



Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi

INTRODUCTION

Thésauroi, or treasure-houses, are small, temple-like structures, built by Greek cities to house the dedications of their citizens. They are found at Delphi and Olympia, though they may have been present at other sites as well. The earliest securely identified treasuries were constructed in the late seventh century; the last one went up just before the Macedonian conquest. This period coincides exactly with the heyday of the Greek city-states: though the Panhellenic shrines continued to flourish in the Hellenistic period, not a single treasury went up after the Cyreneans dedicated their Delphic *thésauros* circa 334–322.¹ Thus treasuries are, in the most literal sense, a *political* phenomenon: they are quintessentially “of the polis.” As such, they warrant closer examination.² Why did cities build them?

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1. Cyrenean treasury at Delphi: Bousquet 1952; Bommelaer 1991: 155–58.

2. Although Rups 1986 conveniently assembles the essential bibliographic data, Dyer 1905 remains the most ambitious treatment of these structures. See: Dyer 1905; Dinsmoor 1912; Dinsmoor 1913; Ziehen 1936; Roux 1984; Rups 1986; Morgan 1990: 5, 16–18; Behrens-Du Maire 1993; Jacquemin 1999: 141–50.

What were their social or ideological functions—and how did those functions relate to their formal design? Such questions have been neglected; but they are worth asking nonetheless.

Though archaeologists have described individual *thêsauroi* in great detail, they have been understandably reluctant to treat treasury building as a general phenomenon. The poor preservation of many such buildings, combined with vexing questions of chronology and identification, hampers critical discussion; while the relatively simple architecture of some treasuries also tends to resist commentary. One building, however, is well dated, well preserved, and lavishly decorated with narrative sculpture: the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (fig. 1). It therefore makes an ideal case study. Through close reading of this building's sculpture and the circumstances of its construction, it should be possible to elucidate both its social function and its formal design. The result, it is hoped, will provide a set of terms—a vocabulary—which may then be brought to bear on other, less “accessible” treasuries. What follows, therefore, is a brief general account of Greek treasuries, followed by a more detailed discussion of Siphnos and its *thêsauros*.

TREASURIES: WHAT, WHERE, WHEN

Securely identified treasuries are known from only two sites: Delphi, where the buildings are scattered throughout the sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena Pronaia, and Olympia, where they stand in a row on a terrace by the entrance to the stadium. Literary sources often refer to these buildings as *thêsauroi*, a word which Hesychios defines as “a house for storing dedications and goods and sacred things,” εἰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ χρημάτων [ῆ] ἱερῶν ἀπόθεσιν οἶκος.³ Strabo, likewise, says that at Delphi there were “*thêsauroi*, built both by peoples and by potentates, in which they deposited not only money which they dedicated to the god, but also works of the best artists.”⁴ Other sources, however, refer to the same buildings as *naoi*, “shrines,” or simply *oikoi*, “houses.”⁵ These terms have at times been taken to imply a cultic function. As Georges Roux has emphasized, however, the Greek terminology for sacred architecture is imprecise.⁶ A *naos* can be any sacred building: often, but not necessarily, a temple. The *thêsauroi* at Delphi and Olympia are not shrines in the strict sense—houses to contain cult statues—but they are sacred nonetheless, for they contain the god's property: the gifts he has received from his votaries.

3. Hesychios, s.v. *thêsauros*.

4. Strabo 9.3.4.

5. For terminology, see especially: Dyer 1905: 301–305, 310–14; Roux 1984; Rups 1986: 6–12.

6. Roux 1984.

Such offerings could be either public or private. Strabo suggests that spoils of war were particularly appropriate, and Pausanias mentions a number of state-funded, martial dedications in the Olympian *thēsauroi*.⁷ Other items, however, have nothing to do with war. The Siphnians, for example, placed a tithe of their mining revenue in their *thēsauros* at Delphi, while the Sicyonians housed a pair of enormous bronze *thalamoi* in their treasury at Olympia: peacetime offerings, not booty.⁸ It seems, therefore, that anything a community chose to dedicate could go into its treasury. The evidence for private dedications is scantier, because of the fact that such items did not often attract the interest of ancient writers. The clearest testimony comes from Xenophon. He writes that, following his adventures with the Ten Thousand,

Xenophon had an offering made for Apollo and put it in the Athenian treasury at Delphi. He had it inscribed with his own name and with the name of Proxenos, who was killed with Klearkhos, for he had been his friend.⁹

Though the offering was comprised of war booty, the inscription indicates that Xenophon made it in a purely private capacity.¹⁰ Plutarch tells a similar tale of the poetess Andromakhe of Erythrai, who dedicated a golden book in the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi following a double victory in the musical contests at Pytho.¹¹ Further, indirect evidence comes from Polemon, who describes the contents of the Byzantine and Metapontine treasuries at Olympia: a silver siren, a wooden triton holding a silver cup, a silver kylix, a golden oinochoe, three gilt phialai, and so on.¹² Although costly, these offerings do not have the character of civic

7. Strabo 9.3.8: “For there were deposited in treasure-houses offerings dedicated from the spoils of war, preserving inscriptions on which were included the names of those who dedicated them; for instance, Gyges, Croesus, the Sybarites, and the Spinetae who lived near the Adriatic, and so with the rest.” Not all the items on this list are war booty.

8. Siphnian tithe: Pausanias 10.11.2. Sicyonian *thalamoi*: Pausanias 6.19.2–3.

9. Xenophon *Anabasis* 5.3.5.

10. The offering was, ostensibly, on behalf of all the Cyreans. “The generals took over the tenth part [of the booty], which they had set aside for Apollo and Artemis, to keep for this religious purpose; each general took a share of the tenth” (Xenophon *Anabasis* 5.3). Xenophon, however, seems to have regarded the money as his own; it is unclear (and probably was at the time) just how each general’s “share of the tenth” was to be disposed, to what extent it belonged to the gods or the generals themselves. Xenophon used half of his share for the dedication at Delphi: the inscription on the offering makes no mention of the Ten Thousand. He then spent the remainder of the money—ostensibly, Artemis’ share—to purchase a country estate near Olympia. Xenophon’s practice is somewhat reminiscent of that of the Spartan Pausanias, who inscribed the allied dedication from the Battle of Plataia with his own name instead of the names of the Greek poleis that fought the Mede (Thucydides 1.132).

11. Plutarch *Moralia* 675B.

12. Polemon ap. Athenaeus 11.479f–480a. On the placement of such precious votives in sanctuaries, see Linders 1987.

dedications.¹³ They do, however, resemble the votives which, according to a late sixth-century inscription, two Perinthians placed in the Samian Heraion: a silver siren, a gold gorgon, a silver phiale, and a bronze lampstand.¹⁴ It is likely that the offerings at Olympia were of a similar nature: votives laid up by individual aristocrats.

The function of *thêsauroi* determines their architecture. Every securely identified example at Delphi and Olympia incorporates a cella and a pronaos. Of the eleven treasuries at Olympia, eight are distyle-in-antis; two had solid fronts; another received a prostyle porch as a later addition.¹⁵ There is a similar pattern at Delphi, where remains of nearly thirty small buildings with pronaoi have come to light, many of which are certainly treasuries.¹⁶ Most have thick walls and stand on high podia, without steps. It is a sensible arrangement: the buildings are easily secured, with restricted access and no windows. The Knidian treasury at Delphi makes a useful contrast with the nearby *leskhê*, or “clubhouse,” of the same city: while the former adheres to the typical treasury plan, the latter is an open rectangle with windows along one side.¹⁷ The correlation of ground plan to function is, in short, very high. This point is unsurprising, but it is a reminder that there is a rationale behind the layout of “canonical” treasuries. It suggests that it is risky to identify low-security buildings—those with multiple doors or windows—as *thêsauroi*. The so-called Sicyonian treasury of the mid-sixth century is a case in point.¹⁸ This building, famed for its early metopes, is in fact a monopteros. It has been traditionally identified as a treasury only because its remains were discovered in the substructure of the late Archaic treasury of Sicyon. But because it lacks walls, the basic ingredient of a storeroom, it must have served some other purpose. The origins, function, and original location of the monopteros are in fact unknown. Likewise the so-called Theban treasury at Delphi has no columns and adds a window: as Anne Jacquemin observes, it may not be a treasury properly speaking.¹⁹

13. For a survey of state dedications at Delphi and Olympia, see Felten 1982. For Delphi alone, Jacquemin 1999 is indispensable.

14. Klaffenbach 1953.

15. Mallwitz restores Treasuries 5 and 10 with solid fronts: Mallwitz 1972: 170, 174. Treasury 12, the Geloan, was built in the third quarter of the sixth century and received its porch in the early fifth. For general treatments of treasury architecture, with particular reference to Delphi, Dinsmoor 1912 and 1913 remain valuable. For the Olympia treasuries, see Herrmann 1992, with further references.

16. On the varied plans of the Delphic treasuries, see Jacquemin 1999: 141–50.

17. Knidian treasury: Bommelaer 1991: 141–43. Though the actual location of this treasury remains uncertain, enough of the architecture survives—identified by an inscription—to be sure that the ground plan was typical of Delphic and Olympian treasuries. Knidian *leskhê*: Bommelaer 1991: 202–204; Jacquemin 1999: 151–52.

18. The basic publication of the Sicyonian treasury is Laroche and Nenna 1990. For the questions surrounding the monopteros and its sculptures, see Ridgway 1993: 339–43.

19. Jacquemin 1999: 145.

All treasuries, therefore, seem to have a cella and a pronaos. But the reverse is not true. There has been a tendency to call every distyle-in-antis building at Delphi a treasury, and to forget that this ground plan could serve for a small shrine as well as for a storehouse proper. The “Doric Treasury” in the Marmaria, for example, could easily be a temple; and the two so-called *Trésors du Théâtre* are very probably shrines to Dionysos of the sort often found in Greek theaters (fig. 2, nos. 531 and 532).²⁰ In short, ground plan alone cannot securely identify a *thêsauros*. At best, it can rule some foundations out of consideration: it can show that some buildings—like the Sicyonian monopteros—are probably *not* treasuries.

Literary evidence suggests three further characteristics of the treasuries at Delphi and Olympia. First, and most importantly, they were *extraterritorial* dedications, built far away from the cities that paid for them. This feature is highly unusual: there are few comparable instances of city-states commissioning buildings outside their own home territories, especially in the Archaic period. It is one thing to patronize local artisans and local cults: it is quite another to send money and jobs off to a distant sanctuary in Phokis or Elis. Second, treasuries retain a special link with the cities that built them: they house the votive offerings of the citizenry. We have already seen how Xenophon placed his offering in the *thêsauros* of his homeland. By contrast, the Alkmaionid temple at Delphi was paid for by Athenians yet not associated in any special way with that polis. But not everything in a given treasury necessarily originated in the “home” city. Andromakhe of Erythrai put her *biblion* in the Sicyonian treasury; likewise, the Corinthian and Klazomenaian treasuries at Delphi housed the dedications of the Lydian king Croesus after the fire of 548. By Pausanias’ day the treasuries at Olympia had become little more than storerooms at the disposal of the temple authorities.²¹ But matters were evidently different in the Archaic and Classical periods, when the links between treasuries and their home cities were fresher and stronger, and the poleis had greater autonomy.²² Third, these treasuries were built by states, not by clans or individuals.²³ In this respect they differ from ordinary votives: from, say, the *agalma* which the Athenian aristocrat Alkmaionides deposited at the Ptoion around 550, after a chariot victory at the Panathenaia.²⁴ Inscriptions on the Megarian, Sicyonian, and Geloan treasuries at Olympia, and on the Athenian, Knidian, and Siphnian treasuries at Delphi, all emphasize this communal aspect of the dedication by naming the citizens of the

20. Doric treasury, Marmaria: Bommelaer 1991: 60–62. “*Trésors du Théâtre*”: La Coste 1936: 483–84 (probably shrines of Dionysos); Bommelaer 1991: 206–207 nos. 531 and 532. The small, distyle-in-antis heröon to the west of the Apollo sanctuary is a further argument for caution. West Heröon: Bommelaer 1991: 221.

21. A point well made in Rups 1986.

22. Cf. Rups 1986: 60–64.

23. Cf. Roux 1984: 155: “Les trésors sont donc avant tout des offrandes civiques.”

24. *JG I*³ 1469. See Schachter 1994, and below, p. 283.

home city as collective dedicants.²⁵ By contrast, the only individuals to build treasuries are tyrants. Examples of the latter would include the first Sicyonian treasury at Olympia, dedicated by the tyrant Myron and the *dêmos* circa 648, and the Corinthian at Delphi, built by Kypselos and re-dedicated in the name of all the Corinthians after the fall of Periander.²⁶

An important exception to this last characteristic is the so-called *treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians* at Delphi. Plutarch mentions this building on more than one occasion, though it has not been possible to identify its foundations.²⁷ Erected after the liberation of Acanthus from Athens in 423, the building eventually housed a statue of the Spartan admiral Lysander; the latter also seems to have deposited a vast sum of booty here (one talent, fifty-two minae, and eleven staters). Yet, despite the name, Brasidas was probably involved only posthumously in the dedication. He died just one year after freeing Acanthus, and it is difficult to imagine a treasury going up so soon after a change of government. It is more likely that the Acanthians commemorated their liberation with a treasury, and used the opportunity to single out Brasidas for special honors (much as the Amphipolitans made him their new founding hero and buried him in their agora).²⁸ It is not, perhaps, surprising that Lysander should select this eminently pro-Spartan building as a storehouse for his loot. Yet the story of the Acanthian treasury highlights a significant fact. Despite the Lakedaimonians' celebrated devotion to the Delphic oracle, despite their hegemonic role in the Peloponnese, there is no Lakedaimonian treasury at Delphi or Olympia. Even the Etruscans of Agylla/Caere dedicated a treasury at Delphi, but the most powerful state in Greece, with the closest ties to the oracle, did not.²⁹ This curious omission reveals much about the social function of treasuries in general: on which more later.

One last feature of the Delphic and Olympian treasuries deserves notice. The cities often imported building materials, at great expense, from their own home

25. On one of the antae of the Sicyonian treasury at Olympia: "Of the Sicyonians" (*Olympia* 5 no. 668). Pausanias reports (6.19.15) an inscription on the Geloan treasury at Olympia, to the effect that "the treasury and the statues were dedicated by the Geloans." The Athenian treasury at Delphi has recently been shown to be integral with the Marathon base adjacent: the inscription on the base reads, "The Athenians to Apollo: taken from the Medes at the Battle of Marathon" (*GHI*³ no. 19; Bommelaer 1991: 137; cf. Amandry 1998). The Knidian treasury: "The Knidian people [*damos*] dedicated this *thêsauros* and the statues to Apollo Pythios as a tithe" (Bommelaer 1991: 142). Two Roman-era inscriptions follow this pattern: an inscription added to the architrave of the Megarian treasury at Olympia reads simply: *Megareôn*, "Of the Megarians" (Dörpfeld 1892: 51), while one over the doorway of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi reads *Siphniôn*, "Of the Siphnians" (Daux and Hansen 1987).

26. Myron: Pausanias 6.19.2. Corinthian treasury: Pausanias 10.13.5; Bommelaer 1991: 153–55.

27. Testimonia: Plutarch *Moralia* 400F, 401C; *Lysander* 1, 18. Cf. La Coste 1936: 481–83; Bommelaer 1991: 160–63, with further references.

28. Brasidas in the agora of Amphipolis: Thucydides 5.11.

29. Etruscan treasury at Delphi: Laroche and Nenna 1992. Jacquemin 1999: 145 argues that the building is West Greek.

territory. At Olympia, the Sicyonian, Cyrenean, Megarian, Geloan, and possibly the Selinuntine treasuries were all built from native stone (or, in Gela's case, terracotta); at Delphi, the Siphnian, the Caeretan, and the Corinthian had the same feature.³⁰ This practice is remarkable, and defies functionalist explanation. No city was forced by circumstances to ship stone hundreds of miles to Phokis or Elis: the Cyreneans and Etruscans, for example, could surely have found a cheaper alternative.³¹ In the case of the Siphnian treasury, moreover, it may have been necessary to use fine-grained Parian and Naxian marble for the carved friezes; but the Siphnian stone of the walls was of remarkably poor quality, difficult to work, and yielded blocks of haphazard size and shoddy appearance.³² The use of native material was evidently of some symbolic importance.³³ It marked the treasury as the product of a particular territory: it brought a little bit of home, so to speak, into the heart of a Panhellenic shrine.

It is thus possible to define the treasuries at Delphi and Olympia as follows. They are *strong houses for storing dedications and goods and sacred things, typically distyle-in-antis and difficult of access, dedicated by a community outside its own territory, and specially associated with that community and its citizens.*

The buildings had a special association with the great Panhellenic shrines. In his account of the Altis, Pausanias writes: "On this terrace stand the treasuries: in the same way as some of the Greeks have made treasuries for Apollo at Delphi."³⁴ The implication is that such buildings were not to be found in every major sanctuary. There is no firm evidence for *thêsauroi* at Isthmia, another shrine associated with stephanitic games.³⁵ Archaeologists have, however, sought to identify *thêsauroi* at Athens (on the Akropolis), Calydon, Delos, Nemea, and Samos. Only one of these candidates—Delos—meets the criteria laid out above.³⁶ At Nemea, for example, a row of buildings bears a superficial resemblance to the treasury-terrace

30. Sicyonian at Olympia: Mallwitz 1972: 167. Cyrenean at Olympia: Treu 1897: 19–23 (Cyrenean stone for sculptures). Megarian at Olympia: Dörpfeld 1892: 51. Geloan at Olympia: Mallwitz and Schiering 1964: 133. Selinuntine at Olympia: Gardiner 1925: 230. Caeretan at Delphi: Bommelaer 1991: 231. Corinthian at Delphi: Laroche and Nenna 1990: 270 (listed as no. XXIV).

31. E.g., for Delphi, poros from the quarries between Corinth and Sicyon: cf. Laroche and Nenna 1990: 270.

32. La Coste 1936: 248–51; Daux and Hansen 1987: 25–47.

33. For comparable sensitivity to the provenance of building materials, one may cite the Spartans' decision in 457 to place a monument to their victory over the Athenians at Tanagra on the roof of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The site was, of course, incredibly conspicuous, but it is perhaps not coincidental that the roof was made—ostentatiously—of *Pentelic* marble. Cf. Pausanias 5.10.

34. Pausanias 6.19.1. Trans. P. Levi.

35. Hemans 1994 publishes terracotta elements from three small "treasury-sized buildings" at Isthmia, but the function and original location of these buildings remains unknown; the archaeological contexts are Roman. It is not certain that they were treasuries, nor that they stood in the *temenos* of Poseidon.

36. Calydon: Dyggve 1948. Athens: Hurwit 1999: 115–16. Nemea: Miller 1990: 118–20. Samos: Furtwängler and Kienast 1989: 63ff.; Kienast 1985. Delos: Vallois 1944: 24–27; Roux 1973; Bruneau and Ducat 1983: 133–35.

at Olympia. The buildings, however, are larger than is normal for treasuries, are thin-walled, and do not have pronaoi. They are unsuitable for the storage of valuables, and resemble the Knidian *leskhê* at Delphi more than known treasuries. The most recent interpretation, accordingly, sees them as dining-halls or *hestiatoria*. By contrast, small buildings on the Akropolis of Athens, in the sanctuary of Artemis Laphreia at Calydon, and in the Samian Heraion do have appropriate ground plans. These buildings could have been used for storage, and therefore could be treasuries in the broad sense of the term. All of these buildings, however, differ from the Delphic and Olympian *thêsauroi* in two crucial respects. First, there is no evidence to suggest that foreign poleis dedicated any of them. They are not extraterritorial but local, investments of labor and material in the domestic economy. Second, some of them may well be private dedications: Jeffrey Hurwit has recently suggested that wealthy clans might have funded the small, decorated *naiskoi* on the Athenian Akropolis.³⁷ The “Panhellenic” buildings, by contrast, are unquestionably civic, and they represent at once a greater investment (because of the greater distances involved) and a movement of capital out of the polis.

At Delos the situation is more complex. Hellenistic inscriptions mention a number of *oikoi*, “houses,” used for storage purposes and dedicated by the peoples of Andros, Delos, Karystos, Keos, and Naxos. Six buildings west of the Apollo temple have been associated with these *oikoi*. The three earliest—two Archaic, one Classical—are fairly grand, with central colonnades and at least four columns in antis. The earliest of all, the seventh-century *Oikos* of the Naxians, may well have been an early temple of Apollo, subsequently demoted to storage chamber.³⁸ The three later *oikoi*, of circa 475–450, are more modest, distyle-in-antis structures. They are sometimes identified as *hestiatoria*: all evidence for their use as storerooms is late, and there is no evidence to suggest that they retained a special connection with their “home” cities by the Hellenistic period.³⁹ Yet the fact remains that we have foundations that resemble treasuries, and texts that mention treasury-like buildings. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the foundations correspond to the *oikoi* mentioned in the inscriptions, and that these *oikoi* were treasuries like the ones at Delphi and Olympia.⁴⁰ Though many sanctuaries may have had specially elaborate storage-rooms, it seems that only interstate shrines like Delphi, Olympia, and Delos could attract building projects from distant poleis.⁴¹ This conclusion is, again, unsurprising: it would be hard to imagine the Athenians permitting a foreign state to build on the Akropolis, or the Argives and Corinthians welcoming foreign treasuries at Nemea and Isthmia. Yet it underscores the distinctive features of the truly Panhellenic shrines. For

37. Hurwit 1999: 116. Cf. Burkert 1996; Ridgway 1993: 313 n. 7.20.

38. Courbin 1980: 33–38; Courbin 1987. Contra: Gallet de Santerre 1984.

39. *Hestiatoria*: Vallois 1944: 24–27; Roux 1973.

40. The exception is the *Oikos* of the Delians, which probably was located elsewhere and was probably not a treasury (it had windows). Cf. Rups 1986: 189–91.

41. Roux 1984.

the remainder of this study, I shall use the words *treasury* and *thêsauros* to refer to buildings of this narrow type, not to storage-rooms overall.

TREASURIES, PANHELLENISM, AND
THE POLITICS OF DEDICATION

Why build a treasury? At various points in his account, Pausanias attributes four possible motives to the builders: to commemorate a victory, to display wealth, to express piety, or to obey a direct command from the god.⁴² The victories could be athletic or military. The Sicyonian treasury at Olympia and the Corinthian at Delphi were both constructed in the seventh century after the tyrants of those cities won chariot races.⁴³ In the fifth and fourth centuries, however, military victories came to predominate. Thus, at Delphi, the Athenian treasury went up after Marathon, the Syracusan after 413, the Theban after Leuktra, and so on. In these cases the function was both practical and commemorative: the buildings were at once battle monuments and storehouses for booty.⁴⁴ The Siphnians, according to Pausanias, were ordered to build their treasury by the Pythia: but Herodotos mentions no such command, and sheer ostentation seems to have been the goal of the architects.⁴⁵ In other cases, there does not seem to have been any precipitating event. The Potidaians, for example, are said to have built their treasury out of a general sense of “religious devotion to the god.”⁴⁶

Pausanias’ analysis, while helpful, is clearly inadequate. Many cities were victorious, or rich, or pious, and yet did not build treasuries; Sparta, which was all three, has already been cited as an example. There must have been a deeper motive behind the decision to build. This point has not escaped scholars, who, however, have tended to offer explanations that are equally generic. It is often stated, for example, that the colonial treasuries at Olympia were built to reinforce connections between the Greeks overseas and their homeland. This point is probably true enough as far as it goes; but it has the same problems as Pausanias’ account. For of course many colonies never built treasuries, even powerful ones like Leontini, Tarentum, and Rhegium. It follows that there must be other causes, more specific to the poleis that actually did build. In this situation it bears repeating that treasury building ceased in the late fourth century. States continued to be pious in the Hellenistic period; they continued to win victories at

42. Cf. Pausanias 10.11.4. “I am not sure whether the Knidians built because of some victory or to display their prosperity. . . . The Potidaians [built] from religious devotion to the god.” Trans. P. Levi.

43. Pausanias 6.19.1, 10.13.5; Plutarch *De pyth. or.* 12–13 (= *Mor.* 400d–e).

44. Set on high podia, the buildings themselves resembled *anathêmata* on bases. Cf. Roux 1984: 156.

45. Herodotos 3.57; Pausanias 10.11.2.

46. Pausanias 10.11.4.

games and in battles; they continued to be wealthy and ostentatious. But treasuries were of a piece with a particular social system, and they disappeared with that system. The decision to build was, in short, a *political* decision, in every sense of the word: and it is within the political life of the Greek cities that we must situate these buildings.

Recent syntheses of archaeological and literary material have described a broad “contest of paradigms” in Archaic Greek social life: a contest that pitted adherents of ostensibly traditional, Panhellenic virtues against those who took the collectivity of the polis as the standard.⁴⁷ Ian Morris terms the first group “elitist,” the second, “middling:”

The elitists legitimated their special role from sources outside the polis; the middling poets rejected such claims. The former blurred distinctions between male and female, present and past, mortal and divine, Greek and Lydian, to reinforce a distinction between aristocrat and commoner; the latter did the opposite. . . . Elitist poetry was the oppositional literature of an *immanent elite*, an imagined community evoked in the interstices of the polis world—at interstate games, in the arrival of a *xenos* from a different city, or behind the closed doors of the symposium. . . . It was opposed on all counts by beliefs which made the polis the center of the world, but which we can only see through the poetry of the aristocrats who accepted it.⁴⁸

In this account, shrines like Olympia and Delphi were crucial to elitist ideology. Part of the appeal of these interstate sanctuaries was, precisely, the fact that they were not under the control of any single city: they were marginal, anti-poleis in a sense.⁴⁹ Situated “in the interstices of the polis world,” they provided elites with a venue for competitive display through athletics and large-scale dedications. The prestige that accrued to such display was entirely independent from—and potentially opposed to—the authority of the home city. Investing in ostentatious, self-aggrandizing behavior at an interstate shrine could be a way of asserting solidarity with one’s fellow aristocrats in other poleis: to claim that wealth, or birth, or a special relationship with the gods was of greater significance than membership in a particular citizen community. In some cases, as Snodgrass has suggested, local pressures may have prevented elites from displaying their wealth too conspicuously at home, leading them to invest more heavily at Panhellenic sites.⁵⁰ In others, however, the reverse may have been true: the weakness of local forces may have allowed elites greater freedom for expenditures away from home. But whatever the specific, precipitating cause, costly displays at interstate shrines

47. Kurke 1991, 1999; Morris 2000.

48. Morris 1996: 35–36. Italics in original.

49. Snodgrass 1986; Morgan 1990.

50. Snodgrass 1980: 54.

all shared one feature: they were all investments in a sphere of exchange outside the home polis, and potentially opposed to it.

It does not follow that all investments in extraterritorial or Panhellenic shrines were simply opposed to the middling ideology. On the contrary, part of the drama of sites like Delphi and Olympia comes from the fact that they were scenes of ideological contest as well as athletic: places where cities, tyrants, and aristocrats of all political persuasions made their offerings and jockeyed for position. Catherine Morgan has shown, for example, the important role of the Delphic oracle in early state-formation and in the consolidation of middling ideology.⁵¹ For all that, however, it is no exaggeration to suggest that interstate shrines were among the most important venues for elite display in the Greek world. The complexity of the situation means that, in practice, statistical studies of dedication patterns and the like are only of limited use on their own. The particular character of a dedication will, often as not, only become apparent on close reading. A few examples may clarify the point.

Alkmaionides' *agalma* at the Ptoion, mentioned earlier, is a classic elitist, extraterritorial dedication. As Albert Schachter has shown, the Ptoion enjoyed special prosperity in the years just after the great fire at Delphi: while the Pythian shrine was under repair, it seems, aristocrats turned to Apollo Ptoieus.⁵² Only the columnar base of Alkmaionides' offering survives, inscribed as follows:

I am a beautiful delight for Phoibos, son of Leto.
 Alkmaion's son, Alkmaionides,
 Dedicated me after the victory of his swift horses,
 Which Knopiadass the [. . .] drove
 When in Athens there was a festive gathering for Pallas.

It is somewhat striking that an Athenian aristocrat should choose to celebrate a victory at Athens, in games specifically designed to glorify Athens and Athena, with a dedication to Apollo in Boiotia. The fact is all the more surprising given that the Alkmaionid clan habitually used chariot victories as a way to acquire prestige in local—that is to say, Athenian—politics.⁵³ Alkmaionides' ambitions are evidently different. He identifies himself only by his patronymic, not his ethnic: by his noble birth, not his citizenship.⁵⁴ It is not enough, apparently, to be famous at Athens; and Athenian citizenship is not worth proclaiming. 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 an *interstate* community. The dedication is elitist ideology in action.⁵⁵

51. Morgan 1990.

52. Schachter 1994.

53. Cf. Davies 1981: 103–105.

54. Schachter 1994: 304–306.

55. On kouroi and elite ideology see Stewart 1986; Mack 1996.

But what if, like Xenophon some hundred and fifty years later, Alkmaionides had placed his dedication in an Athenian treasury? Regardless of whether or not he included his ethnic in the inscription, regardless of how far the sanctuary was from his home community, his dedication would have been unmistakably Athenian. A treasury would, by its very nature, *nationalize* any votive, and with it the dedicant's privileged relationship to the gods. Where previously a wealthy aristocrat could express his or her own personal relationship with the deity by giving a princely gift, the *thêsauros* neatly excises the dedication from the sphere of elitist Panhellenism and places it *es meson*, in the middle of the polis. When placed on view in a treasury, the individual dedication is re-contextualized: it still reflects well on its dedicant, to be sure, but it also glorifies the polis. The *thêsauros* also *overshadows* the individual votive, insofar as the building is itself an offering of such cost as to be beyond the reach of all but the most powerful clans. Treasuries thus transform elite glory-mongering into civic pride, even as they dramatize the ability of the polis to outspend its wealthy constituents.⁵⁶ This appropriation of elitist spending is, I suggest, the real function of the buildings. There was no "practical" need to build a *thêsauros*: at Olympia, only eleven cities did so, out of the hundreds that used the shrine. But there was a deep and pressing political need to head off an important avenue of aristocratic display. A *thêsauros* is not just a storeroom: it is a frame for costly dedications, a way of diverting elite display in the interest of the polis.

Hence the use of stone from the home territory in the construction of treasuries. As we have seen, there is no "practical" reason for this use of costly imported materials. If, however, the treasury is a synecdoche for the polis itself, then the use of imported stone becomes more comprehensible. Native stone collapses, if only symbolically, the distance separating the interstate shrine from the polis. When stored in such a treasury, the dedication never really leaves home: it remains *es to meson*, "in the middle," little different in effect from an offering on the akropolis of the dedicant's city. That states were willing to expend large sums of money to achieve this effect indicates how important they felt it to be. The point of a treasury is to appropriate costly dedications such that they will glorify the polis as much as the individual; and cities used all the resources available to them to effect this stratagem.

There will have been considerable pressure on elites to use a treasury once it had been built. It was perhaps to avoid just such an appropriation that the Athenian Miltiades dedicated a helmet at Olympia.⁵⁷ If, as seems likely, the helmet commemorates the general's victory at Marathon, then the offering stands in marked contrast to other, overtly civic monuments. The Athenians built their treasury at Delphi to celebrate the victory and placed their tithe from the spoils of the battle

56. For civic appropriation of elite glory and expenditure, see Kurke 1991; von Reden 1995: 79–104 and *passim*.

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

on the adjacent Marathon base. In like fashion, the heirs of the polemarch Kallimakhos made a lavish, posthumous dedication on the Akropolis: the inscription gives his deme, omits the patronymic, and specifies that Kallimakhos earned glory “for the men of Athens.”⁵⁸ Miltiades, however, sent to Olympia, where his polis had less of a presence. There he made his own dedication, omitting, like Alkmaionides, his ethnic: “To Zeus, from Miltiades.” He also omits his patronymic: Miltiades claimed descent from Zeus (via Aiakos) and perhaps deemed such details superfluous.⁵⁹ With this dedication, 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. More than that, he personalized a victory won by a hoplite army: the helmet is a gift from Miltiades alone. 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; and Xenophon seems to have had something similar in mind when he omitted the Cyrenans from his dedication at Delphi.⁶⁰ For the victor of Marathon, however, such a display would have been inappropriate on the Akropolis—witness the “middling” Kallimakhos dedication—and, once the treasury had been built, at Delphi as well. The contrast between these various dedications—Miltiades’ helmet, Kallimakhos’ memorial, and the treasury at Delphi—brings out the way in which activity at an interstate shrine could play an important role in *intrastate* politics.

The framing function of treasuries may also account for the Lakedaimonians’ reluctance to build one. As we have seen, there was no Lakonian treasury at Olympia or Delphi. Given the Spartans’ famous devotion to the Delphic oracle, and their hegemony of the Peloponnesos, this refusal to honor either Zeus or Apollo with a *thêsauros* is puzzling. Lakedaimonians did make dedications at foreign sanctuaries: witness the bronze lion which Eumnastos the Spartiate placed in the Samian Heraion circa 550, or the substantial dedication of Spartan Alkibiades at Delphi at the end of the sixth century.⁶¹ Posidonius specifies that, prior to the late fifth century, the Lakedaimonian polis stored large quantities of gold and silver at Delphi.⁶² More generally, Lakonian bronzes, often of extraordinarily high quality, are known from great shrines throughout the Greek world (though it is true that not all these bronzes were necessarily dedicated by Lakonians).⁶³ There would, in short, have been dedications to go into a treasury

58. *GHI*³ 33–34 no. 18.

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

60. Pausanias at Delphi: Thucydides 1.132.

61. Eumnastos: Snodgrass 1980: 133; Cartledge 1982: 255–56 and n. 61, with further references. On Spartan dedications in the Iron Age, see Morgan 1990. For costly Spartan dedications on Samos: Cartledge 1982: 255. Alkibiades: *IG* I² 292.90; Daux 1977: 51–57. The family of the dedicant had *xenoi* in Athens: Alkibiades son of Kleinias was named in honor of this relationship.

62. Posidonius, *FrGrHist* 87 F 48c.

63. Spartan bronzes: Lamb 1969: 89–91; Fitzhardinge 1980: 90–118. For the fame of Spartan bronzes in the Archaic period, see Herodotos 1.70.

had the Spartans built one. Given the popularity of the building-type, it is fair to ask why they did not.

It begs the question to respond that the Lakedaimonians had little large-scale civic architecture. For the lack of civic architecture, like the absence of a *thêsauros*, cannot be divorced from the city's distinctive political system.⁶⁴ Although renowned for its communitarianism and its devotion to the ideal of the anonymous, disciplined hoplite, Sparta was deeply wedded to certain elements of elitist culture. Nostalgia for the Homeric age, rigid class boundaries, and Eastern connections (Alkman was supposedly Lydian, and Sparta was noted for ivory-carving in the seventh century) were all grounded in the helot system, whereby each Spartiate controlled his serfs with the brutality that Odysseus reserved for Thersites.⁶⁵ Sparta was not even a "real" polis, but a federation of five villages, without walls or coinage or an akropolis to speak of. There is a sort of schizophrenia to this system. Within the restricted community of those with full citizen rights, every Spartiate was a middling citizen, a *Homoios* or Equal; outside that community, every Spartiate was a little Homeric lordling, terrorizing the serfs and affecting a long, heroic hairstyle. When marching out to war they were led by kings, like the Akhaians at Troy; at home, they were ruled by elected ephors and the *gerousia*, or Council of Elders. Spartans presented themselves to their fellow Greeks and to their subjects as super-elitists—eschewing the softness and luxury of their Ionian counterparts, but nonetheless upholding the ancient virtues of the Dorian heroes—even as, amongst themselves, they promulgated an ideology of egalitarian militarism. The community's peculiar double name expresses this division: the polis as a whole—including *perioikoi* and helots—was Lakedaimon; its administrative center was Sparta. The former was, in effect, ruled by elitists, while the latter was in theory a city of peers, ruled by a middling regime. In this situation, there was no incentive to frame dedications at interstate shrines. So long as no one violated the principles of Spartiate equality *within* the community of *Homoioi*, it was entirely in the interests of the state for them to indulge in conspicuous display *outside* it. Periodically, individuals like Pausanias or Lysander achieved such international fame that they upset this balance: the former with the Plataian dedication, the latter with his self-aggrandizing use of the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians. Where Miltiades sent a helmet to Olympia in order to stand out from his fellow citizens at Delphi, and Xenophon contented himself with the Athenian treasury, the two Spartan commanders were free to use Delphi for their own ends precisely because there was no Lakedaimonian *thêsauros*. On the whole, however, the absence of such a building makes sense given Sparta's peculiar *eunomia*: an oligarchical compromise between elitist and middling pressures.

64. On the Spartan *eunomia* see especially: Cartledge 1979; Powell 1989.

65. Lakonian ivories: Marangou 1967; Carter 1985. Sparta and the East: Carter 1988.

But perhaps the clearest testimony for the way *thêsauroi* were frames for offerings comes from Pindar's sixth Pythian ode. The poem begins with a procession to Delphi:

We proceed to the enshrined navel of the loudly rumbling earth, where at hand for the fortunate Emmenidai and for rivery Akragas, yes, and for Xenokrates, a Pythian victor's treasure-house of hymns [ὔμνων θησαυρός] has been built in Apollo's valley rich in gold; one which neither winter rain, coming from abroad as a relentless army, from a loudly rumbling cloud, nor wind shall buffet and with their deluge of silt carry into the depths of the sea. But a clear light on its façade will proclaim a chariot victory, famous in men's speech, shared by your father, Thrasyboulos, and your clan, won in the dells of Krisa.⁶⁶

The processional imagery of the opening line makes clear reference to the buildings on the Sacred Way at Delphi; indeed, one scholar has even suggested that Pindar is referring specifically to the Siphnian treasury.⁶⁷ The guiding conceit of the poem is that Pindar's song is a *thêsauros* in which the singer is laying up, as an offering, the glory of Xenokrates' chariot victory. Though the victory itself is shared by Xenokrates and his clan (ll. 17–18), the treasury has been built for Xenokrates, the Emmenidai, and “rivery Akragas.” Pindar specifies, moreover, that it is the light on the building's façade that will proclaim the victory: the building is the medium of fame. Silent on its own, Xenokrates' achievement must be routed through civic architecture (or, more precisely, song-as-architecture) in order to become “famous in men's speech.” In this way, as Leslie Kurke puts it, “the family of the patron and his entire polis share in the glory conferred by the poem as monument.”⁶⁸ Pindar's ὔμνων θησαυρός communalizes an aristocrat's victory: and so, I have argued, did the real buildings at Delphi and Olympia.

Treasuries thus emerge as moves within a game of dedications, display, and power, played out in the Greek cities from the late seventh through the mid-fourth centuries.⁶⁹ Within these broad parameters, however, each building ought to be considered individually, as the product of *local* and *domestic* political concerns. It is, after all, only in such concrete articulations of the elite and middling ideologies that Morris' constructs have any real meaning. To consider all the extant treasuries is beyond the scope of the present study: the Siphnians and their *thêsauros* will have to serve as a case study.

66. Pindar *Pythian* 6.3–18. Trans. W. H. Race (modified).

67. Shapiro 1988.

68. Kurke 1991: 190. See also Kurke 1990.

69. Cf. Morgan 1990: 234: “From the eighth century onwards, the history of inter-state sanctuaries, including the two most prestigious, Olympia and Delphi, was the history of the establishment of a state framework for . . . pilgrimage, a fundamental part of the process of defining the role of the individual within the emerging state.”

THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY AND ITS ENVIRONS

The Siphnian treasury is, quite simply, one of the most important monuments of Classical Antiquity. It is the earliest known building on the Greek mainland to be constructed entirely of marble; it bears one of the earliest carved Ionic friezes; it is the linchpin of late Archaic chronology; and its sculptural decoration ranks among the great masterpieces of ancient art.⁷⁰ As befits a monument of such caliber, the treasury has been discussed many times since its discovery at the end of the nineteenth century. Studies by Pierre de La Coste-Messelière, Georges Daux and Eric Hansen, Brunilde Ridgway, Mary B. Moore, and Vincenz Brinkmann stand out as particularly important and influential, but the number of commentators is immense.⁷¹ These studies have clarified numerous important questions of style and iconography. The present discussion will seek to build on these earlier accounts in order to address the social and ideological function of the treasury.

Herodotos provides a date for the Siphnian treasury and describes the circumstances of its construction. His account is of such importance that it is worth quoting in full.

When the Lakedaimonians were about to forsake them, the Samians who took the field against Polykrates were sailing away themselves as well, to Siphnos. For they had need of money; and at this time the wealth of the Siphnians was in full bloom, and they were the richest of the islanders, because they had gold and silver mines on the island; so much so that, from the tenth part of the money being produced in that place, a treasury is dedicated at Delphi that is equal to the richest of them. They were distributing each year's yield of money amongst themselves. When, at all events, they were having the treasury built, they had inquired to the oracle if their existing blessings could possibly endure. Whereupon the Pythia proclaimed this to them: *But when the prytaneion on Siphnos becomes white / And white-browed the agora, then indeed there is need of a shrewd man. / Beware a wooden force and a red herald.* At this time the Siphnians' agora and prytaneion have just been adorned with Parian stone. They did not understand this response, neither at the time nor at the coming of the Samians. For the Samians, as soon as they were putting into Siphnos, were sending one of their ships into the community [*polis*] carrying ambassadors. Now in olden times all ships were painted red: and it was this that the Pythia was prophesying to the Siphnians, to guard against "a wooden force and a red herald." Having arrived, the messengers were begging the Siphnians to lend them ten talents. But

70. Chronological importance: Langlotz 1920 remains fundamental. For a survey of more recent work on late Archaic chronology, with further bibliography, see Neer Forthcoming (a), Appendix 1. Early carved frieze: Gruben 1972; Gruben 1980: 342–44; Ridgway 1999: 54.

71. Daux and La Coste 1927; Picard and La Coste 1928; La Coste 1936: 237–487; La Coste 1944–1945; Ridgway 1962; Ridgway 1965; Moore 1977; Brinkmann 1985; Moore 1985; Daux and Hansen 1987; Brinkmann 1994. For a summary of earlier work see Daux and Hansen 1987: 15–24.

upon the Siphnians' saying they would not lend it to them, the Samians set about ravaging their lands. But being advised of this, straight away the Siphnians were coming out, aiding one another and lending a hand. They were bested and many of them were cut off from the town [*astu*] by the Samians; who then exacted from them a payment of a hundred talents.⁷²

The Samian attack occurred in 525/24, and Herodotos strongly implies that the Siphnians had only recently completed their dedication at that time: at any rate, they received the oracle warning them of immanent peril when they first began to use the building. It follows, therefore, that the treasury was constructed shortly before 525/24. This date is a crucial fixed point in Archaic chronology.⁷³

The building stands in a prominent spot at the intersection of the Sacred Way and two paths leading into the Pythian sanctuary from the south and west (fig. 2, no. 122). In later years this area would become a popular place for the construction of treasuries, to the point that the French excavators have dubbed it *le carrefour des trésors*. But it was largely vacant when construction began on the Siphnian monument circa 530. Development along the Sacred Way was still sparse: indeed, the Way itself was still relatively new.⁷⁴ In 548, a great fire had destroyed the temple of Apollo and much else besides. The disaster occasioned a program of repair, expansion, and landscaping that lasted well into the fifth century.⁷⁵ The planners even demolished structures that had been spared by the fire, in order to make way for a grandiose series of terraces marching down the hillside. They extended the sanctuary to the south, introducing a new entryway at the southeast corner and laying out the Sacred Way as a processional route from this entrance to the altar.⁷⁶ The first section of the new road ran just south of, and parallel to, the old *temenos* wall. The Siphnians built their monument at the point where a switchback gave access into the older part of the sanctuary. It was apparently the first treasury to go up after the fire: the islanders seem to have taken advantage of the unsettled situation to acquire a particularly conspicuous bit of real estate.⁷⁷

It is uncertain how many treasuries existed prior to 548. Four definitely survived the fire: the Corinthian, the Klazomenaian, the Knidian, and the

72. Herodotos 3.57.1–58.4. I have deliberately retained some of Herodotos' distinctive phrasings.

73. Chronology: primary sources are Herodotos 3.57–58; Pausanias 10.11.2. The fundamental discussion is Langlotz 1920. See also Francis and Vickers 1983, with replies in Boardman 1984 and, especially, Amandry 1988.

74. Hansen 1960. Cf. La Coste 1936: 460–67; La Coste 1969; Ridgway 1999: 96 n. 12.

75. Cf. Hansen 1960; Bommelaer 1991: 97.

76. Hansen 1960; La Coste 1969: 744–49.

77. Hansen 1960. That the late Archaic Sicyonian treasury postdates the Siphnian is evident from its position, downhill and away from the *carrefour*. Were the desirable corner spot still available, it is likely that the Sicyonians would have seized it: that they had to settle for a less prominent place suggests that construction of the Siphnian treasury was already under way, if not complete.

“Caeretan.”⁷⁸ Foundations of three buildings of the early to middle sixth century probably represent treasuries as well. At least one, number 228 on the Delphi plan, survived the disaster (fig. 2).⁷⁹ The other two (numbers 428 and 345) might have survived as well: but if so, they were demolished during the construction of the Alkmaionid temple at the end of the century.⁸⁰ There exist, in addition to these seven buildings, the foundations of an additional seven which could conceivably have been treasuries; the remains are too scanty to permit anything but speculation as to their function.⁸¹ All were destroyed in the fire or soon after. In sum, there were at least seven, and perhaps as many as fourteen, treasuries at Delphi prior to 548. In the 520s, however, there seem to have been no more than five. The Siphnian treasury would herald a veritable explosion in treasury building lasting into the fourth century and resulting in a total of almost thirty treasuries on the site.

As Herodotos notes, the Siphnian treasury was “as rich as any” at Delphi. The building, standing 6.13 by 8.55 meters, was constructed entirely of marble: Siphnian for the walls, Naxian for the floral bands, Parian for the carved frieze, the pediments, and the doorway.⁸² Such costly material was without precedent on the Greek mainland: the expense of transporting so many stone blocks from the Cyclades to Parnassos must have been staggering.⁸³ The order is Ionic, the plan distyle-in-antis; the architecture—particularly the continuous frieze—is distinctively Cycladic.⁸⁴ The sculptural decor is unusually lavish for a building of this order. Caryatides substituted for columns, possibly in emulation of the nearby Knidian treasury (figs. 1 and 3). Only one of these figures survives: she is a fine example of the kore type, clad in chiton and himation. A *kalathos* crowns her head, decorated with a scene of Dionysiac sacrifice. Effecting the transition

78. The Corinthian treasury was built in the third quarter of the seventh century and still stood in Herodotos’ day, when it was used to house large-scale offerings made homeless by the fire: Bommelaer 1991: 153–55, with further references. Cf. Pomtow 1924: 1247. The treasury of the Klazomenaians also held homeless offerings (Herodotos 1.51), implying that it, too, predated 548; its foundations have not been located (cf. Bommelaer 1991: 159–60). The treasury of Knidos would have been built before the conquest of that city by the Persians in 544—presumably before the fire as well—and lasted into Pausanias’ day (Pausanias 10.11.5; Bommelaer 1991: 141–43, with further references; but see Herdejürgen 1968: 44). For the “Caeretan” treasury, see Laroche and Nenna 1992, with Strabo 5.220 for the association with Caere.

79. Laroche and Nenna 1992.

80. Bommelaer 1991: 227–28.

81. Of these seven foundations, one stands out: a mid-sixth century foundation underneath the present treasury of the Athenians. This foundation has been thought by some to represent an “old Athenian treasury” (La Coste 1969: 741). But it is uncertain that the building was really a treasury, or even Athenian; it remains an enigma. If the great fire did not destroy it, the subsequent renovations probably did: elements of its superstructure were incorporated into the foundations of the nearby building no. 227, of circa 530–510 (Hansen 1960: 412–15). I omit the Sicyonian monopteros from this list: see above, with Laroche and Nenna 1990 and Ridgway 1993: 339–43.

82. Daux and Hansen 1987: 26–32.

83. On transport costs see: Burford 1960; Snodgrass 1980: 139–43; Snodgrass 1983.

84. Cycladic architecture: Gruben 1972; Daux and Hansen 1987; Ridgway 1999: 54.

from support to entablature was an echinus adorned with lions killing a deer. The frieze was elaborately carved and is one of the great masterpieces of Archaic art. Two sculptors have been identified: a conservative, Ionicizing “Master A” on the West and South, and a more innovative, Atticizing “Master B” on the East and North.⁸⁵ The scene on the West, above the pronaos, is traditionally identified as the Judgment of Paris, despite a significant lacuna (more on this below); the South, poorly preserved, shows an abduction at a sacrifice (figs. 4 and 5). On the East is a scene from the Trojan cycle: as Akhilleus and Memnon battle over the body of Antilokhos, the Olympians weigh the *psykhai* or *kêres* of the combatants on a scale (fig. 6). On the long North side is a spectacular Gigantomachy (fig. 7). Of the pediments, only the East has been preserved: it shows Apollo and Herakles struggling over the Delphic tripod, with Zeus in between to separate his two sons (fig. 8). Nikai served as corner akroteria; the apex akroteria are lost but may well have been a group of some kind. Lavish subsidiary ornament of exquisite quality—“une débauche merveilleuse,” in La Coste’s memorable phrase—marked the building’s major transitions and contributed to the overall effect of opulence (figs. 1 and 9).⁸⁶ At the lowest course of marble, just above the euthynteria, was a large bead-and-reel astragal: this band rounded the antae and ran into the porch. A large egg-and-tongue band over a bead-and-reel circled the building underneath the frieze; identical bands surmounted the antae. Above the porch on the architrave was a series of rosettes in high relief. A magnificent Lesbian floral with a small bead-and-reel crowned the frieze. Continuous, intertwined palmettes and lotuses ran along the raking cornice and the underside of the horizontal cornice: in addition, small lions in relief clambered up the raking cornice. A similar band appeared on the long horizontal cornices, punctuated by lion-head antefixes (continuing the leonine motif). The doorway was particularly ornate. Framing the opening were three fascia, followed by a palmette-lotus band, which also ran around all four sides of the door. Two enormous volute-panels flanked the doorway: a signature device of Cycladic architecture.⁸⁷ Above the lintel was another patterned frieze (sadly lost). The interior was faced with some material costly enough to have been robbed out: colored stone, perhaps, or precious wood. Many of the architectural details—most notably the doorway and the frieze—suggest strong Parian influence in the construction: indeed, it is likely that the Siphnians contracted the job to Parian masons.⁸⁸ The construction is rather slipshod in places, due less to hasty work

85. For various theories and attributions see: La Coste 1936: 415–36; Deyhle 1969: 22–25; Langlotz 1975: 73–79; Croissant 1983: 71–83; Muss 1983: 181–91; Floren 1987: 176; Brinkmann 1994: 34–37, 78–80; Ridgway 1993: 394; Ridgway 1999: 80—all with additional references.

86. La Coste 1936: 257.

87. Daux and Hansen 1987: 121–37.

88. Gruben 1972. Parian influence in the design of the doorway: Daux and Hansen 1987: 121–37. See also Holtzmann 1977 for Parian influence in the carving of the caryatides.

than to the intractability of the Siphnian stone employed for the walls.⁸⁹ The cumulative effect, however, must have been striking; especially since there were few comparable structures at Delphi in the 520s, and no other buildings at all along this part of the Sacred Way.

What was the purpose of this structure? Why go to such expense and trouble to raise a building hundreds of miles from home? The building itself, in tandem with what little knowledge we possess of Siphnian history, can provide the beginnings of an answer.

THE EAST PEDIMENT

It is natural to begin any account of the Siphnian treasury at the East end, with the view of a pilgrim coming up the Sacred Way (fig. 9). Here the pediment, the East frieze, and part of the North are all three visible. The pediment depicts Apollo and Herakles struggling over the Delphic tripod (fig. 8).⁹⁰ At center, Zeus separates the combatants: though his head is missing, the son of Kronos is identified by the tip of his beard which appears on his right shoulder.⁹¹ Herakles stands to our right, Apollo to the left. Behind Apollo are Artemis, Leto, a charioteer, and a chariot; behind Herakles, Athena, Iolaos, a chariot, and another male (perhaps Hermes). The corner figures are lost. The technique is distinctive: the lower half of the pediment is in relief, while the upper half is carved in the round, so that the central figures are half in one technique and half in the other.

The scene has been variously interpreted. Parke and Boardman saw in all versions of the Struggle for the Tripod an allegory of the First Sacred War: Herakles, abductor of Apollo's oracular seat, represents Krisa, Apollo represents the Delphic Amphictyony, and the tripod represents Pytho itself.⁹² Boardman, however, subsequently reversed himself and decided that Herakles symbolizes the Amphictyony and their champion, the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos.⁹³ For L. V. Watrous, the Siphnian treasury as a whole is actually a massive essay in Delphic propaganda, and every detail is directed towards Athens: so Herakles

89. Daux and Hansen 1987: 25–47.

90. On the East pediment see: Picard and La Coste 1928: 153–62; La Coste 1936: 265–69; Parke and Boardman 1957; Ridgway 1965; Boardman 1978: 227–34; Watrous 1982: 159–72; La Genière 1982: 138 and n. 15; Daux and Hansen 1987: 204–207; Floren 1987: 173 n. 12; Knell 1990: 36–37; Kanellopoulos 1991–1992; Ridgway 1993: 109 n. 3.44, 297–99, 323–24 nn. 7.42–43; Sakowski 1997: 117, 271–72 cat. no. AP-10. On the Struggle for the Tripod in other media see: Parke and Boardman 1957; Bothmer 1977; Shapiro 1989: 61–64; Sakowski 1997. For the myth in general: Defradas 1954: 123–59.

91. Ridgway 1965, *pace* La Genière 1982: 138 and n. 15 and Floren 1987: 173 n. 13. For a history of the issue: Ridgway 1993: 297–98, 323–24 n. 7.43. It is also worth noting that all the women on the treasury—so far as it is possible to tell—wear bracelets, including the abductee on Block N (traces are visible on the inside of her wrist). The central figure in the pediment does not wear a bracelet: further confirmation, if such were needed, that it is Zeus and not Athena.

92. Parke and Boardman 1957.

93. Boardman 1978: 231.

again equals Peisistratos, while Apollo equals Delphi, and the tripod is whatever the two happen to have disagreed over.⁹⁴

Quite apart from their naked “Athenocentrism,” these readings exemplify a methodological flaw that is all too common in accounts of Greek art in general and the Siphnian treasury in particular. None of these allegorizing interpretations actually addresses the sculptures themselves; which is why it is possible for one and the same scholar to argue, at different times, that Herakles = Krisa and that Herakles = Peisistratos. At issue is the role of outside information—textual and literary comparanda—in the perception of visual depictions. Although some such information is indispensable, “symbolic” readings typically overestimate its role. Outside information hijacks the analysis, such that the image itself disappears from view, to be replaced by a pre-existing symbolic content. Thus it becomes possible to argue that, appearances to the contrary, the East pediment does not really narrate the Struggle for the Tripod; instead, it narrates the struggle between Peisistratos and one of his many adversaries. Armed with the requisite information about sixth-century Greek political culture, so the argument goes, it is possible to recognize a latent content behind the manifest material of the sculptural depiction. The depicted myth is merely a screen—what Plato would call a *proskhēma*—behind which this “true” meaning lies hidden.⁹⁵ Like all Platonic arguments, this one is seductive, but it rests on a confusion about the kind of information that is relevant to viewing images. To identify the carvings on the pediment as a “Struggle between Apollo and Herakles for the Delphic Tripod, Mediated by Zeus,” it is undoubtedly necessary to draw on a certain amount of information about Greek iconography and literature. The relevance of the information is assured by the fact that it directly affects what is to be seen in the image. It provides information that allows one to see, for example, that a bit of carved stone represents Apollo, that he is holding a tripod, that one is to understand that Herakles has been turned away from the Delphic shrine and therefore seized the tripod and made off with it, that Apollo has gone after him to retrieve it, and so on. Without the comparanda, one would just see anonymous figures (if that). On the pediment, for example, we do not have enough information to identify the striding male at right: and so he remains nameless. Useful information would

94. Watrous 1982: 167–68. For a survey of such views, see Shapiro 1989: 61–64. Watrous’ further assumption—that all the iconography of the Siphnian treasury was determined by the Delphic priestly authorities—has recently been reiterated by Ridgway: “No external, political influence . . . can be envisioned for [iconography during] the Archaic stage of the Delphic sanctuary, when religious bodies alone (the local priesthood and the Amphiktyonic Council) should have suggested sculptural programs and authorized proposed messages” (Ridgway 1999: 204–205). This assertion is as extreme as it is arbitrary. It is highly unlikely that city-states had “no influence” over the decoration of buildings which they built at their own cost for their own people. Moreover, there is not a scrap of evidence to suggest that Delphic religious bodies ever interfered in any way with the iconography of dedications, still less that they “authorized messages.” The Delphic censor is a phantom.

95. Plato *Protagoras* 316d, 317a.

help us to determine who this figure is. Yet the political symbology advanced by Watrous, Boardman, and Parke does not meet this criterion of relevance. With or without any information regarding Athenian politics in the sixth century, the pediment depicts the same thing: Herakles and Apollo fighting over a tripod. There may still be, as Panofsky said of Titian's allegories, "an abstract and general significance behind the concrete and particular spectacle that enchants our eyes."⁹⁶ Yet the hypothesis that such significance exists, to be useful, must be able to show how that significance registers on the marble blocks.⁹⁷ Otherwise, it is nothing more than a critical ploy: there is no visible evidence to suggest that the "particular spectacle" really does have "abstract and general significance." This, then, is the chief problem with symbolic readings: whether we believe in them or not, it makes *no perceptible* difference to the experience of looking at the object.

In fine, the Siphnian pediment does not depict Peisistratos or the Sacred War. What it does depict is the mediation of a quarrel over a precious object—a tripod—before an assembled community of gods and men. And that is really all there is to it. The scene does not require further decipherment by trained cryptographers. Rather, the job of historians is to bring out the constitutive role of these images in the social life of Delphi and Siphnos in the late sixth century: to see how manipulating *these* stones to represent *this* narrative, in *this* manner, could be part of a broader constellation of representations and notations; a constellation that, for us, goes by the name of Greek "culture." Not to wish away the sculptures in favor of an idealized content, but to see how making them and looking at them could themselves be social acts.

Right away, for example, one can suggest that the pediment presents the settlement of disputes as the exercise of divine justice. This settlement, moreover,

96. Panofsky 1955: 147.

97. It is worth recalling Panofsky's own views on the interpretive relevance of allegorical meaning: "Such superimposed meanings either *do not enter into the content of the work at all*, as is the case with the *Ovide Moralisé* illustrations, which are virtually indistinguishable from non-allegorical miniatures illustrating the same Ovidian subjects; or they cause an ambiguity of content, which can, however, be overcome or even turned into an added value if the conflicting ingredients are molten in the heat of a fervent artistic temperament as in Rubens' 'Galerie de Médicis'" (Panofsky 1955: 29 n. 1, italics added). Elsewhere Panofsky gives an example of information that does "enter into the content of the work." If we fail to take Renaissance conventions for the depiction of apparitions into account, he observes, we may mistake a picture of a man having a vision of the infant Jesus for one of a man watching a live baby hurtle through the air by his head (Panofsky 1955: 33–35; cf. Wollheim 1987: 90–93). The information affects the perception of what is depicted (flying baby or vision?). Seventeenth-century *ekphraseis* often give this sort of information. For example, in Rubens' account of his own allegorical painting, *The Horrors of War*, each and every detail is fraught with significance; and, what is more, the depicted narrative is incomprehensible without prior knowledge of this significance. A typical sentence reads, "The grief-stricken woman clothed in black, with torn veil, robbed of all her jewels and other ornaments, is the unfortunate Europe who, for so many years now, has suffered plunder, outrage, and misery" (Magum 1955: 408–409, letter no. 242). Such allegorical exegesis is, in effect, a kind of iconography: it tells the beholder what is going on. Not so the readings of Boardman and Watrous, which impute a cryptic meaning behind the visible tableau.

does not occur in isolation, but in public: before an assembled community of gods and mortals, females and males, standing rulers and crouching servants. The measured hierarchy of the pedimental composition, vertical figure after vertical figure marching up from the corners to the apex, articulates an order, a *kosmos*, of which Zeus is the axis.⁹⁸ Within this order, the radical diagonal of the tripod is discordant: but the powerful, columnar figure of Zeus prevents the effect from upsetting the overall impression of repeated uprights within a triangular frame. In this way, the pediment links the maintenance of symmetry and order to the ability of Zeus to settle the dispute over the tripod. Though the narrative unfolds before an assembly of gods and men, it is a paradigm of sorts for the functioning of any polity: it establishes order and peace, *kosmos* and *hêsukhia*, as the constitutive elements of the community. The literary sources, for their part, similarly imply that the mediation of this dispute was somehow implicated with *civic* order. Pindar mentions the incident in *Olympian* 9 as a negative counterpoint to his tale of the foundation of Lokri, while Pausanias (3.21.8) reports that the city of Gytheion in Lakonia was founded by Apollo and Herakles to celebrate their reconciliation. In each case, the Struggle for the Tripod is antithetical to the functioning community, while the settlement of the dispute models a successful polity.

It is, however, possible to be more specific. Just as, in a representation of a battle, it is necessary to understand the function of a spear or a bow if one is to make sense of the depicted scene, so here it is necessary to have information about tripods if the Struggle is to be comprehensible. What is a tripod? It is, of course, the oracular seat of Apollo Pythios. This connotation is in the forefront here, at Delphi, in a scene of Delphic myth; and the narrative is manifestly concerned with the question of access to Pytho. Pindar calls Delphi the πάνδοκος ναός, the “all-welcoming temple,” and the Struggle provides an etiology of that epithet.⁹⁹ Herakles, so the story goes, was turned away, a slight which precipitated his theft of Apollo’s seat. The restoration of the tripod brings with it the opening of the sanctuary to all: as evidenced by the fact that the Pythia did, in the end, suffer Herakles to enter.¹⁰⁰ When the treasury was built, this pediment would have been the first thing a pilgrim saw as she mounted the Sacred Way: it performs the “welcoming” function, proclaiming to all and sundry the Panhellenic character of the shrine. The *kosmos* that Zeus imposes on the scene is, in this sense, the order and peace of a sacred precinct removed from the conflicts of the outside world, the guarantor of a peace not unlike the *spondê* or “truce” that pertained during the Panhellenic festivals.

Throughout Greece, however, the tripod is also a marker of victory in games or in battle.¹⁰¹ It is, in particular, the prize of epic: Akhilleus sets down tripods *es*

98. On *kosmos* see Mack 1996; Cartledge et al. 1998.

99. Pindar *Pythian* 8.61–62.

100. [Apollodoros] 2.4.12, 2.6.2, Pausanias 10.13.8.

101. On the function of tripods see: Langdon 1985; Amandry 1987.

meson, in the middle of the assembly, at the funeral games for Patroklos; the Shield of Herakles depicts a golden tripod placed *es meson* as a prize for a chariot race.¹⁰² In the sixth century, this association remained strong. A black-figure amphora in London, for example, depicts a Panathenaic victor with a tripod, notwithstanding the fact that the actual prize at Athens was olive oil: the tripod connotes victory regardless of context.¹⁰³ At Delphi, the prize in the Pythian Games was, initially, a tripod; and it is noteworthy that a victor in the second Pythiad (586), Ekhembrotus of Arkadia, dedicated his tripod to Herakles at Thebes.¹⁰⁴ Delphi, Herakles, competition, and tripods come together in this offering. Even at Pytho, the oracular and agonistic aspects of tripods are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, it is the very adaptability of tripods that accounts for their continuing viability as dedications from the Geometric through the Classical periods. And visually—as depicted on the pediment—the oracular tripod is indistinguishable from the prize. As much as it relates to the oracle, therefore, the pediment also depicts an “athletic” contest: like the games for Patroklos, the Struggle for the Tripod is an *agôn*, “competition,” *es meson*, “in the middle,” for an *athlon*, “prize.”

With its heroic associations and its role in athletics, the tripod is a metonym for upper-class display. One cannot, however, simply equate it with Morris’ elitism. The frequent repetition of the phrase *es meson*, “in the middle,” to describe the placement of these objects is a reminder of the city’s own interest in elite achievement.¹⁰⁵ At Delphi, moreover, it is possible to discern a gradual appropriation of the tripod by the “middling” ideology over the course of the sixth century. From the eighth century onward, tripods were favored dedications in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, most notably at Olympia and Delphi.¹⁰⁶ At Olympia the series died out in the Orientalizing period; but at Delphi tripods continued to serve as dedications through the Archaic. There were, however, two changes in the 500s. First, as tripods became more old-fashioned, they acquired an air of archaism. Even more than in earlier times, the dedication of a tripod in the sixth century was a way to assert a connection with the epic past.¹⁰⁷ Second, and more importantly, individual elites largely stopped dedicating tripods at Delphi (though they continued to dedicate them elsewhere, as at Delos).¹⁰⁸ Instead, tyrants, cities, and leagues took to setting them up in commemoration of military victories. The Deinomidai, for example, dedicated tripods after the battles of Himera and Kyme; the Phokians dedicated one after a war with Thessaly; the

102. *Iliad* 23.704; [Hesiod] *Shield* 312.

103. London B 144; *ABV* 307.59; *Add*² 82. See Webster 1972: 64. For a tripod dedication at Delphi, inscribed as a prize, see Rolley 1977: 27 no. 267; cf. Pausanias 10.7.6.

104. Pausanias 10.7.4–6. In subsequent contests the prize was of course a laurel crown.

105. For tripods *es meson*, see Detienne 1996: 89–106. For cities and elite athletics, see Kurke 1991.

106. On tripods as dedications see Amandry 1987; Morgan 1990: 45, 140–41.

107. Connotations of tripods: Amandry 1987: 81 n. 3; Morris 2000: 278 (eighth century).

108. Rolley 1977: 147–49; Amandry 1987: 79–81.

Greek allies dedicated one on the Serpent Column after Plataia.¹⁰⁹ What began as the material correlate of elite glory became, by the end of the Archaic period, a token of *civic* victory.

The Siphnian treasury effects a similar *détournement*. If the pediment declares the Panhellenic character of Delphi by showing the origins of its “all-welcoming” stance, it also suggests a certain reciprocity between upper-class competition on the one hand and communitarianism on the other. Zeus anchors the pedimental group, provides it with an order, and thereby models the functioning of a political community as the mediation of (intra-elite) conflict. But the struggle in question is, specifically, for an *athlon*, a prize. In this way, the pediment replicates the civic appropriation of tripods elsewhere at Delphi. The quintessentially aristocratic pastime of competing for tripods has become a figure for the political struggles at the heart of city life: and, as with Pindar and Pausanias, the reconciliation of the combatants *es meson* is the essence of societal order.¹¹⁰ It is no coincidence that such an image should appear on a *thésauros*. For if the function of these buildings is, indeed, to frame the gift, then the imagery of the pediment executes that role to perfection. It removes the tripod—a favored offering—from the realm of elite athletics and makes it into a token of mediation within a larger community: of political *hêsukhia* and *kosmos*.

THE EAST FRIEZE, I: THEMES

Just below the pediment is the East frieze, attributed to “Master B” (figs. 6 and 10).¹¹¹ The identities of the various figures, for years a source of controversy, have for the most part been settled by Vincenz Brinkmann’s painstaking study of the inscriptions on the original blocks.¹¹² At right, Akhilleus and Memnon fight over the body of Antilokhos. Automedon, Aias (?), and Nestor represent the Greeks; Aineas and Lykos appear for the Trojans. At left, the gods assemble on Olympos to weigh the fates or *kêres* of the combatants. Zeus is enthroned at center. Hermes sits with the scale-pans to the right of his father: though only traces of this figure remain, inscriptions make the identification certain. Four deities sit on either side of this central pair. At left, for the Trojans: Ares, Eos, Aphrodite, and Apollo. At right, for the Greeks: a missing figure (probably Poseidon), then Athena, Hera, and Thetis.

109. Deinomid tripod dedications: Gentili 1953; Amandry 1987. Phokians and Serpent Column: Pausanias 10.13. Plataian column: Thucydides 1.132.

110. On the thematics of reconciliation, see Loraux 1997; Neer Forthcoming (a) part 4.

111. On the East frieze see especially: Daux and La Coste 1927: 40–44; Picard and La Coste 1928: 98–116; La Coste 1936: 331–59; La Coste 1944–1945: 8–27; Langlotz 1975: 73–79; Watrous 1982: 171–72; Simon 1984: 15–21; Brinkmann 1985; Daux and Hansen 1987: 173–79; Shapiro 1988; Brinkmann 1994: 139–53 and *passim*. On the *psykhostasia* see: CB 3: 44–46; Kossatz-Diessmann 1981: 172–75; Laurens 1986; Schefold 1992: 268–70, 343 n. 549.

112. Cf. Brinkmann 1985, especially 115–17; Brinkmann 1994: 23, 139–53.

Arktinos of Miletos recounted the tale of Memnon in his epic *Aithiopsis*, composed sometime in the middle of the sixth century. The poem itself does not survive, and Proklos' epitome does not mention a *psykhostasia*. The motif of weighing fates, however, goes back to Homer (and, beyond that, to Egypt and the Levant).¹¹³ Zeus twice balances fates in the *Iliad*, first in Book Eight—

But when the sun stood bestriding the middle heaven,
then the father balanced his golden scales, and in them
he set two fateful portions of death, which lays men prostrate,
for Trojans, breakers of horses, and bronze-armored Akhaians,
and balanced it by the middle. The Akhaians' death-day was heaviest.
There the fates of the Akhaians settled down toward the bountiful
earth, while those of the Trojans were lifted into the wide sky.

—and then again in Book Twenty-Two—

But when for the fourth time they had come around to the well springs,
then the father balanced his golden scales, and in them
he set two fateful portions of death, which lays men prostrate,
one for Akhilleus, and one for Hektor, breaker of horses,
and balanced it by the middle; and Hektor's death-day was heavier
and dragged downward toward death, and Phoibos Apollo forsook him.¹¹⁴

Likewise, at 16.658, Hektor turns to flee “because he saw the way of Zeus' sacred balance,” while at 19.221–24, Odysseus advises Akhilleus that

When there is battle men have suddenly their fill of it
when the bronze scatters on the ground the straw in most numbers
and the harvest is most thin, when Zeus has poised his balance,
Zeus, who is administrator to men in their fighting.

In his lost *Psykhostasia*, Aeschylus showed Zeus weighing the souls of Memnon and Akhilleus: the Father appeared in a dramatic climax to resolve the plot.¹¹⁵ Already by the sixth century, however, the motif could appear outside any specific narrative setting. For Theognis, it was a way to describe politics and class: “Be assured that Zeus inclines the scales now on this side, now on that; now to be wealthy, now to have nothing.”¹¹⁶ Bacchylides mentions abstract “Scales of Justice,” and Aeschylus in the *Persians* speaks of “Scales of Fortune.”¹¹⁷ The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* suggests that these abstract scales also belong to Zeus: Apollo and Hermes take their dispute over cattle “to their father, the

113. Vermeule 1979: 76–79; West 1997: 393–94.

114. *Iliad* 8.68–74, 22.208–13. Trans. R. Lattimore.

115. *TrGF* 3: 375.

116. Theognis 157–58.

117. Bacchylides 4.13, 17.24–29. Aeschylus *Persians* 345.

Son of Kronos; for there were the Scales of Judgment set for them both.”¹¹⁸ In the *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus takes the unprecedented step of giving the scales to Ares: “The god of war, money-changer of dead bodies, held the balance of his spear in the fighting, and from the corpse-fire at Ilion sent to their dearest the dust heavy and bitter with tears shed, packing the urns with ashes that once were men.”¹¹⁹

The pictorial tradition is somewhat distinct. It knows only one *psykhostasia*: that of Akhilleus and Memnon. Moreover with a single exception—the Ricci hydria in Rome—it gives the balance exclusively to Hermes.¹²⁰ This god appeared on the East frieze in the lacuna between the two groups of Olympians. He is well suited to the task of weighing fates: not only is he the *psykhopompos*, the Leader of Souls into Hades, but as *agoraios* he is also god of the market, of weights and measures.¹²¹ But the differences between Homer and the artists are important nonetheless. They help to de-naturalize the metaphor of soul-weighing and restore some of its strangeness. The omnipresence of the Last Judgment and Blind Justice in Western art have made the motif so familiar to our eyes that its underlying trope has become easy to overlook. It is a distinctly *mercantile* image: Hermes, patron of the agora, weighs the souls of Akhilleus and Memnon like goods in the market.¹²² The point registers iconographically in the way that Hermes holds diminutive jeweler’s scales, suitable only for weighing small quantities of precious material: the pans must have been quite small, for there is no trace of them overlapping Zeus’ legs. Of course, Master B could have shown larger devices had he so desired. Freestanding scales appear in scenes of long-distance trade: for example, in the Arkesilas Painter’s famous picture of the Cyreneans measuring out silphium and unloading it from a ship, or in the Taleides Painter’s scene of men weighing out goods (perhaps Athenians preparing tribute

118. *Hymn to Hermes* 323–24.

119. Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 438–44.

120. CB 3: 44–46. Ricci hydria: see Laurens 1986. See also Kossatz-Diessmann 1981: 173 no. 799. Scholars with an interest in genetic criticism often assert that the artists are following Arktinos of Miletos in depicting Hermes *talantoukhos*. The argument is, however, circular, as the artworks constitute the only evidence for what occurred in the *Aithiopsis*. The images may permit inferences about the contents of the poem, but the poem cannot then be invoked to explain the images. There is, moreover, some reason to think that the *Aithiopsis* did not depict Hermes weighing souls or fates. The only extant literary representation of the story of Akhilleus and Memnon—Aeschylus’ *Psykhostasia*—depicted Zeus, not Hermes, with the scales. There is no reason to assume that the artists are the ones being faithful to Arktinos’ poem. On the contrary, while it is a safe bet that Aeschylus knew the *Aithiopsis*, it is not clear that any vase-painter or sculptor did. The fact is that we do not have a single extant literary account in which Hermes weighs souls, nor is there any direct evidence to suggest that such a scene occurred in the *Aithiopsis*. It may be better, therefore, to see two distinct traditions: one, textual, in which Zeus holds the scales; the other, visual, in which Hermes does.

121. On Hermes generally: Vernant 1983: 127–75.

122. It is perhaps noteworthy that, in one sense, all the gods of the East frieze are participating in an *Agora*, an “assembly.”

for Minos, as Theseus fights the Minotaur on the reverse of the same pot).¹²³ Household industry requires a scale of intermediate size: a woman uses a hefty balance-beam with broad pans to measure wool on a lekythos by the Amasis Painter.¹²⁴ It is not clear which sort of scale Zeus uses in the Homeric passages. *Iliad* 12.433–35 compares the vying armies to a woman weighing out wool, suggesting a freestanding scale; but the passage does not explicitly link Zeus to the act of balancing.¹²⁵ The visual tradition, at any rate, is clearer. Hermes does not employ “industrial-sized” scales: he is the god of retail trade, not of shipping or cottage-industry, and his attribute signals the fact unmistakably. If the kerykeion marks him as a herald, the small, hand-held balance shows him to be a merchant.

Poets, too, used the *psykhostasia* as a way to think about market-commerce. Theognis makes this aspect of the trope explicit when he links Zeus’ scales to the possession of wealth. Likewise Aeschylus, in the *Agamemnon*, presents Ares as a money- or gold-changer, a *khrusamoibos*, converting men into ashes instead of gold dust. As von Reden has argued, Aeschylus’ image is part of an extended interrogation of normative reciprocity and exchange in the Greek polis.¹²⁶ Ares disembeds the traditional exchange of death-for-glory by presenting it as a crass, mercantile transaction, yielding only ashes and sorrow. But for Homer, Bacchylides, and indeed the Messenger of Aeschylus’ own *Persians*, the scales remain a way to think through good or equitable exchange. There is nothing crass about Zeus’ justice.

The East frieze is, in a sense, all about this distinction between divinely sanctioned exchange and base commerce. Its composition is virtually an illustration of Sally Humphreys’ dictum that, in Archaic Greece, “Polis and market stand together in contrast to the *oikos* as formally rational as against ‘traditional’ types of interaction.”¹²⁷ At right, the frieze brings together key elements of the “‘traditional’ types of interaction”: a combat in the epic style, complete with

123. Taleides Painter: New York 47.11.5, *ABV* 174.1, *Para* 72, *Add*² 49. Arkesilas Painter: Paris, Cab. Méd. 189 (I take the exergue line to represent the deck of a ship). If, as has been suggested, the iconography of the *psykhostasia* goes back to Egyptian depictions of the netherworld, then the scales are even more noteworthy. In the Egyptian tradition, the jackal-headed god Anubis balances a soul (not a fate) against a feather: and he uses a large, freestanding contraption to do so. The Greek artists therefore depart from precedent in showing Hermes with hand-held scales.

124. New York 31.11.10; *ABV* 154.57; *Para* 64, 66; *Add*² 45.

125. The passage reads as follows (trans. Lattimore): “But held evenly as the scales which a careful widow / holds, taking it by the balance beam, and weighs her wool evenly / at either end, working to win a pitiful wage for her children: / so the battles fought by both sides were pulled fast and even / until that time when Zeus gave the greater glory to Hektor. . . .” Weighing in this passage does not determine the fate of either side: rather, weighing is used to figure the situation *before* Zeus intervenes. This situation reverses the norm, in which Zeus resolves a deadlock by weighing fates. Nowhere, in short, does Homer say that Zeus weighs fates as a woman weighs wool.

126. von Reden 1995 ch. 7.

127. Humphreys 1983: 11.

dueling heroes and chariot-teams.¹²⁸ The sculptor, moreover, carefully sets the scene's main actors—Akhilleus, Memnon, and Antilokhos—in genealogical context through the inclusion of their respective parents: Thetis, Eos, and Nestor. The result is a programmatic statement of aristocratic values: an icon of *eugeneia* and *aretê*, noble birth and martial prowess. At left, by contrast, “polis and market” combine in the *psykhostasia*, as the sculptor figures divine sovereignty in and through the iconography of the agora.

The burden of the frieze is to suggest a formal equivalence between the two halves of this binary, between “polis and market” on the one hand and “*oikos*” on the other. The unified narrative makes this homology clear, for the combat of Akhilleus and Memnon *just is* the weighing of their two souls.¹²⁹ The frieze does not show two distinct events, but a single event with two aspects, divine and mortal. It would have been possible nonetheless for Master B to have stressed the distinction between these two aspects: to have insisted somehow on the gap that separates the gods from “men who eat bread.” But he did not do so. On the contrary, he laid special emphasis on the formal equivalence of the two halves by means of a symmetrical composition.¹³⁰ The two parts make a matched pair; indeed, they nearly replicate one another. In each case, overlapping figures radiate out from a central confrontation. It is important to stress that this equivalence is not merely or trivially symbolic. There is no need to posit “an abstract and general significance behind the concrete and particular spectacle.” On the frieze, visually, combat and *krisis* do not just “stand for” similar things: they really are similar, physically alike. The frieze thus instantiates or exemplifies the interchangeability of Humphreys' binaries. Just as there is a root similarity between the events on the plain of Troy and those in the halls of Olympos, so *oikos* and polis come down to the same thing: flip sides, one might say, of a single coin. In this way, Siphnian East resolves conflict into static order, *kosmos*.¹³¹ Unlike the duel and the *krisis*, which have preordained winners and losers—everyone knows that Akhilleus *will* win, that the scales *will* tip—the frieze itself is a model of equilibrium.¹³² The balance remains level: each contest takes place within an overarching, unified pattern.

Like a balance at equilibrium, compositional symmetry suggests the interchangeability of aristocratic values with commercial activity. The frieze enunciates a chain of figural substitutions, a sequence of metaphors. It is a perfect exchange. Divine justice *equals* the weighing and apportionment *equals* mar-

128. Elitist associations of epic combat: Morris 2000: 171–78. Iconography of duels: Mennenga 1976.

129. This “diptych” composition is often said to be unprecedented, but in fact represents only a slight advance on the Temple of Athena at Assos, which likewise compresses a varied subject matter into a single frieze. On Assos see, most recently, Wescoat 1995.

130. Exhaustively discussed in La Coste 1936: 333–42.

131. This use of symmetry as way to figure social stability is a commonplace of Archaic sculpture, as Rainer Mack has shown in the case of kouroi: Mack 1996.

132. La Coste 1944–1945: 23 notes the basically static nature of the combat: neither hero has yet attained the upper hand.

tial prowess and noble birth. Before probing the significance of this selection of tropes, let us round the corner of the building to look at the rest of Master B's work.

THE NORTH FRIEZE, I: THEMES

When the pilgrim continues up the Sacred Way, along the North side of the treasury, she is confronted with one of the most splendid examples of relief sculpture in the Greek world: a Gigantomachy extending the length of the building (figs. 7 and 11).¹³³ A signature notes that a single artist—the name is missing—carved both this frieze “and the back,” that is, the East.¹³⁴ The arrangement of figures is strongly rhythmic. Punctuating the progress from left to right—from East to West—is a series of three chariots. First appears Themis, ancient patroness of Delphi, in a chariot drawn by two lions. She is charioteer to Dionysos, who fights beside her.¹³⁵ The next two chariots—at center and far right, respectively—are lost, but doubtless belonged to Zeus and his brother Poseidon; the latter was steered by a woman, presumably Amphitrite. Between and around these three is a swirl of combat, gods marching from left, giants from right. Here, too, there is rhythm, albeit of a different kind. The relief is alternately deep and shallow, figures stacked one before the other right up to the foremost plane of the frieze-block, then receding into the background, then pushing forward again. The sculptor deliberately emphasizes this effect. He weaves corpses in amongst the legs of the fighters, such that the contorted bodies reproduce the undulating of the vertical plane (fig. 11).¹³⁶ Likewise, he heightens the sense of depth by suggesting empty space on the other side of the figures, that they are not bound to the relief block but freestanding. Thus the paw of Themis' lion wraps around a fleeing giant: it disappears “behind” him and reappears at his shoulder (fig. 11). The relief thus seems deeper than it really is, and the rippling, waving effect is stronger as a result.¹³⁷ The North frieze is a long intertwining of figures and space: a concrete metaphor for its ideological “work,” as will be seen.

Master B's careful interweaving of space structures a scene of battle. Where the East frieze distinguished sharply between human combat and divine resolution, here combat is itself divine, the expression of Zeus' sovereignty. The

133. On the North frieze see especially: Hartwig 1897; Karo 1909; Daux and La Coste 1927: 27–39; Picard and La Coste 1928: 74–98; La Coste 1936: 310–30; La Coste 1944–1945: 7–8; Lenzen 1946; Langlotz 1975: 73–79; Moore 1977; Simon 1984: 4–15; Brinkmann 1985; Daux and Hansen 1987: 173–79; Brinkmann 1994: 154–76 and *passim*. On the gigantomachy in general see Vian 1952; *LIMC* 4.1: 191–270, s.v. “Gigantes” (F. Vian and M. B. Moore); Ridgway 1999: 162–66, 181 n. 44.

134. Signature: Guarducci 1965; Muss 1983: 183; Brinkmann 1994: 74–75.

135. The identity of these two figures, long a topic of dispute (cf. Lenzen 1946), was settled by Brinkmann 1994. On Themis and Dionysos at Delphi see Defradas 1954: 114–17.

136. Cf. La Coste 1936: 325–27.

137. For the identification of figures, long a subject of controversy, see the exemplary discussion in Brinkmann 1994.

Gigantomachy is no battle of equally matched heroes, requiring a pendant scene to gloss it and resolve its uncertainties. On the contrary, questions of right and wrong, justice and law, are self-evident: the Giants are the very figures of impiety. Thus where Akhilleus and Memnon are virtually indistinguishable, the gods could not be more different from their opponents. The Olympians comport themselves in the manner of epic heroes—or, more to the point, in the manner of the heroes of the East frieze. Like Akhilleus and Memnon, they ride chariots into battle and fight singly on foot. Only Apollo and Artemis, divine twins, are side by side; all the other gods are loners. In itself this iconography would be banal—most combats in Archaic art are “epic” in this sense—were it not for the fact that the giants are so very different. They are hoplites, and they fight in phalanges. Figures N15, N16, and N18—Hyperphas, Alektos, and a companion—are a case in point (fig. 7, nos. 15, 16, 18; fig. 11). The giants are in full panoply, their faces hidden behind Corinthian helmets (the gods tend to leave their faces bare); and, in a virtual illustration of Tyrtaios, they advance “with foot placed alongside foot and shield pressed against shield, crest to crest, helmet to helmet, breast to breast.”¹³⁸ To a greater or lesser degree, all the other giants conform to this model, down to minor details like the armor-less, rock-throwing giant N37 (Tyrtaios fr. 11.35–36 W: “You light-armed men, as you crouch beneath a shield on either side, let fly with huge rocks”) (fig. 7, no. 37). Some of the giants do turn and run: but even Tyrtaios speaks of “shameful flight,” *phugê aiskhrê* (fig. 7, no. 14).¹³⁹ Siphnian North expresses the difference between gods and giants—the difference between order and impiety—as a difference of fighting style: chariots and single combat versus hoplites and phalanges, the epic past versus the present day. It is a noteworthy device, not at all required by iconographic protocols: the Megarian treasury at Olympia, by contrast, depicted a Gigantomachy in its pediment as a confused mêlée of individual fighters.¹⁴⁰

That the Siphnian giants act like hoplites has not escaped the notice of commentators. Most, however, become preoccupied by the odd helmet crests of some giants: a kantharos, say, or a sea creature. Watrous, for example, takes the crests to be emblems of various Greek states, and interprets the whole battle as an elaborate allegory of anti-Athenian politics.¹⁴¹ Such an approach misses the forest for the trees. What is truly remarkable about the iconography of the North frieze is, quite simply, the fact that it includes a hoplite phalanx at all. As Andrew Stewart has observed, Siphnian North is the *only* representation of a phalanx in the entire corpus of Archaic Greek sculpture.¹⁴² Likewise, only seven known vases

138. Tyrtaios fr. 11.31–33 W. Trans. D. E. Gerber.

139. *Phugê aiskhrê*: Tyrtaios 10.16 W.

140. Megarian treasury: Ridgway 1993: 299 with further references.

141. Watrous 1982.

142. Stewart 1997: 89. Cf. Salmon 1987.

depict this most characteristic form of Greek warfare. The rarity of the motif gives it special significance when it does appear. Yet it is difficult to imagine a more unambiguously negative depiction of hoplite combat than that which appears on the North frieze. The mode of warfare that Tyrtaios, Theognis, and others celebrate as the very epitome of the polis itself appears here as the antithesis of all that is good and holy.¹⁴³ Master B effectively rejects the quintessentially middling claim that “It is a common benefit to the polis and to all the *dêmos*, when a man with a firm stance holds his ground among the front ranks.”¹⁴⁴ Just the reverse: here the superhuman *aretê* of the epic hero, the great figure who stands alone before the people, acquires the endorsement of the Olympians themselves. The frieze even recruits the passing pilgrim to its cause. Walking up the Sacred Way towards the “all-welcoming temple,” the individual worshipper advances in the same direction as the charging gods, so that entering the sanctuary is assimilated to the act of fighting hoplite-giants. To honor the Olympians is to fight alongside them. This effect must have been particularly striking in the late sixth century, when sculpted friezes were still a novelty on the Greek mainland and their visual impact was correspondingly stronger.

Equally significant is the articulation of gender on the frieze. Gigantomachies in general, and the Siphnian in particular, present viewers with a rare sight: females who slaughter males and are yet on the side of justice. Goddesses are violent in other scenes—Artemis with her bow is an obvious case—but rarely do so many come together to do so much killing. Moore’s reconstruction clarifies the importance of female fighters by supplementing the two females at far left, just in front of the crouching figure of Hephaistos, with a third goddess, thereby making a triad: probably the Moirai, or Fates (fig. 7). She also restores Aphrodite fighting just to the left of Zeus in the central lacuna.¹⁴⁵ The uniform masculinity of the Giants marks them off from the gods just as effectively as their use of hoplite tactics. On Siphnian North the gods are in fact a heterogeneous bunch: as much as anything, it is the fact that they are *unlike* the Giants—that they are *not* hoplites—that defines them as a group.

What to make of Master B’s ensemble? Once crude symbolism is ruled out, it becomes possible to rephrase the question with greater specificity. The brief is not to look for cryptic meanings, but to ask: What does it mean to assert the formal equivalence of weighing metals and *aretê*? What does it mean to overlook distinctions of gender in favor of a distinction between modes of combat? What, in short, does the articulation of these themes, in these ways, on this building, actually *accomplish*? The answers, I suggest, are to be found in the history of

143. Cf. Tyrtaios frs. 10 and 12 W; Theognis 1003–1006. Key discussions of the politics of the phalanx are: Snodgrass 1964; Detienne 1968; Cartledge 1977; Salmon 1987; van Wees 1991 (for epic hoplites); van Wees 1996; Raaflaub 1997; van Wees 1997; Morris 2000: 176–78.

144. Theognis 1005–1006. Trans. D. E. Gerber (modified).

145. Moore 1977. See also Hartwig 1897 for the use of Attic vase-painting to reconstruct the frieze; Neer Forthcoming (b) for the head of the third figure.

Siphnos itself. As that history has not been studied extensively, it is necessary to review the primary data at some length.¹⁴⁶ As will become apparent, there is a striking correlation between the themes of the East and North friezes, and some basic contradictions at the heart of Siphnian social life.

DETOUR: ARCHAIC SIPHNOS

The most important textual sources for Siphnos in the sixth century are Herodotos 3.57–58, Pausanias 10.11.2, and the *Suda* s.v. *Siphnioi*. Herodotos has already been cited; Pausanias relates the following:

The Siphnians also built a treasure-house, and this is why: the island of Siphnos yielded gold mines, and the god commanded them to bring a tithe of the produce to Delphi, so they built a treasure-house and brought the tithe. When out of insatiable greed they gave up this tribute, the sea flooded in and obliterated the mines.¹⁴⁷

The *Suda* tells a nearly identical story—presumably derived from the same source—the only difference being that the mines in question are said to yield silver rather than gold. As noted earlier, the texts also disagree about the nature of the oracle. Pausanias says that the Pythia commanded the Siphnians to make an annual tithe and that the islanders built their *thēsauros* in response to this oracle. Herodotos, on the other hand, indicates that the Siphnians had already finished the building when they consulted the oracle; and the Pythia's response did not mention a tithe at all. The two accounts are not necessarily contradictory—there may have been two oracles—but the matter is not terribly important. As we have seen, whatever triggered the decision to build a treasury—a victory, an oracle, a sudden onrush of piety—the final cause of the building was the same: the need to frame votive dedications.

All three authors attest to the great wealth of the island in the Archaic period and to the origins of that wealth in mining. First exploited in the Bronze Age, these mines ceased operation in the Geometric, only to restart sometime in the Archaic.¹⁴⁸ It is unknown just when mining resumed: but Herodotos does not suggest, and there is no reason to suppose, that the Siphnians were newly rich in the 520s.¹⁴⁹ The *Suda* speaks of gold, Pausanias of silver, Herodotos of both.

146. See Büchner 1927; Matthäus 1985; Ashton 1991: 12–21.

147. Pausanias 10.11.2. Trans. P. Levi.

148. Wagner et al. 1985.

149. The island went into a long decline by the early fifth century, apparently brought on by a loss of mining revenue. The tale of a flood, which appears in both Pausanias and the *Suda*, is fiction: recent studies have shown that all but one of the mines were well above sea level. It has been suggested that deforestation may have led to a shortage of fuel supplies for smelting (Wagner et al. 1985). Whatever the cause, the island sent only one ship to the battle of Salamis (Herodotos 8.46; cf. *GHI*³ 55–60 no. 27). Its contribution to the Delian League was a paltry three talents per annum, raised to nine in 425/24. This tribute is comparable to that paid by small, poor islands, such as

Recent examinations of the mines themselves have indicated the presence of both metals.¹⁵⁰ The Siphnians extracted and refined the ore themselves.¹⁵¹ They did not normally mint it into coins—"The coinage of the island is insignificant," as Martin Price put it—nor is there reason to think they ever developed a merchant marine to export the metals.¹⁵² Instead, visiting ships traded for the silver and gold in the little harbors of Siphnos-town and modern Pharos; an inscription mentions a cult of Artemis *Ekbatêria*, "of the Disembarkation," which may have registered the importance of these traders.¹⁵³ An important customer was the island of Aegina: lead-isotope analyses have shown that many Aeginetan coins of the sixth century were of Siphnian silver.¹⁵⁴

On the basis of comparative data from mining communities at Laureion and Thasos, it is possible to draw some inferences concerning the impact of mining on Siphnian society. First and foremost, mines required large numbers of slaves to work them. As Moses Finley has observed, ancient mines were worked almost exclusively by forced labor.¹⁵⁵ Slavery may have been common in Greece, but large-scale, labor-intensive mining must have made the ratio of slave to free unusually high on Siphnos.¹⁵⁶ These slaves probably came to the island by trade, rather than as prizes in battle: there is no evidence to suggest that Siphnos was ever a military presence in the region, capable of seizing captives, nor that the islanders ever practiced ethnic *douleia* of the kind known from Crete and Lakadaimon. It is also difficult to imagine debt-slavery on a scale sufficient to stock the mines. Thus the slaves were, in large part at least, chattels. Pierre Vidal-Naquet has written at length on the "utter political inertia" of such enslaved populations: unlike Dorian serfs, chattels were not even potential citizens, but utterly different and alien.¹⁵⁷ Extensive slavery of this kind will have made the distinction between free and

Amorgos; important islands like Paros paid eighteen, while Thasos, an island with functioning mines, paid thirty talents per year after 443 (Meiggs 1972: 83–86 and Appendix 14 for tributes overall). The Athenians seem to have introduced a constitution similar to their own: the early fourth-century speaker of Isokrates 19, an exiled Siphnian aristocrat, mentions archontes, choregoi, liturgies, and a ceremonial kingship (Isokrates 19.36). In later years, however, Siphnos was known mostly for its poverty, its insignificance, and for a distinctive sexual technique: Strabo (10.5.1) refers dismissively to its "shabbiness," *euteleia* (see also *Anth. Pal.* 9.408, 421); *Suda* defines *Siphniazein* as "to have intercourse in the buttocks with a finger," *to haptesthai tês pugês dakulôi* (ed. Adler).

150. Wagner et al. 1985. The mines were mostly in the southeast of the island, in the interior; only one, at Ayios Sostis, was on the coast.

151. Smelting and slag on Siphnos: Gale et al. 1980: 36–37.

152. Price 1981: 51.

153. Büchner 1927: 267.

154. Kraay 1962; Genter et al. 1978; Gale et al. 1980: 33–43; Gale and Stos-Gale 1981. Pernicka and Wagner 1985: 205–10. Laureion silver starts to predominate from the end of the sixth century, circumstantial evidence to support the idea that the Siphnian mines gave out at approximately that time.

155. Finley 1981: 103–104; Finley 1985: 72–73.

156. For slaves at Laureion see Xenophon *Ways and Means* 4; Lauffer 1979. Reservations about Lauffer's theory of "Lohnarbeiter": Gauthier 1982.

157. Vidal-Naquet 1986: 159–223, especially 168–88.

unfree, citizen and foreigner, especially important on the island. Reinforcing this distinction was the Siphnians' practice, recorded by Herodotos, of distributing proceeds from the mines among the citizenry. Slaves extracted the gold and silver, while *echt*-Siphnians spent it.

It is also likely that the mines resulted in pronounced differences of wealth within the citizen body. Here again, comparative data are everything. If the Siphnians conducted their operations in anything like the fashion of their counterparts at Laureion and Thasos, they did not maintain large numbers of public slaves in the mines.¹⁵⁸ The slaves were, instead, privately owned, and the business of extraction was in the hands of wealthy individuals capable of acquiring or leasing large numbers of these chattels. There is no way to tell whether Siphnos had the well-developed system of leases, concessions, and integrated processing operations that characterized Laureion in the Classical period. It is, however, significant that even in democratic Athens, with its strong central government and egalitarian ideology, the mining profits wound up in the hands of a few wealthy men: Kallias *Lakkoploutos* and Nikias son of Nikeratos, for example, made vast fortunes by running mines.¹⁵⁹ It is unlikely—but not impossible—that the wealth was more evenly distributed on Siphnos in the sixth century. If the island was at all typical, in short, the mines will have resulted in two major divisions in the polis: one between freemen and slaves and the other between mine managers and ordinary citizens.

In this situation, the fact that the Siphnians “were distributing each year’s yield of money amongst themselves” takes on special significance. Kurt Latte has shown that this practice was typical of Greek poleis in the Archaic period: mineral resources were communal property, *xunêia keimena*, to which all free men had a claim.¹⁶⁰ Aeschylus emphasizes this aspect of mines when he refers to the collective assets of the Athenians: “a silver fountain-spring is theirs, a treasure-house beneath the earth,” ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἐστί, θησαυρὸς χθονός.¹⁶¹ Silver, like water, belongs to the whole community; and a mine, like a *thêsauros*, is a storehouse for communal wealth. At Siphnos, however, the distribution served a double function. Not only did it reinforce the gap between citizen and slave, but it also mitigated the distinction between mine-owner and commoner. Every citizen benefited at least a little bit from the revenue. The distribution of precious metal among the citizenry will have reinforced group identity and reminded the Siphnians that they were in fact a community, a polis, and not a mere agglomeration of masters and slaves.

If the parallels between Siphnos and other mining centers like Thasos and Laureion are illuminating, so too are the contrasts. In the grand scheme of

158. Xenophon (*Ways and Means* 4) urges the Athenian state to purchase large numbers of slaves and lease them out to the Laureion mines; he gives the impression that the idea is novel.

159. Osborne 1985: 111–26.

160. Latte 1968: 294–312. *Ξυνήια κείμενα*: Homer *Il.* 1.126 (see below).

161. Aeschylus *Persians* 238 (trans. Bowra).

Herodotos' narrative, the Siphnians make an edifying counterpoint to the story of Athens and the Laureion mines. The Athenians were each to receive ten drachmas from a new vein of silver at Laureion; the implication is that revenue had been distributed in this fashion for some time.¹⁶² Themistokles persuaded them to invest the money in ships instead.¹⁶³ Where the Siphnians shared out their money and spent the remainder on ostentatious buildings, the Athenians pooled their resources and built up their military; the former were unprepared to defend themselves against the Samians, while the latter were able to defeat the Persians; where the former stood in need of "a shrewd man" to interpret their oracles, the latter had Themistokles and "wooden walls." As Lisa Kallet-Marx has argued, Themistokles' naval decree represented a radical extension of state control over the community's assets.¹⁶⁴ It asserted the right of the polis to collective wealth and the responsibility of the polis to pay for armaments. Only Polykrates of Samos can compare, if, as the historian Alexis reports, he was "the first man to build ships and name them after his country."¹⁶⁵ Thus, although it may seem from one point of view as though the Siphnian distribution policy exemplified a relatively strong communitarian ideology, in fact power on the island was not nearly so centralized as at Athens in the 480s.

Herodotos specifies that the Athenians were each to receive ten drachmae from the Laureion strike, but he gives no indication that the Siphnian allotments were so equitable. On the contrary, to describe the Siphnian practice he uses the verb *dianemô*, which connotes the sharing out of booty, land, inheritance, or windfall profits, and in no way implies equal treatment for all.¹⁶⁶ A just division, in Archaic Greece, was not the same as an equitable one, to the point that the idea of who got what "share" was a leitmotiv of political discourse.¹⁶⁷ The classic example is the *Iliad*, which begins with a quarrel over the distribution of *xunêia keimena*, predicated on the idea that the noble leaders of men should receive a *geras*, a special perquisite.¹⁶⁸ Later Solon would disparage *isomoiria* or "equal sharing" of land, while Theognis could take the comparatively radical step of calling

162. Herodotos 7.144. Cf. Buchanan 1962: 6–8; Osborne 1987: 115–16.

163. On the details of this division, see Rhodes 1981: 277–78.

164. Kallet-Marx 1994: 244–45. It is probably for this reason that Themistokles associated ships with the "wooden walls" of the oracle. Walls—like water and mines—were a communal responsibility. Although each Greek male was responsible for his own panoply, the state as a whole was responsible for defensive works. With his interpretation of the "wooden walls" oracle, Themistokles put the navy into the category of a state-funded building project and removed it from the category of a private armament. Nonetheless, later Athenians had to finesse the issue by treating ships as liturgies: private expenditures on behalf of the state.

165. *FGrHist* 539 F 2 (Alexis). Trans. C. Fornara.

166. [Aristotle] *Athenaiôn Politeia* 12.3, 22.7 and Plutarch *Themistokles* 4.1 use the same term for the distribution of revenue from the Laureion mines.

167. See, for a sample of views: Loraux 1981; Schmitt-Pantel 1992; Detienne 1996: 89–106. For land allotment as an integral part of the historical process of state formation, see Snodgrass 1993: 38.

168. *Iliad* 1.118–26. See also *Iliad* 20.182; *Odyssey* 7.150; Thucydides 1.13. Cf. Nagy 1990: 269–75.

for “equal division ‘in the middle,’” δασμὸς ἴσος ἐς τὸ μέσον.¹⁶⁹ Xenophon, likewise, argues that the *aristoi* or “best men” should get the most in a distribution of spoils, while Aristotle voices the persistent upper-class fear that the poor may “take advantage of their numbers to share out [v. *dianemō*] the property of the rich” among themselves.¹⁷⁰ Distribution—of booty, of food, of land—is a constitutive act of the polis, but is not necessarily equitable for all that. On Siphnos, although direct evidence is lacking, there is no reason to suppose that the distribution was uniform across the board. More generally, such institutionalized mechanisms of sharing will not have erased the great differences in wealth that attend a mining economy. Even in Athens under the radical democracy, Laureion silver made some families rich while conferring relatively little benefit on others. So on Siphnos in the Archaic period, revenue sharing was evidently basic to communitarian ideology: but that does not mean that it closed the gap between rich and poor. In sum, Herodotos gives a picture of a community sufficiently organized to maintain distinctions between slave and free, and to assert every citizen’s right to a share in the communal wealth; but not so centralized as democratic Athens, where the *dasmos isos* was enforced and where the State was able to appropriate every citizen’s allotment of silver.

That the Siphnians regularly distributed silver amongst themselves makes it all the more surprising that they did not mint coins in any quantity. Disbursements of this kind—as for large building projects or the payment of mercenaries—were favored occasions for the issuance of coins: indeed, it has been argued that coins were invented specifically to facilitate such large-scale payments by the state.¹⁷¹ For one thing, distribution without coins must have been a cumbersome process. As J. Kroll has emphasized, it would have been necessary to weigh the metal for each disbursement: presumably, the weighing would be public, as each *politês* would want to see that he received his fair share.¹⁷² The occasion must have been impressive, an island-wide payday and a moment at which the relations of production on Siphnos were uniquely “visible”: each citizen receiving his portion of the communal wealth—wealth produced by the toil of chattel-slaves—while sizing up the portions of others. Though Archaic coinage is rare throughout the Cyclades, the Parian colony at Thasos produced coins with its silver; the Athenians produced coins with the Laureion strike; but the Siphnians chose not to mint coins in any quantity even though they were regularly making significant distributions of metal. The decision to retain this outmoded system is overdetermined: it represents a conscious refusal of new technology.

As recent works by Sitta von Reden and Leslie Kurke have made clear, the adoption—or refusal—of coinage in Archaic Greece resists simple, functionalist

169. Solon fr. 34 W, trans. D. E. Gerber (cf. Rosivach 1992); Theognis 677.

170. Xenophon *Cyropaideia* 7.5.35, 8.4.29. See also *Anabasis* 7.5.2. Aristotle *Politics* 1281a15.

171. Kraay 1964: 320–28; Holle 1978 ch. 7; Snodgrass 1980: 134–35.

172. Kroll 1998.

explanations.¹⁷³ The issue was part of an ongoing and complex negotiation between elite and middling ideologies: more a discursive phenomenon than a classically economic one. Kurke and von Reden have separately shown that coinage was a way to disembed economic activity from traditional practices like aristocratic gift-exchange and votive dedications; and as such it was often the target of criticism from those who were committed to a parapolitical network of ritualized friendship and to human–divine relations outside state control. The occasion of an issue, in other words, is not the same as the cause. Just as cities did not build treasuries *because* they won a military victory or suddenly felt pious, so they did not issue coins *because* they needed to dispense money. Rather, the victory, piety, and payments were all convenient occasions for the extension of state influence over exchange. The Siphnians had a standing invitation to mint coins in their periodic distribution of mining revenue. There is really no reason, other than the political and ideological, why they should not have issued coins like the Aeginetans and other Greeks who bought their silver.¹⁷⁴ Siphnos did, in the end, issue coins, but only a few: just enough to suggest that there was little consensus on the issue of monetary policy.

Running counter to the elitist tendencies on the island was a middling current. We may discern its influence in the “insignificant” coin issues, but it is most apparent in the implementation of a large-scale civic building program in the second half of the sixth century. The *thêsauros* at Delphi is the prime example of this policy; but Herodotos mentions that the islanders also refinished their agora and their prytaneion in costly Parian marble at the same time.¹⁷⁵ These buildings—even more than the *thêsauros*—are “middling” structures par excellence, the very antitheses of aristocratic ideology. The agora is the site of disembedded commerce, characterized in elitist terms as “a place for deceiving each other and claiming more than one’s share.”¹⁷⁶ The prytaneion is the civic hearth, the seat of its governing council, and thus the symbolic center of the entire polis.¹⁷⁷ Investment in such buildings, especially non-functional adornment of the kind Herodotos describes, represents an allocation of resources on behalf of the centralized administration of the polis. It is thus a sign of growing power among “middling” Siphnians. Archaeological evidence corroborates this view. Shortly after the middle of the sixth century, the Siphnians rebuilt a temple

173. von Reden 1995; Kurke 1999.

174. Even the fact that Siphnos could support an agrarian economy while Aegina, apparently, could not, will not explain the difference (cf. Strabo 8.6.16). Siphnos in this regard again resembles Thasos, an island with famous vineyards and ample mineral wealth. Yet Thasos did mint coins.

175. On the importance of such building projects in the coalescence of middling ideology, see Vernant 1983: 212–33; Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1996.

176. Diogenes Laertius 1.105, trans. Leslie Kurke. Cf. von Reden 1995: 106–11; Kurke 1999: 73–75. It is also possible that Herodotos means *agora* in the sense of Assembly: indeed, it may be easier to envision the re-facing of a meeting-hall than that of a market. If so, the basic argument laid out here would remain largely unchanged. On the layout of the agora see also Martin 1951.

177. Prytaneia: Gernet 1976 ch. 15; Miller 1978.

on their akropolis; the foundations have not been located, but a votive dump suggests that it was consecrated to a goddess, perhaps Artemis *Ekbatêria*.¹⁷⁸ In the last quarter of the sixth century or the first quarter of the fifth, the Siphnians provided their akropolis with a new defensive wall of local marble.¹⁷⁹ Siphnos-town was, in short, receiving more funding. One especially intriguing document is a marble herm of the late sixth century, found on the island and now in the National Museum at Athens.¹⁸⁰ Herms of this type are said to have been invented by the Peisistratid Hipparkhos between 528 and 514 and were used to mark the halfway point between Athens and each of the Attic demes: they are a way for the Peisistratidai to establish boundaries within the *khôra*.¹⁸¹ The Siphnian herm is the earliest known outside Attica, and though it is certainly not evidence for a demarcation of Siphnian territory on the lines of Hipparkhos' policy, it does suggest sympathy in at least one wealthy household for the Athenian tyrants' ambition to assert political control over boundaries in the countryside.¹⁸² There was, in short, both a clear trend towards investment in civic projects in the late 500s—if not a consciously articulated policy, then at least a feeling that the city and its administration were worthy of lavish expenditure—and the ability to marshal the resources necessary to effect such projects.

During this period the Siphnians seem to have coordinated their military operations more effectively than hitherto. Response to the Samian attack was apparently disorganized at best. If Herodotos is correct and the islanders had to be “advised” that their lands were being ravaged, then their lack of preparedness was simply astonishing: the arrival, in force, of desperate pirates demanding money did not occasion any effective mobilization. Only after the Samians had commenced looting did the Siphnians pull themselves together in order “to aid one another and lend a hand”; and even then, they failed to occupy their own akropolis and had to seek terms. This tale does not speak well of Siphnian military organization. Indeed, one is entitled to wonder what the islanders were thinking in engaging in conspicuous building programs without, apparently, giving thought to basic problems of self-defense. To ornament public buildings while neglecting walls is a curious inversion of priorities. It seems, in short, that the military did not benefit from the centralizing, “middling” trend as much as the religious, commercial, and administrative sectors of society—not until it was too late, at any rate. After 525/24, a new city wall was not long in coming.

In sum, power on Siphnos circa 525/24 seems to have been gravitating increasingly to the central administration in the *astu*. The islanders invested heavily

178. Brock and Young 1949: 3–5. Sheedy 1992a: 109–11 and Sheedy 1992b discuss a mid-sixth-century sphinx-head from Kastro which may have been part of the akroterion of a temple. It is just possible that this temple was the one posited by Brock and Young.

179. Brock and Young 1949: 3–5.

180. Athens, National Museum 3728. Cf. Sheedy 1992a: 112–14.

181. [Plato] *Hipparkhos* 228b–229d. Cf. Shapiro 1989: 125–28, 132–33.

182. Date: Sheedy 1992a: 114, with further references n. 36; Ridgway 1993: 464 n. 11.11.

in public buildings from the mid-sixth century onwards, starting with the new akropolis temple and finishing with the marble city wall. This architecture enunciates an emergent sense of political identity within the citizen body, doubtless reinforced by the presence of large numbers of noncitizen chattel-slaves on the island. During this same period, mining revenues probably remained concentrated in the hands of wealthy concessionaires and landowners, even as the mass of citizens benefited from institutionalized sharing. Yet the elitist strain in island politics was apparently strong enough to hinder the development of a Siphnian coinage. Likewise military power seems to have been loosely organized until the end of the sixth century. Elitist ideology remained viable on Siphnos through the Classical period. Isokrates 19 gives a vivid portrait of an ultra-conservative Siphnian aristocrat in the early fourth century, a man who profited from Lysander's overthrow of popular governments in the Aegean islands and who worked assiduously to retain privilege when Spartan influence waned.¹⁸³

BACK TO DELPHI: THE EAST AND NORTH FRIEZES, II

The treasury at Delphi is but one element within this larger constellation of practices and monuments. But, thanks to the richness of its sculptural decor, it is also the most eloquent; and its iconography articulates with particular finesse the social problems of the island. Reference to Siphnian history makes it possible to see just what is at stake in Master B's elaborate figural systems.

Let us go back down the Sacred Way to the East end of the building (fig. 9). The pediment, as we have seen, proposes a model of reconciliation, *diallagê*: between Herakles and Apollo, between elite glory-mongering and civic community.¹⁸⁴ The frieze immediately below recapitulates this principle. By asserting the formal equivalence of *psykhostasia* and combat, it forges a chain of metaphors: *dikê* equals *dasmos* equals *aretê*. It is probably not coincidence that the island's political system was inseparable from the central link in this

183. It is perhaps significant in this regard that, after the failure of the mines, the island reverted quickly to a society controlled by powerful rural clans. The Siphnian countryside is dotted with some fifty-five towers of the kind known also on Keos, Thasos, Lesbos, and other islands. The great majority of the Siphnian towers is Hellenistic (Ashton 1991 dates some much earlier, but see Lohmann 1996; I am grateful to John Papadopoulos for this citation). The function of these later towers was both defensive and agricultural, but, most of all, they were built to display the authority of local gentry. As Robin Osborne puts it, apropos of Thasos: "Towers are the product of a society where there are individuals and/or groups of men who both can afford to and feel the need to make a display of their position by constructing small strong buildings. Thus on the one hand we are dealing with a society marked by considerable inequality in which the rich are motivated to make their predominance felt, and on the other, a society where exceptional security is worth advertising" (Osborne 1986: 174; cf. Osborne 1987: 66–67, 76–81; Cherry et al. 1991: 285–98; Spencer 1995). With the exhaustion of its mines, Siphnos quickly became such a society: one in which the *astu* was relatively weak politically, and in which the rural gentry was solidly in control.

184. On *diallagê* see further Loraux 1997; in art, Neer Forthcoming (a): part 4.

chain—the weighing and distribution of metals. Hermes, as argued above, weighs out fates like a moneychanger weighing out gold. It would perhaps be better to say, however, that he is like a Siphnian official apportioning wealth amongst the citizenry. This eminently civic, mercantile activity, the frieze suggests, is perfectly interchangeable with elite, “Homeric” ideals: that is, Hermes’ *dasmos* is just the same as the duel on the field of Troy. In this way, the East frieze finesses the Siphnians’ own political divisions. It declares that there is no contradiction between the world of Homeric combat and the distribution of metals: and that is, in effect, to declare that there is no contradiction between middling and elite, between the centralizing pressures expressed in the Siphnians’ *dasmos* of silver and the centripetal forces that resisted coinage and military coordination. It is not a question of political symbolism: there is no reason to think that the *psykhostasia* or the combat “stands for” any particular faction on the island of Siphnos. Rather, the frieze preserves, like a fossil, the terms in which the Siphnians practiced their politics; it suggests that they articulated the issues confronting them in the concrete vocabulary of epic combat and weighing. Political struggle on Siphnos, it seems, comes down to disagreements about the justice of sharing out metal, about the viability of Homeric combat in the age of hoplites. Between these terms, the frieze suggests, there is a perfect equivalence: exchange without remainder. Ideology thus grounds itself in the efficacy of metaphor.

The North frieze becomes similarly comprehensible with reference to the island’s distinctive system. Here again, epic-style warfare is “good to think with.” Indeed, there seems to be an explicit thematic link with the frieze on the East. Mary Moore’s ingenious reconstruction of Siphnian North, based largely on Attic vase-paintings, suggests that the female figures at the northeast corner are in fact the Moirai (fig. 7).¹⁸⁵ Though normally translated as “Fates,” the literal meaning of the name is “Allotments”: *moira* is one’s share in the distribution of fortune, and is used by Solon to refer specifically to the sharing of power in a city.¹⁸⁶ If Moore is correct, then the chief theme of the East frieze would be represented on the North as well, suggesting a basic affinity between the two. It is probably no coincidence that these goddesses stand next to Hephaistos, god of metallurgy and smelting, who has brought with him a small, portable forge with which to heat the ores he will hurl at the Giants. Once again, metals and distribution go together as a figure for the proper ordering of social relations: an order the Giants seek to upset.

It may be tempting to see the contrast between phalanges and chariots, between hubristic Giants and the gods themselves, as a ringing statement of elitist rhetoric. After all, the phalanx is often understood as the very epitome of a middling community, and its appearance on the treasury frieze is a striking and

185. Moore 1977. Brinkmann 1994: 154–55 identifies the first of these figures as Hestia, based on an extremely fugitive inscription. If he is correct, then the three women are not Moirai; but the reading remains uncertain. Cf. Brinkmann 1985: 90.

186. Solon fr. 34 W, l. 9 (ἰσομοιρίην).

significant innovation. But matters are not so simple. The brief of the East frieze was, precisely, to bypass the opposition between aristocratic nostalgia and political centralization: to suggest that the two are, in fact, synonymous; to interweave them, as Master B interweaves figures and space, threading them one through the other. Just so, the strongly negative depiction of hoplites on the North frieze makes sense given the peculiar combination of forces on Siphnos itself. The island's military, as argued earlier, was relatively decentralized in the late sixth century. At any rate, it was underfunded: investment in large-scale civic projects went elsewhere. The Siphnians were unwilling or unable to commit to a strong, central military organization—a problem that cost them dearly in 525/24—and Herodotos' account suggests a military force that was disorganized at best. It does not, of course, follow that the Siphnians did not fight (when they fought) in serried ranks like the other Greeks of the day, nor that the "monopoly of force" on the island was not squarely in the hands of the state. But it does seem that the islanders were *ideologically* committed to another ideal. The North frieze suggests that, even as they did not invest in a centralized military, the Siphnians retained a corresponding attachment to epic-style warfare, in theory if not in practice. Siphnos was an island on which elites had to share out precious metal amongst the citizenry and, at the same time, an island on which the polis could not effectively coordinate military action. The North frieze dissolves this seeming contradiction, imagining the Gigantomachy as a war that pits epic fighters—including the goddesses of fair distribution, *moira*, and the god of metallurgy—against the very figures of middling civic values. Once again, the $\delta\alpha\sigma\mu\delta\varsigma$ ἴσος ἐς τὸ μέσον, "equal distribution in the middle," is fully congruent with an almost reactionary exaltation of old-style combat over against the hoplite phalanx.

There is a similar dynamic to the articulation of gender. Like the denigration of hoplite combat, the elision of gender difference may seem at first like a typical elitist gambit. It brings to mind Ian Morris' observation that elites frequently "blurred distinctions between male and female . . . to reinforce a distinction between aristocrat and commoner." That is just what occurs on Siphnian North: because the gods are so heterogeneous, the contrast with the hoplite-Giants is all the more striking. Once again, however, matters are not so simple. On the North frieze, the Siphnian polity imagines itself as a community in which men and women can fight side by side against an outside aggressor. The image is less surprising if Siphnian society did indeed lay special emphasis on the distinction between slave and free: between those who enjoyed the products of the mines and those who actually worked in them. The North frieze suggests that this distinction of status could override distinctions of gender—at any rate, in the community's idealized representation of itself.

In sum, the juxtaposition of the East and North friezes represents a coordination of elitist and middling rhetoric. Where the former suggests an equivalence between Homeric *aretê* and the distribution of metals, the latter insists on a distinc-

tion between that *aretê* and the coordinated, leveling anonymity of the phalanx. Each scene, on its own, gives only part of the story. Together, however, they articulate the stresses and counter-stresses of Siphnian society: one organized around revenue sharing, but at the same time reluctant (or unable) to adopt a fully civic military ideology. The result is a compromise: not a strident, propagandistic statement but an attempt to resolve potential sources of conflict.

THE CARYATIDES

Rounding the corner of the building our pilgrim would stand on an elevated platform to the west of the *thêsauros* (fig. 1). No steps lead up into the building: access is limited, as befits its function as a storehouse for valuables. From this point on, the preservation of the building is poor. The West pediment is lost—such fragments as do survive cannot be reconstructed convincingly—and the friezes contain such extensive lacunae that the scenes are scarcely intelligible.¹⁸⁷ It is nonetheless possible to gain a general sense of the sculptural program.

The most striking element is yet another architectural novelty: caryatides (fig. 3).¹⁸⁸ The southern of the two figures is fairly well preserved, along with the capital that surmounted the northern.¹⁸⁹ Such figures were already known at Delphi from the Knidian treasury and, perhaps, from whatever treasury provided the “Ex-Knidian” head (if the latter does indeed predate the Siphnian building).¹⁹⁰ Together, these caryatides are the earliest known in Greece in an architectural setting. Like their descendants on the Erechtheion, they all extended one hand to proffer an offering. This detail suggests that the figures are not goddesses but votaries. Even this statement, however, is controversial. The alleged symbolic value of caryatides is the subject of endless scholarly debate.¹⁹¹ Perfectly ordinary examples of the kore-type seem to acquire mysterious chthonic, eschatological, or political significance when placed in an architectural setting. As with the political allegories described earlier, however, the various schools of thought all tend to ignore “the concrete and particular spectacle” in favor of an “an abstract

187. Cf. Langlotz 1975: 78.

188. On the Siphnian caryatides see: Picard and La Coste 1928: 57–71; La Coste and Marcadé 1953: 360–64; Richter 1968 no. 104; Langlotz 1975: 168 (Master B); Croissant 1977: 361 (Master B); Holtzmann 1977; Schmidt-Colinet 1977; Schmidt 1982: 74–75, 231–33; Amandry 1983: 860; Croissant 1983: 106–108; Linfert 1984: 732; Daux and Hansen 1987: 147–53; Floren 1987: 166, 173 n. 9; Amandry 1988: 601 n. 18; Ridgway 1993: 140, 152, 168 n. 4.45, 241; Ridgway 1999: 147–48, 168–69 n. 11; Themelis 1992. See also Bammer 1985: 64.

189. Daux and Hansen 1987: 152.

190. Knidian caryatides: Picard and La Coste 1928: 6–18; La Coste and Marcadé 1953 (questioning the connection with Knidian treasury); Richter 1968 nos. 87–88; Langlotz 1975: 59–61; Salviat 1977; Floren 1987: 332 n. 35; Jacquemin 1999: 146–47. Ex-Knidian Head: Picard and La Coste 1928: 2–5; La Coste and Marcadé 1953; Langlotz 1975: 62–63, 140–43; Croissant 1983: 71–82; Daux and Hansen 1987: 152.

191. Cf. the recent summary in Ridgway 1999: 145–50.

and general significance.” Discussion of caryatides focuses more on texts—Vitruvius, Pausanias, etc.—than on the objects themselves.¹⁹² Yet before they are symbols of anything, caryatides are representations of females with offerings. The iconography does not give any additional information, and this absence of data is significant in itself. That the statues themselves provide no visible clue as to mythic or symbolic meaning indicates that *no such clue is necessary*. Either the symbolism should be self-evident—which is certainly not the case, as the lively scholarly debate must prove—or it does not exist. Stories from Vitruvius or elsewhere are irrelevant if they do not correspond to any observable feature of the statues themselves. There is no reason to assume that these caryatides are anything more than votaries, nor that they have any special symbolic meaning whatsoever, because no matter what the texts say, what matters most is the primary evidence of the objects themselves. And that primary evidence does not license any far-reaching conclusions about symbolic meanings.

The baby should not, however, go out with the bathwater. Vitruvius and Pausanias do draw attention to one salient *visual* detail: the fact that the caryatides bear loads. In one sense this function is obvious, but both Pausanias and Vitruvius suggest that load-bearing was integral to the meaning of these figures: they are not just korai who happen to be supporting entablatures, but women who are in some sense servile. Scholars have speculated as to the nature of this servitude, spurred on by Vitruvius’ claim that the caryatides represent Peloponnesian women punished for medizing. Any number of etiological fables has been put forward; all the statues themselves show, however, is women serving a god. The load-bearing “servitude” of caryatides is of a piece with the way in which they hold out offerings: it shows them to be *therapnai* of the deity. This metaphor, unlike possible chthonic or funerary or political “meanings,” actually registers iconographically. The depicted women visibly serve the deity by holding offerings; and, just so, they “serve” metaphorically by holding up the lintel. This simple conceit is rich enough and flexible enough to account for the broad range of contexts in which caryatides appear, from Daedalic perirrhanteria to fourth-century theaters.

It is also worth recalling, however, that the Siphnian caryatides bring their offerings to a building constructed for the express purpose of holding such gifts. They thus model the normative behavior of the wealthy man or woman who offers up a tithe to the god. With their rich attire and elaborate hairstyles, these caryatides are paradigmatic dedicants; which, in this context, amounts to the same thing as paradigmatic Siphnians.¹⁹³ The result is something of an oddity. On the one hand, women were traditionally excluded from citizen status in Greek poleis, and it is perhaps surprising to see them presented as exemplars of the wealthy Siphnians whose offerings graced the treasury. On the other, the evident splendor of these

192. See, e.g., Vitruvius 1.1.5–6; Pausanias 3.10.7, 3.11.3.

193. For a related argument on the subject of korai, see Zinslering 1975; d’Onofrio 1982.

votaries seems to run counter to the servility of the caryatid type. Is it possible to be both an aristocratic offering-bearer and a working element of a larger architecture? The answer, of course, is Yes. Indeed, I suggest that it is precisely to sustain such doubleness that caryatides were useful to the Siphnians. The women are at once sumptuous *agalmata* and load-bearing servants, ideals of the good Siphnian and functional elements within a larger edifice. The result is a remarkably effective political icon: a way to imagine the integration of upper-class display into the fabric of the polis. The Siphnian caryatides postulate an ideal between ostentation and mere servitude, and in this respect they effect a reconciliation as delicate as that of the East frieze. If the distribution of metals *just is* the exercise of heroic *aretê*, so to hold up a civic building *just is* to be a conspicuous dedicant. The two halves of the binary—load-bearing and ostentation—are mutually implicated: the caryatid is prominent because she is an important structural element. The figures are, literally, “pillars of the community.”¹⁹⁴ Their presence clarifies the logic of the treasury itself: the way it frames gifts in order to fuse elite glory-mongering with civic pride.

This manner of clamping together antithetical connotations is fully appropriate to the quintessentially liminal position of the caryatides. Neither inside nor out, neither columns nor women, these figures are thoroughly eclectic. It is thus fitting that the *kalathos* atop of the head of the surviving caryatid should depict, on the back, satyrs abducting maenads and, on the front, a sacrifice to Dionysos.¹⁹⁵ The effect is reminiscent of the two Dionysiac city-gates at Thasos: figures of divine liminality to mark the literal threshold of civic territory.¹⁹⁶ It is important to insist, however, that “liminality” is not a concept that pre-exists its enunciation or representation. It is not a symbolic value of which the caryatid is a signifier. Rather, the porch of the treasury *figures* liminality by yoking together women, Dionysiac ritual, sculptural/architectural hybrids, and thresholds. It does so, moreover, by a sort of reflex action—because the more general logic of the sculptural program requires such a construction. The peculiar double valence of the *thésauros* in general, and of the caryatides in particular, declares itself in and through this system of ambivalence.

Gender is crucial to the caryatides’ economy. It is only because they are feminine that the figures can shift as they do between servility and display. The contrast with male architectural supports brings out this point. As Ridgway observes, Atlantes or Telamones are always unmistakably servile: they bend under their loads, as on the Olympeion at Akragas, and thereby show themselves to be laboring and, worse, under constraint. Such figures are not ideal types of anything

194. For versions of this metaphor in contemporary literature, see Pindar *Olympian* 2.6, *Pythian* 4.265–70; Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 898; Eurpides *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 50–56.

195. This *kalathos* is not so much a hat—the caryatid already wears a diadem—as a decorated column-shaft. It is therefore not a sign of divinity.

196. Thasian gates: Picard 1962.

(except, perhaps, of prisoners).¹⁹⁷ For load-bearing men, the taint of servitude obliterates any other association. Women, however, can be both splendid and servile at the same time: caryatides figure both halves of the binary, working even as they stand proud. The ability to sustain such seeming contradictions is the particular value of feminine iconography in this period. Women are “good to think with” just because, in both middling and elitist ideologies, they are empty signifiers.¹⁹⁸ The denigration of males—their presentation as toiling architectural supports—is fraught with consequences, because the stakes are high when it comes to the representation of masculinity. When it comes to women, however, the stakes are negligible: for the Greeks, they can be anything. This great, tacit assumption is, like any *impensé* of such magnitude, not sustained without considerable work of repression and conceptual contortion. These increasingly elaborate disfigurements run through the rhetoric of the West and South friezes of the building. Even in their ruined state, it is possible to discern a general thematic: gender—or, better, gendering—and its role in the constitution of the polis.

THE WEST AND SOUTH FRIEZES

The West frieze consisted originally of three blocks, of which the right-hand one is missing.¹⁹⁹ The remaining left-hand block shows Athena mounting a chariot and leading a male by the hand while, at left, Hermes tends the winged horses (fig. 4). The center block shows a female—presumably a goddess—dismounting from a chariot while twisting back to face right (figs. 4 and 12). Most scholars restore a third chariot, with a third goddess, on the missing block. This (hypothetical) third goddess leads many to interpret the frieze as a Judgment of Paris: Athena departs at left; Aphrodite arrives at center; Hera and Paris fill up the lost right-hand block. This identification, however, derives from a forced reading of the iconography. First and foremost, there is no evidence whatsoever for Hera or Paris. While it is very likely that the missing block did show a chariot-team, we do not know a priori whose it was. Second, the extant iconography does not resemble a Judgment. The goddesses ride chariots instead of appearing on foot as they do in other versions of the scene; they do not arrive together (Athena is departing while the goddess at center is dismounting); and Athena is accompanied by a mysterious male “attendant,” who has no place in a Judgment of Paris.²⁰⁰

197. E.g., on the Akragas Olympeion.

198. Cf. Kurke 1999: 220–46.

199. On the West frieze see especially: Homolle 1894: 194; Homolle 1895: 535; Poulsen 1908; Courby 1911; Heberdey 1909: 156–64; Daux and La Coste 1927: 51–56; Picard and La Coste 1928: 130–47; La Coste 1936: 389–414; La Coste 1944–1945: 29–35; Ridgway 1962; Hemelrijk 1963: 44–45; Langlotz 1975: 73–79; Moore 1985; Daux and Hansen 1987: 173–79; Ridgway 1993: 385, 394; Brinkmann 1994: 101–109, 177–82.

200. The goddesses do, it is true, arrive on chariots in some late representations of the scene: La Coste 1944–1945: 30.

Third, and most importantly, the left block of the frieze closely resembles the rendition of the Apotheosis of Herakles on the Ricci Hydria in Rome; indeed, the French excavators identified it as such in 1894.²⁰¹ The scene is a popular one in the Archaic period, appearing on the throne of Amyklaian Apollo in Lakonia.²⁰² But scholars have ignored this identification for the better part of a century in the belief that, despite a notable lack of evidence, the frieze *must* represent the Judgment: a classic case of assuming the consequent. Recently, however, Vincenz Brinkmann has identified traces on the frieze block that make it very clear that Athena originally took her “attendant” by the hand and led him into her chariot.²⁰³ Such being the case, the “attendant” can only be Herakles, on his way to Olympos. It follows that the frieze as a whole depicts two scenes, as on the East: a self-contained Apotheosis at left and something else on the middle and right-hand blocks.²⁰⁴

What was this other scene? Brinkmann suggests the death of Herakles on the pyre; but his argument has met considerable skepticism.²⁰⁵ It is worthwhile to look for other alternatives. There are two key variables to consider in identifying the scene. First, the goddess on the middle block: who is she and what is she doing? Second, the *mise-en-scène*: is there any clue as to the setting of the action?

The first issue—the identity and action of the goddess—is the most important and most problematic. The question turns on the lines extending from the goddess’ right hand (fig. 12). Courby and Poulsen saw two lines—or *baguettes*, as they called them—one almost horizontal, another running towards the upper right. They took the lines to be part of a necklace, which the goddess held with both hands: she was thus Aphrodite, displaying her jewelry while dismounting from her chariot on Mount Ida. Some Hellenistic bronzes do show Aphrodite with a necklace, but the action is a bit odd in the present context and has no Archaic parallels.²⁰⁶ Moore, accordingly, rejected this idea, maintaining instead that the lines represent reins and a goad.²⁰⁷ This view is attractive but, as Ridgway has observed, the goddess would have to be holding the reins by their very tips (the charioteer on the South frieze gathers the reins in his hands so their ends are visible as a sort of tassel below the fist) (fig. 5).²⁰⁸ The best solution is, unsurprisingly, an old one. In 1909, Heberdey noted a third

201. Homolle 1894: 194; Homolle 1895: 535. On the Apotheosis in vase-painting, see Boardman 1972; Moon 1983; Shapiro 1989: 54–55. On the Ricci Hydria see Laurens 1986.

202. Pausanias 3.18–19.2.

203. Brinkmann 1994: 101–109, 178–80, figs. 59–60.

204. Between the two was a “key-block”: a small vertical wedge slotted in between the larger stones. This filler was probably blank. Cf. Ridgway 1962; Moore 1985; Daux and Hansen 1987: 178–79; Brinkmann 1994: 101–109; Coulton 2000.

205. Brinkmann 1994: 101–109. Contra: Moore 1996.

206. Necklace: Poulsen 1908; Courby 1911.

207. Moore 1985: 146–49.

208. Ridgway 1993: 413 n. 9.36.

baguette running from the right hand to lower right, just below the edge of the goddess' mantle (fig. 12). Although preserved only where it crosses over the flowing locks of her hair, the line undeniably exists. It shows up on any good photograph, and is readily apparent on the stone itself. Heberdey concluded that the two oblique lines make up a bowstring, with the horizontal line as an arrow: in this he has been followed most recently by Brinkmann.²⁰⁹ The goddess is thus Artemis, pourer of arrows, killing one of her many victims. Although neglected for years—again, one suspects, because it contradicts the “Judgment of Paris” thesis—Heberdey's solution is difficult to refute. The only alternative is to deny the existence of the third *baguette*; and that is hard to do, especially in the presence of the frieze itself. It may be objected that the pose is an inconvenient one for archery: but it is an inconvenient one for just about anything.²¹⁰ The Siphnians did, after all, worship Artemis as *Ekbatêria*, “of the Disembarkation,” and it is possible that the otherwise difficult pose may allude to this epithet.

Who, then, is the victim of this attack?²¹¹ In myth, Artemis is the killer of Tityos, the Niobids, Aktaion, Orion, and numerous sinful women. The first three appear frequently in Archaic art. In no extant depiction, however, does Artemis step out of her chariot while turning to shoot in this manner: there are, quite simply, no good comparanda for Siphnian West. Fortunately, a neglected iconographic clue may clarify matters. It has long been recognized that the fronds of a palm tree are visible behind the heads of Artemis' horses; the main trunk evidently stood on the lost, right-hand block (fig. 13).²¹² In Attic vase-painting the palm tree often signifies wild and desolate places, such as the lonely beach where Aias

209. Heberdey 1909: 159–64; Brinkmann 1994: 101–109, 180–81, figs. 65–68. Contra: Courby 1911. Brinkmann further suggests that a bit of strut-work adhering to the background of the frieze just to the right of the goddess' head probably supported the tip of her bow. But the strut-work is too close to the head to allow this interpretation: the bow would have to be bent nearly into a semicircle. It is more likely to be a support for the bow-string. Heberdey 1909 argued that this strut supported Artemis' left forearm, but this view was convincingly refuted in Courby 1911.

210. The objection is stated in Moore 1996.

211. Heberdey thought Tityos; Brinkmann, a satyr dancing round Herakles' pyre. Both built their reconstructions around a fragment in the Delphi storerooms showing a bestial head with an arrow wound, the supposed victim of the attack, originally appearing on the missing block (Delphi, inv. no. 1179; Picard and La Coste 1928: 20–23). Unfortunately, the fragment has nothing to do with the Siphnian treasury. Its scale is vastly different from that of the other figures on the frieze (cf. Langlotz 1975: 78); its style is also distinct; it is an appliqué, not a proper relief fragment; and it was found elsewhere. Iconographically it is very convenient, but mere expedience is no reason to include it in the frieze, or anywhere else on the building. The scene could still represent the Death of Tityos: but this fragment does not pertain to the question.

212. Watrous 1982: 168; Moore 1985; Brinkmann 1994: 53, 104. Moore 1985 posits a second tree on the *bloc de raccord* between Artemis and Herakles. But the absence of any palm leaves from the left side of Block Q disproves this hypothesis. Moore suggests that the leaves were added in paint: but if Master A carved them in relief on the right, it is unlikely that he would then use paint on the left.

killed himself.²¹³ But it also has a special association with Delos.²¹⁴ It was under a palm tree that Leto gave birth to Apollo and Artemis, and the *phoinix* came to signify the holy island for purposes of iconography. This association is especially significant at a site like Delphi, sacred to Apollo, on a building constructed in Cycladic style by a Cycladic polis. Here, if anywhere, a palm should signify Delos unless proved otherwise. The tree on Siphnian West may well be an iconographic signpost, marking the location of the scene. Its presence allows us to identify the entire narrative. For, according to Homer and Ps.-Apollodoros, Artemis killed only one person on Delos: the giant hunter, Orion.

Ps.-Apollodoros (1.4.3–5) is quite clear on this score: “But Artemis slew Orion in Delos,” Ὠρίωνα δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν Δήλῳ. Likewise, at *Odyssey* 5.121–24, Kalypso says, “When Eos of the rosy fingers chose out Orion, all you gods who live at your ease were full of resentment, until chaste Artemis of the golden throne came with a visitation of painless arrows and killed him in Ortygia.”²¹⁵ Strabo (10.5.5) notes that Ortygia is an old name for Rheneia, the islet off Delos: the two are frequently equated in myth. In the visual arts the death of Orion is exceedingly rare. Only one Athenian vase-painting—an amphora by the Syriskos Painter, now lost—is known to have depicted the myth (fig. 14).²¹⁶ That vase adapts the iconography of the more familiar Death of Tityos. Both Artemis and Apollo appear; the latter, strangely, has uprooted the Delian palm and uses it as a club. Although clearly unlike anything on the Siphnian frieze, the amphora does show that the myth of Orion was current in the late Archaic period and that the association with Delos was strong. The rarity of the scene should not, however, argue against its identification on the frieze. The Artemis of Siphnian West is unlike any other figure in Greek art—there are simply no good parallels for her pose—so it would be unreasonable to expect the scene as a whole to conform to a known prototype.²¹⁷ Either Master A has depicted a familiar narrative (such as the Judgment of Paris) in a totally unprecedented

213. Exekias, black-figure amphora, Boulogne 558 (*ABV* 145.18; *Para* 60; *Add*² 40). See also Holmberg 1992 for palms in the work of the Rycroft Painter. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991: 99–143 discusses the particular association of palms with Artemis, yet neglects the connection with Delos. This argument puts the cart before the horse. The association of palms with Artemis derives from the association of both palms and Artemis with Delos. See also Hurwit 1981–1982.

214. Shapiro 1989: 57. For the Delian palm, see e.g. *Odyssey* 6.163, Pausanias 8.48.3, Callimachus *Hymn* 4.210.

215. Trans. Lattimore (modified). The bird atop the goddess’ chariot-pole may even allude to this name, as Ortygia derives from *ortyx*, “quail.”

216. *ARV*² 261.25; *Add*² 205. This painter had an interest in Delian themes: a lebes from Rheneia, now on Mykonos, showed Apollo and the Hyperborean maidens (*ARV*² 261.19). On the Death of Orion see Lachin 1994. On Orion in general see Fontenrose 1981. For the possibility, admittedly remote, that the Death of Orion may have figured on Metope E1 from the Heraion at Selinus, see Marconi 1994: 233–34.

217. Even Klazomenaian sarcophagi, which depict many mortals and deities getting in and out of chariots, do not show anyone quite like her.

manner, or he has depicted a scene with which we are unfamiliar (like the Death of Orion). There is no way to decide between these two options with any certainty. But Master A emerged from an Ionian milieu, the iconography of which is not so well known as that of Attic or Peloponnesian works. It should therefore be unsurprising to find novel renderings in his work.²¹⁸ The Death of Orion at least has the advantage of accounting for the palm tree in a way that other possible identifications do not.

The missing block of the frieze almost certainly included a chariot at far right, though it is impossible to say which direction it faced.²¹⁹ If the scene is indeed the Death of Orion, the driver of the chariot may have been Apollo—if, like the Syriskos Painter, Master A included him in the scene. It could also have been Eos, present at the death of her lover. As Eos figured also on the East frieze, this possibility is especially attractive. Between this right-hand chariot and the palm tree there would have been a dying Orion, pierced with arrows, the result being very close to better-known images of the Death of Tityos. This basic compositional scheme—two chariots with a victim in between—will have held even if the victim was not, in fact, Orion. Artemis is clearly shooting *someone*, and it is almost certain, given the demands of compositional symmetry, that the two preserved chariots were balanced by a third at right.

Regardless of the identity of the victim, the West frieze as a whole presents two very different fates of two very different mortals. At left, Herakles receives his reward and enters the company of the gods; at center and right, Orion (or some other sinner) receives his punishment for his hubristic liaison with a goddess. Divine retribution makes a stark contrast with Apotheosis. In this way, Siphnian West shows the end results of interactions between mortals and gods: rewards for piety and heroic deeds, punishment for transgression. As the dedicant approaches the building to offer up his or her gift to the deity, the frieze depicts the reciprocity of the gods, and thereby underscores the existence of a functioning economy linking mortals and Olympians.

Before considering this “diptych” in greater detail, however, let us consider Master A’s other work, the South frieze (fig. 5).²²⁰ Here again, numerous lacunae hinder identification of the scene, although the recent study by Georges Daux and Erik Hansen has clarified the placement of surviving fragments considerably.²²¹ At center, a male bundles a female feet-first into his chariot; his prominent phallus makes the nature of the deed explicit. To the left of this group is a large lacuna, filled provisionally with a “floating” fragment depicting two women fleeing to

218. Master A: Langlotz 1975: 73–79.

219. Cf. Moore 1985.

220. On Siphnian South see: Daux and La Coste 1927: 45–50; Picard and La Coste 1928: 117–29; La Coste 1936: 360–88; La Coste 1944–1945: 29–35; Hemelrijk 1963: 44–45; Vasic 1971; Langlotz 1975: 73–79; Watrous 1982: 169–71; Vasic 1984; Daux and Hansen 1987: 173–79; Ridgway 1993: 385, 394, 413 n. 4.37; Brinkmann 1994: 109–11, 183–90.

221. Daux and Hansen 1987: 178.

left.²²² Behind them, at far left, is an altar (*bômos*) and a second chariot. To right of the central group is another lacuna, followed by a third chariot moving off to right. Closing out the frieze are two *paides*, each riding one horse and guiding another. The left hand boy turns to look over his shoulder, apparently in surprise at the disturbance going on behind him. His horses are yoked together and garlanded.

The iconography of abduction is fairly generic in Archaic Greece, and consequently it has proved difficult to identify the narrative of Siphnian South with any certainty.²²³ Suggestions have included the abduction of the Leukippides by the Dioskouroi, of Helen by Pirithoos and Theseus, of Helen by Paris, of Kore by Hades, of Hippodameia by Pelops.²²⁴ Of these candidates, only the story of the Leukippidai regularly takes place before an altar. The theme is popular in Archaic art, appearing (like the Apotheosis of Herakles) on the throne of Amyklaian Apollo in Lakonia.²²⁵ Moreover the association of the Dioskouroi with matters equestrian, together with the obvious connotations of the name Leukippos (“White Horse”), accords nicely with the prominence of horses and chariots on the frieze. We might, therefore, see Leukippos himself in the first chariot at left (Block M); Kastor and Helaira on Block N; Polydeukes mounting his own chariot on Block L; and, lastly, Idas and Lynkeus, cousins of the victims and rivals of the Dioskouroi, riding horseback on Blocks L and K. In the lacuna between Blocks M and N would be female attendants fleeing towards Leukippos, much as the Nereids flee to their father in depictions of Peleus wrestling Thetis.²²⁶ These women would, perhaps, be predecessors of the *pôloi* (“colts”) who later sources say served as priestesses of Phoibe and Helaira.²²⁷

This identification may, however, depend on an over-literal reading of the *bômos*. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has suggested that altars sometimes appear in scenes of abduction as markers of social status, not topography: they signify that the victims are *parthenoi*, “maidens.”²²⁸ The altars, so the argument goes, are specifically dedicated to Artemis, patroness of parthenic status. Be-

222. Brinkmann 1994: 109–10 for the identification of both figures as women (as opposed to a woman and a man). See also Ridgway 1993: 413 n. 4.37, where it is argued that the head is out of scale with the rest of the frieze and does not belong. The “floater” is Fragment O.

223. On abductions in chariots see Sourvinou-Inwood 1973; Cohen 1996. More generally, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979; Stewart 1995.

224. Leukippidai: Homolle 1896: 586; Picard and LaCoste 1928: 128–29; Schefold 1992: 188. Pirithoos and Theseus with Helen: Watrous 1982: 170–71. Pelops and Oinomaos with Hippodameia: La Coste 1936: 384–88. Helen and Paris: Vasic 1971; Vasic 1984. Kore and Hades: Brinkmann 1994: 109–11, 183–90.

225. Pausanias 3.18–19.2. The Dorian subject matter is not wholly out of place on this Ionian building: the Dioskouroi were popular throughout Greece, and indeed the Amyklaian throne was made by an Ionian, Bathykles of Magnesia. Cf. Picard and La Coste 1928: 129 n. 1.

226. Although the figures on Fragment O were once thought to represent one of the Dioskouroi and an abductee, Brinkmann 1994: 109–10 has shown that both figures are women. There may still have been a second abduction on the South frieze, but if so, it is lost. Cf. Neer Forthcoming (b).

227. Cult of Leukippides: Larson 1995: 64–69.

228. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991: 99–143.

cause the victims are maidens, therefore the abduction is set in a sanctuary of Artemis, regardless of where it “actually” occurred in the myth. This suggestion is attractive—not least because an altar of Artemis on the South frieze would connect thematically to the presence of that goddess on the West—but for present purposes it muddies the waters somewhat. It does away with the one real clue we have as to the identity of the story.

In this situation it is best to stick to generalities. Siphnian South depicts an abduction in a sanctuary during a sacral procession: beyond that it is risky to go. Two points are clear nonetheless. First, this abduction is a violation of ritual protocol: the sacral procession has been interrupted. Second, Master A does not present this abduction as a crime. Although the abduction is a departure from the normative exchanges that guide the relationships of gods and mortals, it is part of a larger order—a *kosmos*—exemplified in the regularity of the procession. Violence is at a minimum; the *pompê* goes on in its orderly fashion; the horses do not rear or plunge; and despite local disturbances the overall pattern of stately movement is unimpeded. A scene of blasphemy would, after all, make inappropriate decoration for a sacred building. Where the West frieze showed Orion (or perhaps Tityos) being punished for sexual transgression, the South displays the opposite: a sanctioned abduction. The victim on Siphnian South is if anything reminiscent of Herakles on the West—as though to be led (or carried) into a chariot by a god or hero were an honor, no matter what the occasion. The *kalathos* of the caryatid presents a similar viewpoint, depicting a satyr carrying off a maenad as part of a successful Dionysiac ritual: the implication being that, under some circumstances, abduction and piety are perfectly congruent.²²⁹ Thus what seems like a disturbance is, ultimately, congruent with the economy of *do ut des*. This rendering is consistent with Archaic literary representations of divine (or heroic) abduction, which typically construe it as a sign of favor—even if the women themselves resist or are subsequently punished.²³⁰ Hesiod’s *Catalogue of Women* is the most obvious example of this tendency, organized as it is around the genealogical significance of such heroines. This is not to say that abduction per se was not perceived as a crime in Greece, nor that there is no distress or violence on Siphnian South. Rather, the integration of the abduction into the rhythm of the cortège—and, for that matter, into the architecture of the treasury—suggests that, in the long run, this breach of ritual protocol is neither a theft, nor a violation of the economy linking mortals and gods, but part of a regular and “monotonous” progression.²³¹ The misogyny of this conception of rape needs no elaboration. What is perhaps of greater interest, however, is its role in the ideological program of the frieze.

229. If anything, the abductor on the South is *more* civilized than the satyr: while the latter has an erection, the former does not.

230. Lefkowitz 1993.

231. “Monotonous” friezes: Ridgway 1999: 79.

To use terms coined by Jonathan Parry and Maurice Bloch, the abduction on Siphnian South is part of a *long-term transactional order*: what may seem blasphemous in the short term will, in the long run, turn out to be perfectly congruent with the economy of sacrifice.²³² The ritual is interrupted, true enough, but there is still an exchange: the maiden has been taken, and in return she and her family will receive heroic progeny and everlasting glory.²³³ Siphnian South thus asserts a term of exchange one degree longer than that of normative sacrificial ritual. This is no mean feat, for sacrifice often figures in Greek texts as the longest-term exchange of all.²³⁴ In contrast to the vulgar *quid pro quo* of the marketplace, sacrifice dilates reciprocity indefinitely: there is no telling how long it will take to receive divine favor in return for one's offering.²³⁵ The sacrifice is meaningful even in the absence of any evident confirmation or acknowledgment. That there is some significance to one's relations with the divine is, however, assured: the West frieze provides two exemplary cases, positive and negative, in the Apotheosis of Herakles and the Death of Orion. But with its stately and processional rhythm, Siphnian South asserts that even this long-term economy is subordinate to yet another order of exchange: one which spans generations, in which women are the tokens, and maidenhood is offered up in exchange for glory and heroic offspring.

The enunciation of such themes on Siphnian South is hardly fortuitous, for sacrifice and the ownership of votives are the very questions at issue in the construction of a treasury. *Thésauroi* appropriate votive gifts on behalf of the city; and in so doing they interrupt and contest existing ritual procedures. This appropriation is very literal, affecting the actual practice of dedication. Though the details of ritual remain obscure, a new treasury will of necessity change the procedures of offering up a votive.²³⁶ Its presence means that the dedicant must do something different with her gift to the god: she must put it into a building where before there was none. The *thésauros* may thus be seen as a diversion or interruption of the prevailing system of offerings, especially by those to whom its appearance is a constraint on existing patterns of behavior. It is tempting to see the narrative of the South frieze as the visualization of this change. The frieze shows a forcible shift between transactional orders: from the sacrificial economy to the genealogical, from ritual to rape. This shift appears as the expression

232. Parry and Bloch 1989. For use of this model in Classical studies see von Reden 1995: 79–216; Kurke 1999, especially 14–15, 126–27, 169–70.

233. A point well made in Lefkowitz 1993.

234. Sacrifice and long-term reciprocity: Seaford 1994.

235. Indeed, the underlying premise of such gifts is that there may *never be* a counter-gift. The remote but theoretically necessary possibility that the donor may get nothing in return is what distinguishes a gift from mere commercial exchange. Hence, as Derrida observes, the ideological effectiveness of the sacrificial economy: faced with an indefinitely-deferred return on the symbolic "investment," the ideology of sacrifice simply declares, as it were by fiat, that the exchange is in fact reciprocal, that there will be a divine counter-gift, that the system does function. Cf. Derrida 1992.

236. On the placement of votives, see van Straten 1990.

of a higher system of *do ut des*, the longest of long-term exchanges. Just as sacrifice may be interrupted (and women may suffer) in the short term in order that the bloodline may thrive, so the interruption of existing votive practices benefits the polis as a whole. The South frieze is, on this view, an allegory of the *thêsauros* itself: its composition and narrative replicate the ideological function of the building overall. It gives the vocabulary of “framing,” reveals the terms in which at least some Greeks articulated the process to themselves. They used the rhetoric of abduction, and, in this way, were able to come to terms with it and see it as part of a transactional order of its own. This is not to say that the victim on the frieze “symbolizes” votives, or that the abductor “symbolizes” the *thêsauros*. There is nothing to symbolize, no higher abstraction above and beyond the iconography. Rather, the frieze preserves, like a fossil, the language-game of ideology.

It is thus significant that, as La Coste showed years ago, the ovolo molding that crowns the altar on the South frieze is identical in both profile and proportions to that which runs around the treasury itself just below the frieze course (fig. 15).²³⁷ The resulting visual rhyme is subtle in the present state of the building, but it would have been readily apparent when the original polychromy still adhered. In particular, the molding on the altar would have been easy to see as a horizontal band immediately above the identical band underneath the frieze.²³⁸ For Master A at any rate, altar and treasury are comparable, if not interchangeable.²³⁹ *Thêsauros* and *bômos* are both places for offerings: the votive gift on the one hand, the sacrificial victim on the other. The result is a complication of the frieze’s program. On the one hand, Siphnian South presents abduction as a transactional order superior to that of normative ritual; and, I have suggested, it does so by way of asserting the treasury’s own value as an improvement on traditional votive practice. On the other, it suggests a root similarity between the treasury’s function as a repository for offerings and that of the sacrificial altar. The two are, quite literally, *alike*. The treasury is thus simultaneously assimilated into the sacrificial economy and placed above and outside it; it is at once a forcible departure from, and a monumentalization of, established norms of ritual. This clamping together of contradictory propositions is by now familiar. The ability to smooth over potential ideological conflicts distinguishes the program of the Siphnian treasury overall. It is, in a way, its primary task. The purpose of the treasury is not to destroy the existing sacrificial economy, but to divert it: to frame it and nationalize it. Just so, the South frieze does not deny the importance of sacrifice by comparison with abduction. It asserts the complete compatibility of these two opposed orders of value.

237. La Coste 1944–1945: 33–34, with fig. 4 and n. 2.

238. Cf. Brinkmann 1994: 187.

239. Compare the treasury-terrace at Olympia, where an altar (the so-called Treasury 8) took its place within the row of *thêsauroi*.

Returning, then, to the West frieze, the juxtaposition of reward and punishment may be seen as part of a broader thematic program. Apotheosis, Death, and Abduction relate as thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The first two present the fulfillment, for better or worse, of a mortal man's transaction with the gods. The exchange is consummated, and Herakles receives a supreme counter-gift, while Orion (if it is he) gets death. On the South, by contrast, the cycle has just begun. Divine or heroic abduction is the first move in an altogether longer transaction: one which, as both the *Catalogue of Women* and the frieze's own processional composition suggest, will be an ongoing affair, spanning the generations. The difference between West and South thus centers on the term of the exchange. Each frieze "works" perfectly well on its own: the presentation of rewards and punishments is appropriate enough over the doorway of a *thēsauros* without the added gloss of Siphnian South; the image of abduction and sacrifice does not need a counterpoint on the West for the point to be clear. But taken together, they articulate with singular effectiveness the ideological program of treasuries in general: simultaneously to uphold and divert the existing votive economy linking mortals and their deities.

Master A articulates these relations between men and gods in, through, and as relations between males and females. A female leads a male into a chariot as an image of blessedness; a female leaps from a chariot to kill a male as an image of divine punishment; a male forces a woman into a chariot as an image of the "super-long-term" economy. Taken together, neither gender is unproblematically dominant or subordinate. There is no simplistic duality at work on these friezes, no "Self/Other" binary or easy valorization of rape. Even masculine sexual privilege—which other Greek artists, such as Athenian vase-painters, tend to uphold with depressing consistency—is by no means unproblematic, if Artemis does indeed punish Orion for his hubristic liaison with Eos. At issue here is not the status of one particular gender, but rather the process of gendering itself. Master A sets *difference*—pure and, so to speak, undifferentiated—at the heart of his economic system. The various transactions between mortals and gods do not depend on the systematic subordination of one gender to another; but all of them do, in their various ways, assume an utter and insurmountable distinction between masculine and feminine. The result is a marked contrast between the West and South friezes on the one hand and the East and North on the other. If Master B observed gender difference in order to emphasize a particular conception of class and political identity, Master A makes such difference a guiding metaphor for the functioning of the cosmos. Before there is class, before there is status, before there is any consistent distinction of power, there is a primordial distinction of gender. The roles may shift—men and women each may be alternately victims and victors—but the fundamental distinction is eternal. Gender is the *a priori* of *kosmos*.

CONCLUSION

It would probably be a mistake to see a preplanned iconographic program at work in the sculptural decor of the Siphnian treasury. Such arguments are the art-historical equivalent of conspiracy theories—though it must be admitted that there is no evidence, apart from the treasury itself, on which to base any conclusions. What is clear, however, is that the sculpture rings the changes on a fairly consistent set of themes. Some are specific to Siphnos itself; others relate more generally to the role of *thêsauroi* in the economy of elite display and sacrifice. At issue on this building is the power of the state to control votives, to control the military, to control the distribution of resources—while at the same time retaining traditional elite prerogatives.

The East pediment sets the tone. It greets the pilgrim to the “all-welcoming temple,” πάνδοκος ναός; and it shows the reconciliation of a contest over a privileged medium of upper-class display. The East and North friezes then articulate the distinctive feature of the Siphnian polity: its organization around weighing and distribution, and its simultaneous adherence to conservative ideals of Homeric combat and upper-class privilege. The caryatides model the ideal dedicant as simultaneously ostentatious and subordinate. The West and South friezes address themselves less to Siphnian issues per se than to the general economy linking mortals and gods, imagining an interruption of ritual protocol as congruent with long-term order, and grounding that order in gender difference.

The treasury thus exemplifies—indeed, concretely manifests—Siphnian politics. Like the island’s political system, it transcends the elite/middling binary. It accommodates elite glory-mongering by licensing display at Delphi, and at the same time incorporates private votives into a civic structure; it assimilates the distribution of precious metal among the citizenry to the justice of Zeus, and at the same time rejects the “middling” hoplite ideal. The result is, precisely, *not* a contradiction but a reconciliation. The treasury is not a form of discursive warfare: it does not play a zero-sum game. Rather, the iconography of myth is a way to think through social problems. From start to finish, the sculptural decoration effaces contradiction by joining antithetical figures, thereby presenting models of civic integration. It asserts that the mediation of conflicts over *athla*—both literal and metaphorical—is an organizing principle of polis life; and it also asserts that a certain form of warfare is antithetical to a well-ordered city. It asserts that the distribution of metals is congruent with Homeric values; and at the same time that established sacrificial norms are subordinate to a longer-term order. It is no coincidence that the Siphnian polity seems to have made the identical choices. Indeed, the treasury provides the best evidence we have for how they articulated such choices in the concrete terms of mythic iconography.

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Figure 1: View of the Siphnian Treasury from the Northwest, near the *carrefour des trésors* (restored). The restoration of the pediment and the central akroterion is hypothetical; the West frieze is restored after Moore 1985 to show a Judgment of Paris. Daux and Hansen 1987.

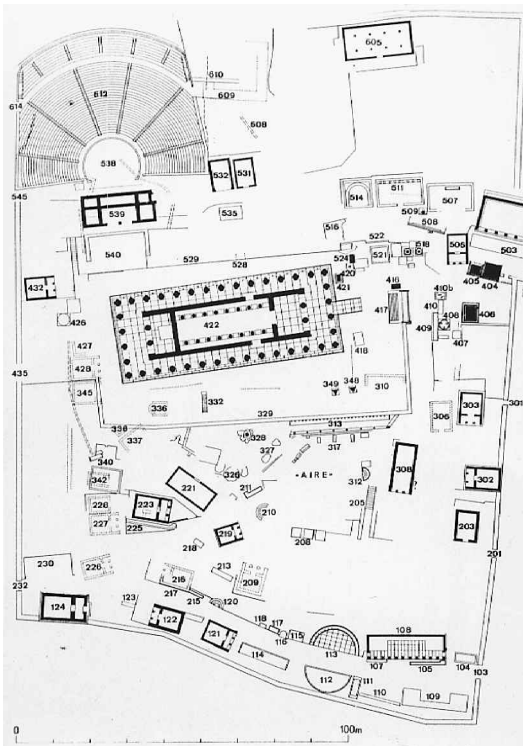


Figure 2: Plan of Delphi. The Siphnian Treasury is no. 122. After Bommelaer 1990.



Figure 3: Caryatid from the Siphnian Treasury. Ca. 525. Delphi, Museum. Photo: Author.

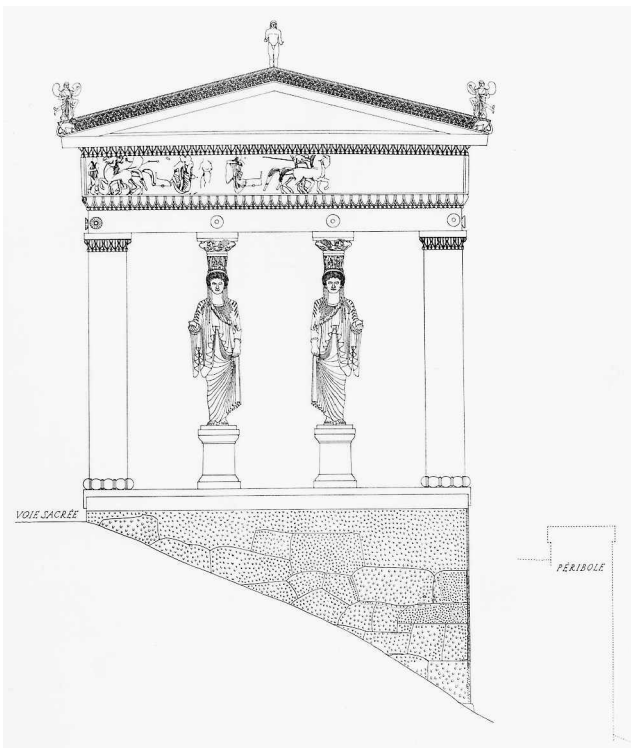


Figure 4: The Siphnian Treasury from the West, partially restored (the lacunae in the pediment and the frieze are retained). After Daux and Hansen 1987.

Figure 5: The Siphnian Treasury from the South, partially restored (the lacunae in the frieze are retained). After Daux and Hansen 1987.

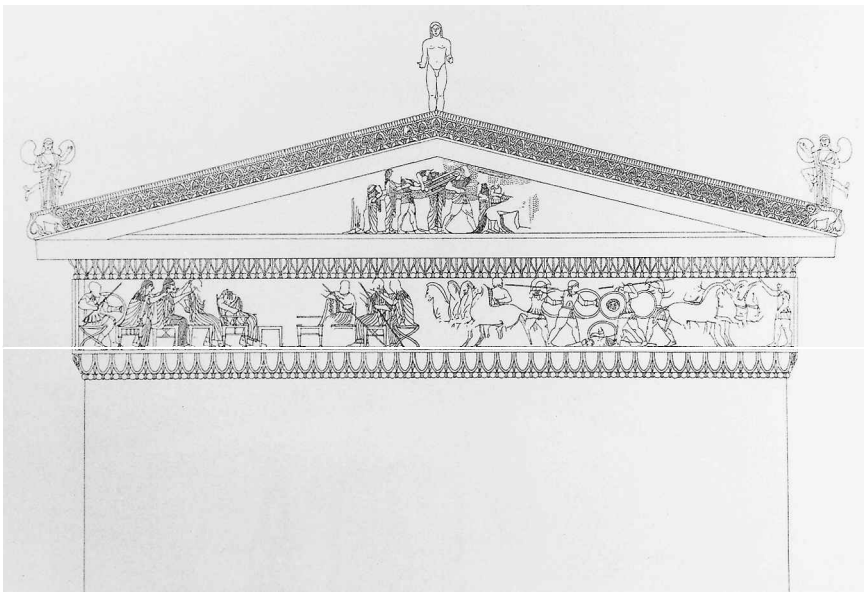
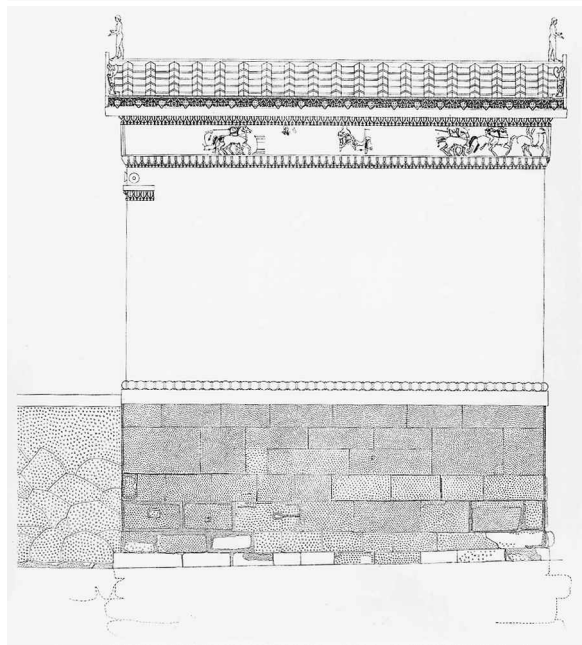


Figure 6: The East pediment and frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, partially restored (the lacunae in the pediment and the frieze are retained). The restoration of the central akroterion is hypothetical. After Daux and Hansen 1987.

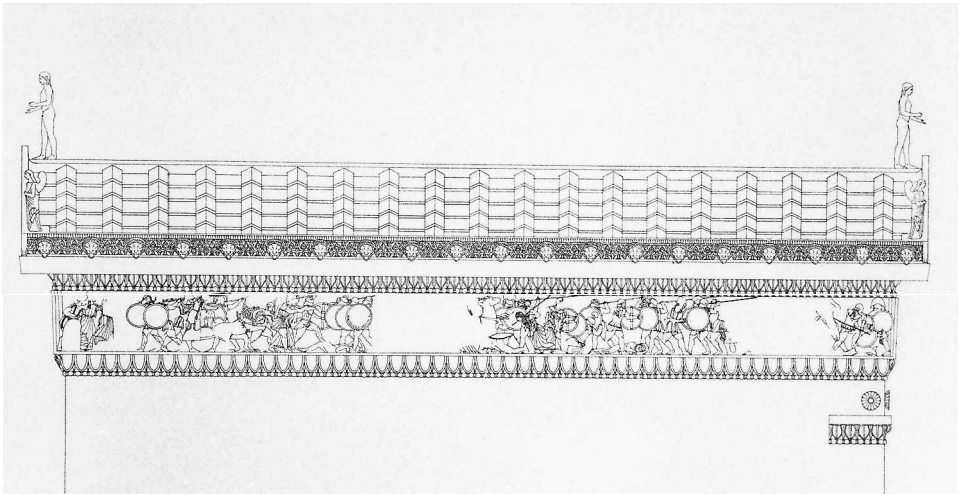


Figure 7: The North frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, partially restored (the lacunae in the frieze are retained). After Daux and Hansen 1987.



Figure 8: Central group of the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury: the Struggle for the Tripod. Ca. 525. Delphi, Museum. Photo: after La Coste 1950.

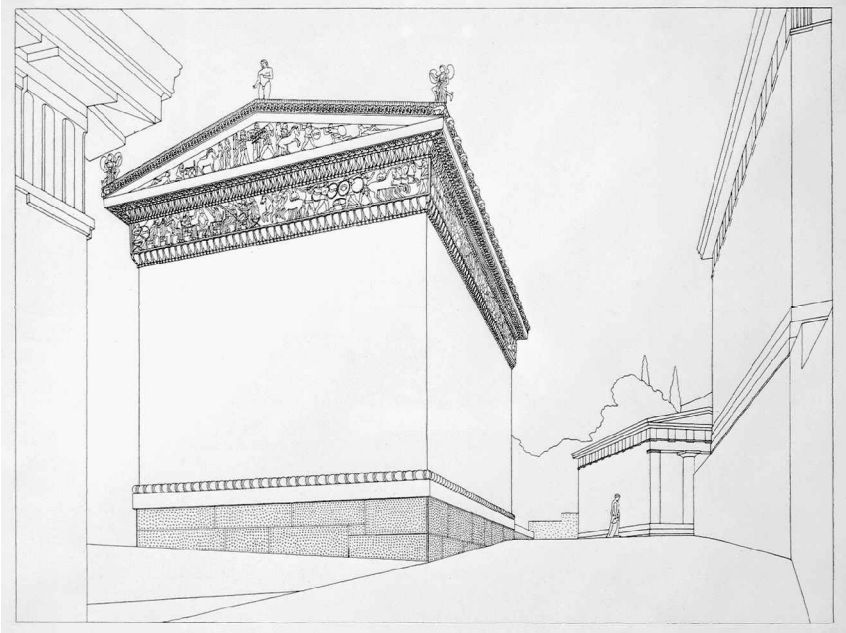


Figure 9: View of the Siphnian Treasury from the Northeast, coming up the Sacred Way (restored). The restoration of the missing pedimental figures and the central akroterion is hypothetical. Note the presence of Hermes on the East frieze, After Daux and Hansen 1987.



Figure 10: The East frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (detail). From left to right: Aeneas (partial), Memnon, Antilokhos, Akhilleus. Ca. 525. Delphi, Museum. Photo: after La Coste 1950.

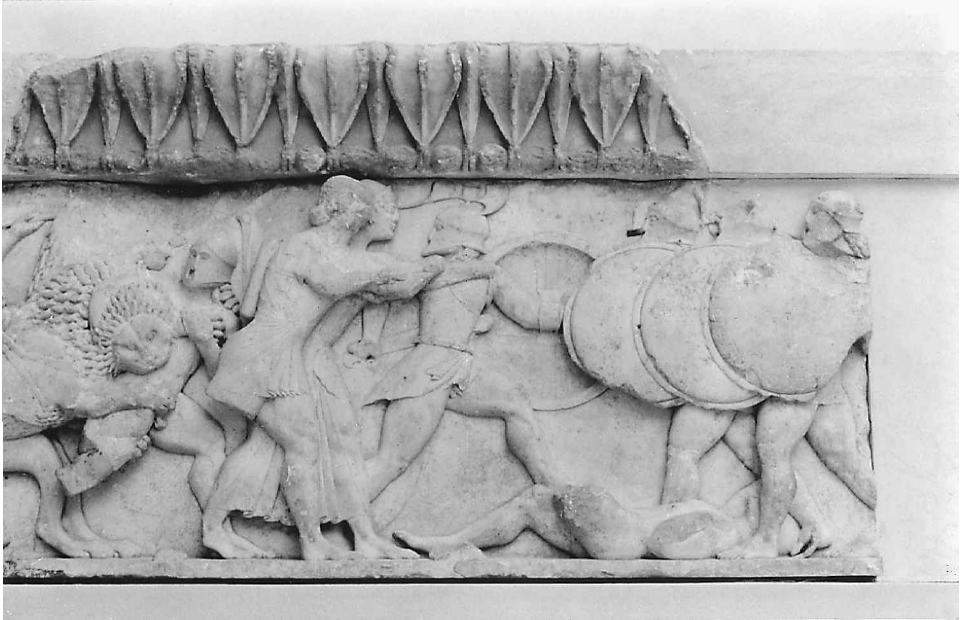


Figure 11: The North frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (detail). From left to right: Themis' lions attack a giant; Apollo and Artemis fight a phalanx of giants, while one giant flees and another lies dead. Ca. 525. Delphi, Museum. Photo: Author.



Figure 12: The West frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (detail). Close-up of the central figure (Artemis), showing bowstrings and arrow-shaft. Note especially the manner in which the lower bowstring passes over a lock of the goddess' hair. Ca. 525. Delphi, Museum. Photo: Author.



Figure 13: The West frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (detail). The heads of Artemis' horses, with traces of palm-leaves visible at right. Ca. 525. Delphi, Museum. Photo: Author.



Figure 14: Attic red-figure amphora of the first quarter of the fifth century, showing the Death of Orion on Delos (lost). Attributed to the Syriskos Painter. After Furtwängler and Reichhold 1932.

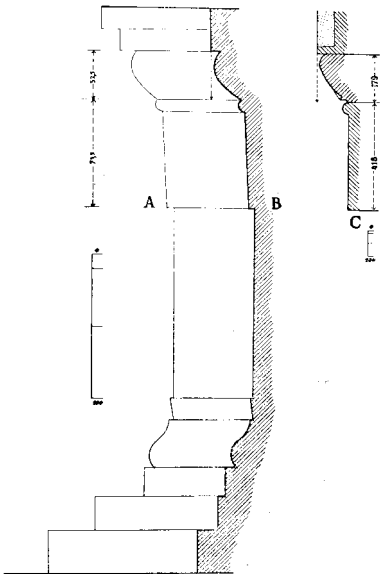


Figure 15: Profiles of the altar on the South frieze (A-B) and of the Siphnian Treasury itself (C). After La Coste 1944–1945.