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JUDITH M. BARRINGER

The workings of treasuries in Greek sanctuaries

Abstract

Thesauroi are common in Greek sanctuaries, as we know from epigraphical, literary and physical evidence, although written sources, especially inscriptions, are often ambiguous as to whether they refer to money boxes or buildings since the same term can be used for either. Scholars have long studied the latter, particularly the architecture and sculpture of those at Olympia and in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi. Far less attention has been given to the administration, placement, accessibility and the motivations for constructing these buildings. This paper gathers and discusses the evidence concerning these issues to better understand these common structures and their use and function within sanctuaries.*

Keywords: Delphi, Olympia, sanctuaries, treasuries

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Protecting, maintaining and accounting for the property of the god was of great concern in ancient Greek sanctuaries, particularly large sanctuaries visited by thousands. Ancient authors, such as Herodotos, Xenophon, Strabo and Pausanias, indicate that treasury buildings helped to fulfill these objectives by housing objects, specifically gifts to the gods, and epigraphical evidence documents that these structures and their contents were administered by sanctuary officials. Scholars have long studied these buildings, particularly the well-known examples at the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi.[1] Using a combination of written and archaeological evidence, a recent study identified 101 such structures dating from the 7th to 2nd centuries BC.[2] While scholars usually concentrate on the fragmentary architecture,[3] and on sculpture when it exists (for example, the Siphnian and Athenian treasuries at Delphi, the Megarian treasury at Olympia), this study leaves aside such matters and instead is devoted to issues concerning treasuries that have received far less scholarly attention: their patrons and motivations for building them, their functions, and especially their administration, accessibility, placement and contents.

Introduction and definitions

Before beginning this investigation, we should clarify the terminology and subject, i.e., how do we define "treasury"? We concern ourselves here with the small free-standing buildings found in sanctuaries, such as those at Delphi (*Fig. 1*), Olympia, and Delos, which ancient authors and inscriptions refer to

* Discussions with audiences in Uppsala and Athens stimulated my thinking on this subject and helped me develop my ideas. Didier Laroche, Elpida Chairi at the École française d'Athènes, Georgia Papadopoulou at the Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων Κυκλάδων, and Hans Goette provided images and permissions to publish them. Susanne Carlsson and Julia Habetzeder at *Opuscula* helped improve this text in several ways. I offer my thanks to all of the above. I am especially grateful to Gunnel Ekroth, who first suggested this topic to me and has offered encouragement and fruitful dialogue throughout the long gestation of this text. I am responsible for all errors that remain.

[1] Rups 1986 with earlier bibliography.

[2] Hering (2015) gathers all the data—literary references, archaeological data and bibliography—in her catalogue and study, which also discusses dating controversies and architectural sculpture.

[3] Herrmann 1980; 1992; Partida 2000; Hering 2015.

Fig. 1. Delphi, Apollo sanctuary, Athenian treasury, c. *490 BC. Photographt: H.R. Goette.*

by a variety of terms, for example, *thesauroi*,[4] *oikemata*,[5] *oikoi*[6] and *naoi*,[7] with the last two—*oikoi* and *naoi*—sometimes occurring interchangeably.[8] The designations sometimes seem to depend on location, for example, *oikoi* is the standard term on Delos, but more than one word can be used to refer to the same building at the same site, for example, both *thesauros* and *oikos* are inscribed on the Athenian treasury at Delphi.[9] Although *thesauros* is used for structures in sanctuaries, Strabo, writing in the 1st century BC, states that *naiskoi* at the Samian Heraion were filled with old works of art (πλήριες τῶν ἀρχαίων τεχνῶν, 14.1.14), while elsewhere, he reports that the city of Kyzikos possessed three *thesauroi*, one each for weapons, tools or implements, and grain (12.8.11), but makes no mention of a sanctuary; it may be that Strabo uses the word *thesauroi* to refer to secular buildings.

Ancient literature and inscriptions often employ "*thesauros*" to refer to structures for the safekeeping of objects, usually of high economic value, for example, silver, gold, cash, or of fragile material, such as ivory and wood,[10] but the term is also used frequently, especially in inscriptions, for portable (though heavy) money boxes.[11] One notable example is a stone box in-

[4] Hdt. 1.14.2; Xen. *An.* 5.3.5; Paus. 5.14.9, 6.19, 6.20.1–2, 9.37.5, 10.11.1–2, 10.11.5, 10.13.5–6; Hsch. *Lex*. 551. See Hering (2015, 159–169), who gathers the citations for the various terms; and Partida (2000, 306–321), who presents the ancient written testimony for the treasuries at Delphi. *IG* II² 1672, lines 145–150, 201–202, 209–210 of 330–329 BC stipulates payments for fittings for a building at Eleusis called a *thesauros*: see Clinton 2005, no. 177 with commentary (vol. 2, 181, 213–214); Pafford 2013, 53.

[5] *IG* I³ 4B, lines 2, 17–18.

[6] Hellmann 1992, 300–301; Hsch. *Lex*. 551.

[7] Ath. 11.479f–480a; Diod. Sic. 17.10.5. Paus. 10.8.6 refers to the two structures thought to be treasuries in Marmaria as *naoi* perhaps because he did not recognize one ruined building as a treasury, according to Bommelaer (2015, 79).

[8] E.g., Polemon uses both *thesauros* and *naos* (cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv*. 5.2 [675 B]; Ath. 11.479f–480a, 13.606a–b). On the nomenclature, see, e.g., Rups 1986, 6–12; Mari 2006, esp. 39–40; Siard 2006, 493–495, 500.

[9] Colin 1913, 27–28 no. 20 line 17, 47–48 no. 47 line 37, 55–57 no. 50 line 14, 101–102 no. 89 line 15, 170–174 no. 139 line 18.

[10] On the function of treasury buildings, see Siard 2006, 493.

[11] On the broad use of this term, see, e.g., Debord 1982, 195; Kaminski 1991, 66, 68–70, 178–181. For such objects themselves, see Kaminski 1991; *ThesCRA* IV (2005), 123–125, s.v. Thesauros II

Fig. 2a. Athens, Akropolis, thesauros *of Aphrodite Ourania. Photograph: H.R. Goette.*

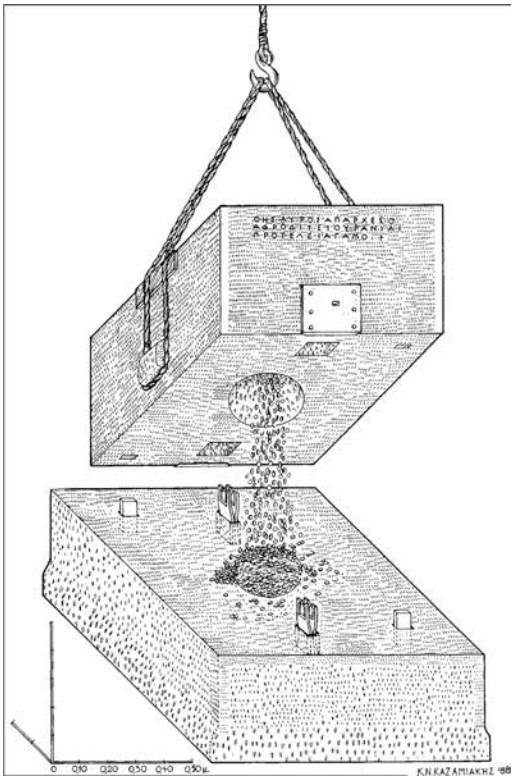

Fig. 2b. Athens, Akropolis, thesauros *of Aphrodite Ourania, reconstruction. Drawing: adapted by H.R. Goette from drawing by K.N. Kazamiakis in Kazamiakis 1990–1991, fig. 7.*

scribed with the word *thesauros* that comes from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, probably from the cult site on the north side of the Athenian Akropolis (*Fig. 2a–b*).[12] Ancient inscriptions from sanctuaries often stipulate that the fees for various purposes, including sacrificial animals, were to be deposited in, and taken from, *thesauroi*.[13] In those instances when *thesauroi* hold cash offerings and payments, scholars usually interpret the word to signify portable money boxes,[14] rather than buildings. Yet Strabo (9.3.4) describes treasury buildings (ὅι τε θησαυροί, οὓς καὶ δῆμοι καὶ δυνάσται κατεσκεύασαν) at Delphi as holding cash (χρήματα) and "works of the best artists" (ἔργα τῶν ἀρίστων δημιουργῶν). Pausanias (10.11.1) observed that the treasuries at Delphi contained no money (χρήματα δὲ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα ἴδοις ἂν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν), suggesting that one might have expected treasuries to house cash. Thus, the mere mention of cash in a *thesauros* cannot inform us as to what kind of *thesauros* is under discussion.

The ambiguities in the use of *thesauros* by ancient texts and the variety of terms for buildings that contained "treasure" (however the Greeks understood that) bedevil modern scholars' efforts to establish clear definitions.[15] The discussion here, however, is of stone buildings (not money boxes, whatever their material) that contain objects of high value or fragility as

(U. Sinn); Hellmann 2006, 120–121. And see Naiden (2020, 178–183), who discusses both the boxes and the use of the term. For the deposition of money into money boxes, see Zoumbaki 2019. Such money depositories could also be fixed installations within temples (Hellmann 2006, 119–120) or *thesauroi* set into *bothroi* within or immediately outside of buildings in Asklepieia (Melfi 1998–2000).

[12] *SEG* 41, 182. See Kazamiakis 1990–1991; Pafford 2013, 49–50.

[13] E.g., *IG* II^2 1672, lines 300–302 of 330–329 BC from Eleusis; *LSCG* 88, lines 11–12 (*CGRN* 125), a regulation of *c.* 230 BC from Olbia concerning sacrificial tariffs; *IG* XII 4, 1, 319, lines 5–13 (*CGRN* 220) of the late 2nd century BC setting forth the rules for the sale of a priesthood of Aphrodite Pontia from the Asklepieon on Kos; *LSS* 72, lines 1–3 of the 1st century BC from the agora at Thasos regarding sacrifices for Theogenes. See also Lupu 2003, 336–339 with other examples.

[14] Pafford 2013, 49, 53–55, 61–63; Zoumbaki 2019.

[15] On the imprecision of ancient vocabulary concerning ancient Greek architecture and our anachronistic desire for precision in this respect, see the wise words of Hellmann 1992, 447. I thank Gunnel Ekroth for bringing this last text to my attention.

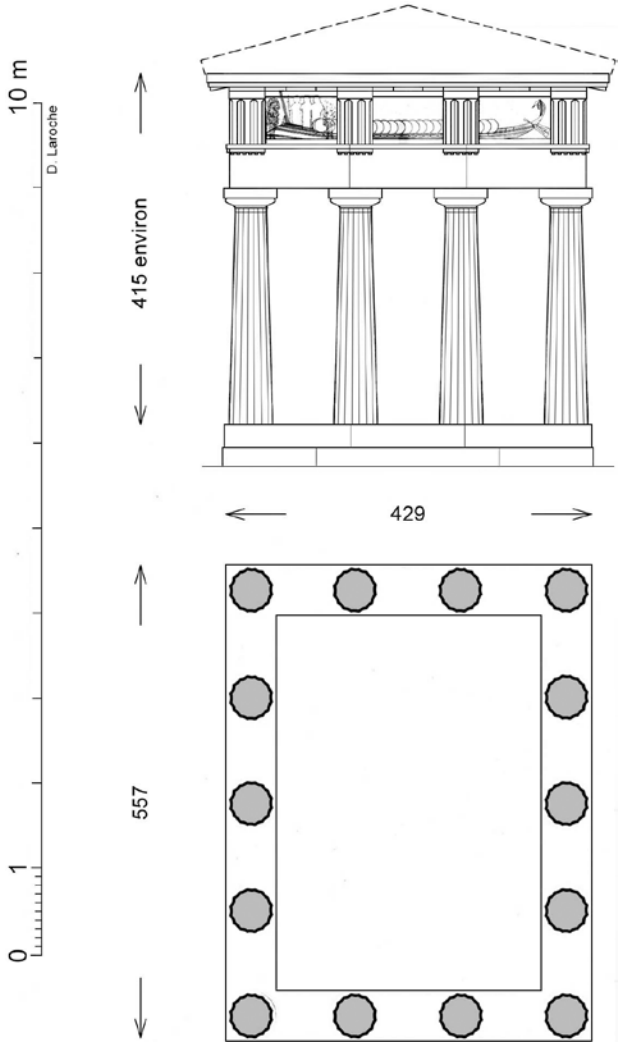

Fig. 3. Delphi, Monopteros, reconstruction according to P. de la Coste-Messelière and F. Salviat. Figures next to the elevation and plan are in centimetres. Drawing: École française d'Athènes (EFA), D. Laroche.

known from inscriptions, ancient authors or modern scholars, regardless of which ancient Greek term is used. I will refer to such buildings hereafter as "treasuries", and will only employ the conventional site-specific terms, for example, *Oikos* 5 on Delos, when referring to specific structures.

These treasury buildings are rectangular or nearly square one-room structures, often with a porch, distyle in antis. In these cases, such as the Athenian treasury at Delphi, one is hard pressed to distinguish them from small temples, for example, the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Akropolis, save for the absence of an altar (although there are temples with no apparent altars, such as the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora).[16]

[16] Cf. Siard 2006, 495–502.

Certainly, temples often served as treasuries, as we know from Pausanias, and from inventories, such as those for the pronaos of the Parthenon.[17] But treasuries usually did not contain cult statues. We should be wary of defining the architecture too narrowly and should not exclude the possibility that treasuries could be of other forms: Elena Partida, for example, identifies the open-air Monopteros at Delphi as a treasury (*Fig. 3*).[18] A special case are the *oikemata* mentioned in the 5th-century BC Hekatompedon inscription (*IG* I^3 4) on the Athenian Akropolis. 6th- and 5th-century BC limestone architectural members (including sculpted pediments) found south and south-east of the Parthenon on the Akropolis are considered by many to belong to treasury buildings because of their size, that is, to those *oikemata* mentioned in the inscription. We have no foundations so do not know their location. For the purposes of this study, we shall classify them as treasury buildings.[19]

From the preceding discussion, architecture and function are factors in identifying treasuries, and nomenclature can be indicative, but is sometimes not conclusive. Few buildings of any kind are actually labeled, i.e., inscribed, and that is also true for treasuries (or one of the other apt terms). Instead, the identifications rely on ancient writers who make reference to particular buildings, such as the Corinthian treasury at Delphi, which actually is inscribed as an offering by the Corinthians, or to writers who refer to a cluster of such buildings that correlate to what now appears on a site: as an example, Pausanias (6.9) discusses ten buildings in a row as he traverses the Zeus sanctuary at Olympia (there are, in fact, twelve treasury buildings remaining). Treasuries have been identified most commonly on the basis of architectural foundation, plan, location and size (and sometimes only a few blocks survive). Written documentation sometimes supplements the material evidence, and in a few instances, we possess only written testimony. Accordingly, treasuries appear in the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi (approxi-

[17] Kyrieleis 1993, 132–133; Harris 1995, 40–80; Hamilton 2000, 2–4. On the difficulty of distinguishing treasuries from temples, see also Fagerström 1988, 162; Mancini 2013, 83–84.

[18] Partida (2000, 71–93) suggests the Tholos as a treasury, points out that there were no standard types of treasury buildings in the first half of the 6th century BC, and that tyrants might well choose unusual, eye-catching forms for their commissions. Moreover, Partida would add the Classical Tholos in the Athena Pronoia sanctuary to the list of treasuries at Delphi (2000, 93); Hellmann (2006, 119) considers this a possibility, as well, and suggests that the 4th-century BC Temple of Athena in the Pronaia sanctuary might also be a treasury.

[19] Hering (2015, 15–38) offers a recent summary of the evidence, problems and bibliography. For a discussion of the Parthenon as a treasury, see the recent treatment with further bibliography: van Rookhuijzen 2020.

mately 30),[20] Olympia (a dozen or so) and possibly Nemea (see below), and those with a large international clientele, such as the Heraion on Samos or the Apollo sanctuary on Delos. Others have been identified at sites in Epirus—the Hellenistic Asklepieion in Butrint,[21] the Sanctuary of Zeus Naios at Dodona[22]—and on Paros,[23] at Eleusis,[24] Kalydon, Knidos, Kyrene,[25] Miletos,[26] Paestum,[27] Kos,[28] Samothrace[29] and possibly Gela.[30] We might also consider whether other one-room structures standing close to the central temple in sanctuaries, buildings usually designated as *heroa*, might actually be treasuries.[31] For example, two adjacent rectangular buildings of the 6th century BC in the Athena Pronaia sanctuary at Delphi stand alone on a retaining wall (*Fig. 4*, unnumbered buildings east of the temple). This area has been designated a *heroon* to Phylakos based on Pausanias (10.8.7), who says, as he seems to move in this direction, that the *heroon* is near the Athena Pronaia *hieron*.[32] Could it be that one (or both) of these two buildings is actually a treasury? The lack of a porch with two columns in antis would be atypical for treasury buildings, but even a quick look at the plans of treasuries in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi (*Fig. 5*) reveals considerable variations.

Patrons and motivations

When the patrons of treasuries are known—and this is not usually the case—they are *poleis* or, more rarely, tyrants (Myron of Sikyon, Kypselos of Corinth).[33] Sponsors of the

[20] Jacquemin and Laroche (2001, 320–321) propose that the Daochos Monument was built atop the remains of a short-lived Thessalian treasury built *c.* 360 BC.

[21] Mancini (2013, 78–84) discusses the small shrine south-west of the theatre at Butrint, which has been interpreted as a Hellenistic treasury by Melfi (2007, 20–21) not only because of the architectural features but also because of the two money boxes, among other objects, found within it.

[22] Quantin (2008, 22) suggests that "*les édifices naomorphes*" south-west and north-east of the Sacred House at Dodona might be treasuries on the basis of their plans and their similarities to the treasuries at Olympia and Delphi, then goes on to propose possible patrons: Athens, Boiotia, Thebes, Corcyra, Corinth and Apollonia (2008, 26). Mancini (2013, 87) makes a case for Naiskos A at Dodona (late 4th to 3rd centuries BC) as a treasury to which a metope sculpted with Herakles fighting the Hydra has been attributed, although the building's size, 16.50 × 9.50 m, would put it among the largest of the treasuries we know (those in the Apollo sanctuary on Delos). See Hering 2015, 227–229, who has tabulated the sizes of treasuries. Chapinal–Heras (2021, 62–72) proposes not only Naiskos A at Dodona, but also Λ and Γ as possible treasuries, although the arguments lack substantiation. Cf. also the treasury of the late 4th to 3rd centuries BC identified at Phoinike: De Maria 2002.

[23] Hering (2015, 149–150) lists two treasuries on the island of Paros, which are attested by blocks reused in later buildings.

[24] *IG* II² 1672, lines 145–150, 201–202, 209–210 of 330–329 BC stipulates payments for fittings for a building at Eleusis called a *thesauros*: see Clinton 2005, no. 177 with commentary (vol. 2, 181, 213–214); Pafford 2013, 53.

[25] The 4th-century BC Kyrenaian example from the Apollo sanctuary is unusual in that it is not identified as a *thesauros*, *naos* or *oikos* by any ancient writer, and its rectangular architecture consists of a simple one-room structure with no porch (cf. the Klazomenian treasury at Delphi [306]; numbers refer to the fold-out plans, e.g., *planche* 5, in Bommelaer 2015 and the corresponding item numbers in his text). The inscribed architrave records that the structure held a dedication made by *strategoi* (perhaps four in number) of war spoils to Apollo. The building was later used as a Sebasteion for Tiberius as known from an inscribed statue base. See Gismondi 1951; Stucchi 1975, 95–100; Hering 2015, 119–120.

[26] We might add to this list a "*thesauros*" or "treasure-chamber" found beneath the Hellenistic *Bouleuterion* at Miletos, which was later used as a grave and possibly a heroon. See Herda 2013, 81–84.

[27] On Paestum, see also Lippolis *et al.* 2007, 799.

[28] *SEG* 41, 683.

[29] An inscription from Samothrace records the dedication (*IG* XII 8, 230) of an *oikos* by a private individual, one Philoxenos, son of Sokles, and this text, together with surviving architecture belonging to three small buildings prompted Hering (2015, 155–156) to agree with the designation of these structures as treasuries of the 2nd century BC, as suggested by McCredie (1979, 24–26). See McCredie 1979, 26–27; Lehmann 1998, 113; Hering 2015, 155–156.

[30] *ThesCRA* IV (2005), 121–123, s.v. Thesauros I (U. Sinn); Hering 2015, 11, 13–15. On Gela: Orlandini (1968, 23, 29–30) mentions *thesauroi* just after *c.* 500 BC built along the interior walls at Gela, which replaced earlier ones destroyed at the end of the 6th century BC. He notes that one of these, "*sacellum B*", has similar proportions to those of the Geloan treasury at Olympia, which was remodelled and its orientation changed around this time; presumably this led him to identify the structure at Gela as a *thesauros*. Orlandini also attributes terracotta architectural members, including antefixes, found at the church of Madonna dell'Alemanna in nearby Aldisio as belonging to a number of small *thesauroi* (1968, 42–43). Elsewhere on the Akropolis at Gela, burnt terracotta architectural members and mud brick prompted Orlandini to propose another Archaic *thesauros* (1968, 30). See also Romeo 1989, 18 no. 21, 47 for "*sacellum B*" at Gela and the Geloan treasury at Olympia.

[31] Cf. the "treasury" beneath the *Bouleuterion* at Miletos, which was later used as a grave and possibly a heroon. See Herda 2013, 81–84.

[32] Bommelaer 2015, 73.

[33] No. 303 may be the treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians *c.* 422 BC, according to Bommelaer (2015, 188–191), but the date of this structure has been estimated as high as the first half of the 6th century BC. See Sears 2019, who takes the date as *c.* 422 BC and remarks on its ascription to an individual patron; Hering 2015, 94–95. The treasury in the Apollo sanctuary at Kyrene and the one treasury identified on Samothrace were constructed by individuals. The 4th-century BC Kyrenaian example from the Apollo sanctuary

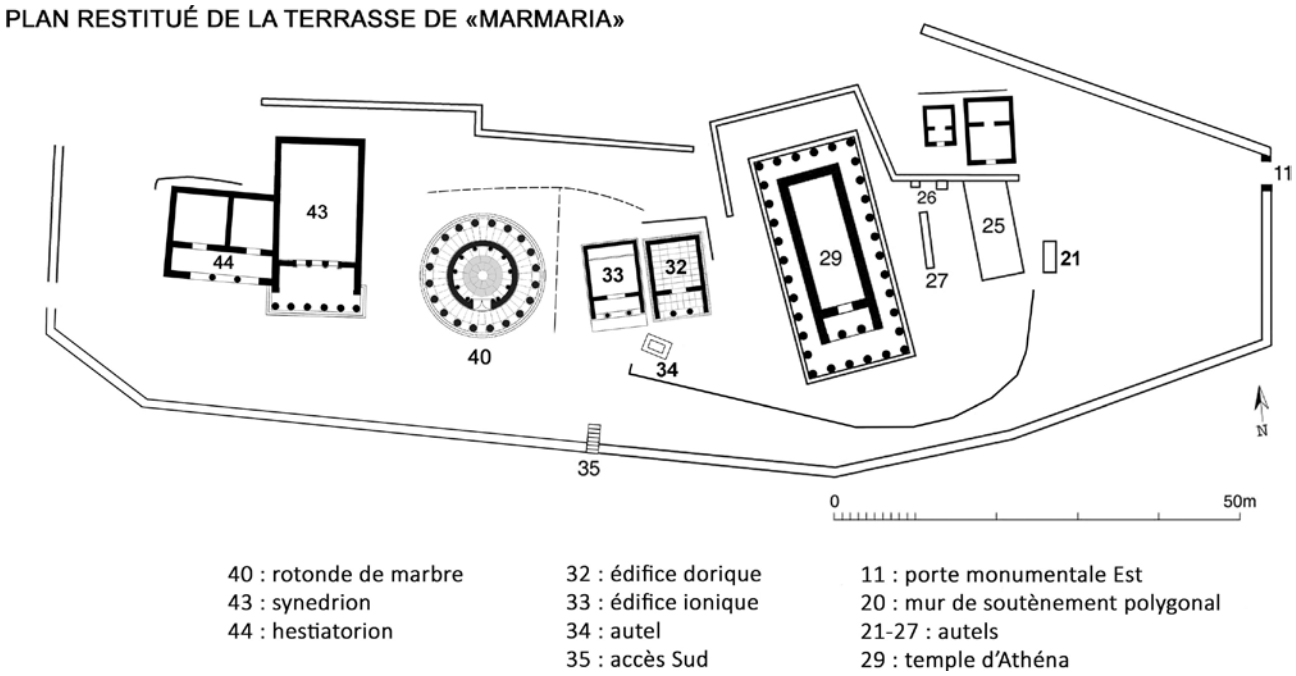

Fig. 4. Delphi, Athena Pronaia sanctuary, restored plan. Drawing: École française d'Athènes (EFA), D. Laroche.

Table 1. Delphi treasuries with dates and patrons. Dates from Bommelaer 2015.

Number	Patron	Date
308a	Corinth	first half of 7th century BC
427	?	first half of 6th century BC
428	?	first half of 6th century BC
345	?	first half of 6th century BC
228	?	first half of 6th century BC
219	Knidos	*c.* 550 BC
310	?	before *c.* 548 BC
342	Spina?	before *c.* 548 BC
338	?	before *c.* 548 BC
337	?	before *c.* 548 BC
306	Klazomenai?	*c.* 550–500 BC
122	Siphnos	*c.* 530–525 BC
227	Potidaia?	*c.* 530–510 BC
121	Sikyon	end of 6th century BC, reconstructed 4th century BC
216	Megara?	end of 6th/beginning of 5th centuries BC
531	?	first half of 5th century BC
532	?	first half of 5th century BC
506	?	early 5th century BC
226	Phokis	*c.* 490–480 BC
223	Athens	*c.* 490 BC
303	Brasidas and Akanthians	*c.* 422 BC
203	Syracuse?	late 5th century BC
209	Aeolis? Syracuse?	late 5th century BC
124	Thebes	just after 371 BC
302	Kyrene	*c.* 334–322/21 BC
432	?	4th century BC
not located	Sybaris (Strabo 9.3.8) Caere (Strabo 5.2.3)	*terminus ante quem*: 4th century BC 6th–4th centuries BC?

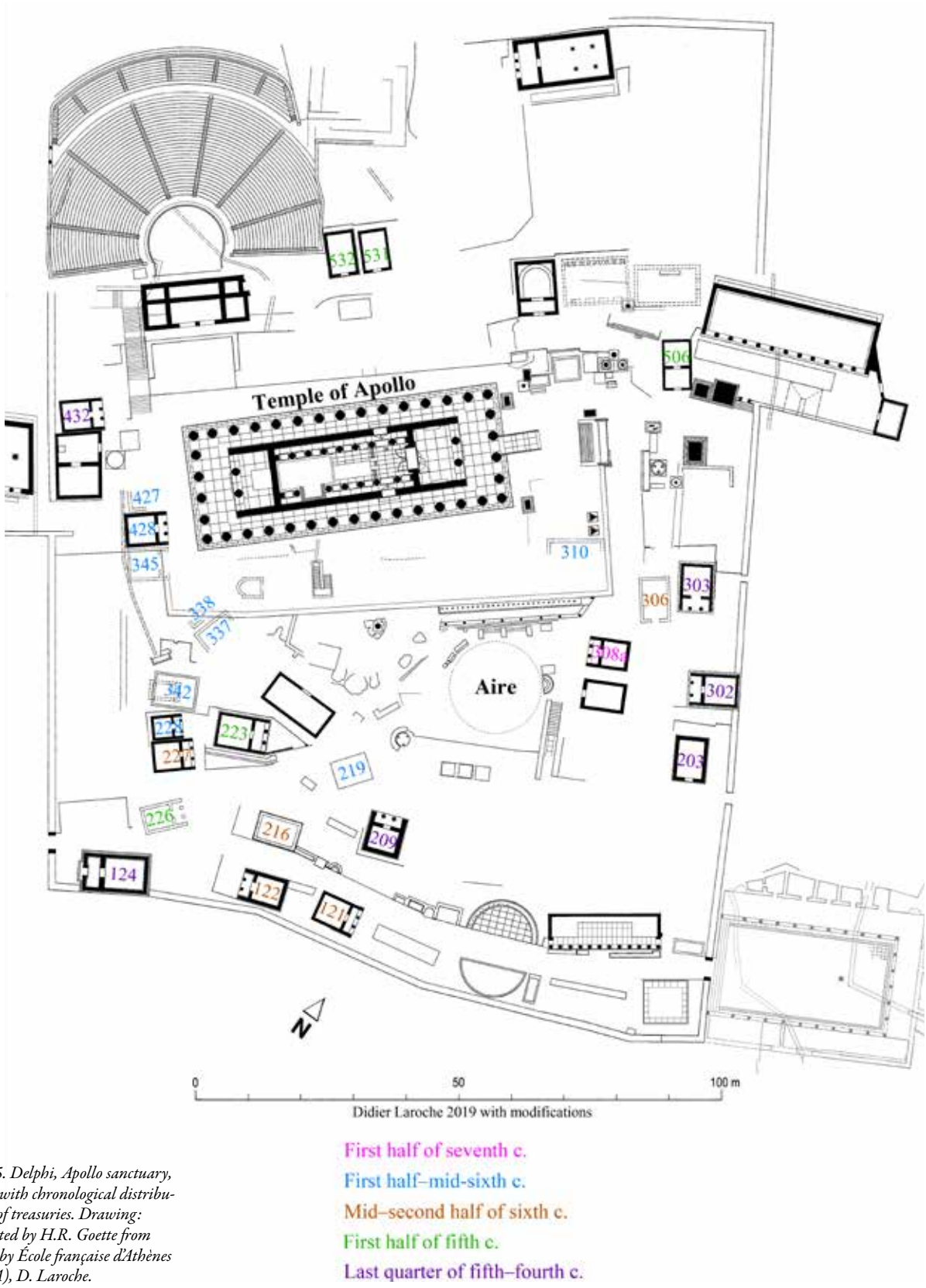

Fig. 5. Delphi, Apollo sanctuary, plan with chronological distribution of treasuries. Drawing: adapted by H.R. Goette from plan by École française d'Athènes (EFA), D. Laroche.

treasuries at Delphi represent the widest geographical range (*Fig. 5*, *Table 1*)—pan-Mediterranean—while those at Delos have concentrations of buildings from the Cyclades, and the donors of the Olympia treasuries tend to be, but are not exclusively, from the Peloponnese and western Greece (Magna Graecia) (*Fig. 6*). However, all treasuries at Olympia were built by Dorian cities, while Dorian, Ionian and Aeolian cities erected treasuries at Delphi. Georges Roux explains the distribution of treasury buildings with respect to the *poleis* controlling the sanctuaries: those sanctuaries overseen by lesser cities or a body of *poleis* had more treasuries, while those controlled by powerful cities had few or none. According to him, this inverse proportion of power to number of treasuries is a consequence of the influence exerted by cities, such as Corinth and Argos, whose overwhelming power discouraged other *poleis* from advertising themselves in sanctuaries, such as Isthmia.[34] I find this reasoning unsatisfactory. The sanctuaries with the most treasuries seem to be the most renowned sanctuaries, those with the greatest foot traffic and festivals drawing large crowds; there are famous sanctuaries that appear not to have treasuries, but treasuries seem to multiply at large sanctuaries.

What was the motivation for building a treasury?[35] From ancient authors and inscriptions, we know that treasury buildings functioned as votives in and of themselves, and most obviously were declarations of wealth. The buildings' architecture reflected regional identity, for example, treasuries at Olympia often employed decorative forms from the patron's home.[36] Numerous treasuries were military victory offerings and built with war booty, for example, the Megarian treasury at Olympia was constructed with spoils from Corinth (Paus. 6.19.12–14);[37] the treasury in the Apollo sanctuary at Kyrene as known from the architrave inscription;[38] and this is true of the treasuries at Delphi belonging to Brasidas and the Akanthians (Plut. *Vit. Lys*. 1), Thebes, Syracuse, Athens (Paus. 10.11.5), Spina (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.18.4; Strabo 5.1.7) and possibly Knidos. The Siphnian treasury at Delphi was a thank offering for sudden wealth from their silver mines (Hdt. 3.57.2; Paus. 10.11.2), and Pausanias (10.11.5) suggests that although displaying wealth could be the impetus for constructing a treasury, the Potidaians were motivated simply by piety in building their *thesauros* at Delphi.

At Olympia, a win in the games may have been the *raison d'être* for dedicating a treasury. The presence among the Olympia treasury roofs of three roof types typical of Kroton and its environs, together with the prominence of Olympic victors from Kroton (there were 21 between 672 and 484 BC), has prompted scholars to suggest that one of the unassigned treasuries at Olympia was built by Kroton, an Achaian colony.[39] And in fact, Pausanias claims that Myron of Sikyon's Olympic victory in 648 BC was the occasion for the construction of the first treasury at Olympia, the Sikyonian treasury. Klaus Herrmann, however, dismisses Pausanias' explanation and instead proposes that the Olympian treasuries were built to commemorate military, not athletic, victories.[40] A study by Holger Baitinger may offer confirmation of this idea by pointing to a correlation between the cities that built treasuries at

is unusual in that it is not identified as a *thesauros*, *naos* or *oikos* by any ancient writer, and its rectangular architecture consists of a simple one-room structure with no porch (cf. the Klazomenian treasury at Delphi [306]). The inscribed architrave records that the structure held a dedication made by *strategoi* (perhaps four in number) of war spoils to Apollo. The building was later used as a Sebasteion for Tiberius as known from an inscribed statue base. See Gismondi 1951; Stucchi 1975, 95–100; Hering 2015, 119–120. An inscription from Samothrace records the dedication (*IG* XII 8, 230) of an *oikos* by a private individual, one Philoxenos, son of Sokles, and this text, together with surviving architecture belonging to three small buildings prompted Hering (2015, 155–156) to agree with the designation of these structures as treasuries of the 2nd century BC, as suggested by McCredie (1979, 24–26). See McCredie 1979, 26–27; Lehmann 1998, 113; Hering 2015, 155–156. A handful of earlier scholars interpreted the Philippeion at Olympia as a treasury; this view is not convincing and no longer accepted. See Rups 1986, 69–72 for a discussion and refutation of the older arguments.

[34] Roux 1984, 155.

[35] On various motives, see Partida 2000, 25–29; Hering 2015, 189–191.

[36] Heiden 1995, 3. For a recent treatment of the varied architecture of the Olympia treasuries, see Klein (2016, 252), who states that their architecture also employed traditions derived from the colonial city's metropolis. A new study (Helfert & von Hesberg 2023) of roof tiles belonging to the treasuries at Olympia and housed in Berlin indicates that the clay was the same as that used for other structures (not just roofs) at Olympia—local or regional clay, as opposed to clay imported from western Greece—but production techniques differed. This suggests to the authors that the patrons either arranged for their own workmen to do the work at Olympia—something also proposed by earlier authors, e.g., Heiden 1990, 44–45; Mertens-Horn & Viola 1990, 240, 243, 245–246—or that the work was carried out by locals (from Olympia or the region), according to careful specifications given by the patron and architect. Wolf (2019, 21) states that the roof tiles of the main building of the Geloan treasury at Olympia were made by Sicilian craftsmen either in Gela or Olympia, while Klein (2016, 250) opts for Sicilian craftsmen working in Olympia. On western Greek influence on the architecture, particularly the roof, of the treasury of Sybaris at Olympia, see Wolf 2020–2021.

[37] Pausanias (6.19.14) notes that the treasury was constructed some years after their military victory, and Herda (2016, 31–32) proposes that the Megarian treasury at Olympia initially may have been built in connection with its colonization activities in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

[38] Gismondi 1951, 7.

[39] E.g., Heiden 1995, 87–95, 163–164 nominates Foundation B. See also Mertens 1984, 217, who points to treasury Foundation VII at Olympia; Giangiulio 1989, 121–130; Nafissi 2012.

[40] Herrmann 1992, 25–26.

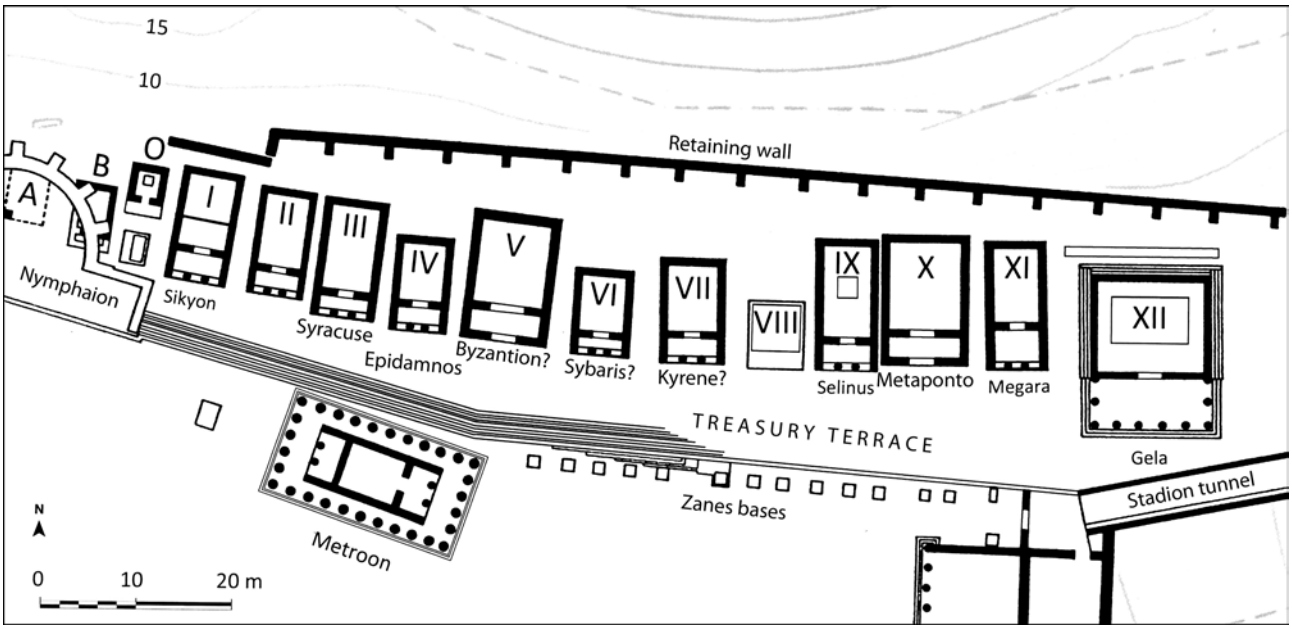

Fig. 6. Olympia, plan of Treasury Terrace. Drawing: adapted by H.R. Goette from Herrmann 1972, fig. 64.

Table 2. Olympia treasuries with dates and patrons in Foundation number order.

Foundation	**City**	**Date**
I	Sikyon	7th century BC; rebuilt *c.* 480 BC (now visible)
II	?	first quarter of 5th century BC
III	Syracuse	first half of 6th century BC; roof replaced in *c.* 500 BC
IV	Epidamnos	first half of 6th century BC
V	Byzantion?	early 5th century BC
VI	Sybaris?	*c.* 580–550 BC
VII	Kyrene?	first half of 6th century BC
VIII	Paestum?	third quarter of 6th century BC
IX	Selinus	late 6th/early 5th centuries BC, maybe earlier
X	Metaponto	*c.* 580 BC
XI	Megara	*c.* 510 BC
XII	Gela	*c.* 550 BC, renovated *c.* 500 BC

Table 3. Olympia treasuries with dates and patrons in chronological order.

Foundation	City	Date
I	Sikyon	7th century BC; rebuilt *c.* 480 BC (now visible)
X	Metaponto	*c.* 580 BC
VI	Sybaris?	*c.* 580–550 BC
IV	Epidamnos	first half of 6th century BC
VII	Kyrene	first half of 6th century BC
III	Syracuse	first half of 6th century BC; roof replaced in *c.* 500 BC
XII	Gela	*c.* 550 BC, renovated *c.* 500 BC
VIII	Paestum?	third quarter of 6th century BC
XI	Megara	*c.* 510 BC
IX	Selinus	late 6th/early 5th centuries BC, maybe earlier
V	Byzantion?	early 5th century BC
II	?	first quarter of 5th century BC

Olympia and the cities that dedicated inscribed bronze weapons, a practice that began only in the 5th century BC when treasury building ceased, i.e., one practice may have replaced the other.[41] Baitinger's proposal may hold true for the Olympia treasuries, but such a correlation would be difficult to find at other sanctuaries because of a lack of comparable evidence.

However varied the reasons for erecting a treasury may have been, it is intriguing that the construction of treasuries diminished dramatically on the mainland by the late 5th century BC, and they last appear further east in the Hellenistic period at Miletos, possibly on Samos (Hellenistic)[42] and Samothrace (2nd century BC).[43] Why were they no longer built? Were gifts now stored in temples or elsewhere, or were different types of gifts being made? Was there sufficient space, or space of other kinds? One would expect security to be a continuing concern if the dedications were easily portable or of high monetary value, which makes certain locations, for example, stoas, unlikely. Was there a shift in donor from the *polis* to individual, especially in the period of Hellenistic kings?[44] We certainly see changes in the types of monuments and votives erected at Olympia and Delphi beginning in the 4th century BC, such as an increase in honorific statues and monuments donated by Hellenistic rulers. *Poleis* no longer constructed treasuries in the chief sanctuaries, and instead kings left their mark on sanctuaries, particularly Delos, not with treasuries but in the form of military victory monuments, and athletic facilities, porticos and stoas—large, prominent, civic benefactions and displays of military prowess that redounded to their (individual) credit.

Administration and access

Inscriptions indicate that treasuries (buildings and money boxes) were to be opened periodically for a variety of purposes and stipulate who had keys (see below), so it seems logical to assume that treasuries were kept locked most of the time. Treasury buildings sometimes were secured with metal grilles as indicated by dowel holes between jamb courses on the façades, as was true of the Athenian treasury at Delphi,[45] and Roux opines that when treasuries were opened for viewing on special occasions, the metal grilles remained closed.[46] Inaccessibility—or more accurately, difficulty in accessing—was sometimes ensured by steps too narrow or too high to climb easily,[47] although we should note that there are several places in (and outside) ancient Greek sanctuaries that were meant to be traversed by the public but are not easily accessible. As for windows, the Theban treasury at Delphi may have had a west-facing ventilation opening above the doorway.[48]

Athenaeus (13.606a–b) records the story of a *theoros* (θεωρός) who locked himself overnight in the treasury building of Spina at Delphi, where he left behind a garland after having sex with a stone statue of a boy;[49] the Delphi officials consulted with the god about a punishment, but the trespasser was permitted to go free. One wonders if the violation was the assault on the statue, staying overnight in the sanctuary or in the treasury, or a combination of the above.

Who was in charge of the buildings, and who was responsible for access to the treasury and control of its contents? One would think that after their consecration, treasuries and their contents became the property of the deity and that their administration resided with the sanctuary priests and trustees,[50] and this is normally the case. However, we should note that when the tyrant Kypselos' tyranny ended, the Corinthians wished to inscribe the name of the city on the treasury and on a golden statue at Olympia also dedicated by Kypselos. The Delphi officials acceded to their wishes (but the Olympian officials did not!) (Hdt. 1.14.2; Plut. *Mor.* 400d–e). In this instance, the objects remained in the gods' realm, but a struggle erupted over credit for the dedication, i.e., there was still some human claim on it.

Keys to treasuries usually were entrusted to several sanctuary officials, as we know from inscriptions,[51] and the keyhold-

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[41] Baitinger 2001.

[42] If one accepts two double-antae buildings as treasuries. See Hering 2015, 154–155, pls 65 no. 104, 69 no. 1.

[43] Hering 2015, 226.

[44] Cf. Rups 1986, 63–64.

[45] Hering 2015, 194; Partida 2000, 48. In n. 3 on the same page, Partida says that the same was true of the Siphnian treasury and treasury 342 at Delphi). But what is the date of the drill holes, i.e., were these part of the original plan? Rups (1986, 126) says that they were, but does not indicate his source. An inscription on the Athenian treasury indicates that the building was used for "*prêteurs sur gages*" (pawnbrokers) in the 3rd or 4th century AD; see *FdD* III ii 142; Colin 1935, 56–58; Bousquet 1942, 124–127.

[46] Roux 1984, 156.

[47] Partida (2000, 49) concerning the Athenian treasury: the *krepis* steps are too narrow to walk on and too high to climb. Cf. Roux (1984, 156), who cites the difficult access to several, e.g., the Athenian and Kyrenean treasuries at Delphi, and the Sikyonian treasury at Olympia, none of which have convenient steps. See also Siard 2006, 497, 501.

[48] Michaud 1973, 73–74; Jacquemin & Laroche 2012–2013, 113–114; Bommelaer 2015, 155–156.

[49] On the Spina treasury, see Naso 2013.

[50] E.g., Partida 2000, 279–280.

[51] Taita 2014, 133–134. *IvO* 61 nos 1–3, 62 no. 10, 64 no. 14, 65 no. 17, 66 no. 2, 69 no. 19 of the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD refer to *kleiodouchoi* at Olympia without mention of treasuries, although Taita assumes that the officeholders held keys to temples, the treasury of Zeus and the treasuries dedicated by cities. On the basis of figural depictions of priests and priestesses, Partida (2000, 87 n. 70) concludes that these person-

ers were involved in the mandatory periodic opening of treasuries. Most such inscriptions are Hellenistic in date and are ambiguous as to whether treasury buildings or money boxes are meant. However, the well-known Hekatompedon inscription of 485/484 BC from the Athenian Akropolis is exceptional. It decrees that the *tamiai* are responsible for opening the *oikemata* in the Hekatompedon at least three times each month, and these *oikemata* are certainly structures, not money boxes. Moreover, it seems that the same *tamiai* were penalized with high fines if they allowed priestesses and (female) *zakoroi* to enter the *oikemata* more than absolutely necessary.[52] Although the location of the Akropolis *oikemata* is beyond the purview of this paper, such a concern with security—penalizing the *tamiai* for allowing other personnel entrance more than strictly necessary—makes one wonder where the *oikemata* were located, i.e., how visible and accessible they were. Scholars have proposed that this hekatompedon, which had to accommodate a minimum of three *oikemata* (Marion Meyer notes that the inscription refers to plural, but not dual, *oikemata*), may have stood on the stereobate of the not yet completed Pre-Parthenon.[53] If this was the case, perhaps such an exposed position prompted particular concern to limit accessibility to the *oikemata* even among religious personnel beyond the mandatory opening three times each month.

More typical are the following examples, which govern access to, and administration of, *thesauroi*. As noted, these texts usually do not signal whether they concern a money box or building, but I cite them here simply to illustrate the role of personnel in the administration, periodic opening, and distribution of objects and funds from the *thesauros*. An inscription of *c.* 250–200 BC attests that the *exetastai* open the *thesauros* annually for Artemis Pergaia at Halikarnassos.[54] Several inscriptions from the Asklepieion on Kos also stipulate similar periodic openings by officials. In the 2nd or 1st century BC, the *prostatai* and *hiereus* open the *thesauros* connected to the cult of Nike on Kos every two years (so the *thesauros* was probably a money box).[55] A similar procedure is known from an inscription of *c.* 125–75 BC concerning the sale of a priesthood, also from the Asklepieion:[56] the priest, the *prostatai*, and the bank officers of the god (restored as τραπεζεῖται) possessed keys. The *thesauros* should be opened annually but in this case, the contents were to be removed; one assumes that the reference is to cash because one-third of the contents went to the priest, while the other two-thirds were designated for animal offerings.[57] So the *prostatai* accompanied by a priest or financial official held the keys, opened the *thesauros* at one- or two-year periods, and distributed money to the religious personnel and for other purposes, including sanctuary repairs and animal offerings.

In all these cases, sanctuary officials had control of the treasuries, and we should note that they were not always male. Keys to the *thesauros* for Aphrodite Pontia in the Asklepieion on Kos in the 2nd century AD were in the hands of the *prostatai*, who, together with the priestess, opened the *thesauros* annually and distributed money partially to the priestess and part to the goddess; the latter sum was designated for repairs to, and constructions in, the sanctuary.[58] At Delos, we know of a male *neokoros*, who supervised the treasury of Mykonos and of a female *neokoros*, who cared for the treasury of Karystos.[59] The latter was chosen by the Karystians,[60] as we know from Hellenistic inscriptions, so here the donor city, not the sanctuary, had responsibility/control of the treasury and its contents. Inscriptions indicate that this seems to have been the norm on Delos for buildings erected by other *poleis*,[61] whereas buildings erected by the Delians were their responsibility: a decree of 181/0 BC from the Serapeion on Delos says that the *neokoros* was selected *by lot* and received various choice cuts of meat from sacrificial victims.[62] In short, the choice of administrators for periodic mandatory opening of treasuries was not uniform but varied from sanctuary to sanctuary.

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nel had supreme managerial authority. *IG* I^3 52, 13–30 of 434/3 BC dictates that the *tamiai*, appointed by lot, should inventory, weigh and care for the treasures in the opisthodomos on the Athenian Akropolis, and are responsible for opening and closing the doors.

[52] *IG* I^3 4, lines 13–21. For a recent restoration (followed here) with previous bibliography, see Blok & van Rookhuijzen 2023, esp. 115–121.

[53] Meyer 2017, 138–142 with previous bibliography.

[54] *CGRN* 118, lines 32–33.

[55] *LSCG* 163, lines 21–24 gives the earlier date while *CGRN* (no. 163) offers the later.

[56] *CGRN* 218, lines 19–22.

[57] Cf. *IG* XII 4, 1, 302, lines 51–54 shortly after 198 AD from Kos concerning the sale of the priesthood of Aphrodite Pandemos.

[58] *IG* XII 4B, 1, 319; *SEG* 1, 344 (*CGRN* 220). Cf. *IG* XII 4, 1, 71 of 242 BC or shortly thereafter that describes the construction of a treasury, which should have four keys: one for the *prostatai*, one for the *hierophylakes*, one for the *tamiai* and the last for the priest of Asklepios. See Parker & Obbink 2000 for this text, as well as *CGRN* 220; Dignas 2002, 30–31.

[59] *IG* XI, 2 145, line 29 of 302 BC; *IG* XI, 2 287, A line 78 of 250 BC. Vallois 1944, 63; Roux 1984, 156–157; Hellmann 1992, 300. Bruneau (1970, 497–506) offers a comprehensive treatment of *neokoroi* on Delos, and on *neokoroi* in general, see the excellent work of Ricl 2011. At the Amphiareion at Oropos, the *neokoros* witnessed and recorded cash offerings made into the *thesauros*. See *I Oropos* 277 (386–377 BC); Pafford 2013, 53–54. For *neokoroi* in Asklepieia, see Melfi 2002, 348.

[60] Bruneau 1970, 501.

[61] Hellmann 1992, 301.

[62] *CGRN* 160. See also *CGRN* 213, a 1st-century BC text, which concerns the priestess Galato at Pednelissos. The *neokoros* (restored) receives various food provisions when the new priestess is inaugurated.

Aside from mandatory openings for inventory and the purposes noted above, some *thesauroi* housed monetary fines and fees for treatment,[63] and officials were admitted to disburse funds for these reasons, among others. An inscription of 369/8 BC from Oropos mentions opening a *thesauros* to fund an inscription on a stele, for a sacrifice made after making changes to divine property, and for reimbursing the *neokoros*.[64] And at Oropos in the 3rd century BC, the *syllogeus* (συλλογεύς) opened the treasury for the purpose of melting down old votives.[65]

The location of treasuries

Epigraphical evidence indicates that the placement of treasuries also seems to have fallen under the control of sanctuary officials. From the Asklepieion on Kos comes an inscription of *c.* 242 BC or shortly before, which decrees the building of a *thesauros* in the sanctuary, possibly Building D.[66] The choice of location was left to a committee of priests of the god and other sanctuary officials.[67] Elsewhere, religious officials are charged with providing *thesauroi*. A 3rd-century BC inscription from the sanctuary of Kybele in Chalcedon stipulates that the priestess should furnish or equip a treasury,[68] and an inscription of *c.* 250–200 BC from the sanctuary of Artemis Pergaia at Halikarnassos concerning the sale of a priesthood instructs the priestess to construct (i.e., fund) a treasury.[69] Similarly, the sacred law of Andania of the 1st century BC states that the *hieroi*, along with the architect, must provide two securable treasuries, that one must be in the temple (so this must be some kind of money box for coin offerings),[70] and the other should be near the fountain.[71]

It is unclear whether these Hellenistic treasury buildings were the same form and size as those funded by earlier *poleis* or tyrants. In any case, it is difficult to imagine that prominent patrons, such as tyrants, had no say whatsoever in the placement of the buildings that they funded. As I have argued elsewhere, it may be that the Sikyonian treasury at Olympia was located where it was not only because of its proximity to the ash altar of Zeus but also because it may have been intended to surpass an earlier treasury built by its enemy Corinth on Foundation A (*Fig. 6*).[72]

Indeed, the archaeological evidence indicates that the location of treasuries was carefully considered even if we do not know the precise terms (and possibly negotiations) of their construction. A survey of treasury buildings that have been identified in the largest and most frequented sanctuaries reveals some striking similarities (N.B. I refer here to treasuries that leave physical remains and can be dated and about sites where more than a couple of treasury buildings are extant).

Olympia's treasuries were built in a row on a low hill closest to the centre of religious activity in the northern portion of the Archaic Altis, but construction did not occur one building adjacent to another and on down the row. They began at the west end, nearest the ash altar and the terminus point of the first Stadion (*c.* 560–550 BC), which was roughly aligned between Treasury VII and VIII. The next treasuries were placed further to the east, and the vacancies were slowly filled in with II, V and IX being the latest (*Tables 2–3*).[73] Beyond proximity to the religious hub, the location made the treasuries prominently visible to worshippers gathered near the altar, the crowds watching the games and to the athletes themselves. The identities of most treasury patrons are provided in inscriptions and from Pausanias, although some remain unknown.[74]

At Delphi, the placement of treasuries looks haphazard but it is not: treasuries tend to face doorways in the precinct walls and the Aire (Agora) and cluster along key pathways leading to the temple and altar (*Figs. 5*, *7*, *Table 1*).[75] Our knowledge of the patrons is based on inscriptions or more usually, a combination of written accounts, dates of historical events, and/or architectural forms;[76] the latter method can be problematic because of rebuilding—and not always on the same site—and

[63] *LSCG* 69, lines 13, 20–24 (*CGRN* 75).
[64] *I Oropos* 290, lines 13–16 of 369/8 BC. See Lupu 2009, 6, 38. Zoumbaki (2019, 199 no. 3d) categorizes this *thesauros* as a money box.
[65] *I Oropos* 324; *LSCG* 70. See Lupu 2003, 339; Pafford 2013, 54. Zoumbaki (2019, 199 no. 3e) categorizes this *thesauros* as a money box.
[66] *LSCG* 155; *SEG* 41, 683. See Kaminski 1991, 134–138; Lupu 2009, 38; Hering 2015, 116–118.
[67] The four keys were distributed to the *tamias*, *prostatai*, the priest of Asklepios and the sanctuary guard. Herzog (1903) and Schazmann (1932, 36, figs 25–26) associated the *thesauros* mentioned in the inscription with a marble-lined pit with a lockable "lid", something like a safe, in the south-east corner of Temple B, which is at the level of the temple stairs. Contra: Kaminski (1991, 133–138).
[68] *LSAM* 4, line 15.
[69] *CGRN* 118, lines 29–30; *LSAM* 73, lines 29–30; Lupu 2009, 38, 52.
[70] Cf. Gawlinski 2012, 199.
[71] *LSCG* 65, lines 85–95 (*CGRN* 222) of 23 AD; Gawlinski 2012, lines 89–95. For the treasury near the fountain, the *hierophant* Mnasistratos held one key, and the *hieroi* had another, but only the *hieroi* possessed a key to the *thesauros* in the temple.
[72] Barringer 2021, 99.
[73] The Stadion was enlarged and shifted eastwards *c.* 460–450 BC. Barringer 2021, 75, 104.
[74] Barringer 2021, 76–83.
[75] Cf. Rups 1986, 4. On access routes to the temple and altar, see Huber *et al.* 2014. The earliest known walls around the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi date to *c.* 575 BC. A new *peribolos* wall enclosing a larger space corresponding to its current size was begun *c.* 505 BC. Walls damaged later were rebuilt on the same lines. See Bommelaer 2015, 116–117, 120.
[76] E.g., Le Roy 1990, 33; Partida 2000, 259.

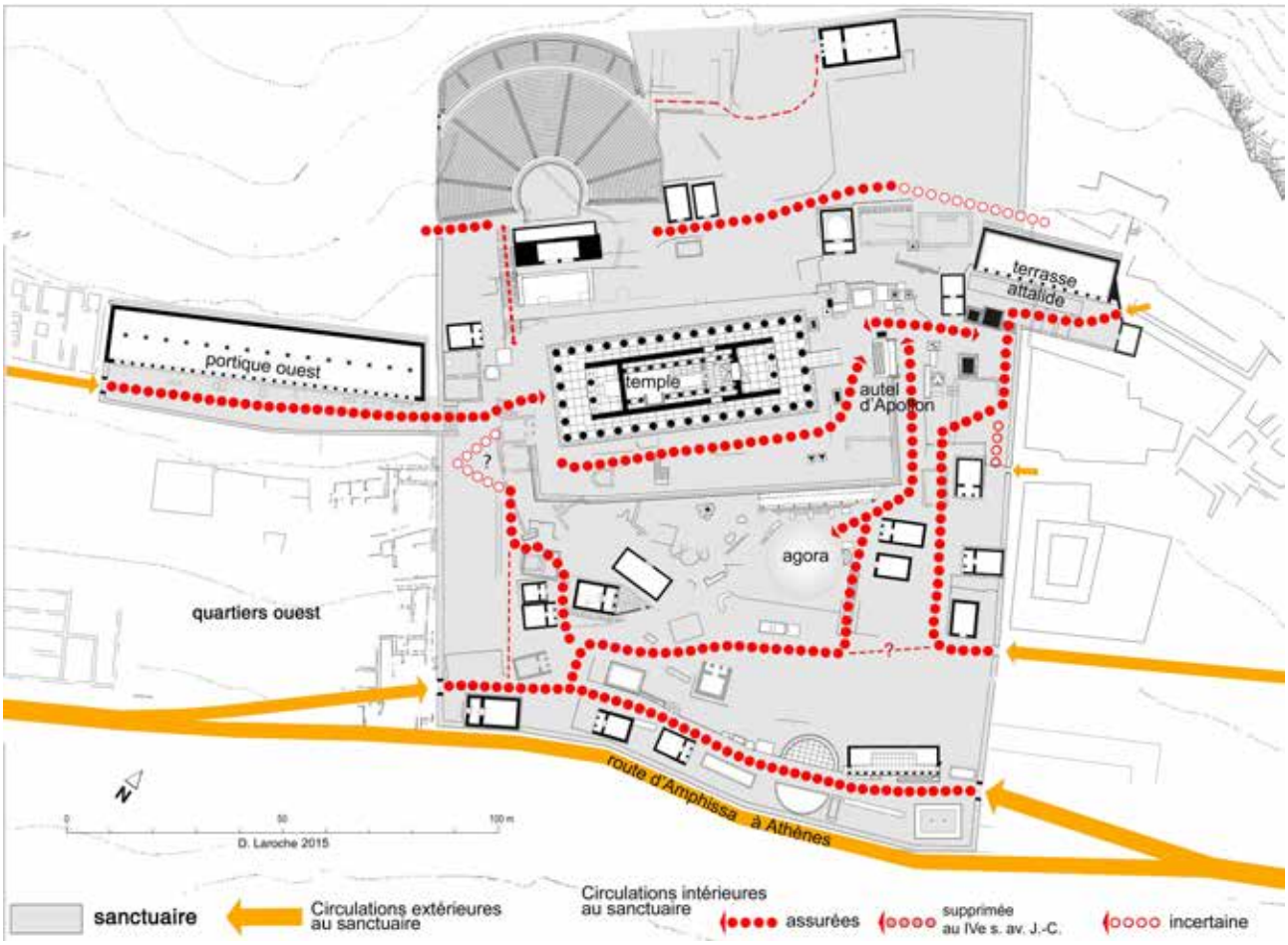

Fig. 7. Delphi, Apollo sanctuary, plan with major pathways. Drawing: École française d'Athènes (EFA), D. Laroche.

reuse of older material. The earliest of the treasuries known to us at Delphi is the Corinthian treasury (308a) from the first half of the 7th century BC,[77] which was originally constructed by Kypselos, according to Plutarch (*Mor.* 164a–b, 400d–e). The partially surviving inscription dates from the first half of the 5th century BC.[78] The building faces the Aire and the path leading up to the Temple Terrace. Nine others were constructed at Delphi in the first half of the 6th century BC, including the Tholos and Monopteros (121).[79] The mid- and second half of the 6th century BC brought several buildings to the south.[80] One of these, assigned to Knidos (219) was, so

[77] Hering 2015, 96–99.

[78] Bousquet 1970, 672. Partida (2000, 182–184) proposes, unconvincingly in my view, that the Corinthian treasury eventually moved to a nearby location (221; adjacent to the later Athenian Treasury) in the late Archaic period. Contra: Hering 2015, 99.

[79] Paus. 10.11.1 provides the identification of the Sikyonian treasury and mentions that Kleisthenes of Sikyon was victor in the chariot race in the 582 BC Pythian games (10.7.6). On this basis, de la Coste-Messelière (1936, 50, 78–82) proposes Kleisthenes as the patron of the Monopteros and the earlier Tholos. According to this view, the Tholos was a dedication either for the 582 BC chariot race victory or Kleisthenes' part in the Sacred War, and the Monopteros served as a display place for the winning chariot of Kleisthenes or that of his successor. If the Monopteros showcased a chariot *vel sim*, then "treasury" may be an apt way to describe it, but the identification of the Tholos as a treasury seems more tenuous (Cf. Hellmann 2006, 119). See Bommelaer 2015, 143–147; Hering 2015, 43–48. Partida (2000, 71–93) suggests the Tholos as a treasury, points out that there were no standard types of treasury buildings in the first half of the 6th century BC, and that tyrants might well choose unusual, eye-catching forms for their commissions. Moreover, Partida would add the Classical Tholos in the Athena Pronoia sanctuary to the list of treasuries at Delphi (2000, 93); Hellmann (2006, 119) considers this a possibility, as well, and suggests that the 4th-century BC Temple of Athena in the Pronaia sanctuary might also be a treasury.

[80] Bommelaer 2015, 153–154; Hering 2015, 69–70. Hering (2015, 70–71) is guarded in her assignment of no. 227 of *c.* 530–510 BC to Potidaia, and Bommelaer and Partida (2000, 215–216) have doubts.

far as we know, the first marble building in the sanctuary.[81] Its epistyle inscription, surviving in part, uses the word θησαύρος to describe this structure, a first for Delphi.[82] From the last quarter of the 5th century into the 4th century BC, the areas west of the Siphnian treasury (122) and south of the Knidian treasury (219) were used for the construction of treasuries.[83]

The two treasuries in the Athena Pronaia sanctuary at Delphi stand side by side adjacent to the temple of Athena (*Fig. 4*). The Aeolic treasury (33), likely erected by Massalia (based on a fragmentary inscription) sometime between 540 and 500 BC,[84] received war booty from Romans after their victory at Veii in 395 BC in the form of a gold krater (weighing 8 talents, according to Plut. *Vit. Cam*. 8.2–4) on a bronze base (Diod. Sic. 14.93.3–4; App. *Italika* 11.8). The krater remained there until it was taken by Onomarchos in the Phokian War (Livy 5.25, 28). The Doric treasury (32) of *c.* 475–470 BC had metopes decorated with a battle scene, and Pausanias (10.8.6) recounts that statues of Roman emperors were kept here.[85] Like all the structures in the Athena Pronaia sanctuary, both treasuries opened to the south.

On Delos, inventories designate buildings holding precious goods as *oikoi*.[86] Here, we focus only on treasuries in the Apollo sanctuary, although there are many sanctuaries (and *oikoi*) on the island (*Fig. 8*); for example, epigraphic evidence also attests to *oikoi* of the Delians, Karystians, Andrians, Keans, Mykonians and Siphnians.[87] Contrary to the situations at Olympia and Delphi, there is no evidence linking written testimony to specific buildings. Five buildings fan out at the north-eastern curved boundary of the Apollo sanctuary (16–20) and face the temples, and while some scholars have demurred from designating these as the *oikoi* of the inscriptions,[88] others not only accept them as the relevant *oikoi*, but also have attempted to identify their patron city.[89] The structures date from *c.* 500 to 450 BC, but the most western structure (16) is the oldest (*c.* 600–500 BC),[90] and stands closest to the oldest temple (11) of the late 6th century BC.[91] No. 16 was perhaps built by the Karystians,[92] although Roland Étienne would assign no. 19 to the Karystians.[93] Some scholars think that some of these *oikoi* also may have served as *hestiatoria* (dining rooms).[94] Gottfried Gruben interpreted nos 43 and 44 as serving dual purposes as

Bommelaer (2015, 166–167) thinks that nos 209 or 203 are better candidates based on his reconstruction of Pausanias' route through the area. Treasury 306 may belong to the Klazomenians (Bommelaer 2015, 187–188), but Partida (2000, 16–18) refers to it as a "dining hall". On the possible patron of no. 506, see Partida 2000, 103–121. Partida (2000, 98–99) questions no. 531's function as a treasury and thinks that it may have held a fountain, accessed through Door D on her fig. 9. See also Bommelaer 2015, 251–252; Hering 2015, 105–106. The identity of Megara as the patron city of no. 216 is uncertain and assumed because of inscriptions honouring Megara on the adjacent supporting wall of later date (217). Because all of these inscriptions are proxeny decrees, Herda (2016, 30–32) proposes that the Megarian treasury of the second half of the 6th century BC (as well as the Megarian example at Olympia) may have been inspired by the city's colonization of the Black Sea area and that the Delphi building may have provided accommodation for Megarian *theoroi*, perhaps the same named in the aforementioned *proxenoi* decrees, who came to Delphi, as well as for *theoroi* from Megara's colonies and subcolonies. If this were the case, perhaps we should think of the Megarian treasury at Delphi as multi-purpose, although one wonders how valuables were secured within the treasury if the building was also used as accommodation. See Partida 2000, 185; Bommelaer 2015, 152–153; Hering 2015, 84–86. Partida (2000, 185–191) posits that the Sikyonian Monopteros preceded no. 216 on this site but this idea has not been taken up by others.

[81] Hering 2015, 86–89.

[82] Bourguet 1929, 151–153 no. 289; Partida 2000, 221.

[83] Hering (2015, 89–91) refers to no. 209 as the Syracusan treasury, but Bommelaer (2015, 169) is sceptical and instead suggests no. 203 (Bommelaer 2015, 182). The entrance of the Theban treasury (124) has been reconstructed in both east (Hering 2015, 68) and west (Jacquemin & Laroche 2012–2013, 107–111). See Bommelaer 2015, 155 no. 24. No. 303 may be the treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians *c.* 422 BC, according to Bommelaer (2015, 188–191), but the date of this structure has been estimated as high as the first half of the 6th century BC. See Sears 2019, who takes the date as *c.* 422 BC and remarks on its ascription to an individual patron; Hering 2015, 94–95. The treasury of Kyrene (302), *c.* 334–322/321 BC, was built on a bastion after the rebuilding of the eastern wall (*c.* 334 BC); its façade would have been partially obscured by the Corinthian treasury (308a). See Bommelaer 2015, 184; Hering 2015, 91–94.

[84] Bommelaer 2015, 82–83, although he favours a date of *c.* 520–510 BC.

[85] Bommelaer 2015, 81; Hering 2015, 110–111. Partida (2000, 245–246), however, thinks that the statues were originally in the Massaliot treasury (33). Based on architectural forms and historical circumstances, she proposes that Treasury 32 was built by Sybaris (261–262) and she dates it before the Athenian treasury. On Pausanias' visit to the Marmaria sanctuary and Plutarch's account of the gold krater, see Le Roy 1977, 252–256, 270–271, who also discusses the Roman statues (Le Roy 1977, 256–258).

[86] See Hellmann 1992, 300–301.

[87] Hellmann 1992, 300; Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 171.

[88] Hering 2015, 38.

[89] Building Δ ("*Bouleuterion*", not visible on *Fig. 8*, but near 23B) of the end of the 6th century BC has also been nominated as an *oikos*, perhaps the *oikos* of the Delians mentioned in inscriptions, which also served as a *hestiatorion* (Étienne 2018, 88–89, 293).

[90] A Doric capital has been attributed to this building. See Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 188.

[91] Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 182–187. The second temple (13) was begun in *c.* 475–450 BC, and the third (12) is of *c.* 425–420 BC.

[92] Vallois 1944, 24–25.

[93] Étienne 2018, 293, who points to the discussion of the τοῖχος in Hellmann 1992, 413.

[94] Étienne 2018, 188–189. Cf. Hellmann 1992, 302–303.

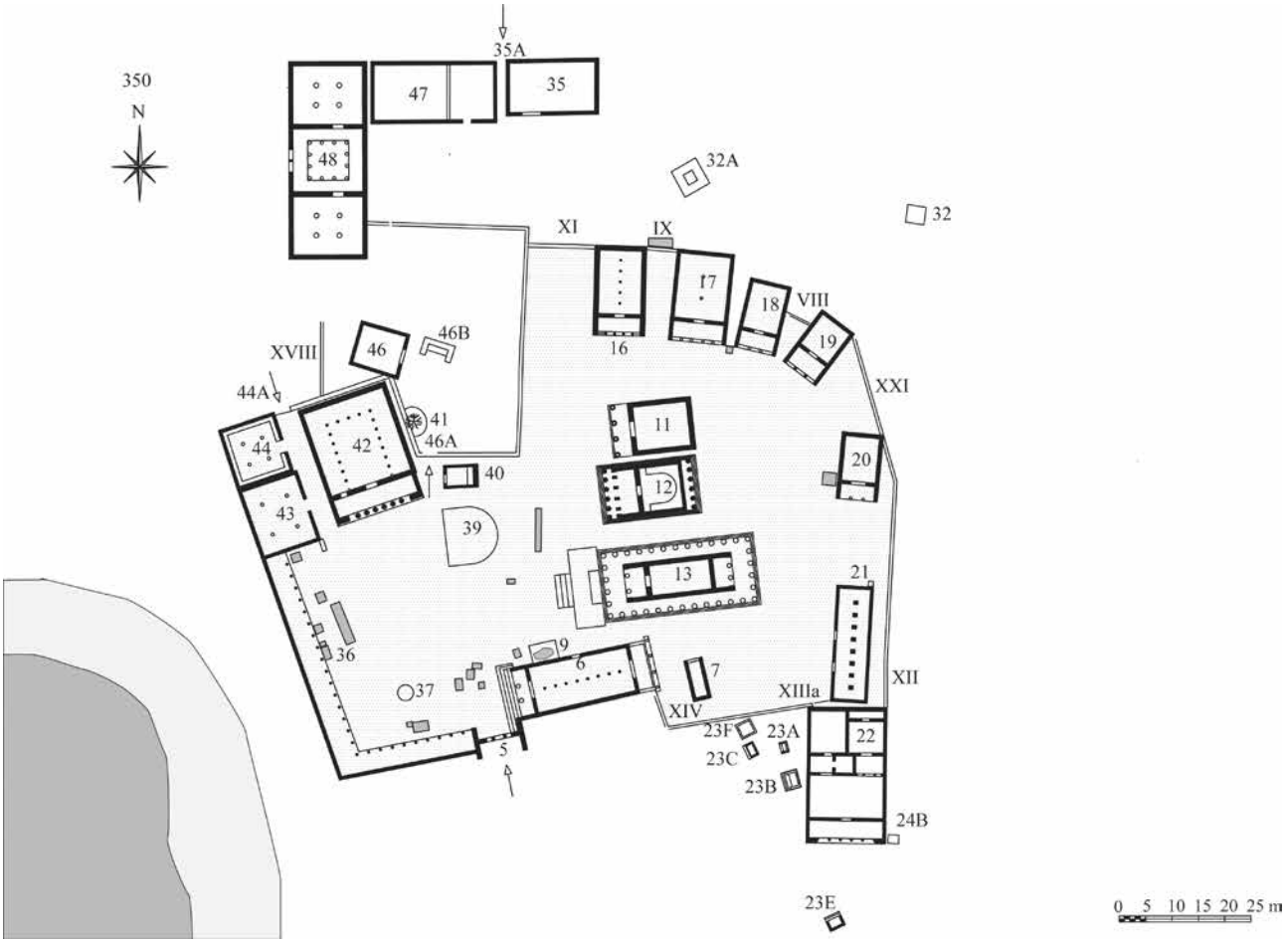

Fig. 8. Delos, Apollo sanctuary, plan, c. *500–350 BC. Drawing: J.-P. Braun from Étienne 2018, pl. 75:2.*

treasuries and as dining halls,[95] and Philippe Bruneau and Jean Ducat have suggested the same for the 6th-century BC *oikos* of the Naxians (6),[96] which held bronze objects, trireme fittings, a leather cuirass, greaves and daggers.[97] It is noteworthy that both the *oikos* of the Herakleion and that of the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on Mt Kynthos were equipped with *klinai* and used for banquets, as we know from inscriptions of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.[98] We tend to be obsessed with assigning specific functions to buildings and rooms, but they may have been much more multifunctional than our archaeological categories allow.[99]

Nemea's Zeus sanctuary is furnished with nine *oikoi*, which are dated to the 5th century BC. Again, as was the case with the *oikoi* at Delos, no ancient written testimony identifies these specific structures as treasuries.[100] Like the treasuries at Olympia, the Nemean *oikoi* are uniformly aligned and face north in the direction of the altar and temple of Zeus (*Fig. 9*), yet their architecture differs markedly from the treasuries at Olympia and most of those at Delphi in being much longer structures and lacking porches with two columns in antis. Rather, their long proportions more closely resemble those of *oikoi* 16 and 17 in the Apollo

[95] Gruben 1997, 400–401 proposes that nos 43 and 44 had shelves on the walls for the placement of votives. Cf. Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 171; Hellmann 2006, 116.

[96] Bruneau & Ducat 1983, 120 n. 1.

[97] *ID* 104 (29).

[98] *ID* 1403 B II, lines 27–29. Hellmann 1992, 302; Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 285–287 no. 105. Hellmann (1992, 302–303) hypothesizes that the *oikos* in the Serapieion on Delos may also have been used for dining.

[99] Cf. Gallet de Santerre (1984, 673–674) and Hellmann (1992, 301), who suggest this for buildings termed *oikoi* on Delos, such as the *oikos* of the Naxians, which clearly served as a treasury at some times.

[100] Miller 2004, 136–150. Contra: Roux 1984, 155 and Neer 2001, 280, who view them as *hestiatoria*.

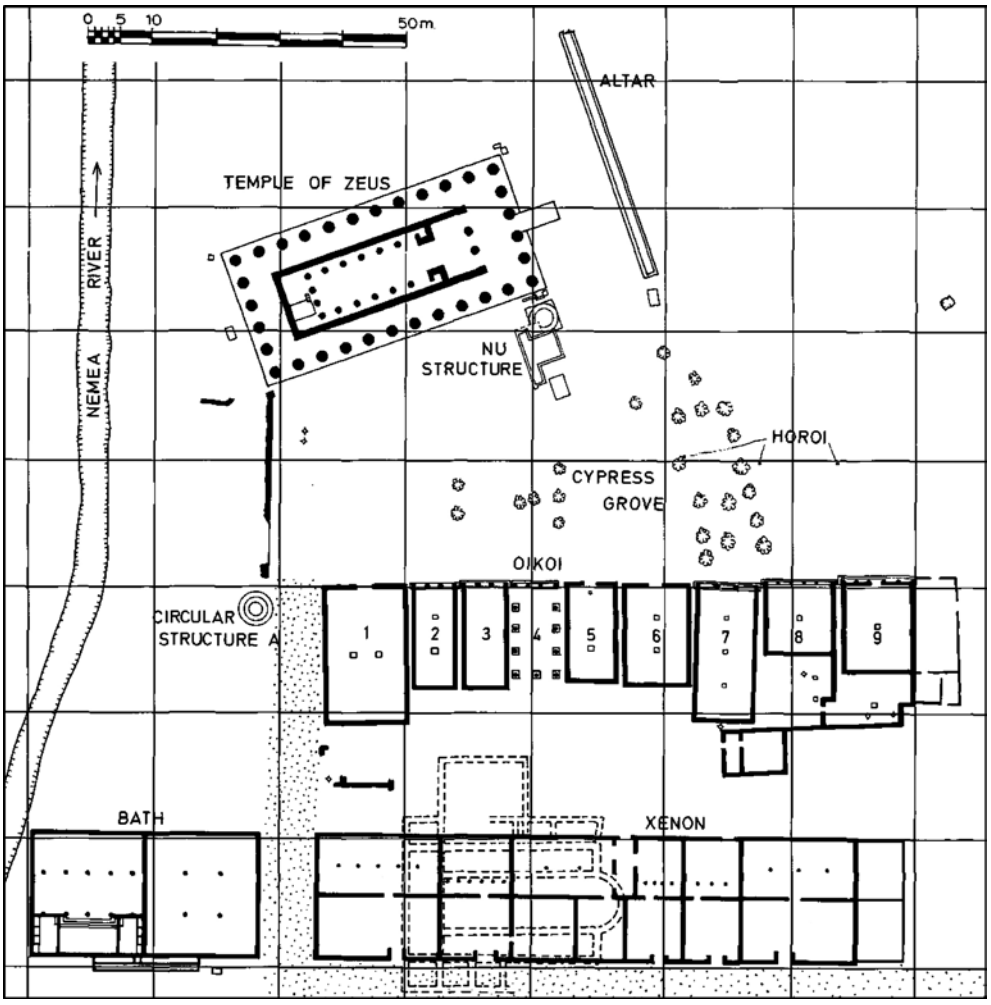

Fig. 9. Nemea, Zeus sanctuary, plan. Drawing: adapted by H.R. Goette from Birge 1992, fig. 1.

sanctuary on Delos discussed above. Nos 2, 3 and 9 were the earliest Nemean *oikoi*, and most were either destroyed or renovated for other uses by the late 4th century BC.[101] *Oikos* 4 is peculiar in being an open structure with colonnades on all sides that recalls the Monopteros at Delphi; perhaps the Nemean building functioned similarly as a display "pavilion".[102] Stephen Miller conjectures that each of the *oikoi* was constructed by a city-state and that two stone inscriptions, one of the late 4th century BC reading ΡΟΔΙΩΝ, the other of the 5th century BC and inscribed ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΙΩΝ, may pertain to these structures.[103] However, he also allows the possibility—likely in my view—that the buildings were multifunctional.[104]

At the Heraion on Samos, modern scholars identify buildings as treasuries on the basis of their architectural form, size and location, and as mentioned previously, Strabo (14.1.14) states that the *naiskoi* here were filled with old works of art, although the author gives no indication of which specific structures he describes. The early treasuries, nearly-square in plan stand close to, and face the altar area (*Fig. 10*). The first building activity is in the north-east. Naiskos I and II date to the early 7th century BC,[105] and Naiskos IV was constructed after *c.* 680 BC.[106] Naiskos III to the south-east is of *c.* 640–630 BC,

[101] Miller 2004, 81–82, 138–139; Hering 2015, 120–125.

[102] Paus. 10.7.6 mentions that Kleisthenes of Sikyon was victor in the chariot race in the 582 BC Pythian games, and de la Coste-Messelière (1936, 50, 78–82) proposes Kleisthenes as the patron of the Monopteros in which Kleisthenes' winning chariot may have been exhibited.

[103] Kraynak 1992, 186; Miller 2004, 81–83, 136–137. The ΡΟΔΙΩΝ block was found in the Basilica, the ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΙΩΝ was built into Room 13 of the Xenon.

[104] Miller 2004, 136.

[105] Walter *et al.* 2019, 91. Walter, Clemente and Niemeier (2019), 91 write, "*Die Grabungen 1963–1964 ergaben Fundamentenreste von neun Gebäuden, die man als Naiskoi bezeichnen kann.*"

[106] Walter *et al.* 2019, 92.

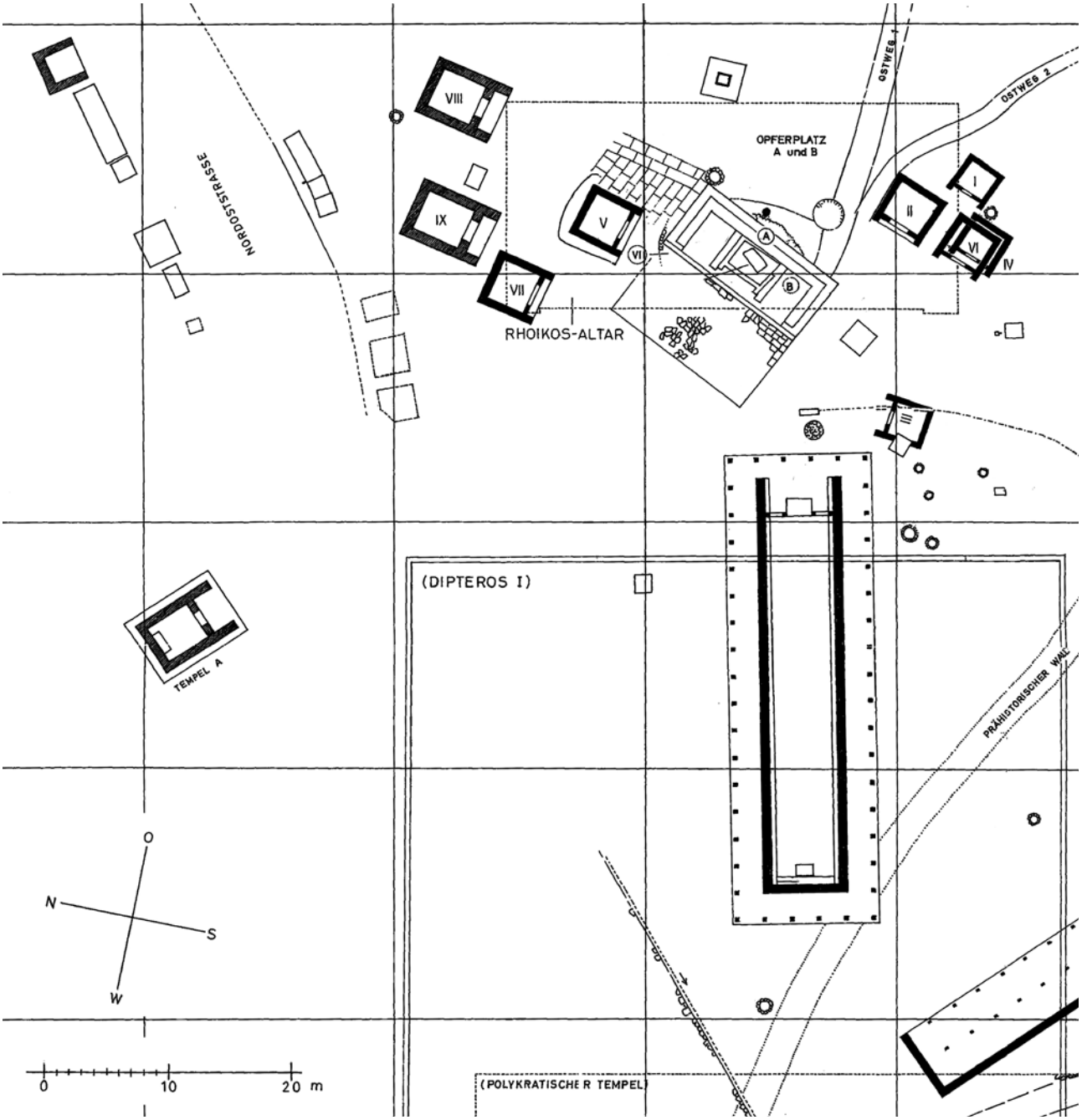

Fig. 10. Samos, Hera sanctuary, plan. Naiskos X is seen in the top left hand corner. Drawing: adapted by H.R. Goette from plan by A. Clemente in Walter et al. *2019, app. 5.*

then Naiskos VI (replacing Naiskos IV) and Naiskos VII (opposite) date *c.* 590 BC, just a few years after Naiskos V. The later naiskoi of *c.* 575 BC, VIII–IX (both rectangular) stand north of, and face, the altar area, while X (square) flanks the Archaic votive sculpture group made by Geneleos and faces the Sacred Way (*Figs 10–11*, *Nordstrasse*).[107] It is exactly here, along the Sacred Way, that later 6th-century BC build-

[107] Walter *et al.* 2019, 92, who also acknowledge that Naiskos X may not have served as a treasury, but perhaps was only a dedication (Walter *et al.* 2019, 95).

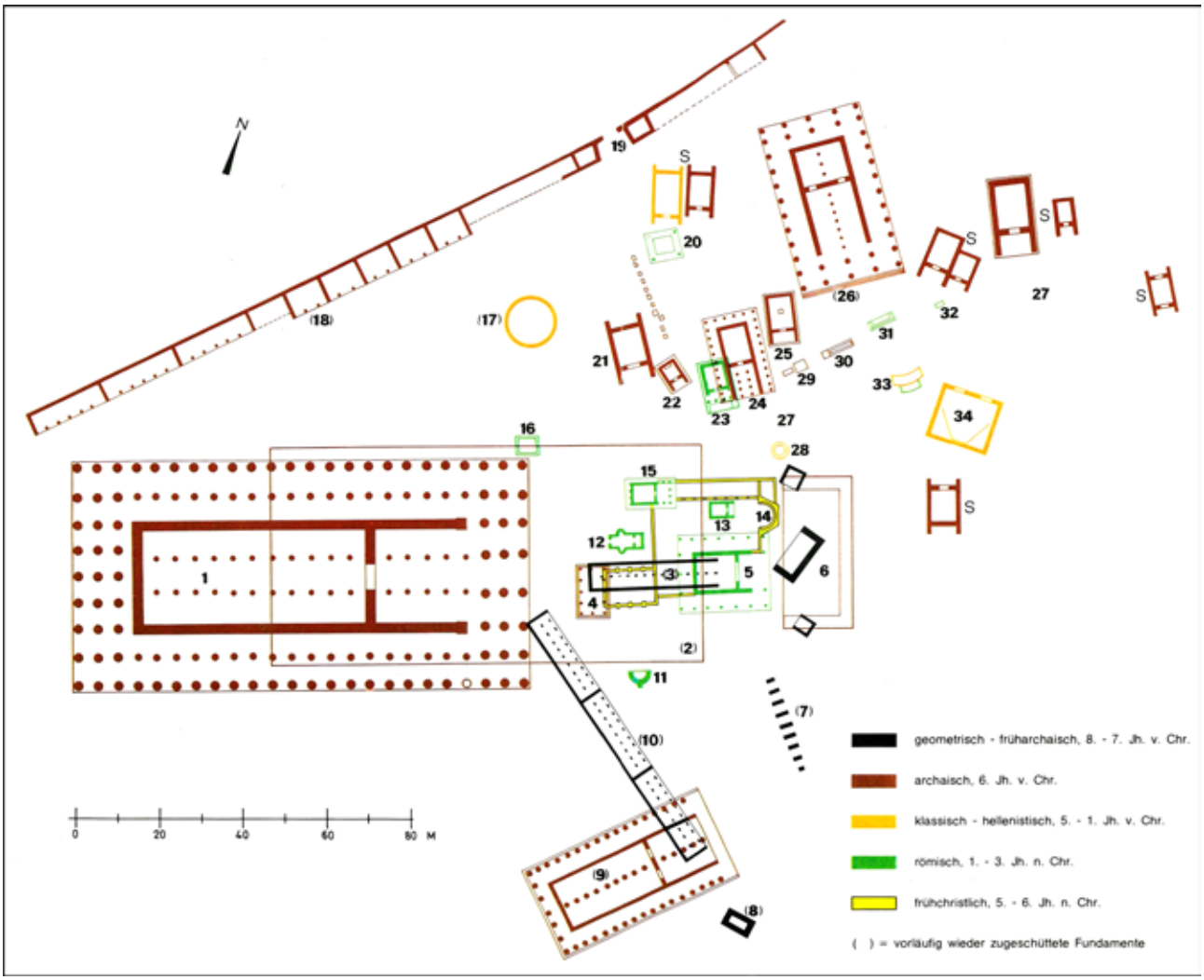

Fig. 11. Samos, Hera sanctuary, plan. Drawing: adapted by H.R. Goette from Kyrieleis 1981, fold-out plan.

ings deemed "temples", but probably used as treasuries, were roughly laid out in a row.[108]

This survey makes it clear that while treasuries often cluster near focal points of religious activities, sanctuaries differed in how they managed their placement. At Olympia, the treasuries stood close to the posited area of the original ash altar and are aligned near, and parallel to, the Stadion before it was shifted eastwards in *c.* 460–450 BC. Likewise, the Nemean *oikoi* are aligned in a file facing the temple and altar of Zeus. The buildings thought to be *oikoi* in the Apollo sanctuary on Delos arc around the area of the temples, and four of the five face towards them. The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi is an outlier in that the terrain demands some compromise—not every treasury can be close to the temple and altar—and instead, treasuries are dispersed up and down the slope, facing in a variety of directions but usually with the visitor's path in mind (*Fig. 5*). By contrast, a glance at the disposition of the treasuries in the Samian Heraion reveals that nearly all the treasuries face away from the Sacred Way and instead look towards the altar; the visitor proceeding to the temple and altar will only see the backs of these small structures en route until nearing the altar. The earliest Naiskoi were demolished with

[108] Lippolis *et al.* 2007, 748–749. Building D (*Fig. 11 no. 21*) of the late 6th/early 5th centuries BC in the Samian Heraion has proved difficult to identify since its plan, a double anta structure, is unlike other treasuries. If it was a treasury, as Kienast argues, one can imagine that its contents may have been visible through metal gates (1985, 124). Kienast (1985, 127) also thought it likely that Building A (*Fig. 11 no. 22*) was a treasury, as well. Kyrieleis (1993, 133) posits that the 6th-century BC North Building (*Fig. 11 no. 26*) and South Building (*Fig. 11 no. 9*) may have served as temple treasuries.

the construction of the Rhoikos temple and altar (*c*. 560 BC); later treasuries lie north of the Rhoikos altar, while only Naiskos X stands on the Sacred Way, the main path into the sanctuary.[109]

The contents of treasuries

Inventories of treasuries—particularly those on Delos and the Athenian Akropolis, together with the accounts of Pausanias and other ancient authors—inform us as to the contents of treasuries, although we are justified in wondering about the age of the objects that ancient writers saw and whether they appeared in their original locations. As noted above, treasury buildings were both containers of votives and offerings themselves. This may be the gist of the restored inscription from the Knidian treasury at Delphi, which specifies that this *thesauros* and *agalmata* are dedications,[110] and Pausanias reports the same for the inscription on the treasury of Gela (Foundation XII) at Olympia (Paus. 6.19.15); we will return to this issue of *thesauros* plus *agalmata*. Ancient writers and inscriptions indicate that treasuries held valuable objects,[111] although we should keep in mind that Pausanias (10.11.1) says that nothing was to be seen in any of the treasuries at Delphi (χρήματα δὲ οὔτε ἐνταῦθα ἴδοις ἂν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν); some scholars interpret this to mean that the treasuries had been plundered by the time of his visit,[112] but I wonder if he meant that the contents were not visible, i.e., the doors were closed and/or the tour guide told him nothing. In any case, other authors cite objects in Delphi treasuries, such as a golden tablet dedicated by the epic verse victor at Isthmia, Aristomache of Erythrae, and located in the Sikyonian treasury (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 675b); a statue of Lysander and spoils taken from the Athenians in the treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians (Plut. *Vit. Lys*. 1.1); the two stone statues in the treasury of Spina (Ath. 13.606a–b) noted above; and a bronze palm tree in the Corinthian treasury (Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 399f), the last remaining offering made by that *polis*.[113]

At Olympia, Pausanias records the contents of several treasuries. He claims that the enormously heavy bronze *thalamoi* in the Sikyonian treasury (Foundation I) contained Pelops' gold-hilted sword,[114] an ivory horn dedicated by Miltiades, son of Kimon and a boxwood statue of Apollo with a gilt head that was inscribed as a dedication of the Lokrians (Paus. 6.19.2, 6.19.6). The periegete also remarks on the dedications of a large Zeus and three linen cuirasses deposited in the Syracusan treasury (Foundation III) by Gelon and the Syracusans (Paus. 6.19.7),[115] Atlas holding the vault of heaven and Herakles with the apple tree of the Hesperides in the treasury of Epidamnos (Foundation IV, Paus. 6.19.8), statues of Roman emperors in the treasury of Kyrene (Foundation VII, Paus. 6.19.10), a statue of Dionysos, partially of ivory, in the *thesauros* of Selinus (Foundation IX, Paus. 6.19.10) and a statue of Endymion, also partly of ivory, in the Metapontine treasury (Foundation XI, Paus. 6.19.11). Polemon (Ath. 11.479f–480a) reports that the Metapontine treasury at Olympia (Foundation X) held 132 silver phialai, two silver wine-pitchers, a silver *apothustanion* (a drinking vessel), and three gilt phialai, and that the Byzantine treasury (Foundation V) contained a Triton made of cypress-wood holding a silver *kratanion* (cup), a silver Siren, two silver *karchēsia* (drinking cups), a silver kylix, a gold wine-pitcher and two drinking-horns. This inventory has led at least one scholar to posit that these treasuries also were used as banquet houses as seems to be the case for some of the treasuries on Delos.[116]

These buildings housed a seemingly endless list of portable fragile or precious objects, as well as quite ordinary items: things made of porphyry, glass, iron, amber, bronze and gilt bronze, wood and gilt wood, ivory, gold, silver and gold jewellery, silver vessels and other objects (distaffs, masks), gold crowns, gold leaves, seals of stone and precious metals, vessels, furniture, trays, lyres, coins, mirrors, nails, textiles, tools, combs, string, daggers, *thymiateria*, armour, weapons, bridles, anvils, baskets, oil, resin, braziers, even handcuffs.[117] This list

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[109] Cf. Sinn 1985, 142: "*... das leicht erhöhte Areal im Zwickel des nördlichen Altarvorplatzes und der Nord-Süd-Strasse als 'Schatzhausterrasse' diente, und zwar nachweislich bis in die hellenistische Zeit hinein.*"

[110] Bourguet 1929, 151–153 no. 289. See also Paus. 10.11.5.

[111] See the many gifts and the literary sources attesting to them tabulated by Hering 2015, 192–194, 232–233.

[112] Roux (1984, 157) thinks that once treasuries were emptied of their riches, they were open to the public. Cf. Arafat 2009, 583.

[113] Xenophon (*An*. 5.3.5) states that he dedicated war booty in the Athenian treasury at Delphi, but is silent on what this was. Remains of bronze chair legs of Etruscan type found at Delphi bear a palmette design, which Naso (2013, 1015) states is native to the Po valley, specifically to the region of Emilia. On this basis, Naso (2013, 1016) wishes to assign this as a votive gift housed in the treasury of Spina, perhaps a dedication of an Etruscan magistrate.

[114] *LSJ* defines *thalamos* as an inner chamber or storeroom, and Hellmann (1992, 151–152) discusses its use concerning religious architecture on Delos as referring to a room that is not immediately accessible.

[115] Pausanias names this treasury as belonging to Carthage, but this is widely viewed by scholars as a mistake for what must be the Syracusan treasury. See Barringer 2021, 79–80.

[116] Hölscher 2001, 149.

[117] See Hamilton 2000 for treasuries on Delos and the Athenian Akropolis; Harris 1995 for the treasuries of the Parthenon and Erechtheion; Hellmann 1992, 301 for treasuries on Delos. The handcuffs: *IG* II² 1424A, line 274.

is by no means exhaustive, but gives a sense of the variety of objects.

Let us return to the issue of the *agalmata* + *thesauros* inscription on the Knidian treasury (219) at Delphi. Roux proposes that treasury buildings were constructed *specifically* to house statues of precious materials,[118] and Tonio Hölscher takes this a step further by arguing that the treasuries at Olympia were erected to house a specific *sculptural* offering; other objects later accrued in the same structure. The large base (8.65 × 4.81 × 0.48 m) in the Geloan treasury (Foundation XII) at Olympia may have supported statues (*Fig. 6*),[119] and using Pausanias' account as evidence, Hölscher observes that many of the treasuries held a singular extraordinary object that, in some cases, dates to the time of the building.[120] For example, Pausanias' account of the contents of Foundation IV, the treasury of Epidamnos, lists the sculptures of Atlas and Herakles mentioned above by the sculptor Theokles, whose date accords with that of the terracotta architectural members belonging to this building (Paus. 6.19.8).[121] Hölscher reasons similarly for the Megarian treasury (Foundation XI), where the architecture and sculpted pediment date to *c.* 510 BC.[122] Within the treasury, according to Pausanias, were sculptures depicting Herakles fighting Acheloos and again, the sculptor (Paus. 6.19.14) accords with the date of the building.[123] In the case of the treasury of Selinus on Foundation IX, Pausanias (6.19.10) records a statue of Dionysos, but Pausanias does not name a sculptor. The flooring, which was worked to receive the base, was a later addition to the structure, but Hölscher reasons—correctly, in my view—that regardless of which statue stood on this base, it is improbable that the building was transformed from a structure that held many small votives to one holding a large central votive.[124] We might contrast this situation with that of the Massalian treasury (33) in the Athena sanctuary at Delphi, which was constructed in the second half of the 6th century BC, but the bronze base within it, which appears to have supported several statues, bears clamps that provide a date of the 4th to 3rd centuries BC.[125] This instance, then, would not accord with Hölscher's hypothesis unless, of course, some singular offering had stood in the building before the bronze base was erected. We might recall the anecdote recounted by Athenaeus of the stone statue of a boy in the Spina treasury at Delphi and its unauthorized overnight visitor; perhaps that statue, which held such allure for the trespassing *theoros*, was the singular, remarkable item for which the treasury was built.

Was a treasury building meant to hold offerings only from the city that constructed it? Whatever the intention may initially have been, ancient texts make clear that the treasuries served more than just the sponsoring *polis*. Herodotos (1.50–51) writes that objects dedicated by Kroisos of Lydia to Apollo at Delphi were displaced from the temple of Apollo to the treasuries of Kypselos (308) and of the Klazomenians (306) after the temple fire of 548 BC (*Fig. 5*).[126] In addition, he says that gold and silver objects given by Gyges of Lydia and the throne of Midas of Phrygia were housed in the treasury of Kypselos (Hdt. 1.14), as were two vessels, one of silver, the other of gold from the Lydian king Kroisos (Hdt. 1.51) and an incense burner sent to Delphi by Euelthon of Salamis (Cyprus) (Hdt. 4.162); it is noteworthy that he does not indicate that these objects were moved from the temple. One wonders how arrangements for moving objects from one place to another were made.[127] Did these kings have some agreement with Kypselos, one tyrant to another? Was this formalized in any way? Or was this matter decided by the Delphi officials, as Anne Jacquemin suggests?[128]

At Olympia, the Sikyonian treasury housed objects from Lokri (Paus. 6.19.4–6), as well as dedications by the Athenian Miltiades, although we may well wonder whether or not these objects were in their original locations when Pausanias saw them many centuries later. Whatever the original focal point of the treasury may have been—a single spectacular offering or not—and whoever was allowed to put things in there, by the time that Pausanias arrived at Olympia, Roman statues that had once stood in the Metroon were now located in the treasury of Kyrene (Paus. 6.19.10), as if the latter was a storage place, like a modern cellar or garage, and Pausanias himself notes that objects that once were in the treasury of

[118] Roux 1984, 157–158.

[119] Schleif & Süsserott 1944, 84–85; Hölscher 2001, 145.

[120] Hölscher 2001, 145–146.

[121] *DNO* 1, 145–147 nos 226–227; Hölscher 2001, 147.

[122] Hölscher 2001, 147–148.

[123] On the complicated issue of the sculptor, a student of Dipoinos and Skyllis, see *DNO* 1, 147–150 nos 228–229.

[124] Hölscher 2001, 148.

[125] Noted by Hölscher 2001, 150; Bommelaer 2015, 82.

[126] See also Paus. 10.13.5, who mentions that the Corinthian treasury used to house gold from Lydia. Cf. van Rookhuijzen 2020, 27–29, who discusses *IG* II² 1686, lines 7–8, 14–15, an inscription of 405/4 BC, the text of which refers to removal of objects from the Parthenon treasury to another location. Van Rookhuijzen (and Dörpfeld and Dinsmoor) posit fire damage to the building as the reason for the removal, although van Rookhuijzen disagrees with these earlier scholars about where the Parthenon treasury was located (see van Rookhuijzen 2020, n. 189 for earlier bibliography). For another view, see Meyer (2017, 137), who dismisses fire as the reason for the reorganization and redistribution of objects.

[127] Prêtre (2014, 29–30) writes that the transfer by administrators of objects from a temple to an *oikos* at Delos was a common phenomenon (although the reason for doing so is unstated), and this also occurs at Athens, but it was forbidden on Rhodes.

[128] Jacquemin 1999, 107.

Epidamnos had been moved to the Heraion prior to his visit (Paus. 6.19.8). The transfer of objects from the Temple of Apollo to the treasury of Kypselos at Delphi seems to have been an emergency measure, but the other examples of objects deposited in treasuries belonging to a city other than that of the donor, or moved to treasuries from another location raise the question of why things moved around. That treasuries became overcrowded is one possibility, but in that case, how were things chosen to be moved, how were new destinations selected, and should we again presume that the decisions were made by sanctuary officials or the custodians of the treasury in question?[129] We have already noted that the building of treasuries all but stopped in the 4th century BC with only a few new constructions further east. It may be that as a *polis*' connection with the site diminished over time, the use of its treasury may have changed, becoming perhaps less a focal point for one *polis*' use and serving instead as a storage point for other offerings. Conversely, Clarisse Prêtre observes that the epigraphical evidence attests that the *oikoi* of Naxos, Andros and Karystos on Delos initially contained materials used for building repairs, including wood, tools and roof tiles, then in *c.* 340 BC, began to house offerings, some of them damaged or replacements. While she questions the interpretation of *oikoi* as *thesauroi* housing precious offerings,[130] we might ask if the buildings' functions changed over time to accommodate different objects; in such a scenario, one imagines that a sanctuary administrator may have overseen this distribution. Treasuries could be usurped for other uses, as we have observed, but also by a new patron as was true for the Massalian treasury at Delphi: Diodoros Siculus (14.93.3–4) refers to it as belonging to the Massaliots, but writing later, Appian (*Italika* 11. 8) identifies the building as the treasury of the Massaliots and Romans. Like Hellenistic rulers, Romans seem uninterested in constructing treasuries in Greek sanctuaries and instead built fountains, fora and amphitheatres, and renovated theatres—all structures designed for public access, not the property of the gods.

While the chief function of treasury buildings was to house and protect divine property, human beings—sanctuary officials—were charged with administering access to them and their contents. Security, including the probity of officials, was clearly a concern as revealed by regulations governing periodic opening of treasuries: usually more than one administrator was assigned to this task. If some of these buildings also served as *hestiatoria* or for accommodation as some scholars suggest,[131] one wonders how treasury contents were secured. The small space afforded by most treasury buildings would have made oversight easy when only a couple of people stood within the structure, but if more people were in a treasury, especially a large treasury, over several hours, policing human behaviour must have been an issue. The aforementioned proposal that the Monopteros at Delphi, open on all sides, served as a treasury raises the same problem unless metal gates were installed or the contents were not easily portable, such as a large piece of heavy sculpture, perhaps a principal item for which the treasury was built, as Hölscher suggests.

For the modern visitor who encounters the silent ruins of treasuries, those safe storehouses of divine property, and is unfamiliar with such buildings or their contents, the buildings fail to leave much of an impression; the ruins remain inaccessible. But the visitor who knows of the many marvellous items listed in treasury inventories and mentioned by ancient writers, may well yearn for a sanctuary official bearing the keys to appear, unlock the door, and usher them into another world.

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[129] Prêtre (2014) considers the "lives and deaths" of objects, including decay or fragmentation (and the melting down, weighing and storage of metals, such as silver and gold), repair, and sometimes replacement, in the Delian inventories, and also raises the important issue of how (if possible) to distinguish offerings from other objects.

[130] I.e., she defines the buildings by their contents, rather than architectural form. Prêtre 2014, 40. See *IG* XI, 2 203, B lines 94–99 of 269 BC; *ID* 314, B lines 164–167 of shortly before 235–234 BC, concerning the *oikos* of Andros.

[131] Roux 1984, 155; Hellmann 1992, 302–303; Neer 2001, 280; Étienne 2018, 188–189.

Abbreviations

CGRN = J.-M. Carbon, S. Peels & V. Pirenne-Delforge, eds 2017– . *Collection of Greek ritual norms*, Liege. https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN0

DNO = S. Kansteiner, L. Lehmann & K. Hallof, eds 2014. *Der neue Overbeck. Die antiken Schriftquellen zu den bildenden Künsten der Griechen*, Berlin.

FdD = *Fouilles de Delphes*, École Française d'Athènes.

I Oropos = B. Petrakos 1997. *Οἱ ἐπιγραφές τοῦ 'Ωρωποῦ*, Athens.

IvO = W. Dittenberg & K. Purgold, eds 1896. *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin.

LSAM = F. Sokolowski 1955. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure*, Paris.

LSCG = F. Sokolowski 1969. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris.

LSS = F. Sokolowski 1962. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, Paris.

ThesCRA = 2004–2014. *Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, Los Angeles.

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