which is the more elaborately decorated drinking vessel on the Acropolis. The fact that the earliest dedicatory inscription on a drinking vessel, a painted *agalma*, is on a skyphos of the beginning of the century supports the impression of a preference for skyphoi over cups at the time.¹⁵⁶ But even on this piece the animal frieze was thought to be a perfectly appropriate decoration. This is the only case where the formula *agalma* is used on black-figure on the Acropolis.¹⁵⁷ In a different class are the skyphoi painted by Sophilos and Kleitias. The piece by Sophilos preserves only a very small part of the vase, which makes decisive identification of the shape difficult. The identification of the female figure is made easier by the inscription: *A/rtem[is]*. She was walking with another (unidentified) figure between chariots. The subject was probably a procession of gods, a popular topic of the time which is also depicted on the contemporary skyphos AKR 603, which has to be thought of as the wedding procession in honour of Peleus and Thetis.¹⁵⁸ Kleitias apparently portrays the most appropriate subject: a birth of Athena.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² The cups: AKR 1420 pl. 79, 1444, 1445

¹⁵³ Cups: AKR 1416 pl. 74, AKR 1417 [Fig. 74], 1421, 1422 pl. 79

¹⁵⁴ Cups: AKR 1567, 1570 pl. 82, 1768

¹⁵⁵ Skyphoi: as AKR 552 pl. 20, 555 pl. 18, 556 pl. 20, 560, 553 pl. 25, 382 p. 39, 1364 pl. 76 and the late Swan group AKR 581, 582; cups: middle of the century as AKR 1568, 1569, 1571-1574

¹⁵⁶ AKR 551 pl. 19; Graef suggests an *eta* as word ending in front of the *agalma*. His solution of the potter being also the dedicator on the merit of the painted inscription is not necessary if we suppose pieces being made on order of the customer.

¹⁵⁷ Graef, 59, suggests the restoration as *epoiesen kai anetheke]n agalma* because he believes that a painted inscription necessarily indicates that the potter himself is the dedicator. It must, however, been common enough to order a vessel with inscription.

¹⁵⁸ AKR 603 pl. 29 and 588 (near Sophilos, *ABV* 43, 6)

¹⁵⁹ AKR 597 a-e pl. 24 (*ABV* 77,3)

The popularity of the amazonomachy is remarkable. It is twice represented on skyphoi by Kleitias,¹⁶⁰ and on a very big skyphos, AKR 466, Herakles takes part. Herakles fighting the Amazon Antimache is also the subject of a cup by the Marmaro Painter.¹⁶¹ Nearer the middle of the century the gigantomachy becomes a well-liked subject for dedication. Two cups depict this topic;¹⁶² and it should be noted that AKR 1632 bears an incised inscription, which very likely may be restored as dedicatory.¹⁶³

Non-mythological scenes, such as warriors and horsemen, are well represented on the Acropolis cups. The C Painter, with ten cups altogether, the dominant figure in cup decoration on the Acropolis, offers a cross-section of popular subjects: warriors,¹⁶⁴ horsemen,¹⁶⁵ draped figures,¹⁶⁶. Two merrythought cups on the Acropolis are by the C Painter, very likely the inventor of the shape.

Another popular subject of the drinking vessel is the symposion, but before the middle of the century only two cups depicting this subject are represented on the Acropolis, an early piece by the KY Painter and a cup by the C Painter,¹⁶⁷ and a skyphos.¹⁶⁸

Only few skyphoi were imported. Two early seventh century pieces are probably from Corinth¹⁶⁹ and four sixth century chalices are Chiot.¹⁷⁰

In the middle of the century a series of eleven cups was especially made for dedication. Their interiors are decorated with the painted inscription *hiera tes athenaas* within the small reserved circle of the tondo.¹⁷¹ The best preserved piece AKR 1812 reveals that the area under the handles was decorated with palmettes, otherwise only a reserved ring around the foot decorated the exterior.

¹⁶⁰ AKR 597 f-h, AKR 598 pl. 24 (ABV 77, 4; 5)

¹⁶¹ AKR 1781 pl. 83 and 86; both are named in the inscription: *Her]akles Antimache*.

¹⁶² AKR 1632 pl. 84, 1631

¹⁶³ Seven pieces of this splendid cup have been preserved. AKR 1632 pl. 84, (Carpenter 15a).

¹⁶⁴ AKR 1439 pl. 79, 1440 pl. 79('as C Painter' by Brijder), 1613, 1780 with the inscription ...*Jaidon epoie[sen]*.

¹⁶⁵ AKR 1423 [Fig. 74] -1425

¹⁶⁶ Men: AKR 1429 [Fig. 74], 1433, 2144 ; women: AKR 1427 pl. 79(as C Painter)

¹⁶⁷ KY Painter: AKR 1420 pl. 79 (ABV 32, 23); C Painter: AKR 1438 [Fig. 74] (ABV 53,37)

¹⁶⁸ AKR 2142 pl. 95

¹⁶⁹ AKR 265 pl. 11 (720-690), AKR 381 pl. 14 (650-600) (Corinthian)

¹⁷⁰ AKR 450-453 pl. 15, 24, 16 (second quarter of the 6th century B.C.); A. Lemos *Archaic Pottery of Chios* (1991) 199

¹⁷¹ AKR 1812 pl. 88, AKR 1813 pl. 88; AKR 1923 pl. 89 *h[iera tes] ath(e)naas*; AKR 1924 (only upper half of the word *athen[* and a small part of the hasta are preserved; AKR 1925 *]naf*; AKR 1926 *hiera t[....]naas*; AKR 1927 *]thenaaf*; AKR 1928 *Jiera*; AKR 1929 *t]e(s) athf*; AKR 1930 *]ra tes*; AKR 1931 *]ra tes athenaf*.

Athena appears with Herakles and the lion, other mythological scenes are Herakles and an amazon,¹⁷² Theseus and the Minotaur.¹⁷³

In the second half of the century the popularity of the cups is still increasing. Athena appears 18 times. Parts of dedicatory inscriptions are present on three. AKR 1628 provides the longest: *h]ier[a t]es athe[naia]s sosias anetheken* is incised on the rim. Next to an Athena Promachos in the interior *hiera* is painted on AKR 1922.¹⁷⁴ Under the foot we find incised *athenaias*, *tes athenaias* and *athenas emi*;¹⁷⁵ *athenaias eimi* is also painted on the rim of the foot AKR 1932 [Fig. 52]; *chunphoros m'aneth[* on the rim of AKR 1933. Around 530 B.C. is the foot of the big little-master cup II AKR 1312 with a painted dedicatory inscription by Nomenios, *Nomenios anetheken Athenaia tod agalma*. Other depictions of Athena are on AKR 1648 on which the goddess appears on the front and back in a chariot, AKR 1922 with Athena in the tondo of the cup displays the painted *hiera* and Athena among other gods. On the rim of AKR 1629 *aneth(e)ken* is incised; the subject of this piece is apparently Herakles fighting the Nemean lion.¹⁷⁶ Athena seems to be depicted alone on six cups,¹⁷⁷ on chariots she appears with Herakles and with Dionysos.¹⁷⁸ On four cups she is fighting against giants.¹⁷⁹ With a cock she appears on AKR 1765, with an unidentified man on AKR 1868. Herakles and the lion appear probably seven times.¹⁸⁰ His adventure with Triton is depicted on AKR 1554. As expected Dionysos and his satyrs and maenads are a favourite motif on the cups. He himself is depicted on at least nine pieces,¹⁸¹ maenads and satyrs on thirteen.¹⁸²

Mythological subjects on skyphoi are waylaying of Troilos and Polyxena on a mug from the first decade of the second half of the century.¹⁸³

Chariots, horsemen and warriors appear numerous times. Painters use them in great variety from Scythian archers to a single Amazon.¹⁸⁴ Only about 30 pieces are

¹⁷² AKR 1428 pl. 79, Beazley: Painter of Boston C.A.

¹⁷³ AKR 1431 pl. 79

¹⁷⁴ AKR 1922 pl. 89

¹⁷⁵ AKR 1919 pl. 89, AKR 1920, 1921

¹⁷⁶ AKR 1628 pl. 83; AKR 1629 pl. 84

¹⁷⁷ AKR 1577 [Fig. 74], 1893, 1907, 2007, 2064, 2066

¹⁷⁸ AKR 2008, 1740

¹⁷⁹ AKR 1617, 1632, 1537, 1538 pl. 81

¹⁸⁰ AKR 1775 pl. 87, 1580, 1618, 1646, 1727, 1728, 1729

¹⁸¹ AKR 1593, 1599, 1654, 1788, 1912, 1946, 1947 (with an incised *i]era*), 1948, 1949

¹⁸² AKR 1590, 1591, 1593, 1596, 1598, 1626, 1690, 1692, 1697, 1725, 1733, 1898, 1899

¹⁸³ AKR 2146 pl. 93; the subject was identified by C. Zindel, *Drei vorhomerische Sagenversionen in der griechischen Kunst* (1974) 30-80, fig. 116, no. 8

published by Graef, but the greatest proportion of the estimated 500 fragments not considered for the publication would belong to this group.¹⁸⁵

More unconventional scenes are the symposion¹⁸⁶ an erotic scene,¹⁸⁷ and bread-making (?).¹⁸⁸

In the decades before the turn of the century Athena only figures in secondary positions. She appears solely as companion of Herakles.¹⁸⁹ Herakles' fight against the Nemean lion is still popular; this scene appears nine times.¹⁹⁰ On one cup he can be seen with a bull.¹⁹¹ Other mythological figures are Hermes and an unknown couple.¹⁹²

Most black-figure cups before the end of the century depict Dionysos and his companions. AKR 1947 bears the inscription *hi/jera* next to the god. He definitely appears on seven cups, two of these might include Ariadne.¹⁹³ He might have appeared in a great number of over 40 pieces figuring maenads and satyrs,¹⁹⁴ nine of these from the Leafless Group.¹⁹⁵

The fashion of painting the dedicatory inscription on the edge of the foot is still present at the end of the century, as the *to]d Athen[ai]ai ..* on II AKR 1303, the *h/jieron* on II AKR 1304, and the *tes Athena[i]as* on II AKR 1305 and 1306, prove.

Notable is a skyphos depicting Athena in a temple with sacrificing worshippers. The incised inscription runs *hiera [...]/kleia aneth[eken]*.

In red-figure the owl in the interior of the cup becomes a sign of dedication. The cup II AKR 1078 shows the type in Six's technique [Fig. 49]. The majority of this type is proper red-figure. On II AKR 75 the exterior is adorned with the dedicatory *anetheken* in thick pink paint.

¹⁸⁴ Scythian: AKR 1499 pl. 80; amazon: AKR 1511 pl. 81.

¹⁸⁵ AKR 1587, 1594, 1510 pl. 82, 1616, 1621, 1631, 1647-1650, 1658 pl. 85, 1661, 1663, 1683, 1686-1688, 1701, 1713-1719

¹⁸⁶ AKR 1436, 1437 pl. 79

¹⁸⁷ AKR 1487 pl. 80

¹⁸⁸ AKR 1525 pl. 82, for the identification of the subject compare Blumner, *Technologie I*, 62.

¹⁸⁹ AKR 1896 pl. 83

¹⁹⁰ AKR 2002 pl. 91, 2003, 2004, 2005 [Fig. 24], 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058.

¹⁹¹ AKR 1990 pl. 89

¹⁹² AKR 1497 pl. 80, 1507

¹⁹³ AKR 1950, 2017 pl. 89, 2025, 2026, 2072 pl. 90 and woman: 1942, 1943

¹⁹⁴ AKR 1901, 1902 pl. 83, 1951-61, 1965-1967, 1968 pl. 89, 1969-73, 2006, 2012, 2016, 2019 pl. 89, 2034, 2035 pl. 91, 2036, 2039, 2071 pl. 89, 2065 pl. 91, 2067, 2069, 2070 pl. 89

¹⁹⁵ AKR 1900 pl. 89, 2027, 2028 pl. 89, 2029 pl. 89, 2030, 2031, 2032 pl. 90, 2033 pl. 89, 2038 pl. 89

Athena pouring a libation for Herakles is a subject which gains much in popularity at the beginning of the fifth century. The tondo of the cup usually carries the subject, as on II AKR 208. Here Herakles is resting on a stone while Athena is pouring wine into the big kantharos - the kantharos is the drinking vessel most used by Herakles. On a cup by Makron the same topic is depicted, the major change is the phiale which has replaced the kantharos. II AKR 351 depicts the same subject; this cup however deserves more attention. Again a dedicatory inscription is preserved. The inventory formula *hiera* is used. The owner of the piece, however, is not Athena but Dionysos. A mistake of the painter? That impression would not be completely unfounded, since he seems to have been careless enough to give Athena two right hands. The white-ground II AKR 434 shows Athena alone in the centre of the cup. In her right she holds a phiale, on the outside it is her father, Zeus Soter, as the inscription informs us, who receives a libation from a youth.¹⁹⁶

Also II AKR 328 is a cup by Makron, the outside shows Achilles being given to Chiron, followed by an procession of gods, which could be interpreted as discussion about the fate of Achilles.¹⁹⁷ Triptolemos is shown on a cup close to Makron.¹⁹⁸ The Kleophrades Painter shows a scene from Seven against Thebes, the departure of Adrastus.¹⁹⁹

The Lewis Painter has depicted a scene from the mythology of the Acropolis on a skyphos, the punishment of Kekrops' daughters.²⁰⁰ The two disobedient girls are running away from Athena, the obedient girl walks to the right. The white-ground cup II AKR 433, probably by Brygos,²⁰¹ is depicting Kekrops himself. As mighty snake he accompanies Athena and the boy Erichthonios next to another important symbol of the Acropolis, the olive tree.

Triptolemos is depicted on a cup by Euergides, II AKR 147.²⁰² He has been attributed as painter of about thirty cups, a record on the Acropolis. Most of the subjects seem to be the general repertoire, warriors, athletes, the symposion and komos, the

¹⁹⁶ pl. 35, 33.

¹⁹⁷ II AKR 328 pl. 22, *ARV*² 460, 19; Makron. K. Friis Johansen *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (1967) 190. He wants to identify the person dressed as hunter with Peleus.

¹⁹⁸ II AKR 216 pl. 13

¹⁹⁹ II AKR 336 pl. 24; *ARV*² 192, 105; Kleophrades Painter; see also N. Kunisch, *AntK* 17 (1974) 39.

²⁰⁰ II AKR 508 and 509 pl. 39/40; *ARV*² 973, 7.8; Lewis Painter; see also H. R. W. Smith, *Der Lewis-Maler* (1939) pl. 22, b.f, Brommer *Vasenlisten*³ 258 B3 (A); Gonelli, 93

²⁰¹ pl. 34; D. Williams, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 24 (1982) 34

²⁰² pl. 6

Minotaur.²⁰³ But he is also interested in Herakles and his most impressive piece, II AKR 166 pl. 6, shows Athena as Ergane watching the craftsmen in a workshop [Fig 48]. Both the potter's world and the bronze worker's seem to have been combined on this piece.

Other cups depicting the goddess are II AKR 49 and 50 (pl. 3), II AKR 199 shows her sitting on a *thakos*, II AKR 230, II AKR 240 depicts her with a giant, again she is sitting on II AKR 242, depicted by the Penthesileia Painter II AKR 359, shown fighting by the Penthesileia Painter on II AKR 364 and on II AKR 382 by a painter close to the Stieglitz Painter, the Penthesileia Painter also shows her with a boy and a phiale on II AKR 396.

Religious scenes are the sacrifice of a ram, II AKR 74, a sacrifice at an altar, II AKR 98, another sacrifice, II AKR 198, a youth at an altar, II AKR 279, II AKR 371 by the Calliope Painter might show a cult statue of Herakles, another altar is shown on II AKR 377, worshippers at an altar on II AKR 380 by the Veii Painter, a sacrifice at an altar, II AKR 386, is by the Phiale Painter.

Painters well represented among the cups from the Acropolis are Makron, (II AKR 307-312, 315, 317-325, 327, 333, 343, 358). Many of his cups seem to be made for the occasion, II AKR 315 depicting Athena and the weapons of Achilles, II AKR 322 shows the goddess with Hermes, II AKR 323 in a procession of gods, II AKR 327 killing Enkelados in the gigantomachy, another Athena is on II AKR 333.

The Brygos Painter is well represented, (II AKR 255, 257, 258, 263, 265, 266, 269, 288, 289, 291-296, 360 as Brygos: 285, 290). Apart from his spectacular white-ground cup II AKR 433 and II AKR 208 showing Athena waiting on Herakles and an altar, none of his cups seem specially made for dedication.

In particular on the red-figure we find examples where only some of the decoration was particularly matched to the purpose of dedication. II AKR 75 (pl. 5) shows a huge owl in the tondo of a cup and a dedicatory inscription, whereas the outside is showing Ajax and Achilles, clearly a subject from the repertoire, not relevant to Athena, the Acropolis or the dedicator.

From around 500 up to half of all vases are cups and even before that the ratio is rarely below a third. At the beginning of the sixth century the skyphoi have the edge over the kylikes

²⁰³ warriors: 151, 161-163, 165, komast: 92, 150, 156, 157, 167, dancing woman: 121, 107, 148, cock: 103, men: 123b, 126, 154, sphinx: 143, athletes: 144, 145?, 171, 158-160, minotaur: 149, 152

and the kylix starts its remarkable rise over the skyphos only in the last quarter of the century, which results in a ratio of eighteen against three skyphoi. The fifth century sees the two shapes in almost equal demand again. The fifth century also heralds the advent of the phiale.

Why are there so many drinking vessels on the Acropolis? Is it just the size of the cups (not too big to be too expensive) or their nice decoration, which recommends them as dedications? Could a functional purpose have motivated the dedicators to chose a cup or skyphos? Sacrifices for example require equipment. A knife is needed to slaughter the victim, spits or cauldrons to cook the meat, perhaps sacrificial baskets (*kana*) to carry cakes and finally cups to hold the wine and pour libations. A cup might have been bought for this special purpose, and was left to Athena as dedication in commemoration of it. Libations were an essential part of ancient Greek worship as the numerous depictions on vases show. Athena appears as recipient of libations and also pouring libations herself. The dedications might have been given with both aspects in mind. On one hand they might have been intended to become actual part in the functioning of the sanctuary and to be used in the worship of Athena, on the other hand they might have been chosen to become the personal property of Athena, to rejoice in the beauty and value of the kind of gift she is depicted using herself.²⁰⁴

Votive inscriptions prove that cups and skyphoi were dedicated by individuals. Were any cups purchased by the sanctuary for use in any of the sanctuary's rites? Was there any need for special utilitarian ware when the store-rooms were well-furnished with the gifts provided by individuals? The best case for the sanctuary as purchaser of vases are the series of dedications with unified decoration. The cups were ordered in sets. This might apply to the eleven cups decorated with the painted inscription *hiera tes athenaas* in the small reserved circle of the tondo²⁰⁵ or the red-figure owl-cups.²⁰⁶ The price for a set of cups must have been equivalent to one bigger decorated pot-- well within the scope of many individuals. In this case, the dedicator chooses a set of small cups in spite of being able to afford a single, more expensive vessel.

²⁰⁴ For a broad comparison between overall production and shapes dedicated on the Acropolis see J. Boardman, *Expedition* 21 (1979) 38, showing the exceptional proportions dedicated.

²⁰⁵ AKR 1812 pl. 88, AKR 1813 pl. 88; AKR 1923 pl. 89 *h[hiera tes] ath(e)naas*, AKR 1924 (only upper half of the word *athen[* and a small part of the hasta are preserved; AKR 1925 *Jna[*; AKR 1926 *hiera t[...Jnaas*; AKR 1927 *Jthenaa[*; AKR 1928 *Jiera*; AKR 1929 *t]e(s) ath[*; AKR 1930 *Jra tes*; AKR 1931 pl. 89 *Jra tes athena[*.

²⁰⁶ As II AKR 75

7. Phialai

The phiale is a vessel exclusively used in the most common sacred rite, the libation. The libation seems ever-present in Greek life, every communication with the gods is accompanied by it: every prayer, wish, sacrifice,

The decades at the beginning of the fifth century are also the time the phiale is introduced and the shape is starting its very short but intensive span of popularity on the Acropolis. The Acropolis is one of the major sources for this type.

8. Kantharoi

Three early kantharoi are decorated by Nearchos; the most striking of these, AKR 611, is already set apart from most other kantharoi by its unusual size, and it is also innovative in employing the white-ground technique²⁰⁷ and introducing the harnessing of a chariot in Attic art. The inscription *Ach/* and the Thetis and Hephaistos scene on the other side of the kantharos suggest the reading as Achilles, the occasion is generally assumed to be the arming of Achilles in Phthia.²⁰⁸ AKR 612 has been attributed to Nearchos; in size and shape it is very similar to the above mentioned piece, the drawing, however, is less careful. The picture displayed a gigantomachy. A gigantomachy is also depicted on AKR 2134, a piece which has been connected with Nearchos.²⁰⁹ The kantharos is incised with a dedicatory inscription *anetheke]n athenaiai autos poi[esas*, which identifies the dedicator with the *poietes*.

A fine kantharos from before the middle of the century, AKR 597 is incised as being dedicated and made by the dedicator [*Fig. 42*]. This is perhaps a late work of Kleitias.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ The white-ground is used in the decoration of the lip, see also: J.R. Mertens, *Attic White-ground: its Development on Shapes other than the Lekythos* (1977).

²⁰⁸ The piece is signed: *Nearchos m'egrapsen*. *ABV* 82, 1; *Para* 30; *Dev* 40 pl. 14.2; K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in early Greek Art*, 1967, 115-117, Ill. 38; J. Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 49; Simon/Hirmer, *Vasen*, pl. 64. The names of the horses (Chaitos, Euthaias) are not mentioned in the *Iliad*. E. Simon assumes that Nearchos uses the names of popular race-horses of his time. Karousou, 28, suggests Troy as the site of the arming.

²⁰⁹ Graef supports Hartwig in this assumption, but realizes that the piece is considerably later than AKR 601 pl. 28 (*AKR* I, text, 216; *AKR* 2134 pl. 94); *ABV* 347

²¹⁰ *AKR* 597 pl. 24 (*ABV* 77, 3) *-anetheke]n athenaiai autopoietes*. possible attribution to Kleitias: D. Williams, 'Potter, Painter and Purchaser' in *Culture et Cité*, 1995, 142 and M. Robertson (*ibid.* 142 note 17).

9. *Loutrophoroi and Thymiateria*

Loutrophoros and thymiaterion are two shapes which have to be discussed together, not because of a similarity in their use but because they are not easily distinguished from each other in fragments. The distinctive feature of the loutrophoros is the tall flaring neck on an ovoid body, with long handles attached in the manner of hydriae or amphorae. The decoration of the loutrophoroi is generally taken from ceremonial or burial contexts and clearly establishes the shape as used in ritual and at funerals.²¹¹

The thymiaterion is an incense burner;²¹² a tall bowl is joined to a tall slender stem which is easily mistaken for the slender neck of the loutrophoros. Only two bowls of incense burners have been found on the Acropolis. The late black figure AKR 2655 depicts a sitting woman holding a wreath. The rim is finished with triangular spikes. AKR 2657 is a lid for this type. The rim of AKR 2656 has round cut-outs. Four lids of this type are preserved.²¹³

The earliest fragments of the shape found on the Acropolis date to the first half of the sixth century, among the painters the Polos Painter and the Painter of Eleusis 767.²¹⁴ The first mythological scene appears on AKR 604, a pot not certainly identifiable as a loutrophoros. Athena is depicted, probably the judgement of Paris is the topic.

Towards the end of the century the sacrifice for Athena is a subject depicted on many shapes on the Acropolis. The loutrophoros AKR 1220 is a good example for this; a woman pours libation for Athena. It remains unclear if Athena herself is thought to be present or only her cult statue.

Loutrophoroi enjoy only a brief moment of popularity, yet, the decoration of the shape is completely taken over by Acropolis-iconography. Erichthonios appears on the Acropolis only on loutrophoroi. The clearest depiction is on AKR 1193, and four other loutrophoroi probably depict his birth.²¹⁵

²¹¹ R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè: recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (1962) 254-264

²¹² Cf. *Agora* XII, 182-183, with bibliography.

²¹³ AKR 2658 and the three lids of 2659

²¹⁴ AKR 547 pl. 20 has been compared to the Painter of Eleusis 767 (*Para* 13)

²¹⁵ AKR 1188 pl. 68; 1191 p. 132; 1194 pl. 70; 1195

10. Pots

The shape of the big vases is habitually very difficult to determine from fragments. The only hint is often the presence or absence of glaze on the inside. Thus we can distinguish open shapes like the krater, whose interior demands a painted finish, and closed vessels like the amphora, which usually remains unpainted.

Until the middle of the sixth century pots make up roughly a third of the overall number of vases on the Acropolis [*Fig. 18*]. The massive increase in drinking vessels towards the turn of the century lowers the proportion temporarily to a sixth, but stabilizes to the average of a quarter of the total number of vases.

Both open and closed vessels have roughly the same number of pieces on the Acropolis - excluding the Panathenaics; the amphorae mirror the kraters in the first quarter of the century, both increase their numbers in the second quarter and reach their first peak by 550 [*Fig 16*]. While the amphorae remain on that level, the kraters increase their numbers by nearly fifty percent at the turn of the century. Including the Panathenaics the proportions of krater and amphorae run in step, the number of amphorae being slightly greater.

The hydria is not a very popular shape on the Acropolis [*Fig. 17*]. Until the third quarter of the sixth century only occasional pieces occur. This changes in the last quarter of the century, and even though the number of hydriae is still considerably smaller than for example the quantity of amphorae, there is no doubt about a short fashion for the shape.

All pots start to decline in numbers in 480 and have almost vanished by 460, leaving only stray pieces after that date.

Pots are present on the Acropolis from Helladic times onwards. The first secure date for the practice of dedicating vases is given by the Geometric pottery. The presence of plaques indicates that at least from this time onwards pottery was especially designed for dedication, and we should expect other Geometric pottery to be part of this new development. The only way of distinguishing tableware from manufactured dedications is by the range of subjects.

Boats, a recurrent subject on the earliest plaques²¹⁶ are depicted on four big open pots.²¹⁷ The warriors, which appear on two big pots, a jug and two small vases,²¹⁸ and the chariots on an open pot, a big vessel and the cylindrical part of a vase are customary.²¹⁹ On a cylindrical wall of a vase appears a chain-dance of women holding garlands,²²⁰ which is similar to but later than box AKR 282.

Scenes familiar from plaque decoration appear also on early Proto-Attic pots, such as the boat on a small fragment,²²¹ or the horseman on AKR 307. AKR 303 depicting two flute players and a dancer(?) standing on a bema also seems to be suitable as dedication.²²² A big vessel depicting a tripod, a common dedication, is unique.²²³ The earliest painted Acropolis inscription is very likely Proto-Attic, possibly restored as *A]nte[nor]*.²²⁴ The name *Antenor* appears again on AKR 368.²²⁵ It is doubtful whether this justifies the assumption that Antenor might indeed be a mythological name. I prefer Beazley's suggestion of a dedicator. A contemporary piece from the North Slope is too fragmentary to reveal the meaning of its inscription.²²⁶ Only a little later is the incised inscription *a]neth[eken]* from a large pot decorated with spirals and crosses.²²⁷ This is indeed our first proven dedicatory inscription, if the restoration is correct. Several fragments of pots in various shapes only preserve their ornament in the form of floral patterns or spirals.²²⁸

Quite a number of Proto-Corinthian pieces have been found; about twenty-five vessels, mainly consisting of small skyphoi, lekythoi and pear-shaped bottles, but also pots.²²⁹ It is not very likely that these vases were chosen because the subject of their decoration was seen as especially suitable. We have no evidence at this stage of vases

²¹⁶ AP 1682, Boardman 2 and the Sunium votive plaque.

²¹⁷ AKR 259 and 260, both illustrated in *Athen. Mitt.* 17 (19) 286, no. 15/16, fig. 9/10 and AKR 299 and 300

²¹⁸ AKR 257 pl. 9, 292 pl. 10, 290 pl. 10 and 291, pl. 9/10

²¹⁹ AKR 294 pl. 10, AKR 296 and 297

²²⁰ AKR 305 pl. 10

²²¹ AKR 365 drawing p. 38

²²² Pl. 10, belonging to the beginning of the century

²²³ AKR 298 pl. 10

²²⁴ AKR 309 pl. 10. It is indeed difficult to establish whether this piece is still 8th century. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, 233, Boardman, *BSA* 49 (1954) 184 n. 9 suggests *anetheke]n ta[thenai*, but the vertical of the third letter indicates rather epsilon (as Immerwahr, *Attic Script* 8 pointed out).

²²⁵ AKR 368 pl. 13

²²⁶ *Hesperia* 7 (1939) 403, fig 86k. Only the *epsilon* can be identified.

²²⁷ AKR 343 pl. 11

²²⁸ Floral patterns as on AKR 348 (drawing p. 35) or AKR 356, spiral patterns: 352, 353, 354, 356

²²⁹ Not all pieces have been published by Graef. Most fragments are decorated with an animal-frieze, three depict a hare-hunt (AKR 399, 403, 407 pl. 13). Other imports: AKR 265, 310-315, 381, 405-6, 428.

being ordered from a foreign workshop for dedication. This seems to be a very clear example of vases being chosen because of their value as objects and not because they are made especially for the purpose of presentation to the goddess.

On Proto-Attic pots animals appear quite frequently: on the neck of two vases, on shoulders, a belly, a foot, as decoration of a ring-shaped bottle.²³⁰ Several of these might also have depicted persons, as on AKR 306 a woman next to a bird, AKR 361 a person and a grasshopper or AKR 345, where birds accompany winged horses, warriors and chariots.²³¹ But these are common decoration on other vase shapes.

We find our first certain evidence of a painted dedicatory inscription in the second half of the century. AKR 380, a piece of an amphora, preserves the painted *aneth]eke* [Fig. 41]. This is also our earliest proof that various shapes must indeed have been regarded as suitable for offerings.

The motifs occurring on pottery in the second half century repeat the repertoire of the first half. The pieces are very fragmentary and allow only a limited insight into the original decoration of the whole vessel. Human beings are preserved on two vases, a foot depicts a woman on top of a floral pattern, a largish pot has two persons.²³² Chariots are depicted on three big vessels.²³³ Fragments of animals appear on five open pots, on two they can be identified as lions, on one as a dog.²³⁴ The floral ornament gets more advanced.²³⁵ These are also subjects that appear on other vases.

The neck of the big pot AKR 391, with the dedicatory *dios glauko]pidi q[orei* incised in a rather careless manner is attributed to the Nessos Painter, of the decoration only traces of a woman next to a wing and a palmette-lotus chain pattern are preserved.²³⁶ Roughly contemporary are a horseman under a palmette and three pots depicting lions and birds.²³⁷ The title of *dios glaukopidi kore* is also used on the rim fragment of a great krater, II AKR 1330, from the end of the seventh century.²³⁸

²³⁰ Neck: AKR 304 pl. 10 and 357 pl. 13, shoulder: AKR 50 drawing p. 35 and AKR 366 drawing p. 38, belly: AKR 301 pl. 10, foot: AKR 302, ring-shaped: AKR 351 (drawing p. 35/36)

²³¹ Pl. 10, drawing p. 37, pl. 11/12

²³² AKR 360 drawing p. 37, AKR 367 pl. 14

²³³ AKR 364 and 368, pl. 13, AKR 375 drawing p. 39

²³⁴ AKR 369 pl. 13 [Fig. 41], AKR 374, AKR 370 pl. 13, AKR 371 and 378

²³⁵ Palmette: AKR 362, 378; lotus: 376, 363; double-volute: 379

²³⁶ Pl. 14, attributed by Beazley, *Para* 4, 16

²³⁷ Horseman: AKR 393; winged lions: AKR 387 pl. 15 (amphora) [Fig. 41]; panther: AKR 385 pl. 14 (stand); AKR 389 and 390 depict only part of the ornament.

²³⁸ II AKR 1330 pl. 93; *anethe]ken dios glauko]pidi kore*.

The decoration on pots from the early sixth century is dominated by animal friezes, such as the three largish vessels attributed to the Gorgon Painter.²³⁹ Quite a number of big pots such as amphorae and kraters are decorated in the early animal style - altogether about 40 pieces.²⁴⁰

In the manner of the Gorgon Painter are also two amphorae. In particular AKR 764 bears an intriguing decoration, a man gripping a ram.²⁴¹ Could this be a sacrifice scene? The decoration on the other piece is more conventional, chariots.²⁴²

In the second quarter of the sixth century it is still conventional decoration which is dominant on pots. The KX Painter, the Group of Dresden Lekanis and the Polos Painter have left their mark.²⁴³ About 100 pieces of big pots and kraters have been decorated in their style. A dedicatory inscription is preserved only on one, the incised *athen]aia* on the neck of the neck-amphora AKR 2627, decorated with a sphinx.

In the second quarter of the sixth century more and more scenes are drawn from mythology, and it has to be noted that topics which naturally include Athena are favoured. On the larger pots these mythological scenes are complicated and seem to involve a great number of protagonists. There is the sudden appearance of depictions of the birth of Athena, represented on four big pots,²⁴⁴ among them the name-vase of the Painter of AKR 601, probably a hydria, which has been carefully defined as a dedication with the dedicatory formula *anetheke]n aparchen [h]iera e[im]i tes athe[naias*, painted on a reserved band beneath the animal-frieze [Fig. 43].²⁴⁵ Contemporary with this piece is the rim fragment of a big dinos, II AKR 1289, with the dedicatory inscription *ta]s Athenaias eim/i* painted in white. A similar fragment preserves *Athenaia[s]*.²⁴⁶

²³⁹ AKR 474 pl. 17, 475, 491, (ABV 8,2; 8,3; 10, 22)

²⁴⁰ Unfortunately not published by Graef - 150 pieces of miscellaneous shape are mentioned by him. The greatest part of these probably belong to the second quarter of the 6th century - contemporary with the Polos Painter and the Group of the Dresden Lekanis rather than the Gorgon Painter.

²⁴¹ AKR 764 pl. 48, (ABV 13, 44)

²⁴² AKR 759 pl. 48 (ABV 12, 31)

²⁴³ KX Painter: AKR 472 pl. 18; AKR 504 pl. 20; AKR 609; (ABV 27, 1; 25, 14; 27, 35); Polos Painter: AKR 522-525, 530, 549 (ABV 47, 113; 114; 112; 111; 45, 58; 48, 148)

²⁴⁴ AKR 601 pl. 28, the column-krater 638 pl. 38, and the two amphorae 776 pl. 50 (attributed to Tyrrhenian Group) and 777

²⁴⁵ AKR 601; ABV 80, 1; Para 30; The fragments of the Painter of Acropolis 601 have recently been suggested to be from the same hand as the François vase, Kleitias, by D. Williams, 'Potter, Painter and Purchaser' in *Culture et Cité*, 1995, 142.

²⁴⁶ II AKR 1290; according to Langlotz the fragment might even belong to II AKR 1289 (Langlotz, AKR 114).

Gigantomachies are especially popular on kraters, two of the five preserved examples are dinoi.²⁴⁷ The dinos AKR 607 is signed by Lydos and preserves next to the gigantomachy in the top frieze fragments of a less elaborately drawn sacrificial procession in the middle frieze and animals from the bottom frieze. Group E depicts a gigantomachy with Athena and Herakles on the main frieze of the big column-krater AKR 648. Lydos chooses the same subject for the same shape on AKR 631. Herakles is also portrayed on the smaller column-krater AKR 646 of Group E and shown wrestling with Triton. Contemporary with Lydos and very near his style is a column krater presumably depicting the Judgement of Paris; the hydria AKR 725 very likely displayed the same topic.²⁴⁸ Herakles appears in an amazonomachy on two kraters, the signed piece by Nearchos AKR 614 and the slightly later AKR 636 [Fig. 46].²⁴⁹ Four big pots by Sophilos and an unattributed amphora depict a number of gods, and also might have figured Athena.²⁵⁰ Most of the time it is not possible to identify clearly the reason for the presence of gods. On the dinos AKR 587 the occasion might be the wedding of Peleus and Thetis [Fig. 44]. AKR 508a could be identified similarly²⁵¹ - this pot is of special interest because of an inscription naming the woman depicted on the fragment as Pandrosos, the only known sixth century portrayal of the Aglaurid in vase-painting. Pandrosos was an important figure on the Acropolis, not only through her connection with the site in the myth, but also as cult-figure, with her own sanctuary.²⁵²

The figures on AKR 586 were suggested as Memnon and Eos.

Other mythological scenes on large vessels are the abduction of Thetis, Thetis receiving the shield from Hephaistos and Hephaistos' return to Olympos.²⁵³ The

²⁴⁷ By Lydos: AKR 607 pl. 33/34/35 (dinos) and AKR 631 pl. 39 (column-krater), 608 pl. 39 (dinos); by Nearchos: 612 pl. 36 (krater), by a painter of the Group E: AKR 648 (big column-krater)

²⁴⁸ AKR 637 (manner of Lydos) and 725 pl. 47

²⁴⁹ Two pieces depicting Herakles, by Nearchos: 614 pl. 41 (krater) and AKR 636 (column-krater); (*ABV* 77, 8; 82, 1; 83)

²⁵⁰ The vases AKR 585a, 585b, 586, and the dinos 587 pl. 26 (*ABV* 40, 17; 40, 18; 43, 5; 43, 6). Also the amphora AKR 770 pl. 49 depicts a procession of gods.

²⁵¹ AKR 508 a; *ABV* 40, 17: Sophilos; *Para* 18, 17. A procession of gods, possibly for the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, is assumed by Graef and Hanslik, 557. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Theoleptos* (1957) 15 n. 21 professes to see a 'unbeschwerter Reigen' with Hermes and the two Aglaurids. Gonelli, 94 suggests the contest over Attika as possible subject; cf. *LIMC* s.v. Aglauros no. 1

²⁵² About the sanctuary of Pandrosos and its possible site on the Acropolis see U. Kron, *Phylenheroen*, 40-42. 87 (with bibliography); J. M. Paton / G. P. Stevens, *The Erechtheum* (1927) 119-127; Travlos, *TopAth*, 213-214.

²⁵³ Attributed to Kleitias: AKR 594 pl. 24, AKR 611 pl. 36, AKR 632 pl. 25

convention of the chain dance is still in use as a largish pot by Kleitias shows;²⁵⁴ only male dancers appear on two dinoi.²⁵⁵

But horses and chariots, often attended by warriors, occupy the picture scenes on big vases more often than mythological scenes. At least 30 pots are decorated in this way. The most famous of these is the name-vase of the Painter of Acropolis 606, a dinos. It stands out among the pottery of the Acropolis for its marvellous quality and for being nearly complete. The dinos is decorated with three figure-friezes, an elaborate cavalcade of chariots as the major frieze at the top, a lively battle of warriors on horseback as the second frieze and an animal-frieze at the bottom. Robertson wants to see the friezes as epic scenes and suggests the fight over the body of Achilles; Henderson rather assumes the rendering of a real event, which has been depicted on behalf of a grieving family, who dedicated the vase in honour of the deceased member.²⁵⁶

Horses, warriors, and chariots are subjects which also figure high in the decoration of amphorae, especially by Lydos and his companions.²⁵⁷

The Painter of Acropolis 606 has also decorated two column-kraters. On AKR 625 maenads and satyrs are depicted. Dionysos and his companions appear more often in the figure decoration of pottery, in particular on vessels connected with the symposion. But more often he takes the second rank in the figure display, as on the krater AKR 654, where the prizes for an Agon and the accompanying procession are more elaborately drawn than Dionysos and his companions. The second column krater by the Painter of Acropolis 606 points to another new development: the stronger interest in everyday life, which on AKR 633 is occupied with the palaestra and depicts wrestlers. Other scenes of daily life are a potters workshop on amphora AKR 803 and again women weaving.²⁵⁸

In the second half of the sixth century Athena-related subjects remain the dominant decoration on pots. On amphora AKR 762 she is sitting, probably in an assembly of gods. Usually, however, she is aiding Herakles in his adventures. On three kraters she

²⁵⁴ AKR 596 pl. 29

²⁵⁵ AKR 609 by the KX Painter and AKR 610

²⁵⁶ AKR 606 pl. 28-30; *ABV* 81, 1; *Dev* 35-36, pl. 30, 6 and 31, 1-2; *Addenda* 8; *BCH* 71/72 (1947/48), 424-425, fig. 1 a-b. Robertson *Greek Art* 128-129, pl. 35c; J.K. Henderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (1961) 145.

²⁵⁷ Lydos: AKR 802a, 802b; as Lydos: AKR 774, 781, 797, 798. Other contemporary depictions of chariots: 793-796, 820, 838, 864

²⁵⁸ AKR 803 pl. 49 and AKR 769 pl. 49

accompanies him, in the attack on the Nemean lion, the volute-krater AKR 656 with the end of the incised dedicatory inscription *Athen]aia* being among them.²⁵⁹ On side b of AKR 660 Herakles is also under her protection while fighting the bull, and the fight with the boar is depicted nearer to the end of the century on the small krater AKR 642. The goddess is also present at Herakles' struggle with Apollo to gain the tripod, on AKR 666 and the small krater by a painter of the Swan Group, AKR 690. Athena and Herakles on a chariot appear on an amphora from the last quarter of the century;²⁶⁰ around the turn of the century are two hydriae depicting the same subject.²⁶¹ Herakles wrestling Triton, a subject earlier depicted on the amphora 773, is also depicted on a column-krater by the Chiusi Painter.

Religious subjects appear more obviously in the decoration of the krater. On AKR 621 sacrificing women are depicted [*Fig. 76*].²⁶² A herm of Dionysos and a flute player are shown on AKR 678. A herm and worshipper with sacrificial cakes appear on the amphora AKR 691. Sacrificial processions,²⁶³ and altars,²⁶⁴ are also depicted on amphorae. The Leagros Group amphora, AKR 923 is the only rendering of the Panathenaic shape with a non-Panathenaic subject on a black-figure piece on the Acropolis.

Scenes of everyday life feature the potters workshop, as on the amphora AKR 803 (contemporary with Exekias), they include a number of shopping scenes with various kinds of merchants²⁶⁵ and workmen,²⁶⁶ and a man courting a youth.²⁶⁷ It is difficult to tell whether the number of hydriae depicting a fountain house are to be considered among this group. The earliest version of the subject on the Acropolis is on a hydria near the Lysippides Painter, two names are given in the depiction: Kallirhoe and Enneakrounos. Kallirhoe is known as a fountain of Athens, which was replaced by Peisistratos by the Enneakrounos fountain.²⁶⁸ The topic is also depicted by the Nikoxenos Painter and the Eucharides Painter.²⁶⁹

²⁵⁹ AKR 655 by the Group of Würzburg 199, AKR 656, AKR 660

²⁶⁰ AKR 867

²⁶¹ AKR. 747 and 748

²⁶² See also *Hesperia* 62 (1981) 1-6

²⁶³ AKR 816 pl. 49, Leagros Group: AKR 842 pl. 52

²⁶⁴ AKR 813 pl. 53 (a stele standing next to the altar) and AKR 857.

²⁶⁵ AKR 624, AKR 681 pl. 46 (see also *JDI* (1987) 66.4), AKR 682 pl. 46 (see *JHS* 95 (1975) 19b). Possibly also AKR 683 and 685 pl. 38.

²⁶⁶ AKR 854 pl. 41 and 42 -856

²⁶⁷ AKR 698

²⁶⁸ For a further discussion see Graef, *AKR* I, text 91f

²⁶⁹ Nikoxenos Painter: AKR 740 pl. 47, Eucharides Painter: AKR 741 pl. 48; other: AKR 742 and 743

Three kraters are noteworthy for the traces of repair in antiquity.²⁷⁰

Only few early red-figure pots were found on the Acropolis. Late black-figure artists like the Theseus Painter, whose main period of work extends into the fifth century, are still well represented.²⁷¹

Two pieces recalling the Andokides Painter²⁷² and three by the Nikosthenes Painter²⁷³ are the only examples of red-figure amphorae before the turn of the century. After 500 B.C. leading vase painters such as the Berlin Painter²⁷⁴ and the Kleophrades Painter,²⁷⁵ later the Syleus Painter²⁷⁶ and the Syriskos Painter²⁷⁷, the Harrow Painter²⁷⁸ and the Aegisthos Painter²⁷⁹ decorate the shape for the Acropolis.

The pattern of the red-figure kraters is very similar to that of the amphorae. Sixth century pieces such as II AKR 726, which recalls the Andokides Painter, or II AKR 766, related to Phintias²⁸⁰ are rare. The best represented painters of kraters are Myson,²⁸¹ the Harrow Painter²⁸² and the Copenhagen Painter,²⁸³ also, however, the Kleophrades Painter, the Berlin Painter, the Eucharides Painter and the Pan Painter²⁸⁴ have decorated the shape.

Only eight red-figure hydriae are preserved.

The majority of red-figure pots are not specially decorated for dedication. On kraters scenes from the symposion and komos,²⁸⁵ maenads and satyrs with and without Dionysos²⁸⁶ together with the usual genre scenes are the most favourite subjects. A number of kraters, however, have been especially designed for dedication.

²⁷⁰ AKR 654 pl. 41 and 42 (discussed earlier), AKR 617 pl. 38, which depicts Dionysos in an unidentified scene and parts of a warrior frieze and AKR 620, which only preserves parts of an animal-frieze.

²⁷¹ Theseus Painter: AKR 843, 847

²⁷² II AKR 601, 602 (*ARV* 5, 3 and 2)

²⁷³ II AKR 605, 606, 607 (*ARV* 127, 33, 31 and 32)

²⁷⁴ II AKR 614a (*ARV* 198, 17)

²⁷⁵ II AKR 610, 611, 612, 613, (*ARV* 190, 84; 189, 81; 184, 23; 191, 96)

²⁷⁶ II AKR 627, and near the Syleus Painter 620 (*ARV* 253, 58 and 254)

²⁷⁷ II AKR 626 (*ARV* 265, 68)

²⁷⁸ II AKR 625 (*ARV* 274, 30)

²⁷⁹ II AKR 628, 629 (*ARV* 507, 2 and 508, 3)

²⁸⁰ II AKR 766 (*ARV* 25, 2)

²⁸¹ II AKR 800-804, 806, 810, (*ARV* 240, 34, 39, 76, 75, 26, 42)

²⁸² II AKR 734, 805, 815-818 (*ARV* 276, 69, 68; 275, 66, 57; 274, 40; 275, 56)

²⁸³ II AKR 761, 779 (*Para* 351), 780 (*ARV* 256, 4; 258, 29, 28)

²⁸⁴ II AKR 769-771 (*ARV* 558, 133, 134, 132)

²⁸⁵ Symposion: II AKR 726, *ARV*: Andokides Painter, II AKR 755, *ARV*: Eucharides Painter, II AKR 810, *ARV*: Myson, II AKR 791. Komos: II AKR 811, *ARV*: Syleus Painter; II AKR 789a, *ARV*: Mannerist, II AKR 808, *ARV*: Mannerist, II AKR 805 and 815 *ARV*: Harrow Painter.

²⁸⁶ Satyrs/maenads/Dionysos: II AKR 730, *ARV*: Kleophrades Painter, II AKR 754, II AKR 775 *77ARV*: Painter of Golochow 37, II AKR 783, II AKR 787. In the third quarter of the century: II AKR 753 *ARV*: Dinos Painter.

A sacrifice for Athena is depicted on column-krater II AKR 806, signed by Myson as potter and painter. It is the only vase in the oeuvre of Myson which is also signed as *poietaes* and the among the six kraters attributed to him on the Acropolis the only piece depicting a ritual scene.²⁸⁷ It is also unusual in its small size and form.²⁸⁸ The sacrificing youth was seen as self-portrait of Myson as early as 1888 (by Pottier). In the study on Myson, Berge modified this identification slightly: Myson, as Berge believes, was succeeded in the business by the Pig Painter. The occasion, on which the krater was produced, might have been the commemoration of the formal association.²⁸⁹ I mention both versions without necessarily recommending either.

Contemporary with the Myson-krater is II AKR 819, depicting a sacrifice on side a, which is probably intended for Athena, as her presence on side b next to the enthroned goddess with the child suggests. Two other kraters of the first quarter of the fifth century depict Athena, the subject is not identified in either case.²⁹⁰

Before the middle of the fifth century is the krater by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy; the combination of the potter's workshop depicted on side a and the sacrifice of the ram on side b might suggest another potter dedication.²⁹¹ The Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy has also decorated krater II AKR 752, another depiction of an altar, in this case with women.²⁹² The Pan Painter has depicted a sacrificial procession on an amphora.²⁹³ The worship of Athena is the subject on the krater by the Deepdene Painter.²⁹⁴ On the rim the signature of the *poietaes* Oreibelos and a dedicatory formula are incised. If both parts of the inscription belong together the krater is another case of a potter dedication for Athena.

From the end of the fifth century is another depiction of a sacrifice, on amphora II AKR 634. Krater II AKR 763 is depicting Athena on one, Nike in the company of a woman on the other side. Contemporary with the krater is the only representation of the Athena

²⁸⁷ II AKR 800: man; 801: youth dancing; 802: woman with phallos; 804: man; 810: symposion.

²⁸⁸ M. Tiverios, *Ludos kai to ergo tou*, 1976

²⁸⁹ L. Berge, *Myson: a Craftsman of Athenian Red-figured Vases* (publication forthcoming)

²⁹⁰ II AKR 773 pl. 67, with the painted inscription *Athe[naia]* and II AKR 824.

²⁹¹ II AKR 739, *ARV* 1092, 76: Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy.

²⁹² II AKR 752, *ARV* 1090, 49: Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy.

²⁹³ II AKR 618, *ARV* 553, 31: Pan Painter.

²⁹⁴ II AKR 762; *ARV* 499, 17: Deepdene Painter, incised inscription: *Oreibelos epoiesen* and *hieros tes Ath[enaias]*.

and Marsyas group on the Acropolis pottery, on amphora II AKR 632 near the Phiale Painter.²⁹⁵

11. Psykters

The psykter serves as a wine-cooler. The mushroom-shaped body on the long foot was filled with wine and then inserted into a krater filled with and snow or icy water.²⁹⁶ The Psykter has only a short life-span of production. Even at the peak of its popularity, in the late sixth century, only a small number of pieces has been found. Two psykters are represented on the Acropolis. Both only retain the foot, which is again in both cases inscribed.²⁹⁷

12. Lekanai and Lekanides

The name lekane is generally used for shallow bowls with straight sides. In Attic pottery the bowl is generally fitted with a stout, conical foot and two horizontal handles in the form of omegas.²⁹⁸ The lekanis shares all these features with the exception of a lid which is fitted onto a ridge on the rim. The shape is known to have a wide variety of uses; the first archaeologically attested is in the context of the grave.²⁹⁹ The lekane has certainly been employed in everyday life; with the keeping of food very likely among the main applications.³⁰⁰ An inscription in Eleusis, however, marks the shape also as suitable for votive offering. The Eleusis lekanai are rather expensive (two Drachmae for eight

²⁹⁵ II AKR 632, *ARV* 1024, 3: Phiale Painter.

²⁹⁶ For a discussion and further literature see S. Drougou, *Der attische Psykter*, *Beiträge zur Archäologie* IX (1975); she proposes the psykter to be the container filled with the snow, this opinion, however, is not generally accepted.

²⁹⁷ AKR 1498 pl. 81, *ARV* 1587

²⁹⁸ For a discussion of the scarce (and late) literary evidence, the chronological development of the shapes and the bibliography of earlier research see A. Lioutas, *Attische schwarzfigurige Lekanai und Lekanides*, *Beiträge zur Archäologie* XVIII (1987)

²⁹⁹ Lekanai of the Nessos Painter, the Panther Painter, the Androsiren Painter, the Kerameikos Painter and the Painter of Athens 16407 confirm this. See Lioutas, *Lekanai* 10

³⁰⁰ The use of the term in literature suggests wide ranging uses from washbasin, coal-stove, bowl, to offering relief to the stomach, to a carrying device for mortar. (See Lioutas, *Lekanai* 12 and 163 nos. 37 and 38).

Lekanai).³⁰¹ This might be a hint that the pots were especially made for the occasion of their dedication. The shape is certainly found in a number of sanctuaries ranging from Eleusis, Brauron and Perachora to Taucheira, Naukratis and Xanthos.³⁰² The popularity of the lekane in sanctuaries is founded on its use as a container, perhaps even on its suitability as food-container.

Lioutas showed that the decoration of nearly all the early lekanai and lekanides are based on animal-friezes. The *Glanzton* ware, which existed alongside the figure decorated bowls from about 580 is clearly becoming dominant from about 540/30 onwards.

The earliest Lekanai on the Acropolis are from the Group of the Dresden Lekanis and their contemporaries.³⁰³ The Polos Painter is represented with six pieces.³⁰⁴

The C Painter's hand can be recognized on two lids. AKR 210 is above his average work.³⁰⁵ Three mythological subjects are depicted: birth of Athena, introduction of Herakles into Olympus, departure of Amphiaraos. On the more fragmentary AKR 211 the only subject recognisable is the departure of a warrior.³⁰⁶ The two fragments in the manner of Lydos,³⁰⁷ and the three pieces by the Ready Painter from the third quarter of the sixth century³⁰⁸ are rather mediocre in quality.

The Swan Group produced two miniature lekanides.³⁰⁹

13. Oil Containers

Only a small number of oil containers have been found; most of them are lekythoi and only few aryballoi and alabastra are present.

³⁰¹ *IG II/III*² 2, 1, 1672, 184.

³⁰² For a list of pieces see Lioutas, *Lekanai* 190, table 2

³⁰³ Group of the Dresden Lekanis: AKR 496 pl. 20, AKR 497, 498 (*ABV* 22, 3; 4; 5). Contemporary pieces: AKR 499, AKR 500 and the north slope lekanides: M.Z. Pease, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 243 no. 43 and 44: AP 178 and 558 (Lioutas, D13 and 14)

³⁰⁴ *ABV* 45,58 (Akropolis col. 530; Lioutas, B40), *ABV* 45,54-57 and 46,59 (Lioutas, B41). North slope: C. Roebuck, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 169 ff.: AP 1198 a-b (*ABV* 46,60), 1199 a-d, 1752 and 1852 & 2135 (Lioutas, B36-39)

³⁰⁵ *ABV* 58,120; A. Akerström, *OpRom* I (1954) 208 no.3; I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* 1 (1981) s. v. Amphiaraos, no. 8; Lioutas, D17

³⁰⁶ *ABV* 58, 121; NM AKR coll. Inv. 2116 a-e; Lioutas, D18 pl.35

³⁰⁷ *ABV* 118, 42; A. Rumpf *Sakonides* (1937) 25 no. 40 pl. 17c, (Lioutas, D30) and *ABV* 118, 46; NM AKR coll. old inv. no. 511; (Lioutas, D31)

³⁰⁸ *ABV* 130, 1 and 686, no inv. no. (Lioutas, D55); *ABV* 130, 2 and 686, no inv. no. (Lioutas, D56); *ABV* 130, 3 and 686 (Lioutas, D57)

³⁰⁹ AKR 540 (Lioutas, MD), and the north slope AP 2100 (Lioutas, 192).

The lekythoi from the first half of the sixth century are decorated with the well known animal friezes. The Group of the Dresden Lekanis is represented in the first,³¹⁰ the Polos Painter in the second quarter of the century.³¹¹

In the third quarter mythological scenes enter the repertoire of the lekythoi dedicated on the Acropolis. AKR 2291 depicts the birth of Athena, AKR 2290 shows a ritual scene, a procession leading a bull to be sacrificed. The sacrificial procession is a subject which is taken up again in the last quarter of the sixth century on AKR 2298; on this lekythos Athena is present, the garlands, which adorn her make it clear that in this case the image of Athena is definitely meant as cult-statue. Athena is also the central figure on lekythoi from the turn of the century and the first decades of the fifth century. A sitting Athena next to an altar is shown by the Athena Painter,³¹² Athena sitting with her owl are presented on AKR 2339, her fight against a giant is depicted on AKR 2311 [Fig. 79] and she is the charioteer on AKR 2301 [Fig. 79]. Athena's presence is probable on the depiction of the judgement of Paris, AKR 2297, the fight of Theseus with the bull, AKR 2322 and 2325, and perhaps as companion of Herakles in an amazonomachy on AKR 2349. Mythological scenes which do not include Athena are scarce: AKR 2350 shows Peleus wrestling with Thetis, the alabastron AKR 2276 renders Perseus with the Gorgon's head; and only a few genre scenes are present: a courting couple on the alabastron AKR 2277, two black-figure aryballoi and a red-figure lekythos depict a youth in the presence of Eros³¹³ and wool working women are shown on the lekythos AKR 2351.

The red-figure lekythoi and alabastra from the first and second quarter of the fifth century present again a great number of ritual scenes: altars are depicted on three alabastra³¹⁴ and a sacrificial procession towards an altar is shown on lekythos II AKR 846. Athena is depicted on two lekythoi,³¹⁵ her owl on a lekythos and an aryballos.³¹⁶ A lekythos rim fragment from 500 B.C. is incised with the dedicatory *Athena[iai]*.

³¹⁰ AKR 496 pl. 20 -498; *ABV* 22, 3-5: Group of the Dresden Lekanis.

³¹¹ AKR 530; *ABV* 45, 59: Polos Painter.

³¹² AKR 2339 pl. 96; *ABV* 527: Athena Painter or from his Workshop.

³¹³ AKR 2280, 2281 pl. 96 and II AKR 837

³¹⁴ II AKR 865; *ARV*: Group of the Paidikos Alabastra; II AKR 871 and 872.

³¹⁵ II AKR 839 and 840

³¹⁶ II AKR 835 and 876

Mythological subjects remain scarce: Triptolemos is shown on lekythos II AKR 852, Nike with a box on aryballos II AKR 877. Other scenes are difficult to identify, such as the warrior and the stele on II AKR 857, or the man sitting next to a pot on II AKR 856.

14. Miniature Shapes

At the very end of this period are about 20 fragments of miscellaneous small shapes from the Swan Group and their circle.³¹⁷

Athena appears as armed goddess on six pieces, three of these are miniature plates.³¹⁸

15. Krateriskoi

The krateriskos is a ritual shape found in the sanctuaries and places of worship of Artemis in Attika.³¹⁹ Her sanctuary in Brauron received a great number of these small kraters,³²⁰ and the decoration suggests a close connection with the rites associated with the *Arktoi*.³²¹ The shape is that of a small krater with many archaising features, such as the double handles which lie close to the body.³²² Kahil has identified five fragments of this shape on the Acropolis, which were published by Graef as one vase. The profile drawings of the individual pieces support Kahil's theory of four separate vases, the possibility of the fragments belonging to one vessel is, however, not completely shattered, as even Kahil has to admit. Her argument for linking the date to the establishing of the cult of Artemis

³¹⁷ AKR 569-583 (*ABV* 656, 46-57; 659, 4-7; 655, 23-30; 659, 8; 659, 8; 657, 66-81; 444; 655, 1-21); Swan-group miniature shapes: J. Boardman/J. Hayes, *Tocra II* (1973) 48 pl. 29 (miniature lekane 4)

³¹⁸ AKR 2465 pl. 99 (attributed to the Snake-and-Spot Painter by C-F), AKR 2440 pl. 100, AKR. 2472 pl. 94, AKR 2474, C-F pl. 94 no. 6 and chapter XII no. 29 bis (attributed to Kleiboulos by C-F)

³¹⁹ For a list of the Artemis sanctuaries in which krateriskoi were found and a thorough examination of the shape see L. Kahil, *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1 (1963) 13-14; *Antike Kunst* 8 (1965) 20-33; *Antike Kunst* 20 (1977) 86-98; *Greece and Italy in the Classical World*, Acta of the XI International Congress of CA, London; *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 253.

³²⁰ Krateriskoi at Brauron: J. Papadimitriou, *Ergon* (1961) 36 and *Ergon* (1962) 27

³²¹ L. Kahil, *Hesperia* 50 (1981), 253 *Antike Kunst*, 8 (1965) 23-27; *Antike Kunst*, 20 (1977) 87-88.

³²² Kahil wants to see the Proto-Attic krater, louteria, and the early lebetes-gamikoi recalled in the krateriskos (*Hesperia* 50 (1981) 254). The use of the double-handles is difficult to understand, the proposition of a Proto-Attic model for a late 6th/early 5th century shape without any evidence of connecting links, however, is not likely.

Brauronia on the Acropolis is weakened very much by the scarcity of her evidence and the difficulty to fix a secure date on the poorly decorated pieces.

16. *Epinetra*

Epinetra are a device used to card wool.³²³ The shape is that of an half-cylinder which is put over the knee and thigh and serves as rough surface over which the rough wool can be combed to remove dirt and impurities. Most black-figure decorated epinetra are shortly before and after 500 B.C.³²⁴

Twenty black-figure decorated epinetra³²⁵ were identified on the Acropolis; three of these are from the Golonos Group.³²⁶ Genre scenes from the life of the women are the most favourite decoration, such as the wool working women on two pieces,³²⁷ the women in domestic setting on AKR 2593 [Fig. 81] and AKR 2602 [Fig. 80], or the fountain house scene on AKR 2599. Mythological subjects are identifiable on AKR 2611 [Fig. 82], Eos and Memnon are depicted, and probably on AKR 2595, with a youth holding a sceptre and an accompanying woman; a maenad is shown on AKR 2603.

17. *Loom Weights*

Loom weights are fixed to the vertical threads (warp) of the loom to keep the tension tight when the weaving is progressing.

Examples are with owls AKR 2757-2759 [Fig. 88], Thracian helmet AKR 2759, the image of a pomegranate pressed into loom weight AKR 2753. Were these items made for dedication? It seems likely that they were meant for use, perhaps even to serve in the weaving of Athena's peplos. However, the miniature epinetra must have been given as tokens of the real object and perhaps the loom weights were dedicated in a similar sentiment. Other tools of wool-working on the Acropolis are the whorls, AKR 2742; incised *Eumele kale* and AKR 2729-2750.

³²³ For spinning and weaving see I. Jenkins, *Greek and Roman Life*, 1986

³²⁴ Often the shape has been called *onos*.

³²⁵ AKR 2593-2613 pl. 111

³²⁶ AKR 2595 pl. 111; *ABV* 480, 5: Golonos Group; AKR 2599 pl. 111 and AKR 2603 pl. 111; *ABV* 481: akin to the Golonos Group.

³²⁷ AKR 2596 [Fig. 81] and 2597 [Fig. 81]

18. Miscellaneous

Bases:

Two round bases with painted inscriptions are preserved, both dated around 500 B.C.; the clay-ground II AKR 1299 pl. 92 is specified as *tod' [a]galm[a]*,³²⁸ II AKR 1300, also clay-ground, preserves the end of two lines of a metric inscription, ...*Ph]rynou pais mentha[d'etheken/ ...th]eai kylika*. Both pieces probably served as bases for pottery dedications. AKR 2692 might also be a base. Of the decoration only a chariot is preserved; on top of it *Aischines epoiesen* is painted. This Aischines might be connected with the Aischines who dedicated the two cups II AKR 1357 and 1358.

Bells:

Fragments of two bells have been found on the Acropolis.³²⁹ AKR 2652 is a product of the workshop of the Swan Group. Similar bells were found in the Kabirion at Thebes.

Flute:

AKR 2688. The rural worshippers described by Longus are offering cross-flutes and pipes at the sanctuary of the Nymphs.³³⁰ Our clay example is perhaps of a more sophisticated kind than the reeds shaped by the shepherds. A stone flute inscribed *hiaros* was found in Ithaca.³³¹

Games:

Dice: AKR 2694- 2696; game pieces: 2767-2700, 2702. Cut from broken vases: AKR 2703-2728 [Fig. 86]. A little wheel (?) cut out of shard: AKR 2723.

Lamps:

AKR 2660, a ring-shaped lamp with running hares between the openings on top, lying naked figures on the side.

³²⁸ Both fragments of this base are published by O. Benndorf, *Griech. u. siz. Vasenb.*, pl. 28, 2.

³²⁹ AKR 2652 pl. 112, AKR 2653

³³⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, IV 26, 32, 39

³³¹ *JG* 1337; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 162 and note 4

Models:

Three vessels filled with clay kernels imitating pulses or grain. The kernels on AKR 2665 were painted red, on AKR 2666 they are alternating black, red and white [*both Fig. 84*].³³² Amongst the terracottas is also a plaque with votive fruit, pomegranates.³³³

The 'model' pots are a short lived phenomenon. The reasons for producing vases filled with clay imitations of food vessels seem obvious: a lasting record of perishable goods, equivalent, though much less glamorous, to the little animal bronzes commemorating a sacrifice, and yet, the idea was obviously never to become popular.

Owl shaped:

Only the feather decorated fragment, AKR 2671, of the body is preserved. The Acropolis has also yielded a duck-shaped vessel, AKR 2668 and a foot-shaped one, AKR 2669. Other animals might have been modelled from the scaly AKR 2672 and the shaggy AKR 2673.

Boat::

AKR 2667 is a clay model of a boat. Plutarch knows of a model of a trireme made of silver and gold, dedicated by Lysander after receiving it in honour of Aegospotami from Kyros.³³⁴ The dedicator of our piece might have had a battle in mind when he chose the dedication, however, the perils of the sea alone might have been cause enough to encourage anyone whose life was in any way dependent on seafaring to make an offering of this kind. Still, it is more likely that a warrior should ask for the help of the city-goddess than a fisherman who would probably rather address Poseidon.

Alien pots:

Grave amphorae and grave markers, 17 pieces among 1000 geometric fragments.³³⁵ Amphora AKR 776, prothesis with inscription *A/stydike*. AKR 1147, 1321, AKR 2203: prothesis. Ostrakon: II AKR 1318 *Timogenes Kydathenaieus*

³³² AKR 2665 neg. 162, AKR 2666 pl. 112

³³³ AcrM 1227, Brooke, 433

³³⁴ Plut. *Lysander* 18

³³⁵ Langlotz, *AKR* xxiv

Repaired:

Repaired with lead: AKR 617, 620 II AKR 747, 1051. With bronze: II AKR 255. With wire: AKR 272.

19. Iconography

We have shown that the decoration of the dedications was not selected at random. Athena and all myths in which she plays a role are the dominant *Leitmotiv* of the dedications.

How important was it for the dedicator of vases that the gift was appropriate at a higher level than that of value and general beauty? A simple calculation shows that the choice of the decoration was indeed a conscious decision.

Between the years 525 and 475 the proportion of representations of Athena on the Acropolis is an approximate average of 1 in 5 vases, as [Fig. 21] shows. This is a much higher share than in vase painting in general. The Beazley Archive Database lists 8507 vases in the same time span, 158 of these depict Athena, which would be equivalent to a proportion of about 1 in 50. If we deduct all the fragments with non-figure decoration the part of Athena becomes even more dominant [Fig. 22].

In this calculation we have to allow for an error-margin. The Acropolis chart also includes pieces which most probably displayed Athena on the complete vase. That means that vases with subjects such as the birth of Athena, or the judgement of Paris are incorporated in the Acropolis calculation even when Athena herself is not visible on a fragment. The Beazley Database, however, lists only the vases on which the image of Athena is actually present. But even taken as a cautious guideline Athena emerges as the dominant figure in the decoration of her vase-votives on the Acropolis.

The contexts in which she appears are many, as should be expected with such a great number of vases. The most popular depiction of Athena on the Acropolis, however, is as armed warrior with shield and spear striding forward energetically, a type often termed 'Promachos'. The popularity of this type coincides with the introduction of the Panathenaic amphorae, which were established as prizes for the reorganised Panathenaia in the 560s.

The Promachos type is especially prevalent on shapes with a decoration zone which can be filled with a single figure such as plaques, plates or the tondo of cups. The plaques are

dominated by this image more than any other shape.³³⁶ The dominance of the type is exceptionally distinct around the middle and the third quarter of the sixth century. In particular the fine white-ground plaque by Paseas has to be discussed here. The image of Athena employed by Paseas is that of the Panathenaic prize vases and the inscription ‘one of the paintings of Paseas’ has the ring of the official inscription of the Panathenaics. Is this the dedication of a rejected bidder for the state-contract to provide the vessels for the games, as Boardman suggested?³³⁷ Or is it an attempt at advertising?

The vases decorated with this image often confirm the dedication to have been ordered by the dedicator, the painted dedicatory formula on the early Lydos plate NM 2411 is a good example of this.³³⁸ The dedicator was probably a woman.³³⁹

Mythological subjects in which Athena plays a prominent part are also abundant on the Acropolis. The most important and numerous are the birth of Athena and the gigantomachy.

The birth of Athena must be the most appropriate myth for dedication to the goddess.³⁴⁰ Therefore it comes as no surprise to find the earliest known depiction of the subject on the Acropolis (plaque AKR 2521).³⁴¹ The eight vases from the Acropolis pottery make up more than a third of all Attic vases identified with the topic.³⁴² Further evidence that the subject was specifically chosen and not selected on a whim is provided by three dedications. Two of the depictions are on plaques and as such proclaim themselves as votives, and the name-vase of the Painter of AKR 601, a hydria, was carefully defined as a dedication with a painted dedicatory formula as *aparchen*. However, the best assessment of the value of the subject as dedication is offered by the peculiar idiosyncrasies of plaque AKR 2578 [Fig. 29]. Here the subject has been

³³⁶ AKR 2503 pl. 103, 2484 pl. 100, 2507 pl. 101, 2493 pl. 101, 2502 pl. 103, probably 2505 pl. 103, 2502 and 2540 pl. 108

³³⁷ J. Boardman, *JHS* 75 (1955); *idem*, *ABFV*, 106. The argument put forward in the Catalogue, *Goddess and Polis*, 147/9 that contracts are awarded to potters and not painters (Paseas signs *egraphsen*) is not very convincing. Even if we assume Paseas had no stake in the ownership of the workshop it is difficult to conceive how the fortunes of the workshop should not be of prime interest to him. Furthermore, the plaques show Paseas eager to use innovative techniques, as the shiny white background slip. This signifies his standing in the workshop and his pride in the work he is doing.

³³⁸ Studniczka, *Ephem.* 1886, pl. 8,2, with later additions by Callipolitis-Feytmans, C-F pl. 20 no. 24. She connects the plate to the young Lydos in the ‘atelier des godrons’.

³³⁹ Callipolitis-Feytmans suggest a second *athenaia* (C-F p. 313). The repetition, however, seems rather unlikely to me.

³⁴⁰ Other famous renditions of the subject on the Acropolis are the statue group seen by Paus. I 24, 2 and on the Parthenon.

³⁴¹ The comparison with the amphora from Cerveteri (Rome, Vatican, 353; *LIMC* II, 986 no. 340) which also employs the bird as signal of the birth disperses doubts to the identification of the subject further.

³⁴² AKR 597 a-e pl. 24 (*ABV* 77,3), AKR 601 pl. 28 (Painter of Acropolis 601, *ABV* 80, 1), the column-krater 638 pl. 38, and the two amphorae 776 pl. 50 (attributed to Tyrrhenian Group), 777, AKR 612 pl. 36.

chosen by the dedicator to be produced abroad, in Corinth.³⁴³ The plaque is painted in Corinthian style and apparently on Corinthian clay,³⁴⁴ but the inscription seems atticised and the subject remains a singular piece in Corinthian vase painting.³⁴⁵ The most likely explanation of the idiosyncrasies of the plaque is the special acquisition of a piece ordered from the potter with subject matter and inscription. The potter was most conceivably as Corinthian or at least a craftsman working in Corinth, the dedicator was probably Athenian or, less likely, a trader so well acquainted with Athens to insist on special subject matter and inscription for a dedication on the Acropolis. One more solution springs to mind: a Corinthian potter, encouraged by the Solonic promise of acquisition of Athenian citizenship for craftsmen and their families, might have decided to immigrate and dedicate the plaque himself.

In her *Promachos* stance Athena appears as if she is about to engage in fighting an opponent. The only battle in which she is actually depicted with her enemy is the battle of the gods against the giants.³⁴⁶ The gigantomachy becomes a well-liked subject for dedication on the Acropolis before the middle of the sixth century and the Acropolis examples remain the only early depictions of the gigantomachy extant. The early versions depict Athena next to the chariot, Zeus as charioteer, closely followed by Herakles; this group is surrounded by battling gods and giants. The subject is especially popular on dinoi and big column-kraters.³⁴⁷ The dinos AKR 607 is signed by Lydos and preserves next to the gigantomachy in the top frieze fragments of a less elaborately drawn sacrificial procession in the middle frieze and animals from the bottom frieze. A big column-krater, AKR 648, by Group E depicts Athena's group on the main frieze;³⁴⁸ likewise amphora AKR 2211, also from before the middle of the sixth century. On a contemporary kantharos, AKR 2134, Zeus is accompanied by a lion. The same type occurs on two cups, dated after the middle of the sixth century,³⁴⁹ AKR 1632, bears an incised inscription,

³⁴³ See *BCH* 84 (1960), 866 for another fragment from the sanctuary of Athena Poliouchos in Thasos.

³⁴⁴ See above, page 33, note 22

³⁴⁵ *LIMC*, s.v. Athena no. 343, K. W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus* (1990) 32-38

³⁴⁶ Her traditional opponent is Enkelados; Euripides, *Ion*, 209-10; Apollodorus I.6. 1-2. For the Attic vase gigantomachies see *LIMC* IV 215-234, 265.

³⁴⁷ By Lydos: AKR 607 pl. 33/34/35 (dinos) and AKR 631 pl. 39 (column-krater), 608 pl. 39 (dinos); by Nearchos: 612 pl. 36 (krater), by a painter of the Group E: AKR 648 (big column-krater)

³⁴⁸ Moore proposes the shape as dinos (*LIMC* 4, 216)

³⁴⁹ AKR 1632 pl. 84, 1631

which very likely has to be restored as dedicatory.³⁵⁰ A plate by Lydos, AKR 2403, and a plaque follow the same type.

Other early depictions of the gigantomachy are too fragmentary to preserve the image of Athena. Around the middle of the sixth century these are a column krater by Lydos, AKR 631, cup AKR 1638, a kantharos signed by Nearchos, AKR 612, dinos AKR 608. From the third quarter of the sixth century two amphorae and skyphoi³⁵¹ probably depict the gigantomachy and the subject is still executed in black-figure on an amphora by the Eucharides Painter and a fragment of a pot.³⁵²

Around the 520s, Athena is locked in single combat with a giant on plaque AKR 2559. Behind her (covering her back) is probably another group of fighters, presumably Herakles or Zeus. Only Athena and a giant appear on two cups from the Segment Class, AKR 1459 and AKR 1464, and on the later skyphos AKR 1338 which adds Dionysos as spectator. Around 500 the Athena and the giant are depicted by Paseas on plaque AKR 2584,³⁵³ and on one of the scenes on plaque AKR 2499, which shows Athena using the aegis like a shield.

The earliest red-figure depiction of the gigantomachy is on cup II AKR 211, by Euthymides. The gigantomachy is spread around the exterior of the vessel. Athena is not preserved, neither is a chariot and Zeus is seen in single combat with a giant. A cup by Makron, II AKR 327, is better preserved and adheres more closely to the earliest type. Here we can see on one side the chariot with Zeus, Herakles behind the horses and Athena in front of the chariot thrusting her spear into a fallen giant. Makron depicts Athena and the giant on a cup from the North-Slope.³⁵⁴ Another of his cups, II AKR 313, shows Poseidon in the gigantomachy. The Pan Painter depicts Dionysos against a giant on the volute krater II AKR 760. The two fragments of the Kleophrades Painter, II AKR 898, might also be a gigantomachies. The latest depiction of Athena and the giant is on cup II AKR 382, near the Stieglitz Painter before the middle of the fifth century.

Athena is always a central figure in the depiction of the gigantomachy on Attic pottery,³⁵⁵ and on the Acropolis the gigantomachy was a central feature of the Panathenaic

³⁵⁰ Seven pieces of this splendid cup have been preserved. AKR 1632 pl. 84, (Carpenter 15a)

³⁵¹ AKR 1244 pl. 72; 1246 pl. 72; 1247(?) [Fig. 73]

³⁵² Eucharides Painter II AKR 890 (ABV 396.26), II AKR 885

³⁵³ Together with the piece AP 2360 E from the North-slope.

³⁵⁴ AP 435; M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 284 n. 147, pl. 36

³⁵⁵ LIMC II, 990-91; 1023-24; Shapiro *Tyrants*, 38-40; K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, Munich, 1964

festival: the subject was woven on the sacred peplos, possibly on all occasions of its dedication which may account for its popularity on vases soon after the reorganisation of the Panathenaia in the 560s. In ca. 500 the most prominent display of the gigantomachy became the marble group in the pediment of the Old Temple of Athena.

From the third quarter of the sixth century onwards Athena appears increasingly in 'religious settings.' The most striking examples are the two plaques which show her in a temple. On AKR 2547 she is standing with shield and owl in front of a table on which fruit-like objects are lying. Hermes is accompanying her. Another Ionic temple is depicted on AKR 2549 [Fig. 28].³⁵⁶ Athena seated on a chair holding her helmet on her lap. The badly preserved phorminx-player has been identified as Apollo, or - perhaps more plausible - Herakles.³⁵⁷

Athena is also sitting in a scene on a black-figure amphora from the turn of the century, here Dionysos is with her.³⁵⁸

In the temple scenes Athena seems to be in 'her house' in person. In other scenes it is not very clear if Athena is present or her cult statue.³⁵⁹ One of these doubtful cases is the decoration on thymiaterion AKR 1220, a woman is shown pouring a libation for Athena at an altar with the painted inscription *athenaias*. Loutrophoros AKR 1189, from the turn of the century, presents the same problem in a scene with a woman and Athena. However, the cult-statue is meant on lekythos AKR 2298. Two other thymiateria, both from the beginning of the fifth century, show altars and attendants and might have included Athena. On another thymiaterion only Athena and a woman are preserved.³⁶⁰ Altars and processions are numerous and we probably have to assume that at least the dedicator of the vase, if not the painter, had an occasion on the Acropolis in mind. The sacrificial animals should give us some idea for whom the sacrifice is meant. The painter's lust for variety, however, is making assumptions of this kind very doubtful. An impressive sacrificial procession with a ram, boar and ox is depicted on a frieze under a gigantomachy on the Lydos dinos AKR 607. AKR 764, an amphora in the manner of the Gorgon Painter, bears intriguing decoration, a man gripping a ram [Fig. 47].³⁶¹ Could

³⁵⁶ AKR 2547 and 2549 pl. 105

³⁵⁷ For the discussion see Boardman, *LIMC* IV s. v. Herakles no. 1453

³⁵⁸ AKR 904

³⁵⁹ Cult: AKR 1220 pl. 67 (*LIMC* II, 1010 no. 577), 806, 613 Cl. Berard, *Ant. K.* 19 (1976), 101-14/ 465-455 carries a basket to the festival of the Chalkeia, fragment of Sophocles

³⁶⁰ AKR 1220 pl. 67; 1224; 1227; 1221

³⁶¹ AKR 764 pl. 48, (*ABV* 13, 44)

this be part of a sacrifice? A sacrificial procession of youths with an ox on the column krater AKR 674 is from the turn of the century. A krater from the end of the sixth century shows a group of women sacrificing at an altar.³⁶² An altar with attending men and women is depicted on a lebes gamikos from the beginning of the fifth century.³⁶³

Athena appears with her favourite hero and protégé **Herakles** in a variety of scenes. Herakles first comes to prominence on the Acropolis vases around the middle of the sixth century. He is shown fighting amazons on a krater by Nearchos and a contemporary krater.³⁶⁴ After the middle of the sixth century two kraters depict Athena accompanying Herakles fighting the lion, one the adventure with the bull.³⁶⁵ Nearer the end of the century she attends his struggle with Apollo about the tripod; this might also be the subject depicted on the krater of the Swan-Group.³⁶⁶ On a krater by the Chiusi Painter Herakles wrestles with Triton, the other side depicts Triptolemos.³⁶⁷ The struggle with Triton is also employed in the Atalanta Group on a hydria.³⁶⁸ Around the turn of the century are the two hydriae depicting Athena and Herakles on a chariot, presumably to convey him to Olympus. Athena, the chariot and Herakles also appear on an amphora.³⁶⁹ A great number of plaques depict chariot-scenes with him and Athena. They start in the 530s. A piece signed by Skythes, not from the start of the series, is the white ground AKR 2586 [Fig. 33]. Athena is depicted as charioteer and on the very right Hermes is attending. Also signed by him is the very similar plaque AKR 2557 where Athena is not preserved, only Herakles in the car attended by Hermes. Several variations are possible: Paseas: AKR 2591, which this time shows Herakles and Iolaos in the car, Athena standing in the background. The subject is even taken up on a black-figure loutrophoros at the turn of the century.³⁷⁰ A remarkable scene appears on cup II AKR 208. The interior shows Athena pouring a libation for Herakles. This scene is a well known topic which becomes quite popular at the beginning of the fifth century. Herakles is resting on a rock while Athena is pouring wine into the big kantharos. The kantharos is the drinking vessel usually used by Herakles. On a cup by

³⁶² AKR 621 pl. 37

³⁶³ AKR 1210 pl. 70

³⁶⁴ AKR 614 pl. 41; 636

³⁶⁵ AKR 655; 656; 660

³⁶⁶ AKR 666, 690

³⁶⁷ AKR 675 pl. 45

³⁶⁸ AKR 738 pl. 47

³⁶⁹ AKR 747; 748. Amphora: 876 (probably about a decade older)

³⁷⁰ AKR 1151

Makron the same topic is depicted, the major change is the phiale which has replaced the kantharos. At about the same time phialai are indeed taking hold on the Acropolis for their very short but intensive span of popularity. The Acropolis is one of the major sources for this shape. If the reality of the dedicated vases has brought about the change in the depiction of Athena and Herakles or if the depiction has initiated the demand for the actual phialai is not possible to determine. But it is important to see how nearly reality and iconography can be linked.

There is evidence that even among the numerous genre-scenes many might have been selected on purpose. The most striking example is the Euergides cup.³⁷¹ Here a scene from a workshop is depicted but the presence of Athena shows that the dedicator is anxious to record the service she does in her role as **Ergane**. But apparently not only the artisan can appeal for the goddess' help; as protector of her city and everything within nothing seems to be beyond her powers. The plaques bear witness to activities as far apart as the harvest of grapes and the lusty union of hetairai and their lovers. Both might be interpreted as prayer for future good fortune or the thankful gift of the past favours.

The **Erichthonios** myth shows Athena in the role of *kourotrophos* and 'Lady' of snakes. Kekrops' daughters, Aglauros, Pandrosos and Herse, with whom she shares the care over the basket-mysteries (*Arrhephoria*) of the snake-child Erichthonios bind the myth even closer to the Acropolis. Apollodoros even credits the placing of the olive-wood cult-figure of Athena in her sanctuary to him and names him as founder of the Panathenaic festival and other rites.³⁷² On the Acropolis Erichthonios is embodied in the shape of a snake.³⁷³ This subject appears on the Acropolis only on loutrophoroi. The clearest depiction is on AKR 1193, and four other loutrophoroi probably depict his birth.³⁷⁴

The primary significance of the owl on the Acropolis is as attribute of Athena. Athena herself is addressed as 'owl-eyed.' and owls nested on the Ancient Acropolis. The owl is ubiquitous in scenes with Athena and also appears on its own on numerous vessels.

³⁷¹ II AKR 166 LIMC II, 962, no. 40, dated 515-500 [Fig. 48]

³⁷² Apollod. 3,186

³⁷³ Paus. 1,24,7; Herod. 8, 41

³⁷⁴ AKR 1188 pl. 68; 1191 p. 132; 1194 pl. 70; 1195

In red-figure the owl in the interior of the cup becomes a sign of dedication. The cup II AKR 1078 shows the type in Six's technique. The majority of this type is in red-figure as II AKR 75 which has a dedicatory inscription in thick pink paint added on the exterior. Athena, the owl, a cock and a snake appear on a skyphos by the Theseus Painter, AKR 1265. The owl is also the favourite decoration of the cuboid loom-weights³⁷⁵ and even an owl-shaped vase has been found on the Acropolis (AKR 2671).

Other motives popular in Greek art in general are also strongly represented on the Acropolis. Warriors, horses, chariots represent the heroic life of war. Some of the scenes may have portrayed mythological figures, nevertheless, their abundance and the lack of inscriptions imply that most of the warriors were not linked to any myth. Bronze statuettes of warriors were also found on the Acropolis and indeed in most other sanctuaries.³⁷⁶ In Olympia and Delphi these statuettes (and statues) could be interpreted as the god of the sanctuary, the gift of a warrior who wants to see his protector in full strength.³⁷⁷ On the Acropolis the male gender of the warriors clearly rules out this possibility. They cannot be interpreted as portraits of the dedicators because all evidence points to the fact that this was clearly frowned upon. The first portrait of a living person on the Acropolis, Olympiodoros of Athens, was dedicated as late as at the beginning of the third century B.C., and even here it is stressed that the statue was set up for him, not by him.³⁷⁸ If the warriors were not portraits of their dedicators why were they chosen? The representation of a warrior was perhaps enough to remind the dedicator of the perils of war. In a society largely dependent on success in war the warrior must have been an important symbol.

The other genre widely depicted on the vases are the Dionysiac scenes. **Dionysos** himself and his followers, the maenads and satyrs, were clearly popular with vase-painters, and for a good reason: the majority of vases was designed for the preparation and drinking of wine at the symposium.

Despite his popularity in Athenian myth and association with the Persian war **Theseus** is not especially popular on vases dedicated in the fifth century.

³⁷⁵ AKR 2757 pl. 113; 2760-70 pl. 113

³⁷⁶ BrAcr 741-5, 748

³⁷⁷ Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 140; *Olympia* III, 23

³⁷⁸ Paus. I. 26. 3

Quite a number of Proto-Corinthian pieces have been found; about twenty-five vessels, mainly consisting of small skyphoi, lekythoi and pear-shaped bottles, but also of pots.³⁷⁹ It is not very likely that these vases were chosen because the subject of their decoration was seen as especially suitable. We have no evidence at this stage of vases being ordered from a foreign workshop as dedication, except the possible case of the Corinthian birth of Athena, already discussed. This seems to be a very clear example of vases being chosen because of their value as objects and not because they are made especially for the purpose of presentation to the goddess.

But there is of course no reason, why the standard painter's repertoire should not be suitable as decoration for votives. This thought is especially intriguing if we take in mind that most shapes dedicated on the Acropolis had a use in everyday life. We do know that the Greeks were not exclusive in using pots for only one thing. The hydria, to give only one of the many examples, indicates from the etymology of its very name that it was intended as a carrying vessel for water. The shape is evidently best suited for this purpose. The big round body with the small neck holds a fair amount of water and prevents it from spilling, the vertical handle at the back makes it easy to pour the liquid and the two horizontal handles at the sides allow the vase to be lifted easily. Representations on vases confirm this use.³⁸⁰ Literature also presents us with a very different use. Xenophon describes how they served as ballot boxes³⁸¹ and Isokrates mentions the use of hydriae as official container for the names of the judges.³⁸² It is also often used as funeral urn. Should it therefore come as a surprise that not only hydriae but the whole range of pottery is represented as votive on the Acropolis?

If the shape can be selected from everyday use the question of the decoration is probably also less revealing.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that a high percentage of pottery found was made for the special purpose.

³⁷⁹ Not all pieces have been published by Graef. Most fragments are decorated with an animal-frieze, three depict a hare-hunt (AKR 399, 403, 407 pl. 13). Other imports: AKR 265, 310-315.

³⁸⁰ As on the numerous fountain house scenes such as AKR 732, 740-743

³⁸¹ Xenophon *Hellenika* I. VII.9

³⁸² Isokrates XVII.33

In looking at the subjects selected to decorate dedications we also have to be aware that these can change into a genre.³⁸³ The popularity of the gigantomachy on vases from the 560s onwards suggest a special event, the reorganisation of the Panathenaia, as impetus of the fashion. A few decades later a dedicator might not have had any of the close associations (the peplos of Athena, the pediment group on her temple) in mind, but knew it as appropriate to Athena. Subjects can have a definite religious function, but this by no means excludes an individual connotation. Genres can be seen afresh if a certain event or interpretation is warranted.

20. Shapes

Why have the dedicators chosen particular vase-shapes for their dedication? Some shapes are clearly exclusively made for religious purposes. The most obvious cases are the plaques and plates. Both shapes have no obvious function other than to decorate a space and this space was clearly not the home but the sanctuary. Excavations have shown them to be present in religious context; but even without this evidence the pictures displayed on them are so dominated by Athena that we could have come to no other conclusion than to place them into the religious sphere. This is more true for the plaques than for the plates; the plates, however, are increasing in popularity when the market in plaques is in decline and the greater diversity of subjects can also be observed on the later plaques. From about 570 onwards both, plaques and plates, begin to take up a significant proportion of the Acropolis pottery. The plaques, at their peak around 550, are represented by two out of fourteen items. In spite of the increase in vase-dedications the number of plaques remains at a level of one to two per year until they are finally dropped before 460. The lack of enthusiasm for plaques at the height of pottery dedications (around 500) is perhaps due to the greater fondness for plates. Already Callipolitis-Feytmans has seen the affinity between the two shapes and referred to plates as 'round plaques'. The number of plates mirrors the general increase in pottery when the plaques are sluggish. Around 500 the plaques and plates together make up six out of forty items, the part of the plaques in this is less than two. The plates remain at a level of three per year until 470 and their decline is only the reflection of the overall decay in numbers of vases. But even

³⁸³ For the examination of the problem of the genre see also M. Baxendall, *Patterns of Intention*, 1985

taken together the proportion of plates and plaques plunges from a third at 550 (five in fifteen) to about an eighth (six in forty) at 500. Were dedicators choosing other shapes from the potter's repertoire? After all, the interior of a cup offers a similar space for decoration as the plate, but is more expensive to throw on the potter's wheel and takes up a larger area in the kiln. Is the decline in the plainer shapes simply a reflection of rising prosperity? However, another possible explanation has to be examined. The unknown factor of lost materials becomes painfully evident in the case of plaques. Wooden equivalents have probably existed throughout. Around the turn of the fifth century the wooden plaque might have offered new possibilities in colour and technique and so supplanted the vase painter's product.

Another group of vases clearly identifiable as dedicatory are the miniature shapes. Again, they are clearly unsuitable for everyday use. The decoration does not seem particularly aimed for their dedication on the Acropolis with the exception of the miniature shields. Metal versions of the miniature shield were listed in the inventory lists.³⁸⁴ The motive of Nike with an aphlaston displayed on two shields³⁸⁵ is easily connected to the Acropolis. Traditionally it has been linked to the famous naval victories over the Persians, probably not much more than a decade before the shields were made.³⁸⁶ But the victory commemorated might also be in a naval contest, perhaps in the Panathenaia.³⁸⁷ Real shields were awarded as prizes in tribal contests at the Panathenaic festival.³⁸⁸

The most interesting miniature shape on the Acropolis is the epinetron. The decoration is not particularly linked to Athena, the function of the real shape, however, is. The Panathenaic festival again gives us the clue to the presence of wool-working tools on the Acropolis: the weaving of the new peplos. Graef wants to see the epinetra as prizes, given to the women for their outstanding work on the peplos.³⁸⁹ If this was true the custom of awarding epinetra as prizes was probably short-lived, since they date so closely to each other. In my opinion, it is more likely the result of a brief fashion of a product commemorating the work of women, which at other times may have been commemorated by the donation of a plaque depicting the

³⁸⁴ See also chapter IV.v

³⁸⁵ II AKR 1071, 1072

³⁸⁶ J. D. Beazley, *Der Panmaler*. (1931) 20; H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 58 (1934) 100-101; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Painter in Classical Athens*. (1972) 76

³⁸⁷ J. Neils, 'The Panathenaia and Kleisthenic Ideology' in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* ed. W. D. E. Coulson, O. Palagia et al. (1994) 3

³⁸⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 60.3: shields as prizes in the *euandria* contest.

³⁸⁹ See text to AKR 2593

woman preparing the loom and the wool or a set of loom-weights decorated with owls. The epinetra on the Acropolis were too small to be used, the loom-weights, on the other hand, were perfectly functional. This leads us to an important question: could the loom-weights be part of the 'furniture' of the Acropolis, purchased with the funds of the sanctuary and not by a dedicator? This question becomes relevant for all functional shapes, and in particular for the most dominant class of vases on the Acropolis, the group of drinking vessels.

21. The Dedicators' Names on Pottery

The only concrete evidence for the identities of the dedicators of vases are the dedicatory inscriptions which were painted or incised on the vessels. In reading the inscriptions we face again the problem of finding our evidence in a very fragmentary condition; small remnants of inscriptions have to be heavily restored. The dilemma ensuing in interpreting these bits of information is already apparent in the earliest painted Acropolis inscription, *A]nte[nor*, on the Proto-Attic fragment AKR 309.³⁹⁰ Antenor might very well be the dedicator of the vase, as Beazley suggested. Without the presence of a dedicatory formula, however, it is difficult to exclude the other possibilities; Antenor might be a mythological name or even the name of the former owner of the vase.

Only a comparatively small number of names in inscriptions are securely attested as dedicators' names. All names from the context of a dedicatory formula are joined with *anetheken*: a small fragment from the first half of the sixth century gives perhaps the name of Kydias,³⁹¹ Skythes dedicated plaque AKR 2556 in the last quarter of the sixth century;³⁹² contemporary is the dedication of Pollias, plaque AKR 2590;³⁹³ Smikros, who dedicated the cup II AKR 238 and is probably to be identified with the painter [Fig. 51]. Demainetos is the dedicator of a disc [Fig. 50]; a small krater was given by Leuko]lophos (?);³⁹⁴ Sabys dedicated

³⁹⁰ AKR 309 pl. 10. It is indeed difficult to establish whether this piece is still 8th century. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, 233, Boardman, *BSA* 49 (1954) 184, n. 9 suggests that the third letter might be *alpha* but the vertical indicates rather *epsilon* (as Immerwahr, *Attic Script* 8 pointed out).

³⁹¹ II AKR 1332. The first line, *enes [a]netheken* is still well preserved. The second line is barely visible. The restoration as *K[ydias]* is by Klaffenbach (Langlotz, *AKR* 117).

³⁹² AKR 2556; incised: *Skythes m'an[etheken]*; *ABV* 352: Skythes.

³⁹³ Painted before firing: *Polias anethek[en]* *ARV* 1598. J. Boardman, *JHS* 76 (1956) 20-2.

³⁹⁴ The inscription is *Smikros anetheken te Athenaia* (Langlotz, *AKR* 19); II AKR 1335 [Fig. 50] II AKR 1336 [Fig. 51]

the pot fragment II AKR 1337;³⁹⁵ Timostratē is the dedicator of fragment II AKR 1349;³⁹⁶ the foot of a vase of about 500 B.C. bears the name of Boukrates;³⁹⁷ At(t)es is the dedicator of an amphora.³⁹⁸ Five dedicators are named on feet of cups; Aristodemos,³⁹⁹ Polites,⁴⁰⁰ Kresilas,⁴⁰¹ and Ktesias, who donated two cups.⁴⁰² A small vase, probably a krater from the second quarter of the fifth century, is signed by Kallis as *poiētes* and dedicator.⁴⁰³ The plate C-F 24 pl. 20 was dedicated by a woman.

The majority of vases, however, give only a name; incised inscriptions are especially prone to be of this nature. Most of these are very likely also dedicators' names, in particular in cases where the name alone appears in a place commonly used for dedicatory inscription. Such a place is the underside of the foot of cups, as used for the painted Chiron, the incised Apo[lonos, Dikaio..., Epikatos, and Polichos.⁴⁰⁴ A cup and a skyphos are incised with Sosias' name on the rim.⁴⁰⁵

The undersides of feet of skyphoi are incised with the names of Antigenes, Arch]estrat[os or Chai]estrat[os, Achilleus, and Thaliarchos. The rims of three skyphoi reveal the names of Phai]nipide[s, Glau]konides, and Ly]sistrata.⁴⁰⁶ The under-side of two small plates reveal Euergides, and Mnemo[...].⁴⁰⁷

With the exception of the *poiētes* Kallis, who dedicated the vase he or she made himself or herself⁴⁰⁸ and possibly the red figure krater by the Deepdene Painter, if the incised inscription of the signature of Oreibelos as *poiētes* and the dedicatory formula belong together,⁴⁰⁹ none of

³⁹⁵ *Athenaia m]e Sabys anetheken*; Klaffenbach suggests the identification of the dedicator with the Sabys mentioned in *IG I 9*, 56 line 354; (Langlotz, *AKR* 118; with drawing).

³⁹⁶ The reconstruction of the inscription is again by Klaffenbach *T]im[o]strate m'ane[theke]*; he compares with *PA 13 812/5* (Langlotz, *AKR* 118).

³⁹⁷ II AKR 1351, *Boukrates ane[theke]*; see also Bechtel *HP* 97/8.

³⁹⁸ II AKR 1353, *At(t)es anetheken athenai*, (see Peek in Langlotz, *AKR* 131).

³⁹⁹ II AKR 1359; *an]ethe[ken Aristode[mos]*, for drawing see Langlotz, *AKR* 119.

⁴⁰⁰ II AKR 1360; *Pol]ites [a]neth[eken]*.

⁴⁰¹ II AKR 1364; *Kre[silas anetheken tod' ag]alma*.

⁴⁰² II AKR 1365, *Ktesias a[n]etheken*; and II AKR 1428, *Kte[sias*

⁴⁰³ II AKR 1367 pl. 91; *Athen[ai] hygiei[ai] Kallis [e]poies[e] kai aneth[eken]* (reading by P. Wolters, *AM* 16 (1891) 154). T. B. L. Webster (*Potters and Patrons in Classical Athens* (1972) 4) wrongly identifies the shape as a plaque.

⁴⁰⁴ II AKR 268 pl. 14.; II AKR 1424; II AKR 1430; II AKR 1431; II AKR 1439; Klaffenbach compares with Bechtel, *HP* 380.

⁴⁰⁵ Skyphos AKR 1401 and cup AKR 1628

⁴⁰⁶ AKR 1343, *A]ntigene[s]*; II AKR 1448; II AKR 1451; II AKR 1459 (the name is known from an kalos-inscription); II AKR 1467; II AKR 1471; II AKR 1472

⁴⁰⁷ II AKR 1457; II AKR 1461

⁴⁰⁸ II AKR 1367 pl. 91; *Athen[ai] hygiei[ai] Kallis [e]poies[e] kai aneth[eken]*.

⁴⁰⁹ II AKR 762; *ARV*: Deepdene Painter, incised inscription: *Oreibelos epoiesen and hieros tes Ath[enaias]*.

these dedicatory inscriptions gives us the name of the dedicator and information about his identity and status. To shed light on the personalities we are forced to make connections with persons known to us from other epigraphical sources.

Among the pottery dedications the greatest number of names familiar to us come from potter/painter inscriptions on vases. There has been doubt about the identification of the names in *egrapsen* and *epoiesen* inscriptions with the makers and decorators of the vases on which they appear.⁴¹⁰ The dedicatory inscriptions on the Acropolis probably provide the strongest argument for connecting the names with the potter's identity. In particular the incised inscription on a kantharos by Nearchos, *anetheke]n athenaiai autos poi[esas*; which so explicitly stresses the *poietes* as dedicator, makes any other interpretation of the term impossible.⁴¹¹ Three further inscriptions name the *poietes* as dedicator of his own product: Kallis, signing as *poietes*, dedicated a red figure krater to Athena Hygieia,⁴¹² perhaps as prayer or thanksgiving for the health of his pots,⁴¹³ Oreibelos, signing as potter on a small volute-krater⁴¹⁴ and perhaps giving us the name of its painter, the Deepdene Painter,⁴¹⁵ and Myson on his column-krater II AKR 806. Aischines, who dedicated two cups, might be the same Aischines signing as *poietes* on the round base (?) AKR 2692.

In other cases the identification of the dedicator with the *poietes* is almost certain if the vase can be attributed independently to him.

It has always been suspected, that vase-dedications by the potters themselves must have been very numerous and possibly included a great number of vases which have no inscription at all, or only a dedicatory formula without dedicator's name preserved. The formula for firstfruits and tithes (*aparchen* and *dekaten*) are both attested in inscriptions on the Acropolis pottery, (even though only one example each survives).⁴¹⁶

Scholars working on special shapes, subject or painters often find that the piece of the greatest quality, largest size or most innovative subject was found on the Acropolis. The extra effort the painter/potter invested in these pieces has often been explained by assuming that the

⁴¹⁰ Last discussed in D. Williams, 'Potter, Painter and Purchaser' in *Culture et Cité*, 1995, 139-142 with selective bibliography on the widely debated problem (141 note 11).

⁴¹¹ AKR 2134 pl. 94; a gigantomachy is depicted.

⁴¹² II AKR 1367 pl. 91; see above note

⁴¹³ T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Painter in Classical Athens* (1972) 4

⁴¹⁴ II AKR 762, ARV 78, 102

⁴¹⁵ D. Williams, 'Potter, Painter and Purchaser' in *Culture et Cité*, 1995, 142 note 17

⁴¹⁶ Incised on pithos: *dekate Athenaia*: II AKR 1366,

potter was also the dedicator. This case has been made for a cup by the C Painter, which, as Brijder insists, is the only cup of high-quality painted in the painter's middle period.

The idea of 'first things' being given by potters and painters is especially plausible if we take into account that many new developments in potting and painting are immediately represented on the Acropolis. Two merrythought cups on the Acropolis are by the C Painter, very likely the inventor of the shape, a kantharos by Nearchos depicts the first harnessing of a chariot, and is very innovative in its use of the white-ground.

This leaves us either with very progressive customers or perhaps more likely with potters who want to guarantee a good start for their new product.

A Greek poem from the sixth century B.C., ascribed to Homer in antiquity, identifies Athena as protector of the potter, who is summoned here by the poet of the song if the potters give him money for his service:

If you pay me, potters, I will sing:
come here, Athena, and hold your hand over the kiln.
May the cups and bowls all turn out a good black,
may they be well fired, and fetch the price asked...⁴¹⁷

22. Dedicatory Formulae

Most inscriptions on vases are very brief. Painted inscriptions form a natural part in the decoration of many pots and the aesthetic requirements of the space a row of letters may occupy limits the possible length. In most cases the inscription is painted into the picture panel, the rim and the foot are more favoured for incised inscriptions. Dedicatory inscriptions on vases are probably only expedient because of the familiarity of writing on vases. After all, no statue on the Acropolis was incised with an inscription - this was firmly reserved for the base the piece was mounted on. It comes as no surprise that what was possibly the longest metric painted inscription on pottery is on a fragment from a round base, probably designed to hold a variety of other pottery goods.⁴¹⁸ Two small fragments of a similar base only preserve

⁴¹⁷ R.M. Cook, 'Notes on the Homeric Epigram to the Potters' *CR* 62 (1948) 55-57, and 'The Homeric epigram to the potters' *CR* 65 (1951) 9; J.V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Pottery* (1966 [rev. ed. 1988]), 102-113 (by M. J. Milne); B. A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery, an Introduction* (1991) 22. See also *DAA* 465

⁴¹⁸ II AKR 1300 $\neg^{\wedge} \neg^{\wedge} \neg$ *Ph]runou pais m'entha[d'etheken/* $\neg^{\wedge} \neg^{\wedge} \neg$ *th]eai kulika* (around 500).

tod[a]galm[a].⁴¹⁹ It is conceivable that it was not uncommon to dedicate vases on bases, perhaps wooden ones, which might not have been preserved. We probably should expect more fragments of pottery bases if this was the case. However, bases can only be clearly identified when the fragment preserves the rim.

The terms for firstfruits, *anetheken*, and tithe, *dekaten*, seem to have been used next to each other. It has been suggested that the tithe might have its origin in the establishment of fixed units of currency, perhaps tripods or other, into which perishable firstfruits could be commuted.⁴²⁰

anetheken

From the beginning of the seventh century is the incised inscription *a]neth]eken* from a large pot decorated with spirals and crosses.⁴²¹ This is indeed our first proven dedicatory inscription, if the restoration is correct. From the second half of the seventh century. AKR 380, a piece of an amphora, preserves the painted *aneth]eke*.

agalma

The earliest use of the term *agalma* on the Acropolis is painted on a skyphos of the beginning of the sixth century.⁴²² The inscription on the foot of a little-master cup is the most explicit: *Nomenios anetheken Athenaiai tod' agalma*.⁴²³ A small fragment from a krater only preserves *ag]alm[a]*.⁴²⁴ Almost a century later is the painted *tod [a]galm[a]* on the small fragments of a base.⁴²⁵

⁴¹⁹ II AKR 1299, around 500

⁴²⁰ First proposed by Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 54-55

⁴²¹ AKR 343 pl.11

⁴²² AKR 551 pl. 19; Graef suggests an *eta* as word ending in front of the *agalma*. His solution of the potter being also the dedicator on the merit of the painted inscription is not necessary if we suppose pieces being made on order of the customer.

⁴²³ II AKR 1312, around 530

⁴²⁴ II AKR 1342, according to Klaffenbach *tod a[g]alm[a]*, third quarter of the 6th century

⁴²⁵ II AKR 1299, around 500

hiera

At the middle of the century a series of eleven cups was especially made for dedication. Their interiors are decorated with the painted inscription *hiera tes athenaas* within the small reserved circle of the tondo.⁴²⁶ The best preserved piece AKR 1812 reveals that the area under the handles was decorated with palmettes, otherwise only a reserved ring around the foot decorated the exterior.

The inventory *hiera* seems to be so versatile that the several abbreviations seem to have existed.⁴²⁷

A glazed plate bears as only decoration the incised *hiera* in the middle of the surface.⁴²⁸

The cup II AKR 351, however, deserves more attention. Again a dedicatory inscription is preserved. The 'inventory formula' *hiera* is used. The owner of the piece, however, is not Athena but Dionysos. A mistake of the painter? That impression would not be completely unfounded, since he seems to have been careless enough to give Athena two right hands. The inscription on this cup is the only secure dedication to a god other than Athena. Even Artemis, whose cult is at least present on the Acropolis, is not mentioned in one dedicatory inscription. If the inscription on our piece here is indeed a mistake, it comes as no surprise, that it appears on a cup. The cup is so closely linked to Dionysos, that the dedication to him is excusable.

aparchen

The most spectacular vase-dedication proclaimed as *aparchen* is the name-vase of the Painter of Acropolis 601. Its possible place as the first 'masterpiece' of the artist has been argued by Dyfri Williams by attributing Kleitias' François vase to his hand.⁴²⁹

Another *aparchen* inscription could be incised on the shoulder fragment II AKR 1510. Peek suggests $\neg$ ergo]n eimi ap[arche.

⁴²⁶ AKR 1812, AKR 1813; AKR 1923 pl. 89 *h[iera tes] ath(e)naas*; AKR 1924 (only upper half of the word *athen[* and a small part of the hasta are preserved; AKR 1925 *]na[*; AKR 1926 *hiera t[...]*naas; AKR 1927 *]thenaa[*; AKR 1928 *]iera*; AKR 1929 *t]e(s) ath[*; AKR 1930 *]ra tes*; AKR 1931 *]ra tes athena[*.

⁴²⁷ An example is the cup II AKR 1397. The inscription *hie* is complete.

⁴²⁸ II AKR 1386

⁴²⁹ D. Williams, 'Potter, Painter and Purchaser' in *Culture et Cité*, 1995, 141-2

glaukopidi kore

The earliest use of the term was perhaps already on a mid-seventh-century plaque, the retrograde *qor[* is preserved.⁴³⁰ On the pottery it is only used twice more, at the end of the century, on the neck of the largish pot AKR 391 by the Nessos Painter,⁴³¹ and on the rim of the big krater II AKR 1330.⁴³²

other

Of about 100 pieces of big pots and kraters decorated in the style of the KX Painter, the Group of Dresden Lekanis and the Polos Painter, a dedicatory inscription is preserved only on one, the incised *athen]aia* on the neck of the neck-amphora AKR 2627, decorated with a sphinx.

Around the middle of the fifth century the dinos seems to have been receiving more attention than any of the other kraters. Painted inscriptions are on II AKR 1289, 1290 and 1291. The first two bear the dedicatory *tas Athenaias eimi*, the latter is badly preserved, probably the name of the dedicator has to be reconstructed.⁴³³

Evidence for the fact that pottery could be given in sets is provided by the cups II AKR 1357 and 1358. Both are incised on the foot by the dedicator Aischines.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁰ Boardman no. 8, *BSA* 49, (1964), 196

⁴³¹ AKR 391 pl. 14; (*Para* 4, 16). The *dios glauko]pidi q[orei* is incised in a rather careless manner.

⁴³² II AKR 1330 pl. 93; *anethe]ken dios glauko]pidi kore*.

⁴³³ II AKR 1289: *ta]s Athenaias eim/i*, 1290: *Ath(e)naias*, 1291: *...iph...*

⁴³⁴ II AKR 1357: *....ieron [Ais]chines an[etheken*; 1358: *Ais]chines a[netheken*

II. MARBLE DEDICATIONS

The majority of the stone dedications was statuary. Both marble and poros fragments have been found on the Acropolis. The poros statuary belongs probably without exception to earlier architectural contexts. Fragments of architectural ornament seem to have a high probability of surviving in the foundations of the structures which replace them. The poros fragments were probably mainly reused for terracing near the Parthenon, where they were found in the so-called poros layer. It is not always possible to tell if a statue originally came from an architectural context or was a dedication on its own. It can be argued that both were ultimately offered to the gods, but while the decoration of a temple is decided by a body of the state and the priests, the statue is dedicated and chosen by an individual. The motives of the state to select a certain subject for display in a very prominent and public place are very different from the more personal motives of a citizen.

We probably owe the survival of the greatest number of marble sculptures to the Persian sack of the Acropolis. All the statues which were damaged were eventually buried in pits, stacked next to each other. Later centuries have not dealt so kindly with the dedicated sculptures: statues were looted for their status as objects of art, the Christians destroyed them as pagan monuments, and later generations burned them in lime-kilns or used them as cheap building material. Again the damaged pieces retrieved from walls and foundations have survived.

Texts, epigraphic evidence and inventories give a poor indication of the marble dedications. The popularity of marble sculptures through history might be assessed more successfully on the evidence of the surviving bases.

1. Korai

The Acropolis has yielded the greatest series of sculptures of young women found in one place: about 75 well preserved korai¹ have been identified and stray fragments of

¹ About their excavation J. Hurwit, *AJA* 93 (1989), Floren, *Griechische Plastik*, 263

hands and feet bring the number of attested statues to over 100 [Fig. 89].² No other type of sculpture was as popular on the Acropolis as the 'maidens': all other dedications as charioteers, male figures, horsemen, animals and other statuary groups are outnumbered.³

A dedicatory inscription on a base from the Acropolis names the dedicated statue it supported, one of the group of female sculpture in canonical pose, 'kore'.⁴ The original meaning of the word is 'young woman,' and in Archaic Greece the term is used in a great variety of situations, as title for the maiden, the bride and the young wife. Also goddesses can be addressed with the term: both Athena (in the context of 'daughter of Zeus') and Persephone are known as kore.

The contexts in which the statues of the young women are attested are as varied as the meaning of the term employed for them: the largest group of korai are dedications, representations of goddesses follow the same formula and are often indistinguishable from the dedications,⁵ korai were found on graves and served as markers⁶ and they are also attested as formal representations of women;⁷ the only means to discern between the functions of the statue is the context of their installation, their attributes and the inscriptions.

Since the excavators of the Acropolis first uncovered their most striking find, the korai, their most urgent question was to explain why this type of sculpture was dedicated to Athena and why it was so popular. The sculptures were evidently not 'portraits'⁸ of the dedicators, for none of the inscriptions supports this idea. It is also unlikely that the maidens were representations of Athena, even though Ridgway has made a spirited attempt to explain the metal rods protruding from the heads of sixteen korai as supports for helmets.⁹

² See chapter 2

³ Langlotz, *AMA*. The marble sculpture excluding the korai are only 69 pieces.

⁴ *IG I²* n. 706, n. 373; *DAA* n. 229

⁵ The earliest kore, the dedication of Nikandre on Delos, has been suggested to be the representation of a goddess, Artemis. The only indication for this hypothesis, however, is her great size (with references: Floren, *Griechische Plastik* (1987) 263)

⁶ Berlin Kore (with references: Floren, *Griechische Plastik* 264-265) and the grave marker of Phrasikleia at Merenda (E. Mastrokostas, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 5, 298-324)

⁷ The Geneleos-Group in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos is the clearest example of korai being employed as portraits (Floren, *Griechische Plastik* 345-347)

⁸ As suggested by Raubitschek, *DAA*.

⁹ B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style*, 1993, 147-53

The answers are varied and reflect not a little the time in which they were formulated. Miss Richter's vision of the kore as 'beautiful girl in the service of the goddess',¹⁰ 'more permanent...than could mortal flesh' (Boardman)¹¹ and even the suggestion of a replacement of earlier human sacrifice to Athena¹² is replaced by politically correct interpretations: the korai are seen as female counterparts of the 'noble man,' represented in the kouros,¹³ and in Stewart's feminist approach he compares the status of the kore in Greek society to that of the horse,¹⁴ and states: 'in a sexist society a pretty woman (wife or daughter) is the prime ornament of the house.'¹⁵ Perhaps the popularity of the korai and kouroi lies exactly in the fact that the type was so adaptable, appropriate in funerary and religious contexts, to represent mortals and gods. Even on the Acropolis each figure might indeed have represented the dedicator, a valued member of the dedicator's family, one of the women in the service of the goddess or even Athena herself.¹⁶ The majority of figures might have been given by dedicators following the trend. After the dedication of a number of korai the type must have been perceived as the most valued gift for dedication on the Acropolis.

Only few bases can successfully be associated with the fragments of sculpture they once supported. Not more than six korai have been successfully joined with an inscribed base. In all cases the korai were supported by a column.¹⁷ The earliest kore with inscription is AcrM 429 from the last quarter of the sixth century. The dedicator is Simon, a fuller, who has given the kore as a tithe.¹⁸

The inscription *IG I³ 641* from the last decade of the sixth century has been connected with kore AcrM 475, 611.¹⁹ Amein[ias is named as the dedicator, Gorg[ias as the artist. The other inscriptions belong to the first decades of the fifth century. *IG I³ 756* confirms the kore AcrM 675 as a work of a Chian sculptor, possibly Achermos or one of

¹⁰ Richter, *Korai*, 4

¹¹ Boardman, *GSAP*, 22

¹² G. Dickens, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, 1912, 33 cites Suidas, 3163 B, who recounts the sacrifice of Lokrian maidens to Athena of Ilion.

¹³ L. Schneider, 'Zur sozialen Bedeutung der archaischen Korestatuen' *Hamburger Beitr. zur Arch.*, Beih. 2 (1975); V. Zinserling, 'Zum Bedeutungsgehalt des archaischen Kouros' *Eirene* 13 (1975) 19-33

¹⁴ Citing Alkman: 'there's the likeness, plain to see...' [Alkman, *Partheneion*, 57 (tr. Gilbert Highet)].

¹⁵ Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 48

¹⁶ See also Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 112

¹⁷ On the dating of the Ionic votive columns on the Acropolis see E. R. McGowan, *Hesperia* 66 (1997) 209-233

¹⁸ *IG I³ 616*: Simon a[netheke--]ho knapheus dekten

¹⁹ *IG I³ 641*: Amein[ias anetheke]e t'athenaiai. Gorg[ias epoies]en

his sons.²⁰ The kore AcrM 732, 837 is usually referred to as Euthydikos' kore, its dedicator if the connection with the base is correct.²¹

IG I³ 768, linked to kore AcrM 602?,²² and IG I³ 870, linked to kore AcrM 425,²³ are too mutilated to reveal even the names of their dedicators.

The development of the type on the Acropolis has mainly been established by Langlotz (in Schrader), Payne and Young, and Richter (*Korai*), with numerous minor contributions by various authors mainly concerning problems of dating (which is now generally assumed to be about 15 years later than originally proposed by Langlotz) and of 'Meisterforschung.'

The dating of the sculptures is notoriously difficult - the output of a sculptor is very low compared to the potter, the development within his œuvre is therefore much more difficult to establish and even pupil-teacher relationships are hard to pinpoint. This leaves us with especially large margins for the absolute dating of individual pieces. The sculptures seem to give us the justification to date within ten years within the sequence of development, and this is a convenient way of describing their position within the series, as long as we keep in mind that as an absolute date even a quarter of a century seems to be far too optimistic for any individual statue. The relative chronology is linked to few absolute dates, most of which are themselves of doubtful merit. The treasury of the Siphnians and the Alkmeonid temple in Delphi, the Antenor kore (generally accepted as the nearest stylistic match of the series to the temple), the date of the architectural sculpture of the temple of Apollo in Eretria, the treasury of the Athenians in Delphi and comparisons with vase-painting (itself dated by the aforementioned monuments), provide the shaky grid which links the series to historical dates.²⁴

Amongst these the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi seems to be the most useful: according to Herodotus²⁵ the Siphnians started with the building or planning of their treasury before 525/524. The building and its architectural sculpture decoration must have been finished near this date.²⁶ The east front of the temple of Apollo in Delphi provides us

²⁰ IG I³ 756: [---epoie]sen ho Chios. [--t'ath]enaiai. [--?Achar]neus; Raubitschek, DAA no. 70

²¹ IG I³ 758: Euthydikos ho Thaliarcho anetheken

²² IG I³ 768: Eune--- mides--- Kir----

²³ IG I³ 870: Eupr[-- anetheken? epoiesen?

²⁴ Already proposed by Langlotz, ZB 20-22, 34-5, 54-56 and table p. 117.

²⁵ Herod. III 57, 2-4

²⁶ P. Amandry, BCH 112 (1988) 591-610

with a date *post quem* of 513/10, based on Herodotus²⁷ and Philochoros.²⁸ The date (after the battle of Leipsydrion) has been questioned as about a decade too late on stylistic grounds.²⁹ The reasoning of the Herodotus text, however, is partly verified: the building of the temple is linked to the persuasion of the Delphic oracle to convince the Spartans of their duty to free Athens of the Tyrants. Athens was freed from the tyrants shortly after 510 - this part of the text is evidently correct, which makes it less likely that Herodotus got the Leipsydrion date wrong.

The korai of the Apollo Temple in Delphi are linked to the Antenor Kore³⁰ through a close technical³¹ and stylistic relationship and are by the majority of scholars regarded as later work of the same artist, Antenor.³² It has, however, also been proposed to regard the Antenor Kore as the more mature piece,³³ or as contemporary,³⁴ and even though the first assumption seems to be the most likely proposition, our more than shaky knowledge of the artist and the development within his work makes it dangerous to pass judgement on the evidence of only two of his products.

According to conventional chronology³⁵ the majority of korai seem to cluster between the last decades of the sixth and the first two decades of the fifth century. The redating of the Antenor Kore contracts the chronology even more: the bulk of the korai is now confined to the three decades after the tyranny. The great historical transition from tyranny to democracy has by past scholars been felt to be of such importance that it should have influenced the numbers and nature of dedications.³⁶ Statistical analysis of the largest

²⁷ Herod. 5.62.2; and following him: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.3-4, compare Pindar, *Pyth* 7

²⁸ Philochoros, *FGH* 328 F115

²⁹ See Payne, *AMA* 31ff, 61-63; P. de la Coste- Messelière, *FdD* 4, 4 (1957) 263 n. 5.p; and others in favour of an early date collected in J. Kleine, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der attischen Kunst von Peisistratos bis Themistokles' *IstMitt* 8. Beih. (1973) 34.

³⁰ *DAA*, no. 197, against an identification: Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 60

³¹ S. Casson, *Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* (1933) 124-125

³² Literature collected by J. Kleine, 'Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der attischen Kunst von Peisistratos bis Themistokles' *IstMitt* 8. Beih. (1973) 48-49; the connection of base and kore has been questioned, but see Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 60

³³ J. Dörig, in J. Boardman, J. Dörig, W. Fuchs, M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Kunst* (1966) 110.

³⁴ Tölle-Kastenbein, *AA* (1983) 573ff

³⁵ The chronology proposed by E. Langlotz and H. Payne (with slightly higher dates - see E. Harrison, *Agora X*, 1965, 7) is followed in general by: A.W. Byvack, *Mnemosyne* 4, Ser. 1, 1948, 161ff; H. G. Niemeyer, *Promachos* (1960) 37ff; G. M. A. Richter, *Korai* (1968); J. Kleine, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der attischen Kunst von Peisistratos bis Themistokles* (1973); E. Kluwe, *Gnomon* 47, 1975, 682; M. S. Brouskari, *A Descriptive Catalogue* (1974) 85ff and in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography* presented to H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia Suppl.* 20 (1982) 123ff.

³⁶ Sudden increase in numbers of vases: R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *AA* (1983) 573ff

corpus of objects from the Acropolis, the vases, has shown that the proposed 'dedication gap' during the tyranny is not evident. Is it therefore wishful thinking which creates an artificial gap in a group of monuments which is notoriously cumbersome to date? The argument of the continuity of vase dedications can be weakened: if restrictions for dedications on the Acropolis were in place dedicators of small objects might have encountered a more lenient policy than dedicators of monumental sculpture. This hypothesis, however, has no historical support; if access to the Acropolis was restricted, as might be suggested,³⁷ it was surely restricted for everyone. The explanation is ultimately as frail as the absolute dating of the korai on flimsy historical dates compared with the firm ground of the healthy vase statistics. Furthermore, the computer statistics of the cautious dates proposed by Langlotz for individual korai do not confirm his gut feeling: the graph shows a steady increase in sculptures until about 500 - very slow at first and reaching the mark of about one sculpture per year only after the middle of the century, then exponentially to a mark of almost six sculptures per year around 500. The progress is only in one place slightly interrupted, a small indentation around 520. It might become more prominent with less cautious dating; with the data used it rather suggests a short 'boom' of dedications before 520 - the equivalent of almost three korai per year instead of only two per year shortly after 520. After reaching the peak of korai around 500 the numbers of korai decrease rapidly in two steps at 490 and 480. The later date is historically fixed with the *Perserschutt* as the end of the series. This is indeed convincing but not entirely without problems: what we perceive as a layer of the destruction date might be mixed with later debris if the Acropolis was only tidied well after the Persian invasion.³⁸ Two other historical dates, however, strengthen the proposition of the last korai as destruction debris: the terminal date of 490 of the temple of Apollo in Eretria, testified by Herodotus,³⁹ and the date of Athenian Treasury in Delphi, which must have been started after 490, according to Pausanias.⁴⁰

³⁷ Herod. 1.59; 5.90 - Isagoras affair 5.70-75

³⁸ See in particular the discussion about the Kritios boy: J. Hurwit, *AJA* 93 (1989) 41-80.

³⁹ Herod. 6.101

⁴⁰ Paus. 10.11.5

The Development of the Korai on the Acropolis:

The earliest Attic korai from the Acropolis are still closely related to Daedalic style but cannot antedate the sixth century. Among other fragments it is in particular the flat, blockish marble torso AcrM 593, which is a telling representative of the old tradition. The dress of the kore is the chiton, peplos and himation; she holds a wreath in her right hand, a pomegranate in the left. In particular the wreath gives her the air of a participant in a religious ceremony. The many layers of cloth and the chunky beads of the necklace point to great wealth.

The peplos with its heavy, body-concealing cloth is the characteristic dress of the early Attic korai.⁴¹ The straight folds give the sculpture a blockish appearance.

Two korai of a very different type have convincingly been identified as Naxian work.⁴² On AcrM 677 the head shows most clearly the Cycladic origin and the dress is matched by Samian korai. A comparison of its body with torso AcrM 619 leaves no doubt that the latter also must be regarded as Cycladic. The closest parallel to the head is probably the Naxian sphinx at Delphi⁴³ and all three pieces have been suggested as manufactured in the same workshop, presumably before the mid century.⁴⁴ The sculptures were made of marble which has been compared to that of the lions from Delos and is said to be Naxian.⁴⁵

These sculptures, which were either imported or made by a Naxian craftsman in Athens herald a change in taste on the Acropolis. The further development of the kore was clearly dominated by East Greek influences and the fashion lasts from about the middle of the sixth century into the fifth. There is proof that East Greek sculptors were present in Athens: sculptors from Chios have signed as the craftsmen of the dedications on two bases from the Acropolis,⁴⁶ and a number of high quality korai, as AcrM 677, leave little doubt

⁴¹ AM 589, AM 593 and AM 656 are the earliest, AM 679, the Peplos kore, the 'greatest piece of middle-tyranny' and AM 140 are the latest to be dressed in the peplos.

⁴² AM 619: Samian: Langlotz, *AMA* no. 22 ; Naxian: Payne, *AMA* 21 plate 20 and B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Samos XI* (1974) 26, 28, n. 63, 78; AM 677: Samian: Langlotz, *AMA* no. 23 and Payne, *AMA* 12 plate 18 ; Naxian: B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Samos XI* (1974) 26, 28

⁴³ *FdeD* iv 1, 41; Richter, *AGA* fig.46

⁴⁴ Robertson, *Greek Art* 87

⁴⁵ Bruneau, P./Ducat, J. *Guide de Délos* (1965) 112 pl. 2, 1.

⁴⁶ *DAA* n. 3 and 9

of their East Greek origin. These might have been imported, but it is not impossible to suppose that the sculptors worked and developed their art in Athens.⁴⁷

The number of foreign craftsmen involved is almost impossible to determine. Especially the work of minor quality might easily hide a poor Athenian sculptor closely imitating an East Greek model.

The following pieces are most likely East Greek: AcrM 453 was compared to the dedication of Cheramydes from Samos. In particular the massed tubular folds of the Acropolis piece seem to point to a descent from the close grooves of the Samian dedication and other early work from Samos.⁴⁸ The over life-size AcrM 1360 displays the same folds.

The draped leg AcrM 136, previously believed to belong to AcrM 453,⁴⁹ is another example. AcrM 136 has been connected to the base *IG* I³ 680 which was signed by Pythis as sculptor: both the name and the signature itself with its unusual *theta* give further evidence for the Ionian origin of the craftsman.

The torso AcrM 594 probably belongs to the group as well, even though its closest counterpart is a torso on Delos. The Delos torso, however, is of lesser quality than the Acropolis piece and has been suggested an imitation of an East Greek original.⁵⁰

It is a difficult task to determine which of the korai of East Greek appearance might have been made by local sculptors. Probably the earliest of the statues convincingly suggested as Attic imitation of the East Greek type on the Acropolis is the so-called Lyons kore, AcrM 269, which was presumably not much later than the middle of the century.⁵¹ The features of the head, which are close to the Rampin Master's work, and the material the kore was made from (Pentelic marble) are the strongest testimony for a local master. The same sculptor has been considered as craftsman of another work of Attic provenance, a sphinx from Spata.⁵²

Only a thin East Greek veneer hides the Attic features of AcrM 669: the body displayed under the folds of the dress has the sinewy appearance of a well trained athlete

⁴⁷ Robertson, *Greek Art*, 78

⁴⁸ Robertson, *Greek Art* 78

⁴⁹ Payne and Young, pl. 43, 3 and 4

⁵⁰ Robertson, *Greek Art* 83

⁵¹ Reconstructed by Payne with the body in Lyons, 14-19; Langlotz 66f.; Richter *Korai* 57; *AGA* fig. 112

⁵² Athens NM 28: Payne 15 n. 4. Richter *AGSA* 16 no. 12; *AM* 84 (1969) pl. 19, 3.

and, again, the face is firmly placed in the Attic tradition.⁵³ The sculptor of AcrM 682 has attempted a closer copy of the East Greek type, but the mask-like demeanour shows that he lacked understanding of the forms beneath.⁵⁴

Another striking example of the masculine body clothed in the fashionable feminine gown is the so-called Antenor kore, AcrM 681.⁵⁵

One sculpture stands apart from the orientation towards East Greek: it is the last kore represented in a peplos, AcrM 679, the Peplos kore. The sculpture is later than the earliest East Greek statues and probably a contemporary of the Lyons kore. The vivid treatment of the body and the restrained but effective use of colour has led Robertson to praise her as expression of 'the 'classic' moment of Greek Art'.⁵⁶ The choice of dress must have been considered strangely old-fashioned and surely demands an explanation. Ridgway's suggestion that this kore was a replacement for a *xoanon*, or an Artemis, has no supporting evidence.⁵⁷

Most of the korai were made and dedicated in the decades after the Peplos kore. The quality of the statues is mostly not very good, or as Robertson puts it: '[they] are small alike in stature and effect'.⁵⁸ The adjective most fittingly used in their description is 'pretty.'

The best example of this must be AcrM 674, also known as 'La Delicata.' It is a charming kore, probably rather late in the century but still entirely representative of the archaic style.

Whereas 'La Delicata' was pretty in a very attractive way, the majority of statues display their prettiness rather as surface effect. AcrM 678 and the torso AcrM 611 are fairly unsuccessful attempts at a copy of the Peplos kore. A group of korai seeks to simplify the dress pattern: AcrM 685, perhaps an earlier work of the 'La Delicata' sculptor, AcrM 670 and AcrM 611 are telling examples of the trend. AcrM 611 was

⁵³ Robertson, *Greek Art* 103

⁵⁴ Langlotz 93ff. no. 44; Robertson, *Greek Art* 103

⁵⁵ The base with the inscription belongs almost certainly to the kore. For a discussion of the link connecting the kore to Antenor see chapter III inscriptions; Deyhle, *AM* l.c. 39-46: sensible attribution of archaic Attic sculpture, and Robertson *Greek Art* 105 and 130.

⁵⁶ Robertson *Greek Art* 101

⁵⁷ Ridgway *The Archaic Style*, 1993, 159-60, 174

⁵⁸ Robertson *Greek Art* 104

connected to a base signed by the sculptor Gorgias.⁵⁹ AcrM 670 displays the characteristics of a group which has been cautiously linked to the name Endoios. The most differentiating aspect of the kore is her dress, which consists only of the chiton, draped into striking broad and shallow zigzag crinkles on her upper body and smoothed around buttocks and thighs.⁶⁰ The same dress and manner of treatment are presented in the small AcrM 683, also known as the kore with the red shoes. The base on which she was mounted shows that a second, larger figure stood on her right. The arrangement must have been known to the sculptor, because the deviation from the usual stance (the small kore has the right foot advanced) indicates the association with the bigger statue of the ordinary type.⁶¹

The Euthydikos kore, AcrM 686, 609, is a beautiful example of the richly decorated dress painted on the statues, a frieze of chariots is lining the shoulders.⁶²

The fragmentary korai are more difficult to assess. The quality of the head AcrM 648 hints that the lost torso might have offered some development in the treatment of body forms. But this judgement might be tainted exactly because the head is presented on its own. The sculptor of AcrM 648 is probably to be identified with the master of the Rayet head, perhaps Endoios.

2. Kouroi and other Male Figures

As with the korai the meaning of the kouroi is not entirely clear. Again the ideal type of the Athenian youth is displayed - in a form which is also used to represent gods and heroes and is found in graveyards as well as the sanctuary. This could be the young warrior walking as in the phalanx,⁶³ or about to commence any activity suitable to the aristocratic youth. It is the standard formula of the male body and as such conceals its exact interpretation without further aid of an inscription.

⁵⁹ DAA 502-4, and discussion about the possible identification with the metal-worker mentioned in Pliny see chapter III

⁶⁰ Robertson *Greek Art* 104

⁶¹ Langlotz *AMA* 50, no. 9, pl. 14

⁶² Richter, *Korai*, no. 180

⁶³ L. Schneider/ Ch. Höcker, *Die Akropolis von Athen: antikes Heiligtum und modernes Reiseziel*, 1990, 86

The series of kouroi on the Acropolis starts with an exception: the Moschophoros, AcrM 624. The statue combines features of the kouros with the motive of the calf-bearing worshipper. The Moschophoros is not completely naked but shallow incisions show a mantle loosely draped over his shoulder and the beard indicates a more mature age than the beardless kouroi. The dedicator of the Moschophoros may represent himself. He is 'dedicated.'⁶⁴ If we accept the Moschophoros to be a representation of the dedicator can we assume the same for the equestrian statues, the scribes and the kouroi?

From the third quarter of the sixth century is the kouros AcrM 665, badly fragmented, perhaps in the Persian destruction. A forearm, a hand and a lower leg, AcrM 4888, 153, and 182, have all been connected to the statue. The base with the dedicatory inscription by Kjetios, which also preserves two feet is also thought to belong to this piece.⁶⁵ The statue could be another work by the Rampin master.⁶⁶

AcrM 136 is again an exception in the series of kouroi. He is represented in the typical pose but dressed in two chitons and a himation. The work is probably from around 520 B.C.

From around 510 B.C. is the head of a youth, AcrM 663, it might have belonged to a rider instead of a kouros.

The face AcrM 634, probably of a youth, still dates to before 480 B.C., contemporary with the Blond Boy, AcrM 689 and 6478, and the Kritios Boy, AcrM 698, which both cannot predate 480 by a long time. The torso AcrM 692 must be another contemporary.

Another youth, from after 480 B.C., found on the South Slope was probably an athlete. The hair-band suggests that he has won a competition. The same short hairstyle and headband is displayed by the head AcrM 699, a contemporary of the Parthenon frieze.

⁶⁴ Dickins *Cat.*, 33

⁶⁵ Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 62, 65-6

⁶⁶ Brouskari, 61-2

3. Statues of Athena

Only few statues of Athena herself are among the great number of marble sculptures dedicated on the Acropolis. The sparse quantity of figures is unfortunately also coupled with extremely bad preservation of the individual pieces.

The earliest of the dedications to achieve fame was the Athena by Endoios, a dedication by Kallias, perhaps correctly identified as AcrM 625.⁶⁷ It is a heavily weathered and almost headless sitting Athena. Time has smoothed away most details but the shape and the style are still apparent and reveal a design which goes much beyond any predecessors of enthroned goddesses.⁶⁸ The adjective which has been most readily used in describing the statue is 'vitality',⁶⁹ and this is achieved by showing the figure almost as if rising: the right foot is set back and the elbows are raised high next to her body. The dedicator of the statue might be the Kallias who opposed Peisistratos.⁷⁰

The execution of the Endoios Athena is most closely matched by AcrM 670; in particular the type of dress: both wear long-sleeved chitons with high overfall, and the pattern of the folds give evidence of their kinship. A more important parallel, however, is AcrM 602, because it has allowed the connection of the name of Endoios with the sitting Athena. The link is not very strong: the stylistic comparison of a mediocre statue and a virtual ruin only carries very limited persuasion, and even the first link, the coupling of AcrM 602 and the base with the Endoios and Philergos *epoiesen*-signature has been questioned.⁷¹

Among the marble dedications Athena was also portrayed as a standing figure. The column IG I³ 680, dedicated by Epiteles and made by Pythis, once carried a statue of the goddess as Promachos, the base shows the socket for the now lost spear.⁷² AcrM 140 is a rendering of the Promachos with raised spear, it has been connected to the column base

⁶⁷ Paus. I. 26. 4

⁶⁸ In particular the east Greek figures of sitting goddesses spring to mind as predecessors.

⁶⁹ See e.g.: Robertson, *Greek Art* 106

⁷⁰ Herod. VI. 121

⁷¹ The inscription is IG I³ 763; see also appendix I. Paus. I, 26, 5 on Endoios' creation of a seated Athena.

⁷² LIMC II 971, no. 130, the foot AcrM 136 and 453 are thought by Raubitscheck to belong to the base, see also Simon, *Götter*, 192-3. Dated by its inscription to 510-500: Πυθις εποιεσεν. Επιτελες ανεθεκεν απορχηεν Αθηναιαι.

with the epioiesen signature of Euenor by Raubitschek.⁷³ The statue shows hardly any weathering and was probably dedicated very shortly before 480 B.C.

A helmeted head reveals another figure of Athena from the end of the sixth century, AcrM 658; the head AcrM 305 is from the turn of the century. Another helmeted head, AcrM 661 is a fine quality example of the later kore type.⁷⁴ AcrM 635 and AcrM 647 are two later Athena heads, the former from the second half of the fifth century, the latter is a type from late 5th century but is probably work of the second or third century A.D.

The first Athena Promachos in peplos is AcrM 248, before 480, by Angelitos.⁷⁵ The statue AcrM 1336 must be the latest Athena from the Acropolis. It is a copy of the type Athena Ince, the original was probably made around 400 B.C.

Other fragments, like the helmet crest, AcrM 4345, or the shield AcrM 338 were most likely attributes of other statues of Athena; perhaps they belong to other known pieces as AcrM 136 and AcrM 159.⁷⁶

4. *Nikai*

The sculptures of Nike found on the Acropolis are not very numerous and some were probably rather employed as akroteria than as dedications, at least one of the Nike figures, AcrM 594, is quite securely identified as akroterion. AcrM 694 is perhaps especially interesting for being repaired and reworked. The statue is from around 480 B.C. and has been suggested as replacement for a broken akroterion on the Old Temple of Athena after the Persian sack.⁷⁷

AcrM 159, from around the turn of the century, could be another Nike or perhaps an Athena. She is vigorously striding forward.

⁷³ Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 22

⁷⁴ Richter *Korai*, 83 no. 131

⁷⁵ *LIMC* II no.144 Brouskari, 139-40.; Floren, 116-127

⁷⁶ Brouskari, 97-98; no. 184

⁷⁷ Brouskari, 66

Kallimachos' Nike, AcrM 690, was dedicated on behalf of the Marathon victor posthumously.⁷⁸ She was found together with another statue of Nike, AcrM 691, from the turn of the century.⁷⁹

Statues of Nike as attendant of Athena would always have been an appropriate dedication.

5. Seated Female Figures

The seated female figure is a strong motive among the terracotta dedications. AcrM 620 is a rendering in marble of a female figure on a throne. Only the lower body with the heavy folds, the feet clad in sandals on the foot-stool and the rigid arms of the throne are preserved. It has been identified as Cycladic work of around 530 B.C.⁸⁰ The piece has been suggested as a cult-statue, a theory brought forward on the strength that it was not found in the *Perserschutt* but with later material north of the Erechtheion.⁸¹ It is conceivable that the statue might have been brought to safety before the Persian sack, if this is indeed a cult-statue. It might have escaped damage for some other reason, not being placed in any position of danger, for example. Indubitably, the statue depicted most probably Athena herself and even might have worn the aegis as the Endoios Athena AcrM 625, or a helmet. Another rendering of the subject is AcrM 618, only about a decade later it shows a very different approach to the type. The throne is more compact and almost covered by the figure and the folds of her chiton and epiblema. It is surely Attic.

Another seated goddess could be the small AcrM 329, from the turn of the century. Only the torso remains but the footstool and feet AcrM 498 probably belong to the fragment.

⁷⁸ Brouskari, 126

⁷⁹ Brouskari, 81

⁸⁰ Brouskari 47, with earlier literature.

⁸¹ G. Lippold, *Die Griechische Plastik*, Munich, 1950, 69

6. Horsemen

The most famous rider on the Acropolis is the so-called Rampin horseman, AcrM 590, the name-piece of the Rampin Master. The head of the piece is in the Louvre (Louvre 3104) and was fitted by Payne to the body of the rider AcrM 590. It is the earliest marble horse and rider, from around the middle of the sixth century.⁸² The horseman had a counterpart identical in style, of which numerous fragments, most of them from the horse, have been identified.⁸³ The Rampin Master has been not very convincingly identified with Endoios⁸⁴ and Phaidimos,⁸⁵ but is perhaps a pupil of Phaidimos.⁸⁶ The interpretation of the Rampin horseman and his companion is dependent on the wreath the rider is wearing on his head. It has been suggested as oak and as celery, and if the identification with celery is correct, the youths were marked as winners of the Isthmian and Nemean games, for which the celery-wreath was given as prize. As victorious pair in the games all identifications of a mythical couple, e.g. the Dioscuri,⁸⁷ become less plausible. As representation of mortals the Peisistratid sons, Hippias and Hipparchos, have been suggested.⁸⁸

The 'Persian' Horseman from about 520 B.C., AcrM 606, wears Persian or Scythian dress well familiar in Athens in these years. He was suggested as Miltiades on the strength of the resemblance of the horseman with that of the 'Miltiades kalos' plate in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, but the dress is certainly not Thracian, as pointed out by Beazley.⁸⁹

The horseman AcrM 700 from the end of the sixth century shows the rider naked apart from his sandals. The horse is better preserved than the man.

The slightly bent posture of AcrM 623 probably identifies another horseman, also from the end of the sixth century. Fragments in the storeroom (AcrM 4119) might be parts of the missing legs and arms.

⁸² Brouskari 55

⁸³ The fragments have been listed by Schuchardt, 212-24 n. 312.

⁸⁴ Rumpf, Robertson, *Greek Art* 629 n. 54

⁸⁵ Schefold *GP* 41-6

⁸⁶ Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 120 and 342 with references.

⁸⁷ As suggested by Richter, *AGA* 65

⁸⁸ Schuchardt, *AMA* 225

⁸⁹ For references see Brouskari, 59

The most unusual mount has the rider AcrM 597, a Hippalektryon. The rider is naked; the work is from the end of the sixth century.

The small bearded head AcrM 621 has been thought to belong to a statue of a horseman. It is from the turn of the century.⁹⁰

7. Scribes

It has been suggested that the scribes represent officials, *grammateis* or *tamiai*. An indication of this may be the dedication of Alkimachos. His father Chairion dedicated the altar IG I³ 590 as *tamias*, and his son set up a column monument, IG I³ 618, to fulfil his father's vow. The statue Alkimachos dedicated might have been the image of his father in office as Treasurer of Athena. AcrM 629, one of the so-called 'scribes' has been suggested as likely candidate.⁹¹ Brouskari dates it to around 520 B.C., a slightly later date might be possible.

The small scribe AcrM 144 is marginally better preserved. He holds his writing box on his lap. It dates to the end of the sixth century.

8. Animals

The animal dedications are a miscellaneous bunch. The most suitable is Athena's companion, the owl. But only two statues of the bird have been found and it is rather tempting to connect these with a statue of Athena on her own or a pediment: the small poros owl from the late sixth century B.C., AcrM 56, has been suggested to belong to the Athena in the 'Bluebeard' pediment; no connection has been made for the slightly later and much bigger owl AcrM 1347.

Many scholars have suggested that the pair of dogs, AcrM 143 and fragments in the storeroom, were dedications to Artemis, as Brauronia. The animals are hunting dogs

⁹⁰ Brouskari, 96

⁹¹ This has been suggested by Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 6, 10-12; rejected by W. Peek, *Zeitsch. Univ. Halle* 3 (1953/4) 381.

and they may once have stood at the entrance of Artemis' sanctuary; they have been proposed as last work of the Rampin master, from about 520 B.C.⁹²

AcrM 697 is a horse; enough of it is preserved to be certain that it had no rider and must have been dedicated on its own. Perhaps it is the image of a horse on which a victory was won in the games.

Many of the more fragmentary statues are almost impossible to date, as the two barrels thought to belong to a pair of horses. Originally they were connected with the west pediment of the Parthenon, being of the right size for the chariot of Athena, nowadays a date in the Roman period is thought to be more likely.⁹³ They might even have been dedicated as pair without a chariot, as AcrM 697.

Mythological creatures are also widely represented among the marble dedications; the most popular are the sphinxes, as AcrM 630, from before the middle of the sixth century. Unlike most sphinxes her head is not turned to the side but straight forward. The sphinx AcrM 632 is at least two decades later, most certainly Attic and conforms to the general type. Other sphinxes might only be represented by a small fragment, the head AcrM 654 has been suggested as sphinx,⁹⁴ however, it might equally well have belonged to a kore. Like the kouroi and korai they are also found as grave-markers and as dedications in other sanctuaries.

9. Groups

The earliest statue group is probably AcrM 161 and 168 a pair of cock-fighters or dice players. As dice players the statues might represent heroes 'ascertaining what the future holds in store,' or a mythological occasion at Troy, possibly with contemporary significance.⁹⁵

The so-called Theseus, AcrM 145, is from about 520 B.C. Only the torso of the youth striking the now missing opponent, the opponents hand on the youth's left shoulder and a bearded head, AcrM 370, are left of the group. The fight must be a well-known one,

⁹² Brouskari, 57, 8

⁹³ F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon Giebel*, 1963, 90

⁹⁴ Brouskari, 58

⁹⁵ Brouskari, 103. The group is much represented on contemporary vases, as of Achilles and Ajax; cf. S. Woodford, *JHS* 102 (1982) 173-185.

the most convincing solution probably remains Schrader's suggestion of Theseus and Prokrustes.⁹⁶

The statue-group of Prokne and her son Itys, dedicated by Alkamenes, is probably from the 420s. Both look peaceful and loving, betraying nothing of the horrors which should later befall them.⁹⁷ The story has a distinctly xenophobic message. Prokne brings doom upon her sister, herself and her son by marrying a non-Athenian. It also is another example of the terrible wrath Athenians meet out to those who wrong them and the rules of society. The xenophobia expressed in the myth was evident in society, too. New marriage laws curbing the rights of the non-Athenians and economic sanctions against disloyal neighbour-states as Megara capture the mood of the times.⁹⁸ The disposition is also reflected in plays by Sophocles and Aischylos. It is not clear whether the Alkamenes mentioned as dedicator was the well-known sculptor, but the identification is likely.

10. Reliefs

a. Athena

AcrM 581 shows Athena in the presence of worshippers. It is an archaising piece from around 490 B.C. Athena stands on the left, graciously lifting her skirt with her left hand. Of her armour only the helmet is depicted. The worshippers, a man, slightly smaller than the goddess, and presumably, his wife, slightly smaller than her husband, approach from the right with a boy, a girl, and a pig. The boy is carrying a disc, perhaps a phiale. The curious bulge of the woman's chiton might be an attempt in showing pregnancy, or the whimsy of a sculptor eager to display all types of folds in his repertoire.

The small relief of the so-called mourning Athena, AcrM 695, shows the goddess looking at a stele. The relief is from around 460 B.C., it is only half a meter high and might well have been part of a stele itself. Athena is presented in a very relaxed pose, leaning on her lance and looking down. The subject will always remain a mystery; the answer to the puzzle is lost, the inscription on the stele Athena is reading so intently, which probably was

⁹⁶ Brouskari, 62

⁹⁷ H. Knell, *Antike Plastik* 17 (1978) 9-19

⁹⁸ See also E. la Rocca, *AM*, 101, 1986, 153-166

painted onto the relief. The stele could be anything from a treaty, a legal document, a treasury-list, a list of war-dead, to a border marker or a marker used for the races in the palaestra.

Other Athenas are AcrM 117, an *aparche* of the artisan, from about 480-470.⁹⁹

The small relief AcrM 121 from the end of the sixth century shows Athena as Promachos with raised spear, like an excerpt from the gigantomachy.¹⁰⁰ AcrM 120, from the first decade of the fifth century, is a bigger version of Athena and the giant. Here the giant has already fallen on one knee and Athena is about to thrust her spear through his back.

b. Chariots

The earliest preserved example of a chariot in relief comes from the Acropolis and is probably a little earlier than the Rampin horseman, AcrM 575-8, 580. Only the foreparts of the four horses are preserved; they once must have been fitted to a slab showing the chariot and the charioteer in low relief or paint.

AcrM 637 might be the head of the charioteer.¹⁰¹

The charioteer relief, AcrM 1342, perhaps depicts a god or goddess as charioteer. The figure is wearing a long chiton and both Apollo and Artemis have been suggested as identification. A fragment of the relief was found together with the Hermes relief at the east end of the Acropolis. The other fragment is from near the Klepsydra.

c. Other

One of the most interesting reliefs is AcrM 1332, the potter-relief. It shows a bearded man sitting on a stool. In his left hand he holds a cup, another one is hanging from his digit-finger. He is only dressed in a himation, which leaves his arms and chest bare. The dedicatory inscription on the frame of the relief only preserves the end of the dedicator's name, ---jaios, which has been restored as Euphronios or Pamphaios, the sculptor's

⁹⁹ LIMC II, 962, no. 52

¹⁰⁰ LIMC II, 970, no. 124 Brouskari fig. 142

¹⁰¹ Schuchardt, AMA 293-8 no. 418 figs. 340-3; Brouskari, 45

signature has been suggested as *En[doios]*.¹⁰² The date of the relief must be around 510 B.C. The identification of the dedicator as a potter or metal smith is very persuasive. Who else would carry two cups? It is a unique subject on the Acropolis, where potter dedications are not unknown.

The relief of a horse head, AcrM 1340, from the end of the sixth century was perhaps part of the frieze of the Old Temple of Athena.¹⁰³ The ears and the eye were separately attached.

Hermes is the usual identification of the man depicted on relief AcrM 1343. The image of a bearded man wearing a petasos is the standard representation of the god. The relief is contemporary with the horse head and has also been connected with the frieze of the Old Temple of Athena. Other suggestions are the altar of Athena or the victory monument over the Chalcidians, the base of the four-horse chariot.¹⁰⁴

The late archaic AcrM 702 is usually known as the 'Graces' relief. It shows three female figures and a small male figure being led to the left by a male flute-player. The man has been suggested as Hermes, the women as Nymphs, Graces, and Aglaurids, the small figure as Erichthonios or dedicator of the relief.¹⁰⁵ Alternatively, and perhaps more convincingly, the whole scene could be interpreted as representation of a celebration, as Payne suggested.¹⁰⁶ The relief is from the end of the sixth century.

A much earlier fragment, AcrM 586, from the second quarter of the sixth century also represented three female figures which have to be interpreted either as Nymphs or Graces. The two fragments come from a cistern near the Parthenon.

The small fragment AcrM 3706 preserves only a man's legs and the forepart of his horse. The piece is probably from the beginning of the fifth century, the subject is not clear.

The small fragment AcrM 2760 from the end of the fifth century, preserves a youth following a horse. The youth is perhaps on his way to worship Athena or a hero.

¹⁰² Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 70

¹⁰³ Brouskari, 52 and 60 (about the attribution to the frieze of the temple with earlier literature.

¹⁰⁴ Brouskari, 60; Studniczka, *Jdl* (1896) 265

¹⁰⁵ See also Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 48

¹⁰⁶ H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London, 1970, 49 and Brouskari, 59

The relief AcrM 1350 is perhaps a stray fragment from the fill. It most likely dates to after 480 and the shape and life-size feet probably suggest a grave relief; a full length statue of Athena, as for example AcrM 1348 is also a possible reconstruction.

11. Architectural Sculpture

It can be argued that the architectural sculpture is, strictly speaking, not a votive offering and has no place in this thesis. The sculpture was conceived as part of the temple or treasury and the subject and meaning is not primarily of votive character. The choice of subject, however, reveals important information. Like the dedications the iconography was selected specifically to adorn the sanctuary; as such the motives had an undeniable influence on artists and probably on the commissioning of new dedications. But are the temples and buildings on the Acropolis dedications? It seems difficult enough to determine whether the Parthenon was indeed a temple or the most impressive treasury of the Greek world. The shape of the structure is exactly like a temple, the statue bears all resemblance to a cult-figure, and yet, no altar or special cult is known to have been connected to Athena Parthenos. In my opinion, it is our need for rules and explanations which clouds our perception. Greek religion is so astonishingly free of fixed ideas in both mythology and cult-practice that it leaves modern scholars with a Christian or Muslim background baffled. No 'holy book', as the Bible or Koran, ever laid down the rules for Greek beliefs and no professional priesthood was established to enforce them. The traditions and myths could easily be transformed or added to. The fact that Athena was already worshipped as Polias and Nike on the Acropolis does not mean that the Parthenos statue was not regarded as a cult statue, as true image of a personification of Athena. New cults might not have been established because the personification was already remembered in the sacrifices Athena received as Polias. The old statue of Athena, the heaven-sent xoanon, was probably a rough and humble piece of wood. The wish to add to the visible glory of the goddess might have been one of the motivations leading to the commissioning of the Athena Parthenos. The new statue could not replace the xoanon, because the God-given statue was not to be discarded.

The need to find a clear distinction between temple and treasury might also be a modern idea. Every temple was used as a treasury. The abundance of dedications made it

necessary to erect further structures, and these are generally smaller in scale than the main building in which the cult statue was housed. Both temple and treasury are possessions of the goddess, erected in her honour to further her glory.

The early architectural sculpture is exclusively made of poros and was found mainly south-east of the Parthenon in the so-called poros-layer. The foundations of the buildings they once belonged to have left no trace. Usually a handful of small treasuries is proposed in the reconstruction, however, one (or possibly two) larger structures has also been suggested.¹⁰⁷

The earliest pediment group on the Acropolis is the red Triton pediment. Herakles is shown wrestling with Triton. The group is generally dated to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.¹⁰⁸

Herakles is again depicted on another poros pediment from a small building, the Hydra pediment. Herakles is depicted killing the Lernaian Hydra, watched by his friend Iolaos. The poros sculpture has been dated to the middle of the sixth century, and the building it once belonged to was a probably a small structure of not more than six meters in width.¹⁰⁹

The same subject, Herakles and Triton, appears in the wing of the poros pediment, AcrM 35, thought to belong to the large Archaic temple. The three-bodied monster, AcrM 36, often called 'Bluebeard' perhaps belongs to the other wing of the pediment. The temple might also have included the Apotheosis of Herakles, even though it is more often thought to belong to another small building (AcrM 9).¹¹⁰ The restoration of the centre is as hotly disputed as the building it might have belonged to. The large Archaic temple, dated to around 570 B.C., and probably called Hekatompedon in the inscriptions, has left numerous architectural fragments. The pediment group of lionesses savaging a bull is thought to belong to the temple. Only the right part of the group is preserved completely, AcrM 4. Fragments from the left lioness are in the storeroom. The theme is repeated on AcrM 3 with lions, probably from the same temple.¹¹¹ The subject of lions ravaging a

¹⁰⁷ Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 114 and 342 for earlier references.

¹⁰⁸ Brouskari, 37 no. 2 with earlier literature

¹⁰⁹ AcrM 1; only E. B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, *Agora XI*, 1965, 12 favours an early date of 570-550.

¹¹⁰ See I. Beyer, 'Die Reliefigiebel des alten Athenatempels der Akropolis' *AA* (1974) 639-50 and fig. 10

¹¹¹ First suggested by W.-H. Schuchardt, *Archaische Giebelkompositionen*, Freiburg, 1940, 20ff

lesser animal was a popular image of strength, frequently used in the *Iliad* as simile of the hero defeating his opponent.¹¹²

The corners of the other pediment were occupied by the two snakes AcrM 37 and 40. Snakes are well connected with the Acropolis and the two poros-snakes from the corners of the archaic pediment might well have been chosen with this association in mind. The guardian snakes of Erichthonios or the companion snake of Athena and the Acropolis are all candidates for identification. Several marble fragments belong to the temple; the panthers AcrM 552 and 554, and the feline AcrM 122 were probably part of the frieze, the gorgon, AcrM 701, was proposed as the central acroterion. All these fragments might have occupied a building on the inner and outer foundations of the Old Temple of Athena, as proposed by Schuchardt, a more condensed group could have used only the inner foundations or, as Dinsmoor suggested, the whole group of fragments might belong to a temple on the site of the Parthenon.

Contemporary with these sculptures is the so-called Troilos pediment, AcrM 52, another poros pediment of a small building. The Troilos explanation is improbable.¹¹³ The tree next to the building is clearly an olive tree which led early researchers into believing the scene to be a representation of some religious rite at the early Erechtheion.

The Old Temple of Athena is thought to have been updated, either by the Peisistratids in about 525 B.C. or more probably by the new democracy at the end of the century. The pediment sculpture of the gigantomachy is connected with this refurbishment;¹¹⁴ a lion and bull group, with the fragment from the head of a marble bull, AcrM 3831, is thought to have occupied the other pediment. The gigantomachy was a favourite subject on the Acropolis since the 560s, when the rejuvenation of the Panathenaic festival triggered a new interest in the myth. On the pediment Athena is thought to have fought back-to-back with Poseidon, if Stewart's interpretation is correct, as a harmonious duo offering protection.¹¹⁵ However, the figure could also be Zeus or Herakles.

¹¹² Homer, *Iliad* 12. 292-93; 16. 487-89; 16. 756-58 (Sarpedon, Patroklos and Hektor are all compared to lions)

¹¹³ B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style* (1993) 290-1

¹¹⁴ LIMC II 970 no. 125; 520 B.C. On the date, see above, n. 104.

¹¹⁵ See last Stewart, *Greek Art* 47 and 337, 3 for references

The Parthenon:

The metopes were made before the pediment sculpture. They had to be in place when the statue of Athena Parthenos was dedicated in the building in 439/38 B.C. Work on the east and west pediment continued on the Parthenon until 432 B.C. The east pediment depicted the birth of Athena, and breaking from the older iconography she is not shown as tiny figure emerging from her father's head but stands fully grown and armed next to Zeus. The west pediment presented the contest of Athena and Poseidon. The metopes depict scenes from the gigantomachy, amazonomachy,¹¹⁶ centauromachy, and Trojan scenes. The metopes lost in the explosion in the year 1687 A.D. from the south side, only known from the drawings Carrey made earlier in the seventeenth century are still the subject of discussion as to their subject. The frieze depicts a Panathenaic procession. The horsemen are possibly not mere mortals but Athenians heroized through fighting at Marathon.

The Parthenon presents a variety of innovations in iconography. The east pediment transforms the well-loved subject of the birth of Athena into an altogether more dignified scene for the goddess. For the first time she is not shown as the little imp emerging from the head of Zeus but as the fully grown goddess. This is not just aesthetically more pleasing but also transforms the moment of weakness at birth into an immediate display of power in presenting the fully armed Athena. The west pediment depicts for the first time an old myth, the contest of Poseidon and Athena over Attica. Choosing this myth which shows two of the most powerful gods fighting to become the main protector of Athens demonstrates to the world just how precious Athens was and what honour was bestowed upon the mortals visiting the place and dealing with the 'chosen' inhabitants. The myth also serves as example of Athena's great strength, which gives her victory even over the mighty father-god Poseidon, and it reminds the Athenians of the valuable present Athena bestowed upon the city, the olive-tree. The oil gained from the olives represented one of Athens' most valuable commodities on which much of her economic prosperity depended. The dominance of Athena over Poseidon reflects perhaps also the superiority the Athenians felt over their fellow men. Athena might be viewed as the personification of the city itself. If this is true the pediment sculpture might imply a political statement praising

¹¹⁶ About the difficulty of identifying the opponents as amazons in Persian dress or Persians B. Wesenberg, *AA* (1983) 203-208.

the benefits of the new social structure, which enabled the Athenians to dominate foreign relations, and to prosper economically and culturally. The theme of superior Greeks bringing order to chaos is pursued in the metopes where the wild centaurs and the amazons have to be combated. Both groups were considered as barbarian monsters, violating the natural order and threatening men, women and the whole society. The Greeks are always shown to be victorious against many of these terrible enemies and it is surely no coincidence that these foes are connected with the east, the home of the Persians, and that the amazons were even dressed in Persian costume. These valiant deeds are counterpointed with the gods' victorious battle against evil, the futile struggle of the giants against them and the God-given order. Here the gods save the world from chaos as the Greeks have saved their civilised society from barbarism. In this place the gigantomachy merely seems another example of hubris being punished; Athena's special role in the fight, the gigantomachy woven into the peplos presented to her statue of the Polias at the Panathenaia, were probably not particularly considered. By this time the subject has been transformed into appropriate decoration for a temple on the Acropolis, no justification or closer thought were needed.

The Parthenon as a whole is a dedication to Athena, a thank-offering for the victory over the Persians. Yet, the contemporary Greeks, as the modern archaeologists, could see a plethora of hidden motives which might have been in the mind of the designers of the project. The most obvious is the Athenian patriotism displayed in the prominence given to Attic myths, which stress the special relationship of the city with the gods. The Parthenon might also be seen as a showpiece of the high quality of the Athenian craftsmanship and beauty. On a different level Perikles himself has been suspected of advertising the benefits of his political leadership or even as publicising the cosmological philosophy of his friend Anaxagoras.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* 43; Anaxagoras: B. Schweitzer, 'Gestirngottheiten in der Kunst des Pheidias' *AA* (1941) 317-21; sceptical: K. Schauenberg, 'Stirnbilder in Athen und Unteritalien' *AntK* 5 (1962) 51-64

The Nike Temple:

The frieze shows an assembly of the gods on the east side. The other sides of the frieze are devoted to battles. All warriors are naked but the half-moon shield and dress identifies some on the south as Persians. Other fights must show Greeks against Greeks, perhaps a reminder of Athens's firm rule over her allies. The gods are assembled on the east side of the frieze for an uncertain occasion. After the blatant depiction of gods in the society of mere mortals on the Parthenon frieze the Nike frieze could be regarded as an attempt to restore conservatism. Perhaps the many-figured frieze was also considered a good vehicle to appease the lesser divinities and ensure their good-will. At the height of its power Athens felt invincible with the aid of the twelve most powerful gods; after the plague-years and the war with the Spartans the wrath of even a minor god or hero was perhaps better avoided.

12. Miscellaneous

Two marble sanctuary lamps have been found; one, AcrM 3869 from the end of the seventh century, the other, AcrM 190 only marginally later. The first is decorated with three female heads (in the Daedalic style) alternating with sheaves. The top is incised in a fairly shallow pool with three loops to receive the wicks. The second is also decorated with three female heads, alternating, however, with rams heads. The lamp is completely hollowed out and the rams heads are pierced from the top for the insertion of the wicks.

The small statuette of Herakles, AcrM 638, from the end of the sixth century is the only rendering of the hero as marble dedication.

AcrM 1323 is a Dionysos mask, probably not archaic but archaising.

A Hermes with a syrinx, AcrM 622, might have been part of a metope.¹¹⁸ The fragment is burnt but probably dates after 480.

A small head of a herm, AcrM 642, dates to the end of the sixth century. A more famous herm, AcrM 2281, is a copy, probably of the first century. The original may be the

¹¹⁸ H. Kähler, *Das griechische Metopenbild*, Munich, 1949, 44 and 99; Brouskari, 100-101

Hermes Propylaios by Alkamenes, the most important pupil of Phidias, which was placed in the Propylaia.

To the decades after 480 B.C. dates the torso of an archer, AcrM 599.

The head of a youthful Alexander, AcrM 1331, is thought to be an original by Leochares.¹¹⁹

A number of small architectural fragments are believed to belong to the great altar of Athena, re-built at the end of the fifth century east of the Erechtheion. The fragments are uniform in style but from different periods. The latest and most interesting piece is AcrM 2444, probably from the second century A.D. It brings together three of Athena's most powerful symbols, the owl, the olive tree and the snake. The fragments are thought to derive from successive repairs.¹²⁰

Surely a misplaced object is the grave lekythos AcrM 6407 from the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., commemorating the death of Demonike.

13. Bases

A wide variety of bases was used to display the often very costly and beautiful votive offerings. They were particularly important as record for the dedicatory inscriptions, since Athenian custom seems to have disapproved of incising inscriptions directly onto statues. Three types of bases can be clearly distinguished, the rectangular block, the column and the pillar. The choice of base must have been strongly influenced by the dedication for the simple reason that larger pieces or groups could not have been fitted to the more restricted space of a column, although there were some two-column structures. Rectangular bases could also be works of art in their own right, as the base for the dedication of Atarbos, AcrM 1338. The relief shows a performance of the Pyrrhic dance, the competition Atarbos won as the inscription tells us: [Πυρριχ]ισταὶς νικησας Αταρβος Αυσ- - Κηφισοφ. The Archon's name is either Kephisophon or Kephisodoros, the first restoration dates the dedication to 329 B.C., the second to 323 B.C.¹²¹ Another base designed for a successful competitor, this time the *apobates*, is AcrM 1326. The relief,

¹¹⁹ Brouskari, 166-7 with references.

¹²⁰ Brouskari, 21

¹²¹ *JG* II² 3025

found on the west slope, depicts the *apobates* with the chariot and charioteer. The beautiful AcrM 3176 and 5460 from the very end of the fourth century B.C. was decorated with reliefs of athletes on three sides. The work is a 'study' in Lysippan poses and has even been tentatively attributed to his son, Daippos.¹²² Only the relief on the left is well preserved, it shows the athletes grooming themselves and relaxing after their exercises. Three of the athletes names are given: Antigenes, Lakiades, Idomeneus, Oethen, and Ant[...], Acha[rneus]. The front preserves the upper bodies of three athletes, the small fragment on the right side a walking athlete. AcrM 610 is archaising, fourth century or neo-attic.¹²³

Inscriptions on Marble Bases:

Columns, pillars and rectangular bases are the greatest source of inscriptions from the Acropolis. The inscriptions on bases are fairly easy to date and I have printed them out in chart [Fig. 91]. They served as supports for works of art: marble or bronze sculptures, statuettes, tripods, vases made from clay, stone or bronze, reliefs and even paintings.

All dedicatory inscriptions are a combination of one or more of the following components of information: the name of the dedicator, the name of the god, the verb for dedication, the reason for dedicating and a prayer. The inscriptions on supports are of varying length and quality, but the best are unsurpassed in the information they give. This is only to be expected: on objects an elaborate inscription might be restricted by shortage of space and a hesitation to interfere with the beauty of a dedication. Moreover, the dedicator who sets up his or her votive on a base must have made a conscious decision to display it in the open, where it was visible to all visitors. There is no evidence of dedicatory inscriptions on bases without the dedicator's name, whereas the smaller objects which were probably kept in stores are often only inscribed with parts of dedicatory formulae.

The bases give a wealth of dedicators' names, which are often specified to include the father's name or the demotic. This allows us to identify a few dedicators with certainty with historical figures known to us from literature or other inscriptions. The majority of

¹²² M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed. 1961, 32; an extremely doubtful attribution.

¹²³ LIMC II 998, no 468,

dedicators, however, are not known to us from any other source and the information given in the dedication is the only evidence of their identity and status.

The early inscriptions are very fragmentary and only allow us to guess the status of the dedicator.

A. Chronological Distribution of Dedicatory Inscriptions on Marble Bases

Our first evidence of a dedicatory inscription is from the second half of the seventh century, a rectangular base *IG I³ 589*. From the first quarter of the sixth century are three dedications: altar *IG I³ 590*, base *IG I³ 591* and column *IG I³ 592*. The only dedication which can confidently be dated to the second quarter of the sixth century is the famous dedication by Rhombos, the Moschophoros. From around the middle of the century are three dedications; the altar *IG I³ 596*, the circular base *IG I³ 597* and the pillar *IG I³ 594*. Seven dedications can be dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, four of these are bases, two are columns and one is part of a pillar. The bases *IG I³ 598*, 602 and 601, the column monument *IG 599* and the pillar *IG 600* are considered to be slightly earlier than the column *IG I³ 603* and the base 604. The last quarter of the sixth century experiences virtually an explosion in numbers of dedications; 82 dedications have to be counted in this group, 48 of which belong to the last decade of the century. Only one of these is an altar, 21 are probably column-dedications, 45 might have belonged to pillar monuments and 31 are bases. 134 inscribed marble supports can confidently be dated to the first two decades of the fifth century; 38 are column dedications, 42 bases and 51 pillar monuments. The number of dedications in the decades between 480 and 450 B.C. decreases rapidly. 32 bases, thirteen pillars and only six columns were found. The numbers of dedications from the second half of the fifth century is again decreasing. A mere eighteen bases, five pillars and two columns are spaced over four and a half decades.

B. The Dedicators of Marble Bases, Identities and Status

i. Historic Figures

The circular base *IG I³ 597*, from the middle of the sixth century, is the dedication by two Alkmeonids¹²⁴ who were victorious in the pentathlon.¹²⁵ The top of the base shows a hollow in which the foot of the prize, a bronze bowl or tripod, could have been placed. If only one vase was displayed for the two victors together it is likely that a new bronze vessel must have been made for the monument and the prizes kept by the owners. By considering this solution, we should, however, keep in mind that two vases, the original prizes, could have been easily accommodated by stacking one vessel into the other.¹²⁶

In the last quarter of the sixth century three dedicators are known from other inscriptions.

Alkimachos, whose father Chairion dedicated the altar *IG I³ 590* as *tamias*, set up a column monument, *IG I³ 618*, to fulfil his father's vow. It is tempting to connect the column with the statue of the so called 'scribe' *AcrM 629* and to interpret it as rendering a Treasurer of Athena.¹²⁷ Alkimachos was a member of the Eupatrids and probably made this dedication after returning from exile. The dedicator of the column *IG I³ 619*, Timokrates the son of Aristeichmos, is the father of Kydrokles, who was ostracised before 480.¹²⁸

Epiteles dedicated the column *IG 680*.¹²⁹ He might be the same Epiteles whose name appears among a group of dedicators who set up the big base *IG I³ 762* two decades later.

Seven dedicators from the first two decades of the fifth century are known as historical figures. The Kallimachos dedication, the column *IG I³ 784* with a Nike or Iris is probably the most famous of the historical inscriptions on the Acropolis. It was set up in

¹²⁴ Only the last two letters, *omikron sigma*, of the first name are preserved; for the numerous possible restorations see *IG I³ p. 530*. The second dedicator is Alkmeonides.

¹²⁵ For the abbreviation *pente* for pentathlon see *Anthol. Pal.*, xiii, 19.

¹²⁶ *DAA* p. 338.

¹²⁷ This has been suggested by Raubitschek, *DAA*, no. 6, 10-12; rejected by W. Peek, *Zeitsch. Univ. Halle* 3 (1953/4) 381.

¹²⁸ L. Shear, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 361; Davies, *APF* 513.

¹²⁹ A kore, *AcrM 453*, formerly had been connected to the base (Langlotz, *AMA* no. 162), but this is now proven to be wrong: Brouskari, 102.

the years after the battle of Marathon for the Polemarch of the Athenians. Shefton suggests that the part of the inscription conveying this information was added after Kallimachos' death.¹³⁰

Phaidon, the son of Ktesias, the dedicator of base *IG I³ 759* with a bronze horse led by a man held the office of Archon Eponymos in 476/5.¹³¹

If the restoration is correct, the pillar fragment *IG I³ 707* was dedicated by a son of the Alkmeonid Euryptolemos; the name is most likely Megakles and the date suggests that he must be a brother of Peisianax.¹³²

A dedication on a plain column, probably for a rider, was made by Telesinos, *IG I³ 728*.¹³³ Telesinos held the office of archon in 487/6.

Euthydikos, the son of Thaliarchos dedicated the low base *IG I³ 732*. He is also named in *IG I³ 837* (see below).

IG I³ 749 is a plaque which perhaps displayed a painting. The last word can be successfully restored as Habronichos, who must be the Habronichos Lysikleous Lamptreus mentioned by Thucydides and known from ostraka.¹³⁴

Two aristocrats, Archonides and Hebdomidas, sons of Leukolophis, dedicated a base with a bronze animal and two sculptures, *IG I³ 751*. The name of the father might have been incised on the rim of a small krater II AKR 1336.¹³⁵

Strombichos, the son of a Strombichos dedicated the base *IG I³ 792*. He might be the father or brother of Diotimos from Euonymon, who was general in 433/2.¹³⁶ The name is, however, common as Davies pointed out.¹³⁷

In the decades between 480 and 450 B.C. four historical figures can be identified among the dedicators. The athlete Phayllos from Croton dedicated the base *IG I³ 823* for his victories in the games. His success in the Pythian games is recorded by Herodotus, his victory in the Panathenaia by Pausanias.¹³⁸

¹³⁰ B. Shefton, *BSA* 45 (1950) 140-64 and *BSA* 47 (1952) 278.

¹³¹ See *DAA* no. 51 and Rumpf, *Festschr. v. E. Mercklin* (1964) 147.

¹³² Davies, *APF* 378 and Bicknell, *Mnemosyne* IV 24 (1971) 390-1.

¹³³ See also Brouskari 48, *AcrM* 6505

¹³⁴ Thuc. I 91, 3; ostraka: *DAA* no. 387.

¹³⁵ The restoration was first made by Klaffenbach, *PA* 9060-3.

¹³⁶ Thuc. I 45; Kirchhoff and Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 102.

¹³⁷ Davies, *APF* 161; for other occurrences of the name see Meritt/McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, 567.

¹³⁸ Herod. VIII. 47; Paus. X. 9,2. See also Ebert, *Zum Pentathlon der Antike* (Abh. Ak. Leipzig 56,1, 1963) 35-9.

Kallias, the son of Hipponikos, famous for being thought the richest man of his time,¹³⁹ dedicated the base *IG I³ 835*. He was three times victorious in the Olympic games,¹⁴⁰ and this might be commemorated with the dedication,¹⁴¹ even though it is not even hinted at in the inscription. Nearer to the middle of the century is the base *IG I³ 876* found in the Agora and probably referred to by Pausanias, a statue by Kalamis set up by Kallias at the Propylaia in honour of Leaena, the mistress of tyrant-slayer Aristogeiton who was said to have been tortured to death by Hippias.¹⁴²

Another Kallias, the son of Didymias set up the column *IG I³ 826* with the statue of the so-called Kritian boy (*AcrM* 698).¹⁴³ He also dedicated *IG I³ 893* thirty years later and *IG I³ 1473*. The victories recorded on *IG I³ 893* were more likely the successes of Kallias' youth. The second dedication makes sense if it was set up after the first was destroyed.

Timotheos, the son of Kononos, archon in 462/1, dedicated the column *IG I³ 863*.¹⁴⁴

The base *IG I³ 833bis* was set up as victory monument with a tripod by a choregos.¹⁴⁵

In the second half of the fifth century four historic figures can be identified among the dedicators.

Two are known through their connection with public office. One of the most explicit inscriptions is on pillar *IG I³ 872*, dedicated by Menandros the son of Demetrios from the deme Aigilia. The dedication was made in fulfilment of a vow pledged by Menandros to procure Athena's assistance in a monetary matter. It has been suggested that the Menandros of the dedicatory inscription is identical with the treasurer Menandros who held office in 440/39.¹⁴⁶ The date and the wealth implied in the dedicatory inscriptions are in keeping with this assumption.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹ Lys. 19,48

¹⁴⁰ Sch. Aristoph. *Nub.* 64.

¹⁴¹ Raubitschek favours the idea of a victory monument (*DAA* 111); against this view: Davies, *APF* 258.

¹⁴² Paus. I 23, 2. See also Davies, *APF* 258-61. On the monument, J. Boardman in *Enthousiasmos* (Fest. Hemelrijk) 93-6

¹⁴³ Schuchardt, *AMA* no. 299; Ridgway, *Severe Style* 33.

¹⁴⁴ About the father see Davies, *APF* 507 and Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles u. Athen* I 62 adn. 32.

¹⁴⁵ The dedicator's name is not easily restored (see D. Lewis, *JHS* 104 (1984) 180).

¹⁴⁶ *IG I² 355*; for an interpretation of this inscription see Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, 40,47 and Austin, *Stoichedon* 62.

¹⁴⁷ For the connection of wealth and the office of treasurer see Schwahn, *RE*, IV A, col. 2112, 8.

The base *IG I³ 874* was dedicated by the trierarch Karkinos, the son of Xenotimos from Thorikos. Thukydides knows him as strategos and poet in the year 432/1.¹⁴⁸

Aristoneides the son of Emmenides from Koile dedicated the base *IG I³ 875*; he is known from four other inscriptions.¹⁴⁹

Philokles, the dedicator of the pillar *IG I³ 890*, might be the Archon of 459/8.¹⁵⁰

ii. epoiesen and anetheken

Three dedications of the last quarter of the sixth century were probably made by the maker of the monument himself. The pillar monument¹⁵¹ which served as support for a bronze statuette, *IG I³ 608*, is signed by Melanthyros as artisan and dedicator; the name, however, is not otherwise known.

The famous painter Eumares,¹⁵² the father of Antenor, is the dedicator of pillar *IG I³ 627*, and it is very probable that he also made the monument displayed on it. This might have been a painting or a painted marble sculpture.¹⁵³ The base *IG I³ 629* might also have been dedicated by Eumares.¹⁵⁴ It is probable that he is also the father of the dedicator of *IG I³ 757*, dated to the first decades of the fifth century (see below).

Base *IG I³ 606* was dedicated by a *tekton*, a word used for craftsmen and artisans. It has been suggested¹⁵⁵ that the dedicator might have been employed in the construction of the new marble temple planned and initiated by Peisistratos and his son Hippias. But the temple is now taken by many to be post-Peisistratid.

Only two dedications in the first decades of the fifth century are dedicated by the artists themselves. The pillar monument *IG I³ 766* was set up by the artisan, who was perhaps a woman as the *epsilon* as last letter of the name strongly suggests.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁸ Thuc. II 23,2; *IG I³ 365* 29-40, Davies, *APF* 283; see especially *DAA* p. 136 for a discussion of the succession from trierarch to strategos.

¹⁴⁹ *IG II² 204* 79, 208 5, 1544 30, 3837.

¹⁵⁰ *DAA* n. 287.

¹⁵¹ Raubitschek considers two dedications to be close enough to be of the same hand, *DAA* no. 53 and no. 197.

¹⁵² Pliny, *N. H.* 35, 56; see also *DAA* 498-500, no. 44.

¹⁵³ Robert, *RE* 6, col. 1074, 36, mentions the possibility that Eumares was a sculptor as well as a painter. In this case, the work of art displayed on the pillar might well have been a bronze or marble statue.

¹⁵⁴ See also *DAA* no. 63 and Jeffery, *LSAG* 75. 78. 401 no. 36.

¹⁵⁵ *DAA* no. 196; Peppas-Delmousou, *Charisterion eis A. K. Orlandon* 4 (1967-8) 380-1.

¹⁵⁶ Peek, *Zeitschr. Univ. Halle* 4 (1954/5) 232 no. 134, proposes [*Phryn*]e.

IG I³ 760 is probably dedicated by a brother of the sculptor Antenor, [-]andros, if the father's name is rightly restored as Eumares.

iii. Dedications from the Potter's Quarter

Six monuments of the last decades of the sixth century were set up by potters. The column *IG I³ 631* by the potter Aischines and *IG I³ 633* by the potter Peikon; the former might have supported a vase made from bronze, clay or stone, the latter, according to Raubitschek, a small sitting figure. Aischines is one of the few dedicators to refer to the dedication as *agalma*, which, if the identification with the potter is correct and the dedication is indeed one of his own works shows Aischines as advertising his pride as craftsman more than is usual.

The pillar *IG I³ 628* was dedicated by Nearchos, but not necessarily the potter whose career had its prime in the decades around the middle of the sixth century.¹⁵⁷ Antenor, son of Eumares, signed the piece as artist.¹⁵⁸

The pillar *IG I³ 658* is dedicated by a son of Skythes, Kriton. The Skythes of the dedication must be identical with the vase painter, whose work is dated to the last decades of the sixth century.¹⁵⁹ Pollias, the father of the vase painter Euthymides,¹⁶⁰ has signed the piece as artisan.

Another monument probably set up by potters is the pillar *IG I³ 614*, which again might have had a stone or clay vase attached to the top.¹⁶¹ The dedicators are Iatrokles¹⁶² and Kephalos, the latter is known to be a member of a potters family and is known from *kalos* inscriptions; Iatrokles is otherwise unknown but the pairing with Kephalos in this inscription suggests strongly that he too must have belonged to the potters quarter.

A pillar *IG I³ 620* with a bronze statue is also dedicated by two potters, Mnesiades and Andokides; the signature of Mnesiades has been discovered on a fragment in the Cahn

¹⁵⁷ Beazley, *Potter and Painter* 21; Robertson, *Hist Gk. Art* 162; Boardman, *ABFV*, 39, dates the end of his career already before the middle of the century. On the potter dedication see also A. W. Johnstone in *Papers on the Amasis Painter* (1987) 135-6.

¹⁵⁸ For other pieces signed by Antenor see chapter 3. Also *DAA* 481-3; Robertson, *Greek Art* 162. Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 209-10 suggests a date after 500; Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 86-87

¹⁵⁹ *ARV²* 82-5; Boardman, *ARFV* 59-60

¹⁶⁰ Pollias signed five monuments from the Acropolis.

¹⁶¹ *DAA* 238

¹⁶² Kroll, *RE* XI, 221, 28.

collection, the career of Andokides is well documented between 530 and 510.¹⁶³ Mnesiades is probably the more senior of the two since his name is mentioned first. The joint dedication might have been the result of a merger of two businesses or the retirement of the older potter and the accession of the younger.¹⁶⁴

Dedications from the potter's quarter are still numerous in the first two decades of the fifth century. The potter Xenokles, whose signature appears on Little Master Cups, dedicated a column, which probably served as support for a vase.¹⁶⁵ If the identification is correct, Xenokles must have dedicated the monument in old age.

The pillar *IG I³ 699* was set up by the potter Onesimos, the son of Smikythos, at a date which was the prime of his career.¹⁶⁶ Only little later his son, Theodoros, added a dedicatory inscription of his own, and probably also another work of art.¹⁶⁷ Onesimos is also the dedicator of seven marble basins.¹⁶⁸

The vase painter Smikros set up the column *IG I³ 718*. The hole in the top suggests that the column probably supported a vase.¹⁶⁹

Column *IG I³ 772* was perhaps dedicated by the potter Brygos.¹⁷⁰ Another vase painter might be identified on pillar *IG I³ 779*, Archenides from the deme Kollytos.¹⁷¹ It probably held a flat plaque of the Athena Promachos type.¹⁷²

In the decades between 480 and 450 B.C. only one dedication of a potter was made; Euphronios set up the base or pillar *IG I³ 824*, perhaps with a prayer for health

¹⁶³The Mnesiades fragment has been published by D. Williams in A. Verbanck-Pierard/ D. Viviers ed. *Culture et Cité* ed. (1995) 148; (*ABV* 314). see also I. Scheibler, 'Griechische Künstlervotive archaischer Zeit' *MüJb* 30 (1979) 7-30; Andokides: *ARV²* 1-2. 6-7. 1617; *Potter and Painter* 21 D. von Bothmer, 'Andokides the Potter and Andokides the Painter' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 24 (Feb. 1966) 201-212

¹⁶⁴D. Williams in A. Verbanck-Pierard/ D. Viviers ed. *Culture et Cité* ed. (1995) 147

¹⁶⁵Beazley, *JHS* 52 (1932) 197; *ABV* 184-6; *Para* 76-7.

¹⁶⁶*ARV²* 313. 318-30. 1645; Boardman, *ARFV* 133-4.

¹⁶⁷*DAA* no. 217. Against this theory see Beazley, *Potter and Painter* 23.

¹⁶⁸*IG I³* 926-932 and perhaps also 933. For more information see below.

¹⁶⁹On Smikros see Arias/Hirmer/ Shefton, *History of Gk. Vase Painting* (1962) 322-3; *ARV²* 20-1. 1619-20; *DAA* no. 53.

¹⁷⁰Raubitschek proposes the first line as *Bry[gos ho kerameus]* (*DAA* no. 92). The restoration of the first word as name of the dedicator is certainly correct and it is difficult to fit another name.

¹⁷¹Cf. Beazley, *JHS* 52 (1932) 80.

¹⁷²*DAA* no. 184; de Ridder 794-795.

(Hygieia is mentioned) as *dekaten*.¹⁷³ Kerameus might refer to the deme. This is not very likely: other deme names are not given very often.¹⁷⁴

iv. Other Professions revealed in Inscription

Our first evidence of a dedicatory inscription might also be the first evidence of a dedicator stating his occupation: the rectangular base *IG* 589 from the second half of the seventh century consisting of three small fragments of Naxian marble.¹⁷⁵ The inscription is very mutilated and the restoration not very secure, the fragments, however, seem to imply parts of a dedicatory formula more than anything else; the *epsilon*, *theta* in fragment (a) suggest a form of the verb *anetheken*, fragment (b) is most likely restored as *d]eka[ten* and *t'ath[enaiai*. The dedicator might have been a *nauegos*, as on the dedication *IG* I² 428 but the reconstruction is by no means certain.¹⁷⁶

Three inscriptions from the last quarter of the sixth century give further information of the dedicator's profession. Column *IG* I³ 616, which belongs to kore AcrM 429,¹⁷⁷ was set up by the fuller Simon; Smikros, a tanner of hides (*skylodepses*), set up the column monument *IG* I³ 646, which was signed by Euthykles as artist¹⁷⁸ and the kithara player Alkibios is the dedicator of the base *IG* I³ 666.¹⁷⁹

Only one inscription from the first decades of the fifth century reveals the occupation of its dedicator, Ophsios, a kithara player set up the base *IG* I³ 754 and it is possible that his name must be restored as dedicator of the column *IG* I³ 763, which has been signed by the famous Endoios and by Philergos.¹⁸⁰ Endoios must have been very

¹⁷³ On the potter and vase painter Euphronios see Beazley, *Potter and Painter* 21-2; Arias/Hirmer/Shefton, *History of Gk. Vase Painting* (1962) 323-4; A Pasquier and M. Denoyelle ed., *Euphronios, peintre à Athènes au VI^{ème} siècle avant J.-C.* (1990)

¹⁷⁴ R. Meiggs, D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (1988) 41

¹⁷⁵ *IG* I³ 589, with a photo in *DAA* p. 404.

¹⁷⁶ For the reconstruction as *nauegos* see Kirchhof, Hiller and Raubitschek; Jeffery, *LSAG* 71. 76. 401 n.7 suggests --n *afyt[ar*, Gallavotti, *Rend. Acc. Lin.* 31 tab. III ap. p. 222 modifies as *afyt[os*.

¹⁷⁷ Langlotz, *AMA* no. 278.

¹⁷⁸ Euthykles is not otherwise known, but Raubitschek, *DAA* 501-2 proposes that he was probably connected to the workshop of Antenor.

¹⁷⁹ The interpretation of *nesiotes* is not quite clear. It either refers to Alkibios' place of origin (see e.g. Daux, *Fouilles de Delphes* III 3, 149 no. 179) or, taken as proper name, the artist might have been implied (*DAA* no. 84).

¹⁸⁰ Raubitschek suggests *Oph[siades]* (*DAA* no.7); the option of *Oph[sios]* and punctuation seems a more logical restoration for the limited space (as pointed out by Lolling-Wolters 42; Stauropoulos, *Arch. Delt.*

[Footnote continued on next page]

senior at the time of the dedication, and the phenomenon of him signing this late piece is probably best explained by assuming that the well known elder artist added his name and reputation to a young pupil's work.¹⁸¹ The column has been connected with kore AcrM 602.¹⁸²

Only one inscription from the decades between 480 and 450 B.C. reveals the occupation of its dedicator; the fisher Naulochos, who dedicated the pillar IG 828.

v. *kalos*-names

The first name familiar from *kalos*-inscriptions is from the last decade of the sixth century: column IG I³ 635 was set up by Aischylides, whose son Alkimedes is probably to be identified with the Alkimedes praised in the *kalos*-inscriptions.¹⁸³

Four dedicators from the first two decades of the fifth century are known from *kalos*-inscriptions. A column, IG I³ 689, was set up by Neokleides,¹⁸⁴ who was praised as *kalos* between 520 and 510.

It is also possible that the dedicator of the bronze chariot IG I³ 752 appears as *kalos* if the restoration Sostratos is right.¹⁸⁵ The monument, made by Kalon, is one of the earliest full sized chariots.¹⁸⁶

Euthydikos, the son of Thaliarchos, dedicated the so called Euthydikos Kore AcrM 686 on column IG I³ 758. His father might be the Thaliarchos who is praised as *kalos* in the late sixth century. Euthydikos also dedicated IG I³ 732 and 837.

Another name known from *kalos* inscriptions of around 480 B.C. is Timarchos, who dedicates the pillar IG I³ 773 for his mother; Onatas signed as artist.¹⁸⁷

Diogenes, the son of Aischylos from Kephaleos, who dedicated IG I³ 865, was also praised as *kalos*.¹⁸⁸

20 B1, 1965, 86; Daux, *BCH* 97, 1973, 239-40). Raubitschek also reads *Philermos* as the sculptor's signature; *Philermos*, however, is the correct form, see *AM* 84 (1969) 60 and 83-85.

¹⁸¹ The signature of Endoios is also on IG I³ 764, 1214 and 1380. Philergos as pupil of Endoios was proposed by Raubitschek *DAA* 491-5 and Knigge, *AM* 84 (1969) 83.

¹⁸² Langlotz, *AMA* no.7.

¹⁸³ *DAA* p. 55.

¹⁸⁴ *ABV* 670-1.

¹⁸⁵ For Sostratos, *kalos* between 510 and 500 see 43. 55-6. Against the reconstruction: Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (1982) 225.

¹⁸⁶ Kalon also signed as artist on IG I³ 753, see *DAA* p. 508-9.

¹⁸⁷ *DAA* no. 236. About the artist see J. Dörig, *Onatas of Aegina* (1977) 1-5. 30

vi. Other Names

The only marble dedication which can confidently be dated to the second quarter of the sixth century is the famous dedication by Rhombos, the Moschophoros. The formula used for the inscription of this masterpiece is of the most simple kind, bearing only the name of the dedicator, his father's name and the verb *anetheken*.¹⁸⁹

Sixteen dedicator's names from the last quarter of the sixth century are otherwise unknown.

The pillar *IG I³ 607* was dedicated by Glaukias. Chionis is the dedicator of a long base, which probably supported three tripods.¹⁹⁰ The pillar *IG I³ 634* was dedicated by Spinthon. Hegesandros dedicated one of the low bases with a horse worked by the artist Gorgias, *IG I³ 637*.¹⁹¹ Similar bases by Gorgias, were dedicated by Thraichs, the son of Kortynios, *IG I³ 639*,¹⁹² and by Ameinias, 641.¹⁹³ The low base *IG I³ 642*, which has been connected to the group of a man leading a horse,¹⁹⁴ was set up by Nauklas, the son of Eudikos. Lyson dedicated *IG I³ 647*, a pillar which probably supported the statue of a kore.¹⁹⁵ Onesibios set up *IG I³ 652*, a low base which bore the bronze figure of a horse or other quadruped.¹⁹⁶ The pillar *IG I³ 659*, which probably bore a bronze horse, was set up by Etearchos and his brother.¹⁹⁷ This is another dedication signed by Pollias, the father of the vase painter Euthymides, as artisan. He also signed the pillar *IG I³ 660*, which was dedicated by Teisikles. Aischines dedicated the pillar *IG I³ 670*. The base, which perhaps bore the so-called 'Persian horseman,'¹⁹⁸ *IG I³ 681*, and a big base were dedicated by the same family; Diokleides, the son of Diokles, set up the former monument, Diokles, the son

¹⁸⁸ *DAA* no. 46.

¹⁸⁹ *IG I³ 593* and *AM 624*. The first letter of the dedicator's name is unfortunately missing and makes the restoration as Bonbos, Konbos or, perhaps less likely, Seronbos, possible. See also *IG I³ 593* for literature on this discussion.

¹⁹⁰ *DAA* no. 319.

¹⁹¹ About the artist Gorgias see Chapter III; Pliny, *N. H.* 34, 49 describes him as a bronze worker, but there are also three examples of marble figures by Gorgias on the Acropolis; all works of art attributed to him are horses, for a discussion of the work see Robertson, *Greek Art*, 631.

¹⁹² The name of the father suggested to Threatte an origin of the family in Arcadia; Threatte I 437.

¹⁹³ Langlotz, *AMA* no. 11, has suggested a connection of the base with *AM 475* and *611*; see however Ridgway, *Archaic Style* 284.

¹⁹⁴ *AM 571* and *574* (Schuchardt, *AMA* no. 416); Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 66, hesitantly agrees.

¹⁹⁵ A. E. Raubitschek, *BSA* 40 (1939-40 [1943]) 21 suggests *AM 464* and *612*.

¹⁹⁶ *DAA* no. 107; for a contrary opinion see Hansen, 218.

¹⁹⁷ *DAA* no. 221.

¹⁹⁸ See F. Winter, *Arch. Jahrb.* 8 (1893) 155-6; against this suggestion Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 169.

of Diokleides, the latter. Two persons dedicated the column *IG I³ 671*. Raubitschek restores the names as Lyseas and Aristion, whose names occur on the grave stelae *IG I³ 1256* and *1257*; the reconstruction is very insecure, especially because it works against the metre.¹⁹⁹ The pillar monument *IG I³ 644* was also dedicated by two persons, Lysias and Eucharis. It is not clear if the name Eucharis was used for a woman or man. Raubitschek prefers the solution of a woman dedicator married to Lysias. The pillar supported two sculptures, probably korai.²⁰⁰ Only few female dedicators are known; *IG I³ 656* was set up by Psakythe, the column *IG I³ 683* was dedicated by Iphidike and Ergokleia is the dedicator of the pillar *IG I³ 615*, which supported a bronze statue.

Only two dedicators seem to be foreigners. Dionysios the son of Koloios dedicated the base *IG I³ 617*, which might have borne a horse, Schuchardt suggests *AcrM 700*,²⁰¹ or a statue of Athena Promachos. The name of Koloios is very uncommon and certainly not Attic.²⁰² Another foreign name appears on the pillar *IG I³ 622*: Chnaiades from Pallene is the dedicator. Bechtel suggests Pallene in Arkadia as his place of origin.²⁰³

In the first two decades of the fifth century the majority of names are not otherwise known -- as in the previous decades.

Kirias dedicated the pillar *IG I³ 688*, which probably bore a bronze statuette.²⁰⁴ The pillar *IG I³ 698* was dedicated by Hippotherides, of Acharnai. A demes man of Ikarion dedicated the pillar *IG I³ 704*. A pillar, which probably supported a bronze statue was dedicated by the son of Ontenor. The pillar 708, dedicated by Pheidiades might have supported the statue of the flying Nike.²⁰⁵ Euangelos dedicated the base 719. The pillar 721 was set up by Kallimedon. The pillar 729 was dedicated by an Alkyon. Dexitheos, the son of Eudikos, dedicated the column 730. Exeketos dedicated the base 736. The column 744 was dedicated by Posideios, a name which is very rare in Attica.²⁰⁶ Spoudis, the son of Laispodias dedicated a low base which probably supported a bronze bowl, *IG I³ 755*.²⁰⁷ Philon, the son of Aresias, set up a small column, 757 with a small tripod as victory

¹⁹⁹ *DAA* no. 8; W. Peek, *Zeitschr. Univ. Halle* 3 (1953/4) 381.

²⁰⁰ A. E. Raubitschek, *BSA* 40 (1939-40 [1943]) 24-5, proposes *AM 683*.

²⁰¹ Schuchardt, *AMA* no. 314.

²⁰² For the occurrence of the name in Apollonia, Illyria see Bechtel, *Hist Pers.* 583.

²⁰³ Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* 509.

²⁰⁴ *DAA* no. 238.

²⁰⁵ *DAA* no. 208.

²⁰⁶ See Pritchett, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 123. 126 no. 25.

²⁰⁷ For the name Spoudis see R. Devlin, *JHS* 106 (1986) 184.

monument. Hierokleides, the son of Glaukias dedicated the pillar 775 with a bronze statue. The column IG 782 was dedicated by Chairemonides together with a donation of money and slaves. The inscription bears witness of his detailed instructions of its use.²⁰⁸ The son of Chremes dedicated the pillar *IG I³ 783* with a marble animal.²⁰⁹ The column 787 was dedicated by Kiron with a kore.²¹⁰ Agelitos dedicated the column 788, probably with a statue of Athena.²¹¹ Antiphanes dedicated the small base 806. The base *IG I³ 808* with a small bronze was set up by a demes man of Kolonai. The pillar 813 was dedicated by Heido. Kalis (a man or a woman?) dedicated the column 814. Thelochares dedicated the column 816. Lysibios and his brother set up the column 820. The pillar 821 was dedicated by Polyphemos. Demophilos is the dedicator of 822.

Six dedications were set up by two dedicators. Aristion and Pasias set up a low base, which bore a bronze statue, perhaps of Athena Promachos. Hegias signed as artisan.²¹² The pillar *IG I³ 705* was dedicated by Lysiphilos and a person whose name is not preserved. Gnathon and a person whose name is not preserved dedicated the pillar *IG I³ 727*. The brothers Dionysios and Athenodoros set up the column *IG I³ 731*. Eortios and Ophsiades dedicated the column *IG I³ 740*, which probably bore a bronze statue, perhaps of Athena.²¹³ Phrynos and Aristogeiton dedicated the column *IG I³ 785*; is it the same Phrynos as II AKR 1300?

Two dedications were made by a group. The big base *IG I³ 762*, probably with a bronze statue, was set up by a group of probably more than four dedicators; the names Hipposthenes, Alkidamas, Epiteles and Idomeneus can be successfully restored, the number of the names still missing is not clear. Epiteles is probably the same man who dedicated *IG I³ 680* two decades earlier. The base *IG I³ 802* was set up by at least four dedicators, probably with a bronze statue. Three names are preserved completely, one name only partially.²¹⁴

²⁰⁸ The inscription includes the mention of food supply and of slaves which according to the donor's wishes were not to be sold or exchanged (see also *DAA* no. 332).

²⁰⁹ Several versions for the restoration of the name have been suggested: *Me[gylos]* is favoured by *IG, I³ Stro]gylos* by Kirchhof, *Gor]gylos*: Allen, *Pap. Am. School* 4, 1885/6, 203, *Gylos*: *DAA* no. 227.

²¹⁰ AM 318, 344 and AM 497 have been suggested (Langlotz, *AMA* no. 156 and 254).

²¹¹ *DAA* no. 22

²¹² *DAA* no. 94 and p. 504-5.

²¹³ *DAA* no. 41.

²¹⁴ Philon, Aristion, Pyrion and Nau[-.

Only few dedications were made by women. Philea, the daughter of Chairedemos dedicated the pillar *IG I³ 800* with a bronze statue. Another dedication by a woman might be the pillar *IG I³ 803*, if the reconstruction of the name as Myrine is correct. Two women, probably sisters, dedicated the low base *IG I³ 700* together with a person whose name is lost. Empedia dedicated a column, *IG I³ 767*.²¹⁵ The base 745 was dedicated by Kynarbos in fulfilment of the vow of his two daughters, Aristomache and Archestrate. The base probably bore two bronze statuettes.²¹⁶

Only one dedicator is clearly identified as foreigner; the pillar *IG I³ 741* was dedicated by a man from Sikyon.²¹⁷

In the decades between 480 and 450 B.C. the group of dedicators not otherwise known is still immense.

Euarchos is probably the dedicator of the base *IG I³ 825*. Lysippos²¹⁸ dedicated a stele with a relief of Athena, *IG I³ 838*. Aischytes from the deme Ikaria set up the pillar 842. The base *IG I³ 843* was set up by Peikon, the son of Androkles. Epicharinos dedicated base *IG I³ 847*, perhaps with hoplitodromoi by Kritias and Nesiotes. An unknown dedicator from Aigilia set up another bronze by Kritias and Nesiotes, probably a horse and rider.²¹⁹ The base *IG I³ 850* was dedicated by Hegelochos, his father Ekphantos and his son (probably also called Ekphantos).²²⁰ Demonstratides from Sphettios set up the low base 853. The pillar *IG I³ 854* with a bronze statue(?) was dedicated by Pythogenes, the son of Pyrrias. A pillar which might have supported a relief, *IG I³ 856*, was set up by Phaidros, the son of Prothymides, from Kephale; Euphron signed as artist.²²¹ Demophilos dedicated two monuments on the Acropolis, the base *IG I³ 860* and a disc-shaped 860bis. The base *IG I³ 864* was dedicated by Demonstratos. Charikles from Rhamnous set up the base 867.

²¹⁵ For parallels of the name see Parsons, *Hesperia* 12, 201-3.

²¹⁶ *DAA* no. 79.

²¹⁷ For the connection of artisans from Sicyon with Athens see Raubitschek, *DAA* no. 252; artisans from Sicyon: see. Ridgway, *Severe Style* 56-60 doubts the connection.

²¹⁸ Peek prefers the restoration of the name as Mnesippos or Chrysippos (W. Peek, *Zeitschr. Univ. Halle* 3, 1953/4, 387). The previous reconstructions based on the belief that the last letter was an *epsilon* have been shown to be wrong (Klaffenbach, *AJArch* 57, 1953, 138).

²¹⁹ Raubitschek suggests the restoration of the first preserved letters as part of the dedicator's name and recommends *Aristo]kleef/s*, *DAA* no. 123.

²²⁰ Ridgway, *Severe Style* 80

²²¹ *DAA* no. 304.

Five dedications were set up by more than one person. The base *IG I³ 830* was set up by a father and his son. Two sons of Mnesonos, Thrasyllus and Gnathios from the deme Leukonoion dedicated the low base *IG I³ 833*, probably with a statue of Athena Promachos.²²² The base *IG I³ 834* was set up by Dorotheos and Simylos. Two dedicators set up the circular base 848 with a bronze Athena (?); only the name of the second, Ophsios, is preserved. The base 859bis was probably dedicated by a group of three; only the last name, Theodotos is preserved.²²³

Only two dedications were set up by women in this period.

Mikythe dedicated a pillar which most likely supported a relief, *IG I³ 857*, signed by Euphron as artist. A similar pillar, 858, was dedicated by Aristomache and Charikleia, the daughters of Glaukinos.

With the decrease of inscriptions in the second half of the fifth century the group of otherwise unknown dedicators is also greatly reduced.

Among them are Prothymos, the dedicator of base *IG I³ 871*. Pronapes, the son of Pronapides set up the big base 880 for his victories in three games, the Nemean, Isthmian and Panathenaic. The base was probably intended for a quadriga.²²⁴ Epainetos dedicated the base *IG I³ 882*. The base *IG I³ 883* was dedicated by Heromlykos, the son of Dietrephes, most likely with a bronze statue made by Kresilas, who signed as artist.²²⁵ Another piece by Kresilas is the base *IG I³ 885* which probably held a bronze vase, dedicated by Pyres, the son of Polymnesto. A son of Leukaïos dedicated the base 889, only the last three letters of his name or the deme (*--eus*) are preserved. The base *IG I³ 891* was dedicated by Aischylos. Chairedemos, the son of Euangelos dedicated the big base 895, probably with a horse.²²⁶ The base *IG I³ 900* was dedicated by Chairis, from the deme of Cholargos.

Only one pillar-dedication was made by a woman, the mistress of Prepis dedicated *IG I³ 894*.²²⁷

²²² *DAA* no. 112. For the deme compare also Davies, *APF* 43.

²²³ The space available for names of possible dedicators is about sixteen letters wide (*DAA* no. 117).

²²⁴ His son is probably Amynias (see *IG I³ 511* and Davies, *APF* 471). For the dedication of a quadriga see Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 158-60 and *DAA* n. 174. Stevens, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 17-21 argues convincingly for a date of dedication post 447.

²²⁵ About Kresilas see *DAA* pp. 510-3 and Plin. *N.H.* XXXIV 74.

²²⁶ About the sculpture see Hölscher, *Arch. Jahrb.* 89 (1974) 80.

²²⁷ About Prepis see also *IG I³ 79. 391*.

14. Basins

The basins were a useful gift to the sanctuary. Ablutions were a part of religious ritual. Water is not just an element of spiritual cleansing but also adds to the comfort of the worshippers. Besides being useful the basins were also a handsome and valuable gift which might be expected to be displayed in the sanctuary for generations.

The most curious of the basins is AcrM 6406, a fourth century marble lekythos which has been converted into a basin by removing the top half of the body and hollowing out the interior.

Inscriptions on Basins

The second biggest group of inscriptions on marble dedications are found on marble basins, generally known as *perirrhanteria* or *louteria*.²²⁸ The basins - big, rather shallow bowls set on short bases - were mostly carved from good quality marble, probably Parian. The inscription was generally engraved on the bowl rather than on the hardly visible base; only few deviations from this rule are known.²²⁹ The shape of the bowl is not suitable for reuse except as rubble for landfill. This is probably the main reason why only extremely small fragments are preserved, hardly ever revealing more than five letters of the inscription. But even the small fragments prove without doubt that the basins were given as dedications.²³⁰

Ten inscriptions on basins can confidently be dated to the sixth century. Three of these are probably from the beginning of the second quarter and the similarity of the fragments suggest that they were made as a set or were perhaps even part of the same basin.²³¹ No further basins are known from the Acropolis dating from the following three

²²⁸ For a discussion of the marble basins from the Acropolis see DAA, 370-3. The name used for basins seems to be dependent on its use in a sacred or profane context (see H. Kenner, *ÖJh* 29 (1935) 136; D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958); R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè. Recherches sur les bain dans l'Antiquité greque* (1962); M. Iozzo, *ASAtene* 63 (1985) 8-10; F. Lissarrague, in *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 89-106). The correct term used for the dedicated basin was apparently *perirrhanterion*.

²²⁹ *IG I³* 768, 777, 794, 841, 873, 888

²³⁰ See also G. Hiesel, *Samische Steingeräte* (1967); Hdt. 1, 51, 3-4.

²³¹ *IG I³* 902, 902 bis, 903. About the proposition that all three pieces belong together see Schuchardt, *AMA* n.448 and Richter, *Korai* (1968) n.74.

decades, until the last quarter of the century sees a revival with seven basins.²³² The first decades of the fifth century are the most prolific for basins, twenty-five inscriptions probably belong before 480,²³³ nine in the following decades down to 450.²³⁴

i. Historic Figures

The only basin not dedicated to Athena but to Poseidon in the Erechtheion is *IG I³ 873*,²³⁵ which is one of the few examples of an inscription incised on the pedestal. The dedicators are probably brothers: Epiteles and Oinocharēs, sons of Soinautes from Pergase.²³⁶ Epiteles could be the trierarch in the Chersonesos in 447 (?).²³⁷ The dedication was probably made shortly after 450.

Only one name might be connected to public office, Satyros, the dedicator of *IG I³ 939* might be the assistant secretary of the Hellenotamiai in 443/2 and 442/1.²³⁸

ii. Dedications from the Potter's Quarter

The most striking figure is the potter Onesimos, son of Smikythos, who, in addition to *IG I³ 699* mentioned above, dedicated at least seven basins.²³⁹ This case is the only evidence of a dedicator ever giving more than one basin. The family history of generous dedications makes another identification likely: Theodoros, son of Onesimos, whose name was also added in a separate inscription on *IG I³ 699*, might have given the basin *IG I³ 941*.²⁴⁰

²³² *IG I³ 904-908, 912*

²³³ *IG I³ 908-911, 913-933, 944*

²³⁴ *IG I³ 934-943*

²³⁵ see Eur. *Erechth.* fr. 65, 92-94.

²³⁶ Kirchner, *PA* nos. 4962, 4963.

²³⁷ See *IG I³ 1162*.

²³⁸ See *IG I³ 269 36 and 270 2*.

²³⁹ *IG I³ 929 - 923*, perhaps also 933.

²⁴⁰ *DAA* n. 355 suggests: [*The*]odoros ek [*Kerameon*---.

iii. Other Professions revealed in Inscription

Two dedicators take care to mention their occupation: a fuller, Polyxenos, the son of Mneson, dedicated *IG I³ 905*, probably in the decades 530-510.

IG I³ 841, was dedicated half a century later by Mechanion, who describes himself as *grammateus*, secretary. His father Tisamenos is mentioned in the inscription *IG I³ 1147*.²⁴¹

iv. Other Names

The dedicators not otherwise known also make the biggest group. *IG I³ 912* was probably dedicated in the last decade of the sixth century; only the first four letters of the dedicator's name are preserved, probably *Mele[sias]*.²⁴²

Four names are known from dedications which date to the first decades of the fifth century.

Kephisogeiton, the son of Kirios, dedicated *IG I³ 910*,²⁴³ Asopodoros dedicated *IG I³ 911*; 914 was dedicated by Komonides²⁴⁴ and Aristylos dedicated 920.

Three basins were dedicated by women, all date to the first two decades of the fifth century. Kallikrite dedicated *IG I³ 920*,²⁴⁵ Smikythe dedicated the basin 794. 934 was dedicated by Kallisto, daughter of Naukydos.

Half a century later Eumelides dedicated *IG I³ 888*, a base for a basin with a bronze bowl(?).²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ See *DAA* no. 383.

²⁴² Suggested by Raubitschek, *DAA* n. 316. See also Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (1987) 207 A 45.

²⁴³ The first letter of the father's name is not clearly visible and the reading has been suggested as *Siriou* (Kirchhof) and *Niriou* (Lolling, *Delt. Arch.* (1888) 96). Raubitschek's suggestion of *Chiriou* (i.e. *Kiriou*) is the most logical and also favoured in *IG*.

²⁴⁴ Davies, *APF* 320-1, offers additional information about the name.

²⁴⁵ The name is very uncommon.

²⁴⁶ See also Raubitschek, *DAA* n.378.

15. Inscriptions on other Marble Objects

Other shapes of inscribed stone are scarce; three altars, two herms and a thin plaque are the only examples.²⁴⁷

From the first quarter of the sixth century is the first dedication of a person whose family history can be traced; Chairion, the son of Kleidikos dedicated a poros altar, *IG I³ 590*, when he held the office of *tamias*, Treasurer of Athena.²⁴⁸ It was probably his son Alkimachos, who dedicated a column monument in the last quarter of the sixth century (*IG I³ 618*). A grave monument from Eretria (*IG I³ 1516*) has been linked to the Chairion of the Acropolis dedication.²⁴⁹ If this proves right the family of Chairion was related to Kleinias and Alkibiades.

The altar *IG I³ 596* is from around the middle of the century. The dedicator of the altar is probably Patrokleides, even though his name is linked with *epoiesen* in the inscription. The altar was set up for Athena Nike, as the inscription and the find place of the piece near the temple of Athena Nike profess; and its dating to the middle of the century goes well with the establishment of the first Great Panathenaic Games in 566, or little later.²⁵⁰

The third inscribed altar on the Acropolis is from the third quarter of the sixth century. *IG I³ 605* was probably dedicated by three persons; only two of the names are preserved and none of them can be connected to a person otherwise known.²⁵¹

The thin plaque *IG I³ 589bis* is from the second half of the seventh century. Piece a. probably has to be restored as the name of the dedicator; *Te]leph[anes* was suggested by Raubitschek, who proposes that the dedicator might also have signed the monument as maker of the plaque.²⁵² This would be the first evidence of a dedicator dedicating his own work on the Acropolis.

²⁴⁷ Altars: *IG I³ 590*, *596* and *605*; plaque: *IG I³ 589bis*

²⁴⁸ For the use of the word *tamias* as 'housekeeper of Athena' see Harris, *The Inventory Lists of the Parthenon Treasures*, 1 and 24 note 40.

²⁴⁹ See Davies, *APF* 13

²⁵⁰ For the connection of altar with the cult of Athena Nike and the Panathenaia see G. Welter, *Arch. Anz.* (1939) 12-4 and *DAA* p. 456.

²⁵¹ Only two of the names are preserved: Theopeithes and a name which will probably have to be restored as Chaireleides or Thareleides.

²⁵² *DAA* 385.

The two fragments of herms were not dedicated to Athena; *IG I³ 776* is a base for a herm and pledged to Hermes; perhaps in the same spirit in which the victor of *IG I³ 840* dedicated his monument to Hermes Enagonios two decades later.²⁵³ It is not very likely that the two monuments were meant for the Acropolis, where no place of worship for Hermes existed. He was, however, venerated nearby, at the sanctuary of the Nymphs,²⁵⁴ and it is not inconceivable that the fragments either found their way to the top of the Acropolis in antiquity or were recorded among the Acropolis finds by mistake (see chapter 2). A herm which is very similar to *IG I³ 776* is 750 which was actually found near the Asklepieion. The relief AcrM 702 might have been part of the dedication.²⁵⁵

16. Occasions for Dedication

a. *dekaten/aparchen*

The reason for dedication which is mentioned most often in the inscriptions is the tithe (*dekaten*) and firstfruits (*aparchen*).²⁵⁶ Of about 450 often very badly mutilated inscriptions *dekaten* appears 45 times,²⁵⁷ *aparchen* 46.²⁵⁸

Dekaten is probably already used in the first of the dedicatory inscriptions on a marble base from the Acropolis. The inscription on fragment (b) of the rectangular base *IG I³ 589*, dating from the second half of the seventh century, is most likely restored as *d]eka[ten*.²⁵⁹ The first evidence for the use of *aparchen* is considerably later with *IG I³ 610*, 613 and 615, all dating around the last quarter of the sixth century.

Two cases are very confusing which combine the two terms *dekaten* and *aparchen*. On an inscription from the last quarter of the sixth century, *IG I³ 644*, the dedicators'

²⁵³ *IG I³ 776* is recorded as find from the Propylaia and the exact find place of *IG I³ 840* is not known.

²⁵⁴ See Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary* 138.

²⁵⁵ Schuchhardt, *AMA* no. 430. Raubitschek only adds it hesitantly (*DAA* no. 295).

²⁵⁶ For a discussion of these problematic terms see A.1. of this chapter.

²⁵⁷ *IG I³ 589*, 608, 616, 617, 621, 631, 633, 638, 644, 657, 660, 691, 698, 704, 727, 735, 738, 764, 767, 775, 779, 794, 800, 809, 810, 814, 824, 836, 838, 849, 857, 859, 862, 885, 916, 919, 939. Very likely: *IG* 651, 653, 655f, 667, 688, 710, 725, 852

²⁵⁸ *IG I³ 610*, 613, 615, 643, 644, 647, 649, 654, 678, 680, 683, 685, 692, 695, 696, 699, 702, 711, 730, 731, 736, 740, 783, 828, 830, 830b, 832, 834, 848, 862, 872, 883, 905, 910, 920, 921, 926-932, 934, 935; and probably: *IG* 673, 724.

²⁵⁹ *IG I³ 589* is discussed in 1.4; published with a photo in *DAA* p. 404.

names Lysias and Eucharis, probably a married couple, are each connected to one of the expressions. *IG I³ 862* from the second quarter of the fifth century is only dedicated by one person whose name, however, is not preserved. Here the use of *aparchen* and *dekaten* in the same inscription is even more peculiar.

The majority of the dedications titled *aparchen* and *dekaten* are obviously not direct 'firstfruits' or 'tithe,' but converted from the original property to something of value, a beautiful statue. The creators of the statues, however, have also left the mark of their devotion on the Acropolis. Only one of the surviving inscriptions have the words *aparchen* or *dekaten* in the remaining fragments, but just one case is complete enough to exclude the possibility of their presence.

b. *euxamenos*

Another common feature appearing on the inscriptions is the mention of a vow which had preceded the dedication. The term usually employed in Athens and the Acropolis is *euxamenos*, evident in sixteen inscriptions.²⁶⁰

Menandros is the only dedicator who records why he took the vow to give a dedication to Athena: he asked the goddess to procure assistance in a monetary matter, which was obviously answered.²⁶¹

In nine cases the vow is combined with the word *dekaten*. This occurs in five inscriptions of the last quarter of the sixth century,²⁶² one from the beginning of the fifth century,²⁶³ two from the second quarter and one from the third quarter.²⁶⁴

Euxamenos in combination with *aparchen* appears only on one inscription, *IG I³ 632*, from the end of the sixth century.

Four vows were not fulfilled by the person who made the promise but by a near relative.

²⁶⁰ *IG I³ 608, 617, 631, 632, 633, 638, 659, 667, 701, 710, 735, 752, 770, 773, 833b, 857*, and probably 599(?).

²⁶¹ *IG I³ 872*, around 450. For the connection of wealth and the office of treasurer see Schwahn, *RE IV A*, col. 2112, 8.

²⁶² *IG I³ 608, 617, 631, 633 and 638*

²⁶³ *IG I³ 735*

²⁶⁴ *IG I³ 885*

Alkimachos, whose father Chairion was a *tamias*, set up a column monument with a prayer to fulfil his father's vow.²⁶⁵ Another dedication set up to fulfil the father's vow is *IG I³ 659*, from the end of the century. Timarchos dedicates the pillar *IG I³ 773* for his mother.²⁶⁶

A father fulfils the vow of his daughters at the beginning of the fifth century on *IG I³ 745*.

c. *prayer*

Only two prayers have survived in the inscriptions, both are for prosperity. Telesinos, on *IG I³ 728*, puts it especially elegantly: he asks of the goddess to give him the means to dedicate another statue to her.

Menandros, on an inscription from the middle of the fifth century (*IG I³ 872*), prays that the wealth given by Athena may be preserved by her.

d. *victory*

Ten dedications were set up by victors. The circular base *IG I³ 597*, from the middle of the sixth century, is the dedication by two Alkmeonids²⁶⁷ who were victorious in the pentathlon.²⁶⁸

The base *IG I³ 598*, from the third quarter of the sixth century, is another monument set up by a victor as the *to proton* of the inscription implies. It is a big base which would have accommodated a seated figure or a group.

Philon, the son of Aresias, set up a small column, *IG I³ 757* with a small tripod as victory monument.

We turn to the decades between 480 and 450 B.C.: the dedications of Kallimachos, victor of Marathon (a Nike), the athletes Phyllos and the two Kallias, by a choregos, the

²⁶⁵ *IG I³ 618*. *DAA*, no. 6, 10-12

²⁶⁶ *DAA* no. 236. The inscription seems to hint that the mother's vow is connected to a prophecy from an oracle (*manteion phrasmosynai*).

²⁶⁷ Only the last two letters, *omikron sigma*, of the first name are preserved; for the numerous possible restorations see *IG I³* p. 530. The second dedicator is Alkmeonides.

²⁶⁸ For the abbreviation *pente* for pentathlon see *Anthol. Pal.* xiii, 19.

altar given by Patrokleides, and a monument to Hermes Enagonoios were given in commemoration of a victory.

e. *officials*

From the first quarter of the sixth century is the altar, *IG I³ 590*, dedicated by Chairion, the son of Kleidikos when he held the office of *tamias*, Treasurer of Athena.²⁶⁹ His son, Alkimachos, set up a column monument, *IG I³ 618*, fulfilling his father's vow.

Chairedemos uses his dedication of a statue to record his detailed wishes for the use of the two other dedications he made at the same time: a gift of money and of slaves. The inscription has previously been connected with a small fragment professing the dedicator as farmer.²⁷⁰

17. Names given to the Goddess

Dedicatory inscriptions on marble bases are generally longer and more elaborate than their counterparts on objects. Therefore, it is no surprise that one of the key-elements, the name of the goddess, appears in a greater variety and length.

The earliest dedications which record Athena's name are from the first quarter of the sixth century, both use the term *Dios glaukopidi kore*; the dedicator's names are not preserved.²⁷¹ On an inscription from the last quarter of the sixth century, *IG I³ 618*, this is shortened to *Dios korei*.

On a dedication from the last quarter of the sixth century, *IG I³ 608*, Athena is named as *paidi Dios megalo* and the same phrase is probably used on *IG I³ 687* from the end of the century. The same expression is used on *IG I³ 631*, also from the last decade of the century, and further extended as *korei paidi Dios megalo* on *IG I³ 632*. The full phrase *korei paidi Dios megalo* is again used at the beginning of the fifth century, on *IG I³ 752*. *Paidi Dios megalo* in the second quarter.

²⁶⁹ For the use of the word *tamias* as 'housekeeper of Athena' see Harris, *Treasures*, 1 and 24 note 40.

²⁷⁰ DAA no. 332, Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 58 note 11: *agra[s] aparchen*.

²⁷¹ Base: *IG 591*, column: *IG 592*.

IG I³ 643 from the end of the century records the phrase *Dios kraterophroni paidi*. The same term is used again at the beginning of the fifth century on *IG I³ 773*.

Timokrates gives Athena the title *potnia* and uses the phrase *pai Dios aigiocho* on *IG I³ 619*, from the last decade.²⁷² *IG I³ 718* from the beginning of the fifth century employs the term *Polieoche potni' Athana*.

Athenaiiai poliochoi is the term used in *IG I³ 683* from the end of the century and again at the beginning of the fifth century on *IG I³ 775*.

Palladi m'egremachai is the phrase used by Dionysos on *IG I³ 617*, also from the last quarter of the sixth century. The inscription suggests that the monument was an Athena Promachos.²⁷³ Even though Schuchhardt recommends a marble horse, AcrM 700, this solution is very probable.²⁷⁴

IG I³ 642 from the end of the century mentions her as *Palladi tritogenei*. *IG I³ 667* expands this to *Pal<l>adi tritogenei glaukopidi*. At the beginning of the fifth century the shorter *Palladi tritogenei* is used again on *IG I³ 783* and *tritogenei* on *IG I³ 801*.²⁷⁵ The only later example is from around 450, *IG I³ 885: Palladi tritogenei*.

Lyson speaks of Athena as *Pa<l>ladi Athenaiiai* on *IG I³ 647*. Also from the end of the century.

Only two dedications address Athena as Phartene. AcrM 6505, dedication by Telesinos on a simple column and the dedication on a marble base by Aristimache and her sister. Phartene has been used for Partene, maiden. In the second quarter of the fifth century *IG I³ 850* refers to Athena as *Parthenos*.

²⁷² For the use of the last phrase see Cook, *Zeus*, iii, 866 n.7

²⁷³ See last Lewis, *IG I³ 537*.

²⁷⁴ Schuchhardt, *AMA* n. 314. Raubitschek (*DAA* n. 148) admits the possibility but remains sceptical.

²⁷⁵ Too much of the inscription is lost to decide if the term was also completed with *Palladi*.

III. BRONZE DEDICATIONS

The objects of precious metal have left no tangible trace on the Acropolis. Gold and silver objects are listed in great numbers in the inventory lists and in ancient literature but they were too valuable a commodity to have survived intact. The metal was probably recast again and again and remained in circulation. Not only objects, also plaques with lists like inventories have thus been lost. On the Acropolis we know of treasury lists inscribed on bronze plaques made by the treasurers in charge of the bronze objects and dedicated to Athena. But also gold, silver and lead were perhaps used in this way. A gold plaque is mentioned in an inscription at Selinous, a silver plaque was dedicated at Ephesos and lead was used in scroll form, as Pausanias reports.¹

The bronze dedications must have the poorest survival rate of all the objects recovered from the Acropolis. Bronze, like gold and silver, was in itself a valuable commodity. Rather than discarding a damaged dedication completely it could be cheaply transformed into another useful *agalma*.² The ease of recycling bronze objects in times of peace probably accounts for more loss than theft or looting from the treasury, which would have disposed of the material entirely. The small bronze objects seem to have a greater chance of survival, probably because their value was so low that broken pieces were not considered to be worth preserving and were disposed of with cheaper debris. In particular the great number of preserved handles from small bronze vases encourages such an explanation.

The full-size bronze sculpture from the Acropolis is lost entirely, probably taken as loot for their material or their aesthetic value, and only the bases which preserve the holes for fastening give us bodily evidence of their former presence. Bases of statues taken by the Persians were probably not left on the Acropolis. It is difficult to estimate how many statues were taken to Sardis. Themistokles recognized his dedication there.³

¹ Jeffery, *LSAG*, 56 and 271, 39; 339, 53. Paus. 9. 31, 4, cf. Pliny, *NH* 13. 11, 21

² See in particular the inventory *IG I²*, 1398-1501 A, and D. Harris' very plausible explanation of the list as a *kathairesis* inventory D. Harris, 'Bronze statues on the Athenian Acropolis: the evidence of a Lycurgan inventory' *AJA* 96 (1992) 637-64.

³ Plut. *Them.* 31.

The loss of the bronze statues is especially hard felt when we remind ourselves that the bases give clear proof that bronze statuary was more appreciated from the fifth century onwards than marble. Major works in bronze, however, have left the greatest impact in the secondary sources. Both inventories and texts mention famous sculptures and the evidence is often coherent enough to attempt identifications of copies. Celebrated statues were reproduced in numerous ways: popular images were used as decoration on small objects, such as coins or vases, and, in particular in Roman times, sculptors were copying the whole statues in marble. However, most identifications remain controversial since identifying inscriptions are the exception on copies.

The few remaining bronze objects were not well treated in the excavation: the excavators had little enthusiasm for the often heavily dented and corroded fragments of metal which were buried beside the dazzling limestone and marble sculpture. Already at this point many of the bronzes which perhaps looked not very promising were discarded or given away. Bather tells us that only pieces deemed to be exceptionally interesting were kept and no record as to where they were found was made.⁴ The bronze objects were first stored in the 'Big Museum' and the 'Little Museum' on the Acropolis where they were deposited in boxes. When they were first unpacked by Bather for cleaning and examination he found a number of fragile pieces squashed by heavier objects, most of the thinner bronze sheets were heavily corroded.⁵ His treatment with knife, hard brush and chemicals proved not only effective to remove the dirt but in some cases also destroyed delicate ornamental patterns and inscriptions. Two more moves of the small finds caused further damage through hasty packaging: the bronzes were taken from the overcrowded Acropolis Museum to the National Museum and then had to be swiftly evacuated in World War II.

The recent history of the bronzes explains the number and nature of the preserved objects. The class which has left evidence in the greatest abundance are the small vases. And again not the rather fragile bodies but the comparatively sturdy cast handles and attachments attest their presence.

Looking at the bronze jewellery we have seriously to consider the probability of items not dedicated but lost on the premises. Pins and fibula used to fasten the dress could easily slip from the cloth; fastenings of earrings and necklaces could have broken. The

⁴ For a report of this see A. G. Bather, *JHS* 13 (1892-1893) 140

⁵ A. G. Bather, 'The Bronze Fragments of the Acropolis' *JHS* 13 (1892-3) 124-30

amount of jewellery found in public places can give us a good idea of the 'loss-factor' of these items. Hardly any jewellery was found in the Agora and other public places, as in Corinth and Olynthos, have yielded only the odd piece.⁶ This is quite a contrast to the many (broken) fibulae found in Roman castella.⁷

The great mass of bronzes from the Acropolis dates from the eighth century B.C. to the middle of the fourth and are represented in such a random way as to suggest that the objects preserved are a poor illustration of the votives once placed at the sanctuary. It is also becoming apparent that hammered bronze objects were often discarded by the excavators. This leaves us with huge gaps, in particular in the early development of vessels and small objects. The publications again present a very random selection of illustrated bronzes, and the poor quality of the photos makes it impossible to derive a coherent picture of the dedications offered in these centuries. I have not attempted to feed this data into a flow-chart. The quantitative analysis of such a chart would have proved too unsatisfactory and perhaps even misleading.

Illustrations for the BrAcr inventory numbers can be found in De Ridder. Keramopoulos publishes material which De Ridder omitted.

1. Tripods

The tripods are the earliest evidence of dedications on the Acropolis.⁸ They remain abundant from the eighth to the sixth century B.C., yet they have no practical use. The elaborate artwork and the inherent value of the metal make them a prestigious present and it is perhaps exactly the functionless quality of the highly decorated votive that endows the items with a monumental character. Who dedicated these vessels and why? Tripods are recorded as prizes in many games, among them the Panathenaia, in particular the lyrical

⁶ *Olympia* XIII, 19 note 84

⁷ A. Böhme, *SaalbJb* 27 (1970), 5; 29; (1972), 5; N. P. Toll/ T. G. Frisch, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*. IV 4, 1949, 45 ff

⁸ M. Weber, *AM* (A) 86 (1971) 13-30 and *AM* (A) 89 (1974) 27-46; E. Touloupa, *BCH* 93 (1969), 862-884; *AM* (A) 87 (1972) 57-72 *AM* 87 (1972), 57-76 and 'Early Bronze Sheets with Figured Scenes from the Acropolis' *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art*, Vol. 32, (1991); A. D. Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 1, 1915, Par 22 pl. 7c

chorus seems to have kept to the tradition of awarding them as prize.⁹ It is evident that some of the tripods from the Acropolis were indeed given by the athlete who won them in a contest and, as we shall see later, not only a victory in local games was commemorated by giving the prize to Athena.¹⁰ This is another piece of evidence that the custom Herodotos records for the Triopia, where apparently athletes were not allowed to take their prize tripods out of the sanctuary, cannot have been widely spread.¹¹

The question of the absolute chronology of the tripods gives a very disparate picture. Small fragments ripped from their context make it difficult enough to build up a coherent relative chronology, stratigraphical evidence outside the Acropolis is scarce and only provides us with *termini post quem* which are so wide as to be almost meaningless. I have leaned heavily on the Olympia excavation for the dating of the Acropolis bronzes. The considerable number of bronze dedications found in Olympia has made the recognition of series easier than in any other location. The lack of any absolute dates, however, is also true for this site.

Over seventy fragments of eighth century tripods have been recovered from the Acropolis. They consist mainly of the hammered sheets and cast pieces, decorated with geometric patterns, which make up the legs, the ring or the big vertical handles. Solid cast male figures in the round of a height of up to 20 cm have been suggested as decoration on the rim of the cauldrons flanking the handles.¹²

In the seventh century the evidence of tripod fragments is very much reduced. Only fragments of six legs and three handles make up the finds dated to this century. BrAcr 41 marks the transition to the Orientalizing period. The animals are incised in a geometric technique. The beginning of the century sees the introduction of a new type of tripod with embossed decoration on thin hammered legs. These sheets have been connected with the triangular poros bases found on the Acropolis [Fig. 94].¹³ The bronze mounted on wood

⁹ Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 151 and notes 7 and 8.

¹⁰ Bather's idea that the bowls and tripods won as prizes were only stored on the Acropolis by the athletes is not very convincing (A. G. Bather, *JHS* 13 (1892-1893) 129, 233). He restores the inscription of no. 62 and 64b as athlete's offering, this is, of course, possible but there is nothing to prove it.

¹¹ Herod. I. 144

¹² BrAcr 50 and 51; E. Touloupa, in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art*, 32, (1991)242

¹³ This was already suggested by G. Kawerau, *AM* 33 (1908), 273-278; see also P. Amandry, *BCH* 100 (1976), 19, fig. 2, n. 8 and the reconstruction drawing by E. Touloupa, in *New Perspectives in Early*
[Footnote continued on next page]

could be slotted into the grooves of the marble bases. All fragments from the Acropolis are from the sides of the cladding, the front is lost because it was probably there that the sheets were fixed to the wood [Fig. 93]. This type of tripod was not popular for long and was replaced by the much lighter 'Stabdreifuss', a vessel resting on a structure of rods. The images on the seventh century tripods are very vivid, as the panther and boar on BrAcr 41 or the nude winged man holding two cranes by the neck on BrAcr 45/46. He has been identified as Zeus, Apollo, Dionysos, Hyakinthos, Aristaios, Boreas, a Death Daimon, or Water Spirit.¹⁴ The motive comes from the east and is not as common for the male as for the female. Perhaps we come close enough just calling him a daimon. The BrAcr 43/44 has been uniformly identified as Perseus. The mystery object he holds in his left hand is more controversial and ranges from the crest of a helmet, a snake from the head of Medusa to a saw-toothed *harpe*.¹⁵ The small piece BrAcr 42 shows a long richly embroidered chiton-wearer walking in front of a person in Persian trousers? Fragments of contemporary ring handles are BrAcr 34-36, decorated with running loops and stylised lilies and the very similar NM 16824; NM 18119 is decorated with rosettes and concentric circles.¹⁶

It is an interesting question how many of the dedicated tripods and vessels were prizes won at the games by athletes.¹⁷ The series of 'Boiotian tripods' gives us an intriguing glimpse into these customs.¹⁸ Parts of five Boiotian prize lebetes with traces of their inscriptions in Boiotian lettering were found on the Acropolis.¹⁹ But only one of them retains also the dedicator's inscription in Attic lettering [*o deina — t' eth<e>ken* next to the Boiotian *ton ep[i] D<a>m<a>sidai a[thlon emi]*. The lettering points to after the middle of the sixth century. Another lebes seems to have been used twice as prize before it was dedicated. The earlier inscription, from the first half of the sixth century, was incised near the rim: *ton epi Gelan[ori?--]opides eimi*. When the vessel was reused a handle was

Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art, 32, (1991)243, fig. 1 and 2. Three complete poros bases and fragments of another ten have been found.

¹⁴ For a list see E. Touloupa, in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art*, 32, (1991), 245

¹⁵ With earlier literature E. Touloupa, *op. cit.*, 32, (1991), 270 n. 12

¹⁶ E. Touloupa, *op. cit.*, (1991), 252, no. 2 fig. 20, 21 and 254, no. 3, fig. 22

¹⁷ The tripods as prizes in games: S. Benton, *BSA* 35 (1934/5), 114; S. Papaspyridi-Karousou, *Arch. Eph.* (1952) 148; H. Hermann, *Olympia* XI, 7

¹⁸ See also Jeffery, *LSAG*, 91

¹⁹ IG³ 584-588; Jeffery, *LSAG* 91

riveted partly over this inscription and below it the new text was incised: - *Ch]oirachsiad[as me edoke? e]p Enpedosthenidai*. The fragment of another vessel, judged by the spidery writing to be the earliest example of this series of lebetes, has apparently a list of names of the dead written in spirals around the bowl.²⁰ The authors of *IG I³* have dated it to the first half of the seventh century. The fourth fragment dates to the first half of the sixth century and the fifth is the latest with a date around the end of the century.²¹

The tripods are evenly spaced from the seventh to the end of the sixth century.²² Were they won at funeral games, as the one Hesiod dedicated at the sanctuary of the Muses on Helikon after winning it at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalkis?²³ The reuse of *IG I³ 585* shows that it was already given as a prize before it was won by the Athenian who brought it to the Acropolis. How often were tripods reused? Did they become the legacy of the victor to be taken as one of the prizes at his own funeral games? The refitting of handles on *IG I³ 585* might easily support a time span of perhaps a decade or two, the time we might assume between the prime of a young athlete and his death. The list of names on *IG I³ 584*, the earliest of the Boiotian tripods, is perhaps another piece of the puzzle. The names are most likely of the dead in whose honour the games in which the vessel was won were held. Funeral games held for more than one person suggest some form of tragedy, a battle, in which several of the warriors were killed, or an epidemic. The presence of an Athenian at such an commemorative event is perhaps surprising and we would surely like to know where exactly he competed for the prize.

vessel decoration:

griffins:

The protome-vessel seems to be replacing the tripod-vessel in popularity during the seventh century, perhaps not only in number but also in function.²⁴ All the griffins from the

²⁰ *IG I³ 584*: ???- -- μοριον και Χιχιδαι κατ- --- Jeffery, *LSAG* 94, 3a

²¹ *IG I³ 587*: - - - α αιθλον με [εδοκε; *IG I³ 588*: - - αδα[ς με]εδοκε επι] Δαμαλαι

²² *IG I³ 584-588*; Jeffery, *LSAG* 91

²³ *OD* 654-9. Cf. *Certamen*, 210-4, Paus. 9; 31. 3.

²⁴ J. L. Benson, *AntK* 3 (1960), 66 f), see also *Olympia* XI, 7

Acropolis are cast, the only exception is a piece in Oxford with the provenance 'from the Acropolis.'²⁵ If the provenance is true this is again a warning sign of the excavator's contempt for any bronze object which might not have proven 'interesting' after cleaning. However, the experience in Olympia seems to show that hammered bronzes were discarded in antiquity more readily than the cast pieces which were probably reclaimed for recasting.²⁶ On the Acropolis not one matching pair of attachments was found. The poor survival rate becomes only too apparent if we remind ourselves that every vessel was originally decorated with a set of three or more griffins.

The nine protomes published by De Ridder are a good representation of griffins through the seventh century. BrAcr 431 is from the beginning of the century, the turn of the century is represented by the big BrAcr 437, an example of the 'kombinierte Gruppe Type II a' and possibly not Attic.²⁷ The rest of the griffins are from the end of the century, with the exception of the slightly later BrAcr 436 [Fig. 114].²⁸ The miniature griffin BrAcr 440 is also late and was perhaps once attached to a joint of a 'Stabdreifuss'.²⁹

The majority of snake protomes found on the Acropolis probably belonged to the decorative scheme of vessels. The little piece BrAcr is very similar to the miniature griffin BrAcr 440 and was probably fixed to a joint of the rods of a tripod stand. BrAcr 548 is not unlike the coils attached to tripods in Olympia.³⁰ Handles of kraters and plates, 'Bogenattaschen', often employ snakes at the two ends. BrAcr 558 could have been part of such a handle. However, we must not forget that one of the prime uses of snake protomes on the Acropolis was probably on the aegis of Athena statues of all sizes. The style and the fixture of these was very likely identical to the snakes created for vessels. Altogether 28 snakes have been recovered from the Acropolis. Compared to the number of griffins the proportions are very much in favour of the snakes, whereas in Olympia griffins are the more dominant feature.³¹

²⁵ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1895. 171: T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, (1957) 43, pl. 7, 2 (first half of the 7th century); see also the griffin attachment in *ArchEphem* (1952) pl. 3 p. 148

²⁶ *Olympia XI* (1979) 4 and note 12

²⁷ Argive? *Olympia XI*, 118 n. 3; 128 n. 27

²⁸ BrAcr 432-434; 438 and 439, see also *Olympia XI*, 165 and 158

²⁹ Perhaps similar to the very fragmentary S 11 *Olympia XI* pl. 76, 3

³⁰ *Olympia XI*, pl. 87

³¹ Even on the handles of plates griffins are added: *Olympia XX*, pl. 68, 1 and pl. 69, 2 (Te 7); compare also the enormous number of griffins in *Olympia XI*

statuettes:

The latest example of the richly decorated tripods on the Acropolis, is BrAcr 760, a wonderful group attached to a tripod-ring [Fig. 100]. It has been attributed to the Etruscan 'Vulcenter Gattung'.³² Several other pieces of sculpture on the Acropolis are decorative elements of tripods. The most striking examples must be the amazons BrAcr 815-817 which belonged to the field of the upper curve of a tripod stand. Amazon decoration on tripods is not attested anywhere else.³³

Why were the decorative ornaments chosen? The choice of the griffin as ornament of dedications was perhaps motivated by the wish to have 'demonic powers' watching over the sacred items. They symbolise the religious sphere of the sanctuary — removed from profane and ordinary life.³⁴ But they are by no means peculiar to Athens.

The great number of snakes recovered proves the importance of the animal on the Acropolis. It is not possible to determine if the almost 30 protomes were once attached to tripods and other vessels or to the aegis of Athena statues and statuettes. Perhaps some were even whole dedications in their own right or part of jewellery. Snake bracelets were found in the Athena sanctuary in Halai.³⁵ Snakes can belong to Erichthonios as the necklace of Ion in Euripides' play shows.³⁶ The snake bracelets in Olympia seem to be dedications to Artemis and the snake appears quite commonly in her iconography.³⁷ Snakes were probably chosen to decorate vessels in the same spirit as the griffins, the 'demonic powers' which become so apparent on the aegis are also employed for the protection of the vessel.

It has long been a question who or what the male figures, which flank the handles on eighth century tripods, represent. They are a surprising addition to a vessel so richly adorned in purely geometric patterns without the incorporation of any human or other

³² K. A. Neugebauer, *Jdl* 58 (1943)211ff

³³ *Olympia* XI, 204 n. 51

³⁴ *Olympia* XX, 7

³⁵ *Hesperia* 9 (1940), 418 two bracelets were also found at the sanctuary of Apollo Korynthos: *ArchDelt* 2 (1916) 93 fig. 35, 36

³⁶ Euripides, *Ion*, 1427 ff

³⁷ *Olympia* XIII, 22 and for examples of depictions of Artemis with snakes from various places, 24, note 113.

figure. The ogling eyes have suggested demonic origins for the figures. Karouzou identified them with the Telchines, demons of metal processing.³⁸ Other possibilities, probably more deeply rooted in Attic tradition, are the athletes competing for the vessels. The figure with a bulls head has brought forward interpretations from the mythological sphere, Minotaur and Theseus.³⁹

Not all vessels were overloaded with ornament and might also have served a utilitarian function on the Acropolis, for the fetching of water, as cooking-pots or washbasins. This has been proposed for the vessels in Olympia; the traces of soot on the lebes BrAcr 49 certainly seem to prove its use as cooking pot.⁴⁰ A dedicatory inscription does not exclude a practical use of the vessel before or after dedication. Even on the fragmentary material of the Acropolis repairs on the bronze vessels are evident. This shows not only that the bronze objects were treasured but also that they were probably used on a regular basis, the most likely explanation for damage. The same need for the basics of life of a large group of visiting athletes, as experienced every four years in Olympia, does not apply on the Acropolis; nonetheless, it stands to reason that any active sanctuary was probably in need of a certain amount of usable wares.

2. Other Vessels

The most robust parts of a vessel is the cast decoration, the handles and feet. The hammered bodies have, as a rule, vanished and the original shape of the vessel to which the cast pieces were once attached is only to be guessed at in most cases. It is also impossible to tell from the handle the depth the vessel to which it was attached. A shallow bowl or a deep krater share a very similar range of handles. The diameter of the part the handle was attached to can be guessed from the curvature of the attachments. However, a small bend in the handle will already make a huge difference in the resulting reading. After all, these are pieces which come from broken pots, not very carefully buried, and after excavation they have emerged from loving storage to be cleaned with wire-brush and chisel. A

³⁸ S. Papaspyridi-Karousou, *ArchEphem* (1952) 144; against: N. Faraklas, *The Monumental Sculpture of Geometric Times*, 1987, 40

³⁹ E. Touloupa, in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art*, 32, (1991)242

⁴⁰ *Olympia XX* (1991) 11 and 19

consoling thought is that the utilisation of the vessels was probably more flexible than our typology.

Lebetes:

The cauldrons in the sixth and fifth centuries usually have three movable handles on fixed attachments.⁴¹ In their most simple form these consist of a cylinder or bobbin with holes on either side to receive the handle. The cylinders are usually moulded, and without holes could be added to the vessel simply as decoration. The majority of these simple Acropolis examples are probably still pre 480 as are the four cylindrical rolls, which still have their oval handles attached to them.⁴² The pearl decoration of the handles is consistent with a late archaic date. The bobbins with raised middle and pearl-decorated ridges, 'Doppelspule', Keramopoulos pl. 16 α and ε, are probably still from the end of the fifth century [Fig. 105]. The more elaborate version of these attachments which combine the cylinder with a lion-skin or palmette are much more popular on the Acropolis. In particular the lion-skin attachments are numerous. Like the simple bobbins they are all late archaic, they all have a uniform Attic style with the exception of β on pl. 17 which has a decidedly Corinthian feel [Fig. 106].⁴³ The palmette attachments are also contemporary.⁴⁴ The two handles BrAcr 456 and 457 combine the 'Doppelspule' with a gorgoneion.

Podanipteres:

The fixed handles of cauldrons, basins and cups are listed under this group. All podanipter handles are Attic, as far as it is possible to tell.⁴⁵ The simple version is the elementary reed-handle fixed to the vessel with two flat attachments, as Keramopoulos

⁴¹ W. Gauer suggests two (*Olympia* XX), however, the rims found with the bobbins still attached from the Acropolis show three pieces (Keramopoulos p. 26, pl. 19)

⁴² Keramopoulos: p. 25 pl. 16 γ, ζ, η, θ, and ι. The mouldings are closest to *Olympia* XX pl. 24, 5 and 6 (Le 135, 132, 131, 141, 133)

⁴³ Keramopoulos p. 25 pl. 17 (β is closest to *Olympia* XX Le 215 (pl. 331.2) the Corinthian piece is from around 500) and BrAcr 138, pl. 18 p. 47; see *Olympia* XX Le 216 and 217 (pl. 32. 5b and 4) for comparison with the other handles.

⁴⁴ BrAcr 125 and the following deemed by De Ridder as 'semblable' and Keramopoulos p. 25, pl. 16 β. [Fig. 105]

⁴⁵ W. Gauer, *Olympia* XX, 80, no. 176

23, pl. 11, β - δ [Fig. 101]. The more sturdy examples of this kind might also have belonged to kraters. The Acropolis examples are probably all from the decades around the turn of the fifth century. The centre of the handle is often emphasised with a simple pearl, a ridged pearl, a knob, or a rosette.⁴⁶ The attachments can be flat and round, in the shape of a shield, palmettes, or figurative as the Gorgoneia on BrAcr 206 and the lions on BrAcr 207. BrAcr 206 is particularly noteworthy for the two lizards covering the handle.⁴⁷ The beautiful BrAcr 149, from the end of the sixth century, shows two lions savaging an antelope; the handle attachments are big palmettes and a knob with a raised rosette is placed on the body of the antelope. The second major class uses the ends of the handles bent to a little bow as attachment to the vessel, as demonstrated by BrAcr 203. The numerous 'wish-bone' handles illustrated by Keramopoulos, 21, pl. 1 to 5, must have belonged to a series of small cups.

Kraters:

Some of the above mentioned handles might well belong here. A study of the exact angle of the attachments would be necessary to sort them out. The flat ring handles with protome ends, BrAcr 210 with snakes, BrAcr 212 with horses, probably belong to kraters. Also the flat lion handle, BrAcr 115, belongs here. The only krater lid published is the sieve Keramopoulos 27, pl. 23, α .

Hydria:

The earliest vertical handle from the Acropolis is probably BrAcr 166 from the beginning of the sixth century; it is the well-known type with the very stylised swans-head.⁴⁸ An example from the middle of the century is the beautiful band with pearl ridge and palmette end illustrated by Keramopoulos.⁴⁹ BrAcr 454 from the end of the sixth century shows an interesting fusion of elements. The Laconian (?) hydria handle with two

⁴⁶ Simple pearl: Keramopoulos 23, pl. 11, α ; pl. 9, γ [Fig. 101] a ridged pearl: BrAcr 156, Keramopoulos pl. 9, α ; a knob: BrAcr 203; Keramopoulos pl. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7; or a rosette: BrAcr 206 and 207; Keramopoulos pl. 6, γ ; 7, ζ , I, κ ; pl. 9, β

⁴⁷ The lizards are known from T. Dakares, *Dodona*, 98, no. 4917, pl. 30

⁴⁸ See *Olympia* XX, Hy 6 (pl. 85, 5)

⁴⁹ Keramopoulos p. 24, pl. 12, ζ

horse protomes known from Olympia has been joined to a female head.⁵⁰ The motive has been suggested as the birth of Pegasos by De Ridder, the face bears no resemblance to the grimace usually employed to depict the Gorgon. Other late Archaic pieces are a ridged example, a double reed, a thin band and a string.⁵¹ The most elaborate piece is from the beginning of the fifth century, the handle with the two 'Apollos,' BrAcr 168, two nude frontal youths, head to head, bent into the handle shape and joined to the vessel with their feet.

A number of base rings, probably from the first half of the sixth century, belong to hydriae.⁵²

Oinochoai:

Only two handles are clearly from oinochoai, BrAcr 176 with the stylised lion forepart as top of the handle and the similar BrAcr 177.

Handled Phialai:

The Acropolis handles of phialai are close to the phiale handles from Chernibia.⁵³ They all date to the decades around the turn of the century, probably before 480. The most spectacular of the phiale handles are the lions, their bodies stretched to their full length, their tails curled to a ring. The more commonly used type is the handle with the very stylised swans-head turned back towards the vessel. They were fixed to the phiale with a palmette, as BrAcr 230, a simple triangular widening of the stem, flanked by volutes, as BrAcr 226 and 227. The plain stems offered a good opportunity to incise inscriptions, 226 was inscribed by Kallikrates, 229 preserves *hieron tes Athenaias*.⁵⁴ Fragments of bodies are of the same period, many showing the central omphalos. Also the bodies show fragments of inscriptions, *Ath]ena[ias* and *hieron tes Athena[ias]*, and the more explicit

⁵⁰ *Olympia XX*, Hy 33 (pl. 91, 3)

⁵¹ Keramopoulos p. 24, pl. 12, d, α, β, ε [Fig. 102]

⁵² Keramopoulos p. 26, pl. 18 α ; close to *Olympia XX*, Hy 55 (pl. 193, 1b); δ: Hy 58/62 (pl. 93, 2 ab)

⁵³ M. Gjødesen, *ActaArch* 15 (1944) 111-2 no. 22; U. Jantzen, *Griechische Griff-phialen*, 114. *BWPr* (1958) 12 pl. 5-6

⁵⁴ BrAcr 226, IG 562: *Kalikrates anetheken*, 229, IG 569

Hermogenes anetheken apa[rch]en [t'athe]naai, are all examples.⁵⁵ Only the inscription of BrAcr 229 was believed by the authors of *IG I³* to belong to the decade after 480 B.C. and BrAcr 223 is thought to be even closer to the middle of the fifth century.

Plates:

Some of the flat ring handles with horse protomes must belong here, as BrAcr 147, and the winged BrAcr 146.

Buckets:

Only few bucket handles have been found on the Acropolis. The simple ring, illustrated by Keramopoulos 24, pl. 14, ζ, is a typical example of the attachments used around the middle of the sixth century.⁵⁶

Bases:

Vessels raised from the ground, basins and straight-walled cauldrons, cups and small basins, miniature vessels, lamps and pyxides, have left a plethora of low bases. The lion-feet are the common appendage of these bases which date from the late sixth century (as at Trebenište) to early classic (Olympia).⁵⁷ The few pieces illustrated by De Ridder are generally of very fine quality. The earliest piece depicted in the catalogue is BrAcr 80, a short stubby lion foot once attached to a flat ring from the second quarter of the sixth century.⁵⁸ The siren-lion foot BrAcr 446 and the similar 447 are probably slightly earlier, around 480 B.C., perhaps they were once attached to a cista or bucket.⁵⁹ The Gorgon and snake-topped foot, BrAcr 455, is the most interesting of the Acropolis pieces. The round base with the tongue pattern on which the paw rests is a unique feature and the Gorgon itself with her flanking snakes on the trapezoid leg has no equivalent. The lion-foot AcrBr

⁵⁵ IG 223 and 222; 221 and 219. The phialai are BrAcr 218-235.

⁵⁶ Keramopoulos 24, pl. 14, ζ [Fig. 103]; see also *Olympia* XX, E 89, pl. 105, 1

⁵⁷ Evidence from well: U10 *Olympia* XX (1991) 77

⁵⁸ A similar break is on *Olympia* XX, U 23 (pl. 63, 3), with rings still attached: U1 and 4 (pl. 63, 1, 4, 5)

⁵⁹ Compare to *Olympia* XX, E 229, pl. 73, 1

66 is no exception to the high quality of the Acropolis feet. It clearly stands near to the Corinthian examples of big tripod bases cast with foot and ring in one piece and must be dated to the decades around the middle of the sixth century. It differs from the Corinthian feet by its attention for details: the addition of a shallow round base and a more substantial square one under the foot, two 'wings' protruding from the base and framing the foot on either side. Also the smaller lion-feet, cast separately from the base with a little lip for later attachment are of finer quality than any of the similar feet from Olympia.⁶⁰ In particular BrAcr 101, from the turn of the middle of the sixth century and the slightly later 97 with fine modulation of the toes which are completely separated and the fine volutes under the attachment. These must have been bases for shallow basins or plates. The two feet illustrated by Keramopoulos with the little 'wings' above the volutes must be contemporary.⁶¹ A series of slim feet with palmette ends and volute wings which were once directly attached to a shallow bowl or plate probably date directly before 480. Similar feet in Olympia were dated to the early classical period and were thought to be Corinthian.⁶²

The smallest bases on the Acropolis are BrAcr 60 and 61. Small bases appear in the big sanctuaries but it is not quite clear what these small versions might have supported; lamps, pyxides, cups, miniature basins, are all possibilities.⁶³ The bases are all, as far as it is possible to compare them stylistically, Attic.⁶⁴ Not only the figure-attachments but also other ornaments, rosettes and palmettes, allow this conclusion. Outside influences are nonetheless obviously apparent⁶⁵ and strongly imply a rich trade of non-Attic goods in Athens, unless we assume only a trade of ideas through itinerant artisans. The fact that traded goods do not find their way onto the Acropolis shows clearly that the dedicators were probably local people, commissioning the gift in the local craft-shops. It also makes it

⁶⁰ E.g. *Olympia XX*, U 19, pl. 110, 7; U17, 16, pl. 110 6a; Attic

⁶¹ Keramopoulos p. 26, pl. 20

⁶² BrAcr 93 and Keramopoulos p. 26, pl. 21 (three feet), compare *Olympia XX*, Te 22 and 23 (pl. 67, 1, 2, 5, 6)

⁶³ *Olympia XX* (1991) 78; Carpanos, *Dodone* pl. 41, 1. 2; Waldstein, *AH II* pl. 124, 2227-2229, Payne, *Perachora I*, 167, pl. 71, 2-4.6; C. Blinkenberg, *Les petit objects, Lindos, I* (1931) 223 no. 745. 746pl. 31; Popović, *Trebenišće* pl. 24, 18. 19

⁶⁴ *Olympia X* (1981) 123-5; *XX* (1991) 80 n.176

⁶⁵ E.g. The fine handle BrAcr 207, which uses the 'Corinthian' rosette in negative-relief (*Olympia XX* (1991) 80 n.177).

more likely that dedicators usually commissioned a dedication rather than buying a beautiful object 'off the peg.'

3. Statuettes

Athena:

Eleven small bronze statuettes show Athena as Promachos, she appears with raised spear, helmet and shield. The earliest bronze figurine depicting Athena with helmet and spear is from just before the middle of the sixth century, BrAcr 777 [Fig. 109]. Her feet under the long hem of her skirt are still kept close to each other, as on the badly damaged BrAcr 778. BrAcr 789 is the first complete depiction of the Promachos type, from the second half of the sixth century; Athena is striding forward, the spear is in her raised right hand, the band remains from the shield on her left, she also wears the aegis and helmet.⁶⁶ Very similar in stance but better in quality is BrAcr 781. BrAcr 782, from the end of sixth century, adheres to the Promachos type but omits the aegis [Fig. 108].⁶⁷ Two examples are clearly from the beginning of the fifth century, BrAcr 781 and the much smaller BrAcr 783.⁶⁸ The decades after 480 are represented by BrAcr 788, thought to show Athena performing a libation and the Archaising BrAcr 793 perhaps in the type Phidias later used for his Promachos, with the spear held vertically.⁶⁹ BrAcr 786 is a strange variation of the striding Promachos type. The left arm is lifting the skirt and the right was perhaps not holding a spear after all but raised as on BrAcr 787. Both might be representations of a dancing woman, which does not exclude the possibility of an Athena who famously danced the Pyrrhic twice, after her birth and after the victory over the giants. If these were indeed statues of the goddess the theory of the Promachos type depicting Athena as dancing the Pyrrhic is strengthened considerably.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ LIMC II, 971 no. 135 Niemeyer I, 37-8 pl. 2 fig. 7

⁶⁷ LIMC II, 971 no. 136; Niemeyer I, 45-46 pl. 3 fig 12

⁶⁸ LIMC II, 971 no. 137 500-490 Niemeyer *Promachos* 25-55

⁶⁹ LIMC II, 975 no. 190 470-460; see also LIMC II, 972 no. 146 Archaising 480-470 et al. Cl. Rolley, *Les Bronzes* (1967) 4 no. 47 pl. 12 dedicated by Mileso

⁷⁰ G. Ferrari Pinney, 'Pallas and Panathenaia' in *Ancient Greek and related Pottery* Copenhagen, 1988, 467-77

A number of helmet fragments were most likely part of statues of Athena. BrAcr 253-262 are all parts of bronze crests. BrAcr 261 was decorated with swans-heads, BrAcr 253 and 262 with a serpent as the Athena in Aegina.

Female figures:

The earliest female figure is probably still from the eighth century.⁷¹ BrAcr 771 is nude, the features of her head are barely recognisable and her neck is very thick. Daedalic figures are the very rudimentary BrAcr 775 and the head 773. The small Daedalic BrAcr 774 is winged.

BrAcr 785 is listed by De Ridder with the Athenas. The thick spike attached to her head probably reminded him of the much thinner attachments of helmet crests, as on the head of BrAcr 793. In this case the spike is almost as long as the figurine and was surely meant to serve as support of a shaft, perhaps holding a candelabrum, as suggested by De Ridder, incense burner, or some other kind of instrument. She apparently wears no aegis, although the folds of her garment are very long and spiky. Female figures appear not very frequently as decoration of bronze furniture on the Acropolis. Only one mirror support, BrAcr 784, uses a female figure.⁷²

The series of winged female figures seem to be exclusively decoration of vessels. BrAcr 799 to 802 supported a bowl with a palmette attached to their head. Two examples of winged male figurines follow the type.⁷³

Another group of winged statuettes, mostly from the end of the sixth century, were attached by their feet (BrAcr 806 -814). Three figures of Amazons were probably used to decorate the joints of a 'Stabdreifuss'.⁷⁴ BrAcr 815 is still attached to the curved rod. Some of the small busts of females with buds attached to their heads might have been the decoration of the joint of the rod and vessel.⁷⁵

⁷¹ R. M. Ammerman, 'The Naked Standing Goddess' *AJA* 95 (1991) 220 and no. 73

⁷² BrAcr 784, pl. 7

⁷³ BrAcr 803 and 804, fig. 303-4

⁷⁴ BrAcr 815-817

⁷⁵ BrAcr 820-835

Male figures:

The earliest male figures are from the second half of eighth century, BrAcr 691 and 692. As with all small statuettes it is impossible to tell if they were once part of the ornamental decoration of vessels or other utensils. The statuettes are both broken at the ankles; this, however, also occurs when the base of a statue breaks off; statuettes attached to vessels are known to have been fixed to cauldrons with their base. The warrior BrAcr 695 is probably from the very end of the eighth century. The spear he once held in his right hand is missing. Perhaps his missing right hand was once holding the lead of a horse, as the bronze man from the ring handle of a tripod found in Olympia.⁷⁶ BrAcr 695 from around the middle of the seventh century was probably a charioteer, even though the arms are raised higher than usually observed. The Daedalic BrAcr 696 is closer to the standard type of a charioteer, the figure has no sexual organs. This figure and the curious almost herm-like protome BrAcr 697 are the only Daedalic figures among a whole series of late seventh century statuettes of a more three-dimensional style, the man in the posture of a boxer, BrAcr 698, the two figures BrAcr 699 and 700, the warriors with raised spear and Phrygian cap, BrAcr 701 and 702. The early sixth century is represented by BrAcr 731, the statuette holding a garland. The figure with the mantle and travelling cap, BrAcr 731, is already nearer to the middle of the century. The typical kouros BrAcr 739 is around the turn of the fifth century.

Quite a sizeable proportion of figures show horsemen, as the tiny BrAcr 751 and BrAcr 752. Two other figures were probably conducting their horse by the halter, BrAcr 753 and 754. A more unusual ride has the figure BrAcr 755, his animal is a dolphin.

Only few figures portray athletes. The two wrestlers, BrAcr 747, are probably the most impressive. BrAcr 746 is a boxer and of a discobolos only the arm survives (BrAcr 636).

The majority of the nude male statuettes were handles, probably mostly from mirrors and perhaps some from phialai. BrAcr 703 to 727 belong to this category [*Fig. 122*]. The better preserved examples show that the standard type is the nude figure with arms at right angles to the body and gripping the palmettes, the head is crowned with two

⁷⁶ Olympia B 4600, photo in Boardman, *GSAP*, 29, fig. 5

volutes from which the palmettes spring. The feet are stretched and attached to another palmette. All these examples belong to the decades around the turn of the sixth century. Only few exceptions to this standard type have been found. BrAcr 704 from around 530 B.C. has the hands raised to his head and a piece of metal for attachment to a utensil. The slightly later BrAcr 703 is shown in the same posture with a metal strip attached to his head, BrAcr 705 is the only example with two strands of hair draped over his shoulders, BrAcr 706 is dressed in trunks with a circle pattern, perhaps imitating a panther skin. BrAcr 722 replaces the two upper palmettes with crouching lambs.

Only two big heads were found on the Acropolis. The beautiful late Archaic/ early Classical head of a youth, BrAcr 767, his hair rolled up at the neck and wound about the head like a hair band; the bearded BrAcr 768, sometimes called 'the Aeginetan' for its similarity to the statues from the temple of Aphaia, is still Archaic.

The charioteers, horseman and athletes all seem to commemorate games and contests. Could they have been dedicated by the participants of the games? The small scale and the poor quality of many of these dedications makes them appear as an offering of little value compared to the bigger statues and expensive offerings dedicated by some athletes. More monumental statues of chariots are generally known by Pausanias to be dedications commemorating the victory in the races.⁷⁷ Do we have to read the bronze statuettes in this spirit? They might be token dedications for Athena when the larger votive was dedicated at a national sanctuary. They also might be the dedication of a minor member of the team ensuring the winning of the chariot, as the chariot-maker, the horse-trainer or even the charioteer himself. The abundance of the little chariots, athletes and horsemen might also be an indication that the type was generally accepted as a good shape for a dedication, a pretty way of turning a certain amount of bronze into a beautiful object. Thus, in small scale the subject was only seen as a piece of genre and no personal connection was attempted.

⁷⁷ Paus. VI. 10. 7, a chariot dedicated by Kleosthenes after his victory in 516; Paus. VI. 9. 4, dedicated by Gelo in 488; Paus. VI. 12. 1, dedicated by Hiero; Paus. VI. 18.1, Kartisthenes; Paus. VI. 1.6, dedicated by Kyniska, daughter of Archedamos in Sparta.

Animals:

horses:

The horses are the most numerous animal statuettes on the Acropolis. Just under 30 pieces were found and published by De Ridder. With the exception of the Laconian BrAcr 482 they constitute a uniform Attic series. The earliest are still from the eighth century, as the mare and her foal, a beautiful motive that appears twice on the Acropolis. In Olympia these groups have been tentatively connected with the cult of a heroine, perhaps with the cult of horses, other examples were found in Lusoï.⁷⁸ On the Acropolis the most logical connection is Athena Hippiā. The majority of horses are the straightforward type found in such large numbers in most sanctuaries. The general size seems to be just under 10 cm and, where it is preserved, the horse was fixed to a solid rectangular base. Only two horses, BrAcr 500 and 501, have the flattened and pierced legs which characterise attachment to a handle. Animals on rectangular bases are also known to have been part of decorative schemes on cauldrons, along the rim. A closer examination of welding traces on the bases is needed to determine how many of the Acropolis pieces might have been employed in this way. However, the elaborate open-work bases favoured in other regions of Greece could not have been attached to vessels and prove that a considerable number of horse statuettes must have been meant as dedications in themselves. The very fragmentary BrAcr 502 might have been attached to the rods of a tripod base.

Twenty of the statuettes are geometric and they are fairly evenly spread through the second half of the eighth and the seventh century. Particularly beautiful archaic examples are BrAcr 498 and the team of horses BrAcr 503. The latest horse is the winged protome BrAcr 504, an early classical piece.

What are the intentions in the dedication of the horse statuettes? An attempt has been made to read them as expressions of the 'Homeric world.'⁷⁹ Can this be valid for the eighth century?

⁷⁸ *Olympia* XII, 105ff n. 144 and drawings p. 104 fig. 6

⁷⁹ N. Himmelmann, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 290ff; see also W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Olympia* X II (1979) 11

bulls:

Eleven statuettes of small bulls were found. The earliest, BrAcr 513, belongs perhaps still to the eighth century [Fig. 115]. The other pieces are clearly archaic, starting with the early archaic BrAcr 515; incised on the body is the inscription *epithudes kabīl*. The finest piece is the late archaic BrAcr 517, a striding bull on a rectangular base on six little feet. A reminder that bulls also served as decoration on cauldrons is BrAcr 518, a protome.⁸⁰

The oxen, sheep and the pig are most easily interpreted as sacrificial animals. An ox is also the recorded prize for the Pyrrhic chorus in the Great Panathenaia.⁸¹ Nevertheless, in particular oxen had other uses than just to provide meat, as Pausanias reminds us. His theory as to why the Corcyreans and the Eretrians, the Plataeans and the Carystians each sent a bronze ox to Olympia and Delphi after the Persian wars was because 'they were now able to plough in peace.'⁸² It is not known why Myron's famous life-size heifer or the oxen given by the Council of the Areopagos were dedicated.⁸³ However, all domestic animals might also be given in thanks for the successful breeding of new stock.⁸⁴

lions:

The lion is also represented among the series of cut-out plaques, BrAcr 377. As with the other animal plaques no holes for fastening can be seen.

ram:

Two full size rams, the big BrAcr 525 and the smaller 526, both after the middle of the sixth century and in full stride, like the goat BrAcr 524, have been uncovered on the Acropolis. Only the head remains of another ram, BrAcr 527, which was inscribed ---ten

⁸⁰ Compare Olympia 98, no. 643 (pl. 81?)

⁸¹ Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* 151; *CIA* II. 965

⁸² Paus. VI. 19. 6; V. 27. 7

⁸³ Pliny, *N. H.*, 34. 57-58

⁸⁴ Rouse sees the breeder as a favourite candidate for dedicating all small animal statuettes (Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 145).

okeian me t'athenaiai anetheken. A sheep, BrAcr 529, with the retrograde *Pesidios hikesia* is probably slightly earlier [Fig. 120].

goats:

Two goats, BrAcr 511 and 524, both (presumably) archaic were found on the Acropolis; both animals are in full stride.

birds:

Three owls, all from the end of the sixth century, were found.⁸⁵ Another owl is on a bronze sheet in very low relief. We should expect the bird so closely connected to Athena to be heading the number of birds on the Acropolis. However, the crow is also represented with three pieces, BrAcr 541-543, also from the end of the sixth century,⁸⁶ and three cocks, among them the BrAcr 535, were found [Fig. 116]. The cock is also represented among the two-dimensional plaque cut-outs, BrAcr 378, 379 and 380 are all from the end of the sixth century. The cockerel is often depicted as a love-token of a man to his young lover.

A stork, BrAcr 530, and a swan, BrAcr 531, are among the curios from the Acropolis and three birds identified by De Ridder as eagles but more likely song-birds. BrAcr 538, an early archaic piece, is most likely a pendant. The late archaic BrAcr 540 is more likely a blackbird.

pig:

The fine pig BrAcr 479 remains a singular piece [Fig. 121].

hare:

The small hare BrAcr 463 has a small pierced metal strip attached to its head. It might have been worn as pendant [Fig. 119].

⁸⁵ BrAcr 532 [Fig. 117] -534

⁸⁶ crow and the cult of Athena *JHS* 1892-3 p. 242

turtle:

The turtle BrAcr 573 is one of the few reminders of the sea on the Acropolis

octopus:

BrAcr 574 is a fine example of an octopus, another denizen of the sea represented on the Acropolis [Fig. 118].

4. Armour and Weapons

helmets:

Fragments of several helmets have been found [Fig. 110-111]. Many are incised with the name of Athena or parts of her name. Some of these can be linked directly to a battle, as IG I³ 518, a Corinthian helmet with the inscription *Athenaoi t]on eg Le[mno?]*; if the reading of Lemnos is correct it dates the helmet to before 493 B.C. The shorter *Athenaias*, however is more common and appears on a helmet from around 500 B.C., three fragments from the second quarter of the fifth century and a Corinthian helmet from the end of the century.⁸⁷ The most elaborately decorated helmet fragment is contemporary with the early bronze tripod-sheets, BrAcr 253, a cheek piece with a snake and tendrils.

shields:

It is perhaps surprising that only few fragments of shields are recorded on the Acropolis. A series of seven late sixth century shield bands with metopes framed by a decorative border, six trapezoidal band attachments and eight rim attachments with palmette ends were found on the Acropolis. The shield bands display a wide variety of motives in their metope panels. The strip BrAcr 350 has four metopes preserved [Fig. 98].

⁸⁷ IG³ 520a; 475-450: IG³ 520b, 520c, 520d [*Athen*]aias; 450-425: BrAcr 252, (IG³ 519) *Athenai*ai; 500-480: IG³ 517 [*Athenai*oi---]on labontes Chalcidian helmet

Only the legs of the upper panel remain: a woman is watching a fight, Ariadne, Theseus and the Minotaur? The second panel shows the suicide of Aias observed by two men probably to be identified with Diomedes and Odysseus. The third panel depicts Herakles and the lion, the fourth two sphinxes facing each other. The suicide of Aias is again depicted on another sheet.⁸⁸ Here it is grouped with a duel, Aias and Odysseus fighting over the arms of Achilles? A third panel shows the ransom of Hector, the fourth only preserves a man on the very right moving out of the panel. BrAcr 351 is in bad condition, the top panel shows a nude man lying on the ground, the second panel depicts Theseus and the Minotaur. The top panel of BrAcr 355/357 depicts a *ketos*, a man (god or daimon) is riding the sea-monster, in the second panel Achilles is receiving his arms from Thetis. The condition of the two small fragments BrAcr 352 and 354 is too poor to allow identifications. The shield band attachments are decorated in a trapezoidal field with facing lions; framed between them is a small running figure (BrAcr 256 and 370) or scorpion (BrAcr 372 and 373). The beautiful BrAcr 374 depicts a frontal quadriga [Fig. 99]. Shield rim attachment BrAcr 358 repeats the motive of the facing lions already observed on the shield bands [Fig. 97]. The other pieces only preserve the palmette and volute end.⁸⁹

The only fully preserved shield is a miniature version, BrAcr 264, dedicated by a Phrygia, a baker (*Phrugia anetheken me t'athenaia / he artopol[is]*). The inscription and the gorgoneion date it to around 500 B.C.⁹⁰

spears:

Numerous points and butts of spears were found on the Acropolis [Fig. 112-113]. BrAcr 266 is possibly the oldest (De Ridder suggests Mycenaean). The majority of the almost forty spear-heads is more likely to belong to the fifth century as BrAcr 281, 284 and 295, all dated to the first half of the century by their inscription, BrAcr 287 from the middle and BrAcr 282 from the second half.⁹¹ One of the eleven butts is inscribed, BrAcr

⁸⁸BrAcr 349 with additional material: NM 6962, published by E. Touloupa, in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art*, 32, (1991), 264, no. 2, figs. 37-39 and no. 3, fig. 40; see also E. Kunze, *Olympia II* (1950) 251, on Acropolis shieldbands.

⁸⁹ Shield rim attachments are BrAcr 358-368

⁹⁰ IG³ 546; A. G.Bather, *JHS* 13 (1892-1893) pl.7 no. 60

⁹¹ BrAcr 281: *hi/eron*; BrAcr 284: A; BrAcr 295: A; BrAcr 287 *Athenai*; BrAcr 282 *Athenai* (IG I³521); the propiatory A is incised on BrAcr 283, 284, 289 and 290

307, from the beginning of the century (*m' Athenaios*), three further pieces have an *A* incised.⁹²

arrow-heads:

Only six pieces are published by De Ridder: BrAcr 310-315. None of them bear any inscriptions.

swords:

Fragments of only three swords have been found on the Acropolis, BrAcr 316 and the two blades BrAcr 317 and 318.

knives:

Altogether thirteen knives were found on the Acropolis. BrAcr 336 has been cast in one piece together with the handle. This is without doubt the earliest knife on the Acropolis. Of the other knives only the blades have survived (BrAcr 337 to 348).

axes:

An amazing eighteen axes have been recovered from the Acropolis. Fifteen pieces are the heads of double axes, BrAcr 319 to 332, two are one-sided, BrAcr 333 and 334 and one piece is an axe-handle, BrAcr 335. Axes were not just used by craftsmen but also by priests to sacrifice bulls. The cult of Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis famously blamed the death of the sacrificed bull on the axe.⁹³

⁹² BrAcr 298, 308 and 309

⁹³ Paus. I. 24. 4 and I. 28. 10; Porphyry believes the sacrificial weapon was a knife (*De abstinentia*, II 29).

4. Miscellaneous

Some of the seventh century embossed sheets belong not to tripods but perhaps to furniture, shield-bands or other objects. BrAcr 40, from the beginning of the seventh century, has the two figure panels set at right angles and was used to cover a chest or box [Fig. 98]. The man with quiver and bow has been suggested as Herakles, the warrior with the Corinthian helmet and sword could be Menelaos.⁹⁴ BrAcr 37/38 was cut for a second use. The big Gorgon plaque echoing Geometric style could even have architectural origins, it has been suggested as acroterion of the earliest temple of Athena.⁹⁵ The numerous incised cut-out plaques may have been appliqués for furniture, even though none show holes for fastening the pieces onto wood or even hanging them on their own. The majority of motives are animals, with the exception of BrAcr 376, a triton. Other architectural remains are the large ornamental nails, most were probably once attached to doors, BrAcr 385 to 393.⁹⁶

A group of dedications imitates plants and fruit. The most impressive example is the pomegranate BrAcr from the middle of the sixth century with the dedicatory inscription of a K?litophon.⁹⁷ It might have been intended as a small perfume vessel. A small piece of an olive branch, BrAcr 412, is easily explained on the Acropolis; another branch, BrAcr 413, looks almost like coral. A bronze ear of wheat, BrAcr 414, is also among the curios. Several leaves have been found, the four pieces BrAcr 420 to 423 are clearly olive, BrAcr 424 is an oak-leaf.

Among the odd items dedicated on the Acropolis is a miniature disc, dedicated by Lysilla as *aparchen* and dated by its inscription to the beginning of the fifth century.⁹⁸ Another miniature object is a small stool with horse-legs, BrAcr 407. A whole series of miniature vases was found, none higher than 6 cm. The shapes range from skyphoi, BrAcr 109 to 113, a hydria, BrAcr 162, a jug, BrAcr 163, to a small amphora, BrAcr 164.

Three votive wheels, BrAcr 404 to 406, were all dedicated at the beginning of the fifth century. The inscription of BrAcr 405, *Pithekos anetheken*, is dated by the authors of

⁹⁴ According to R. Hampe, *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder in Boötien*, 1936, 81

⁹⁵ E. Touloupa, *BCH* 93 (1969) 862-864

⁹⁶ Other nails are BrAcr 394-403; 382-384 and Keramopoulos 28, fig. 27

⁹⁷ *JG I*³ 544: *K?litophon m'anetheken dios glaukopidi qorei – pol[i]ochoi [d]e[k]at[e]n*

⁹⁸ *JG I*³ 547: *Lusilla aparchen Athenaiai*; Keramopoulos 34, n. 9

IG I³ 548 after 480 B.C. They probably did not belong to small chariots, but were dedications in their own right. The practice of dedicating these wheels is common to all Greek sanctuaries. Reisch explained the wheels as stand-ins for a whole chariot.⁹⁹

From the very end of the fifth century is the magnificent lamp in the shape of a ship with the inscription *hieron tes Athenas*.¹⁰⁰ It was excavated under the Erechtheion. A clay model of a boat, AKR 2667, was also found on the Acropolis and following Plutarch's story of a model of a trireme made of silver and gold, dedicated by Lysander after receiving it in honour of Aegospotami from Kyros¹⁰¹ perhaps we can assume that the dedicator of these two pieces also had a battle at sea in mind when he chose the dedication. Only two other bronze lamps have been found, BrAcr 426 and the Byzantine BrAcr 427.

Four weights were found on the Acropolis, one inscribed δημοσιον αθηναιον/ηεμισου ηερον.¹⁰²

Two large fragments of a caduceus were found, BrAcr 409 and 410, perhaps belonging to statues of Hermes or Nike?¹⁰³

Parts of harnesses and bits were found, Keramopoullou 29, fig. 30, and several of the sculpted fragments might also have belonged to the ornaments of horse gear.

The amount of bronze jewellery found on the Acropolis is amazingly low. This must be primarily due to the low interest the excavators showed in particular in the small metal items. Only one archaic pin was published.¹⁰⁴ Pictures on vases display pins on dresses well into the fifth century, other jewellery even longer.¹⁰⁵ In Olympia many bangles and pins show signs of wear and even repairs. These personal ornaments might once have been worn, as the evidence from Artemis Brauronia suggests.¹⁰⁶ It has also been suggested that the pins were part of the dedication of a whole dress.¹⁰⁷ The only published fibula is BrAcr 243.¹⁰⁸ The finger-rings seem to be rather older. Two rings with two pairs of spirals

⁹⁹ Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, 1890, 61; followed by Furtwängler, *Olympia III*

¹⁰⁰ BrAcr 425; IG³ 549b

¹⁰¹ Plut. *Lysander* 18

¹⁰² E. Pernice, *Griechische Gewichte*, p. 81, pl. 1, 1 and 3 other weights Bather pl. 7, 54, p. 28

¹⁰³ BrAcr 409 ends in a head of Pan and has been associated with Marathon and Kallikrates' Nike dedication: references in *LIMC* VIII, 924, no. 6.

¹⁰⁴ *Olympia XIII*, 23 note 105 and 58 note 198 'archaic 2'

¹⁰⁵ M. Bieber *AA* 80 (1973), *Olympia XIII*, 4, note 19; 6; 25; 3; 55

¹⁰⁶ T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*, 1972, 13

¹⁰⁷ K. Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zur archaischen Zeit*, *PBF XIV* 2 (1972) 163

¹⁰⁸ P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* (1958) 96

forming a rosette, BrAcr 377 and 378, are probably still eighth rather than seventh century; BrAcr 375 and 376, both metal strips with spiral ends, are seventh century.¹⁰⁹ The bracelet BrAcr 339, a band of 4 cm diameter with rolled ends, is probably early archaic.¹¹⁰ All these styles, however, seem to have continued for long periods and few come from dateable contexts.

5. Inscriptions

The majority of inscriptions are incised on the rims or the handles of the bronze vessels. The podanipter, shallow basins of various sizes, make up the greatest part of the inscribed pieces together with the phialai. From the second half of the seventh century is the earliest dedicatory inscription on a bronze vessel, the bowl dedicated by a --- *metes*. From the first half of the sixth century is the bowl dedicated by Kalias, *Kalias me hab[ro]n[os anetheken]*, only --*phon* remains of the name of a third dedicator.¹¹¹ From around the middle of the sixth century is the handle of a big bowl dedicated by Polykles who signs as *knapheus*. The first *aparchen* inscription is also from this time, IG I³ 554b.¹¹² Timagoras dedicated the big bowl from the end of the century, Thrasykleides the bowl from the beginning of the fifth century. From the same time are dedications by Pythonelos, Hermogenes, Nikas and Hippylos. Kapanis and Meliteia both gave a phiale as *dekaten*, Deisitheos Euthydemos as *aparchen*.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ *Olympia* XIII, 146 note 347. The two older rings are very close to a ring from an eighth century grave near Thebes (Neugebauer)

¹¹⁰ *Olympia* XIII, 217 note 410

¹¹¹ IG I³ 550, 650-600, bowl, ---*metes anethe[ken]*; IG 551, 600-550, bowl, *Kalias me hab[ro]n[os anetheken]* not in De Ridder!; IG I³ 552, 600-550, bowl, --*phon m'anetheken ag{a}lma tathenai{a}*; IG I³ 553, 600-550, bowl, -- *tio huiuns*

¹¹² IG I³ 554, 555-545, big bowl handle, *Polukles anetheken ho knapheus tathenai{a}*; IG I³ 554b, 555-545, vase, *apar]chen [t]athenai{a}*

¹¹³ IG I³ 555, 525-500, big bowl handle, *Timagora m'a[netheke tathenai{a}]?*; IG I³ 556, 500-480, big bowl handle, *Thrasukleides anetheke*; IG I³ 558t, 485-475, big bowl handle, *Puthonelos tathenai{a}*; IG I³ 559, 500-480, phiale, *hermogenes anetheken apa[rch]en [tathe]naai*; IG I³ 560, 500-480, phiale, *Nikas tanetheken tath[ena]i{a}*; IG I³ 561t, 500-480, tripod lekanis, *Hippulos anetheken tathenai{a}*; IG I³ 562, 500-480, long handle of phiale, *Kalikrates anetheken*; IG I³ 564, 500-475, phiale?, *Epigen[es]-*; IG I³ 565, 485-475, phiale, *Kapanis deka[t]en anetheken t'athenai{a}*; IG I³ 567, 475-450, bowl, *Meli[tei]a [m'anethe]k[e]n himation dekaten*; IG I³ 566, 485-475, phiale, *Dechsitheo Euthudemos aparch -- anethete[n] tei Athenai{a}*

Other inscriptions before 480 do not preserve the name of the dedicator, as *IG I³ 557*, a metric inscription in pentameters employing the seldom used *euchsamene*; *dekaten euchsamene* it is also used in the inscription on *IG I³ 570e*. 561 and 569b profess to be *hiera* of Athena, *aparchai* for Athena are claimed by six inscriptions.¹¹⁴

After 480 B.C. is an dedicatory inscription by Poseideios and Athenodoros (?); the two *hieron* inscriptions.¹¹⁵

Four inscriptions are incised on the handles of merry -thought cups. The only preserved name is Smikra.¹¹⁶

Two oinochoae handles were inscribed, both before 480 B.C.; *IG I³ 572* preserves the name of the dedicator, Myrto.¹¹⁷ Four handles almost certainly belong to hydriae. The dedicators were Zenos, Smikythe, Mega[kles?, and Dorotheos.¹¹⁸

Other fragments are too small to attribute with any certainty to any of the vase shapes. 33 fragments fall into this category. 22 are before 480 B.C., only three fragments preserve parts of the dedicators names: Na--, Smi-- and P]amillo[s].¹¹⁹ *Aparchen* is used in two inscriptions, *dekaten* in one.¹²⁰ The majority are *hiera* inscriptions.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ *IG I³ 557*, 500-480, big bowl h., *euchsamene de korai*; *IG I³ 570e*, 500-480, phiale, --d]ekaten *euchs[ame*; *IG I³ 558*, 500-480, big bowl handle, *hieron eimi*; *IG I³ 558b*, 500-480, big bowl h., *ho deina anetheken] tathenaia*; *IG I³ 561*, 500-480, phiale, *hiera Athenaias*; *IG 561b*, 500-480, bowl, *aparche tathen[ai*; *IG 570a*, 500-480, phiale, --pr--[anetheken] *aparchen tathenaia*; *IG I³ 570c*, 500-480, phiale, *anethek[en ap]archen tathenaia*; *IG I³ 570d*, 500-480, phiale, --ap]ar[ch]en *tathe[naia*; *IG I³ 570f*, 500-480, phiale, ---apa]rchen---; *IG I³ 563*, 500-480, phiale handle, ?tes *Athenaias] eimi Keramopoulos 33, n. 3*; *IG 569b*, 500-480, phiale, *hieron tes Athena[ias]*; *IG I³ 570b*, 500-480, phiale, -ane]theke[n--

¹¹⁵ *IG I³ 568*, 470-450, bowl, *hiera Poseideios [?anetheke t'athe]naia[i]*; *IG I³ 569*, 480-470, phiale handle, *hieron tes Athenaias*; *IG I³ 569t*, 485-475, phiale?, *hieron tes A[thenaias]*; *IG I³ 570*, 480-450, phiale?, *Athe]nodoro[s? anethek]en Ath[*

¹¹⁶ *IG I³ 577*, 500-480, merry -thought, *Smikra hiera*; *IG I³ 578*, 485-475, merry-thought, *Athenaias*; *IG I³ 579*, 475-450, merry-thought, *hi]eron tes Athenaias*; *IG I³ 580*, 475-450, merry-thought, *Athenaias eimi*

¹¹⁷ *IG I³ 571*, 500-480, handle oinochoe, *himera Athenaia] anetheke*; *IG 572*, 500-480, handle oinochoe, *Murto m' anetheken tathenai*

¹¹⁸ *IG I³ 573*, 500-480, hydria?, *Zenos er[--- h]autes kai paidon theken agalma --eteon*; *IG I³ 574*, 470-480, hydria?, *[tathenaia anetheke S]mikuthe dekaten*; *IG I³ 575*, 480-470, hydria?, *Mega--edo[.]anethe[k]e / Megakledes*; *IG I³ 576*, 455-445, hydria?, *[t'athen]ai]ai Dorotheos anetheke*

¹¹⁹ *IG I³ 583g*, 500-400, vase, *Na--*; *IG 583h*, 500-400, vase, *Smi--*; *IG 583i*, 500-400, vase, *P?]amillo[j*

¹²⁰ *IG 5 I³ 83j*, 500-480, vase, ---apa]rchen; *IG 583l*, 500-480, vase, --anetheken *a]parche[n t]athenaia*; *IG 583p*, 500-480, phiale?, --d]ekaten

¹²¹ *IG I³ 583r*, 500-480, vase, *hiera eim<i> tej [Athenaias*; *IG 583s*, 505-495, vase, *hieron tei Athenaia*; *IG 583t*, 525-500, vase, *hie]ron tes A[thenai]as*; *IG 583u*, 500-480, vase, *hie]ron tes [Athenaias]*; *IG 583v*, 500-480, f vase, *hieron Athe[naia]*; *IG 583w*, 485-475, f vase, *hier[a or [on*; *IG 583x*, 500-480, f vase, --Athenas---; *IG 583y*, 500-480, vase, --t] *Athen[ai]*; *IG 583z*, 500-480, vase, ---Athen]ai]ai; *IG 583aa*, 500-480, vase, ---Athenaai; *IG 583bb*, 500-480, vase, --Athenaia[s-- ' [I--; *IG 583cc*, 500-480, vase, --A]th e[n]ai]ai; *IG 583dd*, 500-480, vase, --A]thenaia]ai / [ias; *IG 583ee*, 500-480, vase, *A]thenaia / [aias*; *IG 583ff*, 500-480, vase, *ch]ides a[netheke---*

Among the eight fragments dated by their inscription after 480 four preserve the names of the dedicators, Pythagoras, Arche]rmos (?), Androkleides, Ch]arino[s (?).¹²²

The miscellaneous small dedications often seem to have inscriptions attached, as the votive-offering of Phrygia, the bread-seller, who dedicated a small bronze shield.¹²³ She is the lowest class dedicator of a gift recorded on the Acropolis. She might have been a freedwoman or even a slave. Were slaves allowed to give dedications? And why did she give a shield?

¹²² IG I³ 581, 480-450, vase, *o deina anetheken Pu?]thagoro*; IG 582, 475-450, vase, *--rmos a[ne]the[ke--* (Arche]rmos?); IG 583a, 480-450, big basin h., *--andro--/ Andro[kleides anetheken?]*; IG 583b, 480-450, phiale?, *Epich]- Ch]-arino[s? anetheken*; IG 583c, 480-450, phiale?, *--tho t'athenaiai*; IG 583d, 475-450, f vase, *Athen--*; IG 583e, 475-450, vase, *--ena-- / Ath]ena[iai? [ias?*; IG 583f, 475-450, vase, *--na--*; IG 583g, 500-400, vase, *Na--*; IG 583h, 500-400, f vase, *Smi--*; IG 583i, 500-400, vase, *P?]amillo[s*

¹²³ A. G. Bather, *JHS* 13 (1892-1893) pl.7 no. 60; IG I² 444: *Phrygia anetheke m(e t)ath(e)naiai he artopol(is)*

IV. TERRACOTTA DEDICATIONS

As objects of small scale and small intrinsic value the terracotta figurines were probably mainly lost through careless excavation and careless storage. In a letter R. V. Nicholls describes seeing the terracotta objects lying in a heap in the attic of the National Museum, the delicate surfaces flaking. During the development of terracottas different techniques of shaping the clay, heat of the firing process and different qualities of colour were employed and have aided the products of some periods to survive better than others. In particular Early Classical terracottas seem to suffer from poor preservation. Technical changes, the abandonment of almost solid figures to hollow moulding of statuettes, must be the main factor for this. Higgins also suggests that many of the late Archaic pieces were damaged by the fire of the Persian sack so badly that the excavators decided to discard them.

The terracottas were studied in Brooke, where illustrations of many of the pieces mentioned here by number may be found.¹

1. Human Figures

Only few early figurines were found on the Acropolis. They are difficult to date and range from the Mycenaean period to the Archaic, the bulk of terracotta figurines are from the decades before 480 B.C.

The earliest figures are roughly fashioned, a group of over 90 figurines, hand-made, with columnar bodies and rudimentary arms, all apparently now lost.² The type is also found in the Agora and Eleusis and probably dates from about 650 B.C. to the early fifth century. Some figurines with flat hand-made bodies must also be early, although the Acropolis examples are probably all from the sixth century, as the one male figurine and the flute-player AcrM 1215.³

¹ D. Brooke, *Cat. of the Acropolis Museum II* 1921

² B. S. Ridgway, 'Images of Athena on the Akropolis' in *Goddess and Polis*, 1992, 120 and note 3

³ Most are unnumbered, Brooke, 345 and 323 (about 20 pieces)

Terracotta dedications started to grow in numbers in the second half of the sixth century and the last thirty years of the Archaic period saw the volume of offerings reach its height. The numbers of examples from this period easily reached the hundreds. Almost all figurines are 'pre-Persian,' female, of two well-known types either sitting on a throne or standing. The enthroned goddess is dressed in chiton and himation; earrings, folds of the dress and crown are picked out in red paint on the white slip which covers the whole statue. The type has been suggested to imitate the *xoanon*, the oldest and most revered cult statue of Athena on the Acropolis. The woman represents without doubt a goddess, the identification with Athena, however, is by no means certain. The image had travelled widely and is found in many sanctuaries around Greece. Even if we concede that it originated in Athens, the fact that it seems to adapt so easily as dedication for other gods must make any clear identification highly doubtful. The modified type which clearly signals Athena adds the crest of a helmet onto the crown.

The type of the enthroned woman is so frequent in Athens that it is thought to have originated here and many believe that it is modelled on the wooden cult-statue of Athena Polias.⁴ The amorphous shape of the body has been used as a main argument for this theory. The cult-statue would have been clothed in a new peplos at the Panathenaia, if it was indeed a sitting figure the cloth would have been draped over her arms and hands. The lack of detail might equally well have been the result of fast and careless mass-production. The limited detail of the heads already demanded a separate mould, the art of the painter was probably thought better suited to add sufficient quality. The white slip in which the statuettes are covered does not preserve well and the amount of detail picked out in red is not always clear. The best preserved example is AcrM 11670, the crisp red lines define folds and patterns in the dress. The differences in quality become mainly evident in the detail of the heads, the finest piece is AcrM 11809, the only example clearly showing the ears, earrings, the locks of wavy hair and the detail of the face. Comparison with the majority of the other statues clearly shows the number of times a new mould must have been produced by reshaping it on a statuette. In particular the bulging eyes give evidence of this, they must have been cut into the fresh mould to provide at least some of the detail

⁴ Last: B. S. Ridgway, 'Images of Athena on the Akropolis' in *Goddess and Polis*, 1992, 122

lost in the copying process.⁵ The same type is converted into statuettes clearly representing Athena by adding a crest onto the crown and thus transforming it into a helmet as shown on AcrM 111142 and the head AcrM 11142 [*Fig. 124 and 125*].

The type of the standing woman is clearly fashioned with the marble korai in mind. They are dressed in chiton and himation, with a crown. The right hand is raised to the breast and holds a flower or fruit, as AcrM 10727 and 10510 [*Fig. 128*].⁶ This type is very rare outside Athens.⁷

Only few exceptions to these types of statuettes are known from the Acropolis. The most spectacular must be the early bejewelled lady, which was first pieced together from uncatalogued material by R. Higgins and presented in a lecture at the British School in 1953.⁸ The proportions of the statue are almost life size with a shoulder width of about 43 cm and a head width of about 16.5 cm. Torso and head of the figure were wheel-made, the back was then cut off, probably to attach the figure to a throne. The whole figure is coated with a pale cream clay slip, the decoration is painted on with a brownish glaze with the exception of the incised wavy hair which is bright red.

The heads AcrM 12732 and 12731 are less impressive but probably also belonged to statuettes of the kore-type [*Fig. 123*].

Protomes:

The protomes from the Acropolis are clearly abbreviated versions of the seated Athena type. In these cases the body is replaced by a hand-made bust. All examples from the Acropolis are Late Archaic.

Of this period only three figures represent men, one of them clearly Herakles.⁹

More than thirty figurines were apparently parts of dolls.¹⁰

⁵ AcrM 11258, 11358, 11670, 10895 The statuette AcrM 10895 around 500 B.C *LIMC* II, 959, no. 19 ; Brouskari 36

⁶ AcrM 10697, 10726, 10695, 10712, 10727, 10510

⁷ *LIMC* II, 959, no. 20; Brouskari 42. Archaic: Athena not armed; *LIMC* II, 958, no. 13: primitive terracotta statuettes Brooke, 323-324. 346-347. F. Winter, *AA* 8 (1893) 140-141; *idem*, *Typen* III 1, I-VI; 10 Mycenaean, 94 debout, 18 assises; Athena Nike see Travlos, the figures from the Nike Bastion are probably lost.

⁸ The photo he made for this occasion is published by R. V. Nicholls in *Jewellery Studies* 5 (1991 [1992], Studies for Reynold Higgins) 23-28. It has not been possible to trace any of the fragments in recent years.

⁹ AcrM 1049, 1040 and 1441 (the Herakles), Brooke, 397

¹⁰ Brooke, p. 426-429

The abundance of votive terracottas came to an abrupt halt at the very end of the late Archaic period. This interruption in the sequence was not total, a small trickle of terracotta offerings continue through the fifth century and in the Tanagra Style, when there was even a minor revival. These styles, however are merely represented by a handful of dedications.

2. Terracotta plaques

Ergane:

The young girl in a chiton sitting on a high bench and spinning seems to have been almost universally accepted as an image of Athena. No attribute betrays the figure as the goddess, it is the find-place, Athena's sanctuary, and her well-attested connection to weaving that has suggested the identification.¹¹ The cloth-turban the girl wears on AcrM 13055 is very atypical as a head-dress for Athena, the dangling legs on the high couch are no more dignified. The stephane on another version, AcrM 13057, gives the image a more solemn character. Nonetheless, the presence of loom-weights, epinetra and numerous depictions of women weaving on plaques and other pottery-shapes makes it very possible that here also ordinary women are shown practising the art learned from the goddess, or perhaps even one of the honoured women selected to participate in the weaving of Athena's peplos is commemorated in this special way.

Promachos

Athena is shown fully armed on a relief from the beginning of the fifth century, AcrM 13058. She appears in profile, the gorgoneion on her breast; her left arm is slightly raised as on the chariot-reliefs where she holds the reins, the rounded back, however, rather suggests a sitting position¹²

¹¹ LIMC II, 959, no. 43 (962) plaque Brouskari 42-43 fig 65 around 500.

¹² LIMC II, 959, no. 134 (971) statuette around 500 Brooke, 372-379

In Chariot:

At least five plaque fragments show the fully armed Athena mounting her chariot.¹³ The best preserved, AcrM 12992, shows the owl hovering over the car and AcrM 12982 which preserves most of Athena and a big round shield she is using in this version [Fig. 127]. None of the fragments shows the horses, only Athena and the car are placed in the picture.¹⁴ AcrM 12993 is a splendid example of the fine and delicate finish at least some of the plaques received; in particular the scales of the aegis are elaborately drawn and coloured [Fig. 126].

Polias

At the end of sixth century Athena is also shown seated in Ionian costume with stephane, a cup in her right hand.¹⁵

Other:

From around 500 B.C. is the small relief AcrM 13075, depicting Herakles fighting the Nemean lion. The small fragment AcrM 13085 is much earlier, from the beginning of the sixth century; only one panel surrounded by a decorated border and filled with the image of a lion is preserved. This piece might have been part of a handle.

¹³ AcrM 12990, 12992, 12993, 12982, 13029

¹⁴ LIMC II, 959, no. 176 (974) around 500, Brouskari 42

¹⁵ AcrM 13037-13038; LIMC II, 959, no. 16

3. Animals

Horses, sometimes moulded with a rider, are common from about 700 to the early fifth century.¹⁶ Like the early female statuettes they are also found at Eleusis and in the Agora. Other animals are cows, lions, birds, a snake and two monkeys.¹⁷

¹⁶ AcrM 1228, 1237, 1244

¹⁷ Brooke, 429-431

V. IVORIES

This is the shortest chapter in the thesis, and it comes perhaps to many as a surprise that any ivories were found on the Acropolis at all. Only two post-Bronze Age pieces are known, they were inventoried with the bronzes of the National Museum and thus escaped attention.¹

The rectangular plaque with the cowering animal is an Etruscan import [*Fig. 129*].² A left arm was perhaps once part of a small chryselephantine statue [*Fig. 130*].³

¹ Tsountas, *ArchEph* (1887), 171-2; J. C. Poursat, *Catalogue des ivoires Mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes*, 1977, pl. LIII no. 495 and 496

² no. 7221; see M. Martelli, 'Scrigmi etruschi tardo-archaici dall'Acropoli di Atene e dall'Iliria' *Prospettiva* 53-56 (1988/89) 17-24

³ no. 7222

VI. TEMPLE INVENTORIES

Temple inventories give us lists of dedications not otherwise accounted for. Valuable metal objects, wooden furniture or musical instruments are among the many items whose presence in the treasury of Athena is only attested here. The treasurers of Athena began recording the inventories on stone stelai in 434/3 B.C. Before that date inventories were probably only recorded on papyrus or wooden stelai. It is very likely that even after 434/3 B.C. the inventories were initially recorded on these perishable materials and then copied onto stone stelai.¹ It has long been suspected that stone copies were selective representatives of original lists.² But it is doubtful if even the comprehensive inventories recorded dedications of small value - if they were kept with the expensive objects. The treasurers would only be held accountable for the expensive objects intended to enhance the sanctuary on a permanent basis. The inventories were made yearly and over 200 fragments of the stelai have survived. The majority of these fragments were found on the Acropolis. Further pieces have been brought to light in the excavations of the Agora and the North Slope, and even Athenian marble dumps, modern house demolition and private collections have yielded fragments.³

The descriptions of the dedications are usually not very explicit. Precious metal objects are recorded with their weight. Further identifying remarks are only made when dedications of the same shape might be confused.

The last annual inventories of the treasures of Athena were made around 300 B.C.

The inventories list all the valuable possessions of Athena in her temple. Thus functional religious items and furniture are recorded together with dedications which were clearly given by individuals or groups. Do we also have to regard functional objects as dedications? Many of the items might even have been given by individuals or paid for with

¹ J. Tréheux, 'Études critiques sur les inventaires de l'indépendance délienne' (manuscrite, Thèse lettres) (1959) 266-71

² E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (1972) 100; cf. A. Boegehold, 'The Establishment of a Central Archive in Athens' *AJA* 76 (1972) 24; G. Klaffenbach, 'Bemerkungen zum griechischen Urkundenwesen' *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1960) 21

³ Harris, *Treasures*, 22

money dedicated to Athena. Dedicators are known to have dedicated objects for specific cult functions.⁴ Were objects bought with sanctuary funds or public money seen differently from other dedications? The temple, the house of the goddess, is, after all, financed by public money and dedicated.

The inventory lists give enough clues to put them into chronological order. The time between the dedication of an object and its first appearance in an inventory can only be pinpointed in the few cases when the Archon's name of the year of dedication is used as the identifying mark for the object. A silver phiale in the Erechtheion, for example, was first recorded six years after its donation, a gold wreath 22 years.⁵

Harris, *Treasures* is an essential companion for this section.

1. The Rooms in the Parthenon

The first inventory, made in 434/3, four years after the Parthenon was dedicated, already lists an astonishing amount of items for all rooms of the temple.⁶ During the first thirty years separate stelai were used for the four rooms associated with the Parthenon: the Pronaos, the Hekatompedon, the Parthenon room and the Opisthodomos [Fig. 131].⁷

According to the inventories the main storage room was the Parthenon room situated at the rear of the building [Fig. 132]. Here the substantial number of furnishings for the new temple was itemised: more than 50 items of furniture are listed on the first inventory. Chian and Milesian couches, thrones, stools and campstools, silver-overlaid feet for couches and an ivory table, two gilt-wood baskets and a gilt-wood box. No other inventory list sees an equal amount of new acquisitions of furniture and these have either been dedicated with the need of the new temple in mind or were specially commissioned.⁸ Another group of items was probably kept for ritual purposes. This is most certainly true

⁴ Phanodikos of Prokonnesos gave the citizens of Sigeion a mixing-bowl, a stand and a strainer for use in the prytaneion, as recorded on the 6th century stele, now in the BM, G. M. A. Richter, *AGSA* (1961) no. 53; L.H. Jeffery, 'Lordly Tombs: an Epigraphic Sidelight on Archaic Attic Society', *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, I (1984) 53-4

⁵ *IG* II², 1472 lines 10-15 (after 319/8), dedicated in the year of Antikles [325/4]; *IG* II², 1424a lines 353-4, dedicated in the archonship of Euboulides [394/3]

⁶ *IG* I³, 343-6 for the Parthenon (434/3 to 431/0), *IG* I³, 292-5 for the Pronaos (434/3 to 431/0), *IG* I³, 317-24 for the Hekatompedon (434/3 to 427/6)

⁷ For a discussion of the difficulties of naming the rooms of the Parthenon see Chapter II.

⁸ See also Harris, *Treasures* 27

for the gold phiale listed on the Pronaos stele which was explicitly described as used for lustrations. No such epithet has been used for the numerous other phialai found in the Pronaos lists, like the staggering number of 104 silver phialai, itemised as one group.⁹ Phialai were also listed on the Hekatompedon and Parthenon stelai. Among the few things kept in the Hekatompedon are three big gold phialai; the Parthenon list contains a further, considerably smaller, five and an unknown number of silver phialai. The Pronaos only housed drinking vessels. In addition to the phialai silver drinking horns and silver drinking cups (three of each) and a small, gilt wood goblet are listed on the stelai. In particular the set of silver phialai in the Pronaos invite the idea that they were placed in the first room in the temple to be used for libations or lustrations. They might have been specially commissioned for this purpose. Drinking vessels, however, are attested as popular dedications by individuals throughout the centuries and the phialai on the lists might be the accumulation of several years worth of dedications made before the dedication of the Parthenon. The same problems are attached to a variety of objects which can be linked to the rituals of worship. Knives might have been used for sacrifices, the eight lyres, three of which were made of ivory, might have served in rituals requiring musical accompaniment, and the gilt-wood incense-burner and the silver lustral basin seem to belong to the religious furnishing of the temple.

Another substantial group of dedications kept in the Parthenon were arms. Helmets (one of which was gold-plated), breast-plates, 31 brazen shields and six with blazons, Persian daggers, sabres and swords, represent spoils of war which, in particular in the case of the daggers, might go back as far as the Persian wars.

The arms are not the only dedications which might have been among the treasures of Athena for a long time before being transferred into the Parthenon. The oldest votives listed in the inventories might be a group of gilt protomes in various shapes (horse, griffin, lions head, flowery wreath and snake), which are probably rightly identified as attachments of bronze cauldrons, perhaps of the orientalizing period. Two gold korai, one in the Hekatompedon, one in the Parthenon, most likely belong in the archaic period when the type was fashionable in marble.

⁹ Harris, *Treasures*, 65

Finally a few odd items remain to be explained. The most puzzling of these must be the two gilt-silver nails, or elaborate studs. With a weight of 184 dr. they were of substantial size. The softness of the silver and the gilding seems to exclude most of the usual uses for nails and point to an ornamental rather than mere practical use. Could they have been 'finishing touches' for big projects such as a temple?

The offering of twelve golden stalks might be more easily explained. When the Great Panathenaia turned into the festival *par excellence* of the Athenian empire, the Erythraians as Athenian allies were required to make an offering of grain for the festival. Might the golden stalks be a more permanent dedication of the Erythraians to commemorate their (first?) Panathenaic offering?

I have no plausible explanation of a silver-gilt mask. Perhaps it was a token of success like the gold wreath which was probably won in a contest.

The oddest piece, however, is without doubt a gold goblet with a silver base which according to the inventory was dedicated to Herakles in Elaious. Was it possible to offer a dedication to Herakles in the sanctuary of Athena because of their close relationship?

All these dedications can be traced through the years on the annual inventories. The Pronaos remains exclusively used for the storage of drinking vessels. The inventories show a moderate but steady increase in treasures until all vessels were melted at the end of the Peloponnesian war in 408/8. The Pronaos was not used as a storage room after this date.

The majority of new dedications are silver vessels. The group of 113 silver phialai is increased to 121 by 431/0 and other phialai are added in 429/8 (seven vessels), in 428/7 (two), in 427/6 (four), in 426/5 (seven), in 425/4 (four), in 424/3 (seven), in 423/2 (three), in 419/8 (five), in 418/7 (three).¹⁰ If we are right in assuming that the items simply named 'silver piece' (*arguris*) are also phialai the series continues through the following years with another two phialai in 419/8, one in 418/7, four in 417/6, one in 416/7, four in 415/6, three in 414/3, and one in 413/12.¹¹ The three silver drinking cups listed in 434/3 are

¹⁰ *IG I³*, 296 lines 6-7. They first appear in *IG I³*, 297 line 22; *IG I³*, 298 lines 35-6; *IG I³*, 299 line 50; *IG I³*, 300 line 12; *IG I³*, 301 lines 25-6; *IG I³*, 302 lines 36-7; *IG I³*, 303 lines 48-9; *IG I³*, 304 line 15; *IG I³*, 305 lines 16-17

¹¹ Probably phialai in 419/8: *IG I³*, 304 lines 15-16 and 16-17; 418/17: *IG I³*, 305 lines 19-20; 417/16: *IG I³*, 306 line 40; 416/5: *IG I³*, 307 line 62; 415/4: *IG I³*, 302 lines 80-1; 414/13: *IG I³*, 309 line 17; 413/12: *IG I³*, 310 line 34

increased to four in 430/29 and to five in 429/8.¹² In 427/6 Chalkidian a drinking cup is added. Could this be war booty?¹³ The number of cups is increased by one each in 425/4, in 423/2, in 419/8, and in 418/7.¹⁴ A silver wine cup is added in 417/6.¹⁵ The three drinking-horns already listed in the first inventory are not augmented.¹⁶ A second silver lamp was dedicated in 423/2.¹⁷ Only two items are not listed until 408/7: the small gilt wood goblet is already omitted after the 432/1 inventory¹⁸ and the gold phiale from which illustrations were made appears last in 414/3.

The only item recorded in the Pronaos the year after the melting of the vessels (407/6) is a golden wreath, first listed in 429/8.¹⁹

Inventories of the Parthenon were made for over a hundred years after the Pronaos ceased to be used for storage of treasure. The objects listed on the first inventory are recorded for an astonishingly long time. In particular the original items of furniture are kept longer than we might have expected. The ivory-inlaid table was last recorded in 330/29, over a century after it was listed in the first inventory.²⁰ The klinai show earlier signs of disrepair. The Milesian klinai were recorded as being in need of repair from 374/3 onwards and were finally dropped from the inventories after 368/7 together with the seven Chian klinai.²¹ The six thrones were already not listed after the 397/6 inventory. The stools, however, had the shortest life-span. The four stools, the nine campstools and the thirteen feet for couches were probably disposed of in 412/11. Only the campstools seem to have been replaced by ten new ones in 374/3.²² The gilt-wood baskets share the same life-span as the stools, and the gilt-wood box was probably disposed of with the thrones.²³ Weapons and arms were also dropped from the inventory at the two dates. In 412/11 the six Persian daggers, four swords, a gold-plated helmet, 31 brazen shields, six shields with

¹² *IG I³*, 292 lines 8-9; *IG I³*, 296 lines 7-8; *IG I³*, 297 line 19-20

¹³ Harris, *Treasures*, 77-8

¹⁴ *IG I³*, 301 lines 25-6; *IG I³*, 303 lines 48-9 *IG I³*, 304 line 17, *IG I³*, 305 lines 19-20

¹⁵ *IG I³*, 306 lines 40-1

¹⁶ *IG I³*, 292 lines 7-8

¹⁷ Original: *IG I³*, 292 line 9; second: *IG I³*, 303 line 49

¹⁸ Last listed in *IG I³*, 294 lines 33-4

¹⁹ *IG I³*, lines 22-3

²⁰ First in *IG I³*, 343 line 15; last in *IG II²*, 1460 lines 4-5 [Hekatompedon]

²¹ The ten Milesian klinai were first mentioned in *IG I³*, 343 line 13; the disrepair recorded in *IG II²*, 1421 lines 109-10 and last in *IG II²*, 1425 lines 217-18. Chian klinai last in *IG II²*, 1428 line 203

²² Thrones *IG II²*, 1394 line 16; stools *IG I³*, 357 line 68; campstools *IG I³*, 357 line 68; feet for couches *IG I³*, 357 line 69; replacement campstools *IG II²*, 1421 line 111 and last *IG II²*, 1460 lines 9-10

²³ Baskets last in *IG I³*, 357 line 63; box in *IG II²*, 1428 line 226

blazons, the 13 gilt-wood shields, and the two gilt-wood shields (only added to the list in 428/7), were recorded for the last time.²⁴ The shields with blazons might have been preserved and counted again in 384/3 when the item '33 shields with blazons' first appears. Slightly confused variations on this are listed until after 330.²⁵ In 367/6 three bronze helmets were last listed on the inventory, together with nine sabres, 16 breast-plates (two only dedicated in 428/7), the Persian gold-overlaid dagger, also dedicated in 428/7, a light bronze shield dedicated in the same year, a shield and an Illyrian helmet, both from Lesbos and dedicated in 427/6.²⁶ The light bronze shield might have reappeared on the inventory of 304/3.²⁷ If Harris' identification is correct the changes in the inventories in 412/1 and 367/6 are probably more due to the revaluing of the items of the treasurers than to the physical disposal of the dedications. However, many items dedicated in 434/3 (or even earlier) must have been well past their prime, as the repeated labelling of the Milesian couches as in need of repair, makes clear. Can it really be only coincidence that the dedications were dropped from the inventory when they were also starting to fall into disrepair? Perhaps even a combination of physical restructuring of the storerooms and change in preparing the lists caused the inventories to be so diminished after 412/1 and 367/6.

The two dates also recur in the last records of other objects. The gilt kore is last listed in 412/1, and so is the silver-gilt mask and the two silver-gilt nails.²⁸ The gorgoneion and the gilt protomes are not recorded after 367/6.²⁹ Most lyres are also listed until that date: the four ivory lyres (the fourth was dedicated in 431/0), and the five wooden ones (the fifth first appears in 368/9). The gilded ivory aulos case from Methymna was only dedicated in 427/6 and is last listed in 349/8.³⁰

A few items of jewellery are recorded in the Parthenon. The earliest piece is a gold ring with an onyx which was first recorded in 422/1 and appears until 398/7. In 414/3 two

²⁴ Persian daggers last in *IG I³*, 357 line 62; swords *IG I³*, 357 line 67; helmet *IG I³*, 357 lines 65-6; shields *IG I³*, 357 line 67; shields with blazons *IG I³*, 357 line 67; gilt-wood shields *IG I³*, 357 line 66; two gilt-wood *IG I³*, 357 line 70

²⁵ *IG II²*, 1501 lines 20-1?; see also Harris, *Treasures*, 85-6

²⁶ Bronze helmets *IG II²*, 1425 line 259; sabres *IG II²*, 1428 line 203; breast-plates *IG II²*, 1428 line 205; dagger *IG II²*, 1428 line 222; light shield *IG II²*, 1434 add. p. 809 line 8; Lesbos shield *IG II²*, 1428 line 213 and helmet *IG II²*, 1434 line 13

²⁷ *IG II²*, 1473 lines 9-10; Harris, *Treasures*, 87

²⁸ Kore *IG I³*, 357 lines 63-4; mask *IG I³*, 357 line 61; nails *IG I³*, 357 lines 60-1

²⁹ Gorgoneion *IG II²*, 1428 lines 198-9; protomes *IG II²*, 1428 lines 199-202

³⁰ Ivory *IG II²*, 1434 line 9; wood *IG II²*, 1428 line 210; ivory case *IG II²*, 1463 line 11

chains and a golden olive branch are listed, then only recorded for six years. Earrings are recorded in 412/1. In 408/7 several items of jewellery were dedicated: a small and a large gold necklace set with stones and rosettes (listed until 395/4) and a gold belt (only recorded in the one year). In the next year the number of items is again increased, five wide collars (with stones attached to a leather band), two gold earrings set with stones were listed in 407/6 and appear last in 395/4.

The Parthenon inventory also records six gold wreaths. Only one was listed in the first inventory, all others were dedicated in 422/1 and were last listed around 410/9.

Like the Pronaos the Parthenon housed a great number of silver vessels. The phialai are again the most popular shape. A group of 138 weighed together with a drinking horn probably goes back to 434/3. A further eight silver phialai were added in 427/6. Five gold phialai were recorded in 434/3.

The item recorded for the longest time is the bunch of gold wheat stalks, listed until 304/3.³¹

The largest room in the Parthenon was the Hekatompedon, in which the chryselephantine statue of Athena was displayed. In the first decades, however, this space was only very sparsely filled. A gold kore, a silver lustral basin and three gold phialai were the only dedications recorded in 434/3, and only few items are added in the decades until the end of the century.

The ever increasing group of gold wreaths seem to be the most regular items added to the lists, and we are particularly fortunate to find references to the dedicators and the origin of the dedication on most wreaths dedicated in the fourth century. Only one silver wreath is recorded in the Hekatompedon (in 385/4 B.C.),³² all other wreaths are without exception gold. And all wreaths (with only one exception in the Pronaos) were kept in the Hekatompedon. In 432/1 B.C. the first two gold wreaths were listed on the Hekatompedon stele, and in 422/1 B.C. a further seven were recorded: three wreaths listed separately and a group of four listed as one item.³³ Another wreath was added in 419/18, three in 418/7,

³¹ *JG* II², 1485, add. p. 810 line 55

³² *JG* II², 1407+1414 line 30 and 1420 line 5

³³ 432/1: *JG* I³, 319 line 20; 422/1: *JG* I³, 325 line 9; *JG* I³, 325 line 11; *JG* I³, 325 line 9-10; four wreaths: *JG* I³, line 10

two in 417/6 and one each in 416/5, 415/4, 414/3 and 409/8 B.C.³⁴ Seven wreaths are already dropped from the lists in 411/10, eight are excluded after 409/8 B.C., and the last two are omitted from the records the year after that.

A new wreath, set with stones, was dedicated in 403/2 and kept listed until 395/4 B.C. The record for the following year is for the first time more explicit: one gold wreath listed for this year is described as prize-dedication to the goddess and another wreath was for the first time recorded with the name of its dedicator, Aristomache, daughter of Aristokles. In 401/0 B.C. three wreaths were listed with the names of their dedicators; one was given by Lysander of Sparta, son of Aristokritos, and two olive-wreaths, dedicated by Gelon of Pellena, son of Tlesonides and by Hierokles of Phaselis appear in the lists until 385/4 B.C.³⁵

Another 'prize dedication' was listed from 398/7 to 385/4 B.C. In the 385/4 B.C. list, and only appearing in that year, were two wreaths dedicated 'in the year of Euboulides (394/3 B.C.)' and 'in the year of Demostratos (390/89 B.C.)' and another prize-dedication.³⁶

A prize-dedication made 'in the year of Phrasikleides' (371/0) and yearly wreaths from the archonship of Lysistratos (369/8) to Thoudemos (353/2) were all listed in 350/49 and the year after.³⁷ A gold wreath of Athena Nike, also from the archonship of Thoudemos, and two wreaths without date of dedication appear on the list of 350/49 B.C.³⁸ Yearly wreaths are given in the year of archonship of Theophilos (348/7) and Themistokles (347/6 B.C.).³⁹ An unspecified number of wreaths awarded for the tragedies at the Dionysia in the archonship of Philokles (322/1 B.C.). Most wreaths are only recorded in one year, together with the name of the individual or demos dedicating the wreath. Thus 11 wreaths are listed in 368/7,⁴⁰ 9 wreaths in 350/49,⁴¹ four wreaths in 347/6 B.C.⁴² and 15

³⁴ 419/8 *IG I³*, 328 line 48; 418/7: *IG I³*, 329 line 13-14; *IG I³*, 329 line 14; *IG I³*, line 14-15; 417/6: *IG I³*, 330 lines 29-30; 416/7: *IG I³*, 331 lines 44-5; 415/4: *IG I³*, 332 line 60; 414/3: *IG I³*, 333 lines 14-15; 409/8: *IG I³*, 339 line 14

³⁵ *IG II²*, 1373 line 9; prize-dedication: *IG II²*, 1402 lines 1-2?; Lysander: *IG II²*, 1386 lines 2-4; Gelon: *IG II²*, 1386 lines 6-7; Hierokles: *IG II²*, 1386 lines 7-9

³⁶ 398/7: *IG II²*, 1388 lines 66-67; *IG II²*, 1407 lines 28-9

³⁷ *IG II²*, 1436 lines 9-10; *IG II²*, 1436 lines 9-10, 3-4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21-2, 23, 24, 25-6, 10-11, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31-2, 33, 34

³⁸ Athena Nike: *IG II²*, 1438 line 21; *IG II²*, 1437 [*Hesperia* 7 (1938) 288] line 35; *IG II²*, 1437 line 36

³⁹ *IG II²*, 1441 line 5 and 4

⁴⁰ *IG II²*, 1425 lines 119-20; 1425 lines 221-3; 1425 line 123; 1425 line 124; 1425 line 125; 1425 lines 227-9; 1425 lines 230-1; 1425 lines 126-7; 1425 lines 128-30; 1425 lines 224-6; 1425 lines 131-2

wreaths in 344/3 B.C.⁴³ Three wreaths given by the demos of the Athenians are listed in 321/0.⁴⁴ In the same year a gold wreath used to crown the hipparchs at the Greater Dionysia was dedicated (as the record in 315/4 B.C. attests) and the same stele records two more wreaths.⁴⁵ After 313/12 B.C. two dedications to Artemis Brauronia were recorded.⁴⁶

The astonishing number of 84 wreaths is listed only on one stele, in a year after 318/7 B.C. might actually be the total sum of all wreaths listed on previous stelai.⁴⁷

In 304/3 B.C., finally, a new order is imposed on the listing of the wreath: they are marked with letters of the alphabet and listed with the dedicators' names, a mixture of demoi and individuals.⁴⁸ Another set of 17 was numbered alphabetically, the names of the dedicators and their origins had been lost.⁴⁹

2. *Opisthodomos*

The Opisthodomos was first put to use in 435 B.C., two years before the building work on the Parthenon was officially finished, when the treasures of Athena and the other gods were moved into the chamber. Initially these were stored on different sides of the room.⁵⁰ This is usually cited as evidence for assuming a separate building for the Opisthodomos on the restored western rooms of the foundations of the Old Temple of Athena. The rear chamber of the temple had a split cella and would have been naturally adaptable to serve two sets of treasures. However, the possessions of Athena and the other Gods stored in the Opisthodomos in the fifth century when the arrangement was made

⁴¹ *IG* II², 1437 lines 18-19; 1437 lines 16-17; 1437 lines 12-13; 1437 lines 14-15; 1437 lines 20-1; 1436 lines 35-6; 1437 lines 24-5; 1437 lines 26-7; 1437 line 34

⁴² *IG* II², 1441 lines 16-18; 1441 lines 6-7; 1441 lines 10-11; 1441 lines 8-9

⁴³ *IG* II², 1443 lines 104-6; 1443 lines 100-2; 1443 lines 119-121; 1443 lines 117-9; 1443 lines 95-7; 1443 lines 93-5; 1443 lines 112-4; 1443 lines 121-22; 1443 lines 114-5; 1443 lines 91-3; 1443 lines 89-90; 1443 lines 110-12; 1443 lines 108-10; 1443 lines 106-8; 1443 lines 116-7

⁴⁴ *IG* II², 1468 lines 12-19

⁴⁵ *IG* II², 1479 lines 8-11; *IG* II², 1479 lines 4-6; 1479 lines 21-3

⁴⁶ *IG* II², 1480 lines 15-16; 1480 lines 12-14

⁴⁷ *IG* II², 1474 lines 4-5

⁴⁸ *IG* II², 1486 lines 5-7, 7-10, 10-12, 12-14, 21-4, 25-7, 27-30, 31-3, 1-2; *IG* II², 1477 lines 19-50

⁴⁹ *IG* II², 1477 [*Hesperia* 40 (1971) 449-50] lines 19-50

⁵⁰ *IG* I³, 52 (the Kallias decrees); (first: W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 51 (1947) 140; Harris, *Treasures*, 40 with earlier literature).

seem to have consisted mainly of money.⁵¹ A strong-box on either side of a big room should have served the purpose well enough.

From 399/3 B.C. dedications seem to have been moved from the Opisthodomos to the Hekatompedon. The room never seems to have contained many items and the inventory was tagged onto the list of the dedications in the Hekatompedon without a clear indication where the objects really belonged. The years after 385 B.C. are particularly confusing.⁵² Out of a hundred different items recorded in the Opisthodomos more than twenty appear on the Hekatompedon lists. The earliest inventory of the Opisthodomos is the very damaged inscription from 403/2. It lists a gilded bronze basket with a Zeus, two gilded incense-burners, one with a decoration of curvy petals, the other with straight petals, and some unknown items in a seventh container. All of these were moved to the Hekatompedon before the inventory in 399/8 B.C. where they appear under the heading 'from the Opisthodomos.' This heading is kept until 382/1 B.C. when the items were amalgamated with the Hekatompedon treasure and appears again on the list of 315/4 B.C. when new items were moved.⁵³ The dedications from the Opisthodomos inventoried in the Hekatompedon consisted of another basket, this time gilded wood and apparently filled with ivory figurines.⁵⁴ Other precious items include a few pieces of jewellery, two bracelets made of stone beads,⁵⁵ eleven stone seals and another eight set in gold rings, two gold seals without rings⁵⁶ and two lumps of gold worth 21 drachmas, 5 obols.⁵⁷ Altogether four incense burners were moved, the two gild bronze burners and two made of silver on wood, the second decorated with a Nike.⁵⁸ Two silver wine-jugs,⁵⁹ a gold krater and a set of 8 gold phialai 'of the goddess.'⁶⁰ A lump of gold weighing 43 drachmas was only moved into the Hekatompedon in 375/4 B.C.⁶¹

⁵¹ The Eleusinian money was stored in a bronze box on the fourth shelf (*IG I³*, 386; 408-7 B.C.) and in 426-422 the Opisthodomos is referred to as a place where money was kept (*IG I³*, 369); see also Harris, *Treasures*, 41.

⁵² Harris, *Treasures*, 41; in particular *IG II²*, 1417, 1418.

⁵³ Beginning fourth cent.; 399/8; 398/7; 385/4; 382/1 and again 315/4 B.C. (Harris, *Treasures*, 41).

⁵⁴ *IG II²*, 1378, line 13 and probably the same item repeated from 1414 line 20 onwards.

⁵⁵ *IG II²*, 1378 and 1398, line 17-18

⁵⁶ *IG II²*, 1398 lines 9-10

⁵⁷ *IG II²*, 1378 lines 16-17

⁵⁸ gilded bronze: *IG II²*, 1399 lines 7-8 and 8-9; silver on wood: *IG II²*, 1378 + 1398 lines 14-15 and 19-20

⁵⁹ *IG II²*, 1392 line 18 and 1378-1398

⁶⁰ *IG II²*, 1398 lines 7-9 and 1396 lines 26-28

⁶¹ *IG II²*, 1415 line 5

Some items only appear on the lists of the Opisthodomos. Coins of various origin were listed here. An unknown number of drachmae is recorded in an inscription from before 350 B.C.,⁶² a coin from Phokaia was kept in the second half of the century,⁶³ an unknown number of silver pieces overlaid with gold,⁶⁴ twenty pieces of uncoined silver and gold pieces given to the two goddesses, Demeter and Kore, appear in several of the inventories.⁶⁵ The coins and small items were perhaps kept in the seven containers counted in 403/2 B.C. and 401/0 B.C.⁶⁶ In 397/6 B.C. a stone container and an ivory container are added to the lists. Next to the coins the most precious dedications in the Opisthodomos were the phialai. In 376/5 twenty phialai were counted each on the first and second shelf, and perhaps also on the third where the inscription breaks off.⁶⁷ They were weighed together and certainly appear more like reserve bullion, as Harris suggests, than beautifully presented dedications.⁶⁸ More phialai were dedicated yearly from the archonship of Alkisthenes to Kallimedes (372-360 B.C.).⁶⁹ They might have been a yearly rent or tithe. Presumably these phialai were all made of silver. The gold phiale recorded in 376 and the tin phiale recorded in 341 were clearly exceptions.⁷⁰ The small boxes seem to have been well suited to preserve the names of the dedicators of the various items kept in this fashion. A box from Brauron with equestrian head-gear and reins, was dedicated by Xenotimos, son of Karkinos, and might perhaps have been a gift to Artemis.⁷¹ Another box contained assorted jewellery of the cheaper kind, two pairs of earrings made of gilded wood, and five made of tin, gilt-wood apples, eight iron rings, two chains, a necklace, and a glass seal.

Other containers might have been open baskets as the six bronze baskets listed in the inscription before 350 B.C.⁷² The treasurers noted that the six bronze baskets were corroded, which probably made them unsuitable for the storage of more delicate items.⁷³

⁶² *IG II²*, 1453 line 7

⁶³ *IG II²*, 1457 line 5 (last inventoried in 316/5)

⁶⁴ *IG II²*, 1445 line 15

⁶⁵ *IG II²*, 1445 line 34 and 36 (376/5)

⁶⁶ *IG II²*, 1399 lines 4-5; EM 12392 [*Hesperia* 7 (1938) 272-4]

⁶⁷ *IG II²*, 1445 lines 31-4

⁶⁸ Harris, *Treasures*, 63

⁶⁹ Harris, *Treasures*, 59-60, nos. 86-96

⁷⁰ *IG II²*, 1445 line 13, 1455 line 31

⁷¹ *IG II²*, 1388 lines 73-4

⁷² *IG II²*, 1388 lines 75-9

⁷³ *IG II²*, 1435 lines 6-7

Another set of expensive items were the ivory pieces. The Opisthodomos lists only broken oddments, two figurines from thrones and two ivory hands, presumably once part of a chryselephantine statue.⁷⁴ Even one of the three ivory aulos-cases was apparently unusable and only one box contained the instrument it was intended for, the dedication of Thaumarete, wife of Timonides, held an ivory lyre and ivory plectrum.⁷⁵ Other everyday objects in precious materials include a hair-net in purple, a weighing beam with silver-gilt scales, a gold muzzle.⁷⁶

Apart from the money which was stored in their name Demeter and Kore had items from the Metroon stored in the Opisthodomos. These dedications were apparently not in good condition.⁷⁷ Another dedication to the two goddesses was an unknown item made of stone.⁷⁸ Dedications recorded as possessions of Artemis Brauronia are items of jewellery, four seal rings, bound in silver and one made of jasper and a silver-plated *pentorobos*.⁷⁹

Some pieces inventoried for the Hekatompedon later appear again in the Opisthodomos lists, as the cursed mixed gold,⁸⁰ the 25 counterfeit pieces from Eleusis,⁸¹ or the gold plate.⁸² A painted box was dedicated by Kleito, wife of Aristokrates, son of Oulios, son of Kimon. Inside was a small treasure of assorted jewellery, a gold ring with seal stone dedicated by Dexilla and other jewellery, three neckbands with gold pieces, a choker with gold pieces, two coloured glass seals with gold chains, a gold ring with an onyx, a gold ring with a glass seal, a jasper seal set in gold, two seals in silver rings, seven coloured glass or, if we trust the judgement of the later treasurers, rock-crystal seals set in gold, a seal set in gold, a necklace and more where the inscription breaks off.⁸³ A leather bag contained miscellaneous items in silver, bronze, overlaid wood, gilt, and silver overlay. The bag was sealed with a public seal.⁸⁴

⁷⁴ IG II², 1424 lines 116 and 117

⁷⁵ IG II², 1388 line 75, 1447 line 10, 1461 line 13, 1388 lines 79-80

⁷⁶ IG II², 1448 line 4, line 7, line 11

⁷⁷ IG II², 1445 lines 24-8

⁷⁸ IG II², 1447 line 21

⁷⁹ IG II², 1447 lines 24-5, 25-6, 26-7, 29-30

⁸⁰ IG II², 1401 lines 26-7 (Hekatompedon) and 1453 lines 2-3 (Opisthodomos)

⁸¹ IG II², 1338 lines 53-4 (Hekatompedon) and 1445 line 17 (Opisthodomos)

⁸² IG II², 1377 lines 20-1 (Hekatompedon) and 1447 lines 23-4 (Opisthodomos)

⁸³ IG II², 1396 lines 23-4 (Hekatompedon) and 1400 lines 65-71 (Opisthodomos)

⁸⁴ IG II², 1396 lines 23-4 (Hekatompedon) and 1400 lines 65-71 (Opisthodomos)

The Opisthodomos also contained broken pieces of decoration of the Hekatompedon doors.⁸⁵ The bronze nails overlaid with gold listed in 350 B.C. might have belonged to the temple doors or the furniture. From the inventory in 371/0 B.C. we know that four iron anvils, two hammers and 22 dies were kept in the Opisthodomos.⁸⁶ The dies suggest that these tools were primarily used for coinage. They might also suggest a makeshift workshop in the Opisthodomos, if we recall the broken and corroded items listed in the inventories perhaps specifically brought here for repair. The Opisthodomos was probably not intended as a showcase of valuable dedications. This is also indicated by the box of over 300 arrows which suggests that one of the functions of the room was the storage of practical and necessary items such as weapons.⁸⁷ The arrows might, of course, have been dedications.

3. *The Erechtheion*

The building work on the Erechtheion or *Archaïos Neos*, as it should perhaps better be known,⁸⁸ was probably finished in 408 B.C. A fire in 406 B.C. turned it again into a building site, restorations were still made in 395 B.C. The treasures in the Erechtheion were inventoried between 376/5 B.C. and 307/6 B.C. The number of items listed was not overwhelmingly great, the objects seem, however, particularly fine.

The most remarkable group of objects was the jewellery worn by the statue of Athena. The adornments, first recorded in 375/4 B.C., consisted of a gold circlet, earrings, a band around her neck, five necklaces, a golden owl, a gold aegis, a gold gorgoneion and a gold phiale, which she held in her hand.⁸⁹

The most numerous groups of dedications in the Erechtheion are the vessels (in particular phialai) and gold wreaths.

⁸⁵ *IG II²*, 1471 line 60 and 1455 lines 36-49

⁸⁶ *IG II²*, 1424a line 119

⁸⁷ *IG II²*, 1424a lines 121-2, (and perhaps the sling 1448 line 3).

⁸⁸ The term has recently been thought to apply to a sacred area in the north pteron of the Parthenon (H. Catling, *JHS, Archaeological Reports* 35 (1989) 8-9; F. Preishofen, 'Zur Topographie der Akropolis' *AA* (1977) 74-78 and esp. B. S. Ridgway, 'Images of Athena on the Akropolis' in *Goddess and Polis*, 1992, 125 and [Fig. 133].

⁸⁹ *IG II²*, 1426 lines 4-7

Three silver phialai were all first recorded in 374/3 B.C.; in 368/7 B.C. two more were added to the list.⁹⁰ Towards the end of the century the numbers increase more rapidly. In 314/3 B.C. six phialai are added to the list.⁹¹ The 307/6 B.C. inventory gives us a whole scenario of vessels in the temple: an unknown number of phialai ‘on the cupboard and opposite from the sacred objects’ and ‘behind the door’, one small phiale ‘against the lintel,’ two ‘against the door-post’ and another one in an oblong box, three inscribed ones.⁹²

Only two oddities appear among the drinking vessels: a wooden phiale with gold 375/4 kept until 314/3 and a silver kylix, only added in 307/6 B.C.⁹³

The only big vessels on the Erechtheion inventory are three silver oinochoai, all inscribed ‘*hiera Athenas*’, first listed in 305/4 B.C.⁹⁴

The gold wreaths appear in the inventory lists in 375/4 B.C., 374/3 B.C. and 371/0 B.C. Altogether eleven gold wreaths plus two wreaths of overlaid wood were recorded, none of these are listed after 467/6 B.C. The wreaths were dedicated in a fairly regular pattern from 394/3 B.C. to 374/3 B.C. as the archonship years profess. The time elapsed before the wreaths were recorded after dedication ranges from more than twenty years to one year.⁹⁵

The Erechtheion inventories list an impressive amount of miniature weapons and armour made of precious metals. The first inventory already includes miniature silver items, two shields, two helmets, a spear and a miniature helmet with gold cheek-pieces and an ivory plume.⁹⁶ In 314/3 a miniature gold shield, dedicated by Pylarche, is added to the list. The greatest increase is recorded in 307/6: twelve gold shields ‘against the door-post’, an unspecified number of silver shields ‘against the cupboard’, plus two more, and an unspecified number of silver helmets and spears ‘cross-laced around a nail’.⁹⁷ A gilt shield,

⁹⁰ *IG II²*, 1424 lines 1-2, 3-4, 1, 29-30; 1472 lines 7-10, 1456 lines 14-16 *IG II²*, 1425 line 329, 334-5; one in 319/8

⁹¹ *IG II²*, 1456 lines 14-16, 7, 27, 18-19, 8-9

⁹² *IG II²*, 1489 lines 2-5, 7-8, 9-16, 8-9, 17-19, 19-22, 22-4

⁹³ *IG II²*, 1489 lines 39-40 1426 lines 2-3

⁹⁴ *IG II²*, 1492 lines 58-69

⁹⁵ *IG II²*, 1426 lines 7-8, 8-9, 1424 lines 26-8, 21-3, 23-4, 24-5, 1424a lines 353-4, 348-9, 351-2, 349-50, 347, 352-3

⁹⁶ *IG II²*, 1424 lines 5-6; 1421 lines 123-5

⁹⁷ *IG II²*, 1489 lines 38-9, 26-8, 25-6, 28-9, 29-30

dedicated by Iphikrates, might well have been a miniature, too.⁹⁸ Hardly any weapons were deposited in the Erechtheion. A bronze sabre is recorded in the first inventory and dropped after 314/3 B.C. Three bronze sabres are counted in the list of 307/6 B.C. On the same list an ivory cavalry knife is recorded.⁹⁹

The three figurines described in the inventories were dedications especially selected for Athena. A small snake is recorded after 319/8 B.C., a silver owl on a boxwood column and a little Palladion on a resin-filled silver column appear on the inventory of 307/6 B.C.¹⁰⁰ A small silver figurine and a statue holding a bronze box are two further acquisitions of the years before 307/6 B.C. and 314/3 B.C.¹⁰¹

Two rather puzzling items are a ceramic pot filled with gold and an unfired gold nugget, dedicated by Philto and not weighed (probably because it was not refined and the gold-standard could not be applied). They were first recorded in 376/5 and 375/4 B.C., and were probably removed for remelting in 371/0 and 367/6 B.C.

4. *Chalkotheke*

The key to the Hekatompedon was kept here.¹⁰²

Wreaths:

The gold wreaths are the best documented class of dedications in the inventories.¹⁰³ From the end of the fourth century not only the names and origins of the dedicators are often listed with the recorded item, but in a few cases also the reason why it was received is stated in incredible detail. We know from literature that wreaths are generally connected with prizes for various contests. The musical contests, added by Perikles to the Panathenaia, were rewarded with a golden crown.¹⁰⁴ From 394/3 B.C. onwards many of

⁹⁸ *IG II*², 1489 lines 5-6

⁹⁹ *IG II*², 1424 line 20; 1489 lines 36-7, 37-38

¹⁰⁰ *IG II*², 1472 line 17, 1489 lines 33-5, 31-3

¹⁰¹ *IG II*², 1489 line 1-2, 1456 lines 34-5

¹⁰² *IG I*², 1424A lines 386-7; 1425 line 389

¹⁰³ Surprisingly only one silver wreath was dedicated. At the Panathenaia both silver and gold wreaths were given as official prizes. Do we have to exclude the possibility of this festival as source of some of the wreaths with the lack of silver prizes in mind? Harris is of this opinion (Harris, *The Treasures*, 104).

¹⁰⁴ Simonides, frag. 155 (213)

the wreaths are explicitly described as prize-dedications.¹⁰⁵ The prize-dedication can be given by a deme, as the wreath given by the Ephesians on the stele after 307/6 B.C.¹⁰⁶

The nature of the contest for which the prize was given is specified on a few items. An olive wreath first listed in 402/1 B.C. simply states that it was given as prize for singing to the kithara. Three wreaths were identified as prizes from the Panathenaia and a fourth wreath is further specified as prize from the Great Panathenaia, given in the athletic contest to Konon, son of Timotheos, of Anaphlystos. An unspecified number of wreaths were announced at the tragedies of the Dionysia in the archonship of Philokles (322/1 B.C.) and in the archonship of Anaxikrates (307/6 B.C.) and were handed over to the treasurers the following year. In 322/1 B.C. a gold wreath used to crown the hipparchs at the Greater Dionysia was dedicated by the Athenians (as the record in 315/4 B.C. attests).¹⁰⁷

In 402/1 B.C. a wreath was for the first time recorded with the name of its dedicator, Aristomache, daughter of Aristokles. In the following year three further wreaths were dedicated by individuals: Lysander of Sparta, son of Aristokritos dedicated a wreath. He was the Spartan general who was the commander at Aigospotamoi.¹⁰⁸ Two olive-wreaths, one dedicated by Gelon of Pellena, son of Tlesonides the other by Hierokles of Phaselis appear in the lists until 385/4 B.C. Only two other names of individuals are recorded: Aspasia (first recorded in 395/4 B.C.) and Aristophon (350/49).¹⁰⁹ Aspasia might be the companion of Pericles and the mother of his son Pericles II, a Hellenotamias in 411/10 B.C.¹¹⁰

The greatest number of wreaths are pledged to the demos of the Athenians. In most cases the demos received wreaths from other demoi: in 368/7 B.C. from the Troizenians, the Siphnians, the Abderans, and the Karystians (two wreaths); in 350/1 B.C. from the Thasians, the Samians (three wreaths), the Arethusians, the Kalchedonians, the Erythraians, and the Mytilenians, in 347/6 B.C. and 344/3 from the Parians and the Naxians, in 344/3 B.C. two wreaths from the Samothracians and one each from the

¹⁰⁵ 398/7: *IG* II², 1388 lines 66-67; *IG* II², 1407 lines 28-9

¹⁰⁶ *IG* II², 1486 lines 5-7; 1491 lines 8-15

¹⁰⁷ *IG* II², 1479 lines 8-11

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Lysandros

¹⁰⁹ *IG* II², 1402 lines 31-2; *IG* II², 1409 [*JHS* 58 (1938) 77] line 14; *IG* II², 1436 lines 37-8. *IG* II², 1373 line 9; prize-dedication: *IG* II², 1402 lines 1-2?; Lysander: *IG* II², 1386 lines 2-4; Gelon: *IG* II², 1386 lines 6-7; Hierokles: *IG* II², 1386 lines 7-9

¹¹⁰ *APF* 458

Chersonesians, the Chersonesians from Agora, the Elaiousians, and the Knossians, in 304/3 from the Tenedians, the Peparethans, (Lemnian) Myrrina, and the Milesians.¹¹¹ Only two other wreaths were given to the demos: the generals in Skiathos crowned the demos in 344/3 and one wreath was dedicated by an individual: Spartokos of Pontos (in 304/3 B.C.).¹¹²

The demos of the Athenians not only received but also dedicated wreaths. Four were given to Athena at the Panathenaia in 321/0 B.C. The demos crowned the boule in 346/5 B.C. The Hipparchs received a wreath from the demos in 307/6 B.C., and the demos gave wreaths to individuals: Lysimachos and --Jeides of Gargettos.¹¹³

Three wreaths were specifically dedicated to the boule. It received a wreath from the Troizenians and the Andrians in 368/7, the Samians in 344/3 B.C.¹¹⁴ Only two wreaths were ever given by the boule, both in 354/3 B.C.¹¹⁵

The *demon syllogeis* dedicated wreaths yearly from 370/8 to 368/7 B.C.¹¹⁶

Five wreaths were specifically dedicated to Athena Nike; in 350/9, 349/8, 347/6, 344/3 and 315/4 B.C.¹¹⁷

After 313/12 B.C. two wreaths were recorded as dedications to Artemis Brauronia.¹¹⁸

War Spoils

War booty is probably often not recognisable from the objects. The pieces of armour and weapons recorded in the inventory lists of the Parthenon do not seem to make up a tithe of military victories.¹¹⁹ The tithes offered after a victory were perhaps more

¹¹¹ *IG* II², 1425 lines 230-1; 1425 line 125; 1425 lines 119-20; 1425 lines 123-4; 1436 lines 35-6; Samos: 1437 lines 20-1 and 344/3 1443 lines 89-90; 1437 lines 18-19; 1437 lines 16-17; 1437 lines 12-3; 1437 lines 14-15; 1441 lines 6-7; 1441 lines 16-18 and 1443 lines 114-5, 1443 lines 108-12; 1443 lines 119-21; 1443 lines 117-9; 1443 lines 93-5; 1443 lines 121-3

¹¹² *IG* II², 1443 lines 106-8

¹¹³ *IG* II², 1468 lines 13-19; *IG* II², 1443 lines 102-3, 1486 lines 3-5

¹¹⁴ *IG* II², 1425 lines 227-9; 1425 lines 221-3; 1443 lines 91-3

¹¹⁵ *IG* II², 1437 lines 24-7

¹¹⁶ *IG* II², 1425 lines 126-30

¹¹⁷ *IG* II², 1437 line 34; 1438 line 21 [*Hesperia* 7 (1938) 284] lines 26-7; 1441 lines 8-9; 1443 lines 116-7; 1479 lines 21-3

¹¹⁸ *IG* II², 1480 lines 15-16; 1480 lines 12-14

¹¹⁹ Harris, *Treasures*, 108

often rendered to the treasurers in money and then converted into precious objects. Booty-sellers (*laphuropolai*) were well known in Antiquity.¹²⁰ The objects bought with the money could be anything precious, as the gold and silver vessels or the two gold korai.¹²¹ The high proportion of armour in precious metal and the many miniature items, however, seem to indicate the urge to commemorate the victory with at least some objects directly related to the objects of warfare. These might, of course, be personal dedications and not part of the official tithe. The full-size armour was probably picked up on the battlefield. The best example of this is probably the Illyrian helmet from Lesbos recorded in the year the Athenians were fighting on the island (427/6 B.C.).

Booty from the Persian wars can be recognized with difficulty, but some is mentioned in texts -- swords (*akinakes*), the breast-plate of Masistios (in the Erechtheion, Paus. I, 27, 1) and trappings of his horse, furniture and plate.¹²²

¹²⁰Pritchett (1971) 90

¹²¹D. B. Thompson (1944) 176; Pritchett (1971) 97; Harris, *Treasures*, 108.

¹²²See next Chapter; M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century B.C.*, 1997, 49-62

VII. TEXTS

Important dedications and famous dedicators were of considerable interest in Greek society and their fame was indeed long-lived. The subject matter was considered enticing enough to the ancient reader to inspire Polemon of Ilion to write a monograph on the dedications of the Acropolis, filling no less than four volumes.¹ This monumental work is completely lost to us but the fact that other authors found it of value gives us another clue to the fascination the votives and their dedicators aroused. Thus it comes as no surprise that not only Polemon was writing comprehensively on dedications: a series of writers, from Theopompos to Menetor, are known to have devoted entire monographs to dedications.² Even though these comprehensive studies of dedications are lost to us we find small titbits of information scattered through all forms of literature. These are, however, not primarily concerned with dedications as such and mostly later than the dedications themselves and thus provide a more limited view of the dedications than we would wish.

Most facts on the dedicators and their dedications come from writings on art. In the fifth century the Acropolis was without doubt one of the most important centres of political and religious life of the ancient world. Already in antiquity the Acropolis became a destination for tourists and the dedications and sculpture in the sanctuary was heralded as the 'Classic' standard, and became a major influence on Hellenistic and Roman art. The history and criticism of art flourished during the Hellenistic age and was popular in late Republican and Imperial Rome. The authors could refer to a considerable corpus of earlier literature written by architects, sculptors and painters, who wrote on their own art. Even though the earlier literature is lost to us, quotations and echoes give us hints. But it remains often impossible to disentangle the sources and to establish to what extent they were truthfully interpreted.

Our knowledge about the dedications would be poor without the texts of Pausanias and Pliny.

¹ Strabo, 9.396; Athenaeus, 11. 472 b; 13. 574 c and 587 c : Polemon also wrote an account of the dedications in Lacedaemon.

² '*peri anathematon*,' *FGH* 115 F 247ff; IIIB [commentary], 445. Menetor: Athenaeus, 13. 574 c

Pausanias' guide-book to Greece, written around 170 A.D., includes the Acropolis and describes sculptures and buildings. His knowledge of the history of art is not very extensive and his attributions seem to be more influenced by the small-town patriotism of local guides than by the more informed writings of Hellenistic scholarship.³ However, he is honest, if occasionally careless, and his interest is not only captured by the imposing but also by the unusual and obscure. Not all the dedications he lists are described in any detail

Pliny's *Natural History*, published in 77 A.D., includes a historical survey of the visual arts in his section on minerals. The lists of artist and their famous works has been used as the main source for the identification of copies. His notes, however, often leave the impression of being slightly muddled and he rarely provides extensive descriptions.

Plutarch records Themistokles' claim to have seen evidence of the Persian looting of the Acropolis dedications; he recognized in Sardis a statue he had dedicated on the Acropolis before the war.⁴

Temple inventories, inscriptions and literary evidence from authors as Pausanias give us insight into lost dedications. We have to lean heavily on these sources, especially for the Classical and Hellenistic votives. They limit us, however, to information about the more spectacular gifts, since the mass of humble dedications is not commemorated on marble bases and not likely to be of interest to the literary mind.

1. War

The gods seem to have done well out of war. A victory inevitably meant a large amount of disposable income from the armour of defeated opponents, other looted goods and prisoners of war ransomed or sold as slaves. Spoils of war seldom seem to have been concentrated in only one sanctuary. The presence of a victory monument at a national sanctuary, visible to the world at large, appears to have been the primary consideration, but the champion of the city, in Athens Athena, could not be neglected. These dedications, more than any other, seem to be a display of strength directed at the enemy rather than an offering of thanks to the gods.

³ On Pausanias' attitude to the material past see now K. Arafat, *Pausanias' Greece* (1996) ch. 2. For a list of doubtful attributions see Robertson, *Greek Art*, xvi

⁴ Plut. *Them.* 31.

Special gestures were also directed at Athena, as Kimon's dedication of the bit of a bridle when the Athenians prepared for battle in 480 B.C. 'signifying thereby, that the city had no need of horsemen at the time, but of mariners and seamen.'⁵ A bit, BrAcr 506, decorated with horse-heads, is preserved on the Acropolis. We find a selection of very special pieces from the spoil dedicated on the Acropolis. The commemoration of the victory against the Persians in 480/79 B.C. was necessarily of a muted kind. The temple and the buildings on the Acropolis had been destroyed and burned, many of the dedications were broken or looted, as Themistokles' statue.⁶

In the oath of Plataiai the Athenians and their allies vowed to leave the sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians in ruins as a permanent monument of their barbarism. Among the spoils dedicated were the ropes and one ship of the famous bridge over the Hellespont, a very symbolic offering of no value. Other spoils were of a very different nature as the silver-footed chair of Xerxes and the sword of Mardonios, which weighted 300 darics. Both items must have been extremely desirable because they were stolen by one of the treasurers, a Glauketas.⁷ The silver-footed chair had not only a monetary value, it was claimed that Xerxes sat on it while watching the battle of Salamis, and had hoped to view the defeat of the Greeks. The sword of Mardonios and shields taken by the Spartans at Pylos were considered a dedication more noble than the Propylaia or the Olympieion by Dio Chrysostom.⁸ Masistios' golden cuirass, studded with gold scales,⁹ and the akinakes of Mardonios were kept in the Erechtheion. Xerxes' silver-footed throne was apparently added to the treasures of the Parthenon.¹⁰

Phidias' Athena Promachos was thought to have been paid for from the tithe taken from the Persians who landed at Marathon.¹¹

The proceeds of the spoils from Eurymedon paid for the building of the southern wall of the Acropolis after 469 B.C.¹² and spoils of Mycale and the 'rebellious islands' were displayed on it by Kimon.¹³

⁵ Plut. *Life of Kimon* 5

⁶ Plut. *Them.* 31.

⁷ Demosthenes, XXIV. 129, 741

⁸ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.*, II. vol. 1, 27, ed. Dindorf

⁹ Herod. IX, 20-24

¹⁰ Paus. I. 27. 1, Demosth. *Thimokr.* 741; the Parthenon as storeroom of the throne: Harpokration, s. v. *Arguopeza*.

¹¹ Paus. I. 28. 2

¹² Plut. *Life of Kimon* 13; Paus. I. 28. 3

The spoils of armour captured could be of considerable value. After the outstanding success over the Ambraciots in 426 Demosthenes' share of the spoils alone amounted to 300 panoplies, dedicated by him in the Athenian temples.¹⁴

Persian armour was again added to the hoard on the Acropolis by Alexander the Great who sent 300 suits of Persian mail from the battle of Granicus in 334 B.C. Shields from this spoil were displayed on the architrave of the Parthenon.¹⁵

The most unusual spoil of war on the Acropolis must have been the chains of about 200 prisoners of war taken from the Boeotian army and in Chalkis. The prisoners were ransomed and a bronze chariot purchased with a tithe of the proceeds. The base of the chariot, dedicated between 509 and 505 B.C., was found, the place the chains were suspended, however, is not known.¹⁶

A statue of Nike was dedicated for Kallimachos who died in the battle of Marathon. The deme of Marathon dedicated the monument. Not until the beginning of the third century was there a statue representing the general of a battle himself dedicated on the Acropolis. Olympiodoros had a statue set up for him on the Acropolis,¹⁷ and another in Delphi and the Prytaneum in honour of the raising of the siege in Elatea and the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison.

All dedications of statues of Nike seem to be victory monuments. Pausanias saw a bronze Nike given after the capture of Sphacteria.

2. *The Lost Statues*

Already before entering the sanctuary itself the visitor to the Acropolis saw the first dedicatory statues. Two equestrian statues, dedications from the second half of the fifth century B.C., before the building work on the Propylaia had finished, were set up in front of the entrance facing each other. The bases are still in place and reveal one of the three dedicators in the inscription as a Xenophon, which led Pausanias to believe the statues to

¹³ Plut. *Life of Kimon* 2

¹⁴ Thuc. III 114

¹⁵ Plut. *Alexander* 16; Arrian, *Hist. An.* I. 16. 7

¹⁶ Herod. V. 77; Paus. I. 28. 2

¹⁷ Paus. I. 26. 3, 25. 2

be images of the sons of Xenophon the historian.¹⁸ The date of dedication is too early for this to be possible. The monument was set up by the Hippias to honour the three hipparchs. The base was reused, with the same inscription being carved on the new presentation side but evidently with a different statue; they must have been broken or looted and replaced by copies.

The facade of the Propylaia incorporated two niches. It is possible that one held the famous Hermes Propylaios by Alkamenes, perhaps represented by a copy from the Acropolis itself, AcrM 2281, from the first century.¹⁹ The statue was seen by Pausanias at the entrance and thought to have been made by Socrates.²⁰ According to Pausanias the Hermes was accompanied by statues of the Graces, also attributed by him to Socrates. The attribution of the Graces to Socrates is confirmed by Diogenes Laertius (naming his source as Duris) and the scholiast on Aristophanes who both identify Socrates as the philosopher.²¹ Pliny only specifies him as 'not the same Socrates as the painter'.²² It is not clear whether the group of the Graces was a set of the three free-standing statues or a relief.²³ The Acropolis relief AcrM 702 was suggested as a copy of the famous group.²⁴ However, this relief and the handful of other reliefs depicting the same subject found in Athens should be taken as evidence of the flourishing cult and shrine to the Graces near the Propylaia.²⁵

Inside the Propylaia stood a bronze lioness. The figure was generally believed to have been set up for a Leaena, mistress of one of the tyrant-slayers.²⁶ The tongue of the lioness was cut out to signify that Leaena had not betrayed her friends under torture.

According to Pausanias, a statue of Aphrodite, a dedication by Kallias, stood next to the lioness.²⁷ A base with the inscription of Kallias, son of Hipponikos, was found just

¹⁸ Lakedaïmonios and Pronapes are the other *hipparchoi* honoured. Paus. I. 22. 4

¹⁹ D. Willers, *Jdl* (1967) 102

²⁰ Paus. I. 22. 8

²¹ Paus. IX. 35. 7; Diogenes Laertius, II. 5. 19; Schol. Aristoph., *Clouds* 773.

²² Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVI. 32

²³ The latter version is assumed by Schol. Aristoph., *Clouds* 773.

²⁴ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 270-72

²⁵ According to Pausanias a secret rite was performed in front of the Graces of the Propylaia (Paus. IX. 35. 3).

²⁶ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV. 72; VI. 87; Plutarch, *De garrulitate*, 8; Pausanias, I. 23. 2; Polyaeus. VIII. 45; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* VI. 19. 122; Athenaeus, XIII. 596f; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* .I. 20. Both, Aristogeiton and Harmodios were named as lovers of Leaena (Aristogeiton: Paus., Polyaeus; Harmodios: Athenaeus). On the statue and possible base see above, page 123.

²⁷ Paus. I 23. 2

inside the Acropolis (*IG I³ 835*), the Aphrodite, however, probably stood on another base, *IG I³ 876*, found in the Agora. Only the second base records Kalamis as sculptor, confirming Pausanias' attribution.

Kalamis is also known as the sculptor of another statue on the Acropolis, a Sosandra, praised for her 'demure smile and decorous grace'.²⁸

Near the Leaina and Aphrodite stood a bronze statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows. Pausanias relates it to the events in 413 B.C., the sack of Mykalessos by Thracians.²⁹ Again a base has been found which might belong to the statue. *IG I³ 833* identifies a statue made by Kresilas being given as firstfruits by the son of Diitrephes, Hermolykos. The inscription dates the base to around the middle of the fifth century, too early by about forty years to commemorate the death of Pausanias' Diitrephes.³⁰ However, the sculptor Kresilas is credited by Pliny with the creation of the statue of a wounded man dying.³¹ It seems probable that Pausanias was indeed referring to this statue and wrongly identified the dedicator. Hermolykos might be an earlier member of the family, perhaps the Hermolykos who fought at Mykale or the father of Nikostratos.³²

Nearby stood a statue of Hygieia, judging from the base with the inscription of Roman date probably a statue of Livia.³³ The Athena Hygieia next to this statue was of a more venerable age. Plutarch records the story of her dedication.³⁴ According to him the statue was a thank-offering by Perikles, dedicated after a workman, seriously wounded in an accident while working on the Parthenon, was miraculously healed by Athena. The base is still in its original position, outside the eastern portico of the Propylaia. The dedicators given in the inscription are the Athenians, the sculptor was Pyrrhos, also an Athenian. Pliny confirms Pyrrhos as sculptor of an Athena Hygieia.³⁵ If we had not known of this story we would probably have attributed the motivation for dedicating the statue to the end of the plague.³⁶ A large rectangular base in front of the statue is generally thought to have been

²⁸ Lucian, *Imagines*, 4, 6; *Dialog. Meretr.* III. 2; Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 274 (but he attributes the wrong base).

²⁹ Paus. I. 23. 3

³⁰ He was evidently still alive when he was appointed a command in Thrace in 411 B.C.; Thuc. VII. 64.

³¹ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV.

³² Suggested by Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 276-7; see Thucydides, III. 75 for Nikostratos. (suggested by Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griech. Plastik*, 277-284).

³³ First by Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 277

³⁴ Plutarch, *Perikles*, 13

³⁵ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 80

³⁶ Already proposed by P. Wolters, 'Zur Athena Hygieia des Pyrrhos' *AM* 16 (1891) 153-165.

an altar, based on Plutarch's remark that Athena Hygieia was worshipped in this place already before the Perikles dedication was set up.³⁷

Pliny recalls a similar story of the mishap of a workman, but supposes the accident happened at the Propylaia and the statue dedicated by Perikles was an image of the slave as *splanchnoptes*, 'roaster of entrails.'³⁸ Apparently the statue showed the man blowing up the flame, a work by the sculptor Styppax, a Cypriot.

A statue of Perikles must also have stood near the Propylaia. This is the statue Pliny refers to, as the base confirming the attribution of the sculptor as Kresilas proves.³⁹ According to Pausanias the statue stood apart from the other dedications. A statue of his father Xanthippos was also dedicated on the Acropolis but stood probably on the far side of the Parthenon. Perhaps the statue was granted in honour of his services as commander of the Athenian contingent at Mykale in 479 B.C.

A bronze boy holding a sprinkler by the sculptor Lykios probably stood near the precinct of Artemis Brauronia.⁴⁰ It has been suggested that it was a functional piece standing at the entrance.⁴¹ The statue of a 'boy fumigator' mentioned by Pliny as work of the same sculptor might in fact be the same statue.⁴² Perhaps the basin conjured up by Pausanias' description of *perirrhanteria* was in reality a smaller vessel.

A statue of Perseus probably also stood near the precinct of Artemis Brauronia, judging from the place in which Pausanias mentions it.⁴³ The statue might be the Perseus ascribed by Pliny to the sculptor Myron.

In the precinct of Artemis Brauronia was an image of the Artemis made by Praxiteles.⁴⁴ In the inventories two images of the goddess are recorded in her sanctuary on

³⁷ Plutarch, *Perikles*, 13; Aristides, *Or.*, II. vol. I. 22, ed. Dindorf

³⁸ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXII. 44 and XXXIV. 81

³⁹ Paus. I. 25.1 and I. 28. 2; Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 74; *IG I*³ 884

⁴⁰ Paus. I. 23. 7

⁴¹ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 282-3

⁴² Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 79

⁴³ Paus. I. 23. 7; Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 57

⁴⁴ Paus. I. 23. 7

the Acropolis. The Praxiteles statue is most likely the new *agalma*, depicting the goddess standing. The old image showed the goddess sitting on a throne.⁴⁵

According to Pausanias an image of the triple Hekate by Alkamenes stood next to the temple of Athena Nike; with the Acropolis piece he created a type known as *epipyrgidia*.⁴⁶

The 'wooden' horse, a bronze copy of the Trojan horse, was a private dedication. by Chairedemos of Koile, son of Euangelos.⁴⁷ The sculptor is recorded in the inscription as Strongylion whom Pausanias praises for his skilfully modelled horses and oxen.⁴⁸ The base with the inscription was found in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia, in accord with Pausanias, this was probably near the original site on which the horse was set up. The dedication was made at the end of the fifth century, perhaps before 414 B.C. if a mention in *The Birds* indeed refers to the offering.⁴⁹ The Acropolis dedication apparently showed Menestheus, Teucer and the sons of Theseus looking out of the horse. A version of the same subject in Delphi was dedicated by the Argives from spoils,⁵⁰ and the Trojan horse seems indeed well suited as a victory monument. It is perhaps surprising that the Trojan horse did not become a widely used symbol of cunning, although a copy in marble shows the difficulties facing the artist in producing a pleasing composition and a proper sense of scale. The poet Plato was greatly amused seeing the horse next to a large bronze ram.⁵¹

A statue dedicated by Epicharinos must have stood between the precinct of Artemis Brauronia and the Parthenon. According to Pausanias Epicharinos himself was represented, presumably wearing body armour after practising as *hoplitodromos*. The statue was another work by Kritios and Nesiotes.⁵²

⁴⁵ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 284-5; on the types, *LIMC* II, 620

⁴⁶ Paus. II. 30. 2

⁴⁷ Paus. I. 23. 8; Hesychos, s.v. *dourios hippos*, *Chairedemos Euaggelou ek Koiles anetheken*

⁴⁸ Paus. IX. 30. 1

⁴⁹ Schol. Arist. *Birds* 1128;

⁵⁰ Paus. X. 10. 9; Thuc. VI. 95

⁵¹ Hesych., s.v. *krios aselgokeros*

⁵² IG I³ 847, dated to about 475-465 B.C.; Pausanias mentions only Kritios as sculptor, as for the tyrannicides (Paus. I. 23. 9; and I. 8. 5).

Next to it stood a statue of Oinobios.⁵³ Pausanias' text is incomplete in this passage and only tells us that Oinobios did a good deed to Thucydides, perhaps the reason for the dedication of the statue. The good deed must be the decree he proposed to recall Thucydides from exile.⁵⁴

Pausanias also mentions Hermolykos, the pankratiast, without exactly specifying what kind of statue was dedicated and by whom, the identification as pankratiast probably implies that he won in the games and that the dedication was an athlete statue.⁵⁵ Pausanias' Hermolykos could be the son of Euthoenos praised by Herodotos for his conduct in the battle of Mykale.⁵⁶ A base with the inscription of Hermolykos, son of Diitrephes, was more likely used for the statue of 'Diitrephes pierced by arrows' described above.

A dedication by or for Phormio is again not more clearly identified. The story told by Pausanias about his financial difficulties sheds no light on the possible type of dedication; it makes it likely that it was set up for him, perhaps for his services as commander.⁵⁷

Near the west front of the Parthenon was the most famous of the bronze groups, an ensemble of Athena and Marsyas. The work was probably by Myron,⁵⁸ presumably dedicated soon after the middle of the fifth century B.C. Already in antiquity it was numbered among the key works of Classical sculpture for its mastery in combining the expression of vehement movement with deliberate restraint. The work is known from copies and depicted the moment when Athena had cast away the flutes she had just invented and the satyr steps forward to pick them up.

We do not know who dedicated the bronze Athena and Marsyas group. The myth shows Athena in two very different guises, first as the benign inventor of a new instrument, and then in her wrath, disgusted by the blown-up cheeks the playing of the aulos caused. Her curse against whoever would pick them up again shows her as a terrifying goddess. Her curse proved truly terrible for Marsyas, his hubris saw him tortured and ultimately cost him his life. Could there have been a political statement in the myth? Not long before the

⁵³ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 287-8, Paus. I. 23. 9

⁵⁴ Pliny, *N. H.*, VII. 111

⁵⁵ Paus. I. 23. 10

⁵⁶ Herod. IX. 105

⁵⁷ Paus. I. 23. 10; schol. Aristoph. *Peace*, 347; Thuk. I, 64

⁵⁸ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIII. 57; Paus. I. 24. 1

dedication of the group the rule of Athens was challenged by rural Boiotia and, as Marsyas, Boiotia was punished for its disobedience in a bloody battle. The depiction of the myth perhaps implied a warning to the other allies not to challenge the authority of Athens and continue their payments to the purse of the league. It has also been suggested that this is a dedication of the dithyramb writer, Melanippides, for his successful and innovative *Marsyas*.

A group of Theseus fighting the Minotaur must have stood nearby, probably on the north side of the processional way.⁵⁹ Next to it was a statue of Phrixos sacrificing a ram. This might have been the statue by Naukydes known to Pliny.⁶⁰ The statue was probably more suited as a dedication to Zeus, who sent the ram which brought Phrixos and Helle to Kolchis.

A statue of Herakles strangling serpents stood next to a group of the birth of Athena, showing Athena emerging from the head of Zeus.⁶¹

A bull was dedicated by the Council of the Areopagos, the reasons for the offering are not known. This type of dedication is often thought as memorial for the real beast that was sacrificed. Other such animals on the Acropolis were the famous life-size heifer by Myron, described by Pliny and later brought to Rome and a large bronze ram mentioned by the comic poet Plato.⁶²

Pausanias also knows of an allegorical group of Ge praying to Zeus for rain, perhaps dedicated after a long drought.⁶³ The inscription for this group was carved into the rock north of the Parthenon and dates the dedication to about the first century A.D.⁶⁴

Nearby must have stood a herm, and Pausanias also knows of a statue of a man with a helmet, made by Kleoitas, which was perhaps intended to represent the image of a hoplite racer.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Paus. I. 24. 1

⁶⁰ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 80; Paus. 24. 2, Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 295

⁶¹ Paus. I. 24. 2

⁶² Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 57-58; Hesych., s.v. *krios aselgokeros*

⁶³ Paus. I. 24. 3

⁶⁴ *Ges karpophorou kata manteian*

⁶⁵ Paus. I. 24. 3; see Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 171 and note 11, Kleoitas might be the inventor of the starting apparatus used in the horse races in Olympia (Paus. VI. 20. 14).

A double dedication of statues by Timotheus, son of Konon and Konon himself was set up nearby, one of the four blocks used as the base was found just south of the inscription of Ge [Fig. 134]. Both father and son were known as commanders and politicians of the fourth century B.C.

The group of Prokne and Itys is probably correctly identified in a statue excavated near the Propylaia.⁶⁶

A statue of Athena displaying the olive plant and Poseidon the wave was set up near a statue of Zeus Polieus. All three might have been part of a group, as Frazer reminds us. According to Hesychios Athena promised a sacrifice to Zeus as Polieus for his support in her contest with Poseidon.⁶⁷ Another image of Zeus, made by Leochares, is mentioned in one breath with the Zeus Polieus.

At the entrance to the Parthenon stood a bronze statue of Iphikrates, dedicated in 372/1.⁶⁸ He was granted this honour for the part he played in the confrontation with the Spartans in 392 B.C.⁶⁹

A bronze Apollo, named 'Locust Apollo,' believed by Pausanias to be a work of Phidias must have stood nearby. According to the text it was perhaps a dedication for Apollo, given to him for his intervention in a locust plague.⁷⁰

The statue of Anakreon probably stood somewhere between the Parthenon and Erechtheion, together with a statue of Perikles' father Xanthippos.⁷¹ The statue, dedicated in the late 440s, is known from copies. They show the Ionian poet and singer who was attracted to the court of Peisistratos almost a hundred years before its dedication.⁷² He is naked with a cloth loosely draped over his shoulders; the type is not the kouros but the more fleshy body of the bearded man in his best years. The raised head and the vivid gesture gives the impression of a recitation in progress. Anakreon is perhaps an unexpected choice for a dedication, in particular for the time it was dedicated, just after the

⁶⁶ See above page 109

⁶⁷ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 300-303; Hesych., s. v. *Dios thakoi kai pessoi*

⁶⁸ Demosthenes, XXIII. 130, 663; Paus. I. 24. 7; Dionysius Hal., *De Lysia iudicium*, 12; Aeschines, III. 243

⁶⁹ Xenophon, *Hellenika*, IV. 5. 10

⁷⁰ Paus. I. 24. 8

⁷¹ Paus. I. 25. 1

⁷² Paus. I, 25, 1; Boardman *GSCP* fig. 235.

middle of the fifth century. Anakreon was an important and well loved poet, the fact that he decided to come to Athens must have made the dedication more appropriate. He came, however, attracted by the court of Peisistratos, and his lust for life and his trademark, ribald homo-erotic drinking songs, made a change from the sober subjects otherwise chosen by the democratic state to adorn the sanctuary. We do not know on which occasion and by whom the statue was dedicated.

Next to the Anakreon stood a statue of Io and of Kallisto. Both were made by Deinomenes and are also related in their mythological story. The love of Zeus and the wrath of Hera resulted in the metamorphosis of Io into a cow and Kallisto into a bear. It is possible that the two statues were commissioned as a set. The sculptor Dinomenes known to Pliny flourished around 400 B.C.⁷³

Near the south wall stood a statue of Olympiodoros, probably dedicated after he led the Athenians victoriously against the Macedonians in 288 B.C.⁷⁴ He also received 'honours' in the Prytaneion, a bronze statue was set up for him by the Phokaians in Delphi, and his portrait was dedicated in Eleusis.

Nearby stood a statue of Artemis Leukophryne, a dedication by the sons of Themistokles. Pausanias ascribes the choice of dedication to patriotism towards the city in which Themistokles came to rule, Magnesia, where the cult of Artemis Leukophryne was particularly revered.⁷⁵

The site on the south wall must have stayed comparatively empty, for it is here that the statues of the Attalos dedications were placed.⁷⁶

Equestrian statues were abundant on the Acropolis. Isokrates dedicated one on the Acropolis for an unknown reason. He was probably represented as a boy. The statue stood in the court of the Pandroseion.⁷⁷ A statue of a youth standing next to a horse is mentioned by Aristotle as dedication of a man who rose from the lowest class into that of knights, and other statues offered as thanks for social success are implied in the text.⁷⁸

⁷³ Paus. I. 25. 1, Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 50 (*floruit* in Olympiad 95, 400-396 B.C.).

⁷⁴ Paus. I. 26. 1-3

⁷⁵ Paus. I. 26. 4

⁷⁶ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV. 84; Paus. I. 25. 2. It is not entirely clear if the dedication was by Attalos I. (241-197 B.C.) or Attalos II (159-138 B.C.).

⁷⁷ Plutarch, *Vit. X. Orat.*, 839b

⁷⁸ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* VII. 21

Near the Erechtheion stood a bronze statue of an old woman, called by Pausanias handmaid Lysimache. Pliny knows of a Lysimache who was priestess of Athena for sixty-four years and had a statue of herself made by the sculptor Demetrios.⁷⁹ It seems likely that Pausanias got confused by the use of the word *diakonos* (handmaid) which might have stood in for *hiereia* (priestess).⁸⁰ A Demetrios recorded as sculptor on two bases from the Acropolis was active in the first half of the fourth century B.C.

A group of bronze statues identified by Pausanias as Erechtheus fighting Eumolpos, must have stood nearby. Myron is known to have made a statue of Erechtheus and it is not impossible that the Acropolis group is referred to. However, Pausanias also knows of a statue of Erechtheus in the Agora.⁸¹

A statue of Tolmides and his soothsayer Theainetos were apparently set up on the same pedestal with the Erechtheus group. Tolmides commanded the raid on the Peloponnes in 455 B.C and fell in the battle of Chaironeia in 447 B.C.⁸²

Next to this monument Pausanias saw an old marble statue of Athena, burned during the Persian sack, a group of statues representing a boar-hunt, a group of Herakles fighting Kyknos. and Theseus and the Marathonian bull⁸³ The last dedication was made by the Marathonians themselves.

Nearby also stood a bronze statue of Kylon, perhaps set up as atonement for the murder of Kylon's accomplices at the sanctuary, as Frazer suggests.⁸⁴

It is always pleasant to find the texts verified by the finds. Both Herodotos and Pausanias tell us about the dedication of a bronze chariot by the Athenians to commemorate the victory over the Boiotians in 505 B.C.⁸⁵ The chariot with its horses is lost, although the forepart of a horse, AcrM 6454, has been connected with the dedication.⁸⁶ Remains of the base with the dedicatory epigram recorded by Herodotos have been found. In fact, two bases with the same text have appeared, a limestone base

⁷⁹ Paus. I. 27. 4; Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV. 76; cf. Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 218.

⁸⁰ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 345

⁸¹ Paus. I. 5. 2; I. 27. 4; and IX. 30. 1; Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 345

⁸² Paus. I. 27. 4; Thuk. I. 103, 108, 114

⁸³ Paus. I. 27. 6-10

⁸⁴ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 348

⁸⁵ Herod. V. 77; Paus. I. 28. 2

⁸⁶ The attribution is very unlikely since both authors clearly speak of a bronze sculpture; Brouskari, 18.

which dates to the end of the sixth century and a marble base from around the middle of the fifth.⁸⁷ The second base has been suggested as replacement for the original which was probably badly damaged by the Persians. The rededication might have been connected to another victorious battle, the battle of Oinophyta in 456 B.C. or the successful suppression of the Euboian revolt in 445 B.C. by Perikles.

In the Erechtheion stood the only confirmed dedication of a wooden statue, a Hermes dedicated by Kekrops. Pausanias saw it covered in myrtle boughs.⁸⁸ The only other wooden images on the Acropolis mentioned in literature were the cult-statues of Athena Polias and Athena Nike.

The most impressive dedications on the Acropolis were the statues of Athena herself [Fig. 3], among them the Athena Parthenos was the most magnificent. Many authors include descriptions of the statue in their work.⁸⁹ Designed by Phidias as a chryselephantine twelve-meter high statue it must have been a dazzling sight, surpassed only by the chryselephantine statue of Zeus in Olympia which was numbered among the Seven Wonders of the World. Several small-scale copies of the statue, the shield with the Amazonomachy, and perhaps the base and the soles of Athena's sandals have been tentatively identified. The dedication of the Athena Parthenos probably had several motivating forces. The statue was funded from the treasury of the Attic-Delian league. This is the first of the colossal chryselephantine statues, a statement of power and of wealth by the state, whether or not the gold used on it could be removed and used for other purposes, which was alleged but is perhaps not true.⁹⁰ AcrM 1362 is thought to be a small-scale copy of the chryselephantine statue. It is dated to the second century A.D.⁹¹

⁸⁷ DAA, p. 193-4 and nos. 168, 173

⁸⁸ Paus. I. 27. 1

⁸⁹ Paus. I. 17. 2; I. 24. 5; V. 11.10 and X. 34. 8; schol. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 605; Thuc., II. 13; Diodoros, XII. 40; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 31; Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVI. 18; Plato, *Hippias Major*, 290b; Maximus Tyrius, *Dissert.* XIV. 6; Aristides, *Or.* XXIV. vol.1, 475, ed. Dindorf; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* XII. vol. 1, 214, ed. Dindorf; Apuleius, *De mundo*, 32

⁹⁰ Thucydides II. 13. 5 seems to have understood Perikles' speech to the Athenians in this way: if all other resources are exhausted '...they [the Athenians] might still use the gold plates with which the goddess herself was overlaid'. The gold plates were, of course, removed in 295 B.C. by Lachares (Athenaeus II. 405 f).

⁹¹ Brouskari, 137

Almost as impressive is another state-dedication, the Athena Promachos, also called 'the great bronze Athena',⁹² made by Phidias about a decade before he was entrusted with the supervision of the Parthenon. The accounts show a multitude of artisans involved with this project and probably established Phidias' reputation for organisation.⁹³ Her height was about nine meters and the material used was bronze. Being placed in the open, probably to the left of the path leading from the Propylaia to the Parthenon where the rock of the Acropolis was cut down to form a plateau of five square meters, the tip of her bronze lance could be seen as far as the Piraeus. This Athena is fully armed and ready to go into battle. The statue was probably funded from the booty of the Persian war and it signals to all enemies and perhaps also to reluctant allies that Athens was a force to be reckoned with.

Another famous Athena statue was the Athena Lemnia. Again made by Phidias but only about life-size it was dedicated by the Athenian settlers sent to Lemnos in a very colonial function, as 'security police.' The Lemnia probably has been correctly identified in a Roman copy. This image shows Athena not fully armed and ready to go into battle, as the Promachos, but more contemplative holding her helmet in one hand. The gesture of Athena has been linked to the subject of the youth being handed his arms, a popular scene in vase painting.⁹⁴ Athenians might have connected the image with the arming of their own loved-ones, the helmet Athena holds, however, is clearly her own, not a hero's. The identity of the copy reconstructed by Furtwängler has recently been questioned, almost certainly wrongly.⁹⁵

3. *The Lost Paintings*

The Acropolis also held a number of important paintings. In Polemon's description of the dedications on the Acropolis the paintings apparently formed a significant part.⁹⁶

⁹² Demosthenes, XIX. 272, 428

⁹³ Meiggs/ Lewis, 146-149 (no. 54)

⁹⁴ L. Schneider/ C. Höcker, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, 1990, 188

⁹⁵ Furtwängler has suggested a head in Bologna and a Dresden torso as Roman copy of the Athena Lemnia; both the connection of head and body and their identification with the Lemnia has been challenged, K. J. Hartswick *AJA* 87 (1983) 335-46. References in O. Palagia, *AJA* 91, 1987, 81ff

⁹⁶ Harpokration, s. v. *Lampas*;

They were probably stored in the square chamber in the north-west wing of the Propylaia also known as Pinakotheke. The pictures dedicated here must have been painted on a portable ground, like wooden boards, since no traces of plaster were found on the walls. There are no signs of nails from which paintings could have been hung, perhaps the cornice served as a picture-rail or the paintings were put on easels. The Pinakotheke held at least two pictures by Polygnotos, the sacrifice of Polyxena and most likely Achilles at Scyros which is mentioned by Pausanias in this context. A famous picture by the painter Protogenes depicted Paralus and Hammonias.⁹⁷ The picture of a pankratiast was painted by Timainetos, an artist not otherwise known. At Pausanias' time of visit many paintings were already in a bad condition, however, he recognizes pictures of Diomedes fetching the bow of Philoktetes, Odysseus carrying the palladion out of Troy, Orestes killing Aigisthos, Pylades killing the sons of Nauplios, Perseus presenting the head of Medusa to Polydektes, a boy carrying vessels, and a Musaios. A picture of Alkibiades commemorating a victory in the chariot races at the Nemean games might be the one described by Athenaeus and Plutarch.⁹⁸ Alkibiades was apparently shown sitting on the lap of Nemea, her arms around him. Plutarch records the painter of the piece as Aristophon, Athenaeus as Aglaophon. Both names were common in the family of Polygnotos and the painter was most likely a nephew of his.⁹⁹ According to Plutarch the older generation was not pleased with the choice of subject and considered Alkibiades' behaviour as 'tyrannical and illegal.' Frazer suggests the law forbidding the name of the venerated festivals to be given to slave girls, prostitutes, or flute-girls as explanation for the irritation, reasoning that the model the painter used for the Nemea probably fell under one of the above mentioned categories.¹⁰⁰ In my opinion Frazer points the finger at the wrong person. Models must have been used by artists before and for more venerated images. The innovative element of the picture is the portrait of the dedicator himself. Previous dedications may have come close to portraying their dedicator, as the athlete statues, the scribes, the Moschophoros or the equestrian statues. However, these votives were still considered representations of a type,

⁹⁷ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV. 101 and Cicero, *In Verrem*, IV. 60

⁹⁸ Athenaeus, XII. 534 d. e. (quoting Satyrus) also describes a second picture of Alkibiades being crowned by Olympias and Pythias. Plutarch, *Alkibiades*, 16.

⁹⁹ See also Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 267; a brother of Polygnotos is known as Aristophon, his father was Aglaophon. (Plato, *Gorgias*, 448b; Harpokration, *s. v. Polygnotos*).

¹⁰⁰ Frazer, *Pausanias' Description*, vol. II, 267; he cites Athenaeus, XIII. 587c and Harpokration, *s. v. Nemeas* as sources.

at least as late as the third quarter of the fifth century, as the two horsemen at the entrance of the Acropolis set up in honour of three hipparchs clearly prove. The statues were made in the image of an ideal hipparch and cannot be considered portraits of only two of the three men honoured. Not until the Alkibiades picture is the line between representation and portrait crossed.

Pictures were also hung in the Parthenon. A portrait of Themistokles dedicated by his sons was displayed there.¹⁰¹ Heliodoros Halis, whose grave Pausanias saw on the sacred way from Athens to Eleusis, also had a portrait hanging at the 'great temple of Athena.'¹⁰²

In the Erechtheion paintings of the family of the Butades were hung. The priests of Poseidon Erechtheus and priestesses of Athena Polias were traditionally members of this family.¹⁰³

4. Other Objects

Among the odd dedications mentioned in literature is a genealogical table of the priests of Poseidon dedicated in the Erechtheion.¹⁰⁴ Here also stood the golden lamp made by Kallimachos and said to need refilling only once every year.¹⁰⁵ The lamp must certainly have been big. Pausanias emphasises that the bronze palm designed to draw off the smoke from the lamp reached to the roof. According to Plutarch the lamp was tended by widows. It was probably specifically made for the Erechtheion at the end of the fifth century. A curio kept in the Erechtheion was a folding chair attributed to Daidalos.¹⁰⁶

If we believe the *Anthology* workmen were in the habit of dedicating their tools after the end of their working lives. Athena is listed as receiver of carpenter's tools, a saw,

¹⁰¹ Paus. I. 1. 2

¹⁰² Paus. I. 27. 1

¹⁰³ Paus. I. 26. 5; Aeschines, II. 147; Harpokration and Photius, *Lexicon: Eteobutadai*; Plutarch, *Vit. X. Orat.*, 843bce.

¹⁰⁴ pseudo-Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 843e

¹⁰⁵ Strabo, IX. 396; Paus. I. 26. 6; Plutarch, *Numa*, 3; and *Sulla*, 13

¹⁰⁶ Paus. I. 27. 1

axe, plane, auger and footrule.¹⁰⁷ The weaver's instruments, shuttles, spindles, bobbins and baskets are another offering given to Athena by a woman at the end of her working life.¹⁰⁸ Also the chance-find of treasure is rewarded by offering the rake, shovel, pick and axe used to unearth the hoard.¹⁰⁹

According to Harpokrates the two Arrhephoroi who took part in the weaving of the peplos for Athena dedicated the gold jewellery they wore to the goddess.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ *Anth. Pal.* vi. 103, 204, 205

¹⁰⁸ *Anth. Pal.* vi. 39, 160, 247

¹⁰⁹ *Anth. Pal.* vi.297

¹¹⁰ Harpokrates *Arrephorein*; Deubner 30-1

IV. THE PLACING OF THE DEDICATIONS ON THE ACROPOLIS

The first sight of the dedications the visitor to a sanctuary caught was still outside the temenos perimeters, where marble and bronze sculptures on marble bases and columns were flanking the entrance [Fig. 2]. Some of the marble statues show signs of burning, which indicates that they probably stood quite near to the temples or treasuries in the looting and pillaging of the Acropolis in 480/79 B.C., but the most valued space seems to have been either side of the main paths to the temples. It has also been suggested that in the early sanctuaries many smaller dedications might have been kept outside. In particular the abundance of bronze dedications in the area of the altar of Zeus in Olympia has given rise to the theory of benches surrounding the altar on which statuettes and vessels were placed.¹ Metal, stone and terracotta dedications could safely be entrusted to the elements, dedications of more delicate material, like cloth or even wood need a more sheltered home. The temple itself was used in this way, as the temple inventories prove. With growing numbers of dedications additional space was created in the form of treasuries. The fragments of the inventory lists² made by the treasurers of Athena give us impression of where and how a variety of the more delicate and expensive dedications were kept. The earliest inventory lists are unfortunately as late as 434 B.C. and the practice of the yearly inventory is only kept up until 295 B.C. Storage space indoors was provided in various rooms of the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, the Chalkotheke and the Stoa of Artemis Brauronia.

Many of the smaller dedications were kept in storage boxes and on shelves which were numbered alphabetically.³ The various boxes and baskets listed on the inventory lists may also have been used for storage. These were, of course, precious items in their own right: made of bronze, as the thirty boxes listed in the Parthenon inventories, silver, as the basket given by the *boule* in 418/7 B.C., ivory, as the small container listed first in 344/3

¹ *Olympia* VII, 5f and *Olympia* XII, 121

² Harris, *Treasures*

³ For the use of shelves in Greek houses see G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art: A Survey of the Visual Arts of Ancient Greece* (1987) 379; and *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (1966) 78-9

B.C., or gilt wood, as the two baskets recorded in 402/1 B.C.⁴ More simple baskets and boxes might not have been recorded in the lists. The more elaborate boxes, as the one bearing the image of Apollo and Zeus, were certainly worthy dedications in their own right. Their functionality deducts nothing from their merit, just as a treasury was practical and yet one of the most monumental votives.

In particular the Erechtheion gives us a good picture of the arrangement of dedications. Silver phialai were kept 'on the cupboard', 'right, opposite the sacred objects', 'against the lintel', 'against the door-jamb on the left...[and on] the right'.⁵

No peg-holes or ghost outlines can be detected on the Parthenon stones. If boxes, shelves or objects left a protective mark on the walls, the weathering of the past 2000 years has removed every trace.⁶

A few items of jewellery and a gold helmet are recorded as lying on a *bathron*, probably here an offering-table or bench. The word is also used for a stool, footstool or bench.⁷

Many items, as the huge number of gold wreaths, must have been kept in strict order as the inventories reveal. Between 371/0 B.C. ('the year of Phrasikleides') and 322/1 B.C. ('the archonship of Philokles') gold wreaths were listed with the year of their dedication,⁸ and in 304/3 17 B.C. wreaths were marked with letters of the alphabet and listed with the dedicator's names, a mixture of *demoi* and individuals.⁹

How Long Kept?

The question of how long dedications were kept on the Acropolis is very difficult to answer. It probably depended very much on the quality and durability of the material the object was made of, as well as the importance of the dedicator.

⁴ *IG*², 1408 line 14, 1474 line 10-13, 1443 line 184, 1379 lines 1-2 (Harris, *Treasures* v. 36, 44, 38, 45)

⁵ *IG*², 1489 lines 1-14

⁶ According to M. Korres in Harris, *Treasures*, 112 and note 38

⁷ Harris, *Treasures*, 111; W. K. Pritchett/ D. A. Amyx, 'Attic Stelai' *Hesperia* 22 (1956) 215; N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos: A Reconstruction* (1971) 27

⁸ Athena Nike: *IG* II², 1438 line 21; *IG* II², 1437 [*Hesperia* 7 (1938) 288] line 35; *IG* II², 1437 line 36; *IG* II², 1441 line 5 and 4

⁹ *IG* II², 1486 lines 5-7, 7-10, 10-12, 12-14, 21-4, 25-7, 27-30, 31-3, 1-2; *IG* II², 1477 lines 19-50

Many of the bronze objects seem to have been kept from the seventh and sixth centuries until 480 B.C.¹⁰ No exact stratigraphy was recorded but the context in which Geometric and Archaic bronze objects were recovered was recorded as the mixed debris of sculpture and pottery buried in various places after the Persian destruction.

Before drastic measures like the complete recasting of a vessel were ordered we might expect broken pieces to be mended. Again our only evidence of this comes from Olympia. The excavation of the area around the 'workshop of Phidias' in Olympia has yielded pieces of bronze vessels, cut up and probably made ready for reuse near a melting oven.¹¹ The cauldron Le 36 was supplied with a late sixth century attachment to accompany the younger and probably original one.¹² The younger attachment was linked with a heavy older handle, the dedicatory inscription on the body is in a classical fifth century style.

Even more humble dedications might have been repaired on the premises. Pottery fragments of three kraters are noteworthy for traces of repair in antiquity.¹³ It is, of course, not clear whether the repairs were made before or after dedication.

In particular the dinos AKR 606 is so well preserved, yet, of AKR 607 by Lydos there are only two pieces, and of the kantharos AKR 611 by Nearchos only six pieces, so burnt, that the original colour of the clay was not recognisable any more.¹⁴

Other dedications, like the bulky armour and weapons dedicated as spoils of war were probably discarded comparatively quickly. Many panoplies must have been erected on the Acropolis in their time, yet, literature mentions none and only one inscription of a private panoply offered by Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, was found and another is listed among the dedications in the Hekatompedon. Weapons, swords, spears, arrowheads and fragments of all types of armour were discovered on the Acropolis. The numbers, however, are small and might represent individual private dedications kept indoors. The items of armour held in greatest esteem were those captured from well-known personalities (e.g. Masistios' golden cuirass) or by important dedicators, as Alexander the Great. His offering of shields from the battle of Granicus hung on the architrave of the Parthenon was left so long that the weathering

¹⁰ Most of the bronze objects were excavated between 1885 and 1889 by Kavvadias and Kawerau; P. Kavvadias and G. Kawerau, *The Excavation of the Acropolis from 1885 to 1890*, 1906

¹¹ *Olympia* V 42ff and XX 19

¹² *Olympia* XX 30 and pl. 5, 3

¹³ AKR 654 (discussed earlier), AKR 617, which depicts Dionysos in an unidentified scene and parts of a warrior frieze and AKR 620, which only preserves parts of an animal-frieze.

¹⁴ Graef, *Die Vasen von der Akropolis* I, 71

of the stone still betrays the position of the shields today.¹⁵ Armour and weapons are also listed in the inventories of the Hekatompedon.

We have no way of knowing whether the objects used in religious functions were kept separately from the dedications.

The excavation on the Acropolis was, with only few notable exceptions, rather poorly recorded. In particular record of the original location of the small-finds and the knowledge that all the objects found were kept and preserved might have given us valuable clues to the organisation of the sanctuary. The disposal of the comparatively cheap objects on the Acropolis must remain conjecture. Was rubbish kept within the perimeters of the sanctuary and buried in tips? From other sanctuaries we know that older dedications were removed and buried within the temenos area on a regular basis. The debris of the Persian sack was dealt with in this way. Broken statues and other dedications were found buried in the foundations of the 'Classical Acropolis.'

¹⁵ Plut. *Alexander* 16

V. CONCLUSIONS

Inscriptions are our primary source for determining why a dedication was given. They are an invaluable source for the understanding of the reason and motivation of gifts to the gods. For the majority of dedicators, however, the idea of attaching an inscription at all was not a necessary one. Fitting an inscription onto the dedicated object itself was not a very popular custom, in particular in Attic art. The numerous inscribed marble bases, votive columns, bronze and pottery bases give ample evidence of this. Not all bases were made of these durable materials. Wood was probably a very common choice for a support of the not so expensive votives. Other dedications might have had pieces of papyrus, leather or wood with a dedicatory inscription attached to them. The skins of goat and sheep as writing surfaces are well attested and might have been considered equally effective for preserving an inscription as a small lead scroll, which later became particularly common for curses dedicated at sanctuaries.¹

All dedicatory inscriptions are a combination of one or more of the following components: the name of the dedicator, the name of the god, the verb for dedication, the object dedicated, the reason for dedicating and a prayer. As a rule inscriptions tend to be brief and break off as soon as they become really interesting. Restorations of texts are often very doubtful.

The inscription is an intrinsic part of many dedications. Dedicatory inscriptions are as old as the Greek alphabet; the inscription is, however, by no means compulsory. And even when it is used, only the minimum of information is often considered to be sufficient. Inscriptions only confirming the dedication as being given (*anetheken*) or as being accepted as holy (*hiera*) are in fact very numerous. The dedicator himself, the reason for the dedication and even the god for whom the gift is intended often remain anonymous. The more elaborate the gift, the greater is the dedicator's urge to state his or her identity and to explain the circumstances of the dedication. Most names retrieved from the votive-inscriptions are sadly not known from other sources. The artistry of the gift is often seen to

¹ Herod. 5. 58

be matched in the compiling of the inscriptions; the first metric inscriptions on dedications are as early as the late eighth century.² The reasons for dedicating are bound in an exceedingly complex net of hopes and fears.³ To maintain a happy life, good relations with the gods have to be ensured. This can be achieved by observing the institutionalised dedications; by giving the firstfruits (*aparchen*) and the tithe (*dekaten*)⁴ and by performing the rites necessary for the different stages of life, for example the donation of hair as *pars pro toto* dedication to put one's life under the protection of the god,⁵ or the dedication of working tools after retirement.⁶

The god's help can also be employed to ensure a beneficial outcome of a specific project. The dedicator is negotiating a contract with the god,⁷ which is either fulfilled immediately by the worshipper, who dedicates the gift in the hope that the god will fulfil his side of the contract or by pledging the dedication in return for the god's help.⁸ The idea of the direct personal interference of the god in exchange for a gift, the *do ut des*, is already expressed in the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*⁹ and can be observed in dedicatory inscriptions throughout the centuries.¹⁰ An inscription in which this idea is very explicitly conveyed is from about 500 B.C., a dedication by Telesinos on the Acropolis, which encourages Athena: '...and now do something to cause him to dedicate another [statue].'¹¹

The gods had also to be thanked for unexpected and unasked favours. The gifts recounting gratitude are the most numerous mentioned in the *Anthologia Palatina*.¹²

² Friedländer *Epigrammata* VII. 17f, no. 10; G. Naumann *Griechische Weihinschriften*, [Thesis] Halle, 1933,

³ Very good in analysing the complex structures: F. Deubner, *JDAI* 58, 89ff and more general: Brückner, *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 59 (1963) 195f

⁴ For a discussion of these terms see Beer, *Aparche und verwandte Ausdrücke in griechischen Weihinschriften*, Diss. Munich 1914

⁵ Wachsmuth, *Pompimos o Daimon*, [Thesis] FU Berlin 1967, 302f

⁶ The dedication of the tools (*symbola technes*) and the 'last dedication' (*hystata dora*) are both recorded in the *Anthologia Palatina* 6, 38, 7

⁷ For the theory of these communicative dedications see in particular M. P. Nilsson *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 1961, 138

⁸ The fulfilment of the pledge is known as *euchen ektelein*.

⁹ Homer *Iliad* 6, 90; 305ff; 10, 291ff; *Odyssey* 3, 55ff; 380ff

¹⁰ The idea of the *do ut des* or *do ut accipiam* has been illustrated by van der Leeuw, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 20, 241ff, and by Colpe *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 74, 1970, 36. The attempts to explain all the motivations of dedicating as exchange deal between worshipper and god (especially strongly argued in: Laum *Heiliges Geld*, 1924, 31ff) is, however, an undue simplification of motives.

¹¹ The dedication by Telesinos is *IG I³ 728: Pharthene en akropolei Telesinos agalm' anetheken / Ketios, hoi chairosa didoies alo anathenai*.

¹² Marwitz *Antike und Abendland* II, 1962, 55ff

Another important function of dedications is the commemoration (*mnema*) of sacrifice and religious rites. Reliefs recall the devoted worshippers,¹³ statues and statuettes the sacrificial victims. The durable witness of pious devotion achieves such an importance that the bronze image of an animal is known to have figured as replacement for the expensive processions and sacrifices pledged to the god.¹⁴

It is, however, not always direct personal benefit which evokes the dedication of a gift. Inscriptions tell us that offerings were also given as tribute to the greater honour of the god. In the sixth century the gift is perceived as *agalma*, as an object commanding admiration and delight.¹⁵ This is even more stressed by the frequent use of the adjective *perikalles*, 'comprehensively beautiful.'¹⁶ Towards the beginning of the fourth century this notion seems to have developed more and more into a badly concealed self-adulation of the dedicator.¹⁷ Pompous monuments as the choregic dedications in Athens and statue-groups with excessive number of figures bear witness to this transformation.¹⁸ The sanctuary is after all the best place to display wealth and power. It is here that the whole population of the town and visitors from further afield gather for important feasts. The dedications are in an elevated place where they are seen by many and at the same time protected from hooliganism. It would come as a surprise if competition and rivalry, the pattern of behaviour so deeply ingrained in all areas of Greek culture, was not present as a motivating force in dedicating to the gods. Religious life was saturated with competitions of every kind. Not only individuals but also family-groups and city-states were competing with each other at religious festivals. The sanctuary and the festivals were places to express the spirit of competition without provoking conflicts. Even victory-monuments commemorating battles could be erected without fear of reprisals.

In all this it is important to remember that human intentions are seldom very tidy. Expectations of quite a diverse character could have been attached to a dedication, perhaps not all of which were suitable to be expressed publicly in an inscription. The hunt

¹³ See in particular U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, 1960

¹⁴ This development is attested by Pausanias 10,18,5 for the expensive daily processions in Delphi (*thysian te kai pompen chalka poiemata*).

¹⁵ H. Bloesch *Agalma* 1943, 14ff

¹⁶ Karousos in: *EPITYMBION TSOUNTA*, 1941, 535ff

¹⁷ A. H. Borbein speaks of 'unverhüllter Selbstdarstellung' (*JDAI* 88 (1973) 78, 84f)

¹⁸ A. H. Borbein *JDAI* 88 (1973) 48f; Bommelaer, *BCH* 95, 43ff (with a detailed description of the 37 figured statue group dedicated to Delphi after the victory at Aigaspotamoi in 405 B.C. by Lysandros)

for these intentions is fraught with the danger of reading motives which are at best accidental. The interpretation of the Parthenon as allegory of the Anaxagorian cosmology surely has to be such a case.

Can we find changes of society and religion reflected in dedications? Throughout all of the constitutional changes and transfers of power from the time of Solon until the end of the fourth century, the worship of Athena on the Acropolis was a source of continuity and immutability for the community of Athens.¹⁹ It would be strange, however, not to expect economic and political changes to be in some way reflected on the Acropolis. Religion and everyday life seem to have been very much intertwined in antiquity. Thus a religious act could also have a secular dimension, as the secular was deeply rooted in religion. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect a strong influence of society on the sanctuary. Solon's reforms herald a new phase of social stability, better distribution of wealth and perhaps a general increase of prosperity. The change most apparent in the sanctuary is probably the multiplying of dedications and buildings. From Solon's time onward economic prosperity transformed the Acropolis with an energetic building programme and steadily increasing number of dedications into one of the great sanctuaries of Greece. The society Solon's lawmaking encouraged was reminded by him to give due thanks to 'the great hearted guardian Pallas Athena, daughter of a mighty sire, that holdeth her hands over us.'²⁰ The dedication of marble sculpture on the Acropolis also seems to have been triggered by Solon. Over life-size statues were well known before Solon in Athens, as the kouroi found in the Dipylon cemetery, and contemporary kouroi, brilliant examples of Attic craftsmanship, dedicated in other sanctuaries as Poseidon at Sounion. No equivalent of these early statues has left its mark on the Acropolis.

In looking at the Acropolis it is necessary not to underestimate the sanctuary's economic power. The gradual accumulation of wealth must have turned the Acropolis into a centre of capital, starting in the eighth century with the accrual of tripods. From later times we know that this wealth was indeed available as 'bank-loan' against interest to chosen petitioners. Whoever held the priesthood had considerable financial influence.

¹⁹ Harris, *Treasures*, 22

²⁰ Solon, *Elegies* 4, lines 3-4, transl. J. M. Edmonds

The establishment of tyranny by the middle of the century introduces a new characteristic phase. Many of the former poor, peasant farmers, traders and artisans, take a considerable share in the increasingly flourishing economy. The growing of crops is maximised, self-sufficiency farming utilising a broad variety of plants not very suitable to the poor Attic soil is more and more abandoned in favour of exportable cash-crops, olive-oil and wine. Manufactured Attic goods also become more popular, in particular the pottery attracts new markets around the Mediterranean. On the other hand Athens becomes more dependent on imports, in particular grain. The end of the sixth century sees Athens transformed from a small, self-sufficient town into a dynamic trade-centre. This has implications for the expansion of the merchant fleet and the number of citizens whose livelihood is related to seafaring.

The reforms of Solon coincide with the first statues being dedicated on the Acropolis, the first increase in numbers of sculpture, in particular the korai, takes place around the middle of the century, a time generally associated with a reorganisation of the Panathenaic games. The Panathenaia allowed women to perform a prominent role in the religious rites. This might explain to some extent why it was the kore which dominated the statue dedications in such a major way on the Acropolis until the Persian wars. The volume of votives increases further in the last third of the sixth century. The rule of Peisistratos and his sons evidently saw Athens prosper; although this growth is low compared to the exponential expansion of all classes of dedications between 510 and 480. Although the last increase coincided with the new democracy the development seems a continuous progress. The charts find no trace of a gap proposed by earlier scholars. Even if the tyrants lived on the Acropolis access for dedicators was never restricted, not even following the death of Hipparchos, although it is not very likely that a gap of less than five years would show up very clearly. The decline of all dedications after 480 is marked, but not complete. Dedications were evidently still made and broken pieces could easily be disposed off in the sanctuary, in foundations of the building-sites. Only with the end of the building-programme at the end of the fifth century would it have become necessary to take broken and unwanted dedications off the sanctuary perimeter.

We know from literature that the fifth century sees a change in religious perceptions. A signal of this are the numerous 'asebeia' trials and the growing influence

and popularity of the mystery cults.²¹ In Homer and Hesiod man is seen as the powerless plaything of the gods.²² Two-hundred years later Xenophanes shows a new optimism: 'not from the beginning did the gods reveal everything to mankind, but in the course of time men by research discover improvements'.²³ The change is also becoming apparent in the vocabulary of dedications. The term *agalma* initially used for every object dedicated to the gods is already towards the end of the fifth century losing its broad meaning. It becomes restricted to the dedicated statue and, even more specifically, the statue depicting a god.²⁴ The small and humble present may not have been welcomed in the way it was when the Acropolis was still less built-up. Perhaps we can see a new formality entering the relationship of worshipper and god.

The statues and all objects on the Acropolis were dedications, as Pausanias assures us.²⁵ This means that the equestrian and athletes statues which were regarded as honorific and not votive in Olympia were given of free will in Athens. Hidden behind this observation might be a change in attitude of the dedicators towards their offering. At some stage during the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. the dedications ceased to be set up because of a spontaneous feeling of gratitude but were made because of an honour earned on the race-track or a sense of duty, the tithe truly turned into a tax.²⁶ The spotlight shifts from the goddess for whom the offering was intended to the glory of the dedicator of the piece himself. This process must have been aided by the competitive nature of dedications, led to an extreme by the victory monuments of the states at the national sanctuaries.

Do important cultural distinctions determined by sex or class become obvious in the dedications?

The inscriptions are not very explicit about the class of the dedicator. Barely a few layers of society are clearly represented in the inscriptions and hardly any of the dedicators' names are known from other sources. Perhaps the fact that these dedicators are not more prominent is an indication that they were probably not select members of an

²¹ K. Fittschen, *Gnomon* 46 (1974) 787ff with prior bibliography on the subject.

²² See in particular Homer, *Odyssey* 17.130-37; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 21, 24-26

²³ Xen. fr. 18; Kirk; J. E Raven; M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 1983, no. 188

²⁴ H. Philipp, *Tektonon Daidala*, 1968, 103ff and *Olympia* XIII, 26

²⁵ Paus. V. 21. 1

²⁶ See also Rouse, *Votive Offerings*, 168

all-powerful elite. Prosperous Athenian craftsmen, as perhaps the potter Nearchos, were apparently driven by the same urge to dedicate expensive gifts, his possible dedication, the Antenor kore, was the largest kore on the Acropolis, and his choice of subject, the kore, is from the repertoire often labelled 'aristocratic'.²⁷ Sculptors have dedicated their own work²⁸ and like the Praxiteles clan were known to be fabulously rich.²⁹ A wide section of society might have been prosperous enough to afford valuable dedications. Every person receiving an income was certainly expected to give a share to the gods, as the sausage-seller in Aristophanes' *Knights* who was chided for not performing his duty 'I'll denounce your sausages as confiscate to the gods; never a tithe have you paid on them.'³⁰ It is not clear whether the tithe would have been made on the Acropolis and the abundance of other shrines might have received many of the smaller gifts. Perhaps it is time to reassess the standing in Athenian society of the lowest class, the slaves. No dedication on the Acropolis has been confirmed as having been made by slaves, yet, no laws forbidding slaves to give dedications are known.³¹ Our conception of the standing of slaves in Greek society might well be tainted by more recent history. The slaves working on the Erechtheion earned the same wage as the freeborn craftsman and their names are listed together.³² That does, of course, not mean that slaves received the same wage as their freeborn colleagues; the money was held by their masters, to dispose of at their pleasure. The peculiarity of our evidence becomes clear when we recall that the best represented class on marble dedications are the potters.

The examination of the iconography of the decoration of the dedications reveals Athena as the dominant motive. The most important and famous statues dedicated to Athena are in her image, a sizeable proportion of bronze statuettes and practically all terracotta statuettes depict her, the myths chosen to decorate the vases given to her show her and her favourite heroes centre-stage. It seemed to have been natural to the Greeks to

²⁷ Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 48, 58, 80

²⁸ DAA, no. 143

²⁹ IG II² 1623, 1628-9: evidence for trierarchies for six ships being undertaken by the clan in under 10 years; evidence for other sculptors' economic standing in society collected by Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 65-66 and 339.

³⁰ Arist. *Knights* 300, translation Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 60

³¹ Exceptions to the acceptability of such presents: cf. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* VI 262c; see also D. Williams, 'Potter, Painter and Purchaser' in *Culture et Cité*, 1995

³² A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, 1972, 21, 91

dedicate to the god the god's own image, perhaps as one way of acknowledging his or her power. Olympia shows the same preference for statues of Zeus, Delphi for Apollo, and so on. This becomes already strikingly evident just by looking through the literature.³³

The most popular way of depicting Athena seems to have been as Promachos, fully armed with the spear raised in her right hand. This is, of course, the way she was shown on the Panathenaic amphorae and in particular on plaques and plates. Eleven of the bronze statuettes, ranging from before the middle of the sixth century to the very late Archaic, suggest that we probably can expect a sizeable proportion of the bigger statuary to follow the type. It has long been thought that all these might have been inspired by one statue - perhaps another cult-figure.³⁴ The subtle changes in dress, armour and stance make such an image improbable. The type is clearly freely developing and perhaps we need not look further for the inspiration for the Promachos than the images used at the Panathenaic festival. Most archaeologists immediately associate the type with the prize-amphorae, a single symbol of strength; the ancient visitor probably supplied the vision of a cowering giant as opponent of the goddess and took the image as abbreviation of the gigantomachy. Perhaps this was the way she was originally depicted in the gigantomachy woven into the peplos and as the garment was renewed every year and the prize-amphorae every fourth year the type changed in subtle ways while the idea remained the same.

The iconography contains no evidence of Athena as Potnia Theron, though 'the serpent on the Acropolis' myth of Erichthonios is suggestive.³⁵ 'Monsters' on the Acropolis: Gorgoneia, chimearas, griffins, sphinxes, serpents, lions. It is peculiar how these supernatural beings surround the dedications and buildings, in particular of the early sanctuary. The obsession with these creatures expresses fascination with the most frightening powers. The threat they pose does not affect the gods, they have harnessed the evil powers as Athena has harnessed the gorgoneion of the aegis. The monsters serve as powerful weapons against any enemy and are employed as guardians of the holy in the sanctuary. The harnessing of these mighty powers reveals the awesome strength of the

³³ Pausanias alone mentions numerous examples, e. g. Paus. V. 23. 1; V. 23. 7; V. 24.1; V. 24. 4; VI. 24. 3.; X. 1. 3-11; X. 13. 9 (also in Herod. IX. 80); X. 14. 5, X. 15. 1.

³⁴ B. S. Ridgway, 'Images of Athena on the Akropolis' in *Goddess and Polis*, 1992, 129 with note 35 for earlier literature.

³⁵ Ch. Christou, *Potnia Theron* (1968)

gods. To surround the sanctuary with the most terrible beings and to keep them subjugated shows the gods as true champions against evil. Perhaps even Herakles could be seen in a similar light to these creatures. Led and aided by Athena this superhuman force which, untamed, has most certainly frightening aspects, is turned into a powerful 'weapon' to right wrong, to bring justice and order.

Literature and actual finds often give us a very different picture of dedications on the Acropolis. The latest finds of tripods are the Etruscan fragments from the end of the sixth century. The custom of awarding tripods as prizes³⁶ and therefore presumably their dedication on the Acropolis continues. The dedication of tripods turned into an extravagant display on the Street of the Tripods and the choregic monument of Thrasyllus was even built into the hill of the Acropolis in 320/19 B.C.³⁷ Yet, no physical evidence of tripods from the fifth century onwards exists on the Acropolis.

Not many perishable goods are known to have been dedicated to Athena. It seems that a tithe and firstfruits of every harvested good are attested as offering to a god or hero and even the huntsmen and fishermen give their share to Artemis or Poseidon. Of all this Athena is only attested to have received an offering of olives in an inscription from Rhodes.³⁸ In Athens Athena Polias, the Sun and the Seasons may have received offerings of oil together with bread and fruit, honey and wine in the Eiresione, 'a sort of harvest home.'³⁹ Her sacred olive grove was perhaps also perceived to be the tithe of the oil-production from the whole city. An olive branch from a tree in her sacred grove was offered to Athena at the Panathenaia.⁴⁰ If Athena received firstfruits in kind it is likely that the goods were sold and the money used to buy more permanent votives. This custom is well attested in Eleusis, where the votive offerings bought in this fashion were inscribed *tou karpou tes eparches*.⁴¹

It is also important to question again how well the dedications we generally consider as 'non-perishable' have survived. The excavators most certainly seem to have

³⁶ For literary sources see Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 151-60

³⁷ See for example the monument of Lysikrates (335/4)

³⁸ *IG I¹ 781*

³⁹ Rouse, *Votive Offerings*, 52 and note 4 and 5 with further refs.

⁴⁰ Schol. Clem. Alex. p. 9. 33, quoted by Dar. and Sagl.

⁴¹ First published by Körte, *AM* 21, 322 ff.

been quite ruthless at times in discarding objects we would have liked preserved or at least recorded. Did the excavation really only produce four small ivory objects? No coins, gems or precious stones have been recorded from the Acropolis in the Athens Museums. No iron has been preserved on the Acropolis. Decorative elements of a type of 'Stabdreifüsse' which in Olympia have shown a combination of bronze and iron rods are present on the Acropolis and prove without doubt that iron must have been present in the sanctuary once. Of course, iron was more valuable than bronze and thus even more likely to be reused, it also corrodes viciously and any excavators are probably tempted not to keep the ugly scraps. Perhaps many items listed as 'from the Acropolis' in the European Museums were not objects picked up somewhere in Athens after all but freely given by the excavators who valued them little.

The preservation of the statues and their bases has also been given food for thought. The Korai plotted against all inscriptions from bases sees the numbers of statues rise several times above the number of bases between 560 and 510 B.C. [Fig. 91]. Is this a quirk caused by the dates we use for statues and inscriptions or a true picture of how well the two different classes give evidence?

The Acropolis was not exclusively reserved for the worship of Athena, other gods and heroes had temples and shrines in the sanctuary. Next to Athena Polias, the most revered cult on the Acropolis, we find Athena Nike, Athena Parthenos, Zeus Polieus, Poseidon, Artemis Brouroia, Hephaistos, the heroes Butes, Erechtheus, Kekrops, and his daughter Pandrosos. What is the evidence of dedications given to gods other than Athena on the Acropolis? In the 430s, with the general increase of status of the Acropolis, the other gods on the Acropolis become more prominent. Kallias sets in place a board of 'Treasurers of the Other Gods'.⁴² Only a few decades later, in 406/5, the board is amalgamated again with the Treasurers of Athena. A second separation lasts from 386/5 to 346/5 B.C.⁴³ The heroes are commemorated but their worship seems to decline.⁴⁴ After all, any beings who might possess considerable power can not safely be neglected. But in our

⁴² These were stored in the Opisthodomos during the last decades of the fifth centuries: Harris, *Treasures*, 40-43; T. Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions*, 1975.JG I³, 52; Meiggs, Lewis 58.

⁴³ R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 684-321 B.C.* (1989) 8; P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (1981) 549-50; W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena* (1932) 104-9

⁴⁴ See also Rouse, *Offerings*, 12 and note 2 for collection of primary sources .

period we have identified very few dedications to divinities other than Athena; an inscription to Zeus Polieus was found,⁴⁵ Apollo had a bronze statue dedicated,⁴⁶ a cup by Makron, II AKR 351, was addressed to Dionysos,⁴⁷ Artemis received perhaps the krateriskoi and a statue of Artemis Leukophryne, a dedication by the sons of Themistokles,⁴⁸ and two statues were dedicated to Hermes, IG I³ 776, the base for a herm and IG I³ 840, dedicated to Hermes Enagonios.⁴⁹ These gods can only have played a minor role on the Acropolis. If the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis did receive pottery dedications in any number her name as recipient of the dedication remains curiously absent. Inscriptions on the pottery in Brauron name Artemis frequently [Fig. 135].

Comparing the dedications from the Acropolis with the dedications from other sanctuaries leaves as main impression the great variety of objects and subjects given to the Acropolis. The statuary on the Acropolis ranges from statues of Athena herself to korai, kouroi, animals, horsemen and scribes. The sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios in Boeotia is almost completely dominated by kouroi. Does this identify the Athenians as a more diverse people or is it Athena who seems to be open to prayers from a greater variety of life? Some developments in numbers of dedications, in particular of the cheaper variety are mirrored in other sanctuaries. Terracotta and vase dedications on the Acropolis and other major Attic sanctuaries decrease in numbers after 480 B.C.⁵⁰ The immediate cause for this must be the Persian occupation. The continuation of the absence perhaps indicates that these small offerings were then dedicated at minor shrines rather than the important sanctuaries.

⁴⁵ *Delt. Arch.* (1890) 146

⁴⁶ See above page 207.

⁴⁷ See above page 53

⁴⁸ See above page 70 and page 208 and page 203

⁴⁹ See above page 138

⁵⁰ In particular Eleusis, where the cut off of the terracotta votives at this stage may have been almost complete.

An official policy on the Acropolis to restrict the clutter caused by humble offerings seems unlikely. The cut off on the Acropolis is not complete, an official policy would have ensured that no examples of a small dedication would have been preserved. The change in attitude must have been an general acknowledgement that dedications to Athena should be of a more substantial kind.

APPENDIX

IG I³
Inscriptions

1. BRONZES

IG I ³	YEAR B.C.	OBJECT	INSCRIPTION
517	500-480	Chalcidian helmet	Αθελαιοι- - - ον λαβοντες
518	500-493	Corinthian helmet	Αθελαιοι τον εγ Αέ[μνο?] a relique of the conquering of Lemnos by Miltiades (Hdt. VI, 136-40) . Could be Αε[σβος]
519	450-425	Corinthian helmet	Αθελαιας
520a	510-490	helmet	[Αθελ)αιας
520b	475-450	helmet	Αθελ[αιας]
520c	475-450	helmet	Αθελ[αιας]
520d	475-450	helmet	Αθελ[αιας]
521a	500-475	spike of spear	Αθελαιας
521b	475-450	spike of spear	Αθελαιας
521c	460-440	spike of spear	Αθελαιας
521d	450-400	spike of spear	Αθελαιας
521e	475-450	spike of spear	Αθελαι[ας]
521f	475-450	spike of spear	Αθελ(αιας)
521g	500-450	spike of spear	η[ερον] η[ερα]- also in Olympia
521h	500-450	spike of spear	Α[θελαιας]
521i	500-450	spike of spear	η[ες] Α[θελαιας]
526	525-500	base	Αισχίνες Χαρίας ανέθετεν ταθελαια άπαρχέν
527	510-490	base	Θειμάδες άν<ε>θεκεν ταθελαιί
528	510-490	base	Νικύλος ανέθεκεν
529	500-480	base	η[αγνονίδες] ανέθεκεν ταθελαια quadruped? now in Paris, Bibl. Nat.
530	500-480	base	Μενεκλέδες ανέθεκεν
531	500-480	base	άνεθε]κεν ταθελαια<ι> ά[ι]παρχέν
532	500-480	base	Αισχύλος ανέθεκεν [ταθελαιαι]
533	490-480	base	Πάσιν Ίσ άνθροποις] ηυποκρίνομαι ήσστις έρω]ται 2 όσ μάνεθεκ άνδρον Αντιφάνες δεκάτεν
534	485-475	base	Κλε<ο>φάνε μανέθεκεν ταθελ]ναιαι ηαντες
535	485-475	base	Αθελαιας
536	485-475	base	Γλύκε δεκάτεν ταθελαια<ι>
537	485-475	base	Χαλχίς καί Θετις Αθε[
538	485-475	base	Αθελαιαι ανέθεκεν Κλεαρέτε
539	485-475	Athena Promachos	Χάρ(ες) (ίαις)
540	480-470	Athena Promachos	Μελεσδ ανέθεκεν δεκάτεν ταθελαια
541	480-490	kouros	η[ιε]ρος Αθελαιας πεδι
542	470-460	discobolos	ηιερος τες Αθελαιας - - Φιλαιου δεκατε
543	600-550?	ram	Πεσιδιος ικεσια
544	560-540	pomegranate	Κλ]ιτοφον μα[νεθ]ε[κ]εν [Δ]η[ας] γ[λαυ]ροπιδι φορει πολ[ι]οχοι [δ]ε[κ] α[φε]ν
545	550-525	head of ram	- - - - -τεν οικειαν με ταθελαιαι ανεθεκεν
546	505-495	min. shield	Φρυγια ανεθεκεν με ταθελαια ηε αρτοπολ]ις
547	500-475	min. disc	Λυσίλλα απαρχεν Αθελαιαι
548	480-470	little wheel	Πιθεκος ανεθεκεν
548b	485-475	mirror handle	Γλύκε ανεθεκεν Αθελαιαι in Kanellopoulos Collection

549	455-445	mirror?	Χηρίας ανεθεκεν Αθηναια Raubitschek Hesperia 8, 1939155 n.1
549b	410-400	lamp-ship	hieron tes Athinai
550	650-600	bowl	--- μετες ανεθε[κεν
551	600-550	bowl	Καλιας με χαβ[ρο]μος ανεθεκεν not in De Ridder!
552	600-550	bowl	-- φον μ ανεθεκεν αγ[α]λμα ταθηναια
553	600-550	bowl	-- πιο υινος
554	555-545	big bowl handle	Πολυκλες ανεθεκεν ο κνα<φ>ευσ ταθηναια
554b	555-545	vase	απαρχεν [τ]αθηναιαι
555	525-500	big bowl handle	Τυμαγορα μα[νεθεκε ταθηναιαι?]
556	500-480	big bowl handle	Θρασυκλειδες ανεθεκε
557	500-480	big bowl handle	ευχσामενε δε κοραι part of metric insc. pentam.
558	500-480	big bowl handle	hieron eimi
558b	500-480	big bowl handle	ο δεινα ανεθεκεν] ταθηναια
558t	485-475	big bowl handle	Πυθονελος ταθηναιαι
559	500-480	phiale	hermogenes ανεθεκεν απο[ρχ]εν [ταθε]ναιαι
560	500-480	phiale	Νικαττανεθεκεν ταθ[εναιαι
561	500-480	phiale	hierai Athinaias
561b	500-480	bowl	απαρχε ταθεν[αιαι
561t	500-480	tripod lekanis	Ιππυλος ανεθεκεν ταθηναιαι
562	500-480	long handle of phiale	Καλικρατες ανεθεκεν
563	500-480	phiale handle	?τες Αθηναιας] εimi Keramopoulos 33, n. 3
564	500-475	phiale?	Επιγεν[ες]---
565	485-475	phiale	Καπανις δεκα[τ]εν ανεθεκεν τ*αθηναιαι
566	485-475	phiale	Δεισιθεος Ευθυδεμος απαρχ -- ανεθετε[ν] τει Αθηναιαι
567	475-450	bowl	Μελι[τει]α [μ*ανεθε]κ[ε]ν υματιον δεκατεν
568	470-450	bowl	hierai Poseideios [ανεθεκε τ*αθε]ναια[ι
569	480-470	phiale handle	hieron tes Athinaias
569b	500-480	phiale	hieron tes Athina[ias]
569t	485-475	phiale?	hieron tes A[θ]ηναιας]
570	480-450	phiale?	Αθε]νοδορο[ς?] ανεθεκ[εν] Αθ[
570a	500-480	phiale	-- πρ-- [ανεθεκεν] απαρχεν ταθηναια
570b	500-480	phiale	-- ανε[θεκε]ν--
570c	500-480	phiale	ανεθεκ[εν] απ[α]ρχεν ταθηναια
570d	500-480	phiale	-- απ[α]ρχ[ε]ν ταθε[ναιαι
570e	500-480	phiale	-- δεκατεν ευχσ[α]μεν--
570f	500-480	phiale	--- απα[ρχ]εν---
571	500-480	handle oinochoe	ημερα Αθηναιαι ανεθεκε
572	500-480	handle oinochoe	Μυρτο μ* ανεθεκεν ταθεναι
573	500-480	hydria?	Ζενος ερ[--- η]αντες και παιδον θεκεν αγαλμα -- ετεον
574	470-480	hydria?	[?ταθηναια ανεθεκε Σ]μικυθε δεκατεν
575	480-470	hydria?	Μεγα-- εδο[.]ανεθε[κ]ε Μεγακλεδες
576	455-445	hydria?	[ταθεν]αιαι Δοροθεος ανεθεκε
577	500-480	merry -thought	Σμικρα hierai
578	485-475	merry -thought	Αθηναιας
579	475-450	merry -thought	hi]eron tes Athinaias
580	475-450	merry -thought	Αθηναιας εimi
581	480-450	vase	ο δεινα ανεθεκεν Πυ[?]θαγορο
582	475-450	vase	-- ρμος α[νε]θε[κε]-- (Αρχε]ρμος?)
583a	480-450	big basin handle	-- ανδρο-- (Ανδρο[κλειδες ανεθεκεν?])
583b	480-450	phiale?	Επιχ[?] or Χ[?]αρινα[ς?] ανεθεκεν

583c	480-450	phiale?	--- θο τα<θ>εναιαι
583d	475-450	vase	Αθεν--
583e	475-450	vase	-- ενα-- Αθ]ενα[ιαι? [ιας?
583f	475-450	vase	-- να--
583g	500-400	vase	Να--
583h	500-400	vase	Σμι--
583i	500-400	vase	Π?]αμιλλας
583j	500-480	vase	--- απα]ρχεν
583k	500-480	vase	--- ανεθεκεν τα[θεναιαι
583l	500-480	vase	-- ανεθεκεν α]παρχε[ν τ]αθεναιαι
583m	500-480	phiale?	-- μενε-- Μενε- ορ ευχσα]μενε
583n	500-480	vase	ταθε[εναιαι ανεθεκεν --]ος
583o	500-480	vase	--- Αθεναια]ι ανεθε[κε---
583p	500-480	phiale?	-- δεκατεν--
583r	500-480	vase	ιερα εμ<ι> τες [Αθεναιας
583s	505-495	vase	ιερον τει Αθεναιαι
583t	525-500	vase	ιε]ρον τες Α[θεναι]ας
583u	500-480	vase	ιε]ρον τες [Αθεναιας]
583v	500-480	vase	ιερον Αθε[ναιας]
583w	485-475	vase	ιερ[α ορ]ον
583x	500-480	vase	-- Αθενας---
583y	500-480	vase	-- τ] Αθεν[αιαι
583z	500-480	vase	--- Αθεν]αιαι
583aa	500-480	vase	--- Αθεναιαι
583b b	500-480	vase	-- Αθεναιο[ς-- [ι--
583cc	500-480	vase	-- Α]θε[ν]αιαι
583d d	500-480	vase	-- Α]θενα[ιαι [ιας
583ee	500-480	fragment	Α]θεν[ιαια [αιας
583ff	500-480	fragment	χι]δες α[νεθεκε---
584	700-650	bowl	???--- μοριον και Χιχιδαι κα[ι----
585	550-530	bowl	τον επι [Δ]αμασιδαι αιτηλον εμι, [ο δεινα τ' αθεναια --- κα]θεκεν
586	600-550	bowl	τον επι Γελα]νοπι---]οπιδες εμι, [-- Χ]οιραχσιαδ[ας εδοκε ε]π' Ενπεδοσθενιδαι
587	600-550	bowl	--- α αιθλον με [εδοκε
588	505-495	bowl	-- αδα[ς με]εδοκε επ[ι] Δαμαλαι

2. STONE OBJECTS

IG I ³	YEAR B.C.	OBJECT	INSCRIPTION
589	650-600	base or bowl?	--- ?--- ?---- δεκα[τεν
589b	700-600	stele	Τε]λεφ-- -- επ]οισεν -- κε--
590	600-575	altar or table	-- ανεθ]εκεν Αθεναιαι Χα[ι]ριον ταμεινον Κλεδι[ο υιος]
591	600-575	base	-- ον ho [Φι]λαγρο-- -- φορη[ει---
592	600-575	capital	Φυ]- -- ανεθεκεν Διος γλ]αυκοπιδι ρ[ορει]
593	570-560	base	?Ρ]ονβος ανεθεκεν ο Παλο.
594	555-545	capital	υπ---- α --- ?--- ?
595	575-500	?	--- ος
596	555-545	altar?	τες Αθε[ναιας, τες Νικες, βομος. Πατροκ<λ>ειδ[ες] εποισεν. for the first panath. or little later
597	555-545	columns	?Κροισ]ος καλκμεα[νι]δες πεν[τε] hi πι]κον τε ν[ικ]εσαντε ανε[θετεν]
598	550-540	base	-- ανεθεκεν] ο γαρ το προτον [ενικα]
599	550-540	column	-- επο]ισεν Αθenei [ος μ' ανεθεκεν] [εργον τον παλα]μον ηαγνει [επευχσαμενος]
600	550-540	base	Χε]ρμη[κρατες μ' ανεθεκεν ho Δεχ]σιθεο τα[δε αγαλμα]
601	550-540	base	-- ου προ-- -- να
602	545-535	base	--- α[.]ο-- -- ος γ--- [.]οιδε ηερακλ-- α--
603	540-530	column	--- Δικα --- ιος Ευριπ--- [τει] θεοι

604	540-520	base	[.]ετιος μ[ανεθεκεν]
605	530-520	table?	-- Χαιρελίδες Θοπειδης [ε]ποιον [τον βο]μον
606	530-520	base	-- α[νεθεκεν] ho τεκτον
607	530-520	pillar	ποτνί Αθηναια τ-- Γλαυκίας ανεθεκε--
608	530-520	pillar	σοι με], θεα, τοδ' αγαλμα ανεθεκε Μελανθυπο[ς εργον] ευχσμενος δε[κατ]εν παιδι Διος μεγαλο
609	530-520	base	Χιονις ολ[--- ανεθεκεν
610	530-510	capital	--- λιτες ανεθεκε[ν απαρχ]εν ταθηναιαι [και nome[n υιο]ς
610b	530-510	base pillar	ν-- ν-- ν-- το-- ι--
611	530-510	pillar	-- ταθηναιαι [-- ανεθε]κεν
612	530-510	pillar	-- ικλειδε[ς--] -- ε[ο] α--
612b	530-510	pillar	-- θε---
613	530-510	pillar	[-- ανεθε]κεν ταθ[ε]ναιαι απαρχ[εν]
614	530-510	pillar	Ιατροκλεες --- και Κεφα[λος--]
615	525-510	pillar	Εργοκλεια α[νεθεκεν--] ιαπαρχεν
616	525-510	column	Σιμον α[νεθεκε--] ho κναφευς δεκατεν kore Act. 429
617	525-510	base	[Παλ]αδι μ'εγρεμαχαι Διονυσια[ς ενθα]δ' αγαλμα στεσε Κολοιο παις [ευχσ]αμενος δεκατεν
618	520-510	column	Αλκιμαχος μ'ανεθεκε Διος κορει τοδ' αγαλμα ευχολεν, εσθλο δε πατρος ηυς Χαιριονος επευχεται <ε>ναφι]
619	515-505	column	[π]οτνί Αθηναια, σοι Τιμοκρατες ανεθεκε[ν] ηuiος Αρισταιχμο, παι Διος αιγιοχο
620	530-520	pillar	Μηνεσιαδες κεραμευς με και Ανδροκιδες ανεθεκεν
621	530-520	pillar	-- ανεθεκεν [τει] Αθηναιαι το ηυ[--] δεκατεν
622	520-510	base	Χναιαδες ανεθεκεν ho Παλενευς
623	520-510	base	--- ες ηενεκ[α---]
624	520-510	pillar	-- οκλες
625	520-510	pillar	-- επ[ο]ιεσε[ν]
626	520-510	pillar	-- εργ[ον] [Α]θεν[αιαι--]
626b	515-505	column	--- μο--- ανεθε]κε[ε---]
627	525-515	pillar	-- Αθηναι[αι] ανακειμαι -- νες Ευμαρες [εργασα]το
628	525-515	pillar	Νεαρχος ανεθεκεν [ho κεραμε]υς εργον απαρχεν τ'αθ[ε]ναιαι Αντενορ επ[ο]ιεσεν η ho Ευμαρος ε[ο] αγαλμα]
629	520-510	base	Ευμαρ[ες--]
630	510-500	base	βας π---[η]ρυσε---[η]λθεπ---
631	510-500	column	Αισχινης ανεθεκεν Αθηναιαι τοδ' αγαλμα ευχσμενος δεκατεν παιδι Διος μεγαλο
632	510-500	pillar	[?Προθ]ημος επ[ο]ιεσε[ν] [-- α]νεθεκεν [αθε]μενα[ιαι] τοδ' α[παρχ]εν [ευχσ]αμενος κο[ρ]ει [παι]δ[ι] Διος μ[ε]γαλο
633	510-500	capital	Πεικον ευχσμενος κεραμευς δεκατεν ανεθεκεν ταθηναιαι
634	510-500	pillar	Σπιντον--- ευχομε[νος] χαριεντ' αναθεματα αλλα τε δοναι
635	510-500	column	Αισχυλιδ[ες] μ[ανεθεκε]ν Αθηναιαι τοδ' αγαλμα] αυτο κο[ρ]ι γ[εν]εας μ[ν]εμα---
636	510-500	base	--- δεμος--- σιστρα[τι]ο--- ανεθετε[ν]---
637	510-500	base	Ηγεσαν[δρο]ς ανεθεκ[εν] ταθηναιαι [Γ]οργιας επ[ο]ιεσεν]
638	510-500	base	--- ?παι]ς αγεροχος -- ο [ε]υχσμενος δεκατεν. Γοργιας επ[ο]ιεσε
639	510-500	base	[Θρ]αιχς Κορτυνιο [αν]εθεκεν [τ]αθηναιαι. [Γ]οργ[ι]α[ς] επ[ο]ιεσεν]
640	505-495	column	--- [Γορ]ηγας [ε]ποιεσεν]
641	510-500	column	Αμειν[ια]ς ανεθεκ[ε] ταθηναιαι. Γοργ[ια]ς επ[ο]ιεσε[ν] kore Act. 475, 611
642	510-500	base	Ναυκλο[ς] Ευδικο η[υ]ιος--] Παλλαδ[ι] τριτογενει---
642b	510-500	base	[--- επ[ο]ιεσεν
643	510-500	column	--- ς ανεθεκεν --- Διος κρατερο[ρ]ρονι παιδι απ<α>ρχεν
644	510-500	pillar	Λυσιας ανεθεκεν Αθηναιαι απαρχεν Ευχαρις ανεθεκεν δεκατεν Αθηναιαι
645	510-500	column	[--- επ[ο]ιε]σεν
646	510-500	base	Σμικρος ανεθε]κεν] ο σκυλοδεσφ-- Ευθυκλες μ'επα[ιεσε]
647	510-500	pillar	Παλαδι Αθηναιαι Λυσον ανεθεκεν απαρχεν ηον αυτο κ[τ]εα]νον, τει δε θεοι χαριεν Θεβαδες επ[ο]ιεσεν ho Κη[ρ]ηνο παις τοδ' αγαλμα
648	510-500	base	-- ε τον[ε]--- } --- μυδρο-- ισθος---
649	510-500		-- μ' ανεθεκεν απαρχεν ταθηναιαι] [--- δ επ[ο]ιε]σεν Αθ[ε]ν[ια]ιος τοδ' αγαλμα]
649b	510-500	base	--- Αθεν[αιαι--] } - εμεδο--
650	510-500	pillar	--- σιβιος μ' ανεθεκε--- ο]ς κα---
651	510-500	base	[..]ον [?δεκατεν ανεθε]κεν [ταθηναιαι Α]φ[ρ]ιδιαιος?

652	510-500	base	--- ν δεκατ[εν κορει Δι]ος ενθ[αδε τονδε] -- νο θεκεν Ον[εσι]βιος
652b	510-500	marble bit	--- ιος
653	510-500	pillar	Παντε[λες δεκατεν?] ανεθεκ[ε ταθ]εναιαι[?]
654	505-495	base	[-- απαρχ]εν αν[εθετεν] --- ος και-- -- π--
655a	505-495	base	[ο δεινα επο]ισε[ν]
655b	505-495	base	[?Στ]ηθεον--
655c	505-495	base	-- αδελ[φ-] -- πατρος [και ηεα]ντο --- αρχ---
655d	505-495	base	--- νε--- --- αι---
655e	505-495	base	--- ικ---
655f	505-495	base	[-- ανεθ]εκ[ε---] [-- δ]εκ[ατεν---]
655g	500-480	base	[Πα]λαδι τριτογ[?]ενει
656	510-500	base	[Φ]ασακυθε ανεθεκεν ηερμιπος εποισεν
657	510-500	pillar	Πολυ--- ανεθ[εκεν] [δ]εκατεν [η]ο Χειμερπο [Π]ολλιας εποισεν
658	510-500	pillar	Κριτον Αθηναιαι ho Σκυθο ανεθεκε με. Πολ[λ]ιας] εποισ[ε]ν
659	510-500	pillar	--- [τ]ο π[α]ηρος ευχα[αμενο--] Ετεα[ρχ]ος και[-- ανεθετεν]. [--- ε]ποισεν
660	510-500	pillar	Τεισικλεες δεκατεν [α]νεθεκεν Αθηναια[ι]
661	510-500	base	ημε[ρ]αιος---] []ος ε--- [οφ--- [Πολλ]ιας επ[ο]ισε]σεν
662	510-500	pillar	Φαιδ- σοι το--- ηοι--- πολ---
663	510-500	base	--- ηνιο[σ] --- υς τοδε επο[ι]ε]
664a	505-495	pillar	-- ι-- -- δον ε--
664b	505-495	pillar	-- επο[ι]σεν]
664c	505-495	pillar	[-- ε]πο[ι]σεν]
664d	505-495	pillar	Πο---
665	510-500	base	Λεοβιος εποισεν Πυρετιαδες
666	510-500	base	Αλκιβιος ανεθεκεν κιθαροιδος Νεσιotes
667	510-500	pillar	[ευχα]αμενος] δ[ε]κατεν--] ο Τελε[στο] Παλα[δι] [τριτογεν]ει γλαυκ[οπ]ηδι [τονδε αν]εθεκεν
668	510-500	pillar	--- σονι---
669	510-500	pillar	-- ομεν---
670	510-500	pillar	Αισχι[νες ανεθεκεν--] ο Πισστο---
671	510-500	column	[?Λυσ]εας ανεθε[κε]ν Αρισ[τιον--?]
672	510-500	base	--- --- --- ανεθ[ε]σα[ν]
673	510-500	marble	-- --- α[γ]αλ[μα]?----- --- απαρχεν?
674	510-500	pillar	-- --- π[α]ιδι [Διος μεγαλο]
675	510-500	pillar	Γναθ--
676	510-500	pillar	Ευ---
676b	510-500	pillar	--- ος
677	510-500	pillar	-- Αθ[ε]να[ιαι]
678	510-500	pillar	[-- μ' ανεθεκεν απαρχεν τ[α]θ[ε]ναιαι]
679a	505-495	column	--- ?στ[ρατ]---
679b	505-495	column	Λατ---
679c	505-495	column	-- αν-- -- εθ--
679d	505-495	column	-- γε-- -- δ--
680a	510-500	column	Πυθις εποισεν. Επιτελες ανεθεκεν απαρχεν Αθηναιαι, KORE-FOOT AcgM 136, ATHENA
681	510-500	base	[Διοκ]λειδες αν[εθεκε]ν ho Διοκλεος ταθ[ε]ναιαι]
682	510-500	base	Διοκ[λ]ες ho Διοκλειδ[ο] [ηνιος] αν[εθεκε] ταθ[ε]ναιαι απαρχ[ε]ν
683	510-500	column	Αρχερμος εποισεν ο Χιος. Ι<φ>ιδικε μ' ανεθεκεν Αθηναιαι πολιοχοι
684	505-495	base	Παλλ[α]δι --- ης Επικ[ο]ρο -- ανεθεκ[ε]ν
685	505-495	pillar	Βιο[ν] εποισε[ν]. --- ρος ανεθ[εκεν] απαρχεν ταθ[ε]ναιαι]
686	505-495	pillar	[Πα]λλ[α]δι Βρ[υ]γος?---
687	505-495	pillar?	--- Παιδ[η] Διο[ς] μεγαλο]
688	500-480	pillar	Κιριας ανεθεκεν [δεκα]τ[ε]ν ταθ[ε]ναιαι
689	500-480	column	Νεοκλειδες ανεθεκεν
690	500-480	column	Χσενοκλεες ανεθεκεν Σοσινεο
691	500-480	pillar	[Σ]οιγε[νες? τ α]θ[ε]ναιαι] [--- δεκα]τεν
691b	500-480	pillar	--- ε---
692	500-480	base	[-- ανεθ]εκεν απ[αρχεν]
693	500-480	base	[-- αν]εθεκε θ---
694	500-480	pillar	--- ς ηαγ[η]-- αν[ε]θ[εκε]---
695	500-480	base	-- χαρες--- ho Χολαργε<υ>ς -- ενας εργον --- ανεθεκ[ε]ν απαρχεν. κ[α]μ'

			ανεθεκε Τυχάνδρος απαρχεν ταθηναιαι
696	500-480	pillar	---χοι παιδε[ς] Επιχαρες Οφολονιδες [Χ]αρινος [Χ]αριστος -- κλες [τ]αθηναιαι] απαρχεν [ανε]θεσαν.
697	500-480		εποεσε δε [---
698	500-480	pillar	ηιποθεριδες ανεθεκεν Αχαρνευς δεκατεν ταθηναιαι ταργυριου
699	500-480	capital	θεα[δο]ρος αν[ε]θεκεν Ον[ε]σμο η[υ]ιος. Ονεσμος μ' ανεθεκεν απαρχεν ταθηναιαι ho Σμικυθο ηυιος
700	500-480	base	--- ανεθε[κεν]- [κα]ι Φρυνε και Σμικ[υ]θε--] ταθηναιαι
701	500-480	pillar	ευχασατο-- Χρομ-- ηοι παιδε[ς]--]το Χρομον--
702	500-480	base	Αριστιον και Παισαις ανεθετεν τει Αθηναιαι απαρχεν Λαμπρε. Εγαις εποιεσεν
703	500-480	pillar	[α]ρη[γ]ματα θοτιμ--- ανεθ[ε]κε--] -- ενο []εσε---
704	500-480	pillar	--- ιας [κα]ρι[ε]υς--] [-- ανεθ[ε]κεν δε[κα]τεν--]
705	500-480	pillar	[?Πα]λαιδι]Αυσιφιλος κα[ι]--] [?ευχασα]μενον προγα[νον]--]
706	500-480	pillar	-- [Ο]νετορ[ος]--] ηαντο και π[αι]δον--
707	500-480	pillar	[?Με]γακλε[ς] ανεθεκεν--] [ho ?Ε]χυρη[το]λεμο--]
708	500-480	capital	Φειδιαδες ανεθεκεν Α[θ]ηναιαι--] [?ευχασα]μενα[ς]---
709	500-480	pillar	-- ες μ' α[ν]εθεκεν--] --- νιο[ς]]---
710	500-480	pillar	-- Αθηναι[αι]--] -- ευχ[ασα]μενος δεκατεν]
711	500-480	pillar	-- ανεθεκεν απ[α]ρχεν ταθ[ε]ναιαι] [-- χα]ριν αντι[δ]ιδο]
711b	500-480	base	[--- Αθην]αιαι κε--
712	500-480	pillar	[-- ανεθ<ε>κεν Αθ]ηναιαι--]
713	500-480	pillar	[-- Α]θηναι[αι]--]
714	500-480	pillar?	--- ορο-- --- ταδε---
715	500-480	pillar	--- ε --- υμο
716	500-480	pillar	[?καλ]ηυνθος [κα] [ι..]ητυμ[ος] [α]νεθ[ε]τε[ν] Αυ[το]τελος ηυιε]
717	500-480	base	[Δ]ιοπ[φ]ειθ[ε]ς [ε]ποι[ε]σεν
718a	500-480	capital	[ε]ργο[ν] θαλοντον, πολιοχε ποτι Αθανα Σμικρο και παιδον μεμ' εχοι ηεδε πολις.
719	500-480	base	[Ε]ηυανγελος με ανεθ[ε]κεν τει Αθηναιαι
720	500-480	pillar	--- ς Αθηναιαι μ' ανεθ[ε]κεν]
721	500-480	pillar	Καλλιμεδον αν[ε]θεκε---
722	500-480	base	-- νες και παιδες Αθεν[α]ηαι τοδ' αγαλμα [ανε]θεσα[ν] ηε αν[ε]ροις [προφ]ρονα θυμον [ε]χοι]
723	500-480	base	-- μο--] [-- Α]χαρ[ν]ε[υς] --- τα-- -- οσ--] [-- Κεφα]λεθε[ν] --- χος Ανα[φ]ιτροπεθεν] -- ς Αναφ[λ]υστιος] [--- Φρ]εαρηιος] --- χς Αιγ[ι]λιευς] Προ-- - Σμι-- τον-- ρτο--
724	500-480	base	-- ος μ' αν[ε]θεκε[ν] [?απαρχε]ν Αρχ[ι]ω? η[η]ια[ς]
725	500-480	column	-- ος αν[ε]θεκεν ho Πολ[υ]γγοτο [τει Αθ]ηναια[ι] δεκατεν]
726	500-480	column	-- χο νε επ[ο]ιεσατεν]
727	500-480	capital	Γναθον και Α-- δεκατεν--] [-- εποι]ε[σεν]
728	500-480	column	Φαρθενε εν ακροπολει Τελεσινος αγαλμ' ανεθεκεν Κετιος, ηοι χαιροσα διδοιες αλο αναθεναι
729	500-480	pillar	[Α]λκυον αν[ε]θεκε--]
730	500-480	column	[Π]αλλαδος εμ[ι] θεασ. ανεθεκε δε μ' Ευδικο ηυος Δεχσιθεος κτεανον μοιραν απαρχασαμενος
731	500-480	column	Αθηναιει ανε[θ]ε[σαν] [Δι]ον[υ]σιος [και Α]θενοδορ[ος] απ[α]ρχε[ν]
			[?Ευρυ]κλειδο
732	500-480	pillar	--- α θαλ[ι]αρχ--]οναι --- [μ]εγαλ--- ομενος σο[ς]-- -- [θε]κεν Ευθ[υ]δικ--]ς κοραι --- μεν---
733	500-480	pillar?	-- ραχ--
734	500-480	pillar	Κιφ--
735	500-480	pillar	[--]ο<φ>ανες μ' ανεθεκεν Αθηναια[ι] τοδ' αγαλμα] [--]ριο δεκατεν το τεκνο ευχ[ασα]μενο]
736	500-480	base	Εχσεκεστο[ς] ανεθεκε[ν] απο[α]ρχεν] ταθηναιαι
736b	500-480	base	-- ιω-- -- ο-- -- ο--
737	500-480	column	Αριστ--
738	500-480	base	-- [δε]κατεν--
739	500-480	pillar	-- ν ανεθ[ε]κε--]
740	500-480	column	Εορτιος και Οφσιαδες ανεθετεν απαρχεν ταθηναιαι
741	500-480	pillar	[..]θεος ανεθεκεν [ho Σε]κυονιος
742	500-480	pillar	[-- ανεθεκε]ν Κεφισιευς
743	500-480	base	-- υσι[ς]-- παιδι] Διος μηεγ[α]λο
744	500-480	column	Ποσιδειος ανεθεκε[ν]--]

745	500-480	base	Αριστομαχενκαι Αρχεστρατε[εν--] παιδε Φαρθενε και γενεαν οιν --- Κυναρβος παις Λι--
746	500-480	column	--- οσλ-- -- διτ-- -- εμα-- -- ογ---
747	500-480	table?	ηιε[ρον?] τες [Αθ]ενο[ιαις]
748	500-480	base	[--- Σαλ]αμινιος
749	500-480	table	[-- ηαβ]ρονιχος
750	500-480	base	[?Φιλο]ν τον ηερμεν θεο <φ>ραδ[αισιν] [ηεισ]ατο
751	500-480	base	Αρχονιδες ηεβδομιας Λευκολοφιδω ανεθετεν
752	500-480	base	[Π]αλλαδ[ι--] ιστ-- -- ποσ[ι--] Π[ε]ταλο παις ευχσ[αμ]ενος κορε[ι] παιδι Διος μεγαλο. Κ[α]λον ηαιγινετες εποιεσ[εν]
753	500-480	base	Καλον εποιεσεν ηαι[γινε]τες
754	500-480	base	Οφσι[ος] κιθ[α]ροιδος Αθ[ε]ναιαι μ' ανεθ[ε]κεν
755	500-480	base	Σπο[υ]δ[ις] Λαισ[πο]διας ηιερων ανεθεσαν
756	500-480	column	[-- -- επο]ιεσεν ηο Χιος. [-- ταθ]εναιαι [-- ?Αχαρ]ηνε[υς] ανεθεκεν.
757	500-480	column	τονδε Φιλον ανεθεκεν Αθ[ε]ναιαι τριποδισκον, θαυμασι νικεσας ις πολιν ηαρεσιο
758	500-480	capital	Ευθυδικος ηο Θαλιαρχο ανεθεκεν Act 732,837
759	500-480	base	Φαιδον ανεθεκε ηο Κτεσι[ο] τα[θ]εναιαι
760	500-480	capital	[...]ανδρ[ος] [μ' επο]ιεσε[ν] [ηο Ευ]μαρ[ος]
761	500-480	column	-- τον[ι] ιδ-- -- μετρ-- -- αγ[ι].η-- -- καλον σ-- -- φια-- -- ροεν-- --
762	500-480	base	ηιπποσ[θ]ενες Α[λ]κιδα[μ]ιας Λ--- Επι[τ]ελες Γ[λ]αυ[κ...] Ιδομ[ε]νε[υς] ανεθεσαν- -] Πυθε[ας]---
763	500-480	column	Ενδοιος επα[ι]εσεν. Οφσι[ος?] ανεθεκεν ηο Α-- Φιλεργ[ος] εποιεσεν
764	505-495	table	--- αιος ανεθεκεν [ταθ]εναιαι δεκατεν. Εν[δο]ιος εποιεσ[εν]
765	490-480	pillar	--- παλαδι--- --- ονιδες---
766	500-480	pillar	[εσθ]λον] τοισι σοφοισι σοφ[ι]ζεσθ[αι] κ[α]τα τεχ[ν]εν] [ηος γαρ] εχει τεχ[ν]εν λοι[ο]ν ηεχ[ρ]ει βιοτον]. [---]ε Αθ[ε]ναιαι δεκα[τ]εν---
767	500-480	capital	Εμπεδια δεκατεν ανεθεκεν [τ]ει Αθ[ε]ν[ι]αι
768	500-480	column	Ευνε--- μιδες--- Κιρ--- kore Act 602?
769	500-480	echinus?	τ-- ε-- η-- α--
770	500-480	pillar	[-- ευ]χσαιμε[νος] --]
770b	500-480	pillar	-- ιες
771	500-480	base	-- αιω[ι] --- ε --- το
772	500-480	base	Βρυ-- -- ανε--
773	500-480	pillar	Τιμαρχος μ' ανεθεκε Διος κρατεροφρ[ονι] παιδι] μανθειον φρασμοσυναι μετρος επ[ε]νυχσαιμενες. Ονατας εποιεσεν.
774	500-480	pillar	--- εποιεσεν. --- ος ανεθεκεν ταθ[ε]ναιαι.
775	500-480	pillar	δεκατεν Αθ[ε]ναιαι πολιοχοι. ιεροκλειδες μ' ανεθεκεν Γλαυκιο
776	500-480	herm?	ηερμει[αι] τοδε] αγαλμα [ιδιος] χαριν εν[θα]δε ε[θ]εκεν Οιν---ς κερυχς μ[ν]εμ[ο]συνες ε[ν]εκα]
777	500-480	base	ηονποριονος. Φιλον με εποιεσεν.
778	500-480	column	[Φιλ]ον ηον[πο]ριονος [επ]οιεσεν.
779	500-480	capital	Αθ[ε]ναιαι δε[κα]τεν εργον] και χρεματον ανεθεκεν Κολλυτιδες Αρχ[ε]ν[ει]δες.
780	500-480	base	[?Παλλα]δι Αθ[ε]ν[ι]αιαι [--- αν]εθεκε [--- χρ]σιν --- παις
781	500-480	marble	[--- ανε]θεκε[ε--]
782	500-480	column	Χαιρεμονιδες ανεθεκεν--- τον ηαιπιστια διδομι ηοσ--- κρατεν καποδρα--- κα μετ' αποδοσθα[ι--] με <δ'> αντιδονα[ι--]
783	500-480	pillar	Παλλαδι τριτογενει Με[λ]γυλος μ' ανεθεκεν απαρχεν] και Χρεμες ηνυς [παιδι Διος μεγαλο].
784	490-485		[?Καλιμα]χος μ' ανεθεκεν Α<φ>ιδ[ων]αι[ος] ταθ[ε]ναιαι αν[γ]ελον αθ[η]νατον ηοι Ο[λ]υνπια δοματα] εχουσιν ?[-- πολε]μαρχος Αθ[ε]ναιον τον αγονα τον Μα[ρ]αθον--] ΕΛΕΝΟΝΟ [--] παισιν Αθ[ε]ναιον μ[ν]εμ---
785	490-480	column	Φρυνος και Αριστογειτος---
786	490-480	column	Ευενορ επ[ο]ιεσε[ν]
787	490-480	column	Ευενορ επα[ι]εσεν. Κιρον ανεθ[ε]κεν
788	490-480	column	Αγγελιτος μ' ανεθεκε--] [ποτι] Αθ[ε]ναιαι χεχ[α]ρισθο σοι τοδε δορον]. Ευενορ εποιεσεν.
789	490-480	frag	--- ρος --- ος πα---
790	490-480	column	Ελευθερος επ[ο]ιεσεν
791	490-480	pillar	-- ηνυς Αθ[ε]νει [--- χ]αριν αντιδιδω
792	490-480	frag	Στονβ[ι--] ανεθεκεν ηο] Στονβιχ[ι--] ταθ[ε]ναιαι].
793	490-480	base	Θρασ--- Σμικυθ---
794	490-480	bowl	Σμικυθε πλυνθρια δεκατεν ανεθεκεν.

795	490-480	column	[---εποιε]σεν. [---α]νεθεκεν.
796	490-480	column	--- ης α[νεθεκεν---]
797	490-480	pillar	[---ανεθ]εκεν.
798	490-480	pillar	[---ανεθ]εκεν
798b	500-480	column?	Νικ---
799	490-480	pillar	-- Αθηναι.
800	490-480	pillar	Χαιρεδεμο Φίλα Αθμονοθεν χοτιω δεκατην ταθηναιαι. αγρας
801	490-480	base	---ανεθεσαν αγναι τριτογ[ενει---]
802	490-480	base	Φίλον Αριστιον Ναυ--- Πυριον ανεθεσαν--- Χσεναιος ηαρθμονι[δο εποιεσεν]
803	490-480	pillar?	[---Μυ]ρινε ---δριω ---
804a	490-480	plinth	[---ει]μι
804b	500-480	small pillar	[---Ανφιτρο]πεθ[εν]
804c	500-480	pillar	---πα--- ---ν
804d	500-480	pillar	---ισο
804e	500-480	pillar?	---ς
804f	500-480	base?	---ενον--- ---
804g	500-480		--- εν---
805	500-480	base	[---α]νεθεκεν ho Σοφρον<ι>σκο.
806	500-480	base	[Αν]τυρανες [ανεθεκεν---]
807	500-480	base	---αρε[σ] ---ο [μ' ανε]θε[κεν].
808	485-475	base	[---Αθε]ναιαι [---Κολ]ονεθεν α[νεθεκεν?]
809	490-480	base	---ος ανεθεκεν δεκατεν Αθηναιαι.
810	485-475	base	[---ανεθ]εκεν [δ]εκα[τ]εν ταθηναιαι.
811	485-475	base	[---ανεθεκεν απο κ]τεαν[ον] [τοδ αγαλμα] [ηαυτο και γενεας μνεμ' επιγιγνα[μενους]
812	485-475	base	[---κα]θιερο--- ---
813	485-475	plinth?	ηειδο μ' ανεθεκεν
814	485-475	base	Καλις δεκατεν ανεθεκεν Αθηναιαι
815	485-475	base	[?Σ]οτε[λες? α]νεθε[κε---] []αδα---α χ--- [Π]αλαδι τριτογενει[?].
816	485-475	column	Θλογ[αρες] μ' ανεθεκεν
817	485-475	column	[--ε]ποιε κανεθεκε τει θεοι
818	485-475	base	Φυ---νθια[ς] Λυ---κος α[νεθετεν?]
819	485-475	pillar	--ικ-- --λυ-- --ιτ-- --υν--
820	485-475	column	Λυσιβιος α[ν]εθ[ε]κεν και το α[δελφ]ο
821	485-475	pillar	Πολυφεμος αν[εθεκεν---]
822	485-475	pillar	Δεμο[φιλος ανεθ]εκεν [ταθηναιαι].
823	480-470	base	[---]σι Φανυλ[λοσ---] [---ν]ικον τρις--- [---]Πυθοι κα[ι---] [---η]ας Ασις ι---
824	480-470	base?	[Ε]υφρονιος [ανεθεκε]ν [---] κεραμευς [ταθηναι]αι δε[κατεν] [---]ερ -- -- Λ ορχαμε τ--- ---ε καλος--- --α--εκεν ---αν [η]υγεια[ν---]ν--
825	480-470	base	Ευαρχος ---
826	480-470	column	---ισι παιδον Καλλια[ς -- Διδυ]μιο
827	480-470	base?	[---ε]ης α[νεθεκεν---] [---Α]θηναιαι--]
828	480-470	pillar	[τε]νδε κορεν α[ν]εθεκεν απαρχεν [Ναυ]λοχος αγρας εν οι ποντομεδ[ον χρ]υσοτρια[ι]ν επορεν.
829	480-470	base	ανεθ[εκε]ν
830	480-470	base	[?Πα]λλαδι αν[ι..]με πα[τερ και] η[υ]ος απα[ρχε]ν ...] αιο[ς...] θε[...]
830b	480-470	base	---ο γυνε ανεθεκεν [α]παρχε[ν]. ---ς εποιεσεν Χιος.
831	480-470	column	---με πα[τερ--]ελο ανεθε[κε]ν Βο[--]ζευ[ι]γιτες Παλλαδι τρι[το]γενει[.].
832	480-470	pillar	[...]δορος μ' ανεθεκ Αφροδιτει δορον απαρχεν ποτνια, τον αγαθον τοι συ δος αφθονιαν ηοι τε λεγοσι λογος αδικ[ος] ψευδ[ος] κα[τ'] εκ[ε]νο[ι] του[το]- --
833	480-470	base	[Θρα]κυλλος και Γνωθιος Μνεσονος ηνιε [εγ Α]λευκονοιο ανεθετεν ταθηναιαι.
833b	480-470	base	--ρας ηα[--]τον Αθνεα[ιν] χο[ροι ανδρα]ν] --τες σοφ[ιες] τονδ' ανεθε[κε]ν χορον [ευχ]σ[α]μεν[ος] π[λ]ειστοις δε [χ]οροις εχσο κατα φυ[λα] [ανδ]ρον νι[κε]σαι φεσι π[ε]ρη τριποδος.
834	480-470	base	Δοροθεος και Συμυλος ανεθετεν απαρχεν.
835	480-470	base	Καλλιας ηιππονικο ανεθεκε[ν]
836	480-470	capital	-- [--δ]εκατεν [---εποι]εσε
837	480-470	pillar	Ευθυδικος ανεθηκεν.
838	475-465	stele	[---Λυ]σιππο [ανεθεκεν δεκ]ατεν.

839	475-465	column	--- τος [--- Α]θηναίη --- εν.
840	475-465	base	[--- ?Ερмес εν]αγωνία[ς εμι?] --- οσ---
841	475-465	column	Μεχανία[ν] ανεθεκε[ν] ho γραμμα[τευς]
842	475-465	pillar	Αι[σχυντες ανεθεκε[εν]] Ικαριευς.
843	475-465	base	Πεικον Ανδρο[κλ[ε-...]] ανεθετεν Αθεναι[αι].
844	475-465	base	--- ανεθεκε--]
845a	475-465	pillar	--- [--- Α]θεναι[αι]---
845b	475-465	base	[--]ροσ-- --ονενο---
846	475-465	base	---ς α[νεθεκεν?--] [Κρι]τιος και Νε[σι]οτες εποιεσατεν]
847	475-465	base	Επιχαρινος ανεθεκεν ΗΘΟΟΣ... Κριτιος και Νεσιοτες επα[ιε]σατεν.
848	475-465	base	[..]ας και [Ο]ρσο[ς] α[ν]εθετεν [τει Αθ]εναιαι απαρχεν Οαθεν. [Κριτι]ος και Νεσιοτες εποιεσατεν.
849	470-460	base	[-- κ]λεε[σ...]ος Αιγ[ιλ]ιευς δεκατεν. Κριτιος και Νεσιοτες εποιε[σα]τεν.
850	470-460	base	[Πα]ρθενoi Εκφαντο με πατερ ανεθεκε και ηuiος ενθαδ' Αθεναιει μνεμα πονον Αρεος, Εγελοςχος μεγαλες τε φιλοχσενιες αρετες τε, πασες μοιραν εχον τενδε πολιν νεμεται. Κριτιος και Νεσιοτες εποιεσατεν.
851	470-460	base	[Κριτι]ος και Νεσιοτες [επο]ιεσατε[ν].
852	470-460	base	[?Βι]ον ανεθεκεν Αν[αφ]λ[υσ]ιτος? δεκατεν? [τ]ει Αθεναιει.
853	470-460	base	Δεμ[οσ]ηρατι[δες-...] δο Σφ[ε]ρτιος α[νεθεκεν]
854	470-460	pillar	[?Πυ]θογεν[ες ανε]θεκε[ν ho] [Π]υρριο εγ [Λακι]αδον. [?Πυθο]γενες] ανεθεκε[ν ho] [?Πυρριο εγ Λ]ακιαδον.
855	470-460	base	[--- ανεθε]κε και πα[φιδες?]
856	470-450	base	Φαιδρο[ς] Προθυ[μιδο] Κεφαλεθεν ανεθεκε[ν]. Ευφρον εποιε[σ]εν.
857	470-450	pillar	[Μη]κυθη μ' ανεθεκεν [Αθ]ηναίη τοδ' αγαλμα [ευξ]αμενη δεκατην[και] υπερ πα[φιδων] [και] εαυτη[ς]. Ευφρον [επο]ιησεν
858	470-450	pillar	Αριστομαχη Χαρικλεια Γλαυ[κ]ηνο Αργε[ιο] θυγατερες?--]
859	470-450	base	[...] ο Λαμπρευ[ς] [?ανε]θηκεν δεκ[α]τεν τει Αθεναιαι.
859b	470-450	base	[...και Θεοδο]τα[σ] [?ανε]θεσαν Αθεναι[αι] απαρχεν. [...] [επο]ιησεν.
860	470-450	base	Δεμοφιλος ---
860b	470-450	disk	Δεμ[οφι]λα[σ] μ' α[νεθεκεν-...]
861	470-460	column	--- ανεθεκε.
862	460-450	base	[...ος Αθεναιαι τοδ' απαρχεν [ευχ]σαμενος δεκα[τεν] παιδι Διος μεγαλο.
863	460-450	column	Τιμοθ[ε]ρος Κο[ν]ονος ανεθεκεν? Αναφλυστια[ς?--...]
864	460-450	base	[Δ]εμοστρα[τ]ος ανεθεκεν-...]
865	460-450	column	Διογεν[ης] ανεθηκεν Αισχυλο ηuiος Κεφ[α]λεος
866	460-450	base	[-- ..]εδεμο [-- ανεθε]κεν.
866b	455-445	base	N--- v---
867	460-450	base	Χαρικλες [ανεθεκεν ---]λο Ρα[μ]νοσιος]
868	460-450	base	--]οι παιδες?--] --ος Καλ---
868b	460-450	frag	[..]λ--- τει Α[θεναιαι---]. her[-- επο]ιησεν.
869	460-450	base	---μο Λαμπρευς ανεθε[κεν].
870	460-450	column	Ευφρ[-- ανεθεκεν? επο]ιησεν? κοτε Act 425
871	455-445	base	Προθ[υ]μος ταθεναιαιη απαρχεν ανεθεκεν].
872	455-445	pillar	ποτι, απαρχεν τενδε Μενανδρο[ς-...] ευχολεν τελεσας σοι χαριν αν[τι]ιδος] Αιγιλιευς ηuiος Δεμετριο, hoi -- σοιζε, Διος θυγατερ, τονδε χαρ[ιν] θεμενε].
873	455-445	bowl	Επιτελες Οινοχαρες Σοιναυτο Περγασθεν Ποσειδوني Ερεχθει ανεθετεν.
874	455-445	base	[ταθεναιαι Κα]ρκη[ος] [Χσ]ενο[φ]ιμο Θο[ρι]κ[ιος] [τ]ηερ[α]ρχον ανεθεκε].
875	455-445	base	Αριστονειδες Εμμενιδο εκ Κ[οι]λες ανεθεκεν τει Αθεναιαι.
876	455-445	base	[Καλ]λιας [ανε]θεκε. [Καλ]ιαμ[ις] [επο]ε]
877	450-440	column	--- ο κα Ι--- ---λοι ηι--- ---πιτελα--- [-- Α]θεναι[αι]?--]
878	450-440	pillar	[Πα]λλαδι μ' εγρ[ε]μαχ[ει-...] ανεθεκε---]παις ho --ο hος ε--- συνα---ον χ---αντ---ς hoi---
879	450-440	base	[α]θαναθες--- Παλλαδι Α--- Καλλ[ι]π[ο]το---
880	450-440	base	Προναπιδο Προναπης Νεμ[ε]α Ισθμια Παναθηναια
881	450-440	base	[---] ανεθεκεν [--]αιος [--- Αθ]εναιος [---] μεγαλος. [Μι]κον [Φ]ανομαχο εποιεσε.
882	445-435	base	Επαινετος---
883	445-435	base	ηερμολυκος Διευτρεφος απαρχεν. Κρεσιλας εποεσεν.
884	445-429	base	[---]ικλεος [Κρεσ]ιλ[ας] εποιε.
885	445-435	base	[τονδε Πυρ]ε[ς] ανεθεκε Πολυμνεστο φιλος ηuiος] ευξαμενος δεκατεν Παλλαδι τριτογενει. Κυδονιετας Κρεσιλας εργασσατο.
886	445-435	base	---ενης

887	450-425	base	--- ιγενος παιας [- - χαριν αντιβιδο.
888	445-435	column?	[η δεινα ανεθεκεν] Ευμελιδο γυνε Σφρεττοθεν.
889	445-435	base	-- ευς Λευκαιο ηνιος.
890	445-435	pillar	Φιλο[.] Μελι[τευς] ανεθ[εκεν].
891	445-435	base	Αισχυλος ανεθε[κεν] Πυθεο Παιανιευ[ς].
892	440-430	base	[---]ες Ελευθερε[υς] ανεθεκεν Αθηναιαι. [Λυκιος] Μυρονος [Ελευθερευς εποιεσεν].
892b	440-425	base	[.]ιοι--- Παλλα[δι---] χειρσι ι--- οικον---
893	435-425	base	Καλλιας Διδυμιο]. νικαι Ολυ[ν]ητιασι Πυθια δις Ισθμια πεντακις Νεμεια τετρακις Παναθεναιια με<γας>λ[α].
894	430-420	pillar	[..Πρεπιδο[ς] γυνε] [Χσυπετ]αιονος [τει] [Αθηναι]αι ανεθ[εκεν].
894b	430-420	pillar	Πρω--- ανεθ[ηκεν- -] ΤΗΙΟ---
895	420-415	base?	Χαιρεδεμος Ευαγγελο εκ Κοιλες ανεθεκεν. Στρογγυλιον εποιεσεν.
896	420-410	base	--- ριος ανε[θεκε- -]
897	420-410	base	[--- Αλο]πεκεθεν
898	410-400	base	[--] Απολλοδορος [εποιεσεν]
899	440-400	pillar	--- Αθηναιαι ανεθε[κεν]
900	410-400	base	[-- Χα]ηριδος Χολαργευ[ς] ανεθεκεν].
901	455-400	base	-- θεος- - --- ς αλλ- - --- α---
901b	425-400	relief	[Δεμετ]ερ (Demeter and Proserpina)
902	580-570	bowl	[-- το]δ' αγαλμ[α- - -].
902b	580-570	bowl	[-- μ' ανεθεκε Διο]ς γλα[υ]ροπιδι qορει].
903	580-570	bowl	[Παλαδι] τριτογε[νει - - -].
904	530-520	bowl	-- οιο- - --- ς ην- - [- - ανεθεκεν τ]αθεναι[ιαι].
905	530-510	bowl	Πολυχσενος ηο Μνεσονος το [κνα]ψεος ανεθ[εκεν] απο[ρ]χηεν [τ αθηναιαι]
905b	525-515	bowl	ηερ[--- ανεθε]κε[ν] ταθεναιαι.
906	510-500	bowl	--- ον ανε[θεκε- - -]
907	505-495	bowl	-- ς αν[εθεκε] τ]αθεν[αιαι].
908	505-495	bowl	Σα---
909	500-480	bowl	--- και α[.]ον ανε[θετ]εν [ταθ]εν[αιαι].
910	500-480	bowl	Κερ[ι]σογ[ει]τον ανεθ[ε]κεν ηο Χιριου [απαρ]χε[ν] τει Α[θ]ηναιαι.
911	500-480	bowl	Ασοποδ[ορος- - -].
912	510-500	bowl	Μελε---
913	500-480	bowl	-- καιο- -
914	500-480	bowl	Κομονιδες τοδ' α<γ>αλμ[α] ανεθεκεν ταθεναιαι].
915	500-480	bowl	[--- Α]θεν[αι]αι
916	500-480	bowl	-- νες --- ς δεκα[τεν] ανεθεκεν ταθεναιαι].
917	500-480	bowl	[--- Αθηναι]αι ανεθ[εκεν].
918	500-480	bowl	ενθαδε Ν---
919	500-480	bowl	[--- δ]εκατεν
920	490-480	bowl	Αριστυλο[ς] αν[εθεκεν] α[παρ]χεν ταθε[ναι]αι].
921	490-480	bowl	Καλικριτε μ ανεθεκεν απο[ρ]χε[ν] ταθ[εναι]αι].
922	500-480	bowl	Λυ---
923	500-480	bowl	-- ναυ- -
924	500-480	bowl	Σχοινο---
925	490-480	bowl	--- νος βο---
926	485-480	bowl	[Ονεσιμος] αν[εθεκεν] ο Σμικυθο ταθ[εναι]αι α[παρ]χεν].
927	485-480	bowl	[Ονεσιμο]ς ανε[θεκεν] ο Σμικυθο ταθεναιια α[παρ]χεν].
928	485-480	bowl	[Ον]ε[σι]μος ανεθεκεν ο Σμικυθ]ο ταθ[εναι]αι α[παρ]χ[εν].
929	485-480	bowl	[Ονε]σιμος ανε[θεκεν] ο Σμικυθο ταθεναιαι α[παρ]χεν].
930	485-480	bowl	Ονεσι[μ]ος αν[εθεκεν] ο Σμικυθ[ο] απ[αρ]χεν ταθ[εναι]αι]
931	485-480	bowl	[Ονεσι]μος αν[εθεκ]εν α[παρ]χεν] ο Σμικυθ]ο ταθε[ναι]αι]
932	485-480	bowl	[Ονεσιμος] ανεθεκεν α[παρ]χεν ο Σμικυθ]ο ταθ[εναι]αι]
933	485-480	bowl	--- τ]αθε[ναι]αι]
934	480-470	bowl	[Καλ]λιστα Ναυκυδος θυγ[ατ]ερ ταθεναιαι μ' ανεθεκε[ν] α[παρ]χε[ν]
935	480-470	bowl	[---- ταθεν]αιαι α[παρ]χεν [αν]εθεκεν
936	480-470	bowl	[----- δε]κατεν
937	480-470	bowl	--- ρρια[ς] ανεθεκε- - - - -]
938	470-460	bowl	[--- ανεθ]εκεν ηο Σο- - - -
939	460-450	bowl	Σα[τυρ]ο[ς] μ' αν[εθ]ε[κ]εν [τει Αθηναιαι]
940	480-470	bowl	--- αα[----- ανε]θεκ[ε- - -] --- υμπειε[--- ε]κ γε[ς- -]

941	475-465	bowl	---οδορος εκ---
942	480-470	bowl	A[--- αν]εθ[εκ]εν Ε[χ]σε[κ---]
944	500-480	bowl	[---τα]θενα[ιαi---].
945	500-445	bowl	---ευσ
946	500-400	bowl	[---Αθε]να[ιαi--].
947	500-400	bowl	---ν--- ---θ--- ---ο---

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> , 1956
AcrM	Acropolis Museum Inventory Number
Agora iii	R. E. Wycherly, <i>Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia</i> (The Athenian Agora, 3; Princeton, 1957)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AKR	Vase number (black-figure) in B. Graef, E. Langlotz, <i>Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen</i> , 1925-33, vol. I
II AKR	Vase number (red-figure) in B. Graef, E. Langlotz, <i>Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen</i> , 1925-33, vol. II
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
Arch.Delt	<i>Archaïologikon Deltion</i> (Meletai, Chronika)
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> . 2nd ed., 1963
Bather	A. G. Bather, <i>JHS</i> 13 (1892-1893), 124-130; 232-271
Bechtel, <i>Hist. Pers</i>	F. Bechtel, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit</i> , 1917
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BM	British Museum
Boardman, <i>ARFV</i>	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Red-figure Vases: the Archaic Period</i> , 1975
Boardman, <i>GSAP</i>	J. Boardman, <i>Greek Sculpture, The Archaic Period</i> , 1978
BrAcr	A. De Ridder, <i>Catalogue des bronzes trouvées sur l'Acropole d'Athènes</i> , 1896
Brooke	D. Brooke, <i>Cat. of the Acropolis Museum II</i> , 1897
Brouskari	M. S. Brouskari, <i>The Acropolis Museum. A descriptive Catalogue</i> , 1974
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
C-F	D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, <i>Les plats attiques à figures noires</i> , 1974
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> , from 1922
DAA	A. E. Raubitschek, with L. H. Jeffery, <i>Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the sixth and fifth Centuries B.C.</i> , 1949
DAI	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Davies, <i>APF</i>	Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families</i>
Dickins Cat.	G. Dickins, <i>Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum I: Archaic Sculpture</i> , 1912
Eph.	<i>Archaïologike Ephemeris</i>
FGH	Jacoby, <i>Fragmente griechischer Historiker</i>
Floren, <i>Griechische Plastik</i>	J. Floren, <i>Die Griechische Plastik</i> (1987)
Frazer, <i>Pausanias' Description</i>	J. G. Frazer, <i>Pausanias' Description of Greece</i> , 1898
Graef, AKR.	B. Graef, E. Langlotz, <i>Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen</i> , 1925-33)vol. I (text)
Greek Names II	<i>Lexicon of Greek Proper Names II</i> (=Attica)
Harris, <i>Treasures</i>	D. Harris, <i>The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion</i> , 1995
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (i-iii ¹ , 1877-1903; i-ii ² , 1924-40; 1924-40; I ³ , 1991)
Ist.Mitt.	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
Keramopoulos	A. D. Keramopoulos, <i>ADelt</i> 1, 1915
Langlotz, <i>AMA</i>	H. Schrader, et al. <i>Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis</i> , 1939
Langlotz, AKR.	B. Graef, E. Langlotz, <i>Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen</i> , 1925-33, vol. II (text)
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981-
Lioutas, <i>Lekanai</i>	A. Lioutas, <i>Attische schwarzfigurige Lekanai und Lekanides</i> , Beiträge zur Archäologie 18, Würzburg, (1987)
LSAG	L. H. Jeffery, <i>Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Development from the 8th to the fifth Centuries</i> , 1961; rev. A. W. Johnstone, 1990
MdI	<i>Mitteilungen des Institutes</i>

Meiggs/Lewis	Meiggs, R. / Lewis, D. M. <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . rev. ed. Oxford 1988
NM	National Archaeological Museum at Athens
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
Para	<i>Paralipomena</i> : additions to <i>ABV</i> and <i>ARV²</i> , 1971
RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A.Fr. von Pauly, rev. G. Wissowa et. al., 1894-1980
Richter, AGA	G. M. A. Richter, <i>Archaic Greek Art</i> , 1947
Richter AGSA	G. M. A. Richter, <i>Archaic Gravestones of Attica</i> , 1961
Richter Korai	G. M. A. Richter, <i>Korai</i> , 1968
Ridgway Severe Style	B. S. Ridgway <i>The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture</i> , 1970
Robertson Greek Art	M. A. Robertson, <i>History of Greek Art</i> , 1975
Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings	W. H. D. Rouse, <i>Greek Votive Offerings. An Essay in the History of Greek Religion</i> , 1902
SbBAk	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
Schrader, AMA	H. Schrader, et al. <i>Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis</i> , 1939
Schuchardt, AMA	H. Schrader, et al. <i>Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis</i> , 1939
Stewart, Greek Sculpture	A. F. Stewart, <i>Greek Sculpture: an exploration</i> , 1990
Threatte	L. Threatte, <i>The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions</i> , I , 1980
Travlos, PDA	J. Travlos, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> . London (1971)

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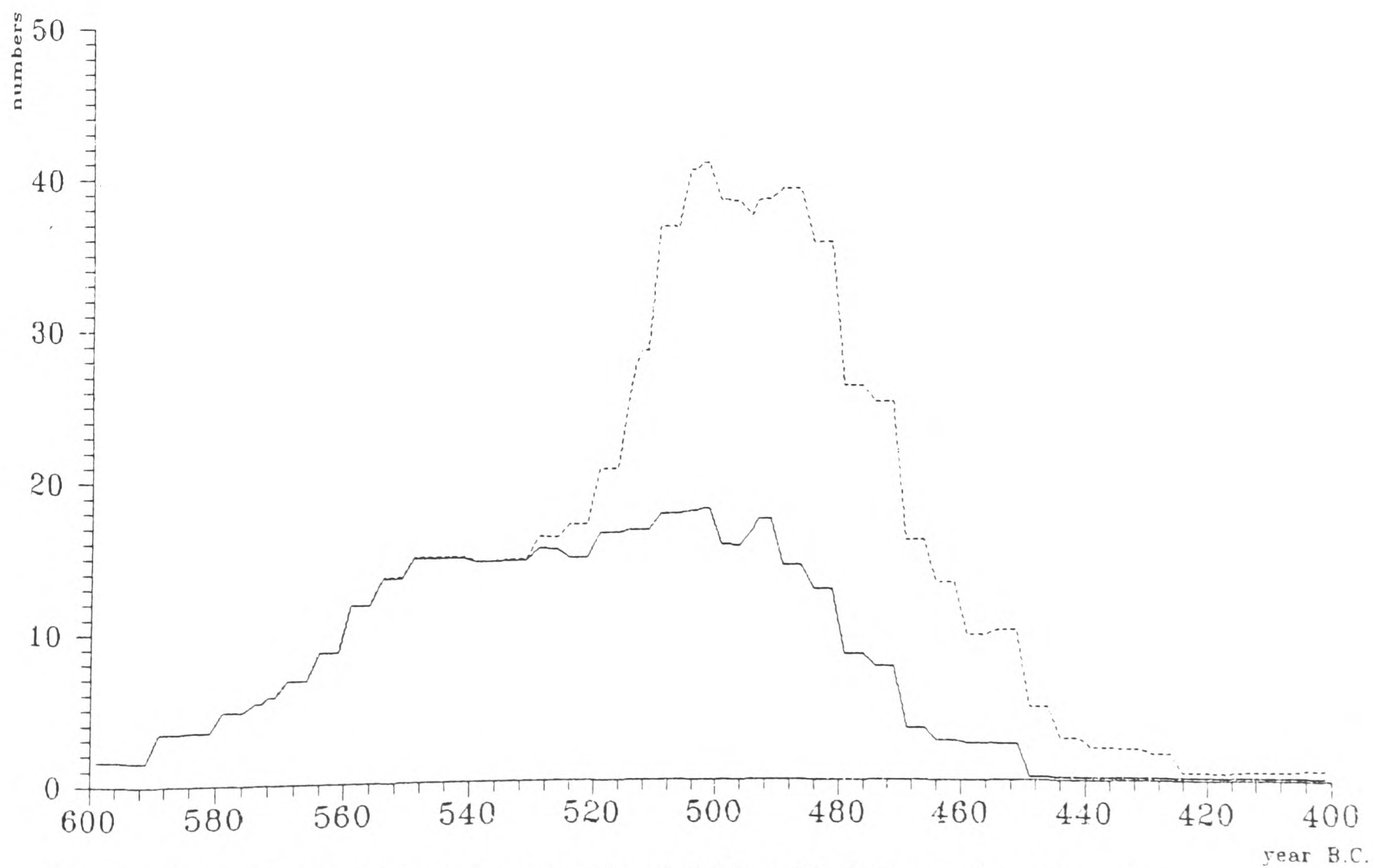
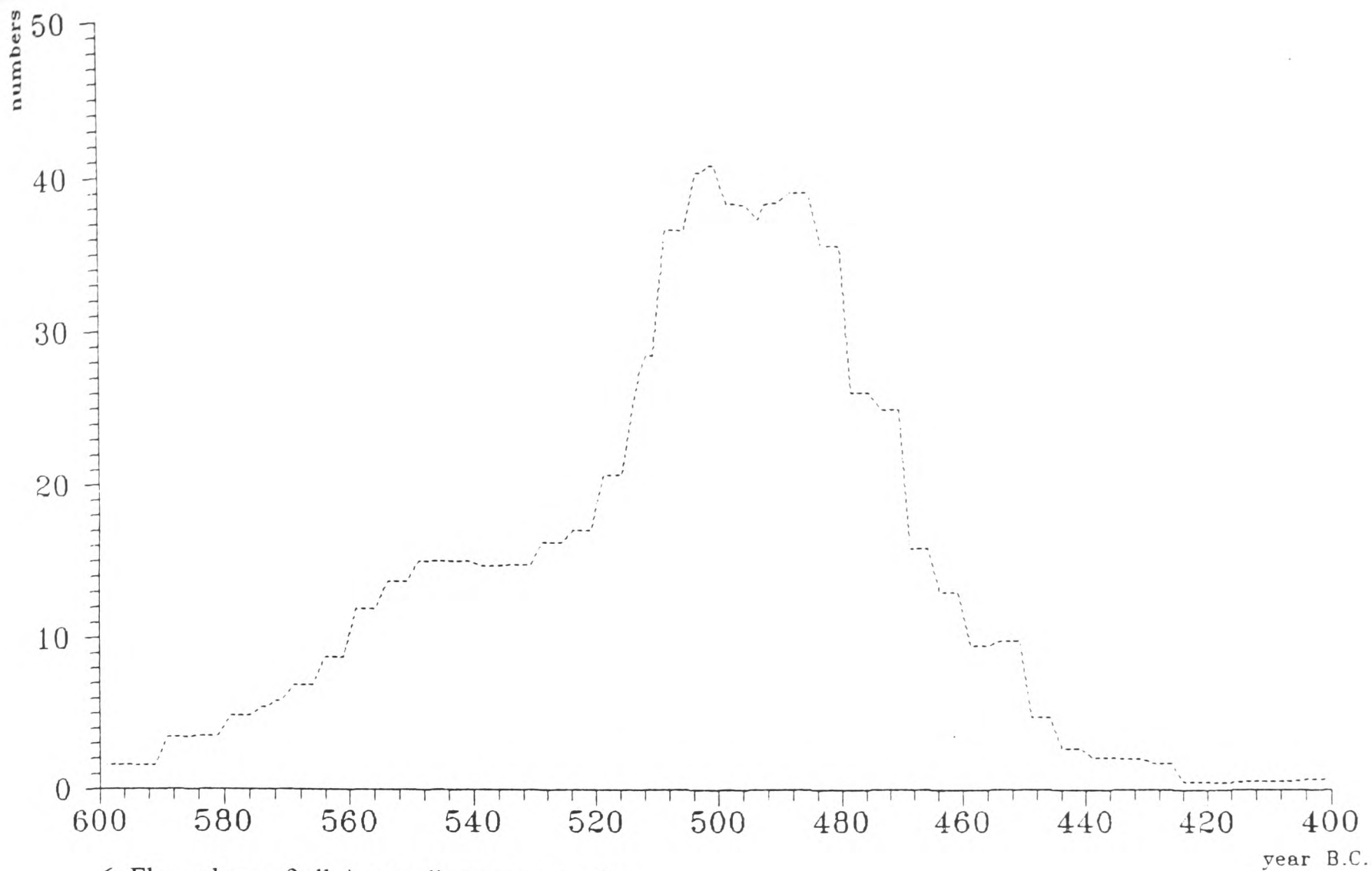
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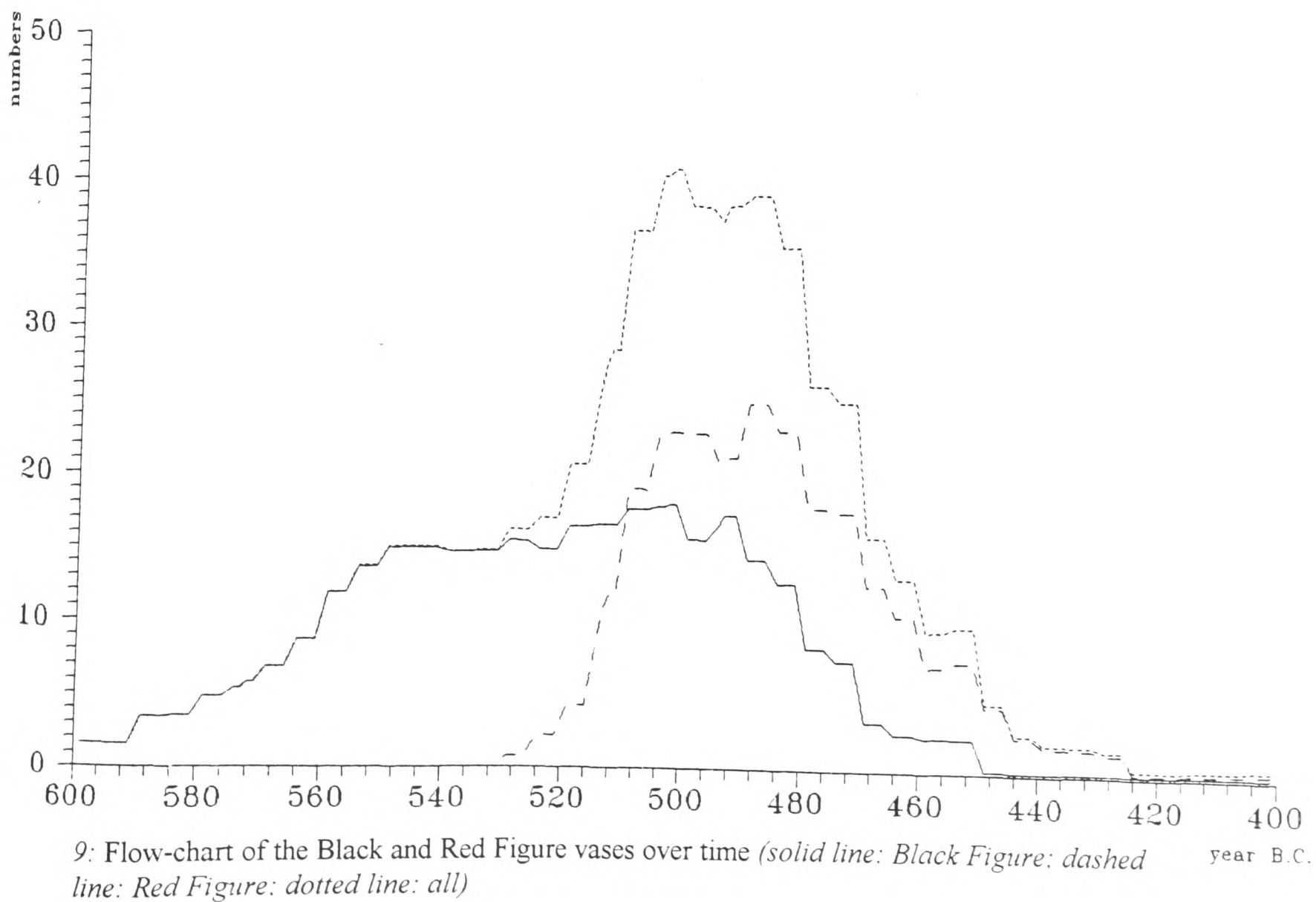
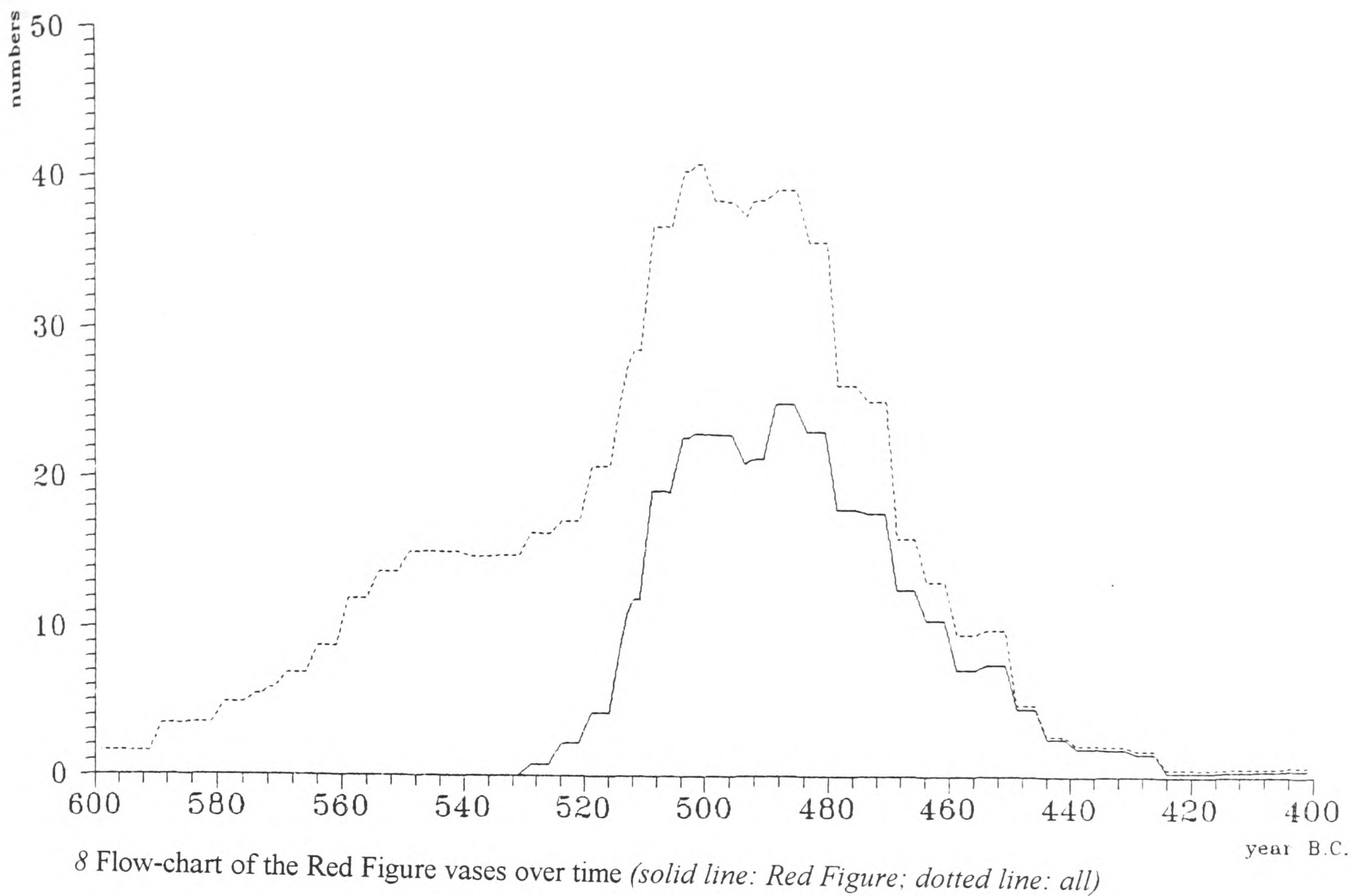
ILLUSTRATIONS

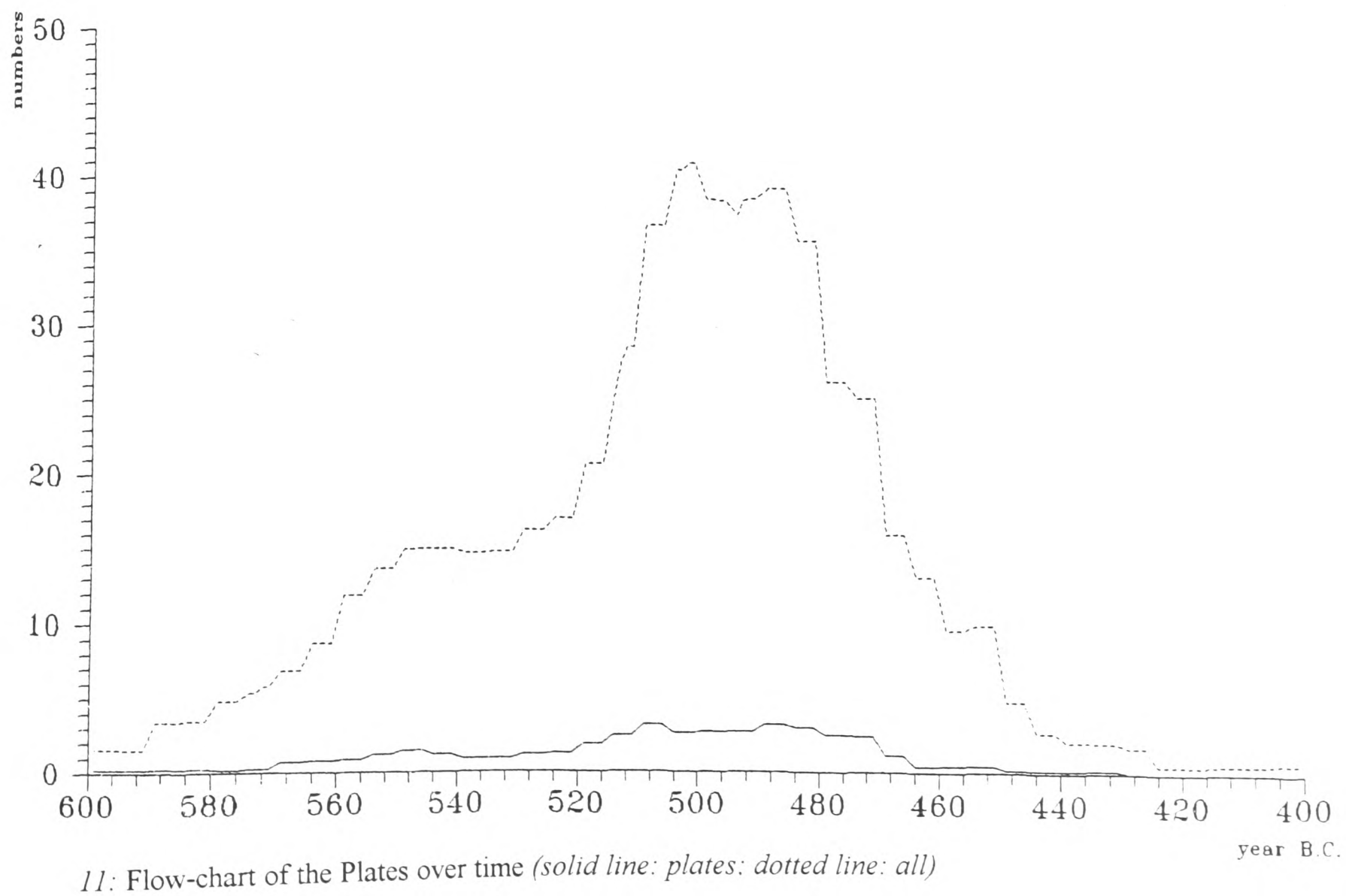
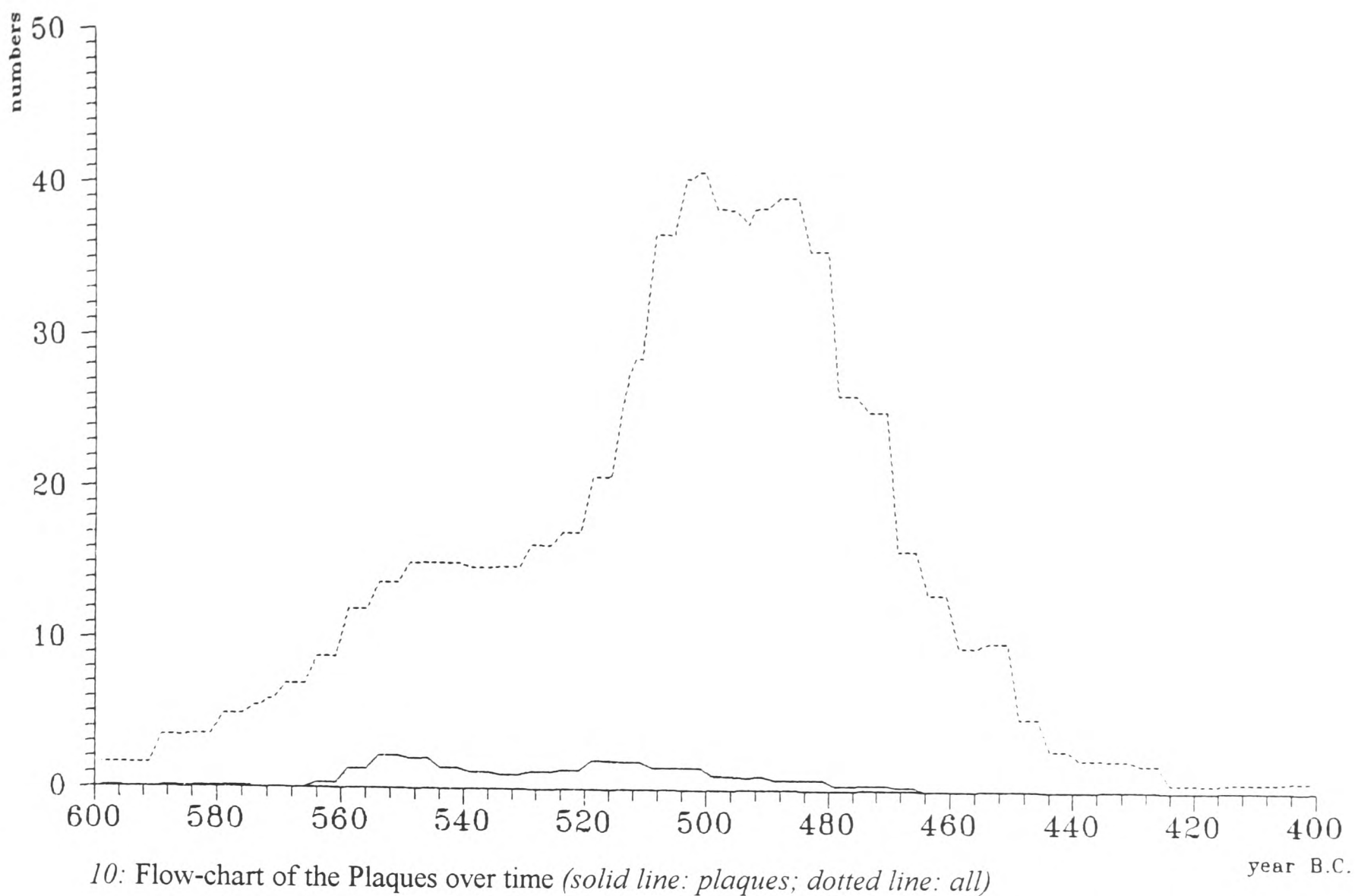
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- 5: Chart by author
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- 24: Photo Boardman 1956?
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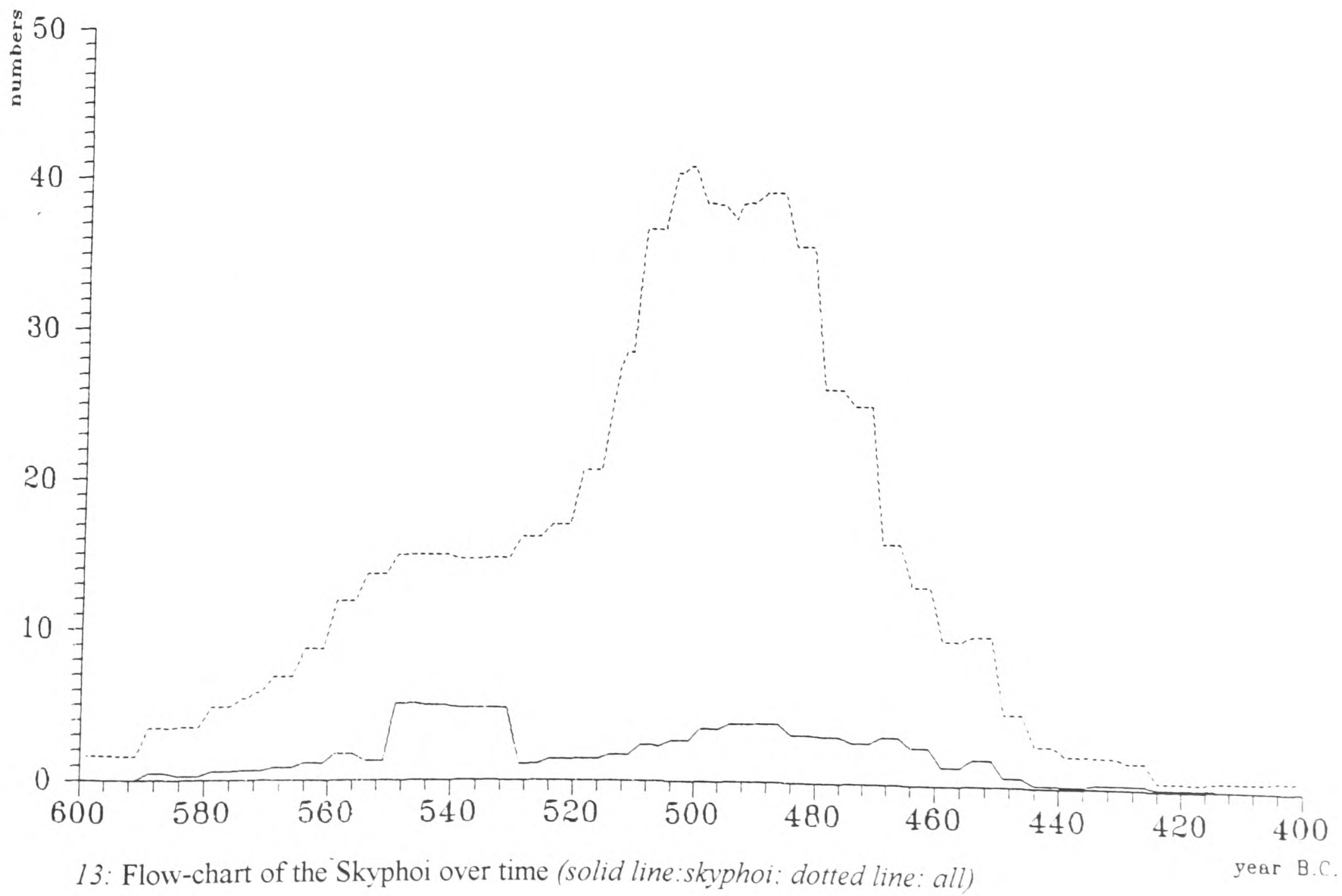
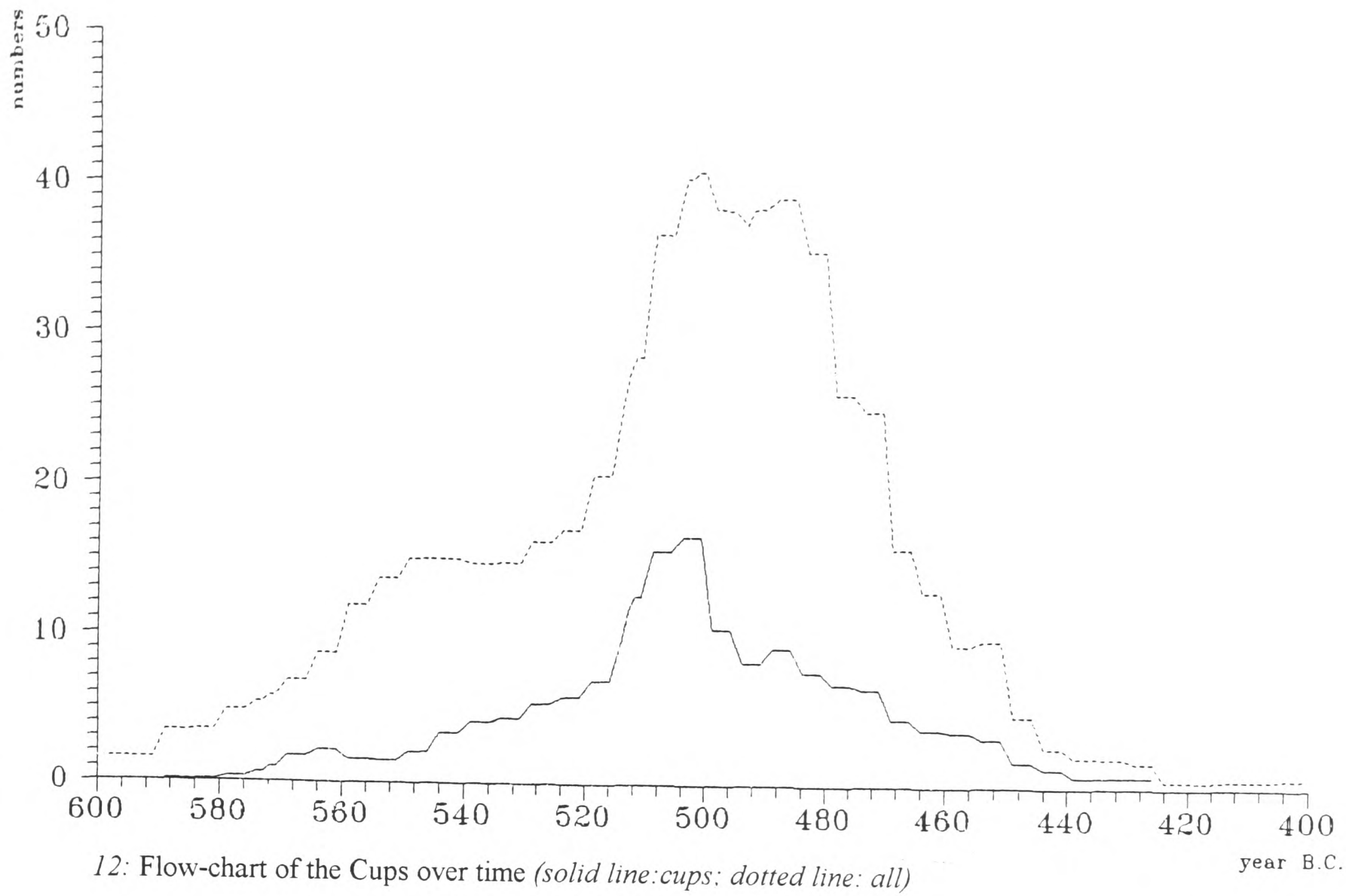
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89: Chart by author
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91: Chart by author
92: Touloupa, *BCH* 93 (1969) pl. 10
93: Touloupa, 'Early Bronze Sheets with Figured Scenes from the Acropolis' in *Studies in the History of Art*, 32 (1991) fig. 14 (Drawing M. Korres)
94: Touloupa, *op. cit.* fig. 2 (photo by S. M.)
95: Touloupa, *op. cit.* fig. 15 (photo by DAI, Athens)
96: Touloupa, *op. cit.* fig. 16 (photo by DAI, Athens)
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98: Touloupa, *op. cit.* fig. 24 and 25 (photo by DAI, Athens)
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101: Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 1, 1915 fig. 11
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103: Keramopoulos, *ADelt* 1, 1915 fig. 14
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111: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 25b (photo by DAI, Athens)
112: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 25c (photo by DAI, Athens)
113: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 25d (photo by DAI, Athens)
114: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 25g (photo by DAI, Athens)
115: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26f (photo by DAI, Athens)
116: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26e (photo by DAI, Athens)
117: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26d (photo by DAI, Athens)
118: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26i (photo by DAI, Athens)
119: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26h (photo by DAI, Athens)
120: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26g (photo by DAI, Athens)

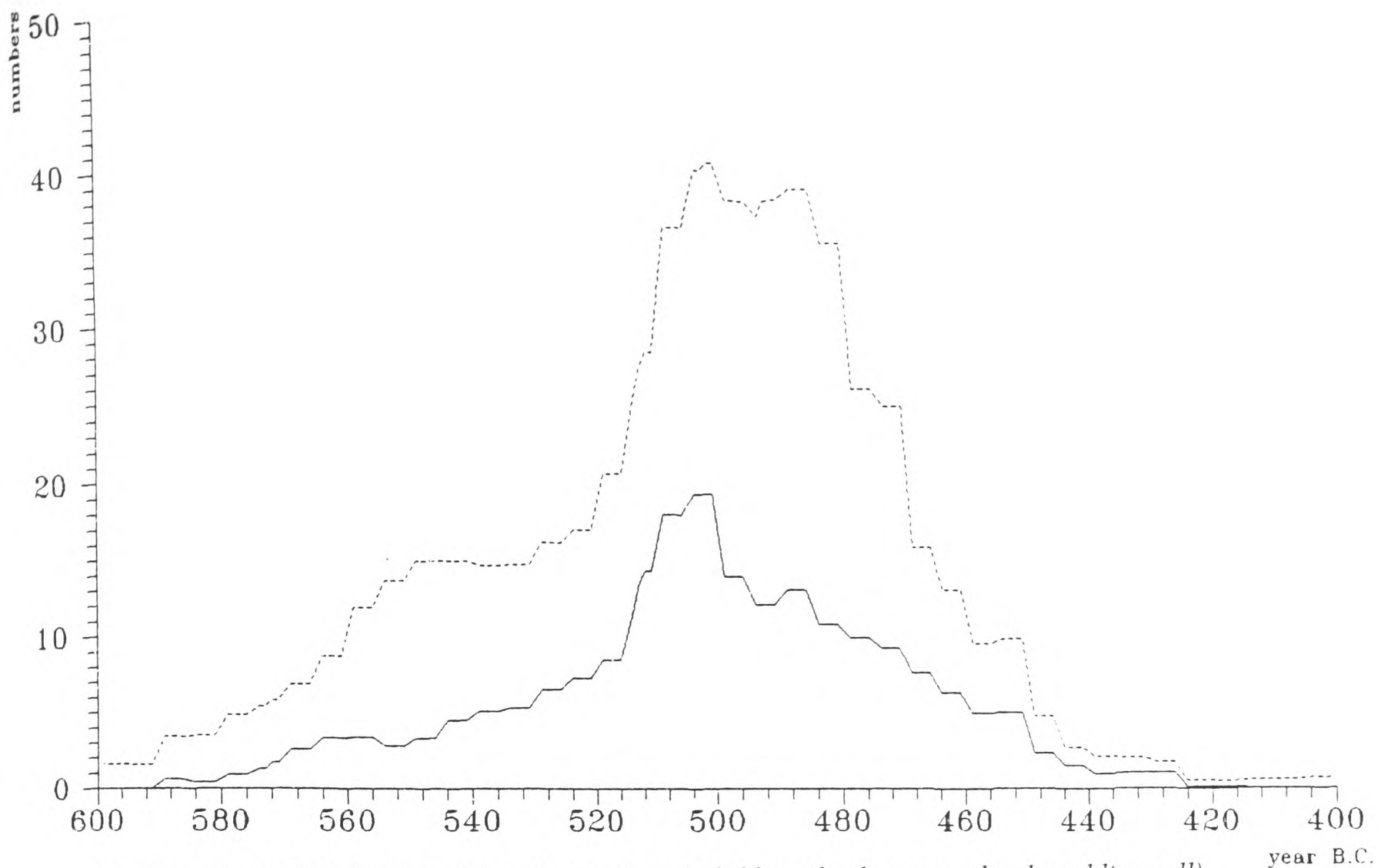
- 121: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26k (photo by DAI, Athens)
122: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26a (photo by DAI, Athens)
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124: Photo by author
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126: Photo by author
127: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26a (photo by DAI, Athens)
128: Schneider/ Hoecker, *op. cit.* fig. 26a (photo by DAI, Athens)
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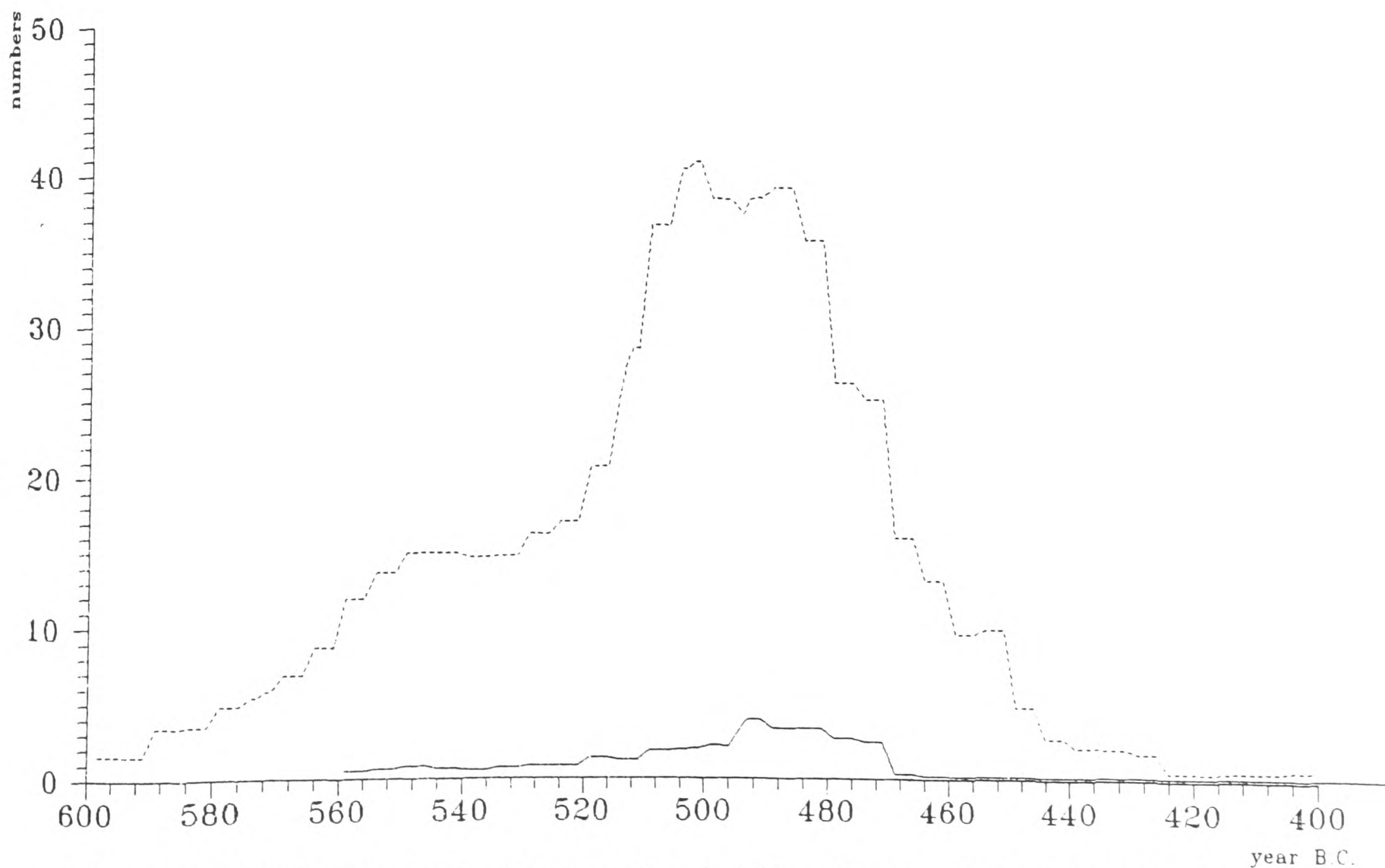




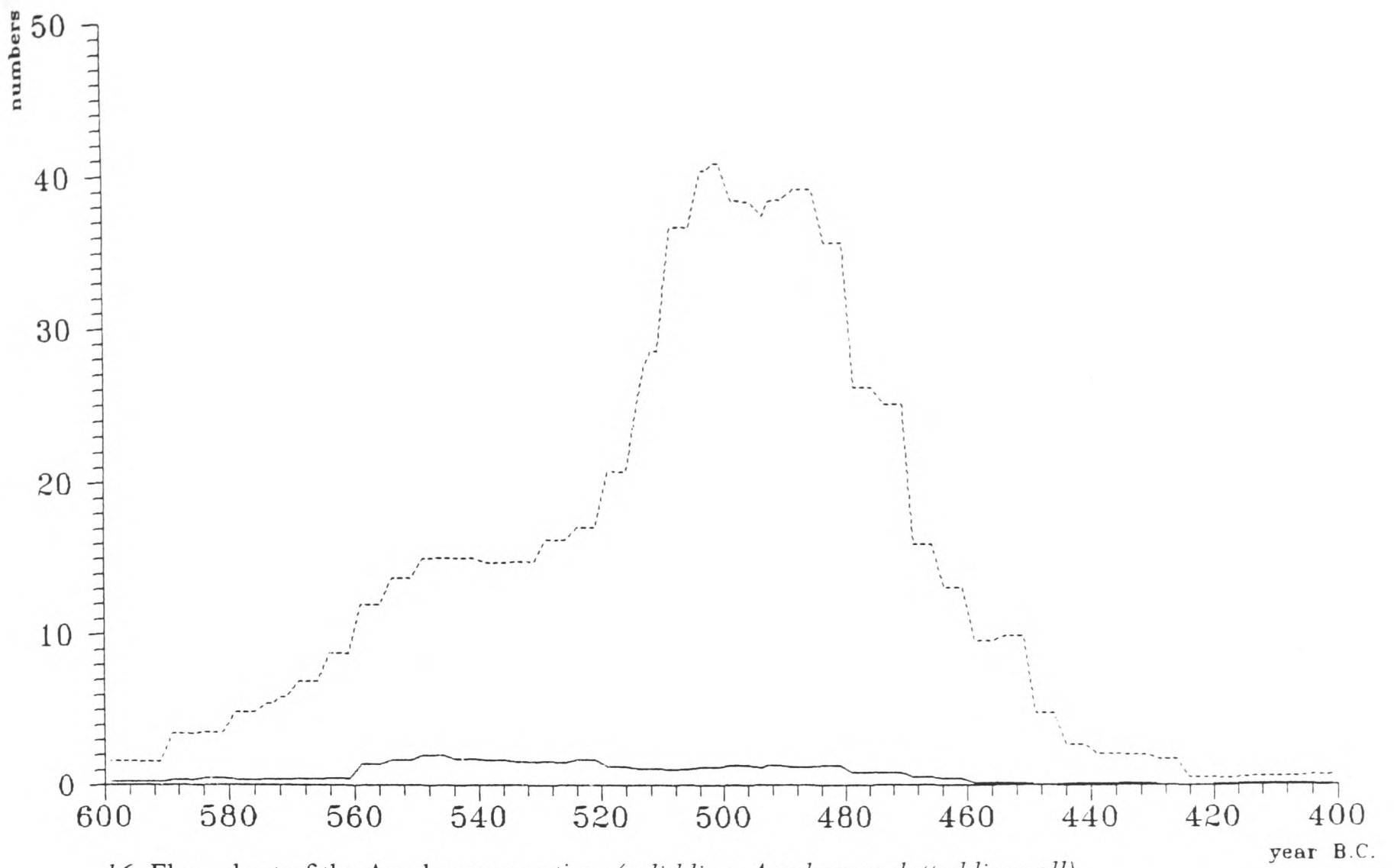




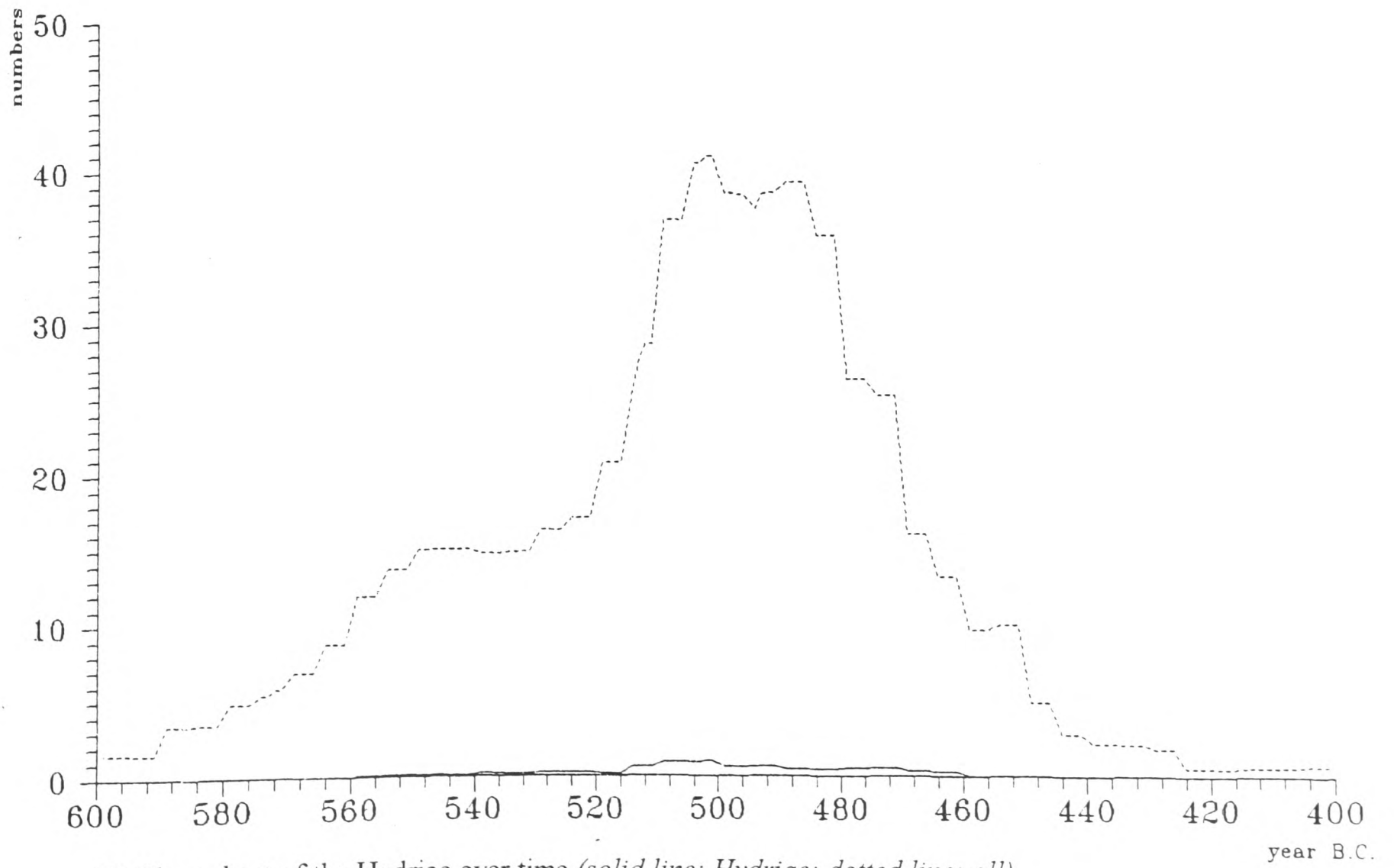
14: Flow-chart of all Drinking Vessels over time (solid line: drinking vessels; dotted line: all)



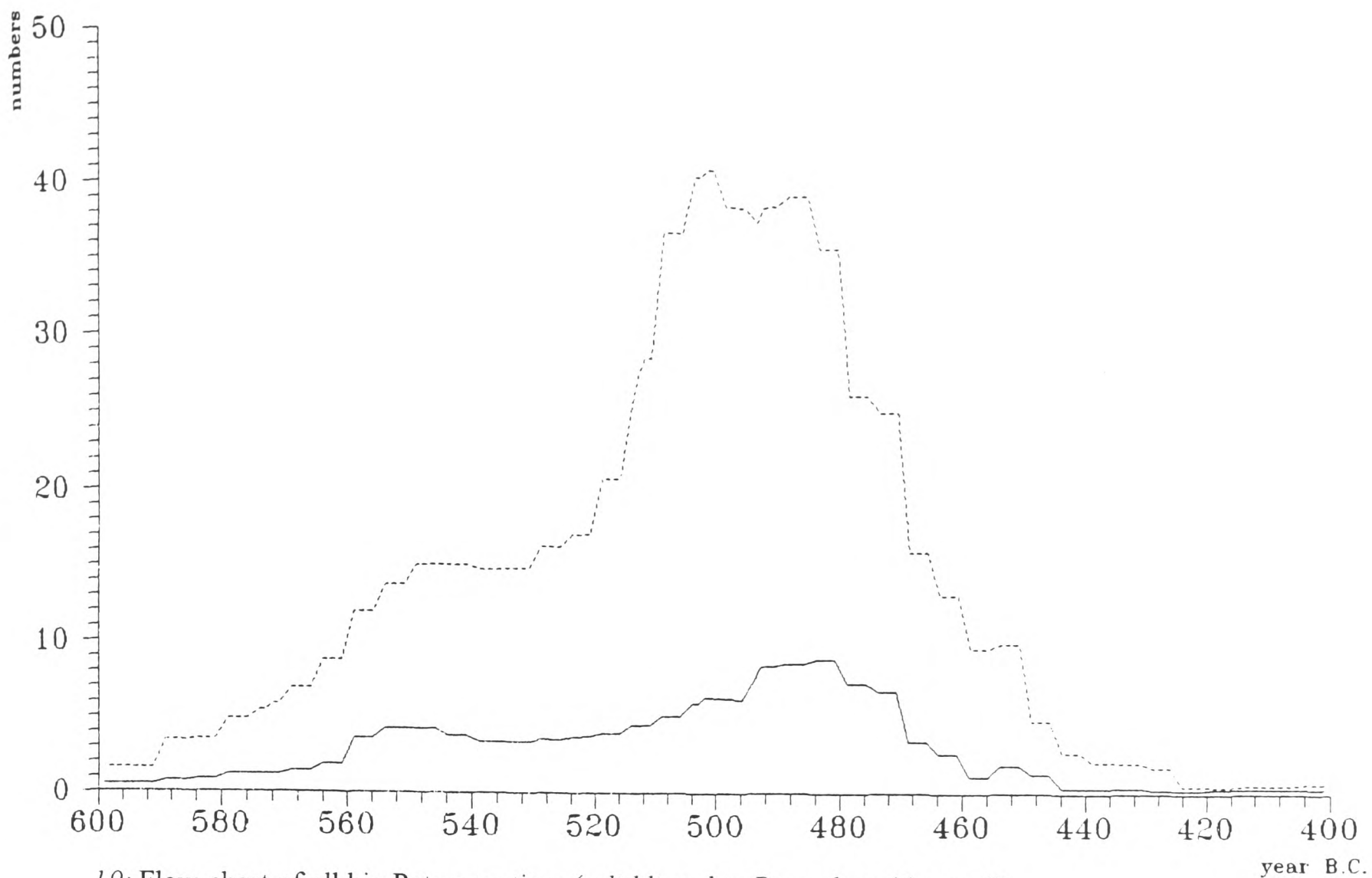
15: Flow-chart of the Panathenaic Amphorae over time (solid line: Panathenaic Amphorae; dotted line: all)



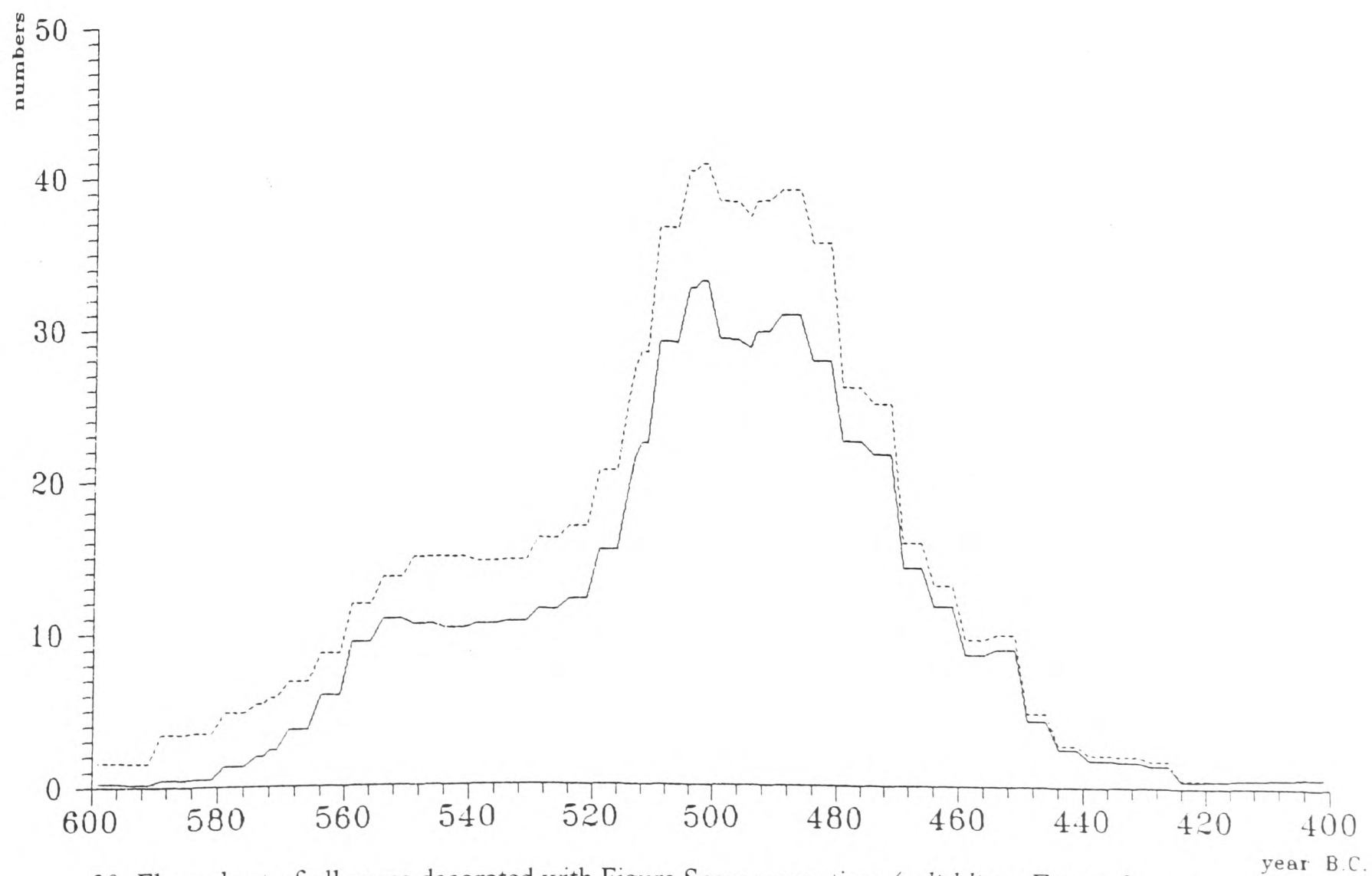
16: Flow-chart of the Amphorae over time (solid line: Amphorae; dotted line: all)



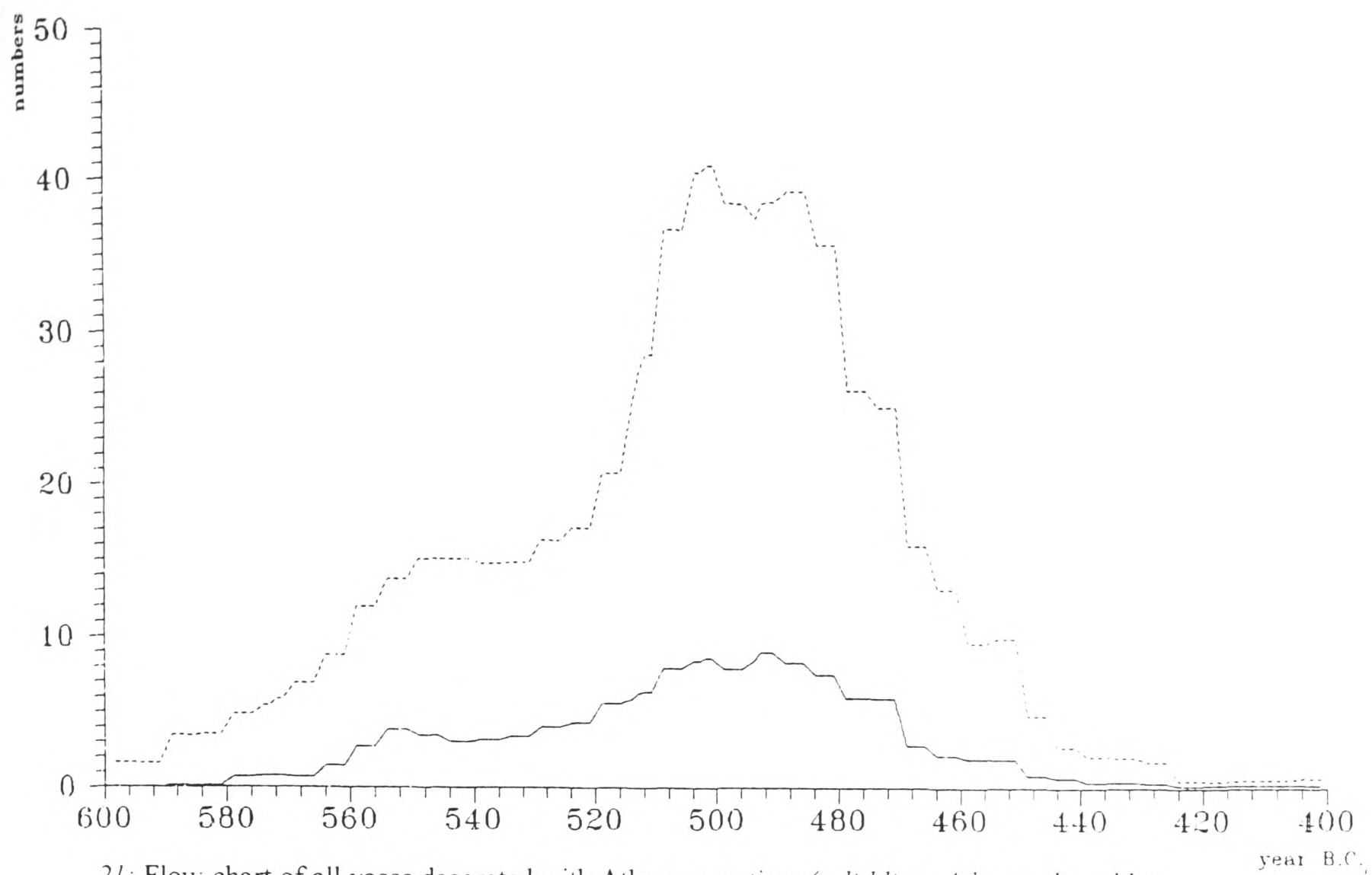
17: Flow-chart of the Hydriae over time (solid line: Hydriae; dotted line: all)



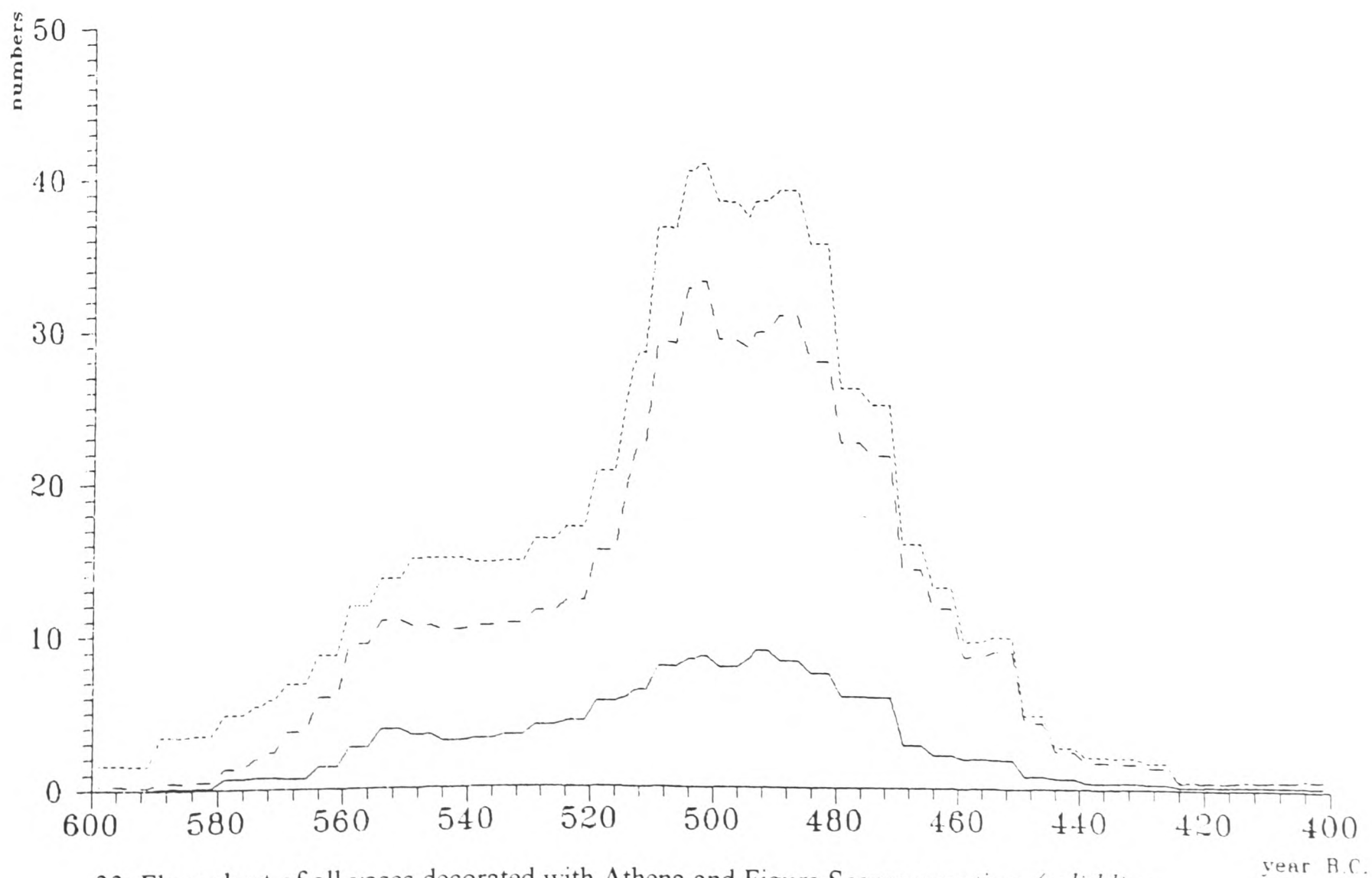
19: Flow-chart of all big Pots over time (solid line: big Pots; dotted line: all)



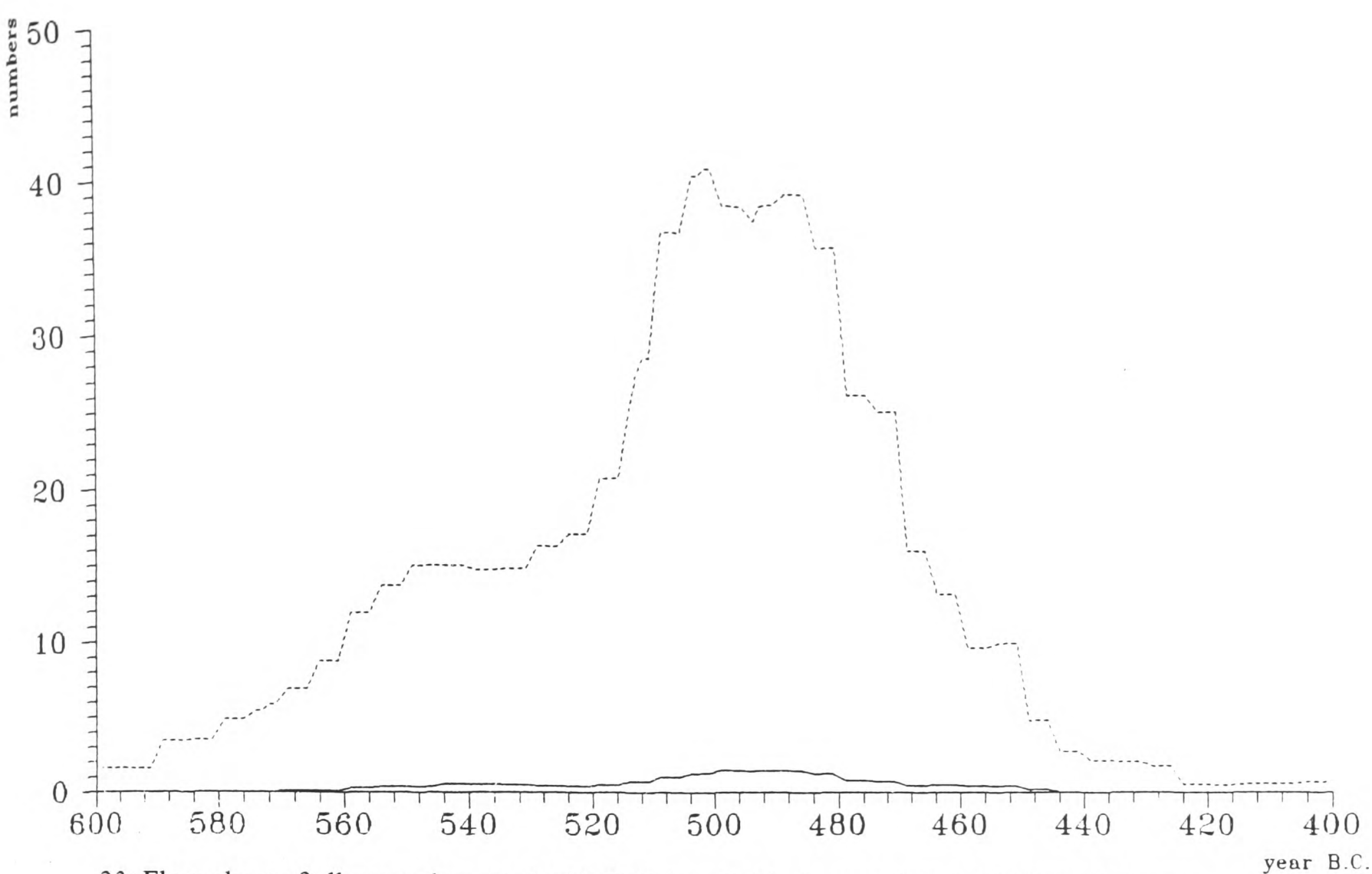
20: Flow-chart of all vases decorated with Figure Scenes over time (solid line: Figure Scenes; dotted line: all)



21: Flow-chart of all vases decorated with Athena over time (solid line: Athena; dotted line: all)



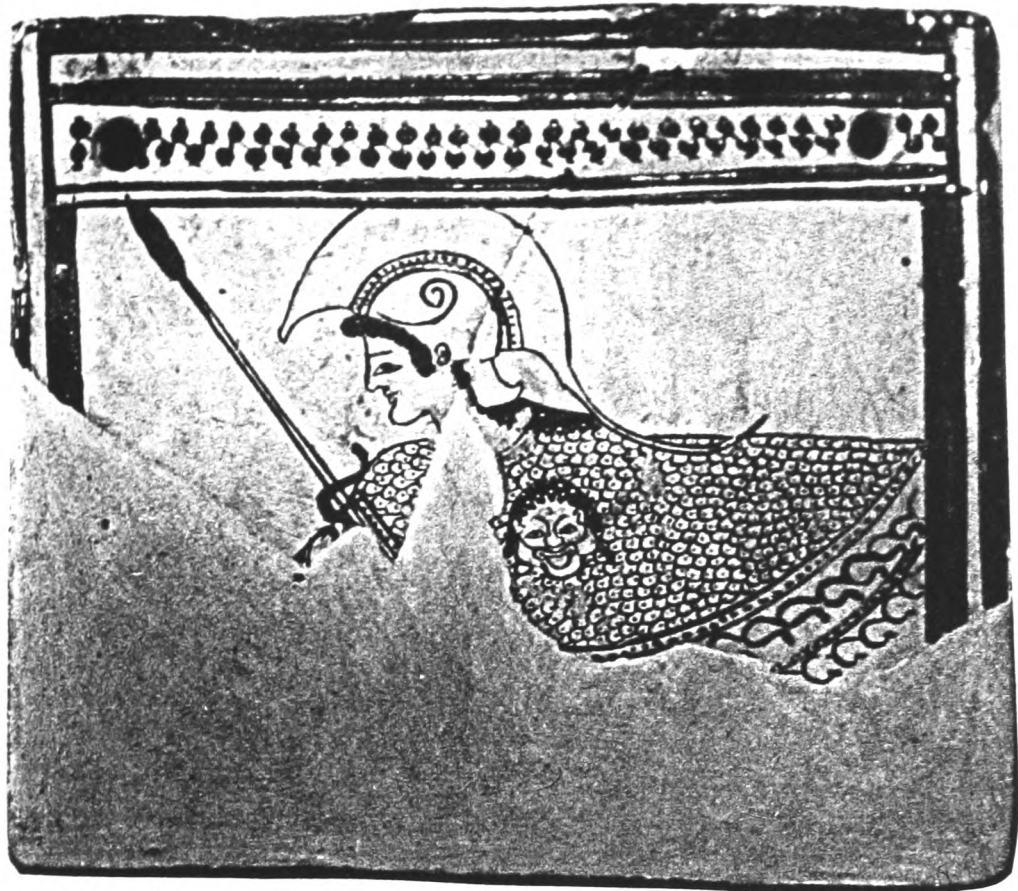
22: Flow-chart of all vases decorated with Athena and Figure Scenes over time (solid line: Athena; dashed line: Figure Scenes; dotted line: all)



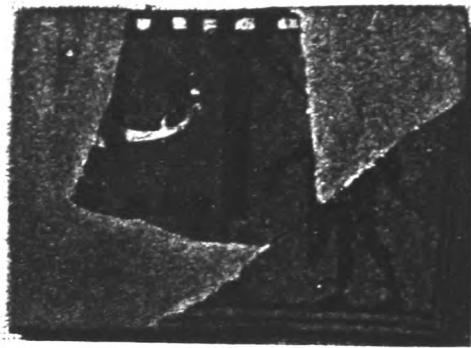
23: Flow-chart of all vases decorated with Religious Subjects over time (*solid line: Religious Subjects; dotted line: all*)



24: Acropolis plaque, *left: not published right: AKR 2005*



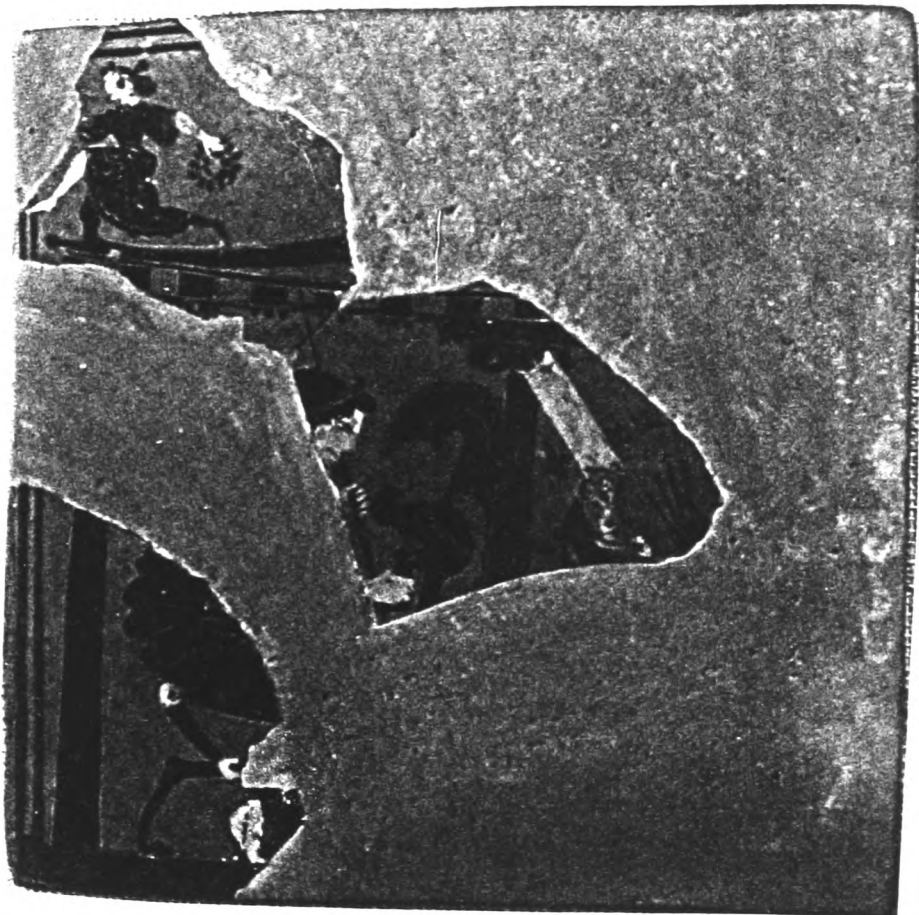
25: II AKR 1038



26: AKR 2547



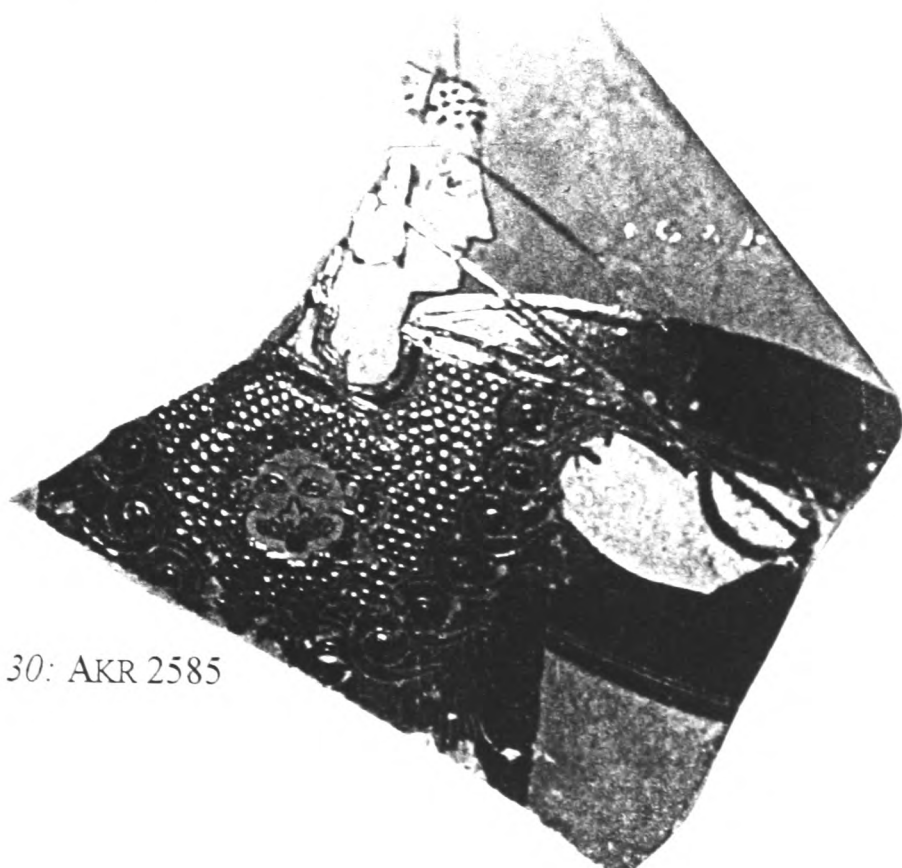
27: AKR 2582



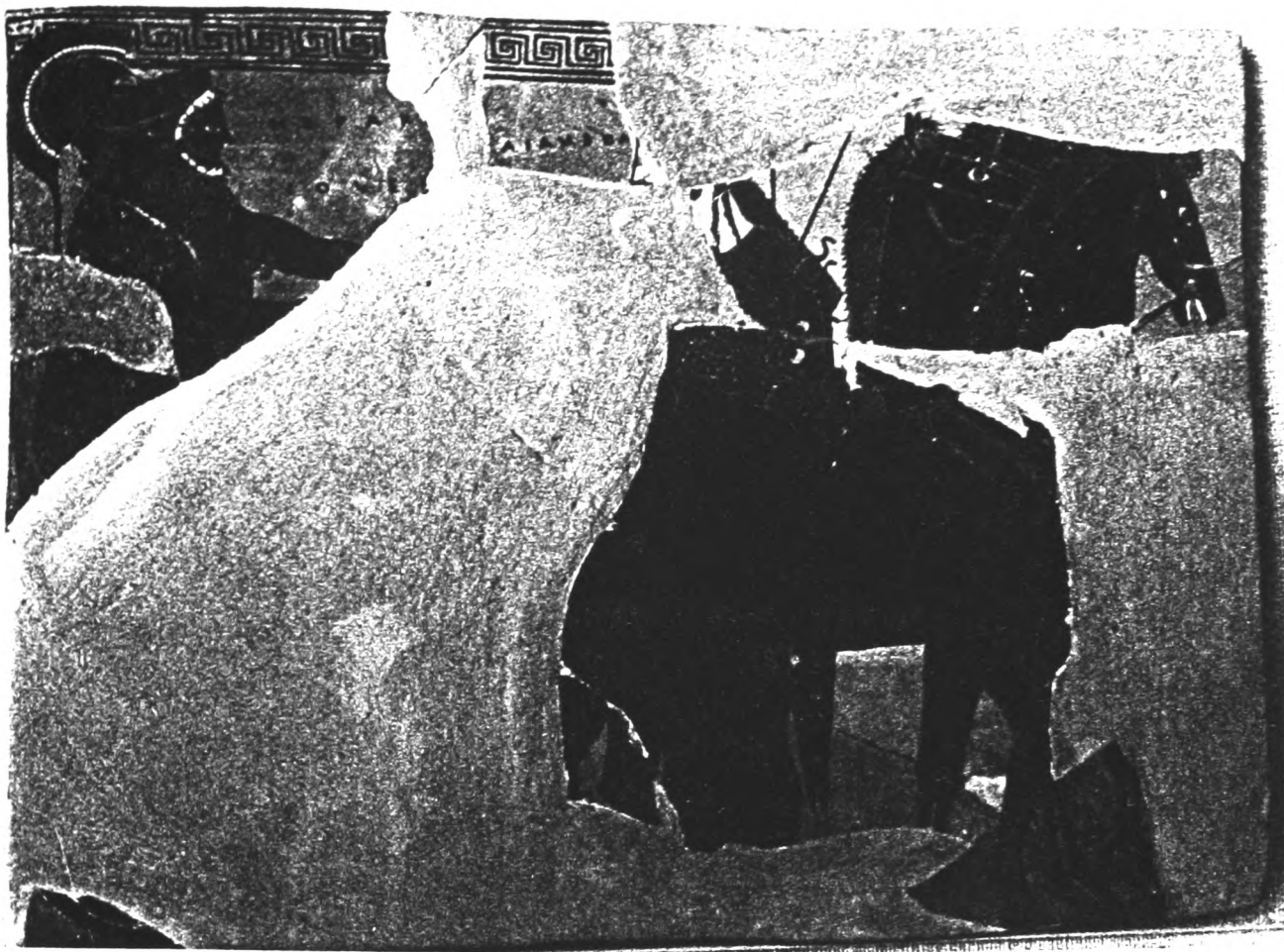
28: AKR 2549



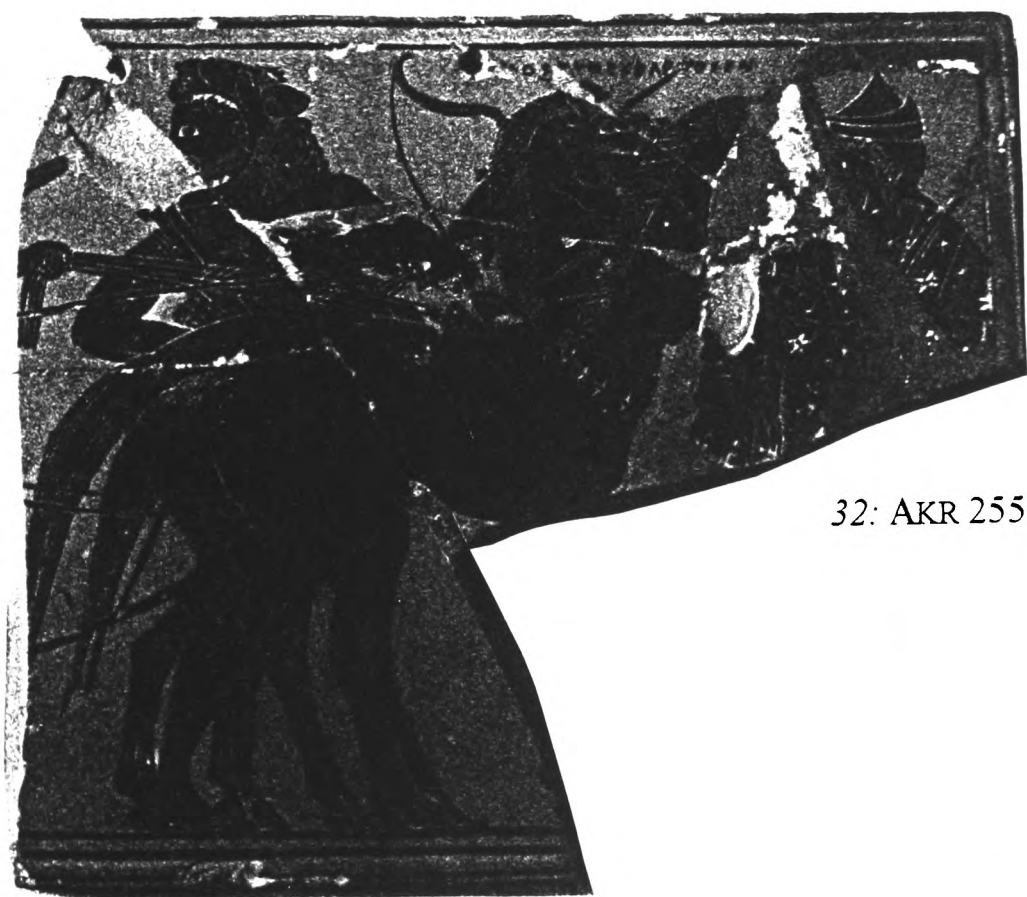
29: AKR 2578



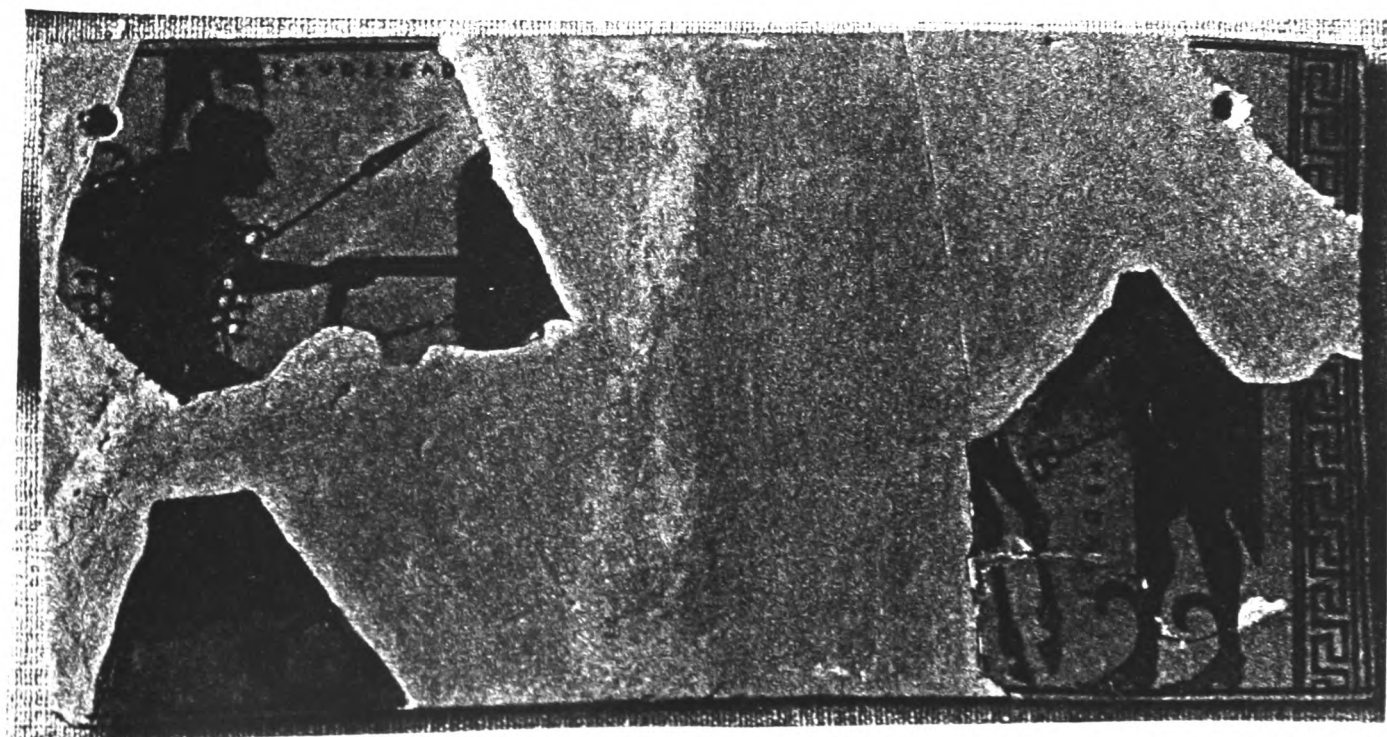
30: AKR 2585



31: AKR 2581; 2591

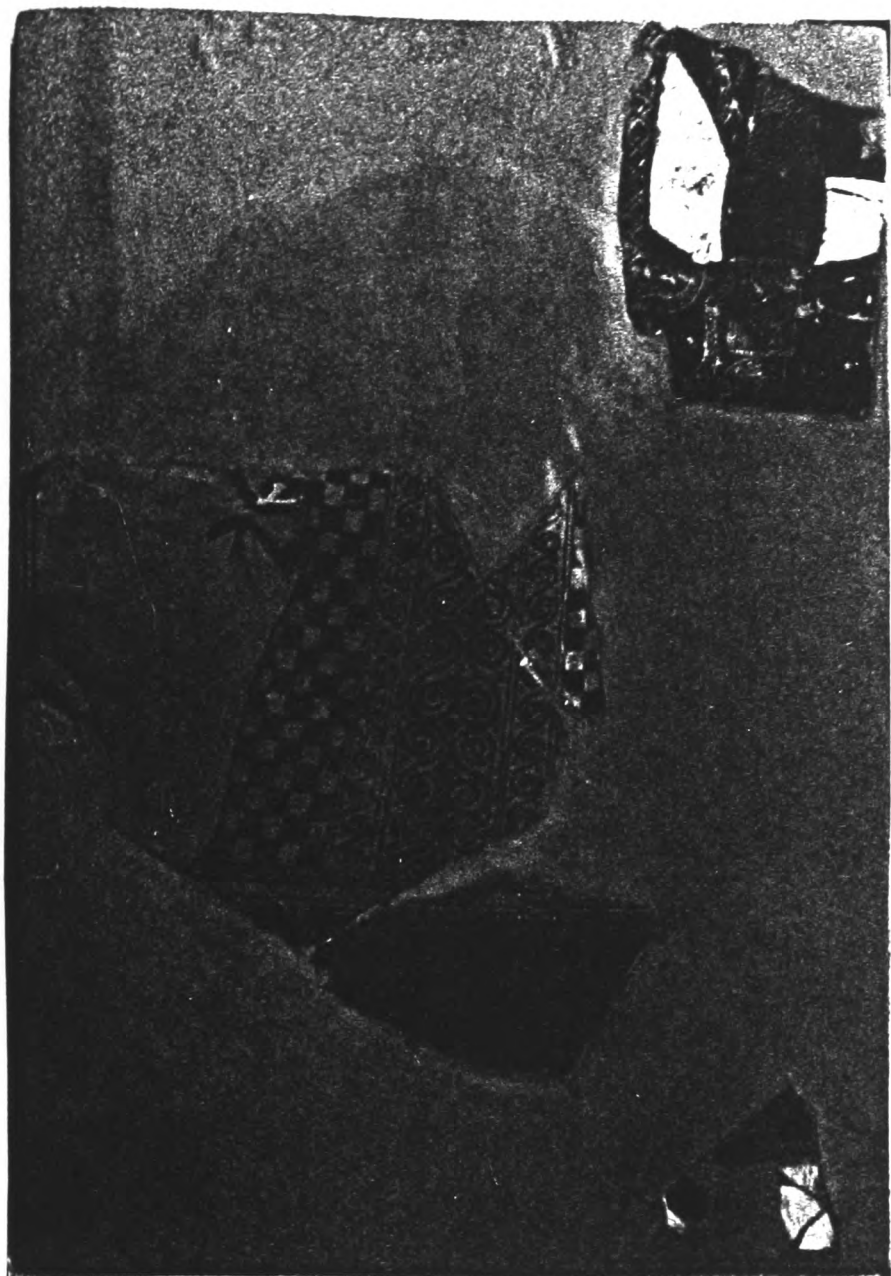


32: AKR 2557



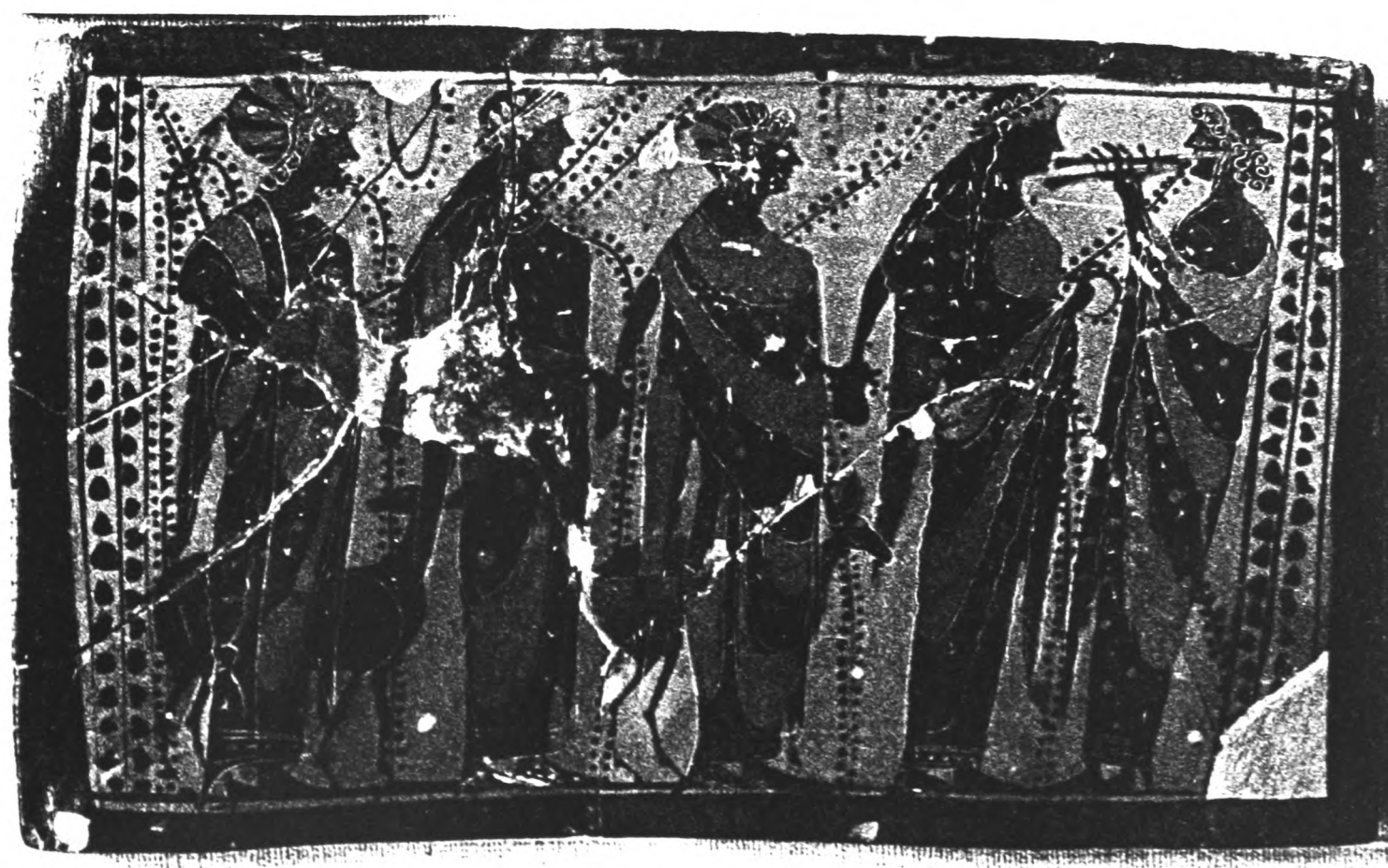
33: AKR 2586

34: AKR 2510

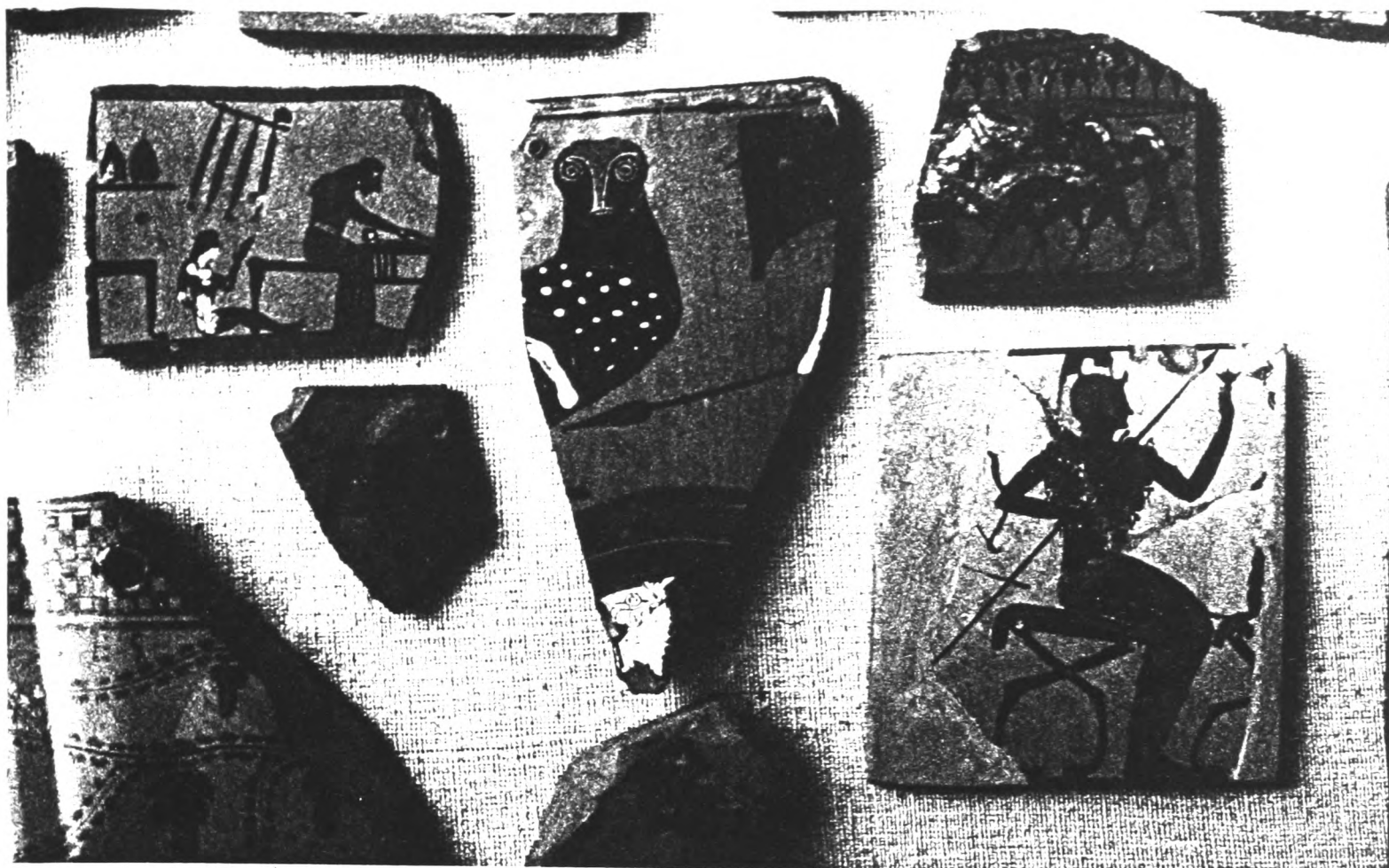


35: AKR 2526

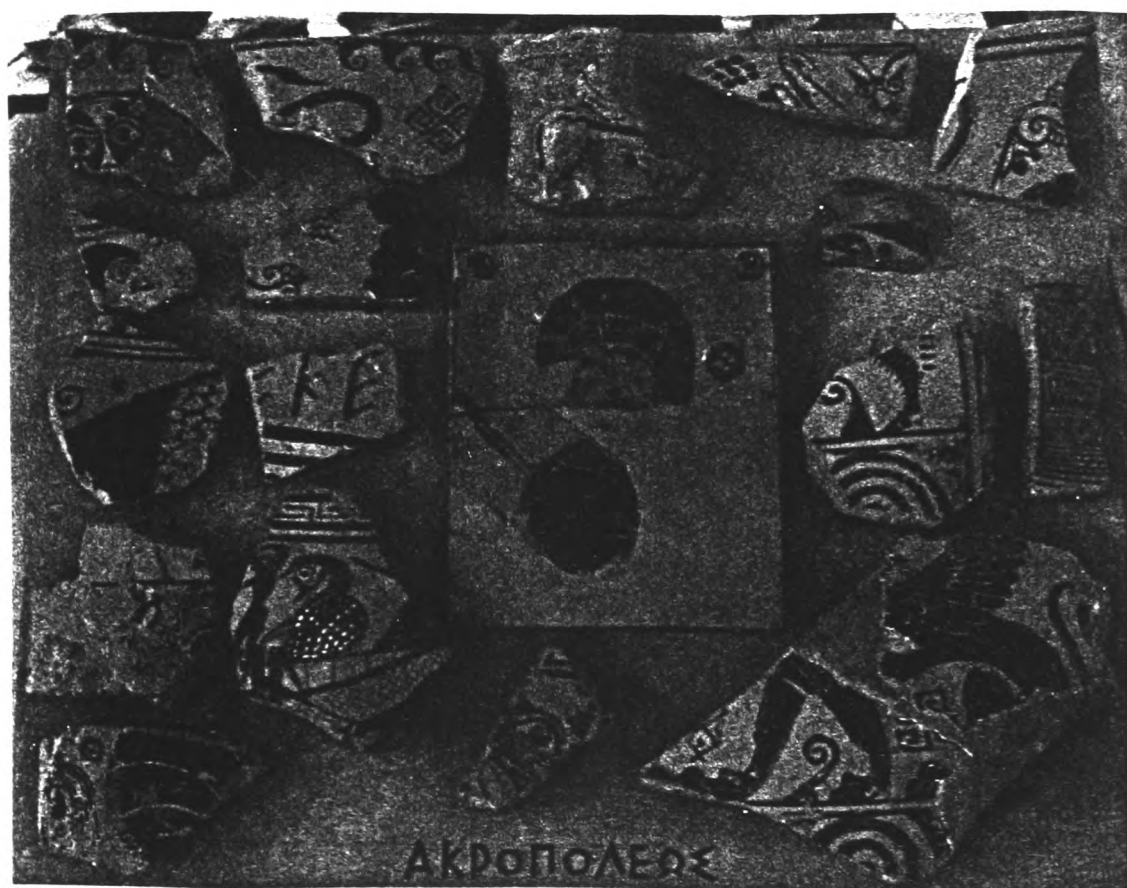
36: AKR 2525



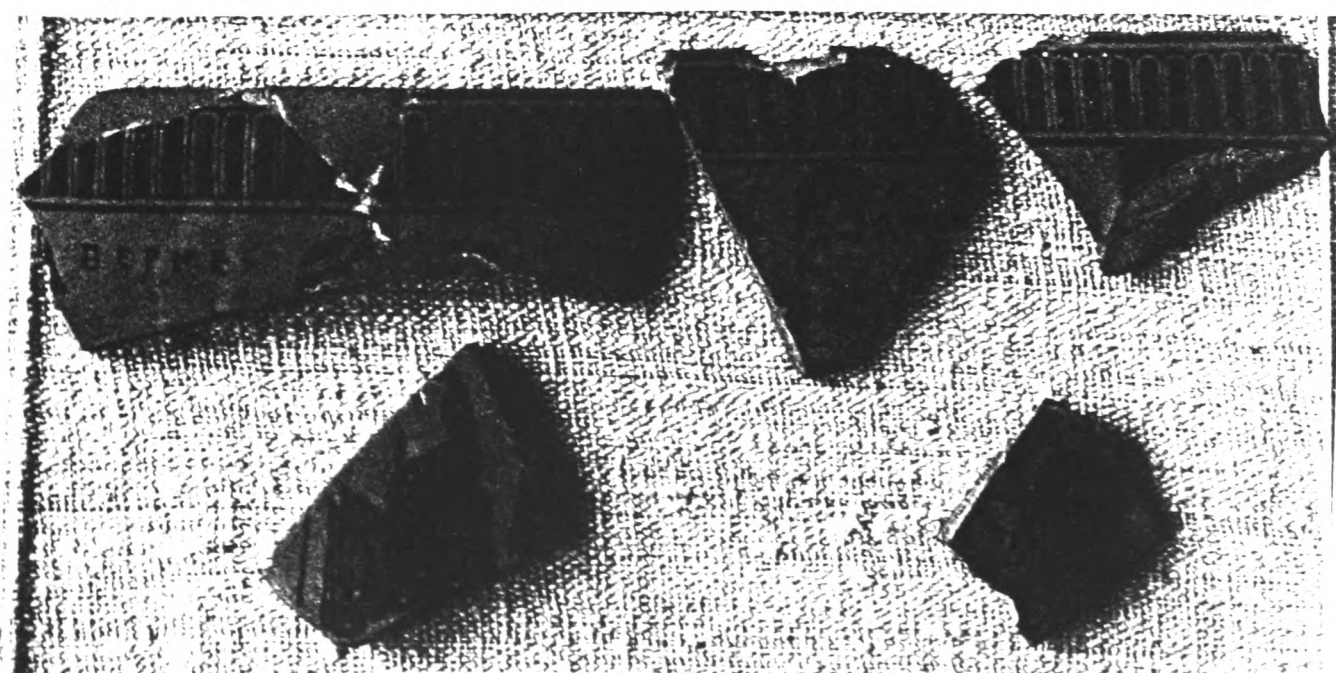
37: AKR 2574



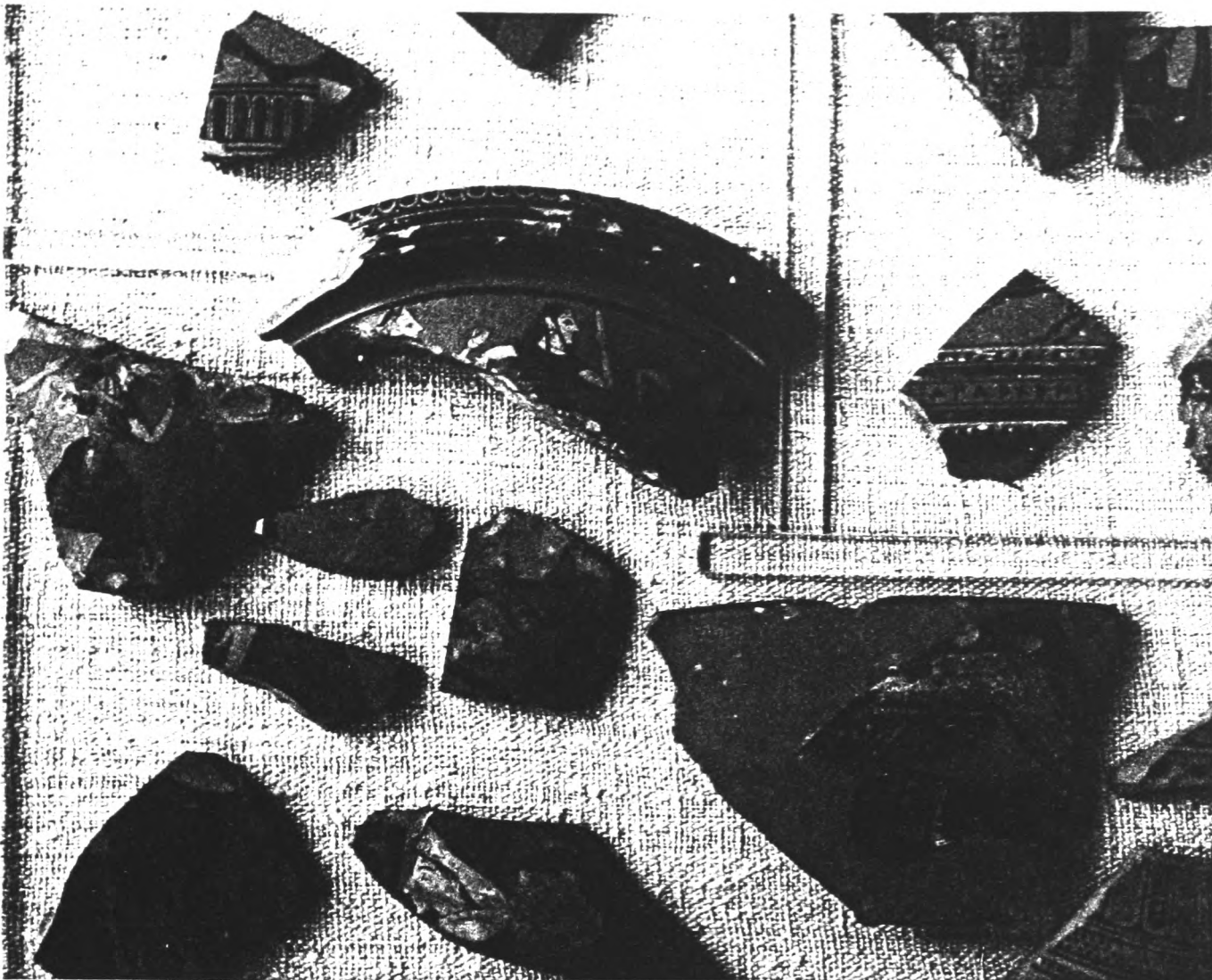
40: AKR 2525 (woman and child), 2493 (owl), 2531a (loom), 2570 (vines), 2554 (chariot and warriors), 2582 (sitting Athena)



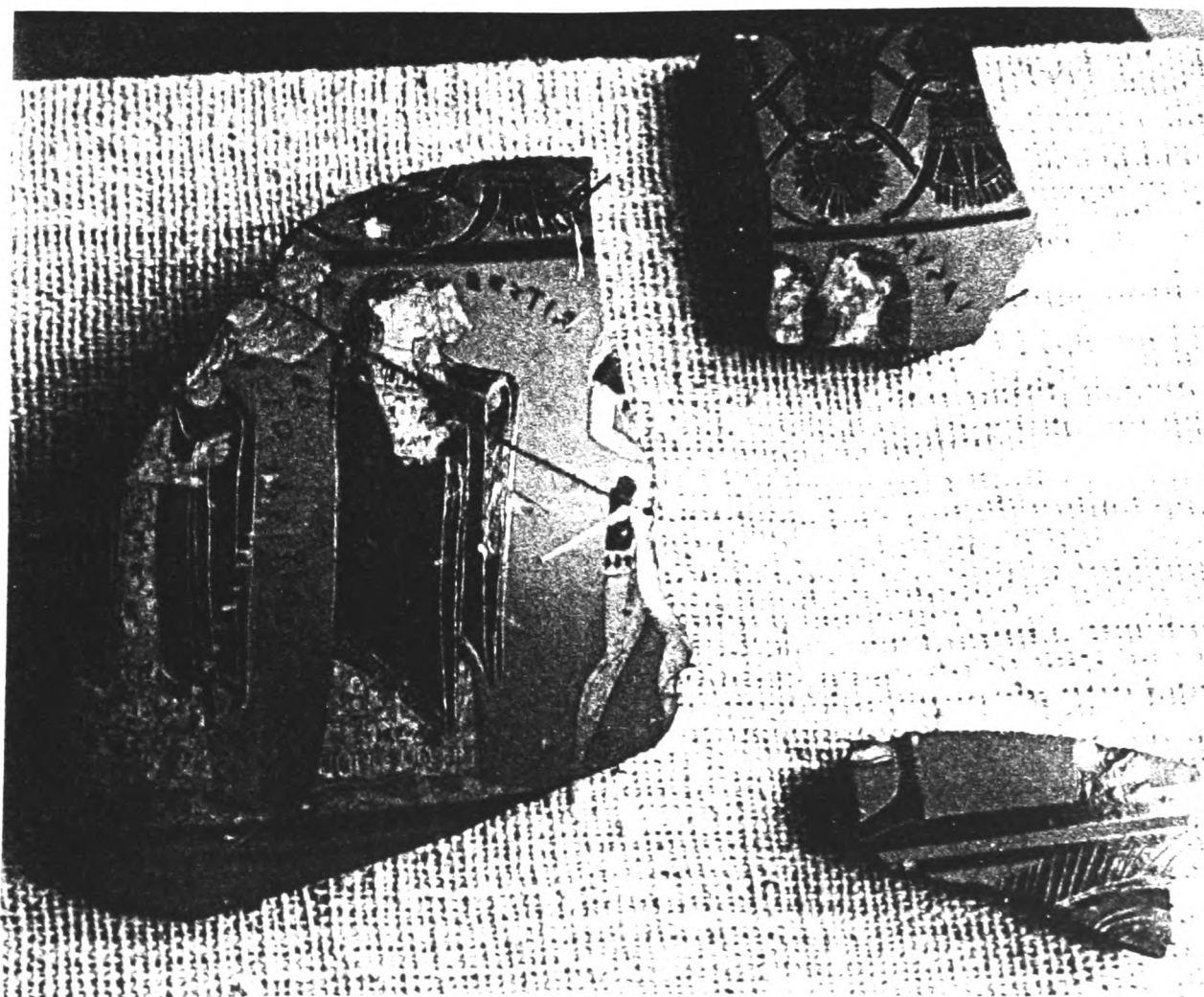
41: Akr 414 (plaque, centre), 412 (boat, left of plaque), 380 (inscr. *aneth]eke[n]*), 347a (face, above) b (strand of hair, right), 387 (hairy leg, right of plaque), 369 (lion, top left)



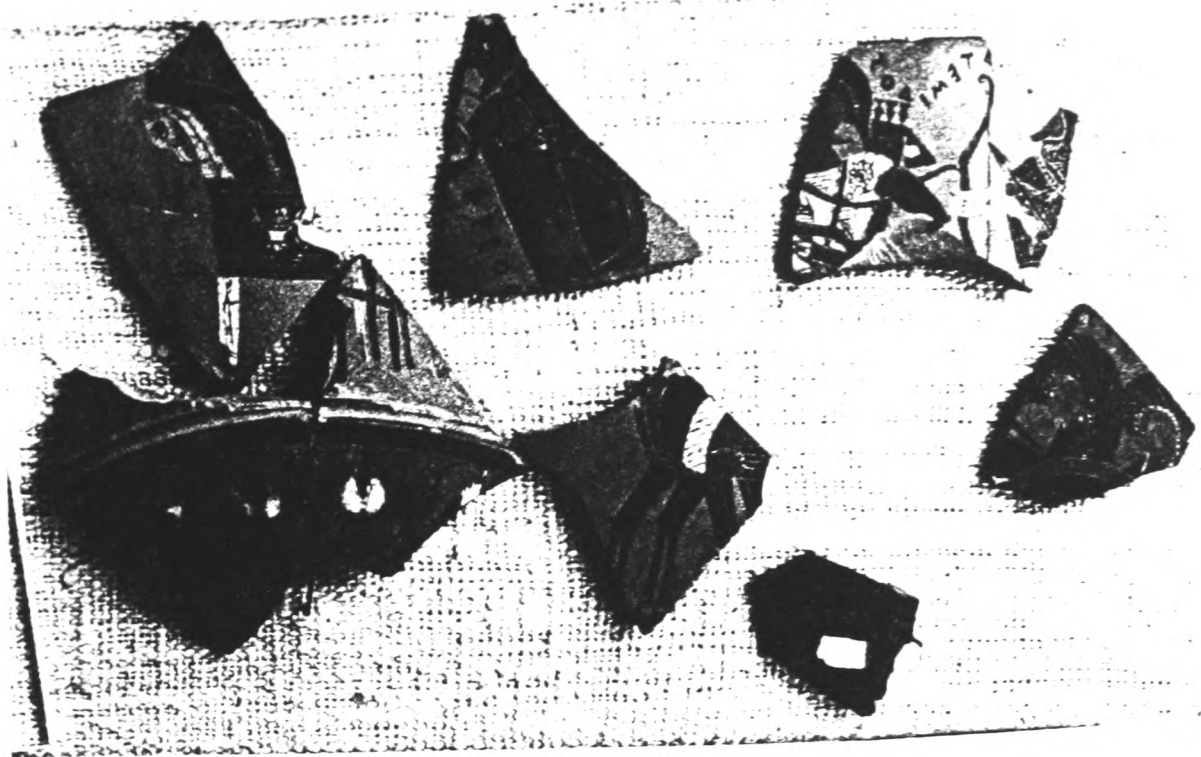
42: AKR 597 (see also [Fig. 43] bottom)



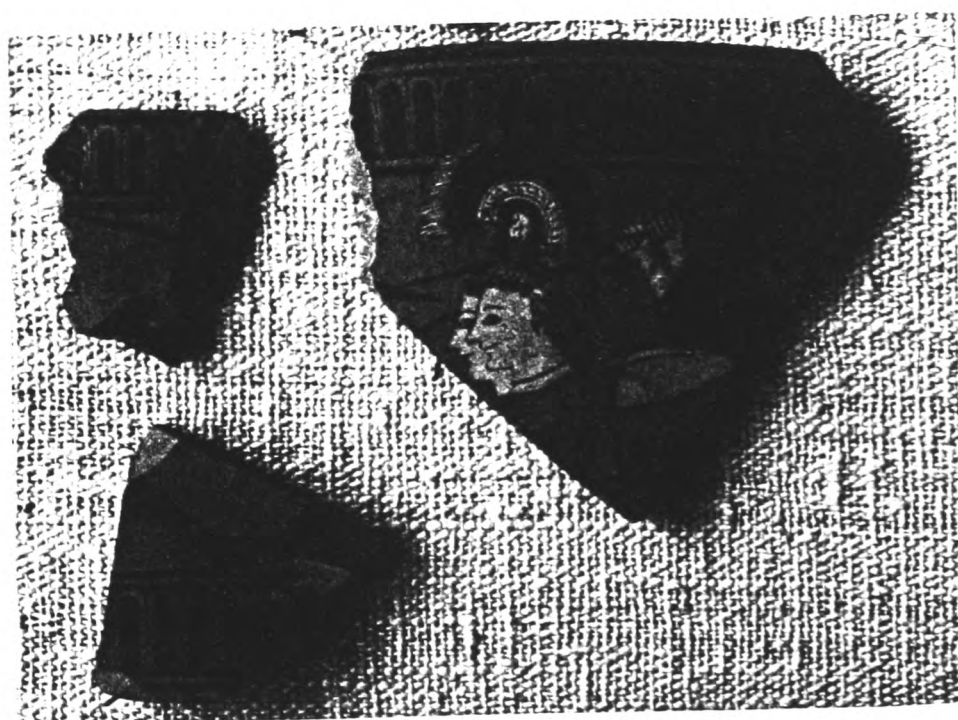
43: AKR 594 (rim, top), 613 (wing, right), 597 (bottom, left) see also [Fig. 42], 601 (top right, inscr.)



44: AKR 587d, b, e



45: AKR 2133



46: AKR 614 a, b



47: AKR 764 (ram), 2521 (plaque)



48: II AKR 166



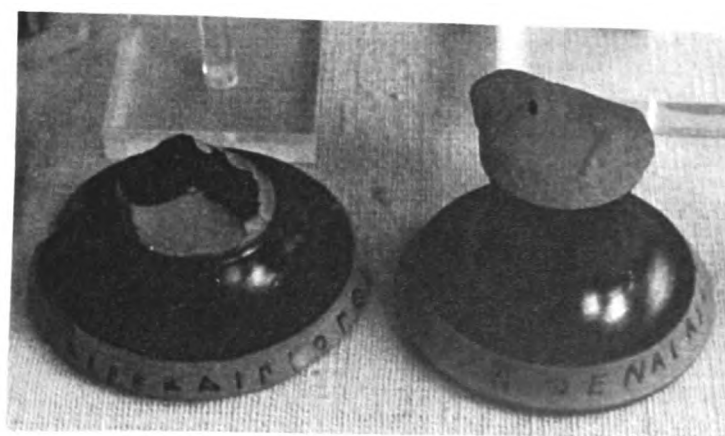
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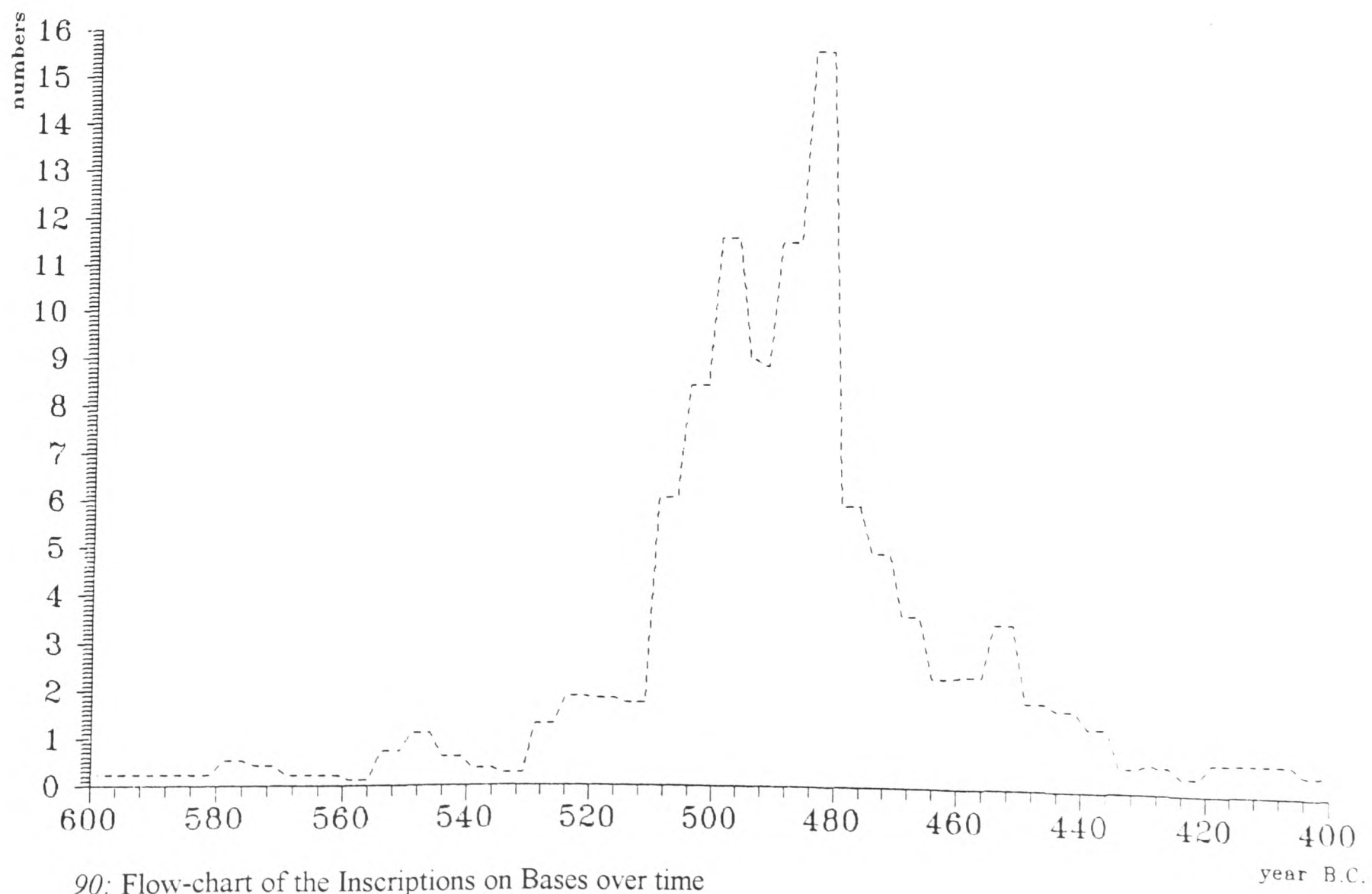
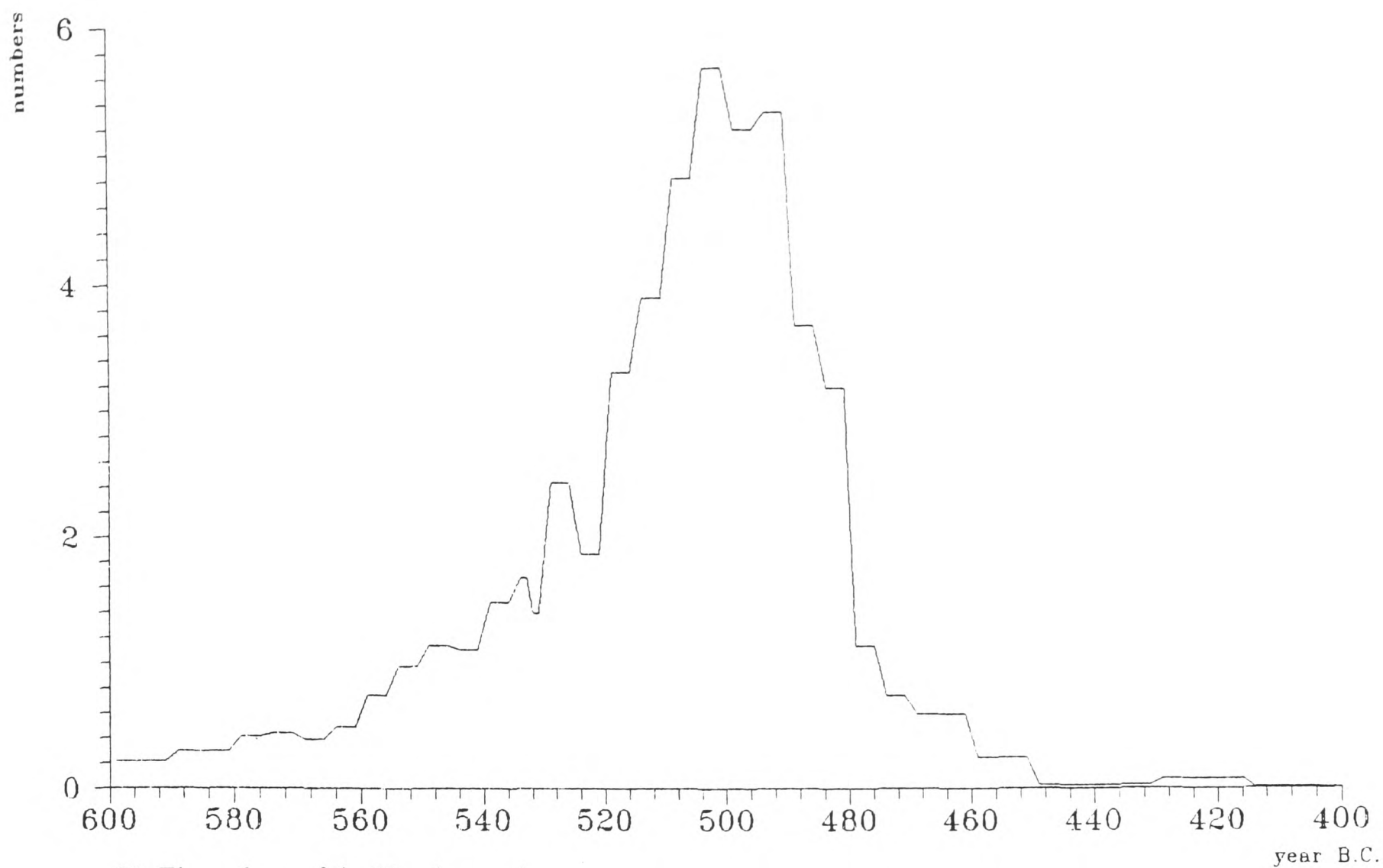
50: II AKR 1335

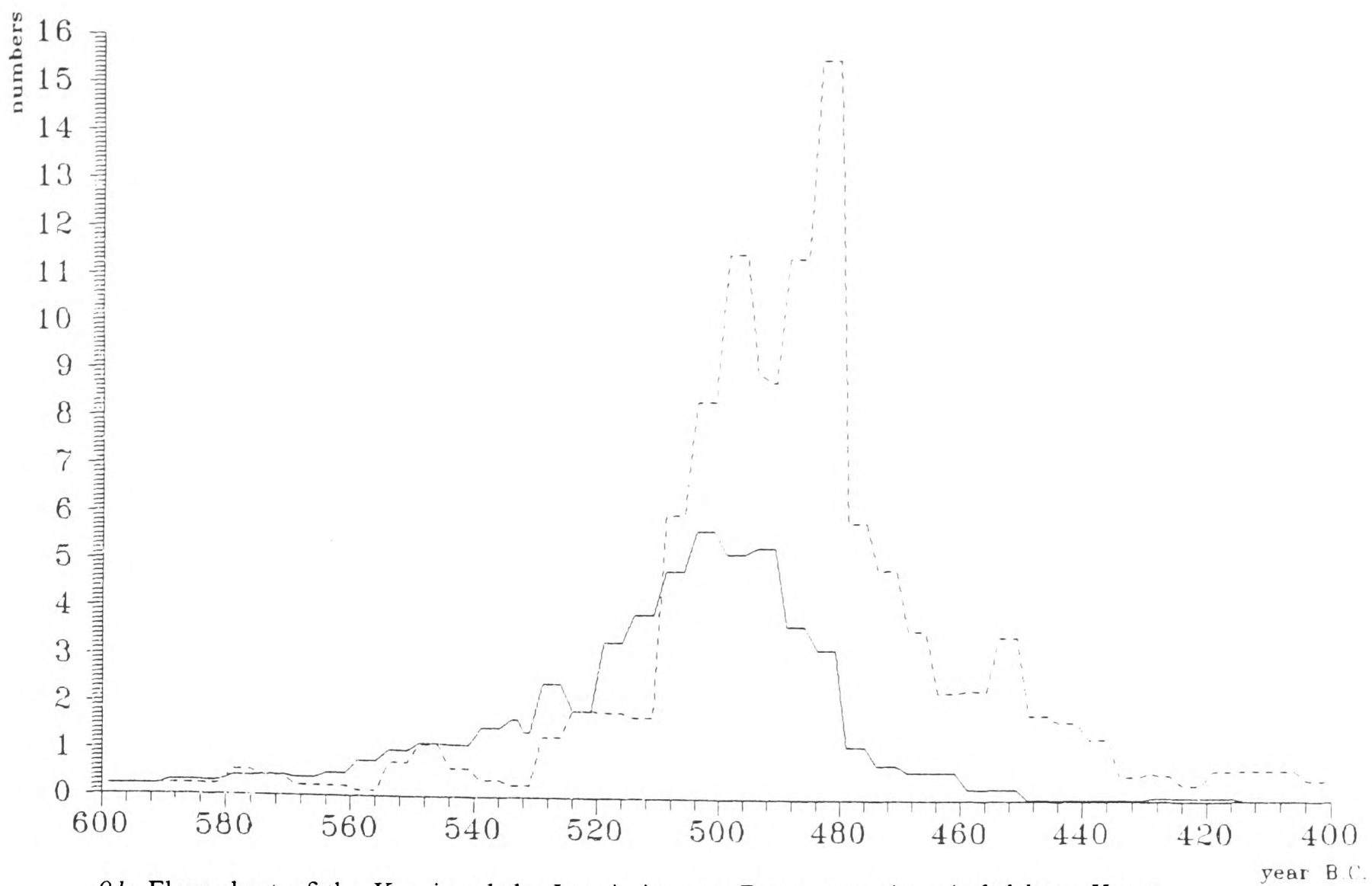


51: II AKR 1336



52: AKR 1932





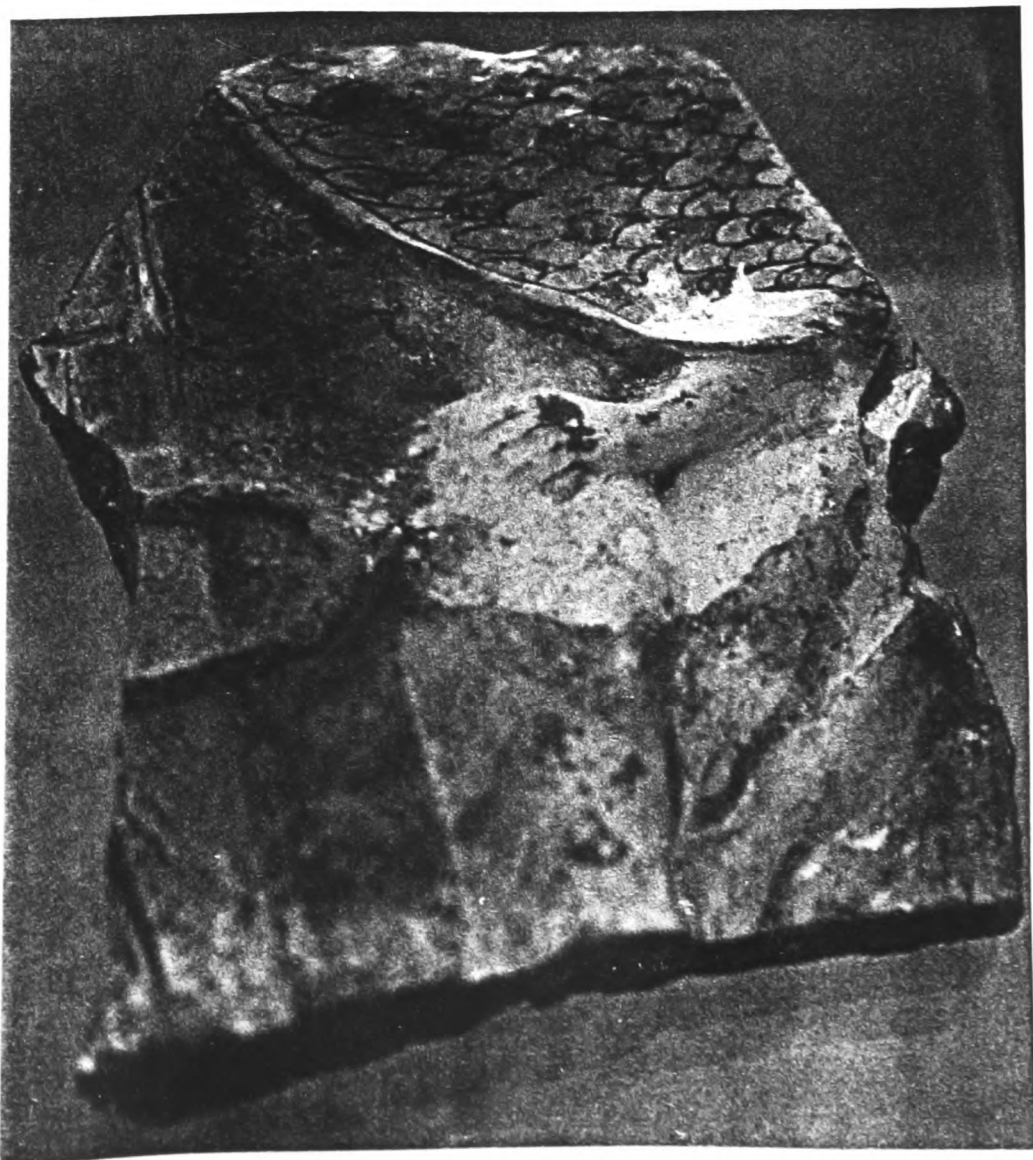
91: Flow-chart of the Korai and the Inscriptions on Bases over time (*solid line: Korai; dotted line: Inscriptions on Bases*)



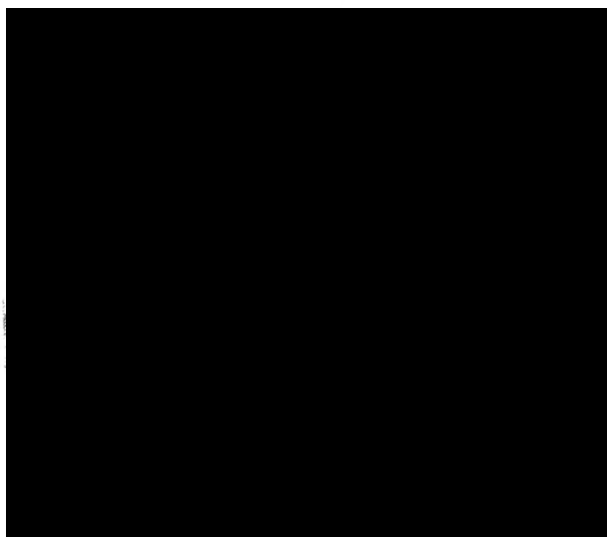
124: AcrM 111142



125: AcrM 12285



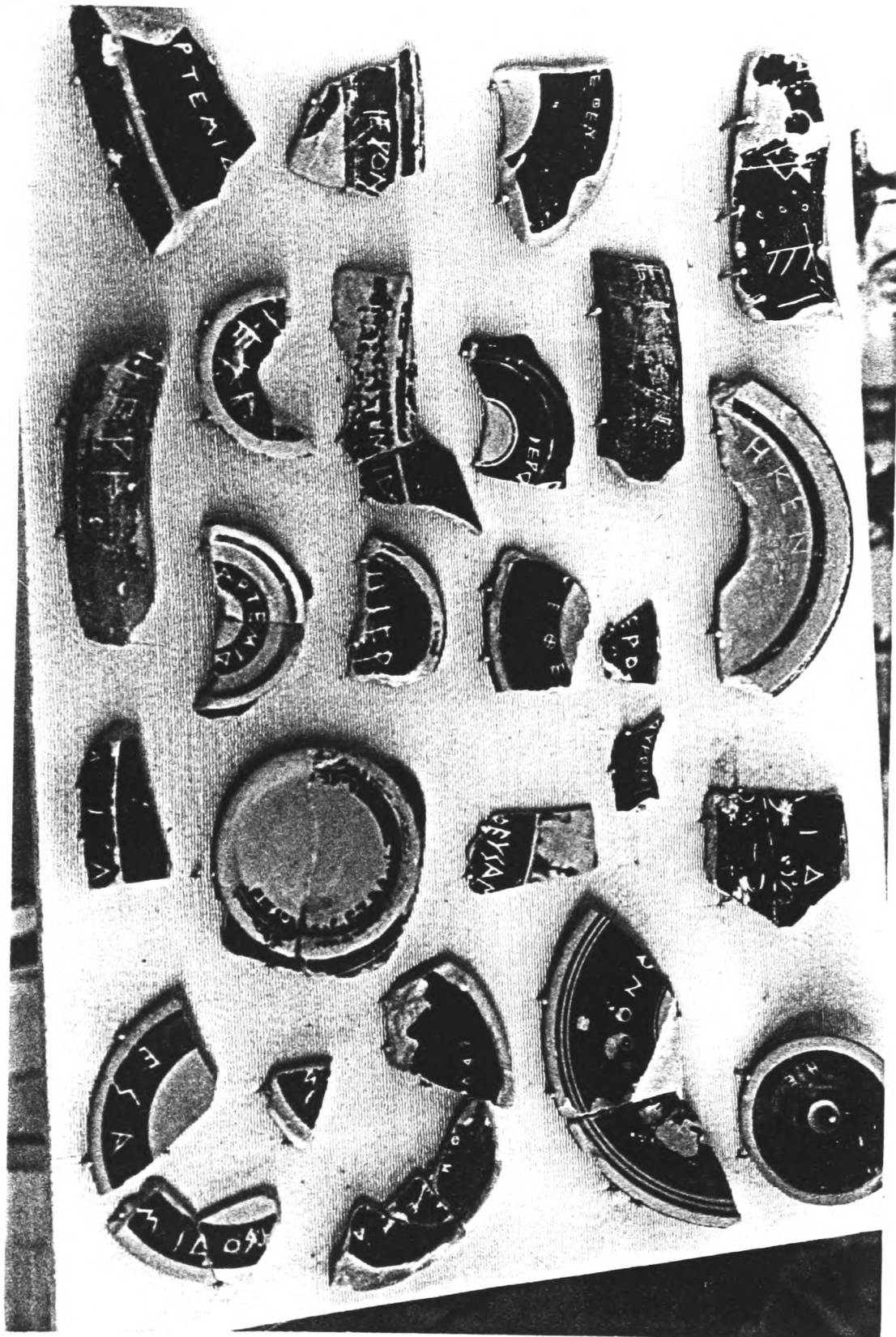
126: AcrM 12993



127: AcrM 12982



128: AcrM 10727 and 10510



135: Pottery dedications from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia at Brauron