



The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Material of Politics

This study makes a pair with the author's "Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi," *Classical Antiquity* 20 (2001): 273–336. Like that essay, it argues that the function of a treasury is to provide a civic frame for ostentatious dedications by wealthy citizens: in effect, to "nationalize" votives. In this sense, the Athenian Treasury is a material trace, or fossil, of city politics in the 480s. The article tracks this function through the monument's iconography; its use of marble from the medizing island of Paros; its relation to the "Alkmeonid" temple of Apollo; and the responses it evoked at Delphi and in Athens. Special attention is given to the methodological problem of finding meaning in non-iconic or non-representational features, such as building materials. The article concludes with a new reading of Pindar's sixth *Pythian*, for Megakles of Athens, which neatly encapsulates what was at stake in this building project.

A pilgrim visiting Delphi in the fifth century B.C.E. would enter the holy precinct at the southeast (Figure 1). Climbing the Sacred Way, she would pass small treasure-houses, or *thésauroi*, constructed by the Sikyonians, the Siphnians, and the Megarians, before arriving at a crossroads.¹ Here, rounding a hairpin turn, she would get her best clear view of the Temple of Apollo, looming high on a terrace over the roadway (Figure 1, no. 422). Immediately below that great temple she would see a small, Doric structure: the Treasure-House of the Athenians

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1. One can walk the Sacred Way online at <http://www.stoa.org/metis>. "Megarian" treasury: Partida 2000: 185–91.

(Figure 1, no. 223, and Figure 2).² It was an exceptionally lavish little structure, built entirely of dazzling Parian marble, with metopes and pediments carved in high relief, and ten bronze statues atop a limestone base that ran along the south side. OVset against the dark retaining wall of the temple terrace, gleaming white below the limestone west end of the temple itself, its eVect on pilgrims must have been impressive to say the least.

As beWs so splendid and prominent a monument, the Athenian Treasury has been the subject of numerous studies. Most have addressed questions of style and chronology, and that is because a long-running controversy over the building's date has eVectively ruled out other sorts of inquiry. That said, recent archaeological work has eVectively resolved this controversy, and the time is therefore ripe for a reappraisal. As will become clear, the treasure-house of the Athenians epitomizes the eVorts of a new and democratic government to extend control over the religious activities of its elite citizens. Moreover, it is possible to trace a range of aristocratic responses to the building in the historical, literary, and archaeological records: attempts to resist the Treasury, to negate it, to co-opt it, even to ignore it. Taken together, the Treasury and its varied replications provide a view of Athenian democracy in gel, as it were.

Treasure-houses are found in major sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, but they are specially prominent at Delphi, Olympia, and Delos. Those in the Panhellenic sanctuaries form a distinct class. They are *extraterritorial* dedications: these buildings stood far away from the cities that paid for them, and are in this respect virtually unique. As I have argued elsewhere, the motivation for such expenditure was political.³ The evident purpose of a treasury is, of course, to hold costly dedications. But mere storage, mere practicality, is not enough to account for the existence of such a building. Many large, powerful cities, whose wealthy citizens made numerous lavish oVerings, never saw W to build treasure-houses. Functionalist explanations do not suYce; there has got to be more. Here the unique status of Panhellenic sanctuaries is crucial. As Anthony Snodgrass, Ian Morris, and Catherine Morgan have argued, Panhellenic shrines played an important role in the consolidation of both civic and aristocratic ideologies in Archaic and Classical Greece.⁴ As Morgan puts it, "From the eighth century, the history of inter-state sanctuaries ... was the history of the establishment of a state framework for ... pilgrimage, a fundamental part of the process of deWing the role

2. On the Athenian treasury see: Agard 1923; Audiat 1930; Audiat 1933; Dinsmoor 1946; La Coste-Messelière 1950; La Coste-Messelière 1953; La Coste-Messelière 1957; Harrison 1965: 9–11 (compromise date ca. 500–490); La Coste-Messelière 1966; Gauer 1968: 45–66; Kleine 1973: 94–97; Bommelaer 1977; Büsing 1979; Gauer 1980; Brommer 1982; Boardman 1982 (dating by iconography to 490s); D. J. R. Williams 1983: 139–40; Ridgway 1985; HoVelner 1988; Bankel 1990; Cooper 1990; Stewart 1990: 132; Bommelaer 1991: 133–36; Vatin 1991; Maas 1993; Ridgway 1993: 343–46, 365–66nn.8.28–29; Büsing 1994; Amandry 1998; Partida 2000: 48–70.

3. Neer 2001.

4. Snodgrass 1980; Morgan 1990; Morris 2000.

of the individual within the emerging state.”⁵ Delphi and Olympia were (among other things) gathering places for the elite. They were places in which well-born Greeks asserted special relationships with the gods by means of costly dedications and special relationships with one another through ritualized athletic display. The result was, as Ian Morris put it, “an imagined community at the interstices of the polis world,”⁶ devoted largely against the centralizing ideologies of the poleis themselves.

Treasuries are responses by *some* local, home communities to this sort of elite self-display. When placed on view in a treasury, the individual dedication—say, a golden bowl—is re-contextualized: it still reflects well on its dedicant, to be sure, but it also glorifies the polis. The purpose of a treasury is not just to store votives but to *nationalize* them, and with them a dedicant’s privileged relationship to the gods. In this regard it is significant that many treasuries incorporated stone imported at great expense, and to no “practical” purpose, from the home territory. The treasury, that is to say, brings a little bit of the polis into the heart of a Panhellenic sanctuary, so that when it is placed in a treasury, a dedication never really leaves home at all. Treasuries convert upper-class ostentation into civic pride—and this appropriation of elitist spending is, I have argued, their real function. A *thēsauros* is not a just a store-room: it is a frame for costly dedications, a way of diverting elite display in the interest of the city-state.

Among the dozens of treasuries at Delphi, Olympia, and Delos, the Athenian stands out as a particularly well-documented, complex, and significant example. Although our knowledge of late-Archaic Athens leaves much to be desired, still it is possible to bring historical, archaeological, and art-historical analyses together to see how, in one city, architecture and sculpture could effectively materialize political struggle.

THE BUILDING

Like all other treasuries, the Athenian was difficult of access.⁷ It stood on a high podium without steps, and metal grates ran across the entire front, from the antae to the columns and between the columns themselves. A triangular terrace, presumably for holding larger votives, stood directly before the entryway. Three retaining walls backed onto the hillside; immediately above was the temple terrace, with the temple itself looming over all. The building’s metopes, 6 x 9, showed the deeds of Herakles and Theseus (Figures 3–6). Three compositions extended over multiple panels: the Geryonomachy (six panels), and the Amazonomachies of Herakles and of Theseus (eight or nine panels total). The west pediment depicted a battle; the east, the epiphany of a goddess between chariots.

5. Morgan 1990: 234.

6. Morris 1996: 35–36.

7. A thorough technical study of the building may be found in Büsing 1994.

Mounted figures served as corner-akroteria: though their heads are missing, clear parallels with the metopes identify them as Amazons.

Running along the south flank of the Treasury—hence directly alongside the Sacred Way—was a rectangular limestone base, inscribed with the words:

AΘENAIOI T[O]I AΠOΛΛON[I AΠO MEΔ]ON AKPOΘINIA
TEΣ MAPAΘ[O]NI M[AXE]Σ

The Athenians to Apollo as offerings from the Battle of Marathon, taken from the Mede.⁸

Cuttings reveal that ten bronze statues stood atop this base. In the third century the number of statues increased to twelve, and then again to thirteen. The base was twice enlarged to accommodate the additions.⁹ For the first two statues, new blocks were simply added to the east end. The third statue, however, was placed in the middle of the ensemble, requiring more substantial modifications to the base and, more significantly, the re-cutting of the dedicatory inscription (both versions of the text remain visible today).¹⁰ Though the nature of the statues remains hypothetical, the shift from ten to twelve to thirteen figures is telling. It is very likely that the original statues depicted the ten eponymous heroes of the Kleisthenic tribes, and that the later changes reflect the creation of new tribes in the Hellenistic period: Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes became eponymoi in 306, and Ptolemy III joined the ranks in 223. Each change at Athens probably resulted in a corresponding change on the base at Delphi.¹¹

8. Inscription: *GHI*³ no. 19. On the base see most recently: Amandry 1998 (with full excavation report on We at the École Française); Jacquemin 1999: 186–87, with complete bibliography at 315 no. 077. For the restoration of the text, and the translation, see Amandry 1998.

9. The inscription was recut when the base was extended. Although the original inscription was partly obliterated, enough survives to be sure that the wording did not change.

10. Amandry 1998; Jacquemin 1999: 229–30. Vatin 1991: 183–234 suggests an altogether more complex history for the base, adducing no fewer than six separate phases involving some of the greatest sculptors of the ancient world (Theopropos of Aegina, Pheidias of Athens, Polykleitos of Argos, and Kephisodotos of Athens). The account rests on Vatin's readings of hitherto unnoticed inscriptions on the base. Unfortunately, Vatin provides no photographs of these inscriptions, and their existence has not been independently verified. Amandry 1998: 76n.3 treats Vatin's claims with skepticism, and does not take them into account; Jacquemin 1999: 229n.100 rejects them outright. The present discussion follows Jacquemin and Amandry.

11. On the base, its history, and the eponymoi, see Cooper 1990; Amandry 1998; Jacquemin 1999: 186–87. Epigraphical and archaeological evidence suggest a date between 290 and 245 for the first expansion. A likely date is ca. 246, to commemorate the defeat of the Gauls: the victory was commonly assimilated to the Persian Wars. For the second expansion, the date is less certain. Ptolemy is not the only candidate: Hadrian was likewise added to the list of heroes in 125 A.D. Attalos of Pergamon replaced Demetrios and Antigonos as an eponymous hero in 200, but this change has no plausible echo on the monument. Arguing in favor of Ptolemy III as the third addition is the fact that, although Attalos of Pergamon replaced Antigonos and Demetrios in 200, this change apparently did not have an echo on the base. With Ptolemy, that is, the Athenians seem to have stopped making changes to the base.

The date of the Treasury's construction represents one of the great controversies of classical archaeology.¹² Though Pausanias says explicitly that the building was a thank-offering for the Battle of Marathon in 490, the strongly Archaic style of its sculptural decoration led many German- and English-speaking scholars to place it a generation earlier.¹³ On this view, the inscribed Marathon base is a later addition, and the Treasury itself has nothing to do with the Persian Wars; Pausanias, understandably but wrongly, took Treasury and base together as a single offering, when in fact there were two distinct phases. The French, by contrast, have typically maintained that the two structures are integral, and that the inscription names both the Treasury and the base as *akrothinia*, or Westfruits, from the spoils of Marathon. In 1989, new excavations were undertaken to ascertain the exact relation of Treasury to base. Results of this work are summarized by Pierre Amandry in a 1998 article; a complete account remains unpublished, but a detailed report may be consulted at the École Française d'Athènes.¹⁴ It emerges that a ledge 0.30 meters in width projects from the Treasury's stereobate along its south side only, and that this ledge helps to support the Marathon base. In other words, the plan of the Treasury takes the base into account from the earliest phase of construction. The two structures are thus integral, and both must date after the battle of Marathon in 490. With this archaeological datum, the chronology of the Athenian Treasury must be considered settled. Pausanias was correct.

ATHENS IN THE LATE ARCHAIC PERIOD

That there is some connection between the Athenian Treasury and city politics is obvious, in so far as the Treasury is a civic building project. It is, literally, *political*, "of the polis." Yet uncertainty about the building's date has hampered efforts to elucidate that connection. With the chronology now established, a more comprehensive account of the monument should be possible. Such an account, however, requires a review of Athenian political history in the late Archaic period.¹⁵ Although the specifics of allegiance and faction are largely

12. Relative arguments have raged back and forth for a century: the new French discoveries represent the West use of archaeological data. On the building and its date: Harrison 1965: 9–11 for a survey of views, with Audiat 1930; Gauer 1968: 45V.; Büsing 1979; Tölle-Kastenbein 1983: 580–81; Cooper 1990; Bommelaer 1991: 137; Büsing 1994.

13. Pausanias 10.11.

14. Amandry 1998. Cf. Bommelaer 1991: 137. The excavation report is by Didier Laroche. For a comparable down-dating based on ornament see Büsing 1979 and Büsing 1994. It is, perhaps, still possible to argue that the inscription was added after the construction of the base-treasury complex: but such a position seems desperate. Most recently, Partida 2000: 50–55 argues for an early date but fails to take the new data into account.

15. For an overview of the period, with special emphasis on the diYculties of the sources, see Badian 1971. For other general (positivist) overviews see Kinzl 1977; Balcer 1979; G. Williams 1982.

obscure, still the general trends are clear enough—and relatively uncontroversial. This exercise is worth the effort: as will become clear, the Treasury cannot be understood without a full appreciation of the complexity of Athenian political life.

After the death of the tyrant Peisistratos in 528, his sons and relatives ruled Athens. Chief among the Peisistratidai was Hippias; his brother, Hipparkhos, also had some share of power. The tyranny was generally benevolent, but in 514 a lover's quarrel resulted in the murder of Hipparkhos.¹⁶ The killing prompted Hippias to take repressive countermeasures, during the course of which he sent the powerful clan of the Alkmaionidai into exile.¹⁷ Led by Kleisthenes son of Megakles, the Alkmaionidai took up residence at Delphi, where they won (or perhaps already held) the contract to rebuild the temple of Apollo. The agreement called for limestone: but the Alkmaionidai, in a gesture that would become famous, exceeded the requirements of the contract and built the east end of the temple in costly Parian marble. Meanwhile Hippias grew increasingly unpopular, and by 510 the Alkmaionidai were able to engineer his ouster. The resulting sequence of events terminated with the seizure of power by Kleisthenes and the *demos*, and the institution of a democracy at Athens.¹⁸

Not much is known of Athenian history in the 490s. Kleisthenes soon faded from the scene; abortive participation in the Ionian revolt of 499 had little effect beyond enraging the Persians. The next fifteen years or so seemingly were marked by struggles for power between a newly assertive *demos* and various more or less conservative, aristocratic clans. Although there is little evidence that any single leader represented the commons in the early part of the decade, the mere fact that the "Kleisthenic" reforms remained in effect indicates effective politicking on the part of the *plethos*, or "multitude."¹⁹ Towards the end of the decade, however, Themistokles son of Neokles emerged as a demotic spokesman, holding the archonship in 493/2.²⁰ Of the great clans, meanwhile, three stood out: the ever-present Alkmaionidai; the so-called "friends of the tyrants," *philoî tôn tyrannôn*, who remained loyal to the exiled Hippias; and the Philaidai, led by Miltiades the Younger, sometime

16. On Harmodios and Aristogeiton, see Neer 2002: 168–81, with earlier bibliography.

17. On exile in Athens see Forsdyke 1997.

18. On the Athenian revolution and the "Kleisthenic reforms," see the recent discussions in Ober 1996: 32–52 and Manville 1990: 172–209. On the Parian source of the marble for the Temple of Apollo, see Palagia and Herz 2002.

19. For recent debates on the power of the *demos*: see, e.g., Ober 1996; Raayaub 1996; Raayaub 1997a; Raayaub 1997b; Ober 1997. [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 28.2 calls Xanthippos the "leader of the people," *prostatês tou dêmou*, between Kleisthenes and Themistokles, over against the aristocratic Miltiades. But there is nothing concrete to suggest that Xanthippos actually advocated democratic positions. Rather, the fact that he prosecuted the authentically conservative Miltiades in 490/89, and that he was father of the authentically democratic Perikles, seems to have made him a natural antithesis to Miltiades in *Ath. Pol.*'s checklist of demotic versus aristocratic leaders. See Rhodes 1993: 348.

20. On Themistokles see Podlecki 1975; Frost 1980.

tyrant of the Thracian Chersonese. Also prominent was the conservative Aristeides son of Lysimakhos, known as “the Just,” of whom Plutarch says that he “clung to the aristocratic constitution,” yet “walked his own path through civic life.”²¹

In 490 a Persian force under Datis and Artaphernes set out to punish Eretria and Athens for their role in the Ionian revolt. Accompanying the Persians were the elderly former tyrant, Hippias, and one shipload of troops from the medizing island of Paros. After sacking Eretria and deporting its population, they landed in late summer at Marathon, on the east coast of Attica.²² The Athenians sent out a hoplite force under the Polemarch—Kallimakhos—and ten generals. Among the latter was Miltiades. The Athenian force camped in a sanctuary of Herakles at the edge of the Marathon plain, and the two armies faced off. Eventually the Persians began to re-embark on their ships, apparently planning to sail around the Attic peninsula and attack the unguarded port of Phaleron on the south coast; it was rumored afterwards that someone, perhaps the Alkmaionidai, had treacherously used a Xashing shield to signal the Persians the moment to depart.²³ At this point, however, Miltiades engineered his famous and daring attack. The Athenian victory was total.

Immediately after winning glory at Marathon, Miltiades set off on a punitive expedition to Paros.²⁴ He spent twenty-three days in late 490 laying siege to the island, without success. On his return to Athens he was prosecuted by Xanthippos son of Ariphron on the charge of deceiving the people.²⁵ As Xanthippos was related by marriage to the Alkmaionidai, and Miltiades was leader of the Philaidai, it appears that at this point the two great clans were at loggerheads.²⁶ Such is to be expected if there is any credibility to the popular rumor that it was the Alkmaionidai who had signaled the Persians at Marathon: as medizers they would, presumably, have been opposed to the anti-Peisisstratid, anti-Persian Miltiades.²⁷ The fact that Xanthippos was able to mount a credible prosecution has been taken by some to show that the charge of medism and tyrannophilia did not touch

21. Plutarch *Aristeides* 2.1, 5. On Aristeides’ idiosyncrasy cf. Rhodes 1993: 348–49.

22. On Marathon: Herodotos 6.110–15.

23. On this incident see G. Williams 1980, with further references.

24. On the expedition and its aftermath, Herodotos 6.134–36. That the expedition occurred immediately after Marathon has been argued with great cogency in Bicknell 1972b. Attempts to see in the expedition an Athenian bid for Aegean hegemony (e.g. Kinzl 1976) founder on the facts that (1) Athens had an insignificant navy in this period; and (2) Aegina had yet to be subdued. On the motives behind the expedition, and for arguments against the notion that other islands were targeted as well, see Develin 1977.

25. Herodotos. 6.136.1.

26. On Xanthippos and the Alkmaionidai, see Bicknell 1972a: 73–74; G. Williams 1980: 106–107. Contra: Rhodes 1993: 276. Salutary caution against anachronistic notions of party politics in this period is urged in Balcer 1979; see also, in greater depth and scope, Gehrke 1985, in which the role of the individual *prostatês* is emphasized.

27. On the Alkmaionidai and their supposed medism see G. Williams 1980. I discount the suggestion in Nepos (*Miltiades* 7) that Miltiades himself medized; cf. G. Williams 1980: 107.

the Alkmaionidai until later in the 480s: but it is noteworthy that, although the prosecution asked for death, the verdict was for a massive fine of fifty talents.²⁸ Whatever the details, however, the enmity of the Philaidai and the Alkmaionidai is clear enough from the mere fact of the trial. Soon after his prosecution, Miltiades died of gangrene from a wound incurred at Paros.²⁹ His son Kimon was at this time still a young man, and Philaid fortunes were at a low ebb for the remainder of the decade (only to revive spectacularly after Kimon's marriage to the Alkmaionid Isodike in 478).

For the Alkmaionidai themselves, however, the troubles began almost immediately. Rumors of medism, whenever they were circulated, cannot have helped their cause. To make matters worse, during the archonship of Anchises (488/7) the *dēmos* inaugurated the practice of annual ostracisms: the exile, for a period of ten years, of an Athenian citizen deemed dangerous to the democracy.³⁰ The ostrakophoria was, in fact, a setback for all aristocrats, as it made any one of them a potential victim of the commons. The first three ostracized were Hipparkhos son of Kharmos, in the spring of 487; Megakles son of Hippokrates, in 485; and a third, perhaps Hippokrates son of Anaxileos, in 484.³¹ The Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* links these men under the rubric, "friends of the tyrants," and it is likely they all belonged to a single faction.³² That this faction included the Alkmaionidai is demonstrated by the expulsion of Megakles, nephew of the lawgiver Kleisthenes and brother-in-law of Xanthippos, in the second year.³³ Things only got worse in the spring of 483, when Xanthippos himself fell victim. Unlike Megakles, Xanthippos was not personally associated with the tyrants: most likely he was too young to have been associated with the Peisistratidai.³⁴ In the spring of 482, Aristekides the Just was ostracized: a man associated with no particular faction, but a champion of the aristocracy. It seems as though a campaign against the friends of the tyrants evolved into a campaign against powerful elites generally.

The institution of the practice (if not the law) of ostracism in 488/7 was one of the commons' greatest victories. The following year, 487/6, the archonship of Telesinos witnessed a further blow to elite standing. The constitution was amended so that the nine magistrates, or archons, would be appointed by lot,

28. On the Alkmaionidai and their reputation see G. Williams 1980.

29. Herodotos 6.136; Nepos *Miltiades* 8.

30. On ostracism see Forsdyke 1997. In later times the citizenry would decide whether or not to hold an ostracism-vote, or ostrakophoria, sometime in late Winter, and the vote itself would take place in late Spring; I see no reason to doubt that the same pertained in earlier periods as well. The chronology proposed in Raubitschek 1991: 26–28 has not been widely accepted.

31. For the identity of the ostracized Megakles see Bicknell 1972a: 72–73. On Hippokrates see Shapiro 1980.

32. [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 22.6. Doubts have been voiced about the existence of "friends of the tyrants," inexplicably in my view: see, e.g., Kinzl 1977: 213–13.

33. On the ostracism of Megakles see Mattingly 1991.

34. [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 22.6: "The first man to be exiled who was not a friend of the tyrants was Xanthippos son of Aiphron." Cf. Raubitschek 1991: 108–15, with Balcer 1979: 48n.23; Rhodes 1993: 276–77.

instead being elected directly from a list of approved candidates.³⁵ This maneuver naturally reduced the standing of the archonship and, by extension, that of the Areopagus council (that council being made up of former archontes).³⁶ In short, in the three years after Marathon, internal divisions within the aristocracy were deftly exploited in such a way as to increase dramatically the power of the *dêmos* at the expense of the tyrants, the medizers, and the elites generally.

Whether one should see the hand of Themistokles in such maneuverings, or whether he was merely a beneficiary of demotic politicking, remains uncertain.³⁷ Although he had served as archon in 493/2, Themistokles' real rise occurred in the power vacuum resulting from the death of Miltiades and the disgrace of the Alkmaionidai.³⁸ The process culminated in 482, when state-owned mines at Laureion yielded a rich strike of silver. Themistokles convinced the Athenians to use the new wealth to build a hundred triremes, the better to prosecute war against Aegina: the island had medized in 491/90, and though it soon recanted it remained a bitter enemy of Athens (though Aristides spent his exile there, before joining the Athenian fleet under amnesty just before the battle of Salamis).³⁹ Be that as it may, the true beneficiaries of the naval bill were the *thêtes* or laborers, who served as oarsmen: henceforth, the city's defense would be in the hands of the commons.⁴⁰ The fleet came into its own when, in 480, the Persians returned under Xerxes and laid waste to Athens. In the sea-battle of Salamis, the Athenian rowers saved the city.

BUILDING THE TREASURY

These historical developments leave their traces in architecture. From its inception at the end of the sixth century, the democracy set about a more or less systematic remaking of Athens and its topography.⁴¹ Within a decade or so, it replaced Athens' three primary cultic and civic buildings: a splendid marble temple of Athenê Polias was built on the Akropolis, a new Agora was laid out

35. [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 22.5. Cf. Rhodes 1993: 272–74.

36. Although Rhodes (1993: 272–74) acknowledges that the reform weakened the archons, he does not think that they were intended to weaken the Areopagus as well. Yet the latter is an inevitable result of the former.

37. Themistokles: Podlecki 1975: 188; Balcer 1979: 40–41. Contra: Mattingly 1991: 5n.23; Rhodes 1993.

38. Given the democratic legislation that attended their archonships, Anchises and Telesinos were presumably allies and supporters of Themistokles. It is revealing that their names do not appear on any of the approximately seven thousand ostraka excavated at Athens, while that of Themistokles appears frequently. Pace Badian 1971, it does not necessarily follow that the archonship was itself insignificant prior to 487/6.

39. Aeginetan war: Herodotos 6.87–93. See also Podlecki 1976; G. Williams 1982: 540–41. Aristides and Aegina: Demosthenes 26.6, with Herodotos 8.79.1 and *Letters of Themistokles* 11.

40. On the decree see Kallet-Marx 1994 with earlier bibliography. For recent debate on the *thêtes* and the navy see Strauss 1996; Ober 1997; Raaymaekers 1997b.

41. See the seminal discussion in Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1995.

north of the Akropolis, and a new space for the popular Assembly was created on the Pnyx.⁴² The purpose of this building program was purely ideological: Athenê already had a temple, Athens already had an Agora, the citizens already had a meeting-place. The new government, however, seems to have wished to break decisively with the past. There is some precedent for such behavior in the case of Sikyon. Circa 510–480, following a change of government, the Sikyonians dismantled monumental structures at Delphi and Olympia (a treasury, a tholos, and a monopteros) and erected two splendid new treasure-houses.⁴³ In each case, the building program may be associated with the fall of a tyranny and a change of *politeia*.

The Treasury at Delphi is part of this broad trend. For, like the Sikyonian *thêsauroi*, it stood on the foundation of an older structure.⁴⁴ The date, function, and identity of this predecessor are all matters of educated guesswork. One can say little more than that the building was rectangular, and slightly smaller than the fifth-century Treasury. Nonetheless, it may be significant that stones from the early building were re-used in a triangular platform that stands before the existing Treasury as a forecourt.⁴⁵ Such re-use suggests that the Athenians had a claim on both the site and the materials of the older structure. If so, then it is very probable that the older building was, likewise, an Athenian Treasury. Just when this “Old Treasury” was erected is unknown, but it is most likely a Peisistratid creation. Sixth-century Athens witnessed little monumental construction save when the tyrants were in power, and the pattern probably extends to the city’s interests at Delphi as well.⁴⁶ The date of its destruction is likewise a cipher: anytime after the year of 548 is theoretically possible. Still, the longer the building’s ashlar blocks were lying unused, the more likely it is that they would have been pirated for some other, non-Athenian project. Because the blocks were still available for re-use in the 480s, there ought not to have been too long an interval between the destruction of the “Old Treasury” and the construction of the “New.” Analogies with the Sikyonian *thêsauros*, and with the building-program at Athens itself, make it likely that the young democracy dismantled and replaced a Peisistratid Treasury in the wake of Marathon. Conclusive evidence, however, is lacking.

When did work on the new, post-Marathonian Treasury begin? As a general principle, the strongly Archaic style of the mural sculpture suggests as early a date as possible. More specifically, however, the Battle of Marathon took place in

42. Date of the Classical Agora: Shear 1994; Schnurr 1995; with Miller 1995 and Papadopoulos 1996 arguing for a date after 480. Date of the Temple of Athenê Polias (the *arkhaios naos* or Old Temple): Stähler 1972; Stähler 1978; Childs 1994. Date of the Pnyx: Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932: 109 (but see Thompson 1982 for downdating).

43. Sikyonians at Delphi: Laroche and Nenna 1990; Ridgway 1993: 339–43. At Olympia: Mallwitz 1972: 167.

44. Dinsmoor 1912: 488, 492; Audiat 1933: 55–58; Jacquemin 1999: 57, 145, 246, 315 no. 085.

45. Audiat 1933: 57.

46. On Athenian building before Peisistratos, see most recently Glowacki 1998.

the late summer of 490; the decision to build was presumably taken in the weeks or months immediately following, that is, in the autumn and winter of 490/89, during the archonship of Phainippos. As quarrying, shipping, and travel were seasonal in Greece, actual work would have had to wait until the following summer (489) at the very earliest. But it is unlikely that events proceeded so swiftly. There are two reasons to expect delays. First of all, building projects of this size were time-consuming and prone to predictable organizational problems.⁴⁷ Whether initiated in the full Assembly or in the Boulê, the proposal to build the treasury would have to be debated and voted; a supervisory committee of *epistatai* would have to be appointed; designs would have to be solicited, submitted, and judged; architects and contractors selected; bids taken on materials; financing arranged, and so on.⁴⁸ The logistical difficulties will have been fearful. The construction of the Periklean Parthenon provides useful comparative data. Some eighteen months elapsed between the decision to rebuild the Parthenon in 449 and the actual groundbreaking in 447.⁴⁹ This lag occurred even though the Periklean builders had, so to speak, every advantage: a site in the heart of Attica, conveniently swept clean by the Persian destruction of the Akropolis, a more or less sturdy foundation already extant, quarries close by on Mount Pentelikon, and a certain quantity of building material left over from the Old Parthenon. Though the Treasury was of course much smaller than the Parthenon, it was built far from Attica, out of marble imported from the Cycladic island of Paros, on a site that may well have been occupied by the “Old Treasury.” Given such conditions, it is unlikely that work on the Treasury began in the summer of 489, only eight or nine months after Marathon. The summer of 488 is far more probable—and that at the earliest.

The second cause for delay concerns the source of the marble for the Treasury. In a recent study, Norman Herz and Olga Palagia have used isotopic ratio mass spectrometry to confirm that the stone is probably from quarries in the Khorodaki Valley of Paros.⁵⁰ It is quite extraordinary that the Athenians should have been buying large quantities of marble from Paros in the 480s—a point that has, to my knowledge, been entirely overlooked. Recall that the Parians had fought on the Persian side at Marathon; that the Athenians under Miltiades had actually laid siege to the island in reprisal; that the failure of that siege had led to Miltiades’ prosecution at the hands of Xanthippos; that a wound he received there had led to his death. Paros had medized in the 490s, and remained true to the Persians throughout the 480s; unlike its neighbors Melos, Naxos, and Siphnos, it fought

47. For the involved process of commissioning public buildings at Athens, see Boersma 1970: 3–10. For the logistics of building in general, see Ridgway 1999: 184–219.

48. The financing of the treasury may seem a simple matter, as the money was ready to hand in the spoils of Marathon. Readers of the *Iliad* know, however, that apportioning spoils was rarely simple.

49. Cf. Wade-Gery and Meritt 1957.

50. Norman Herz, personal communication with the author, 25 July 2001. See Palagia and Herz 2002: 241 (chart) and 242.

on the Persian side at Salamis, and was subsequently punished by the victorious Greeks.⁵¹ That the Athenians should choose to build their monument for Marathon entirely out of Parian stone requires explanation (more on this below): for now, suffice it to say that it is very unlikely that such a lucrative state contract went to the Parian quarries in the summer of 489, less than a year after Athenian soldiers had tried to sack the place. The negotiations must have been particularly delicate.

In short, if we suppose that the decision to build the Athenian Treasury was taken under Phainippos in the winter of 490/89, it is possible that construction began the following summer, in 489; but it is altogether more likely that work did not begin in earnest until the summer of 488, about the time that Aristides the Just was handing over the archonship to Anchises. Construction must have taken several years, though it is impossible to be precise. Thus the building of the Treasury will have spanned the middle of the 480s: the period of the *Wst* ostracisms and the fall of the Alkmaionidai; of the constitutional reforms under Telesinos; of the rise of Themistokles and his friends.

THE POLITICS OF SCULPTURE

Most attempts to understand the role of the Treasury in Athenian political life begin with the iconography of the metopes. Both Theseus and Herakles were specially associated with the Battle of Marathon. The Athenians had spent the nights before the battle in a precinct of Herakles; on returning victorious to Athens the army camped and sacrificed in the Herakleion at Kynosarges.⁵² Theseus, for his part, was believed to have made a miraculous appearance during the fighting to aid his countrymen.⁵³ Such tales do not, of course, *explain* the heroes' prominence on the Treasury. If anything, the tales are additional elements of a single phenomenon: an association between Herakles, Theseus, and Marathon. The *Wst* question, therefore, is, Why *these* heroes?

Theseus does not have an important place in the iconography of sixth-century Athens, but in the 490s he acquires a new set of "youthful deeds": a cycle of labors clearly modeled on that of Herakles. And so it has been argued that Theseus was consciously and deliberately cultivated by the young democracy: a new hero for a new constitution.⁵⁴ His unification, or *synoikismos*, of Attica is taken as paradigmatic of Kleisthenes' reorganization of the ancient tribes into ten new phylai, each with its own eponymous hero: the very heroes who, presumably, stood on the limestone base that ran along the Treasury's south side. His abduction of the Amazon queen Antiope was, likewise, taken to exemplify

51. For Parian history see Lanzillotta 1987; Berranger 1992.

52. Herodotos 6.108, 6.116.

53. Plutarch *Theseus* 35.5.

54. On Theseus and the early democracy see Neer 2002: 154–68, with further bibliographic references to the extensive literature on the subject. The locus classicus of the view is Schefold 1946.

the Athenians' successful invasion of Persian territory in 499.⁵⁵ Although there is little reason to suppose that Theseus directly symbolized any particular politician, faction, or clan, nonetheless it is clear that his image was specially useful to the Athenians in the early years of the democracy. I have argued elsewhere that this utility came down to the hero's peculiar *adaptability*. At once a king and a democrat, a signifier of ancestral values and of revolutionary change, Theseus was a figure round whom both elite and middling Athenians could rally.⁵⁶ Appealing to him was a way of blurring political divisions, eliding them by keeping their contradictions in suspension. The Treasury metopes represent an unprecedented monumentalization of the new hero. Prior to the construction of the Athenian Treasury, the hero's new iconography had been confined largely to red-figure vase-painting; that is, to the private luxury goods of the Athenian aristocracy. Although the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria had depicted Theseus and Antiope in its east pediment—presumably in commemoration of the Eretrians' presence at the sack of Sardis in 499—the Treasury was the West building to represent the full cycle of the hero's youthful deeds.

Yet it is the pairing of the two heroes that is most interesting. Theseus is, in the literary sources, a quintessentially Athenian figure; and the metopes follow suit. All but one of the depicted myths are set in Attica or around the Saronic Gulf. Matching this topographical specificity is the sheer novelty of the hero's iconography. Given that few if any of the depicted scenes had ever appeared in large-scale sculpture before, the metopes of the east and south must have been incomprehensible to the vast majority of Delphic pilgrims in the 480s B.C.E. These panels assume familiarity with the contemporary pictorial idiom of democratic Athens. They address a somewhat restricted audience—one conversant in Athenian ways—and make few concessions to those who do not know what Kerkyon looks like, or Sinis, or Prokrustes. (The same is true of the eponymous heroes that stood along the south flank of the building: although inventions of the relatively recent Kleisthenic reforms, they were not identified in inscriptions.⁵⁷) On the west and north, by contrast, the familiar, Panhellenic iconography of Herakles prevails. These images are universally comprehensible: the shift is one from local dialect to *koinê*. Herakles, for example, is identified by his lion-skin throughout the Greek world: it is in no way an Athenian peculiarity. The iconography of his labors has close parallels on objects from as far away as Sicily or Ionia. Iconography constructs an antithesis between local and Panhellenic. Put differently, the treasury posits an "Athenian" viewer, to whom its imagery, hence its politics, can be legible, alongside a "foreign" one, for whom a good deal of nuance will be lost in translation.

55. Cf. Boardman 1982; Castriota 1992.

56. Neer 2002: chapter 4.

57. Although Vatin 1991 claims otherwise.

There is an element of boosterism in this program. For example, Theseus' interview with Athenê in Metope 5 is unprecedented: hitherto, only Herakles had been so honored in the art of Athens (Figure 3).⁵⁸ As Tonio Hölscher puts it, "While Herakles, the principle hero of Archaic Athens, represented the Panhellenic ideals of the upper class, Theseus was chosen as a patriotic hero."⁵⁹ Yet it is important not to exaggerate the antithesis. Although Herakles was indeed a Panhellenic hero, nonetheless he had (in Athenian eyes at any rate) a special association with Marathon. Pausanias notes that the residents of Marathon claimed to have been the first to worship Herakles as a god—that is, as something more than a hero, a recipient of burnt offerings (*thusia*) instead of libations (*enagisma*).⁶⁰ Isokrates gives this distinction to "the Athenians" as a whole.⁶¹ Herakles was the most popular hero by far in sixth-century Attic vase-painting; he was identified as an initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries; the iconography of his apotheosis seems to have been an Attic invention.⁶² The sculptural program of the Treasury carries on this tradition. Its pairing of heroes cuts both ways: if it elevates Theseus to the level of a Panhellenic hero, then by the same token it Atticizes Herakles.

Interestingly enough, there is a similar play of Attic and Hellenic in Euripides' *Herakles*. Theseus offers Herakles a home in Attica with the following words:

Throughout the land [*khthonos*] I have plots [*temenea*] apportioned to me; these shall be named after you by mortals while you are called living; at your death, when you have gone to Hades, the whole polis of the Athenians shall exalt your honor with sacrifices [*thusiai*] and monuments of stone. For it is a beautiful crown of good fame for the townsmen to win from Hellas by helping a worthy man.⁶³

Theseus surrenders his *temenea*—his "plots of land," but also his "cult places"—to Herakles, effectively Atticizing the latter, planting him in the *khthonos* from which all the Athenians are sprung. But the result is not the displacement of the native hero. Instead, the Athenians collectively win "a crown of good fame" from Hellas: the "townsmen" take on the role of an athletic victor. Like the Treasury, in other words, Euripides posits a certain interchangeability between the Attic *khthonos* and Hellas as a whole, such that when Herakles becomes Attic, the Athenians acquire Panhellenic glory.

The special efficacy of *thêsauroi* lies in their amenability to such exchanges. The play of local and Panhellenic reproduces the openness of Delphi itself: the "all-welcoming shrine" (Pindar, *Pythian* 8.61–62) is, by definition, a place where an individual or a building may simultaneously belong to a polis and to no polis,

58. Boardman 1985: 244–47.

59. Hölscher 1998: 160.

60. Pausanias 1.15.2, 1.32.4.

61. Isokrates 5.33.

62. Shapiro 1989: 157–63, especially 161 and 162–63.

63. Euripides *Herakles* 1327–33.

to a civic and to a Panhellenic community. The metope sequence, accordingly, suggests a peculiar identification of the Athenians in particular with the Hellenes in general. It is almost as if, simply by clamping together Herakles and Theseus in this way, one could transcend the distinction: as if to be Athenian were to be Panhellenic, and conversely. Such an assertion is appropriate to a treasury: the purpose of such a building is, after all, to colonize the Panhellenic shrine with the imagery of the city-state.

In the longer term, however, this equation between the Hellenic and the Athenian may have had unforeseen significance. For it is just this equation that underlies—I want to say, *authorizes*—Athenian policy from Salamis to Aigospotamoi. To one schooled in such equations, there would be nothing odd or ironic in the idea that the *Hellenotamiai*, the “Treasurers of the Hellenes,” should be headquartered on the Akropolis of Athens, should make dedications to Athena, and should assess tribute at the Panathenaic Festival; still less in the idea that tribute of the Greeks should pay for white marble temples throughout Attica.⁶⁴ The line between equation and arrogation is easily crossed; the rhetoric of the Treasury leads to that of Athenian empire.

Balancing this odd play with ethnicity is a correspondingly forceful and inflexible assertion of gender difference.⁶⁵ Amazons have a special prominence on this building, appearing on (at least) two sides and as the corner akroteria (Figure 5). That several of the Amazons wear Persian attire has been taken as an obvious allusion to Marathon.⁶⁶ Such images have long been understood as a way of organizing Athenian male citizen identity by means of structural oppositions.⁶⁷ Precisely because it was a *politeia* of unprecedented inclusiveness, the Athenian democracy was specially committed to the denigration of those to whom it did deny citizen rights. That laborers and peasants were free citizens in Attica made it necessary to insist with special vehemence that participation in civil society was not open to just anyone. Hence the phantasm of the Amazon: a catch-all representation of the non-Athenian, the disenfranchised, in the guise of a threat overcome by *echt*-citizens. The Treasury is one of the earliest manifestations of this image, which appears throughout the fifth century on countless drinking vessels, on the metopes of the Parthenon, on the shield of Pheidias’ Athenê Parthenos, and elsewhere. The Treasury is thus a paradigmatic example of the way that Athenian public iconography feminized the Persians and, conversely, orientalized women. For present purposes, however, it is worth noting that this polarity has none of the suppleness of the opposition between local and Panhellenic that we find elsewhere in the sculptural program. As is often the case

64. On the *hellenotamiai* see Woodhead 1959.

65. This aspect of the Treasury has been studied often in recent years, and I pass over it quickly not because it is unimportant but because there is little to add.

66. Boardman 1982; Gauer 1992.

67. For recent overviews, see Blok 1995, esp. 407–17; Stewart 1995; Goldberg 1998.

in Athenian art, the blurring of one social boundary produces, reflexively, the violent clarification of another.⁶⁸

STONE, IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

My focus, however, is not on the connotations of any one mythological figure, but rather on the intertextuality, or rather *intericonicity*, of the Treasury ensemble. Here it has been necessary to step back from the metopes and look at the building as a whole. As noted earlier, it was built entirely of Parian marble. It was only the second Treasury at Delphi to be built entirely out of marble—the first being the Siphnian Treasury, more than a generation previously. But where the Siphnians had used a combination of their own local marble for the walls, Naxian for the Xorai friezes, and Parian for figures, the Athenians used Parian marble exclusively. No less an authority than the great architectural historian William Bell Dinsmoor took this Parian marble as evidence for a high, sixth-century date of construction.⁶⁹ By the 480s, he noted, the Athenians were exploiting their own quarries on Mount Pentelikon, and so in the normal course of events they might be expected to have used this local stone for their Treasury. But, we now know, they did not do so. How to explain this strange choice? One possible reason is functional: only in the fine-grained stone of Paros could sculptors carve deep relief of the kind that appears on the Treasury metopes.⁷⁰ But it is likely that the building material motivated the choice of the sculptural technique, not vice-versa. For whatever the needs and desires of the sculptors, there was no functional purpose to building the *entire Treasury* out of Parian stone. The Athenians were going out of their way to make a point.

Part of the aim was clearly ostentation: the expense of importing so much stone from the Cyclades must have been staggering, and Parian marble was especially prestigious.⁷¹ Nonetheless, there may have been more to the matter than conspicuous consumption. For one thing, Dinsmoor's point holds good: Athens was capable of providing its own superior, ostentatious marble from the newly opened quarries on Mount Pentelikon. Pentelic marble was fancy enough for the First Parthenon—also under construction in the 480s—and indeed for its Periklean replacement. It would presumably have been fancy enough for Delphi as well; after all, there is nothing second-best about the Parthenon. More importantly, perhaps, in employing Parian stone the Athenian state passed up a prime opportunity for domestic patronage, awarding a lucrative state contract to foreigners instead of locals. There was, lastly, a tradition of exporting local stone to Delphi for use in

68. Cf. Neer 2002: chapters 3 and 4.

69. Dinsmoor 1946.

70. Harrison 1965.

71. On Parian marble see the studies in Schilardi and Katsonopoulou 2000. On transport and extraction: Kozelj 1988; Wurch-Kozelj 1988; Waelkens, De Pape, and Moens 1988. On the cost of temple construction: Stanier 1953.

treasuries. The Siphnians had imported their own local marble for their treasury; surely the Athenians had every reason to do the same. But they did not. Instead, they chose to commemorate the Battle of Marathon with stone from Paros—from the island that opposed them in that very battle, from the very place where Miltiades met his downfall. As noted earlier, the war between Athens and Paros in late 490 must have made construction of the Treasury a particularly delicate matter. When, in 489 or 488, the Athenians decided to award a lucrative state contract to those same Parians, the memory of Miltiades' destruction will have been fresh. The island was, after all, still a client of Dareios: some of the money that paid for the marble will have wound up in the Great King's coVers.⁷² If sending the contract outside Athens was a bit odd, sending it to Paros was truly remarkable, the quality of its stone notwithstanding. It has all the hallmarks of a political decision.

How much importance should we attach to such matters? Although it is probably uncontroversial to suggest that Parian stone was conspicuous and extravagant, it may seem riskier to draw political history into the account. Such worries are reasonable but can be taken too far. After all, the evidence for Parian marble's fame and ostentation is purely circumstantial: it derives from remarks by Herodotos and others with regard to other artworks in other places. It is perfectly reasonable to infer from such evidence that the Athenian treasury was an exercise in extravagance, but doing so should in no way preclude other inferences on the basis of other evidence. On the contrary, once we admit circumstantial evidence on the question of extravagance, we should admit it on other questions as well. The question, therefore, is whether what we know about Athens, Paros, and Marathon is as pertinent as what we know about the meaning of Parian marble in general. There are at least two reasons to suppose that it is. The Wst is that Athenian political history seems, if anything, more relevant to an Athenian state monument than remarks about non-Athenian marble in non-Athenian contexts. What Parian stone meant to Herodotos (for example) is perhaps less important than what Paros meant to Athens in the 480s. The second reason is that "extravagance" is a hollow concept outside a network of historical practice: it means nothing. Hence it would be sheer *mauvaise foi* to admit this term while excluding in advance the concrete matter of politics. It would amount to the exclusion of the political as such, under the guise of methodological circumspection: ideology masquerading as prudence.

Of course, not everyone who came to Delphi will have known that the Parians fought against the Athenians at Marathon, nor that Miltiades was disgraced on

72. By contrast the neighboring island of Naxos, producer of marble almost as Wie as Parian, had actually fought the Mede (unsuccessfully) in 490, and remained loyal to the Greek cause throughout the Persian wars; but it did not get the contract for a single ashlar block. Cyclades and Persians: Herodotos 6.96, 8.46.3; Plutarch *Moralia* 869a-c (= Hellanicus *FGrHist* 323a F 28; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 187).

Paros, nor even that the Treasury was built of Parian marble. It would be foolish to expect otherwise. But such circumstances in no way rule out a role for the Treasury in Athenian political life. As we have seen, the Treasury's sculptural program presumes familiarity with Athenian myth and iconography. Its pairing of Theseus and Herakles deliberately and explicitly posits a distinction between Attic and Panhellenic, a difference between dialect and *koinê*. The same is true, I suggest, of its building material. Parian stone signifies, but it signifies different things depending how conversant one is with the political vocabulary of the city. In the end, however, the treasury is resolutely Athenocentric: *koinê* or dialect, its discourse is about Athens. If, as Tip O'Neill put it, "All politics is local," the same is true of iconography.

THE TREASURY IN THE ATTIC DIALECT

Although not every pilgrim to Delphi will have known or cared about the circumstances of the Treasury's construction, it is a good bet that most *Athenian* visitors would have had a pretty good sense of the issue involved. So far as relations with Paros are concerned, it is significant that the early phases of the Treasury coincided with the spectacular rise and fall of Miltiades. The builders were thus confronted with a delicate problem: How to commemorate the battle without commemorating the general who won it? The choice of stone was a brilliant solution to this dilemma. The gleaming Parian marble is a standing reminder of Miltiades' debacle on Paros and his "deception of the commons" in initiating war with the island. At the same time, it demonstrates the city's ability to effect a rapprochement with the Parians through the judicious use of the spoils of Marathon: the Treasury succeeds precisely where Miltiades failed. In short, the use of Parian stone neatly disengages the victory at Marathon from the glory of Miltiades and his clan. The Athenians have a monument of beautiful white marble despite, not thanks to, their general. In this way the builders achieved the basic goal of any *thêsauros*: the appropriation of elite prestige on behalf of the city-state. What this building "frames" is, first and foremost, not any specific votive, but the *kleos* and *kudos* that accrue to a homecoming victor. The Treasury thus enacts a contest between the city as a collective, with its ten artificial heroes on the Marathon base, and the glory-mongering of the Philaidai; a battle *for* Marathon, one might say.

It is useful at this point to contrast two preserved votives from the great battle: the helmet that Miltiades himself sent at Olympia and the Nike of Kallimakhos on the Akropolis.⁷³ Miltiades' helmet was laid up at an interstate shrine far from Athens and its influence. Its inscription—"To Zeus, from Miltiades"—personalized the victory at Marathon by omitting all mention of the Athenian

73. Olympia inv. B 2600. Mallwitz and Herrmann 1980: 95–96 no. 57, with bibliography.

hoplites who did the fighting.⁷⁴ It also omits both the ethnic and the patronymic. The absence of the former is of a piece with the general tenor of the offering: Athens is irrelevant. That of the latter may be explained by the fact that Miltiades claimed descent from Zeus (via Aiakos) and perhaps deemed such details superfluous.⁷⁵ With this dedication, in short, the victorious general made himself stand out from the crowd of his fellow citizens, asserting his own personal *aretê* as distinct from that of the Athenian commons. By contrast the posthumous dedication of Kallimakhos—the actual commander-in-chief at Marathon—was set up in Athens itself, and its inscription gives his deme, omits the patronymic, and specifies that Kallimakhos earned glory “for the men of Athens.”⁷⁶ Here all is corporate, all is civic: Kallimakhos, in dying for the polis, subordinated himself to it. Standing between these two extremes is the Treasury at Delphi. Had it been offered at Delphi rather than at Olympia, Miltiades’ helmet would have conveyed a very different message. With the completion of the Treasury it would have been encased in a cell of Parian stone that was, at the same time, an outpost of Attica. The Treasury is the most eloquent riposte imaginable to elitist—or, at any rate, to Philaid—pretensions.

This is not to say that it was universally successful. We may detect some aristocratic resistance to the new treasury in another dedication at Delphi. Pausanias (10.18.1) says, “The horse next to the statue of Sardos was dedicated, says the Athenian Kallias son of Lysimakhides, in the inscription, by Kallias himself from spoils he had taken in the Persian war.” The dedication was presumably too large for the Treasury; a fact which can hardly be fortuitous. The Kallias in question is otherwise unknown, but his surname and patronymic place him squarely in an upper-class milieu. *Kallias* is a family name of the Kerykes or “Heralds,” represented in this period by Kallias son of Hipponikos, called Lakkoploutos (“Money-Tub”) for his fabulous wealth. *Lysimakhides* recalls Lysimakhos, father of Aristeides the Just; Aristeides was, in turn, cousin of Kallias Hipponikou. So *Kallias son of Lysimakhides* is a name redolent of the greatest clans of Athens: the man was presumably related by blood to two of the city’s most prominent conservatives. The dedication itself signals this social position unmistakably: it is difficult to imagine an image less appropriate to the Persian wars than a horse, given that cavalry played a negligible role in the fighting at Marathon and Plataia (not to mention Artemisium and Salamis). But horses are the aristocratic icon *par excellence* (even the name Hipponikos, “Horse-Victor,” trumpets the association). It remains uncertain whether the horse was offered after the first or the second

74. This tactic is not unfamiliar. The Spartan Pausanias attempted much the same thing with the spoils of the Battle of Plataia, inscribing the allied dedication at Delphi with his own name and neglecting to mention any of the poleis that fought the Mede (Thucydides 1.132). Xenophon may have had something similar in mind when he omitted to mention the Cyreneans when making a dedication on their behalf at Delphi (Xenophon *Anabasis* 5.3.5).

75. Herodotos 6.35 (on Miltiades son of Kypselos, uncle of the Miltiades in question).

76. *GHI*³ 33–34 no. 18.

Persian invasion: but either way, the private dedication of an equestrian image *outside the confines of the Treasury* makes an unmistakable political statement.

Once the Athenian Treasury takes its place within this broader network of dedications—of ploys and counter-ploys—then a famous *enigme de Delphes* becomes rather more clear. Near the entrance to the Sanctuary of Apollo stood a *second* Marathon base (Figure 1, no. 110). Pausanias writes:

On the base below the wooden horse is an inscription which says that the statues were dedicated from a tithe of the spoils taken in the engagement at Marathon. They represent Athenê, Apollo, and Miltiades, one of the generals. Of those called heroes there are Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, [as well as] Leos, and Antiochus, son of Heracles by Meda, daughter of Phylas, as well as Aegeus and Acamas, one of the sons of Theseus. These heroes gave names, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, to tribes at Athens. There are also Codrus, the son of Melanthus, Theseus, and Philaios, but these are not eponymous heroes. The statues enumerated were made by Pheidias, and really are a tithe of the spoils of the battle.⁷⁷

Pausanias describes a central group—Athenê, Apollo, Miltiades—flanked by the ten eponymous heroes of the Kleisthenic tribes.⁷⁸ More precisely, there is a strange collection of seven eponymous heroes plus three interlopers, Kodros, Theseus, and Philaios, the last named being the mythical founder of the Philaïd clan. This veritable apotheosis of Miltiades and his *genos* is generally thought to be a work of his son Kimon, who dominated Athenian politics in the 470s and 460s, notwithstanding the fanciful attribution to Pheidias. The monument as a whole is clearly a pendant of sorts to the *thêsauros* farther up the hillside: not only does it purport to commemorate the same battle, but the odd collection of eponymous heroes and interlopers echoes the ten statues that stood alongside the Treasury. The result is a curious redundancy, which archeologists have been at a loss to explain. Matters become more comprehensible, however, if one sees the earlier building as (among other things) a communalization of Miltiades' glory. For then one can see why, at a later date, Kimon might have felt the need to redress the situation. The Marathon base, I suggest, is a *response* to the Treasury. It allows Miltiades to take his place among the heroes as a quasi-divine victor; even as it replaces the ten eponyms of the civic base with an idiosyncratic assemblage of mythical heroes that includes Philaios, apical ancestor of the Philaïd clan.⁷⁹ The Base thus

77. Pausanias 10.10.1–2. On the base see Jacquemin 1999: 186–87, 190–91, 228, 315, no. 078, with thorough discussion and bibliography. For the translation and an account of textual issues, see Vidal-Naquet 1986: 302–24. Raubitschek's theory that the base was moved from the south side of the Treasury has not been widely accepted (Raubitschek 1974; but see Partida 2000: 51), nor has Stähler's thesis that it was built to commemorate Miltiades' triumph in Thrace (Stähler 1991). The chief objection to the latter is that placement so near the entry to the sanctuary argues for a later date, as sites higher up the Sacred Way tended to be used earlier than sites nearer the bottom.

78. On the Kleisthenic tribal heroes see: Kron 1976; Kearns 1985; Kearns 1989.

79. Vidal-Naquet 1986: 314 argues that Philaios, ancestor of the Philaïdai, replaces the eponymous hero Oineus—because Miltiades and Kimon lived in deme Lakaidai, in the tribe of Oineis.

reclaims Marathon—and, indeed, the whole Kleisthenic tribal structure—from the collectivity of the polis, and recasts it in terms of Eupatrid genealogy and individual *aretê*.

The Kimonian base is lost, but there is an extant monument that employs a similar strategy. Euphronios' great Amazonomachy krater in Arezzo borrows two figures from the Treasury's metopes: the slashing Herakles of Metope 21 is the source for Euphronios' Telamon, while the archeress of Metope 9 reappears as the Amazon Teisipyle at the far right of side A (Figures 4, 5, and 7).⁸⁰ That two unrelated figures, from two different sides of the building, should appear on the krater suggests that the borrowing is deliberate—hence at least potentially significant. The allusion colors the imagery and affects how one sees it. On the one hand, Euphronios follows the Treasury's lead in assimilating the Amazons to the Persians, the feminine to the foreign. On the other, he effectively blocks the Treasury's rhetorical strategy by transforming Herakles into Telamon. For Telamon had a special place in Athens. He was, at it happens, an ancestor of Miltiades and Kimon: an illustrious member of the Philaidai.⁸¹ Just so, the Amazon of Metope 9 derives from Theseus' cycle of deeds; here, however, Euphronios folds her into a tale of Herakles.

If the Treasury insists on the *civic* quality of the victory at Marathon, and on the parity of Athenian Theseus and Panhellenic Herakles, Euphronios' krater does something close to the opposite. Theseus vanishes in favor of an icon of elitism: Herakles fighting alongside the ancestor of the Philaidai, their enemies clad as Persians. The Arezzo krater thus recuperates the iconography of victory over the Persians for the nobility. It does so, moreover, in a manner strikingly reminiscent of Kimon's base: by juxtaposing Philaid pretensions with the iconography of the Athenian Treasury. It is not necessary to suppose that Euphronios was in any way associated with the Philaidai themselves; at most, he may have thought his krater would appeal to someone whose sympathies lay in that direction. The point, rather, is that these appropriations of civic iconography make visible Athenian politics as it was actually lived and practiced.

THE TREASURY IN *KOINÊ*

What we have in the Treasury, the base, and the krater is an ideological tug of war, a contest for one of the privileged metaphors of Athenian democracy: the great victory of the *Marathonomakhoi*. But there is more to the Treasury than just a slight to Miltiades. Recall that the other great clan of the early democracy—the Alkmaionidai—had also undertaken construction at Delphi about the time of the

80. Arezzo 1465; ARV² 15.6; *Para* 322; *Add*² 152. For the relation of the Treasury and the krater, with particular reference to chronology, see Neer 2002: 195–200.

81. Miltiades claimed descent from Aiakos via Telamon, Herodotos 6.35.1, Pausanias 2.29.4. Note that if the krater did not allude so openly to the Treasury, Telamon's relation to Miltiades would be irrelevant; it would have no purchase. But because it does allude to the Treasury, the krater asks to be seen in relation to—as a response to—that building and its placement of the victor of Marathon.

Treasury's construction. After the family's exile in 514, Kleisthenes and his kin had contracted to rebuild the temple of Apollo; and, as noted earlier, they had caused a sensation by constructing the east end of—what else?—Parian marble at their own expense, while using poros for the rest of the structure.⁸² Recall, too, that the Athenian Treasury stands just below the temple terrace, so that as one mounted the Sacred Way one would have seen the marble edifice standing out before the hulking poros shrine. That the Athenian state should construct an entire building of Parian stone directly adjacent to a temple that the Alkmaionidai had faced with the same material is perhaps too much for coincidence. But it is possible to go beyond such speculation. There are specific and unmistakable connections between the sculptural décor of the two buildings.

From fragments in Delphi Museum it has been possible to reconstruct the pediments of the Alkmaionid Temple with a fair degree of certainty.⁸³ The east—in marble—was a group of frontal kouroi and korai, centered on an epiphany of Apollo in his chariot; in the corners were lions slaughtering prey. The west—in limestone—was a Battle of Gods and Giants. The Treasury, for its part, has a group of frontal figures in its east pediment, centering on an epiphany of Athenê; and, in the west, a battle, too fragmentary to identify with certainty. Though the narratives may be different, the compositions seem related, as if the Athenians were seeking to evoke the larger and more prominent Alkmaionid building nearby. This suspicion finds itself confirmed when one turns to some of the temple's lesser-known remains. In the West chorus of the *Ion*, Euripides describes the west end of the Alkmaionid temple, mentioning scenes of Bellerophon killing Chimaera, and Herakles killing the Hydra.⁸⁴ As there is no place for these scenes in the extant pediment, it has been assumed that they must have appeared on metopes. It happens that fragments of three metopes from the temple are extant.⁸⁵ One, made of poros, is blank, indicating that at least some of the panels were undecorated (presumably those running along the long flanks of the temple). The other fragments, however, are carved; as they are made of marble, they presumably come from the east end. One shows a draped female leg: the scene is impossible to reconstruct.⁸⁶ The other gives the shoulders and necks of two oxen: they stand, one before the other, facing left; the hindmost raises its head (now lost) and

82. The exact dating of the temple is subject to some controversy, due in part to a discrepancy in the ancient sources. Herodotos says that construction began after the battle of Leipsydriion in 514/13, while Philokhoros places it after the successful return of the Alkmaionidai in 508/7. The difference is slight, but Herodotos has connections to the Alkmaionidai and proximity in date in his favor. "Circa 510" seems a safe and reasonably accurate compromise. On the temple and its date see Courby 1927: 92–117; La Coste-Messelière 1946; Bommelaer 1991: 181–83; Stewart 1990: 86–89; Childs 1993. The primary sources are Herodotos 5.62; Philokhoros *FGrH* 328 F 115.

83. On the Alkmaionid temple sculpture see Floren 1987: 244–45, with earlier bibliography.

84. Euripides *Ion* 185V.

85. Poros metope: Courby 1927: 102. On the metopes of the Alkmaionid temple, the most comprehensive discussion is Bookidis 1967: 189–92; see also Floren 1987: 245n.10.

86. La Coste-Messelière and Marcadé 1953: 372.

turns to look back to the right (Figure 8).⁸⁷ The scene may be reconstructed with little difficulty. As La Coste-Messelière argued, these two beasts almost certainly come from a multiple-panel depiction of Herakles stealing the cattle of Geryon.⁸⁸ Comparison with Euphronios' famous cup in Munich, roughly contemporary with the temple (if not copied directly from it) makes the connection clear (Figure 9).⁸⁹ If the identification is correct, then the scene that occupied all six metopes of the west side of the Athenian Treasury had already appeared on the east side of the Alkmaionid temple (Figure 6). In short, in its material, in the composition of its pediments, and in its metopes, the Treasury asserts a connection with the Temple of Apollo. It is a *response* to that temple, just as the Miltiades Base, in its turn, is a response to the Treasury. That said, there is nothing contestatory or combative in the way that the Treasury engages the temple: nothing to compare with the evocation of three eponymous heroes in favor of Philaios. How to characterize the relationship?

Here it is worth recalling that Panhellenic shrines like Delphi and Olympia were, in Ian Morris' felicitous term, "at the interstices of the polis world." They were places in which an imagined community of well-born Greeks could instantiate itself: places in which elites asserted special relationships with the gods by means of lavish dedication, and special relationships with one another through ritualized athletic display and, more generally, through the "peer-polity interaction" of which Anthony Snodgrass has written.⁹⁰ The whole point of a Panhellenic shrine is that it is *not the polis*: and, conversely, the whole point of a Treasury is to take the polis into the heart of such a shrine. For their part, the Alkmaionidai were past masters at looking outside Athens for sources of prestige.⁹¹ They deftly exploited chariot victories at the great games for political gain; they made much of their guest-friendships with King Kroisos of Lydia and the Orthagorid tyrants of Sikyon. An especially clear example is the base of a kouros that one member of this clan dedicated at the Ptoian sanctuary of Apollo in Boiotia in the later sixth century. The statue commemorates a victory in the chariot race at the Panathenaic festival. Though the image is lost, the base reads:

I am a beautiful delight for Phoibos, son of Leto.
Alkmaion's son, Alkmaionides,
Dedicated me after the victory of his swift horses,

87. Delphi inv. 3771. Picard and La Coste-Messelière 1928: 189–90.

88. Note that Euripides' account of the metopes suggests that the scene of Herakles and the Hydra spanned two panels. Although there would be nothing odd about a multi-panel scene in this period, it is good to have this extra piece of documentation.

89. Munich 8704; *ARV*² 16.17; *Para* 322; *Add*² 153. Interestingly, Ernst Langlotz felt that this cup was particularly close, stylistically, to the pedimental sculptures of the Alkmaionid temple (on such issues see Langlotz 1920: 17–31).

90. Snodgrass 1986.

91. On the Alkmaionidai see, *inter alia*, Barrett 1972; Thomas 1989; Camp 1994.

Which Knopiadas the [...] drove
When in Athens there was a festive gathering for Pallas.⁹²

It is somewhat striking that an Athenian aristocrat should choose to celebrate a victory at Athens, in games specifically designed to glorify Athens and Athenê, with a dedication to ... Apollo in Boiotia. Note that Alkmaionides identifies himself only by his patronymic, not his ethnic: by his noble birth, not his citizenship. It is not enough, apparently, to be famous at Athens; and Athenian citizenship is not worth proclaiming. In fact, the polis does not figure into the equation at all: for Alkmaionides, the only thing that matters is the dissemination of his deeds and parentage within a larger *interstate* community.

Such behavior bespeaks a willful independence from the Athenian state: an independence that repeated expulsions under Peisistratos and his sons can only have reinforced. The Archaic Temple of Apollo was not built by Athenians: it was built by the Alkmaionidai, which was by no means the same thing. Indeed, the Temple was perhaps the outstanding example of a clan asserting its independence from, and superiority to, the polis in which it happened to be based; for the Alkmaionidai were stateless exiles when they built it, and their extravagance helped them to overthrow Hippias.⁹³ When the Treasury was under construction in the 480s, the relation of the Alkmaionidai to the polis was in the forefront of public discourse. The clan was suspected—justly or not, it does not matter—of having tried to betray Athens to the Persians at Marathon, and in 486 its leader, Megakles son of Hippokrates, was ostracized as a *philos tôn tyrannôn*, a “Friend of the Tyrants.”

By alluding blatantly to the Temple of Apollo, by engaging that building in dialogue, the Athenian Treasury effectively lays claim to the renowned ostentation of the Alkmaionidai. The mere establishment of a connection between the two buildings is enough to remind pilgrims, as they mount the Sacred Way, that the Alkmaionidai are citizens of Athens. This is “framing the gift” on a grand scale: the Treasury, I suggest, makes the Temple of Apollo, if not quite an Athenian dedication, then at least *a dedication by Athenians*.

Supporting evidence for this assertion comes, once again, from the response it elicited. Pindar’s seventh Pythian ode was composed in the summer of 486 to commemorate the victory of Megakles son of Hippokrates—the Alkmaionid leader, who had been ostracized only a few months before—in the chariot-race at the Pythian games at Delphi. The poem reads as follows:

92. *IG I³* 1469. See Schachter 1994.

93. Such tactics are in no way incompatible with the possibility that the Alkmaionidai claimed to be acting in the best interests of an oppressed Athenian polis. Such claims are generally part of elitist rhetoric in this period. The elitist position does not wish to do away with the polis so much as to organize it in a manner most congenial to aristocratic interests. At issue is precisely who is to determine the *politeia* and who is to hold the *kratos* in the city. And *kratos* presumes a community in which, and over which, it is exercised.

The great city of Athens is the fairest prelude to lay down as a foundation course of songs [*krêpid' aiōdan*] to the clan of the Alkmaionidai, broad in strength, for their horses. What fatherland, what house will you inhabit [*oikon naiōn*] and name with a more conspicuous renown in Greece?

For the reputation of the townsmen of Erekhtheus holds discourse with all cities, O Apollo, how they made your dwelling in divine Pytho a marvel to see. Five Isthmian victories lead my song forward, and one outstanding triumph at Zeus' Olympian games, and two from Kirrha,

O Megakles, belonging to your family and ancestors. I rejoice at this new success; but I grieve that ~~We~~ deeds are repaid with envy. Yet they say: the abiding bloom of good fortune brings a man now this, now that.⁹⁴

This poem celebrates an Alkmaionid victory at Delphi, and it makes specific reference to the Alkmaionid temple in lines 9–11, “For the story of the townsmen of Erekhtheus holds discourse with all cities, O Apollo, how they made your dwelling in divine Pytho a marvel to see.” Pindar, however, attributes this temple not to the Alkmaionidai specifically, but to the “townsmen of Erekhtheus,” that is, the Athenians as a whole, who themselves appear as an autochthonous clan descended from an earthborn hero.⁹⁵ As Leslie Kurke has observed, Pindar here suggests a model of “reciprocal advantage” between the noble clan and the city-state.⁹⁶ On the one hand, the city of Athens is a “foundation-course” for Alkmaionid glory; on the other, the Alkmaionid temple allows the reputation of the townsmen of Erekhtheus to keep company with all cities.

Yet it is possible to go further. *Pythian 7* is explicitly concerned with Athenian architecture at Delphi, and it was composed in 486—that is, at the very moment that the Athenian Treasury was under construction. With that in mind, we might associate the reference to the Alkmaionid temple with the poem's other architectural metaphor: the reference to a *krêpis*, a foundation, in the West strophe: “The great city of Athens is the fairest prelude to lay down as a *foundation-course of songs* for the clan of the Alkmaionidai.” When Megakles won his victory, and when Pindar wrote his ode, there was of course a real Athenian foundation-course at Delphi: the foundation of the Athenian Treasury. Could Pindar be referring to the partially completed building? The phrase *krêpid' aiōdan*, “foundation of songs,” does echo the *hymnôn thêsauros*, the “treasury of songs,” of *Pythian 6.7–8*. Moreover, the placement of this “foundation-course” at the beginning of the poem, as a “prelude” to Alkmaionid glory, replicates the topography of the Delphic shrine itself, where the pilgrims of 486 would pass the partially completed *thêsauros* en route to the Alkmaionid temple on the terrace. At the

94. Pindar *Pythian 7*, trans. W. H. Race (modified).

95. On Erekhtheus and autochthony see Loraux 1993; Shapiro 1998.

96. Kurke 1991: 191–92.

end of the West strophe, Wally, Pindar pairs “fatherland,” *patra*, with “house,” *oikos*. The result is something of a pun. *Oikos* typically means “house” and, by metonymy, “household” or “family.” But it also refers commonly to temples or treasuries. Hence the line plays “what fatherland, what household,” against “what fatherland, what temple-treasury.” Immediately following *oikon* is the participle *naiôn*, “dwelling,” which is cognate with the noun *naos*, “sacred building, temple, treasury.”⁹⁷ Taken together, *oikon naiôn* evokes architecture as a subtext. The resulting semantic density seems very much to the point. Pindar grounds his language in the topography of the Pythian shrine.

If this reading is accepted then it at once becomes clear that *Pythian 7* provides a simple and elegant account of the economy linking Athens to Alkmaionidai, Treasury to temple. The West two sections construct a model of reciprocity. In the strophe, the work-in-progress of the Treasury is a conduit linking the great city of Athens with the Alkmaionidai “broad in strength.” Pindar asserts that the Treasury, although a civic, Athenian foundation, also glorifies the clan. Then, in the antistrophe, the clan reciprocates, as their temple comes to glorify “the townsmen of Erekhtheus.” In the epode, however, the cycle breaks down, and “We deeds are repaid with envy.” The reference is of course to Megakles’ recent ostracism. The two halves of the relationship are left disconnected at the end, as the poet concludes with a remark more aporetic than gnomic: “the abiding bloom of good fortune brings a man now this, now that.”

To conclude, then, we can see the Athenian treasury as one element in a constellation of claims and counter-claims. By the mere fact of its existence, standing atop and reincorporating a sixth-century predecessor, the Treasury proclaims a new order, a re-foundation of Athens in the wake of tyranny. Its metopes suggest a parity between the “Athenian” Theseus and the “Panhellenic” Herakles—but in such a way that those predicates become precisely reversible. The Panhellenic and the Athenian are clamped together in a manner that enacts the treasury’s prime function: the framing, the “politicization,” of private votives. All gifts are Athenian gifts; all heroes are Athenian heroes. The use of Parian stone achieves a similar effect. It neatly excises Miltiades from the Battle of Marathon, achieving the nearly impossible task of celebrating the great victory while snubbing its general. The glory remains collective, civic as opposed to individual. The Parian marble also establishes a link between the treasury and the Alkmaionid Temple nearby, a link reinforced by a pattern of allusion in the metopes and the pediments. Here again, the particular glory of a great clan is nationalized, “Athenified”: the Alkmaionid Temple becomes at least partly Athenian. This program did not go uncontested. Pindar’s ode for Megakles clearly and concisely figures the Athenian buildings at Delphi as a model of reciprocity, in which the temple glorifies the city just to the extent that the treasury glorifies the clan—or would do, if the envy of

97. On *oikos* and *naos* see Roux 1984; Rups 1986: 6–12.

the democratic multitude had not interrupted the cycle. Likewise the Euphronios krater and the Kimonian statue group both rebut this program, reclaiming the glory of Marathon for Miltiades and his clan: no reciprocity here, but a simple denial of the Treasury's efficacy as a memorial. By mapping an ongoing struggle over the meaning of certain stones—and, through them, the meaning of certain events and certain social relations—we can see Athenian politics in action. The Athenian Treasury at Delphi is a *political structure* in the most literal sense of the term: not the reflection or symbol of politics, but its relic or fossil.

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figure 1

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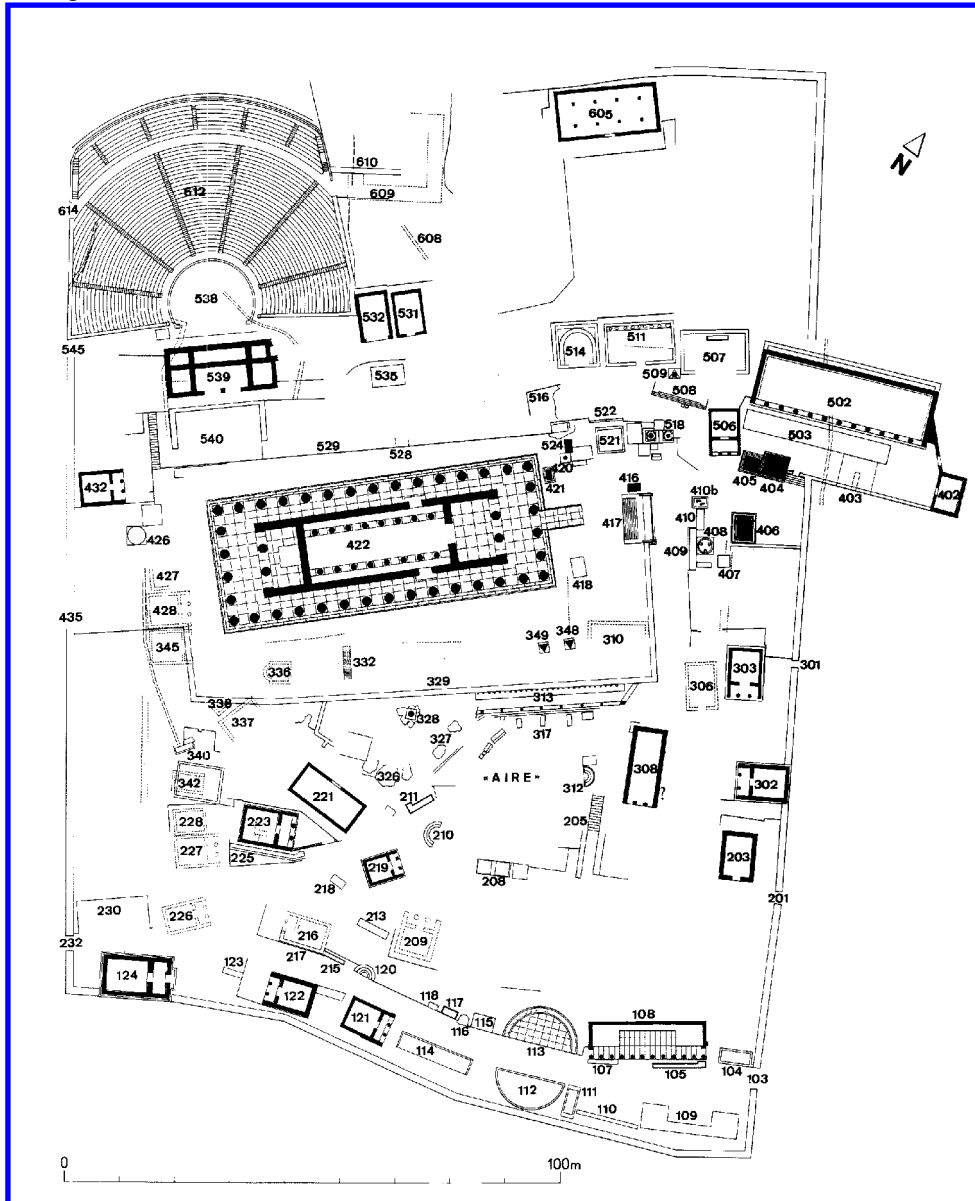


Fig. 1: Plan of the Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi. After Bommelaer 1991, plate V.



Fig. 2: The Athenian Treasury at Delphi.

figures 3-4

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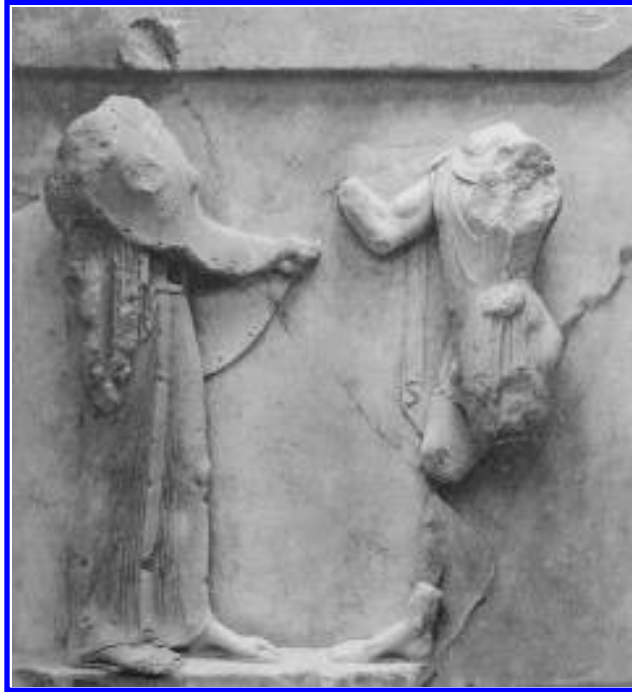


Fig. 3: Athenian Treasury, Metope 5: Athenê and Theseus.



Fig. 4: Athenian Treasury, Metope 21: Herakles and Kyknos. Herakles, at right, originally held a shield.



Fig. 5: Athenian Treasury, Metope 9: Amazons (restored). After HoVelner 1988.

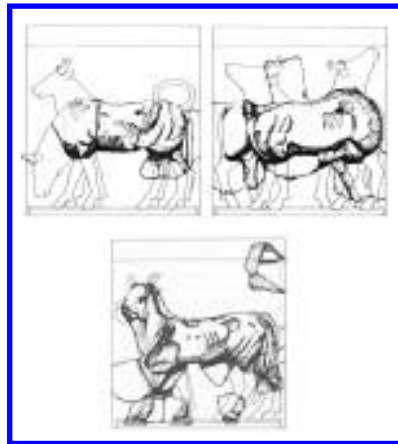


Fig. 6: Athenian Treasury, Metopes 23, 24, 25: Cattle of Geryon.



Fig. 7: Athenian red-figure volute-krater by Euphronios: Amazonomachy. Compare Telamon, at left, to Herakles in Figure 4; also the Amazon at farthest right to those in Figure 5. Drawing by Karl Reichhold.

figures 8-9

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Fig. 8: Temple of Apollo at Delphi, metope fragment: Cattle of Geryon. After *Fouilles de Delphes* 4.2.



Fig. 9: Athenian red-figure cup by Euphronios, detail: Cattle of Geryon.