

A RUBRIC IN THE PROPYLAIA ACCOUNTS

A. M. WOODWARD first noted the recurrence of a rubric in the building accounts of the Propylaia, which runs as follows:¹

παρὰ ἑλλενοταμιῶν ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς τῆς μετὰ - - - - παρὰ - - - -.

Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor have interpreted the rubric to signify that the Hellenotamiai transferred to the commissioners of the Propylaia any unexpended funds left from a grant of money authorized by the *demoi* for a given military campaign.² While this idea of surplus funds seems a perfectly possible explanation, I would suggest an alternative, that the Hellenotamiai transferred to the commissioners of the Propylaia an *aparche* of booty collected by an Athenian expeditionary force. Herodotus³ and Xenophon⁴ mention the *dekate* from the booty of several battles, and Thucydides speaks of the dedication of spoils as a customary procedure.⁵ While the Peloponnesians regularly sent their *aparche* to Delphi, one would expect that the Athenians would make their dedications to Athena, who received the *aparche* from the tribute. This was the case in 506, when they defeated the Boiotians and the Chalkideans,⁶ and again during the Archidamian War when they erected a statue of Athena Nike from the spoils of a western campaign.⁷

When we examine the other sources of revenue for the Periklean building programme we find that either explanation of the rubric is possible. In the Parthenon building accounts we find contributions from the *tr[ieropoioi]* and the *teichopoioi*,⁸ which presumably represent the surpluses which these officials held when their work was finished, just as in the First Kallias Decree a sum of two hundred talents is set aside for repaying debts to the Other Gods, and whatever is left after the repayment is to be used for the construction of walls and ship-sheds.⁹ On the other hand, most of the income for the Parthenon and, as far as we know,¹⁰ all the income for the Propylaia came from sacred funds, such as Athena's own treasury,¹¹ *aparche* from the tribute,¹² the proceeds from the rental of a sacred house¹³ and from various sales (the sale of slaves by the *hieroi praktores*,¹⁴ of skins from sacrifices,¹⁵ and of tiles, beams, and revetments from

¹ *ATL* iii. 329-32; after *μετά* we have the name of the commander of the expedition; after *παρὰ* the name of the Hellenotamias in charge of the transaction.

² *Ibid.*

³ 5. 77. 4, 8. 27. 5, 9. 81. 1.

⁴ *Hell.* 3. 5. 5, 4. 3. 21.

⁵ 3. 57. 1. He also mentions the dedication of booty from various battles: 2. 13. 4, 3. 114. 1, 4. 134. 1.

⁶ *Hdt.* 5. 77. 4.

⁷ *IG* ii². 403, which has been restored with the phrase [*ἀπὸ τῆς*] *[στρατ]ιᾶς*. Incidentally, Demosthenes dedicated his share of the booty to various deities: cf. *Thuc.* 3. 114. 1.

⁸ *IG* i². 342-3.

⁹ *ATL* ii. D 1, lines 30-2.

¹⁰ The sources of income in the extant portions of the Propylaia accounts, *IG* i². 363-7, are the sale of building materials and skins (cf. Dinsmoor, *AJA* xvii [1913], 385), the rental of a sacred house, the *aparche* of the tribute, lump sums from the treasurers of Athena, contributions from individuals, and revenues from a mine called the Hephaistikon. All but this last are easily identified as sacred moneys. Athena's stake in the mine is uncertain.

¹¹ *IG* i². 340, 342, 347, 352, 364, 366.

¹² *IG* i². 342-3, 347-8, 364-6.

¹³ *IG* i². 363-4, 367.

¹⁴ *IG* i². 350.

¹⁵ Cf. Dinsmoor, loc. cit. 386.

older temples torn down to make way for the new ones),¹ and perhaps an *aparche* of moneys collected by the *xenodikai*.²

Thus we have two possibilities: either the construction of the Propylaia was financed entirely out of sacred revenues, including *aparche* from booty, or else some contributions to the work came from a secular source, the surplus of funds allocated for military purposes.

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¹ Dinsmoor 385.

² *IG* i², 342-3. The *xenodikai* are probably connected with the revision of the citizenship lists in 445/4, mentioned by Philochoros (*F. Gr. Hist.* 328 F 119) and Plutarch,

Perikles, 37. 4. If anyone was sold into slavery or had his property confiscated we can expect that the customary tithe (cf. *IG* i². 22, 39, 45) was given to Athena.