

## 9

# Herakles, Theseus and the Athenian Treasury at Delphi

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The themes and designs of figural architectural sculpture that adorned the public buildings of Archaic and Classical Greece were not chosen incidentally. Rather, they were the results of deliberate decisions taken by the buildings' patrons and sculptors.<sup>1</sup> Our lack of testimonia usually results in doubts concerning the decisive principles for these choices. For instance, we still do not understand the choice – let alone the intended message – of the themes used for the pediments and metopes of the temple of Zeus in Olympia or the pediments of the temple of Aphaia on Aegina, as recent discussions show.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it is also obvious that the architectural sculpture of a prominent building set up by a political or religious community can provide relevant information about dominant cultural interests as well as a view into the social, economic and political constitution of the community in question.

The treasury set up by the Athenians in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi is such a building (Figs 9.1–2).<sup>3</sup> Situated in one of the most renowned panhellenic sanctuaries, all native and international visitors heading from the sanctuary's entrance to Apollo's temple were required to pass the small marble monument. Erected at an important turn of the Sacred Way, all eyes were immediately directed to both the building's south wall crowned by a series of sculpted metopes and to the long pedestal in front of the treasury that carried dedications made by the Athenians from the spoils of their victory over the Persians at Marathon in 490. The Athenian treasury was a building of many firsts. It was the first building dedicated by the Athenians in a panhellenic sanctuary, it was the first building dedicated abroad by the Athenians after the end of the Peisistratid tyranny and after Kleisthenes' reforms. And in the metopes of the Athenian treasury, Theseus – Athens' polis-hero well established as a prominent figure of sixth-century Athenian vase-painting – first appears in architectural sculpture.

While this much is clear, there remains a great deal regarding the treasury and its sculpture that is still under discussion. It is open, for example, *when* between 510 and 490/80 the treasury was set up. It also remains unclear what role and relevance Theseus played in the treasury's sculpture when it was presented to a broader audience on Delphi's 'international' stage.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some possible answers to these questions.

As far as the Athenian treasury's date is concerned, many scholars now accept a date shortly after the battle of Marathon in 490. This is due to Pausanias' *dictum* that the Athenians dedicated the treasury "from those spoils taken from the army that landed with Datis at Marathon" (10.11.5). For Pausanias, the Athenian treasury was a victory monument set up together with the Marathon-pedestal in front of its south wall. Certainly, this pedestal and its unmistakable inscription give sufficient reason to relate the treasury to Marathon. Indeed, the dedicatory inscription on the pedestal should be understood as the dedicatory inscription of both pedestal and treasury; it is obvious that this was the intention when the Marathon-pedestal was set up. But was this pedestal built together with the treasury or was it attached afterwards?

The late Archaic style of the treasury's architectural sculpture (Fig. 9.3) could point to an earlier, pre-Marathon date around 500. This line of reasoning has been stressed by German scholars. Others, however, have taken a middle position, arguing that construction of the treasury started well before 490 but was finished after Marathon. It also seems clear that the painting of the treasury walls went on well into 480s.<sup>4</sup> A convincing solution for the endless discussions regarding the chronology of the building would be of great relevance. It is quite important to know whether the Athenians internationally propagated the image of their polis-hero immediately after Kleisthenes'



Fig. 9.1 Athenian treasury from the east. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollon. Photo: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Freiburg: Photosammlung.

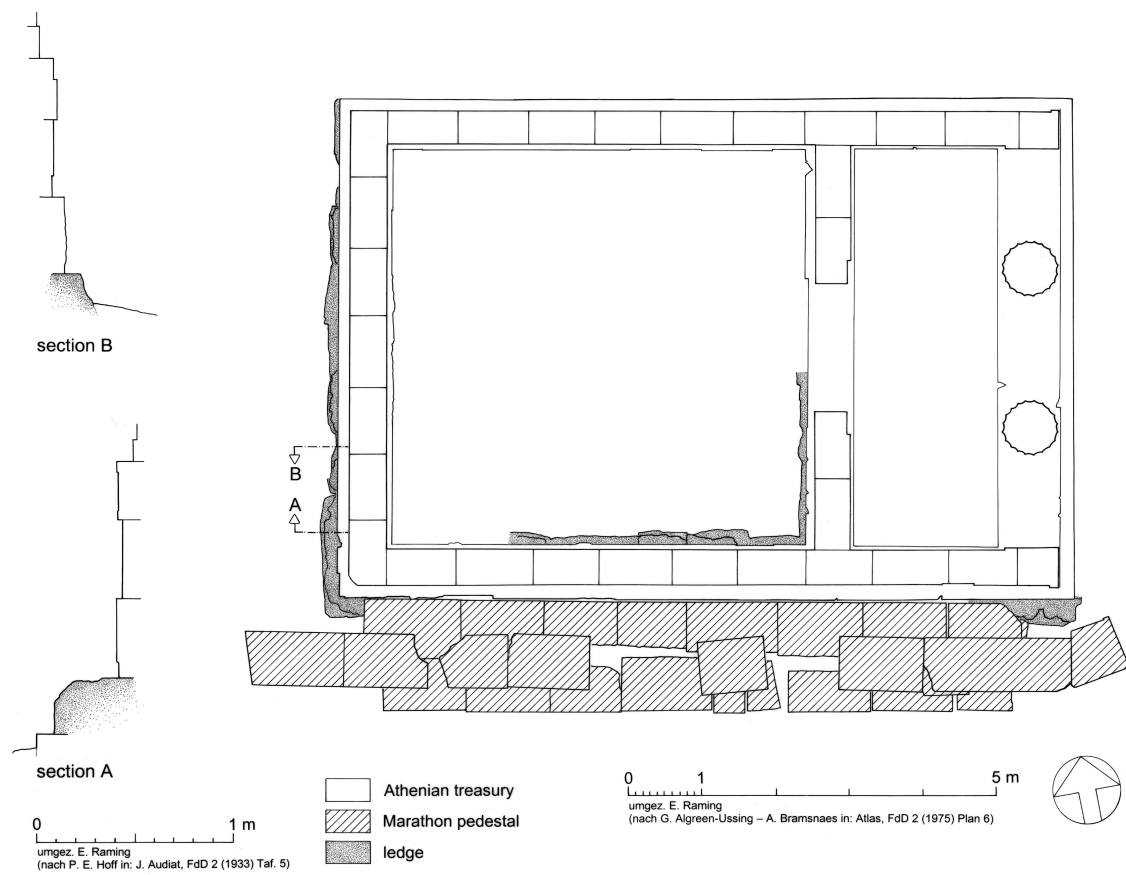


Fig. 9.2 Athenian treasury. Delphi, Sanctuary of Apollo. Drawing: Elsbeth Raming.

reforms (as a response to new *intra-polis* state of affairs) or in the years after Marathon (in which case the image of Theseus would need to be understood within the context of growing Athenian *inter-polis* prestige).

Recently, Vinzenz Brinkmann and Richard Neer have preferred a date after 490 for the construction of the building; their arguments are based on new evidence concerning the relation between Marathon-monument and treasury provided by Paul Amandry.<sup>5</sup> But the old and new arguments that connect the treasury and the Marathon-pedestal are not without problems. Amandry has rightly pointed out that the lowest layer of the treasury's southern foundation projects around 25–30cm to the south and that the foundation of the Marathon-pedestal on the same side of the treasury was supported by this ledge (Figs 9.1–2). This has been taken as decisive evidence for a deep connection between both structures which, in turn, points to a similar date for both monuments.<sup>6</sup> But as Klaus Fittschen has correctly remarked Amandry did not note that this ledge can also be observed below the southern part of the west wall of the treasury, where its width decreases to the north (Fig. 9.2: section A and B). One could also add that the same ledge can also be found on the inner side of the south wall, where no superstructure was supported.<sup>7</sup> With this in mind, it is quite unlikely that the ledge was built to support the Marathon-pedestal. Rather, it should probably be understood as serving as an especially wide foundation level to stabilize the building in this sloping terrain.<sup>8</sup> The architectural evidence from the foundations of the treasury does not support a late date for the building.

Naturally, this brings us back to style. Since the style of the metopes points to a date well before 490, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Athenians initiated construction of their splendid marble treasury at Delphi in the decade *after* the revolutionary political reforms under Kleisthenes and *after* the first important victory for their newly organized hoplite forces in 507/6.<sup>9</sup> At that time the Athenians also began rebuilding the temples to Athena on the Acropolis.<sup>10</sup> In short, this decade was a period of growing self-confidence which immediately found expression on the panhellenic stage, even though (or better, *because*) the international prestige of Athens had not yet reached its zenith.

The image of Theseus on the treasury's metopes was a means of projecting Athenian prowess onto the international stage. But he was not the only figure shown on the metopes. Herakles was the other main character. Herakles, of course, was the most renowned panhellenic hero and the most dominant figure of myth in sixth century Greek art. While Theseus was Athens' most admired local hero of the sixth century and, after Herakles, was the second most popular mythological figure of sixth-century Athenian vase-painting, his image was fairly rare in non-Athenian art.<sup>11</sup> As Richard Neer has recently stressed, the decoration of the Athenian treasury juxtaposes the Athenian and the Panhellenic hero in order to highlight Athens' claim to a special relationship to both.<sup>12</sup>

But how did the Athenians present their polis-hero to a broad panhellenic audience? How was his image related to that of Herakles? To answer these questions, the positions of the heroes' images and deeds on the building are crucial. They are controversial.

While the pedimental sculpture of the treasury is almost completely lost (except for fragments and a head probably representing Athena herself) the relief metopes provide the most important data.<sup>13</sup> Let us review what we know about the metopes and their position on the building.<sup>14</sup> Reliefs of four different themes are preserved: single deeds of Herakles, single deeds of Theseus, an Amazonomachy and Herakles with the cattle of Geryon. Since the metopes were not preserved *in situ* and since most of them were not found near to the building, it is unclear how these themes were distributed among the four sides of the treasury.<sup>15</sup> Metope 26 (with Geryon's dead dog) was found in front of the treasury's west wall. Thus, the reliefs depicting Herakles and the cattle of Geryon should belong to this side of the building. Due to its findspot, metope 21 (with Herakles and Kyknos) belongs either to the north or to the east side. All other metope positions are open to debate.<sup>16</sup> The architecture provides space for 6 metopes in the west and east and 9 in the north and south sides of the treasury. The *communis opinio*, established by de la Coste-Messelière, gives Herakles the west and north sides, Theseus the south side and both heroes (or perhaps only Theseus) the Amazonomachy on the east side. Klaus Hoffelner challenged this solution in 1988 with little effect.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, most of Hoffelner's arguments can be supported and confirmed; Theseus' deeds in the south seems a likely solution.<sup>18</sup> Seven metopes depict this hero with certainty (metopes 1–7): too much for one of the smaller sides. Since Athena appears only in the Theseus cycle (metope 5; Figs 9.3–4), we should not hesitate to position this series on the prominent south side rather than on the hidden north side of the treasury.

What about the remaining north and east sides? We have a minimum of 6 metopes depicting Amazons (9–14), even if we do not count metopes 8 and 22. Metope 22 is often taken as an image of Theseus fighting an Amazon (even though this is far from obvious) while metope 8 could depict Herakles and an Amazon.<sup>19</sup> These two metopes could belong to other sides of the building as parts of cycles of deeds in single images. On two other metopes (28–29) only one generic, male fighter is preserved. Regarding the treasury's known themes, these two male fighters only fit the Amazonomachy and should probably belong to this series, too. This makes a minimum of 8 reliefs altogether, too much for the small east side.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, only four metopes depict Herakles with certainty (15, 16, 19, 21), while it remains open if he appeared in two other metopes (17, 18). There is no indication of his presence on metope 20 which preserves only a single, standing warrior. The fewer number of Herakles' deeds is an additional argument in favor of the idea that there were less Herakles scenes than scenes with Amazons, that is: that his deeds covered a shorter





Fig. 9.3 Athena and Theseus. Metope 5 of the Athenian treasury in Delphi. Marble. Delphi, Museum. Photo: G. Hellner; Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen Neg. Nr. D-DAI-ATH-281/294.

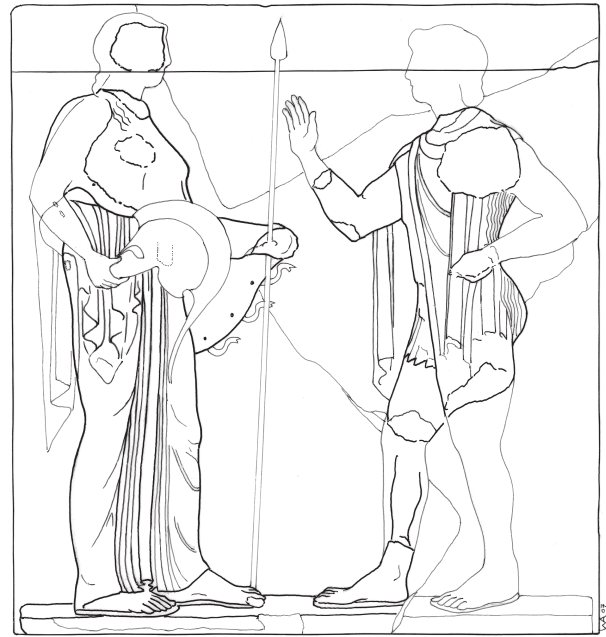


Fig. 9.4 Athena and Theseus. Metope 5 of the Athenian treasury in Delphi (drawing). Marble. Delphi, Museum. Drawing with reconstruction: Wulfhild Aulmann / Ralf von den Hoff.

side of the treasury than the Amazonomachy. Hence, it is highly probable that the Amazonomachy belongs to the longer north side and Herakles' deeds to the east, as Hoffelner suggested.

This new arrangement is important. To begin, the Amazonomachy has lost its prominent position above the treasury's entrance.<sup>21</sup> Rather, Herakles appears at the front (with Athena above him in the pediment), which is *de iure* the most prominent part of the building, while Theseus occupies *de facto* the most prominent position in the south: he was first seen by visitors approaching from the sanctuary's entrance. His images on the south side also outnumber those of Herakles' deeds in the east, while Herakles occupies the complete west side of the treasury.<sup>22</sup> This even split between both heroes is much more understandable than banishing Herakles to the virtually invisible north and west sides, as does the traditional reconstruction.

With regards to the viewing of the images, a sequence of metopes with single fights had to be looked at and "read" independently, one after the other. Consequently, with the new reconstruction in mind, these sequences were displayed on those sides of the treasury which visitors would approach by walking.<sup>23</sup> A single story covering a group of metopes – like the Amazonomachy or the cattle of Geryon – would be understandable at a glance and, thus, appeared on the north and west side; these sides could not be walked along nor seen very well.<sup>24</sup> If this is true, then the metopes were well arranged with regard to the intended reception by viewers. The narrative and hierarchy of themes was perfectly positioned. Altogether,

the presence and prominence of Theseus and Herakles was kept in a balance.

The arrangement of the metopes is one important factor in the presentation of Theseus and Herakles in Delphi. The choice of deeds is another. The cycle of Theseus' deeds, as presented on the Athenian treasury, had been introduced into Attic vase-painting around 520/10.<sup>25</sup> The metopes were the first appearance of this cycle outside Attic vase-painting. Hence, most of Theseus' metopes follow common and well known iconographic patterns established before the treasury was built. This is true for Theseus fights against monsters, animals and human robbers like Sinis (Metope 1), Kerkyon (3), the Marathon Bull (6) and the Minotaur (7).<sup>26</sup> The identities of Theseus' opponents in metopes 2 and 4 are unclear, but can be fixed by context and typology. Neither of them can be Skiron, because, throughout the early fifth century, Theseus takes this villain's foot to throw him down a rocky cliff.<sup>27</sup> If, instead, he kills this opponent with Skiron's basin (there is only one known version of this type before 460 on a lekythos in Berlin)<sup>28</sup> he never uses both hands to strike like the Theseus on metope 2. Additionally, Skiron is never grasped by his beard nor is he shown close to ground as is the enemy on metope 4.<sup>29</sup> What remains, then, for metope 2 and 4 are Periphetes and Prokrustes. Metope 2 very much resembles a lekythos in Athens, depicting the fight between Theseus and Prokrustes with the typical hammer, even though Theseus' aggressive 'Harmodios blow' is very unusual in late sixth-century images of the Athenian hero.<sup>30</sup> Thus, metope 2 should depict Theseus and Prokrustes.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, metope 4 can only show

the last remaining villain-slaying episode: the death of Periphetes. This is astonishing because Periphetes almost never appears in vase-painting cycles of Theseus' adventures and when it does, it does not show up before around 470/60.<sup>32</sup> Hence, the Athenians have chosen an innovative theme for this metope. The reason seems to be obvious: In the mythic tale, Theseus used his club against Periphetes. This made him similar to Herakles, his *pendant* in the treasury's metopes.

There is only one metope with a calm scene. This metope's iconography is also innovative. On metope 5 (Figs 9.3–4) Athena stands in front of Theseus. The hero lifts up his right hand in a gesture of praying, thus accepting the goddess's will. Such a scene is unknown on Attic vases at the time. A scene of this sort first appears later on the red-figured cup by the Briseis painter around 480.<sup>33</sup> The motif of goddess and hero on the metope 5 was adopted from Herakles in vase-paintings of the sixth century, where he very often appears together with Athena. The metope of the Athenian Treasury is the first example of such a Theseus scene.<sup>34</sup> This aims at presenting Athens' polis-hero as deeply related to Athens' polis-goddess; that is, as a distinctly *Athenian* hero, an honor that had hitherto been reserved for Herakles. (In this context, it is interesting that the juxtaposition of Herakles and Athena – which took place so often in contemporary Athenian vase-painting – was avoided in the public images of the Treasury at Delphi. Here, it seems, this form of representation is reserved for Theseus.)

Since the first publication of the metopes, it has been taken for granted that Athena wore a Corinthian helmet, that she held a spear in her left hand and that she stretched out her (empty?) right hand towards Theseus (Fig. 9.3).<sup>35</sup> The meaning of this particular gesture remains unclear. So far, no explanation has been given for the wide dowel(?) hole in front of Athena below the border of the aegis. This hole is both too large for fixing an attached element of the goddess's peplos and is in the wrong position to serve as fixing point for an attached gorgon.<sup>36</sup> But was Athena indeed wearing her helmet? If this was the case, as de la Coste-Messelière argued, one would expect remnants of its crest at her neck; none can be found.<sup>37</sup> It is far more probable that Athena kept the helmet in her right hand (Fig. 9.4) as she does very often in vase-paintings of this period.<sup>38</sup> The hole towards her front, not explained in previous reconstructions, strongly favors this reconstruction. The right hand, attached together with Athena's right arm, must have held a large attribute fixed in this hole. That this was indeed a helmet, as Ingrid Kasper-Butz argued recently, is made probable by contemporary vase-paintings.<sup>39</sup> Norbert Kunisch has explained the motif of Athena holding the helmet in her hand in front of a hero as signs of the goddess's epiphany, that is: of her imagined and real protective appearance. This protective aspect would have been emphasised by Athena's spear which may have been painted and kept in her left hand.<sup>40</sup> The metope not only would have demonstrated the close relation between Theseus and

Athens' polis-goddess, but would have also evoked the real, divine presence of Athena, thus enhancing Theseus' prestige as favored and protected hero.

Six of Theseus' deeds can be identified with high probability. Metope 5 adds the meeting with Athena, but this leaves 2 metopes to fill with other deeds of Theseus in order to fill the nine metopes of the treasury's south side. In the late sixth and early fifth century, depictions of Theseus cycles in vase-painting almost canonically include the slaying of the sow at Kromyon and of Skiron. Both could have been depicted in missing southern metopes, as Hoffelner suggested.<sup>41</sup> This would leave no further space for a single image of Theseus' Amazonomachy (perhaps metope 8), which consequently should belong to the northern metopes, but this remains conjectural.<sup>42</sup> Even though many questions and the precise sequence of the metopes remain open, the overall intention is obvious: The Athenians sought to show as many fights of Theseus as possible, thus emphasizing his boundless energy all the while making him equal to Herakles.<sup>43</sup>

To sum up, the Athenians erected a marvelous marble treasury in Apollo's sanctuary in Delphi around 500 after their fundamental political reforms and after the first success of their newly built hoplite-citizen army. They thereby expressed their growing political self-confidence by claiming visual presence in this panhellenic realm laying claim to elevated panhellenic status. As far as the treasury's architectural sculpture is concerned, this expression was staged by combining distinctively Athenian images alongside images that could be considered truly panhellenic. Theseus, Athens' polis-hero, was newly introduced to Delphi's panhellenic audience as a restless fighter under divine protection, as embodies proof of ideals and values that the Athenian claimed for themselves.

Herakles was presented as a comparably active hero, who was also related to Athens, thus linking Athenian identity to traditional and common panhellenic ideals. The pairing of both heroes "elevates Theseus to the level of a Panhellenic hero" and "by the same token it Atticizes Herakles".<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the Athenian treasury demonstrates that the claim of an Athens-Herakles connection was not the consequence of this hero's support against Persia at Marathon, but rather was older and thus gave reason to postulate this protection in 490.<sup>45</sup> Apart from this, no meaningful relationship should be seen between the depiction of the (possibly Attic) Amazonomachy in the treasury's metopes and the conflicts with the Persians.

Balance between these two heroes was critical. On the one hand, the balance between Herakles and Theseus was kept decisively: Athenian Theseus was seen first by every visitor approaching the treasury, while the Greek Herakles dominated the entrance door. On the other hand, Theseus' prestige was enhanced by Athena's epiphany before him, not Herakles, by the sheer number of visible deeds and by explicit visual links to Herakles, such as the club he uses in the fight against Periphetes. The architectural sculpture of the Athenian treasury, thus supports an Athenian agenda to position Athens in both a broadly Greek and local

context. This was not achieved by ignoring panhellenic and traditional ideals – which Herakles clearly embodied – but rather by combining and seeing these values with and through specific Athenian topoi. In a panhellenic context, Athens would appear as both deeply Greek *and* as deeply Athenian; as equal to all Greeks gathering in Delphi *and* as distinct from all others: a circumspect integration of new and old claims and interests.

If we look forward from the Athenian treasury to the Hephaisteion in mid-fifth century Athens herself, we find again the juxtaposition of Herakles and Theseus in architectural sculpture (Barringer figs 3–5).<sup>46</sup> Like the Athenian treasury, the temple was visually dominated by Herakles who appears on the ten front metopes of the building's east side. Theseus occupies each of the four eastern metopes of the north and south sides of the building. Even though the Hephaisteion metopes were not made for an audience in a panhellenic sanctuary, both the balance between the two heroes and a contextual preference for Herakles are still obvious. Maybe even more so. In contrast to the Athenian treasury, it is Herakles – not Theseus – who has Athena as his companion (Hephaisteion metope 10) and it is Herakles who appears more often (on 10 metopes versus the 8 metopes that show Theseus). Metope 2 provides a further new aspect (Fig. 9.5; Barringer figs 3 and 5). Here, Herakles and Iolaos fight the Lernean hydra together. This is an old theme of attic vase-painting.<sup>47</sup> Even though we do not know how exactly the fight with the Hydra was represented, the parallel motion of both fighters is obvious, distinctive



Fig. 9.5 Herakles and Iolaos fighting the Lernean hydra. East Metope 2 of the Hephaisteion in Athens (drawing). Marble. Athens, Hephaisteion. Drawing: Wulfhild Aulmann.

and well known.<sup>48</sup> Even though the motion of the arms possibly was not identical, it is the dual pose of the Tyrannicides which could be seen below in the Agora (Fig. 9.6; Barringer fig. 15).<sup>49</sup> Although I am sceptical whether the use of Harmodios' or Aristogeiton's iconography was always meant to link the depicted figure to the tyrant-slayers,<sup>50</sup> in this particular context – so near the famous statue group on the Agora – two heroes moving like Harmodios and Aristogeiton must have appeared as paradigmatic fighters for democracy. A similar motif appears in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (ll. 631–2) where fighting side by side with Aristogeiton's statue (i.e. in the guise of Harmodios) is a clear sign of democratic habit.<sup>51</sup> (In the later fifth century, the friezes of the Hephaisteion also show examples the Tyrannicide poses for figures of myth other than Herakles, possibly also for Theseus, but this is another topic.<sup>52</sup>) What is of interest here is that the Hephaisteion metopes, created in the time of Perikles, demonstrate the continuing prominence of Herakles in Athenian architectural sculpture. At that time, Herakles was not replaced by Theseus, the supposed 'democratic hero'. Rather, the old panhellenic hero is integrated into a new, visual culture of democratic Athens by making him a figure of cooperative fighting quite comparable to the Athenian tyrannicides. He is indeed Atticized and even 'democratized'. His panhellenic connection (when compared to the Athenian Theseus) and his embodied joining of local and panhellenic ideals seem to have been of remarkable and remaining importance for Athenian self-definition in public architectural sculpture even in during the Periclean age. This had been true a generation before, when Theseus was first juxtaposed with Herakles and first introduced to the the panhellenic public in the metopes of the Athenian treasury in Delphi.

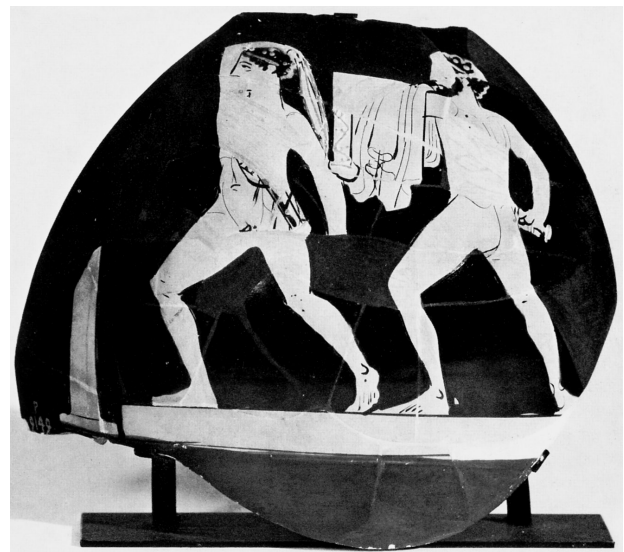


Fig. 9.6 Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Attic red-figured oinochoe. Late fifth century B.C. Boston, Museum of fine Arts 98.936. Photo: after *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 85, 1970, 105 fig. 7.



### Acknowledgements

I own many thanks to the Freiburg Institute's technical draughtswomen Wulfhild Aulmann for Figs 9.4 and 9.5 and Elsbeth Raming for Fig. 9.2. Thanks go also to my friend Peter Schultz for improving my (still too bad) English, even though all remainings mistakes are mine. This paper, which is a result of Theseus studies of the last years, should be read in tandem with my article "Media for Theseus or: the different images of the Athenian polis-hero" in a volume on "Spinning time – intentional history", edited by Lin Foxhall and Nino Luraghi (in print), where Theseus' appearance in Attic public architectural sculpture of the late sixth through fifth century B.C. is studied in relation to the hero's image in Attic vase-painting of the same period.

### Notes

- 1 Knell 1990, XI; Buitron-Oliver 1997, 9; Ridgway 1999, 143–219; see also Hölscher in this volume.
- 2 Olympia: Tersini 1987; Knell 1990, 79–94; Pimpinelli 1993; Cohen 1994; Osborne 1994c; Sinn 1994; Rhodes 1995, 93–104; Kyrieleis 1997; Tulunay 1998; Ridgway 1999, 142–3; 153–4; Osborne 2000; Heiden 2003; Barringer 2005; Junker 2005. Aegina: Knell 1990, 68–78; Sinn 1987; Ridgway, 1999, 90–91; Brinkmann 2002, 275–278. Cf. also Woodford 2003, 215–237. See also Hölscher, Westervelt and Barringer in this volume.
- 3 Audiat 1933; de la Coste-Messelière 1957; Gauer 1968, 45–65; Boardman 1982, 2–4; 9–15; Floren 1987, 247–250 (with further bibliography); Knell 1990, 52–63; Stewart 1990, 132 fig. 211–7; Büsing 1992; Bankel 1993, 169–70; Bommelaer 1991, 133–38 (also for the Marathon monument); Ridgway 1993, 343–6; Amandry 1998 (also for the Marathon monument); Jacquemin 1999, 315–6 no. 077 (Marathon monument); no. 086 (with further bibliography); Rausch 1999, 92–106; 129–132; Ridgway 1999, 88–9; Patrída 2000, 48–70; Neer 2004 (with further bibliography); Servadei 2005, 35–36 n. 69; 81; 209.
- 4 Style before 490: Alscher 1961, 234–6 n. 117; Kleine 1973, 94–7. Architecture before 490: Dinsmoor 1946; Bankel 1993, 169–70 (but see below). For the different suggestions regarding the date see listings in Dinsmoor 1946, 87 n. 2; Brommer 1982, 68 n. 8 and the bibliography in the n. before and in the next n.). To take only the German positions: Gauer 1968, 51–65 (after 490); Gauer 1980, 128 (started after 499); Brommer 1982, 68 with n. 8 (510/00); Floren 1987, 247 (around/shortly before 500); Martini 1990, 249–50 (shortly before 500); Büsing 1992 (after 490; painted decoration finished even later); Bankel 1993, 169–70 (started before 490, finished afterwards); Rausch 1999, 129–132 (around 500); Brinkmann 2002, 354 (after 490); Fittschen 2003 (before 490).
- 5 Amandry 1998; Brinkmann 2002; Neer 2002, 197–8; Neer 2004, 67; 72–4.
- 6 Amandry 1998, 87 fig. 7; cf. Ridgway 1993, 342.
- 7 Fittschen 2003, 13–14; the ledges are visible in Audiat 1930, pl. 15–6; Audiat 1933, pl. 1; 5 ("coupe  $\alpha$ - $\beta$ ", " $\gamma$ - $\delta$ "); Hansen 1975, pl. 6 and in Amandry 1998, fig. 7; cf. also Giese 1995, 275 n. 20. Fig. 9.2 has been redrawn from Audiat and Hansen, even though the published plans and sections differ in some details. A new examination of the situation would be necessary to create an exact plan as basis for a final solution of the question.
- 8 This would also explain that the ledge becomes smaller to the north on the treasury's west side.
- 9 Additionally, the quality of the metopes of the treasury makes is quite improbable that sculptors of such skill would have worked still in the a late-archaic style between 490 and 480.
- 10 For building activities on the Acropolis see Korres 1993; Korres 1997, 218–43; cf. Hurwit 1998, 121–136; Holtzmann 2003, 82–87.
- 11 For surveys of Theseus images see Neils 1987; Shapiro 1989, 145–6; Kreuzer 2003; Servadei 2005; for the sixth century now also Kreuzer 2005; L'Homme-Wéry 2006; von den Hoff forthcoming. A media-focussed approach to images of the slaying of the Minotaur is now provided by Muth 2004. For Theseus and Athens see also: Walker 1995; Calame 1996; Mills 1997; Luce 1998.
- 12 Neer 2004, 74–7; cf. Hölscher 1998, 160.
- 13 For the pedimental sculpture: de la Coste-Messelière 1923, 388–96 pl. 14–5; de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 167–81 pl. 77–85 (Athena: 170–1 no. 45 pl. 79–81); Delivorrias 1974, 181–2; Floren 1987, 248–9; Knell 1990, 52 fig. 79; Martini 1990, 248; Ridgway 1999, 88–9.
- 14 See de la Coste-Messelière 1957; Ridgway 1977, 236–8; Boardman 1978, 159–60 fig. 213; Schefold 1978, 165–168; Gauer 1980; Brommer 1982, 68–9 pl. 1–4 a; Demargne 1984, 1012 no. 596 pl. 762; Hoffelner 1988; Boardman *et al.* 1990, 7 no. 1703 fig.; Knell 1990, 52–63; Stewart 1990, 132 fig. 211–7; Marcadé and Croissant 1991, 57–60; Froning 1992, 135–8 fig. 6–8; Woodford 1992, 576 no. 26 pl. 320; Maas 1993, 168–75; Neils 1994, 928 no. 54 pl. 633–4; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 146–49; Neer 2004.
- 15 Findspots of the metopes: de la Coste-Messelière 1957 pl. 1 C–D; 2. The numbering of the metopes follows de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 37–192; see also Boardman 1978, fig. 213.
- 16 Hoffelner 1988, 108; 112–4; Ridgway 1993, 344–5.
- 17 Francis 1990, 102–4; Knell 1990, 57–8; 60–1; Ridgway 1993, 345; Neer 2004, 75. Hoffelner's ideas were accepted by Martini 1990, 249; Maas 1993, 174 n. 62.
- 18 Cf. Hoffelner 1988, 102–8; but for his argument in favor of a position of metope 5 on the south side see below.
- 19 Cf. Neils 1987, 50–1.
- 20 For further consequences of this distribution see below n. 21.
- 21 Cf. also Ridgway 1999, 88–9. The Amazonomachy is no longer positioned in the middle between Herakles (ex-north) and Theseus (south), Hoffelner 1988, 108–117, thus, there is no clue to understand this fight as a joint operation of both heroes, which had been suggested since de la Coste-Messelière 1923, 411–2; 1957, 181 with n. 2, recently especially by Boardman 1982, 9–15; Neils 1987, 47. Since there is at least one relief too much with an Amazon fight to fill only the north side, one of the Amazon metopes belongs either to the Herakles (east) or to the Theseus (south) cycle, with makes – consequently to avoid repetition of a deed – the north side either Theseus' or Herakles' Amazonomachy. If metope 22 is depicting Herakles with his club fighting an Amazon and if it belongs to the Herakles cycle in the east, the northern metopes show Theseus' Amazonomachy. If metope 22, on the other side, belongs to the Amazonomachy in the north, this series of reliefs would show Herakles' deed, because one

- of the Amazon fights has to go to Theseus' south side. In Theseus cycles of the late sixth and early fifth century the Amazonomachy is missing regularly. Furthermore, there seems to remain no space for another metope on Theseus' side (see below n. 41). This would make it more probable that it was also missing in Delphi. Thus, one would better identify the Amazonomachy in the north as Theseus' deed, cf. Ridgway 1993, 345 (with different arguments). In relation to the question of the treasury's date, this problem is of great relevance, because the Athenian Treasury – around 500 – would be the first depiction of Theseus' fight against the Amazons (the Attic Amazonomachy), which often (in my view wrongly) is taken as a mythological tradition not created before the Persian wars, cf. Gauer 1968 64–5 with n. 249; Boardman 1982, especially 9–15; Ridgway 1993, 345; Bol 1998, 95–104 (also sceptical regarding the identification of Amazons with Persians).
- 22 For the north side see n. before.
- 23 Cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 146–149.
- 24 Cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 138 f.
- 25 See above n. 11 and below n. 43. It remains unclear why Neer (2004, 74) dates this introduction of Theseus cycles to the 490s.
- 26 Metope 1 (Sinis): Hoffelner 1988, 78 fig. 1; cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 33 pl. 623; no. 36 pl. 625; 927 no. 44 pl. 627; 927–8 no. 46 pl. 629; 929 no. 64, 67, 72 pl. 638–9; Servadei 2005, 36–38. Metope 3 (Kerkyon): Hoffelner 1988, 80 fig. 3; cf. only Neils 1994, 923 no. 33 pl. 623; 926 no. 36 pl. 625; no. 39 pl. 626; 927 no. 41 pl. 626; no. 44 pl. 627; 927–8 no. 46 pl. 629; 932 no. 109 pl. 644; Servadei 2005, 42–44. Metope 6 (bull): Hoffelner 1988, 84 fig. 6; cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 34 pl. 624; no. 36 pl. 625; 937 no. 198–91 pl. 655–7; Servadei 2005, 73–75. Metope 7 (Minotaur): Hoffelner 1988, 84–6 fig. 7; cf. only Young 1972; Woodford 1992, 547–81; Woodford 1994, 941 no. 238 pl. 661; Szufnar 1995; Servadei 2005, 100–110 and now Muth 2004. I will discuss the differences of vase-paintings, votive-sculpture and architectural sculpture as different media of presenting Theseus in a paper held at a conference in Freiburg in 2006.
- 27 Cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 33 pl. 66 pl. 625; 927 no. 39 pl. 626; 931 no. 97 pl. 642; no. 101 pl. 643; no. 102; no. 103 pl. 643; 932 no. 106 pl. 644; Servadei 2005, 40–44. For the discussions about metope 2 and 4: Brommer 1979, 499–500; Neils 1987, 48–49; see below.
- 28 Berlin, Antikensammlung 1984.61: Neils 1994, 931 no. 100 pl. 642; Servadei 2005, 41. Later, this way of acting becomes usual in Skiron scenes, cf. Neils 1994, 927 no. 628; 927 f. No. 46; no. 47 pl. 629; von den Hoff 2001, 82–3 with n. 39; Servadei 2005, 41.
- 29 See below n. 32.
- 30 Athens, National Museum 515: Hoffelner 1988, 78 fig. 32; cf. also Neils 1994, 933 no. 132 pl. 647; von den Hoff 2001, 83; cf. below n. 49 for the “Harmodios blow.”
- 31 Metope 2: Hoffelner 1988, 78–80 fig. 2. Usually, at this time, Theseus, fighting Prokrustes, holds the hammer behind his back and grasps the villain's head, cf. only Neils 1994, 926 no. 33 pl. 623; no. 36 pl. 625; 933 no. 126–128 pl. 646; no. 133 pl. 647; no. 134, 136, 137, 140 pl. 648; Servadei 2005, 44–46. Prokrustes has been identified on metope 2 by de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 42, and Hoffelner 1988, 78–80 (n. 10 with further bibliography), *contra* Homolle 1894, 182 (Periphetes); Schefold 1978, 165 (Skiron); Brommer 1979, 499–500 (Skiron); Brommer 1982, 17 (Skiron); Neils 1987, 48–9 (Skiron); Neils 1994, 928 no. 54 (Skiron or Prokrustes).
- 32 See Neils 1994, 927 no. 45 pl. 628; Servadei 2005, 34–36; the identification of Theseus opponent on Neils 1994, 929 no. 61 pl. 638, is doubtful. Metope 4: Hoffelner 1988, 82–3 fig. 4; Theseus' opponent has been identified as Skiron (de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 46), Prokrustes (Brommer 1979, 499–500; Brommer 1982, 25, 69; Neils 1987, 48–49), Prokrustes or Skiron (Neils 1994, 928 no. 54); Brommer 1979, 499 has excluded Periphetes, whom, on the other hand, Hoffelner 1988, 82–3 has recently recognized.
- 33 Metope 5: Demargne 1984, 1012 no. 596; Hoffelner 1988, 83 fig. 5; Giese 1995, 272. Athena, instead of wearing the helmet on her head, more probably held a helmet in her hand, see above n. 35–39. Rf. cup New York, Metropolitan Mus. 53.11.4; 1970.46: ARV<sup>2</sup> 406. 7; Neils 1987, 96–7; 161 no. 59 fig. 48; Schefold and Jung 1988, 242–3 fig. 293; Neils 1994, 947 no. 309 pl. 666; Servadei 2005, 176–8 fig. 75.
- 34 Brommer 1982, 69; Neer 2004, 76. For Herakles and Athena cf. Beckel 1961, 41–66; Mommsen 1989; Boardman *et al.* 1990, 143–154; Kunisch 1990. The only similar Theseus scene of this period is on a bf. skyphos in Athens, National Museum Acr. 1280: Neils 1987, 74, 157 no. 29; Neils 1994, 947 no. 308; for Theseus and Athena cf. Beckel 1961, 67–71; Boardman 1975, 2–3; Brommer 1982, 130; Neils 1994, 947–8.
- 35 De la Coste-Messelière 1957, 26 has argued that the geison above the central metope of the south side has a gap due to an overlap of the relief below. He suggested that the helmet, Athena should wear on her head in metope 5, could have filled this gap; cf. Audiat 1933, 38 n. 1; Hoffelner 1988, 83; 110 fig. 5, fig. 38 a (upside down!).
- 36 de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 51 (gorgoneion?) Taf. 18; cf. Hoffelner 83 (piece of garment attached), Giese 1995, 272 n. 4 (no gorgoneion attached).
- 37 de la Coste-Messelière 1957 pl. 15–16; for a comparable helmet cf. Athena on the rf. cup New York, Metropolitan Mus. 53.11.4 above n. 33.
- 38 Cf. only Neils 1994 no. 190; 311; Kunisch 1974 pl. 44,2; 45,2; 46; 47,2; 48,3; Neils 1994 no. 311; or Theseus and Medea with helmet in her hand: Kron 1976 pl. 16, 1. Athena with Theseus: Neils 1994 no. 310; Servadei 2005, 176–8.
- 39 cf. de la Coste-Messelière 1957, 51 (attached right arm); Kasper-Butz 1990, 178; Giese 1995, 272. Cf. the statue in Eleusis, inv. 5140: Fullerton 1986, 208 pl. 41 a; Preka-Alexandri 1991, 40 Abb. 24; cf. also the technique of piecing of the ‘Boston throne’: Comstock and Vermeule 1976, no. 30. The bulge above Athena's forehead could be part of a stephane, cf. Kunisch 1974, pl. 40–48; Neils 1994 no. 310.
- 40 Neils 1987, 49 n. 232.
- 41 Brommer 1979, 498–9; Neils 1994, 926–9. Thus we should postulate that in Delphi these deeds were depicted in other metopes (Skiron: no. 77 ?, Hoffelner 112 fig. 18; sow: no. 30 ?, Hoffelner 112 fig. 30). If, indeed, the sow and Skiron were part of the cycle in Delphi, too, then, on the south side of the treasury, there remains no space for a metope with Theseus fighting an Amazon (see above n. 21). But since Periphetes appears on the treasury earlier than in every Theseus cycle on vases, the argumentation regarding the sow and Skiron is not without problems.
- 42 See above n. 21.
- 43 Cf. for cycle images of Theseus: Neer 2002, 154–164; von



- den Hoff 2002; von den Hoff 2003.
- 44 Neer 2004, 76.
- 45 Neer 2004, 76.
- 46 For the temple and its metopes: Sauer 1899, 155–79 pl. 4–5; Dinsmoor 1941; Kähler 1949; Lippold 1950, 158; Koch 1955 121–125 pl. 24–7; Morgan 1962; 1963; Ridgway 1981, 26–30 fig. 7–10; Brommer 1982, 69–70 pl. 4 b–7; Dörig 1985, 74–79; Boardman 1991, 146 fig. 111; Neils 1987, 126–28; 177 S3 fig. 70–75; Hoffelner 1988, 111–2 fig. 39; Schefold and Jung 1988, 246–250 fig. 299–300; Boardman *et al.* 1990, 7 no. 1706 pl. 12–3; Knell 1990, 127–139; Woodford 1992, 575 no. 11 pl. 317 (Minotaur); Neils 1994, 928 no. 55 pl. 635–6; Kotsidu 1995; Delivorrias 1997, fig. 2–3; Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 79–142 pl. 7–11; Reber 1998; see now also Barringer in this volume.
- 47 Schefold 1978, 95–6; Boardman 1990, 43–43; Schefold 1993, 237–9; Wünsche 2003, 91–6.
- 48 Fig. 9.5 has been redrawn from published photographs and drawings in Sauer 1899. A detailed reconstruction of the depicted action is impossible here, because a new examination of the preserved parts of the relief figures could not be undertaken for this paper.
- 49 Cf. only Fehr 1984; Stewart 1990, 135–6 fig. 227–31; Stewart 1997, 69–75; Krumeich 2002, 221–2; 237–40 (with further bibliography); Oenbrink 2004.
- 50 This has been the argument of Taylor 1991, 36–70 and is often repeated, cf. also Ermini 1996; Suter 1975.
- 51 Ober 2003, 220–1.
- 52 See J. Barringer in this volume.