
Reading Ancient Reliefs: an approach to interperation of architectural decoration in historical and political context

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Abstract

Ancient treasuries promoted wealth and prosperity of the donation community. Preserved relief scenes portrayed mythological stories used for expressing certain characteristic reflection of reality (chaos, wilderness, heroism, etc.) By analyzing historical sources is possible to assign events related to the poleis in historical context. This paper shall serve as introduction of hypothetical nature of political program and contribution to the knowledge of political promotion of polis in relief decoration.

Figural decoration became a form of political program, or even metaphorical ideology. The main carrier of ideological reference were figure decorated pediments and friezes. Those visualized political agenda of polis even for illiterate observers. In particular mythological stories, those that might have some ideological scheme, were preferred. They can be applied to current events of polis, but only if adequate historical sources or archaeological evidence. Mythological battles were frequent motifs. The story of Gigantomachy allowed various kind of exploitation in political ideology. The main idea was the battle between world full of chaos and world representing stability and certainty. Analogies are identifiable in the whole archaic period. The main inspiration were military confrontations with other Greek or non-Greek cities. From preserved decorative elements is possible to roughly characterize also political significance of mythological heroes. Visual display is closely related to foreign policy and inner political conflict of poleis. It is important that preserved reliefs with motives that do not deal with panhellenic scenes are less numerous.

Key words: mythology, treasury, political program, relief

1. Introduction

Ancient architecture has certain unique features which have a significant impact on culture of Europe. While in the case of Roman art and architecture, an attempt of propaganda is obvious, Classical Greek architecture is characterized by an ideology that was clear to every citizen of the polis. This phenomenon can be observed since the archaic period of Greek history. Through personification and abstraction authors were able to give a clear message of political and historical importance. Decorative elements of any public building are characterized by plenty of iconographic representations, which can be explained within the broader context of historical events. Such interpretation is widely recognized in the case of the gable and frieze decoration of ancient Greek temples.

History of shrines reflects the development of society and religion as well. Contemporary research is usually related to two fundamental aspects: understanding them not only as a place reserved for cult activities but also as a place where masterpieces of art were placed. Representing a perfect place for cultural, political or sporting interaction of Greek citizens, fully manifest the competitive nature of classical culture. Common feature of the panhellenic sanctuaries (*Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea*) is performing of musical and athletic games. Participants shared and exchanged the latest knowledge and technologies, coming from different parts of the ancient world. Temple decoration, numerous votive offerings or inscriptions had certain ideological reference for every single citizen. Inscriptions informing about donators and victorious individuals implement the same purposes. On the decorative elements of treasuries such practices were equally applied. Unlike the shrines, treasuries draw a relative rare attention to the representations with a profound political significance.

Analysis of the political programme is based on the extant decoration on Greek treasuries, mostly in Panhellenic shrines (Delphi and Olympia figure 1 and 2). Political programme and ideology are closely related to the position of building. Considering the movement of pilgrims to the shrine, orientation is a key element, done to emphasise the architecture and decoration as much as possible. Treasuries promoted wealth and prosperity of the donation community. The most important part to show the political agenda was the engraved figural decoration, which maintained primarily on friezes and pediments. Certain political programme and ideology was shown mostly in the form of mythological scenes referred mainly to military victories against enemies or, as the case may be, representing the arrangements of its internal political situation. In some cases the scenes depicting heroes served to giving moralizing lessons to passers-by.

2. Thesauroi in antiquity- testimony of ancient authors

Treasuries did not serve only the practical purpose. Combining architecture with artistic decoration formed a harmony that allowed for promoting thoughts of citizens, even thoughts of the ruling class of polis. Therefore this paper, given the narrow interest of the scientific community to this topic, focuses on a certain consensus among architecture, art and dissemination of information. Such kind of ideology and political programme is important for understanding the spread of different information and declaration of public opinion in ancient Greece. Preserved relief scenes portrayed mythological stories used for expressing certain characteristic reflection of reality (chaos, wilderness, heroism, etc.) By analyzing historical sources and current state of research is possible to assign events related to the polis in historical context.

Treasuries represent small buildings of more or less the same architectural style as small temples. Built by tyrants, Greek city states and their citizens, treasuries were used as repository for votive offerings. Mostly were situated in panhellenic shrines in Delphi, Olympia and Delos. The oldest reliably identified treasuries appeared at the end of the 7th century BC. The last one was erected just before Macedonians took over Greece in the 2nd half of 4th century BC.¹ This period belongs to the most abundant in the history of the ancient Greece. Development of culture is manifested in the decoration of treasuries and their architecture. Consequently *thesauroi* did not serve just as storage for votive offerings, but also as exhibition place of power, political ideals, cultural achievements and prosperity of donation polis. Promotion of the city was realized through sanctuaries that were basically places of the largest gatherings in the Greek world. Treasury represented small symbolic piece of native land of the donation city, therefore nobody hesitated to import construction material from the city's surroundings. This fact completes the impression that votive gifts never left their city.²

Miscellaneous reports about various kind of votive offerings, used as acknowledgement, demonstration of devotion, expression of demand or prayer of an individual, group of people or state, are preserved. The most important gifts placed into treasuries were portrayals of gods (statues, iconic images, etc.), metallic tripods, number of votive containers: goblets, fialai, oinichoai, silver and golden jars, small amphoras, thuribles or wreaths. Other could be first harvest or part of heritage as it was in the case of Croesus. The citizens of Siphnus sent piece of their mining gains (*Hdt. 1.92, Hdt. 3.57; Paus. 10.11.2*). Artists provided works like craftsmen their products. Often were also weapons belonging to defeated enemies as well as captured objects from battles. Statues of the victorious athletes were not rare at all.

1 Neer 2001, 273–4.

2 Neer 2004, 65.

3. Ancient treasuries reconsideration – in the light of current research

The difference in architectural styles was subject of fashion in the particular period. Architects and artists often stuck with the domestic structural traditions of the client, alternatively they were simply affected by the main impuls leading to construction. Some of were created in Severe style, other were a combination of various manner. In Olympia were prevalent sculpturally decorated pediments, while in Delphi enhanced Ionic style with decorative friezes. Athenian treasury and other built in Doric style had decorated metopes. Material was often imported from homeland as in the case of Gelian treasury with terracotta decor typical for city of Gela and region of Sicily.³

Identified treasuries were situated especially in the sanctuaries in Olympia and Delphi. Other possible treasuries were located on Delos and Samos, in Nemea, Kalydone and Foce del Sele. The location chosen for these buildings was mainly related to the representative function. The orientation of buildings was not controlled by religious cannon - in contrary to temples. Main tendency was to highlight the greatest part of building – broadside and frontal, where the entrance was located. Thus, the ideologically most important part of the treasury decor stood out. Front side was important for providing space of pediment or frieze decoration. However, sometimes the both sides of the surface were not used at once. The longer side of the treasury offered space for representation of more exacting story-based scene. These rules were valid in Doric nad Ionic style equally.

Architectural analysis is important considering the main purpose of building, but also the overall artistic and promotional concept. Architect's and artist's essential decision was select location prior to the construction works. It needed to be well visible for coming pilgrims. Orientation of the building was perhaps the main factor when choosing the positions of reliefs. The parts of the building that were visible the best carried main scenes - representation of political and social message of the polis. Building's material as well as realization of the construction left an impression of a wealthy and prosperous city. Symmetry of the structure optically contributed to the artistic value of decorations.

Determination and dating of building is not always distinctive. In some cases ancient authors get into the conflict with outcomes of modern scholars. According to Pausanias Athenian Treasury in Delphi was built after the battle at Marathon in 490 BC (*Paus. 10. 11*). The origin and reason of building the treasury is in discrepancy with recent researchers. Some move the dating before this period - based on stylistic analysis.⁴ However, archeological excavation in 1989 (oriented directly on finding the exact date of the treasury) revealed inseparable concept relationship between separate parts of foundations. Those are certainly classified to the period after 490 BC. Thanks to this knowledge, the treasury

3 Rups 1986, 229.

4 Partida 2000, 50–2.

creation can be with high probability dated after 490 and be linked to the victory at Marathon.⁵

According to Pausanias description the so-called Megarian treasury was considered for long a work by citizens of Megara on Greek mainland (*Paus.* 6. 19).⁶ Some assume that the requester could be even Megara Hybleia on Sicily.⁷ Pausanias is also mentioning the particular event that led to emplacement of this building. Words engraved into the shield hanged above pediment informed of the military conflict between Megara and Corinth in presence. Shortly after Megarians supposedly built and consecrated the treasury to Zeus in Olympia, however Pausanias did not indicate anything that had caused the conflict and on which side were Argeians (*Paus.* 6. 19). Also the provenience of tiles is speaking for Megara. The analysis of fabric and type refers to the late archaic Corinthian workshop,⁸ while the material was Megarian poros.⁹

3.1 Political program in the context of sculptural art and architecture

By analyzing architecture, emplacement and decoration certain political scheme of treasuries can be determined. Fragmentation of preserved material needs to be re-consider. Therefore, assign certain motif to the specific historical event is complicated. Thus, this paper shall serve as introduction of hypothetical nature of political program and contribution to the knowledge of political promotion of polis in ancient treasury decoration. Figural decoration of treasuries became a form of political program, or even metaphorical ideology. Treasuries were built in sanctuaries, where all citizens from different regions gathered. Iconography became easily understandable even for illiterate visitors, as motives of the scenes were well known in all of the Greek world.

The story of Gigantomachy allowed various kind of exploitation in political propaganda. The main idea was the battle between world full of chaos and world representing stability and certainty. Analogies are identifiable in the whole archaic period. The main inspiration were military confrontations with other Greek or non-Greek cities. The use of Gigantomachy differs: on the Siphnian treasury may represent certain form of resistance against rising power of demos. Residents of Megara on the other hand chose it as a symbol of wracking their city – as a result of invasion by rival Corinth. Massalians perhaps tried to illustrate conflict with one of more enemies. Giants as well as Amazons pose as serious threat to the sovereignty or political system of polis. Amazons represented a sample of a completely different world which symbolizes lower social level with chaos tendencies. On the Athenian treasury a motive with Amazons with typical Persian clothing is highlighted.¹⁰

5 Neer 2004, 67.

6 Dyer 1906, 60.

7 Boardman 1991, 160.

8 Mallwitz 1972, 172.

9 Rups 1986, 45.

10 Neer 2004, 77.

From preserved decorative elements is possible to roughly characterize political significance of mythological heroes. Visual display is closely related to foreign policy and inner political conflict of poleis. Heracles is probably a personification of aged governing systems. Good example is Atheniana treasury: heros, despite being awarded for the victory at Marathon, is overshadowed by another rising national heros – Theseus. He became a new iconographic embodiment of democracy.¹¹ Tyrant Kleistenes of Sikyon tried to separate from competitive Argos. Dioskurides were an important cult in Sikyon (*Paus* 2.7.5), but also an ideological association to the new ally – Sparta, from where heroes derived their origin. They could simply become a part in myth celebrating the Greek colonization.¹² Possibility that Argonauts represent certain form of reconciliation between naval forces (Argo) and noble horsemen (Dioskurides) can not be excluded.¹³

Kastor and Polydeukes on southern frieze of Siphnian treasury represent certain form of precedens. By kidnapping the Messenian king's daughter they committed in people's as well as gods' laws an injustice, but in the end the deed is conducive to both parties- it introduces new members of aristocracy. The idea behind carved decoration in the scenes with gods – rewarding devout actions and punishing blasphemy – is moral guidance of people for the right actions of society (figure 10). This example ought to serve for preserving the civilized world by obeying secular and sacral laws. Only this can keep the order that brings well-being.

It is important that preserved reliefs with motives that do not deal with panhellenic scenes are less numerous. On Cyrenian treasury a direct relationship to own polis identity can be seen. Although local myth pictured in the central embossed scene expresses neither political situation, nor does it show military conflicts related to current events, it becomes patriotic message to Greeks visiting the sanctuary.¹⁴ To create a vision of political ideology in decoration of treasuries is important to analyze each of the preserved decorative elements individually. These fit into ideological schemes which were easily understandable to wide public. By exploring these themes, they can be compared with major events concerning the polis in the particular period.

Ancient Greek searched support for the artistic renderings of actual events in mythology. Political goals or victories against non-Greeks, against another polis or within citizens were often promoted. On the treasuries are preserved depictions of several mythological battles: between gods and Giants (Gigantomachy), heroes and Amazons (Amazonomachy), Greek and Trojans (Iliupersis). These depictions can be considered as common denominator- expression of resistance against lack of culture, barbarism and chaos.

11 Agard 1928, 84–91.

12 Oakley, J. H. 2007, 353-4.

13 Partida 2000, 77; Ridgway 1991, 99.

14 Boardman 1991, 160.

3.2 Gigantomachy

Giants, as impersonation of uncivilized world full of chaos, trying to get back into power, struggled against the gods on Olympus. Possessing advantage against weapons of the Olympian gods, are disruptive also for people. Calling for help on Heracles, brings strength back to the side of gods. They are once again ruling the world, while returning law and order. Gigantomachy represents a common motif in the sculptural decoration of Greek treasuries (figure 7). Dating of buildings with depiction of Gigantomachy is 525 - 500 B.C. These are Massalian and Siphnian treasuries in Delphi and Megarian treasury in Olympia. Relief on Massalian treasury is preserved only in fragments. Older scholars have dated formation of the building to the period 535-515 BC after Alalia battle.¹⁵ However, according the current studies dating around 500 BC is possible.¹⁶

Giants are portrayed as Greek hoplites in full gear and armor. Gigantomachy could indicate winning battle against Carthage and the Etruscans near Alalia in 535 BC,¹⁷ which does not correspond with the current dating to 500 BC.¹⁸ Until 480 BC are know another two military clashes after battle with Carthaginians. Both conflicts ended by victory of Massalians. This success provided control over the southern part of Gaul and Iberian Peninsula.¹⁹ Another inspiration for Gigantomachy could be internal conflicts within polis. Battles with the Etruscans and Carthaginians increased the importance of naval forces and hence the importance of the navy itself.²⁰ Agriculturers, and thus hoplites, warring factions against the Celtic invasions, could get into political clashes with the parties supporting the navy- as it was in Athens after Marathon battle in 490 BC.

Gigantomachy in the pediment of Megarian treasury differed by composition and craftsmanship from decoration of Siphnian and Massalian treasuries in Delphi. Giants fall and are lying on the ground as a symbol of apparent defeat by gods.²¹ They are traditionally depicted with hoplit armour, but not grouped into the phalanx as on the Siphnian treasury (figure 8). If Pausanias provides accurate information, Gigantomachy could be understood in the context of the military conflict between Megara and Corinth (*Paus.* 6.19). Argos participated and belonged to the allies of Megara, probably assisting to the victory as Heracles did in Gigantomachy. This possibility is supported by fact, that Heracleian cult was associated with Argos by his residence in near Tiryns (*Paus* 2.16).

An interesting information is provided by Plutarch, who informs about inner fights between rich and poor inhabitants of Megara in the 2nd half of 6th century BC (*Plut. Moralia* 4. 295, 304). In the city during this period, there was a significant

¹⁵ Rups 1986, 169.

¹⁶ Mulliez 2013.

¹⁷ Gras 1987, 166-171.

¹⁸ Rups 1986, 169.

¹⁹ Casson 1967, 82

²⁰ Sweeney 2012, article 2.

²¹ Rups 1986, 48.

portion of political power in the hands of folk masses, towards what modern-day researches are also inclined.²² This power could have been portrayed in the negative light of Gigantomachy, as a manifestation of negative propaganda of oppressed aristocracy. That refers to folk masses as the violent element which is causing chaos and anarchy. A similar situation is already indicated on the frieze of Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, where the Giants represent an oncoming equality among citizens, even directly in the form of a hoplite phalanx.²³

3.3 Amazonomachy and Trojan War

In Greek mythology, the Amazons are in frequent conflict with heroes. The initiators of conflicts are both sides. Among heroes, the Amazons most often meet with Bellerophon, later with Heracles and Theseus, and in the end they appear against Achilles at the battles in front of Troy. In mythology, they inhabited a distant territory in the east of Asia Minor (near Caucasus or Crimea). This motif is preserved on two treasuries at Delphi. Massalian Treasury has preserved a few identifiable fragments in low relief. On Athenian Treasury, there are remains of Amazonomachy metopes, which are thematically linked to Heracles and Theseus. These motifs were made at the end of the archaic period, approximately between the years 500 and 490 BC. Amazonomachy was probably depicted on the metopes of Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Researchers differ in the exact identification and layout of metopes.²⁴ Theseus and Heracles are emerging, fighting against the Amazons. Athenians chose this particular myth to manifest their victory over the Persians. The victory at Marathon in the year 490 BC represented the most significant event in the short history of Athenian democracy. Athenians were not only threatened by occupation, but also – as in the case of Eretria and Euboea – with destruction of the city.²⁵

Trojan war (Iliupersis) belongs to the younger cycles of Greek mythology. Both fighting sides are supported by gods, who have divided themselves into two groups. In Iliad they even get into a direct conflict, which Zeus has to interrupt as the supreme ruler. Heroes are presented as autonomous individuals associated for only one purpose – the defeat of Troy. Each of them stems from a god or from a distinguished house. Trojans are not representing the “barbarians” as in the case of Giants and Amazons, because many of their heroes are the descendants of Olympian gods. The Iliupersis motif has only been preserved on Siphnian Treasury at Delphi from the period just before the year 525 BC (figure 5).

22 Forsdyke 2005, 73-90.

23 Neer 2001, 303.

24 La Coste-Messelière 1928, 225-30; Agard 1923, 174-80.

25 Grant 1999, 25-7.

Possible interpretation is that the sculptor's motivation for this motif was his attempt to express the extraordinary position of aristocracy. Depicted heroes are accompanied by their divine parents or distinguished ancestors. The pairs Achilles - Thetis, Memnon - Eos, Aeneas - Aphrodite and Antilochus - Nestor indicate an exceptional standing of heroes who, although living on earth as humans, are favored on Olympus. Greek aristocracy and royal families derived their origin from heroes and so directly from gods themselves. By the creation of this motif, aristocracy symbolically expresses its divine predestination to lead people. The cause that led aristocrats to this form of propaganda was their weakening position in many Greek city-states during the archaic period.²⁶ This fact was often used by the self-appointed leaders of folk masses - tyrants who concluded the political upheaval by assuming absolute power over the city. To avoid a similar revolt, aristocrats sought to consolidate their rule by asserting their eligibility and ability to govern with the support of the gods.

3.4 Motifs of Heroes

On the preserved Greek treasuries, there appear besides the depictions of mythological fights, the motifs of heroes. They are a frequent symbol of individualism, which was one of the typical attributes of Greek society. At the same time were Heracles, Theseus and the Dioskouri the patrons of poleis and they often allegedly helped in battles by their personal attendance. This most famous Greek hero belonged among the most controversial and tragic characters of ancient mythology. He was acclaimed as the greatest benefactor but also as a man, who frequently lost control over his superhuman abilities.

Nevertheless, his lifelong struggle against the fate is a frequent iconographic motif in all fields of Greek art. From Heracles, aristocratic houses have derived their origins in many parts of ancient Greece. However, this genealogical factor was most pronounced on the Peloponnese. Heracles is often used in depictions also as a symbol of mortal when he is in the presence of Olympian Gods. In some cases he is the symbol of tyrants who led the people in uprisings against aristocracy.²⁷ The depiction of Heracles as an individual hero is preserved on the pediment of Siphnian Treasury (figure 6) and on the metopes of Athenian Treasury at Delphi. The creation time of these frieze depictions ranges approximately from the year 525 BC to shortly after 490 BC.

On Athenian Treasury at Delphi appear Theseus and Heracles as individual autonomous characters depicted during fulfillment of their tasks (figure 3 and 4). Metopes with Heracles' deeds were probably placed on the northern side of the building, while metopes with Theseus' deeds were exhibited on the southern side of the treasury. Depiction of these two heroes was not accidental. Both of them are closely tied to the Battle of Marathon in the year 490 BC. Theseus gained

²⁶ Boardman - Hammond. 2002, 427-40.

²⁷ Papadimitropoulos 2008, 131-8; Philips 1978, 431-40.

by the end of the 6th century BC on importance (in Athenian iconography), mainly as a symbol of the newly created democratic constitution established by the reforms of Cleisthenes.²⁸ For his deeds he was equated to Heracles. Theseus is depicted in similar situations as Heracles, which places him on a high level among heroes. But the position of Theseus' metopes on the southern side of the treasury raises him to the foremost position of political propaganda. Pilgrims ascending to the Temple of Apollo saw precisely this scene with Theseus best. Heracles' deeds on the northern side were hidden by the building number XXVI (Bouleuterion) which stems from an older epoch²⁹ and it wasn't possible to see them from either direction on *via sacra*.

The Dioskouri were twins born to the Spartan queen Leda and stemmed from two fathers. Castor was a mortal son of the king of Sparta Tyndareus, and Polydeuces was an immortal son of Zeus. Nevertheless, the brothers were considered to be equal. Their characteristic feature is a thirst for fighting and their frequent conflicts with other heroes. Among their most famous conflicts are the clashes with cousins Idas and Lynceus. Expeditions with the Argonauts to Colchis and hunting for the Calydonian Boar were a frequent motif in iconography. The solidarity of Dioskouri expressed itself in Polydeuces' decision to choose death, so that he would not abandon his brother and refused an eternal life on Olympus. Overall, the Dioskouri belong to the Doric myth cycle and in popularity are second to Heracles.³⁰ Figures of the Dioskouri are preserved on a few metopes found during the uncovering of Sikyonian Treasury's remains at Delphi and stem from the first quarter of the 6th century BC. Likewise, they are on one frieze of Siphnian Treasury at Delphi from the time before the year 525 BC (figure 9). Besides fighting scenes and scenes of individual heroes, there are other mythological motifs preserved on treasuries at Delphi and at Olympia. They are concerned mainly with the relations between humans and gods. Individual characters like Europa and Frixos didn't have to depict a heroic deed, they could commemorate a famous event, which served as a lesson and example.

28 Boardman 1991, fig. 213.

29 Agard 1928, 83-91.

30 Krappe 1923, 502-4.

4. Discussion and conclusion indented

During the construction of free-standing treasury the informative value of donation polis was the most important. This can be manifested by various forms, e.g. location of the building. Selection of suitable land was difficult process. Rivalry of the most advantageous position cannot be excluded. Temenos had important routes crossed by numerous visitors with treasuries placed alongside them. Treasuries in Olympia were placed on the terrace near the stadium, where the most people moved. Poleis had to purchase the land, which likely required a high financial costs. After selecting the place, the building was oriented in such a manner that its decorative elements were emphasized.

The main carrier of ideological reference were figure decorated pediments and friezes. Those visualized political agenda of polis even for illiterate observers. In particular mythological stories, that might have some ideological scheme, were preferred. They can be applied to current events of polis, but only if adequate historical sources or archaeological evidence. At several treasuries various ideological schemes can be observed to increase the effect of the political agenda (Siphnian or Sikyonian treasury- figure 11). Mythological battles were frequent themes. Gigantomachy on Massalian treasury could represent a fight against external enemies while in the case of Syphnian treasury reference to the internal political situation was in use. Megara could imagined the fight against Corinth.

Amazonomachy symbolizes the fight against the “barbarians” and Trojan War could become a tool of aristocracy. Aristoi, as is indicated by analysis of historical context of preserved decoration, are using various mythological themes to raise their dwindling influence. Advice people how to behave (Western frieze), using scenes with Dioskuroi to justify their actions, which became ultimately beneficial (South frieze) and finally warn against interference with law and order (Eastern pediment). At the forefront of Athenian treasury Amazonomachy represented symbol of the battle of Marathon. The second most visible scene depicted Theseus, while Heracles on the other hand is hidden in the background. Wealth of poleis is represent by location of treasury and expensive building materials. Massalia displayed Dionysus as a symbol of gratitude for the prosperity and successful sale of wine. In Olympia the scene of a different kind than known from Delphi was preserved. On the Cyrenian treasury a local myth concerning nymph Cyrene, patron of the city, was exposed.

The multiplicity of ideological themes preserved on the treasuries become a vital source of knowledge concerning politics in the archaic and early Classical period. Location, architecture and decoration are particularly in close symbiosis. Treasuries represented information sources, mainly located on the most important routes of temenos, and providing message for visitors in easily legible manner. In the case of sufficient historical sources and archaeological evidence certain information about political program shall be obtained.

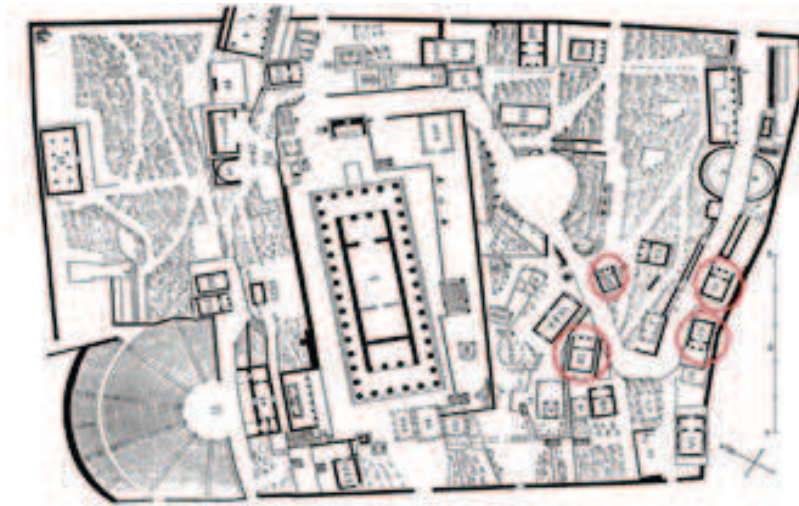
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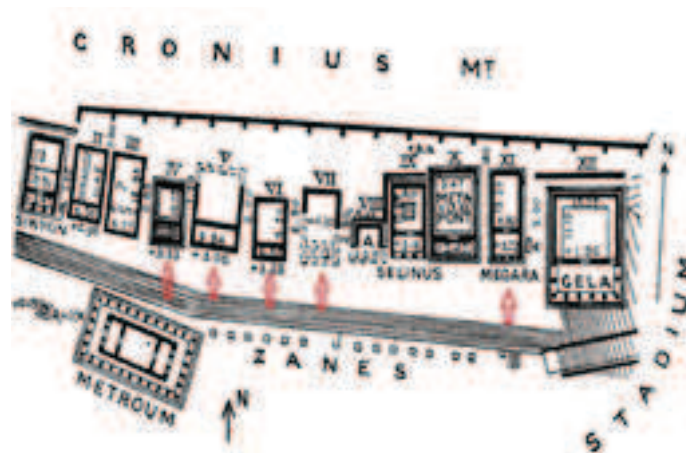
Appendix

Figure 1: Delphi: Apollo sanctuary. Treasuries with preserved relief decoration: Sikyonian (III), Siphnian (IV), Athenian (XI), Cnidian (XXV).



Source: After La Coste-Messelière 1936.

Figure 2: Olympia: Zeus sanctuary. Treasuries with preserved relief decoration: Byzantian (IV), Sybarid (V), Cyrenian (VII), Megarian (XI).



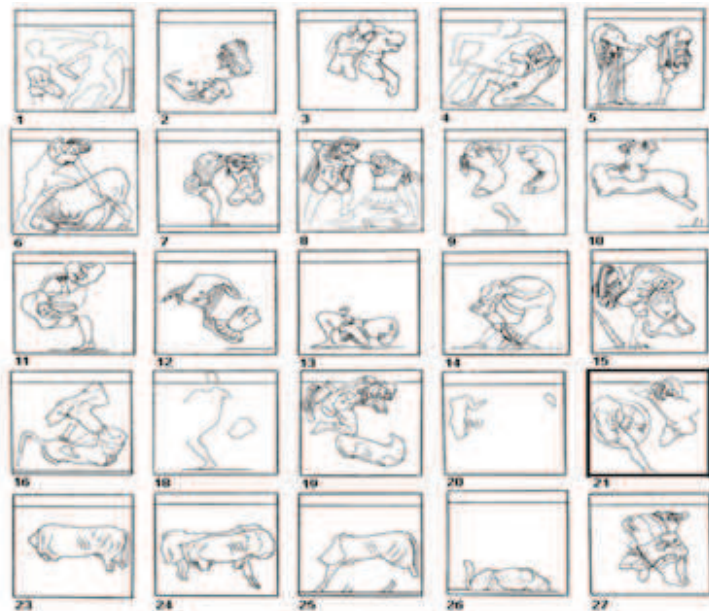
Source: After Dyer 1906.

Figure 3: Metopes of Athenian Treasury: Athena and Theseus (left), Heracles and Cycnus (right).



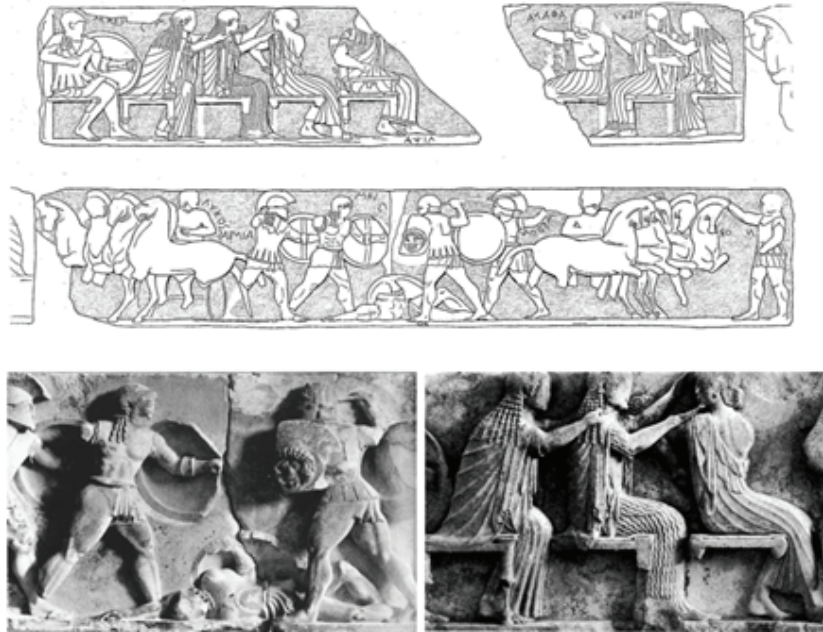
Source: After Neer 2004, fig. 3 and 4.

Figure 4: Metopes of Athenian Treasury: Myth of Theseus (1-8), Amazonomachy (9-14), Labours of Heracles (15-22), Geryonomachy (23-27).



Source: After Boardman 1991, fig. 213.

Figure 5: Siphnian Treasury: the eastern frieze. Iliupersis (above), Achilles and Memnon (below left), Olympian gods (below right).



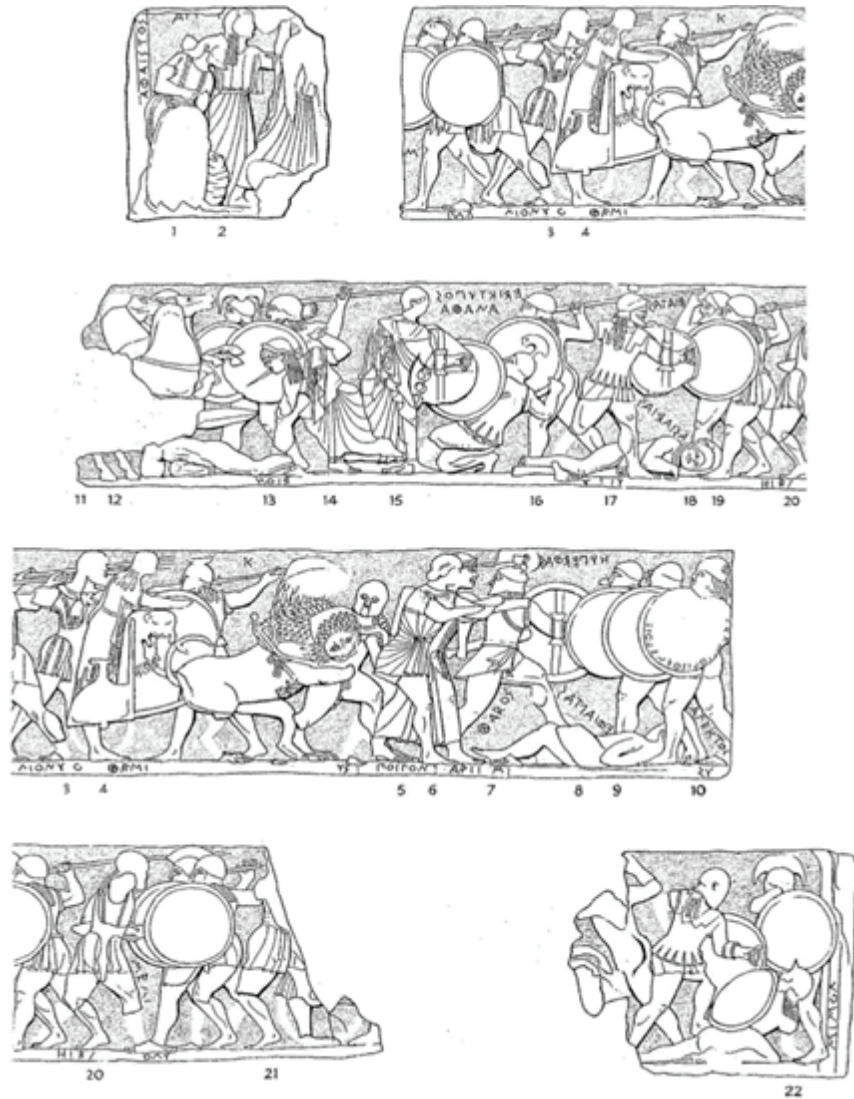
Source: After Boardman 1991, fig.212, Neer 2001, fig.10.

Figure 6: Siphnian Treasury: the eastern pediment. *Apollo* and *Heracles* struggle for the Delphic *tripod*.



Source: After Neer 2001, fig.8.

Figure 7: Siphnian treasury: the northern frieze. Gigantomachy.



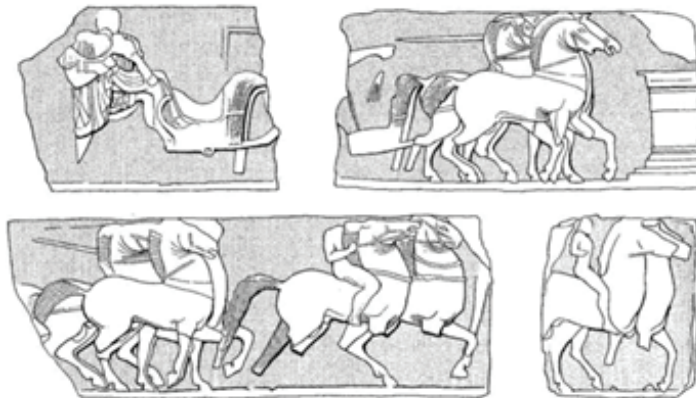
Source: After Boardman 1991, fig. 212.1.

Figure 8: Siphnian treasury: the northern frieze. Details: Themis on lion carriage (left), Giants phalanx fighting (right)



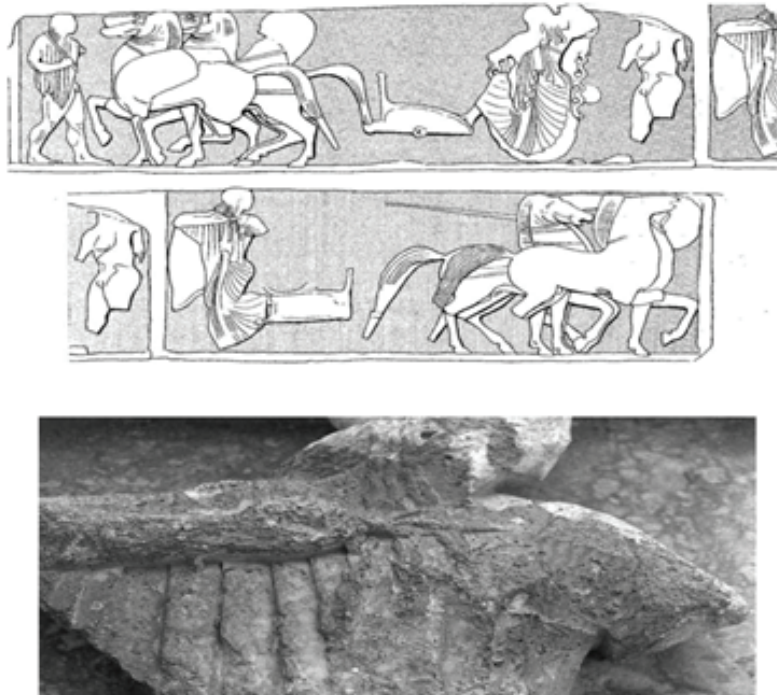
Source: archive of authors

Figure 9: Siphnian treasury: the southern frieze. Dioscurides.



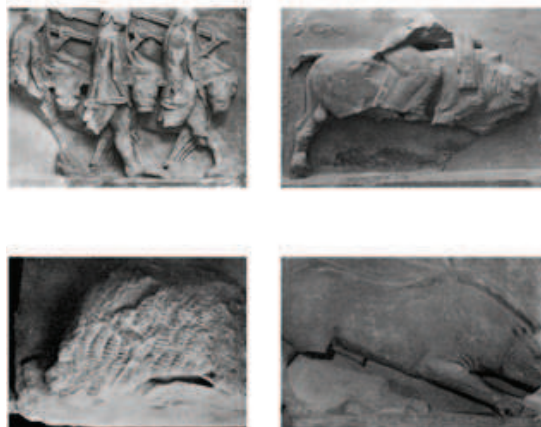
Source: After Boardman 1991, fig. 212.3.

Figure 10: Siphnian treasury: the western frieze. Punishment of heroes (above), detail of Artemis (below).



Source: After Boardman 1991, fig. 212.4; Neer 2001, fig. 12.

Figure 11: Metopes of Sikyonian Treasury. Dioskurides and Idas (above left), Europe (above right), Frixos (below left), Calydonian boar (below right).



Source: After Boardman 1991, fig.208; Rachtel 1982, fig. 110.