

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO



ARCHAIC GREECE

EDITED BY H. A. Shapiro

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H. A. SHAPIRO

The Johns Hopkins University



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9: DELPHI, OLYMPIA, AND THE ART OF POLITICS

Richard T. Neer

For Froma Zeitlin



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.

– Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles*, 234.

PANHELLENIC SANCTUARIES AND ARCHAIC IDEOLOGY

The “Panhellenic” sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia, and Delos are astonishingly complex, and their importance for the history of early Greece can hardly be overstated. To consider even the most exiguous remains from one of these sites is, immediately, to find oneself enmeshed in an intricate web of economic, social, artistic, literary, and religious histories. The present discussion, accordingly, does not attempt to be in any way systematic, nor does it offer detailed histories of the sites themselves. Instead, it will knit together a few of these remains, tracing their interconnections and their underlying patterns. The daunting complexity of these sites has one benefit: their inscriptions, statues, and buildings are mightily overdetermined, threaded through with cross-cutting political and ideological strands. They are, for that very reason, at once difficult and fascinating. Individual monuments both demand and reward close attention; hence this chapter will move from the relatively general and schematic to the relatively specific and concrete, from secondary literature to the close reading of poems and sculptures.

But first, a bit of definition. For present purposes, the term “Panhellenic” implies a major shrine in Greek territory that is not under the control of a single, strong *polis* or *ethnos*. Zeus’ sanctuary at Olympia was governed by Elis, but Elis was weak and, in the early period, had to vie for control of the site with the equally insignificant Pisa. Delphi was in theory an independent *polis*, but the sanctuary of Apollo was controlled by a council of interested cities, known as the Amphictyony; some members, such as Athens, were quite far removed from the shrine itself. Isthmia and Nemea, by contrast, were effectively large state sanctuaries: even though they took their place alongside Delphi and Olympia on the circuit of great quadrennial games, they were under the control of Corinth and Argos, respectively. Indeed, they were smaller and less cosmopolitan than major Ionian centers such as the Heraion on Samos or the Artemision at Ephesus. Delos presents a more complex case. It was dominated variously by Naxos and Athens in the sixth century; in the fifth it was firmly controlled by the latter, and utterly politicized; in the Hellenistic period it was famously independent. It may be, therefore, that a site could be functionally “Panhellenic” at one point in its history and not at others. As a simple rule of thumb, I take the threshold criterion for Panhellenic status to be whether the shrine permitted outside cities to build on its premises. It would, for instance, have been unthinkable for the Athenians to allow another city to raise a building on the Acropolis or at Eleusis, even though both sites attracted pilgrims from all over the Greek world. At Delphi, Olympia, and Delos, by contrast, there are many instances of other states building large, elaborate structures – most notably treasure-houses, or *thesauroi*, for holding costly dedications. At Delphi, even the Etruscans of Agylla (Caere) were welcome to build one. A truly Panhellenic shrine was, in Pindar’s phrase, a *pandokos naos*, an “all-welcoming temple” (Pindar *Pythian* 8.61–2): it was open, in theory at least, to everyone. In this respect, the Panhellenic shrine is the literal antithesis of a *polis*. It is Greek, not barbarian; civilized, not wild; but it stands in the place *where the polis is not*. Limiting as it may be, this definition reveals just how distinctive Delphi, Olympia, and (to a lesser extent) Delos actually were.

Catherine Morgan has argued, in a series of brilliant studies, that such shrines arose for essentially two reasons: they provided venues for conspicuous consumption by aristocrats, via athletics and votive offerings; and they helped to resolve internal conflicts in emergent states by means of their oracles. In the case of Olympia (see Figure 22 for the site plan), votive deposits of ca. 800 BCE suggest that the shrine began as a neutral site for petty chiefs of Arcadia and Messenia to meet, to vie

with one another in games and in the dedication of offerings, and to consult the oracle of Zeus. The formalization of athletic contests, traditionally dated to 776 BCE but more likely occurring over the course of the century, spurred development; the conquest of Messenia by Sparta actually led to more diverse patronage from around the Peloponnese. As competition increased and visitors came from farther afield, offerings became more elaborate. Bronze tripods, for instance, developed into an important class of prestige good. By the seventh and sixth centuries, some form of participation at Olympia was a *sine qua non* of elite status: in this way, the shrine was integral to the self-definition of a Peloponnesian aristocracy as such. With the development of more centralized political communities during the same period, however, a potential conflict opened up between elite self-aggrandizement at the distant shrine and the interests of the *polis* community. As will become clear, this conflict was a driving force behind much of the activity at the site in the remainder of the Archaic period.

Delphi had a similar history of gradual expansion in the eighth century, with the signal difference that its oracle was always more important than its games (see Figure 21 for the site plan). Although musical contests seem to have been a fixture from early times, there were no athletic contests at Delphi until 583 BCE. The oracle was the shrine's real attraction. As Robert Parker has argued, its essential function was not to predict the future but to provide divine sanction for potentially divisive political decisions. States would appeal to the oracle in moments of internal crisis, typically asking yes-or-no questions on matters of policy. The god's response would legitimize one or another course of action, thereby paving the way for consensus. Classic examples of such "binding arbitration" include the ratification of constitutions at Sparta and Athens and the use of the oracle to legitimate risky and divisive colonial expeditions. The neutrality of the oracle was crucial to this mediatory task, and required protection: when the nearby town of Crisa attempted to seize control of the sanctuary in the early years of the sixth century, a coalition of nearby states formed to reassert its independence. This First Sacred War reveals the depth of state involvement at Delphi. The shrine did not lack for private visitors and was as much a center of elite display as Olympia; the oracle, likewise, addressed individual queries. Still, Delphi always had a stronger connection with civic governments. The results are visible in the topography itself. Olympia, for all its wealth, had far less monumental architecture than Delphi; Zeus probably did not even have a temple before the fifth century. Delphi, by contrast, was dotted with small buildings from the middle of the sixth century at least.

The oracle may have been a useful and effective way to paper over disagreement – even violent disagreement – in particular cases. But it cannot often have addressed the root material causes of such disagreements, which will have had more to do with the exercise of power and the allocation of resources than with divine mandates. The issue becomes, if anything, more acute with time, as internal divisions within the Greek aristocracies become more visible. Morgan argues persuasively that, in the eighth century, costly dedications at Olympia “served a domestic political purpose by reinforcing the position of the elite within the emerging state.”¹ One might add, simply, that claims to prestige tend to call forth counterclaims; there is no reason to assume that “the elite” in question was monolithic. At the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens, for instance, there is good evidence for intra-elite competition from the ninth century at least: competing ways of disposing of the body (inhumation versus cremation), of making offerings (in the grave or in separate trenches), even of pottery style (Middle versus Late Geometric, or Late Geometric versus Protoattic). Because the graves in question are all relatively well furnished, the implication is that these disparate modes of funerary display track social rivalries *within* an emerging Athenian elite. There is every reason to suppose that similar rivalries played out in other communities. As much as interstate sanctuaries reinforced the position of elites within the state, as much as they provided useful meeting points for upper-class interaction, they will also have provided venues for political infighting and for competition within local aristocracies. The consensus in question is merely conflict deferred, or repressed.

Ian Morris and Leslie Kurke have emphasized the importance of such internal divisions within the Greek cities. Synthesizing archaeological and literary evidence, they have described a broad division in *polis* society between two constellations of images, texts, values, and claims to power. The resulting model is, of its nature, schematic, and both authors spend much of their time tracing the nuances and complexities of individual cases. But the basic distinction is between those aristocrats who identified themselves first and foremost as members of a local, civic community, and those who identified themselves as part of a larger aristocracy above and beyond petty local concerns. Morris terms the first group *middling*, the second *elitist*. “The elitists,” he writes, “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.”² This division resulted naturally from the ongoing process of state formation: that is, from the gradual movement of power from persons to institutions, from clans to communities. Crucially, however, the operative distinctions are ideological and cultural, not reductively economic. Both “elite” and “middling” name *upper-class* systems of value (cf. Chapter 6 on expressions of these ideologies in Archaic lyric poetry).

In this account, interstate shrines were crucial to elitist ideology. Part of the appeal of these sanctuaries was, precisely, the fact that they were not under the control of any single city. Situated “in the interstices of the *polis* world,”³ they provided elites with a venue for competitive display through athletics and large-scale dedications. 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 Anthony Snodgrass has suggested, local pressures may have prevented elites from displaying their wealth too conspicuously at home, leading them to invest more heavily elsewhere. Forms of behavior that were unseemly in the eyes of one’s fellow citizens could be admirable at Delphi or Olympia. In other cases, 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 all shared one feature: they were all investments in a sphere of exchange outside the home *polis*, and potentially opposed to it.

An especially clear instance of these competing tendencies is visible in the layout of the Ptoön sanctuary in Boeotia. Although controlled directly by Thebes from ca. 480, the Ptoön flourished in the second half of the sixth century, during a time when Delphi seems to have been partially closed for repairs following a disastrous fire in 548. Not normally considered “Panhellenic,” the Ptoön was, briefly, Delphi’s understudy. The sanctuary complex consisted in fact of two distinct shrines: one, an oracle of the hero Ptoös; the other, a temple to Apollo. These two shrines served different constituencies. The oracle was patronized more often by cities, and the dedications to Ptoös were most often state-sponsored and collective, with a special emphasis on bronze tripods. The sanctuary of Apollo, by contrast, contained almost exclusively private offerings, including a spectacular quantity of nude marble youths or *kouroi*, the veritable icons of the interstate aristocracy.⁴ The distinction was not absolute – *kouroi* were offered to Ptoös, and tripods to Apollo – but

the overall pattern is clear. The oracle of Ptoös corresponds well with Morgan's account: it seems to have functioned primarily as a place for communities to legitimize potentially divisive decisions. The sanctuary of Apollo, on the other hand, fits equally well with the view of Kurke and Morris. A sort of anti-*polis*, it provided a venue for upper-class display; significantly, the series of *kouroi* died out around the time it lost its independence decisively to Thebes. Although it would be premature to call Ptoös "middling" and Apollo "elite," still the dramatic bifurcation of this site does suggest that ideology could map easily enough onto cultic topography.

The handling of athletic victors reveals the political and ideological complexities of such sanctuaries. The earliest and most prestigious games were those at Olympia. But in the first half of the sixth century, Delphi, Nemea, and Isthmia instituted or expanded their own quadrennial games. The result was a cycle or circuit of contests: in any given year there was a major event at one of these four sites. These games had no reward but prestige: victors received a crown of twigs. Especially at Olympia, victors were allowed, but not required, to erect statues of themselves in the shrine. What the Panhellenic victor left behind was not his prize, but a replica of himself. These statues are securely attested at Olympia from 544 BCE, but the practice may go back much earlier at the site. The image could be life-sized or smaller; the earliest were of wood, but bronze soon became the favored material. Although few traces survive, in the Archaic period most victor-statues will inevitably have been variants of the *kouros*-type, the all-purpose icon of the aristocracy (cf. Pausanias 8.40.1; cf. Figure 35, a funerary *kouros* from ca. 530 BCE). It follows that Olympia, and to a lesser extent Delphi, must have been crowded with dozens or even hundreds of more or less identical male figures. At Olympia, the statues clustered on the south side of the sanctuary, or Altis, an arrangement that, as Federico Rausa has noted, will have emphasized their homogeneity. So far from appropriating the victor's prize, the Panhellenic sanctuary invited him to participate, via his image, in this assembly of the generically best and brightest: to become one of the *homoioi*, the "peers" or "interchangeables," dwelling permanently in the shrine. Uniting past victors and present ones, Greeks from the mainland and those from distant colonies, the army of *kouroi* is a veritable instantiation of the imagined community of the Hellenic elite.

For the home community, the prestige of victory could translate into real, and potentially destabilizing, power. More than a few leaders

of Greek colonial expeditions were former athletic victors in the great games, as were more than a few would-be tyrants – a fact that reveals not just the prestige of victory, but also the difficulty of accommodating the winners in the existing political framework. Better, perhaps, to send them overseas than to keep them at home. Kylon of Athens is the classic example of a subversive victor: having won the double-length footrace at Olympia in 640 BCE, he used the occasion of a subsequent festival to launch a *coup d'état*. The timing, as Thucydides observes (1.26), was “appropriate to an Olympic victor.” Kylon failed, but his attempt to use Olympic prestige to personal advantage was naked. For just this reason, as Kurke has argued, the custom arose in some *poleis* that the victor would dedicate his crown on the altar of his city’s tutelary deity. Through this ritual of “crowning the city,” the glory of victory became communal. In exchange, the city would shower the victor with *civic* honors. In some instances the city even erected a second victor-statue at home, a local counterpart to the one in the Panhellenic shrine. To honor the victor is, in this sense, to reassimilate him into the city (cf. Kurke in Chapter 6 for the role of epinician poetry in this process). Rather less subtly, but to similar effect, in the mid-sixth century the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos pressured his rival Kimon to “hand over the victory” when his horses won the chariot race at Olympia for the second time in a row (Herodotus 6.103). The heralds announced the victory in the tyrant’s name. When, in the next Olympiad, Kimon’s horses won yet again, he was deemed too dangerous to live, and was killed.

One may usefully contrast the situation at ethnic or regional centers, such as the oracle of Triopian Apollo outside Cnidus. The site seems to have started out as a state sanctuary: standing on a peninsula between Cnidus and the mainland, it helped to define the city’s territory. Its oracle may well have acquired stature in mediating local disputes, and eventually it became a meeting place for the local Dorian cities. By the sixth century, if not earlier, the Trioieion evolved into an ethnic center, governed not by Cnidus alone but by a federation of six Dorian towns, known as the Hexapolis or “Six Cities.” Offerings came in from Etruria, Cyprus, and Phoenicia. Yet the Trioieion never attained the prestige of its Pythian counterpart. One likely reason is that it was closely associated with the institutional activities of the Dorian federation. Although notionally an interstate shrine, the Trioieion was effectively civic in nature. Its civic overseers maintained strict control over the dedicatory practices of its patrons in the local aristocracy. Herodotus (1.144) tells how his own city, Halicarnassus, was expelled from the governing board

in the second quarter of the sixth century. The story usefully illustrates the stakes of aristocratic dedication.

The Dorians of what is now the country of the “Five Cities” – formerly the country of the “Six Cities” – forbade admitting any of the neighboring Dorians to the Triopian temple, and even barred from using it those of their own group who had broken the temple law. For long ago, in the games in honor of Triopian Apollo, they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won these were not to carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now when a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles won, he disregarded this law, and, carrying the tripod away, nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offense the five cities – Lindus, Ialysus, Camerius, Cos, and Cnidus – forbade the sixth city – Halicarnassus – to share in the use of the temple.

The Triopian shrine provided a venue for local aristocrats to appear before a broader, interstate community, even as its bylaws made it effectively impossible for them to turn their victories to personal ends. Victors were forced to leave their tripods in the communal, collective sanctuary; their glory remained civic (or federal), not exclusively personal. This short-circuiting of elitist display may explain why Agasicles took the extraordinary measure of nailing his tripod to the wall of his own house. If his goal was to keep the glory of victory for himself, then neither leaving it at the Triopeion, nor dedicating it at a public shrine in Halicarnassus, would do the job. The regulations of the sanctuary left him no choice but to take the tripod home. They boxed him in, which, presumably, was just their intent.

The laws of Triopian Apollo represent a triumph of middling regulation over elitist self-assertion. Delphi and Olympia, by contrast, had no such rules. Access was open to all, and some of the offerings were extraordinarily lavish. For elites, in other words, there was a real difference between a dedication at a home or regional sanctuary and one at a Panhellenic shrine. Precisely because they were relatively remote, standing outside the control of any strong, local state, Delphi and Olympia could function as venues for elitist aristocrats to assert their independence from their home communities. And the cities responded, setting up offerings and built monuments, even, in the case of Argos, submitting publicly owned horses to compete at Olympia (winning twice in

the early fifth century). The drama of sites such as 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.

THE POLITICS OF DEDICATION

One place to see the politics of dedication “in action” is in the rhetoric of dedicatory inscriptions. These short, formulaic texts are exercises in self-presentation, and it is revealing to see how Greek aristocrats chose to announce themselves to the wider world. Sometime around 550 BCE, for instance, a noble Athenian named Alkmaionides gave a *kouros* to Ptoian Apollo. The statue is lost, but its inscribed base survives:

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

Given the elitist connotations of chariot racing, it is significant that Alkmaionides should identify himself by his patronymic, not his ethnic: by his noble birth, not his citizenship. His father Alkmaion was famous as an Olympic victor in the chariot race, and his clan was among the most prestigious in Greece. For such a one, it was apparently not enough to be famous at Athens, and Athenian citizenship was not worth proclaiming. The *polis* does not figure into the equation at all, even when the victory in question occurs at Athens itself. This emphasis is all the more striking given that the “festive gathering for Pallas” is presumably the great Panathenaic festival, a spectacular display of Athenian civic identity. Reorganized in the 560s, just after the final consolidation of the four-year circuit of “crown” games, the Panathenaia was in one sense a “middling” counterpart to those contests. Alkmaionides saw fit to compete in the Panathenaia and to receive acclaim from the Athenian *polis*. But he also felt it necessary to disseminate his deeds and parentage within an *interstate* community. In this venue, Athens became a mere pretext for aristocratic display.

At the opposite extreme stands a victor statue that Pausanias saw at Olympia (2.2.9): “The inscription on the Samian boxer says that his trainer Mykon dedicated the statue and that the Samians are the best

among the Ionians for athletes and at naval warfare – but it tells us nothing at all about the boxer himself!” In this case, the *polis* gets all the attention, eclipsing even the victor’s own name. The anonymous Samian participated in the Olympic games, thereby making a bid for status; but he appears as the very antithesis of an ostentatious elitist. It may even be significant that boxing requires less of a financial outlay than chariot racing, and that naval warfare – in so far as it placed military power in the hands of the common citizens who manned the oars – was often a specialty of tyrannical and democratic regimes. Be that as it may, the boxer is in every way subordinate to his civic community. Where Alkmaionides failed to mention his homeland, the Samian fails to mention himself. The result is an extreme instance of the “middling” position. These two dedications may stand as limit cases: two radically different modes of aristocratic self-presentation.

Three Athenian offerings from the Persian Wars further clarify the distinction. Soon after leading the Athenians to victory at Marathon in 490, the general Miltiades sent a helmet to Olympia (Figure 23). The inscription is simple: “To Zeus, from Miltiades.” One might contrast the inscription on a helmet that the Athenian state sent to the same shrine during the same period. Here, as on most public offerings, there is no mention of individual commanders: “The Athenians [dedicated this] to Zeus, having taken it from the Medes.” Miltiades does the opposite: he omits all mention of the Athenian soldiers and personalizes the victory. Like Alkmaionides, he does not even mention that he is from Athens. Unlike Alkmaionides, however, Miltiades also omits his patronymic: given that he claimed descent from Zeus via the hero Aiakos, he may have deemed such details superfluous. But in fact the omission is unremarkable – many dedications are equally laconic – and it may be better to see such texts as addressing a restricted audience. Quite deliberately, the text speaks only to the knowledgeable: “If you’ve got to ask,” as Louis Armstrong put it, “you ain’t never going to know.” In this way, the Athenian general uses the occasion of a communal military victory to assert a special relationship with the mightiest of the gods; he simply freezes his home *polis* out of the transaction. In the event such self-aggrandizement was unsustainable in democratic Athens. Miltiades’ high-handed conduct after Marathon (specifically, his advocacy of a punitive expedition to the enemy island of Paros) resulted in a trial in 489; after being fined fifty talents for “misleading the people,” he died of gangrene from a wound incurred on campaign.

Miltiades was the hero of Marathon, but the actual commander-in-chief was Kallimakhos, who fell in the battle. A posthumous offering

in his name on the Athenian Acropolis makes a telling contrast with the two helmets at Olympia (Figure 24). The choice of venue is revealing in itself: Kallimakhos' votive addresses an Athenian, local audience, not a "Panhellenic" one. The iconography makes this point nicely. Atop a tall column, Nike ("Victory") or Iris appears in a whirligig running pose, carrying the staff of a herald. The conceit is that the goddess is just arriving on the Acropolis, bearing a message – news, no doubt, of the Athenians' victory. If Alkmaionides' *kouros* proclaims victory at Athens to the wider Greek world, Kallimakhos' goddess literally brings victory at Marathon home to Athens. The dedicatory inscription works to similar effect (*GHI*³ 33–4 no. 18):

Kallimakhos of Aphidna dedicated me to Athena – I am the messenger of the immortals who have their home on Olympus – because he was victorious, when he was commander-in-chief, in the festival of the Athenians. And fighting most bravely of them all he won fairest renown for the men of Athens and a memorial for his own valor.

Here all is civic: the text identifies Kallimakhos by his township, not his ancestry, and it specifies that he earned glory "for the men of Athens," not himself. Where Miltiades uses his role in the battle to assert his own special prerogatives in the wider world outside Athens, the family of Kallimakhos defines his glory in terms of the local *polis* community. The difference between the two encapsulates neatly the elite/middling opposition. Kallimakhos and Miltiades are both wealthy and well-born, but they take very different stances relative to their home community. The only truly anonymous and collective offering in this set is the helmet that the state itself sent to Olympia.

In the case of the Marathon dedications, Olympia stands as the virtual antithesis of the Athenian Acropolis. It does not follow, of course, that any dedication at an interstate shrine was intrinsically elitist, nor that any dedication at home was intrinsically middling. Both Alkmaionides and Miltiades also made dedications at Athens at one time or another, and the Athenian state sent offerings to Delphi and Olympia. Such complexities only underscore the need to take offerings as much as possible on a case-by-case basis. Delphi and Olympia should not serve as ideological pigeonholes. So far from determining in advance the political tenor of dedications, the interstate shrines were more often sites of complex negotiation between elite and middling. Offerings, accordingly, require close reading. Statistical studies of fluctuations in

the number and quality of offerings are invaluable, but we should not lose sight of the trees for the forest.

Such complexity is especially evident in dedications by tyrants. The typical tyrant was a populist aristocrat, holding sole power by leading the commons against the rest of the upper class. It was in the interest of such men to present themselves as open-handed elitists, spending more lavishly than any of their elite rivals, even as they maintained the fiction that their expenditure was made on behalf of, or in tandem with, the broader *polis* community. As a result, tyrants tended to finesse the elite/middling distinction. A dedication by Miltiades the Elder, uncle of the hero of Marathon and himself an Olympic victor in the chariot-race, is fairly typical in this regard. This elder Miltiades held the tyranny in the Gallipoli peninsula, or Chersonesus, in the later sixth century. Following a military victory, he dedicated an ivory horn, said to be that of the ram Amaltheia, at Olympia. Pausanias (6.19.6) gives the inscription:

To Olympian Zeus was I dedicated by the men of Chersonesus
After they had taken the fortress of Aratus.
Their leader was Miltiades.

The Syracusan tyrant Hieron made a similar offering in 474, after his ships defeated the Etruscans off Cumae. Two helmets from Olympia read: “Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans [dedicated this] to Zeus, [taken from the] Tyrrhenians from Cumae.” Such texts strike a balance between the pure self-aggrandizement of the younger Miltiades and the anonymity of the collective state offering. It is noteworthy, for one thing, that they mention the “leaders” at all: contrast the Athenian helmet at Olympia, which follows standard practice in attributing victory to the citizenry as an anonymous collective. Yet if the mere mention of the tyrant’s name is revealing, still both Hieron and Miltiades appear in a broader political framework. In the case of the ivory horn, “the men of Chersonesus” make the dedication, and capture the fortress of Aratus, whereas Miltiades himself comes last in the inscription even as he comes first in the army. Significantly, perhaps, Miltiades requires neither introduction nor identification, and the very grammar of the inscription assures his preeminence: his name is the only nominative singular noun in the entire text. Hieron, on the other hand, comes first in the inscription, identified by his patronymic, and appears as co-dedicant with the Syracusans as a whole: in this case, and rather more assertively, the tyrant is “first man” of the *polis*. Both dedications, however, imply that the

tyrant's position does not come at the cost of the broader community. It is not a zero-sum game.

For Hieron, such tact was in fact the exception rather than the rule. He and his brothers, known collectively as the Deinomenids, ruled much of eastern Sicily for a generation or more in the early fifth century. So far from suggesting reciprocity between tyrant and *polis*, they more often presented themselves as superelitists: more aristocratic, more ostentatious, and more disdainful of communitarian pressures than anyone else. As if to literalize the elitist's claim to transcend the local community, the Deinomenids actually changed cities on more than one occasion, calling themselves Geloans, Syracusans, or Aetnans as the political situation required. They encouraged similar behavior in their henchmen. Hieron, notoriously, suborned the athlete Astylos of Croton into shifting allegiance and becoming Syracusan; the Crotonates responded by tearing down his victor statue at Croton and turning his house into a prison (Pausanias 6.13.1). Just so, a man named Phormis, who served both Gelon and Hieron, made lavish offerings at Delphi and Olympia, describing himself as "an Arcadian of Maenalus, now Syracusan" (Pausanias 5.27.2). Both Astylos and Phormis set up monuments at Olympia, parading their changes of allegiance for all to see. In these instances, the imagined community of Panhellenic aristocrats actually became a reality, as ties of friendship between the Deinomenids and the elites of other cities resulted in literal renunciations of citizen identity.

The Deinomenids' own offerings were fully consistent with this practice. They erected several multifigure bronze chariot groups at Delphi and Olympia (see Figure 20). The so-called Delphi Charioteer comes from one such ensemble and gives a clue as to their appearance (see Figure 25). Dedicated in 466 by the last of the dynasty, Polyzalos of Gela, the monument commemorated earlier victories by his late brother Hieron: two in the horse race and one in the chariot race. Reconstructions suggest a chariot with four horses and charioteer, flanked by an additional two horses, each with a boy jockey. This is ostentation on an unparalleled scale; Alkmaionides' *kouros* in the Ptoön pales in comparison. The accompanying inscription was in this instance recut after the fall of the tyranny in 466. Although the text is only partially preserved and remains controversial, the original version went something like this:

[A memorial for a brother:] lording over [*anasson*] Gela,
[Polyzalos] dedicated it. Make this man prosper, O honored
Apollo.

Later, the Geloans changed it to read:

Polyzalos dedicated me. Make this man prosper, O honored Apollo.

It is revealing to note what the Geloans chose to erase. The first version mentions Gela, but only as the object of the verb *anasson*, “lording.” Polyzalos presents himself to his peers as a *wanax*, or “Lord,” a Bronze Age word redolent of epic. Such vaunting rhetoric is fully consistent with the way that Pindar had praised Hieron as a *basileus*, “King,” and a *tyrannos*, “tyrant” (Pindar *Olympian* 1.23, *Pythian* 3.70, *Pythian* 3.85; cf. Bacchylides 3.11–12). The second version retains Polyzalos’ name, and (somewhat ironically under the circumstances) the prayer for his prosperity. But it removes the offending phrase *Gelas anasson*, “lording over Gela.” This second version effectively transforms the dedication from an arrogant assertion of power into a splendid, but relatively innocuous, piece of upper-class glory-mongering.

As with athletic victories, so with victories under arms: the Deinomenids personalized military success to an unparalleled degree. When, for instance, a coalition of Sicilian Greeks defeated the Carthaginians at Himera in 480, Gelon of Syracuse dedicated a column at Delphi surmounted by a golden Nike and tripod (see Figure 20). The text on the base, beautifully carved in Syracusan characters, reads:

Gelon, son of Deinomenes, of Syracuse, dedicated [this] to Apollo. The tripod and the Nike were made by Bion son of Diodoros of Miletus.

Gelon does identify his home city, but only to overshadow it: he may be from Syracuse, but the Syracusans did not make this dedication. When, in 474, Hieron defeated the Etruscans off Cumae, he set up a matching column: the inscription, though fragmentary, suggests that he too made the offering in his own name. The inscription was, it seems, at first even longer and more vainglorious than it appears today: two additional lines were deliberately effaced after the fall of the Deinomenids in 466. In each of these texts, the Deinomenids described military victories with formulae more appropriate to athletic ones: not only did their allies disappear, but so did the actual citizen-soldiers who did the fighting. The result is an elitist rhetoric of massive hyperbole. Not surprising, therefore, that Bacchylides (3.17–22) cites these very tripods as examples of the extraordinary ostentation of the Deinomenids: Hieron, he

says, “knows how not to hide his towering wealth in black-cloaked darkness. . . . [G]old shines with flashing light from the high elaborate tripods standing in front of the temple where the Delphians tend the great sanctuary of Phoebus by the waters of Castalia.”

Such stratagems were not always successful, and the failures can be instructive. Following their great victory over the Persians at the battle of Plataea in 479, the Greek allies made offerings at Delphi and Olympia. The monument at Delphi consisted of three bronze serpents, twisted together to form a single pillar some twenty-five feet high; at the top, a gold tripod rested one foot on each of the serpents’ heads (see Figure 26). The column is still visible today in the Hippodrome at Istanbul, whither it was removed under the emperor Constantine; the tripod, however, is lost, as are two of the serpents’ heads. The third was knocked off during a wild party in 1700 CE by a member of the Polish embassy; it is now in the Istanbul Museum. When the monument first went up, the Greek commander-in-chief, Pausanias of Sparta, tried a familiar ploy. He inscribed the column with his own name and neglected to mention any of the allied *poleis* (Thucydides 1.132):

Pausanias, supreme commander of the Greeks, when he had destroyed the host of the Medes, dedicated to Phoebus this memorial.

When the allies protested, the inscription was changed: visible on the column in Istanbul is a simple list of all the states that participated in the battle. On the tripod itself was inscribed, “This is the gift the saviors of far-flung Hellas upraised here, having delivered their *poleis* from loathsome slavery’s bonds” (Diodorus 11.33.2). From *polis* as a category on the tripod to the list of cities on the column, the contrast with Pausanias’ epigram was pointed; as extreme, in its own way, as the difference between Alkmaionides and the Samian boxer. Not long after Pausanias himself was accused of colluding with the Persians and endeavoring to set himself up as a tyrant. He was starved to death in the temple of Athena-of-the-Brazen-House at Sparta.

ARCHITECTURAL SELF-PRESENTATION

Short and formulaic, dedicatory inscriptions present a vivid but schematic picture of ideological positioning. It is only in larger, more elaborate structures that a more nuanced picture emerges. Indeed, one

way to think of monumental sculpture and architecture at these sites is as the visual counterpart to the inscriptions: more or less combative or conciliatory modes of self-presentation, subject to subsequent contestation and revision. In these cases, however, the dedicants in question tend to be civic, not private. Architecture was, for the most part, beyond the means of even the wealthiest elites. What is preserved, in the form of foundation courses and fragments of sculpture, is the civic response to private dedications.

An especially interesting class of buildings, in this respect, is the treasure-house, or *thesauros*: small, temple-like buildings, built by individual states to hold the offerings of their wealthy citizens. There were nearly thirty such buildings at Delphi, from every corner of the Greek world. At Olympia, eleven (possibly twelve) stood in a row overlooking the Archaic stadium. Most of the latter examples were built by Western colonies, leading to the skewed impression that colonies favored Olympia over Delphi. In fact, however, there were nearly as many Western treasuries at Delphi. Their remains are exiguous – terracotta roofing elements – but the colonial bias in favor of Olympia is a mirage (if anything, mainland cities *avoided* Olympia).⁵ 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, Carystus, Ceos, and Naxos. Six buildings west of the Temple of Apollo have been associated with these *oikoi*. The three earliest examples are rather grander than treasuries elsewhere. It is uncertain whether they were all originally used for storage; the oldest, the seventh-century *oikos* of the Naxians, may well have been an early temple of Apollo. The three later buildings, dating from 475–50, do resemble the treasuries at Delphi and Olympia. The cities with which they were later associated were all members of the Delian League; if those cities did in fact build them, then one might easily imagine that, in the early years of the alliance, some member states could have set up stronghouses to hold their contributions. But the matter is desperately uncertain, and the Delian *oikoi* have been neglected in the archaeological literature.

Delos aside, the basic function of a treasury is to hold costly dedications. But mere storage, mere practicality, cannot explain the existence of such buildings. Many large, powerful cities, whose wealthy citizens made lavish offerings, never saw fit to build treasure-houses: there has got to be more to the matter.⁶ The politics of dedication suggests another explanation. We can compare two roughly comparable sets of prestige offerings from Olympia and the Heraion on Samos. The travel-writer

Polemon saw a silver siren, a wooden triton holding a silver cup, a silver kylix, a golden oinochoe, and three gilt offering-plates in the Byzantine and Metapontine *thesauroi* at Olympia (in Athenaeus II.479f–480a). The list finds an echo in a late sixth-century inscription recording the offerings of two Perinthians to Samian Hera: a silver siren, a gold gorgon, a silver phiale, and a bronze lampstand. Although there is little difference between the two sets of offerings, there is a marked difference in their presentation. When placed on view in a treasury, such offerings were *recontextualized*: they still reflected well on their dedicants, to be sure, but they also glorified the *polis*. The Perinthians, by contrast, glorified no one but themselves (and, of course, Hera). It is significant in this regard that many treasuries were built in part or in whole from stone imported at great expense, and to no “practical” purpose, from the home territory. In the most literal way possible, the treasury brought a little bit of the *polis* into the heart of a Panhellenic shrine, so that when it was placed in a treasury, a dedication, in a way, never really left home at all. I would suggest that the purpose of such a building was not just to store votives but to nationalize them, and with them a dedicant’s privileged relationship to the gods. These buildings transform upper-class extravagance into civic pride. A *thesauros* is not just a storeroom: it is a frame for costly dedications, a way of diverting elite display in the interest of the city-state.

The Cnidian Treasury at Delphi presents these issues in condensed form. If its role at the shrine of Triopian Apollo is any indication, Cnidus set considerable store by the regulation of aristocratic display. It invested heavily in Delphi, raising two separate buildings in the sanctuary. The first, a treasury, went up shortly before the city’s capture by the Persians in 544; the second, a meeting house for citizens, went up after its liberation early in the 460s. The Archaic building bore a boustrophedon inscription on the architrave, “The [Cnid]ian [people dedicated to Apollo] Pythios, as a tithe, the treasury and the votive statues [*agalmata*].” The treasury was built of Island marble; it was perhaps the first in mainland Greece to employ the Ionic order, and the first to employ caryatides in an architectural setting: the two columns in the entryway take the form of well-dressed, bejeweled women, each extending one hand to make an offering. The meaning of such figures is controversial. Although many scholars have argued that all caryatides possess chthonic, eschatological, or political significance, there is no visual evidence to support such claims – no feature of the statues themselves that could count for or against a hidden, symbolic meaning. Whether we believe

in the symbolism or not, the statues represent the same thing: women making offerings. It would be more prudent, therefore, simply to take them at face value: caryatides look exactly like wealthy female dedicants, so that is probably what they are. That said, their structural function does register visually and is therefore at least potentially significant. In a sort of visual metaphor, the caryatid type equates a dedicant with a column. Circumstantially it is good to know that this very trope turns up in fifth-century literature: for Aeschylus, Agamemnon is “the firm-based pillar of a lofty roof” (*Agamemnon* 898); for Euripides, “male children are the pillars of a house” (*Iphigenia in Tauris* 57); and so on. Caryatides, so far from conveying religious allegories, probably represent one version of this familiar conceit. It is fully consistent with their overall appearance. They are servants, *therpontes*, of the deity: as votaries, they serve by making offerings; as “pillars of the community,” they serve by bearing weight. It is a simple and utterly concrete metaphor.

These figures relate cogently to the treasury’s function. As prominent, aristocratic dedicants, the caryatides model the building’s ideal user: the wealthy Cnidian who offers up a tithe to the god. Yet these figures do not simply *represent* gift-giving. They are themselves gifts, offerings to Apollo, perhaps even the “votive statues,” *agalмата*, mentioned in the dedicatory inscription; and they stand in the entryway of a building that exists to hold gifts. For all their ostentation and prominence, therefore, these figures are part of a larger, state-sponsored system of offering and display. As such the caryatides are at once sumptuous statues and load-bearing columns, ideals of the good Cnidian and functional elements within a civic 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*. In this instance, to be a conspicuous dedicant *just is* to support a civic building; to be structurally useful *just is* to be elaborate and ostentatious. There is no need to posit hidden meanings. Simply by being what they are, the caryatides clarify the logic of the treasury itself: the way it frames gifts in order to reconcile elite glory-mongering with civic pride. Sculpture, in other words, provides a set of literal and tangible terms for thinking the political. With hindsight, it is not surprising that architectural caryatides should first appear at Delphi, nor that Cnidus should be the city that set them up. The town that helped to punish Agasicles also invented an elegant iconographic formula for figuring the integration of a city and its wealthy inhabitants; and it did so at the very place in which those wealthy inhabitants were most likely to assert their independence from, and opposition to, the *polis*.

THE SYCIONIAN TYRANTS AT DELPHI
AND OLYMPIA

If the function of a treasury was indeed to “frame the gift,” then it is not surprising that many of the earliest examples were built by tyrants. The oldest treasury at Olympia was built by Myron of Sicyon; that at Delphi, by Kypselos of Corinth. Gelon of Syracuse built one treasury at Olympia and modified another, and it is even possible that the Peisistratids raised a predecessor to the Athenian treasury at Delphi. The antagonism of tyrants to elite display is well attested and easily understood: even as some, such as the Deinomenids, presented themselves as superelitists, they jealously guarded their own preeminence. Kypselos, in fact, inscribed his treasury with his own name, subsequently effaced by the Corinthians after the fall of the regime; the Eleans refused a similar request (Plutarch *De Pythiæ oraculis* 13). In these early instances, we might see the treasuries as none too subtle attempts by rulers to keep tight control on the activities of rival aristocrats.

Sicyon provides a useful case study. From the mid-seventh to the mid-sixth century, the city was ruled by tyrants of the Orthagorid family.⁷ The founder of the dynasty, Orthagoras, parlayed his hereditary role as sacrificial butcher (*mageiros*) on embassies to Delphi into a tyranny; he may have used it as a springboard to the office of *basileus* or sacral king. The last Orthagorid tyrant, Aiskhines, was not expelled until circa 520. Under Kleisthenes, ruler from ca. 600 to 570, Sicyon flourished as a naval, and perhaps a mercantile power. As noted earlier, such an arrangement placed military power in the hands of a tyrant's natural allies: the poorer citizens who could not afford armor and therefore manned the oars. Sicyon's ships played an important role in the First Sacred War; after the destruction of Crisa, Kleisthenes probably derived substantial income by extracting protection money from shipping in the Gulf of Corinth.

The Orthagorids adopted very different stances toward Delphi and Olympia. In 648, following a chariot victory, Myron built the first treasure house in the Altis. The proximate cause was to commemorate a chariot-victory; but there is some irony to the fact that the tyrant chose to commemorate his own triumph with a building in which to lock away the offerings of others. It contained two “chambers” (*thalamoi*) made of bronze that was said in Pausanias' day to have been brought from Tartessos in far-off Spain. The tradition is very likely to be ancient, and might suggest that the tyrant was flaunting his city's growing maritime power. The inscription on these chambers stipulated that they

had been dedicated by Myron and the *demos*, or commons, of Sicyon (Pausanias 6.19). Thus the lower classes and the ruler unite to constrain the dedicatory practices of the wealthy: a virtual diagram of the workings of Archaic tyranny. At Delphi, by contrast, the Orthagorids did not build a treasury. Instead they made a pair of exceptionally lavish offerings: a small, round building, or *tholos*, and a rectangular pavilion. Both were found in the foundation of a later Sicyonian treasury (on which more below) and are identified with the city on that basis. They date to the second quarter of the sixth century and are usually associated with Kleisthenes; his successor Aiskhines is, however, just as likely on chronological grounds. The function of the *tholos* remains a mystery, but the pavilion seems designed for the display of a large offering, presumably to glorify the tyrant. In short, whereas the Orthagorids built a cell for costly dedications at Olympia, at Delphi they made lavish and prominent offerings to Apollo. The discrepancy may be related to the fact that the tyrants had ancestral ties with Delphi via the position of *mageiros*. At the root of their prominence was a personal connection with the Pythian shrine; so Pytho was theirs. It is probably no coincidence that Kleisthenes also built a new temple to Apollo in the agora of Sicyon and established a local version of the Pythian Games. Such local versions of the Panhellenic contest had counterparts elsewhere. As celebrations of Apollo Pythius, they are usually understood as unambiguous honors to the Delphic shrine. That they did honor Delphi is indisputable, but the politics of the local Pythia were doubtless complex. At the very least, local Pythian games and cults blurred the distinction between *polis* and sanctuary; that they existed all suggests that cities must have found the ambiguity congenial. Kleisthenes' gesture is perhaps a subtler version of a ploy attempted in the seventh century by Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, who is said to have tried to seize control of the Olympic games themselves (Strabo 8.3.33).

The interaction between the Orthagorids and the interstate shrine thus emerges as a delicate negotiation, whereby the tyrant simultaneously recognized the importance of the sanctuary, permitted aristocratic display, and appropriated all the glory for himself. The trick, it seems, was to channel elitist display into venues and formats acceptable to the tyrant, either by framing costly gifts with a treasury, or by overwhelming them with impossibly expensive offerings while bringing the Pythian festival to Sicyon. It is a policy of containment, not confrontation, and it accords well with accounts in Herodotus and Aristotle stressing the moderation of Orthagorid rule.

It is possible, however, to be more specific. We can see some traces of this process in the sculptural decoration of the square pavilion, or *monopteros*, at Delphi. Its metopes, running 3×4 around the building, were unusually prominent: each panel bridged the entire distance between two columns, so that the intercolumnar triglyph was omitted. Spanning three entire metopes (hence one short side of the building) was a depiction of the ship *Argo*; matching it on the other short side were three panels depicting the Calydonian boar hunt (Figure 27). Other surviving panels depict Phrixos on the ram of the Golden Fleece, Europa on the bull, and the Dioskouroi rustling cattle. These metopes are among the earliest in mainland Greece to bear sculpture; they may even be *the* earliest. Discounting some controversial fragments from Mycenae, demonstrably earlier examples all come from the West, notably from Temple Y at Selinous in Sicily. This fact has led some scholars to wonder if the pavilion is really Sicyonian at all, and not Sicilian; but the reasoning is dangerously circular, and there are some connections between the architecture and that of the Apollo temple at Sicyon itself. It might be better to compare the pavilion's metopes with Myron's Tartessian chambers at Olympia. Just as the earlier tyrant had emphasized Sicyon's maritime power by importing (or claiming to import) bronze from distant Spain, so a later Orthagorid adopted a characteristically Western sculptural device. The tyrants emphasize, whenever possible, the connections between Sicyon and long-distance travel. It is thus fitting that a ship should occupy one entire side of the building.

Within this framework, the surviving *Argo* panel warrants closer consideration. Flanking the ship are the Dioskouroi, mounted on horseback; between them, on the ship itself, stand Orpheus and a comrade, each playing the lyre. The oft-remarked clumsiness of this arrangement, slapping frontal, upright figures against the long lateral plane of the ship, is usually explained as stylistic immaturity – a sort of primitivism. But the pertinent factor may be less stylistic than ideological. The panel may be crowded and difficult to read, its figures may relate unclearly to one other, its sculptural space may be incoherent. But this awkwardness only underscores the strangeness, and the stakes, of its iconography. Ships and horses do not come together often in Archaic art, less for aesthetic reasons than for political and social ones. For they embody the military functions of the highest and the lowest classes of a Greek city-state. Where navies gave power to the people, horse ownership was the defining characteristic of the Greek aristocracy (in

Athens, for instance, the second highest property class was the *hippeis*, the “horsemen”). More to the point, the Orthagorids relied on naval power even as they presented themselves as haughty elitists. On the metope, however, the two are basically equivalent. The Dioskouroi are also Argonauts, that is, oarsmen: social realities notwithstanding, there is *no contradiction* between horse and ship, cavalry and navy. Pindar figures this same interchangeability in his version of the myth. “Instead of short-finned dolphins,” says his Medea, “they will have swift horses, and reins instead of oars, and they will drive storm-footed chariot teams” (*Pythian* 4.17–18). Compositionally it is the role of the lyre-players to effect this equation: occupying the center of the frame, they are upright and frontal like the horsemen, but they stand in the background, inside the ship itself. Their instrument is, of course, Apollo’s own, and is appropriate to his foremost shrine, site of the most prestigious musical contest in the Greek world (Pindar notes that the oracle itself mandated the *Argo*’s voyage, and that Apollo sent Orpheus to participate: *Pythian* 4.163–4, 176–7). In the space of the lyre, which is the space of Apollo, high and low come together. Just as the Orthagorids sought to reconcile elitist practice with a tyranny based on sea power, so the *Argo* metope presents a harmonious world in which cavalrymen and oarsmen are the same thing, and Apollo’s music floats over all.

The fate of the Orthagorid offerings is instructive. Following the collapse of the tyranny around 550, an oligarchic regime came to power (Aristotle *Politics* 1316a). For the next twenty years or so, Delphi was undergoing substantial renovation in the wake of the fire of 548, and there was no large-scale building at the site. But when activity resumed in the 520s, the Sicyonians promptly built a treasury. It was in the substructure of this *thesauros* that the remains of both the *tholos* and the pavilion were discovered. Both structures had been carefully dismantled: perhaps after the fire, perhaps later. Regardless of when the older buildings were taken down, however, their burial and reuse as the foundation of a new civic building are political theater of the highest order. The treasury at Olympia, on the other hand, remained in place for a generation or more. But sometime around 480 it, too, was dismantled; its blocks were dispersed throughout the sanctuary. A new treasury took its place: it was in this later building that Pausanias saw the bronze chambers of “Myron and the *demos*.” As at Delphi, placing the tyrant’s frame for offerings inside yet another, more acceptable structure dramatizes the changed political situation. Just as the Geloans and the Syracusans reinscribed the Deinomenid votives, so the Sicyonians literally built new monuments on the tyranny’s ruins.

ATHENIANS AT DELPHI

A series of buildings at Delphi provides a final, extended example of such political negotiation. The first is the late Archaic temple of Apollo at Delphi. We know neither the date nor the size of the first large temple (or temples) on the site, but fragments of a large marble sima of the second quarter of the sixth century have been plausibly associated with Apollo's temple and suggest, at the very least, a substantial renovation in that period. The sima has close parallels with examples from the Athenian Acropolis that are regularly associated with the tyrant Peisistratos. The similarity is not especially surprising – Peisistratos was on the winning side in the First Sacred War for control of the Delphic sanctuary – and it is just possible that he contributed to Apollo's temple as well. Be that as it may, a disastrous fire destroyed the building in 548. Over the following decades the Delphic authorities overhauled the entire sanctuary, constructing a series of terraces suitable for large-scale offerings and laying out the course of the present Sacred Way (it was during this interim period that the Ptoön flourished, and Alkmaionides made his dedication). The Amphictyony paid three-quarters of the cost, and the remainder was to be supplied by the Delphians. They sought contributions throughout the eastern Mediterranean; the pharaoh Amasis (r. ca. 570–26) was said to have been especially generous (Herodotus 2.180). By the end of the 510s, the time had come to rebuild the temple itself. At this time the Alkmaionid clan was in exile from Athens, where Peisistratos' son Hippias held the tyranny. The Alkmaionids acquired (or perhaps already possessed) the commission to rebuild the temple of Apollo. They did so, but, in a gesture that would become famous, they exceeded the terms of the contract. Although the agreement called for a temple of limestone, the Alkmaionids built the east façade in costly Parian marble. The splendid pedimental decoration of this building, dated circa 510, is in the Delphi Museum (Figure 28). On the east was an epiphany of the god Apollo in a chariot, flanked by youths, maidens, and wild beasts; on the west, a battle of Gods and Giants, centering on Zeus in his chariot. The metopes on the long flanks were apparently undecorated. Those on the short sides were sculpted: part of a multi-panel sequence depicting Heracles stealing the cattle of Geryon survives from the east façade, whereas Euripides mentions scenes of Heracles fighting Hydra and Bellerophon fighting Chimaera on the west.

In a significant and striking innovation, the sculptor used statues of the *kouros* and *kore* types for the east pediment. Such figures were normally reserved for votive or mortuary use; *korai* could be adapted to

serve as caryatides, as we have seen, but *kouroi* do not appear elsewhere in an architectural setting. Standing frozen and immobile, such figures are in fact ill-suited to narrative scenes. Their presence in the pediment, odd as it may be, clearly aligns the Alkmeonid temple with aristocratic dedicatory practice. Indeed, the pedimental group essentially adopts the compositional formula of a monument for a chariot victory. As Manolis Korres has shown, such monuments – like Polykallos' later dedication at Delphi – typically combined a single figure in the car with standing ones on either side. In effect, the sculptor – often thought to be Antenor of Athens – simply adapted the most characteristic types of elite votive statuary to a new setting. He found an appropriate way to integrate the demands of pedimental sculpture with the fact that the east façade was, in effect, a votive offering of the Alkmeonid clan. The result, however, is that the temple proclaims unmistakably its semiprivate, semivotive character. Just as the Deinomenids conflated military victories and athletic ones, so the Alkmaionids conflated votive and architectural sculpture; just as Agasicles sought to evade the collectivizing tendencies of the Triopian shrine, so the Alkmaionids upstaged all the cities that contributed money to the temple. The result was one of the most striking examples of aristocratic ostentation that the Greek world ever saw.

Such lavish expenditure at an interstate shrine could be a direct or indirect challenge to the authority of the home *polis*. In this case, the challenge was especially blunt. With the completion of the new temple, the Delphic Oracle launched into a series of pro-Alkmaionid, anti-Peisistratid pronouncements that led indirectly to Hippias' ouster. The Alkmaionids returned home; after further vicissitudes, their leader Kleisthenes wound up granting unprecedented concessions to the Athenian commons in return for a share of power. The result was the beginning of the Athenian democracy. In short, prestige gained at the interstate shrine led to a coup at home. Although the sums in question are larger, and the results more dramatic, the basic situation does not differ all that much from the Kylonian conspiracy over a hundred years earlier.

Even after the fall of the tyrants, the Alkmaionid temple remained something of an embarrassment to the Athenian government. Kleisthenes soon faded from the scene, and the democracy embarked upon a fairly systematic program to outdo his family's extravagant gesture. Almost immediately, the Athenians built a new temple to Athena on the north side of their Acropolis. Although there were doubtless many motives behind this project, it is significant that the new temple was of almost identical proportions to the one at Delphi, had a similar

iconographic program (a Gigantomachy in one pediment, a frontal chariot group in the other), and was constructed entirely (not partially) of Parian marble. Precisely because it owed its very existence – albeit indirectly – to Alkmaionid extravagance at Delphi, the Athenian democracy had good reason to build a temple of even greater ostentation in the heart of the *polis*.

A few years later, the Athenians constructed a small treasure-house at Delphi, immediately below Apollo's great temple (Figure 29). The building's exact date has long been uncertain, but recent excavations seem to confirm Pausanias' statement that it was a thank offering for victory at Marathon. As the battle occurred in the autumn of 490 BCE, work could have begun as early as 489, though 488 is more likely. The treasury was built entirely of Parian stone. That Athens was in fact at war with Paros at the time – the island had assisted the Persians at Marathon, and Miltiades the Younger had attacked it unsuccessfully after the battle – can only have delayed matters. Be that as it may, the Parian marble makes a clear visual counterpart to the famous east end of the "Alkmaionid" temple. Its sculptural program makes the allusion explicit. Like the temple, it combined an epiphany in the east pediment with a Gigantomachy in the west (in this instance, however, the epiphany was that of Athena, the civic patron, not Pythian Apollo). More strikingly still, the treasury mimicked the temple by depicting the fight of Heracles and Geryon over several metopes along one side. This scene is rare in architectural sculpture and relates the treasury unmistakably to the nearby temple.

That temple was not built by the Athenians: it was built by the Alkmaionids, which was by no means the same thing. When the treasury was under construction in the 480s, the clan's relationship to the state was in the forefront of public discourse. The Alkmaionids were suspected – justly or not – of having tried to betray Athens to the Persians at Marathon, and in 486 their leader, Megakles, was ostracized as a "Friend of the Tyrants." By asserting a connection to the Alkmaionid temple, the Athenian treasury effectively reintegrates the clan's ostentatious gesture into the fabric of Athenian public life. The similarities of material and iconography seem intended to remind pilgrims, as they mount the Sacred Way, that the Alkmaionids are citizens of Athens. The treasury makes the temple of Apollo, if not quite an Athenian dedication, then at least *a dedication by Athenians*.

Supporting evidence for this assertion comes from the response it elicited. Pindar's seventh Pythian ode was composed in the summer of 486 BCE to commemorate the victory of Megakles – the Alkmaionid

leader, who had been ostracized only a few months before – in the chariot race at the Pythian games at Delphi. The poem reads as follows:

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

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

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

Pindar refers to the Alkmaionid temple in lines 9–11, “For the story of the townsmen of Erechtheus holds discourse with all cities, O Apollo, how they made your dwelling in divine Pytho a marvel to see.” Significantly, however, the poet attributes this temple not to the Alkmaionids specifically, but to the “townsmen of Erechtheus,” that is, the Athenians as a whole. As Leslie Kurke has observed, Pindar here suggests a model of “reciprocal advantage” between the noble clan and the city-state. On the one hand, the city of Athens is a “foundation-course” for Alkmaionid glory; on the other, the Alkmaionid temple allows the reputation of “the townsmen of Erechtheus” to keep company with all cities.

There is, however, another architectural metaphor in the poem: the “foundation-course of songs” in the opening lines. When Megakles won his victory, and when Pindar wrote his ode, there was of course a real Athenian foundation-course at Delphi: that of the Athenian Treasury, begun in 489 or later. Could Pindar be referring to the partially completed building? The phrase *krepid'aidan*, “foundation of songs,” certainly echoes the *hymnon thesauros*, the “treasury of songs,” of *Pythian* 6.7–8. Moreover, the placement of this “foundation-course” at the beginning of the poem, as a “prelude” to Alkmaionid glory, replicates the topography of Delphi itself, where the pilgrims of 486 would pass the partially completed *thesauros* en route to the Alkmaionid temple. If Pindar is indeed referring to the unfinished treasury, then it at once

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

CONCLUSIONS

The “establishment of a state-framework for pilgrimage” was a political and ideological process (indeed, words such as “politics” and “ideology” have no meaning outside such practical activities as placing an offering in a treasury or nailing it to the wall of one’s house). Dedications, inscriptions, buildings, stones, statues, anecdotes, and poems are the material traces of this process. As such, they repay our close attention, for their complexities and equivocations are, tangibly and concretely, those of Greek social life. Strident propaganda is not often apparent in such remains, for the simple reason that they tend to present a world devoid of conflict, devoid of contradiction – a world in which horses and ships are interchangeable, in which rich women serve the city just by being the extravagant creatures they are, in which anything written in stone can always be erased and revised.

But there comes a time when the process is effectively at an end. The civic colonization of Delphi and Olympia continued apace in the fifth century. The Persian Wars heralded an explosion of treasury-building at Delphi; the last one, the treasury of Cyrene, went up just before the Macedonian conquest. The Sacred Way was lined with state offerings during this same period. At Olympia there were no more treasuries, but here too there was an increase in the number of monumental public offerings: statues, armor, columns, and, of course, the Temple of Zeus with its chryselephantine statue by Pheidias. In the same period there was, as Anthony Snodgrass has shown, a dramatic decline in the number of private votives, not just at the great interstate

centers but throughout Greece. Dedication as such was becoming a less significant venue for private display, even as cities dedicated with increasing ostentation; even the wealthiest elites could not compete with the enormous, multifigure ensembles of the late fifth and fourth centuries. Many aristocrats turned to new modes of self-presentation. The increasing importance of rhetorical training in the fifth century is an oft-cited example. As interstate competition lost some of its cachet, demonstrations of verbal prowess could take its place; the rise of sophists, expensive teachers of such skill, may be seen as an investment in this new form of upper-class display. Investment of this kind could translate directly into political power: to be a successful speaker was, by definition, to win over an audience. At Athens, the democracy harnessed old practices of elite display to new, civic ends through the institution of liturgies: massive expenditures by wealthy citizens on public projects. Underwriting the production of a tragedy for the civic competition, or outfitting a warship, were examples of such eminently acceptable modes of display (indeed, Athenian tragedy sometimes seems like an institutionalized, state-sponsored performance of the same conflicts visible “on the ground” at Delphi and Olympia). To be sure, the great sanctuaries remained important, and the old practices did not entirely disappear. The ambitious Spartan admiral Lysander directly challenged the authority of his home city by celebrating victory in 404 with a huge statue group at Delphi that showed himself being crowned by Poseidon before an audience of gods and men. Such appropriation of civic victory is familiar enough: like Pausanias and Miltiades before him, Lysander ended badly, and for similar reasons. It is significant nonetheless that few treasuries were built in the fourth century, and none at all after the Macedonian conquest. People continued to consult the Pythian Oracle, and the Olympic games would not disappear for nearly a millennium. But for cities of the later Classical and Hellenistic periods, there was no reason to be overly concerned about the dedicatory practices of their elites. Delphi and Olympia were, first and foremost, theaters of political drama; when the political situation changed irrevocably, that drama lost much of its urgency.

NOTES

- 1 Morgan 1990, 102.
- 2 Morris 1996, 35–6.
- 3 Morris 1996, 36.
- 4 For a discussion of the *kouros* sculpture type, and its female counterpart the *kore*, see Chapter 10.

- 5 For more on the activities of Greek colonies in the homeland sanctuaries, see Chapter 8, *Becoming Greek, Staying Greek: Colonies and Sanctuaries*.
- 6 It is often said that Greek colonies built treasuries to reaffirm their connections with the motherland. They may have done so; but then one is entitled to wonder why some of the largest and most important colonies, such as Akragas, Leontini, Rhegium, and Taras (Taranto), never built. The colonial situation may be relevant but is neither necessary nor sufficient for the decision to build.
- 7 See also Chapter 1, *The Orthagorids of Sicyon (ca. 620/610–520/510)*, for a family tree and further discussion of the activities of this family.

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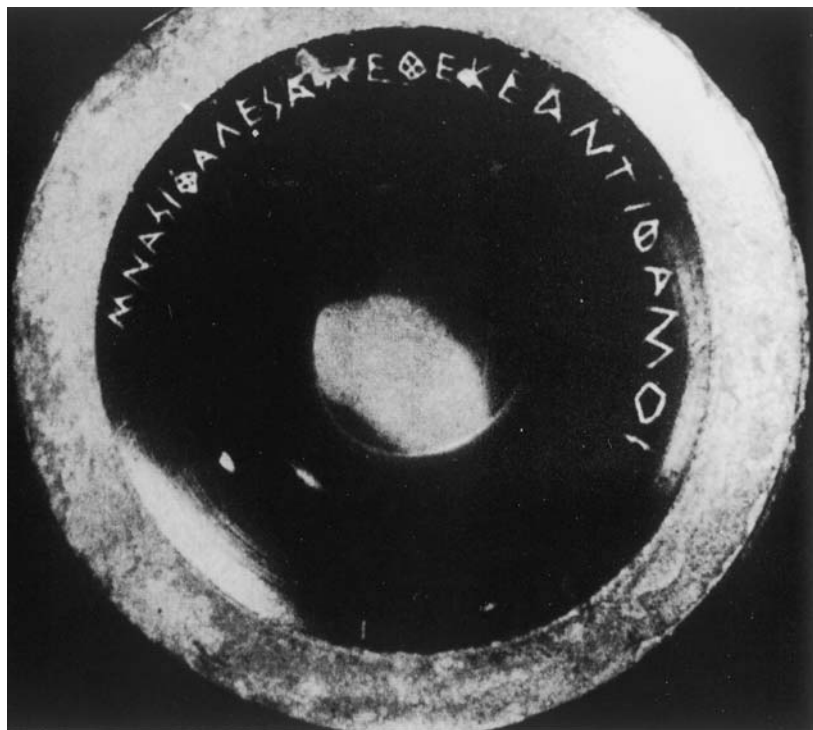


FIGURE 19. Dedication to Antiphemus, founder of Gela, on Attic kylix. [From *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene* n.s. xi–xiii (1949–51) 108.]

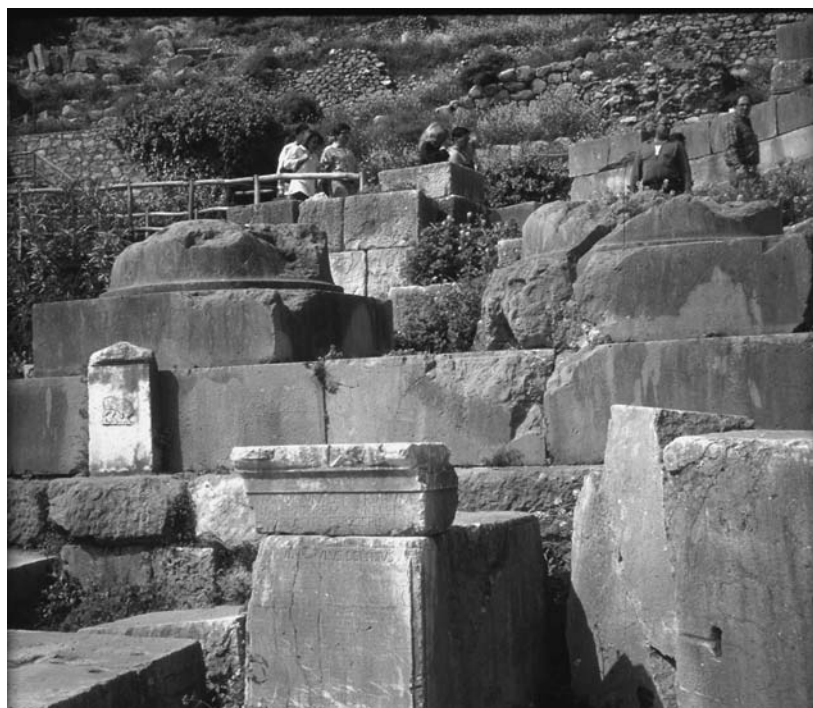
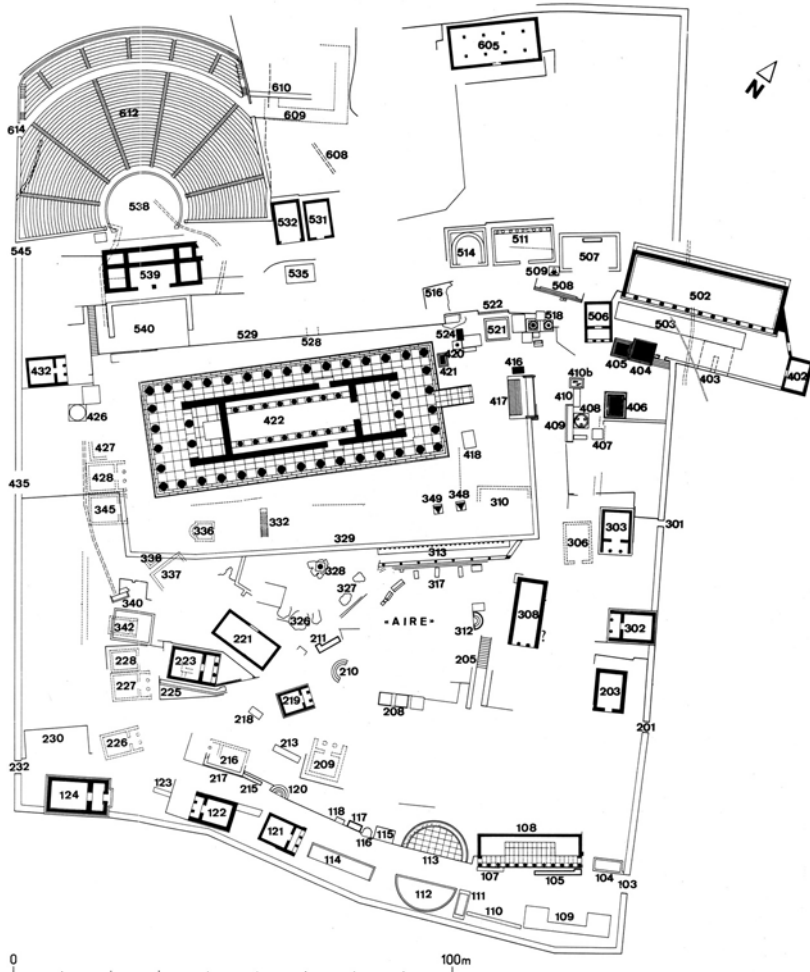
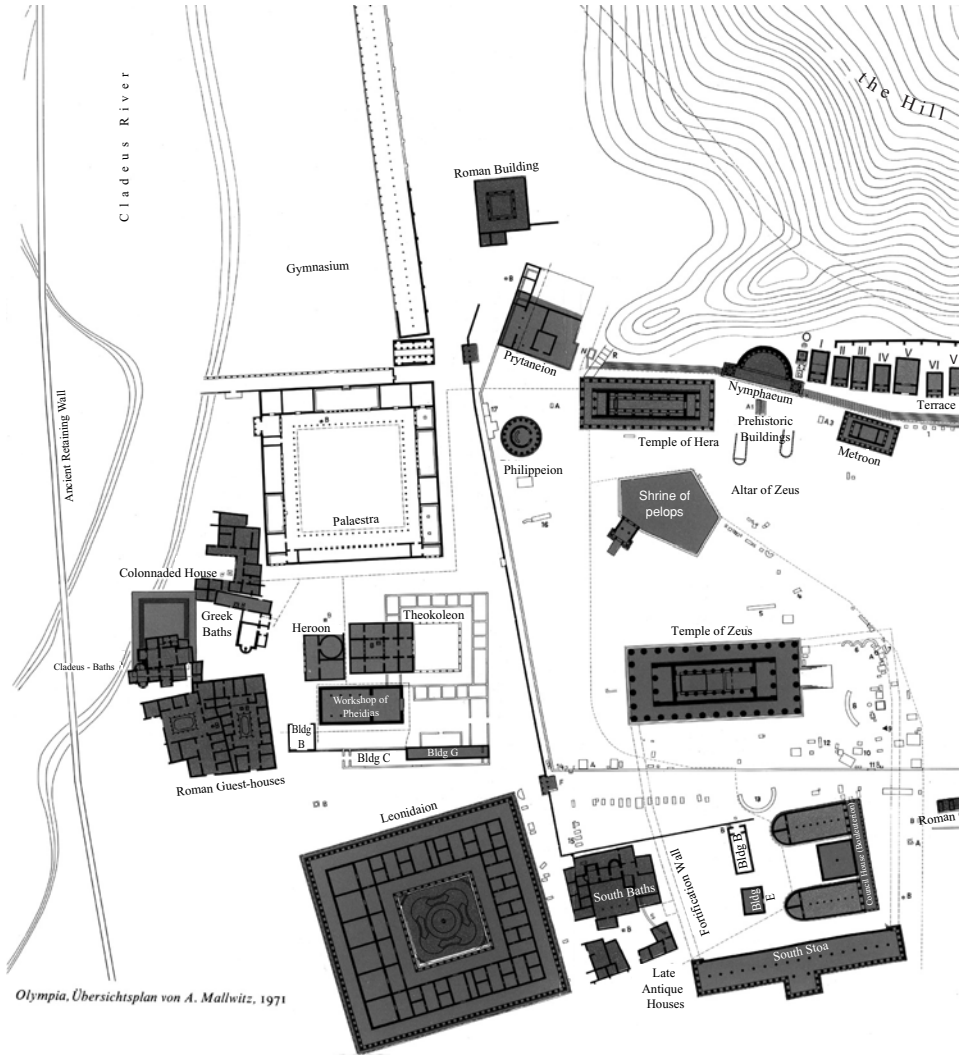


FIGURE 20. Deinomenid dedication base at Delphi. Photograph Carla M. Antonaccio.



- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 104 Base of the Bull of the Corcyreans | 227 Anonymous Treasury | 406 Pillar of the Rhodians |
| 105 Base of the Arcadians | 228 Anonymous <i>Oikos</i> | 407 Tripod of Plataea? |
| 108 Anonymous Stoa | 302 Treasury of the Cyreneans | 408 Base of the Crotonians |
| 109 Base of the Navarchs (Admirals) | 303 Treasury XVI (of Brasidas and the Acanthians?) | 409 Base of the Tarentines "Above" |
| 110 Site of the Miliads Monument | 306 Anonymous Treasury | 410b Site of the Apollo of Salamis |
| 111 Base of the Argive Horse | 308 Treasury of the Corinthians | 416 Aetolian Pillar of Eumenes II |
| 112 Base of the Seven and the Epigonoi | 313 Stoa of the Athenians | 417 Altar of Apollo |
| 113 So-called Niche of the Argive Kings | 317 Base of Attalus II | 422 Temple of Apollo |
| 114 Base of the Tarentines "Below" | 326 Rock of the Sybil? | 427 Anonymous <i>Oikos</i> (XXX) |
| 121 Treasury of the Sicyonians | 328 Column of the Sphinx of the Naxians | 428 Anonymous Treasury (XX) |
| 122 Treasury of the Siphnians | 329 Retaining wall and terrace of the Temple | 432 Anonymous Treasury (XXXI) |
| 123 Base of the Liparians | 332 Fountain (of the Muses?) | 506 Anonymous Treasury (XVII) |
| 124 Treasury of the Thebans | 336 <i>Oikos</i> XXIX (shrine of Ge?) | 507 Unfinished enclosure and base |
| 203 Anonymous <i>Oikos</i> | 337-338 Anonymous <i>Oikoi</i> (XXVII and XXII) | 508 Base of the Corcyreans |
| 205 Dolonia Stairs | 340 Fountain of the Asclepius shrine | 509 Base of the column of the acanthus |
| 209 Anonymous Treasury | 342 Treasury X (Etruscan?) beneath (342) the shrine of Asclepius | 511 Base of Daochus |
| 211 Base of the Boeotians | 345 Anonymous Treasury (XXI) | 514 Horseshoe base |
| 215 Base of the Aetolians | 348 Approximate site of the Messenian Pillar | 518 Offering of the Deinomenid tyrants |
| 216-217 Treasury and terrace of the Megarians | 349 Presumed site of the pillar on the black stone | 521 Square base (Apollo Sitalcas?) |
| 219 Treasury of the Cnidians? | 402-503 Terrace of Attalus I | 524 Pillar of King Prusias |
| 221 Council House? | 404 Pillar of Eumenes II | 528 Fountain niche |
| 223-225 Treasury of the Athenians and Marathon Base | 405 Pillar of Attalus I | 531-532 "Treasures of the Theater" (XVIII-XIX) |
| 226 Treasury of the Boeotians | | 538-612 Theater |
| | | 540 Niche of Craterus |
| | | 605 Lesche of the Cnidians |

FIGURE 21. Site plan of Delphi. [From J.-F. Bommelaer, *Guide de Delphes: Le Site* (1991) pl. V.]



Olympia, Übersichtsplan von A. Mallwitz, 1971

Bases

1. Older "Zanes" bases
2. New "Zanes" bases
3. Ptolemy and Arsinoe
4. Base for Droption statue
5. Dedication of Miccythus
6. Eleian Semi-circular Bases
7. Bull of Eretria
8. Archaic Dedication

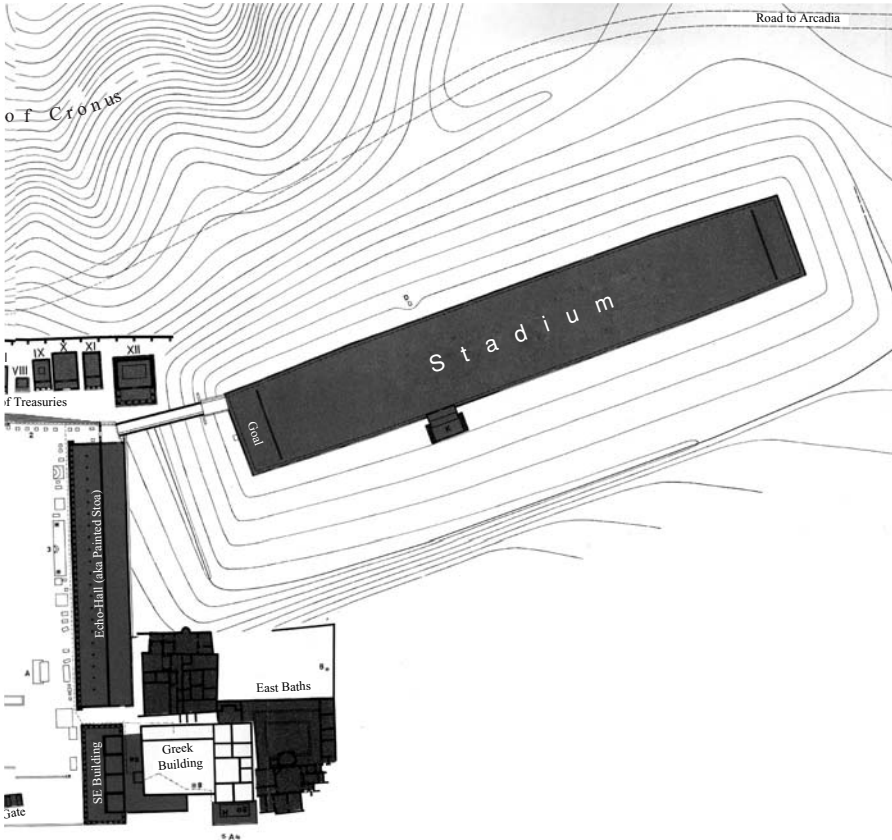
9. Nike of Paenionius
10. Zeus in Memory of the Victory at Plataea
11. Base of Telemachus
12. Dedication of Praxiteles
13. Dedication of Apollonia
14. Base of Philonides
15. Base of M.M. Rufus
16. Dedication of Phormis

17. Base of Callicrates

Altars

- A unknown altars
- A1 Altar of Hera
- A2 Altar of Heracles
- A3 Altar of the Mother
- A4 Altar of Artemis

FIGURE 22. Site plan of Olympia. [From A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (1972) 313.]



- Archaische Bauten (7.-6. Jh.v.Chr.) = Archaic Buildings (7th-6th cent. BCE)
- Klassische Bauten (5.-4. Jh.v.Chr.) = Classical Buildings (5th-4th cent. BCE)
- Hellenistische Bauten (3.-1. Jh.v.Chr.) = Hellenistic Buildings (3rd-1st cent. BCE)
- Römische Bauten (1. Jh. n. Chr. - 4. Jh. n. Chr.) = Roman Buildings (1st-4th cent. CE)



Buildings of the Treasuries Terrace

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| O Oikos | VIII Altar? | F Roman Festival Gate |
| I Treasury of Sicyon | IX Treasury of Selinus | H Classical Stoa Foundation |
| II Treasury of Syracuse | X Treasury of Metaponto | K Platform for Judges |
| III Treasury of Epidamnus | XI Treasury of Megara | R Gaion Ramp |
| IV Treasury of Byzantium | XII Treasury of Gela | S Retaining Wall |
| V Treasury of Sybaris | B Well | W Tank for Water Storage |
| VI Treasury of Cyrene | D The Seat of the Priestess
of Demeter | --- Greek Gutters |
| VII Unknown Treasury | | |



FIGURE 23. Helmet of Miltiades, Olympia, ca. 490 BCE. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (No. D-DAI-ATH-1976/558). Photograph Gëjta Hellner.



FIGURE 24. Nike of Kallimakhos, Athens, ca. 490 BCE. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (No. D-DAI-ATH-2001/878). Photograph Hans Rupprecht Goette.



FIGURE 25. Deinomenid charioteer, Delphi. Ca. 466 BCE. Photograph courtesy of the Archives of the American School of Classical Studies, Alison Frantz Collection.

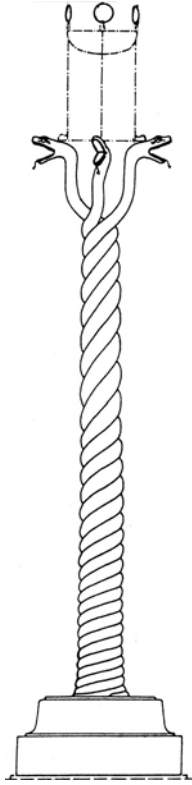


FIGURE 26. Reconstruction of Serpent column, Delphi. [From J.-F. Bommelaer, *Guide de Delphes: Le Site* (1991) fig. 69 left.]



FIGURE 27. Sicyonian metope with *Argo*, Delphi. Early sixth century BCE. Photograph courtesy of the Archives of the American School of Classical Studies, Alison Frantz Collection.

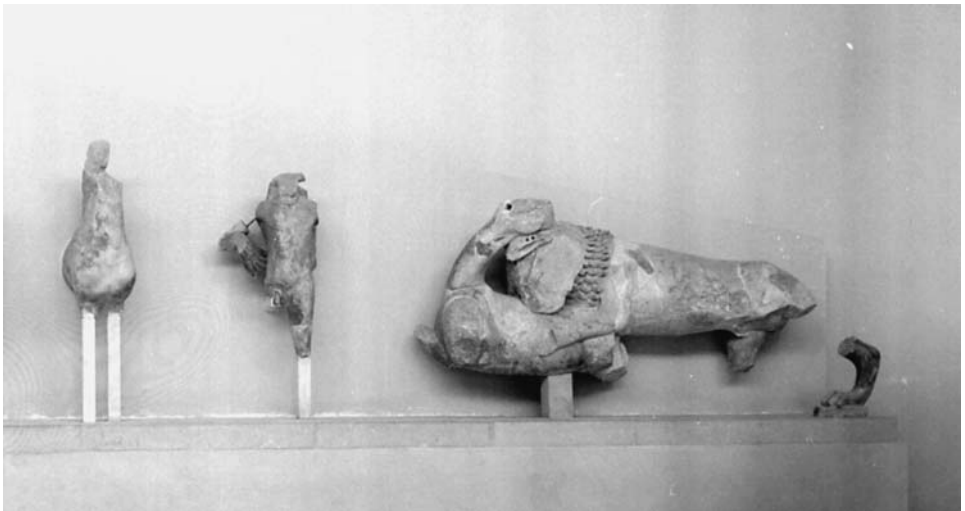


FIGURE 28. East pediment, Archaic Temple of Apollo, Delphi. Late sixth century BCE. Photograph courtesy of the Archives of the American School of Classical Studies, Alison Frantz Collection.

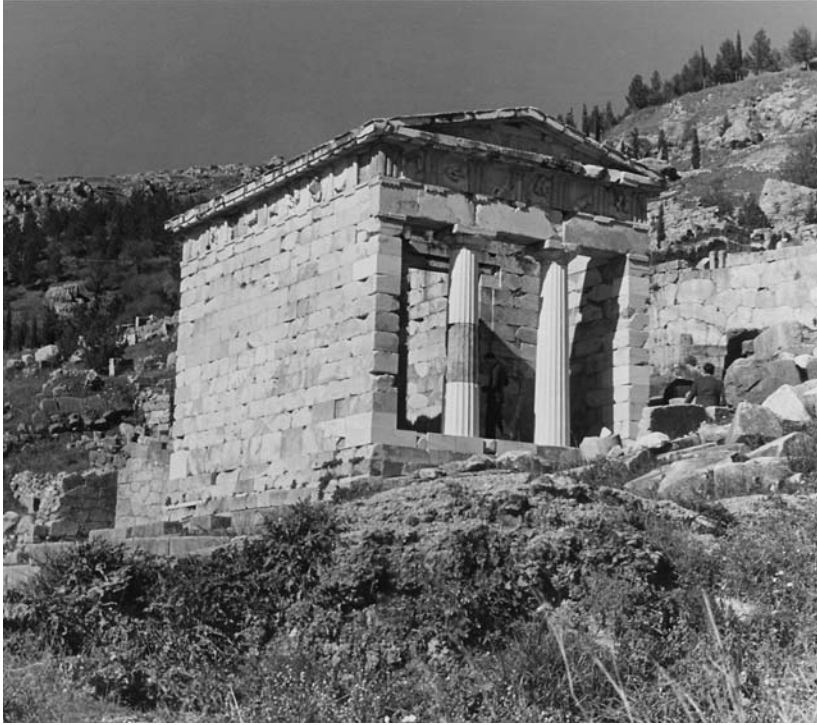


FIGURE 29. Athenian Treasury, Delphi. Ca. 490–80 BCE. Photograph courtesy of the Archives of the American School of Classical Studies, Alison Frantz Collection.