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Commemorating Classical Battles: A Landscape Biography Approach to Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia

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Braun, Brandon

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Commemorating Classical Battles:  
A Landscape Biography Approach to  
Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Archaeology

by

Brandon Braun

2021



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2021

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Commemorating Classical Battles:  
A Landscape Biography Approach to  
Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia

by

Brandon Braun

Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Sarah P. Morris, Co-Chair

Professor John K. Papadopoulos, Co-Chair

This project is a study of the commemoration of Classical Greek battles from a landscape biography perspective, approaching monuments and other practices as vital elements in the creation and curation of memories. It analyzes the diachronic development of battlefield, sanctuary, and city spaces, as evidenced by archaeological remains, ancient literary sources, and inscriptions. In addition, it explores the experience of the commemorative spaces through the application of theories of space, phenomenology, and social memory. Following a biographical approach, the commemoration of each battle is separated into stages of initial commemoration, official monumentalization, memory curation, memory lapse, and recovery and reception.

The battles fought at Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia are chosen as case studies for three reasons. First, Marathon (490 BCE) and Chaironeia (338 BCE) effectively span the period of Classical Greece. Secondly, these battles have different participants: Athenians over Persians at Marathon, Thebans over Spartans at Leuktra, and Macedonians over Thebans at Chaironeia. By focusing on these battles, this project looks at a diverse range of participants, both victorious and defeated. Lastly, these were battles that had lasting impacts in the material and literary record. Archaeologically, there are numerous monuments on each battlefield, as well as many that were dedicated in sanctuaries and in individual cities. Literary records indicate the Athenians repeatedly celebrated their victory at Marathon, whether to bolster their esteem among Greek states or to encourage their own citizenry in their undertaking of empire in the subsequent centuries. Similarly, the victory at Leuktra inspired the Thebans while simultaneously provoking the Spartans and other Greek cities.

The project has several conclusions. The commemoration of each battle can be divided into stages, but that the stages are not always discrete. There is variation in the types of commemorations within the stages, dependent on both time and surrounding space. Single commemorations can resonate differently with multiple audiences. The processes within the stage of memory curation lead to the subsequent lapse. The final stage of commemoration for each battle begins with the rediscovery of ancient monuments and continues to this day.

The dissertation of Brandon Braun is approved.

Kathryn Anne Morgan

Stella Elise Nair

Sarah P. Morris, Committee Co-Chair

John K. Papadopoulos, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

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## List of Abbreviations

*FdD* III.i **number** = reference number in Bourguet, A. 1929. *Fouilles de Delphes, Tome III:*

*Épigraphie. Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.

Frielinghaus 2011, (**number**) = reference number in Frielinghaus, H. 2011. *Die Helme von*

*Olympia: Ein Beitrag zu Waffenweihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

*GdD* **number** = reference number in Bommelaer, J. and D. Laroche. 2015. *Guide de Delphes: Le*

*Site*. Athens: École française d'Athènes.

*IG* = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

Rabe (**number**) = case study number in Rabe, B. 2008. *Tropaia: τροπή und σκυλα – Entstehung,*

*Funktion und Bedeutung des griechischen Tropaions*. Rahden: Leidorf.

Scott 2010, (**number**) = reference number in Scott, M. 2010. *Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial*

*Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*SEG* = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*.

*SIG* = *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*.

Wycherley 1957, (**number**) = reference number in Wycherley, R.E. 1957. *The Athenian Agora,*

*Vol. 3: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

### **Note on Spelling and Translation**

I have written Greek names and words as close to the original Greek as I could manage when rendering in English characters. Nevertheless, there are some inconsistencies that I must note, when I have chosen to follow scholarly or modern conventions in order to avoid confusion. For instance, I have Boiotia (Greek: *Βοιωτία*, Latin: Boeotia) and Oinoe (Greek: *Οινόη*, Ancient Greek: *Οινόη*), but I opt for Veria (Greek: *Βέρροια*) and Livadia (Greek: *Λιβαδειά* or *Λειβαδιά*, Ancient Greek: *Λεβαδεία*). Other well-known words are written with Latinized/Anglicized spellings, such as Aeschylus, Aeschines, Corinth, Herodotus, Thebes, and Thucydides.

Unless otherwise noted, translations throughout the text are my own. Mistakes, whether in translation, grammar, or anything else, are my own as well.

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I could not have completed this project without my stints in Athens at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens as a regular member (Philip Lockhart Fellow in 2016/17) and associate member (Gorham Philips Stevens Fellow in 2018/19). My time at the school has made an immeasurable impact on my life and scholarship. I would like to thank Mellon



Professors Kevin Daly and Sylvian Fachard, Whitehead Professors Maria Liston and John McEnroe, Directors James Wright and Jennifer Neils, Assistant Director Dylan Rodgers, the rest of the staff of the school, and the members and friends that I have met there. I also thank Anne Jacquemin and members of the *École française d'Athènes* for speaking with me about ongoing research of the monuments at Delphi.

I would also like thank the Institute of Classical Studies in London, where I have been an academic visitor for the last few years, and especially Greg Woolf, the director of the ICS, not only for having me, but also for his support and allowing me to present my research at the institute. A hearty thanks to the library staff as well, especially for their help during the pandemic.

I am extremely grateful for the funding that made my research possible. My thanks to the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, the ASCSA, and the UCLA Graduate Division. I also thank John and Sarah for finding funding me for a quarter in 2016, and the Steinmetz Family Foundation for their generosity covering travel costs during my time at UCLA.

I must thank my mom, dad, and brother for their support. They have been there from the beginning, even if they didn't always understand what I was doing, where I was doing it, and exactly why I wanted to do it. Nevertheless, they've always supported my interests and let me follow my passions. Thanks guys, and I'm glad that I finally got you to visit Greece and get a taste of my research.

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## Vita

### Education

|                                                                            |                |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Ph.D. Candidate, Archaeology, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> | 2014 - Present |
| M.A., Classics, <i>San Francisco State University</i>                      | 2011 - 2014    |
| B.A., Classics and Mathematics, <i>San Diego State University</i>          | 2006 - 2011    |

### Academic Affiliations

|                                                                              |                        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Academic Visitor, <i>Institute for Classical Studies</i> , London            | Fall 2017, 2019 - 2020 |
| Associate Member, <i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>      | 2018 - 2019            |
| Regular Member, <i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>        | 2016 - 2017            |
| Summer Session Member, <i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> | 2013                   |

### Fellowships and Awards

|                                                                                       |                  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Dissertation Year Fellowship, <i>UCLA</i>                                             | 2020 - 2021      |
| Gorham Phillips Stevens Fellow, <i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> | 2018 - 2019      |
| Philip Lockhart Fellow, <i>American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>         | 2016 - 2017      |
| Steinmetz Research Travel Grant, <i>UCLA</i>                                          | 2015, 2016, 2017 |
| Graduate Student Award for Distinguished Achievement, <i>SFSU</i>                     | 2014             |
| Raoul Bertrand Graduate Scholarship, <i>SFSU</i>                                      | 2013 - 2014      |
| Richard L. Trapp Graduate Teaching Fellowship, <i>SFSU</i>                            | 2013 - 2014      |

### University Teaching Experience

|                                                                                      |             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Teaching Assistant, Classics 30: Classical Mythology, <i>UCLA</i>                    | Spring 2018 |
| Teaching Assistant, Classics 51A: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Greece, <i>UCLA</i> | Winter 2018 |
| Teaching Assistant, Classics 51B: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Rome, <i>UCLA</i>   | Winter 2016 |
| Teaching Assistant, Classics 20: Discovering the Romans, <i>UCLA</i>                 | Fall 2015   |
| Teaching Fellow, GRE 101: Introduction to Ancient Greek, <i>SFSU</i>                 | 2013 - 2014 |

### Archaeology Excavation and Field Experience

|                                                                     |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Trench Supervisor, <i>Ancient Methone Archaeological Project</i>    | 2014 - present |
| Intern, <i>Athenian Agora Excavations, Archives and Collections</i> | 2019           |
| Summer Volunteer Excavator, <i>Athenian Agora Excavations</i>       | 2014, 2015     |

### Published Contributions and Book Reviews

- Review of Yates 2020. *States of Memory: The Polis, Panhellenism and the Persian War*. 2021  
Bryn Mawr Classical Review.
- “Pit 46 (Hypogeion 2): Archaic and Classical Deposits.” *Hesperia*, 89: 702-712. 2020  
Co-authored contribution with H. Thomas in S. Morris, J.K. Papadopoulos, M. Bessios, A. Athanassiadou, K. Noulas. 2020. “The Ancient Methone Archaeological Practice: A Preliminary Report on Fieldwork, 2014-2017.” *Hesperia*, 89: 659-723.

### Presentations, Lectures, and Seminars

- “Battlefield Biographies and Sanctuary Spaces” March 6, 2020  
Postgraduate Work-in-Progress Seminar, *Institute for Classical Studies*, London, UK
- “Turning into a Trophy: A Monument on the Battlefield of Marathon” February 28, 2020  
Sculpting History: New thinking on monuments and memorialisation in visual culture, *Henry Moore Institute*, Leeds, UK
- “A Biographical Approach to the Commemoration of Classical Battles” January 29, 2020

ICS Fellows' Seminar, *Institute for Classical Studies*, London, UK  
 "The Commemoration of Classical Battles in Greek Sanctuaries," March 5, 2019  
 2018/2019 *Meli* Lecture Series, *École française d'Athènes*, Athens, Greece  
 "Biographies of Battlefields," January 5, 2018  
 2018 AIA Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, USA  
 "Experience and Memory: The Phenomenology of Memorial Space," April 29, 2017  
 2017 Classical Association Annual Conference, *University of Kent*, Canterbury, UK  
 "Panhellenic Shrines as Tools: The Defense of the Greek Citizen," November 10, 2012  
 2012 Student Forum, *San Francisco State University*, San Francisco, CA, USA

### **Outreach and Engagement**

Engagement, *Institute for Classical Studies*  
 Blog Post, "Monuments of Marathon" May 10, 2021  
 Outreach, *UCLA*  
 Career Fair, *Alta Vista Elementary School*, Los Angeles, CA May 18, 2018  
 Science Night, *Meadows Avenue Elementary School*, Los Angeles, CA May 4, 2018  
 Writing Workshop "Adventures in Archaeology," 826LA, Los Angeles, CA March 27, 2018  
 Outreach, *SFSU*  
 "Sibling Rivalry: Hermes and the Invention of the Lyre," Presentation at  
*California Junior Classical League Convention* March 30, 2011

### **Memberships and Service**

Archaeological Institute of America 2012 - present  
 Graduate Student Association of Archaeology, *UCLA* 2014 - present  
 Friday Seminar Organizer, Spring 2018  
 GSAA Interdisciplinary Archaeology Research Conference Committee, 2015 - 2016  
 Pizza Talk Organizer, Spring 2016  
 Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies 2017 - present  
 Classics Students Association, *SFSU* 2011 - 2014  
 Secretary, 2013 - 2014  
 President, 2012 - 2013  
 21st Annual Spring Lecture Series Organizer, 2013  
 Ancient Philosophy Association, *SFSU* 2013 - 2014  
 Umanisti, *SDSU* 2008 - 2011  
 Eta Sigma Phi, *SDSU* 2010 - 2011  
 Treasurer, 2010 - 2011

## Chapter One: Introduction

The battle of Marathon was fought in 490 BCE on a marshy plain to the northeast of Athens, Greece. The Athenian victory spurred numerous commemorations on the field itself almost immediately, as well as in many other spaces of contemporary Greece. Nearly half a millennium later and more than a thousand kilometers away, the first-century BCE Roman orator Cicero reflected on the commemorative potency of the battle of Marathon:

Contraque in laudibus, quae magno animo et fortiter excellenterque gesta sunt, ea nescio quo modo quasi pleniore ore laudamus. **Hinc rhetorum campus de Marathone...**

When, on the other hand, we wish to pay a compliment, we somehow or other praise in more eloquent strain the brave and noble work of some great soul. **Hence there is a field for orators on the subject of Marathon...**

-Cicero *De Officiis* 1.61, adapted from Miller translation in Henderson 1913.

Cicero recognized the field as a resource ripe for orators expounding on the virtues of morality and duty, comparable even to the deeds of famous and contemporary Romans.

Marathon was not the only famous battlefield on the list and Cicero included several other prominent battles of the Persian Wars in fifth-century Greece, as well as the lone representative of the fourth century in the battle of Leuktra. Why were these battles included, and not others? What was it about the space of the fields themselves that resonated with Cicero? What was his role, and the role of authors like him, in adapting and accessing the commemorative nature of the space?

This dissertation is a study of the commemoration of Classical Greek battles from a landscape biography perspective, approaching monuments and other practices as vital elements in the creation and curation of memories. The primary research questions are: How are Classical battles commemorated? Where are they commemorated? How does commemoration change over time? Do the types of spaces matter, and how do they change the spaces themselves?

To this end, I analyze the diachronic development of battlefield, sanctuary, and city spaces, by means of archaeological remains and ancient literary sources. I focus on the battles at Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia as three case studies, and explore the types of commemorations and spaces that evoked the memory of these events.

In this chapter, I introduce the case studies and various assumptions regarding the topic of the commemoration of battles in Classical Greece. Next, I provide an overview of the methodological approach and the theoretical background to the project. Lastly, I set out the structure of the study.

## Case Studies

There are three case studies in this study: the battles fought at Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia (**Map 1.1**). These events were chosen for several reasons. First of all, the three battles effectively span the entire Classical period.<sup>1</sup> The battle of Marathon was fought in 490 BCE, a date often arbitrarily chosen to represent the start of the period.<sup>2</sup> On the other end of the timespan, the battle of Chaironeia was fought in 338 BCE. This date may not exactly correlate with the end of the Classical period, which is usually associated with the death of Alexander in 323 BCE.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Chaironeia was a significant battle on mainland Greece, and the last

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the history of the modern practice of imposing periods on Greek history, see Kotsonas 2016; Barringer 2020.

<sup>2</sup> Dates from the end of the Persian Wars, either the battles of 479 BCE or the sack of the Athenian Acropolis in 480 BCE, are other commonly cited start of the Classical period/end of the preceding Archaic period: e.g., Hurwit 2004, 252-255; Shapiro 2007.

<sup>3</sup> This is the periodization of Erskine 2005 and Dillon and Garland 2013, for example. Of course, there are other periodizations and some scholars place greater emphasis on the 338 battle as a terminal date (e.g., Grote 1853; Thallon 1914) or approach the topic from narrower thematic perspectives, such as “the rise of Macedon” (e.g., Small 2019), or regional perspectives, such as the view from Boiotia (e.g., Buckler and Beck 2008). For more on the Hellenistic period in general, see Bosworth 2006.

fought before Alexander's eastward expedition. With such a timespan, we see a variation across chronology.

A second important issue is that these battles featured a variety of participants. In the simplest (or most frequently repeated, even in antiquity) terms, the battle of Marathon was an Athenian victory over the Persians, the battle of Leuktra was a Theban victory over the Spartans, and the battle of Chaironeia was a Macedonian victory over Thebes. We therefore see how an Athenian victory was commemorated, in contrast with respective Theban and Macedonian victories over the next century and a half. Of course, the actual events and participants were much more complex, especially as the narrative accounts of them changed in the centuries after the battles. With these case studies, we can compare changes in commemoration based on the variation of victors and vanquished.

Thirdly, these battles were chosen because they are well-represented in the literary record. They were the subject of frequent and regular commentary, almost continuously from soon after they were fought, up until the present. Ancient authors not only reported events from the battles, but also deployed and weaponized them in terms of hypothetical lessons or morals learned, in many later contexts and for various purposes. Later authors also exploited the memory of the battles for their own purposes, whether as in support of Greek independence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or for other nationalistic endeavors of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later. In this instance, both chronology and identity of the participants matters, as do the goals and attitudes of later audiences.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, these battles were chosen because there are extant commemorative monuments on the respective battlefields, as well as in other spaces (**Map 1.2**). The battle at Marathon directly inspired at least one contemporary physical monument, but later

reception probably led to several other monuments as well. The battle at Leuktra produced only one monument, which has been variously interpreted over time. The battle of Chaironeia produced a whole suite of commemorations, further complicated by the later actions on the field itself. Again, chronology, audience, and intent are critical to interpretation.

There are no battles from the Peloponnesian war among the case studies, although it was one of the most famous long-term conflicts of ancient Greece. While battles from this war occurred in the right time period, featured a variety of participants, generated commemorative dedications, and were discussed at great lengths by contemporary and later authors, there are no extant monuments to analyze on the respective battlefields. Even seemingly significant outcomes, like the battle at Aegospotami that essentially brought the war to a close, did not produce lasting commemorations, in words or on the ground. The lack of on-field commemoration is very interesting and will be briefly explored in comparisons with other battles, but the topic can be explored more fully and in-depth in future research.

Similarly, other battles of the Persian Wars, especially those at Thermopylai, Salamis, and Plataia, are not included among the case studies. Interest in these battles have produced a great amount of attention, not just among modern scholars, but also among ancient audiences.<sup>4</sup> In order not to derail the project into a discussion of the commemoration of the Persian War, I chose the battle of Marathon as a representative sample of the conflicts. As an early clash in the larger conflict, Marathon provides a lens through which the later Persian Wars battles can be viewed. Nevertheless, the commemorations of the later battles can be compared to those of Marathon, and all these compared to the commemorations of fourth-century battles at Leuktra and Chaironeia.

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<sup>4</sup> E.g., Xenophon (*Anabasis* 3.2.13) says that the monuments that resulted from Xerxes' invasion were still standing in the generations after the battles of Thermopylai, Salamis, and Plataia.

## Theoretical Background

This study is rooted in theories of social memory and space, combined with an adapted landscape biography approach. I trace the diachronic changes on the field as viewed in the material record, in combination with the developing commemoration in literary sources, to unravel the dense network of evolving memories and to recognize the various moments (be they the erection of monuments, the installment of games, or any other practice) that punctuated the commemorative lifetime of the space.

### *Theories of Memory*

The concept of social memory draws on the work of Maurice Halbwachs on *mémoire collective*, or collective memory.<sup>5</sup> It is different from individual memory, in that it is not necessarily personal but rather shared among multiple people, and because memories reside within social groups, they can persist beyond an individual's lifespan.<sup>6</sup> Subsequent theorists pushed further, developing the idea in the context of society and social groups, analyzing the mechanics of social memory and positing that one can have membership in many different memory groups.<sup>7</sup>

Collective memory can be social or political memory, defined as “the notion of a shared sense of the past that is shaped, filtered and selected by actors in the present”.<sup>8</sup> In this sense, memory requires “actors” who curate the past for their own purposes. Memory can be evoked

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<sup>5</sup> Halbwachs 1925, 1950; See Olick and Robbins 1998 for the continued development of collective memory, and Russell 2006 for Halbwachs' predecessors from as early as 16<sup>th</sup>-century France, as well as his successors in French sociology.

<sup>6</sup> Depending on whether the memory is episodic (i.e., individual) or semantic (i.e., objective), Russell 2006, 798.

<sup>7</sup> Connerton 1989; Russell 2006, 799-800.

<sup>8</sup> Tumblety 2013, 10.



passively, as the actor is prompted by stimuli they encounter. This can inform and reinforce the world views and perspectives of a given memory group. Memories are useful for someone, either individual or group, as “no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollection”.<sup>9</sup> Collective memory can also be employed actively, usually for rhetorical or political effect. In this usage, the (memory of the) past is a tool that furthers the goals of the actor.

Forgetting is a necessary counterweight to memory, as it is impossible (and not useful) to remember everything.<sup>10</sup> A memory is not constant, but rather is evoked or prompted, and each new moment of recall “blots out” the previous iterations. To a certain extent, the act of remembering can be constrained by commemorative practices such as monuments or written histories, but these also imply forgetting other versions of the past.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes versions of the past are replaced, or perhaps we could say “updated”, in order to be useful in a new context.<sup>12</sup> Other times, memories can lapse for various reasons, whether passively (e.g., there is nobody left to remember a story) or consciously obliterated (e.g., stories deliberately repressed).

The many commemorations of Classical battles can be assessed as vehicles of collective memory. For example, the battle of Marathon was remembered by different memory groups. In some cases, it was a useful memory invoked to affect a desired outcome.<sup>13</sup> The Athenians recalled Marathon prior to the battle of Plataia to argue that they should hold the position of

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<sup>9</sup> Tumblety 2013, 9.

<sup>10</sup> Fentress and Wickham 1992, 39.

<sup>11</sup> See Castagnoli and Ceccarelli 2019, 20-25.

<sup>12</sup> For example, over time the Athenian memory of Marathon increasingly minimized the participation of the Plataians.

<sup>13</sup> For more on different memory groups and the Persian War, see Yates 2020, 135-167.

honor at the left wing in battle (Hdt. 9.27), but the Spartans remind the Athenians of Marathon to achieve the exact opposite and argue that the Athenians should face the Persian troops in the right wing (Hdt. 9.46). The Persians even recall Marathon, although not by name, when Artabanos is attempting to dissuade Xerxes from invasion (Hdt. 7.10). These excerpts are examples of only one medium of memory in Greece: literature.<sup>14</sup>

Memories are recalled by many different media, however, each capable of conveying the “emotional rawness and humanity of lived experience in the past”.<sup>15</sup> In addition to literature, Greek social memory was enacted by performance in cult, festival, and public discourse. For example, Bernd Steinbock argued that fourth-century orators employed the Persian Wars in order to discredit contemporary Thebes.<sup>16</sup> In the speeches, the historicity of the war was stripped away, and the battles became symbols for the community.<sup>17</sup> The details did not matter, as particular framings of the memory of the battles became set-pieces within the orators’ arguments. The Persian Wars were also commemorated in public performance, such as in the poetry of Simonides (e.g., *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 503; fr. 11 in M.L. West 1992) or in the *Persians* by Aeschylus.

Along with literature and performance, monuments are a third type of mnemonic practice. Studies of monuments emphasize the role of memory and meaning. Thus, monuments are defined as “an object, or suite of objects, that possesses an agreed-upon meaning to a community of people”,<sup>18</sup> as “places, structures, or objects deliberately designed, or later agreed,

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<sup>14</sup> For more on the historiography and narratives of warfare, see Bruzzone 2021.

<sup>15</sup> Tumblety 2013, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Steinbock 2013; Yates 2020.

<sup>17</sup> Steinbock 2013, 134.

<sup>18</sup> Osborne 2014, 4.

to provoke memories”,<sup>19</sup> and as objects imbued with cultural value and meaning.<sup>20</sup>

Monumentality is an expression of cultural memory, as the monument records the present for a future past.<sup>21</sup>

But not all monuments function as faithful expressions of collective memory. In fact, monuments can obscure or marginalize the experience of particular groups and, instead, promote alternative attitudes and versions of the past. Dell Upton studied this phenomenon in the context of American memorials, recently focusing on Confederate monuments in the American South.<sup>22</sup> According to Upton, the issue arises from the difference between what is seen (i.e., the monument and commemorative space, or “visible order”) and the conceptualization of the space (i.e., “social space”).<sup>23</sup> Thus, a monument can “give a consensual cast to the landscape”, even if that same monument does not reflect what the community feels.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Upton shows that the meanings that monuments evoke can change over time, and therefore what once was relevant to the community can eventually become completely inappropriate.<sup>25</sup> The same processes occurred with ancient monuments, especially those in complex commemorative spaces such as sanctuaries and cities, but also on the battlefield.

It is important to approach memory through different media because a particular set of mnemonic practices strongly influences the formation, transmission, and contestation of

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<sup>19</sup> Alcock 2002, 28.

<sup>20</sup> Kolb 2014, 153.

<sup>21</sup> Wendrich 2014, 412.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., Upton 2015; Upton 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Upton 1997, 174-175.

<sup>24</sup> Upton 1997, 175

<sup>25</sup> Upton 2018. “A monument leads an unhappy life,” Upton 2018, 1.

memories held by a society.<sup>26</sup> In Classical Athens, monuments functioned as a type of “analogical” history, emphasizing continuity and highlighting glorious moments, while remaining frustratingly ambiguous for the sake of allowing interpretation and re-interpretation.<sup>27</sup> An example is a stone column monument at Marathon that is sometimes called a trophy, which I cover in more detail below.<sup>28</sup> Depending on the viewer and their knowledge of cultural codes, this monument had multiple meanings. To the average fifth-century Greek, the monument marked the space of the victory as a trophy would. It may have also reminded the viewer of other columnal dedications, such as the column dedicated by Kallimachus on the Athenian Acropolis, itself commemorating Marathon, or the column of the Naxians at Delphi. In this instance, the monument at Marathon prompted thoughts of other victories and celebrations that would have been accessible to a relatively wide audience. The column monument probably meant something different to an Athenian, however, especially one with knowledge of contemporary drama in Athens.<sup>29</sup> Just like the excerpts from Herodotus, by the fifth century BCE the trophy is a functional tool that operates on a sociopolitical level.

### *Spatial Theories*

Everything exists in space, but what is space and how is it created? Here I draw on the spatial theories of Henri Lefebvre and Yi-Fu Tuan. According to these theorists, space is actively produced and always changing, continually created by people and experience.<sup>30</sup> It does not

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<sup>26</sup> Steinbock 2013, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Boedeker 1998.

<sup>28</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 61-65 and **Figure 2.13**.

<sup>29</sup> In both the *Knights* (lines 1333-1334) and *Wasps* (lines 708-711), Aristophanes refers to the trophy as a physical reminder of actions that are worthy of imitation.

always exist and instead must be created through spatial practices.<sup>31</sup> Spatial practices are particular to specific societies, however, and no two practices are exactly the same. These practices can become a “code” of space for a society, an achievement that indicates a unified conception of space.<sup>32</sup> Part of this project is to explore the spatial practices—or codes—of the ancient Greek battlefield as a commemorative space, to determine whether practices varied through time or by geographic location.

Henri Lefebvre divided space into components: perceived, conceived, and lived.<sup>33</sup> Mythical space could be considered another the components of space, as discussed by Yi-Fu Tuan.<sup>34</sup>

Perceived space is rooted in society. It is a form that is created by social practices, while it also perpetuates those same social practices. As such, it is not necessarily “coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived)”,<sup>35</sup> but rather a disjointed connection of many, sometimes disparate, practices. Thus, it is possible for the Athenian Acropolis to be a space that celebrates Athenian victory, while also recalling its destruction at the hands of the Persians.

Conceived space is theoretical space, the product of planners and organizers, created by an artist that subscribes to the unified “code” of space. This is the space created by battlefield

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<sup>30</sup> There is no such thing as a “real space”; space cannot be objective, but rather needs a subject. Lefebvre 1991, 8-9.

<sup>31</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 12.

<sup>32</sup> Tuan 1979, 389; Lefebvre 1991, 17.

<sup>33</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 38-39.

<sup>34</sup> Tuan 1977, 86-89.

<sup>35</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 38.

monuments, sanctuary layouts and plans, and centralized commemorative programs in cities. It leaves the most visible and accessible footprint in the archaeological record.

Lived space is a combination of conceived and perceived, created by transgressive “artists”.<sup>36</sup> In a sense, lived space is created in conceived spaces by social practices that are intentional, as opposed to the received and guided. This type of space is created by subverting expectations or re-interpreting meanings, as can be seen in the spatial politics of interstate sanctuaries.<sup>37</sup>

Tuan defined mythical space as both a fuzzy area of defective knowledge that is produced by a misunderstanding of direct experience, as well as the spatial component of a worldview that defines man’s place in nature.<sup>38</sup> In my own terms, I refer to this category as imaginary space, in order to remove confusion when talking about myths or literary spaces, and since it is often based on the real world but ultimately independent of it.

The built environment, manifest in architecture or monuments, operates in each component of space. As described by Tuan:

Architectural space—even a simple hut surrounded by cleared ground—can define such senses [of perception] and render them vivid. The built environment clarifies social roles and relations. People know better who they are and how they ought to behave when the arena is humanly designed rather than nature’s raw stage. Finally, architecture ‘teaches.’ A planned city, a monument or even a simple dwelling can be a symbol of the cosmos.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, although space is created through bodily experience, it also influences that same experience. In every cultural context, space reproduces the processes that created it because it structures experience simultaneously. Space is linked with memory through the relationship

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<sup>36</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 39-40.

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>38</sup> Tuan 1977, 86-89.

<sup>39</sup> Tuan 1977, 102.

between space and time. By conceptualizing space and time through bodily experience, Tuan argued that distance implies remoteness in time. Through this remoteness, the present is removed from the past and future, as Tuan states, “I am (or we are) here; here is now. You (or they) are there; there is then, and then refers to a tie which can be either the past or the future”.<sup>40</sup>

What one experiences as space is a combination of these types, as each type “involves, underpins, and presupposes the other”.<sup>41</sup> The components of space itself are created and experienced by individuals. To assess this, I follow ideas of phenomenology and experience.<sup>42</sup> Michel de Certeau highlighted the central role of movement in the experience and creation of space. Movement actualizes spaces and landmarks, which otherwise would not exist.<sup>43</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty further focused on the individual and argued that the body was the key to experience, as it is the gestures of the body that define space itself.<sup>44</sup> Distance and separation are only understood in terms of the body, so a person only experiences spaces through objects/stationary points in space and the potential of moving between them. When the person pauses, they then experience (or create) a place, satisfying an innate “lust to be a viewpoint”.<sup>45</sup>

Yi-Fu Tuan defines “place” in similar, yet inverted terms, nevertheless still grounded in individual experience: “place is whatever stable object catches our attention. Each pause is time enough to create an image of place that looms large momentarily in our view”.<sup>46</sup> Tuan

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<sup>40</sup> Tuan 1977, 126.

<sup>41</sup> Lefebvre 1991, 14.

<sup>42</sup> As outlined by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Michel de Certeau (1988) and applied in an archaeological setting by Christopher Tilley (1994) and Yannis Hamilakis (2013; 2021), among others.

<sup>43</sup> De Certeau 1988, 99; Also, Tuan 1977, 68.

<sup>44</sup> Merleau-Ponty 1962, 144.

<sup>45</sup> De Certeau 1988, 92.

<sup>46</sup> Tuan 1977, 161.

emphasizes the capability of objects, such as sculptures, of creating places within space.<sup>47</sup>

Simply put, a place is created by the (social/cultural) experience of space.<sup>48</sup>

Archaeological approaches to phenomenology anchor individual experience to the physical world, assuming that the human body is a mediation point between thought and the world.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes the sense of sight is emphasized, but the other senses also influence the experience of the world, and consequently the practices that construct spaces.<sup>50</sup> While sight is important, at the heart of phenomenology is the assumption that one experiences the world through *all* the senses of the body.<sup>51</sup>

These theories emphasize, in their own ways, the centrality of experience in the construction and understanding of space. Consequently, it is possible to uncover subordinate or subversive experiences of space, based on evidence that the spaces were accessed by means other than originally intended. This is especially powerful in the case of ancient battles, which were undoubtably painful, frightening, and often confusing events. Such experiences, as De Certeau argued, cannot themselves be reversed, but representations of the experiences, in this case monuments or other mnemonic practices, are reversible, thus rendering painful events somewhat forgettable.<sup>52</sup> As mere representations, they can take the brunt of harsh experience.

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<sup>47</sup> Tuan 1977, 162.

<sup>48</sup> Tuan 1979, 387.

<sup>49</sup> Tilley 1994, 14.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Dell Upton studied the development of early US cities like Philadelphia from the 17th-century, noting that the locations of “bakeries, tanneries, breweries, and slaughterhouses could be plotted with the nose.” Upton 1992, 58.

<sup>51</sup> Hamilakis 2013; Hamilakis 2021.

<sup>52</sup> De Certeau 1988, 97.



They also allow separation, physical and temporal, between the contemporary viewer and the painful event. This separation allows the memory to become useable in multiple ways.

In this study, I assess archaeological material, such as monuments, as definers of spaces. Monuments are physical structures, but they intersect every abstract type of space. They are what Lefebvre calls “representations of space”; they are space-time made concrete. This type of space, as a place, is a necessary reference point for ideologies.<sup>53</sup> The erection of a monument transforms a space into a place, as the landscape becomes marked by architecture as anchorage points to experience.<sup>54</sup> Monuments also create meaning, because they “are designed and erected as signs of power and superiority. They may be disputed and even fought over, pushed through against possible resistance, or destroyed by a successful opposition”.<sup>55</sup> A monument is “a culturally constructed place, a permanent and visible space upon the physical landscape that mediates human experience and memory”.<sup>56</sup>

Whenever available and relevant, combining the archaeological material with the literary record is important because it grants insights into contemporary perspectives on the space. Central to all spatial theories is the idea that places gain meanings through embodied experience, which is itself structured by the knowledge of the individual. Knowledge of a place—knowing its proper name, in De Certeau’s argument—allows experience of it. This creates a more nuanced type of place, what Tilley calls a locale, that is value-laden and can be socially experienced.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Lefebvre 1991.

<sup>54</sup> Merleau-Ponty 1962, 259.

<sup>55</sup> Hölscher 1998, 156.

<sup>56</sup> Kolb 2014, 154.

<sup>57</sup> Tilly 1994, 18.

## *Landscapes and Landscape Biography*

Concepts of landscape archaeology and landscape biography connect the theories of collective memory and space to this study of battle commemoration. Contrary to processual approaches to the environment that cast landscapes as sources of stress and circumscription to which people react,<sup>58</sup> recent trends have taken a more humanistic view to landscapes, arguing that they are imbued with cultural meaning through experience and recursive practice.<sup>59</sup> The landscape is a creation of experience and is experienced through phenomenological senses. Landscape archaeology interprets sites as artifacts, allowing places to be infused with social meaning and value.<sup>60</sup>

Phenomenology can be fruitfully applied on a landscape scale. Human activity is inscribed on landscapes, such that places become familiar and landscapes become embedded in memory.<sup>61</sup> Bodily movement, whether physical or imagined, creates “paths” (which are not necessarily just physical paths, but can also be methods, techniques, or strategies) through a landscape, connecting the space with memory.<sup>62</sup> In this theorization, landscapes are sets of relational places linked by movement through these paths.<sup>63</sup> The experience of a place is significant for the understanding of meaning, and so it is necessary to examine how a place was experienced. In the naming and experiencing of a landscape, one constructs a narrative that

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<sup>58</sup> Binford 1962; Carneiro 1970.

<sup>59</sup> However, for criticism of post-processual approaches to the landscape, see Fleming 2006.

<sup>60</sup> Chapman 2006; Johnson 2012.

<sup>61</sup> Tilley 1994, 27.

<sup>62</sup> Tilley 1994, 29.

<sup>63</sup> Tilley 1994, 34.

makes locales markers of individual and group experience.<sup>64</sup> Through narrative, the features in a landscape become mnemonic devices and moral guides.<sup>65</sup>

A landscape, as a space, has an impact on social memory. According to Susan Alcock, “human landscapes provide the broad physical framework that shaped communal experience; disturbance or dispossession would strike at memories invested in the places to which people became attached, in the places where they dwelled, worked, and worshipped”.<sup>66</sup> Spatial practice is linked to memory, changes or stability in space that implies change or maintenance of memory, and the inscription of new memories implies the forgetting or manipulation of old memories.

Alcock developed a material approach to the archaeology of memory. Looking at monuments and landscapes, she argued that memories, like artifacts, are “embedded and supported within a material framework”.<sup>67</sup> Advocating an approach to monuments through landscape analysis, Alcock understands that landscapes are more than physical environments. The workings of social memory are revealed through this framework, as a causal link for monumental activity. Monuments are elements within a landscape that “live within a wider matrix of human activity”.<sup>68</sup> Both landscapes and monuments have meaning, but the landscape is

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<sup>64</sup> Tilley 1994, 33.

<sup>65</sup> Tilley uses the Apache as an example of this, citing an Apache narrative: “the land is always stalking people. The land makes people live right” (Tilley 1994, 33).

<sup>66</sup> Alcock 2002, 31.

<sup>67</sup> Alcock 2002, 2.

<sup>68</sup> Alcock 2002, 30.

broader than the more localized monument.<sup>69</sup> In terms of theories of space and place, monuments are localized places and landscapes are the spaces between.

Memory is embedded in monuments and landscapes. There are different kinds of memories, however, as described by Alcock. The first type of memory is the kind that is inscribed at the creation of the monument. This type of memory is “far more visible to the archaeologist”.<sup>70</sup> These memories can be viewed functionally as conservative transmitters of cultural information, often clustering around paradigmatic events or charismatic people.<sup>71</sup> The other type of memory is inscribed through everyday practice. It is more difficult to see this in the archaeological record because it is a habitual memory incorporated and cemented through bodily experience.<sup>72</sup> In terms of the spatial theories outlined above, the first type of memory is made in conceived space, which creates the conditions for the second type of memory within received and lived space.

These ideas of memory in the landscape stem from Pierre Nora’s concepts of *milieux de mémoire* and *lieux de mémoire*. At the heart of these two terms is the distinction between memory and history respectively, that “memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past”.<sup>73</sup> Between the two concepts, *lieux de mémoire* has been applied to ancient contexts more frequently than its counterpart.<sup>74</sup> The distinction is not always apt, however; commemorative places exist as sites of

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<sup>69</sup> Alcock 2002, 31.

<sup>70</sup> Alcock 2002, 28.

<sup>71</sup> Alcock 2002, 17.

<sup>72</sup> Alcock 2002, 28.

<sup>73</sup> Nora 1989, 8.

<sup>74</sup> E.g., Alcock 2002; Jung 2006.

crystallized memories of “moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded”.<sup>75</sup>

A biographical approach recognizes the changing commemorative stages of a landscape. There are several examples of archaeological applications of the biography approach from recent decades.<sup>76</sup> As argued by Marwyn Samuels, landscape biography is based on the definition of the self (philosophically), and the way that it is possible to define a landscape as a thing that is experienced by individuals, while also constraining the experience of the individual.<sup>77</sup> The landscape is molded through what he calls “contextual media”, “through which and by means of which individuals and specific groups mold their environments to create meaningful landscapes”.<sup>78</sup> Igor Kopytoff developed the concept further, extending the analysis to “things” that have cultural and social lives.<sup>79</sup> Analyzing a space biographically allows for a long term and diachronic perspective. As a method, “the landscape-biographical approach is used to study the historical layeredness of a landscape in the past and in the present.”<sup>80</sup> From this perspective, it is possible to see trends and patterns in how these different spaces are used.

Landscapes contain multitudes of meaning, each affected by the monuments that populate the area. While it may not be possible to arrive at an original or fundamental meaning—if

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<sup>75</sup> Nora 1989, 12.

<sup>76</sup> E.g., Roymans et al. 2009; Deltso 2009; Kolen et al. 2015. Also, from a landscape architecture perspective: Damayanti and Spek 2015.

<sup>77</sup> Samuels 1979, 61-63.

<sup>78</sup> Samuels 1979, 63.

<sup>79</sup> Kopytoff 1986.

<sup>80</sup> Schriek 2020, 46.

divining such a meaning is ever possible—tracing changes in spatial relationships yields insight into past perspectives. Combined with theories of space and memory, this method can illuminate how monuments create and shape a landscape, as a space that becomes imbued with meaning. These perspectives inform this study, as I examine the layers of meaning created and mediated in commemorations of Classical battles.

## **Methodology**

The project began with a review of archaeologically explored battlefield monuments from the Classical period. I sought out monumental commemorations of the various battles that had occurred in sanctuary and city spaces. In addition to physical remains, I consulted scholarly reconstructions and interpretations of monuments.

Commemorations of battles of the Persian Wars were easily identified, as there have been numerous studies, monographs, and edited volumes devoted to the topic.<sup>81</sup> At the outset, I adapted lists of the various commemorations of the battles as collated first by William Custis West III,<sup>82</sup> but later updated and re-assessed by Xavier Duffy.<sup>83</sup> From there, I added other scholarship on the battles, and compiled all of the extant archaeological evidence on the fields. There is a wealth of scholarship on each battle of the Persian War, so each would have been a fitting case study, but ultimately, I selected the battle of Marathon, not only because it was the earliest battle and could be compared to the subsequent battles, but also due to several aspects of its commemoration.

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<sup>81</sup> E.g., Jung 2006; Bridges, Hall, and Rhodes 2007; Carey and Edwards 2013; Yates 2020.

<sup>82</sup> West 1966.

<sup>83</sup> Duffy (2016, 2018) uses the catalog of West (1966) as a starting point.

There are no similar comprehensive collections of battlefield commemorations of other battles of the Classical period.<sup>84</sup> I filled in the dataset with research conducted on previous trips through Greece and Sicily with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. From the options outside of the Persian War, this added the battles at Leuktra and Chaironeia to the collection, as well as battles at Delium, Mantinea, and Himera. Because of the limited extant evidence of battlefield commemorations for the latter three battles, the battles at Leuktra and Chaironeia were selected as case studies.

As best I could, I traced the study of the battlefields from the most recent publications and into the past. After consulting the archaeological excavation reports of the three sites, I noted several trends. First, I saw that most interpretations of the archaeological materials relied on literary sources that were often written centuries later than the events in question, frequently based on readings of Pausanias from the second century CE. Second, the first modern archaeological publications in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries sought to identify monuments securely and left little room for doubt or reinterpretation. Finally, the authoritative interpretations ignored evidence of subsequent activities, effectively obscuring lively debates between established opinion and contrary interpretations. While the latter positions have been revived in some instances,<sup>85</sup> they are usually ignored or completely quashed in favor of the mainstream interpretations.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Most do not deal with the monuments, but rather with the topography of the battlefields themselves. Even those, however, focus on how battle tactics were constrained by the topography. E.g., Tuplin 1987.

<sup>85</sup> E.g., Hsu (2008) convincingly revives speculations regarding the prehistoric nature of the *soros* at Marathon, which had been suggested by Schliemann in 1884, but immediately updated by Staïs in 1890.

<sup>86</sup> E.g., Dionysopoulos (2015) scoffs at any possible contrary interpretations of the monuments at Marathon. He is particularly scathing of Schliemann, but also discounts other interpretations, such as Mersch (1995) that the *soros* is an aristocratic burial unassociated with the battle of Marathon.

I next turned to references to the battles in ancient literary sources. First and foremost, I read and organized the ancient references that have been used to support interpretations of the extant monuments. I looked through these references in the original ancient Greek and took note of the author and corresponding time period, which monuments or commemorations were discussed, in what context(s), and how.

In order to supplement sources from previous scholarship, I broadened the search through ancient sources and consulted the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG).<sup>87</sup> In the TLG, I conducted searches for references to Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia. I queried the database for instances of *Μαραθών*, *Λεῦκτρα*, and *Χαιρώνεια* in any grammatical form, over the entire collection of sources from the seventh century BCE and into the Byzantine period. Predictably due to the fame of the battles, each search yielded hundreds of examples: there are 845 separate uses of the various forms of Marathon, 232 uses of Leuktra, and 356 uses of Chaironeia. Fortunately, because this study is tied to commemorations that occurred in defined spaces, I read through the references to narrow the selections to those that actually dealt with the field or other places, omitting those that do not mention commemorations. I further cut down the references by excluding obvious repetitions of fragments or citations in later sources. In the end, I collected 127 ancient Greek references to the battlefield of Marathon, 69 to Leuktra, and 80 to Chaironeia.

Unfortunately, there is not an easily searchable Latin counterpart to the TLG, as the corresponding *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* is not yet complete. In an effort to find at least a few Latin sources to round out the analysis, I turned to the Latin collection of the *Loeb Classical Library*. I performed the same searches through the nearly 500 Latin sources available and

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<sup>87</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library*. Ed. Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine.  
<<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>.>



looked for additional relevant references (i.e., the commemorations on the battlefields), and found six references to Marathon, seven to Leuktra, and five to Chaironeia. There were limitations to this, however, based on the available material. For example, I was only able to find Latin references as recent as the fifth-century CE author Sidonius Apollinaris. Also, the Loeb collection is not exhaustive, so doubtless there are more examples out there, such as the third-century CE historian Justin, who wrote about Chaironeia. That said, there is potential for future exploration of the commemoration from the perspective of Latin texts, but that falls out of the scope of the present study.

After collecting all of the physical and literary evidence, I organized the datasets chronologically. In so doing, I assumed some stationary points in the analysis. At one extreme, the *termini post quem* for the extant monuments were the dates of the battles themselves. Various analyses of the remains, whether stylistic or stratigraphic, helped to push this date forward or to establish sequences of events. At the other end, the *termini ante quem* were indicated by reference to the monuments in literary sources on them. Subsequent references indicated the persistence of the commemorations, sometimes with changes in both the targeted commemoration and the evoked memory. These snapshots indicated that the monuments had been erected at some point before the reference and that they had been associated with the battles by that point, and occasionally gave insight to the contemporary experience and construction of the commemorative space.

### ***Commemorative Stages***

In the context of ancient Greek battle commemoration at the site of Classical battlegrounds, I recognize five different stages. The first stage is that of initial commemoration,

which includes the erection of ephemeral trophies and the disposal of the dead. The next stage is the creation of official memory, usually through durable monuments or dedications. There are points of contact and tension between these two stages, as the initial stage taps into longtime conventions of commemoration, whereas the second stage deals with its own conventions while simultaneously coming to terms with the first stage.

After the first two stages of commemoration comes the longest stage of the ancient battlefield, namely that during which the monuments, and therefore the memories, are maintained. It is in this stage that the official meanings of the place, as viewed in the monuments and other cultural practices, are updated, maintained, or curated. The commemoration within this stage is often in dialogue with the activities in the context of the battlefield itself, as well as in other places where the battle is commemorated.

Stage four is the period marked by the decay of the monuments on the field, and it is in some ways the natural outcome of the processes of the previous stages, but especially the curation and maintenance of the third stage. While the maintenance of the monuments and practices on the battlefields may lapse, I insist that the memories do not necessarily fall into the same state of dis-use. On the contrary, it is during the stage of physical decay that some of the commemorative traditions appear most starkly, indicating a robust collective memory that defies the material record. Nevertheless, at some point during stage four the fading of memories catches up to the degradation of the monuments, often manifest in literary sources by conflicting descriptions of monuments or lost elements of stories.

The fifth and final stage is of reinvigoration of memories and restoration of monuments. Often, this stage coincides with the rediscovery of monuments by travelers who were well-versed in ancient sources, attracted to the places because they still resonated to that audience. Some

places were never truly “forgotten”, such as Marathon, and so were re-incorporated sooner than others.<sup>88</sup>

There are further possible divisions within the last stage, for example the visits of Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel in the 18<sup>th</sup> century could fall into a different category than the excavations of Heinrich Schliemann in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century or the reconstructions of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Moreover, it should be noted that this study only covers reception by early travelers exclusively from Europe, and briefly at that. There are many more perspectives that would be relevant in future research; it would be especially interesting to explore sources from pre-independence Ottoman Greece, for example from the traveler writings of Evliya Çelebi.<sup>89</sup>

Consequently, I construct a general model of a battlefield biography, divided into five stages. I stress that each of these stages refers primarily to the materials that populated the battlefields, and that these physical objects were only anchorage points that allowed the persistence of collective memories that coalesced on the battlefield. It is obvious that collective memory cannot be so easily tracked with monuments as physical indices, however, and I will strive to give as much complementary evidence for memory as possible, in the form of literary references, inscriptions, and other archaeological data.

The complexity of the commemorative networks, influenced by numerous factors, prohibits a similar approach for sanctuary and city spaces. Nevertheless, the changes in these spaces, likely undertaken for the commemoration of particular battles, can be striking.<sup>90</sup> The commemorative stages of the battlefield can be a proxy for similar activities that occurred in

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<sup>88</sup> Gehrke 2007; Gehrke 2009.

<sup>89</sup> See Neumeier 2017.

<sup>90</sup> For example, in the fifth century BCE the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis was reoriented so that it literally framed the island of Salamis (Martin-McAuliffe and Papadopoulos 2012).

other spaces. In this study, I highlight connections between the spaces of the battlefields and city or sanctuaries, through the lens of the battlefield biography.

### **Baseline Expectations of Commemorations**

There are many studies on the commemoration of battles, especially those of the Persian War.<sup>91</sup> As some scholars note, many of these studies produce general perceptions of what occurred after a battle was fought. The following introduces typical commemorations that occurred on a battlefield, in a sanctuary, and in a city. For the sake of simplicity, I present a largely synchronic perspective here, and only hint at the diachronic approach of the rest of the study.

### ***Burials, Trophies, and Commemoration on the Battlefield***

In studying the commemorative activities on battlefields, several practices become clear. The first regards the treatment of the dead, namely whether or not there were battlefield burials. The dead were handled in some way, even if there are no explicit literary sources that detail the practice or extant physical evidence.<sup>92</sup> There are some assumptions among scholars based on ancient literary sources.<sup>93</sup> After the battle ended, the victors and vanquished acted out different roles. The victors had control over the field, including the corpses of the dead and their

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<sup>91</sup> Some example sources on the commemoration of ancient warfare: Pritchett 1971, 1974, 1979, 1985, 1991; De Souza and Heckel 2004; Rees 2016; Low, Oliver, and Rhodes 2012; Howe, Müller and Stoneman 2017; Giangiulia, Franchi, and Proietti 2019. On the monuments of the Persian Wars: West 1966; Duffy 2016, 2018; Yates 2020.

<sup>92</sup> Although Kucewicz 2020 suggests that the dead were sometimes left on the field, especially in the Archaic period.

<sup>93</sup> Krentz 2007, 173-176, based largely on Pritchett's *Greek State at War* series (Pritchett 1971, 1974, 1979, 1985, 1991).

respective weapons and belongings. Thus, in order to collect their dead, the vanquished “admitted defeat by formally requesting a truce.”<sup>94</sup> The dead were then collected and cared for, based on the traditions of their respective poleis.<sup>95</sup>

A trophy is depicted on a red-figure *pelike* painted by the Trophy Painter between 475-425 BCE (**Figure 1.1**),<sup>96</sup> and it seems that representations of trophies in vase paintings only begin in the middle of the fifth century.<sup>97</sup> Based on these depictions, it is possible to reconstruct the usual form of the fifth-century trophy as an anthropomorphized tree or stump, with attached armor and weapons. A trophy may be depicted on a black-figure fragment dated to 500-480 BCE,<sup>98</sup> but only a shield is clearly visible (**Figure 1.2**).

The trophy is an interesting feature of commemorative practice of victory in Greece. The exact genesis of the tradition is debated; it is possible that these had some religious function as an apotropaic manikin,<sup>99</sup> but it is generally agreed that the word comes from *τροπή* “rout” and *τρέπω* “to turn,” and so it is assumed that the trophy marked the site where the battle turned in favor of the eventual victor, as a memorial to the rout.<sup>100</sup> The trophy thus has a spatial component, which marks a specific location on the battlefield.

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<sup>94</sup> Krentz 2007, 173.

<sup>95</sup> See Kurtz and Boardman 1971, especially 247-259; Pritchett 1985, especially 153-234 and 249-256.

<sup>96</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 20.187; *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 857.2; *Beazley Archive Pottery Database* 212473.

<sup>97</sup> Caskey and Beazley 1963, 67.

<sup>98</sup> Göttingen, Georg-August-Universität; *Beazley Archive Pottery Database* 9032606; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* Inv.K.306.

<sup>99</sup> Such as the Gorgoneion shield device in Figure 1.2; Picard 1957; Pritchett (1971, 248) disagrees.

<sup>100</sup> Pritchett 1974, 252.

The Greek word has a specific meaning, so it is necessary to be careful with what is called a trophy. Several scholars have attributed the first mention to a work called the *Batrachomyomachia*, or “Battle of the Frogs and Mice”,<sup>101</sup> but the dating of this work is variously attributed to Homer or to Pigres of Halikarnassos, who was a near contemporary of Herodotus.<sup>102</sup> Given that *τρόπαιον* does not occur otherwise in Homer, I think a later author is more likely, possibly the Pigres that Plutarch cites.

Kendrick Pritchett argues that the earliest example of a trophy occurs in the Doloneia,<sup>103</sup> but the term is never mentioned in the text. Instead, Odysseus sets aside spoils that he offered to Athena:

ὥς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὑψόσ' αἰείρας  
 θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρικήν· δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκε  
 συμμάρψας δόνακας μυρίκης τ' ἐριθηλέας ὄζους.

So he [Odysseus] spoke, and lifting high from him [Dolon]  
 He placed [the spoils] on a tamarisk shrub: he made a clear sign,  
 Gathering reeds and flourishing bunches of tamarisk.

-*Iliad* 10.465-467

Instead of *τρόπαιον*, the language is of booty and stripping, and Athena is given the epithet *ληϊτις*, “she who dispenses booty.”<sup>104</sup> This highlights the difficulty of the term “trophy”, especially when used by English-speaking scholars. But even in antiquity, the definition of the trophy changed over time, depending on the cultural context. After emerging in the Classical period probably in the fifth century BCE, the practice was well established into the Hellenistic

<sup>101</sup> Line 59; Woelcke 1911, 131; Picard 1957, 22; Janssen 1957, 30. Hosty 2020.

<sup>102</sup> Plutarch *De Herodoti Malignitate* 43.

<sup>103</sup> Pritchett 1974, 249.

<sup>104</sup> There is a whole vocabulary of booty, but none of these words mean *τρόπαιον*. The closest association is probably *σκῦλα*, or “the arms stripped from a slain enemy,” but it is likely that there are other instances where “booty” can refer to elements of a trophy. See Pritchett 1991. It should also be noted that *τρόπαιον* would not fit into dactylic hexameters, and thus we would not expect to find it in epic poetry.

period. The trophy survived into the Roman period as well, but with new traditions and associations,<sup>105</sup> among the most prominent of which in Greek lands was the Victory Monument of Augustus at Actium.<sup>106</sup>

Raising durable monuments or structures is a practice often associated with the trophy. Sometimes, these are replacements of the ephemeral trophies, but not always. In some cases, later trophy monuments are the first such monuments on the field, not as replacements, but rather as commemorations meant to resonate with a different audience. For example, the stone lion monument at Chaironeia was variously considered a trophy in the first century BCE (Diodorus Siculus 16.85-87), a non-trophy in the second century CE (Pausanias 9.40), and a trophy again by the fourth century CE (Libanius *Progymnasmata* 9.3.13) and later.<sup>107</sup> Other monuments can embellish previous commemorations on the field, such as inscribed stelai around burials or later enclosures that reorganized the space.

Festivals, processions, and other non-durable activities are a third mnemonic practice that occurred on battlefields. These are usually associated with honoring those that had participated and/or died in the battle, and often centered around burials. They are often organized by the city or large group, but there are examples of individualized activities of this type. Messages and dispatches from the field announcing the outcome of the battle would be part of this category. Even if there are only isolated evidence of these types of commemoration, most are considered to have been iterative events.

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<sup>105</sup> Rabe 2008; Kinnee 2018.

<sup>106</sup> Zachos 2003.

<sup>107</sup> See Chapter 4.

Although these practices can happen at any stage in the biography of the battlefield, interesting patterns emerge. The erection of ephemeral trophies and the burials of the war dead tend to occur in the first stage. Both of these patterns make sense logically, as the trophy symbolically marked the end of the fighting and the claim of victory, while the disposal of the war dead was the most pressing issue once the fighting stopped. In this commemorative stage, both general Greek cultural norms as well as the norms of respective poleis are observed. It is also in this stage that we see the development of several norms that become well established through time, such as the ephemeral trophy and the Athenian funeral speech for the fallen war dead. Moreover, and perhaps because these patterns were well established, there are several examples in which the expectations of the trophy and the immediate burial are challenged.

The second and third stages of commemoration, during which deliberate memories are established and maintained, are characterized by durable monuments, the initiation of games, festivals and other periodic trips to the sites, as well as the recording of the battle in literary sources. For both of these stages, monuments serve as analogs for the creation and curation of memories within the physical commemorative network, and the third stage is especially characterized by the build-up of monuments on the field. Inscriptions and literary sources give us evidence of periodic trips to the site.

### ***Dedications, Offerings, and Commemoration in Sanctuaries***

In addition to religious and cult activities, sanctuaries were important spaces for communication and interaction, usually mediated visually through dedications and offerings (**Map 1.3**). These patterns varied over time and were also dependent on other dynamics within the spaces.



Some regional sanctuaries received commemorations for Classical battles, such as Rhamnous or Sounion in Attika, or Livadia in Boiotia. The types of mnemonic activities in these spaces depended on the participants in the various battles; for example, it is unlikely that an Athenian victory/loss would be registered in a Boiotian sanctuary, especially if there were no Boiotians involved in the conflict. There is not much physical evidence from these regional sanctuaries that connects monuments and dedications to specific events, and most of the data comes from literary sources. Nevertheless, the physical locations of the sanctuaries in space are significant, as they were important in the articulation of a city's territorial claims.<sup>108</sup>

Large interstate sanctuaries, often called “Panhellenic” sanctuaries, frequently received commemorations of Classical battles. The commemorations came in the form of building or monument construction, or the dedications of arms, armor, or other booty. The best-known interstate sanctuaries are those of Apollo at Delphi and of Zeus at Olympia, and there are numerous studies of military monuments at both sites.<sup>109</sup>

### ***Thank Offerings, Rhetorical Maneuvering, and Commemoration in Cities***

The outcome of battle spurred different actions in city spaces (**Map 1.4**). In the immediate aftermath, a battle could cause elation and celebration, or panic and the adoption of further defenses, depending on whether a side was victorious or defeated. The reactions were caused by the reception of news from the field, which were the first connections between the battlefield and the city space.

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<sup>108</sup> De Polignac 1995.

<sup>109</sup> E.g., at both Delphi and Olympia: Morgan 1990, Scott 2010; at Delphi: Jacquemin 1999, Scott 2014, Bommelaer and Laroche 2015; at Olympia: Mallwitz 1972.

There is no firsthand evidence of these initial reactions, but instead there are later literary accounts that indicate what the atmosphere in the city had been at the time of the battle. By themselves, the reactions are not exactly commemorations, but the later recollections in literary sources are. In Athens, orations and speeches sometimes accuse individuals of cowardice, but other times celebrate bravery.<sup>110</sup>

Cities would also receive dedications, whether in the form of sacrifices and other iterative events, the consecration of weapons and booty, or the funding of other building activities. In some instances, these had been vowed prior to the battle, in which case the activity has connections with the battlefield space. In other cases, the activities were simply a celebration and thanksgiving for victory.

## **Outline**

This study is divided into seven chapters. After this introduction, three chapters focusing on the battlefields of the case studies follow. In these, I analyze the material and literary evidence of the various commemorative practices, which I then organize into one of the stages of commemoration. The section begins with an analysis of the battlefield of Marathon. Because this battle was fought first in time, it not only experienced the first commemorations, but also set the expectations for commemoration in different spaces. This chapter concludes with a comparison between Marathon and the other battlefields of the Persian Wars.

The chapter on the battlefield of Leuktra follows. This chapter is structured in the same way as the previous one, but includes a discussion of, and comparison between, the commemorations exhibited at Marathon and Leuktra. The battlefield analyses end with a chapter

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<sup>110</sup> For example, both victory (Salamis) and defeat (Chaironeia) prompted increased defense in Athens.

on the battlefield of Chaironeia, in which the commemorative practices are organized, then ultimately compared to the respective commemorations at Marathon and Leuktra.

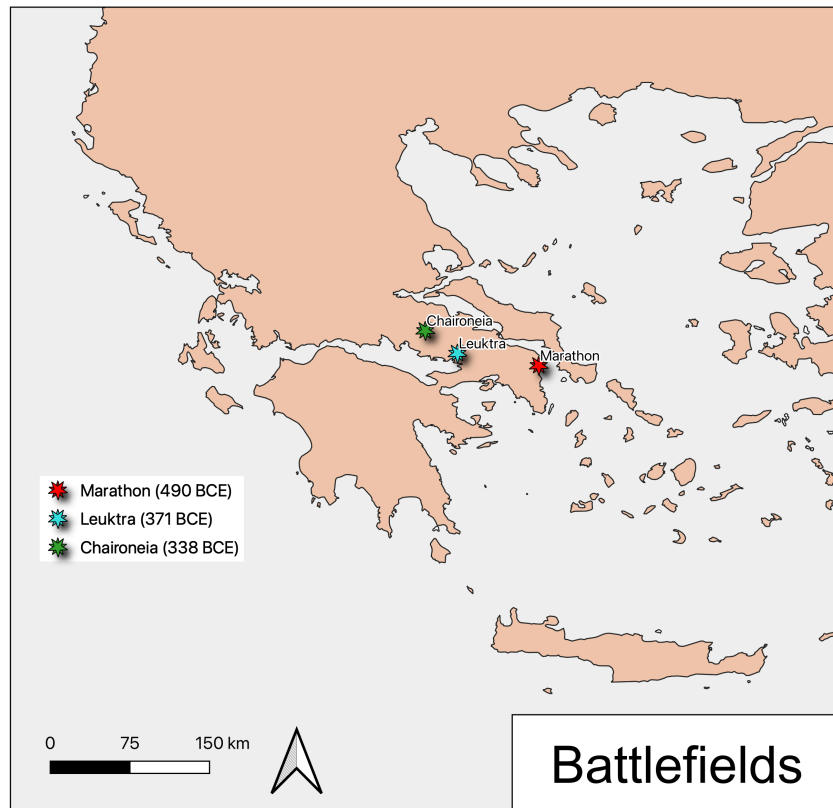
After the three chapters analyzing battlefield spaces, a chapter on the commemoration in Greek sanctuaries follows. Comparing commemoration of the same three battles is of interest, and I analyze the diachronic changes in the sanctuary spaces with regard to the various monuments. Sanctuaries of various capacity are included, from smaller regional sanctuaries like Rhamnous in Attika to large interstate sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia. Discussion of religious spaces within cities are not included but are reserved for the next chapter.

The final chapter covers the commemoration of these battles in city spaces. Athens and Thebes are considered because their citizens participated in many of the battles. Other scenarios, such as when there are reports of a city receiving a garrison after a battle, are also considered in this chapter. Sanctuaries and religious spaces within cities are included here.

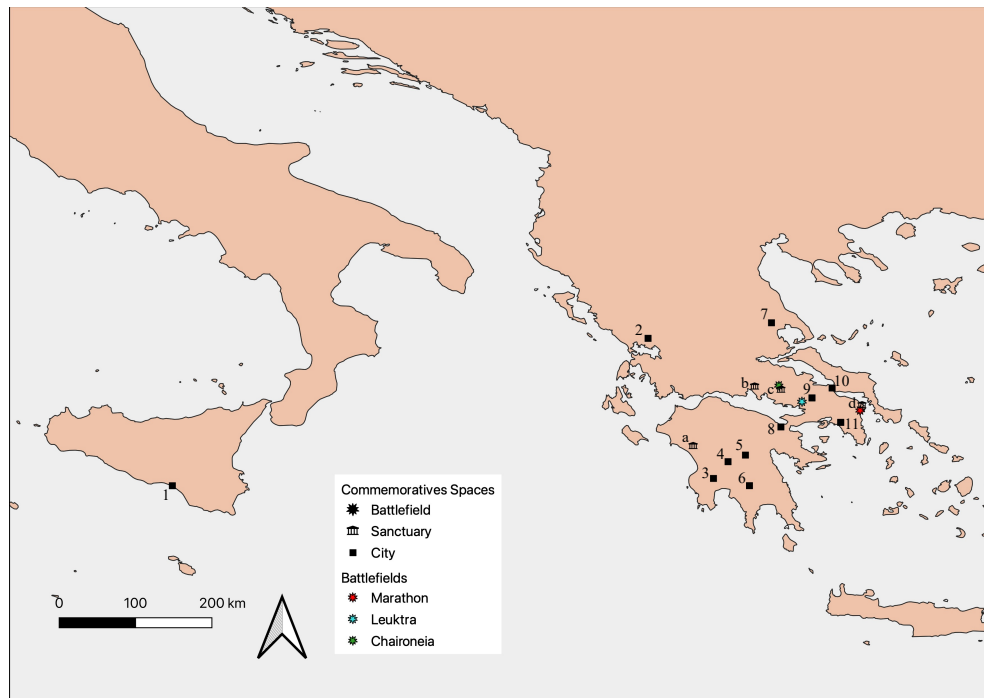
The conclusion summarizes the discoveries of the study and presents possible future research. The project has several conclusions. First, the commemoration of a battle can be divided into stages, but the stages are not always discrete. Each stage is manifested in the experience of single commemorations, but also in combination with surrounding commemorations, so there are no distinct chronological endpoints to the respective stages. Secondly, there is variation in the types of commemorations within stages, dependent on both time and surrounding space. Thirdly, single commemorations can resonate differently with multiple audiences. Fourthly, the processes within the stage of memory curation led to the subsequent lapse. Lastly, the final stage of commemoration for each battle begins with the rediscovery of ancient monuments and continues to this day.

## Maps

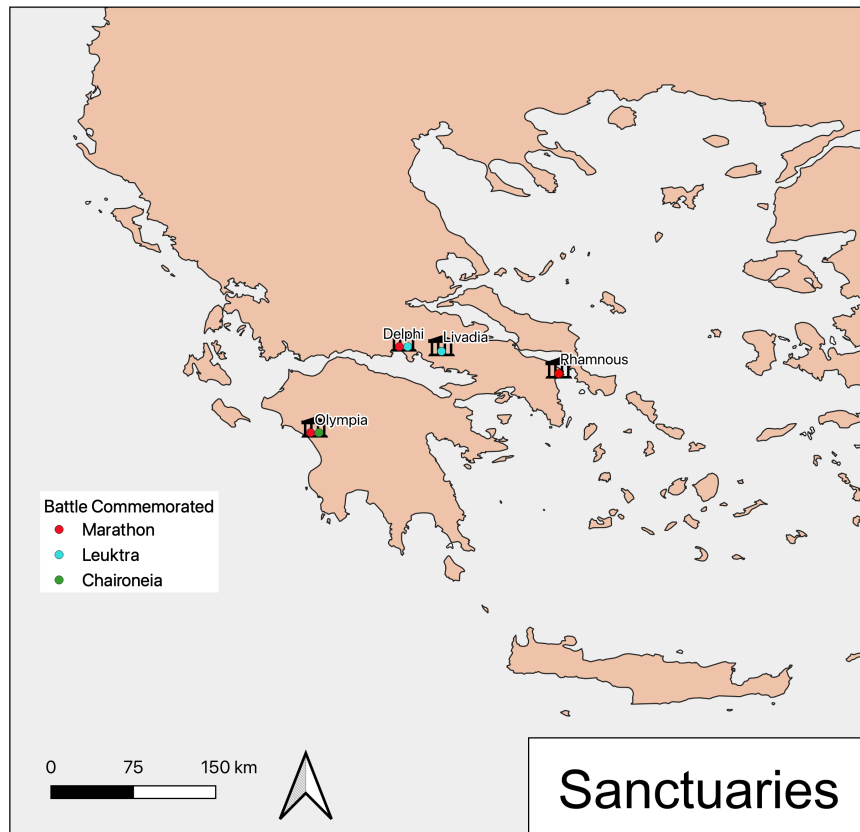
(All maps are my own, unless otherwise noted)



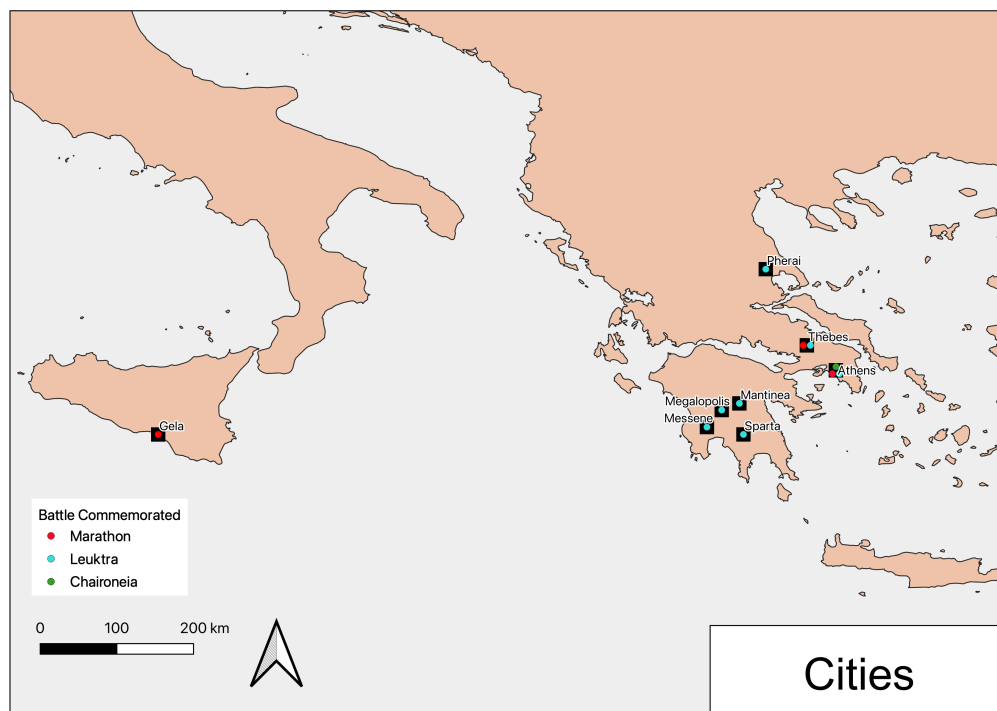
Map 1.1: Case Studies/Battlefield Spaces in Study



Map 3.2: Spaces in Study. 1. Gela, 2. Ambrakia, 3. Messene, 4. Megalopolis, 5. Mantinea, 6. Sparta, 7. Pherai, 8. Corinth, 9. Thebes, 10. Chalkis, 11. Athens; a. Olympia, b. Delphi, c. Livadia, d. Rhamnous.



Map 5.3: Sanctuary Spaces (outside cities) in Study



Map 7.4: City Spaces in Study

## Figures



Figure 0.1 Nike erecting a trophy, by the Trophy Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 20.187; ARV2 857.2; BAPD 212473.



Figure 0.2 Black-Figure fragment with shield decoration. Göttingen, Georg-August-Universität; BAPD 9032606; CVA Inv.K.306.

## Chapter Two: The Battlefield of Marathon

The field of Marathon is the site of a famous battle in 490 BCE between the Persians under the rule of King Darius II and led by the general Datis, and Athens with its Plataian allies, led by the Athenian general Miltiades. For most of its existence as a place, however, the Marathon plain was not just a battlefield. It was also a marshy plain that marked the limit of Athenian lands since the Archaic period, an archaic city space, a prehistoric burial space, as well as a space of many sanctuaries.

Geographically, Marathon is a flood plain in northeast Attika, on the coast of the Euboean gulf beyond Mt. Pentele (**Map 2.1; Figure 2.1, 2.2**). This region of Attika was wet in antiquity, and in fact was marshy until relatively recently with the construction of the Marathon Dam in the early 20th century.<sup>1</sup> The dampness of Marathon was well-established fact in antiquity, from fifth-century sources like Herodotus<sup>2</sup> and Aristophanes,<sup>3</sup> fourth-century texts from Aristotle<sup>4</sup> and Theophrastos,<sup>5</sup> and into the second century CE with Pausanias.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the plain could also be good for horses, according to both Herodotus<sup>7</sup> and the poet of old comedy Kratinos.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The dam was built by the American company Ulen and Company in the 1920s, after various stages of planning since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. See below and Kaika 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus 6.102-132.

<sup>3</sup> Aristophanes *Birds*, line 246. Marathon is one of the places of the birds, and it is all damp with dew.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle *History of Animals* 569b. Aristotle compares the marshes of Marathon and Salamis, saying that both are good for fishing.

<sup>5</sup> Theophrastos *Historia Plantarum* 9.13. Theophrastos compares the marshes of Marathon to the area around Orchomenos, with no interest in the battle itself.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias 1.32.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus 6.102-132

<sup>8</sup> Kratinos fr. 180.



In addition to the marshy environment, there are other notable facts about Marathon and the plain that are only loosely associated with the battle at best. Some predate the battle of 490 BCE, and others are several centuries later. The deme center and the association with Athens itself goes back to the time of Homer. The poet ties Marathon to Athens in Book Seven of the *Odyssey*:

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον, λίπε δὲ Σχερίην ἐρατεινήν,  
 ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγνιαν Ἀθήνην,  
 δύνε δ' Ἐρεχθίδος πυκινὸν δόμον... 80

After speaking thus, bright-eyed Athena departed  
 Over the barren sea, and left lovely Scheria,  
 And she came to Marathon and the wide-street'd Athens,  
 And entered the well-built house of Erechtheus... 80

-*Odyssey* 7.78-81.

The wording of the poem indicates the plain of Marathon was considered Athenian. In the poet's imagination, Marathon was the very limit of Athenian territory as well as its entry point, as the goddess progressed from the outer edge of Athens, into the city itself, and finally into its mythological core. According to the epic tradition, Marathon was considered part of Athenian territory at least since the composition of the poem.

It is not surprising that there are a considerable number of historical and mythological stories about Marathon. Mythologically, Marathon became a deme under the organization of Attika by Theseus.<sup>9</sup> As the story goes, the deme was actually a collection of four places: Marathon, Probalynthos, Trikorynthos, and Oinoe.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently, the myth was incorporated in the Athenian construction of its own history, to the point that many modern scholars accept the story on its own merits, rather than as a fragment of received history.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Thucydides 2.15; Goušchin 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Lolling 1876, 67; Rihll 1986, 255; Van Gelder 1991, 61.

<sup>11</sup> See Van Gelder 1991, 61.

The location of the deme center, however, has been difficult to establish archaeologically.<sup>12</sup> There are ongoing debates between scholars who argue for the foothills where modern Marathonas sits<sup>13</sup> and for the center of the plain itself, perhaps near Plasi.<sup>14</sup> Further exploration of the site will address this question, such as the current excavation project by the University of Athens.<sup>15</sup> Besides the deme center, there are several other archaeological sites within the plain. These include the prehistoric tombs at Vrana<sup>16</sup> and Tsepi,<sup>17</sup> a sanctuary to the Egyptian gods at Brexiza,<sup>18</sup> and the results of recent excavations by the University of Athens at Plasi<sup>19</sup> (**Map 2.2**). All of these layers shaped the overall space of the field of Marathon, including the network of commemorations of the ancient battle.

Beyond its long history, Marathon is probably best known today for the above-mentioned battle of 490 BCE. While short accounts of the battle survive in several ancient sources,<sup>20</sup> the first and most well-known comes from Book Six of Herodotus' *Histories*.<sup>21</sup> According to this account, the Athenians were greatly outnumbered and largely without allies, but nevertheless were able to defeat the large army amassed by Persia while only suffering 192 Athenian

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<sup>12</sup> Vanderpool 1966b, 319.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Leake 1829; Lolling 1876.

<sup>14</sup> See Weber 2010. For recent excavations, see Banou 2006.

<sup>15</sup> For current excavations since 2014, see project website:  
<<http://www.marathonexcavations.arch.uoa.gr/index.php>.>

<sup>16</sup> Marinatos 1970a, 1970b.

<sup>17</sup> Marinatos 1970a, 1970b; Petrakos 1996; Pantelidou Gkophia 2005; Oikonomakou 2010; Kapetanios 2010.

<sup>18</sup> For recent excavations, see Dekoulakou 2015.

<sup>19</sup> *Supra* n. 14.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., Ktesias *Persika* 12 (F. 13). Ktesias merely mentions that the Persian army was stopped at Marathon.

<sup>21</sup> Herodotus 6. For more on Herodotus, see below.

casualties. Herodotus makes no further mention of the war-dead in his narration of the events surrounding the battle, which quickly proceeds to the story of the rushed march of the remaining Athenian army back to Athens to secure the city against a second attack by the now-depleted Persian force. Neither does Herodotus' narrative return to the battlefield to describe the other commemorations that occurred on the battlefield itself. Instead, the battlefield at Marathon was left to lie fallow, and the historical potency of the space was left to the imagination and/or prior knowledge of the ancient audience.

Herodotus' silence on the commemorations on the battlefield is not corroborated either by the archaeological record, nor by later authors. In fact, it is possible to reconstruct the commemorative network through archaeological remains on the field, including tombs, monuments, and inscriptional evidence, as well as later accounts of both ancient and modern authors. Through a diachronic approach to these various lines of evidence, the space of the battlefield and the commemorative field itself can be defined and examined.

As previously outlined,<sup>22</sup> the five broad stages of commemoration are recognizable at the battlefield of Marathon. The initial, stage one monuments were placed soon after the battle itself. Likewise, there were ephemeral practices of commemoration that leave no material trace, such as the collection of the dead and the stripping of arms and armor. By my estimation, there are only a few monuments that belong to this stage, and all of them are burials. There are more examples of the second, more official stage of commemoration. This not only includes the erection of the marble column monument, but also the incorporation of earlier monuments into subsequent dedications or funerary games, as well as the establishment of versions of the story by ancient historians. The developments of the next three stages centered around the *soros* and the trophy,

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<sup>22</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 22-25.

as the collected memories developed, lapsed, and were eventually recovered in the respective stages (**Map 2.3**). In what follows, I describe the commemorative activities within the space of Marathon during each of the life stages, with emphasis on the changes in commemorative space. In addition to monuments, I include commemorations that are only known indirectly, whether in ancient literary sources, inscriptions, or by inference.

A pattern emerged throughout the stages, namely that there are two foci of monumental activity on the field that were consistently referenced by subsequent commemorations. The first is the *soros*, which is a burial mound or tumulus that has long been connected with the 192 Athenian dead of the battle. The second is a marble column monument that is also associated with the battle, sometimes called a trophy. While the construction dates for these monuments are in question, both were lasting and visible monuments on the field, and so became focal points within the commemorative network of Marathon and readily available foils for later commemorative activities. Through the centuries after their initial constructions, these monuments bent space around them, creating a commemorative place that, in the words of Merleau-Ponty,<sup>23</sup> could be populated and dwelt in for generations to come.

## Previous Scholarship

Marathon has garnered so much attention in the millennia after 490 BCE, that it is difficult to list the many contributions to its study. Among many options, scholars have approached the battle of Marathon in terms of ancient literature, history, politics, epigraphy, and archaeology.<sup>24</sup> A recent conference and associated volume for the 2,500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the

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<sup>23</sup> Merleau-Ponty 1962.

<sup>24</sup> For example, Krentz 2010b.

battle spanned many topics and receptions of the battle.<sup>25</sup> The scope and breadth of the study is fitting for such a paradigmatic event.

Several scholars, and the trends they represent, that have greatly influenced the study of the battlefield at Marathon. W. Kendrick Pritchett approached the battle in terms of topography.<sup>26</sup> In his work, Pritchett identified many of the monuments that are of interest, as well as provided the literary background and *testimonia*. The main shortcoming of this approach, however, is that the monuments themselves are taken to prove elements of the history, rendering the battlefield flat and timeless.

Eugene Vanderpool also researched the battlefield of Marathon.<sup>27</sup> Vanderpool was a contemporary of Pritchett, and he often accompanied the topographer on trips to Marathon. Instead of focusing on the topography, however, Vanderpool made detailed studies of the monuments themselves. Vanderpool had a good eye for the chronology of the monuments, and so introduced some depth into the study of Marathon. Several scholars have subsequently taken on this approach of close inspection and autopsy of ancient monuments, including Luigi Beschi<sup>28</sup> and Manolis Korres.<sup>29</sup>

Around the same time as Pritchett and Vanderpool, William Custis West III completed his study on the Greek monuments of the Persian Wars.<sup>30</sup> In his dissertation, West created a catalog of the many ways that the Persian wars were commemorated, compiled from literary

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<sup>25</sup> Carey and Edwards (eds.) 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Pritchett 1960, 1965a.

<sup>27</sup> Vanderpool 1966a, 1967, 1969.

<sup>28</sup> Beschi 2002.

<sup>29</sup> Korres 2017.

<sup>30</sup> West 1966.

sources and archaeological material. West's work included monuments for all of the Persian war battles, no matter where they were dedicated. This allowed comparisons of monuments across time and space. Like Pritchett and Vanderpool, West's work largely rested on the literary record, and he sought to prove history through archaeological evidence.

Recently, scholars have studied Marathon with an interest in space and memory. Xavier Sean Duffy<sup>31</sup> complemented West's catalog with analyses of the types of monuments and spaces that they inhabited. Michael Jung<sup>32</sup> took a spatial and commemorative approach to the field, using the monuments to reconstruct Marathon as a *lieu de mémoire*, ultimately comparing the field to Plataia.

My approach follows the works of Pritchett, Vanderpool, West, Beschi, and Korres in focusing on topography and monuments, but in combination with the recent spatial interests emphasized by Duffy and Jung. In addition to theories of space and place developed by Henri Lefebvre and Yi-Fu Tuan, as well as theories of experience and phenomenology as defined by Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Michel de Certeau, I apply a lens of landscape biography that works particularly well in the dynamic space of a battlefield. It is a simple approach that takes into account the long lifespans of battlefields as spaces that change through time and allows different theoretical perspectives to be applied at individual stages.

Through the biography perspective, I avoid complex issues regarding the application of specific terms and ideas in the study of ancient contexts, in particular Pierre Nora's concept of

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<sup>31</sup> Duffy 2016.

<sup>32</sup> Jung 2006. Jung's approach is similar to Susan Alcock, who briefly discusses Marathon in Alcock 2002.

*lieux de mémoire*, which is very instructive, but common in recent scholarship and perhaps can be applied too readily.<sup>33</sup> Thus, I use “space” or “place”, rather than “*lieu*” or “*milieu*”.

### **Stage One: Initial Commemoration in the years immediately after 490 BCE**

There are limits to the extant ancient sources on the battle of Marathon. Herodotus is the nearest contemporary author to detail the battle, but he composed his histories half-a-century later. Herodotus’ description of the battle of Marathon was itself a commemoration of a later stage,<sup>34</sup> but it was neither an initial account nor does it describe monuments of the first stage. Moreover, his reporting of the monuments was sparse. He does not mention any of the burials on the field, but instead, he gives the numbers of the dead--192 Athenians, 6,400 foreign *Barbaroi*--and that the Spartans desired to see the slain Medes.<sup>35</sup> Neither did he describe other monuments on the field.

#### *Mnemonic Practices on the Field*

Although authors after Herodotus discussed the monuments on the field--specifically two burials on the field, called the *soros* and the Tomb of the Plataians, and the marble trophy--and tried to forge connections to the period soon after the battle,<sup>36</sup> there is no other contemporary evidence that corroborates the connections. On the contrary, the archaeological record indicates

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<sup>33</sup> For example, see Yates 2020, 18-19; Arrington (2012) is critical of easy adaptations of Nora’s theory to the ancient Greek world. According to Arrington, Nora’s *lieux* often are not applied as terminology that Nora intended, but rather as synonyms for physical space. With the limited definition, Arrington says that one loses the “persons, texts, songs, natural features, and so forth” that were also included in Nora’s formulation of *lieux*.

<sup>34</sup> See below, stages two and three.

<sup>35</sup> Herodotus 6.117-120. Jung 2013 elaborates on this scene, claiming that it was an extension of rhetorical practices, particularly the *epitaphioi logoi*, that were contemporary with Herodotus.

<sup>36</sup> See below.

that the monuments were not erected in this period, but instead either predated 490 BCE by several generations, or postdated by decades.

Of the many commemorations of the battle of Marathon, only the practice of processing the slain can surely be categorized as initial. The commemorative activities associated with the dead left few visible traces in the material record, but we know that they occurred based on other evidence. This would be the collection of the dead and the stripping of the arms and armor, which we know by (later) literary sources and from the fact that spoils were both dedicated in sanctuaries and used to fund other dedications.<sup>37</sup> On the one hand, these activities were necessary reactions to pressing needs and realities on the field itself. On the other hand, they fit into long established patterns of commemorations in Greece. Regardless, many of the initial activities were not monumental and made little lasting impact on the battlefield.

There is no direct evidence as to how the Athenians processed the corpses on the field and how the practice was manifest on the battlefield, but perhaps we see the seeds of the later battlefield trophy through secondary evidence. There was no battlefield trophy, but it is generally accepted that the weapons and armor of the slain were collected following victory. Literary references to spoils and other inscriptional evidence from Delphi and Olympia indicate that at least a portion of the weapons and armor of the fallen Persian army was collected and dedicated as a tithe from the victory.<sup>38</sup> Actual dedications of helmets from Marathon have been excavated at the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, complete with inscriptions and evidence of display.<sup>39</sup> These dedications stood in the sanctuary as physical representations of victory at the battlefield,

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<sup>37</sup> Such as the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (see Chapter 5, pp. 267-269 and **Figure 5.6**) and the Athena Promachos statue on the Athenian Acropolis (see Chapter 6).

<sup>38</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter 5, pp. 256-265. The best example is an inscribed helmet from Olympia (**B 2600**), a dedication from Miltiades.



granting access to the space of Marathon in the imagination. At the same time, the display of spoils suggests pious and responsible treatment of the war dead, presumably following common burial traditions.

In contrast, a Corinthian helmet with associated skull fragments may have been excavated at the field, although its provenance is uncertain.<sup>40</sup> The helmet was probably not put on display in antiquity, as there are no punctured holes for suspension and its damage appears to come from age.<sup>41</sup> The associated skull fragments further decrease the possibility that the items were displayed. If these were really from the battle of 490 BCE, then they are evidence that not all of the arms and armor were collected following the victory, thus problematizing the accepted scholarly reconstructions of the treatment of the dead on the field. Combined with the secondary evidence that indicates the collection and despoiling of corpses, the helmet and skull fragments may indicate that there were differential treatments of the many corpses, and perhaps that the processing of the dead was more intensive than simply stripping the bodies and depositing them in mass graves. Nevertheless, none of this provides evidence of an initial trophy monument in the immediate aftermath of the battle. Instead, this is indirect evidence of an initial ritual commemorative practice, as the survivors gave varying degrees of attention to the processing of the dead.

Besides the largely undetectable practices surrounding the disposing of the dead, there are three monuments that may be associated with the initial stage of commemoration of the battle of Marathon: the battlefield trophy, the *soros*, and the Tomb of the Plataians. It is unsurprising

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<sup>40</sup> See De Vivo 2013, 65-66 n. 173. The helmet and skull fragments are in the Royal Ontario Museum, respectively accession nos. 926.19.3 and 926.19.5.

<sup>41</sup> "Corinthian Type Helmet", Object number 926.19.3, Royal Ontario Museum, <<https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/523779/corinthian-type-helmet?ctx=cb646366-0a96-4b15-a9dd-7624e2096527&idx=0>>

that there are only a few monuments of this stage for a few reasons. If we accept the account of Herodotus and assume that the victory was unexpected and precipitated a hurried retreat to Athens to protect the city proper from the remnants of the Persian army, then any monuments would have been raised in trying times. Of course, the victorious Athenians could have returned to the field and raised monuments soon after, but it does not appear that they did so. In addition, the lack of monuments may reflect the pivotal place of Marathon in the chronological development of battlefield commemoration, as several scholars have argued.<sup>42</sup> Although the victory was extremely important to Athens in the years after 490 BCE, extensive commemoration on the field would have been unprecedented as there is little evidence of any previous battlefield commemorations outside of ancient sources.<sup>43</sup> The trophy and burial mounds, however, do not have unassailable connections to the battle itself, as critical analyses of the archaeological record and ancient sources show.

While the erection of a trophy was a common practice in Greek warfare during and after the fifth century, the practice is not attested as early as the battle of Marathon. There is little literary evidence for such monuments; a search of the *TLG* for variations of the word *tropaion* (τροπαῖον) yields 3,906 instances, but the earliest appears in Aeschylus' in *Seven Against Thebes* from the 460s BCE.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, mentions of trophy monuments are completely absent in Herodotus' histories, but become very common in the historical accounts of Thucydides and later historians.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> E.g., Lissarrague 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Although there are examples of monuments that commemorate earlier battles.

<sup>44</sup> There is an instance of τροπαιοῦχος ("trophy-bearing") in Aesop's fables (fable 20, line 8), maybe from the sixth century BCE.

Nor is there any direct physical evidence of an initial trophy in the years after the battle of Marathon. The later trophy monuments, as attested by ancient authors, would generally belong to the initial commemoration on a battlefield, and as a rule were ephemeral and not made to last, merely marking the spot where the tide of battle “turned” to the victors.<sup>46</sup> Following this later practice, it is possible that there was an initial trophy at Marathon that has left no physical or literary trace. The existence of an ephemeral trophy is entirely conjectural, however.

There are remains of a marble column monument that surely belongs to a later stage of commemoration sometime in the middle of the fifth century, as it was erected as early as the 460s.<sup>47</sup> Some argue that this column is evidence of monumentalization of the first trophy,<sup>48</sup> although this is purely conjecture again.<sup>49</sup> The date and function would certainly be more fitting for an official monument in the second stage of commemoration. There is no reason to assume, however, that it was a replacement of an ephemeral trophy, especially in light of the absence of trophies before the second quarter of the century. It is more likely that the column monument was set up as a primary dedication in the decades after the battle, with no material connection to the spoils from the battle itself.

After the unconfirmed trophy monument, the burials of the participants, both Greek and Persian, are the only monuments that could possibly belong to the initial stage of

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<sup>45</sup> Likewise, Pritchett (1974) lists 109 instances of trophies in historians from Thucydides to Plutarch, and Herodotus does not use the word. De Vivo (2013, 250-256) briefly discusses the trophy in Archaic Greece, and he argues that the practice is connected to despoiled armor.

<sup>46</sup> Pritchett 1974.

<sup>47</sup> Vanderpool 1966a; West 1966, 9. See below for the monument as an official commemoration of the battle.

<sup>48</sup> E.g., Vanderpool 1966a, 105; West 1966, 9.

<sup>49</sup> This interpretation is largely based on literary accounts of competition through battlefield trophies, including the later events surrounding the Leuktra monument. See Chapter 3.

commemoration. The two extant burial mounds that are often associated with the battle are the *soros* and the so-called Tomb of the Plataians. Presumably there was also a burial for the dead Persians, although today there is no monument associated with the invading army and its existence was in doubt as early as Pausanias' visit to the site in the second century CE.<sup>50</sup> The battlefield may also be the final resting place of the Persian general Datis and the Athenian polemarch Kallimachos and general Miltiades. The reference to Datis' death in the battle comes from the late-fifth to early-fourth century BCE historian Ktesias, but he makes no reference to Datis' actual grave.<sup>51</sup> Further, Ktesias' story is contradicted by Herodotus' earlier account that Datis escaped Marathon alive.<sup>52</sup> Given the contradictory sources and the lack of material corroboration, it is not possible to be certain whether there was a burial of Datis at the battlefield of Marathon.

The Athenian military leaders Kallimachos and Miltiades may also have been buried at Marathon, although there are only loose connections in the archaeological record. Kallimachos' role in the battle is known from ancient sources<sup>53</sup> and from a dedication made in his honor on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>54</sup> He was among the Greek casualties of the battle, and so was probably interred along with the other 192 casualties despite his position, as there is no evidence of a separate burial. Indeed, a ceramic funerary urn found within the *soros* has been interpreted as an urn for Kallimachos, although the interpretation is not without problems. Miltiades' role in the battle is also well known and, in addition to literary sources, he was also celebrated by many

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<sup>50</sup> Pausanias 1.32.5. The Persian dead were associated with other mounds on the field, however. See below.

<sup>51</sup> Ktesias *Persika* 12.22.

<sup>52</sup> Herodotus 6.116-118.

<sup>53</sup> Herodotus 6; Pausanias 1.15.

<sup>54</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 312-317.

monuments that were erected by his son Kimon in the decades following the battle. Miltiades' death, in the year after the battle, precludes his burial from being an initial monument to the battle, even if his tomb was eventually part of the field.

The *soros* is the largest extant burial monument on the field of Marathon (**Figure 2.3**). It is a mound that has been a focal point of commemorative activity since its creation and has been revisited several times. Simply because of the changeable nature of memories that are evoked and prompted by monuments, with each visit to the site, the commemorative space changed, if only slightly. The location has never changed, however, and the mound has been a fixture in the landscape since its original construction. This brings up two interesting questions. First, when was the mound created? And second, how has the space around the mound changed through time? Both of these questions are best approached archaeologically, supplemented by information from ancient sources.

The *soros* was a monument that commemorated the battle of Marathon, but was it an element of the initial commemoration of the battle? I argue that the monument actually resided in several of the life stages of the battlefield at Marathon, including the initial stage of commemoration. In fact, the mound was likely an earlier tumulus that was reused multiple times throughout its history, before becoming permanently associated with the battle of 490 BCE. This assertion is based on the archaeological record, literary sources, and what we know about Athenian and Attic burial customs of the early-fifth century BCE.

The excavated materials from the *soros* show many periods of deposition. Early excavations of the mound from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries CE produced evidence dating as early

as the prehistoric period and as late as the Romans.<sup>55</sup> Heinrich Schliemann excavated the mound and found some obsidian arrowheads and a blade, a half dozen small animal bones, some fragments of an Egyptian faience vessel, a prehistoric pot, and a well-cut and polished marble block. His excavation led him to conclude that the *soros* was a prehistoric monument.<sup>56</sup> Less than a decade later, Valerios Staïs' excavations broadened the temporal lifespan of the *soros*, pushing its period of use to as late as the Roman period.<sup>57</sup> The excavations revealed more arrowheads, fragments of 27 black-figure lekythoi (**Figure 2.4**), a funerary urn and ash layer that can all be associated with the Late Archaic period, as well as two Late Roman tile burials. Reviewing the corpus of excavated materials, it is clear that the life of the *soros* was not restricted to the moment of its creation, but rather that time and memory focused around it and the past, present, and future collapsed into a single place for any contemporary visitor to the field, whether in antiquity or more recently.

In addition to prehistoric and Roman finds, a lot of the evidence points to construction and activity during the Archaic period. Some of the pottery finds indicate such a date:<sup>58</sup> an amphora by Sophilos should date to the first quarter of the sixth century BCE (**Figure 2.5**),<sup>59</sup> a

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<sup>55</sup> For early explorations, largely for antiquarian rather than archaeological interests in the *soros*, see Galanakis 2011; Duffy 2016, 381-385. Both Schliemann's and Staïs' interpretations belong to the fifth commemorative stage of Marathon, see below.

<sup>56</sup> Schliemann 1884. See Hsu 2008; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Athens 1*, III, H.e, 7 pl. 11 no. 7. The pot is currently in the National Archaeological Museum, and it is variably dated to the Bronze Age or Proto-Attic. Its matte painting, ovoid body, low ring-foot and band decoration all point to a Middle or Late Helladic date, while the slightly projecting lip and semicircular handles on the shoulder are Geometric features. Based on these finds, some scholars have agreed with Schliemann that the monument should not be associated with the battle at all, but that it was more likely a burial that predated the battle by four hundred years or more.

<sup>57</sup> Staïs 1890.

<sup>58</sup> According to Rotroff (2020), the dating of late Archaic pottery, particularly the date of the introduction of red-figure, may need to be revised from c. 525 BCE to the first decade of the fourth century BCE. If this is the case, then the paucity of red-figure pottery in the *soros*, other than the kylix by Onesimos (**Figure 2.8**, see below) does not necessarily indicate that the tumulus should date to the last quarter or so of the sixth century BCE.

<sup>59</sup> Mingazzini 1975.

tripod pyxis to the third quarter of the sixth century, and a hydria to the late sixth century.<sup>60</sup> Besides the ceramic materials, the form of the *soros* points to an Archaic or earlier date, particularly the presence of offering trenches (**Figure 2.6**).<sup>61</sup> These trenches are features of tombs from the seventh to the sixth centuries BCE, at a period when burial practice shifted from inhumation to primary cremation.<sup>62</sup> Because of the offering trenches, the *soros* is similar to other tumuli in the Attic countryside, such as at Vourva (**Figure 2.7**), as well as to Archaic burials within the Kerameikos in Athens.

Besides the anachronistic artifacts and shape of the *soros*, the depositional processes that created it do not connect the monument to the battle. The layered composition of the *soros* supports incremental additions to the mound, as Schliemann noted that it consisted of alternating layers of sand and clay,<sup>63</sup> and perhaps the clay acted as sealing layers to separate deposition events, individual burials, or offerings.<sup>64</sup> With the *soros* we also see an Attic practice of constructing tombs and mounds that follow in relatively quick chronological succession at a significant location, which is also evident in the Kerameikos of Athens itself, with sequences of monumental tombs with burials that range from the Archaic to the Classical periods.<sup>65</sup> Taken all together, the easiest explanation is that the *soros* was a pre-Classical monument, probably Archaic, but that was later incorporated into the mythology of the battle of Marathon.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Hsu 2008.

<sup>61</sup> For fifth-century BCE tumuli in Attika without offering trenches, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 95-108.

<sup>62</sup> Kübler 1959; Mersch 1995; Houby-Nielsen 1996; Alexandridou 2008; Alexandridou 2011, 34-48.

<sup>63</sup> Schliemann 1884, 87; Hsu 2008, 166.

<sup>64</sup> See Papadopoulos, Bejko, and Morris (2007, 134-135) for the layered construction of a tumulus at Lofkënd in Albania; Kelp and Henry 2016.

<sup>65</sup> Ian Morris (1992, 132 and 132 n. 5) points out two “sequences of monuments”: The area around Mound G (Kübler 1973 and 1976; Clairmont 1983), and the area around Tumulus A on Peiraios St.

It is possible to connect the mound to the battle of 490 BCE, by explaining away the presence of some of the pre-Classical materials by the depositional processes that created the mound. In order to cover the burial, for instance, it is likely that soil was collected from the nearby environment, possibly accounting for the odd early sherds or arrowheads.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, the Archaic material can be categorized as heirlooms or explained by delayed tastes in the countryside.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, arguments can also explain the Archaic or Archaizing form of the burial.<sup>69</sup> It is more likely, however, that the construction of the *soros* predated the battle.

Although it likely existed before the battle, the *soros* was integrated into the commemorative framework at Marathon in due time, perhaps early enough to be an initial commemoration of the first stage. Some of the pottery finds are evidence of Classical activity, such as the many lekythoi and a red-figure kylix that has been attributed to Onesimos, which provide the firmest evidence for circa-490 BCE activity (**Figure 2.8**). These pottery finds are evidence of activity around the *soros* in the years following the battle, if not for the slain themselves, then to generally honor the ancestors on the field. The find spot of the sixth- and fifth-century pottery within a brick-lined trench in the interior of the *soros* may corroborate this interpretation. The vessels were intentionally deposited into a cavity that was dug into the earlier

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<sup>66</sup> Fromherz (2011, 391) agrees.

<sup>67</sup> Staïs 1890, 130. In an earlier examination of the *soros*, George Finlay (1839a, 392-393) is not surprised by the presence of early arrowheads, since they are found in many places in Greece. Indeed, examination of the structure of the tumulus at Lofkend in Albania has shown that prehistoric tools and objects may have been intentionally used to build and consolidate the earth of the mound (Papadopoulos, Bejko, and Morris 2007, 128). Spyropoulos (2009) takes this position even further, arguing that the mound may have been created in the second century CE, in the time of Herodes Atticus.

<sup>68</sup> Valavanis 2010; Dionysopoulos (2015) cites a lekythos from Chaironeia as *comparandum*.

<sup>69</sup> Whitley 1994.



mound. Along with the pottery, there were burnt faunal remains and other evidence of a pyre, perhaps indicating an ephemeral ritual or feast at the mound.<sup>70</sup>

Revisiting older tombs that were visible in the landscape was common in all periods of Greek history, including in the Classical period,<sup>71</sup> and the *soros*, as an important marker on the field regardless of the date of its construction, would surely have attracted attention. Even if it was not actually an early-fifth-century burial for the 192 Athenians killed during the battle against the Persians, and instead was an earlier mound that was augmented and appropriated in the fifth century and after, pyre remains in the higher levels of the *soros* indicates that the monument was modified by early Classical visitors. Whether or not this was in commemoration of the battle is difficult to confirm, but the possibility is plausible.<sup>72</sup>

The so-called Tomb of the Plataians, near the prehistoric tumuli at Vrana, is a burial mound on the field that has closer connections to the Classical period (**Figure 2.9**). Moreover, because the monument is another tumulus that could belong to the stage of initial commemoration of the battle, it grants a great point of comparison to the *soros*. Although there are differences in form and burial, the similar artifacts within the tumuli suggest commemorative activity of a similar Classical date.

The Tomb of the Plataians was an Early Classical monument, as the pottery record and the construction of the mound indicates. There are several pots excavated from within the mound that have black-glaze surfaces characteristic of the beginning of the fifth century BCE, such as a skyphos, two mesomphalic phialai, and two small vases (**Figure 2.10**).<sup>73</sup> In terms of construction

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<sup>70</sup> Staïs 1893, 53-54; Alexandridou 2008, 131-133.

<sup>71</sup> Antonaccio 1995.

<sup>72</sup> Such as what happened to tumuli on the field of Troy: Rose and Körpe 2016; Minchin 2016.

<sup>73</sup> Marinatos 1970a, 1970b.

process, it is likely that there were several levels to the mound: the bottommost layer containing 11 burials, sealed by a stone layer, followed by a “severely burnt layer of soil” that may indicate a pyre, and all capped by a mound of stones.<sup>74</sup> On the exterior of the mound, there was a small circular area, which has been interpreted as a place to make offerings to the dead.<sup>75</sup> Much like the *soros*, the Tomb appears to have been re-visited at multiple times for commemorative activity, as the place for offerings shows.

There are 11 burials in the bottom layer of the Tomb: nine inhumations that were laid in an extended position and two cremations. Some of these were marked by plain stone stelai, and one with a stele inscribed with what could be the name “APXIA<Σ>”. This is evidence that the inhabitants of the tomb were meant to be remembered, as the graves were marked and in one case named. The burial of the named individual was further emphasized with grave goods, as the burial contained one of the few grave goods found in the mound, a bowl and a kotyle with a brown-reddish friable surface (**Figure 2.11**).

The Tomb of the Plataians and the *soros* differed in their locations, form, the way they were respectively constructed, and the burials they contained. The *soros* was part of and influenced by the local surroundings and the history of the area. At the time of its construction, it was not the only tomb on the field; there are prehistoric burials at Tsepi and Vrana, which housed other graves that marked the borders of the Marathon plain geographically and temporally.<sup>76</sup> They were opposite the sea and at the western edges of the Marathon plain,

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<sup>74</sup> Marinatos 1970a, 1970b; Hammond 1968, 148. The evidence for a cremation level is scant, though, and I am not completely convinced that there was a layer of cremation. In the ashy layer there were the remains of burnt bones of small birds and animals, which may indicate a funeral pyre, but no evidence of human cremation.

<sup>75</sup> Hammond 1968, 148.

<sup>76</sup> Those at Tsepi date to the Bronze Age, with Cycladic material (a “frying pan” and incised vessels of the Early Cycladic period) that indicate connections between the Marathon plain, Euboea, Kea, and the Cyclades. See

essentially where the flat ground reaches the foothills of Mt. Parnes and Mt. Penteles, and they range in date from the Bronze Age, to the Archaic period, or perhaps even later.<sup>77</sup> The Tomb of the Plataians was constructed spatially among the prehistoric tombs of Vrana and chronologically after both the nearby prehistoric tombs and the *soros* itself.

Although both were effectively plugged into the commemorative field at Marathon, the Tomb of the Plataians made less of a visual impact than the *soros*. Not only was it situated among earlier tombs in the landscape, but also the Tomb of the Plataians was much smaller and lower than the *soros*, standing only three meters with a diameter of 30-35 meters, compared to at least nine meters height and 50 meters diameter for the Marathon tumulus.

Unlike the *soros*, the Tomb of the Plataians was a Classical monument that borrowed visible forms of earlier monuments. While the monument mimicked the tumuli of its surroundings, it lacked the offering trenches that were characteristic of the *soros* and of other earlier tumuli of the Archaic period. There were no trenches or evidence of a pyre within it, but instead there was a layer of burning that may have indicated a pyre and ephemeral activity surrounding the initial construction. This layer may coincide in time with the brick-lined trench that was dug into the *soros* at a later stage of its life, and both activities may have been more or less contemporary.

Comparison of the burials within the two tombs reveals the most important differences between the *soros* and the Tomb of the Plataians. While as far as we know the *soros* contained

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Oikonomakou 2005 and 2007: In addition to the prehistoric burials (mentioned below), excavations for the 2004 Olympic Games uncovered at least 80 tombs, dating from the Geometric Period to the third century BCE.

<sup>77</sup> Some have said the mounds belong to the time of Herodes Atticus or later. Interest from early travelers and contemporary scholars further telescopes and complicates the time. Leake (1829, 1835) saw numerous tumuli on the plain, counting four at the foot of Vrana alone. His interpretation, without having excavated the burials, was that the mounds were either prehistoric and of considerable age, or they were likely from the time of Herodes Atticus.

cremated remains exclusively, perhaps enough to account for nearly 200 souls, there were only two cremations amid the 11 burials contained within the Tomb of the Plataians.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, despite the evidence of few casualties, the nine inhumations lack evidence for a direct association with the battle. None of them indicated battle wounds, and although most of the inhumed were of fighting age, there was one child of around 10 years old that was included in the tumulus. The lack of evidence of wounds and the presence of a child has caused some scholars to question whether the Tomb of the Plataians should be associated with the *soros* and the battle of Marathon at all.<sup>79</sup>

Given the evidence that the *soros* itself should not be considered a monument that was created in 490 BCE, we should revisit the possibility that the Tomb of the Plataians was a Classical monument to the battle. The ceramic evidence points to an early Classical date, as mentioned above. Moreover, some of these finds are similar to the later pottery fragments within the *soros*, particularly the black-figure vessels and evidence of burning. The excavator of the Tomb of the Plataians Spyridon Marinatos highlighted a black-figure loutrophoros and the many lekythoi as “absolutely identical to the finds of the Tumulus of the Athenians, both in date and in shapes of vases.”<sup>80</sup> (**Figure 2.12**) Despite Marinatos’ claim, however, there are differences between the two assemblages.<sup>81</sup> These artifacts are the primary evidence that points to Classical

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<sup>78</sup> See Krentz 2010b for modern reckoning of numbers.

<sup>79</sup> For example, see Hsu 2008; Pritchett 1985. In contrast, the remains of the tombs associated with the battle of Chaironeia displayed a lot of evidence of wounds and violence. See Liston 2020; as well as Ma 2008.

<sup>80</sup> Marinatos 1970b, 361.

<sup>81</sup> While the pottery is mostly similar, Clairmont (1983, 95-101) points out some differences between the assemblages in terms of vessel type and depicted scenes. Marinatos’ interpretations may share the same eager tendency to connect the field of Marathon to the famous battle with earlier excavators of the field, see below.

activity at both the *soros* and the Tomb of the Plataians, and to an Early Classical date for the construction of the latter.

The similarity of the Classical pottery within the *soros* and Tomb of the Plataians lends itself to two interpretations. On the one hand, it is possible that their deposition in the latter led to similar activity in the former, and so they can be taken as evidence that the mound was revisited around the time of the battle. This may have occurred soon after the battle in order to press the *soros* monument into the initial commemoration of the battle, but it also could have occurred before the battle. On the other hand, the similarity in ceramics may be evidence of later visitations of the field during the stage of official commemoration, as both monuments were brought within a single commemorative program.

Likewise, the evidence of burning within both tumuli and the deposition of early-Classical pottery indicates commemorative activities associated with the tombs that should date to the immediate period of the battle in the early-fifth century BCE. There is no clear connection to the battle itself in this period however, and the association with the Classical battle is based on assumptions. In terms of form, mound burials would fit well into the established patterns of Archaic Attika, if not as late as 490 BCE.<sup>82</sup> The burial mound form may have been intentionally anachronistic, however, in order to draw the Marathon dead into the realm of hero worship,<sup>83</sup> although the same effect could have been achieved by merely associating earlier tombs, perhaps through orations or rituals that left no discernable traces, with the battle, without having to dispose of the dead in an archaizing manner.

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<sup>82</sup> Alexandridou 2008.

<sup>83</sup> Whitley (1994) suggests that the form of the *soros* echoes past monuments as well as anticipates later-fifth-century practices in the time of Pericles. It is implied by Whitley, and often explicitly stated by other scholars, that the tumulus is definitely that of the 192 Athenians killed in 490 BCE.

If the first scenario could be proved and the mounds could be related to the actual deposition of the dead, then they were inherently connected to the collection of dead and the stripping of arms and armor. As such, the mounds would also be complementary evidence of the preparations for disposing of the war dead, along with the evidence from sanctuaries. In such a case, the tombs would have drawn on the local physical remains of the field, including the visible mounds at the prehistoric cemetery at Vrana, only meters from the Tomb of the Plataians. If the monuments ultimately predated 490 BCE, then they were later incorporated into the commemorative network at Marathon. Given the finds within the mounds and the form of the burials themselves, it is entirely possible, and perhaps likely, that the constructions of both predated the battle. This possibility highlights the fact that monuments persisted for longer than their creation and existed in multiple types of space. In doing so, they would have their own biographies and life stages, which coincided with, as well as being influenced both passively and actively by, the stages of the battlefield of Marathon itself.

In both scenarios, nevertheless, the tumulus form of the burials was part of the larger commemorative network on the field, whether they were Archaic monuments that simply followed the building patterns on the field or actual monuments of 490 BCE that intentionally mimicked earlier forms. The burial mounds marked the field in a visible way, regardless of their actual connection to the battle. They would have acted as stationary and persistent anchor points, which could evoke memories and guide contemporary and future experiences of the battlefield.

The first commemorative stage of the battle of Marathon on the battlefield itself is characterized by the initial reactions to commemorate the battle, which were deeply rooted in cultural practices. Inferences made from the archaeological and literary record show that this stage consisted of the primary treatment of the dead, as arms and armor were collected for

tithing, corpses were buried, and the associated ceremonies were practiced. Contrary to the later Classical practice of erecting ephemeral trophies, there is no definite evidence that an initial trophy monument was ever erected on the battlefield of Marathon.

Dedications that were made outside the field of Marathon are secondary evidence of the otherwise invisible practice of preparing and stripping the dead. Likewise, the deposition of the dead can be inferred both from the preparation of the bodies, and possibly with the evidence of Early Classical activity at the *soros* and Tomb of the Plataians. If the tumuli were initial commemorations, then they drew heavily on the past, and either re-used the physical burials of previous generations or quoted the form of earlier burials.

In terms of space, the commemorative practices of the first stage occurred in perceived space. The actions occurred according to and following local and contemporary precedent, rather than at the behest of the Athenian state or intentional transgressors. It is not surprising that the connections to the historical battle are seemingly vague during this stage, given the political circumstances of Athens in the early fifth century, prior to the rest of the Persian Wars, the Athenian empire, and the Peloponnesian War.

## **Stage Two: Official Commemoration**

There are many mnemonic practices associated with the second life stage of the field at Marathon, when the “official memory” of the battle was established. This is when a specific version of the past was created and celebrated probably under the direction of Athens and the leading citizens of government of the city. The monuments and practices of this stage unfolded in the category of constructed space as theorized by Lefebvre, and so structured and evoked memories. Some of the monuments were newly erected, such as the marble column monument

that was briefly mentioned above. At the same time, earlier monuments were incorporated into the official commemoration of the battle in various ways, such as the activities that occurred around the *soros*.

Chronologically, the stage should date from soon after the battle in 490 and through the Persian wars, perhaps ending in the 460s with the battle of Eurymedon. Some of the activities date to the decade between 490 and Xerxes' invasion in 480 BCE, such as some of the various strategies that forged a connection between the *soros* and the battle. The mnemonic practices of this decade or so strengthened the connection of the historical battle to the space where the battle took place.

Most of the surviving examples post-date the invasion of 480, and the battles associated with Xerxes' invasion. The commemorations of these decades after 480 placed the battle of Marathon in the context of the rest of the Persian wars, likely as an Athenian strategy to promote one of the earliest Greek victories over Persians, a strategy which was still evident in Plato's *Menexenus* in the fourth century.<sup>84</sup> This stage also coincides with the influential leadership of Kimon, son of Miltiades, beginning after 480 and ending with ostracism in 461 BCE. Kimon's role in the commemoration of the battle is more visible in other spaces, but it is safe to assume that the battlefield commemorations of the period were undertaken with his tacit approval.

### *Mnemonic Practices on the Field*

The Marathon column monument was constructed a few decades after the battle, raised probably in the 460s BCE based on stylistic comparisons with similar monuments<sup>85</sup> (**Figure**

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<sup>84</sup> Plato *Menexenus* 240d.

<sup>85</sup> Vanderpool 1966a; Korres 2017, 170.



**2.13).** It was a freestanding unfluted Ionic column made from Pentelic marble that reached a height of nearly 10 meters, not including the statue which would have stood on top.<sup>86</sup> Based on the location in the field and its fifth-century date, the monument has been connected to the battle of Marathon since its discovery, and rightly so. Given the chronological distance from the battle itself, as well as the durable material of the column, the Marathon column was a monument of the second stage of commemoration, constructed by the Athenians in order to advertise an official memory of the battle.

Contrary to many interpretations, however, the column monument at Marathon was probably not a trophy, at least not in the sense defined by the later fifth century.<sup>87</sup> In shape and form, it resembled other commemorative column monuments from the Greek world, not just from around the turn of the fifth century, but from many historical periods. Of the many column monuments outside of Athens, the column monument capped by the Naxian Sphinx is a notable sixth-century example from Delphi<sup>88</sup> as are some later lesser-known column monuments from Messene.

There are several Athenian examples of column monuments from the Athenian Acropolis, which are close in date to the monument at Marathon. Among this group is the so-called Kallimachos monument,<sup>89</sup> itself a good comparison for the column monument at Marathon. The Kallimachos monument, which will be covered in more depth later, was also a

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<sup>86</sup> Heights reconstructed based on comparisons with Naxian column at Delphi. Vanderpool 1966a, 100 n. 11. It is unclear what the statue would have depicted, whether a trophy (see Valavanis 2019), a “twice lifesize figure, with a vigorous stride and lively movement, in the style of the representations of Athena on Panathenaic amphorai” (Korres 2017, 172-173, as translated by Walter-Karydi 2020, 108), or a statue group of Theseus slaying an Amazon (Valavanis 2019).

<sup>87</sup> See Janssen 1957; Pritchett 1971, 1974, 1979, 1985, 1991; Rabe 2008.

<sup>88</sup> *FdD* 328; Amandry 1953; Holtzmann 1991.

<sup>89</sup> Will be further discussed in Chapter 6 (pp. 312-317).

monument that commemorated the battle of Marathon. The initial dedication of the column took place at the end of the sixth century and had no connection to the battle, but that was later inscribed and drawn into the growing commemorative realm surrounding the battle.

Although the moment of construction of the Marathon monument in the 460s coincides with the earliest mentions of trophy monuments in literary sources, the legible iconography of trophies might not have existed until later in the fifth century, when we begin to see representations in red-figure vases of the mid-fifth century.<sup>90</sup> To be fair, the lack of martial iconography in the Marathon column may be evidence of a relatively early date for monumental trophies. Some scholars wonder, based on the aforementioned lack of precedents, whether the Marathon column was the first battlefield trophy.<sup>91</sup> This interpretation of the monument explains the absence of some of the later conventions of the battlefield trophy, especially iconographically. At the same time, however, the interpretation assumes many of the functions of the later trophy monuments, not only the religious and political significance, but also the spatial impact on the commemorative plane.

For the Marathon column itself, it is better to assume that the monument was not a trophy monument from the first half of the fifth century, either in form or in function. It did not have any of the significant connections to the battlefield that were fostered through the dedication of arms and armor, immediately collected and displayed in order to show control of the field. Neither can it be assumed that it was placed at the point where the enemy turned, the space defined by the *trope* (τροπή), from which the word trophy, *tropaion* (τροπαῖον), is derived. Most

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<sup>90</sup> E.g., A red-figure depiction of Nike erecting a trophy, attributed to the Trophy Painter by Beazley (Beazley Archive vase number 212473; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: 20.187). A second red-figure depiction of the same date is attributed to the Polydektes painter by Beazley (Beazley Archive vase number 214401; Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 325).

<sup>91</sup> Kinnee (2018, 55-57) notes the possibility, but argues that early trophies did not have a set pattern until around the time of the column at Marathon; Trundle 2013.

scholarship on Greek trophies emphasizes the importance of trophies in the commemoration of the place of the rout of the battle, where the victor forced the vanquished to turn and flee.<sup>92</sup> This interpretation does not square with the Marathon monument, however, as the evidence for this meaning of a trophy relies on analysis of Thucydides and later authors.

Nevertheless, the Marathon column was deliberately placed in an area of significance. The remains of the monument were found built into a medieval tower in the Schinias marshes of the plain, near the church of the Mesosporitissa.<sup>93</sup> Due to its reuse as building material for a later tower, there is a possibility that the column was not re-used in the immediate vicinity of its findspot. Assuming that its findspot indicates where it was placed in antiquity, however, the placement in the marshy area might have had some significance, given theories that the Persian cavalry was limited by the marshy land.<sup>94</sup> The location would also be significant in the marking the limits of the field on the foothills, as well as setting off the edge of the marsh from the rest of the plain.

Besides conspicuous placement, the monument itself was designed to maximize visibility. The column's placement in the foothills gave it a prominent mountain background. In addition, recent analysis of blocks from the foundations for this monument shows that it was meant to stand on a mound, perhaps embellishing one of the burials on the field (**Figure 2.14**).<sup>95</sup> Whether this was actually intended to mark the burial of the Athenians or the Persians is debatable, as is the question of whether the column stood on a purpose-built mound.

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<sup>92</sup> Janssen 1957; Pritchett 1971, 1974, 1979, 1985, 1991; Rabe 2008; Kinnee 2018.

<sup>93</sup> Map 2.1. See below for more on the discovery of the Marathon column monument. The tower site was explored and the tower dismantled in 2001, prior to the 2004 Olympic games. See Oikonomakou 2004, 373-374.

<sup>94</sup> E.g., Pausanias 1.32.7.

<sup>95</sup> Korres 2017.

In whatever case, the height of the monument shows an interest in increasing the vertical profile of the column, and thus its visual impact on the space. With the construction of a marble column that 1) stood on a mound and was capped by a statue, and thus was more than 10 meters in height, 2) was placed in the foothills and marked the limit of the field, a placement which 3) used the natural terrain as a backdrop that further emphasized the visibility, the Athenians made a conspicuous monument that symbolized their control over the space of the battlefield.

Although the *soros* may have already been loosely connected to the battle, the mound was definitely enmeshed in the commemorative fabric surrounding Marathon during the second stage of commemoration through the erection of new monuments, inscriptions, and commemorative games.<sup>96</sup> For the most part, these commemorative practices were undertaken by the Athenians themselves, and I argue that this was intended to establish the official status of the battle in the Athenian imagination.

Inscribed casualty lists were new monuments of the second stage that drew the *soros* into the commemorative network of Marathon. While only one such list for the battle of Marathon been recovered, the fact that there is only one tribe listed on this block gives reason to believe that there were at least nine other lists associated with the mound.<sup>97</sup> Thus, a visitor to the battlefield and the *soros* would have seen a full set of stelai, inscribed with epigrams and the names of fallen Athenian soldiers.

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<sup>96</sup> On epigrams: Petrovic 2013; Jacoby 1945; *SEG* XLI 540 shows that epigram goes back at least to the sixth century, so this is part of the official response to battles. The burial mound was supplemented by casualty lists: Bowie 2010; L. Kowerski 2005, especially Appendix I for a list of epigrams dealing with the Persian Wars. This is also when rites centered around the tombs of the Persian war dead began, according to Diodorus 11.33. Matthaïou (2003, 200) argues that the cenotaph for Marathon was created in Athens and that this is when “the operation of the Demosion Sema begun”. Arrington (2010, 505-506) agrees that the Marathon cenotaph was significant, but he maintains that the Demosion Sema had been established by the Cleisthenic reforms at the end of the sixth century BCE.

<sup>97</sup> Petrovic 2013.

The impact of these lists would have transformed the *soros* and the space around it. Just as in the Demosion Sema, the lists would have created a specific commemorative space, where the dead were simultaneously heroized, celebrated, and somewhat anonymized.<sup>98</sup> The stelai would also have the effect of placing the *soros* securely within the commemorative network of the 490 BCE battle. The monuments themselves, as well as the later reference in Thucydides that the battlefield burial was an act of special commemoration,<sup>99</sup> indicate that this was an official act of commemoration, undertaken by the people of Athens.

In addition to the impact that the stelai had on the space around the mound, the epigrams upon them further tied the *soros* into the official Athenian commemoration of the battle of Marathon, as well as of the wider Persian Wars. Fragments of an inscribed block, often called the “New Marathon Stele” (*SEG* 56.430; **Figure 2.15**), have been reconstructed as a casualty list that stood next to the *soros*.<sup>100</sup> This is the list of the casualties from the Erechtheid tribe, completed with a dedicatory epigram for the fallen:

Φῆμις ἄρ' ἥος κιχ[άν](ει) αἰεὶ εὐφραδὸς ἡέσχατα γαί[ε]ς  
 τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν πεύσεται, ὥς ἔθανον  
 [μ]αρνάμενοι Μέδοισι καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν Ἀθῆνα[ς]  
 [π]αυρότεροι πολλῶν δεχσάμενοι πόλεμον.

When Fame, then, continually reaches the furthest edge of the well-lighted earth,  
 she will hear of the aretê of these men, how they died  
 fighting the Medes, and how they garlanded Athens,  
 although badly outnumbered, by resisting a massive invasion.

- *SEG* 56.430. Text and translation by Steinhauer 2009.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Arrington 2010; While this effect was intentional desired by the Athenians in their use of casualty lists, there are also instances of dedications being anonymized to the disadvantage of the original dedication, such as some helmet dedications at Olympia or the set of Eponymous Heroes at Delphi. See Chapter 5.

<sup>99</sup> Thucydides 2.34.5. See also Toher 1999; Pritchett 1985.

<sup>100</sup> Archaeological Museum of Astros, inv. no. 535. See Matthaiou 1988; Spyropoulos 2009; Steinhauer 2009; Keesling 2012; Proietti 2013, 2014, 2020.

<sup>101</sup> There are many other readings, such as this from Janko (2014, 12):

φημίαι, ὥς κίε γ' αἰεὶ ὑ(πὲρ) φάος ἔχχατα γαίη[ς,  
 τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρετήν· πεύσεται ὥς ἔθανον·  
 μ]αρνάμενοι Μήδοις, καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν Ἀθήνα[ς]

The inscription places the monument on the field of Marathon, with the deictic (τὸνδ') at the start of the second line that indicates that the inscription refers to an actual tomb and not a cenotaph, the mention of the Medes (Μέδοισι) in the third line, and the rhetoric of the long odds that the Athenians (seemingly alone) faced in the final line. Interestingly, the *aretê*/excellence (ἀρετή) in the second line is the same word used by Thucydides when he describes the fallen at Marathon.<sup>102</sup> At the same time, the inscription re-locates the commemoration of the battle from the physical place with the boast in the first distich that spreads the fame of Marathon across the world. While these effects are partly due to the nature of epigram, this also shows the Athenian role in the promotion of a specific account of the battle.<sup>103</sup>

Competitive games were initiated as a second commemoration around the *soros* that connected the burial with the classical battle. A bronze lebes, called the Kanellopoulos lebes, provides evidence that the mound was revisited for official games during the second stage of commemoration. An inscription on the lip of the vessel, which reads “Ἀθηναῖοι ἀθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πόλεμοι”,<sup>104</sup> shows that the practice was an official commemoration sanctioned by Athens. The inscription indicates conscious display, as the opening word Ἀθηναῖοι begins beneath one

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π]αυρότεροι πολλῶν δεξάμενοι πόλεμον.

“Go tell the valour of these men, that passed forever from daylight  
reaching Earth’s ends. ‘How died they?’, one will ask.  
Fighting the Medes – and they crowned Athens with victory’s garland,  
few though they were, up against many in war.”

<sup>102</sup> Thucydides 2.34.5.

<sup>103</sup> There is no consensus regarding the date and function of this inscription, and it is debated whether it was created in the fifth century BCE or later. See Keesling 2012, Janko 2014, Tentori Montalto 2014 for the fifth century; Proietti 2013, 2014 for a later date; Proietti (2020) hints that the epigram and casualty list may have been inscribed at different times, with the epigram added several decades later.

<sup>104</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 523; Vanderpool 1969; Amandry 1971. It should not be surprising that the inscription does not mention Marathon itself, since the games occurred there, but it is interesting that the inscription cites general victory rather than victory over the Medes. In this usage, the inscription is reminiscent of the dedication on the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi, which will be discussed later.

handle and the final word *πόλεμοι* ends beneath the other, essentially framing the inscription and creating a viewable “front” of the lebes (**Figure 2.16**).

Based on comparison with two similar vessels and letter forms, the vessel and inscription date to after the battle of Plataia in 479, a date for the games also given by Diodorus Siculus.<sup>105</sup> We have no other evidence of games during the initial stage of commemoration, so this vessel and inscription indicate a later commemoration of the battle.

The games themselves would be a commemorative activity of the second stage, and the prizes indirect evidence of the games.<sup>106</sup> The inscription on the vessel shows that the prize was given by the Athenians, thus the event appears to be officially sanctioned.<sup>107</sup> The fact that there are other examples of inscribed metal vessels that were won in connection to games celebrating Persian war battles<sup>108</sup> shows how closely Marathon and the rest of the battles were interconnected in an Athenian perspective. While there is only indirect evidence of their existence, periodic games occurred around the *soros*, which drew the monument into the realm of official commemoration.

### *Literary Sources*

There are many literary sources that mention Marathon, but none of the historical accounts belong to this stage of commemoration. Nevertheless, there are references that may indicate commemorative practices from this stage. The earliest mention of the battle of Marathon

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<sup>105</sup> Diodorus (11.33) says that the games were celebrated after the battle at Plataia in 480.

<sup>106</sup> The vessel itself, which was deposited near the *soros*, is more likely to be evidence of an even later commemoration. See below.

<sup>107</sup> The games at the *soros* at Marathon are twinned with games that centered around a cenotaph in Athens, known from an inscription from the Athenian Agora (I 7529); Matthaiou 2003, 197.

<sup>108</sup> Matthaiou 2003.

in the literary sources is in Aeschylus' *Persians*, from 472 BCE. In the selected lines, Marathon is credited as both the occasion and locale for the defeat of the Barbarians. The field itself is the subject of the statement, indicating its active importance in the Athenian imagination:

ὦ στύγν' ἐδαῖμον, ὡς ἄρ' ἐψευσας φρενῶν  
Πέρσας: πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν  
κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἦϊρε, κοῦκ ἀπῆρκεσαν  
οὕς πρόσθε **Μαραθῶν βαρβάρων ἀπόλεσεν**

475

O hateful spirit, how you cheated the Persians  
Of their purpose: but my child found a cruel punishment  
from famous Athens: **the barbarians whom Marathon destroyed** previously  
were not enough.

- Aeschylus *Persians* lines 472-475.

While Aeschylus' tragedy, whose subject is the battle of Salamis and thus is not primarily a celebration of the Marathon victory, in these lines there is a glimpse of an Athenian perspective on the matter. In the internal chronology of the poem, Marathon is in the past, and Athens is already famous. Both of these are presented as fact and not up for debate. In the narrative, Marathon stands in for the Athenians themselves, as the conqueror of the Persians. Again, the tense places the action in the unchallengeable past. As in the inscription mentioned above, these lines show the official renown that the battle of Marathon enjoyed in the decades after the battle. Moreover, the context of the play itself further connects the battle to the other Athenian victories of the Persian Wars, particularly the battle of Salamis.

After Aeschylus, the events of the battle of Marathon are narrated in the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. While they belong to a generation or so after the battle and provide the bulk of our information about it, neither composed official accounts of the fighting. Nevertheless, they give clues to some of the official commemoration. In terms of the burials and the *soros*, Herodotus is the first to provide numbers of the casualties of the battle: 6,400 of the Persian army were slain, against only 192 Athenians. It is on the basis of these numbers that



Marathon claims its greatest fame, as a vastly outnumbered Greek force overcame the mighty Persian army, a claim that we saw inscribed in the “New Marathon Stele” (*SEG* 56.430).

Herodotus makes no mention of how the corpses were buried. Instead, he only reports that the Lakedaimonians came to the field to see the [dead] Medes, three days after the battle.<sup>109</sup> Thucydides is our first source to report that the Marathon dead were buried on the field, although this statement should be considered in the context of the later fifth century.<sup>110</sup> Thucydides mentions the burial, saying that the battlefield burial that was granted was unique and different from the normal Athenian practice. Whether or not this is true is a matter of debate, as Nicholas Hammond,<sup>111</sup> Felix Jacoby,<sup>112</sup> and James Whitley<sup>113</sup> have shown archaeologically that the battlefield burial was more of the rule rather than the exception in the early fifth century.<sup>114</sup>

Commemoration during the second life stage of Marathon was more active than in the previous stage. It was a time when Athens established the official account of the battle, as well as their arguments for its singular importance. The monuments involved in this stage would fall into Lefebvre’s category of conceived space, since it is created by the actions of an official party. The column monument, the *soros*, and the hints of official accounting from literary sources show the battlefield of Marathon as a conceived space.

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<sup>109</sup> Herodotus 6.120.

<sup>110</sup> Toher 1999, 500-501.

<sup>111</sup> Hammond 1968.

<sup>112</sup> Jacoby 1944.

<sup>113</sup> Whitley 1994.

<sup>114</sup> We also have Herodotus’ account of the Athenian citizen Tellus (Herodotus 1.30), who fell in battle defending Athens and was buried on the spot with honors at state expense, an incident that internally predates the time of Solon.

In the second stage, Marathon stood as a symbolic reference to Athenian victory over the Persians, celebrated because of the relatively early date of the victory and the limited involvement of the other Greek states outside of the Plataians. With the commemorations of this stage, the Athenians established their version of the past, which would later stand as justification for their growing power into the middle of fifth century, from the end of the Persian Wars and approaching the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The commemorations of the stage produced visible monuments and durable accounts of history, which could later be challenged.

### **Stage Three: Commemoration Maintenance**

The third commemorative life stage required that memories had been established during previous stages. It was characterized by reinterpretation, maintenance, and other uses, or even abuses, of the past. In addition to monuments and literary sources, epigrams continued into this stage, whether as enduring inscriptions or as re-performances in other contexts. As in the other stages, commemoration occurs with monuments and in literary sources, in both physical and abstract types of space.

The third stage is the most vibrant stage of commemoration, simply because of the fickle nature of memory. Monuments and other mnemonic practices do not store memories for posterity, but rather evoke memories to contemporary viewers and experiencers. Therefore, the commemorative activities of this stage are not restricted to playing off the monuments of the first two stages, but they can also take aim at the various activities of the stage itself. In addition to the breadth of types of commemorations, the stage is also chronologically long-lived, and with loosely defined beginning and end points because the effects begin as soon as a monument is in place.

This third stage sees the commemorative activities of many actors, from those working to maintain the meanings established in the second stage, and thus operating within conceived space, to the transgressive actors seeking to undermine the status quo by challenging the accepted accounts. The stage also sees the flourishing of the field of Marathon as an imaginary and literary space, which can effectively be contained, described, and ultimately utilized with words.

### *Mnemonic Practices on the Field*

In the case of the battlefield at Marathon, in this stage the monuments on the field that had been incorporated into the official commemoration of the battle were re-visited, and the meaning of the battlefield space itself appears to have been up for debate. Spatially, we see the stage in the areas surrounding the Marathon column, the *soros*, and the Tomb of the Plataians. This is also the stage when the account and outcomes of the battle are politicized and rhetorically useful in literary sources, which we can sometimes see reflected in the archaeological record.

The area around the Marathon column was updated at least twice during the third stage of commemoration, with new epigraphical and sculptural additions that shaped the space around the monument. The epigraphical addition to the trophy was a rectangular block that was inscribed with the word “*ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΥ*” that was found nearby (**Figure 2.17a**). Although the block was lost, it had been drawn by Fauvel, and Beschi accepted its existence and argued that it was effectively a label for the Marathon column at some point after the 460s.<sup>115</sup> The attribution must have occurred sometime after the 460s but before the end of the century, when the Athenian comic

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<sup>115</sup> Beschi 2002, 61. Because the block was lost, Beschi was unable to give a more accurate date. Instead, he says that the inscription comes from a later time when the letter form for the final “Y” was common.

playwright Aristophanes referred to the trophy in two of his comedies, the *Knights* and the *Wasps*.<sup>116</sup>

Assuming the block existed, it is evidence that the column monument was eventually considered a trophy. This inscribed block was meant to reframe the column monument and to make it a more obvious commemorative monument to the battle of Marathon. The effect was also achieved by the addition of an enclosure wall, which may have been part of the same activity as the inscribed block, and which we know from the drawings of Fauvel as well as orthostate blocks found nearby (**Figure 2.17b**).<sup>117</sup> By this point, the column monument may have gained the additional meanings of the trophy, especially through the augmentation of the surrounding space. Thus, the Marathon column granted spatial reality to the turning point of the battle, even if it never marked the actual place of the rout in 490 BCE.

The other possible update was the addition of sculptured trophy iconography. Several fragments of marble, now at the British Museum, have been associated with the trophy at Marathon<sup>118</sup> (**Figure 2.18**). Vanderpool examined these, and he argued that they were not part of a stand-alone monument, but rather embellishments that supported another monument, the most fitting option being the column monument itself. The sculpture would provide iconography that would be fitting for a trophy: a shield, helmet, and greaves, all attached to a tree trunk. In terms of both style and production, this set should date to the Hellenistic or Early Roman periods.

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<sup>116</sup> Aristophanes *Wasps* lines 707-712; *Knights* lines 781-786 and 1133-1134. For more on these, see below.

<sup>117</sup> Beschi 2002, 60; Stroszeck 2004, 320; Korres 2017.

<sup>118</sup> British Museum Inventory Number 1802,0804.1. See Vanderpool 1967: Whether or not these fragments should actually be associated with Marathon is an interesting problem that even Vanderpool questioned. See also Beschi 2002: Beschi is also unsure whether the sculpture belongs to Marathon. He found drawings by Fauvel that label the monument as coming from Athens, and he hypothesizes that they came to the British Museum during the Franco-British war between 1799 and 1803 CE. See also Rabe 2008, 147-148 (75).

If the fragments are correctly associated with the Marathon column, then it is evident that the column monument was later revisited, and its iconography updated to include elements that had become stock features of Greek trophies. The column monument, although considered a trophy in the later fifth century and eventually labelled and set apart by inscription and an enclosure wall, at some point was no longer sufficiently recognizable as a trophy. This may be on account of the sudden flourishing of trophy monuments in the Classical period and later.<sup>119</sup>

There are two opposing trends in these episodes. On the one hand, the addition of the “trophy” label and the accompanying incorporation of the space was an act of amending the significance of the Marathon column monument. While it is difficult to establish the exact date of the transition based on the archaeological record, the literary sources indicate that it occurred sometime in the fifth century, at least in the Athenian imagination. On the other hand, the addition of trophy iconography in the Hellenistic or Roman period does not reflect a change in the monument, but rather indicates a later reinforcement of the commemorative function as a trophy monument. The monumental group may have gained additional meanings with this change, especially to a growing Roman audience, but there was no fundamental shift.

In addition to the various changes of the Marathon column, the third stage of commemoration is evident in activities around the *soros*. The commemorative nature of the mound was reinforced by various activities, some of which were continued practices and some new. The games that had been established in the second stage continued into the third stage, as indicated by two Hellenistic inscriptions.<sup>120</sup> The continuation of the games was part of an official program to reinforce the commemoration of the battle of Marathon.

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<sup>119</sup> See above.

<sup>120</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006 and *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1313.

In the same vein, the epigrams that had been set up in the previous stage continued into the third stage, as the inscriptions remained in place for years following their initial placement. These words had a subtle, yet continual impact on the field and its visitors, so much so that it appears that a general idea of the epigrams emerged. We see this usage of the epigrams when the orator Lykourgos hints at them in his speech *Against Leokrates* (109):

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι  
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

The Athenians at Marathon, fighting for Greece,  
Turned away the power of the gilded Medes.

- Lykourgos *Against Leokrates*. Text from Jacoby 1945.

Note the differences between this version quoted by Lykourgos and the inscription noted above, in particular that the former lacks the elements (i.e., deictics and/or a list of casualties) that would confirm that it was an actual inscription. Instead, Lykourgos drew on the general notion of the epigrams at Marathon, using the memory and the space of the battlefield as a rhetorical tool in his speech.

There were also new practices that occurred around the *soros* and Tomb of the Plataians. Some of these were novel, one-time events, and others were iterative and occasional practices. Regardless, they still drew on and reinforced the commemorative impact of the monument. The bronze Kanellopoulos lebes, mentioned above, provides evidence of the third commemorative stage at Marathon because at some point the vessel was re-used as an urn and deposited on the field somewhere near the mound, according to the ephor who reported its provenance to Kanellopoulos.<sup>121</sup> At the time of its deposition, however, the inscribed lip had been covered over by a thin band of bronze that fit neatly over the rim of the vessel. While the remains show a desire of the deceased, or those that buried them, to encourage an association with the mound, it

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<sup>121</sup> Vanderpool 1969.

is curious that the inscription was covered over. Nevertheless, the burial near the *soros*, even though it was probably not explicitly sanctioned, simultaneously challenged the sanctity of the monument while it also reinforced the official acts of commemoration on the field.

The Tomb of the Plataians should also be considered as a part of this stage, since there is evidence that it was occasionally revisited in the years after the battle. Both the excavator Marinatos and the later topographer Hammond report that they had seen a circular area for offerings that was made outside of the mound itself. In the excavation reports there were no interpretations for the use life of this offering area. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was an iterative practice that was meant to take place near the tomb. In contrast to other practices of the third stage, it appears that the activity around the Tomb was less controlled in this stage of commemoration, and definitely made less of an impact on the archaeological record.

### *Literary Sources*

The third stage is when the memory of Marathon could be manipulated for propagandistic or political purposes in literary sources. In fact, most of the literary sources that mention the battle of Marathon belong to this stage. The result is that there are centuries worth of literary references to the battle, all with their own particular perspectives and rhetorical reasons for mentioning Marathon.

The endpoints of the stage in terms of literary sources are diffuse, just as it was with the archaeological evidence. Early in the stage are the accounts of Herodotus and Thucydides, as the former grants some insights into the political intrigues involving prominent Athenian families after the battle, and the latter recounts how the Athenians weaponized Marathon in order to earn

special honors among the other Greeks.<sup>122</sup> For the most part, these types of literary manipulations do not reference the battlefield, and often Marathon stands as a stationary point in both time and space.<sup>123</sup>

Later on, and especially in the Roman period, the memory of Marathon served many functions, exemplifying the continual fracturing through each evocation, as I shall show. In many of these later sources, the beginning of the fourth stage of commemorative lapses is already apparent, such as in Pausanias' description of the field in the second century CE. In other sources, however, there is evidence that some memories persisted, at least in fragments, such as in Athenaios' *Deipnosophists* of the third century BCE. It seems strange that the former is earlier than the latter, but also indicates a decay of the commemorative network. However, the different goals of the authors can explain this, as Athenaios' text intentionally deals with wise men at a banquet, including their memorable songs and poems, but Pausanias' was focused on describing the state of the battlefield in his day.

First, both Thucydides and Herodotus made references to Marathon. Thucydides' references to Marathon were less direct, and only one of the four instances refer to the battlefield itself. This occurs during Pericles' funeral oration, when Thucydides explains the custom of burying the war dead in Athens, but that the Marathon dead were buried on the field.<sup>124</sup>

Herodotus made allusions to the battlefield that are interesting in terms of memory and space. He referenced the fighter Epizelos who was blinded during the battle after seeing an

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<sup>122</sup> E.g., Herodotus 9.27: The Athenians argue that they should be placed at more prestigious stations in battle lines at Plataia because of their victories at Marathon and Salamis; and Thucydides 1.73: The Athenian victory at Marathon means that Athens deserves their power and empire.

<sup>123</sup> E.g., Thucydides 1.18: Thucydides cites the date of Marathon as a point between the expulsion of the Peisistratids and the invasion of Xerxes.

<sup>124</sup> Thucydides 2.34.



apparition of a giant.<sup>125</sup> In this story, the soldier was struck senseless and deprived of his ability to experience the battle. Moreover, he was unable to process and re-tell the events. This story shows Epizelos' need for his experience of the battle to be complemented by other means, through various commemorative practices.<sup>126</sup>

A second reference in Herodotus was mentioned above, when the Spartans march out towards Athens from the Peloponnese but fail to arrive before the Athenian victory. They reach Attic lands quickly, where they are redirected to the field of Marathon because they desire to see the outcome for themselves.<sup>127</sup> In the story, the Spartans want to see the slain Medes with their own eyes:

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμείροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

And 2,000 Lakedaimonians came to Athens after the full moon, making great haste to arrive, so that on the third day from Sparta they came to be in Athens. And although they came too late for the battle, they were desiring to see the Medes: and after coming to Marathon they saw. And after praising the Athenians and their work, they left.

- Herodotus 6.120

Again, Herodotus placed emphasis on vision and experience, but also on spatial distance. In attracting Spartans to view the field, Marathon became an implicitly remote destination. It is a place to which the Spartans are redirected, rather than their initial destination of Athens or Attika generally. Moreover, the Spartan desire to see the dead put even greater emphasis on distance and separation.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Herodotus 6.117.

<sup>126</sup> See De Vivo 2013.

<sup>127</sup> Herodotus 6.120. Scott 2005, 404-405.

<sup>128</sup> See Chapter 1, p.12.

A fragment by Hermippos,<sup>129</sup> another late-fifth century author, also placed Marathon at a certain distance. In the fragment, the poet describes a particular commemoration of the battle that involves placing fennel (*μάραθρον*) within a salt-brined olive. The fragment evokes the memory of the marshy field by mentioning the fennel that gave the place its name. Although there is no other evidence, the fragment hints at a commemoration connected to the battlefield itself.

We see the manipulation and curation of the memory of Marathon in the plays of Euripides and Aristophanes, with references to the field itself. Euripides introduced a mythological element into the field in the *Herakleidai*. The tragedy may be set at Marathon, as Eurystheus chased the descendants of Heracles to the borders of Attika. The *Herakleidai* supplicated the Athenians by sitting upon the altars of Marathon, hoping that the mythical relationship between Heracles and Theseus would lead the Athenians to accept them into the country.<sup>130</sup> This is an example of how the space of the historical battle was tied to mythological events, all in the service of constructing Athenian identity in the fifth century. Marathon doubled as a borderland of Attika, but also as a myth-historical place, just as it was in the *Odyssey*.<sup>131</sup> This perspective was not just a product of the tragedian's imagination, as a reference in a speech of Isokrates shows that the myth of the *Herakleidai* continued after the fifth century.<sup>132</sup> It also appeared in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, in which the philosopher claims that Athens' military strength is proved by Marathon, Salamis, and what they had done for the *Herakleidai*.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Hermippos fr. 75, preserved in Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 2.45.

<sup>130</sup> Euripides *Herakleidai*, lines 30-35.

<sup>131</sup> See above.

<sup>132</sup> Isokrates 12.193-196.

<sup>133</sup> Aristotle *Rhetoric* 2.22.

Aristophanes also manipulated the memory of Marathon, with references to the field itself, in two of his plays. In both the *Knights* and the *Wasps*, Aristophanes mentioned the trophy on the field. In the *Wasps*, the character Bdelykleon argued that Athens should enjoy the benefits befitting the trophies at Marathon.<sup>134</sup> Marathon was presented as the very beginning of a golden age of Athens, and was represented by the objects on the field. In contrast, the mention of Marathon in the *Knights* showed the official outcome of the battle, as Marathon stood for the saving of Athens from the Median yoke. Again, the idea of Marathon was condensed into the trophy.<sup>135</sup> As in the *Wasps* and in many other plays of Aristophanes, Marathon stood in as the point of origin for the greatest generation of Athenians, and this point was represented by the trophy on the field. It was also the symbol for the Athenian empire, and emblematic of the right of Athens to import and enjoy so many of goods and luxuries.<sup>136</sup>

The fourth-century orators Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Isokrates used similar rhetoric to refer to Marathon and the lessons learned there, sometimes with reference to monuments. In these speeches, however, Marathon was considered in relation to other major battles, from the Persian wars and other conflicts. Aeschines and Demosthenes did this in their speeches against each other. Demosthenes frequently accused Aeschines of not honoring Marathon and the famous victories of the Athenians,<sup>137</sup> while Aeschines responded that the trophies of these battles can teach other lessons.<sup>138</sup> Aeschines also rhetorically employed the burials on the field against

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<sup>134</sup> Aristophanes *Wasps*, lines 707-712.

<sup>135</sup> Aristophanes *Knights*, lines 781-786 and 1133-1134.

<sup>136</sup> See Biles and Olson 2015 commentary on *Wasps*, line 711.

<sup>137</sup> E.g., Demosthenes 19.311-312.

<sup>138</sup> E.g., Aeschines 2.75.

Demosthenes, saying that the tombs of the Marathon dead would groan if Demosthenes were crowned.<sup>139</sup>

Isokrates discussed Marathon in connection with other battles of the Persian War, Salamis and Thermopylai, as a contrast to the victories of contemporary Sparta in the late-fifth and early-fourth centuries BCE.<sup>140</sup> In these speeches of Isokrates, trophies were the proxy for the moral value of the battles, thus the Persian war monuments could be regarded with affection while the Spartan monuments evoked outrage.<sup>141</sup> For example, Isokrates compares Athens and Sparta in his *Panegyricus*:

σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρους προγόνους φασὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας πυθέσθαι τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας μάχῃ νικήσαντας τρόπαιον στήσαι τῶν πολέμιων, τοὺς δ' ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καὶ τοσαύταις νυξὶ διακόσια καὶ χίλια στάδια διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ πορευομένους.

A sign of the speed and the conflict [between Athens and Sparta]: for on the one hand they say that our ancestors on the same day both learned of the landing of the barbarians and, after coming to the defense of the limit of the country and winning the battle, they erected a trophy over the enemies; but on the other hand, in three days and so many nights [the Lakedaimonians] marching in order, came 1,200 stades.

- Isokrates 4.87.

There was a comparison in the actions between Athens and Sparta, in that the former was swift to engage without allies, and the latter was eager to help but too distant to give aid in the fight. In addition to the moral perspective, Athens lies spatially north of the Spartans, and thus closer to the threat of an invading Persian army, further heightening the benefit of rapidity. This echoes Herodotus' account of the Spartans hasty march to Athens/Attika, except that they head directly towards Marathon without needing to be redirected.<sup>142</sup> The trophy also had a physical impact on the space, again marking Marathon as the limits of Athenian territory (τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας).

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<sup>139</sup> Aeschines 3.259.

<sup>140</sup> E.g., Isokrates 5.146-148; 4.87.

<sup>141</sup> E.g., Isokrates 5.147-148.

<sup>142</sup> See above.

The sense was much like what we saw in the *Odyssey*, as Marathon stood as the limit of Athens.<sup>143</sup> This geographical limit, in the imagination of Isokrates in the fourth century BCE, was marked off by the trophy that was erected decades after 490.

Roman authors also made references to the monuments on the field, but for their own purposes. In the first or second century CE, Plutarch approached the battle from the perspective of a distant historian. In his biography of Themistokles, he references the trophy at Marathon as the trophy of Miltiades, and reports that the trophy inspired Themistokles because he was unable to sleep when he thought about it.<sup>144</sup> Due to the temporal distance between the author's day and Persian War, the battles of the fifth century BCE were separable and apt for comparison. Plutarch also refers to an annual festival that the Athenians celebrated at Marathon, and he compares it to a similar festival that the Thebans celebrated for Leuktra.<sup>145</sup> Again, the distance allows Plutarch to compare the battles at Marathon and Leuktra, despite the fact that they were fought more than a century apart.

Prior to Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus employed the battle of Marathon as useful comparison for other ancient battles, sometimes from the perspective of a chronologically distant historian. Diodorus, in an imagined story of Xerxes' plans for engaging the Spartans at Thermopylai, says that the relatives of the Persians that had fallen at Marathon were chosen for the expedition in the hope they would fight harder against the Greeks.<sup>146</sup> Other later sources accept the existence of the Persian grave. A literary letter from a so-called Themistoclis to

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<sup>143</sup> See above.

<sup>144</sup> Plutarch *Themistokles* 3.

<sup>145</sup> Plutarch *Moralia* 18.

<sup>146</sup> Diodorus 11.6.

Kallias, from the first or second century CE, contains a line about the tomb of the Persians.<sup>147</sup>

Diodorus compared the battle of Marathon to other Greek battles, such as those at Plataia, Tanagra, Leuktra, and Mantinea.<sup>148</sup> By the first century BCE, enough time had passed and the contemporary political realities of Greece had changed so that these battles could be simply compared, although they were major events in their own times.

Around the third century CE, Athenaios mentioned the battle seven times in his *Deipnosophists*. Each of these references varied in their rhetorical use, and so show the fractured meaning of the battle by the time. Only the first instance refers to monuments on the field. It is a quotation from the fifth-century poet Kritias, who glorifies Marathon as an undying field that holds the graves of the Medes and Persians.<sup>149</sup> The reference shows the resilience of early authors, simply because Kritias' poem lasted for more than half a millennium. It also shows how the commemorations on the field at Marathon may have blurred over time, as the reference is only to the dead Medes and Persians on the field, with no mention of Athenians or Plataians.<sup>150</sup>

The commemoration of the Plataian role at Marathon was deteriorating long before Athenaios. In the fourth century BCE, Lysias claims that Marathon was fought at a time that Athens had no allies.<sup>151</sup> In the same speech, Lysias continually celebrates Athens through mentions of the trophy, even claiming that it was a trophy for all of Greece.<sup>152</sup> Even in the fifth

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<sup>147</sup> Themistoclis *Epistulae Epistle* 9, lines 13-15.

<sup>148</sup> Diodorus 11.81.

<sup>149</sup> Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 1.50.

<sup>150</sup> See below.

<sup>151</sup> Lysias 2.21.

<sup>152</sup> Lysias 2.25.

century, Thucydides repeats claims that the Athenians fought alone at Marathon.<sup>153</sup> Perhaps the Plataian role was not simply erased, but rather conflated with the rest of Athenians, as Demosthenes tells us that the Plataians gained Athenian citizenship due to their actions at Marathon.<sup>154</sup>

The literary sources indicate that the battle of Marathon was politicized during the third stage. There was no unified meaning, however, and the battle could be utilized for multiple reasons. On the one hand, the battle was drawn into larger narratives of major conflicts between Greeks and outsiders, for example against either the Persians or Philip II. On the other hand, the battle could be compared to conflicts of Greeks against Greeks, such as the internal politics of Athens and conflict against Sparta in the plays of Aristophanes, or Spartan actions in the time of Isokrates. The common thread is exemplified by Plato's reference to Marathon, when the philosopher has Socrates say that the Athenians were the first to set up trophies over the barbarians.<sup>155</sup> The battle of Marathon was a glorious event for the Athenians that can be compared to any other battle, and it was commemorated by an exemplary trophy.

The third commemorative stage of Marathon was long and variable. As always, commemoration drew on the memories and meanings that had been established in the first phases, thus establishing new memories and meanings. These were then used for a variety of purposes and outcomes, by many different actors. The frequent renegotiation of the past eventually diluted the official messages and meanings of the battle, leading to the fourth stage of commemoration.

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<sup>153</sup> Thucydides 1.73.4. Walters 1981.

<sup>154</sup> Demosthenes 59.

<sup>155</sup> Plato *Menexenus* 240C-D. For Plato's use of the funeral oration genre and Marathon as an exemplum, see Parker 2018.

## Stage Four: Lapses of Memory

In the fourth commemorative life stage of the battlefield of Marathon the memories that were created and maintained in the previous life stages waned and faded. In this stage of general disrepair, some of the monuments, and their inherent memories, were liable to be actively changed by actors that previously would not have been able to do so. In some ways, this stage is a logical outcome of the third stage, because while the space is populated by monuments and haunted by memories, the commemorated events become ever more distant in time. This stage can best be observed in the areas around the *soros* and the stone trophy monument.

### *Mnemonic Practices on the Field*

By this time, the *soros* was a focal point in the commemoration and myth-historical framework of the plain. Monuments were erected around the tumulus, including the grave stelai that named the individuals of the mound by tribe. As mentioned above, this act of naming and organizing the dead into tribes almost negates the spatiality of the tomb and the memory.<sup>156</sup> It created a livable place, a pocket of time and space that distances and removes the event from the normal experience of time. The mound is simultaneously grounded and remote, but it is always anchored to a single physical point.

The monuments surrounding the *soros* were not so tethered. Some objects were mobile, so that the commemorative space of Marathon could be seized and parts of it removed, and thus it was portable and reusable. This is the case in the second century CE, when it appears that Herodes Atticus removed one of the stelai (*SEG* 56.430) from around the *soros* and transplanted it to his villa in the Peloponnese.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> For theory, see Chapter 1 (pp. 13-14) and De Certeau 1988, 104.



Nor were there many restrictions on further dedications and activity around the *soros*, as a series of sculptures relating to Herodes Atticus have been found near the mound. The relationship between these sculptures and the *soros* is unclear, but perhaps this is evidence of Herodes making connections to his ancestor Miltiades.<sup>158</sup> There is even evidence that the *soros* itself was re-used as a Roman-era burial, since Staïs excavated two tile burials in the upper levels of the mound,<sup>159</sup> as is common with many other mounds.<sup>160</sup> In this commemorative stage, there appears to be loose restrictions and less centralized control on the field and its monuments.<sup>161</sup>

The trophy is also a monument of this stage, as it was eventually incorporated as building material for a medieval tower (**Figure 2.19**). There was probably little meaning behind the use of the monument other than as relatively accessible building material because there were many other ancient blocks used.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, drawings by Manolis Korres and photographs published by Eugene Vanderpool show that the blocks were mostly used in the lower courses.<sup>163</sup> While it is not impossible, it appears that the blocks were only used as spolia, for the sake of expediency.

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<sup>157</sup> As other scholars have argued, this stele was probably the first block of a larger series of inscriptions at Marathon, and I wonder whether it was selected because it implies the rest of the monument, or because it was easiest to remove. Perhaps there is reason to question this, based on the curse inscriptions found at Marathon, in which Herodes insists that the monuments not be moved (e.g., *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 13195).

<sup>158</sup> Tobin 1991, 113: “As a descendent of Kimon and Miltiades, Herodes may have been capitalizing on his connection to the heroes of the battle of Marathon by placing statues of himself and his friends in the vicinity of the Athenian tomb”.

<sup>159</sup> Staïs 1890, 128.

<sup>160</sup> Even the prehistoric tumuli (tumuli I) at Vrana had later burials from the Roman and Byzantine periods. See Pantelidou Gopha et al. 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017.

<sup>161</sup> At the same time, it is interesting that Herodes himself was not buried at Marathon, even though he wished to be. See Philostratos *VS*.II.558

<sup>162</sup> Vanderpool 1966a, 97.

<sup>163</sup> Vanderpool 1966a, plate 31c, d, e and plate 32a and b; Korres 2017, plates 16 and 17.

We will never know parts of the history of the marble trophy. Upon personal inspection of the marble, I noticed a scratched in gameboard for the ubiquitous “Nine-men’s Morris” (**Figure 2.20**).<sup>164</sup> Such a game could not have been played while the column was standing, although there are many examples of ancient scratching and graffiti.<sup>165</sup> It is possible that the game was played sometime after the 13th century, when the column had already been built into a medieval tower. Vanderpool’s photographs show that this surface of the block was exposed before the 1960s.<sup>166</sup> In this case, it would have shown that the material of the stone was valued in that it allowed the bored inhabitants a means of passing the time. Equally likely, however, is that the game was scratched into the stone while the stones were simply lying on the ground. In this scenario, the fragmentary column would have been left exposed for a time, available to the elements and for passersby with the necessary stylus or chisel. Regardless, the capital’s reuse as a gameboard shows that it had lost some of its commemorative nature during the fourth stage.

The Tomb of the Plataians also experienced the stage of decay. At some point, the eastern portion of the mound was dug into, probably as some sort of treasure hunting. There is no way to know when this happened; as the excavator Marinatos said, “when and how this impious work was done, is not exactly known”.<sup>167</sup> Some of the other burial mounds were displaced at various points through history, including the nearby prehistoric Tumulus no. 4, which was damaged by a World War II Italian artillery installation.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> This is evident in many photographs, but never mentioned. For example, Vanderpool 1966a, plate 33e.

<sup>165</sup> Examples: a column of the Southeast Building in the Athenian Agora has scratched doodles (Thompson 1960, 345-346). The euthynteria layer of the Stoa Poikile, also in the Athenian Agora, has graffiti (I 7554). Interestingly, a vase from the Agora has the Nine-men’s Morris game scratched onto its base.

<sup>166</sup> Vanderpool 1966a, plate 32a and 32b.

<sup>167</sup> Marinatos 1970a, 164.

<sup>168</sup> Marinatos 1970a, 163.

## Literary Sources

We see the stage of waning memories attached to monuments in many ancient sources. In Pausanias' account of his visit to Marathon,<sup>169</sup> there is an interesting interplay between the official records of the monuments and the experience reported in the second century CE. Pausanias mentions many monuments on the field, including the *soros* and grave stelai, the Tomb of the Plataians, and the Marathon column. He even mentions monuments that are unattested in the archaeological record, such as a monument to Miltiades and the remains of the stone stables and tents of Artaphernes. Some of these monuments appear in later stories, such as Miltiades' grave, which is mentioned by the Byzantine chronographer Georgius Syncellus in the eighth or ninth century CE.<sup>170</sup>

Pausanias explored some of the mythology of the field, even describing ghost stories and folktales. There is a lot to unpack in this brief section. Pausanias first talks about those who were killed in the 490 battle. After describing the tombs and the monument of Miltiades, he says that the field of Marathon is haunted, and that every night one can hear the sound of horses and fighting:

ἐνταῦθα ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα καὶ ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων ἔστιν αἰσθέσθαι.

There [at Marathon] it is possible to hear horses neighing and men fighting all night long.

- Pausanias 1.32.4

He describes both the sights and sounds of Marathon, relaying the experience of the space and connecting to the past. The focus on non-visual experience is striking.<sup>171</sup> This shows a different

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<sup>169</sup> Pausanias 1.32.

<sup>170</sup> Georgius Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 301, lines 24-28.

<sup>171</sup> The social geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) discusses how sound impacts the experience of space. According to Tuan: "The organization of human space is uniquely dependent on sight. Other senses expand and enrich visual space. Thus sounds enlarge one's spatial awareness to include areas behind the head that cannot be seen. More important, sound dramatizes spatial experience", (16) but it can also disorient and "negate a person's awareness of directional time and space" (128).

way that the memory of Marathon was transmitted, still stimulated by the visibility of the surrounding monuments and landscape. Although erected in official capacities, the structure created by the monuments of the previous stages allowed the commemorative impact to penetrate beyond vision and into other, more personal, sensorial modes. Pausanias recommended that this specific type of commemoration should not be sought, but rather experienced by accident. The message was not a sanctioned part of the commemoration of Marathon, even if it stemmed from official actions, so to seek the experience was dangerous.

We see the official-private interplay as Pausanias continues his account and details some of the cult activity on the field. He tells us that the Marathon natives worshiped the dead of the battle as heroes, Marathon itself, and Herakles. This re-introduces a sense of official commemoration into the picture, which Pausanias immediately transgressed by the introduction of a local story about a local hero Echetlaïos that also took part in the battle, in a scene reminiscent of Herodotus' story of Epizelos.<sup>172</sup> From Pausanias, it appears that local variants of the memory had bubbled up despite the many monuments. Despite these local variants, there are elements of Pausanias' description of Marathon that mirror previous stories and ideas about Marathon. For example, he talks about the marshy character of the field. Also, Pausanias' story of the children of Herakles that take refuge at Marathon is similar to the tragedy of Euripides. It is likely that this tradition persisted from the fifth-century BCE. No matter what memories faded through time, some elements stayed the same.

Pausanias also posed the direct question as to whether the proper rites were paid to the Persian dead.<sup>173</sup> This was immediately preceded by his mention of the marble trophy, which by

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<sup>172</sup> Herodotus 6.177.

<sup>173</sup> Pausanias 1.32.5.

that time would have been associated with the place where the battle turned and where most of the defeated would have been buried. Recall, however, that the marble trophy was a secondary monument on the field and, moreover, that it was likely not even a replacement of an initial trophy. Therefore, there is no reason to expect that the trophy should be associated with the Persian dead. In this, Pausanias approached Marathon through his own contemporary expectations.

Another testament to the lapsing memory of the burial of the Persian dead occurs later in Pausanias' text, when he admonishes the Spartan commander Lysander for not burying the dead Athenians after Aegospotami, even though the Athenians had buried the dead Persians at Marathon.<sup>174</sup> Although Pausanias had not seen the burial on the field and doubted its existence, he accepts the monument as a rhetorical device that contrasts with the disgraceful actions of Lysander. In the same text, Pausanias both questions the existence of the Persian grave, while later asserting it in order to make a moral point. Academic and moral interests in the Persian grave pop up several times in the centuries after Pausanias,

Besides Pausanias, there are other ancient sources that indicate lapsing memories. At some point, the meaning of the Marathon column, the *de facto* trophy monument on the field after the second stage, waned. In a second-century CE declamation by the sophist Polemon, the historical lack of a primary ephemeral trophy was grotesquely addressed when the sophist claims that the body of the general Kallimachos was shot through with so many arrows that it stood in place and acted as the first trophy on the field.<sup>175</sup> Surely the memory of the field for most visitors had lapsed by the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE when the physical monument was used as building material,

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<sup>174</sup> Pausanias 9.32.9.

<sup>175</sup> Polemon *Declamationes* 2.12.

but nevertheless the bishop of New Patras Euthymius Malaces refers to Marathon as “trophy-bearing” (τροπαιοῦχος).<sup>176</sup>

The fourth commemorative stage of Marathon was long and characterized by the gradual fading of the memories attached to the monuments on the field. It is hard to place a definite start or end to the stage, as it is somewhat the natural outcome of processes that began in the previous stage as meanings blurred over time and through several iterations. Moreover, the limits of the stage depend not only on chronology, but also on the knowledge and intent of the visitor. The end of the stage is similarly blurry, as ancient monuments were found by modern travelers, memories were evoked, and versions of the past were slowly recreated.

### **Stage Five: Re-Remembering Marathon**

We are currently in the fifth stage of commemoration. This is the stage when ancient monuments are re-discovered and studied, and when various parties attempt to attach meanings to them. Sometimes this occurs in academia, but at other times the meaning of Marathon is used in other ways. This stage includes all of the monuments that were discussed above, and it will include any monuments that surfaced later. Chronologically, this stage begins as early as the Renaissance and lasts into subsequent historical periods, through major events such as the Ottoman occupation and Greek Independence, the World Wars, and so on. The stage continues through many scholarly debates and into present day research on reception.<sup>177</sup>

There were several impetuses that placed Marathon at the forefront in modern discussions. In the early parts of the stage, the monuments of the battle of Marathon stood as

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<sup>176</sup> Euthymius Malaces *Epistulae*, Epistle 1, line 22.

<sup>177</sup> There is a lot of scholarship on the subject, most of which is beyond the scope of my research. For examples, see Gehrke 2001; Alcock 2002; Rood 2007; Buraselis and Koulakiotis (eds.) 2014.

symbols that justified the independence of Greece from the Ottomans. In so doing, the battle also metaphorically stood at the division between Europe and Asia, or the West and the East.<sup>178</sup> Later, the monuments continued to stand as symbols of the Greek state, as “the construction of a national identity placed the tradition of classical antiquity above all others.”<sup>179</sup>

The *soros*, Tomb of the Plataians, and column monument are all stage five monuments, as we can see in the history of their excavations and archaeological explorations. As the *soros* stands today, the mound measures at almost 9 meters tall with a diameter approaching 50 meters. These were not its original dimensions, however, as it has been excavated several times since the 18th-century explorations of Louis Fauvel. Subsequent travelers occasionally dug their own trenches and conducted amateur excavations, as noted by George Finlay,<sup>180</sup> until prohibited by an 1836 decree by the then Greek Minister of Education, Iakovos Rizos Neroulos. Due to all of these excavations, the shape, size, and nature of the mound have been changed forever.

Systematic excavations by Valerios Staïs in the years 1890 and 1891 provide most of the information about the *soros*. Staïs, and many others, wholeheartedly believed that the *soros* was the very tomb of the 192 Athenians killed at Marathon in 490 BCE, but not all scholars agree. In fact, Staïs’ excavations followed those of Heinrich Schliemann in 1884, in an overt attempt to reinterpret Schliemann’s assessment that the mound was a ninth-century BCE cenotaph. Staïs’ project was planned to rectify Schliemann’s negative results immediately, and to restore the *soros* as a monument of the Marathon dead.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Gehrke 2001, 94-95.

<sup>179</sup> Gehrke 2001, 95.

<sup>180</sup> Finlay 1939, 369.

<sup>181</sup> Staïs 1890, 126 For a critique of Schliemann’s excavation, see Dionysopoulos 2015, 179-180 n. 676.

Staïs excavated the mound in two trenches with the goal of reaching the natural level of the plain, a depth that Schliemann did not reach. The work was conducted through mud and water, unsurprising for such a marshy place.<sup>182</sup> At a depth of around three meters, Staïs found a thin ash layer that contained burnt bone and 27 black-figure lekythoi.<sup>183</sup> Above and cut into this ash layer was a five-meter by one-meter brick structure/channel (χάνδακος), which contained burnt scraps of animal bones, bird eggs, and other foodstuffs, as well as a funerary urn. Staïs believed that this channel stretched from the eastern edge of the tumulus and continued toward the center. This was not confirmed, however, as further excavation was deemed unnecessary because the wet conditions threatened the material.<sup>184</sup> Although he was able to show that the mound was not a cenotaph, Staïs made the additional claim that his excavations proved that the mound was the grave of the 192 Athenians killed in 490 BCE.<sup>185</sup> This assertion is problematic, however, as we saw above, but nevertheless popular consensus continues to connect the *soros* to the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE, even recently.<sup>186</sup>

Early archaeological research on the *soros* coincided with major world events. The 18<sup>th</sup>-century travelers saw Marathon in the context of the Ottoman rule of Greece, and the field was eventually wrapped up in the argument for Greek Independence. We see this in the poetry of Lord Byron, who famously refers to Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylai<sup>187</sup> in *The Isles of*

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<sup>182</sup> For example, see Staïs 1890, 128.

<sup>183</sup> Staïs 1890, 128. He interpreted this as funeral pyre material.

<sup>184</sup> Staïs 1890, 129.

<sup>185</sup> A claim that later scholars support, e.g., Dionysopoulos 2015, 186.

<sup>186</sup> This argument continues today, sometimes with real venom. For example, Dionysopoulos is very critical of Schliemann's work at Marathon, calling the excavation "a complete failure" (Dionysopoulos 2015, 180).

<sup>187</sup> Lines 13-42.



*Greece*, a romantic poem of longing for Greek independence. Much like the Athenians of the fifth century, Byron conflated the meaning of Marathon with other Greek victories, this time including victories won by all Greeks rather than only by the Athenians. Byron's work, just like all commemorative practices at Marathon, stimulated later responses. For example, a 1907 black and white photograph of a man armed with rifle from the Benaki Museum by Underwood and Underwood Publishers "*Η περιοχή του Μαραθώνα. Μαραθώνας*" (ΦΑ 9 397), is labelled with the caption "The mountains look on Marathon and Marathon looks on the sea" (**Figure 2.21**).

The revived memory of Marathon in combination with other Greek history was a useful tool to Byron. While steeped in the ancient world, Byron's poem is full of contemporary political references. Some of these are against the Ottoman Turks and (possibly) France, as he pushes for Greek self-rule and autonomy not just from the Turks,<sup>188</sup> but also from the Franks and Latins.<sup>189</sup> On the other hand, as a good citizen of Britain and of noble blood, Lord Byron does not argue against royalty. Instead, he argues that the leaders of Greece should be of Greek blood.<sup>190</sup>

These are Byron's lines about Marathon in *The Isles of Greece*:

The mountains look on Marathon—  
And Marathon looks on the sea;  
And musing there an hour alone,  
I dream'd that Greece might still be free;  
For standing on the Persians' grave,  
I could not deem myself a slave.

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- Lord Byron, *The Isles of Greece*, lines 13-18.

The characterization of the field as the grave of the Persians is interesting, especially given Pausanias' criticism of the lack of such a grave. The attribution of the *soros* in Byron's poem shows the predominant interpretation of the field at the time.

<sup>188</sup> Lines 49-54.

<sup>189</sup> Lines 79-84.

<sup>190</sup> Lines 61-78.

In fact, it appears that many travelers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as Edward Clarke, Edward Dodwell, and Sir William Gell, thought that the mound marked the grave of the Persians, or even the Plataians, rather than the Athenians. Yannis Galanakis has recently asserted: “Dodwell’s idea that the tumulus might have been the burial ground of the Persians who fell in the battle of Marathon, based on the stone ‘arrowheads’, became popular in the early decades of the 19th century.”<sup>191</sup>

The idea of the *soros* as the Persian grave may also be represented in 18th and 19th century art. An 1874 watercolor by Andrew MacCallum “View of Marathon,” on display in the Benaki Museum (**Figure 2.22**),<sup>192</sup> shows the *soros* in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the painting, the *soros* towers over a mostly empty, marshy field where carrion birds circle the mound and peck at exposed bones. It is reminiscent of some claims by Johanne Joachim Eschenburg in 1889, who claims to have seen human remains that he thinks were the Persians.<sup>193</sup> An 1827 watercolor by Athanasios Iatridis, “Karaiskakis’ trophy from Arachova”<sup>194</sup> (ΓΕ 8388), draws on the concept that a monument can be composed of the remains of the vanquished, as the artist depicts a mound of slain Turks following a victory at Arachova during the Greek War for Independence, labeled as a “trophy” (**Figure 2.23**).

Like the *soros*, the excavation and research history of the Tomb of the Plataians makes the Tomb a fifth-stage monument. First, the plan of Marinatos’ excavations in the 1970s was somewhat dictated by the illicit activities of the previous stage, but his design was to leave the

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<sup>191</sup> See Galanakis 2011: Galanakis details the changing opinions on the *soros* in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>192</sup> Andrew MacCallum, “View of Marathon.” Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 24524. Athens, Greece.

<sup>193</sup> Eschenburg 1889.

<sup>194</sup> Athanasios Iatridis, “Karaiskakis’ trophy from Arachova.” Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 8388. Athens, Greece.

monument standing and visible.<sup>195</sup> Instead of leaving the monument in its semi-ruinous state (Figure 2.24), Marinatos chose to re-construct a dromos and door in the looted eastern part of the Tomb, and his plan included supports to leave the mound standing (Figure 2.25). Moreover, the interpretations of the burials Tomb 9 and the pithos-burial of a 10-year-old child within the Tomb also indicate attempts to tie specific meanings to the monument. Marinatos used Tomb 9 and the associated stele as evidence both of the rough literacy of warriors and of Plataian assimilation into Athenian identity. Regarding the inscription: “It is the only one which was inscribed though with unskillful, hardly legible letters among the raw surfaces of the unworked stone; it is undoubtedly the work of a soldier.”<sup>196</sup> Likewise, Marinatos compares the pithos-burial to a trope of modern Greek warfare history, where a child climbs trees to spy on enemy movements:

I must repeat that in World History there are numerous examples of children that had fallen heroically. In Greece *ὁ ἥρωας τοῦ Λαχανά* is a well-known episode of a child who climbed up a tree to indicate to the Greek army the movements of the enemy and died on duty in Macedonia. Such a duty is well understandable at Marathon.<sup>197</sup>

Clearly the monument was in the fifth stage of commemoration upon the discovery and excavation of the Tomb of the Plataians.

The re-discovery of the marble trophy makes it a stage five monument. As I said above, at some point the column was used as construction material for a medieval tower. It was first reported by William Martin Leake in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>198</sup> but was left unexamined until Eugene Vanderpool’s research in the 1960s,<sup>199</sup> and remained built into the medieval tower until 2001,

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<sup>195</sup> Marinatos 1970a, 1970b.

<sup>196</sup> Marinatos 1970b, 358-359.

<sup>197</sup> Marinatos 1970b, 360.

<sup>198</sup> Leake 1829.

<sup>199</sup> Vanderpool 1966a, 93-94.

when it was excavated before the 2004 Olympic Games.<sup>200</sup> Since the time of Leake, the column has been associated with the battle of Marathon.<sup>201</sup> This has not only led to further investigations but has also made other scholars tie the area to specific events and movements of the 490 BCE battle.<sup>202</sup>

It is interesting to compare the trophy monument with the *soros* in this stage. While the *soros* was a well-known and highly visible monument for its entire existence, knowledge of the marble trophy, on the other hand, was lost at some point before the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, and the monument only existed in literary sources until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, Lord Byron may have made references to both monuments, as a few lines from his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* may be about the trophy at Marathon:

what now remaineth here?  
What sacred trophy marks the hallow'd ground  
Recording freedom's smile and Asia's tear?

- Lord Byron, *Childe Harold*, II, 90<sup>203</sup>

In Byron's poem we see a glimpse of the Marathon of the third stage, fifth-century BCE Athens, as in Herodotus, when the Athenians imagined the battle stood in as representative of the entire Persian wars, when Athens was the savior of all of Greece from the tyranny of Persia.

Like the poetry of Byron, there are two commemorations of the fifth stage that never existed in antiquity (**Map 2.3**). One of these sits at the base of the Marathon dam, constructed in the early-20<sup>th</sup> century (**Figure 2.26**).<sup>204</sup> This is a replica of the Treasury of the Athenians from

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<sup>200</sup> Oikonomakou 2004, 373-374.

<sup>201</sup> Vanderpool 1966a, 102 n.1 quoting Leake 1829.

<sup>202</sup> Many locate the rout of the battle at the marble trophy, which is located by the medieval tower. Recently, see Fromherz 2011, 383.

<sup>203</sup> As quoted in Vanderpool 1966a.

<sup>204</sup> Kaika 2005.

Delphi, which was itself dedicated following the victory at Marathon.<sup>205</sup> The building was accompanied by an inscribed plaque that made the connection explicit:

To commemorate their victory at the battle of Marathon, the Athenians erected a treasury at Delphi. This building is a replica and commemorates a victory at Marathon in wrestling from nature its life-giving water for the citizens of Athens.<sup>206</sup>

The replica and the dam seem to be closely related as a political statement of the Greek government of the time, as the Admiral Pavlos Koundouriotis, who served as the first President of the Hellenic Republic, launched the project. With the monument and inscription, a connection was forged between the ancient victory over the Persians and the 20<sup>th</sup> century project to provide water for the growing population of Athens, both undertaken by the city of Athens. While it is possible to go to the dam and look at the treasury, the path down to the monument is blocked and inaccessible today (**Figure 2.27**).<sup>207</sup>

The other modern practice is the Marathon race. Although it is loosely connected with stories of the battle, in the form of running from the field either to ask for aid or to report of the outcome, the Marathon race is an event that was invented in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century by the International Olympic Committee.<sup>208</sup> As a modern event, the actual course does not correspond to the physical distance between the battlefield and any other place in Greece, but rather to the distance between the palace at Windsor and the royal seats at the Olympic Stadium in London.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Pausanias 10.11. See Chapter 5, pp. 267-269 and **Figure 5.6**.

<sup>206</sup> See news article (<http://www.cultour.gr/the-ancient-temple-in-the-marathon-dam/>).

<sup>207</sup> On my visit in 2019, the guard would not let me pass, although I explained I was an archaeologist and proved my affiliation with the ASCSA. He told me that I needed to get approval from the various ministries responsible for water and utilities.

<sup>208</sup> Gehrke 2001, 96, citing Lucas 1976.

<sup>209</sup> Gehrke 2001, 96-97.

While most of the Marathon races have become disassociated with the ancient battle, the Greek race from the stadium at Marathonas to the Panathenaic stadium in Athens strives to maintain the connection. Not only does it call itself the “Authentic Marathon,” but the course circles the *soros* and follows the streets of Marathonas, one of which is named after the mythical runner Pheidippides.<sup>210</sup>

The entire space of the battlefield was the focus of more debates in the lead up to the 2004 Olympic games, when it was decided that the field would host rowing and other aquatic events in a newly built venue.<sup>211</sup> The widely reported episode shows the on-going pull of antiquity at Marathon, and the difficulty of selecting if and which memories have the power to shape policy regarding the modern space.

The fifth commemorative stage of Marathon reminded the modern world of the ancient memories of the battle. The monuments and associated memories were used in agendas for Greek Independence, for claims of ancient identity, and to justify major expenditures in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although the desired outcomes had changed, the basic utility of the monuments and practices as reminders of past deeds continued in much the same way as it had in the previous stages.

### **The Battlefield of Marathon and the Rest of the Persian Wars**

After the end of the Persian Wars, the battle of Marathon could be viewed in the context of the wider conflict. In terms of the battlefields and depending on the commemorative stage, the mnemonic practices at Marathon were comparable to those at the other major battlefields,

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<sup>210</sup> Fidippidou (*Φειδιππίδου*), Marathonas, Greece.

<sup>211</sup> In newspapers and periodicals: Axarlis 2001; Wilford 2001; Wilkie 2001; Rose 2002.

Thermopylai, Salamis, and Plataia. In order to provide further context for the battlefield at Marathon, I will highlight a few things from each of these sites.

Physical evidence for initial commemorations is just as sparse as it was for Marathon. We assume that there were on-field burials, based on literary sources. At Thermopylai, Herodotus tells us that the fallen Greeks were buried where they fell, and an inscribed monument was placed over them.<sup>212</sup> Herodotus also gives evidence for many tombs at Plataia, divided by constituency: three tombs of Lakedaimonians, one for the Tegeans, one for the Athenians, one for the Megarians, and one for the Phliasians.<sup>213</sup> There is no such early evidence of tombs at Salamis, which is unsurprising given that it was a sea battle. Physical evidence is unreliable, as the interpretations are based on the expectation of finding the tombs. Nineteenth century visitors to the battlefields often connected visible mounds to the battles,<sup>214</sup> but only at Thermopylai was one mound excavated in 1929, then connected to the battle based on the presence of fifth-century BCE artifacts, although there were no human remains.<sup>215</sup>

Comparisons with the commemorations at Marathon stem from differences in the participants and whether or not the battle occurred on land. At Marathon, there were separate burials for the Athenians, the Plataians, and (possibly) the Persians, much like what happened at Plataia; the dead Greeks at Marathon and at Thermopylai were buried where they had fallen; and the dead from the battle of Salamis were difficult to recover, given that it was a sea battle.

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<sup>212</sup> Herodotus 7.228.

<sup>213</sup> Herodotus 9.85. Herodotus also says that some cities that had not fought in the battle set up tombs to hide their shame from future generations.

<sup>214</sup> Thermopylai: Clarke 1818, Dodwell 1819, Gell 1827, and Leake 1835; Salamis: Gell 1827, Milchhoefer 1904; Plataia: Gell 1827, Leake 1835.

<sup>215</sup> Robertson 1939; Luce et al. 1939; Duffy 2016, 449.

There is better evidence of permanent monuments on the fields. At Thermopylai, Herodotus says that inscribed epigrams were dedicated around the tomb, and a stone lion was placed over the grave of the fallen Greeks, possibly in honor of the king Leonidas.<sup>216</sup> Likewise, at Salamis a stone column monument, perhaps similar to the one at Marathon, may have stood on the island Psyttaleia,<sup>217</sup> another stone monument on the island of Salamis itself,<sup>218</sup> and other stone monuments with inscribed epitaphs.<sup>219</sup> At Plataia, there were also inscribed monuments and epigrams, as well as some literary evidence for trophies.<sup>220</sup>

As had occurred at Marathon, these monuments sowed the official memory of the battles. The epigrams and inscriptions celebrated the fallen and called out their accomplishments to all visitors, while monuments like the stone lion at Thermopylai, the stone monuments on Salamis and the nearby island Psyttaleia, or the trophy monuments for Plataia physically marked the spaces of the victories.

The stage of curated memories is marked by whether the earlier monuments continued to stand, and what happened around them. It is likely that the monuments inscribed with epigrams also persisted, since later sources continued to describe the epigrams.<sup>221</sup> This might not have been the case with the lion at Thermopylai: Herodotus is the only ancient source that discusses the lion monument at Thermopylai, perhaps indicating that it did not stand for long. Pausanias

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<sup>216</sup> Herodotus 7.225.

<sup>217</sup> Wallace 1969, 302; Duffy 2016, 458.

<sup>218</sup> Chandler 1776, 202; Gell 1827, 303; Wallace 1969, 302; Duffy 2016, 461-462.

<sup>219</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 927; Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 52-53.

<sup>220</sup> Plato *Menexenus* 245a; Isokrates 14.59. Plutarch *Aristides* 20.3; Pausanias 9.2.6.

<sup>221</sup> Thermopylai: Strabo 9.4; Salamis: Plutarch *On the Malice of Herodotus* 870e; Plataia: *Palatine Anthology* 7.251, 7.512 Plutarch *On the Malice of Herodotus* 872d-e.



says that the bones of Leonidas were transferred from Thermopylai to Sparta 40 years after the battle,<sup>222</sup> so perhaps the monument was moved around that time. This could explain why there are no monuments called “trophies” at Thermopylai, if the stone monument was gone before the start of the fourth century BCE, the time of the earliest source that calls monuments at Plataia as “trophies”. There is some evidence of races and games centered around the trophy at Salamis, based on Hellenistic inscriptions about ephebic games and sacrifices to Zeus Tropaïos,<sup>223</sup> as well as games at Plataia.<sup>224</sup>

There are many literary commemorations of this stage, as the battlefields became spaces of curated memories. Regarding the battlefields of the Persian Wars, Cicero lumps Marathon, Thermopylai, Salamis, and Plataia when he mentions his “fields of rhetoric”, together with the battlefield of Leuktra.<sup>225</sup> The monuments on the fields were frequently mentioned in sources, sometimes in comparison with the monuments at Marathon. For example, Isokrates compares the trophy at Thermopylai with that at Marathon as monuments that Greeks should be proud of, and contrasts both with other Lakedaimonian monuments that commemorate their conquests of other Greeks.<sup>226</sup> Depictions in literary sources do not always honor the monuments, however, such as when Athenaios claims that Sophokles danced around the trophy at Salamis naked and anointed

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<sup>222</sup> Pausanias 3.14.

<sup>223</sup> *IG II/III*<sup>2</sup> 1028.

<sup>224</sup> Yates 2020, 71-80. For evidence of the rituals at Plataia, see Yates 2020, 71 n. 50. The literary evidence is from the second century CE, but there is inscriptional evidence from the third century BCE.

<sup>225</sup> Cicero *De Officiis* 1.61.

<sup>226</sup> Isokrates 5.148. See above.

with olive oil.<sup>227</sup> The example from Athenaios is an example of how the commemoration of this important battles frayed over time, just as had occurred on the field of Marathon.

## Conclusion

The battlefield of Marathon witnessed commemorative practices from soon after the battle ended in 490 BCE up to recent history, and it is possible to divide this broad span into five diffuse stages. The different stages are defined not just by chronological distance from the battle, but also by the agents that spurred the commemorations, and the different types of space in which they occurred.

The first stage was of initial reactions, and it happened primarily in perceived space. It does not look like there was much organization to the commemoration, but that it occurred following local and broader Attic precedent. The commemorative practices of the first stage are the preparation of the dead, as seen in the evidence of stripping the bodies and perhaps battlefield burials. It appears there was no official commemoration undertaken by the city of Athens in terms of monuments or other organized rituals, nor were there actions of transgressive actors that redefined the burials. There is no literary evidence from this stage, so the memories of the field did not exist in imaginary space either.

Organized commemoration began in the second stage. This occurred in conceived space, as the commemoration was undertaken by Athens and, to a certain extent, by the general Kimon, son of Miltiades. In this period, Athenian state ceremonies drew the field into the official realm, and the battle began doing the work for the state. The official actions of instituting games and inscribing and raising casualty lists occurred in conceived space and drew in earlier monuments,

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<sup>227</sup> Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 1.37

but also created room for the imaginary space of the field. Likewise, the erection of the column monument further marked the conceived space of the field. The official status continued for some time, not only establishing the predominant memory and meaning of the battle, but also establishing sanctioned forms of commemoration.

Because the official meanings persisted in durable monuments and iterative games, practices that contested memories began in the third stage. These occurred in the lived and imaginary space of the field, as the meanings of Marathon could be manipulated in literature by tragedians, orators, and other authors. The manipulation also occurred physically, as the later burial in the Kanellopoulos lebes around the *soros* was probably not sanctioned in an official capacity.

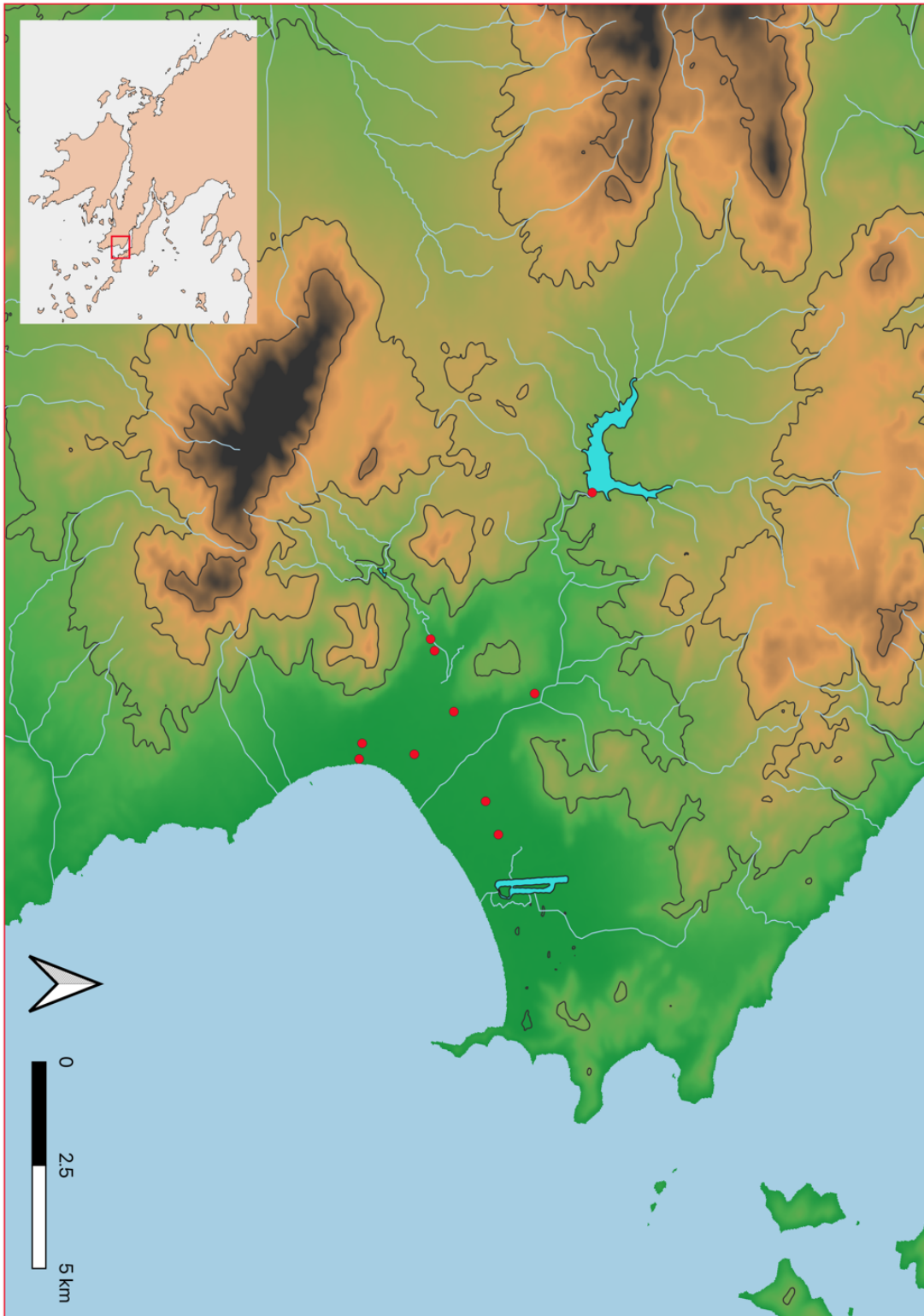
At the same time, some practices of the third stage aimed to maintain the status of the field, and thus occurred in conceived space. This could be as simple as maintaining the official monuments on the field, as it appears with the casualty lists, or by the continuation of the games. Likewise, the maintenance could take the form of consolidating and reinforcing memories, as with the addition of the various trophy elements that were added to the marble column which clearly defined monument as a “trophy”.

The various types of space that were active in the third stage gave way to the faded memories of the fourth stage, which were later restored in the fifth stage. For the fourth stage, the official meanings and the conceived/organized space of the field seem to have been lost and instead the lived and imaginary spaces were dominant. Literary sources like Pausanias indicate that some of the memory had blurred by the second century CE. On the other hand, here is some evidence of official control over the field, such as when Herodes Atticus was barred from burial at Marathon.

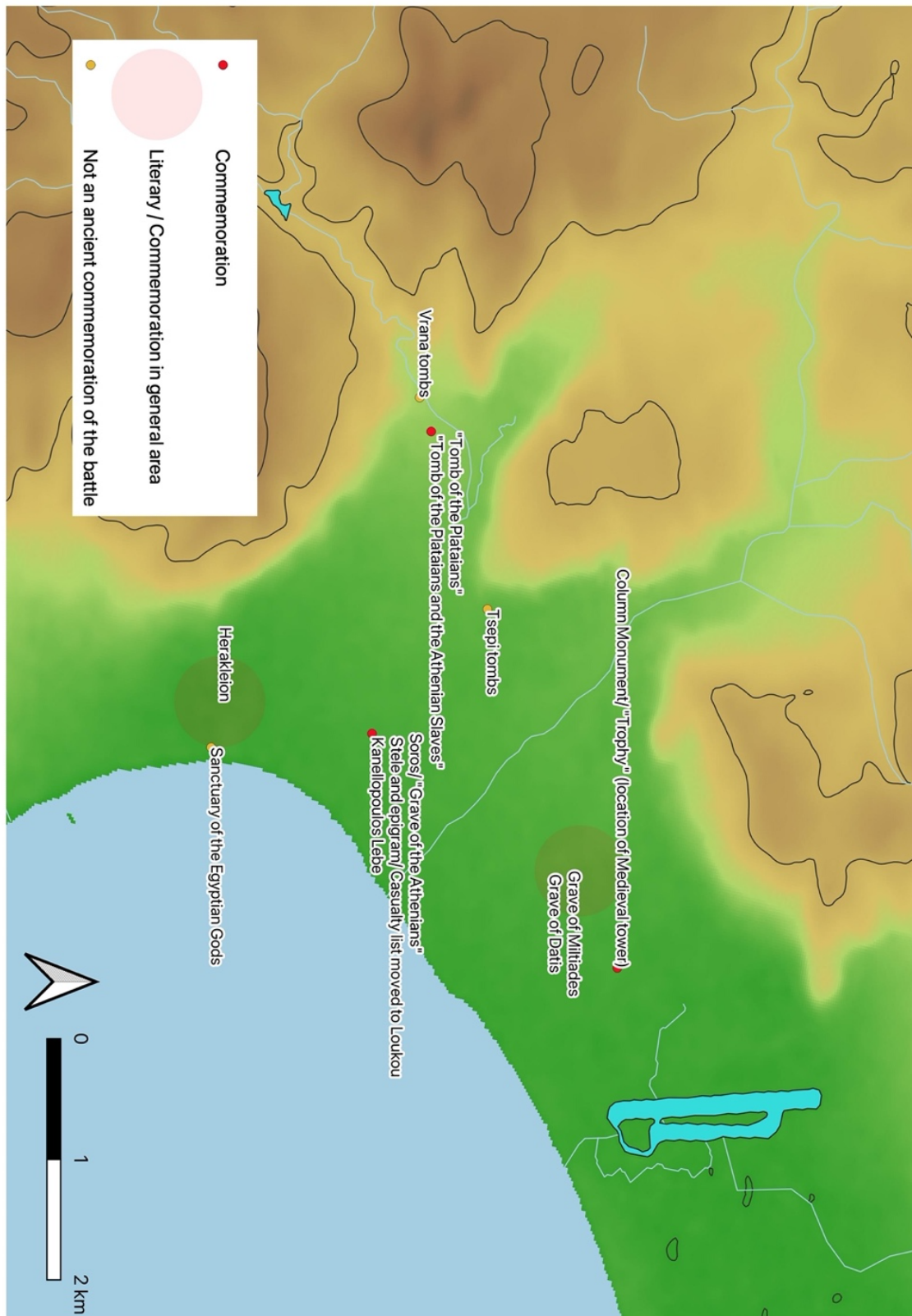
During the fifth stage there is a recovery of the physical monuments and an attempt to re-evoke the various memories. For the most part, the commemoration within this stage is performed with an eye towards modern politics, beginning with the push for Greek Independence from the Ottomans in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry and paintings of the Romantics, as well as the early explorations of the tumuli on the field, belong within the lived space of the stage, as the practices undermined the political validity of the ruling Ottomans. The commemorations after independence, including the systematic excavations, anastyloses, and the rest, were largely undertaken to bolster the legitimacy of the modern Greek state, and thus occurred in conceived space.

## Maps

(All maps are my own, unless otherwise noted)

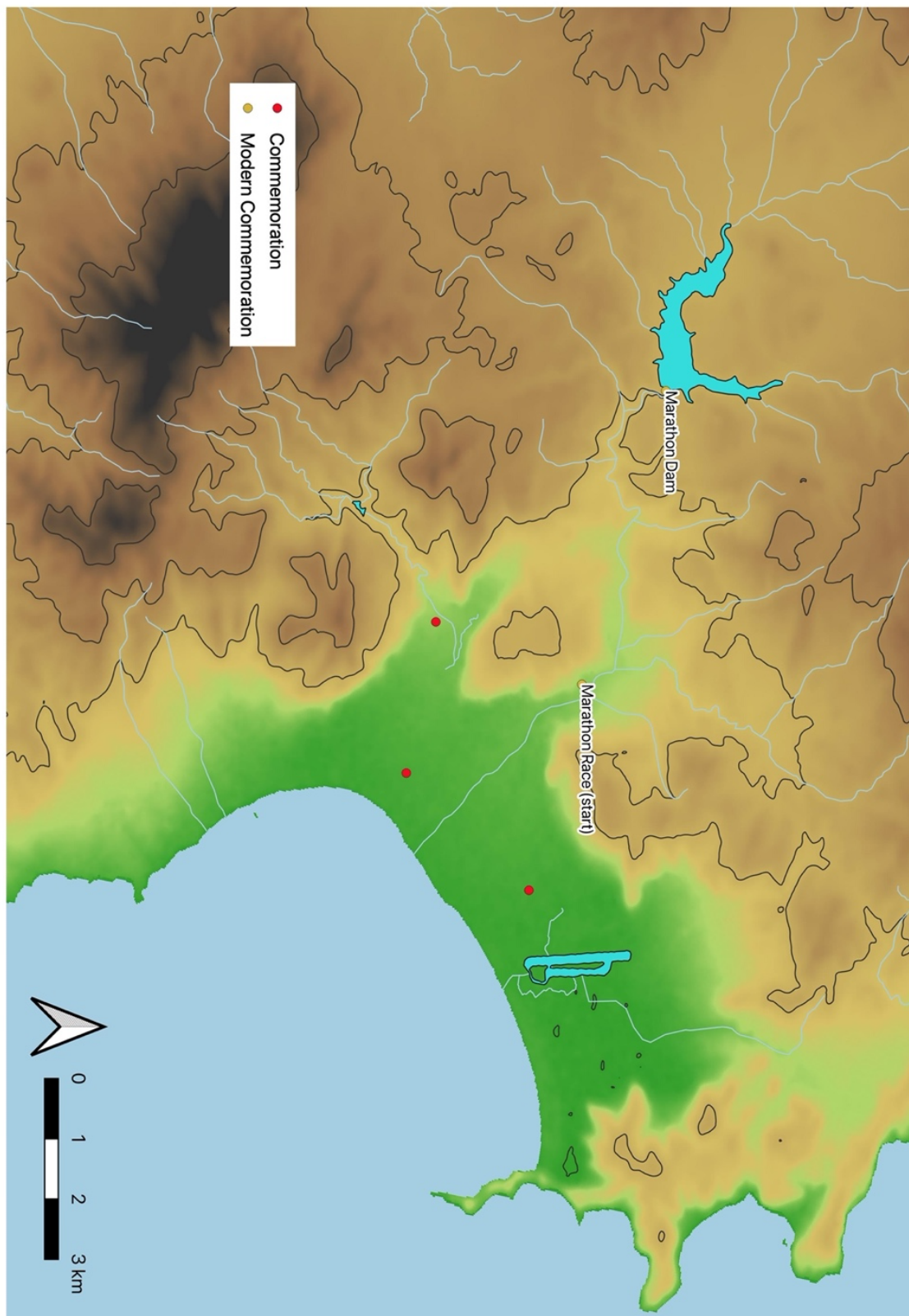


Map 2.1: Marathon: Commemorations on the Battlefield.



Map 2.2: Marathon: Commemorations of the Battle and Other Monuments on the Battlefield.





Map 2.3: Marathon: Modern Commemorations on the Battlefield.

## Figures



Figure 2.1: View of Marathon and Brexiza from Southwest. Photo: Author.



Figure 2.2: Marshy ground at Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, Brexiza. Photo: Author.





Figure 2.3: View of *Soros*. Photo: Author.



Figure 2.4: Three Black-Figure Lekythoi from *Soros*, Archaeological Museum of Marathon. Photo: Author.



Figure 2.5: Black-Figure Amphora attributed to Sophilos. Steinhauer 2009, 132.

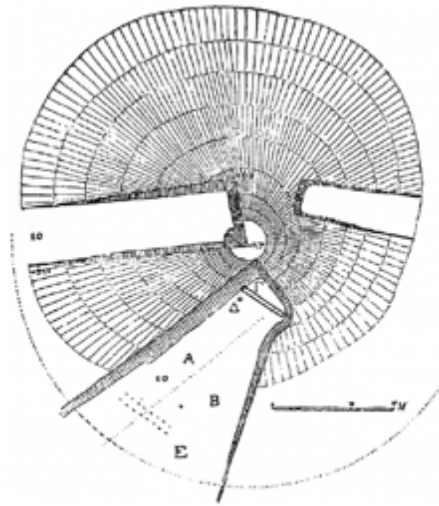


Figure 6.6: Plan of the Marathon tumulus (after Stais 1893, 49).

Figure 2.6: Plan of Excavations of *soros*. Alexandridou 2015, 133 fig. 6.6.

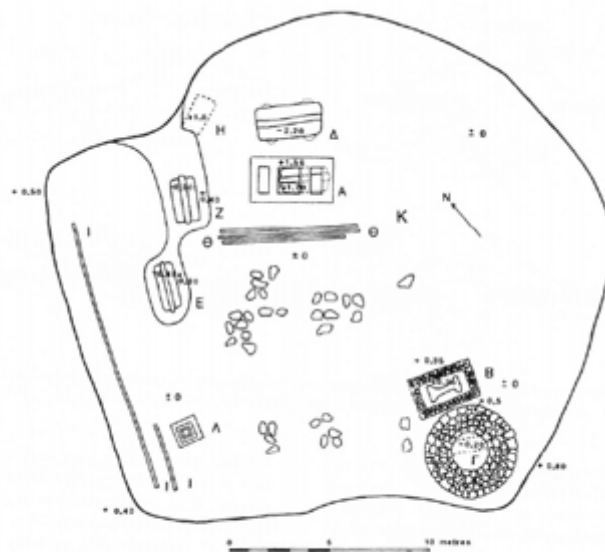


Figure 6.5: Plan of the Vourva tumulus (after Stais 1890b, pl. XIII.3).

Figure 2.7: Plan of Excavations of Tumulus at Vourva. Alexandridou 2015, 132.

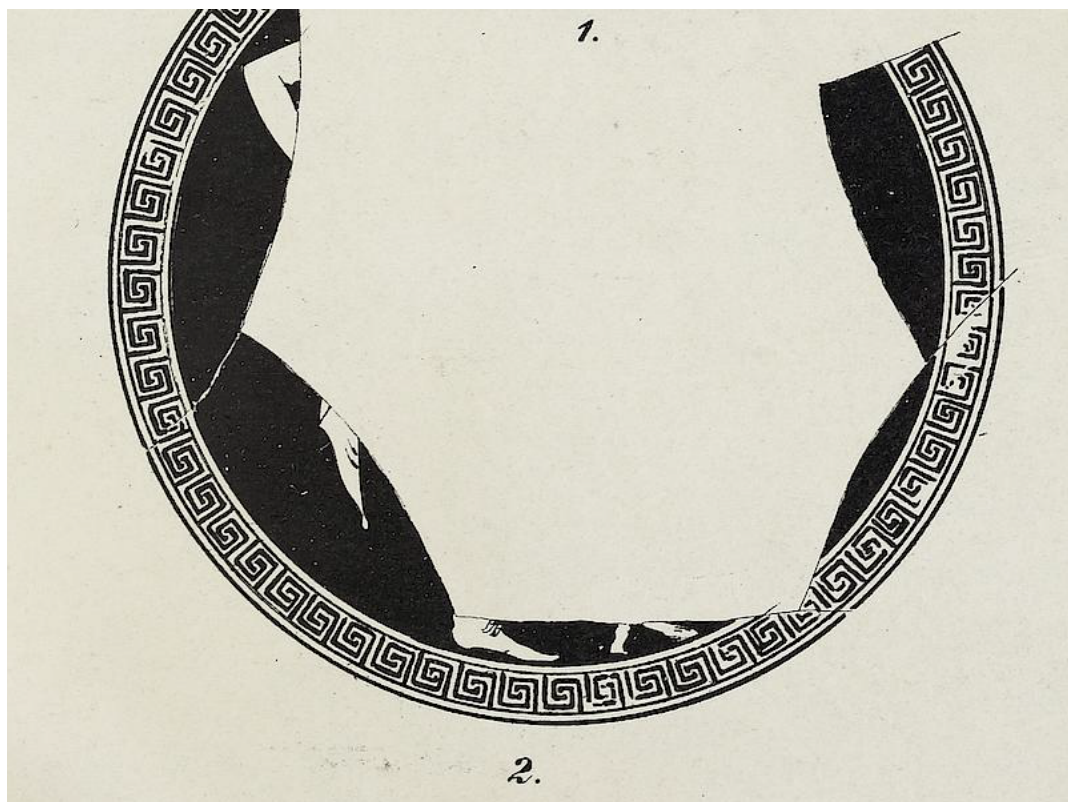


Figure 2.8: Tondo of a Red-Figure Kylix attributed to Onesimos. Beazley Archive vase number 14270; *CV* Athens 1, plate 13.5. Marathon Museum Inventory Number 848. Stais 1893, plate 5.2; Williams 1991, 45 fig. 5.



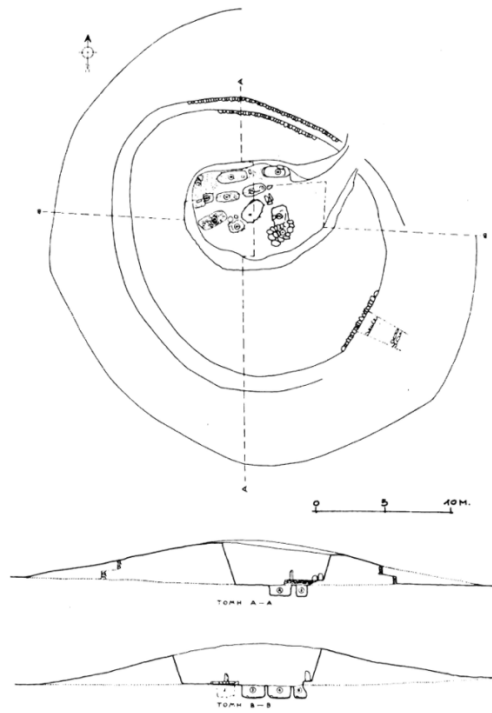


Figure 2.9: Plan and Sections of “Tomb of the Plataians”. Marinatos 1970b, 353.



Figure 2.10: “Mesomphalic” Phiale from “Tomb of the Plataians”. Steinhauer 2009, 143.



Figure 2.11: Kotyle from “Tomb of the Plataians”. Steinhauer 2009, 143.



Figure 2.12: Black-Figure Lekythoi and Vases from “Tomb of the Plataians”. Steinhauer 2009, 145.



Figure 2.13: Modern Reconstruction of Marathon Column Monument (“Trophy”). Photo: Author.

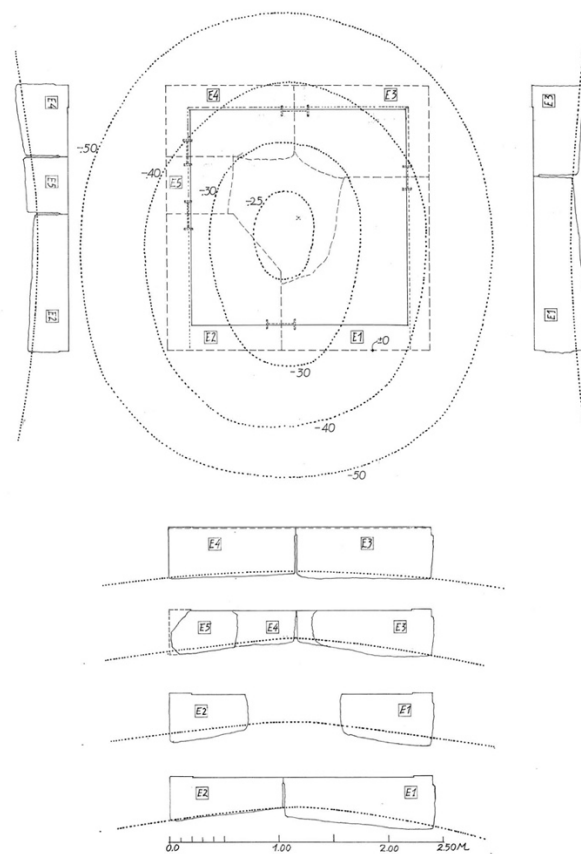


Figure 2.14: Plan of Base of Marathon Column Monument. Korres 2017, plate 6.



Figure 2.15: “New Marathon Stele” Casualty List with “Marathon Epigram”. Keesling 2012, 140 fig. 1.

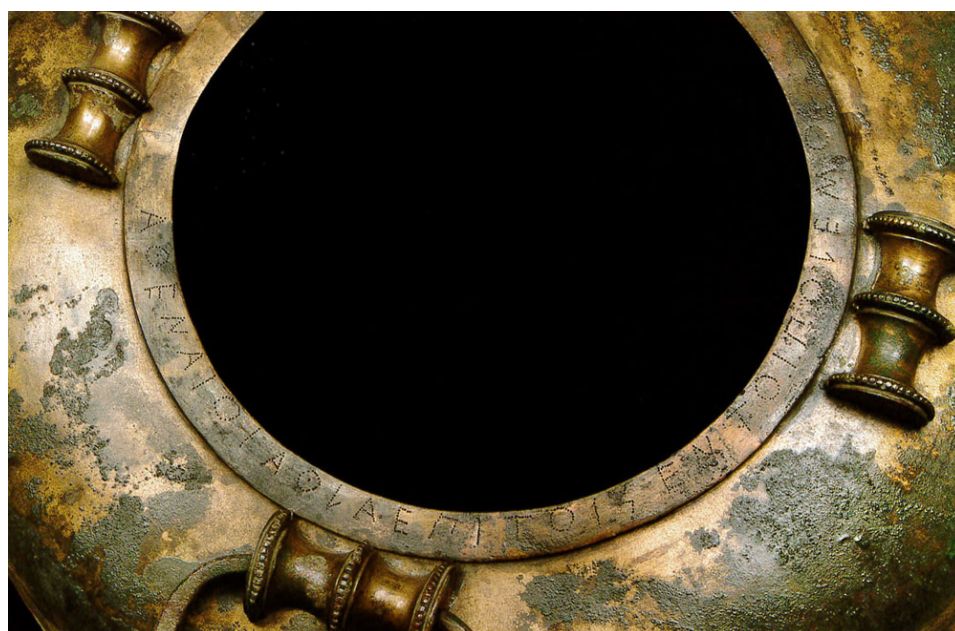


Figure 2.16: Kanellopoulos Lebes, Inscription Detail. Steinhauer 2009, 157.

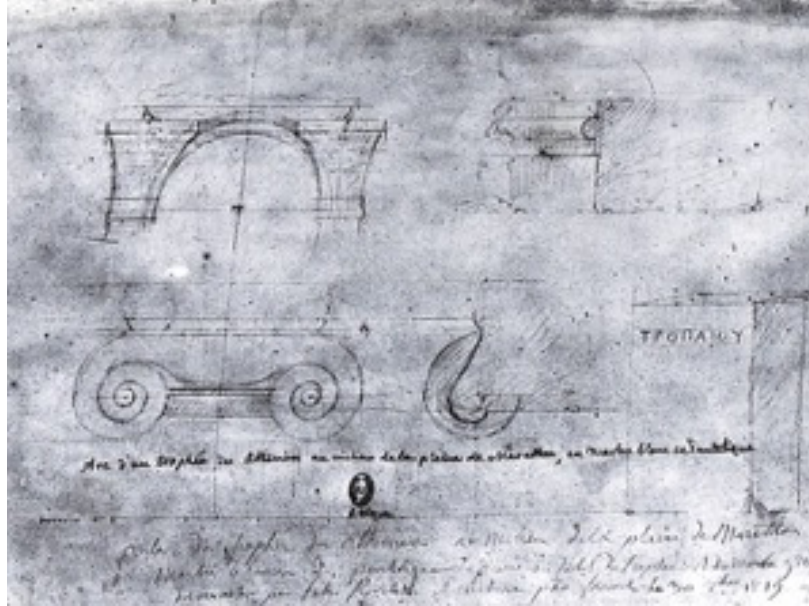
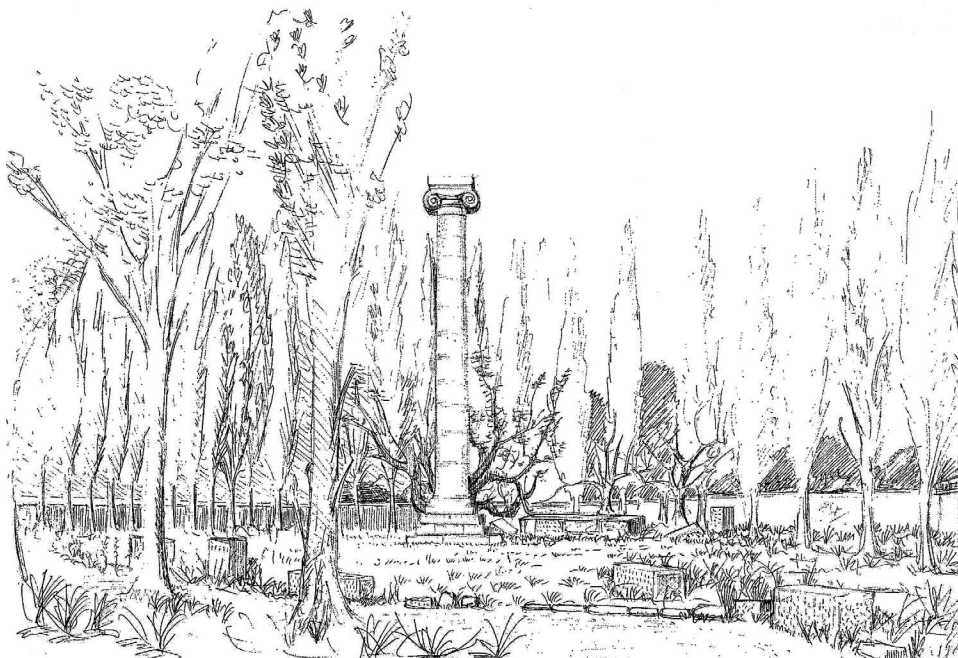


Figure 2.17a (above): Drawing of Column Monument Capital, with “TPOΠAIOY” Block. Drawing by Fauvel (Parigi, Bibl. Nat. Estampes, Gb 15, f. 23). See Beschi 2002.

Figure 2.17b (below): Drawing of Enclosure around Column Monument. Korres 2017, plate 19.





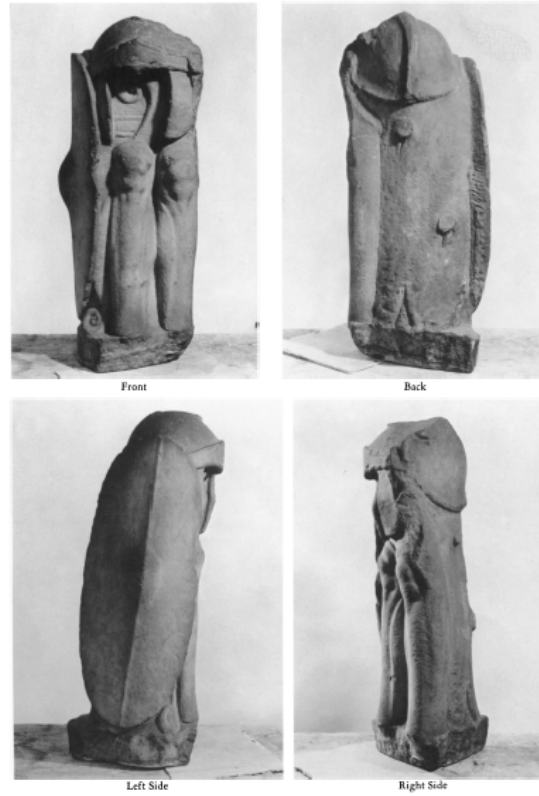


Figure 2.18: Possible added Trophy Elements, now in British Museum. Vanderpool 1967, plate 31.

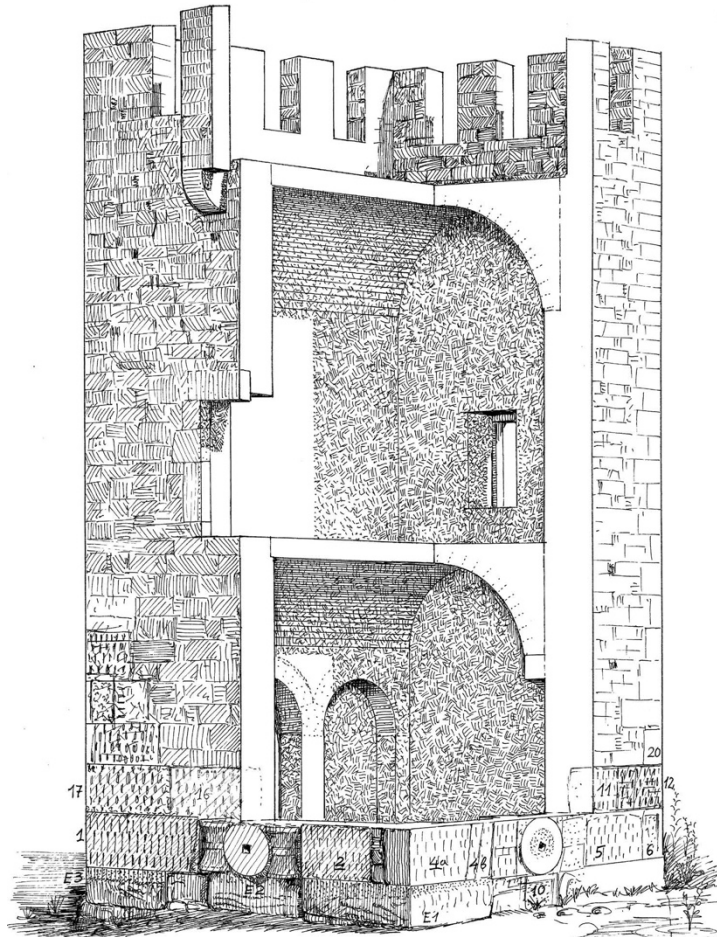


Figure 2.19: Reconstruction of Medieval Tower. Korres 2017, plate 17.



Figure 2.20: Detail of column capital, "Nine-men's Morris". Photo: Author.

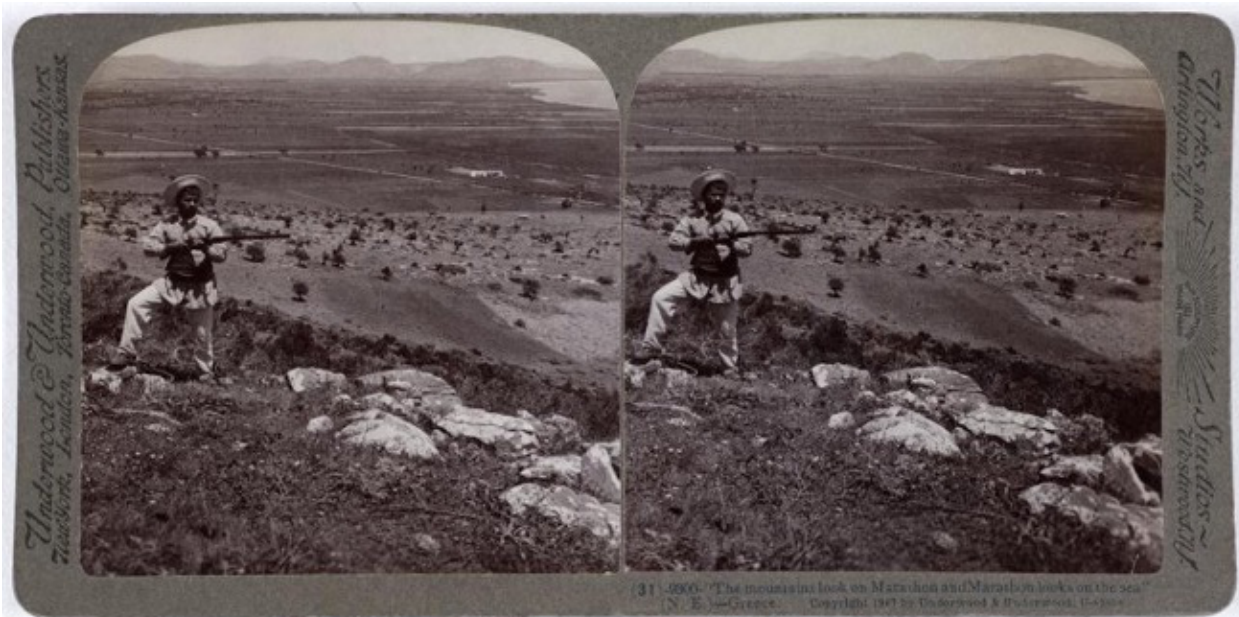


Figure 2.21: “Marathon Area,” Underwood and Underwood, 1907. Benaki Museum ΦΑ 9397.



Figure 2.22: “View of Marathon,” Andrew MacCallum. Benaki Museum ΓΕ 24524.





Figure 2.23: “Karaiskakis’ Trophy from Arachova,” Athanasios Iatridis. Benaki Museum ΓΕ 8388.



Figure 2.24: “Tomb of the Plataians” after excavation. Marinatos 1970a, color plate B’.



Figure 2.25: View of entrance to “Tomb of the Plataians.” Steinhauer 2009, 140.



Figure 2.26: View of Marathon Dam and Replica of Athenian Treasury. Robinson 2013, 105 fig. 2. Photo by D. Charisiadis. Benaki Museum.





Figure 2.27: View from top of Marathon Dam. Notice stairs and path down from dam, inaccessible in 2019.  
Photo: Author.

### Chapter Three: The Battlefield at Leuktra

The battle of Leuktra was a famous victory of the Thebans over the Spartans in 371 BCE. According to ancient sources, this victory marked the ascent of Thebes,<sup>1</sup> and/or the decline of Sparta in the fourth century BCE.<sup>2</sup> The fame of the battle persisted for centuries, much like the battles of Marathon and the rest of the Persian wars, partly due to comparison with the earlier conflicts, whether in literary sources or in physical commemorations. For example, there are similarities between the long-term memories of Leuktra and Marathon, while also simultaneous contrasts. On the one hand, just like the battle of Marathon, Leuktra became a fixed point in the chronology of Greek history from which time could be measured.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Leuktra became somewhat infamous as a battle of Greeks against Greeks, in contrast to the image of Marathon as a victory of Greeks over Barbarians.

The battlefield of Leuktra (**Map 3.1**), as a space, can be seen through the lens of biography following the previously outlined five life stages. There was a stage of initial commemoration, when an ephemeral trophy was raised and (presumably) the dead were buried. Chronologically, this stage should date to the years immediately after the battle in 371 BCE. There are no extant archaeological finds for either of these, however, but we rely on inferences from literary sources.

The second stage followed, in which the official memories of the battle at Leuktra were established. It began some time after the first stage, when a permanent stone monument was erected on the field. The stone monument is often interpreted as the monumental trophy and

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<sup>1</sup> E.g., Isokrates 8.100 indicates that the victory at Leuktra was the highwater mark for Thebes.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Isokrates 15.110 mentions Leuktra as the point when Spartan power failed.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.

replacement of its ephemeral predecessor, although on limited evidence. It is possible that it was not actually the trophy, however, but rather an entirely different monument that is frequently mentioned in ancient sources. The establishment of iterative events, such as games or other celebrations, would likely belong to this stage, but there is only later textual evidence for them.

In the third stage, the memories formed in the first and second stages were maintained and/or curated through various types of practice. Because of its physical permanence, the stone monument at Leuktra is also a monument of the third stage. Its status as a conduit of memory was further entrenched, whether it was a trophy or other commemoration. Minted coins and the Xenokrates inscription (*IG VII 2462*), which has recently been dated to the last quarter of the fourth century,<sup>4</sup> also belong to the stage, as would the continuation of iterative celebrations of the previous stages. The commemorative network on the battlefield itself is composed of the many different nodes within it, so the beginning of this stage is very blurry and defined by the subsequent treatments of earlier commemoration.

The final two stages are when the official memories waned before eventual re-discovery. The limits of these are just as imprecise as those of the previous, as the various commemorations develop at their own pace. Again, the fourth stage of waning memories is an outcome of the third stage of curated memories, perhaps only identifiable as the changes in the commemoration approach a point of no return and the memory loses relevance. Similarly, the fifth stage of re-discovery can be seen as a stage of re-commemoration, even an effort to breathe new life into the commemoration of the battle. In the case of the battle at Leuktra, these stages are seen most acutely in the object biography of the stone monument itself.

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<sup>4</sup> Papazarkadas 2016.



## Previous Scholarship

The battle of Leuktra in modern scholarship has traditionally been analyzed like many ancient Greek battles, with primary interest in strategy, tactics, and perceived impact on Greek history. This was the approach of George Grundy in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century, who visited the field and sought landmarks in order to anchor the literary accounts of the various maneuvers undertaken during the battle. Interest in the battlefield space led to numerous misattributions of landmarks that in reality had little to do with the battle itself.<sup>5</sup>

This was also the approach followed by Heinrich Ulrichs earlier in the same century, who was responsible for finding the stone monument, as well as for labelling it as the trophy for the battle. Similarly, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Johannes Kromayer was interested in the field for its role in circumscribing the battle. Much of the study in the space of the battlefield of Leuktra continued in this way into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including research by Pritchett, Ove Hanson, and Christopher Tuplin. Indeed, this is the most common approach even into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

There is a separate strand of research on the battlefield of Leuktra, and recent scholarship has seen the development of interest in the stone monument. Jutta Stroszeck, Britta Rabe, and Lauren Kinnee have all discussed the monument on the field as part of their explorations of Greek and Roman trophies, and all assumed that the monument was a trophy. This research on the trophy was only possible following the discovery of the monument by Ulrichs and the later excavations in the 1920s and the subsequent study and later anastylosis in the 1950s and 1960s under the direction of Anastasios Orlandos. All assume that this monument was a trophy to the battle, although there is no conclusive evidence.

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<sup>5</sup> E.g., the nearby prehistoric site at Eutresis was sometimes misidentified and connected to the classical battle. See Goldman 1927.

Other than the study of battle tactics and object-focus on the stone monument, there has been little interest in the other events that occurred on the field. As far as I can tell, there has only been limited archaeological exploration in the area, and only the stone monument and an assortment of other blocks have been studied, the former the only securely connected evidence of commemoration of the battle.

### **Stage One: Initial Commemoration immediately after the battle in 371 BCE**

The stage of initial commemoration on the battlefield at Leuktra began soon after the Thebans secured their victory. In broad strokes, the commemorative activities were typical of the fourth century BCE: victory was claimed, the slain were cared for, a trophy was raised, and news of the outcome was spread. Other than the trophy, these actions followed long established patterns. The trophy, however, was a practice that had only become common in the decades after the battle of Marathon.<sup>6</sup>

There is no physical evidence of the commemorative activity from this stage. Instead, we must rely on inferences made from later monuments and literary sources.

#### *Physical Evidence*

Topographical markers of the field might give some indications of the commemorative practices of the stage, but only in interpretations that combine evidence from literary sources in an effort to reconstruct the battle lines, strategy, and tactics. For example, Grundy's interpretation of the field placed the monuments based on how his reading of the topography in

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<sup>6</sup> Kinnee (2018, 35-38) and Trundle (2013, 123) argue that the tradition of the trophy had begun after the Persian Wars, likely in the middle of the fifth century BCE. Pritchett (1974, 246-275) collected the earliest evidence from ancient historians.

terms of how they constrained the actions on the field, particularly an apparently man-made hill that he interpreted as part of the support for a trophy.<sup>7</sup> While insightful and productive of plausible reconstructions of the battle, these interpretations of the topography do not establish precise locations and usages of space directly.

There is no direct archaeological evidence for the initial commemorations on the battlefield of Leuktra. Unsurprisingly, there is no physical evidence of the activities that would have left little material trace, such as the declarations of victory and the spreading of the news. Likewise, there is no evidence of the practices that could be viewable in the archaeological record, such as the burials on the field. The standing stone monument, although it is the only extant commemoration that has been recovered on the field and was re-erected in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was surely a later-stage monument. Luckily, it is possible to reconstruct initial commemorations on the field through indirect evidence and inference. On the one hand, the reconstructions can be based on comparisons with activities following the conclusion of other Classical battles and the assumptions that usual ancient Greek practices had been consistently observed.

### *Literary Evidence*

At the same time, there is much information to be gained from literary accounts of the battle, particularly that of Xenophon whose account deals with each of the aforementioned initial commemorations.<sup>8</sup> There are also accounts of the battle from later writers, such as Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias, but these are centuries later than 371 BCE. Xenophon's *Hellenika* is the

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<sup>7</sup> Grundy 1894.

<sup>8</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.3-6.5.52. For pre-battle, see 6.4.3-6.4.9; for battle arrangement, 6.4.9-6.4.13; for fighting 6.4.13-15; for post-battle, 6.4.16-6.4.25; and for developing situation in Greece, 6.5.1-6.5.52.

most reliable literary source for the commemorative practices and monuments after the battle of Leuktra. Not only was he a near contemporary of the period and a fairly prolific author, but also his account of post-battle action resonates with those narratives that had been established in the fifth century and reported in the likes of Thucydides' history.

Like the histories of the Persian wars as narrated by Herodotus and Thucydides, however, Xenophon's *Hellenika* is a commemorative project of a later stage that sets the battle of Leuktra in the context of a wider early-fourth century BCE conflict.<sup>9</sup> We will return to the *Hellenika* as a commemoration of the next stage, along with other later literary sources, but accept much of the initial commemorative activities that are reported in the text. Nevertheless, thus assured that the initial commemorations occurred, we see that the field itself began to be shaped around practices established in the first stage soon after the battle in 371 BCE.

Xenophon indicates that, for the most part, the usual protocols of initial commemoration were followed on the field of Leuktra. First, the defeated Spartans sent a herald to ask the victorious Thebans for a truce to collect the dead. Following the collection of the bodies, the Thebans were allowed to raise a trophy for the victory. Last, heralds were sent to announce the outcome of the battle, to Sparta from the Spartans and to Athens and Thessaly from the Thebans.<sup>10</sup> All of these practices fall within the expectations of post-battle actions in the Classical period, as hypothesized in modern scholarship.

The communications were an immediate reaction in the aftermath of the battle. The heralds and reports did not leave a lasting impression on the field itself, nor is it likely that such an outcome for these actions was desired. If we are to believe Xenophon, the heralds sent were

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<sup>9</sup> See below. Xenophon was active in the fourth century and perhaps composed *Hellenika* in the middle of the fourth century in the 350s BCE. See Gray 1991; introduction to Strassler 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5. For an alternate story for the collection of the dead, see Pausanias 9.13 below.

meant to mediate the immediate fallout of the battle, as the vanquished Spartan army informed their city of their pressing need on the one hand, while on the other hand the Thebans sought alliances with Athens, Jason of Pherai, and others in order to press their newfound advantage against Sparta. As such, these communications are not exactly commemorations that would have influenced further development of the battlefield as a space, apart from their mention, preservation, and perhaps enshrinement in text and tradition. Instead, communications as non-physical actions shaped the battlefield of Leuktra as an imaginary space, which led to further developments in subsequent life stages of the field.

The messages were intentional actions made in some sort of official capacity in order to affect certain outcomes. In this way, they show a blending of the fundamental intents of the commemorative activities of the initial and subsequent stage, as there was an intent to create an official account of the battle as soon as the dust settled. Of course, the messages as they survive in Xenophon's text must be seen through the lens that developed in the decades after 371 BCE, and surely the original contents contained some sort of sanctioned spin, but we will probably never know.

Conversely, whereas the truce and the various heralds can only be corroborated by literary sources, there are additional avenues available to explore the trophy and burials. Again, while the physical commemorations followed conventions that had been long established in the Classical period, the outcomes also belie intent to establish an account of what happened in the battle, even if not as direct as later stage monuments.

The collection and burial of the dead after the battle of Leuktra followed long-established conventions of ancient Greek warfare. That the dead were recovered can be assumed even in the

absence of archaeological evidence, if conventional attitudes toward the war dead are assumed.<sup>11</sup> The assumption is further supported by literary references to arms and armor of the battle being deposited in sanctuaries or in Thebes,<sup>12</sup> as well as by references to the trophy on the field itself.<sup>13</sup> While there are no known artifacts that have been identified as dedications from the battle, as there are from Marathon, the literary tradition of dedications implies that the dead were stripped according to custom, whether to provide items for dedications or to construct the battlefield trophy.

The detail of the actual burial of the bodies at Leuktra is unclear, however, due to the combined facts that excavations have not revealed battlefield burials or other evidence of the dead, and that literary accounts are later and/or tend to present the practice as a somewhat theatrical display. For example, Pausanias' account of the battle describes the separation and burial of the dead from each side, but he was writing much later.<sup>14</sup> Xenophon does not mention the burials or the treatment of the dead specifically, but the historian indicates that some care was taken to separate and identify the dead. First, Xenophon reconstructs Spartan deliberation on the field during the final moments of the battle, when the polemarchs decide to put an end to the fighting because they recognize the heavy casualties:

οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεῶτας ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ ὡς ἑπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίους...συνλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν.

But the polemarchs, when they saw that nearly 1,000 of all the Lakedaimonians had died on the one hand, and on the other hand around 400 of the Spartiates had died, there being about 700 there...gathered together the most important officers and deliberated what was necessary that they do.

- Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.15

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<sup>11</sup> Pritchett 1985, 94-260.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., Pausanias 9.16.5

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Xenophon 6.4.

<sup>14</sup> Pausanias 9.13.10-12 and see below. Pausanias' story must be seen through developments that occurred in the centuries after the battle and the accompanying stages of commemoration.

Although the numbers appear to be estimates, Xenophon says that the Spartan leaders noted the number of the dead on the field.

Later, Xenophon gives a second clue to the treatment of the Spartan slain when he reconstructs the reception of the news in Sparta, stating that the slain Spartans were announced by name to their respective families:

καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπέδοσαν...

And they gave the names of each of the dead to their families...

- Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.16

Inferring from Xenophon's text, it appears the Spartans had taken care to account for all of their dead on the battlefield.<sup>15</sup> Given the context of the history and of Xenophon's narrative, both references to the slain from Leuktra could be read as rhetorical prompts from which the historian constructed his image of fourth-century Sparta.<sup>16</sup> This is especially true given that Xenophon does not tell us anything about the collection of the other dead on the field. Nevertheless, the references provide the earliest evidence after the battle that the Spartans carefully collected their dead.

Other than the literary sources, there is no archaeological evidence of the disposal of the dead. Of course, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, and the truism is surely applicable in the case of archaeological evidence of the burials at Leuktra. Indeed, future investigations of Boiotia may unearth hitherto unknown physical evidence. Likewise, given that Xenophon is our only roughly contemporary source on the battle, that his text does not give particular attention to monuments, and that there are later sources that discuss the burial on the

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<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 6, p. 364. While not exactly like the Athenian practice of erecting casualty lists, perhaps the simple act of naming the fallen performed a similar function in Spartan society.

<sup>16</sup> Pausanias 9.13.10-12. This may be a later convention. The evidence from Xenophon's story, however, is somewhat corroborated by Pausanias, as the later historian indicates that the dead were collected and separated by their respective citizenships. Diodorus Siculus (15.56) gives different numbers.

field, the fact that the burials are not prevalent in the literary record does not indicate that they were not there. Regardless, it is likely that the bodies were buried on the field itself. Not only would this follow the precedent established at Marathon in 490 BCE in Attika, itself an uncommon action for the Athenians but common for the rest of Greece,<sup>17</sup> but a battlefield burial at Leuktra in Boiotia would follow a regional practice attested archaeologically in a mass burial mound near Thespiiai dating to the last quarter of the fifth century BCE.<sup>18</sup>

It appears, based on both the literary and the available archaeological records, that the battlefield burials did not substantially change the space of Leuktra. There are countless possibilities as to why, and I list only a few. Perhaps the space was unchanged because observing burial rites was of utmost importance and took precedence over other commemoration. Thus, the burials may have been necessary components of the field and therefore somewhat blurred into the space itself rather than working to define it. Another possibility is that battlefield burials were simply assumed, and so it was unnecessary to point them out or otherwise flag them in written sources.

The raising of an ephemeral battlefield trophy is an example of commemorations that had become common in the years between the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE and the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE. Based on literary testimonia of ancient historians, in fact, it appears that trophies were common for most battles after the middle of the fifth century, with the earliest reported instance of a battlefield trophy found in Thucydides' account of a conflict from around 460 BCE, when the Athenians under the general Myronides defeated the Corinthians near

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<sup>17</sup> Although a positive identification of the Tomb of the Plataians on the field of Marathon would further support this view.

<sup>18</sup> Schilardi 1977.



Megara and erected a trophy.<sup>19</sup> On top of the literary evidence, we have already seen the archaeological evidence for a second-stage trophy from the field at Marathon dating from around the 460s, albeit not as an initial commemoration and likely not a “trophy” when first constructed.<sup>20</sup> In combination, the literary evidence and archaeological record of pre-371 indicate the high likelihood that a trophy would have been raised as an initial commemoration after the battle of Leuktra.

Specifically for the first trophy at Leuktra, the evidence is only found in ancient sources.

If we limit ourselves to Xenophon, the historian is quite clear about the practice:

οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.

And after these things, the Thebans erected a trophy and gave back the dead under truce.

- Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.15

Undoubtedly, the trophy to Xenophon played a rhetorical role in his narrative.<sup>21</sup> Given that, nevertheless, this is solid evidence that there was an initial trophy monument on the field.

The form of the initial trophy monument is unknown, although we may know of its later stone replacement. At this stage, the trophy probably looked like any of the many representations of Classical trophies.

More important than form, however, is what the trophy marked. There is no indication that the placement marked the turning of the battle, although that is a common modern interpretation of the ancient trophy. Instead, the trophy symbolized the end of the conflict and the victor’s control of the entire battlefield, in this case Thebes’ control over the field at Leuktra.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Thucydides 1.105. This trophy was soon followed by a second trophy, for twelve days later the Corinthians returned to erect their own trophy but were repelled. See Pritchett 1974, 246-275.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>21</sup> See below. Xenophon probably did not mention every trophy that was raised.

<sup>22</sup> Xenophon indicates that this might have been contested by the Spartans. See below.

This is clear in Xenophon's narrative, as the erection of the trophy was the formal end of the battle.<sup>23</sup>

In terms of space, then, the trophy marked the field as Theban. If we follow Xenophon, as we should due to the lack of contrary archaeological or contemporary literary evidence, this distinction seems to have been officially recognized by participants on both sides: on the one hand the Spartans lost any right to the space and were compelled to leave, on the other hand the Thebans granted a truce to allow the Spartan retreat.

There was a suite of activity following the Theban victory at Leuktra. Each action was somewhat contemporaneous, but roughly as follows: the losing Spartan coalition army conceded and requested a truce to collect and treat their dead and leave the field; the Thebans granted the truce, collected their own dead, and erected a trophy; both sides sent messages announcing the outcome. While all had spatial components, only the burials and the trophy would have had a physical impact on the space as tangible elements on the battlefield. Consequently, these were more able to anchor the space in the subsequent commemorative life stages at Leuktra.

### *Spatial Analysis*

At this stage, the burials operated largely in perceived space that was directed by tradition, but also somewhat in conceived space for the benefit of the participating states. Since the dead were given back under truce, any burial would have been undertaken by the respective cities rather than heaped together in a mass grave. In that sense, then, the burials were official actions.

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<sup>23</sup> For changing meaning of the trophy in late Classical sources, see Kinnee 2018, 38-40.

This is also the case for the initial trophy monument, which followed previously established patterns of simple declarations of victory, while also itself becoming part of the official messaging of the battle. The monument was an acknowledgment of the outcome of the battle, to both the victorious Thebans and the defeated Spartans.

Since the iconography had become standard by the battle in 371 BCE, then the trophy had widely recognized significances, and as such they could be contested from the onset.

In what types of space the other commemorations operated is an interesting question. The ephemeral messages and reports separated the field from the rest of the world, highlighting its significance and emphasizing its individuality. The battlefield, in this spatial view, thus became a separate place where something significant happened. Following the theoretical framework of Michel de Certeau, the separation, achieved by attachment and significance of the named place, carved out a pocket of proper space, complete with hidden and familiar meaning.<sup>24</sup> This all transpired as part of the process to create official meaning, which could then be contested and, eventually, experienced as lived space.

## **Stage Two: Official Commemoration**

During the second stage of commemoration on the field of Leuktra, the official memories of the battle were established, structured, and constructed either physically on the field itself or in the literary record. While we refer to the literary record of Xenophon, his history should not be considered part of this stage. This account is an act of commemoration itself, composed in an effort to explain the outcome of the battle and its role in Greek history in the fourth century.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> De Certeau 1988, 104.

<sup>25</sup> For Xenophon's motivations, see Strassler 2011.

Both the physical monuments and the literary references to the space were based on the initial commemorations of the previous stage. The physical activities, as far as we can tell, centered on the burials and ephemeral trophy that had been created in the previous stage. These were also based on other monuments and commemorations from outside of the field, as we will see below. Similarly, the literary development of the space must have been influenced by the actions that had occurred before, as Xenophon's construction of the imaginary space of Leuktra relied on how other battlefields had been constructed before his composition.

Because of the threads from earlier battles, both monumental and literary, the official memory of Leuktra was under construction very soon after the victory. In fact, as we saw in the interpretation of the mnemonic practices of the initial phase, I would argue that there is no clear delineation between this stage and the first stage, but instead considerable overlap: both the trophy and any burials had official meanings from the beginning.

### *Physical Evidence*

Physical evidence of this stage at Leuktra is limited, and the only extant archaeological evidence is a stone monument (**Figure 3.1**). Just as there was no evidence of burials from the initial stage, there is also no physical evidence of activity around the burials from this stage.

Nevertheless, some secondary evidence supports the suggestion that the stone monument was a second trophy that replaced its temporary predecessor, as well as hints that the assumed commemoration of the dead on the field persisted at least briefly. Thus, it appears that commemorative activity centered around this monument and possibly the battlefield burials. These were foci not only because re-visiting such monuments followed established patterns, but

also because of the simple fact that these were monuments that had already been placed on the field.

As it exists today, the stone monument consists of a cylindrical base with a diameter of 3.38 m, sitting on a three-stepped platform and capped by a frieze of metopes and triglyphs and another frieze of nine stone shields. The cylinder has a hollow center. Much of the stone has been lost over time, so it is impossible to reconstruct the actual height of the monument.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, there is no evidence of in situ foundations, so we cannot accurately place the monument on the field.

Identification of the monument as a trophy for the battle rests on the findspot within the general space of the field, as well as the hollow center of the tower and the interpretation that this was filled with the vertical support of a likely-bronze trophy (**Figure 3.2a**), all in combination with evidence of later Boiotian coins that suggest the importance of trophy iconography in the region (**Figure 3.2b**).<sup>27</sup> All of this is problematic, of course, as there are plenty of other examples of prominent trophies outside of Boiotian contexts.

There is a broad date range for the Leuktra monument. If we remove the mental anchor of 371 BCE and only approach it from stylistic and technological features, then the monument can be dated on its iconography and on the physical characteristics of its construction. Various features point to different dates. In terms of construction technique, both Π- and Z-clamps are used to join the blocks of the monument. While Orlandos interpreted this evidence to give a broad possible range of construction from the fourth to the first century BCE,<sup>28</sup> Rabe recently

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<sup>26</sup> Stroszeck 2004, 321. There is even variation from the original designs for the reconstruction in 1958 and the final anastylosis in 1961. See below.

<sup>27</sup> For example, see Stroszeck 2004, 305.

<sup>28</sup> Orlandos 1922, 39.

cited two monuments from Delphi with similar clamping to establish a date in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>29</sup> While it may be tempting to reconstruct distinct phases of construction, it should be noted that the clamping occurs on different types of blocks and different types of joints, and is thus likely simply due to practicalities. At the same time, I do not think that the clamp evidence is conclusive, and believe that it is better to allow a broader range for the construction date for the monument.

Looking at form and comparanda, however, the Leuktra monument resembles the Tomb of Karneia Megara (**Figure 3.3a, b, c, and d**), itself assigned a range of dates from the fifth to the fourth century BCE. Likewise, another comparable monument in the Kerameikos is variously dated from the fifth to the fourth century (**Figure 3.4**).<sup>30</sup> Other than these two examples that are also cited by Stroszeck, there are also the stone monument with shield decorations at Veria which postdates 300 BCE (**Figure 3.5**) and the monument from Messene from the end of the third century (**Figure 3.6**), and the monument from Dion connected to Alexander's victory at the Granicus River. Thus, the iconography provides a broad date for the Leuktra monument, at least from the end of the fifth century to the end of the third century BCE, and realistically even into the Roman period.

Given that neither the physical evidence of the monument nor its excavated context can securely date its construction, perhaps we can approximate its date by determining exactly what the monument was. There are two possible interpretations. First of all, it is possible that it was a replacement of the ephemeral trophy that had been erected immediately after the battle and recorded in Xenophon's history. This view is largely accepted, perhaps rather uncritically. There

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<sup>29</sup> Rabe 2008, 131.

<sup>30</sup> Stroszeck 2004, 324, citing Valavanis 1999, 192.

is physical evidence that supports this view, namely the findspot on the field and the martial iconography that is consistent with other known trophy monuments. Theoretical reconstructions, based on the structural hollow of the cylinder that could support a monumental trophy, highlight the possibility of this interpretation. The real crux of this first interpretation, however, is a first-century BCE reference from Cicero.<sup>31</sup> From this reference, the argument is constructed that the Thebans erected a bronze trophy as a replacement for an ephemeral trophy that marked their victory over the Lakedaimonians.

Such is the collection of evidence that suggests that the stone monument found at Leuktra was a replacement trophy. If this is so, then we can place the construction of the monument from 371 to the first century BCE.

Conversely, it is possible that the tower monument was not itself a trophy monument, even if it was itself a commemoration of the battle. Indeed, while shield iconography is popular with trophies,<sup>32</sup> representations of shields also appear on monuments that are not themselves trophies in the strict sense of the *tropaion*. Non-trophy monuments with martial iconography include a second century monument at Messene,<sup>33</sup> a base in Athens,<sup>34</sup> and a monumental base at Veria,<sup>35</sup> and the monumental set of shields at Dion. Moreover, the unusual form of the monument does not immediately lend itself to the interpretation as a trophy rather than another type of commemorative monument. Besides the iconography, there are many monuments with

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<sup>31</sup> Cicero *De Inventione* 2.23. See below.

<sup>32</sup> See Rabe 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Rabe 40.

<sup>34</sup> Rabe 37.

<sup>35</sup> Rabe 46.

Doric features, including one near Megara, the so-called Tomb of Kar,<sup>36</sup> as well as numerous small altars (**Figure 3.7**). In addition, upon critical inspection the Boiotian coins that buttress the trophy interpretation do not necessarily depict the extant stone monument.<sup>37</sup> In particular, the coins do not depict a stone base, other than a simple flat platform from which the trunk of the trophy rises. Neither can Cicero's account be taken as unassailable evidence.

As I see it, there is no conclusive evidence that indicates whether the stone monument was a replacement trophy or simply another monument that was placed on the battlefield. If we accept the possibility that this was not a trophy, then we broaden the issue to include another possible interpretation: a monument to the virgins who had been raped by Spartans and had subsequently killed themselves. Only the literary record provides evidence of the monument, first attested by Xenophon.<sup>38</sup> According to the historian, the tomb was a monument that stood on the field *before* the battle. If this is the case, then the stone monument could predate 371 BCE, only to be incorporated into the commemoration of the event in the latter part of the fourth century.

Depending on the scenarios, the Leuktra monument would have shaped the battlefield space in different ways. If the monument was indeed a replacement for the earlier trophy, and should be considered a trophy itself, then its position would have connections to the battle itself. While not necessarily placed at the physical turning point, the stone monument's erection and the likely removal of its predecessor would surely anchor the battle in the official imagination.

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<sup>36</sup> Travlos 1988, 259; Stroszeck 2004.

<sup>37</sup> More below. For example, the coin that Orlandos cites for the reconstruction (1958, pl. 36; citing Head 1884, pl. VI.2) does not depict any discernable base.

<sup>38</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4. The myth persists much longer, see below.



If the Leuktra monument was not a trophy, however, and was either a separate monument to the battle or, perhaps, a monument to the virgins, then it would have had a far different impact on the space of the field. In this scenario, it is probable that the ephemeral trophy remained standing, assuming Pritchett's rules that trophies were inviolate.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the trophy would continue to anchor at least part of the commemoration on the field, while the Leuktra monument would have worked as its own place.

If it was intended to commemorate the burial, then the monument would have resonated with any of the commemorations of the battlefield dead. It would also have had associations with the past, as there was at least some form of the monument that predated the battle. Thus, the Leuktra monument as a monument to the virgins would have worked to make the past contemporary. In this scenario, the Leuktra monument would also resonate with the burials on the battlefield, which are assumed to have existed from the previous stage. Because the names and identities of the fallen were still known beyond the initial burial, as evidenced by the above-mentioned references in Xenophon, it is probably safe to assume that the burials continued to be known in the second stage of official commemoration.

### *Literary Evidence*

Given the malaise around the physical evidence, perhaps the strongest evidence of the stage of official commemoration is found in the literary source from Xenophon's *Hellenika*.<sup>40</sup> This is more than just an entry into a log, however, as Xenophon also analyzes and

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<sup>39</sup> Pritchett 1974, 258-262.

<sup>40</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.

contextualizes the events for posterity. Thus, Xenophon's history should largely be considered a commemoration of a later stage.

In fact, some scholars question the motives of Xenophon and whether he could be considered a reliable witness since he, although Athenian, was a well-known Spartan sympathizer who even fought under the Spartan banner at several points in the early fourth century and eventually lived in exile there. Xenophon's reliability as a source of an "official" account of the battle is further problematized in that he is presenting a major victory of Thebes, a recent power at the expense of both Athens and Sparta. That being said, there are bound to be at least elements of an official, i.e., established, account of the battle, if only where the record can be reconciled with precedents or expectations.

Momentarily setting aside the question of the actual state of the field at the time of the composition of the history, Xenophon at least presents an imaginary account of the battlefield from the middle of the fourth century. Interestingly, he does not leave much evidence for any battlefield burials.<sup>41</sup>

For the trophy, while Xenophon clearly states that one was erected for the battle, he does not go into detail about its placement nor form. Instead, the historian grants some insights into meanings of the trophy:

ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν ἰστάναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναιρεῖσθαι.

But after this [battle] some of the Lakedaimonians who believed the mishap unendurable asserted both they must prevent their enemies from erecting the trophy, as well as attempt to take up the dead not under truce, but by fighting.

- Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.14

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<sup>41</sup> See above.

While it is not evidence of the physical impact on the field, Xenophon at least describes the imaginary space created by the trophy. This reinforces modern interpretations of the ancient trophy as a marker that granted the field to the victor and confirmed the victory. Interestingly, in this case Xenophon presents the negative view, in that the trophy symbolizes the Spartan loss of the space and thus confirmed their defeat.

Xenophon also mentions the monument to the virgins, but without further information as to the myth itself or the form of the monument.<sup>42</sup> He describes the actions that the Thebans took before fighting but does not mention any later commemorations around this monument that would have drawn it into the official version of the battle.

Based on the nature of the evidence, it is difficult to place the end of the official stage of commemoration. If the Leuktra monument was indeed a trophy of the mid-fourth century, then its erection could structure the stage. It is also possible, however, that there was no stone replacement for the trophy at Leuktra, and that there were no durable monuments that were established in order to set the official account of the battle.

### *Spatial Analysis*

As a stage of official memory, it is expected that the conceived space of the battlefield was dominant at some point soon after the battle. This is surely the case, but it is an interesting question whether the stone monument was a replacement “trophy”. If it was, then the structuring of conceived space followed the same pattern as it had at Marathon (and the other battlefields of the Persian Wars that were marked by stone trophies decades after the battle), with the new monument visibly reinforcing the space of its predecessor. If, in fact, the stone monument was

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<sup>42</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.7.

not a trophy, then the conceived space continued to be generated by the same ephemeral trophy, for as long as it would stand. The latter scenario is an example of how the stages of initial and official memory can overlap significantly, especially as patterns of commemoration (i.e., trophies) became more regular through the fifth century and after.

There is also an element of the battlefield as an imaginary space, albeit reinforcing its status as a conceived space. Xenophon's account of the trophy indicates that the monument's meaning was not just recognizable, but essentially binding. Even if there was no trophy from the second stage, perhaps the initial trophy gained a sheen of official character as a constructor of conceived space.

### **Stage Three: Commemoration Maintenance**

The next life stage of the field of Leuktra is the longest, and its limits most variable. It began immediately after the establishment of the official account when the field is largely dominated by conceived space, but as the actual experience, enactment, and re-enactment of memories transforms the space into lived space. During this period, the memories of the battle were shaped and contoured for specific purposes by official activity, or else they were reified by passive practice and individual experience.

Peculiar to the battlefield at Leuktra, this stage sees much attention concerning what monuments were present and when. Not only in the literary record, but also in inscriptional evidence, we see a long discussion over the contested memories of the field. There are numerous references to many trophies on the field and to the monument of the virgins, as well as to the status of the burials and the collection of the dead.

For some reason, the commemoration of the battle was hotly contested, as we can see in the literary record. This is not reflected archaeologically, however, perhaps due to a lack of archaeological investigation.

### *Physical Evidence*

For the most part, there is no evidence for new monuments on the field from this stage. Instead, the commemorations that had been established previously persisted in the space, and so attracted or inspired further action. There is evidence from the field that the monuments and memories continued, but this is mostly inferencing from literary sources.

Likewise, the battlefield burials, and perhaps the trophy, were elements of the space of maintained memories, which we know from an inscription (*IG* VII 2462), the so-called Xenokrates inscription. The inscription was found in Thebes and was probably on display in the city in antiquity.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, reading the stone as a text gives some indication of the state of the battlefield at Leuktra.

Looking only at the text, the inscription reads:

Ξενοκράτης,  
Θεόπομπος,  
Μνασίλαος.  
**άνικα** τὸ Σπάρτας ἐκράτει δόρυ, **τηνάκις** εἶλεν  
Ξενοκράτης κλάρωι Ζηνὶ **τροπαῖα** φέρειν  
οὐ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρώτα δείσας **στόλον** οὐδὲ Λάκαιναν  
**ἀσπίδα**. "Θηβαῖοι κρείσσονες ἐν πολέμωι"  
**καρύσσει Λεύκτροις νικαφόρα δουρὶ τροπαῖα,**  
οὐδ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα δεύτεροι ἐδράμομεν.

Xenokrates  
Theopompos  
Mnasilaos  
When the Spartan spear ruled, then Xenokrates  
took by lot to bear the **trophy** to Zeus  
not fearing the **weapon** from the Eurotas nor Lakainian  
**shield**. "The Thebans are better in war"  
the **victory-by-spear-bearing trophy at Leuktra heralds,**

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<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 6 (pp. 360-363, **Figure 6.6**) for a closer look at the inscription.

nor did we run second to Epameinondas.

- *IG VII 2462*, text from Rhodes and Osborne 30, translation mine.

I will discuss the inscription in more detail in Chapter 6, but here highlight several words that are relevant in the context of the battlefield. First of all, the inscription temporally and spatially refers to the battle at Leuktra. The first line of the epigram features the grammatical construction *ἀνίκα* (“at the time when”) ... *τηνᾱκίς* (“at this time”), with clear reference to the context of the battle as a period of Spartan power at the beginning of the fourth century. The spatial reference is more explicit, as the field is referenced by name in the penultimate line of the epigram.

The inscription twice mentions a trophy or trophies. On the one hand, both could refer to a single monument at Leuktra, as indicated in the penultimate line. In this event, then the inscription emends the responsibility for the battlefield monument and places the dedicators Xenokrates, Theopompos, and Mnasilaos as equals to Epameinondas as authors of the trophy.

On the other hand, the inscription could refer to multiple separate trophies.<sup>44</sup> If this is the case, then the trophy which Xenokrates bears does not necessarily have an explicit connection to the battle at Leuktra. At the same time, it could be a reference to the many trophies that stood on the field at various times, from before the battle through the battle and to after the battle.

While the inscription has been connected with the battle of Leuktra since its first publication in 1877,<sup>45</sup> it has recently been dated to the end of the fourth century, to about 315 BCE when Thebes was re-founded by Cassander.<sup>46</sup> Although we have no evidence, it is possible that this inscription, like the trophy, was a replacement of an earlier inscription.

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<sup>44</sup> Egger 1878, 26.

<sup>45</sup> Koumanoudes 1877.

<sup>46</sup> Papazarkadas 2016.

Regardless of whether or not the marble base was for a monumentalization of a trophy or rather part of a monumental tomb, it appears that there were at most two standing physical commemorations related to the battle.

### *Literary Sources*

Literary sources inform us of this period of the biography of Leuktra. Near contemporary authors such as Xenophon and Isokrates discuss the victory and the state of the field. These sources are important because they not only are the first evidence of the manipulation of the memories of the battlefield space, but they also provide the closest approximation of the official memory of the field due to the chronological proximity, as we saw with Xenophon.<sup>47</sup>

Xenophon's *Hellenika* provides the earliest narrative of the battle, the events that unfolded, and the subsequent commemorative monuments.<sup>48</sup> The text also contains early rhetorical usage of the battle, such that the general Pelopidas gains fame because of his role in the fighting.<sup>49</sup>

We are concerned with Xenophon's description of the field and the evidence of the curation or manipulation of the memories that had been offered in the previous stages. The initial trophy and burials have been discussed above, but possibly the story of the Spartan attempt to prevent the trophy is a later tradition. Although Xenophon does not elaborate on these commemorations, we can assume that they persisted on the field to the time of his writing. Besides those, Xenophon's account contains the first mention of monuments that predated the

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<sup>47</sup> See above on Xenophon's account of the initial battlefield monuments.

<sup>48</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.

<sup>49</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 7.1.

battle, both those that commemorated other events and those that were intentionally placed on the field in order to affect the outcome of the engagement.

According to Xenophon, there was an earlier oracle that predicted the Spartans would be defeated on the spot where the monuments to the virgins stood, and the Thebans reportedly decorated the structure prior to the battle:

... παρεθάρρυνε μὲν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνῆμα, αἱ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.

...and an oracle emboldened them [the Thebans], which said that it would be fitting that the Lakedaimonians be beaten here where there was the monument of the virgins, who are said to have killed themselves because of the rape by some Lakedaimonians. And the Thebans decorated this monument before the battle.

- Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.7.

This is the first mention of the monument and, as far as I can tell, the myth attached to it.<sup>50</sup>

Xenophon provides very little additional information on the monument or the event that it commemorates, neither does he provide specific details of the virgins nor their rapists. We only know that the latter was a generalized collection of Lakedaimonians, perhaps diffusing a portion of the guilt to the wider group rather than focusing on the individuals. The monument itself is called a *μνῆμα*, a word that is associated with burials in some contexts,<sup>51</sup> but could also refer to monuments, gifts and other commemorations.<sup>52</sup> The verb used to describe the Theban decorating

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<sup>50</sup> There is a similar myth concerning a maiden on the field of Marathon. In Euripides' *Herakleidae* (lines 390-534), a daughter of Herakles sacrifices herself on the field of Marathon in order to assure an Athenian victory against the Argives. While unnamed by Euripides, later versions of the myth call her Makaria, and Pausanias says that there is a spring named after her at Marathon (Pausanias 1.32.6). Although it occurred in mythological time before the battle of Marathon and there are no explicit connections of the battle Marathon in 490 BCE, it is not difficult to imagine at least an implied connection. It probably was not one-to-one, however, as Aristotle (*On Rhetoric* 2.22.6) mentions the myth in the same thought as the battle of Salamis and Marathon. Kearns (1989, 58) doubts there was a cult of Makaria, as all the evidence could simply be a usage of the adjective "blessed", rather than her name. See Roselli 2007.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., Herodotus 7.167; Demosthenes 18.208.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., *Il.* 23.619, Achilles gives Nestor an urn to contain the ashes of Patroclus. There is debate over whether the word in the text is *μνῆμα* or *σῆμα*. Calkins (2010, 168 n. 92) says that the former is rare in the Homeric epics, and she does not include this scene in her examples.



the monument is *κοσμέω*, which could also carry connotations of marshalling and ordering, as well as dressing women. Xenophon ascribes a clear spatial significance to the monument, emphasizing the spot of the Lakedaimonian defeat by grammatically setting the clause apart:

*ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα.*

Additionally, continuing from the passage from Xenophon, the Thebans received reports of other positive divine omens from Thebes itself, including a report that the weapons within the Herakleion had disappeared indicating that the god was at Leuktra fighting on behalf of Thebes:

ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὥς οἱ τε νεφὲ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνεώγοντο, αἱ τε ἱέρειαι λέγουσιν ὥς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοινεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὥς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρημένου.

And also it was reported to them from the city that all the temples were opening on their own, and the priestesses said that the gods were making victory known. And from the Herakleion also, they said the arms were missing, as if the very Herakles set out for the battle.

-Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.7

Xenophon gives further reasons that the Thebans were emboldened prior to the battle, hinting at divine interventions. The contents of the reports tell us little about the field, but does show the imaginary connection that was forged between the city of Thebes and the battlefield space, particularly through the arms of Herakles. The act of the reports themselves also shows further connections between the city and battlefield space.

We will never know whether or not events unfurled in this way, but this is the account of Xenophon in the decades after the battle. Already in the middle of the fourth century, however, Xenophon reveals the theory that these omens and oracles were merely the work of the Theban leaders: *οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες λέγουσιν ὥς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων*. Many parts of the story appear to be the historian's attempts to rationalize the victory rather than an actual reporting of events. In addition to the omens, for example, Xenophon gives further reasons for the Spartan defeat, including that the Spartan general Kleombrotos and the Spartans drank a little wine before fighting.

Elements of Xenophon's version of events persisted, with some variations, into later accounts by Diodorus Siculus three centuries later, as well as Plutarch and Pausanias two hundred years after that. Diodorus' account begins with Epameinondas' schemes to bolster Boiotian morale:

ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας δεισιδαιμονοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι σημείοις, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας μεταθεῖναι τὰς τοῦ πλήθους εὐλαβείας. διόπερ τινῶν προσφάτως παραγεγονότων ἐκ Θηβῶν ἔπεισεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν νεὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὄπλα παραδόξως ἀφανῆ γέγονε καὶ λόγος ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις διαδέδοται ὡς τῶν ἡρώων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνειληφότων αὐτὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἀπεληλυθότων.

But Epameinondas, seeing that the soldiers had superstitious fears because of the omens that had occurred, attempted through his own invention and strategy to alter the timidity of the crowd. Thus, when some men recently arrived from Thebes he persuaded them to say that the arms from the temple of Herakles incredibly disappeared and that the word in Thebes had gone around that the ancient heroes had taken them up and departed to help the Boiotians.

- Diodorus Siculus 15.53.4

Diodorus claimed that it was Epameinondas who directed his men to remove the arms and armor from the temple of Herakles in order to make it appear not only that the god-hero was fighting on the Boiotian side, but also the other heroes of old. Interestingly, but perhaps coincidentally, Diodorus uses the same word that Xenophon had used to describe the disappearance of the arms from the temple: *ἀφανῆ*. As Xenophon had done before, Diodorus plays on the connections between the battlefield of Leuktra and the city of Thebes.

Diodorus added a further wrinkle to Theban mythmaking surrounding the event, claiming that Epameinondas directed a man to report that he had received an oracle from Trophonios at Livadia that the Thebans would win and must then institute games in honor of Zeus after the victory.<sup>53</sup>

ἄλλον δὲ κατέστησεν ὡς ἀπὸ Τροφωνίου προσφάτως ἀναβεβηκότα καὶ λέγοντα, διότι προστέταχεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἐν Λεύκτροις νικήσωσιν, ἀγῶνα τιθέναι Διὶ βασιλεῖ στεφανίτην: ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Βοιωτοὶ ταύτην ποιοῦσι τὴν πανήγυριν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ.

And [Epameinondas] set someone who recently rose from the Trophonios Oracle and said: because the god commanded them, when they are victorious in Leuktra, to establish games with a crown for Zeus Basileios. For which now the Boiotians perform this festival in Livadia.

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<sup>53</sup> Diodorus 15.53.

- Diodorus Siculus 15.53.4.

In so doing, he connects the battlefield to the Boiotian sanctuary space at Livadia. This should also resonate with Herodotus' story of the games for Pan instituted in Athens after Marathon.<sup>54</sup>

Diodorus elaborates the stories of the omens and oracles on the field, particularly providing additional information on the omen concerning the monument of the virgins. He writes:

συνήγγησε δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπίνοιαν Λεανδρίας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, πεφευγὼς μὲν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, τότε δὲ συστρατεύων Θηβαίοις. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προαχθεὶς ἀπεφήνατο παλαιὸν εἶναι λόγιον τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, ὅτι τότε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβαλοῦσιν, ὅταν ἐν Λεύκτροις ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἡττηθῶσιν.

And Leandrias the Spartan, who first fled from Lakedaimon and then allied with the Thebans, cooperated towards this invention. For after he was led into the council he declared there was an ancient story among the Spartans, that it is the time they will throw away their hegemony, when they are beaten by Thebes in Leuktra.

- Diodorus Siculus 15.54.1.

Diodorus introduces a Lakedaimonian defector, Leandrias, who reports to the Thebans an ancient oracle that Sparta would lose supremacy after losing to Thebes at Leuktra. Again, Diodorus employs similar vocabulary similar to that of Xenophon, using the verb *ἡττάομαι* “to be defeated”. In this retelling, the omen is ancient and distant, coming from Spartan sources, but also suddenly relevant in the narrative.

Diodorus continues:

...προσηλθον δὲ τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ καὶ χρησμολόγοι τινὲς ἐγχώριοι, λέγοντες ὅτι περὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν Λεύκτρον καὶ Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων μεγάλη συμφορὰ δεῖ περιπεσεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Λεύκτρος ἦν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο ἔσχε τὴν προσηγορίαν. τούτου θυγατέρας καὶ Σκεδάσου τινὸς ὁμοίως κόρας πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβιάσαντο: αἱ δὲ ὕβρισθεῖσαι τὴν συμφορὰν οὐκ ἐνέγκασαι, τῇ πατρίδι τῇ πεμψάσῃ τοὺς ὕβριστὰς καταρασάμεναι τὸν βίον αὐτοχειρίᾳ κατέστρεψαν.

And even some soothsaying locals approached Epameinondas, saying that it is necessary that the Lakedaimonians come to great misfortune around the tomb of the daughters of Leuktros and Skedasos on account of these reasons. There was a Leuktros, after whom the field was named. Elders/ambassadors of Lakedaimon raped the daughters of this man and of a certain Skedasos who were also maidens. And the daughters because they could not bear the offense of being outraged, after calling down curses upon the land which sent their rapists they ended their lives with their own hands.

- Diodorus Siculus 15.54.2-3

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<sup>54</sup> Herodotus 6.105.

Diodorus expands on the story of the monument in particular, adding that the myth was reported to Epameinondas by local soothsayers that the Lakedaimonians were destined to meet disaster at the tomb of the daughters of Leuktros and Skedastos, the former being the namesake of the field itself. Just as Xenophon reported, the girls were raped by Lakedaimonians, and Diodorus adds that the girls then cursed the land that sent their rapists then killed themselves in shame.<sup>55</sup> A further departure from Xenophon's account is the description of the rapists as ambassadors (*πρέσβεις*), and their official status is reinforced by the girls' curses against the land that sent them out (*τῇ πατρίδι τῇ πεμψάσῃ τοὺς ὕβριστὰς καταρασάμεναι*). The monument is also clearly a tomb.

Diodorus also gives an updated account of the battle and the commemoration of it. Near the end of the fighting as the Spartan king Kleombrotos is struggling and resisting, the king dies and is swallowed up by a mound of dead bodies: *τοῦ πτώματος νεκρῶν πλῆθος ἐσωρεύθη*. The verb is *σωρεύω* "to heap", often used in reference to crops and abundance,<sup>56</sup> but in this instance it refers to the mounding of dead on the field itself. A similar metaphor was previously used by Xenophon in reference to the dead.<sup>57</sup> Diodorus' account ends with a tally of the dead, 4,000 Lakedaimonians and about 300 Boiotians, followed by a truce to take up the dead.

In many ways, Diodorus supplements the story that was given by Xenophon by providing further details and theories regarding the circumstances prior to and following the battle. He fleshes out the mythology surrounding the monument of the virgins on the field, providing names and details. He also propagates the hypothesis that many of the omens were spread

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<sup>55</sup> Diodorus 15.53-54.

<sup>56</sup> E.g., Hesiod *Works and Days*.

<sup>57</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 4.4.12.

intentionally by the Thebans and their leaders, this time supplying the attribution of Epameinondas. Their accounts also differ in some respects, primarily in the treatment of the dead. Xenophon reported that the Lakedaimonians had lost nearly 1,000 troops, nearly 400 of them Spartans, and were inclined to fight to collect the bodies and prevent the trophy rather than agree to a truce, but Diodorus indicates there were four times as many casualties and makes no reference to Spartan desires to thwart a trophy.

Another clear difference is to whom the authors give credit for the victory. Xenophon appears reluctant to mention Epameinondas, instead saying it was Pelopidas,<sup>58</sup> while Diodorus gives equal credit to Pelopidas and Epameinondas. When Diodorus lists the accomplishments of Pelopidas, he gives the general the honor of the first victories over the Spartans at Tegyra and the primary reason for the victory at Leuktra.<sup>59</sup> Elsewhere, we see plenty of evidence of Epameinondas' involvement, from the initial planning of the battle,<sup>60</sup> to Epameinondas' words at his death when he claims Leuktra as one of his two daughters along with Mantinea.<sup>61</sup>

The tradition of divine influence and omens is also recorded by Cicero in the same century as Diodorus.<sup>62</sup> According to the orator, the armor of Herakles made noises and his statue began to sweat, while the temple to Herakles in Thebes suddenly opened and his armor was strewn across the floor. He does not record any events on the field, however, not mentioning the monument to the virgins.

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<sup>58</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 7.1.33.

<sup>59</sup> Diodorus 15.81.2.

<sup>60</sup> Diodorus 15.53.

<sup>61</sup> Diodorus 15.87.

<sup>62</sup> Cicero *De Divinatione* 1.74-5.

The memory of the battle developed in the centuries after Diodorus in the writing of Plutarch and Pausanias. In his biography of Pelopidas, Plutarch describes the run-up to the battle. He begins by describing the field of Leuktra and the monument of the virgins, but with variations from Xenophon and Diodorus: <sup>63</sup>

...ὄψιν εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ Πελοπίδας εὖ μάλα διαταράζασαν αὐτόν, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τῷ Λευκτρικῷ πεδίῳ τὰ σήματα τῶν τοῦ Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων, ἃς Λευκτρίδας καλοῦσι διὰ τὸν τόπον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ξένων Σπαρτιατῶν βιασθείσαις συνέβη ταφῆναι. γενομένης δὲ χαλεπῆς οὕτω καὶ παρανόμου πράξεως, ὁ μὲν πατήρ, ὥς οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δίκης, ἀρὰς κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀρασάμενος ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν παρθένων, χρησμοὶ δὲ καὶ λόγια τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις αἰεὶ προῦφαινον εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ Λευκτρικὸν μῆνιμα, μὴ πάνυ τῶν πολλῶν συνιέντων, ἀλλ' ἀμφιγνοοῦντων τὸν τόπον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολίχνην πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ Λεῦκτρον ὀνομάζεται, καὶ πρὸς Μεγάλῃ πόλει τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τόπος ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμος...

...in his sleep Pelopidas had a vision that thoroughly confounded him, for on the plain of Leuktra there are monuments of Skedasos' daughters, whom they called the Leuktridai on account of the place, for they happen to be buried where they were raped by Spartan foreigners/strangers/soldiers. And because of such a grievous and unlawful event occurring, on the one hand their father, since he did not obtain justice in Lakedaïmon, after cursing the Spartans he killed himself on the tombs of the maidens. On the other hand oracles and stories continuously wove among the Spartans to be cautious and beware the Leuktran guilt, lest most do not entirely understand, but misunderstand the place, since also a small town in Lakonia near the sea is called Leuktron, and a place near Megalopolis of Arkadia is similarly named..

- Plutarch *Pelopidas* 20.3-4.

Plutarch tells us that there are tombs of the daughters of Skedasos, who had been buried there after being raped by Spartan strangers. The girls' father Skedasos, since he could not get justice in Lakedaïmon, cursed the Spartans before killing himself on the tomb. This was the source of an omen that the Spartans should beware of the guilt at Leuktra. There is confusion among the Spartans, however, of what exactly that meant since there is a similarly named town in the Peloponnese near Megalopolis.

Apparently, the story had developed since Diodorus. On the one hand, some details are familiar. The monument is now called *σήματα*, though clearly linked to a burial based on the subsequent usage of the verb *ταφῆναι* and the noun *τάφος*. The daughters remain unnamed, but instead are indicated by the name of the field as the Leuktridai. Gone is the reference to a

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<sup>63</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 21.

Leuktros, perhaps evidence that the story also simplified in some ways. Plutarch also gives a greater role to the father, changing the source of the curse from the daughters. Nevertheless, both Diodorus and Plutarch employ the same root verb and construction to describe the cursing, *καταρασάμεναι* by the former and *κατά + ἀρασάμενος* by the latter.

On the other hand, some details changed. One key difference is the description of the villains, here described as strangers (*ξένοι*), but called elders or ambassadors (*πρέσβεις*) by Diodorus and simply “some Lakedaimonians” by Xenophon. Plutarch’s version highlights that the aggrieved party could not win justice in the court at Sparta. Another change is the consistency of the omens and prophecies that warn the Spartans. According to Plutarch, there are many that are frequently evoked but that are confusing to their Spartan audience, but in Diodorus it is a local Boiotian oracle, as it also appears to be in Xenophon.

Plutarch continues with a narrative of Pelopidas’ dream. The Theban sees the girls weeping and cursing Spartans (again using *καταρωμένας*), while their father compels him to sacrifice a virgin to his daughters if he desires victory. Pelopidas reports the dream and a debate ensues as to what actions to undertake. In addition to mythology, historical examples of human sacrifice are evoked, including a report that Themistocles sacrificed youths before Salamis.<sup>64</sup> The Thebans ultimately avoid human sacrifice when a mare appears before them, apparently a victim that would satisfy Pelopidas’ premonition.<sup>65</sup>

Mythology, oracles, and history intermingle in Plutarch’s development of the story, but the more important take-away is that the Thebans play a more active role in the mythmaking. Where previous sources had hinted at Thebans in general, Epameinondas in particular, had

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<sup>64</sup> Plutarch *Themistokles* 13.

<sup>65</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 22.

manipulated omens to appear more favorable prior to the fighting, Plutarch indicates that the Thebans and Pelopidas do not undertake any underhanded activities to motivate their victory.

Plutarch's narrative in the biography of Pelopidas ends with a brief description of the battle, and the biographer ultimately argues that Pelopidas won as much fame as Epameinondas for the battle, although the former was not formally in charge.

Plutarch makes two other references to the story of Skedasos, his daughters, and their rape by Spartan men in book three of his *Amatoriae Narrationes* and in *On the Malice of Herodotus*. In this version, he names the daughters as either Hippo and Miletia, or as Theano and Euxippe. The Lakedaimonians are unnamed, simply called Spartans. This is a violent version, in which the Spartans rape and murder the maidens, throw their bodies down a well, and fled. Upon learning what happened, Skedasos travelled to Sparta in search of justice. Along the way, he meets a father who had suffered a similar story, who advises him to return to Boiotia and build the tomb of his daughters (*κτίσαι των θυγατέρων τον τάφον*). Skedasos decides against it, and proceeds to Sparta where his case is not heard by ephors, or kings, or the rest of the citizens. He beats the ground and beseeches the Erinyes before killing himself in Sparta.

Plutarch continues with the fall of Sparta at Leuktra, as Epameinondas elected the spot for battle due not only to this story, but also an earlier myth-historical story concerning Amphiktyon. Apparently by coincidence, Epameinondas is victorious near the monument to the virgins, here called *τὸ μνημα τῶν Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων*. Prior to the battle, Pelopidas and his dream also occur in this version, although he is visited by Skedasos who tells him explicitly to sacrifice a horse on the tomb of his daughters. The monument is apparently unknown to him prior to the vision, and he confirms its existence in consultation with local inhabitants.



In characteristic fashion, Pausanias' account gives a variety of details to the events leading up to, during, and after the fighting at Leuktra. He includes a version of the story of the daughters of Skedasos, but precedes it with an omen that was presented to the Spartans when a pack of wolves attacked their sheep. Continuing with omens, Pausanias gives his version of the maiden story, this time providing the names of the maidens, Molpia and Hippo, as well as the names of the offending Lakedaimonians, Phryrarchidas and Parthenios.<sup>66</sup> The maidens hung themselves (*ἀπάγχουσιν*), their father Skedasos was unsuccessful in gaining justice from Sparta and subsequently killed himself as well. In broad strokes, the story is similar to earlier versions, save for the additional details. The identities of the Lakedaimonians are specified, but their status is described vaguely as "men" (*ἄνδρες*).

Absent from the story are the curses and demands for sacrifice. A second glaring absence is the tomb or monument itself, which is not mentioned at all. Instead, Pausanias tells us that Epameinondas took the initiative to sacrifice and pray to Skedasos and the maidens because he believed it would secure victory. In this version, we see a return to the active role of Epameinondas in attempting to swing the tide of battle, without any reference to other known omens or myths.

After a short narrative of the fighting, Pausanias describes the outcome:

Θηβαίοις μὲν ἡ νίκη κατείργαστο ἐπιφανέστατα πασῶν ὀπόσας κατὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀνείλοντο Ἕλληνας· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξ τὴν ὕστεραίαν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας διεννοοῦντο ὡς θάγοντες καὶ ἀποστέλλουσι κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Ἐπαμινώνδας δέ, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὰς συμφορὰς αἰεὶ ποτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεφύκασιν, ἔφασκεν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν νεκρῶν προτέροις αὐτῶν διδόναι τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἀνελομένοις οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡξίου θάπτειν τοὺς αὐτῶν.

On the one hand, the victory achieved by the Thebans was the most famous of all that Greeks had won over Greeks. On the other hand, the Lakedaimonians were minded to take up their own dead for burial and they sent a herald to the Thebans. But Epameinondas, who knew that the Lakedaimonians were disposed by nature to always cover up their misfortunes, was thinking to grant to the allies the retrieval of their dead first, and after they retrieve them thus he also allowed the Lakedaimonians to bury their own dead.

- Pausanias 9.13.11.

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<sup>66</sup> Pausanias 9.13.5.

Before any further description, he begins by declaring that the victory was the most famous ever won by Greeks against Greeks. He then describes a few of the immediate reactions to the battle, sending heralds and preparing the dead on the field. For the latter practice, Pausanias indicates that there was particular attention paid to the manipulation of the subsequent commemoration. He alleges that the Lakedaimonians were likely to try to minimize the appearance of their losses, and so tells us that Epameinondas accordingly takes action to prevent the spin. With that stratagem complete, Pausanias highlights that only 47 Thebans and Boiotians had perished, compared to more than 1,000 Lakedaimonians.

The next literary mentions of the story of Skedasos and his daughters are from centuries after Pausanias. Gregory Nazianzenos mentions them in the fourth century CE, but with little reference to the battle.<sup>67</sup> A sixth-century commentator on Gregory, pseudo-Nonnus or Nonnus Abbas, expand on the reference, describing Skedasos as a Leuktrian who had three daughters that were raped and murdered by Spartans.<sup>68</sup> According to the commentary, it is because of this outrage that the Spartans lose at Leuktra. Note that it is not that the Thebans won, but rather that the Spartans lost. A later commentary from the seventh or eighth century CE repeats this reference, as does a late reference from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, by Michael Apostolios.<sup>69</sup>

Other than the monument of the virgins on the field, literary mentions of the trophy indicate the persistence of the trophy monument. In the fourth century BCE, Isokrates uses it as a point of comparison for hypothetical future trophies. In a speech written for the Spartan prince/future king Archidamos to address the Spartans in support of continuing to war against

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<sup>67</sup> Gregory Nazianzenos *Against Julian* 4.

<sup>68</sup> Pseudo-Nonnus *Scholia Mythologica* 4.10.

<sup>69</sup> Michael Apostolios 15.53.

Thebes, the speaker references the trophy at Leuktra while speaking of the state of Spartan affairs in the fourth century:

εἰ δὲ φοβηθέντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας κινδύνους προησόμεθ' αὐτῶν, βεβαιώσομεν τὰς Θηβαίων ἀλαζονείας καὶ πολὺ σεμνότερον τρόπαιον τοῦ περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ φανερώτερον στήσομεν καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχίας, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας ἔσται γεγενημένον.

But if because we fear the present dangers we abandon what is ours, we confirm the boasts of the Thebans and we erect against ourselves a trophy much more pompous and conspicuous than the trophy at Leuktra. And one will be for our misfortune, but the other for our spirit.

- Isokrates 6.10

The physical marker of the trophy does not stand on the field itself, but rather in the collective psyche of Archidamos' contemporary Spartans. As an imaginary monument, it stands in comparison with another imagined trophy, both of which are meant to stand as catalysts for actions suggested by the speaker. The symbolic power of the trophy is reminiscent of contemporary references to the trophy at Marathon.<sup>70</sup>

Chronologically, Isokrates' speech is our earliest mention of the trophy at Leuktra, perhaps two decades before Xenophon's *Hellenika*. Isokrates' usage of the trophy shows an active manipulation of the meaning of the monument, however, while Xenophon merely states that the trophy was raised and hints at the symbolic meaning to the losing Spartans.

Later authors also refer to the trophy. Around the turn of the third century CE, Athenaios tells us that the trophy is depicted on the shield of Asopichos, one of the generals that fought alongside Epameinondas at Leuktra, citing Theopompos of the fourth century BCE, around the same time as Isokrates' speech above. This shield and the depiction of the trophy is an interesting case because, according to the text, it ended up as a dedication at the sanctuary at Delphi, thus referencing the space of Leuktra in the space of the sanctuary. In this case, the

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<sup>70</sup> E.g., Isokrates 5.147. It should be noted that Isokrates is speaking to an Athenian audience around 366 BCE, who would have their own knowledge and assumptions regarding trophies in rhetorical speech.

quoted text of Theopompos shows the depiction of the trophy on the shield, and the later citation by Athenaios the lasting impressions.

After Theopompos, the trophy is obliquely mentioned by Cicero, but for a far different purpose. Cicero approaches the monument in terms of piety and propriety, questioning the justice in making permanent a monument that celebrates a victory of Greeks over Greeks. The question is not whether it is right to celebrate a victory, but rather if it is right to establish a permanent monument.

While this passage is often cited to indicate that the Thebans replaced an impermanent trophy at Leuktra with a more substantial monument, a closer reading of the text challenges that assumption. First, it must be pointed out that Cicero does not mention Leuktra, but rather that the Thebans set up a trophy when they defeated the Lakedaimonians in battle.<sup>71</sup> We can assume that the battle referred to is Leuktra, based on other evidence from within Cicero's corpus, in particular *De Officiis*, where Leuktra is included in a list of battles that can be used in rhetorical exercises.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, it is striking that the battle is not named.

Secondly, the allegation is not that the Thebans replaced an ephemeral trophy, but rather that they erected one of bronze. On the one hand, because we assume that there was an ephemeral trophy based on our other sources, it could be the case that Cicero simply assumes its existence. On the other hand, though, Cicero may conflate the bronze trophy with the initial commemoration, perhaps insinuating that there was no ephemeral monument on the field in the

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<sup>71</sup> Cicero *De Inventione* 2.23: "Cum Thebani Lakedaimonios bello superavissent..."

<sup>72</sup> Cicero *De Officiis* 1.61. The other battles are Marathon, Salamis, Plataia, and Thermopylai.

first place. Perhaps the change in the meaning of trophies from a Greek to a Roman context is at the heart of this issue.<sup>73</sup>

It could be the case that the existence of an ephemeral trophy was not assumed in the first century BCE. In another reference to the battle in Cicero's corpus, the orator neglects to mention a trophy to Leuktra although he speaks about the trophy at Salamis.<sup>74</sup> Not only does Cicero's text present some problems, but so does the absence of mention in Diodorus Siculus' text. Not only does the narration of the battle lack the scene of setting the trophy, but so does the list of Pelopidas' accomplishments, despite the fact that the reference to Leuktra is sandwiched between the trophies for Tegyra and for the Peloponnesian invasion.

Perhaps surprisingly, the trophy does not feature prominently in ancient sources after the first century BCE. Diodorus discusses the battle, as does Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo, but none make mention of the battlefield monument. There is a passing reference from Plutarch, but the mention probably had little to do with the monument itself. It comes in the context of Epameinondas' achievements, particularly what the general himself was most proud of: that his mother and father lived to see the trophy set up at Leuktra:

μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἰπών, ὥς φασιν, ἡδιστον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸ τοὺς τεκόντας ζῶντας ἐπιθεῖν τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις τρόπαιον αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος.

And Epameinondas testified to me by saying, as they say, that the sweetest thing to him was the fact that his living parents saw the trophy in Leuktra from when he was general.

- Plutarch *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 16.

Again, the monument is absent in Plutarch's other discussions of Leuktra, including his biography of Pelopidas. Following the same pattern as Diodorus, Pelopidas is given credit for a trophy at Tegyra, but not at Leuktra.

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<sup>73</sup> See Kinnee 2011, 2018.

<sup>74</sup> Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.110.

The next reference to the trophy comes from Pausanias, several centuries later. It is apparent that the fabric of monuments and memories on the field of Leuktra had seriously frayed in the previous centuries, especially in literary sources. While some continuity persists amid minor variations, such as in the stories regarding the monument to the virgins, other elements of the commemoration undergo major changes.

Even in Pausanias, however, we do not have a clear reference to the trophy that commemorated the Theban victory at Leuktra in 371 BCE. Rather than tell us that a trophy was established following the fighting, Pausanias gives a story about the presence of trophies on the field prior to the battle. This was a trophy taken from the sanctuary of Trophonios in Livadia, which Epameinondas placed on the battlefield of Leuktra in sight of the Lakedaimonians. While present during the battle, the monument was returned to Livadia following the Theban triumph.<sup>75</sup> Even in Pausanias' report on the epigram on Epameinondas' tomb lacks mention of the trophy at Leuktra, and only Messene and Megalopolis are named.<sup>76</sup> That being said, Pausanias makes no other mention of a lasting trophy on the field of Leuktra.

Literary references to the trophy in the second century and later do not establish the persistence of the monument, but rather might hint that the physicality of it had waned over the centuries. In the ancient texts, then, the battlefield of Leuktra becomes defined by the event itself rather than the elements on the field, so much so that the space of the battle does not matter and Leuktra becomes a calling card for a transition of power from the Spartans to the Thebans. The spatiality of Leuktra is lost, and it transitions into an imaginary space.

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<sup>75</sup> Pausanias 4.32.

<sup>76</sup> Pausanias 9.15.

## Stage Four: Lapses of Memory

After several tumultuous centuries, the commemorative structure of the field of Leuktra weakened. Looking beyond the monuments, this transition began early, perhaps with Isokrates in the fourth century when the orator references Leuktra as the point when Spartan power failed.<sup>77</sup> The theme of the battle as an organizing event in Greek history continues from that point, for example in the third century BCE when Polybios dates the start of the period of Theban dominance to the battle.<sup>78</sup>

The process may have accelerated with continued rhetorical usage of the memory of the battle, although this also began soon after 371. Eventually, Leuktra became a major source of pride for the Thebans by the first century BCE.<sup>79</sup> Some attempted to extinguish this pride, as was the case when Philip II marched into Boiotia,<sup>80</sup> and later authors even viewed it as the cause for Thebes' later troubles,<sup>81</sup> as the commemoration on the field faded.

Concerning Leuktra in general, it appears that the place was loosely defined geographically and conceptually, sometimes vacillating between being called a city or a field. Already in the fourth century BCE, Xenophon refers to Leuktra as a place in the territory of Thespiiai.<sup>82</sup> Leake argued that Leuktra was of little note since the first century BCE: while Strabo

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<sup>77</sup> Isokrates 15.110.

<sup>78</sup> Polybios 2.39.

<sup>79</sup> Diodorus 17.11.

<sup>80</sup> Diodorus 16.58.

<sup>81</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.17.2.

<sup>82</sup> Xenophon 6.4.

mentions Leuktra as a city and place of note in his geography,<sup>83</sup> Leake argues, the geographer says that only Tanagra and Thespiiai are considerable cities in Boiotia.<sup>84</sup>

Likewise, Leuktra was not considered a city by Diodorus, who refers to the place as a field (*πεδῖον*). The attribution is echoed by Plutarch, who calls the space a field (*πεδῖον*), in contrast to the small town (*πολίχνηον*) in Lakonia of the same name.<sup>85</sup> Elsewhere, however, Plutarch refers to Leuktra as a small un-walled village (*κώμιον*) within the lands of Thespiiai.<sup>86</sup> Centuries later, Pausanias gives no indication of a city of Leuktra, introducing it only as a place in Boiotia.<sup>87</sup>

The physical presence, and thus the knowledge of the place, was early confused. Perhaps, as Leake argued, the basic knowledge of the place had been lost by the first century and Strabo. This gives new significance to Plutarch's account concerning the myth of the rape of the virgins and how it inspired Pelopidas, since the general had to send scouts to the field in order to learn more.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, the theme of confused knowledge of the space and its attending mythology exists in Diodorus, since it is the local soothsayers that know of the myth and its significance.

Due to the limited definition of the place, the lapse of the commemoration in the space probably began around the first century BCE. How does this mesh with the extant archaeological record?

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<sup>83</sup> Strabo 9.2.35.

<sup>84</sup> Leake 1936, 480.

<sup>85</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 20.3.

<sup>86</sup> Plutarch *Amatoriae Narrationes* 3.

<sup>87</sup> Pausanias 9.13.3.

<sup>88</sup> Plutarch *Amatoriae Narrationes* 3.



Given that only the stone monument persisted, that is all we have to analyze. Based on the limited available evidence, we see the effects of the lapses in the stone monument itself, which fell into ruin at some point before its discovery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>89</sup> The monument was unknown to Leake in his travels in the early parts of the century.<sup>90</sup> Orlandos' excavations in the early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century uncovered further evidence of the monument's decay in the form of robber's trenches that indicate the stone was taken away to be reused locally.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, Leake's account of the area tells us of the numerous bits of ancient stone that were built into the churches and buildings in the region.<sup>92</sup>

Remaining with the stone monument, our record depends on how it is identified. On the one hand, if indeed it is a monumental trophy, then it is possible that it stood since its foundation in the fourth century through the first century BCE and first century CE, when it is referenced by authors like Cicero. Although there are later mentions of the monument, its conspicuous absence in Pausanias' narrative suggests that the monument was not present on the field in the second century.

In this scenario, the stone monument would have faded into disrepair, perhaps already swallowed up into the field. Later references to the trophy would be in reference to a hypothetical, imaginary and assumed monument. We see this in the second or third century CE reference from a Hermogenes of Tarsus, who tells a fantastic story about the fate of the Thebans after Alexander sacked the city. According to Hermogenes, the Lakedaimonians bought 3,000

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<sup>89</sup> Ulrichs 1863.

<sup>90</sup> Leake 1935, 480-489, especially 485-486.

<sup>91</sup> Orlandos 1958a, 1958b, 1961a, 1961b.

<sup>92</sup> Leake 1935, 480.

Thebans as prisoners to sacrifice at the Leuktra trophy.<sup>93</sup> As far as I can tell, this is the only reference to the event.

On the other hand, the stone monument may be a monument to the virgins. In that case, the monument may have persisted through the second century CE, and the myth is attested as late as the sixth century CE,<sup>94</sup> although with variations from the story known earlier. If this is so, then perhaps the trophy would have fallen apart earlier, perhaps by the time that Cicero was active, since the orator claims that the memory of the battle will never be lost, but without any mention of the trophy.<sup>95</sup> There is also a possibility that the stone monument was simultaneously a trophy and the monument to the virgins, especially after the first century BCE, based on shifting meaning over the vocabulary meaning of trophy, *τροπαῖον*, or Latin *tropaeum*.<sup>96</sup>

Regardless, the monument was probably covered before the Ottoman period, as the area was in use and accessible via a Turkish road.<sup>97</sup> In addition to that, the good preservation of the stones of the sculptural frieze indicates that at least that portion of the monument was covered by soil relatively early, and that the blocks were not left to weather in the open.

In the end, this phase is most apparent in the lack of evidence from the field other than the stone monument, despite the numerous literary references to other activities that occurred in the space. There are no burials nor any evidence of games, other monuments have not been found, nor have there been any weapons or armor associated with the field. In that sense, it is

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<sup>93</sup> Hermogenes *On Arguments* 3.15.68.

<sup>94</sup> Pseudo-Nonnus *Scholia mythologica* 4.10.

<sup>95</sup> Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 1.110.

<sup>96</sup> Kinnee 2011; Kinnee 2018.

<sup>97</sup> Heurtley 1923; Pritchett 1965c.

very different from the field of Marathon, perhaps because the latter attracted much attention from visitors and travelers.

### **Stage Five: Re-remembering Leuktra**

In this current stage of re-remembering, and subsequently analyzing the commemoration of Leuktra, we rely on the accounts of early travelers and on the archaeological projects in the surrounding environment. While there have been many major developments in the understanding of the space, there remains more opportunity to explore the connections with the commemoration of the battle.

Leake visited Boiotia and the area of the battle in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, publishing his account in 1836. The traveler details his experience around an area he identifies as Lefkas, but which he does not equate with ancient Leuktra, preferring to interpret the latter as a minor dwelling and a plain. Leake mentions a tumulus on the outskirts of modern Leuktra, which he deems must be the site of the burial of the 1,000 Lakedaimonians that had died in the battle.<sup>98</sup> His assertion is based solely on his interpretation of ancient sources and the prominence of the mound, and there are no archaeological finds that corroborated his position. Absent from Leake's records is the "trophy", as he probably would have called the stone monument, so we can guess that the associated stones were not found by the time of his visit.<sup>99</sup>

In his logs, Leake hypothesized a reason for the sparse population of the area. He notes that the only sizable village nearby was Rimokastro, which had a patron saint Charalabos (*Ἀγίος*

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<sup>98</sup> Leake 1936, 488: "As the barrow on the site of Leuktra is exactly on the summit of the ridge which was occupied by the Lakedaemonian camp, it is probably the place of sepulture [sic] of the 1000 Lakedaemonians who fell in the celebrated contest...It is therefore a monument of the same kind as the tumulus of Marathon, and a relic of antiquity scarcely less interesting."

<sup>99</sup> Although he does talk about the myth of the virgins, I doubt that the monument was visible. Leake 1935, 486.

*Χαρολάμπος*) who was said to have cured a recent plague. Leake supposes that the population of the region congregated in Rimokastro due to the saint and the possibility of plague.<sup>100</sup>

The stone monument was found in 1839 by German archaeologists.<sup>101</sup> Almost immediately, it was interpreted as the trophy monument to the battle, despite the lack of corroborating evidence. It appears that not much work was done at the site until the excavations by the Greek archaeologist Orlandos, who published the results of his work in 1922. Orlandos describes 10 sculpted stones that were found on the field near the church at Parapougia. Excavation proceeded for roughly 1.5 meters before they found sterile soil. In addition to the stones that were found on the surface, enough material was excavated for Orlandos to hypothesize a monument with the five levels that we see in the reconstruction today: a foundation and base of limestone; a cylindrical tower with a crowning frieze of metopes and triglyphs; a band of a geison above the frieze; a conical frieze of eight sculpted shields; and a top cone that had a hole with a diameter of roughly 1.35m. Orlandos identified the monument as the trophy based on its location and because of the sculpted shield frieze.<sup>102</sup> Based on that assumption, he interpreted the hole in the topmost portion as a place for a column of a trophy monument. Orlandos' initial interpretation of the monument slightly differed from the accounts of Ulrichs and previous scholars who thought that the central opening in the monument was for an altar.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Leake (1935, 483) expresses some problematic assumptions that show an anti-Ottoman bias: "When the disorder rages...a disaster which though not very frequent in Greece is sure to happen occasionally where Turks reside, the Greeks often fly from the infected town and place themselves under the Saint's protection at Rimokastro."

<sup>101</sup> Ulrichs 1848, 39 and 39 n.2 citing periodicals *Αθηνά* 1839, 646 and *Kunstblatt* 1840, 45.

<sup>102</sup> Orlandos 1922, 38.

<sup>103</sup> Ulrichs 1863, 104; Frazer 1898, 51.

Orlandos' plan following excavations was to restore the monument immediately, and the process was planned for as soon as possible. It was put on hold, however, due to the wars of the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Anastylis was accomplished by 1961.<sup>104</sup> Orlandos claims that the reconstructions are based on Boiotian coins from the third century BCE, but none of the examples show the actual substructure for the monument. Instead, it is only the central mannequin/trophy that resembles anything on the coins.

In these examples of archaeological reporting on the monument, we see how information can be passed between scholars. The same information appears in multiple publications and in three languages, including the same photographs.<sup>105</sup> Interestingly, sometimes this leads to mistakes that can be spread. For example, there is an error in Orlandos' 1958 publication which dates the battle of Leuktra to 379 BCE, which is again repeated in Georges Daux' report on archaeological activity in the 1959 edition of the journal *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.<sup>106</sup>

Besides the stone monument, early scholars who visited the field interpreted an artificial mound to the north of the modern city as a burial related to the battle. Leake believed that this mound was the burial of the Lakedaimonian dead, based on his reading of the sources that indicated the Spartan camp was somewhere around the nearby northern foothills. Frazer, in his commentary on Pausanias, appears to take this view as well, as does the late-19<sup>th</sup>-century topographer Grundy.<sup>107</sup> Excavations at this spot in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by the American School

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<sup>104</sup> Orlandos 1961a, 1961b.

<sup>105</sup> Ulrichs 1848, 1861; Orlandos 1922, 1958; Daux 1959.

<sup>106</sup> Daux 1959, 675. This only shows that Daux reproduced Orlandos' report, not that he was convinced that the battle was actually fought in 379 BCE.

<sup>107</sup> Grundy 1894.

of Classical Studies at Athens, however, showed that the mound was actually the site of the city of Eutresis.<sup>108</sup>

The battle of Leuktra resonated with the romantic poet Byron, and it features in his poem *Childe Harold* and his notes on the subject.<sup>109</sup> The field itself does not come up, perhaps indicating that there were no monuments that caught his imagination. The poet died before the stone monument was discovered, and his trips to the plain are only mentioned in the context of visiting other famous battlefields.<sup>110</sup>

### **Conclusion: Comparing Leuktra and Marathon**

Marathon is useful point of comparison and contrast to the commemorative network and space of Leuktra. These battles were juxtaposed in ancient literature, and cast in a narrative of Athenian and Theban politics within the wider Mediterranean world. This is somewhat reflected in the material record of the battlefield, as well as the ancient sources that refer to the sites.

One key difference between the battlefields of Marathon and Leuktra is that the latter lacks evidence of graves and burials, let alone a massive tumulus like the *soros*. Due to this absence, the field is somewhat less spatially tethered than Marathon, and arguments based on the spatiality of the monuments are more difficult to establish and defend. Perhaps this was a problem even in antiquity, and so maybe the commemoration of Leuktra can be read in light of similar struggles an ascendant Thebes witnessed in the fourth century.

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<sup>108</sup> Goldman 1927.

<sup>109</sup> Rood 2007.

<sup>110</sup> Rood 2007. Epameinondas comes up in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, but not only in relation to Leuktra.

A trophy was erected following the battle at Leuktra during the stage of initial commemoration. This was an impermanent monument, which symbolically marked the field and played with space in ways typical of trophies by the fourth century BCE. The monument at Leuktra marked a figurative turning point and a functional ending point of the battle. As an initial commemoration, this monument does not have a counterpart on the field of Marathon. Instead, it more closely resembles what the Marathon column monument became in the centuries after the battle, as it was transformed into a contemporary trophy. The ephemeral trophy at Leuktra, then, followed wider Greek precedents concerning trophies than the eventual Marathon monument did, if only simply because the latter did not have any specific spatial relationship to the battle.

Unlike Marathon, however, ancient sources indicate that the Leuktra trophy was a point of contention soon after it was raised in the fourth-century BCE, as well as in the following years. Already in the decade after the battle, the trophy has negative connotations at least in the Athenian imagination, as it stands as a marker for Spartan failure in the above-mentioned oration by Isokrates. This sentiment was only exacerbated by the first century BCE, when we have Cicero's reference to the trophy in a debate on piety and righteousness, insinuating that some of the commemorative power of the monument was wrong.

It did not take long for the sheen to dull for Leuktra. In general, it appears that the victory was not always viewed in a positive light outside of Thebes and/or Boiotia. In fact, Plutarch, writing in the second century, insinuates that the wider Greek world became tired of hearing about the Theban victory even in Chaironeia, saying that a man who would narrate the battle at a dinner party would end the festivities and earn himself the label "Epameinondas".<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Plutarch *De Garrulitate* 22.

This is in marked contrast with the commemoration of Marathon in a similar time period, when the Marathon column monument was updated with epigraphical and sculptural editions that categorized the monument as a trophy and further celebrated the battle. Nevertheless, the trophy at Leuktra could stand in a positive light in comparison with the commemoration of Marathon in some sources, even to Plutarch who said that Epameinondas' greatest joy was that his parents lived to see the trophy at Leuktra.

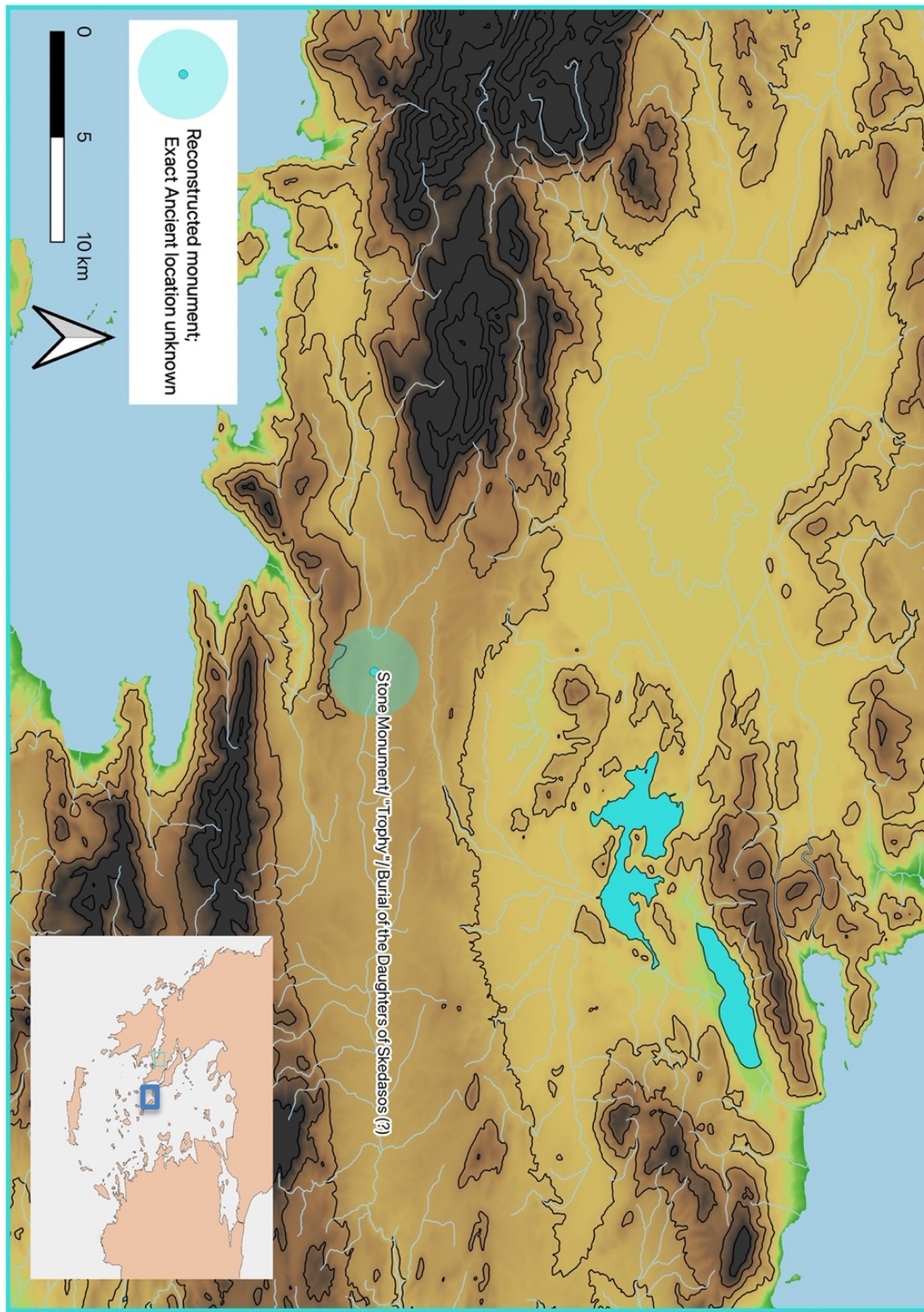
It appears that the stages of commemorative lapse and modern recollection at both Marathon and Leuktra roughly coincided. This should not be surprising, given that these stages coincided with other global trends. A major similarity is the evident desire to re-erect the monuments on the field, although it is only at Leuktra that this was planned from the very onset of the study of the monument by the Greek authorities. For some reason, the marble column at Marathon did not receive the same amount of attention, and its remains were left in the ruins of the medieval tower until the third quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even though they were known.

Lastly, the commemoration of the battle of Marathon in the fifth stage seems to be a stronger focus than the commemoration of Leuktra. Although the latter saw its stone monument re-erected with greater speed than its counterpart, very little attention has been paid to the battle of Leuktra in the contemporary world, either by archaeologists or, as it appears, by the modern nation of Greece. Whereas Marathon enjoys an eponymous modern sporting event and a major engineering project that has ties to the ancient battle in the 20<sup>th</sup> century dam, there are no comparative modern commemorations at Leuktra.



## Map

(All maps are my own, unless otherwise noted)



Map 3.1: Leuktra: Commemorations on the Battlefield

## Figures



Figure 3.1: Stone Monument at Leuktra. Photo: Author.

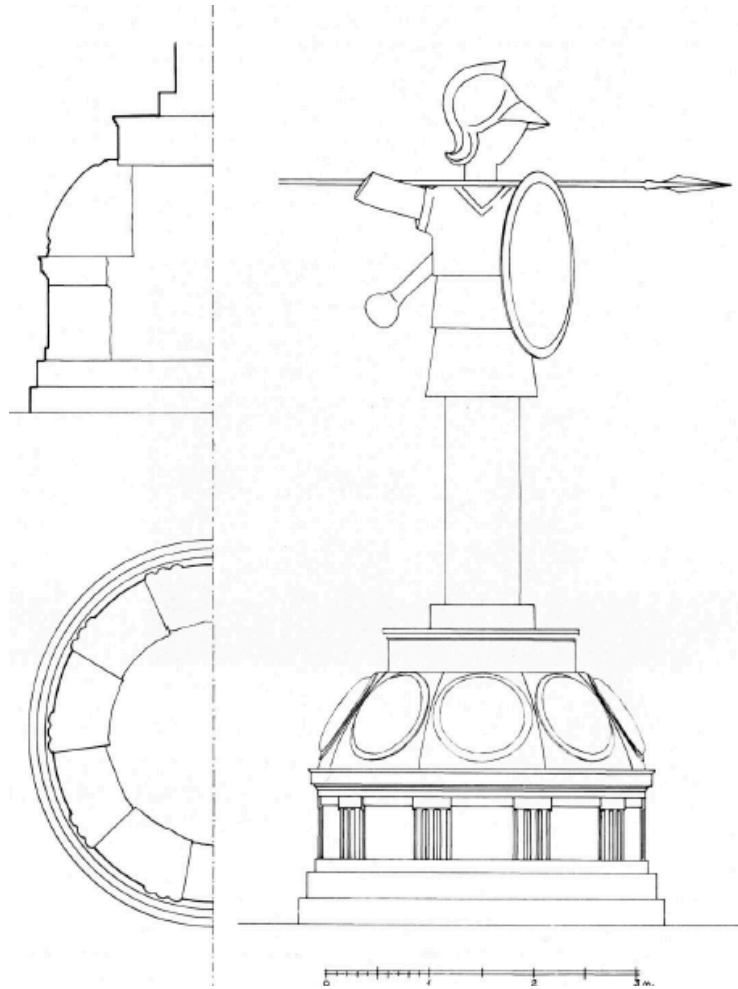


Figure 3.2a (above): Reconstruction of the Stone Monument as a Trophy. Orlandos 1958a.

Figure 3.2b (below): Drawing of a Hellenistic Coin from Boiotia. Orlandos 1958a.





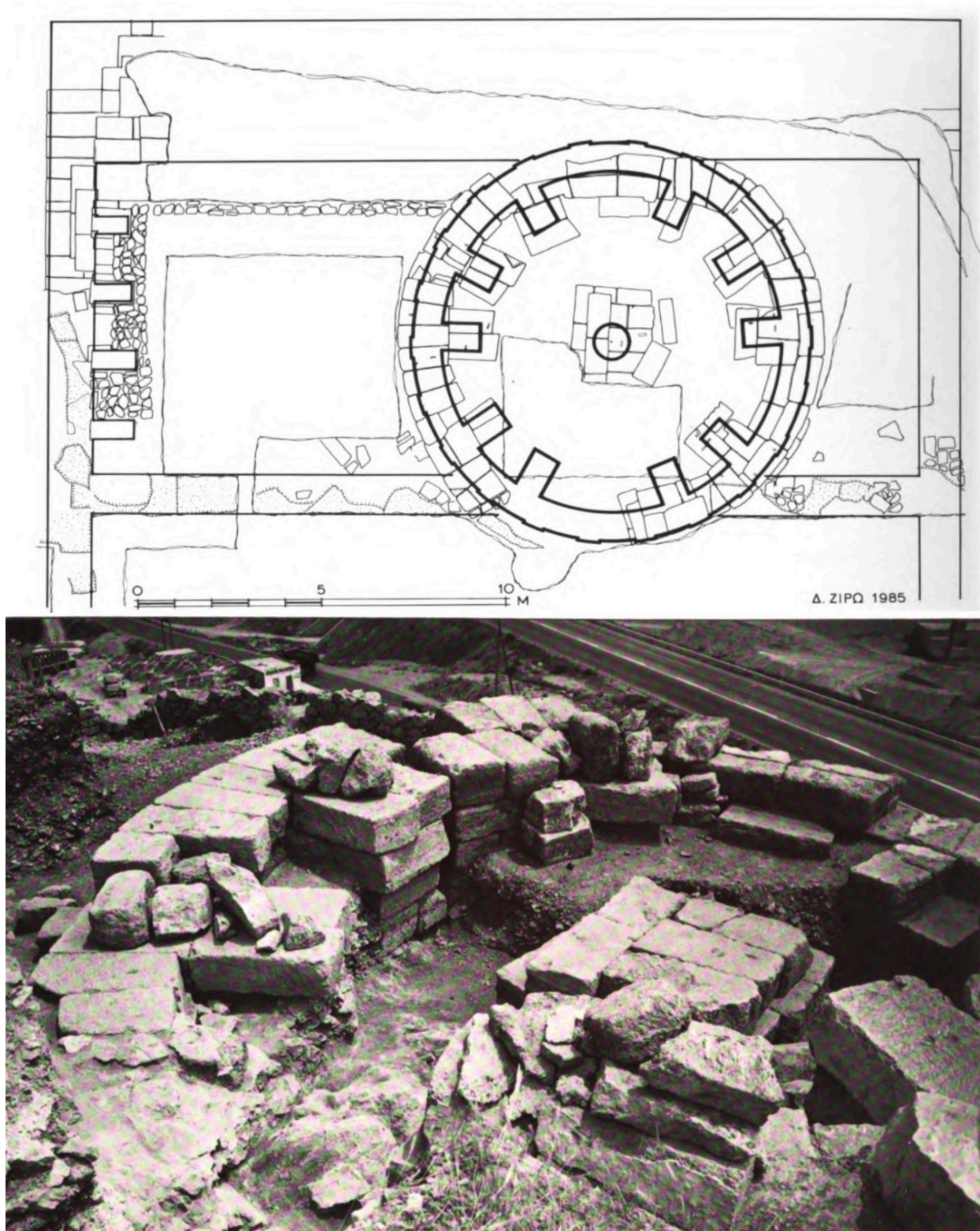


Figure 3.3a (top): Plan of Tomb of Kar. Travlos 1988, 278 fig. 348.

Figure 3.3b (bottom): Interior of Tomb of Kar. Travlos 1988, 279 fig. 350.





Figure 3.3c (top): Block with Metope and Triglyph from Tomb of Kar. Travlos 1988, 279 fig. 351.

Figure 3.3d (bottom): Exterior of Tomb of Kar. Travlos 1988, 278 fig 359.

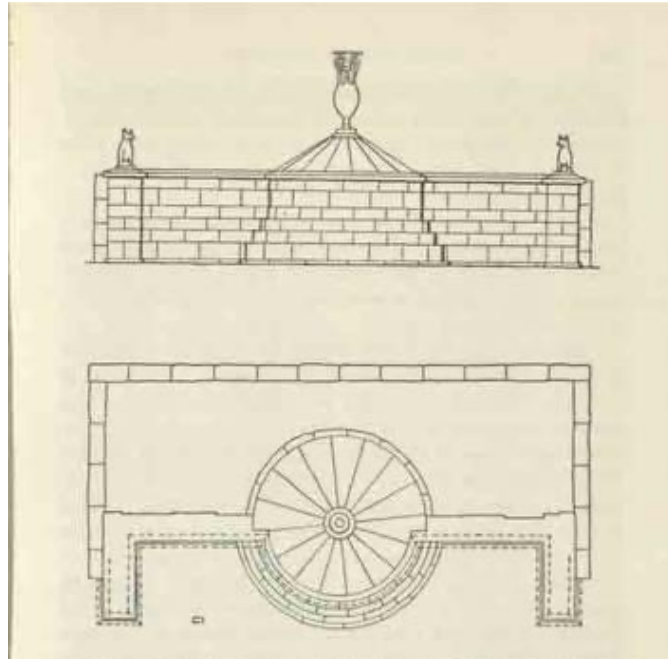


Figure 3.4: Plan of “Tomb at *Horos 3*” in the Kerameikos. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 111 fig. 21.

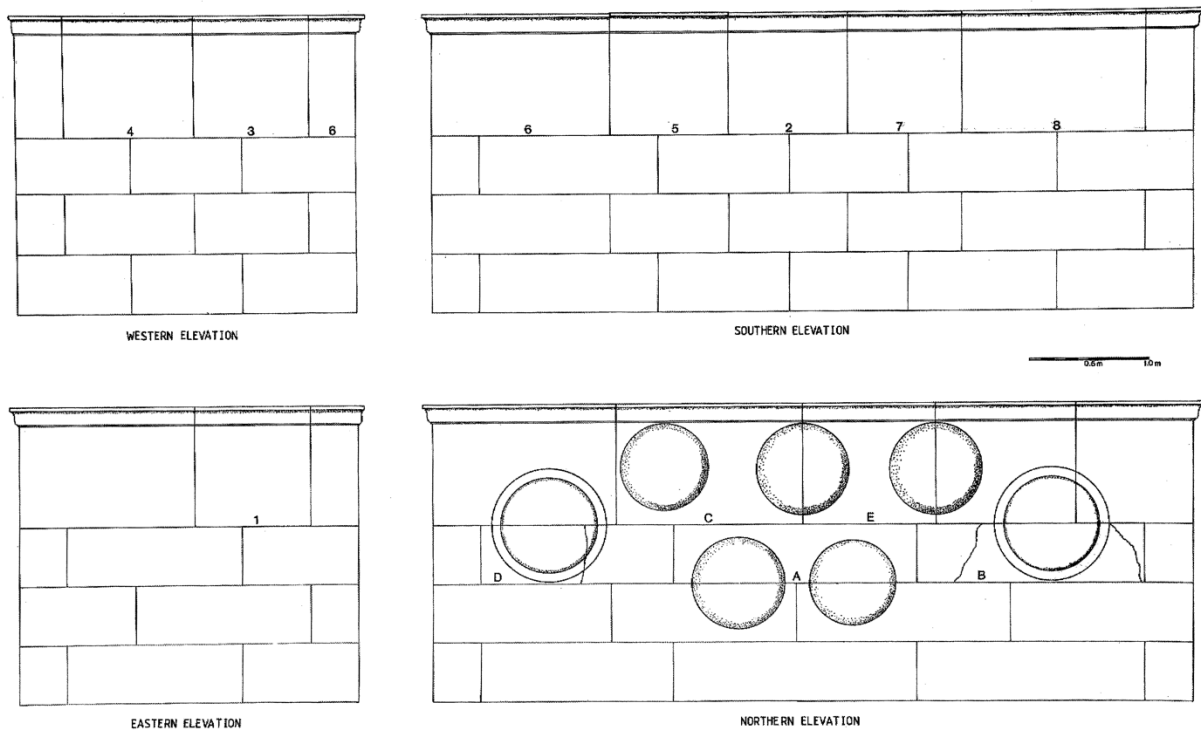


Figure 3.5: Reconstruction of the Shield Monument from Veria. Markle 1999, 235 fig. 37.





Figure 3.6: Shield Monument at Messene. Photo: Author.

## Chapter Four: The Battlefield of Chaironeia

The landscape biography of the battlefield of Chaironeia is more complex than those of Marathon and Leuktra. Like other battlefields, the commemorations of Chaironeia exist within the field's landscape of monuments and corresponding memories (**Map 4.1**). This case study is unique, however, because there were multiple battles that occurred in the same space, several spurring their own commemorations.

In terms of the physical space, four monuments have been associated with the 338 BCE battle. There are two mass burials, traditionally related to both sides of the fighting, a prehistoric tomb that had been interpreted as one of the mass burials before it was excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and a stone lion monument. Besides these, there are commemorative activities for Sulla's victory in 86 BCE, namely fragments of a single extant trophy.

The earliest literary mention of Chaironeia dates to the late-sixth or early-fifth century BCE, from the historian Hekataios, who describes it as the first city on the road to Phokis.<sup>1</sup> Later, Chaironeia is mentioned in Thucydides' history as a place in Boiotia, at times subject to Orchomenos, located at the extreme edge of Boiotia towards Phokis.<sup>2</sup> During the Peloponnesian war, Chaironeia changed hands several times, but apparently this did not leave a lasting impression on the field. The Athenians installed a garrison<sup>3</sup> before attempting to establish there a pro-democracy base in Boiotia,<sup>4</sup> but this ultimately failed.<sup>5</sup> To Thucydides, Chaironeia is not a city exactly, but rather described as a place or district (*χωρίον*) within the region. The next

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<sup>1</sup> Hekataios fr. 116, cited by Stephanus Byzantinus in *Ethnika* entry on *Χαιρώνεια*.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides 1.133; 4.76; 4.89.

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides 1.133.

<sup>4</sup> Thucydides 4.76.

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides 4.89.



literary mentions of the field postdate 338 BCE, and so potentially refer to the battle and will be discussed below.

The earliest ancient sources that mention the 338 BCE battle were composed by the orators Aeschines and Demosthenes, although the references are largely in passing. Other fourth-century authors reference the battle as well, such as Deinarchos, Lykourgos and Theopompos. These near contemporary sources shed light on the initial stage of commemoration, as well as hint at the stages of official commemoration. Polybios in the second century BCE discusses Philip's lenient treatment of the Athenians after the battle. Later, we get details from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, writing roughly a quarter-millennium after the battle in the first century BCE. These were followed by Pliny and Longinus in the first century CE, then Plutarch a little later in the century and into the next. Aristides and Pausanias write about the battle in the second century CE, followed by Aelianus into the third century. Declamations by the fourth-century orator Libanius reference the monuments on the field. After the fourth century, most references to the battle are not concerned with the commemoration itself, but rather attempt to moralize or otherwise understand the outcome as a definitive defeat of Greece by the Macedonians. Later sources occasionally reference the monuments, such as in the writings of 12<sup>th</sup> century scholars Euthymius Malaces and Eustathius of Thessaloniki.<sup>6</sup>

While the present study focuses on the battle of 338 BCE, where the Macedonians under Philip II defeated a coalition of Greeks, an equally famous battle was fought in 86 BCE between a Roman army under the general Sulla and a Pontic army of Mithridates VI under the general Archelaos. Besides these, we know of a battle during the Peloponnesian war,<sup>7</sup> another from the

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<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 230-231.

<sup>7</sup> Thucydides 4.76-89; Diodorus 12.6.

middle of the third century BCE,<sup>8</sup> and perhaps several others,<sup>9</sup> none of which apparently left lasting impressions on the field.

The commemorative landscape at Chaironeia was very complex. This chapter will proceed from the perspective of the 338 BCE battle, but analyze the commemorations of the later battles, when relevant, in response to the earlier victory. As will become clear, the evidence that connects the monuments to the events of 338 BCE is pretty slim until the written sources of later centuries. Thus, from a murky origin, these monuments became commemorations of the battle over time.

### **Stage One: Initial Commemoration**

As was the case for the initial commemoration of Marathon and Leuktra, no contemporary literary sources mention the immediate reaction to the Macedonian victory. In fact, there are no extant full accounts of the battle until Diodorus Siculus' of the first century BCE. Earlier near-contemporary references largely center around the Athenian responses to the battle, for example by Demosthenes<sup>10</sup> or Lykourgos.<sup>11</sup> The near contemporary sources, however, provide little detail for any on-field commemoration at Chaironeia. The only initial actions reported deal with the treatment of the Athenian dead, but their mention largely serves as vehicles for rhetorical attacks in an Athenian audience.

In general, there is a question as to what actions were taken immediately after the battle. Based on the limited contemporary sources, as well as the disagreement in later sources, it is

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<sup>8</sup> Polybios 4.39; Plutarch *Aratus* 16.

<sup>9</sup> Diodorus 12.6-38. There was even a mythical battle, see below. Plutarch *Theseus* 27.6.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., Demosthenes 26.11.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., Lykourgos 1.16.

possible that the commemoration did not conform to expectations in several areas. We assume that the dead must have been collected and treated, and that each of participants were given leave to do so by the victorious Macedonians. As occurred after Marathon and Leuktra, we also assume that reports were sent out, although the evidence is limited. Of course, only the former could leave a lasting impression on the field.

Before discussing the burials, we begin with a question of the battlefield trophy. It is possible that an ephemeral trophy should also belong to the initial stage, but this notion is perhaps doubtful given that there are no contemporary authors who mention the battle and its immediate commemoration.<sup>12</sup> On the one hand, the practice appears to have become common by the end of the fifth century BCE, as attested by its frequent mention in Thucydides and subsequent historians.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, Pausanias reports that there was no trophy for the battle because this was not a Macedonian custom.<sup>14</sup> The question will be covered in more depth below, but the disagreement is enough to cast reasonable doubt on the existence of an ephemeral trophy immediately after the fighting ended in 338 BCE.

### *Physical Evidence*

Concerning the physical evidence, there are two monuments that fall into this stage, both of them mass burials. The first is the oft-called Macedonian mound, so identified by some of the weaponry and other artifacts that were excavated from it, but which I will refer to as the Chaironeia tumulus. The second is a burial that has been variously identified as the resting place

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<sup>12</sup> Diodorus 16.86.6 and 16.88.3. See below. Diodorus Siculus mentions a trophy, but this may be a rhetorical tool.

<sup>13</sup> For trophies in historians, see Pritchett 1974, 246-275.

<sup>14</sup> Pausanias 9.4.

of the Theban sacred band or of Philip's select Macedonian troops, which is now capped by a later Lion monument, and I will refer to as the Lion burial.

Both burials have firm, if not unassailable, connections to the battle of 338 BCE. The Chaironeia tumulus has been connected to it by several factors, inferred from archaeological excavations in addition to topographical considerations. Moreover, based on similarity of the artifacts buried in them, the Chaironeia tumulus and Lion burial should be roughly contemporary, although that significance is up for debate. For both of these burials, I analyze their connection to the fourth-century battle by discussing their form, the artifacts associated with them, and how they interact with their surrounding space.

Starting with the Chaironeia tumulus, it is a large mound on the southern bank of the Kephisos river, south of the Akontion mountain ridge (**Figure 4.1**; **Map 4.1**). While it has undergone extensive cosmetic manipulation over time, it can generally be described as a large, conical mound of earth seven meters tall with a diameter of more than 70 meters.<sup>15</sup> Excavation in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century revealed that it was deliberately constructed and raised from a shallow depression in the field that had been cleared away, possibly for the purpose of raising the monument (**Figure 4.2**). Within the mound there was an ash layer, varying in thickness from 30 cm to 70 cm, with the remains of burnt wood and some skeletal evidence, perhaps indicating a large pyre (**Figure 4.3**).<sup>16</sup> As far as I can tell from the excavation reports, there is no evidence of offering trenches or other features within the mound. The excavation revealed a kantharos and non-burnt bones in the excavation trench outside of the mound, but the context is unclear.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Sotiriades 1902, 58.

<sup>16</sup> Sotiriades 1902, 59.

<sup>17</sup> Sotirades 1904, 50. Sotiriades speculates whether this is the tomb of the Thebans, Boiotians, or other Greeks who participated in the battle. See discussion in stage two. It is not clear what happened to this kantharos, but it is likely among those that were compared to similar vessels from the Theban Kabeirion.

The fill is composed of soil from the surrounding field, with pottery sherds that are reportedly as late as the fourth century BCE. Of the datable examples, the excavator Giorgos Sotiriades highlights kantharoi that are similar to comparanda found at the Theban Kabeirion and other places throughout Boiotia (**Figure 4.4a, 4.4b**), as well as an oinochoe decorated with ivy leaves that he claims are characteristic of the century.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the ceramic artifacts, Sotirades' excavation uncovered metal artifacts, including nails, swords, knives, and parts of spear points (**Figure 4.5**),<sup>19</sup> as well as some Greek coins.<sup>20</sup>

The Chaironeia tumulus has been connected to the battle of 338 BCE based on a combination of its position, form, and associated artifacts. Taken all together, these factors support an interpretation that the grave could be connected to the 338 battle, but individual examination of each underscores the tenuousness of the attribution.

First, the location is the most secure factor, as the monument has been in its current location for as long as it has existed, but that does not make the connection to the battle seamless. While the monument stands in the general vicinity of the battlefield, it is more than 2 km distance from the town of Chaironeia. On the one hand, if the tumulus is at all related to the topography of the battle, as many scholars argue,<sup>21</sup> and given that the position of the town was most likely defended during the battle,<sup>22</sup> then it is possible, but unlikely, that the battle lines spanned the entire two-kilometer length. On the other hand, the tumulus may not have any

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<sup>18</sup> Sotiriades 1902, 58.

<sup>19</sup> Sotirades 1902, 58; Sotiriades 1903, plate 41. Ma 2008, 74-75. Ma notes that the materials are awaiting further study but compares some of the finds to artifacts from Derveni and Vergina.

<sup>20</sup> Sotirades 1904, 50; Ma 2008, 77.

<sup>21</sup> E.g., Sotiriades 1902, 1903, 1904, 1910; Kromayer 1926; Hammond 1938; Pritchett 1971, 1974, 1979, 1985, 1991.

<sup>22</sup> Hammond 1938, 204.

relation to the battle itself, other than its general placement on the field.<sup>23</sup> This does not preclude the monument from being a commemoration of the battle. In fact, the location of the mound in a relatively flat area at a distance from the fighting, combined with the archaeological evidence of a pyre and cremation, could be evidence of a mass funeral ceremony, deliberately sited away from the town. The assertion is based on the belief that such a ceremony would need space.<sup>24</sup>

At the same time, it is possible that the tumulus has no relation to this battle at all, or to any military event for that matter. Given that there are several skirmishes mentioned in literary sources, in addition to whatever simply escaped recording, it is possible that the tumulus covers the slain of a different battle. It is also possible that the tumulus does not cover casualties of war at all, and instead is a local burial that has been incorporated into the local commemorative framework, similar to what has likely occurred with the Tomb of the Plataians from the plain of Marathon.<sup>25</sup>

Secondly, the form of the tumulus has also connected the monument to the battle through an association with tumuli in Macedon, particularly at Vergina. Even this is suspect, however, as John Ma outlines with the following reasons: the mound is located in Greece rather than Macedonia, it is a collective rather than an individual burial, and it was set up by the Macedonian state rather than privately. The Chaironeia tumulus is also exceedingly large, by both southern Greece and Macedonian standards.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ma 2008, 77.

<sup>24</sup> Ma 2008, 77. “All these rituals explain the choice of the site for the cremation: the Macedonian army needed open space for the events, involving tens of thousands of men. If the road attested archaeologically south of the Kephissos existed in 338, it might have served both for the gathering of the bodies and for the movements of men and horses during the post-battle celebrations.”

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 54-58 and **Figure 2.9**.

<sup>26</sup> Ma 2008, 77.

Moreover, an adequate comparandum is much closer on the field itself, namely in the Magoula Balomenou.<sup>27</sup> This Neolithic mound is also on the northern edge of the plain and along the banks of the same river Kephisos. Perhaps it was also originally of similar dimensions: although it was only three and a half meters tall in 1902, its circumference is actually greater than the Chaironeia tumulus, and excavation revealed a significant lacuna in periods represented archaeologically between the Bronze Age and the Hellenistic or Roman periods, indicating that the mound may have stood higher in the past, with accumulated layers lost either through natural processes or through cultivation. Indeed, if this is the case, then perhaps we should assume that many additional, similar mounds would have stood on the field at various points, many of which eroded away in time. The mound would be a fitting local form.

The *soros* at Marathon is a second compelling comparandum, with comparable measurements and visual impact on the field.<sup>28</sup> Given that the Athenians were also participants in the battle of 338, that they had a demonstrable history of battlefield burials in tumuli despite the practice of *patrios nomos*,<sup>29</sup> and that the *soros* at Marathon had been effectively incorporated into the official myth-history of Athens, there is a controversial possibility that the Chaironeia tumulus could be considered Athenian. One key difference between the *soros* and the Chaironeia tumulus is the offering trenches, but their absence would be fitting for a repurposed Archaic form in the fourth century. While this scenario is admittedly unlikely, it is nevertheless possible to read support from the facts available.

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<sup>27</sup> Sotiriades 1902, 1904, 1905, 1910; Tzavella-Evjen 2012.

<sup>28</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 50-54 and **Figure 2.3**.

<sup>29</sup> Jacoby 1944.

Thirdly, the artifacts associated with the Chaironeia tumulus connect the monument to the fourth century BCE loosely, if not to the battle of 338 specifically. The ceramic evidence, as reported, indicates that the mound does not predate the fourth century, based on comparisons with kantharoi from the Theban Kabeirion, as well as to Boiotian and general Greek pottery attributed the fourth century. It should be noted, however, that the ceramics from the tumulus have not been reexamined since the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite subsequent archaeological research on the Kabeirion that provides evidence of activity from the seventh century BCE to the fourth century CE. This part of the ceramic evidence should also be critically reassessed to avoid becoming a circular argument, since their inclusion in the Chaironeia tumulus has also reinforced the chronological sequence.<sup>30</sup>

Other kantharoi from the Kabeirion are also comparable to examples found in Hellenistic graves in Aitolian Chalkis.<sup>31</sup> While this may be entirely coincidental, it is intriguing that there is a third-century battle between the Aitolian League and Boiotian League that occurred in Chaironeia, where the former defeated the latter. Moreover, the ceramic assemblage would only indicate a *terminus post quem*, and it is possible that such artifacts would be found in any structure after the fourth century.<sup>32</sup> There are many other fourth-century battles that occurred near Chaironeia or along the Kephisos river, any of which could have produced the Chaironeia tumulus.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Bedigan 2008.

<sup>31</sup> Eiring 2004, 101.

<sup>32</sup> As might be the case with the *soros* at Marathon, which might have a late-sixth century ceramic assemblage but has frequently been connected to 490 BCE. See Chapter 2.

<sup>33</sup> Diodorus 16.



Besides the ceramic artifacts, metal weapons, strigils, and coins were also excavated from the Chaironeia tumulus. The strigils, as far as I can tell, are not diagnostically useful in establishing the date of the burial (**Figure 4.6**). The coins may be more useful, but these were damaged by fire and water, and the excavator could only identify them as Greek,<sup>34</sup> presumably as opposed to Roman. The weapons have been presented as evidence of fourth-century Macedonian types, largely based on the form of the spear points and butt-spikes that are said to resemble *sarissai* at an earlier point of their development.<sup>35</sup> While possible, the argument assumes a typological evolution of the weapon. It is also possible, however, to question whether the interpretation is warranted by the finds themselves, or if the assumed connection to fourth-century Macedonians simply stems from the fame of the battle itself.

While the location, form, and associated artifacts can each be connected to the battle of 338 BCE independently, there are other nagging possibilities that problematize the assumption. The placement and form do not necessarily indicate the fourth century and Macedon, nor does the archaeological assemblage. The Chaironeia tumulus may have been a monument for the Macedonian dead, but it could also have been a monument to the Thebans or Athenians, local Chaironeians or other Boiotians, or it may be entirely unrelated to the battle of 338. I suggest two tantalizing alternatives, that the mound could be an Athenian tomb for the 338 battle, or even an Aitolian or Boiotian mass tomb from the battle in 245 BCE.<sup>36</sup> In the absence of additional evidence, it is difficult to ascertain the precise nature of the Chaironeia tumulus at the time that it was created.

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<sup>34</sup> Sotiriades 1904, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Ma 2008, 75.

<sup>36</sup> Polybios 4.13 records a mass burial after the battle of Kaphyai in the Peloponnese, after an Aitolian victory.

The other mass burial on the field is the Lion burial, located east of the acropolis of Chaironeia. Although a stone lion was eventually placed above it, the burial was not so adorned in the original setting (**Figure 4.7a, b**). The tomb itself may be an initial commemoration, so we focus on that now. The area of the burial was known from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century because of the stone lion, but only excavated systematically in 1879 and 1880.<sup>37</sup> The 1880 season uncovered 254 skeletons that were buried in seven rows. Upon discovery, the excavators noted evidence of wounds on the bones<sup>38</sup> and various grave offerings of iron strigils, numerous bone buttons of uncertain purpose,<sup>39</sup> and plain earthenware pottery.<sup>40</sup>

The burial has been connected to the battle of 338 based on the combined factors of its location on the field, the number and condition of the skeletons, and the later stone lion monument that was referenced by Pausanias centuries after the battle.<sup>41</sup> Following the same method as above, however, we see that each of these individual factors do not necessarily prove that the burial belongs to 338.

Again, the general location near the battlefield is the most secure connection, since the burial was not moved after it was created. The precise location near the citadel of Chaironeia allows further associations with the battle, if we accept the assertion that the location must have been occupied during the fighting.<sup>42</sup> This potential connection is much clearer than that of the

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<sup>37</sup> Koumanoudis 1880, 1881. See below.

<sup>38</sup> Ma 2008, 74-76; Liston 2020.

<sup>39</sup> Possibly parts of footwear. See below and Ma 2008, 76.

<sup>40</sup> Koumanoudis 1881, 18. Ma (2008, 76) hypothesizes that the bone buttons were eyelets from *trochades* “running sandals”.

<sup>41</sup> Pausanias 9.40.10. See below.

<sup>42</sup> Hammond 1937, 204.

Chaironeia tumulus, but is still based on the assumption that the burial must mark a significant place of the fighting, which itself cannot be proven. Given the proximity to the ancient city, it would not be surprising to find any significant burial nearby.

Neither does the form of the Lion burial, nor the means of internment, confirm a connection to 338. The burial contained 254 inhumed corpses that were arranged in seven parallel series, all with the same orientation.<sup>43</sup> In addition to the inhumations, however, there was evidence of at least one cremation found between two skeletons in the second row,<sup>44</sup> indicating a combination of inhumation and cremation within the burial, perhaps at different times. The associated artifacts are also unreliable connections to 338. The iron strigils, bone buttons or eyelets, and earthenware pots are not securely datable, and the other diagnostic ceramics, as cited by the excavator Sotiriades, are of the same sort as what was found in the Chaironeia tumulus. Again, the pottery is comparable to that found at the Theban Kabeirion,<sup>45</sup> about which I have expressed skepticism already.

For the form and means of burial, a striking comparandum with the Lion burial at Chaironeia is the Thespian polyandrion, itself a mass burial in Boiotia that was eventually topped by a stone lion monument. The Thespian burial, however, has been dated to 426 BCE,<sup>46</sup> nearly a century earlier than the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BCE. The circumstances for this burial, as interpreted most recently by Demetrius Schilardi,<sup>47</sup> could present an intriguing scenario for the Lion burial at Chaironeia. According to his reading of the ancient literary sources and

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<sup>43</sup> Koumanoudis 1881, 18.

<sup>44</sup> Koumanoudis 1881, 18.

<sup>45</sup> Ma 2008, 83 n. 78. Ma cites a postcard sent from Sotiriades (*non vidi*).

<sup>46</sup> Based on inscriptions and other evidence, see Schilardi 1977, 28. See Chapter 3, p. 133.

<sup>47</sup> Schilardi 1977.

archaeological remains, Schilardi believed that the Thespian polyandron was a tomb for a battle at Delion. Thus, the remains within the Thespian grave must have been carted to the location from the battlefield itself. Seeing that this is possible, the Lion burial at Chaironeia may actually be a remnant of a similar practice. As previously mentioned, Chaironeia was an active battlefield during the Peloponnesian war,<sup>48</sup> so it is possible that the grave could be from a battle of the fifth century. Reviewing the location and the burial form together, and in comparison to the Thespian polyandron, we see that the Lion burial's association with 338 is rather ambiguous and largely depends on the fame of the battle, in combination with later literary sources.

If we divorce the monument from the weighty 338 BCE connection, there are many alternative possibilities. Again, there is little secure evidence to attribute the monument to any particular participants, although there are compelling possibilities. Perhaps the most common assumption is that the stone lion was erected over the Theban Sacred Band, but this was an interpretation only introduced in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup> Other possibilities are that it was erected over the Thebans alone, as was argued in antiquity by Pausanias,<sup>50</sup> or perhaps over portions of the Macedonians.<sup>51</sup>

### *Literary Evidence*

While there are no contemporary sources that detail the on-field commemorative activities, the published prosecution and defense of Ktesiphon in the fourth century BCE, by

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<sup>48</sup> E.g., Thucydides 1.113.

<sup>49</sup> Ma 2008, 79 calls it “a piece of speculation not founded on Pausanias”. After the initial discovery in 1818, this idea also found support by Sotiriades and Kromayer.

<sup>50</sup> Pausanias 9.40.

<sup>51</sup> Beloch 1923; Hammond 1938.

Aeschines and Demosthenes respectively, contain hints of how the Athenian dead were treated. As far as I can tell, there are no similar references to the other known participants of the battle, the Thebans or the Macedonians.

The Athenian sources complicate the possibility that the Athenians were buried on the field. Aeschines, in his attack on Demosthenes in *Against Ktesiphon* from the decade after the battle, shames his rival for daring to stand on the tomb of the fallen:

ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερέτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον, ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λειποπόσι τὴν τάξιν **ἀναβῆς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τὸν τῶν τελευτησάντων**, ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν.

Indeed, now it is fitting to remember the good men, whom [Demosthenes] sent out into clear danger despite the ill-starred and unfit omens, he dared **to stand upon the tomb of the dead** with runaway feet that had abandoned their post, to eulogize their virtue.

- Aeschines 3.152

While the sentiment is clear, the actual location of the shameful eulogy is not. The language is likely rhetorical and has little to do with the actual placement of the burial. Demosthenes' response provides a different picture, however, indicating that he did not deliver the eulogy on the grave itself, but rather in his own home, following common custom.<sup>52</sup>

The issue is blurred further by the fact that Aeschines appears to use the rhetoric of tombs loosely, such as in a second jab against Demosthenes centered around the tombs of the ancestors of the Athenians. In this reference, Aeschines claims that Themistocles, the fallen from the battles of Marathon and Plataia, and the tombs of the Athenian ancestors (**τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων**) would groan. By Aeschines' time, it had been established that the Marathon dead were buried on the field itself.<sup>53</sup> While this does not show that Aeschines had made a mistake in his logic, it suggests rather that he did not think it necessary to establish the difference.

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<sup>52</sup> Demosthenes 18.288.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 2.

Luckily, we have Demosthenes' response to Aeschines' accusation, and the former rebuts some of the claims made against him. One of these rebuttals deals with the connection between the famous ancestors of the Athenians and their tombs, when Demosthenes invokes the dead from Marathon and Plataia, in addition to those from Salamis and Artemision, and the many other good men that lie in the public memorials (*καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασιν* *κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας*). Here we see a substitution of *μνήμα* for *τάφος*. Again, the dead from Marathon are included in a list of famous ancestors, although they were allegedly buried on the field. In both of these examples, however, it is clear that the place of the burial did not matter for either the rhetorical attack or parry.<sup>54</sup>

Lykourgos also mentions the burial of the Athenian dead from the 338 BCE battle in his speech against Leokrates,<sup>55</sup> pointing out the men were buried at public expense (*δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις ἔθαψαν*). He accuses Leokrates of not feeling shame in front of the engraved monuments in Athens (*τὰ ἐλεγεία τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῖς μνημείοις*), again with no reference to the bodies' presence in the city. Elsewhere Lykourgos goes on to claim that Leokrates tried to prevent their burial in their native land since he did not help gather the dead, and that he was not ashamed of passing their caskets (*θήκας*) when returning to the city.<sup>56</sup> This is an obvious reference to the Athenian dead being present in the city, rather than the battlefield.

Altogether, the literary evidence regarding the Athenian dead from the battle indicates that they were cremated on the field and subsequently transported to Athens. This does not

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<sup>54</sup> Neither does Demosthenes' report of the epigram written for the fallen (18.289), inscribed on the public monument (*δημοσίᾳ [μνήμη?]*).

<sup>55</sup> Lykourgos 1.142-144.

<sup>56</sup> Lykourgos 1.45.

preclude a relationship with the Chaironeia tumulus, which was itself a mound of earth over a large pyre, which produced only small bits of cremains.<sup>57</sup>

That is the extent of literary references to the battlefield space from soon after the battle. Aside from other mentions, such as Theopompos describing Philip's feast<sup>58</sup> or Deinarchos' reprimanding of Demosthenes' cowardice,<sup>59</sup> there are few other sources relevant for the initial commemoration of the battle.

### *Spatial Analysis*

If they were initial commemorations, in what type of space did these two mass burials operate? The Chaironeia tumulus is an interesting case. Of course, analyzing its spatial context depends on how the monument is interpreted, whether or not it is considered an immediate burial after 338. Some of its spatial influence would hold true no matter what the occasion, such as its prominent location and proximity to the Neolithic Magoula Baloumenou mound. In whatever commemorative context, the mound simultaneously would stand out but also compliment the surrounding topography.

Although it is not assured, let us first assume that the mound is in fact an initial commemoration of the 338 BCE battle. The location near the Kephisos river on the northern edge of the plain has some spatial significance, given the distance from the battlefield and from the acropolis of Chaironeia. As Ma argues, there is an apparent spatial disconnect from other places associated with the 338 battle, making the arbitrary placement of the tomb a statement of

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<sup>57</sup> Now displayed in the Theban museum in a curious manner, see **Figure 4.6**.

<sup>58</sup> Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 11.10, citing the 26<sup>th</sup> book of Theopompos' *Histories* (Theopompos fr. 235). Ma (2008) thinks that the Chaironeia tumulus could have been the result of the feast and celebration.

<sup>59</sup> Deinarchos 1.12.

power itself.<sup>60</sup> There is also potential mirroring of the mound form of the nearby Neolithic mound.<sup>61</sup> In this case, the burial's mound form would also resonate with similar forms in other places, such as the prehistoric tumuli in Macedonia. It is also possible, but unknowable, that the similarity between the Chaironeia tumulus and the *soros* at Marathon would have resonated with a contemporary viewer. The spatial impact would likely remain true for whatever battle that the mound commemorates, however.

At the same time, there is the possibility that the mound should not be at all connected to 338, but rather to skirmishes of the fifth century, others of the fourth century, or even from the third century BCE. If this is so, one option is particularly compatible with the remoteness from the city, namely one of the battles between the Phokians and Boiotians in the 350s BCE which, according to Diodorus, simply took place near the river.<sup>62</sup> The city plays no role in the battle, and so proximity does not matter.

The tumulus exhibits features that are typical of a stage one monument, in that local burial customs are observed and executed, in this case similar to the nearby Magoula Baloumenou. In addition to topographical precedent, it appears that the tomb follows a typical preparation of the dead, as weaponry but no pieces of armor were found in the burial, so the bodies were carefully stripped, and the burial was planned. There is also evidence of immediacy, since the grave goods are evidence that the mound is likely a primary burial soon after the battle: the metal weapons are warped and fused together, indicating that they were burned along with the bodies.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ma 2008, 78.

<sup>61</sup> Ma 2008, 77-78.

<sup>62</sup> Diodorus 16.37. Although Demosthenes does refer to the battle of 338 BCE as the one by the river (18.216).

<sup>63</sup> Ma 2008, 74.



At the same time, the monument may also have operated in spaces that we would expect of later stages. If the evidence of a massive ceremony and attendant events is accepted, then there are already elements of official commemoration in the initial burial.

The Lion burial contrasts with the Chaironeia tumulus in several ways. First of all, it is much closer to the actual city of Chaironeia, probably indicating at least some official sanction of the burial. Secondly, the fact that the bodies were largely interned, as opposed to cremated, may reflect concerns that were more practical immediately following the battle. If it was indeed the burial of select Thebans, then the choice to inhume rather than cremate indicates the constraints on the practice.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, however, a similar decision was made for the burial within the polyandrion at Thespiiai.

## **Stage Two: Official Commemoration in the years after 338 BCE**

As durable monuments, both burials persisted into the stage of official commemoration. There is archaeological evidence that supports the interpretation, if not much in the way of literary sources. As before, the issue is problematized by the variety of perspectives available from different stakeholders. I will discuss the physical and literary evidence of activity around the burials in turn, beginning with the Chaironeia tumulus.

### *Physical Evidence*

There is limited evidence of official commemoration around either the Chaironeia tumulus or the Lion burial. Around the former, there are neither fitting remains of buildings, structures, or inscriptions, nor is there evidence of later revisiting for any offerings, games, or

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<sup>64</sup> Ma 2008, 83.

similar activities that were official in nature. That being said, it does appear that the datable ceramic evidence ceases after the fourth century. From this, we can infer that cultivation around the monument ceased soon after it was erected.<sup>65</sup> Since there is no evidence that this was officially decreed, the possibility remains that it was simply locally recognized as a significant spot.

The evidence around the Lion burial is also limited. We infer that the area was maintained because of the later stone lion monument and accompanying enclosure. Since these were accurately placed over the burial, it is likely that knowledge of the burial persisted for some time.

It is during this stage that the burial is surrounded by an enclosure wall and crowned by a statue of a stone lion on a rectangular base. The archaeological record for the features is a little wanting because of the untimely passing of the archaeologist Stamatakis before full publication.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, preliminary reports indicate that the enclosure and lion were later additions to the burial mound, since the structure sits atop some of the burials and at least one burial remains outside of the enclosure.<sup>67</sup>

The enclosure wall is easier to describe as a monument of the second stage because, unlike the sculpture of the lion, it was not the focus of extensive plans to re-erect in the late-19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>68</sup> As excavated, the enclosure is composed of four walls that make a rectangular space, roughly 10.40 meters by 9.80 meters in dimensions.<sup>69</sup> A detailed published

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<sup>65</sup> Ma 2008, 78.

<sup>66</sup> Ma 2008, 80 and 80 n. 54.

<sup>67</sup> Koumanoudis 1880, 25.

<sup>68</sup> See below.

<sup>69</sup> Koumanoudis 1880, 25.

description is lacking, and there is only one extant sketch of the excavation, showing an orthostate course of c. 0.65 m thickness running atop a wider foundation course that is about three-times thicker.<sup>70</sup> The base for the lion statue is at the midpoint of the northern wall, but it is not clear if the wall and base are bonded or merely abut each other. Ma asserted that the two structures are not connected.<sup>71</sup>

Based on the records, the chronology is very complex and the stratigraphical relationships are unclear. The only secure assumption is that the burials took place first, as evidenced by the fact that while most of the skeletons were found within the walls, at least one was found to the south of the enclosure. Given that the dating of the tombs is problematic itself, the later monumentalization further muddles the picture. Besides archaeological relationships, stylistic comparisons between the stone lion at Chaironeia and other similar monuments may clarify the chronology. This method is not without complications,<sup>72</sup> as it relies heavily on subjective analysis of the sculptures. The most obvious comparanda are the lions at Thermopylai, Thespiiai, and Amphipolis.

Recently, Ma proposed a date for the lion and enclosure “thirty or forty years later,” sometime after Thebes was re-founded and visited by Cassander in 315 BCE, perhaps even as late as the middle of the next century.<sup>73</sup> Nicholas Hammond’s Macedonian proposal imagines the same dating, with the second stage monumentalization occurring sometime after Cassander.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Phytalis 1880; Petrakos 1987, 53 fig. 21; Ma 2008, 80 and plate 5b.

<sup>71</sup> Ma 2008, 81-82.

<sup>72</sup> E.g., Broneer (1941, 51) complains about the “universal penchant for relating archaeological discoveries to known events, rather than on a stylistic and technical study of the monument itself”.

<sup>73</sup> Ma 2008, 84-85.

<sup>74</sup> Hammond 1938, 218.

Enclosures around battlefield monuments are not unknown from before the fourth century, as have been reconstructed around the Marathon column monument<sup>75</sup> and the Thespian polyandron,<sup>76</sup> so the practice does not help with establishing a timeline. Without firmer evidence, it is not possible to date the monument more accurately.

### *Literary Evidence*

We are in a strange position in discussing the literary evidence of the official commemoration for the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BCE. This is a question of sources and perspectives, since these determine what “official” means. There are no extant sources from the Macedonian perspective in this period. Similarly, there are no Theban or Boiotian sources on the battle, except what is alluded to in the various Athenian sources. That is not to say that these did not exist, but rather that none have survived from this perspective.

On the contrary, all extant sources from the fourth century represent the perspective of Athens, and so only provide the Athenian interpretation of the battle. Regarding the monuments on the field, these only deal with the burial of the Athenians, and just indirectly at that. The above discussion on the treatment according to Aeschines and Demosthenes shows both the initial reaction to the battle as well as the subsequent rationalizing of the outcome in terms of what the burial meant in the broader scheme. That some of the particulars are up for debate, as evidenced by their rhetorical usage, shows the difficulty of establishing an exact “official meaning,” not only in terms of content but also in terms of chronology. Since the debate raged

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<sup>75</sup> See Chapter 2, p. 73.

<sup>76</sup> Schilardi 1977.

by the end of the decade after the battle, it is probably better to consider these sources as a later type of commemoration.

That being said, we can deduce some of the Athenian official stance from the overlap within the assumptions of the orators. For example, both Aeschines and Demosthenes agree that the dead should be honored by public burial and their great deeds eulogized according to custom. Whether this included the transport of cremains from the battlefield or if the reference is to activity that occurred in the city itself is debatable, especially due to the varied vocabulary employed to describe the monuments. The most telling is Lykourgos' *θήκας*, which has connotations of a chest as well as a coffin or tomb. These sources only give one piece of evidence for a battlefield commemoration, which only has a loose potential connection to the extant tumulus on the field.

A second development in the Athenian perspective involves rationalizing their defeat. In the spat between Aeschines and Demosthenes, it appears that the outcome was considered inevitable to some degree. Their logic in arriving at the conclusion, however, is different. Aeschines argues that Philip was victorious because of his piety and respect for omens, which he contrasts with Demosthenes' ignorance of omens.<sup>77</sup> Interestingly, Aeschines' arguments stem largely from the perspective of Philip as the victor, rather than Athens as the loser. In response, Demosthenes insists that the disaster at Chaironeia was somewhat inevitable, that Athens was destined for disaster.<sup>78</sup> The spatiality of the field does not much matter, except that it is distant from Athens.

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<sup>77</sup> Aeschines 3.131-132.

<sup>78</sup> Demosthenes 18.195.

### *Spatial Analysis*

In reading the Athenian sources, in addition to the inevitability of the outcome, the orators' arguments show the assumption of the distance between Athens and the field. On this Demosthenes' argument is explicit, that the battle was fought at a distance of a three-day march.<sup>79</sup> The spatial separation is central to Demosthenes' argument for the conceptualization of the battle's outcome.

Physically, the lack of additions around the Chaironeia tumulus indicates at least some respect for the surrounding space. There is a chance that this was purely incidental, and that the field was not cultivated by coincidence. The evidence from the Magoula Baloumenou, however, with evidence of several periods of use, shows that even prominent landmarks could be reworked at various points in history. Given their relative proximity, there is a marked lack of later evidence in the Chaironeia tumulus, perhaps hinting at intent to keep the area clear.

The maintenance, however, is a typical practice of the third stage of commemoration, rather than the second, and it really should be considered in that stage. This makes it seem as if there was a lack of a lasting official commemoration centered on the Chaironeia tumulus. There are several reasons why this may be the case. Firstly, perhaps the ceremonial burial and surrounding circumstances, itself an initial commemoration, also bled into some of the necessity of official memory. The second possibility is that there was no revisiting of the tumulus by a party that would have a stake in monumentally commemorating the burial.

These could be true no matter whom the burial covers. It is unlikely that the Athenians would have had the capacity or desire to revisit their tumulus in the fourth century or later. Not only were the cremains removed to Athens, symbolically if not entirely, complete with ossuaries

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<sup>79</sup> Demosthenes 18.195.

or other receptacles, but also it seems unlikely that the site of an infamous disaster would be subsequently revisited.

In a similar vein, the possibility of a Theban or Boiotian revisiting was unlikely for two reasons. First, Thebes had been destroyed by Alexander in the years after 338 BCE, granting little time or means for monumentalization. The second reason is contingent on the interpretation of the Lion burial as a tomb of Thebans. If that is presumed and we infer further that the subsequent monumentalization was undertaken by the Thebans or Boiotians, perhaps we see an intentional focus on a single burial.

Lastly, perhaps the Macedonians did not revisit the battlefield tomb in Boiotia. This could simply be due to the fact that the tomb was outside of Macedon, but also could be because of a push for reconciliation or a new focus on Persia. Nevertheless, it would not be surprising if a Macedonian monument remained unornamented, especially if it was associated with the battle of 338 BCE.

This type of space around the Chaironeia tumulus in the second stage could fall under both the conceived and lived categories of space, and the distinction is difficult due to a lack of evidence. On the one hand, it could be that the blankness was structured in some way, as later people were prevented from using the space. On the other hand, the lack of revisiting could be partly due to avoidance of the space on an individual level.

The addition of the enclosure and the stone lion monument on the Lion burial are much more prominent than the actions around the tumulus. The enclosure indicates that knowledge of the space was maintained until the time when the walls were erected. The fact that the walls do not encircle the entirety of the burial, however, shows that this knowledge was imperfect at best, or that there were other constraints that were more important to the contemporary builders. At

any rate, the enclosure delineated the acceptable space for the commemoration, obscuring what the original space had included.

The lion statue operated along similar lines as the enclosure, adding vertical prominence to and increasing the visual impact. That it was erected at the midpoint of the northern wall, even if the two substructures were not bonded, betrays a desire to incorporate both monuments into a single structure. The relationship between both is unclear, and it could be that they were erected at the same time, or that one preceded the other. Spatial arguments can be used to support the sequence in either direction. If the lion was placed first and the enclosure was included later, then this could explain why there were skeletons beyond the limits of the masonry. This sequence would fit with the pattern exhibited with the marble column monument at Marathon. Conversely, it could be that the lion was placed after the enclosure wall was built.

The statue itself can have different spatial implications depending on how it is interpreted. If its posture is correct and it in fact “gazes” at the Chaironeia tumulus across the field, then the statue ties both monuments into a single commemorative topography.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, the very form of the lion draws the monument into a wider network of monumental lions in Greece, and it is likely that it could evoke the lions at Thermopylai, Thespiiai, or Amphipolis to its viewers, drawing parallels between the different commemorative spaces.<sup>81</sup>

The space around the Lion burial falls more within the usual pattern of official commemoration. The enclosure structures the conceived space of the burial, while the lion statue simultaneously imposes a type of order over the environment. This is especially true if we can read a connection between the tomb and the Chaironeia tumulus.

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<sup>80</sup> Ma 2008, 85.

<sup>81</sup> The effect may be sharper today, however, if we assume that lion iconography was less common than it actually was. See Lethaby 1918; Ma 2008, 85-86.



### **Stage Three: Commemoration Maintenance**

The third stage of commemoration at Chaironeia can be identified in the physical changes on the field or the discussion in literary sources, continually defining the meanings that had been established previously. This period of commemoration was complicated by the first-century BCE victory of Sulla over the Greek forces of Mithridates. This victory produced monuments and literary commemorations, including initial and official monuments, which inevitably colored, and were subsequently colored by, the commemorations of the 338 battle. While not entirely terminated, commemoration of the 338 battle was largely transformed after 86 BCE, perhaps hastening the onset of the subsequent period of lapse.

On the field, the physical manifestations of the stage are reflected at the two burials at different times, broadly due to the relative difference in their commemoration in the previous stage: the commemoration at the Chaironeia tumulus began immediately from the first through second stage, but the Lion burial, in contrast, was revisited after the enclosure and Lion were in place. Broadly speaking, the commemorative field of Chaironeia, in relation to the battle of 338 BCE, coalesced into the two main burials on the field. In words, the literary references to the battle varied greatly, depending on the period and audience, as well as the author and their goals.

#### *Physical Evidence*

Evidence surrounding the Chaironeia tumulus is sparse, perhaps intentionally so. Since there is no evidence of later interventions within the space, it appears that the policy of keeping the area clear was maintained for some time, as there were no post-burial layers that were discovered in excavation. It could be that control over the space was maintained for a long period

after the monument was created. Alternatively, it could also be the case that there was simply a lack of desire or intent to revisit the burial, or that the space was entirely forgotten.

Despite the apparent maintained clearance around the tumulus, nevertheless there is some evidence of later activity, when a clay vessel containing cremains was buried in the mound.<sup>82</sup> This is reminiscent of the phenomenon we saw with the *soros* at Marathon, which also received a later interment. The urn in the Chaironeia tumulus, as well as its counterpart at Marathon, has been interpreted as a burial for a participant who had perished from their wounds at some point after the burial. This is purely hypothetical, however, and the urn only indicates that the tumulus attracted a subsequent internment for some reason.

In addition to the urn, the tumulus attracted several other burials nearby, as Sotiriades discovered a kantharos and non-burnt bones within a trench a little outside the tumulus.<sup>83</sup> Again, it is not possible to say whether the later burials had anything to do with the occupants of the tumulus itself. Nevertheless, both instances of later burials at the site indicate that the tumulus attracted such behavior.

There is a possibility that the Lion burial was also revisited in the third stage, if an epigram attributed to Geminus from the *Palatine Anthology* is evidence of a physical inscription,<sup>84</sup> as suggested by some.<sup>85</sup> The poem belongs to a collection that has been dated to the first century CE, at least three centuries after Philip's victory, but perhaps was composed in the Hellenistic period.<sup>86</sup> Delaying discussion of the epigram as a text momentarily, the possibility

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<sup>82</sup> Ma 2008, 78.

<sup>83</sup> Sotiriades 1904, 50-51.

<sup>84</sup> *Palatine Anthology* 9.288.

<sup>85</sup> Beloch 1923, 303. The actual identification of an epigram as purely fictional or real is complicated, see Cairns (2016, 17-19) for bibliography on topic.

that it reflects an actual inscription is apparent in its first line, as the subject and speaker of the epigram, the stone, highlights itself:

Οὗτος ὁ Κεκροπίδησι βαρὺς λίθος Ἄρεϊ κείμαι...

I, this stone heavy to the Kekropians [Athenians], am dedicated to Ares...

- Geminus, *Palatine Anthology* 9.288 line 1

The connection to the Lion burial was made in the early-20<sup>th</sup> century by Julius Beloch.<sup>87</sup> There is a possibility that the epigram quoted a physical inscription, as the demonstrative pronoun *Οὗτος* indicates.<sup>88</sup> The identification as an inscription regarding the lion is less secured by the text itself, as it merely labels itself a stone that is “heavy to the Kekropians [Athenians]”. Nevertheless, since the stone lion is the only extant monument from the field, in the event that the epigram actually described a monument then it was most likely a reference to the lion. There are several other possibilities, however, including that the epigram was entirely literary and was associated with a rhetorical trophy, as discussed below.

In addition to the curated commemoration of Philip’s victory, Sulla’s victory in 86 BCE prompted commemoration of the Roman victory in the same space. The latter victory inspired initial commemorations following Roman customs, including setting up a Roman trophy and dealing with the spoils. It also led to official commemoration in the form of stone monuments, one of which is extant today.<sup>89</sup> While the third stage of the 338 BCE battle continued in some literary sources, the physical commemoration was fundamentally changed by Sulla’s victory and the corresponding Roman monuments.

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<sup>86</sup> Loeb introduction to *Greek Anthology*, xvi. Hammond (1937) claims it dates from the early Roman empire.

<sup>87</sup> Beloch 1923, 303. Costanzi (1923) agrees, but Hammond disagrees (1938, 217).

<sup>88</sup> Although this is not certain. See Cairns 2016, 18, citing Bing 2009, 204.

<sup>89</sup> Camp et al. 1992; Kinnee 2018, 68; See below.

### *Literary Evidence*

There are many later literary sources that discuss the commemoration on the field. Several date to the century immediately after the battle, largely composed by Athenian orators from the late fourth century. After these, the next source dates to more than a century later, from the Hellenistic historian Polybios from the second century BCE.

After Polybios, a complicating factor is that the field around Chaironeia was also the site of a battle in 86 BCE, when Sulla defeated an army of Mithridates. This later battle produced several literary stories, which mingled with their predecessors on the field. As such, there is a noticeable and unsurprising difference in the description of the field in sources after Sulla's victory. These later sources all dealt with a field that was essentially changed. The texts of Diodorus Siculus, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Strabo, Plutarch, Appian, and Pausanias all belong to this category.

As previously hinted, the identification of the burials was unclear for large periods in antiquity. Many authors mention descriptions and allusions to several burials and tombs on the field. Focusing only on the participants of the 338 battle, tombs or funerary events of the Athenians, Thebans, and Macedonians, as well as Corinthians later, are all mentioned. While the Macedonian and Theban dead were eventually incorporated into the physical tradition on the field, the Athenian dead were the topic of much attention from late-fourth century Athenian orators, such as Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lykourgos, Theopompos, and Deinarchos. The fate of the dead and their subsequent burial were weaponized by the orators, somewhat obscuring secure physical connections, but it appears that the tradition of their public burial in Athens was established by the end of the century. The tradition persisted into later centuries, such as in Polybios' account in the third or second century BCE.

By the first century BCE, there are literary examples that mythologize, or otherwise utilize for the sake of storytelling, the dead. From an Athenian perspective, ancient sources present both fanciful and realistic stories. An example of the former is an anecdote in the history of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, claiming that the orator Isokrates chose to die soon after the end of the battle, so that he could perish with the city's nobility (*τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῆς πόλεως*).<sup>90</sup> Another mythological connection was made in the next century by Plutarch, who claimed that there was a burial of the Amazons on the field as well, connected to Athens through the hero Theseus.<sup>91</sup> Other connections are more realistically plausible, such as Diodorus' explanation of how the Athenians were treated after the battle, allowed to leave, and bury their dead at home.<sup>92</sup>

Eventually, the two physical burials on the field became associated with the battle of 338 BCE, at least in a few extant literary sources. By the time Plutarch composed his biography of Alexander in the final years of the first century CE, the Chaironeia tumulus was probably associated with the Macedonian dead from the battle.<sup>93</sup> Other than the Chaironeia tumulus, the Magoula Balomenou also satisfies the description, but the archaeology of the latter shows that it was not functioning as a commemorative space in the first century CE.<sup>94</sup> Based on Plutarch's status as a native Chaironeian,<sup>95</sup> it would be unreasonable to assume that he could have referred to the Magoula, even if he had known that the human-made mound was occupied by a later

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<sup>90</sup> Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Isokrates* 1.47.

<sup>91</sup> Plutarch *Theseus* 27.6.

<sup>92</sup> Diodorus 16.85-87. Also, Polybios 5.10.

<sup>93</sup> Although, perhaps not, as it is impossible to tell what Plutarch meant exactly when saying "near the Kephisos river". See below.

<sup>94</sup> See below.

<sup>95</sup> Hammond (1938, 204) insists on Plutarch's expertise as a native.

structure. Conversely, the physical evidence that the Chaironeia tumulus burial was left largely unchanged, in contrast to the Magoula Baloumenou, the other visible burial monument that was subsequently built over and otherwise altered, indicates that the former had achieved some level of recognition. Plutarch further locates the burial near the river and an old tree called “Alexander’s oak” (*Ἀλεξάνδρου καλουμένη δρῦς*), where Alexander reportedly had pitched his tent before the battle.

The exact location of the graves did not matter to all authors, however. The physical location of the Macedonian dead was not important in Diodorus’ account.<sup>96</sup> In fact, Diodorus does not directly allude to any Macedonian casualties, but instead highlights Alexander’s piling of the corpses and casualties of the Athenians and Boiotians. Likewise, Strabo does not mention Macedonian dead, but rather that there are tombs erected at public expense.<sup>97</sup> While the Macedonians were probably included in the sentiment, Strabo did not deem it important to describe.

The other relevant tomb, the Lion burial, also became identified with the 338 BCE battle through literary sources at least as early as the second century CE. The earliest secure connection ties the burial and associated monuments with the Theban dead, as explained by Pausanias, who tells us that there is a Theban polyandron that is topped by a lion statue but does not have an inscription.

There is a chance that the Geminus epigram also refers to the Lion burial.<sup>98</sup> In this potential context, however, there is no reference to whom the burial covers. Turning to the text itself, the epigram reads:

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<sup>96</sup> Diodorus 16.86.

<sup>97</sup> Strabo 9.2.37.

Οὗτος ὁ Κεκροπίδῃσι βαρὺς λίθος Ἄρεϊ κεῖμαι, (1)  
ξεῖνε, Φιλιππεῖς σύμβολον ἠνορέης,  
ὑβρίζων Μαραθῶνα καὶ ἀγχιάλου Σαλαμῖνος  
ἔργα Μακεδονίης ἔγχεσι κεκλιμένα.  
ὄμνυε νῦν νέκυας, Δημοσθένης· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε (5)  
καὶ ζῳοῖς ἔσομαι καὶ φθιμένοισι βαρὺς.

I, this stone heavy to the Kekropians (Athenians), am dedicated to Ares,  
Stranger, [I am] a token of Philip's strength,  
Insulting Marathon and the deeds of sea-girt Salamis,  
Which have been humbled by the spear of Macedon.  
Swear by the dead now, Demosthenes! however I, at any rate,  
Shall be heavy for both the living and dead.

- Geminus, *Palatine Anthology* 288.

First let us note what is lacking in the poem: the battle commemorated is not explicitly mentioned, nor is the sort of monument that is being referenced. But based on the content of the text, it is most likely that the epigram is in reference to the battle at Chaironeia in 338 BCE.

While there are several logical steps necessary to this judgment, the references to Philip and Demosthenes, particularly the speaking over the dead by the latter, are pretty clear connections to the battle commemorated. Accepting that, there are three possible interpretations of this epigram: 1) it was an actual inscription/epigram that referred to a real monument, 2) it was an imaginary inscription/epigram that referred to a real monument, or 3) it was an imaginary inscription/epigram that referred to an imaginary monument. In the event that the epigram was real or imaginary, but referred to a real monument, the only potential option is the lion statue. The options are much greater if the epigram refers to an imaginary monument.

First, the question as to whether the epigram was historical or literary. While there are stylistic and grammatical features that indicate that the epigram quoted an actual inscription, the possibility is far from confirmed. The most relevant are those that emphasize the physicality of the poem, such as the demonstrative pronoun (*Οὗτος*) and self-identification as a stone (*λίθος*) in line 1, then as a token (*σύμβολον*) in line 2, as well as the finite verbs (*κεῖμαι* and *ἔσομαι*) in lines

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<sup>98</sup> Beloch 1923.

1 and 6. The physicality is emphasized further by the adjective (*βαρύς*), repeated twice in lines 1 and 6. All of these stress the physical presence of the inscription and its accompanying monument.

The style of the composition might seem strange on first glance, as the epigram is in the first person and addresses a passing stranger. This is not uncommon in extant inscriptions, however. For well-known examples, see the *horoi* boundary stones found in the Athenian Agora.<sup>99</sup> One stone is clearly inscribed “*HOPOS EIMI TES AGOPAS*”, “I am the *horos* of the Agora”.<sup>100</sup> The stone is “speaking” in the first person, complete with a finite verb. A similar phenomenon could be apparent with the epigram of Geminus, where the stone refers to itself in the first person. Although not preserved on a stone, a text also survives in reference to the burial of the Spartans on the battlefield of Thermopylai, which Herodotus says to have read as “ὦ ξέν’, ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι”, “Stranger, go tell the Lakedaimonians that we lay here obeying their words”.<sup>101</sup>

Likewise, there are extant inscriptions with parallels for much of the language in the epigram. A quick search through databases on inscriptions shows that the verb *κεῖμαι* is attested in several cases,<sup>102</sup> and the demonstrative pronoun *Οὗτος*<sup>103</sup> and the pronoun and particle combination *ἐγωγε*<sup>104</sup> are also common, as is the exhortation to a stranger *ξένε*.<sup>105</sup> Even the

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<sup>99</sup> E.g., in Athenian Agora, Inv. I 5510. Thompson 1968, 61-63; More generally on *horoi*, see Ober 1995.

<sup>100</sup> Athenian Agora Inv. I 5510.

<sup>101</sup> Herodotus 7.228.2. It is likely that in the fifth century BCE such a monument was standing at Thermopylai, which does not survive today.

<sup>102</sup> E.g., *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1503.

<sup>103</sup> E.g., *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 52.

<sup>104</sup> E.g., *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1076.

<sup>105</sup> E.g., *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4258. Also, Simonides epigram for Thermopylai, *Palatine Anthology* 7.249 and Herodotus 7.228.



participles ὑβρίζων<sup>106</sup> and κεκλιμένα<sup>107</sup> are attested, although they seem more rare. That being said, the language of the Geminos epigram does not disqualify it as a potential inscription.

The most effective counterevidence against the chance that Geminos' epigram was an actual inscription has to do with the literary content. The epigram requires a lot of interpretation and there are several steps in logic in order to understand the full significance of the text. There is no issue with the Athenians being referred to as "Kekropians" in line 1, as the convention is frequently observed.<sup>108</sup> The subsequent mention of Philip in line 2 is also fitting, as the name is well-attested in inscriptions.<sup>109</sup>

The association with a particular Philip requires more information, however, which the epigram presents in lines 4 and 5, with the reference to the Macedonian spear and Demosthenes, a frequent rhetorical antagonist against Philip, and apparent flight risk in any actual altercations. It is the latter mention that further specifies which conflict the epigram alludes to, through the reference to Demosthenes and the exhortation that he swear by the dead in line 5, since Demosthenes was responsible for the eulogy of the fallen at Chaironeia.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, there are also heavily literary and metrical features of the epigram that may indicate a literary origin. For example, in the meter of the first line, the phrase "heavy stone" (βαρὺς λίθος) is set apart by a weak caesura in the third foot, ending in the fourth foot with a diaeresis. Moreover, an interesting point of composition reads the first and last lines of the inscription, which would also form a fitting elegiac couplet itself:

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<sup>106</sup> E.g., *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1368.

<sup>107</sup> E.g., *SEG* 32.896.

<sup>108</sup> E.g., *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3575.

<sup>109</sup> E.g., *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 104.

<sup>110</sup> See above and Chapter 6, p. 373.

Οὗτος ὁ Κεκροπίδῃσι βαρὺς λίθος Ἄρεϊ κεῖμαι,  
καὶ ζῶοις ἔσομαι καὶ φθιμένοισι βαρὺς.

I, this stone heavy to the Kekropians (Athenians), am dedicated to Ares,  
Shall be heavy for both the living and dead.

- Geminos, *Palatine Anthology* 288, lines 1 and 6

There are elements of ring composition, as the opening and closing lines nicely complement each other.<sup>111</sup> Flourishes such as these, however, may only indicate the skill of the composer at the time of commissioning the inscription, rather than force the interpretation that the epigram was entirely literary.

The intricacies of the epigram indicate a necessarily level of literacy in order to understand the purported monument. The variability of readings, with descriptions that are vague and imply a certain level of literacy to be understood, fits the pattern of Hellenistic epigrams that were entirely literary, as part of a literary “game”.<sup>112</sup> While the language and the style would not be out of place for a commemorative monument, the necessary literary knowledge makes it seem likely that the epigram was an exercise in literature. We will never know for certain.

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<sup>111</sup> These are the only lines that contain a finite verb in the first person with the same subject, complete with the same descriptive adjective. Applying the same analysis to the rest of the epigram is equally fruitful, as each line forms another coherent couplet. Thus, the poem may be structured following the pattern A, B, C, C, B, A:

Οὗτος ὁ Κεκροπίδῃσι βαρὺς λίθος Ἄρεϊ κεῖμαι,  
καὶ ζῶοις ἔσομαι καὶ φθιμένοισι βαρὺς.  
ὄμνυε νῦν νέκυας, Δημόσθενες· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε  
ξεῖνε, Φιλίππειος σύμβολον ἠγορέης,  
ὑβρίζων Μαραθῶνα καὶ ἀγχιάλου Σαλαμῖνος  
ἔργα Μακεδονίης ἔγχεσι κεκλιμένα.

I, this stone heavy to the Kekropians (Athenians), am dedicated to Ares,  
And shall be heavy for both the living and dead.  
Swear by the dead now, Demosthenes! however I, at any rate,  
Stranger, a token of Philip’s strength,  
Insulting Marathon and the deeds of sea-girt Salamis,  
Which have been humbled by the spear of Macedon.

- Geminos, *Palatine Anthology* 288 (lines 1 and 6, lines 2 and 5, lines 3 and 4)

The last couplet remains the same regardless of the logical structure, matching well because of the topographical references to Marathon, Salamis and Macedon. This follows the second revised couplet, which links Demosthenes and Philip directly.

<sup>112</sup> *Greek Anthology, Vol. 1*, Introduction, xiii.

Setting aside the question as to whether the Geminos epigram was historical or purely literary, a second question is whether the epigram referred to a real or an imaginary monument on the battlefield or elsewhere. As we have seen above, there are only a few possible monuments that stood on the field in antiquity, the burials and the lion statue associated with the Lion burial. It is theoretically possible that the epigram may be composed in reference to either of these.

One obvious connection is the reference to the dead in lines 5 and 6. Given that Demosthenes is named, and that he eulogized the dead from Chaironeia in 338 BCE, the epigram refers to the Athenian dead at these points. There is only very limited evidence that the Athenians would have been buried on the field, however, or that the burial would have been marked in some way. Even if we accept that the Chaironeia tumulus had some connection to Athens, whether as the site of their pyre or otherwise, there is no other evidence of a stone marker.

A second connection is the reference to the heavy stone in lines 1 and 2. Of the monuments that we know existed on the field, only the stone lion statue could fit this description. If true, looking at the text itself, it is interesting that the lion was not labelled in the epigram. There is no reason to omit the reference, whether metrically or literary. In fact, the simple substitution of *λέων* for *λίθος* would fit the meter perhaps more naturally, since the final syllable is long by nature. Neither is it rare for stone lions to be described in literature, for example Herodotus describes a stone lion at Thermopylai,<sup>113</sup> and Pausanias mentions the lion at Chaironeia.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Herodotus 7.225.

<sup>114</sup> Pausanias 9.40.10. More below.

Other than meter, there may have been grammatical reasons to describe the stone rather than a lion. The verb *κεῖμαι* confuses the connection further. The verb with a lion as a subject is rare, found in at least one fragment of Pindar cited by Aristides in the second century CE,<sup>115</sup> and Dionysios of Halikarnassos describes a stone lion as lying over a burial in Rome.<sup>116</sup> Herodotus also uses the verb to describe the position of a golden lion at Delphi,<sup>117</sup> but does not for the statue at Thermopylai. In contrast, the verb is more frequently used with *λίθος*, already used by Homer in the *Iliad*.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, the adjective *βαρύς* is more frequently describing a stone (*λίθος*) than a lion (*λέων*).<sup>119</sup> Regardless, there is no secure evidence that would connect the epigram to the stone lion definitively.

Which brings up the possibility that the epigram was a literary invention that described an imaginary monument, perhaps a trophy. Its own self-reference as a stone could also be fitting as a potential trophy, as compared to Pausanias' description of the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous, itself carved from a stone brought by the Persians as a potential trophy for their victory at Marathon.<sup>120</sup>

In fact, a literary trophy monument can also be assigned to this stage. It is first mentioned by Diodorus Siculus in the first century BCE, roughly a century before the epigram of Geminus.

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<sup>115</sup> Aristides Pindar, fr. 237.

<sup>116</sup> Dionysius 1.87.2.

<sup>117</sup> Herodotus 1.50.

<sup>118</sup> E.g., *Iliad* 7.264-265 and 21.403-404. Although referring to a stone that would be used as a weapon, the lines are nearly identical:

ἦ δ' ἀναχασσαμένη λίθον εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ  
κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ μέλανα τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε.

<sup>119</sup> Although there are examples, e.g., Aelianus *De Natura Animalium* 9.1.

<sup>120</sup> Pausanias. 1.33.

Diodorus references the monument twice.<sup>121</sup> The first instance is at the conclusion of the narrative of the battle:

μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Φίλιππος **τρόπαιον στήσας** καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς ταφὴν συγχωρήσας ἐπινίκια τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσσε καὶ τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐτίμησεν.

And after the battle, after he **set up a trophy** and yielded the corpses for burial, Philip offered a sacrifice of victory to the gods and honored the brave men according to their worth.

- Diodorus 16.86.6

I doubt that Diodorus faithfully reconstructed the commemoration immediately after the battle, and think it is more likely that he was reporting the expected actions. The grammar of the passage suggests that the actions were assumed to have occurred, as the clause describing the erecting of the trophy sits in a circumstantial participle phrase that sets the scene before the main verbs of the sentence.

The second reference follows soon after, when Diodorus is describing the fallout in Athens. He reports that the general Lysikles was condemned to death, prosecuted by the orator Lykourgos. Diodorus seems to quote Lykourgos:

γνοίη δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀξίαν καὶ πικρίαν ἐν οἷς τοῦ Λυσικλέους κατηγορῶν λέγει, Ἔστρατήγεις, ὃ Λύσικλες, καὶ χιλίων μὲν πολιτῶν τετελευτηκότων, δισχιλίων δ' αἰχμαλώτων γεγονότων, **τρόπαιον δὲ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐστηκότος**, τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης δουλευούσης... τολμᾷς ζῆν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὁρᾶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλειν, **ὑπόμνημα γεγονῶς** αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ὀνείδους τῇ πατρίδι.”

One could learn his [Lykourgos] worth and his bitterness in these words, in which he said against Lysikles: “You were general, Lysikles, and 1,000 citizens died, 2,000 became captives, **a trophy was erected against the city**, and all Greece is enslaved... yet you dare to live and to see the light of the sun and invade the agora, **having become a memorial** of shame and disgrace to your homeland.”

- Diodorus 16.88.2

In this quotation, we see Lykourgos state that a trophy was erected at the expense of Athens in the period that Lysikles was the general, which the oracle then uses to label Lysikles himself as a monument of shame to Athens.

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<sup>121</sup> Diodorus 16.86 and 88.

There is no reason to doubt that Diodorus accurately cited Lykourgos, and it is probable that the fourth-century orator used similar language.<sup>122</sup> It is doubtful, however, whether or not Lykourgos was referencing a physical monument. The phrase appears to be largely rhetorical, as part of a broader structure of ascending condemnations, ultimately culminating in Lykourgos' expression of incredulity that Lysikles would dare to continue living as normal, although he had become a memorial of shame itself. Moreover, this usage in Lykourgos' speech matches other rhetorical strategies of orators, grammatically marked as the direct object of the verb *ἵστημι*, set against an indirect object in a genitive phrase set off by *κατά*, such as in Isokrates' reference to the trophy at Leuktra.<sup>123</sup>

Other than this indirect reference from Lykourgos preserved in Diodorus, there is an absence of trophy references for the space of Chaironeia in other sources prior to Diodorus. There are no extant references in the various attacks against Demosthenes and his subsequent defenses,<sup>124</sup> nor even in Lykourgos' other allusions to the field at Chaironeia.<sup>125</sup> Likewise, there is no extant discussion of a trophy in the centuries before Diodorus, nor in the subsequent span. The debate is further complicated two centuries later by Pausanias, who claims that there was no trophy erected by the Macedonians at Chaironeia, and in fact that the Macedonians were not used to the practice of trophies at all.<sup>126</sup>

It appears most likely that there was no trophy in the expected sense as a marker of the battlefield. That does not answer the question whether there was a monument that appeared like a

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<sup>122</sup> Sacks 1990, 3.

<sup>123</sup> See Chapter 3; Isokrates 6.10.

<sup>124</sup> Attacks: E.g., Aeschines 3; Deinarchos 1. Defense: E.g., Demosthenes 18.

<sup>125</sup> E.g., Lykourgos 1.

<sup>126</sup> Pausanias 9.40.

trophy, at least to a specific audience. Considering Diodorus' penchant for favoring Athens,<sup>127</sup> perhaps we should assume either a projection of Athenian habits for victory in the space, or that some other monument was eventually labelled a trophy to an Athenian audience.<sup>128</sup>

In this case, we see another example of the importance of the audience for the interpretation of the space. To an Athenian audience, it appears, the space must have included a Macedonian trophy because that was the normal pattern following victory. At a certain point, this assumption may have been spread beyond Athens, given that it survives into the time of Diodorus.

There remains the possibility that the lion monument was eventually considered a trophy in some sense, as argued by Beloch in his assessment of the Geminus epigram.<sup>129</sup> There are arguments against the interpretation, as noted by Hammond, based on comparisons of the ancient sources and on the sentiment expressed in the middle lines of the poem.<sup>130</sup> To the former point, Hammond takes exception to the identification of the epigram as an inscription regarding the stone lion as a trophy. The latter point is based on Hammond's interpretation of Philip's attitude towards Athens, apparently based on his reading of ancient sources. Indeed, it appears that there was a long tradition of Philip's clemency or leniency regarding Athens, as the trope survived into the fourth century CE.<sup>131</sup> This is a possibility, but the lion was not considered a trophy by the time of Pausanias' visit to the field.

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<sup>127</sup> Hammond (1937, 83-84 and 89-90) reads an Athenian, anti-Macedonian source for these passages of Diodorus, possibly Diyllos of Athens.

<sup>128</sup> The story of the stone block meant to be the Persian trophy at Marathon, from Pausanias 1.33, comes to mind.

<sup>129</sup> Beloch 1923.

<sup>130</sup> Hammond 1938, 216-218.

<sup>131</sup> E.g., several of Libanius' letters compare Philip's leniency to that of the emperor Julian.

The commemorative network of Chaironeia became more complex over time, especially after Sulla's first-century BCE victory. While the monuments themselves appear to be largely untouched, the literary sources indicate that there was much mental work that continually altered the relative meaning of the physical objects. As this process continued over decades and centuries, the specific spatial meanings on the field fundamentally changed over time. Eventually, the commemoration of the field of Chaironeia became detached from its physical location, and exact identifications and meanings of monuments in space faded.

#### **Stage Four: Commemoration Lapses**

The repeated iterations of activity around and concerning the commemorations at Chaironeia, particularly reflected through literary sources, led to a subsequent lapse. Already by the second century CE, the weight of multiple definitions had blurred and complicated the monuments on the field. Physically, the commemorations of Sulla's victory of 86 BCE were a key change, and the subsequent monuments heightened the temporal distance from 338 BCE. Contemporary authors also needed to reconcile the fact that multiple famous battles had occurred in the same space, and each dealt with it as their circumstances allowed.

#### *Physical evidence*

There is little physical evidence of decay for the monuments of 338 BCE. The Chaironeia tumulus had become disassociated with Philip at some point before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but there is no clear indication as to when or why. There appears to be no significant physical change to the Chaironeia tumulus in the stage of lapsed commemoration, and the burial appears to have changed little over time. Looking at the wider history of the reception of the monument,



however, shows that the association with the battle of 338 BCE was lost before the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century excavations of Sotiriades, by which time the Magoula Balomenou had become an alternative candidate. The chronology of the shift in association is unclear, but the archaeological record of the Magoula may indicate possibilities.

There are multiple time periods represented by the archaeological assemblage from the other mound. At its lowest levels, the Magoula contains prehistoric burials, cremated on a pyre. The date is given by the position of the bodies, as well as artifacts such as hand-made vases, obsidian tools, and other materials.<sup>132</sup> In the stratum above, there are Hellenistic and Roman pottery sherds, sealed by a layer of white earth, which Sotiriades interpreted as a later revisiting of the prehistoric burial.<sup>133</sup> Roman or later burials were dug into this layer, perhaps contemporary with or soon after Roman or Byzantine buildings with two small cisterns, tiles and floors.<sup>134</sup> Combined with the assumption that the association of the Chaironeia tumulus was established before Diodorus' text from the first century BCE and subsequently known to the Chaironeian Plutarch in the next century, the physical evidence of the Magoula indicates post-Roman re-association.

Likewise, the Lion burial had fallen into a state of disrepair by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the lion statue was discovered buried and in pieces. Again, we can only hypothesize when this occurred, and the circumstances surrounding the lapsed commemoration are foggy. Despite popular stories that blame the destruction of the monument on a figure of Greek independence,<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Sotiriades 1902, 56-57.

<sup>133</sup> Sotiriades 1902, 55.

<sup>134</sup> Sotiriades 1902, 55.

<sup>135</sup> Odysseus Androutsos. See below, p 233.

the statue was already in pieces and buried by the start of the century.<sup>136</sup> At some point in the millennia after Pausanias' visit, the lion must have fallen into a state of disrepair. It is likely that it fell of its own weight, as the metal clamps that kept it together became brittle and fragile over time, especially the main clamp that connected the statue's head to the body.<sup>137</sup> It is difficult to establish an exact chronology, given that our only definite mention of the monument is from Pausanias, and the lack of extant references by later authors.

Let us turn for a moment to Pausanias' text in combination with the faint possibility that the Geminus epigram refers to an inscription that marked the lion. If we accept the latter premise, then the epigram is evidence of physical lapsing of the monumental program, since Pausanias explicitly stated that there is no inscription on the lion.<sup>138</sup> Thus, the hypothetical inscription must have been lost at some point before Pausanias' visit. Beloch argues that the inscription was intentionally covered by Thebes,<sup>139</sup> which is unprovable but would have interesting implications. In this scenario, however, it is equally possible that the inscription was simply covered or otherwise obscured by natural processes by the second century CE.

One reason for the lapse may be the physical monuments of Sulla's victory, as the commemorative traditions competed for dominance in the field. The only extant monument of

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<sup>136</sup> There is a conspicuous lack of monuments according to Holland's account of his visit in 1812 and 1813 (Holland 1815), nor are there monuments mentioned in Leake's later account of his travels the decade prior (Leake 1835, 191-201).

<sup>137</sup> Ma 2008, 82.

<sup>138</sup> Pausanias 9.40.10.

<sup>139</sup> Beloch 1923.

Sulla's victory is an inscribed base, which has been interpreted as a trophy to the battle.<sup>140</sup> This was one of a set of two, based on testimony by Pausanias.<sup>141</sup>

### *Literary Evidence*

There is also limited literary evidence of the lapse, but the space of the battlefield had become increasingly remote and imaginary as an outcome of the previous stage. As we saw above, there was early, but persistent, conflicts in the written accounts regarding the identification of the various burials on the field, as well as later disagreement regarding the existence of a battlefield trophy.

It appears that the literary understanding of the commemorative landscape had started unravelling before Pausanias. Already by the first century CE, the commemorative space had become increasingly imaginary rather than physical, possibly a culmination of the deliberations over the identification of the various monuments and burials on the field, in combination with the need to recontextualize the 338 BCE conflict in light of the more recent victory of Sulla in 86 BCE.<sup>142</sup> This conflict may explain why Cicero, writing in the first century BCE, did not include Philip's victory at Chaironeia in his list of famous Greek battles that are good for thinking during rhetorical exercises.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Camp et al. 1992.

<sup>141</sup> Pausanias 9.40.

<sup>142</sup> Not every source did so, e.g., Diodorus 38.6.

<sup>143</sup> Cicero *De Officiis* 1.61, dated to about 40 years after 86 BCE. Indeed, given Cicero's negative portrayal of the famous Roman general, the orator may have actively avoided highlighting Sulla's victories in any way. E.g., Cicero *De Officiis* 2.27. Cicero chastises Sulla for daring to sell spoils from a battle, when it is wrong to do so in the Forum. It is interesting that Cicero alludes to martial victories and employs the language of selling booty in the Roman context (*hasta posita... in foro*, "spear affixed... in the forum").

The trend in imagining the space is apparent in Plutarch's portrayal of the burial of the Macedonians (*τὸ πολυνάνδριον τῶν Μακεδόνων*), which he located near Alexander's oak tree, presumably where the then-prince had camped before the battle.<sup>144</sup> In another text, Plutarch mythologizes the space further, hypothesizing that a river that was called Haemon ("Blood") in his time must have been a river called the Thermodon that was featured in prophecies, but that the name had been altered after the battle of 338 BCE because the water was filled with blood and corpses.<sup>145</sup> There is an increasing mythological depth to the field, as we see later in Pausanias, who tells us its ancient name was Arne, named after a daughter of Aeolus.<sup>146</sup>

We see the comparison of Philip's victory to that of Sulla in Strabo's discussion of the field, as well as reference to a burial of the former battle:

Χαιρώνεια δ' ἐστὶν Ὀρχομενοῦ πλησίον, ὅπου Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου μάχῃ μεγάλη νικήσας Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους κατέστη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κύριος· δείκνυται δὲ κἀνταῦθα **ταφὴ τῶν πεσόντων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ δημοσία**: περὶ δὲ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς Μιθριδάτου δυνάμεις πολλῶν μυριάδων κατηγωνίσαντο, ὥστ' ὀλίγους ἐπὶ θάλατταν σωθέντας φυγεῖν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀλῶναι.

And Chaironeia is close to Orchomenos, where Philip the son of Amyntos established himself master of Greece after defeating the Athenians, Boiotians, and Corinthians in a great battle; and also, here is displayed **a common tomb of the fallen in that battle**. And around these same places the Romans also defeated the forces of Mithridates, many thousands strong, such that a few survivors fled to sea on ships, but the rest were killed or captured.

- Strabo 9.2.37.

Strabo begins with a short summary of the earlier battle, saying that Philip defeated the Athenians, Boiotians, and Corinthians, before mentioning that there is a common burial (*ταφὴ*) here, paid for by public expense.

There is no reason to think that Strabo was not deliberate in his writing, and several parts of the above-cited text stand out. First, there is the fact that Philip defeated a combined force of

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<sup>144</sup> Plutarch *Alexander* 9.

<sup>145</sup> Plutarch *Demosthenes* 19.2.

<sup>146</sup> Pausanias 9.40.5.

Athenians, Boiotians and Corinthians, with equal focus on all three. This is a contrast with other sources that neglect to mention the involvement of the Corinthians on the one hand, and that highlight the significance or treatment of one or the other of the vanquished singly and not as a collective on the other.<sup>147</sup>

A second interesting point is Strabo's use of the singular grave (*ταφή*) and accompanying verb (*δείκνυται*). There are a few examples of this combination of noun and verb, but Strabo may be the earliest to use it, either in reference to a mass burial or a set of burials.<sup>148</sup> He uses it three times: once in reference to graves and other wonders that are seen in a city near the Caspian mountains,<sup>149</sup> and twice in reference to mass graves on battlefields.<sup>150</sup> The latter two uses are found very near each other, both in reference to mass graves in Boiotia. Before the reference to the tomb at Chaironeia, the first tomb is for the dead at Plataia, a famous battle of the Persian wars. In using similar language, Strabo compares the two monuments. Both are viewed from a different perspective, indicating local and traditional pride, but at a distance removed from Strabo's contemporary age within the Roman empire. The perspective is also evident in Strabo's discussion of the 86 BCE battle, which he says was a Roman victory, rather than as a victory of the general Sulla.<sup>151</sup> The verb of seeing implies distance as well as it indicates display.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> E.g., Plutarch's story that Philip weeps at seeing the corpses of the Theban Sacred Band (*Pelopidas* 18).

<sup>148</sup> Diodorus (3.61.2) uses the words, but in a different grammatical construction. The construction with *τάφος* is more common, but not frequently as the subject of the verb, e.g., Diodorus 5.79.4.

<sup>149</sup> Strabo 11.7.1.

<sup>150</sup> Strabo 9.2.31 and 9.2.37.

<sup>151</sup> There might be something interesting in Strabo's omission.

<sup>152</sup> A similar use in Plutarch *Theseus* 29.5.

This was not the only possible perspective, and there are other examples of the field seen through the lens of Sulla's victory. On the one hand, in his biography of Sulla Plutarch essentially combines Sulla's victories at Chaironeia and Orchomenos into a single narrative struggle against barbarians, in this case the non-Roman Mithridates. Following an image of corpses strewn across the battlefield of Orchomenos, visible centuries later, the narrative culminates with "thus such things are said to have happened around Chaironeia and near Orchomenos".<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, a generation or so later Appian also gives a Roman perspective on commemoration on the Chaironeia field, this time devoid of Greek victory, saying that Sulla celebrated "following Roman custom".<sup>154</sup>

The tension between both victories was evident in the second century CE when Pausanias described the field.<sup>155</sup> He deliberately sites the location of the Roman battle in the same place as the earlier conflict.<sup>156</sup> The antiquarian is also deliberate in his description of the monuments, clearly stating that the trophies on the field are for Sulla's victory, which he supports by the claim that there are no trophies from Philip's victory in 338 BCE because that was not a Macedonian practice.

Pausanias' account neglects to mention the burials from the 86 BCE battle, which is consistent with other sources. There is a discrepancy in his description of the tombs from the 338 battle, however, as he only names the Lion burial as the tomb of the Thebans and makes no mention of a Macedonian tomb or one of any other participants. The existence of a single tomb, or conflation of many tombs into a collective idea, seems to be a consistent theme among

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<sup>153</sup> "τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ πρὸς Ὀρχομενῶ τοιαῦτα λέγεται γενέσθαι." Plutarch *Sulla* 21.4.

<sup>154</sup> "ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις." Appian *Mithridaica Wars* 6.45.

<sup>155</sup> Pausanias 9.40.

<sup>156</sup> Pausanias 7.15.

authors, but with different occupants: a collection of all Greeks according to Strabo, just the Macedonians according to Plutarch, and just the Thebans according to Pausanias.

Comparing just the latter two, the word choice is interesting, as Pausanias describes the Theban tomb as a polyandrion (*πολύανδριον Θηβαίων*), the same word that Plutarch had used to describe the general tomb of the Macedonians near the Kephisos river.<sup>157</sup> It is possible that both authors could be referring to the same monument, namely the Lion burial. Perhaps the location was near enough to the Kephisos for Plutarch, or that physical reality was not the main motivating factor in his description. The split is not resolved by Plutarch, who is considered the most reliable source on the space by some authors, since he hailed from Chaironeia.<sup>158</sup> Plutarch does not describe the post-battle treatment of Theban dead, other than with an anecdote that Philip wept when he learned of the fate of the Sacred Band.<sup>159</sup>

In these examples from the centuries after Sulla's victory, we see a curious interplay between the commemorations of two battles within one battlefield. On the one hand, Chaironeia had defined the space of Philip's victory for roughly a quarter millennium by the time of Sulla's victory in 86 BCE, and so commemoration had progressed to the stage of maintenance and curation. On the other hand, the commemorative field changed after Sulla's victory, whose commemoration evolved through the normal stages while still acting and being acted upon previous actions.

That is not to say that all literary sources after 86 BCE need be understood as referring to both battles, even if the authors implicitly were aware of each. The inclusion would depend on

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<sup>157</sup> Pausanias 9.40.10; Plutarch *Alexander* 9.2.

<sup>158</sup> Hammond 1938, 204.

<sup>159</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 18.

the goals of the writer. While a historian, geographer, or antiquarian may wish to detail the features of a place accurately, there is no reason to expect monuments and battlefields to be the primary focus for an author of a biography. Plutarch does not refer to Sulla's victory in every text, sometimes preferring to highlight the 338 battle instead. In his biography of Pelopidas, for example, Plutarch dramatizes the moment when Philip realized that he had slaughtered the Theban sacred band.<sup>160</sup> He does the same in his biography of Demosthenes, as the biography is internally contemporary with the fourth century.<sup>161</sup>

In addition to those that compare the victories of Philip and Sulla, some references place the battles in a wider chronology, not always constrained to the field. In *Camillus*, for example, Plutarch includes Philip's victory in a list of other famous battles that occurred on inauspicious dates.<sup>162</sup> Dionysios of Halikarnassos expresses a similar sentiment, lumping the Greek defeat at Chaironeia with the Spartan defeat at Leuktra, which he deemed not fit to be compared to various Roman victories in Spain and Italy.<sup>163</sup>

The long lapsing process lasted for centuries. There is a general lack of literary sources for the latter portion of the period, matching the gradual changes in the physical evidence. There are references to the battle of Chaironeia in some declamations from the fourth-century CE orator Libanius. There are several indications that there was still a concern over the treatment of the dead nearly 700 years after a battle, first when Libanius writes of a quandary regarding how

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<sup>160</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 18.5.

<sup>161</sup> Plutarch *Demosthenes*. Plutarch maintains the relative contemporaneity in other biographies, such as in *Theseus* 27.6, when he locates tombs of the Amazons on battlefields in the territory of Megara and Chaironeia.

<sup>162</sup> Plutarch *Camillus* 19.

<sup>163</sup> Dionysios of Halikarnassos 2.17.



to report the Macedonian dead to their grieving parents,<sup>164</sup> as well as in references to burials on the field itself in another declamation.<sup>165</sup>

In another speech, Libanius refers to Philip's trophy at Chaironeia, comparing it to his other trophies.<sup>166</sup> On the one hand, we see a lapse in the tradition that Philip did not raise trophies that Pausanias described two centuries earlier. That is not to say that Libanius was insisting that there were trophies, however, given the type of text in which the reference was made, namely in a set of published exercises for learning prose composition.<sup>167</sup> In that context, the historical veracity of the statement did not matter, but rather the character and ideas needed to resonate with the audience. Clearly, Philip and Demosthenes fit the mold of well-known generals and political leaders of the past with many victories attributed, as did the practice of erecting trophies.

In these last examples from Libanius, we see how the commemoration of Chaironeia had developed to a point where the physical space of the field, and the monuments upon it, did not always matter. The battlefield gradually evolved into an increasingly imaginary space, governed and constructed by the expectations and desires of the various actors who deployed the space.

After Libanius, there is a dearth of references to the field of Chaironeia for several centuries, besides the occasional repetition of earlier tropes, such as a twelfth-century oration by Euthymius Malaces, in which he references Philip's trophy.<sup>168</sup> Two other references from the

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<sup>164</sup> Libanius *Declamation* 19.1.38.

<sup>165</sup> Libanius *Declamation* 23.1.48 and 73. Penella 2014, 115.

<sup>166</sup> Libanius *Progymnasmata* 9.3.13.

<sup>167</sup> Gibson 2014.

<sup>168</sup> Euthymius Malaces *Oratio in Manuelem* I 30.16.

same century, from a commentary on Homer by Eustathius of Thessaloniki<sup>169</sup> and an oration by Niketas Choniates,<sup>170</sup> shows that the memory of the field was active even in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps indicating that it is simply an accident of preservation regarding the limited information from other periods.

The potency of the memory of the battle surely persisted long after the physical monuments, as we see in a sonnet written by the 17<sup>th</sup>-century British poet John Milton.<sup>171</sup> As opposed to a modern recollection regarding the field of the next commemorative stage, however, Milton's sonnet shows how the battle had become increasingly divorced from the field itself. He uses the tradition that Isokrates had died around the same time as the battle, perhaps on the same day according to Milton, in a complaint about love and contemporary English politics.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*.

<sup>170</sup> Choniates *Oration* 9.95.

<sup>171</sup> Milton *Sonnet* 10.

<sup>172</sup> Milton's Sonnet 10:

Daughter to that good Earl, once President  
Of England's Council, and her Treasury,  
Who lived in both, unstained with gold or fee,  
And left them both, more in himself content,  
Till the sad breaking of that Parliament  
Broke him, as that dishonest victory  
At **Chaeronea**, fatal to liberty,  
Killed with report that old man eloquent,  
Though later born, than to have known the days  
Wherein your father flourished, yet by you  
Madam, methinks I see him living yet;  
So well your words his noble virtues praise,  
That all both judge you to relate them true,  
And to possess them, honored Margaret.

- Text from Kerrigan et al. (eds.) 2007, *The Complete Poetry and Essential Prose of John Milton*, 146-147.

## Stage Five: Re-remembering Chaironeia

At some point the physical monuments on the field were lost, whether covered or otherwise hidden by natural processes, or simply forgotten. It is unclear exactly when, but this had occurred by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the lion statue was rediscovered by a group of British travelers. Likewise, we expect that the memory of Chaironeia, as expressed in literary sources, had become largely disconnected with the reality on the field, even if the space was occasionally referenced in the centuries after Libanius.

The physical monuments of the field were re-discovered at different points in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The lion statue of the Lion burial became a pawn in 19<sup>th</sup>-century politics immediately upon its re-discovery, when fragments were accidentally stumbled upon by a group of British travelers in 1818.<sup>173</sup> Several of the party published personal accounts over the following decades,<sup>174</sup> but the stories of the discovery greatly vary, from theatrical to mundane,<sup>175</sup> such that the actual events have become muddled and impossible to know for certain.

Nevertheless, it seems that they had discovered the head of the lion statue and some of its body elements, and that they subsequently reburied the stones to preserve them, not from the elements, but rather in the hope that they would find a means to transport the monument to England, “where it would serve to remind us how the Greeks commemorated their glorious achievements, and possibly incline our Committee of Taste to pay the same or greater tribute to the memory of those bands of heroes who, in like manner, have fallen in defence of the honour

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<sup>173</sup> John Sanders, William Purser, Edward Cresy, and George Taylor, according to Ma 2008, 79.

<sup>174</sup> The first seems to have been published anonymously by Edward Cresy in 1824 in the *Literary Gazette* (see Ma 2008, 79 n. 45), which was republished in the same year in *Galignani's Magazine and Paris Monthly Review*, 8: 381. Some of the accounts of G.L Taylor from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are outlined in Vaux 1866, 1-12.

<sup>175</sup> E.g., in one letter, George Taylor claims that his horse stumbled over a block on a ride in the area, which led to an incredulous thought “that it might be !? [sic]”, before the riding group dug out the blocks with their riding whips. Vaux 1866, 2.

and liberty of this country”.<sup>176</sup> Taylor’s recollection of the event, published in 1862, gives further details on the group’s effort to gain the sculpture for England through legal measures, working “in every way in [their] power,” and petitioning several people in the British consulate in Athens. Ultimately unsuccessful, Taylor expressed his dismay that the sculpture had ended up in France (although it hadn’t) and wished to make clear to the editor of the Royal Society of Literature journal, William Sandys Wright Vaux, that “neither Greek nor Austrian were the discoverers”.<sup>177</sup>

Evidently, the monument was attractive to this group of Englishmen as a potential symbol of British national power.<sup>178</sup> Taylor’s anxiety seems to be based on alternative stories for the rediscovery of the monument.<sup>179</sup> By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a story that a hero of the Greek war of independence, Odysseus Androutsos, had been responsible for the initial destruction of the lion.<sup>180</sup> The accusation was that he had blown up the monument with dynamite because he believed that it contained treasure.<sup>181</sup> It appears that the rediscovery also inspired conspiracies and counter-opinions, in addition to swellings of national pride in the leadup to, and aftermath of, the Greek war of Independence.

Later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, other archaeologists and politicians recognized the potency of the lion as a national symbol. Plans for its anastylosis were prepared in the decade after Greek Independence, and Otto, the first King of Greece, agreed to do so in 1842, before instability and

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<sup>176</sup> [Cresy] 1824, 381. British spelling retained.

<sup>177</sup> Vaux 1866, 2-3.

<sup>178</sup> Ma 2008, 79. Not just for the English: a German group of donors that pushed the project, following the plans of a German sculptor, which might have chafed the Greek government, described as the “uppity Greek mini-country” against the “great German nation” (citing Welcker 1856).

<sup>179</sup> Vaux 1866, 10.

<sup>180</sup> Ma 2008, 79.

<sup>181</sup> Vaux 1866, 9-10.

disagreements put the program on hold indefinitely.<sup>182</sup> Archaeological research resumed in 1879, with the ultimate goal of reconstructing the monument. This stoked not only internal disagreement regarding how the reconstruction should proceed, but also international squabbling over funding. All non-Greek offers were rebuffed, but the future King of Greece, Constantine I, pushed the project at all costs beginning 1896, and the monument was reconstructed by 1904. Ma points out, rightly, the Greek national pride that motivated the project, saying that “what we now see at Chaironeia is a monument of 1902”.<sup>183</sup>

In addition to the archaeological posturing, the discovery of the monument inspired several watercolors and other artistic renderings. Many of these should be considered through the lens of 19<sup>th</sup> century Romanticism, and they evoke dismay at the state of contemporary Greece. For example, an engraving by the French diplomat and philhellene François Pouqueville depicts a man in contemporary Greek clothing, solemnly leaning on the toppled head of the statue (**Figure 4.8**).<sup>184</sup> Several other pieces of the sculpture lie around, and a collapsing wall of large-cut stones sits in the foreground, creating an overall sense of ruin, and perhaps longing.

A colored lithograph by Loius Dupré expresses a similar, yet slightly different sentiment (**Figure 4.9**).<sup>185</sup> Although described in the title, an unnamed man, described as a Tartar as shorthand to mean Ottoman Turk, with a white beard to indicate his age, struggles against his horse, trying to tame the animal by pulling on the bridle and brandishing a whip. Behind the

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<sup>182</sup> Ma 2008, 79.

<sup>183</sup> Ma 2008, 80.

<sup>184</sup> “The Lion of Chaeronea, Greece,” by François Pouqueville, published in 1835, currently in the De Agostine Picture Library in Milan, Italy.

<sup>185</sup> “Un Tartare et les Fragments du lion de Chéronée,” by Louis Dupré, inspired by his 1819 trip. Dupré 1825; Vlachos 1994.

dynamic scene, the remains of the lion lie in the background, identified by its head and chest. There is a stark contrast between the scene of struggle and the serene lion.

A third example is James Skene's watercolor of the lion (**Figure 4.10**).<sup>186</sup> As opposed to the previous two examples that depicted the lion in ruin, Skene's version has an intact lion, looking inquisitively towards the viewer while sitting in the middle of a field. In the background there are assorted bits of stone that imply ruin as well as the standing façade of an old building, perhaps a church. In effect, Skene inverts the depictions by Dupré and Pouqueville, instead displaying the lion as a living creature amid ruins.

Artistic renderings like these may have been inspired by actual images of the lion in the 19th century, if not by autopsy. For example, photos taken by Shirley C. Atchley in 1895<sup>187</sup> disseminated images of the scattered sections of the lion, and the composition must have been attractive to earlier visitors. Indeed, the lion remained in pieces, exposed on the field. One photo depicts a bespectacled man with a neat mustache, dressed in a suit and tie with a hat, leaning casually on the head (**Figure 4.11**). This is a striking comparison with Pouqueville's etching.

Besides these, the lion also inspired sculptural imitation. Several casts were taken in the earlier stages, including some that were sent to England and, perhaps, subsequently lost in the second world war.<sup>188</sup> A to-scale cast was also used for the reconstruction of the statue itself, set in a shed near the monument.<sup>189</sup> After its use, the model was moved to the Thebes museum, but it is not on display.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> "Leondari," by James Skene. See Tsigkakou 1985.

<sup>187</sup> Atchley, unlabeled photographs in Sanborn 1897, 97 and 98, photographer credit on 102.

<sup>188</sup> Ma 2008, 79 n. 52.

<sup>189</sup> Ma 2008, 80.

<sup>190</sup> Ma 2008, 80 n. 57.

The statue also stimulated an imitation elsewhere in modern Greece, set up in Pythagoras Square in the city of Samos on the island of the same name (**Figure 4.12**). It was set in the square in 1921, as a celebration of the 100-year anniversary of Greek Independence. Beyond the wider Greek celebration, the choice also had local relevance. The lion statue is just part of a series of other embellishments in the square, and it was replaced by a model of the Statue of Liberty during the military dictatorship in 1968. Ultimately, the lion was returned to the square in 1974, at the fall of the military dictatorship.<sup>191</sup>

Although exploration of the Chaironeia tumulus did not engender as much international posturing, nevertheless its excavation in 1902 consolidated the statements of the contemporary Greek government. According to the excavator, the project began with the explicit goal of finding the burial of the Macedonians near the Kephisos, following Plutarch. When the original candidate proved to be undatable to the fourth century BCE, a second option was immediately excavated, which luckily contained sufficient evidence of fourth-century activity.

Both the Lion burial and the Chaironeia tumulus were intentionally placed into a dialogue of modern issues by their exploration and subsequent beautification, including the anastylosis of the former and the extensive gardening around both.<sup>192</sup> In the intervening century, the two monuments have witnessed differential receptions in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century world. The Lion burial, as a prominent monument with early 20<sup>th</sup>-century resonances, now stands proudly next to the archaeological museum in the modern city. It is unfenced and always open to visit, accompanied by a relatively well-kept sign that provides the basic information. In contrast, the Chaironeia tumulus is very difficult to visit, inaccessible by well-maintained roads, and

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<sup>191</sup> “Pythagoras Square and the Lion.” General State Archives, Samos Department.  
<<https://www.isamos.gr/en/pythagoras-square-and-the-lion/>>.

<sup>192</sup> The landscaping is attributed to the local Thouriou Primary School, according to the museum label.

completely devoid of any accompanying signage. Given the identifications that have accrued in much of modern scholarship, there is apparently greater care given to the Theban monument, as opposed to that of the Macedonians, and the vanquished is more celebrated than the victor.

### **Conclusion: Comparing Chaironeia to Marathon and Leuktra**

Because it was the last of the case studies chronologically, the commemoration of the battle of Chaironeia occurred in a context of wider commemorative patterns that had been established before, or in some cases instigated by, Marathon and Leuktra. This is especially true in the early stages of commemoration, as commemoration of the 338 BCE battle settled into wider patterns of the fourth-century Greek world. In some ways, the on-field commemoration at Chaironeia does not match the expected patterns.

It appears that there were burials and other funerary rites, there is no physical evidence of a trophy in the initial phase, and the literary evidence is either later or comes from an Athenian audience. In contrast, it appears that the commemoration of Chaironeia as a weaponized rhetorical device in near-contemporary literary sources follows expectations, and the battle could be viewed in the context of other conflicts, such as Marathon.<sup>193</sup>

By the first or second century BCE, however, we begin to notice a shift in the way that Chaironeia was commemorated, likely because of a change in audience. The Roman perspective on the Classical Greek battles pushed them into a more remote past, of which each was ostensibly a part. Sometimes this worked to celebrate Roman achievement,<sup>194</sup> but sometimes it

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<sup>193</sup> E.g., Aeschines 3.182 compares Demosthenes at Chaironeia to Miltiades at Marathon.

<sup>194</sup> E.g., Dionysios of Halikarnassos 2.17.2 compares Rome to Sparta, Athens and Thebes, who had been overpowered at Leuktra and Chaironeia.



was only a continuation of a trope in rhetorical exercises like declamations.<sup>195</sup> This might not have been true in the first century BCE, however, as the victory of Sulla in 86 BCE effectively obscured Phillip's victory from 338. Over time, however, the neglect faded, such that Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia could be comfortably compared throughout the Roman period. The physical monuments of this period, however, had a lasting impact on the physical commemoration of Philip's 338 BCE victory.

There was a rather marked change in the commemoration at Chaironeia of the 338 BCE battle as Rome became increasingly involved in Greek affairs after the second century BCE, and especially after Sulla's victory in 86 BCE. This example shines a greater light on the changes that had occurred at Marathon and Leuktra, as each battle was subsumed into an increasingly remote past. From this point on, the battlefield commemoration at each site generally followed the same pattern, of course with local variation. The long third stage faded into the fourth stage, partially beginning around the second century CE, as we see in the oft-radical departures of Pausanias' account from earlier sources.

As a pattern, the lull continues through the Ottoman period in Greece and up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when there are increasing sentiments pushing for Greek independence. Even in the quiet period, however, there are often stray references in extant literary sources, perhaps indicating that there was a much more vibrant tradition that has just been lost over time.

The modern re-collection of Chaironeia also coincides with the re-collection of other sites of antiquity, especially that of Marathon.<sup>196</sup> In the present case, the lion was a potent physical

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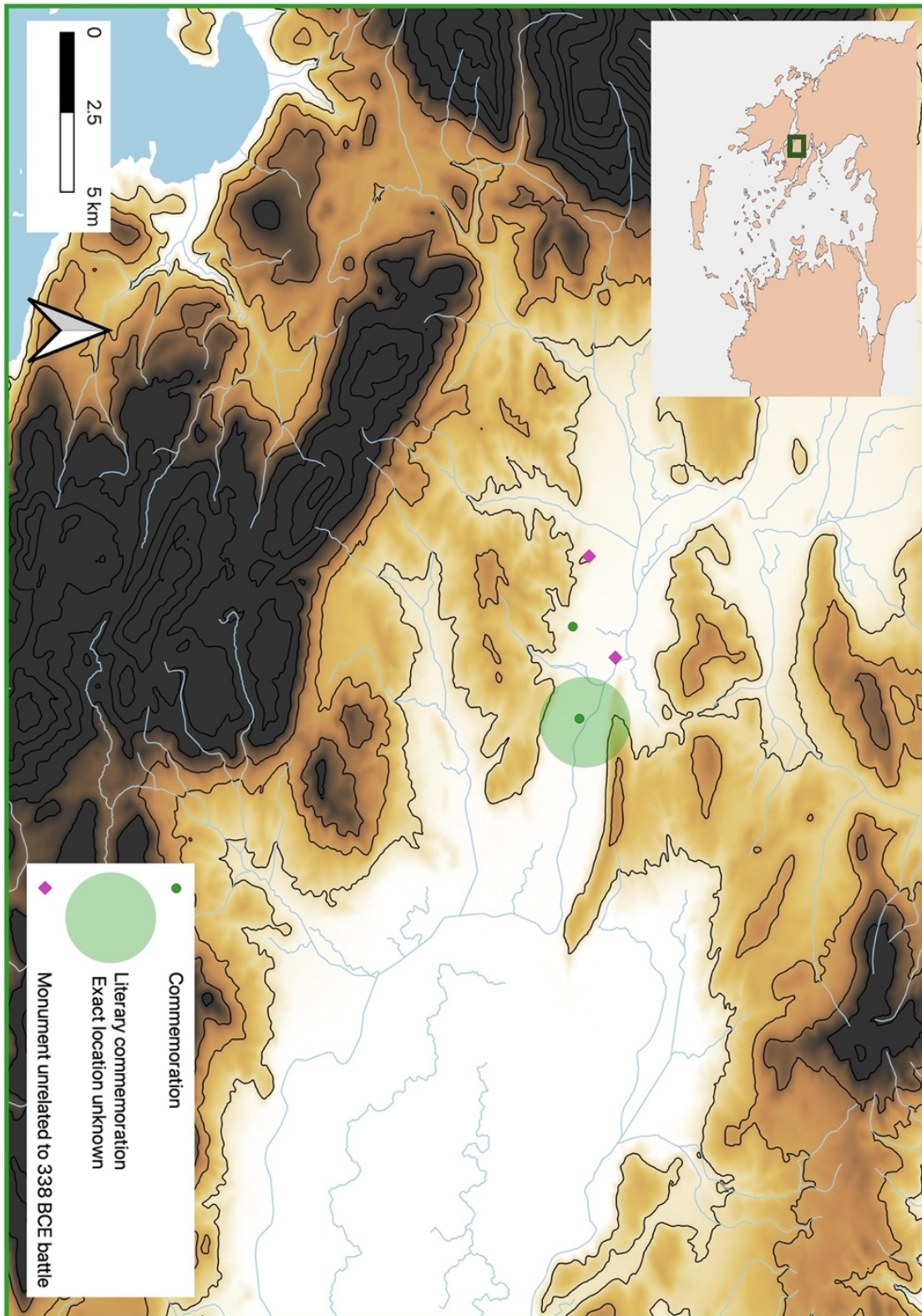
<sup>195</sup> E.g., Quintillian *The Orator's Education* 9.2.

<sup>196</sup> This connection exists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century account by Taylor, recorded in Vaux (1966, 10), which is particularly scathing of contemporary Greece. It is curious that the battlefield at Leuktra did not also inspire such imagery and focus from the period.

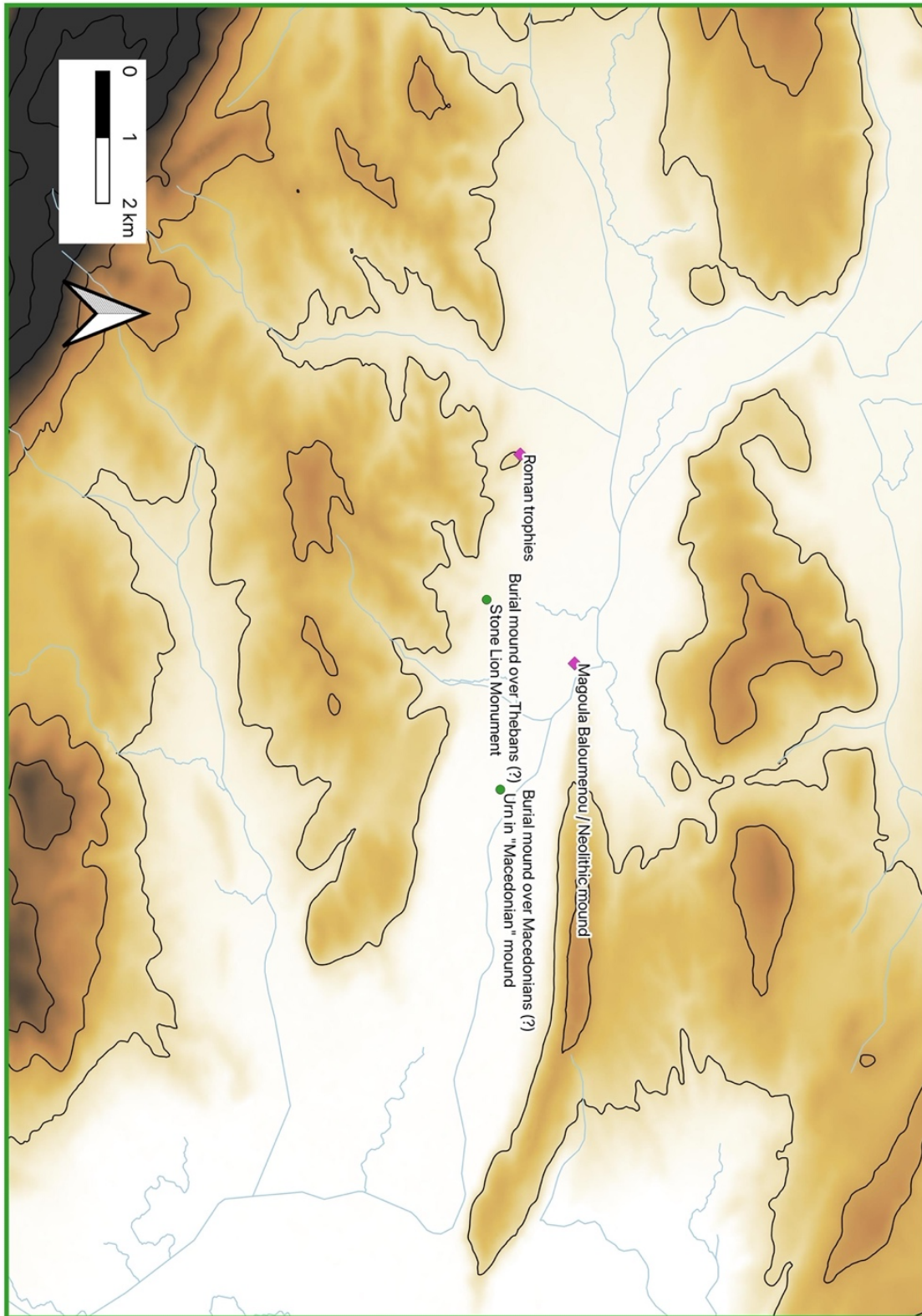
symbol that was usable for contemporary politics, as the several artistic representations indicate. The statue, as a ruin, functioned similar to the *soros* at Marathon, as well-known representations of a glorious Greek past.

## Maps

(All maps are my own, unless otherwise noted)

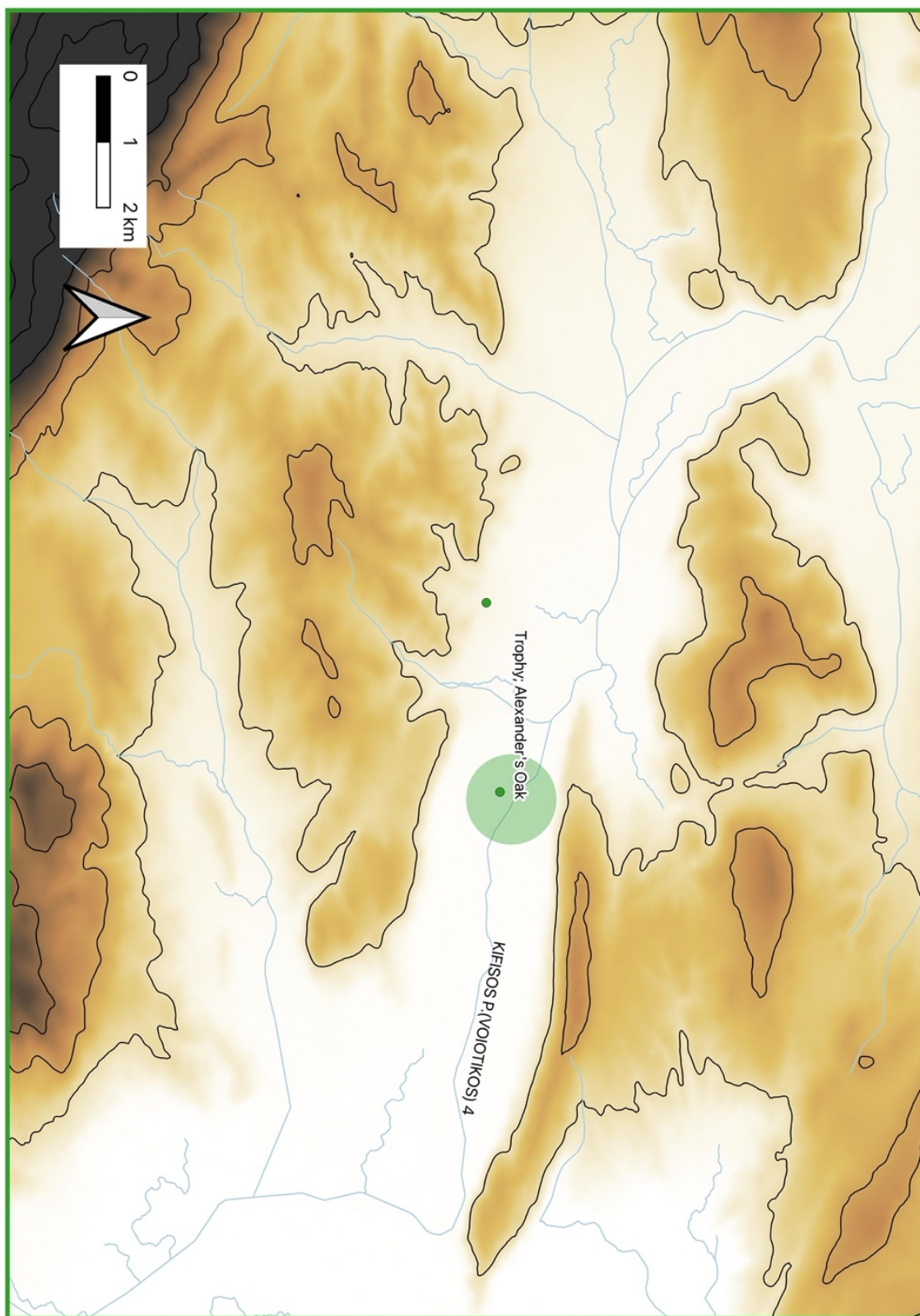


Map 4.1: Chaironeia: Commemorations on the Battlefield.



Map 4.2: Chaironeia: Commemorations and Places with known location.





Map 4.3: Chaironeia: Monuments and Commemorations only known from Literary Sources.

## Figures

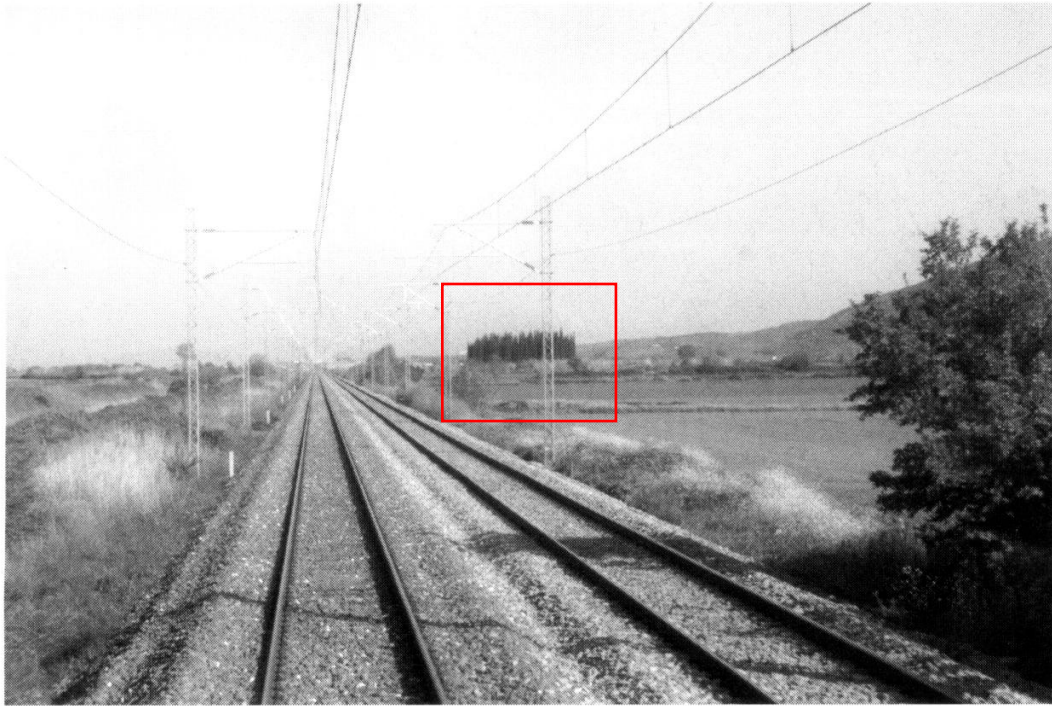


Figure 4.1: View of Chaironeia Tumulus. Ma 2008, plate 5d.



Figure 4.2: Excavation of Chaironeia Tumulus. Cooley 1904, 141.



Figure 4.3: Remains of Cremation, excavated from Chaironeia Tumulus. Archaeological Museum of Thebes. Photo: Author.





Figure 4.4a (above): Kabierion Ware from Chaironeia. Archaeological Museum of Chaironeia. Photo: Author.

Figure 4.4b (below): Kabierion Ware from Theban Kabierion. Archaeological Museum of Thebes. Photo: Author.







Figure 4.5: Metal artifacts from Chaironeia Tumulus. Archaeological Museum of Chaironeia. Photo: Author.



Figure 4.6: Strigils from Chaironeia Tumulus. Archaeological Museum of Chaironeia. Photo: Author.



Figure 4.7a (above): Reconstructed Lion of Chaironeia and Enclosure. Photo: Author.

Figure 4.7b (below): Plan of Lion Burial after Excavation, Ma 2008 plate 5, after Phytalis 1880.

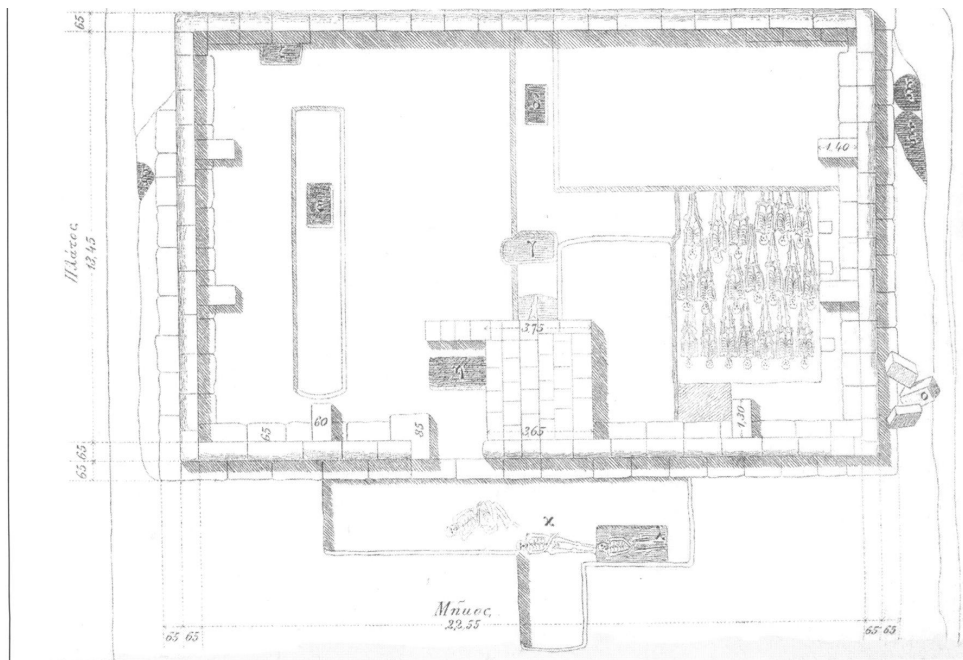






Figure 4.8: “The Lion of Chaeronea, Greece” by François Pouqueville. Pouqueville 1835, plate 59.



Figure 4.9: “Un Tartare et les Fragments du lion de Chéronée,” by Louis Dupré, inspired by his 1819 trip. Dupré 1825; Vlachos 1994, fig. 81.



Figure 4.10: “Leondari” or “The Lion of Chaeronea”, James Skene. Tsigkakou 1985.



THE LION OF CHAERONEA.

Figure 4.11: Photos of Lion in Fragments by Shirley C. Atchley, in Sanborn 1897, pp. 97-98.



Figure 4.12: “The Lion of Samos”. Image: <https://www.isamos.gr/en/pythagoras-square-and-the-lion/>



## Chapter Five: The Commemoration of Classical Battles in Extra Urban Sanctuaries

The ancient battles at Marathon, Leuktra, and Chaironeia were celebrated and commemorated in sanctuary spaces well beyond the battlefield (**Map 1.3**). These dedications were sometimes linked to the commemorative practices on the field, such as when spoils taken from the enemy were dedicated as booty. At other times, there were no direct links between the dedication and the battlefield commemoration, as is the case with the construction of buildings or the dedication of statue groups. The type of dedication depended on multiple factors, including the battle commemorated, the particular sanctuary, dedicator, and the time that the dedication was made.

Olympia and Delphi were the primary sites that received the dedications that are most relevant for the case studies presented here. The types of commemoration, however, varied between the two sanctuaries. Dedication of arms and buildings occurred at Delphi and Olympia, but the commemorative activity of the case studies at these sites differed in that the latter received dedications of spoils whereas the former saw monumental dedications.<sup>1</sup>

The battle of Marathon was commemorated at both Olympia and Delphi, although there are noticeable differences that are probably due to the administrations of the respective sanctuaries. The battle was also commemorated in the Attic sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous, although the association is based on later sources.

In contrast to the case of Marathon, the battle of Leuktra was commemorated at the sanctuary at Delphi, but not at Olympia. The preference for Delphi may reflect a Theban desire

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<sup>1</sup> Morgan 1990; Scott 2010. Conversely, there are examples of monumental dedications at Olympia and of dedications of spoils at Delphi: e.g., at Olympia the Messenians and Naupaktians (and Athenians) dedicated a Nike statue by Paionios on a tall triangular column for the victory over the Spartans at Sphakteria (Pausanias 5.26.1; Herrmann 1974), and at Delphi the Athenians hung shields from the metopes of the temple of Apollo (see below; Pausanias 10.19.4).

to compare their achievements to Athenian exploits that were already celebrated at the sanctuary, as well as the other military deeds commemorated at the site. It could also be the case that Thebes was unable to commemorate at Olympia in lasting ways due to the same constraints that had limited Athenian commemoration of Marathon. The Thebans also dedicated at the Boiotian sanctuary of Trophonios at Livadia.

Commemoration of the battle of Chaironeia does not follow either of these patterns; there was some activity at Delphi and perhaps at Olympia, but the character was much different than the other commemorations of ancient battles. Instead of the typical dedications that celebrated victory and allowed competing states to jockey for prestige, Philip's activity at the sanctuaries post-Chaironeia appears to have been more restrained. This may reflect Philip's desire for Hellenic unity in the face of his pending war against the Persians in the east.

### **Commemorative Stages and Sanctuary Spaces**

Sanctuary dedications can belong to every commemorative stage of the battle, from the initial celebrations to modern recollection. Spoils taken from the enemy and placed in a sanctuary were a commemorative practice that linked the battlefield to the sacred space. Apart from the copious amount of materials that have been excavated in sanctuary spaces, we also have documented evidence such as an inscribed piece of lead that describes the dedication of spoils in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Locri Epizephyrii in South Italy.<sup>2</sup> Although these dedications are often called trophies in modern scholarship,<sup>3</sup> they are merely simulacra or selections of the battlefield monuments at best and should not be considered part of the stage of initial

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<sup>2</sup> Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, inv. 40546, tablet 27. See De Franciscis 1961; Trendall 1963-1964, 34.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Scott 2010.

commemoration on the battlefield. This said, such dedications are connected to the same process. Because the spoils were collected in the same acts of stripping the enemy dead that led to the collection of the dead under truce, the production of the battlefield trophy, and the formal cessation of the battle,<sup>4</sup> their dedication was intrinsically connected to the battlefield itself. Even though they ended up in places removed from the context of the battlefield, the dedication of spoils is close to the initial commemorative practice because of the relative immediacy after the battle, while also part of official commemoration due to the fact that they were patterned by previous dedications.

Dedications of other objects, such as buildings and statues, have looser links to the battlefield. These may be inscribed to indicate the particular battle commemorated or there may be ancient sources that make such claims, but the practice is fundamentally different than the dedication of spoils. Although tithes to the god and usually funded by the liquidation of booty, these dedications are at least a step removed from the battlefield, during the official commemorative stage.

Any of the dedications can belong to the last three stages of commemoration, based on how the surrounding sanctuary space and its symbolism changes over time. Re-dedications and renewed commemoration mark the third stage of curated memories, while re-located monuments reflect the tension between that stage and the fourth stage of forgotten memories. The final stage is played out in the reception of all of the memories.

As the earliest of the case studies to be commemorated, the battle of Marathon sees every commemorative stage in sanctuary spaces. This is for two reasons, first because the Athenians made lasting dedications that celebrated the battle, and second because sanctuary spaces fill with

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<sup>4</sup> With other steps involved. See Pritchett 1974.



monuments over time and so easily become arenas of interaction. Theban commemoration of the battle of Leuktra, due to the simple fact that the victory occurred after the battle of Marathon, took place in loaded spaces that already had an Athenian presence. The Macedonians appear to have neglected the practice of raising commemorative monuments for Chaironeia in sanctuaries during the Classical period, and all connections to the victory belong to the final two stages.<sup>5</sup>

I begin with Athenian commemorations of the battle of Marathon, before proceeding to Theban activity for their victory at Leuktra, and then finally grappling with the lack of Macedonian commemoration of Philip's victory at Chaironeia.

## **Marathon**

According to ancient sources, the Athenians commemorated the battle of Marathon in the Attic sanctuary of Rhamnous, and at the interstate sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi. There is literary and archaeological evidence for this practice at these three sites, some of which can be connected to the commemoration of the battle. Beyond these sanctuaries, there were commemorative activities at sacred places in Athens, through one-time or iterative dedications.<sup>6</sup> Commemoration in Athens was focused on the Acropolis, Agora, and Kerameikos, basically in public spaces that frequently received dedications throughout Athenian history.

Pausanias provides literary evidence that the battle of Marathon was commemorated at the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous, through the seizure of a stone block brought by the Persians to create a trophy, from which the Athenians ultimately created the cult statue.

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<sup>5</sup> In contrast, literary sources (Plutarch *Alexander* 16.7-8; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.16.4) indicate that Alexander commissioned a set of statues for the Macedonians who fell in the battle of the Granicus River in 334 BCE, which he set up at the sanctuary in Dion. The dedication is not mentioned by Pausanias (9.30). A stone monument with sculpted shields at Dion is a candidate for Alexander's dedication after Granicus. See Marker 1988; Markle 1999.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 6.

Archaeologically, the temple at Rhamnous dates to the third quarter of the fifth century BCE, ca. 430-420.<sup>7</sup> There is also evidence of the statue at Rhamnous, which should date stylistically to the end of the fifth century, perhaps as late as the 420s.<sup>8</sup> If the dating is secure, then the statue was constructed several decades after the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE.

The chronology does not preclude the statue from being a commemoration of the battle of Marathon, as it is not uncommon for dedications to post-date the event they commemorate by some time. Although it is not possible to be certain, an association of Marathon with the mid-fifth century temple and image of Nemesis would fit well into the model of memory of the battle being evoked for reasons other than gratitude. In this case, the construction and dedication would fall in the Peloponnesian War, perhaps using the memory of the victory at Marathon to satisfy the needs of an Athenian population that was strained by conflict and the recent devastations of the plague.<sup>9</sup>

It is also possible that the association was not established until much later, at some time before the first century BCE. Literary sources do not help to bridge the gap between the battle and the dedication. According to Pausanias, Pheidias carved the image of Nemesis from the very stone that the Persians had brought to Marathon and had intended to use as a trophy.<sup>10</sup> The same basic story, sometimes without the reference to the artist Pheidias can be found in several epigrams, one from the anthology known as *The Garland of Philip* and attributed to the first

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<sup>7</sup> Miles 1989, 227. For more on Rhamnous, see excavation reports by Petrakos (1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983a) and guide (Petrakos 1983b).

<sup>8</sup> Richter 1950, 240-242 and 562, figures 633-634. Despinis 1970.

<sup>9</sup> Miles 1989, 227-235.

<sup>10</sup> Pausanias 1.33. A similar phenomenon occurred with the cult of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, whom the Athenians named for averting a plague during the Peloponnesian War (Pausanias 8.41.7-8).

century BCE poet Parmenion,<sup>11</sup> as well as one by Theaitetos,<sup>12</sup> and one by an anonymous poet.<sup>13</sup> Instead of Pheidias, it may have been carved by his student Agorakritos, from a single piece of Parian marble.<sup>14</sup> Several ancient authors echo this sentiment, casting doubt on whether Pheidias was involved at all.<sup>15</sup>

Regardless, there is no extant connection between the statue of Nemesis and the battle of Marathon until the first century BCE. If this was the case, then the association with the battle may simply depend on proximity between Marathon and Rhamnous, the rhetorical exercises of Hellenistic epigrammists, and the fame of the sculpture itself. Nevertheless, the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous can be associated with the battle of Marathon, if tentatively.<sup>16</sup>

The commemoration of the battle of Marathon at Olympia is more secure, and it took the form of two inscribed helmets. These helmets are associated with the battle of Marathon due to the content of their inscriptions and the fact that they were deposited in fills associated with the construction of the mid-fifth century stadium at the site, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for their use-lives as dedications (**Map 5.1**).<sup>17</sup> The first helmet is a bronze Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**) with an inscription naming Miltiades as the dedicator to Zeus on the bottom edge of the

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<sup>11</sup> Miles 1989, 137; *The Greek Anthology* 16.

<sup>12</sup> *The Greek Anthology* 16, 290-291.

<sup>13</sup> *The Greek Anthology* 16, 316-317.

<sup>14</sup> Miles 1989, 138; Despinis 1971.

<sup>15</sup> Given that the reference is in Pausanias' account, perhaps the link to Pheidias depends on the sculptor's association with the Marathon sculpture at Delphi (see below; Pausanias 10.11).

<sup>16</sup> See Smith 2011, 17; Backe-Hansen 2016. The goddess Nemesis, and the associated concept of righteous indignation, was fitting as commemorations of all conflicts of the Persian War. While worship of the goddess predates the fifth century BCE, the Athenian investment in the temple and cult statue in the century indicates particular attention to the goddess.

<sup>17</sup> There is some debate over how the phases of the stadium should be dated. Kunze (1956) thought mid-fourth century BCE, but recently Scott (2010) argues for the reconstruction of the stadium by the middle of the fifth century.

left cheek piece (**Figure 5.1**).<sup>18</sup> It was found in the fill of the southern bank of the fifth-century BCE stadium. The second is a gilded-bronze conical Assyrian helmet (**B 5100**) the inscription on which, made with punched letters on the bottom rim, names the Athenians as dedicators (**Figure 5.2**).<sup>19</sup> The Assyrian helmet was found in the fill of the northern retaining wall of the same stadium.

There were two main catalysts for the dedication of these helmets at Olympia. The first incentive stemmed from the dedicators, respectively Miltiades and the Athenians. We see this pressure in the differences between the objects, in the varying degrees that the helmets either mimicked or stood out from each other and from other examples. The second, more local pressure came from the administration that presided over Olympia, at various times based in Pisa or from Elis. This pressure was manifest in the particular type of commemoration, namely the dedication of helmets around the stadium. For some reason, the Athenians opted not to build a treasury or to make a more lasting dedication. Instead, the helmets were lumped among others in a large field of similar dedications.

The differences between these helmets begins with their physical type, and the contrast only deepens with the treatment of the bronze and the respective inscriptions (**Figure 5.3**). In terms of form, one helmet is Corinthian and the other Assyrian. The Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**) is one of many examples, as there are over 600 that were excavated at Olympia.<sup>20</sup> The Corinthian type is not only very common, but also found in the sanctuary from the end of the eighth century BCE to the mid-fifth century BCE, during the entire span of helmet dedications at Olympia.

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<sup>18</sup> Olympia, **B 2600**; Frielinghaus 2011, 383, plate 114 (**D478**).

<sup>19</sup> Olympia, **B 5100**; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1467; Frielinghaus 2011, 448 (**K1**).

<sup>20</sup> Frielinghaus 2011, 14-52; 258-416.

There are even several examples of the Corinthian helmet in miniature (**Figure 5.4**),<sup>21</sup> further highlighting the prevalence of the form at Olympia. Even in terms of the variations in features of other Corinthian helmets, our example (**B 2600**) can be further categorized as one of the 24 examples of the Hermione Group and variants.<sup>22</sup> By any metric, the Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**) would only be one example among hundreds of other similar looking helmets.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast, the Assyrian helmet at Olympia (**B 5100**) is the only example of the type found at Olympia.<sup>24</sup> It is called Assyrian on the basis of other artifacts found in northwest Iran, the Caucasus region, and in northern Syria, as well as sculpted representations in Assyrian reliefs of the eighth century.<sup>25</sup> While the type is known from other Greek contexts, the Assyrian helmet (**B 5100**) would stand out from the crowd at Olympia. In terms of rarity, the Corinthian (**B 2600**) and Assyrian (**B 5100**) helmets stand as polar opposites, the former associated with typical Greek dedication at the site, the latter openly proclaiming a non-Greek origin.

The surface treatments of the two helmets further accentuates the contrast. While both are bronze, the Assyrian helmet (**B 5100**) has a gilded finish that gives the object the appearance of gold. The helmet already stood out due to its singular form, but when compared to the ungilded bronze of the Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**), the Assyrian helmet stands out in an even more visible way. The golden appearance of the Assyrian may have given the helmet a further association

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<sup>21</sup> Two examples: **B 4542** and **B 2207**.

<sup>22</sup> Frielinghaus 2011, 383- 391.

<sup>23</sup> See De Vivo 2013, 65.

<sup>24</sup> Frielinghaus 2011, 69-70; 448.

<sup>25</sup> Frielinghaus 2011. For example, an iron Assyrian helmet from Nimrud, dating to the eighth century BCE, now in the British Museum (Mus. No. 22496), and a carved wall panel relief from Nimrud, dating to the third quarter of the eighth century BCE, now in the British Museum (Mus. No. 115634).

with the east, as ancient sources hint that wealth and gold was readily associated with the east.<sup>26</sup>

The importance of the golden appearance may be reflected in the unusually careful execution of the inscription, as the gilding may have been intentionally preserved through the inscription by punching the letters through the metal, rather than having them scratched and incised.<sup>27</sup> The Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**) was less marked, in its original use it was just one element of the standard hoplite panoply, and thus was an easily legible and identifiable aspect of the late Archaic and early Classical Greek soldier.

The contents of the inscriptions on the helmets are also points of difference besides their respective execution. The Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**) is inscribed on the bottom edge of the left cheek piece: *Μιλτιάδης ἀνέ[θ]εκεν [ἰ]οῖ Δί.*<sup>28</sup> The inscription is incised and the message clear: “Miltiades dedicated [this] to Zeus”. In the brevity of the statement the vanquished remain unnamed, leaving room for speculation in the interpretation of the dedication. Perhaps this is evidence of the prestige that the battle had granted Miltiades, such that his name stood for the whole battle. The occasion for the dedication is left unsaid, betraying an assumption that the fame of Miltiades would fill in the gaps while also allowing the helmet to become a more general declaration of victory and prominence for the Athenian general.

The text of the dedication on (**B 2600**) gives prominence to Miltiades and Zeus as the only named beings, but the physical inscription on the helmet places emphasis on celebrating the former. Not only is the name Miltiades physically underlined and bordered by the left cheek plate, but also the rest of the inscription essentially disappears around the side and back of the

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<sup>26</sup> See Kurke 1999.

<sup>27</sup> Although punctured inscriptions are also found on non-gilded dedications, such as the shield from Sphakteria from the Athenian Agora (Agora Inv. B 262).

<sup>28</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1472.

helmet. The verb is squeezed into the area of the helmet behind the back limit of the cheek plate, in an area with little room for emphasis. The dedication to Zeus, moreover, would have been almost completely obscured from view by the way that the helmet was displayed (**Figure 5.5**), as the name sits directly below the hole that was punched for the attachment into a wooden post or board. The placing of the name Miltiades was deliberate, as other examples of inscribed Corinthian helmets from Olympia do not follow this pattern.<sup>29</sup> This leaves the name of Miltiades as the primary means of conveying, and identifying the occasion for, the commemoration as the helmet stood in the sanctuary at Olympia.

But was Miltiades or some other party responsible for the dedication? It is safe to assume that the Miltiades of the inscription is the same Miltiades who led the Athenians at Marathon. The inscription itself has Miltiades as the subject, indicating that the dedication could be from his *aristeia* prize for excellence in the battle, which was soon after dedicated at Olympia.<sup>30</sup> This would place the time of the dedication in a brief window between the victory at Marathon and Miltiades' campaigns in the next year 489 BCE, during which he was likely securing support both at home and abroad. An inscribed helmet at Olympia visibly promoting Miltiades' name would be a fitting tool to drum up support.

It could also be the case that the time between the victory at Marathon and Miltiades' subsequent campaigns was too short, and literary sources indicate that Miltiades would have had little chance to celebrate his victory outside of this window. The general fell from Athenian favor

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<sup>29</sup> For example, multiple bronze helmets dedicated by Hieron of Syracuse after the battle of Kyme in 474 BCE, one at Olympia (**M 9**) and one now at the British Museum (Mus. No. 1823,0610.1), are inscribed on the body of the helmet, rather than on the rim. The inscription on a mid-fifth century BCE bronze helmet dedication from the Argives now at the British Museum (Mus. No. 1824,0407.32) begins in the same place as the Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**), but the name of the dedicator does not dominate the space of the cheek plate in the same way.

<sup>30</sup> Keesling 2010, 115-116.

after a failed expedition against Paros and eventually died in disgrace in Athens in 489 BCE.<sup>31</sup> In this scenario, it is unlikely that the helmet (**B 2600**) was dedicated by Miltiades, despite the inscription. Instead, the helmet could have been dedicated by Kimon, the son of Miltiades. The literary sources indicate that Miltiades was later singled out for his role in the battle, particularly in the decades of the ascendancy in Athenian politics of Kimon.<sup>32</sup> The helmet (**B 2600**) and accompanying inscription would also fit well into a tradition of Kimon honoring his father's famous deed after Miltiades' death.<sup>33</sup> The dedication could then have been made at a later date, perhaps well after the Persian wars. The emphasis on the name Miltiades and the omission of an explicit connection to Marathon would be especially marked in this case, as the famous Athenian victory and the greatest victory of Miltiades could be effectively merged into a commemoration of all of the Persian wars.<sup>34</sup>

The Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**) was a dedication of spoils from a significant event in Athenian history. The dedication was made by, on the behalf of, or to celebrate Miltiades, a member of a prominent Athenian family. These factors influenced the type of helmet that was dedicated, as well as the content, placement, and emphasis of the inscription. The Corinthian

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<sup>31</sup> Herodotus 6.132.

<sup>32</sup> Miltiades appears in several monuments of the Kimonian era, such as the sculpture group of Eponymous Heroes at Delphi (see below), as well as in the painting of the Stoa Poikile in Athens (see Chapter 6, p. 347).

<sup>33</sup> There are several episodes following the Persian wars that indicate a growing reluctance to celebrate an individual rather than the collective. For example, the serpent column at Delphi, a dedication made after the battle of Plataia, was first inscribed as a dedication from the Spartan general Pausanias but was later re-inscribed to include all of the states that took part in the battle. There are monuments that name individuals, but these may have been exceptions. For example, the Kallimachos monument on the Athenian Acropolis (see chapter 6, pp. 312-317) was a monument to Marathon but dedicated after the death of Kallimachos. See Shefton 1950.

<sup>34</sup> Other Kimonian commemorations of historical events interact across multiple events, including myth-historical. The paintings of the Stoa Poikile (see Chapter 6) visually place Marathon on a par with the Trojan war. Also, the inscriptions that accompanied the herms that were granted to Kimon after his victory at Eion in 476 BCE connected the historical event with the Trojan war through the name of the general Menestheus. For the battle at Eion, see Herodotus 7.107; Thucydides 1.97. For the herm dedication, see Aeschines *Against Ktesiphon* 3.183-185. For more on the Eion herms after the fifth century BCE, see Zaccarini 2017.



type was common and well known at Olympia, such that it would be easily understood in the terms of contemporary display. Moreover, the inscription marked out the helmet as a particular event that had specific resonance for the dedicator, even if it had less importance to the average visitor to the sanctuary.

The inscription on the Assyrian helmet (**B 5100**) conveyed a different message than its Corinthian counterpart. It was punched into the lower rim of the helmet: *Διὶ ἈθENAῖοι ΜΕΔΟΝ λαβόντες*.<sup>35</sup> The dedication is also clear: “The Athenians [dedicate this] to Zeus, having taken [it] from the Medes.” There are obvious differences between the two inscriptions. The inscription on the Assyrian helmet (**B 5100**) proclaims all of the Athenians as the subject and the dedicators, rather than only Miltiades. It mentions the Medes as the enemy, as well as the circumstance that the helmet was captured and saved for dedication. The inscription indicates the Assyrian helmet (**B 5100**) was dedicated by the polis of Athens, thus focusing the prestige on the group rather than an individual. The participial phrase *ΜΕΔΟΝ λαβόντες*, “having taken [it] from the Medes”, gives further context for the reason for dedication. Taken all together, the entire inscription connects the dedication to the battle of Marathon, even if the battle is not named. The victorious Athenians as the sole subject fits well into the rhetorical strategy of fifth-century Athens to claim that they fought at Marathon alone.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, the absence of the named battle in the inscription allows for the helmet to do multiple duty and celebrate, simultaneously, all Athenian victories over the Persians.

The materiality of the inscription on the Assyrian helmet (**B 5100**) emphasizes the conflict between the Athenians and Medes, as both of the names meet in the center of the object

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<sup>35</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 1467.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., Walters 1981.

and stand in juxtaposition to each other. The inscription begins with the dedication to Zeus, which was punched into the helmet below the set of two holes for the attachment of a chain that would have secured the helmet under the chin during its use as defensive armor, and it ends with the participle *λαβόντες* beneath the corresponding set of holes on the opposite side of the helmet. The inscription along the rim from one chain attachment to the other is the only evidence for the display of the object, given that there are no obvious attachment holes such as that for the Corinthian helmet (**B 2600**). This oriented the inscription so that the names *Ἀθηναῖοι Μέδων*, “the Athenians” and “the Medes”, stand next to each other on the front-facing surface of the helmet, emphasizing the comparison.

The confrontation within the inscription plays out in the context of the helmet. The gilded appearance of the object, the unique shape, and the obvious claim that it was taken from the Medes emphasized physically, as well as verbally, the exotic and rich booty, not to mention the influence and prestige that the Athenians had gained at Marathon. As a displayed dedication, this was quite an Athenian statement.

It is difficult to identify the exact motivations behind the respective dedications, but we can speculate on three scenarios. It is possible that the Corinthian helmet was a dedication from a powerful individual that apportioned too much credit to Miltiades for the outcome of Marathon, which led to a subsequent Athenian dedication in similar terms.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, the exact opposite is possible, that the Athenian dedication of the Assyrian helmet obscured the role of the Miltiades, which Kimon sought to right with the dedication in his father’s honor.<sup>38</sup> Finally, the

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<sup>37</sup> A similar scenario played out a decade after Marathon over the inscription and subsequent re-inscription on the Serpent Column, commemorating the victory of many Greek states over the Persians at Plataia, at Delphi.

<sup>38</sup> Such as what may have occurred with the Kallimachos monument on the Athenian Acropolis.

helmet dedications probably lent to and drew significance from each other simultaneously, as well as from their surroundings.

Despite the differences, there are some key similarities between both helmets. Both are bronze helmets that were found in fills of the stadium, dedicated before the middle of the fifth century BCE.<sup>39</sup> The helmet dedication followed long-established precedents at Olympia, and the site was a fitting arena for this type of dedication after the eighth century BCE, when the appearance of weapon dedications at Delphi and Olympia coincides with the disappearance of weapons as grave goods in burials.<sup>40</sup> Dedication of bronze helmets and armor are also common from the sixth-century phase of the stadium and after, with more than 1,000 weapons and armor excavated at Olympia, a number much higher than any of the other well-known sanctuaries. At least 100 of these have inscriptions, 55 of which refer to battles.<sup>41</sup> They both follow the pattern of declaring the dedication to Zeus in the dative by the named dedicator in the nominative, also following the trends of the sanctuary.

The helmets were emphasized as objects of display. The inscriptions were placed on the lower rim of the helmets to use the physical object to frame the text, indicating special care taken for the display of the dedications. The helmets themselves give further evidence of display, with

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<sup>39</sup> There is some debate over how the phases of the stadium should be dated. See above, n. 13.

<sup>40</sup> Snodgrass 1980; Morgan 1990, 19. This may reflect changes in Archaic society, as sanctuaries became more fitting arenas for conspicuous display.

<sup>41</sup> Frielinghaus 2011, 546-553. For another example, see n. 20 above. The helmet (**M 9**) from Hieron and the Syracusans for a victory at Cumae in 474 BCE is inscribed:

ἡἰρόν ὁ Δεινομένεος  
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι  
τοῖ Δι Τυρ(ρ)άν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.

Hieron the son of Deinomenes  
and the Syracusans [dedicate this]  
to Zeus, [taken from] the Tyrrhenians at Kyme.

For more on Hieron and the victory at Kyme, see Hansen 1990; Cummins 2010.

the hole that was punched into the back of the Corinthian helmet and the missing top point of the Assyrian helmet, as well as the emphasis on the frontality of the inscriptions on both.

Their find spots and context within the stadium indicate that both were contemporaneously displayed in the same area.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the excavators have interpreted postholes<sup>43</sup> along the south bank of the stadium as evidence that the helmets stood on poles in the stadium and along the banks amid the seating area.<sup>44</sup> If this is true, these helmet dedications would be part of ephemeral monuments that mimicked the battlefield trophy. The dedication and display of the helmets were inexorably linked to the subsequent experience of visitors to Olympia. These facsimiles would be among and visible to the spectators at the stadium, perhaps coercing visitors to contemplate the military victories (and defeats) as they watched the athletic winners (and losers).

The administration of space within the sanctuary appears to have limited the construction of celebratory buildings like treasuries or stoas. The treasuries at Olympia were restricted to a terrace on the southern flank of the Hill of Kronos. On the one hand, the treasuries were highly visible in this position on the terrace, from which spectators would have a superb view of the athletic events taking place below, especially in the Archaic period. On the other hand, the position effectively marginalized the buildings from the rest of the sanctuary within the Altis, especially as the sanctuary and stadium spaces developed over time. Moreover, only Doric cities

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<sup>42</sup> For more on the findspot, see Frielinghaus 2011, 142-144.

<sup>43</sup> It is interesting that there are also post-holes that have been excavated in the Athenian Agora, but that these are commonly referred to as evidence for *ikria*, or wooden bleachers, mentioned by several ancient authors (see Wycherley 1957, 162-163 (524, 525, 528) and 221). The archaeological evidence are cuttings discovered along the Panathenaic Way in the northeastern part of the Agora, excavated in Trench BF (see Thompson 1960, 332; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 126-129. Perhaps the postholes at Olympia are also *ikria*, especially given the context near the stadium.

<sup>44</sup> For the dedications on the banks of the stadium, see Scott 2010, 171, especially n. 108.

and colonies built treasuries here,<sup>45</sup> whether because these states had the funds or for other reasons. In this environment, Athens may have been limited in its ability to construct a treasury in the sacred space of Olympia. Instead, the Athenians placed their helmet dedications in a space allowed to them, along with the other massed dedications of similar objects near the banks of the stadium. While the helmets undoubtedly were visually striking, because they were placed among more than a thousand similar objects, the celebration was muted and synchronized, perhaps in a way that did not satisfy a jubilant and confident Athens who had to turn to other sacred spaces like the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

To supplement their activity at Olympia, where they were limited to the near-formulaic dedications of inscribed helmets in the tightly managed space of the sanctuary, at Delphi the Athenians celebrated their victory at Marathon with more ostentation (**Map 5.2**). In contrast to the dedications at Olympia, the commemorations at Delphi were monumental and lasting, and thus had a longer impact on the space of the sanctuary. As more permanent objects in space, they were simultaneously inspired by past dedications while also influencing the direction of future commemoration at the site.

At Delphi, Athens dedicated a marble treasury<sup>46</sup> and a set of statues with an inscribed base,<sup>47</sup> referred to as the Athenian Treasury (**Figure 5.6**) and the Marathon Base (**Figure 5.7**) respectively. These two monuments are largely extant and were reconstructed in the early 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> At Olympia there are treasuries from the Dorian cities of mainland Greece Megara and Sicyon, as well as the colonies Byzantion, Kyrene, Epidamnos, Gela, Metapontion, Selinous, Sybaris, and Syracuse. See Pausanias 6.19.

<sup>46</sup> Amandry 1998; also, *GdD* 223; Pausanias 10.11.

<sup>47</sup> Amandry 1998; also, *GdD* 225.

century,<sup>48</sup> and they are mentioned in ancient sources.<sup>49</sup> They are intricately linked not only by their proximity, but also in ancient sources and modern scholarship. Thus, following a brief description and outline of the connections to the battle of Marathon for both, I analyze the commemorative impacts of the pair in different scenarios.

The first commemorative monument of the battle of Marathon was the marble treasury, called the Athenian Treasury.<sup>50</sup> It was constructed in a prominent location on a terrace to the south of the temple of Apollo, facing the so-called *Aire* and perhaps the central agora of the sanctuary.<sup>51</sup> The identification of the treasury as an Athenian monument comes from ancient sources, inscriptional evidence,<sup>52</sup> and analysis of the sculptural program that combines the feats of Herakles with those of Theseus (**Figure 5.8**).<sup>53</sup> The connection between the treasury and Marathon comes from a reference by Pausanias, who says that it was built from the spoils of the battle,<sup>54</sup> as well as its relationship to the Marathon statue base.

The designation of the treasury as an offering following the battle, however, is more tenuous than it first appears. Xenophon, the only other ancient author who mentions the treasury, does not relate a relationship to the battle of Marathon.<sup>55</sup> Although it is not necessary that every *testimonium* on the monument describe its *raison d'être*, Xenophon's silence does not

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<sup>48</sup> The treasury was not only reconstructed at Delphi, but also a replica was built in front of the Marathon dam in the 1920s, see Chapter 2, pp. 97-98, **Figure 2.26**; Kaika 2005, 128-129.

<sup>49</sup> In particular, Pausanias 10.11; but also, Xenophon *Anabasis* 5.3.5.

<sup>50</sup> *GdD* 223; Audiat 1933.

<sup>51</sup> Martin 1951, 239-240; Roux 1979, 70; Jacquemin and Laroche 2014, 744.

<sup>52</sup> Audiat 1933, 2.

<sup>53</sup> Neer 2004; Von den Hoff 2009; Athanassaki 2016; Gensheimer 2017.

<sup>54</sup> Pausanias 10.11.

<sup>55</sup> Xenophon *Anabasis* 5.3.5.

corroborate Pausanias, leaving the second century CE as the earliest literary connection between the building and the battle. Added to this, several features of the building point to a date as early as the last decade of the sixth century BCE.<sup>56</sup> Given the range in possible dates for the treasury and the fact that the earliest literary connection to the battle is more than 700 years after the battle, the connection to Marathon is less than certain to modern eyes.

Why did the dedication take this form? The building history of Delphi itself influenced the Athenian choice of a treasury dedication, not only in terms of the building type, but also in terms of the used space. The Athenian Treasury was not the first of this building type at Delphi, but rather the form was common at the sanctuary. Much as at Olympia, there was a long history of treasuries at Delphi, dating as far back as the seventh century BCE with a dedication by Corinth.<sup>57</sup> Thus the decision to dedicate a treasury is not surprising. Nor was the Athenian Treasury the first one dedicated by Athenians at Delphi. In fact, the earlier building was most likely a major factor in the placement of the later building. The first treasury is identified by foundations that lie under the standing treasury and is thus connected to Athens for this reason.<sup>58</sup> As an Athenian building of the sixth century BCE, then, the earlier treasury can be linked to the

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<sup>56</sup> Based on architecture and sculptural style the building has been dated anywhere from the 510-450 BCE. For the most part, scholars have tended to advocate a date in the fifth century since excavations in 1989 explored the architectural relationship between the treasury and a set of statues that stand on the same terrace (see Amandry 1998). Nevertheless, some still argue that the treasury could date to the late sixth century BCE.

Scholars advocating a pre-490 date: Agard 1923; Dinsmoor 1946 and 1973; Harrison 1965; West 1966; Richter 1970; Ridgway 1970 and 1993; Robertson 1975; Maass 1993; Partida 2000.

Scholars dating the building to after 490 BCE: Colin 1909-1913; Poulsen 1924; Audiat 1933; Daux 1932-1943, 1936; La Coste-Messelière 1936, 1957; Gauer 1968; Zagdoun 1977; Themelis 1983; Amandry 1988, 1998; Bousquet 1988; Hoffelner 1988; Cooper 1990; Stewart 1990; Boardman 1991; Bommelaer and Laroche 1991; Bommelaer, Pentazos, and Picard 1992; Radet 1992; Büsing 1994; Rolley 1994; S. Morris 1992; Jacquemin 1999; Ridgway 1999; Neer 2001, 2004 (although not forcefully); Jenkins 2006; Marconi 2007; and Stewart 2008a, 2008b, and 2008c; Scott 2010; Duffy 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Scott 2010, 41; Bommelaer 1991, 154 and 653.

<sup>58</sup> Audiat 1933; Amandry 1998.

prominent Alkmaionidai family, which Herodotus says was largely responsible for the construction and decoration of the Temple of Apollo on the above terrace.<sup>59</sup> The subsequent Athenian Treasury only reinforced this connection, as the Athenian influence on the space was maintained, perhaps with a dulled connection to the Alkmaionidai family.

The other dedication at Delphi was a set of bronze statues atop a limestone base, often called the Marathon Base, now located on the triangular terrace below the Athenian Treasury.<sup>60</sup> As it is today, the base consists of two courses of blocks that run more than 11 meters along the southern edge of the treasury and project out 0.76 meters. Along the top course there is an inscription that explicitly names the battle, leaving no question that the statue group was in commemoration of Marathon. The inscription on the statue base reads (**Figure 5.9**):

ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ Τ[Ο]Ι ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ[Ι ΑΠ ΜΕΔ]ΟΝ ΑΚΡΟΘΙΝΙΑ ΤΕΣ ΜΑΡΑΘ[Ο]ΝΙ Μ[ΑΧΕΣ]  
The Athenians [dedicate] to Apollo [from the Med]es the *akrothinia* from the battle of Marathon.  
- IG I<sup>3</sup> 1463B.

The date of the inscription strengthens the association with the battle of Marathon because the letter forms are sufficiently Archaic to fit the early-fifth century BCE.<sup>61</sup> Given the content of the inscription and its execution on the stone, the monument is securely a commemorative monument to the battle of Marathon.

How soon after the battle in 490 BCE was the dedication of the Marathon Base made? Looking only at the content of the inscription, one scenario is that the group was assembled in Delphi soon after the battle as a dedication of a tithe from the spoils. The surviving inscription supports this view, with the clear messaging of the Athenians as the subject and dedicators to

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<sup>59</sup> Herodotus 5.62-63; Pindar *Pythian* 7.

<sup>60</sup> Amandry 1998; *GdD* 225.

<sup>61</sup> *GdD* 225, 136-137; Amandry 1998. The prominent inscription is a later re-carving in larger lettering as the commemoration of Marathon at Delphi was reinvigorated. The early-fifth century inscription was the same text but in smaller letters.



Apollo in the dative, and the battle of Marathon as a genitive phrase that ends the inscription and gives reason to the dedication.<sup>62</sup> The important word in the inscription is *akrothinia*, the direct object of the dedication. It can be taken in the literal sense to mean spoils from the battle itself, but the term can also refer to other offerings that would have been of equal value to the spoils and perhaps funded through the sales of booty.<sup>63</sup> The distinction was blurred already in the literature of the fifth century, when Herodotus names the dedications of triremes part of *akrothinia*,<sup>64</sup> while Thucydides also calls the Serpent Column at Delphi an *akrothinion*.<sup>65</sup> The Marathon Base at Delphi surely belongs to the latter category. Not only do the cuttings on the top surface of the blocks of the base indicate statues rather than trophies or other installations to display spoils,<sup>66</sup> but also the inscription lacks either a deictic or a definite article emphasizing “these here” *akrothinia*. Thus, following the inscription alone, it is not possible to attribute the dedication securely to the period of initial commemorations following the battle.

Despite the temporal distance, the immediacy of the battlefield can be read in the content of the inscription. Not only is the battle of Marathon named, the spoils taken from the enemy are evoked by the decision to include the dynamic word *akrothinia*, rather than a more generic choice such as *agalma* or *mnema*.<sup>67</sup> The battle is even more present in the inscription if the clause *ΑΠ’ ΜΕΔΩΝ*, from the Medes, is restored in the lacuna between Apollo and *akrothinia*, as

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<sup>62</sup> A further explanative phrase *ΑΠ’ ΜΕΔΩΝ* “from the Medes” may also be read in the inscription, depending on the interpretation of the lacuna between *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ* and *ΑΚΡΟΘΙΝΙΑ*. See Amandry 1998.

<sup>63</sup> Amandry 1998, 123. According to the *LSJ* entry for *ἀκροθίνιον*, the meanings are the first fruits of the field or dedications funded from spoils taken in war.

<sup>64</sup> Herodotus 8.121.

<sup>65</sup> Thucydides 1.132.

<sup>66</sup> There are cuttings that would fit a trophy, but these are of a later date. Amandry 1998, 84; La Coste-Messelière 1942.

<sup>67</sup> For example, the Knidian treasury inscription (Dinsmoor 1912; *FdD III.i 289*) mentions *agalmata*.

those who have studied the inscription suggest.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, the dedication was further removed from the battle than the helmets at Olympia, as the Athenians enacted a different, more planned and permanent commemorative program at Delphi.

Besides the inscription, the question of the date of the dedication can also be approached through the statues. It has been difficult to establish what the Athenians dedicated with any certainty, however, since none of the sculpture survives. There has been much scholarly debate on the topic since the discovery of the base in 1893,<sup>69</sup> particularly over how the archaeological record compares to the written account of Pausanias. Pausanias' description of Delphi tells us that there was a set of statues of the Eponymous Heroes of Athens dedicated in the sanctuary.<sup>70</sup>

For several reasons, however, the surviving blocks below the treasury are rarely equated with the set from Pausanias' account.<sup>71</sup> He viewed the statues of the Eponymous Heroes near the southeast gate to the sanctuary,<sup>72</sup> and he made no mention of similar statues near the treasury.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, foundations of a sufficient size for the statue base have been found near the entrance to the sanctuary, tantalizingly close to where Pausanias reported them, thus fueling debate over the placement of the base and the identity of the statues.<sup>74</sup> The debate quieted after the late-1980s, when Pierre Amandry re-examined the architectural connections between the sculpture bases and

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<sup>68</sup> See Amandry 1998.

<sup>69</sup> E.g., Homolle 1893, 1896; Pomtow 1898; Dinsmoor 1912, 1946; La Coste-Messelière 1953; West 1966; Amandry 1998; Partida 2000; Neer 2004; Duffy 2006; Gensheimer 2017.

<sup>70</sup> Pausanias 10.10.

<sup>71</sup> For recent discussion, see Davison 2009. Bousquet 1988 argued for a set of under life-size statues and Vatin 1991 believed some Classical blocks that had been re-used in an early Christian wall could be Pausanias' base.

<sup>72</sup> Pausanias 10.10.

<sup>73</sup> Pausanias 10.11.

<sup>74</sup> *GdD* 110.

the adjacent Athenian Treasury.<sup>75</sup> He concluded that the dedications were integral to each other, with a 0.30 meter projection from the substructure of the treasury that supported the statue base, and thus that the statue base was always part of the intended display.

Nevertheless, doubts as to Amandry's interpretations persist, and they are not universally accepted. For the sake of completeness, I approach the monuments from the two possible scenarios. First, that there were two sets of statues dedicated by the Athenians, one at the southeast entrance and one on the terrace south of the Athenian Treasury. Second, the possibility that there was only one statue set, and that this set was moved to the terrace below the Athenian Treasury at some point after Pausanias' visit in the second century CE.

In the first scenario, and at some point after the battle, the Athenian Treasury and the extant Marathon statue base were dedicated and connected via the 0.30 m extension of the substructure of the Athenian Treasury. The coupling of the monuments reinforced their commemorative purpose, and the set of sculptures and accompanying inscription incorporated the treasury and its decorative program into a celebration of the victory at Marathon. The program of the treasury, with the goal of celebrating Athens by equating the mythological heroes Theseus and Herakles in a public and visible context, was physically underlined by the Marathon Base, which acted as sort of footnote that proved the validity of the former claim of the former.

In this scenario, we do not know for certain whom the statues on the Marathon Base portrayed, though it is widely accepted that the base supported a set of Athenian Eponymous Heroes, based on the cuttings on the blocks and the fact that a series of heroes would be a fitting dedication from Athens.<sup>76</sup> If this was the case, an additional layer can be added to the

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<sup>75</sup> Amandry 1998. See below for Athenian Treasury.

<sup>76</sup> Amandry 1998; Scott 2010; *GdD* 225.

mythological arguments of the sculptural program of the ensemble. In addition to Theseus and Herakles on the treasury, the set of ten Eponymous Heroes would make the area around the treasury a poignantly Athenian space, overtly celebrating the victory at Marathon, while subtly incorporating the Hellenic hero Herakles in a program of Athenian mythology.

Whatever they were, the sculpture group of the Marathon Base was labeled the *akrothinia* from the Medes at Marathon by the accompanying inscription. Perhaps the sculpture was removed before Pausanias' visit, causing him to read the inscription as a reference to the treasury and explaining the omission of the statues from his account. The removal may have occurred in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, when the inscription was recut and enlarged, while still containing the same information.<sup>77</sup> Be that as it may, at some point before the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE the statues, base, and treasury were conflated into the treasury as the singular statement of Athenian power. The connection to Marathon only survived to bolster the immediate message of the treasury, as it served as a stand-in for Athenian political interests in the sanctuary.<sup>78</sup>

These two monuments to Marathon created a place of specific meaning within the larger religious space of the sanctuary. On this stage, the Athenians advertised their own glories to themselves as well as to other visitors to the site, increasing the force of their message through spatial relationships with previous monuments, and especially with the temple of Apollo on the terrace above. The space also expanded over time, as a triangular area in front of the door was eventually enclosed with the addition of a series of short inscribed "cippi" (**Figure 5.10**).<sup>79</sup> As permanent monuments, they attracted subsequent commemorative activities to the surrounding

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<sup>77</sup> Amandry 1998.

<sup>78</sup> Neer 2004.

<sup>79</sup> Jacquemin and Laroche 2012, 83-94.

space. The continuity of the Athenian character in the immediate vicinity of the treasury is confirmed by inscriptional evidence on the building itself, which shows that the space was frequented by Athenians in the centuries after the dedication.<sup>80</sup>

Returning to the other scenario, it is possible that the Marathon Base was moved to its location below the Athenian Treasury at some point after Pausanias' visit to the sanctuary. In this scenario, the base is likely the same as the base of Eponymous Heroes that Pausanias describes near the southeast entrance to the sanctuary. Indeed, excavations at Delphi have revealed foundations on which the Marathon Base would fit, perhaps giving more weight to the possibility.<sup>81</sup> If this is so, then in Pausanias' account we have an ancient description of the statuary on top of the Marathon Base. Joining Athena, Apollo, and Miltiades are the heroes Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochus, Aegeus, Acamas, Kodros, Theseus, and Neleus, as well as the Hellenistic kings Antigonos, Demetrius, and Ptolemy.<sup>82</sup>

The ten Athenian heroes were grouped with two gods, three Hellenistic kings, and the general Miltiades. The kings were later additions that conformed to political realities and changing opinions of Hellenistic kingdoms, and similar changes have been noted in Athens.<sup>83</sup> Of the ten heroes named by Pausanias, only seven are among the canonical Eponymous Heroes of Athens, an interesting discrepancy given that the Eponymous Heroes were selected via consultation with the oracle at Delphi.<sup>84</sup> For some reason the judgement of the oracle was

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<sup>80</sup> There are more than 150 inscriptions on the walls of the treasury, including lists of participants in the games at Delphi, a hymn with musical notation, and manumission inscriptions. See Colin 1909-1913; Bommelaer and Laroche 2015, 160-161.

<sup>81</sup> *GdD* 110.

<sup>82</sup> Pausanias 10.10.

<sup>83</sup> See Pausanias 1.5; Kron 1976; for the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora, see Shear 1970.

overruled in the inclusion of Kodros, Theseus, and Neleus in this monument, in the places of Hippothoon, Ajax, and Oineus. Moreover, the addition of Miltiades among the heroes is also curious because he is the only historical person among the crowd of gods, heroes, and later kings.

When taken together, perhaps the discrepancy and the inclusion of Miltiades should be considered in the light of Athenian family politics. Herodotus tells us that the reorganization of Athens into the ten tribes was spurred by reforms of Kleisthenes in the late-sixth century BCE.<sup>85</sup> Kleisthenes was a member of the Alkmaionidai family, the same family that was largely responsible (or given credit for) for the temple of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>86</sup> The reputation of the Alkmaionidai was not beyond reproach, however. Herodotus, in his retelling of the events of Marathon, hints at a prevalent fifth-century rumor that the Alkmaionidai were on the side of the Persians during the conflict, and that they signaled the invading army to take the city.<sup>87</sup> While Herodotus himself doubts this story, it was credible enough that the historian felt he must do away with the myth.

Given this background, what can we make of the substitutions of Kodros, Theseus, and Neleus for Hippothoon, Ajax, and Oineus? Without venturing too far into mythology, I think it is possible to note a simple pattern. First, the swap of Theseus for Ajax is the easiest to understand. While both were heroes that were important in Athenian mythology, Ajax was more closely

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<sup>84</sup> For the selection of the Eponymous Heroes, see Herodotus 5.66-69; Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 21; Pausanias 1.5; Kron 1976, 29-31. For the statues of the Eponymous Heroes in Athens, see Pausanias 1.5; Shear 1970; Kron 1976. For the heroes at Delphi, see Pausanias 10.10.

<sup>85</sup> Herodotus. 5.66.

<sup>86</sup> Herodotus 2.180; Pindar *Pythian* 7.

<sup>87</sup> Herodotus 6.115.

associated with the island of Salamis than he was to Athens proper,<sup>88</sup> while the Athenian connection of Theseus was clearer as well as the subject of the sculptural program of the Athenian Treasury. The exclusions of Hippothoon and Oineus fit into the same pattern as the exclusion of Ajax, since the former is associated with Eleusis and the latter with two other demes of Attika, and whom Pausanias called a bastard son of Pandion.<sup>89</sup> Conversely, the decision to include Kodros and Neleus appears more fraught. While the former was a mythological king of Athens, he was also a descendent of Neleus, who was himself a mythological king of Pylos.<sup>90</sup>

While we shall never know the reasons, the original Eponymous Heroes were no longer included on the monument in the time of Pausanias, and there was a clear break from the set that had been established by Kleisthenes. Heroes that were loosely connected to Athens were replaced by mythological kings and ancestors, who were probably themselves included in the original list of possible Eponymous Heroes, although they were not ultimately chosen by the oracle. Miltiades was opportunistically inserted into this mix, intermingling not only with Athenian heroes, but also the gods Athena and Apollo. A suitable time for the dedication of the monument would be during the ascendancy of Kimon, the son of Miltiades, during the same period in the 460s BCE when the bronze helmet was possibly dedicated at Olympia. Regardless, the Marathon Base with the amended set of Eponymous Heroes was a dedication that celebrated Athens indirectly by directly praising the general Miltiades for his role at Marathon, while simultaneously mythologically confronting the power of the Alkmaionidai family in Athenian history and politics.

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<sup>88</sup> Herodotus 8.64, 8.121.

<sup>89</sup> Pausanias 1.5.

<sup>90</sup> For Kodros, see Lykourgos *Against Leokrates*; Aristotle *Constitution of Athens* 3. For Neleus, see Frame 2009.

Spatially, the Marathon Base stood prominently at the southeast entrance to the sanctuary from its dedication in the 460s BCE to Pausanias' visit in the second century CE, before eventually being moved to its location below the Athenian Treasury. As a lasting monument in a prominent place, it attracted other dedications that sought to benefit from its attention-garnering, while also diluting its spatial impact.

Among other examples,<sup>91</sup> this is the case for the later dedication made by the Spartans after their victory at Aegospotami in 405 BCE that effectively ended the Peloponnesian War by the following year. This dedication was made by the naval commander Lysander, and so is sometimes called the Lysander Monument. It was seen by Pausanias<sup>92</sup> and has been associated with foundations excavated at Delphi.<sup>93</sup> It was a monument that held at least 28 statues, based on those listed in Pausanias' account, although the archaeological evidence indicates that at least 29 can be reconstructed.<sup>94</sup> Cuttings for the statues survive, and nearly half (13 or 14) are accompanied with identifying inscriptions, indicating that all were probably labelled in antiquity.

The statues of the Lysander Monument were not only highly visible and legible, they were also well positioned to confront the Marathon Base. In addition to dwarfing the total number of Athenian statues by a ratio of nearly 3:1,<sup>95</sup> the Lysander Monument replaced the Marathon Base as the first to be seen in the sanctuary when approaching from the east.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Pausanias (10.9) tells us that there were offerings of the Tegeans from spoils of the Spartans, as well as offerings from Phayllos of Kroton and a bronze bull of Korkyra.

<sup>92</sup> Pausanias 10.9.

<sup>93</sup> *GdD* 109.

<sup>94</sup> *GdD* 109, 133.

<sup>95</sup> *GdD* 109, 133.

<sup>96</sup> Jacquemin 1999, 259; Scott 2010, 107; Yates 2020, 129.



Moreover, with its placement in the extreme southeast corner of the sanctuary, the statues of the monument also minimized the visual impact of the Marathon monument when viewed from the south, as the line of statues of the former could be easily connected to the statues of the latter monument. The Lysander Monument blurred the Marathon Base to visitors approaching the sanctuary, even if it was unable to obscure the Athenian dedication from visitors within the sanctuary itself.<sup>97</sup>

In contrast to the Lysander Monument that obscured the commemorations of Marathon, the Athenians used the same Marathon monuments to give meaning to their dedication of the so-called Stoa of the Athenians (**Figure 5.11**).<sup>98</sup> Like the treasury and Marathon Base, the Stoa drew on the spatial significance of the temple of Apollo. Visually, it appears to support the temple and the temple terrace, and structurally it incorporates the terrace as the rear wall of its own structure.<sup>99</sup> Visible together with the Marathon monuments and the temple of Apollo that was funded by the Alkmaionidai family, the Stoa solidified the Athenian presence in the area around the temple and the terrace below.

Other than spatial reference, the Stoa also alluded to the Marathon Base through its inscription:

ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΟΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΟΠΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΚΡΟΤΕΡΙΑ ΗΕΛΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΩΝ  
ΠΙΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ

The Athenians dedicate the stoa and the arms and the *akroteria* having seized them from the enemy.

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<sup>97</sup> Yates (2020, 129-130) asserts that the intent was to outdo the Athenian dedication, but I think it actually tries to anonymize it.

<sup>98</sup> *GdD* 313; Amandry 1953.

<sup>99</sup> Bommelaer and Laroche 2015, fig. 57.

<sup>100</sup> See Amandry 1953; Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 53-54; Amandry 1998.

Like the inscription on the Marathon Base, the Stoa inscription identified the Athenians as dedicators with the first word of the text, but the material similarities end there. After the identifier, the Stoa inscription places different emphasis on the components of the text. The dedicated objects are clearly listed after the verb, complete with definite articles that simultaneously identify them as listed items while underscoring their actual presence in the sanctuary. The inscription ends with the participial phrase “having taken [them] from the enemy”, neatly closing the ring with the participle in the nominative referring to the Athenians as the subject of the statement.

The two inscriptions also differed in their respective content. The Marathon inscription claims that the *akrothinia* were dedicated from the Medes at the battle at Marathon, but the Stoa inscription merely states that the stoa itself, the arms and armor, and the *akroteria* were dedicated after they were taken from “the enemy”. Where the former is explicit as to the opponent, the latter only presents generalized enemies as the source of the dedicated wealth. This difference is reminiscent of the contrasting inscriptions on the helmet dedications at Olympia, and it probably was to serve the same purpose. While the Marathon Base dedication was made explicitly for the battle and the victory over a single enemy, the Stoa dedication was made to celebrate Athenian victory over any and all of their enemies.

Scholars have debated the victory that the Stoa of the Athenians inscription commemorates,<sup>101</sup> centered on whether the “enemies” are the Persians or the Peloponnesians. Perhaps the correlation to a single enemy or event is not important. Rather, the dedication could stand for many Athenian victories, from the battle of Mykale in 479 BCE to the victories of

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<sup>101</sup> Persian Wars: Amandry 1953. Peloponnesian War: Walsh 1986; Pausanias 10.11.6. Athenian victory in general: Hansen 1989.

Phormio in the Peloponnesian War in 429 BCE.<sup>102</sup> Recent reconstructions of the building support this view, as it is possible that sets of arms and armor stood in the form of ephemeral trophies within the building.<sup>103</sup> The inscription would thus literally refer to actual dedications of arms used against the Athenians, which had been seized following the several Athenian victories and dedicated in a markedly Athenian space of the sanctuary.

## **Leuktra**

The Theban commemoration of the victory at Leuktra in 371 BCE was different than the Athenian activities following the battle of Marathon, although the former took cues from the latter. Theban commemoration of the battle in sacred spaces can be found at the sanctuaries of Apollo at Delphi and of Trophonios at Livadia. Besides the activities in large sanctuaries, Theban dedications from the battle of Leuktra were also made in the sanctuary of Demeter in Thebes, which are reported by Pausanias.<sup>104</sup>

One of the most glaring differences between Athenian and Theban commemorations of their respective victories is in the arenas where commemoration of Leuktra was permitted, more specifically that there was apparently no commemoration of the battle of Leuktra at Olympia. There are examples of Theban and Boiotian dedications of arms and armor at the sanctuary that are roughly contemporary with Athenian dedications and in the same area near the stadium, such as the Theban dedication following a victory over Hyettos in the sixth century.<sup>105</sup> Whether or not

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<sup>102</sup> *GdD* 313, following Pausanias 10.11.

<sup>103</sup> Jacquemin and Laroche 2014, 740-741.

<sup>104</sup> Pausanias 9.16. See Chapter 6, pp. 365-366.

<sup>105</sup> Scott 2010, 169. Frielinghaus 2011.

the sources indicate absence, their silence speaks volumes, especially given Peloponnesian connections and conflicts.

The time period helps to explain the difference between the commemoration of Marathon and Leuktra at Olympia. The Marathon dedications occurred in a period when Athens was unable to undertake major building projects such as a treasury, but at a time when dedications of arms and armors were in vogue. In contrast, the battle of Leuktra was fought when military dedications took a markedly different form. At the same time, the battle of Leuktra coincided with major upheavals and contestations that occurred at Olympia, as multiple parties vied for control of the sanctuary.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, after Leuktra, Thebes was heavily invested in the Peloponnesian cities of Megalopolis and Messene, which may have made activity at Olympia redundant or unnecessary.<sup>107</sup> In any case, there was no suitable avenue for the commemoration of Leuktra at Olympia.

There is only later literary evidence from Pausanias of Theban commemoration of Leuktra at the sanctuary of Trophonios at Livadia with the shield of Aristomenes. According to ancient sources, Aristomenes was a myth-historical king of Messene who was connected with the second Messenian War of the early eighth century BCE, when the Messenians attempted to gain their freedom from Sparta.<sup>108</sup> In addition to the Early Archaic war, Aristomenes was also

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<sup>106</sup> In his description of Olympia in Books 5 and 6, Pausanias mentions some conflicts between Elis and other cities in the Peloponnese: Elis fought against Pisa and the Arkadians for control of the sanctuary (Pausanias 5.4.7), but had gained control in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE after defeating Pisa (Pausanias 5.10). After, Elis was victorious in a fight with the Lakedaimonians c. 400 BCE (Pausanias 5.20.4; 6.2.3), but lost control during one Olympiad to the Arkadians around 364 BCE (Pausanias 6.4.2; 6.22.3).

<sup>107</sup> Although the Messenians flourished in Olympic competition. See Pausanias 6.2.10-11.

<sup>108</sup> Diodorus 15.66; Pausanias 4.6, 4.14-32, 5.21, 6.7, 8.52, 9.39. For more on Aristomenes, see Ogden 2004.

associated with the re-foundation of Messene in the fourth century BCE, when his bones were returned to the city from his grave on the island of Rhodes.<sup>109</sup>

The account of the shield dedication is strange, as it was an eighth-century dedication that was de-consecrated and moved to the battlefield in 371 BCE, and subsequently re-dedicated at the same sanctuary.<sup>110</sup> The shield on the battlefield was meant to scare the Spartans and lead the Thebans to victory. Moreover, the story fits into the pattern of the special power of the shield of Aristomenes, since during the Second Messenian war he attached his shield to the temple of Athena in Sparta with an inscription saying that “Aristomenes gives [this shield] from the Spartans to the Goddess.”<sup>111</sup> It also fits with other patterns in the literary sources regarding the victory at Leuktra, that the Thebans and Epameinondas employed many tricks to gain the advantage over the Spartans, including consulting the oracle of Trophonios at Livadia and giving misleading interpretations.<sup>112</sup>

But this legend appears many centuries after the battle of Leuktra, and surely belongs to a later stage of commemoration during the Roman period of Greece, when Greek victories of the previous centuries were collated together. Through the hero Aristomenes, Pausanias’ story collapses the battle of Leuktra into the same category as the myth-historical Second Messenian War. The historian Plutarch takes the connection even further by mentioning both Themistocles and Leonidas,<sup>113</sup> thus equating the victory of Leuktra to the famous battles against the Persians at the hands of Athenians and Spartans, respectively.

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<sup>109</sup> Pausanias 4.32. For the construction of the Messenian identity, see Alcock 2002, 132-133.

<sup>110</sup> Pausanias 4.16, 4.32, 9.39.

<sup>111</sup> Pausanias 4.15.5.

<sup>112</sup> For examples, see Diodorus 15.53 and Plutarch *Pelopidas* 21.

<sup>113</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 21; The motif is also in Pausanias 7.6.

Although there is no archaeological evidence for the dedication at Livadia, the story spatially links the sanctuary of Trophonios to the battlefield itself, while also bridging the temporal divide between the original, pre-Leuktra monument and its re-dedication after the battle. Due to its location, the sanctuary of Trophonios at Livadia was a place of more regional importance to Thebes and Boiotia than either Delphi or Olympia, and so the location-specific stories are unsurprising. Theban dedications in other sanctuaries did not follow this pattern, however, and instead were influenced by the sanctuaries themselves.

In some ways the dedications at Delphi mimicked what the Athenians had done for Marathon, as the Thebans constructed the monumental Theban Treasury that visually referenced its Athenian counterpart. In other ways, the Thebans made smaller dedications that played off the surrounding monuments, such as a statue of Epameinondas, the general credited for the victory, and the dedication of the bronze shield of Asopichos. Whatever the dedication, the Theban commemorations of Leuktra drew special meanings by spatially confronting other monuments, particularly the Athenian commemorations of Marathon, but also Spartan monuments.

At Delphi, Leuktra was commemorated in several ways. With a number of dedications at the sanctuary aimed at different antagonists, Thebes and its allies trumpeted its newly won influence in the Greek world after defeating the Spartans at Leuktra. This gamesmanship played out in the form of several dedications offered by Thebes and her allies: the limestone treasury building dedicated by Thebes,<sup>114</sup> a statue of Pelopidas the general dedicated by the Thessalians,<sup>115</sup> and a statue on a column dedicated by the Spartan turncoat Leandrias.<sup>116</sup> This

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<sup>114</sup> *GdD* 124.

<sup>115</sup> Pausanias 10.10. Also inscribed.

<sup>116</sup> Diodorus 15.54.

anti-Spartan trend inspired further confidence in those wishing to kick Sparta while it was down, as the Arkadians did with a statue group dedication after 369 BCE, a group which also included the Theban general Epameinondas.

In addition to statements against the Lakedaimonians, Thebes took several shots at Athens in the decades after Leuktra, with its treasury and with the dedication of the shield of Asopichos. The Theban Treasury announced the Theban presence at Delphi in a very visible format, with the prominent placement in the southwest corner of the sanctuary (**Figure 5.12**).<sup>117</sup> In this location, it mirrored the Spartan Lysander monument at the southeast entrance, which itself had confronted the Athenian Marathon Base.<sup>118</sup> The effect of the placement was strengthened by the Arkadian dedication mentioned above, which was near the Lysander monument and included a statue of Epameinondas. With these two dedications, the Theban presence at Delphi extended from both of the southern entrances to the sanctuary, greeting most visitors to the sanctuary.

In many ways, the Theban Treasury mimicked the Athenian Treasury. While the Theban Treasury was conspicuously placed and situated at a major point of access to the sacred precinct, the placement in this corner also had deeper roots that were significant to Boiotian and Theban identity, likely in an area that had housed a similar building before the fourth century.<sup>119</sup> Like the Athenian building, the Theban Treasury was built in an area of historical significance to the city, which they were able to reinforce and reinvigorate with the fourth-century construction.

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<sup>117</sup> *GdD* 124.

<sup>118</sup> See above.

<sup>119</sup> Scott 2016; *GdD* 226.

The Theban Treasury surpassed its Athenian counterpart in some ways. It was more visually prominent and, due to its placement on the lower slopes of Parnassos, visitors to the sanctuary would have seen this building before the Athenian Treasury.<sup>120</sup> This placement would have lent an air of prominence to the treasury, especially because it has been confirmed that the entrance faces the gate to the sanctuary in the west, rather than to the interior in the east.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, the visual prominence was enhanced by the foundations of the treasury incorporating the southern temenos wall, so that the building was actually supported by the limits of the sanctuary itself. With its placement, orientation, and incorporation of sanctuary architecture, the Theban Treasury visually supplanted the Athenian Treasury as the most striking building on the approach to the sanctuary.

The program of prominence continued, according to closer inspection and comparison of the buildings. The Theban Treasury, with a base measuring 12.33 meters by 7.22 meters and a height of at least 5.17 meters, was larger than the Athenian Treasury, which had a base of 9.56 meters by 6.57 meters and height 5.47 meters. In fact, the Theban Treasury was bigger than all the treasuries in the sanctuary.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, the construction material and means of decoration were so different that it was probably intentional. Whereas the Athenian Treasury was built of Parian marble that was brought from abroad, the Thebans elected to use the more locally quarried *Sant-Élie* limestone, which “gave the material a variety of luminescence,”<sup>123</sup> as well as a stark contrast to the Athenian Treasury. Moreover, instead of the highly decorated metopes in shining marble that characterize the Athenian Treasury, the Theban version did not have

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<sup>120</sup> Scott 2016.

<sup>121</sup> *GdD* 124, 155; Jacquemin and Laroche 2010; Scott 2016.

<sup>122</sup> *GdD* 124, 156.

<sup>123</sup> Scott 2016, 109.



sculpture, but relied on its size, material, and the plain proportions of the Doric order for decoration.<sup>124</sup>

Despite the differences, however, the Thebans elected to construct a treasury at Delphi in the middle of the fourth century. On the surface, this appears to be a strange decision, as the treasury dedication does not seem very popular after the fifth century. Michael Scott emphasizes that the contemporary fourth-century trend would be the dedication of sets of statues, and that the Athenian Treasury was the most recent, securely attributed treasury to be dedicated before the Theban Treasury.<sup>125</sup> The anachronism of the dedication of the Theban Treasury, in combination with the visual impact and spatial rivalry with the Athenian Treasury, indicates the Theban effort to tie their dedication into the commemorative network of Delphi and, particularly, the Athenian monuments.

But the association between the Theban Treasury and the battle of Leuktra is only communicated by Pausanias in the second century CE.<sup>126</sup> The account of Diodorus Siculus in the first century BCE is the other literary reference to the treasury that provides a different reason for its dedication, and he writes that the treasury was constructed from spoils from the Phokians.<sup>127</sup> Given the temporal distance, not only between the two authors, but also between the authors and the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE, it is not possible to attribute securely the construction of the treasury as a commemoration for the battle of Leuktra. It is equally likely that the building stood in the corner of the sanctuary at Delphi merely as a lasting statement of Theban power in the

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<sup>124</sup> *GdD* 124, 155.

<sup>125</sup> Scott 2016, 107.

<sup>126</sup> Pausanias 10.11.

<sup>127</sup> Diodorus 17.10.

fourth century BCE, with only indirect reference to their most famous victory at Leuktra. In this case, a celebration for the victory at Leuktra could easily be combined with other Theban triumphs.

Nevertheless, the connection to the battle itself was established at some point before Pausanias' visit to the site. In the eyes of Pausanias, the commemoration was not only connected to the Theban victory at Leuktra, but also to the Athenian victory at Marathon, and he writes about both in the same lines. If the association is so late, then the Theban Treasury as a monument to Leuktra belongs in the later stages of commemoration, as the memory of the battle of Leuktra was updated and somewhat elided with the battle of Marathon during the Roman period.

Besides extant and lasting monuments, there was a commemoration of Leuktra at Delphi in a monument only found in literary sources, through the anecdote of the shield of Asopichos.<sup>128</sup> We see the shield in Athenaios' *Deipnosophists*, where we learn that the decorative device is a representation of the trophy on the battlefield itself:

Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐκ Δελφῶν Χρημάτων Ἀσώπιχόν φησι τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐρώμενον τὸ Λευκτρικὸν τρόπαιον ἐντετυπωμένον ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ... ἀνακεῖσθαι τε τὴν ἀσπίδα ταύτην ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ.

Theopompos, in [the text] regarding the *Wealth Pillaged from Delphi*, says that Asopichos, who was a lover of Epameinondas, had the Leuktra trophy engraved on his shield... and this shield is dedicated at Delphi in the stoa.

- Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 13.38.

While Athenaios is an author of the second and third centuries CE, his source for this story is the historian Theopompos from the fourth century BCE, lending at least a bit of credibility from a contemporary of the battle of Leuktra in 371 BCE.

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<sup>128</sup> Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 13.83, citing Theopompos' *On the Wealth Pillaged from Delphi*.

According to Theopompos, Asopichos' shield had a representation of the Leuktra trophy as its shield device. As a literary device, the secure identity of the trophy is unimportant. It is unclear in the text which trophy was depicted, whether it was any of the trophies that had been erected on the field before the battle, the ephemeral trophy that was raised in the immediate aftermath, or if it was the later monumental trophy that was later dedicated on the field.<sup>129</sup> In the end it did not matter, and the shield was valuable because of its connection to the battlefield of Leuktra and the general Epameinondas.

The shield connected the spaces of Delphi and the battlefield of Leuktra through the representation of the trophy and the conspicuous placement in the stoa at Delphi. Through the shield, the trophy at Leuktra managed to be displayed simultaneously in the field and at the sanctuary. Not quite an initial commemoration of the battle, the shield itself belongs to the stage of official memory when "the Leuktra trophy" would have had a definite meaning. Moreover, its later dedication in the sanctuary at Delphi pushes the shield into the subsequent stage, where commemoration of the battle of Leuktra was maintained and openly displayed in the sanctuary.

By itself, the shield is a direct reminder of Leuktra and the battlefield, tied by the physical structure of the trophy. Its placement in the sanctuary is significant, in that it was not included in the newly refurbished Theban Treasury, but rather into an unnamed stoa. Depending on which stoa is meant, there can be different symbolic resonances. One possibility is a stoa near the southeast entrance to the sanctuary.<sup>130</sup> This stoa was directly behind the dedication of the Arkadians that featured Epameinondas.<sup>131</sup> The dedication in this space would have special

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<sup>129</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>130</sup> *GdD* 108.

<sup>131</sup> *GdD* 105, 128.

significance in the apparent Theban monumental program at Delphi in the fourth century BCE, as it would have further embedded their presence in the southern portion of the sanctuary.

The final treatment of this shield as reported by Athenaios could reinforce this view. The destruction is tied into the larger conflict at Delphi, and it was eventually melted down by the Phokians during the Third Sacred War.<sup>132</sup> Combined with the reference by Diodorus Siculus that the Theban Treasury in the southwest of the sanctuary was built from the spoils of the conflicts against Phokis, the treasury could also stand in a spatially significant place that balances the violence represented by the destruction of the shield at the hands of the Phokians.

Another attractive stoa would be the above-mentioned Stoa of the Athenians, which was built against the terrace wall for the temple of Apollo. If so, the shield dedication in the Athenian space appears to be a direct challenge, as the object is literally housed in a structure that stood for Athenian victory over all of its enemies.

Such a placement within the Stoa of the Athenians would also resonate with the circumstances surrounding the construction of the mid-fourth century BCE temple,<sup>133</sup> itself a replacement for the Alkmaionidai-funded temple of the sixth century that had been destroyed by earthquake. Epigraphically, we know many things about the re-construction of this temple because it was very publicly documented through inscriptions. These documents not only declare those that had a hand in the new temple, but also those who did not, and Athens falls into the latter category. Given the outsized role that the Athenians, through the actions of the Alkmaionidai family, had played in the sixth-century temple and their dominance of the space below the terrace through the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century, their absence in the

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<sup>132</sup> Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 13.83.

<sup>133</sup> *GdD* 422. See Roux 1979; Croissant 2003; Amandry and Hansen 2010.

lists is striking. Clearly the Athenians were in no position, whether politically or financially, to have a hand in the reconstruction of the temple. A Theban dedication in the Stoa of the Athenians is all the more striking in this context, further trumpeting the diminished role of Athens in the sanctuary.

The Theban engagement with Athenian monuments did not go unnoticed in Athens, and the Athenians appear to have replied in a similar language. There is literary and inscriptional evidence that at some point after the reconstruction of the temple of Apollo in the fourth century, the Athenians hung, or rehung, shields that had (allegedly) been part of the booty seized from the Persians. These shields were seized either from the battle of Marathon or from the battle of Plataia, and they were accompanied by an inscription.<sup>134</sup>

Ancient sources differ as to what the shield dedication was commemorating. Aeschines' testament is chronologically closer to the Persian wars than Pausanias', but he is not explicit with attributions in the description. Instead, the orator gives clues as to which event the shields commemorate, using the dedication largely as a rhetorical tool. According to Aeschines, the dedication was accompanied by the inscription:

Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τάναντία τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμάχοντο.

The Athenians [dedicate these] from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought against the Greeks.

- Aeschines *Against Ktesiphon* 116.

The principal actors and their roles are named, with the Athenians as the victors in some conflict against a joint force of Medes and Thebans.

The structure of the reported inscription grants differential emphases. The Athenians as dedicators are promptly and openly named with the first word in the line, in an order that follows the example of the Assyrian helmet at Olympia, the inscription on the Marathon Base, as well as

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<sup>134</sup> *GdD* 422, 207; Scott 2010, 77 (82 and 98), n. 11. Inscription: Courby 1927, 84; Bourguet 1929, 190; Amandry and Hansen 2010. Shields: Pausanias 10.19; Aeschines *Against Ktesiphon* 116.

the inscription on the Stoa of the Athenians. They are the subject of the main clause, and the verb of dedicating must be supplied and is assumed by the reader. In contrast, the Athenians are balanced by the verb *ἐμάχοντο* that finishes the inscription. It is in a dependent temporal clause and the subject is not the Athenians, but rather the Medes and the Thebans. Both the Medes and the Thebans appear in the same case and number, and are identified not only as the vanquished parties that were the source of the dedicated arms, but also as the enemies of the Greeks whom Athens defeated.

Notably, the inscription does not name from which battle the arms were seized. According to Pausanias, however, the shields commemorated the battle of Marathon.<sup>135</sup> They were not the shields that were used in the battle, but instead were golden facsimiles of shields that were dedications funded by the spoils. In this scenario, the Athenians employed the commemoration of their most famous victory in order to reprimand the Thebans in a public and visible way. Based on the information provided by Aeschines, however, it seems that the inscription could be referring to the battle of Plataia, when the Thebans had actually fought on the side of the Persians.<sup>136</sup> Whatever the case, the ancient disagreement over the battle commemorated by the shields shows that the years of fighting with and against Persia were blurred, and a period of more than 10 years, could be boiled into a single, generalized, and referable conflict.

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<sup>135</sup> Pausanias 10.19.

<sup>136</sup> Herodotus 9.

## Chaironeia

In contrast to the battles at Marathon and Leuktra, there is little evidence of commemoration of the battle of Chaironeia in the large sanctuaries. Instead, ancient sources and the archaeological record have led scholars to think that the Macedonian victory granted Philip the right to be even more active in these spaces. Indeed, Philip's influence over Delphi after 338 BCE is evidenced most clearly by the increase in non-Theban Boiotian dedications at the site,<sup>137</sup> as much as a change in the commemorative practice at the sanctuary itself.<sup>138</sup> While this may be true, Philip was already a major player in the Amphictyony after the end of the Third Sacred War in 346 BCE, and it is possible that his involvement in the Amphictyony ultimately pushed the league into another sacred war, which eventually culminated in the battle at Chaironeia in 338 BCE.

Because of his major involvement in the contemporary politics and fortunes of Delphi, there are several dedications that were inspired by Philip.<sup>139</sup> Despite the involvement and his penchant for self-representation, there are not many dedications at Delphi which are connected to his victory at Chaironeia, and none were dedicated by Philip himself. Instead, there is a statue of Philip that was dedicated by the city of Amphissa. The connection between this statue and the battle of Chaironeia stems from Amphissa as the dedicator, because it was an accusation that Amphissa was ploughing sacred land around Delphi which had led to the sacred war and the battle on the field of Chaironeia. Second, the statue of Philip is the only dedication made by the city at Delphi, and it is a portrait of the victor of the battle. These two strands of evidence, taken

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<sup>137</sup> Scott 2016, 99.

<sup>138</sup> Bommelaer and Laroche 2015, 34-35.

<sup>139</sup> E.g., a sculpture of Philip atop a column, dedicated sometime before his death in 336 BCE. Scott 2010, 132 (253); Jacquemin 1999, 39.

together, makes it plausible that the dedication was a maneuver to appease Amphissa's transgression and to flatter Philip.<sup>140</sup>

The second dedication with loose associations to Chaironeia was made by a tetrarch of Thessaly and a hieromnemon at Delphi Daochos, who dedicated an enclosure and a statue group of Philip's family on a terrace to the northeast of the temple and to the north of the altar.<sup>141</sup> While this is probably not a monument that actually commemorated Philip's victory at Chaironeia, the placement would be significant, as it was also highly visible and in a recently revamped area of the sanctuary near an entrance in the eastern peribolos wall. Nevertheless, neither the statue by the Amphissans nor the dedication of Daochos can be securely connected to the commemoration of the battle of Chaironeia at any time in antiquity.

The Philippeion at Olympia (**Figure 5.13**) is the only sanctuary dedication that has any link to the battle of Chaironeia in literary evidence. Even this building, however, is unlikely to be related to the battle itself, but rather the opportunity to construct the monument was presented after the victory in 338 BCE. Pausanias mentions the building in his account of the sanctuary, stating that it was built after Chaironeia.<sup>142</sup> Even his words, however, do not actually place the impetus for the construction on the victory itself, but suggest rather that it was built chronologically later (*μετὰ*) than the battle. Instead, the monument appears to be more a celebration of Philip's family, with the inclusion of chryselephantine statues of Philip, Alexander, Amyntas, Olympias, and Eurydike, rather than a commemoration of the battle at

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<sup>140</sup> Scott 2010, 133.

<sup>141</sup> *GdD* 511. Scott 2010, 133 (259).

<sup>142</sup> Pausanias 5.20.



Chaironeia.<sup>143</sup> The Philippeion, the only monument that has a literary connection to the battle, could also serve as a monument to Alexander.

## Conclusion

In sum, there was a clear difference in how the Athenians commemorated their victory in the battle of Marathon at Olympia and Delphi. In the sanctuary at Olympia, Athenian dedications were restricted to the same type of commemorations that were common in the space, namely the dedication and display of inscribed helmets. The Athenians were unable to erect more permanent monuments at Olympia, and so the commemoration of Marathon there faded when the helmets were ultimately put out of use and deposited in the fill of the stadium. The dedications at Olympia were ephemeral, much like a battlefield trophy, and thus spurred no later monumental activity at the site.

In contrast, at Delphi the Athenians were able to make lasting dedications that were inspired by their victory at Marathon. In addition to the highly decorated Athenian Treasury in a very conspicuous area of the sanctuary, the Athenians also dedicated an inscribed base and statue group of Eponymous Heroes that added the general Miltiades to the ten heroes, next to the gods. These were large, stable dedications that stood for much longer than their helmet counterparts did at Olympia, and consequently they inspired monumental responses at Delphi. These latter dedications were the Lysander Monument and the Stoa of the Athenians, which took forms that either dulled the Athenian monuments or else solidified the presentation of Athenian influence in the sanctuary, respectively.

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<sup>143</sup> For statues, see Lapatin 2001. For the composition of the set and the placement within the structure, see Schultz 2009.

The Theban commemorations of their victory at Leuktra were designed to take advantage of the surrounding space. With the Theban Treasury, the Thebans were able to reinforce their prominent location near the southwest entrance to the sanctuary, while also spatially mirroring the Spartan dedication of the Lysander monument near the southeast entrance. The Theban Treasury was also in direct competition with the Athenian Treasury, not only in its conspicuous placement, but also in its decoration and size.

In the case of the alleged dedication of the shield of Asopichos, the Thebans tied the sanctuary space of Delphi to the battlefield of Leuktra. They also continued their strategy of spatial politics, either by reinforcing the mirroring between the Theban Treasury and the monuments in the southeastern corner, or else by bringing the Stoa of the Athenians into direct conflict with the dedication. Whatever the case, the Theban commemorative program for the battle of Leuktra caught the attention of the Athenians, who escalated the conflict with a re-dedication of spoils and the inscription that incriminated the Thebans for their medizing during the Persian wars.

The Athenians and Thebans also made dedications at their local sanctuaries for their respective victories. The connections to the battles are only known from later sources, however. The Athenian commemoration of Marathon at Rhamnous with the statue of Nemesis is an idea attested no earlier than the first century BCE. The same story of the statue is in Pausanias' text, this time attributed to the sculptor Pheidias, who also was credited with the statues of the Marathon Base. The Theban dedication at Livadia was entirely different, as many separate chronologies intersected in the shield of Aristomenes. Nevertheless, both the Attic and Boiotian sanctuaries received dedications for the respective battles, and each was influenced by the local environment.

The commemoration of the battle of Chaironeia did not follow any of these patterns. While it is clear that Philip's influence in sanctuary spaces increased following his victory, no monuments can be securely attributed to the battle through either the archaeological record or ancient sources. Moreover, there is no evidence of commemoration in Macedonian sanctuaries.

There are several possible reasons for the absence of commemorations of Chaironeia, all of which may be interrelated. It may have been a conscious decision not to celebrate the victory, perhaps in order to prevent animosity between the Macedonians and the rest of the Greeks. Indeed, it appears that Philip was interested in forcefully maintaining peace when he acted as the conqueror, as he established several garrisons in cities following various victories.<sup>144</sup>

Perhaps Philip's death in 336 BCE soon after the battle and Alexander's subsequent ascension to the throne shifted emphasis away from Philip's triumph. In such a context, preparations for, as well as the undertaking of, the invasion of Persia may have further sapped away the will to celebrate Philip's victory at Chaironeia with sanctuary dedications.

A final possibility is that the monuments that commemorated Chaironeia were simply forgotten in the centuries after the battle. As we have seen above, there is little archaeological evidence that connects a monument to an event, especially if there is no accompanying inscription. Instead, monuments gain and lose commemorative functions through time, depending on when and by whom they are experienced. The silence in the literary sources could simply be accidental, and references to monuments may have been lost. Perhaps this is why there

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<sup>144</sup> As we know from literary sources: e.g., in Thebes (Pausanias 9.1.8), Corinth (Diodorus 17.48.6; Pausanias 7.8.1; Polybios 38.3.3), Chalkis (Pausanias 7.7.6: Philip II inspired V to garrison several cities), Ambrakia (Diodorus 17.3.3), Torone (Diodorus 16.53), Pherai (Demosthenes 7.32), Methone (Demosthenes *First Olynthiac* 12), unspecified cities in Thessaly (Demosthenes 19.260) and the Hellespont (Plutarch *Phokion* 14.5).

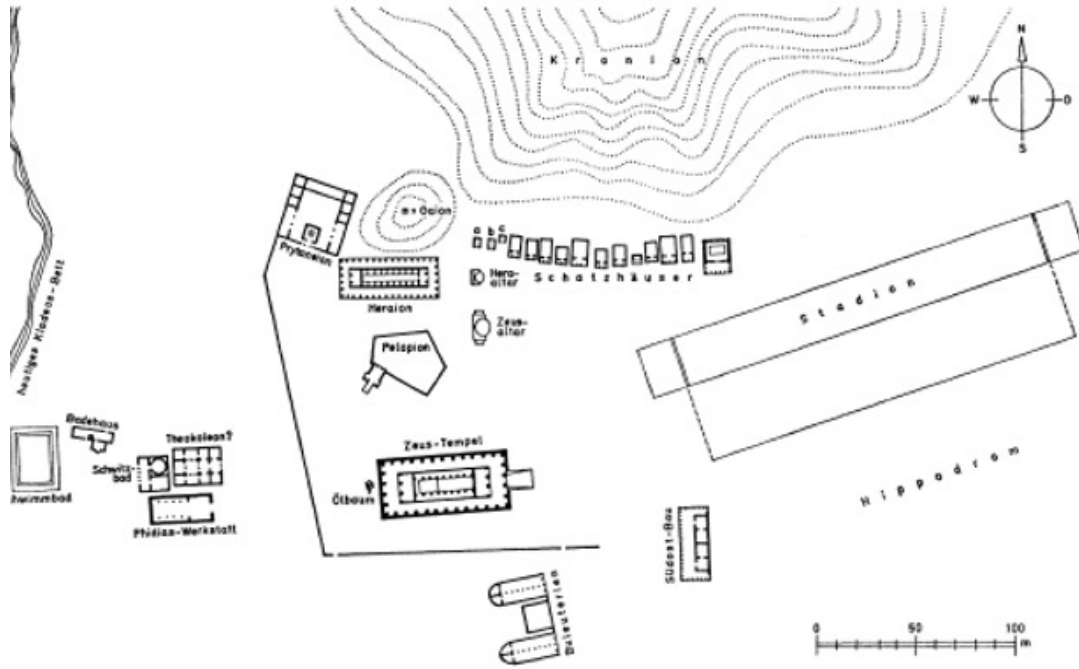
are disagreements over how the Macedonians celebrate victories, or whether they do so through monuments at all.<sup>145</sup>

In addition to the commemoration of Chaironeia, we should keep the final scenario in mind when considering the commemorations of Marathon and Leuktra. While the monuments have an initial event that they commemorate, their meanings fluctuate through the life stages of their respective biographies.

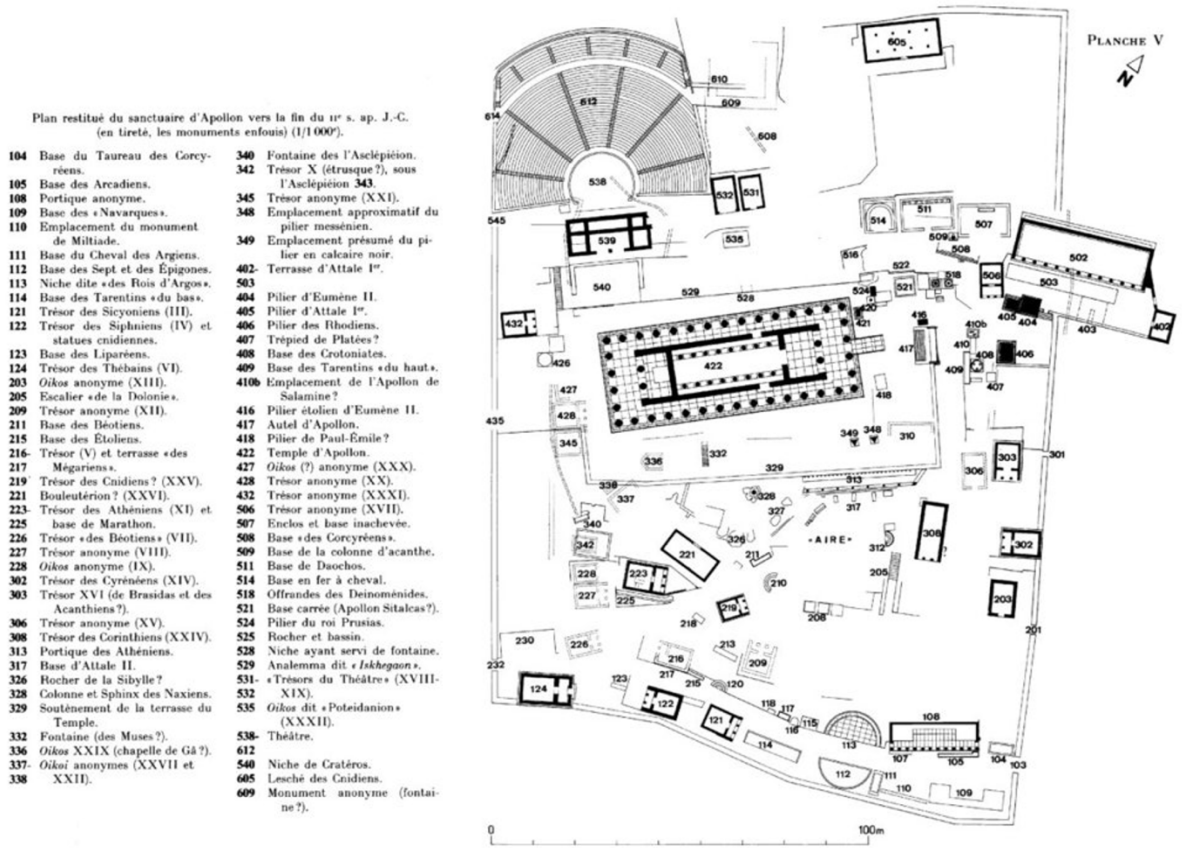
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<sup>145</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 217-220. Diodorus (16.86) says that the Macedonians raise trophies, but Pausanias (9.40) says that they do not.

## Maps



Map 5.1: Zeus Sanctuary at Olympia, c. 450 BCE. Barringer 2005, 212.



Map 5.2: Apollo Sanctuary at Delphi. Bommelaer 1991, plate 5.

## Figures



Figure 5.1: Corinthian Helmet (B 2600). Kunze 1954, 142.



Figure 5.2: Assyrian Helmet (B 5100). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen.



Figure 5.3: Helmets on Display in Archaeological Museum of Olympia. Photo: Author.



Figure 5.4: Miniature Votive Helmets at Olympia (B 4542 and B 2207). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen.



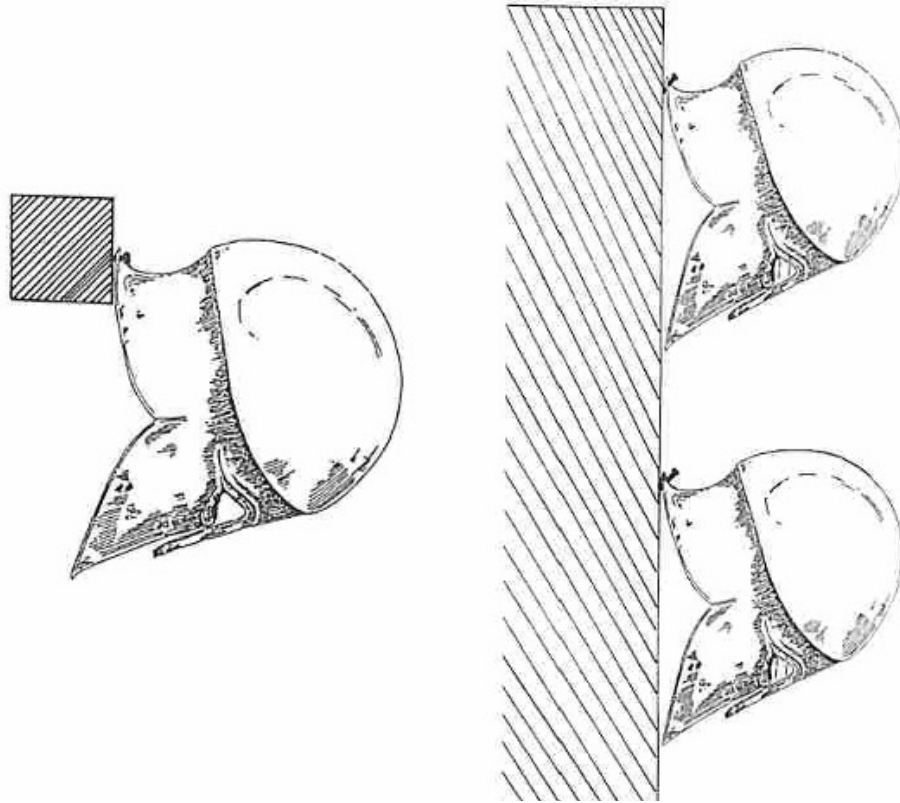


Figure 5.5: Diagram of How Helmets were Displayed at Olymnia. Frielinghaus 2011, 132.



Figure 5.6: Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Photo: Katerina Velentza.



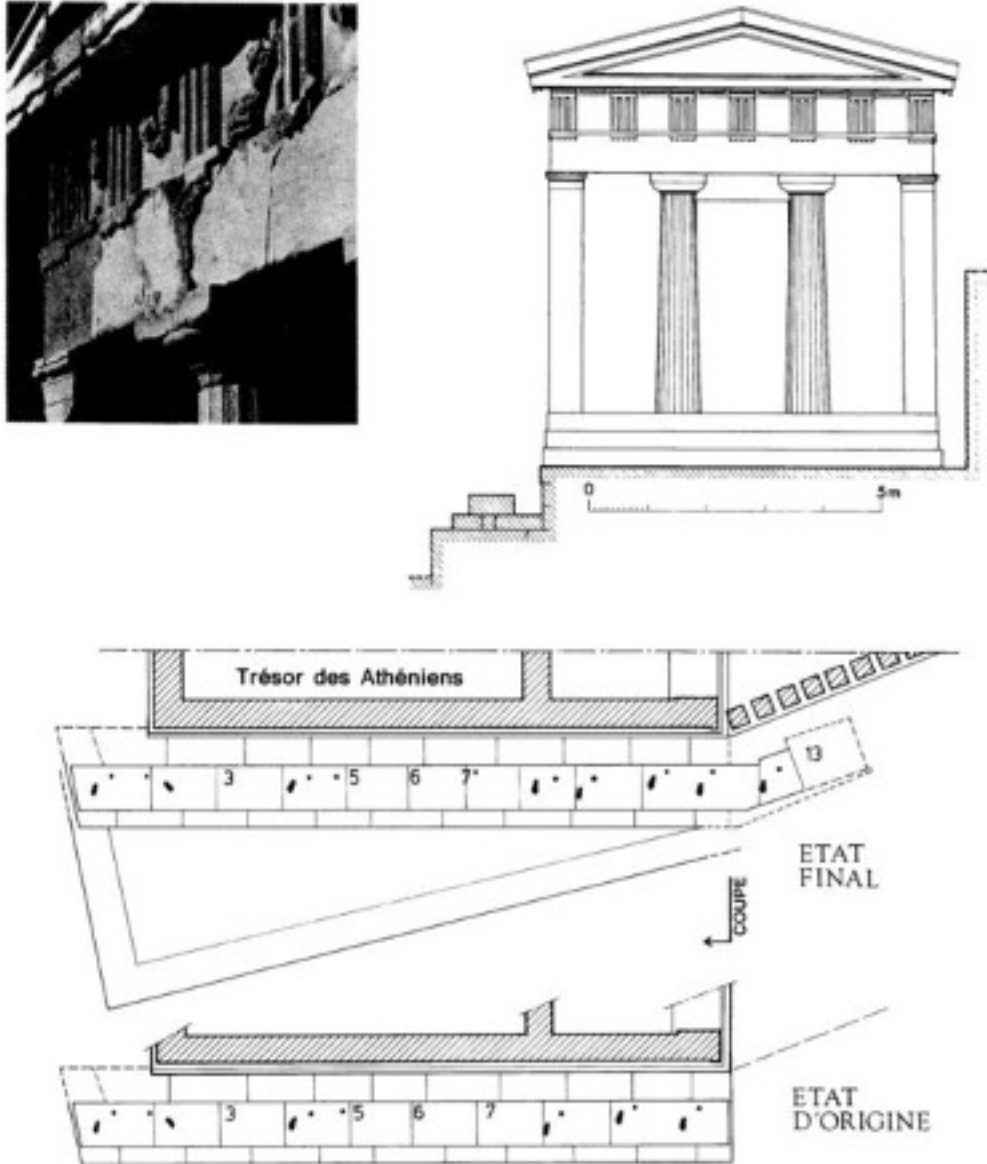


Figure 5.7: Athenian Treasury and Marathon Base, Bommelaer 1991, 134.

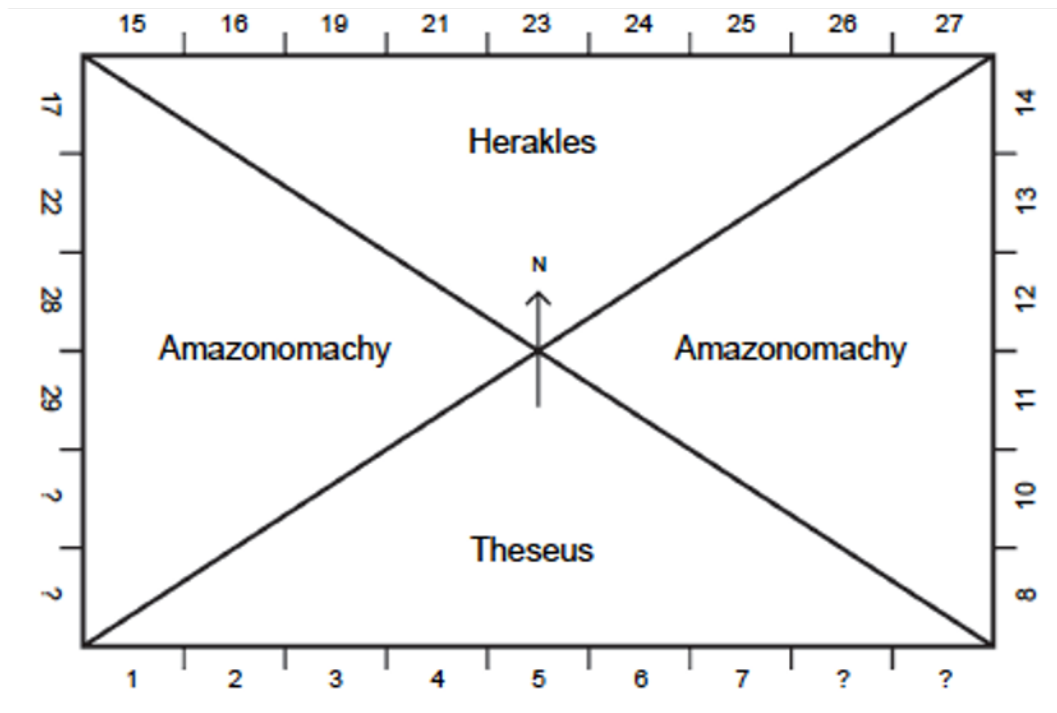


Figure 5.8: Schema of Metopes on Athenian Treasury. Gensheimer 2017, fig.5.



Figure 5.9: Inscription on Marathon Base. Amandry 1998, 78.

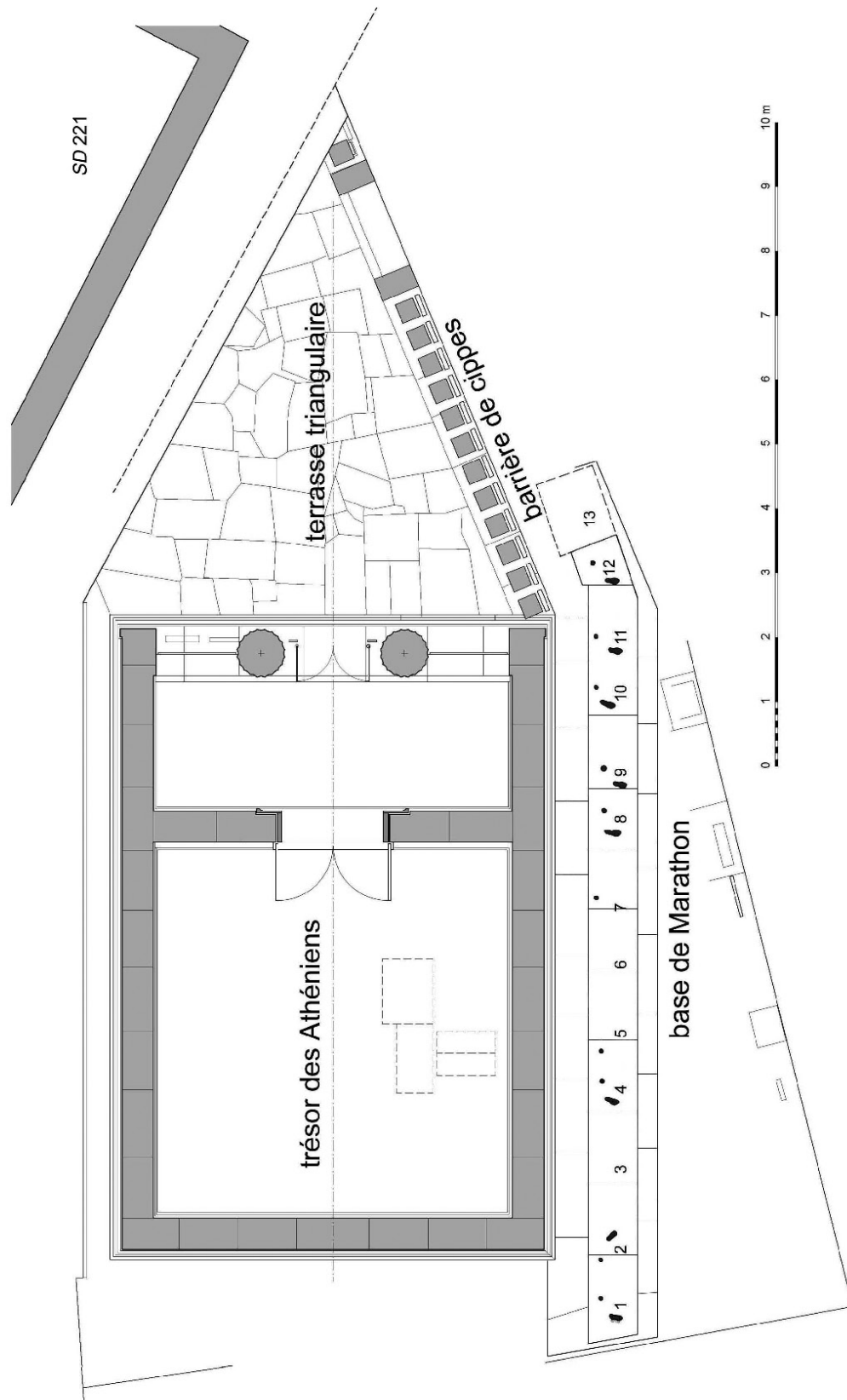


Figure 5.10: Plan of Athenian Treasury, Marathon Base, and Triangular Terrace. Jacquemin and Laroche 2012, figure 2.

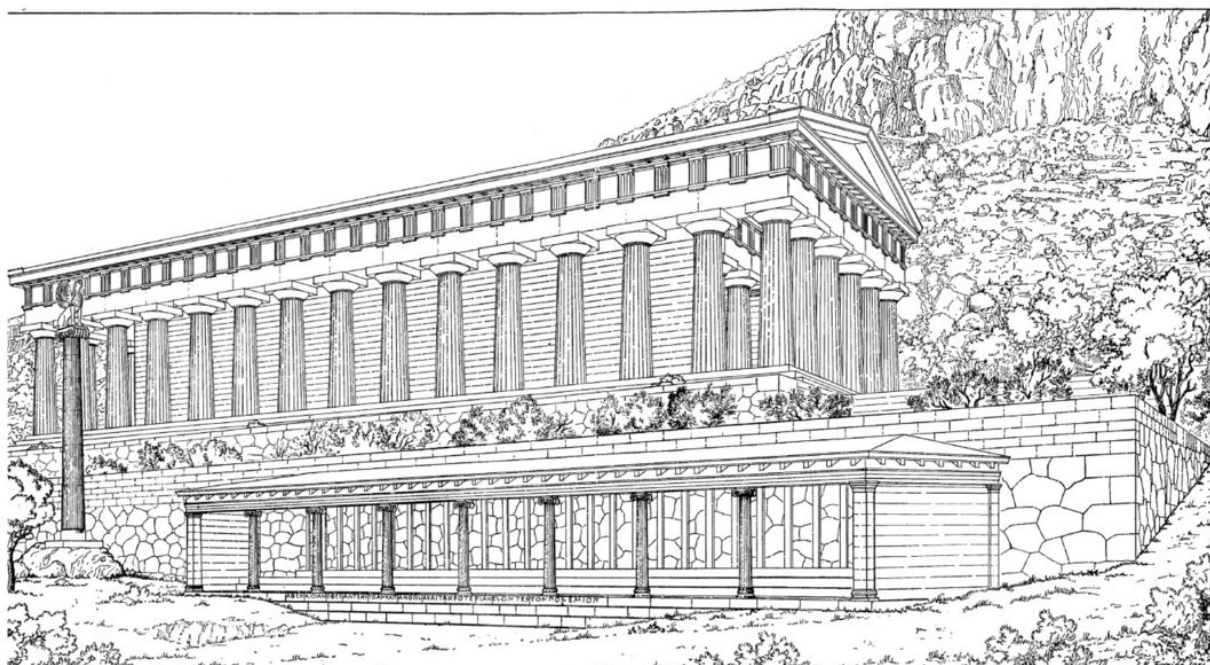


Figure 5.11: Reconstruction of Stoa of the Athenians and Temple of Apollo. Amandry 1953, fig. 7.



Figure 5.12: Reconstruction of Theban Treasury and Southwest Entrance. Jacquemin and Laroche 2010, 3.





Figure 5.13: Philippeion at Olympia. Photo: Author.

## Chapter Six: The Commemoration of Classical Battles in City Spaces

The commemoration of Classical battles in city spaces were varied and complex (**Map 1.4**). The home cities of the respective participants of each battle are examined, as are other cities that have commemorative connections to the battles. Cities are places with physical commemorations attested in either archaeological material or in literary sources. Changes within the spaces of the victorious cities of Athens (Marathon) and Thebes (Leuktra) are analyzed. Conversely, these cities were defeated at Chaironeia, and so have commemorations related to their defeat.

Unsurprisingly, the Athenian victory at Marathon inspired mnemonic activities in Athens that would coincide with the initial and official stages of commemoration. In turn, these activities led to the stage of curated and contested memory, and in time to a stage of commemorative lapse. The sequence is best followed through literary sources, which can sometimes be applied to extant archaeological material.

In a similar vein, the Theban victory at Leuktra spurred mnemonic activities in Thebes. In contrast to the case of Athens and the battle of Marathon, the evidence for Theban commemoration primarily stems from literary sources from the stage of curated and contested memory, although these allude to activities that would have occurred in the prior stages. Only one extant archaeological artifact from Thebes commemorates the battle of Leuktra.

The commemoration of the battle of Chaironeia in city spaces differed from the previous two. There appears to have been very little intentional commemoration in the city spaces of the victorious Macedonians, at least as far as we know in the usual form of monuments and other practices. Instead, this battle resulted in consequences for the various cities around Greece that challenged the Macedonians, with several receiving garrisons which followed a general

Macedonian practice after victory. Athens, however, one of the losers of the battle, followed its own commemorative patterns after the battle.

We know of the mnemonic practices in city spaces through archaeological and literary evidence. I consider both but rely first on the physical evidence and only supplement it with literary evidence when possible. Nevertheless, the majority of the data comes from literary sources, even when they describe extant monuments. Literary sources sometimes supplement the archaeological material but are often the only extant evidence for commemorations within city spaces.

The chapter is organized by battle commemorated, from the battle of Marathon, to Leuktra, and finally to Chaironeia. For each of these battles, I proceed chronologically through the commemorative stages to discuss the diachronic composition of the spaces. Each section ends with a discussion on spatial matters regarding the surviving monuments and literary records.

### **Commemorative Stages and City Spaces**

As was the case in sanctuary spaces, the commemoration of Classical battles in city spaces occurred in, or reflected, the different stages in the commemorative biography of a battlefield. For the stage of initial commemoration, arms, armor, and other spoils that were displayed in cities connected the space to the battlefield itself. Not only did they reflect the immediate practice of stripping the goods from the dead, but also the subsequent act of dedicating the objects in a somewhat official capacity. Other types of commemoration belong to this stage, including receiving the news of the battle and the subsequent reactions, or other citywide preparations that ensued. The stage of official commemoration is better represented by

monuments and other structures that were commissioned following the sale of objects as booty. Other actions may also belong to this period, such as the installation of a garrison or other overt acts of control. These actions indicate where the power stands at the time of the commemoration. The next stage of curated commemoration deals with how the various actions of the previous two stages were subsequently treated, whether practices were maintained or allowed to wane. Naturally, the frequent contestations led to the stage of lapse, then to the final stage of recovery in modern contexts.

## **MARATHON**

Commemorations of the battle of Marathon marked several city spaces in antiquity, not least of all Athens. In Athens, the battle was commemorated in different areas, such as the Agora and Acropolis of the city, among others. The commemorations were situated within existing networks of commemoration in each place, and so were influenced by their respective settings. Not only is this reflected in the types of mnemonic activities that occurred, but also at which stage and place.

Other than Athens, there were commemorations of the battle in the city of Plataia in Boiotia and the city of Gela on the island of Sicily. The actions within these two cities, however, are more temporally removed than their counterparts in the city of Athens, at least as far as the evidence shows. Only limited physical evidence indicates the commemoration in these cities, and instead we must rely on literary sources.

Many of the mnemonic practices that are typically assigned to the battle of Marathon are by application of literary sources, which are snapshots of the situation at any given time. That



being said, I progress chronologically with the physical evidence that can be connected to the battle, then supplement with the literary evidence that accrues to these and other monuments.

West counted twelve monuments of Marathon in city spaces, one of which was in Plataia and the rest in Athens.<sup>1</sup> Xavier Duffy described eight monuments to Marathon in city spaces, seven of which were in Athens and one in Plataia.<sup>2</sup> He is only confident in the attribution and location of three of these, tentative in four, and doubtful of one, and he completely ignores three coins and a sanctuary of Theseus that William Custis West had included in his earlier study. In addition to these, I include several others and their attachment to the biographical stages of the commemoration of Marathon.

### **Stages One and Two: Initial Reactions and Official Commemorations**

Simply because of temporal and spatial distance, any act of commemoration outside of the battlefield was not immediate. There are no surviving mnemonic practices that occurred in Athens or other city spaces that belong to the initial stage of commemoration. Possible exceptions would include actions that connected the battlefield and the city immediately, such as dispatches or other announcements, as well as laments or orations. It is likely that these occurred, but these ephemeral activities left no material traces and are only evidenced by later literary sources. Thus, commemoration of Marathon in Athens begins in the second stage. As was the case on the battlefield, these can be categorized as “official” messages, as constructed by the Athenians and the leading citizens of the city.

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<sup>1</sup> West 1966, 6-73.

<sup>2</sup> Duffy 2016, 379.

Chronologically, this period stretches roughly through the first quarter of the fifth century BCE. Although there are no exact limits, several major events occurred in the period, from the battles of Xerxes' invasion of Greece and the sack of Athens in 480 BCE, through to the development of the Athenian empire before the Peloponnesian war.

### *Physical Evidence*

There are three relevant mnemonic and votive practices that date to the first decades after 490 BCE. Two of them predate the Persian destruction of Athens in 480 BCE: the first is an inscribed bronze helmet, which has loose associations with the battle, found on the Acropolis; and the second is an inscription on a marble column, associated with Kallimachos the Athenian Polemarch who was slain at Marathon, also found on the Acropolis. Both of these stood on the Acropolis for a time in the decade between 490 and 480 but were likely destroyed and eventually deposited. The third is a set of marble blocks that were inscribed with the so-called Marathon Epigrams, four fragments of which were found in the Agora and the Kerameikos.<sup>3</sup>

The first possible commemoration for the battle of Marathon in Athens was the dedication of a bronze helmet on the Athenian Acropolis (**Figure 6.1**).<sup>4</sup> The helmet is of a Chalkidian type, and is inscribed:

[Ἀθηναῖοι — — —]ον λαβόντες,  
“[The Athenians (dedicate this)] having taken it from...”.  
-IG I<sup>3</sup> 517

In most reconstructions of the inscription, there is no mention of the battle of Marathon, but both the form of the helmet dedication, as well as the content of the inscription, resonate with the

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<sup>3</sup> Oliver 1935.

<sup>4</sup> Baitinger 1999. Inscription 46 in Bather 1893, plate VI.

Assyrian helmet that was dedicated at Olympia,<sup>5</sup> even if the exact helmet types differed. Some have restored “from the Medes” in the lacuna,<sup>6</sup> but that reconstruction is conjecture and not rooted in the artifact itself. Like the helmet, there is an inscribed bronze spearhead that has been suggested as a dedication from Marathon (**Figure 6.2**).<sup>7</sup> The connection is questionable, however, as it is based on reconstructions from a single letter (*M*).<sup>8</sup>

After the helmet and spearhead, the earliest secure connection to the battle of Marathon in Athens is an inscription on a marble column that was also dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis, often called the Kallimachos Monument (**Figure 6.3** and **Figure 6.4**).<sup>9</sup> The column was a votive object itself with a very complex object biography, not just regarding its own dedication, but also the carving of the accompanying inscription.<sup>10</sup> In recognition of the ambiguity between the column and the inscription, I will refer to the physical monument separately from the inscription, and refer to the latter as the Kallimachos inscription and the former as the Kallimachos Inscription Monument.

Beginning with the physical monument, the choice of column was fitting as a dedication, as there are numerous other examples of dedicatory columns from the Archaic Athenian

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<sup>5</sup> Olympia **B 5100**; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1467. See Chapter 5, pp. 257-266, **Figure 5.2**.

<sup>6</sup> Schröder 2020 (52 n. 207) restores “from the Medes”, following Baitinger 1999 based on comparison with Olympia *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1467.

<sup>7</sup> Bather 1893, 128, inscription 53 on plate VII.

<sup>8</sup> There are other small finds that are occasionally connected to the battle of Marathon, but with little evidence. For example, a fragment of a bronze caduceus has been considered a commemoration of the battle through the connection with the god Pan. See Hampe 1939; Mastrapas 2013, 115

<sup>9</sup> Acropolis Museum inventory number 690.

<sup>10</sup> The modern research on the monument is ever changing. See Segal (2008, 130-132; 204-205) and Duffy (2016, 408-410; 2018, 76-77) for recent summary; Shefton 1950 for initial reconstructions of the inscription; Keesling 2010 for more recent analysis of the inscription and dedication.

Acropolis.<sup>11</sup> Although there are many interpretations, based on findspot and style, this column was erected on the Acropolis late in the sixth century or early in the fifth century BCE. In its pre-inscribed form, the monument was an unfluted Ionic column nearly 12 feet tall (about 3.66 meters) that was capped by a statue, likely a Nike as reconstructed by Antony Raubitschek.<sup>12</sup> The surface of the stone was stippled in an “architectural style”, giving it a rough texture similar to other contemporary Athenian monuments.<sup>13</sup>

The stippled surface treatment of the shaft echoes other Athenian monuments, most notably the marble column on the field of Marathon.<sup>14</sup> In addition to this significant resonance, the surface perhaps fits into a broader Athenian style of the fifth century, what Catherine Keesling calls the “architectural style”, symbolically evoking the unfinished architectural remains of the Old Parthenon that was destroyed in 480.<sup>15</sup> This connection is problematic, however, as the column that bore the Kallimachos inscription was destroyed in the same attack.

It is unclear exactly when the column and statue were put up, by whom, or for what reason. There are two possible scenarios to entertain. On the one hand, there is some reason to believe that the column was already standing at the time of the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE, based on the view that the inscription that was a later addition to the monument.<sup>16</sup> On the other

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<sup>11</sup> For examples of Attic columns, see McGowan 1997. For funerary columns, McGowan 1995.

<sup>12</sup> Raubitschek 1940. The statue and column are cataloged in the Acropolis museum as Acropolis 690. See Brouskari 1974; For brief history of scholarship on the sculpture, see Segal 2008, 130-132.

<sup>13</sup> Keesling 2010, 126-127.

<sup>14</sup> Keesling 2010, 126.

<sup>15</sup> Keesling 2010, 127. Keesling provides examples from Athens in the base for the Tyrannicides group in the Agora, the base for the Athena Promachos on the Acropolis, the Marathon cenotaph in the Kerameikos, and others; and from Delphi the Athenian Stoa.

<sup>16</sup> Jacoby 1945, 158 n. 8; Harrison 1971, 1972. For summary of scholarly opinions, see Keesling 2010, 106-108 and 107 n. 8.

hand, it is also possible that the monument itself was intended to be inscribed, perhaps in combination with an inscribed base, and that the column, statue, and inscription were part of a unified program of dedication.<sup>17</sup>

In either case, the content of the inscription indicates that the ensemble had become a commemoration of Marathon after the battle in 490. In addition to this *terminus post quem*, there is also a *terminus ante quem* for the (re)dedication, since the monument was found in the so-called *Perserschutt*, or debris following the Persian sack of Athens in 480 BCE, on the Acropolis. Thus, there is a 10-year window between 490 and 480 BCE, during which the column monument would have stood as a commemoration of Marathon.

Turning to the inscription, at some point two flutes were carved into the shaft of the column. The flutes were specially made to carry the inscribed lines of hexameter, as there is no other evidence of fluting or inscriptions elsewhere in the stone, and no obvious reason for two isolated flutes on an otherwise unfluted column. This is in contrast to other inscribed Ionic columns on the Acropolis, which are entirely fluted in addition to the flutes that carry inscription.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the rest of the column remaining unfluted, the new flutes largely followed the normal architectural pattern for Ionic columns. They stretched the entire height of the shaft, beginning from the Ionic capital and terminating at the bottom. In addition, the flutes are divided by a fillet, a diagnostic feature of Ionic columns. This means that although the entire column did not receive the fluting, at least these conventions of Ionic architecture were recognized.

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<sup>17</sup> Shefton 1950, 143; Keesling 2010, 108.

<sup>18</sup> E.g., Acropolis Museum inventory number 124 is inscribed with *IG I<sup>3</sup> 618*.

Apparently, the column was not accompanied by a base, as should be expected in canonical Ionic order architecture.<sup>19</sup>

Onto the shaft of this largely architecturally-consistent ensemble, five lines of hexameter were carved into two flutes:

[Καλλίμαχος μ' ἀν]έθηκεν Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] τ' Ἀθηναῖαι : / ἀν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτων ἡοὶ Ὀ[λύμπια δώματα] ἔχουσιν.  
/ vacat

[Καλλίμαχος πολέ]μαρχος Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἀγωνα : / τὸν Μαραθῶνι προ] Ἑλλήνων, ο[— —c.11— —:] /  
παισὶν Ἀθηναίων μν[ημ— — — — —].

Kallimachos of Aphidna dedicated me to Athena  
Messenger of the immortals who dwell in Olympian homes.  
Kallimachos, polemarch of the Athenians, the contest,  
The one at Marathon on behalf of the Greeks, [?]  
[for? by?] the sons of the Athenians a memorial [].

- *IG I<sup>3</sup> 764*. Text, translation, and annotation adapted from Keesling's "ideal text" (2010, 109).

It appears that an effort was made for the sake of visibility and legibility. The deliberate fluting called attention to the inscription, further highlighted by the absence of further treatment of the shaft surface.

The separation of poetry was meant to be observable, as the extant tripuncts<sup>20</sup> indicate deliberate separation between the hexameters. Moreover, the inscriptions did not take up the entire space of the flutes, and a great deal of available surface within the smoothed space was left uninscribed. This prevents the inscription from being hastily crammed into the space, preventing a need for creative means of fitting the poetry into the available space.

The identification of the dedicator (or on whose behalf the inscription was made) is also explicit, as the name Kallimachos begins the inscription of each flute as the first word of the first and third lines of hexameter.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, we can question how visible the inscription

<sup>19</sup> As far as I can tell, this has not been commented on. There are other examples of Ionic votive columns without bases, however, such as an example from Naxos (Naxos 8), see McGowan 1997, pl. 59c.

<sup>20</sup> Or three-dot interpunct, after Keesling 2010, 101.

<sup>21</sup> Based on most reconstructions. See Keesling 2010, 101-106.

would have been. The hexameters begin at the top of the flutes and run down from the capital.

While the prominent position of the name may have lent some weight, the relative distance from the potential readers would have also diminished the effect. The column, including the sculpture, would only have been about three and a half meters tall, with the inscription taking up just under two meters.<sup>22</sup>

At a roughly human height, the inscription was fairly accessible to the viewer. The name of Kallimachos would have begun just above eye level, with structural and physical emphasis. Conversely, the bulk of the inscription would have run down the length of the column, perhaps deemphasizing the lowest words of the poetry. Likewise, this may have been noticeable in terms of the physical experience of the monument, where the viewer's relative comfort in reading the text was less important than the ease of reading Kallimachos' name; as well as structural reasons, in that the lowest levels could be prone to day-to-day damage.<sup>23</sup>

Turning to the content of the inscription, the extant poetry identifies the monument as a commemoration of the battle of Marathon; although there are some doubters, most scholars agree with the reconstructed "Marathon", as a phrase in apposition to "the contest", in the fourth hexameter of the epigram, in the second inscribed flute.<sup>24</sup> Based on the interpretation of the column that dates it before 490 BCE, it appears that the inscription was amended on the monument in order to tie it to Marathon. That could explain a discrepancy between what the inscription calls itself and what the statue represents: the inscription refers to the column dedication as the "messenger of the immortals" (*ἄν[γελον ἀθ]ανάτων*) in the second hexameter

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<sup>22</sup> Shefton 1950, 160.

<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, this concern seems to have been well-founded, since the largest missing parts of the column are from the lower third, in contrast to the inscribed upper portions.

<sup>24</sup> Shefton 1950. See Keesling 2010.

line, which would seem to refer to the god Hermes, rather than a Nike. The explanation is that the inscription was added to a previously private monument, updating and transforming the column and statue into a public commemoration of Marathon. While a compelling explanation, it is difficult to prove and there are many possible alternative explanations.

Even before the association with the column and Kallimachos inscription in the first half of the 20th century, the Nike statue had been considered a commemoration for the battle of Marathon.<sup>25</sup> This is not necessarily the case, however, as the identification was based simply on stylistic dating and the findspot within the fill layers of the Acropolis.<sup>26</sup> It is just as likely that the column and statue were dedications for some other reason, prior to being subsumed as a commemoration of Marathon by the addition of the inscription. Nevertheless, the entire ensemble became a commemoration of Marathon with the inscription, whether it was added later or was an integral part of the design.

The third commemoration of Marathon in the city of Athens is a stone monument that was inscribed with the so-called Marathon Epigrams (**Figure 6.5a, b, c, d**). There is only so much that can be learned based on the extant physical remains, and a few assumptions that can be deduced. First, I describe the remains of the physical monument and how it is reconstructed, including a description of the inscription; secondly, I analyze the content of the inscription as a text, including how it works to commemorate the battle of Marathon; and lastly, I combine the physical and textual aspects to analyze the commemoration as a whole.

There are four fragments of the monument, coming from three joining blocks.<sup>27</sup> The fragments all preserve parts of the same face of the monument, which featured a smoothed band

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<sup>25</sup> Raubitschek 1940, 53.

<sup>26</sup> Raubitschek 1940, 55.



that bordered a rough-picked interior, perhaps imitating anathyrosis without actually being true anathyrosis.<sup>28</sup> The first block in the series, so-called “Stone A1”,<sup>29</sup> also preserves a portion of the left face of the monument, indicating that the same pseudo-anathyrosis was featured on the other displayed faces of the monument.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, it appears that even the individual blocks exhibited the same styling, as Matthaïou identified what is likely the third block (“Stone C”) from fragments that preserve both edges of the original stone, which shows a smoothed band along the left and right edges of the block.<sup>31</sup>

The fragments indicate that four lines of inscribed text were cut into two bands that stretched along a single face of the monument, likely the front. The first two lines of inscription were cut into the smoothed border band along the top of the stones, and the next two lines were cut into the rough-picked portion of the stoneface along a smoothed band that mimicked the border of the monument’s face. These bands and lines of inscription match across the stones, which indicates that they were all part of a single monument.<sup>32</sup>

As reconstructed, this monument is comprised of a base of at least four blocks that are inscribed with four epigrams along the front. It also probably supported a series of at least three stelai,<sup>33</sup> as evidenced by deictic elements of the inscribed text, as well as comparison with similar

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<sup>27</sup> Matthaïou 1988; Duffy 2016, 411.

<sup>28</sup> Oliver 1933, 484.

<sup>29</sup> Following the nomenclature of Duffy 2016, 411. This is a translation of *lapis*, the terminology preferred by epigraphists. See Oliver 1933, 480; Matthaïou 2003; Petrovic 2013, 49.

<sup>30</sup> Oliver 1933, 484.

<sup>31</sup> Matthaïou 1988, 2003.

<sup>32</sup> Matthaïou 2003; Petrovic 2013, 49.

<sup>33</sup> Stelai such as the “New Marathon Stele”, see Chapter 2, pp. 66-67.

monuments.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, the reconstruction of the stelai remain hypothetical, due to the lack of secure evidence.

Turning now to the inscriptions, first I will provide a physical description before a closer look at the text. There are segments of four epigrams that are cut into the face of the three extant stones.<sup>35</sup> As conventionally studied, the first two epigrams, Epigram  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , are inscribed into Stone A; Epigram  $\gamma$  is on Stone B mostly, with the final two syllables (*BAAION*) continued onto Stone C (**Figure 6.5d**); and Epigram  $\delta$  on Stone C, although perhaps the final syllables would have continued on the next stone.<sup>36</sup>

Epigram  $\alpha$  is contained in the top band of Stone A entirely.<sup>37</sup> This inscription is written stoichedon, meaning that each letter is carved into a square in a grid, such that the letters in the bottom line are directly beneath corresponding letters in the top line.<sup>38</sup> Of the four surviving fragments, this is the only one on the border of its respective stone and the only one to be written stoichedon.

The remaining four epigrams are cut into the smoothed lower band within the rough-picked interior field of the block face. This band cuts through the stones, even into the bordering bands as seen in the right and left sides of Stone C. Moreover, the letters appear to ignore the border bands, as the B of Epigram  $\gamma$  and the final E of Epigram  $\delta$  on Stone C are cut into the left

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<sup>34</sup> Oliver 1935 and 1936 defended the interpretation of the stelai, contra Wilhelm 1934; Matthaïou 1988; 2003, 195.

<sup>35</sup> Petrovic (2013, 49 n. 21) is careful to maintain that the exact inscription, let alone the entire length of the monument, is unknown.

<sup>36</sup> Petrovic 2007, 160-162; 2013, 48.

<sup>37</sup> There are two parts of Stone A, see Oliver 1935 fig 1.

<sup>38</sup> For stoichedon style, see Austin 1938; Butz 2010.

and right margins, respectively. Unlike Epigram  $\alpha$ , none of the remaining inscriptions are written stoichedon.

Recent epigraphers maintain that the letter forms of the inscription are consistent with a date in the 470s BCE,<sup>39</sup> although some argue for an earlier date.<sup>40</sup> Across the stones, at least three different hands have been recognized, although the letter forms appear to remain in the same date range.<sup>41</sup>

Before turning to the content of the inscriptions, it is worth noting how the physical characteristics of the monument made the epigrams legible. No other pieces of the monument and its lower courses have been identified, so it is not possible to determine the original placement and height of the inscription, and how legible it would have been relative to a passing viewer. Beginning at the top of the stone in the smoothed border, as we saw for Epigram A, the inscription on the monument is clear. Similarly, the smoothed band through the rough-picked interior field of the blocks probably shows intent to keep the inscribed text visible, as the smoothed area and carved letters would stand out from the largely rough-picked monument face.

Now turning to the text itself, the fragmentary nature makes it difficult to determine the subject of the inscriptions. The text is as follows:

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<sup>39</sup> Petrovic 2013, 49.

<sup>40</sup> Jacoby 1945, 164. The earlier date is due to comparison with *IG I<sup>3</sup> 4*, the so-called “Hekatompedon Inscription,” dated to 485 BCE. See Butz 2010.

<sup>41</sup> Petrovic 2013, 49.

- A) ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετῇ[ς \_\_\_\_ 8 \_\_\_\_ λάμπει κλέο]ς αἰεὶ  
 [\_\_\_\_ 9 \_\_\_\_]ν[.]ρ[\_\_\_\_ 17 \_\_\_\_]  
 ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοί τε [\_\_\_\_ 14-16 \_\_\_\_]ν  
 Ἑλλάδα μ]ῃ πᾶσαν δούλιο[ν ἡμαρ ἰδεῖν].
- β) ἦν ἄρα τοῖσζ' ἀδάμ[αντος ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ,]. ὅτ' αἰχμὴν  
 στήσαν πρόσθε πυλῶν ἀν[\_\_\_\_ 16-18? \_\_\_\_]  
 ἀγχιάλων πρήσαι ρ[\_\_\_\_ 18 \_\_\_\_]ο  
 ἄστν βίῃ Περσῶν κλιναμένω[ν \_\_\_\_ 10-12 \_\_\_\_]
- γ) [\_\_\_\_ πε]ζοί τε καὶ [\_\_\_\_ - υ]  
 [\_\_\_\_]  
 [\_\_\_\_]ο νήσῳ  
 [\_\_\_\_]βαλῶν.
- δ) ἔρκους γὰρ προπάροιθε γ[\_\_\_\_]  
 ..Ε [\_\_\_\_]μεν Παλλάδος ἱπ[\_\_\_\_]  
 οὔθαρ δ' ἀπείρου πορτιτρόφου ἄκρον ἔχοντες  
 τοῖσιν πανθαλῆς ὄλβος ἐπιστρέ[φεται].

- α) [The glory] of these men's excellence [shines] always . . . For, both on foot [and] . . . , they held . . . , so that all Greece might not [see a day] of slavery
- β) Then, theirs was a [heart stronger than] adamant, when they set their spear before the gates [against the] . . . by the sea, to burn . . . the town, when by force the Persians were turned back . . .
- γ) . . . both on foot and . . . . on the island . . . having thrown . . .
- δ) For a wall in front of . . . of Pallas . . . but they occupy the most fertile cape of the calf-nourishing mainland, to whom all-flourishing happiness comes.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to being associated with the battle of Marathon, the monument has been interpreted as a commemoration of the battles of Salamis or Plataia, or for the Persian wars in general.<sup>43</sup>

Depending on how the lacuna are reconstructed, it is even possible to connect the monument to events in contemporary South Italy.<sup>44</sup>

Since the initial publications, two words have connected the inscription to the battles of the Persian wars and to the battle of Marathon, respectively “Persians” (*Περσοῖν*) in the final line of Epigram β and the reference to fighting on foot (*πεζοί*) in the second line of Epigram α, as well as in the first line of Epigram γ.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Greek text from Petrovic 2013, 48.

<sup>43</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen 1934. For a discussion of the modern interpretations, see Petrovic 2013, 50.

<sup>44</sup> Bowie 2010.

<sup>45</sup> See Oliver 1933, 485.

The connection to Marathon is easiest to interpret from Epigram β. In particular, Oliver pointed to the final lines of the epigram, noting that no other battle of the Persian wars would match the description of preventing the burning of the city, other than the battle of Marathon.<sup>46</sup> From this point, Oliver argues that it would be unlikely that this sentiment would follow an Epigram α that referred to other battles, since that would essentially imply, “‘They let the Persians burn Athens first and then they defeated them’.”<sup>47</sup> Although some have tried to reconcile the possibility of conflicting commemorations by suggesting a gap between the inscriptions, Jacoby argued that this was an absurd assumption.<sup>48</sup>

More recently, Angelos Matthaiou has argued that all of the epigrams refer to the battle of Marathon, connecting topographic references (*ἡέρκονς γὰρ προπάροιθεν*) in the first line of Epigram δ to a Hellenistic ephebic inscription, as well as other topographic references from within the text.<sup>49</sup> The interpretation is strengthened by the several deictics within the inscription, which have been taken as references to casualty lists of the fallen.<sup>50</sup> While it is possible that the epigrams—and thus the stelai to which they refer and the monument on which they were inscribed—were not commemorations of Marathon, nevertheless that is the most compelling interpretation.

Accepting the date in the 470s BCE, the allusion that the Athenians saved Greece from enslavement in Epigram α helps situate the monument into the period of official

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<sup>46</sup> Oliver 1933, 486.

<sup>47</sup> Oliver 1933, 486.

<sup>48</sup> Jacoby (1945, 166) argues that because Epigram β is undoubtedly for Marathon, “there is no reasonable explanation for the rather absurd suggestion that some time after Plataia someone added to an epigram on Salamis and Plataia another one praising the men of Marathon”.

<sup>49</sup> Matthaiou 2003, 199-200.

<sup>50</sup> Petrovic 2013, 50.

commemoration.<sup>51</sup> The epigram emphasizes the Athenian role and elevates the battle as one of Panhellenic importance, in line with other Athenian designs of the period. Furthermore, if the monument was a cenotaph complete with stelai that name the fallen in battle, then they directly connected to the battlefield of Marathon and the burial of the Athenians there, in addition to the funerary stelai that likely stood on the field.<sup>52</sup> The Marathon Epigram Monument was part of a large commemorative program.

### *Literary sources*

As was the case with the battlefield of Marathon, there are few literary sources that deal with the official commemoration of the battle within the city-space of Athens. One of these sources is Aeschylus' *Persians*, which could be considered a mnemonic practice itself, since it was staged in the city of Athens and relied on the memory of Marathon to further its plot. Other than the *Persians*, another category of literary references do not date to the period, but instead refer to practices that are alleged to have begun in the years immediately following the victory. In particular, Herodotus describes two commemorative practices that are plausibly from the early fifth century. After Herodotus, other authors attribute practices or monuments to commemorations of the battle, but I am skeptical of these connections as later developments.

Chronologically, the closest relevant literary source is Aeschylus' *Persians*, dating to the 470s. In this play, however, there is only a brief reference to the battlefield. In this line, we see

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<sup>51</sup> Petrovic (2013, 49-50) refers to the chronological period as “the very period in which the Greeks started populating their cities and public spaces with commemorative texts and had begun shaping their view of the Persian Wars as a completed whole”.

<sup>52</sup> Matthaïou 2003, 199-200. See Chapter 2, pp. 66-67.

the beginnings of later messaging about the importance of Marathon in the context of the rest of the Persian wars, somewhat inflating the Athenian role against the invaders.

The reference to the 490 battle is fleeting, and only made once.<sup>53</sup> A distressed Atossa, mother of king Xerxes and widow of king Darius, laments her son's defeat in Greece. In so doing, she recalls a similar outcome at Marathon, when more Persians had been lost. According to the queen, it was the Persian quest for retribution (*ἀντίποινα*) for Marathon that launched the invasion and led to the kingdom's present calamity. The messaging of the play pushes towards official commemoration, or at least reflects some prevailing opinions of the period. Marathon begins to be subsumed by the commemoration of the rest of the Persian wars and is utilized to single out Athens' achievements.

Although Herodotus was a source from the next generation writing in the 430s or 420s BCE, his account of the commemoration of the battle indicates a few practices that could be considered in their official capacity. For one, Herodotus says that the sanctuary of Pan, along with annual games and sacrifices, was established after the Athenian victory at Marathon.<sup>54</sup> The story of Pan is linked to the immediate commemorations after the battle of Marathon, as the long-distance Athenian runner Pheidippides, who had been sent to Sparta to give the news of the battle, later recounted to his fellow Athenians an encounter with the god on the journey. In response, Herodotus says, the Athenians founded a sanctuary beneath the Acropolis to the god, and institute recurring sacrifices and a torch race.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Aeschylus *Persians*, line 475.

<sup>54</sup> Herodotus 6.105. Other than the celebrations for Pan, an annual sacrifice to the goddess Artemis Agrotera is another religious ceremony to be mentioned briefly here. While the practice of the sacrifices has been connected to commemoration for Marathon, the earliest source for this is Xenophon's *Anabasis* 3.2.12 from more than a century after the battle. Thus, the sacrifices to Artemis will be discussed in the context of a later stage.

<sup>55</sup> Herodotus 6.105.

There are some problems with the argument that the sanctuary of Pan was established in honor of Marathon. Written in the middle of the fifth century, the account already pushes the start of the commemoration into the recent past. Moreover, by his own words, Herodotus tells us that the foundation was delayed until the time that the Athenians had recovered and become prosperous after the war (*καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων*). While it is unclear when the so-called period of prosperity occurred, a fifth-century BCE foundation for the sanctuary of Pan is corroborated by the material record.<sup>56</sup> One of a series of caves on the North Slope of the Acropolis has been identified as the sanctuary, evidenced by inscriptions, votive plaques, and terracotta statuettes.<sup>57</sup> None of these have any particular meaning in relation to the commemoration of the battle of Marathon, but there is continuity of finds from the fifth century BCE to the Roman period that shows that the cult persisted for several centuries after its foundation. There is no contemporary evidence that connects this sanctuary of Pan, or its establishment, to the battle of Marathon.

Herodotus also provides our first evidence of dispatches from the field to the city following the victory, both those to announce the victory to the citizens, as well as the conspiracy to take the city by subterfuge after the battle.<sup>58</sup> Herodotus indicates that the Alkmaionidai family had been accused of betraying Athens by signaling the Persians, by flashing a shield, to attack at a certain time. Given the stories that had sprung up around this by the time of his writing, and that Herodotus himself was skeptical and spent time to express the unlikelihood of the accusation, it is probably best to consider the details he provides as part of a later stage. Nevertheless, the

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<sup>56</sup> Travlos 1971, 417 claims that all sanctuaries of Pan in Attika date to this period. See Edwards 1985.

<sup>57</sup> Edwards 1985, 23-27; Camp 2001, 50, 119, 121.

<sup>58</sup> Herodotus 6.115 and 121-124.



histories provide the first evidence of messages from the battlefield, which would be expected to be likely, even if there was no evidence.

This concludes the physical and literary evidence of official commemoration of the battle in Athens. Of the former, a helmet and similar objects dedicated on the Acropolis, the Kallimachos Inscription Monument on the Acropolis, and the Marathon Epigram Monument from the Kerameikos or Agora can be considered as official efforts to commemorate the battle in some capacity. The same can be said of the practices indicated in the literary sources, such as how Aeschylus portrayed the battle in the *Persians*, or the sanctuary of Pan and other actions in Athens described by Herodotus.

### **Stage Three: Commemoration Maintenance**

By means of the commemorations described above, the memory of the battle of Marathon had already gained a particular resonance for an Athenian audience through the first third of the fifth century BCE. These versions of the past, as they were experienced in the city, were shaped and curated in the subsequent centuries. Some of the commemorations that had been established in the decades after 490 BCE persisted, while others were lost. Of the three physical commemorations mentioned above, only the Marathon Epigram Monument probably stood for some time, but both the inscribed metal objects and the Kallimachos Inscription Monument were buried within the fills of the Acropolis. Other than these, new commemorations either supplemented or supplanted them, such as the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile.

It is also this stage that sees commemoration of the battle in the city of Plataia, which had been rebuilt in the Hellenistic period after having been destroyed during the Peloponnesian

War.<sup>59</sup> Although twice destroyed, the city of Plataia still displayed monuments of the Persian Wars, especially the battle of Plataia<sup>60</sup> and the battle of Marathon,<sup>61</sup> which Pausanias was able to see.

### *Physical evidence*

The Kallimachos Inscription Monument and the inscribed helmet and spearhead were deposited in the fills of the Acropolis during the fifth century. It is generally accepted that both were deposited following the clean-up of the 480 destruction of Athens at the hands of the Persians, further supported by evidence of fire damage on bits of the Kallimachos Inscription Monument.<sup>62</sup>

The Kallimachos Inscription Monument was found in a deposit near the north wall of the Acropolis. The deposit was stratified and sealed by a layer of clay and stones, and the material within it indicate that the burial occurred sometime in the early 470s BCE.<sup>63</sup> The monument may have been intentionally destroyed by the Persians during their sack of the Acropolis, as an example of what has been described as intentional mutilation of statues or iconoclasm.<sup>64</sup> While tantalizing, it is also possible that the monument was simply damaged during the general destruction of the city and received no special attention from the attackers. Likewise, the helmet

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<sup>59</sup> Plataia was destroyed during the Peloponnesian War (by the Thebans: Thucydides 3.68; by the Lakedaimonians: Pausanias 9.1.4), briefly restored before being sacked again in 373 BCE (Pausanias 9.1.4-8), before being restored by Philip after 338 BCE (Pausanias 9.1.8).

<sup>60</sup> Pausanias 9.2.

<sup>61</sup> Pausanias 9.4.

<sup>62</sup> Lindenlauf 1997, 70-74. Hurwit 2004, 52-53; Stewart 2008b, 381-383; Keesling 2010, 101.

<sup>63</sup> Stewart 2008b, 382-385.

<sup>64</sup> Kousser 2009, 265-266.

and spearhead were found in the fills on the Acropolis. Whether they were damaged in the sack intentionally or not, their burial reflects a choice not to re-erect these monuments and dedications, even when others were later restored.<sup>65</sup>

In contrast to these fragments from the Acropolis, the Marathon Epigram Monument likely stood for some time after the Persian sack in 480 BCE. Based on some reconstructions of the object biography of the monument, it is possible that some of the inscribed epigrams were added at this date, perhaps to replace monuments that had been badly damaged. This is unlikely, however, and instead I think that all of the inscriptions on the monument were carved at around the same time.

An ephebic inscription dated to 177/6 BCE refers to the race from the burial on the battlefield to the cenotaph in Athens.<sup>66</sup> Assuming that it references the Marathon Epigram Monument, then the inscription indicates that there was at least one event in the second century BCE organized around it. It is likely that an iterative event had begun in the past and continued to occur later, although how much earlier or later we cannot know for sure.<sup>67</sup>

It is possible that this later ephebic inscription stood in the Agora, based on the findspots of two fragments there.<sup>68</sup> It is also possible that the inscription had stood next to the Marathon Epigram Monument in the Kerameikos, but had subsequently been moved to the Agora in a later stage.

Looking at the ephebic inscription, we see the commemoration for Marathon lumped in with several other events. In addition to the race for Marathon, the ephebes participated in other

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<sup>65</sup> Herodotus 5.77.3.

<sup>66</sup> *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1 1313; Agora I 7529. See Matthaïou 2003, n. 26 and n. 27.

<sup>67</sup> See below for literary evidence of runs from Marathon.

<sup>68</sup> Agora I 4250 and I 7529. See Woodhead 1997, 280.

events, such as the mysteries, the Proerosia, or sailing to Salamis to honor Ajax, Asklepios and Hermes.<sup>69</sup> As such, by the second century BCE the commemorations of Marathon were part of an entire series of such events for the education of the ephebes. While this reinforced the collective memory of the battle as a point of Athenian pride, the incorporation in a series of events also diminished the particular importance of the Marathon commemorations.

### *Literary sources*

After the commemorations that had been previously established, there is little physical evidence of other commemorations. There are literary references to other monuments and practices, which can sometimes be tied to extant archaeological evidence. In the absence of more secure evidence from the physical remains, however, it is difficult to determine if the connections to the battle of Marathon would have been universally recognized or if they functioned simply as part of the authors' rhetoric or narrative.

This is the case for the sanctuaries of Pan and Artemis Agrotera, which were accompanied by games and sacrifices respectively. Similarly, monuments on the Acropolis such as the bronze Athena Promachos,<sup>70</sup> as well as the Parthenon and its predecessor,<sup>71</sup> were monuments that would be contemporary to the period, but are only associated with Marathon by later sources. Similarly, it has been argued that the set of shields sent to Athens by Alexander after the battle of Granicus was meant to evoke Marathon, although this is not clear in the ancient

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<sup>69</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 1313, lines 9-10, 20-23.

<sup>70</sup> Pausanias (1.28) connects the statue to the battle, but Demosthenes (19.272) says that it was a memorial of all the Persian Wars. Duffy (2016, 431; 2018, 92) only tentatively connects the statue to Marathon.

<sup>71</sup> Pre-Parthenon: Dinsmoor 1935, but Duffy (2016, 432; 2018, 93) points out that Dinsmoor's argument hinges on his dating of the construction to just after 490 BCE. Parthenon: Demosthenes (22.76-77, 24.184) considers it a monument of all the wars, as does Duffy (2016, 539; 2018, 170).

sources.<sup>72</sup> While it is likely that all of these had some sort of connection to the battle, there is no physical evidence, or even allusions to physical evidence, that would indicate that they functioned primarily to the commemoration of Marathon. Thus, these are likely examples of curated or manipulated memory, probably appended to practices that were not originally designed to evoke the memory of Marathon.

The Stoa Poikile is one exception to this categorization. Although there is no extant archaeological evidence of the paintings, ancient sources indicate that one of its four paintings depicted the battle of Marathon. Similarly, a sculptured scene of the battle, dedicated on the Acropolis by Attalos I, is a secure commemoration of the battle.<sup>73</sup>

According to Herodotus, the Athenians established a sanctuary of Pan on the slopes of the Acropolis at some point after the battle of Marathon.<sup>74</sup> This comes as part of the story about the runner Pheidippides, who ran to Sparta to request aid before the fighting at Marathon began.

ὥς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει: βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδew τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῦνται ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου σφι ἤδη χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, **καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων**, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἰλάσκονται.

As Pheidippides himself said and reported to the Athenians, when near the Parthenion mountain above Tegea Pan confronted [him]: that after calling out the name of Pheidippides, Pan commanded to report to the Athenians, why they give him no attention although he is well-inclined to the Athenians and often been useful to them already, and still will be in the future. And so the Athenians, **when things were well-arranged for them already**, because they believed [the story] to be true they established a sanctuary of Pan under the Acropolis, and since that report they appease [Pan] with annual sacrifices and a torch race.

- Herodotus 6.105

Looking at the narration and the text closely, however, it appears that Herodotus does not explicitly connect the foundation of the sanctuary to the outcome and Marathon. Instead, the

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<sup>72</sup> Plutarch *Alexander* 16.17; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.16.7. See Monti 2009. Yates (2020, 218 n. 83) also mentions this, but he is skeptical of the connection to Marathon.

<sup>73</sup> Pausanias 1.25.2. See below.

<sup>74</sup> Herodotus 6.105-106.

historian presents the foundation as a later outcome that was undertaken when Athens had become prosperous, ostensibly later in the fifth century after the end of the Persian wars.

Indeed, despite other supernatural events,<sup>75</sup> Pan is conspicuously absent from Herodotus' narration of the events that occurred at Marathon. Divine participation in worldly events is common in Herodotus' account, especially regarding battle. Just to give a few examples from the preparation and fighting at Salamis, the night makes the fighting strength of both sides equal before the battle,<sup>76</sup> Apollo protects the goods within Delphi from the Persians,<sup>77</sup> Athena indicates that the Athenians should abandon Athens,<sup>78</sup> and some gods fought on the side of the Greeks.<sup>79</sup> Pan does not feature in any of these other stories.

As we see in Herodotus' history, Pan's connection to the battle of Marathon was not clearly established in the fifth century. Before Herodotus, Aeschylus associated the god with the battle of Salamis in the *Persians*.<sup>80</sup> That's not to say that there were not also connections between Pan and Marathon elsewhere, such as in the epigram attributed to Simonides from the fifth century BCE:

Σιμωνίδου·  
τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων,  
τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων στήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

By Simonides:  
I, the goat-footed Pan, the Arcadian, enemy of the Medes,  
Ally of the Athenians, was set up by Miltiades.

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<sup>75</sup> Hippias' tooth falls out as an omen, Herodotus 6.107; The apparition of a ghost reported by the Athenian Epizelos, 6.117.

<sup>76</sup> The Persians have casualties prior to reaching Salamis, as "night" drove the Persian ships to wreck off the coast of Euboia, Herodotus 8.13.

<sup>77</sup> Herodotus 8.36-38.

<sup>78</sup> Herodotus 8.41.

<sup>79</sup> Herodotus 8.64.

<sup>80</sup> Aeschylus *Persians*, lines 447-448.

- Simonides V (*A. Planudes* 232), text and translation Campbell 1991, 524-525.

The epigram was included in the anthology of Planudes, a collection from the 14<sup>th</sup> century CE, and the attribution is problematic. It is clear that the reference is to the battle of Marathon, given the mention of Miltiades and the Medes. If we accept the author as Simonides, then the epigram is evidence of Pan's association with the battle in the fifth century BCE.

The relationship between Pan and Athens was complex in the fifth century BCE.<sup>81</sup> While there was some evidence that the god was associated with the battle of Marathon, there is also evidence that his worship was attributed to other battles, or completely unrelated to any battle. The development of the mythical relationship might have followed political developments of the century as well, as the Athenians fostered relationships that could potentially hinder Sparta.<sup>82</sup>

The chronological depth of the sanctuary of Pan was pushed into the realm of mythology in Euripides' *Ion*, probably staged around 415 BCE. The tragedy is set in mythistorical time, and the plot concerned with the mythical founders of the city of Athens. At one point, we learn that Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus the king of Athens, consummated an affair with the god Apollo near the shrine to Pan near the caves north of the Acropolis.<sup>83</sup> Evidently, Euripides saw fit to push the foundation of the sanctuary of Pan into the mythical past, contrary to Herodotus' assertion that the cult had only been brought to Athens in the years after the battle of Marathon.

This is not to say that the connection between Pan and Marathon was lost by the end of the fifth century BCE. In *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes refers to the sanctuary of Pan in several instances, indicating that it was a well-known locale to Athenians in the last decade of the

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<sup>81</sup> For the introduction of Pan in Athens, see Mastrapas 2013.

<sup>82</sup> Mastrapas 2013, 118-122.

<sup>83</sup> Euripides *Ion*, lines 935-941.

century.<sup>84</sup> In one scene, Aristophanes may allude to Pan's role at the battle of Marathon: a herald from Sparta reveals that the Lakedaimonians were experiencing problems at home, when the Athenian magistrate asks if the problem comes from Pan.<sup>85</sup> In the many martial jokes of the scene, the vaunted Spartan army is brought to its knees by the Lakedaimonian women who tempt the men but refuse sex, leading all to call for peace with all of Greece. The joke blames the disorder on the god Pan, who had also been credited with creating disorder on the invading Persian army that attacked Marathon in 490 BCE.

The torch race associated with Pan is an aspect that is best known from Herodotus,<sup>86</sup> but it is not attested in other contemporary sources. In contrast to the foundation of the sanctuary itself, Herodotus indicates that the torch race and sacrifices had been instituted since Pheidippides' original message to the Athenians, implying that the practice had been in place since 490. If that is the case, then the sacrifices and race might have occurred annually for a generation or so until Herodotus' time, as a means to maintain a connection to Marathon and the start of Athenian involvement in the Persian wars. Similarly, it is also possible that the area of the sanctuary was beautified in the 460s, if the connection to the Klepsydra indicates special attention to the landscape.<sup>87</sup> If so, then perhaps the association to Marathon with encouraged and reinforced by Kimon, as an indirect means of celebrating his father Miltiades' contribution.

In addition to Pan, the goddess Artemis Agrotera received dedications after the victory at Marathon. According to Walter Burkert, it was a common Greek practice to sacrifice to the

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<sup>84</sup> Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, lines 721, 913, 997.

<sup>85</sup> Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, lines 980-1013.

<sup>86</sup> Davies 1967, 40. See Sterrett 1901, 402 for more evidence of Pan race.

<sup>87</sup> Mastrapas 2013, 116.



goddess Artemis Agrotera before battle.<sup>88</sup> In the case of the battle of Marathon, the Athenians had promised to sacrifice a goat for every slain enemy. After the battle, however, they were unable to find sufficient goats because of the sheer number of Persian dead, and thus resolved to offer annual sacrifices of 500 goats.<sup>89</sup> While this may have begun in the fifth century, literary evidence of the dedications begins from the fourth century BCE. The explicit connection to Marathon was forged by the start of the fourth century, when Xenophon recalls the commemoration in the *Anabasis*.<sup>90</sup> An earlier reference in Aristophanes' *Knights* indicates that the theme of a mass dedication to Artemis was in place at the end of the fifth century.<sup>91</sup> Aristophanes does not explicitly refer to the battle of Marathon, however, so it is not necessary to assume an exclusive connection to the battle in the end of the fifth century BCE.

Plutarch gives us later evidence that the practice continued into the first and second centuries CE, at least in the literary imagination.<sup>92</sup> There is later inscriptional evidence of the practice, from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>93</sup> It appears that the iterative practices associated with Artemis Agrotera persisted for some time, in contrast to the practices connected to the sanctuary of Pan, which fade sooner.

Archaeologically, there are architectural remains that have been associated with the temple of Artemis Agrotera, now found in the modern neighborhood of Mets in Athens, in an

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<sup>88</sup> Burkert 1985, 60, 151-152.

<sup>89</sup> Xenophon *Anabasis* 3.2.11-12.

<sup>90</sup> Xenophon *Anabasis* 3.2.11-12.

<sup>91</sup> Aristophanes *Knights*, lines 658-662. For Marathon in Aristophanes, see Papadodima 2013.

<sup>92</sup> Plutarch *On the Malice of Herodotus* 26.

<sup>93</sup> For example: *IG II/III*<sup>2</sup> 1006, 1008, 1011, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1040.

area that was called Agrai in antiquity.<sup>94</sup> Despite the remains, there are no obvious connections to the battle of Marathon. The dedications to Artemis show the breadth of commemorative activities that could occur, as the deity does not necessarily connect to Athens or Athenian mythology, nor warfare or anything of the sort.<sup>95</sup> Likewise, the lack of chronological depth of her worship in the space, beginning only in the fifth century, could show that the legitimacy of the space was bolstered by its connection to Athens' famous victory. Moreover, her inclusion in the ceremonies in remembrance of Marathon are like those that centered around Pan, incorporating a wider range of gods and goddesses in the story, perhaps inflating the importance of Marathon to a wider Greek world. This would be in contrast to the Athenian dedications that followed established commemorative practices abroad, such as their actions at Delphi and Olympia, with connections to the likes of Athena or Theseus.

Lastly, by the fourth century BCE, if not in the fifth century, the battle of Marathon was commemorated in the Stoa Poikile, or Painted Stoa, so-called because of the paintings that it housed, or also known as the Peisianakteion after its founder.<sup>96</sup> According to ancient sources, among the paintings in this stoa was a representation of the battle of Marathon.<sup>97</sup> I only focus on the representation of Marathon, but in addition to that there were scenes of Athenians fighting Amazons, the sack of Troy, and a battle at Oinoe.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Drawings by Stewart and Revett 1762. Excavations: Skias 1897. See Travlos 1971, 112-120, 156-163; Miles 1980; Childs 1985; Lygouri-Tolia 1994.

<sup>95</sup> Although Gartzou-Tatti (2013, 93) notes a "martial aspect" in the cult practice at Agrai, since Hellenistic inscriptions indicate that Athenian ephebes begin their military service there.

<sup>96</sup> Wycherley 1957, 31.

<sup>97</sup> Wycherley 1957, 31.

<sup>98</sup> Wycherley 1957, 31.

The location of the building has been established archaeologically and in consultation with ancient sources, but there is no evidence of the paintings inside. The physical record indicates that the building had been constructed sometime in the first half of the fifth century BCE, perhaps in the 460s.<sup>99</sup> While the dating of the building is known, literary references to the paintings begin at the end of the century, with the earliest reference by Aristophanes in *Lysistrata*, from about 411 BCE,<sup>100</sup> although even this is debated and only confirmed by a later scholiast of Aristophanes.<sup>101</sup>

Concerning the painting of Marathon, the earliest references to the depiction of the battle come from Demosthenes' *Against Neaira* and Aeschines' *Against Ktesiphon*, both from the fourth century BCE. Demosthenes' speech is probably the earlier of the two, composed sometime between 373 and 339 BCE,<sup>102</sup> while Aeschines delivered his speech after 330 BCE.<sup>103</sup> Both texts indicate the status of the Stoa in relation to the commemoration of the battle of Marathon in the fourth century BCE. These are the earliest evidence for a painting of Marathon in the Stoa, but the painting could have been in place sooner.

As mentioned above, there are passing references to paintings within the Stoa by the end of the fifth century. While the painting of Marathon is not included, that could simply be an accident of preservation, or omission in antiquity. The reference in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* is to a painting of Amazons fighting on horseback, attributed to the painter Mikon.<sup>104</sup> In the context of

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<sup>99</sup> The primary publication for the Stoa Poikile is Meritt 1970. For recent excavations, see n. 122.

<sup>100</sup> Wycherley 1957, 45.

<sup>101</sup> Wycherley 1957, 33-34.

<sup>102</sup> Murray 1939, 349.

<sup>103</sup> Adams 1919, 306; Wycherley (1957, 32) also dates it to 330 BCE.

<sup>104</sup> Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, lines 677-679.

the play, there is no reason why Marathon would be remembered, as it is only the power of the women that is being discussed. Other Greek contests against the Persians are relevant in the play, such as the reference to Artemisia in the previous lines, but it is her gender that is relevant in the play.<sup>105</sup> In fact, the only reference to Marathon in the comedy is actually a juxtaposition of manliness in war, when the overrun chorus of men lament that they are not worthy of the victory.<sup>106</sup> The name of the field is omitted, referenced only by its status as “the tetrapolis”, indicating a certain esoteric or askance reference to the famous victory; perhaps Aristophanes was further removing Marathon from the focus of the female sphere in the play.

Likewise, even the fourth-century references are mostly incidental. The reference in *Against Neaira* is minor, as the speaker remembers the Plataian role at the battle of Marathon in his arguments concerning Athenian citizenship. He highlights the Plataians in the painting in the Stoa, known by their Boiotian caps. This is an interesting act of memory for the fourth century, as the battle of Marathon had become largely associated with a distinctly Athenian victory.<sup>107</sup> It is in relation to Athens’ famous victory that the Boiotians, and therefore the speaker, is prominent.

Conversely, Aeschines refers to the painting in the context of Athenian affairs.<sup>108</sup> In the speech, Aeschines strives to contrast Ktesiphon with the general Miltiades, who had been responsible for the Athenian victory at Marathon. As part of the rhetoric, Aeschines references the painting of Marathon in Athens, specifically that Miltiades is depicted in it but is

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<sup>105</sup> Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, line 675.

<sup>106</sup> Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, lines 281-285.

<sup>107</sup> For example, see Walters 1981 on funeral orations.

<sup>108</sup> Aeschines *Against Ktesiphon*, 186.

conspicuously un-labelled. Aeschines argues that Miltiades, along with other famous Athenians such as Themistokles, were not granted the honor of having their names inscribed on dedications in order that the people be celebrated, rather than individuals. Although Miltiades asked for the honor, according to Aeschines, it was not granted.<sup>109</sup>

The painting of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile was not the focus of either speech. As such, there is only indirect evidence that we can ascertain from these fourth-century sources. By the 330s and Aeschines' *Against Ktesiphon*, it appears that there was a viable story that Miltiades had asked for his name to be included in the painting of the battle in the Stoa. At the same time, this might be a rhetorical creation of the orator, given that Miltiades had died in 489 BCE and the Stoa was constructed before the middle of the fifth century.<sup>110</sup>

The Stoa Poikile and the painting of Marathon within it offer an interesting case because there are so many conflicted accounts and different descriptions in the literary sources. While these differing sources are examples of the development of the commemorative practice over time, they are also emblematic of how the meaning slowly faded and ultimately lapsed. As such, they will be discussed below.

A final example of commemoration in Athens shows how the memory of Marathon could be employed by non-Athenians. Pausanias says that Attalus I, king of the Hellenistic Kingdom of Pergamon in the middle of the third century BCE, dedicated a sculpted scene of the battle on the Acropolis.<sup>111</sup> The Athenian victory of 490 BCE is juxtaposed with two mythological battles—a Gigantomachy and an Amazonomachy featuring the Athenians—as well as with the historical

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<sup>109</sup> The honors granted to Miltiades were more muted in Athens than they were at Delphi, where there was a statue of him among gods and heroes of Athens. See Chapter 5, p. 274.

<sup>110</sup> See Meritt 1970.

<sup>111</sup> Pausanias 1.25.2.

victory of the Attalids over the Gauls around 237 BCE.<sup>112</sup> With this selection, Attalus celebrated his own victory over the Gauls by comparing it with the quintessential Athenian victory at Marathon, as well as two mythological events with Athenian ties, thus elevating the status of the Attalid victory in the eyes of an Athenian audience.<sup>113</sup>

Literary sources indicate that Marathon was commemorated in city spaces other than Athens. This was the case with the inscription on Aeschylus' grave in the city of Gela on Sicily. According to Pausanias in the second century CE, the inscription merely included Aeschylus' name, his father's name, the name of Athens, and that he had fought at Marathon.<sup>114</sup> In the next century, Athenaios reproduces a version of the epitaph, asserting that Aeschylus had composed it for his tomb:

ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἄν εἴποι  
καὶ βαθυχαῖται κεν Μῆδοι ἐπιστάμενοι.

The glorious Marathon grove, and the long-haired Medes  
would speak of his courage because they know it well.

- Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 14.23.

Most of the components that Pausanias mentioned are not reproduced in Athenaios' version, except for the reference to the battle of Marathon.

Neither Pausanias nor Athenaios indicate where Aeschylus was buried. From the third century BCE Parian marble, we know that Aeschylus died in Gela.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, his tomb and inscription would be in Gela. The picture is complicated by a reference from Plutarch in the century before Pausanias. In his biography on Kimon, Plutarch reports that Aeschylus died in

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<sup>112</sup> Pausanias 1.4.5. Stewart 2004.

<sup>113</sup> Yates (2020, 253) argues that Attalus' program was based on that of Alexander celebrating Granicus, as well as inspired by the paintings within the Stoa Poikile.

<sup>114</sup> Pausanias 1.14.5. For more on Aeschylus and his afterlife, see Hanink and Uhlig 2016; Bakola 2018; Brown 2020.

<sup>115</sup> Parian Marble A59.

Gela.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, in one of his moral treatises, Plutarch reproduces another epitaph for Aeschylus' tomb, which includes the reference to the city:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεῖθαι  
μνήμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.

This here (τόδε) monument covers Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, the Athenian who perished in wheat-bearing Gela.

- Plutarch *On Exile* 13.

This version begins as Pausanias claimed it should, listing Aeschylus' name, his father's name, and the city of Athens, but does not contain any reference to Marathon. Instead, it substitutes an explanation for the final resting place of the poet, which makes sense in Plutarch's passage that emphasizes famous people who die away from their homes.

The divergence in the sources shows that the epitaph and its contents were liable to reinterpretation in order to meet the needs of whatever author used it. Already in the first century CE, Plutarch employed the epitaph to highlight famous men who died in exile, emphasizing the place of death as the last word of the elegiac couplet. Then, Pausanias emended the tradition to emphasize Aeschylus' role at Marathon. Athenaios continued the latter tradition but eschewed the convention of the epitaph format that named the dead, his father, and his city, focusing the entire message on the famous battle of Marathon.

Literary sources refer to possible commemorations of the battle of Marathon in the city of Plataia, although there is disagreement regarding which battles are being celebrated. Pausanias refers to a temple of Athena Areia which still stood in his day, and he claims that its construction was funded by the spoils from Marathon.<sup>117</sup> He further ties the temple to the battle in Athenian territory by comparing its cult statue of Athena Areia to the Athena Promachos on the Athenian

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<sup>116</sup> Plutarch *Kimón* 8.

<sup>117</sup> Pausanias 9.4.1.

Acropolis, which itself had become connected to Marathon by the second century CE. In addition to the temple and statue, Pausanias says there was also a painting of the Plataian Arimnestos, commander of the city's contingent at Marathon and Plataia.

Pausanias' account is not consistent with Plutarch's description of the temple, however, which has the battle of Plataia as the reason for all of these dedications.<sup>118</sup> The discrepancy has been discussed in modern scholarship, and most agree with Plutarch, as the earlier source and a native of Boiotia.<sup>119</sup> As with other disagreements among ancient sources,<sup>120</sup> this shows how the precise commemorative function of the temple and associated monuments in Plataia waned through time, especially as they were periodically referenced by ancient authors.

#### **Stage Four: Commemoration Lapses**

As different versions of the past were at times promoted or challenged, lapses in commemoration became more likely. This is most evident in the literary sources, although the fragmentation of the previously mentioned physical evidence and deposition in the archaeological record is also evidence. As was the case with the battlefields, the literary record was the most fertile ground for contesting memory. As an inevitable outcome, the stories blurred over time, as various versions of the past competed for prominence.

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<sup>118</sup> Plutarch *Aristides* 20.1-3.

<sup>119</sup> Most recently, see Yates 2020, 172-173. For additional bibliography, see Yates 2020, 172 n. 24 and 173 n. 25.

<sup>120</sup> For example, Demosthenes and Pausanias do not agree whether the Athena Promachos is a commemoration of Marathon.



### *Physical evidence*

Archaeologically, we can see the lapse in how the extant monuments were fragmented and dispersed to various findspots. The stone fragments of the Marathon Epigram Monument were found in several places: Stone A1 in the Agora,<sup>121</sup> Stone A2 in the courtyard of a modern house near the Agora,<sup>122</sup> Stone B reused as a threshold in the library of Hadrian,<sup>123</sup> and Stone C in a retaining wall along the road from the Kerameikos.<sup>124</sup> The distribution indicates that the structural integrity of the monument did not last forever, and that it eventually became available as building material or otherwise became scrap.<sup>125</sup>

To a lesser extent, development in the area around the northern edge of the Agora, as uncovered archaeologically, as well as discussed in the accounts of Pausanias and other sources, clarifies what occurred around the Stoa Poikile over time. Ongoing excavation in the Agora show how the space developed, ultimately becoming an industrial area and featuring a hydraulic feature that was abandoned in the third century CE.<sup>126</sup>

There is some evidence that the torch races for Pan had waned, perhaps soon after they had begun. In fact, it is possible that the activities around the sanctuary of Pan did not last much longer after their first occurrence and were perhaps already out of practice by the end of the century. An inscription from about 420 BCE mentions several torch races, but does not

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<sup>121</sup> Oliver 1933, 480; Clairmont 1983, 106; Duffy 2016, 411.

<sup>122</sup> Clairmont 1983, 106; Duffy 2016, 411.

<sup>123</sup> Clairmont 1983, 102; Duffy 2016, 411.

<sup>124</sup> Matthaiou 2003, 198; Duffy 2016, 411.

<sup>125</sup> As had occurred on the battlefield of Marathon, when the “New Marathon Stele” eventually was re-located to at Herodes Atticus’ estate in Eva Loukou. See Chapter 2.

<sup>126</sup> For recent excavations in the area, see Camp 2015, 476-479; Camp and Martens 2020, 628-649. For hydraulic feature, see Camp and Martens 2020, 633-636.

specifically name a race for Pan.<sup>127</sup> While the omission does not mean that the race was no longer run, it would have been nice evidence of continuation of the rite through the end of the century. Regardless, there is little evidence that the races continued.

### *Literary sources*

The decline of Pan's connection to Marathon, as might have been the case if the races had stopped, is also evident in the omission of the Athenian encounter with the god prior to the fighting. The story of the runner meeting Pan is not told in the first century BCE by Cornelius Nepos, who otherwise describes Pheidippides' run to Sparta to ask for support before the fighting.<sup>128</sup> Pan's connection to the battle of Marathon was even more tenuous later, if a statue of Pan that was connected to the Persian wars was transported to Constantinople by Constantine, but later sources attribute the dedication of the original statue to Pausanias of Sparta. Some commemorations of Marathon may have had their connections to the battle lost over time.

Of the aforementioned commemorations, references to the Stoa Poikile and the paintings of Marathon are the best literary examples of how continual change led to lapses in commemoration. After Aeschines and Demosthenes, there are numerous literary references to the painting of the battle in the Stoa. Among these there are various discrepancies regarding why and by whom the building was commissioned, the painter responsible for the depiction of Marathon, and the people represented in the painting.

Miltiades' family's attachment to the public building may have been current in the fifth century, possible due to the statesman Kimon, his son and fellow member of the Philaid

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<sup>127</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 80*.

<sup>128</sup> Cornelius Nepos *Miltiades* 4.

family.<sup>129</sup> It is interesting, however, that sources do not mention the family connection until several centuries later. In the first century BCE, Plutarch indicates that the stoa was originally called the Peisianakteios Stoa, after one of Kimon's relatives.<sup>130</sup> This version persisted in several other sources, as we see in a line from Diogenes Laertius,<sup>131</sup> in the commentary of at least one scholiast,<sup>132</sup> and even as late as Isidore from the late sixth and early seventh century CE<sup>133</sup> and the entry to the Suda from the 10th century CE.<sup>134</sup> Richard Wycherley suggests that the "Peisianakteios" name may have been the original name that was never quite superseded by "Poikile".<sup>135</sup> While possible, evidence of the former appears centuries later than evidence of the latter.

Depending on the ancient source, the painting of Marathon is attributed to various painters: Polygnotos, Panainos, or Mikon.<sup>136</sup> There is not strong evidence of Polygnotos' as the painter of the Marathon scene. These sources seem to depend on the entire set being attributed to Polygnotos, as we saw in Aelian, as well as in a fourth-century CE letter by Synesios, explaining that the panels painted by Polygnotos had been removed.<sup>137</sup> The inclusion of his name is likely a phenomenon of famous artists being attached because of their renown.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> How 1919; Massaro 1978.

<sup>130</sup> Plutarch *Kimon* 4.5-6. See Wycherley 1957, 41 (86).

<sup>131</sup> Diogenes Laertius 7.1.

<sup>132</sup> Schol. Demosthenes, 20.112. See Wycherley 1957, 35 (10).

<sup>133</sup> Isidore *Etymologiae* 8.6.8. See Wycherley 1957, 37 (71).

<sup>134</sup> See Wycherley 1957, 43 (92).

<sup>135</sup> Wycherley 1957, 45 n. 1.

<sup>136</sup> Wycherley 1957, 31 n. 4 and 45 n. 3.

<sup>137</sup> Synesios *Letter* 135. See Wycherley 1957, 43-44 (94).

<sup>138</sup> Wycherley 1957, 45 n. 3.

There are no extant references to the painter of the Marathon scene until the first century CE, when Pliny claims that the painting was by Panainos, the brother of the famous artist Pheidias.<sup>139</sup> Even at that time, multiple artists were connected to the various paintings, as Pliny says that Polygnotos worked in the Stoa as well.<sup>140</sup> There is no evidence that Polygnotos was connected to the painting of Marathon at this time, as Pliny made clear, as did Plutarch a little later.<sup>141</sup> In the next century, Pausanias repeats the claim.<sup>142</sup>

Also in the second century CE, however, Arrian writes that the painting was by the artist Mikon.<sup>143</sup> The attribution to Mikon follows the earlier assertion by Aristophanes in the fifth century BCE, who made the earliest reference to a named painter but only in reference to the painting of the Amazons.<sup>144</sup> In the second or third century CE, Aelian indicates that there was some debate over the painter, as he discusses whether Polygnotos painted the entire composition, or if Mikon was responsible for a scene with a warrior and a dog.<sup>145</sup> This version is found in the fourth century CE, when Sopatros claims that Mikon had been brought to trial in Athens because he had depicted the Greeks smaller than the barbarians.<sup>146</sup> In that same text, there are discussions of Mikon attempting to fix the scale of the figures in the painting, or even that the painting was replaced with one by another artist. Sopatros' reference also resonates with an entry for "Mikon"

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<sup>139</sup> Pliny *Natural History* 35.57. See Wycherley 1957, 41 (84).

<sup>140</sup> Pliny *Natural History* 35.59. See Wycherley 1957, 41 (85).

<sup>141</sup> Plutarch *Kimón* 4.5-6. See Wycherley 1957, 41-42 (86).

<sup>142</sup> Pausanias 5.11.6. See Wycherley 1957, 41 (82).

<sup>143</sup> Arrian *Anabasis* 7.13.5. See Wycherley 1957, 35 (59).

<sup>144</sup> Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, lines 677-679. See Wycherley 1957, 33-34 (55).

<sup>145</sup> Aelian *De Natura Animalium* 7.38. See Wycherley 1957, 31 (47).

<sup>146</sup> Sopatros *Division of Questions* 340. See Wycherley 1957, 42 (89).

in the lexicon of Harpokration from the first or second century CE, which claims that Mikon was fined for a painting, although without mentioning which painting was meant.<sup>147</sup> A similar reference by Pollux in the second century CE, that Mikon was reproached because of his ignorance in depicting the eyelashes of a horse,<sup>148</sup> may indicate an ancient tradition of complaint over Mikon's work.

It is not clear which artist was truly responsible for the painting of Marathon. Nevertheless, ancient sources indicate that any of the aforementioned were plausible candidates at various points. There is a chance that all three could have painted some version of the battle, based on the evidence that the paintings were produced on movable boards.<sup>149</sup> This is especially possible if the fourth-century reference by Sopatros is evidence of a broader tradition that has the work of Mikon openly debated and the possibility of replacing his work explored. If this was not the case, then the fact that the painting was attributed to multiple artists over the centuries between the original paintings and their disappearance indicates a lack of a canonical commemorative tradition, which was itself challenged in every iteration of curated memory.

There are discrepancies regarding who was actually depicted in the painting of Marathon. Aeschines and Demosthenes are the earliest sources on the topic. Demosthenes does not mention any particular individuals, and only says that the Plataians were also in the composition.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Harpokration "*ΜΙΚΩΝ*". See Wycherley 1957, 36-37 (67).

<sup>148</sup> Pollux 2.69. See Wycherley 1957, 42 (88).

<sup>149</sup> Wycherley 1957, 44.

<sup>150</sup> Demosthenes 59.94. See Wycherley 1957, 35 (62).

Aeschines alludes to a depiction of Miltiades,<sup>151</sup> but even this is not expressed with unassailable certainty, however, as the orator tells us that the painting is conspicuously unlabeled.<sup>152</sup>

The next extant reference is by Cornelius Nepos in the first century BCE, who agrees with Aeschines' description of Miltiades in the painting.<sup>153</sup> Nepos adds that Miltiades stands first among the ten generals and is shown urging his men to battle. Thus, we can assume that Miltiades' inclusion was known up to that time, despite the lack of label.

A century later in the first century CE, numerous authors add further details of the painting. Persius describes additions of the enemy Medes,<sup>154</sup> while Pliny reports depictions of Miltiades, Kallimachos, and Kynegiros of Athens, as well as Datis and Artaphrenes of the Persians.<sup>155</sup> Each of these are known from Herodotus,<sup>156</sup> although none had been previously described in the painting in the Stoa Poikile. Assuming that the painting was still unlabeled, at least some knowledge of the depicted persons may have persisted.

Lucian and Pausanias give more details in the second century CE. Lucian refers to the stoa and the depictions of Miltiades and Kynegiros in it, as part of a joke related to the loss orators would suffer if the depictions in the Stoa were not available to them.<sup>157</sup> He gives no

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<sup>151</sup> Aeschines *Against Ktesiphon* 186. See Wycherley 1957, 32 (49).

<sup>152</sup> There is second century CE evidence of at least one labelled figure in the paintings in the stoa, but not specifically relating to the picture of Marathon. Zenobios 4.28. See Wycherley 1957, 44 (96).

<sup>153</sup> Cornelius Nepos *Miltiades* 6. See Wycherley 1957, 39 (79).

<sup>154</sup> Persius 3.52-5. See Wycherley 1957, 41 (83).

<sup>155</sup> Pliny *Natural History* 35.57. See Wycherley 1957, 42 (84).

<sup>156</sup> Kynegiros: Herodotus 6.114; Kallimachos: Herodotus 6.109-114; Datis: Herodotus 6.94-120; Artaphrenes: Herodotus 6.1-120.

<sup>157</sup> Lucian *Jupiter Tragoedus* 15.16.32. See Wycherley 1957, 38 (76).

indication of the others that had been previously mentioned, but instead focuses on two well-known Athenians.

Perhaps the most famous description of the painting of the battle of Marathon is by Pausanias.<sup>158</sup> He says that groups of Plataians, Athenians and Persians are depicted evenly balanced. He names the mortal combatants Kallimachos and Miltiades, as well as the divine or heroic Marathon, Theseus, Echetlos, Athena, and Herakles. Among the mortals, although Miltiades and Kallimachos are mentioned, Kynegiros is absent, as are all mentions of the named enemies. Pausanias gives the first evidence of non-mortal actors in the scene, all well-established in Athenian mythology. Even the little-known hero Echetlos, who Pausanias says appeared on the field and mowed down many enemies with a plough before disappearing,<sup>159</sup> is included in the list highlighting the Athenian character of the collection.

The grouping is emended by Aelian in the second or third century CE. He relates a heart-warming story of a warrior and his dog who were included in the depiction and honored in the same way as Kynegiros, Epizelos, and Kallimachos. Miltiades is not included in this list, nor any of the gods or heroes. The mortal Epizelos was included, however, whom we know about from Herodotus' account as well.<sup>160</sup> This may be evidence of slippage in the sure identifications of the depicted as they became less known over time, perhaps due to the lack of labels.

While some discrepancies may be explained by the choice of the author and what they hoped to express, others might indicate a lapse in the commemoration at the Stoa. A scholiast to Aristeides relates that Miltiades is depicted with his arm outstretched, urging his men to

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<sup>158</sup> Pausanias 1.15-16. See Wycherley 1957, 40 (80).

<sup>159</sup> Pausanias 1.32.5.

<sup>160</sup> Herodotus 6.117.

attack.<sup>161</sup> This repeats the interpretation from the first century by Cornelius Nepos.<sup>162</sup> While this could be the same figure identified as Miltiades first mentioned by Aeschines, the description could also be fitting to Kynegiros, who was well known to have lost his hand in the battle and was apparently depicted with his arms outstretched in the moment before being losing his hand.<sup>163</sup>

As previously argued, the process of contesting and updating commemoration inevitably led to confusion. This can be seen in how ancient authors disagree with the origins of the stoa and the paintings within it, assign responsibility for the depiction of Marathon to a shifting group of artists, and in their inconsistencies over who was depicted in the painting. This could lead to situations like an example from a scholiast to Gregory Nazianzenos, a philosopher of the fourth century CE, who appears to have trouble deciding whether there was a painting that depicted Marathon or Salamis in the Stoa.<sup>164</sup>

Monuments and buildings that had no prior association with the battle gained the connection in some literary sources. In the second century CE, Pausanias linked the temple of Eukleia in the Agora to Marathon, although in the previous century Plutarch had first tied it to the battle of Plataia. Pausanias also connects the bronze statue of Athena Promachos on the Acropolis to Marathon, although Demosthenes in the fourth century BCE had made the connection to the wider Persian wars.<sup>165</sup> Pausanias also says that there is a Plataian statue of

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<sup>161</sup> Schol. Aristeides 46.174. See Wycherley 1957, 33 (54).

<sup>162</sup> Cornelius Nepos *Miltiades* 6. See Wycherley 1957, 39 (79).

<sup>163</sup> Herodotus 6.14.

<sup>164</sup> Schol. Gregory of Nazianzos *Contra Julianum* 1. See Wycherley 36 (66).

<sup>165</sup> Pausanias 1.28.1. Palagia 2013; Shear 2016; Foley and Stroud 2019, especially 143-144 and 144 n. 196.



Athena at Plataia that was also funded by spoils from Marathon,<sup>166</sup> although there is no other evidence of this.

Monuments that had some connection to Marathon began to shape their surroundings, as we see in the second-century CE author Lucian, who quotes his mentor Demonax in quipping that a one-handed bronze statue in front of the Stoa Poikile was a belated honoring of Kynegiros.<sup>167</sup> Kynegiros is known from Herodotus as a famous Athenian who had his hand cut off as he grabbed one of the Persian ships.<sup>168</sup> Other than this reference, there is no other evidence of a statue of Kynegiros. Rather than reporting a fact, it might be that Lucian merely reported a joke that his teacher had once said, in reference to a statue that just happened to be one-handed or broken at the rest.

The historicity of Aeschylus' tomb and inscription had faded, perhaps as early as the time of Pausanias. Although our earliest reference to Aeschylus' death places him in Gela, and Plutarch relates his inscription as naming the city, Pausanias either misrepresents the inscription or provides unreliable information. At any rate, by the time of Athenaios' text in the third century CE, Aeschylus' ties to Gela do not seem to matter much, as the tomb and epitaph belong entirely to imaginary space.

At a certain point, the memory of Marathon was useful not so much as an example of Athenian fame, but also simply for keeping time. The process had already started by the fifth century BCE, when Thucydides uses the battle of Marathon to count the years between

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<sup>166</sup> Pausanias 9.4.1-2.

<sup>167</sup> Lucian *Demonax* 53. See Wycherley 1957, 37 (72).

<sup>168</sup> Herodotus 6.14. The story of Kynegiros developed over time, e.g. Plutarch *Parallela Minora* 1. He was reportedly the brother of the playwright Aeschylus.

subsequent events.<sup>169</sup> There are several other examples of this use of the memory of Marathon as an historical milestone in literary sources.<sup>170</sup> We see this in the inclusion on the Parian marble is physical evidence that the battle had become a counting point in some contexts by the third century BCE.<sup>171</sup>

## **Spatial considerations: Athens and Marathon**

### *Early Commemorations in Central Spaces*

The three earliest physical commemorations of Marathon stood in prominent locations in Athens. Two were dedicated on the Acropolis, the metaphorical center of the city.<sup>172</sup> The inscribed helmet was dedicated here, likely during the complex period marked by changes in the city at the start of the fifth century BCE. The dedication here would fit the pattern defined by Janett Schröder's reconstruction of the development of the dedications following victory, as she argues that late Archaic and early Classical dedications of captured booty could be categorized as relics rather than monuments,<sup>173</sup> but eventually developed as means of verifying historical events by the inclusion of inscriptions.<sup>174</sup> While the location of the dedication on the Acropolis would be fitting, as would the type of dedication following victory in battle, there is still little firm evidence to support the interpretation that the helmet was a dedication following the battle of

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<sup>169</sup> Thucydides 1.18.

<sup>170</sup> E.g., Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 22.

<sup>171</sup> Parian marble A48. Rotstein 2016.

<sup>172</sup> Hurwit (1999, 10) describes it as the “easily defensible, relatively water-rich rock that would dominate the political, military, religious and cultural history of Athens—the hub of what the oracle of Delphi knew as ‘the wheel-shaped city’”.

<sup>173</sup> Schröder 2020, 28.

<sup>174</sup> Schröder 2020, 43.

Marathon. That being said, although the helmet's connection to Marathon is not secure, its presence on the Acropolis shows the potential of the dedicatory space. The martial dedication need not be directly connected to the single victory.

The Kallimachos Inscription Monument was also dedicated on the Acropolis. More precisely, based on preserved cuttings in the bedrock of the Acropolis, it appears that the monument was located in a prominent place to the northwest of the predecessor to the Parthenon.<sup>175</sup> It is possible that the monument was already standing in this location prior to the addition of the inscription. In this case, it could be that the monument was chosen for the conspicuous position. It is also possible that the monument was placed here after it had been inscribed, although there is no way to determine this.

The prominence of the location may have been the reason for the inscription. Rather than assuming that the monument was already connected to Kallimachos or those friendly to him after the battle, it is just as likely that the monument was simply re-appropriated as a vehicle for a new message after the victory at Marathon. The evidence of this type of manipulation of dedications is limited, but there are well-known examples.<sup>176</sup> Nevertheless, it is likely that the act of inscribing the column reflected contemporary Athenian politics in some way, whether the inscription was a confirmation and continuation of a message or an appropriation of a separate message.<sup>177</sup>

The Acropolis location gained greater prominence from the nearby predecessor to the Parthenon, the structure that was destroyed in the Persian sacks of Athens in 480 BCE. This late-

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<sup>175</sup> Shefton 1950; Keesling 2010, 101.

<sup>176</sup> E.g., a pedestal on the Athenian Acropolis that was built to support a dedication from Eumenes and Attalos of Pergamon was reused as a base of a statue of Agrippa (see Camp 2001, 172-173).

<sup>177</sup> Shefton 1950, 160-163; Keesling 2010.

Archaic to early-Classical building may have been inspired by the victory at Marathon itself, but this connection is only confirmed in later sources and is probably an example of a monument gaining additional meanings over time. Regardless, the pre-Parthenon was a symbol of Athenian wealth at the start of the fifth century, which would have granted additional prestige to the monuments in the vicinity.<sup>178</sup>

A decade after the victory at Marathon, the city of Athens was twice sacked by the Persians during the rule of Xerxes. While this is well known from ancient sources, it is also attested in the archaeological record, in a layer of destruction commonly referred to as the *Perserschutt*, or Persian debris.<sup>179</sup> On the Athenian Acropolis, much of the debris is associated with the cleaning of the destruction after the invasion, up to the mid-century construction projects associated with the politician Pericles. After this re-imagining of the space, the Athenian Acropolis could be considered a “dissertation of victory” in general, rather than a space of dedications for single battles.<sup>180</sup> The monuments on the Acropolis coincided with developments in the area that had begun around the turn of the century.<sup>181</sup>

Both the helmet and Kallimachos Inscription Monument were ultimately buried in the Acropolis fills from the clean-up of the Persian sack in 480 BCE. It is notable that they were not restored and re-erected in the later fifth century, since there is literary evidence from Herodotus that some pre-Persian dedications still existed and were displayed in his time.<sup>182</sup> We can only

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<sup>178</sup> Tschira 1972; Drerup 1981; Korres 1994; Korres 1997; Keesling 2010, 101.

<sup>179</sup> *Perserschutt*: see above 327 n. 60; Shefton 1950, 140; Stewart 2008b, 2008c.

<sup>180</sup> Hurwit 1999, 153.

<sup>181</sup> Paga 2017.

<sup>182</sup> Herodotus 5.77.

speculate as to why: were they damaged? did they not fit into the later designs regarding the layout of the space?

In contrast with these dedications, the Marathon Epigram Monument was not dedicated on the Acropolis. Parts of the monument have been found in the Athenian Agora and the surrounding areas, as well as in the Roman Agora and the Kerameikos, indicating these as the two most likely areas in which it stood. While both interpretations are hypothetical and it is not possible to place the monument with the Marathon epigrams with any certainty, I think the Kerameikos the most likely.

Each scenario would entail different spatial considerations. On the one hand, if the Marathon Epigram Monument stood in the Agora after the 470s BCE, then the monument would have stood in the civic heart of Athens that developed after the Persian wars. It would have stood in a central part of the city, where later commemorations were placed, such as the paintings in the Stoa Poikile. Some scholars have placed the monument near a monument of the Tyrannicides.<sup>183</sup> The monument would also stand in relation with the developing monuments of the Acropolis, especially those on the north face.

On the other hand, the monument may have stood in the Kerameikos. The fact that some fragments were found in the area has prompted some scholars to place the monument there, based on the likelihood that objects from the Kerameikos would migrate into the Agora, rather than the other way around.<sup>184</sup> Although outside the city proper, the Kerameikos was a potent commemorative space for the city, where most war casualties were buried.<sup>185</sup> In this context, the

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<sup>183</sup> Baltes 2020.

<sup>184</sup> Matthaïou 2003, 195-196.

<sup>185</sup> See Arrington 2014.

monument was likely a cenotaph associated with the Demosion Sema.<sup>186</sup> As such, it would associate the Marathon dead with the dead from other conflicts. At the same time, the monument would highlight the absence of the actual dead, since they were famously buried on the battlefield. This location would also place the monument in an area that visitors to the city would traverse before entering the city itself, granting another sort of primacy to the commemoration.

Although there is a difference between these two spaces, the Marathon inscription monument would have stood in a potent commemorative space within Athens. Whether a cenotaph in the Kerameikos, or simply as a reminder in the Agora, the monument could be seen as part of the official actions to commemorate the battle of Marathon.

The Acropolis dedications seem more similar to other initial commemorations following the battle, such as the dedication at Olympia of the bronze helmet inscribed by Miltiades. Both the helmet and the inscription on the column monument connect the battle of Marathon to influential individuals rather than to the city of Athens at large. On the other hand, the Marathon Epigram Monument celebrates a larger contingency of Athenians, lumping all Athenians together in the glory of their defense of Greece.

The earliest literary reference has different spatial implications than the contemporary physical evidence. Aeschylus shows how the battle had begun to be remembered by 472 BCE. Setting aside the plot and content of the play for a moment, the setting must have been striking. The on-the-ground reality of post-480 Athens saw a largely damaged city, including prominent buildings, structures, and dedications that had stood on the Acropolis. Although nearly a decade after the retreat of the Persians, the wounds of the sack were doubtless present in 472 BCE, whether physical scars that marred the city space or those of the people within it, physical or

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<sup>186</sup> Matthaïou 2003.

otherwise. If the staging occurred in the theater of Dionysos on the slopes of the Acropolis, as is likely, then the remains of a semi-ruined Acropolis served as the backdrop to the entire production, as the actors performed towards an audience that literally sat among ruins. Such a setting would have underscored the dramatic message of the play, reconstructing and recasting the recent martial antagonist into a dramatic protagonist. I wonder how this would have resonated with the Athenian audience, especially in lines that claim that Athens remained unsacked because of the persistence of her population.<sup>187</sup>

Aeschylus, by referring to Marathon in a play from the perspective of the Persians defeated at Salamis and Plataia, pushes the commemoration of the earlier battle beyond Athens and Athenian spaces. Not only does Aeschylus see that the triumph should be cast alongside other Greek victories, he also imagines that Marathon had become famous beyond Greece and a topic of conversation even in the royal courts of Persia.<sup>188</sup>

By the time of Aeschylus' play, the commemoration of the battle of Marathon had already shifted to an increasingly official account, as credit and pride for the victory was granted to a growing range of participants. It is similar to the dedications categorized as official commemoration, such as the items on the Athenian Acropolis, the gilded bronze helmet inscribed at Olympia, or the other Athenian citizen-centric dedications at Delphi. Just as was apparent in sanctuary spaces, there was an inherent tension regarding the credit over the victory, and what the victory meant. In all, the early dedications were structured and designed in conceived space, as an official version of the meaning of Marathon to an Athenian audience developed.

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<sup>187</sup> Aeschylus *Persians*, lines 337-348.

<sup>188</sup> There is a possibility that the play was put on in Sicily as well, pushing the commemoration even further abroad. See Smith 2018.

*The Developing Spaces of Curated, Contested, and Lapsed Commemoration*

Upon establishment, the commemorations that evoked official versions of the meaning of Marathon were immediately available to be confronted. The dedications on the Acropolis were physically contested and then obscured, first destroyed or damaged and then buried in the fills as the Acropolis developed. In contrast, the Marathon Epigram Monument, which was part of events for ephebes in the second century BCE and probably earlier, was continually renewed with iterative practices.

There may have been spatial reasons for the disparity, in addition to aesthetic, political, or other reasons. On the one hand, depositing the dedications in the various fills of the Acropolis shows that the available space was scarce. On the other, the Marathon Epigram Monument may have stood relatively undisturbed in the Kerameikos, since the space continued to function as a commemorative space for the war dead. Moreover, as a marker of a cenotaph, the monument would have had a relatively small physical footprint.

There are also the commemorations that later developed associations with the battle, such as the sanctuaries of Pan and Artemis Agrotera. The sanctuary of Pan was a well-known place on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis by the end of the fifth century BCE. The location of the cave, itself unmovable because it is based on a geological feature, would have resonated with the constructions on the Acropolis, such as the earlier monuments that stood before the 480 sack, as well as the later developments of the fifth century, especially those on the north slopes that highlighted the Persian destructions of the 480 sack of Athens.<sup>189</sup>

There is no physical evidence of a connection to Marathon, but even with the lack of corroborating material, it is reasonable to expect that some association with the battle would

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<sup>189</sup> Ferrari 2002; Pakkanen 2006. Kousser 2009.



have been understood by many visitors given the frequency of references in literary sources. The association might have been blurred by the Acropolis structures, as the space developed as a space to celebrate Athenian victory in general. Later developments around the sanctuary, such as the Klepsydra and the occasional races, indicates that there were some efforts to maintain the vitality of the space. The inconsistency as to whether the sanctuary and attendant activities were related to Marathon, however, probably indicates that there was not a centralized effort to maintain that particular aspect.

There are similarities regarding the trajectory of Artemis Agrotera's association with Marathon. As with Pan, there is no physical evidence of Artemis Agrotera's connection to the battle, but only literary references. Also like the case of Pan, although the association may have been strong at various points, it blurred as time progressed. This is despite a difference in the spaces of the respective sanctuaries.

The sanctuary and rituals to Artemis Agrotera occurred in a city space slightly outside the walls of Athens and away from the central areas of the city. In conjunction with the activities in the Kerameikos and on the Acropolis, this shows the geographic distribution of the commemoration of the battle in the city.

Finally, the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile both influenced and was influenced by its surroundings. It was included among a set of paintings of the famous events in Athenian mythology and history, inviting juxtaposition and comparison with the likes of the sack of Troy or an Amazonomachy. The building itself was set in the Agora, in one of the central areas of the city, and literally defined the northern extreme of the space.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> See Martin-McAuliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, 349-351.

The painting also influenced its surroundings. It hung as part of a set which included a depiction of a little-known battle at Oinoe, which was probably elevated by being in the company of the more famous events.<sup>191</sup> In addition, there was at least one occasion of the painting of the battle inspiring an identification of a nearby statue, in the anecdote describing a one-handed statue as a depiction of Kynegiros.

There are several examples of the painting as a commemoration enacted in lived space. An early example is Aeschines' story about the depiction of Miltiades being known by bystanders, when he imagines that an audience prompted with the question "Who was the general?" (*τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός;*) would all answer "Miltiades", even though it is not written there (*Μιλτιάδης: ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται*). From Aeschines' perspective, foreknowledge of the victorious general led to a correct attribution of the depiction. In other words, it did not matter what the painting looked like. Likewise, Lucian's anecdote about his mentor Demonax, who identifies a statue of Kynegiros. In the narrative, the only identifying feature of the statue is that it lacked a hand. Both of these identifications were prompted by a question and delivered based on the knowledge of the person responding.

Regardless of the space in which they are dedicated, commemorations are liable to be engaged with, discussed, or otherwise confronted as soon as they have been established.

## LEUKTRA

Most extant evidence of commemoration of the battle of Leuktra in city spaces comes from literary sources, mostly belonging to the stages of curated and lapsed memory. There is no physical evidence of the initial or official stages of commemoration, and only one inscribed stele

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<sup>191</sup> See Francis and Vickers 1985; Taylor 1998; Stewart 2018, 305-306.

from a later stage. This availability of material commemorating Leuktra contrasts with the situation that we saw with the commemoration of Marathon, for which there is more evidence for the decades immediately after the battle.<sup>192</sup>

### *Physical Evidence*

As far as we can tell, the sole physical evidence of commemoration of the battle of Leuktra in a city space comes from Thebes with the stele inscribed with the Xenokrates inscription (**Figure 6.6**).<sup>193</sup> The inscription reads:

**Ξενοκράτης,  
Θεόπομπος,  
Μνασίλαος.**  
άνικα τὸ Σπάρτας ἐκράτει δόρυ, τηνάκις εἶλεν  
**Ξενοκράτης** κλάρῳι Ζηνὶ τροπαῖα φέρειν  
οὐ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρώτα δείσας στόλον οὐδὲ Λάκαιναν  
ἀσπίδα. "**Θηβαῖοι** κρείσσονες ἐν πολέμῳ"  
καρύσσει Λεύκτροις νικαφόρα δουρὶ τροπαῖα,  
**οὐδ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα δεύτεροι ἐδράμομεν.**

**Xenokrates  
Theopompos  
Mnasilaos**  
When the Spartan spear ruled, then **Xenokrates**  
took by lot to bear the trophy to Zeus  
not fearing the weapon from the Eurotas nor Lakainian  
shield. "The **Thebans** are better in war"  
the victory-by-spear-bearing trophy at Leuktra heralds,  
**nor did we run second to Epameinondas.**

- IG VII 2462, text from Rhodes and Osborne 30, translation mine.

There has been disagreement about the monument since its discovery in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, centering on its function, dating, and interpretation of the inscription.<sup>194</sup> It has been interpreted as a grave marker on account of the lack of evidence that it supported a statue or stele, as well as no

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<sup>192</sup> Tod 1948, 93; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 151; Ferrario 2014, 270-272.

<sup>193</sup> IG VII 2462; see Chapter 3, p. 146.

<sup>194</sup> See Papazarkadas 2016, 142-144.

allusion in the text to itself as a dedication.<sup>195</sup> This is a reasonable interpretation, although there are scholars who believe the monument was dedicatory rather than funerary.<sup>196</sup> The findspot does not help establish the primary function. The inscription was found in the lower city of Thebes, although it is not possible to establish exactly where it stood in antiquity.

Although once securely believed to date to within a few years after the battle in 371 BCE,<sup>197</sup> a recent analysis has pushed the dating later into the fourth century or into the early third century BCE.<sup>198</sup> According to this reconstruction, the monument must postdate the refoundation of Thebes in 315 BCE, making it more than 50 years later than the battle itself.

It is possible that the monument replaced one that had stood in the middle years of the fourth century, but that had been destroyed or otherwise lost at some point, likely in Alexander's sack of Thebes in 335 BCE.<sup>199</sup> Nikolaos Papazarkadas prefers this explanation because it explains why the epigram only refers to a single man, when there are three names in the heading of the inscription.<sup>200</sup> If so, the monument would be evidence of the official commemoration of the battle in Thebes. A second possibility is that the monument did not replace an original, but rather was created in the fourth century BCE or later. Even so, the inscription may have stood as a "replacement" for an imagined original monument. In both scenarios, the Xenokrates inscription should belong in the third stage of commemoration. It was either a replacement that

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<sup>195</sup> Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 150-151.

<sup>196</sup> Tuplin (1987, 94 n. 72) gives two examples of scholars who considered the monument to be dedicatory from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; the consensus appears to have landed on a funerary inscription. But Ferrario 2014, disagrees.

<sup>197</sup> Koumanoudes 1877; Tod 1946; Rhodes and Osborne 2003.

<sup>198</sup> Papazarkadas 2016, 142-146.

<sup>199</sup> Papazarkadas 2016, 145.

<sup>200</sup> Papazarkadas 2016, 146 and 203 n. 98.

re-instated a commemoration, or it was a new monument that functioned in a similar way. As such, this monument was a later effort of the fourth century BCE to continue the commemoration of Leuktra. If it replaced an actual monument, then the new inscription was a type of perpetuation of the past that pushed a particular memory into later periods. If it was not a replacement, then the monument and inscription represent a curation of a selected portion of the past, possibly to the benefit of the named honorees or their families, or even for a wider contingency of Thebans that we cannot know for certain.

Some have argued that the inscription was actually an attempt to correct history, thus functioning as a means of curating a preferred version of the past.<sup>201</sup> In this interpretation, the naming of these three Thebans, as opposed to the more famous Epameinondas or Pelopidas, both aggrandized the dedicators while also limiting the influence of their more famous counterparts.

The form of the monument and the content of the inscription would be fitting. Physically, the names of the dedicators stand out due to placement at the top of the stele and carved in much larger letters. The names starkly contrast with the name of Epameinondas, which ends the inscription and is written in much smaller lettering. The form of the text is also fitting in a monumental setting, as the epigram is written in elegiac couplets.<sup>202</sup>

Looking closer at the body of the text itself, the names of Xenokrates and Epameinondas indicate they are the most important features in the of the inscription. The omission of Theopompos and Mnasilaos may only have been intended to fit the meter, however, as all three are compared to Epameinondas in the final clause, because of the verb (first person plural).

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<sup>201</sup> Ferrario 2014, 271-272.

<sup>202</sup> Ferrario 2014, 271-272.

### *Literary evidence*

In the case of Leuktra, the literary references to the battle that are roughly contemporary come from non-Theban sources, namely the Athenians Isokrates and Xenophon. Isokrates' speeches were likely delivered in the context of mid-fourth century BCE Athens. In this particular, decidedly Athenian, context, the battle of Leuktra is often remembered in moralizing terms: as the point where Spartan power was broken;<sup>203</sup> a highpoint of Theban power which ultimately led to imperial overreach and subsequent fall to Macedon;<sup>204</sup> or as a means to explain the power dynamics of the fourth century, as a stationary point in the narrative of the limitations on Sparta, Thebes and Athens, combined with an ascendant Macedon.<sup>205</sup> A second near-contemporary literary reference comes from Xenophon, who presented the Spartan reaction to news of the battle.<sup>206</sup> As was the case with Isokrates, Xenophon presents a perspective that is largely Athenian and that ignores the Theban or Boiotian experience of the outcome.<sup>207</sup> In both cases, the city spaces of Thebes, Athens or Sparta do not matter for the commemoration of the battle, although the speeches were delivered in Athens.

The evidence for the first commemorations of Leuktra in city spaces is literary. According to Xenophon, there were dispatches from the field, sent to Athens, Sparta, and Jason of Pherai.<sup>208</sup> The dispatches themselves should be categorized as initial or official outcomes of

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<sup>203</sup> Isokrates 15.110.

<sup>204</sup> Isokrates 8.100.

<sup>205</sup> Isokrates 5.47.

<sup>206</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.

<sup>207</sup> This is true of most references to Thebes and the battle of Leuktra, as well as the focus of much of the scholarship. See Shrimpton 1971, especially 317.

<sup>208</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.

the battle undertaken by the Thebans, Xenophon's report should be considered differently. As a later text, it is probable that the exact story of the reports from the field are in some way dramatized for Xenophon's narrative and audience. It must also be noted that Xenophon does not view the events from a Theban perspective, but rather from a perspective of wider Greece at best, but most likely as an Athenian, albeit one with favorable views of Sparta.<sup>209</sup> While he is probably reporting events that actually happened, Xenophon's narrative presents an updated version of history for his own purposes.

According to Xenophon, each received the news differently. The Spartans reacted to news of their defeat in a strange manner. The news arrived during the middle of a festival, and although it caused distress, the Spartans did not stop the celebration. The women of the families of the slain were prohibited from openly grieving, and instead the families were made to go out in public with cheerful faces. In contrast, the families of the survivors, were either not seen or had their faces downcast.<sup>210</sup> This contrasted with the reception at Athens and Pherai, cities which were either current or potential allies. Athens chose to wait before committing to working with Thebes, but Jason of Pherai sought to take control of the relationship.<sup>211</sup>

There is sporadic literary evidence of commemoration after the fourth century BCE. The tone of the commemoration of Leuktra depends on the source and the intended audience. In addition to the sources that describe how the battle was received in various places, there are several later references that mock the Thebans for their pride after the battle. Plutarch accuses the Thebans of strutting around like boys that had beaten their tutors,<sup>212</sup> and quips that a person who

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<sup>209</sup> For Xenophon's generally positive attitude towards Sparta, see Powell and Richer 2020.

<sup>210</sup> Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.16. Compare this to Thucydides 2.45, during Perikles' funeral oration.

<sup>211</sup> Athens: Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.19-20; Jason of Pherai: Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.4.20-25.

<sup>212</sup> Plutarch *Lykourgos* 30.6.

talks too much about Leuktra was liable to be called “Epameinondas” mockingly.<sup>213</sup> Similarly, Athenaios claims that the Boiotians feasted and partied so much after the victory that they lost their alliance with Megara.<sup>214</sup>

Plutarch, in his biography of Agesilaos in the first or second century CE, repeats and amends Xenophon’s description of the reception of the news of the battle in Sparta.<sup>215</sup> Plutarch adds that the survivors of the defeat were to be shamed and largely blocked from public life following Spartan custom, but that Agesilaos granted them leniency.<sup>216</sup> Because he is only focused on the famous Spartan lawgiver, Plutarch does not say anything about other messages that had been sent after the Theban victory at Leuktra.

Pausanias described an actual dedication as a commemoration of Leuktra at Thebes. He claimed that bronze shields, reportedly from Lakedaimonians that died at Leuktra, were hung in Thebes.<sup>217</sup> Pausanias saw them in the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros, a building which he was told was once the house of the legendary first king of Thebes, Kadmos. Pausanias qualifies both of these statements and twice emphasizes that these details were told to him (*λέγουσι* and *φασίν*), indicating word-of-mouth identification that he may not have been sure of. It is possible that these were truly dedications that had been made after the battle and that had survived Alexander’s sack of Thebes and a later six centuries, but even Pausanias seems skeptical.

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<sup>213</sup> Plutarch *De Garrulitate* 22.

<sup>214</sup> Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 11.

<sup>215</sup> Plutarch *Agesilaos* 29.

<sup>216</sup> Plutarch *Agesilaos* 30; Plutarch *Apophthegmata Laconica* 2.

<sup>217</sup> Pausanias 9.16.5.



There are also other allusions to commemorations of Leuktra, some of which were imaginary, that were not mentioned in earlier sources. Authors after the first century BCE discuss Epameinondas' pride after Leuktra and his wishes for it to be included in the inscription on his tomb. In the first century BCE, Cornelius Nepos tells a story that was set in Epameinondas' life, when the Theban general describes what he would like inscribed on his tomb.<sup>218</sup> In the story, Epameinondas, along with other Theban generals, is put on trial at Thebes because he had delayed orders for the transfer of military power until after victory in campaigns in the Peloponnese. In the trial he insists that the blame was entirely his own and does not try to defend his actions. Instead, he only describes what he would like inscribed on his tomb:

Epaminondas a Thebanis morte multatus est, quod eos coegit apud Leuctra superare Lacedaemonios, quos ante se imperatorem nemo Boeotorum ausus fuit aspicere in acie, quodque uno proelio non solum Thebas ab interitu retraxit, sed etiam universam Graeciam in libertatem vindicavit eoque res utrorumque perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam oppugnarent, Lacedaemonii satis haberent, si salvi esse possent, neque prius bellare destitit quam, Messene restituta, urbem eorum obsidione clausit

Epameinondas was condemned to death by the Thebans because at Leuktra he compelled them to vanquish the Lakedaimonians, whom before he took command no Boeotian had dared to face in battle, and because in a single contest he not only saved Thebes from destruction, but also secured freedom for all Greece and so changed the situation of the contending parties that the Thebans attacked the Lakedaimonians, while the Lakedaimonians were satisfied with being able to save themselves; and he did not bring the war to an end until by the restoration of Messene he placed Sparta in a state of siege.

-Cornelius Nepos *Epameinondas* 8.3-5, Loeb translation by Rolfe 1929.

According to Cornelius Nepos, Epameinondas used the memory of Leuktra to his benefit, while imagining the inscription on his tomb.

The theme of the fictional monument is repeated by Appian in the second century CE,<sup>219</sup> as well as by Plutarch.<sup>220</sup> Plutarch does not mention the scene in detail, but only the setting. His biography focusses on Pelopidas, however, which may explain the omission of the anecdote

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<sup>218</sup> Cornelius Nepos *Epameinondas* 8.

<sup>219</sup> Appian *Roman History* 11.7.41.

<sup>220</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 25.

about Epameinondas. Appian only alludes to the anecdote, as part of a comparison to the Roman general Scipio. Appian reports Epameinondas' desired inscription as:

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ Λεῦκτρα νικήσας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν, οὐδ' εἴ τις ξένος  
ἔχοι Λακωνικὸν πῦλον, ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν προαγαγών. οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνήρηται,  
παρανομήσας ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος.

Here is the man that was victorious at Leuktra and led his country up to Sparta itself, although [his country] was not standing against these enemies, not even if some stranger wore a Lakonian cap. He was killed by his country, because he broke the law for the benefit of the country.

-Appian *Roman History* 11.7.41

There are clear differences among these sources. The quote from Appian is much shorter and has fewer details than that of Cornelius Nepos, and it focuses on Epameinondas' victory at Leuktra entirely. Perhaps Appian strove for simplicity in order to be chronologically consistent, as both Appian and Plutarch imagine a time frame that was narrower than Cornelius Nepos. They both set the scene before the campaigns of the 360s and the later victory at the battle of Mantinea, where Epameinondas died in 362 BCE.

This was an anecdote of a monument that was imaginary in antiquity. It was meant to be placed in Thebes, assuming that Epameinondas was put to death there, and it was meant to highlight his accomplishment at Leuktra.<sup>221</sup> Ultimately, there was no occasion for it to exist since Epameinondas was acquitted, then went on to fight and die victorious at Mantinea. Pausanias describes his tomb as he saw it on the battlefield at Mantinea.<sup>222</sup> According to the geographer, the tomb was topped by a pillar, which was decorated with a shield and a carving of a serpent. It was then covered by two stones which bore inscriptions, an older one with a Boiotian inscription and a newer with an inscription from the emperor Hadrian. Because Pausanias does not report the text, we do not know what the inscriptions read and if they were anything like Cornelius

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<sup>221</sup> Reminiscent of the inscription on Aeschylus' tomb, mentioned above.

<sup>222</sup> Pausanias 8.11.7.

Nepos or Appian imagined Epameinondas wanted. There is some reason to think that it would not have mentioned Leuktra, since in his visit to Thebes, Pausanias sees a statue of Epameinondas whose inscription did not mention any battles.<sup>223</sup> Instead, the inscription celebrates Epameinondas' role in defeating Sparta and founding the cities of Megalopolis and Messene in the Peloponnese.

There is also an example of a painting in Thebes, described by Plutarch.<sup>224</sup> This painting was not intended to depict the battle of Leuktra, but rather an earlier and unrelated battle. According to Plutarch, an orator named Menekleidas persuaded the Thebans to label this painting with the name of the general Charon, hoping in vain to obscure the fame of Epameinondas and Pelopidas, his political adversaries. While the battle of Leuktra is not explicitly the source of their fame, it is the only named conflict and its fighting serves as a point of reference between the time of the depicted battle and that of the anecdote. In a strange way, Menekleidas' attempt to downplay the fame of Leuktra backfired and only reinforced the importance of the battle.

Finally, there is a third-century CE reference from Hermogenes of Tarsus, who claims that after Alexander's sack of the city in 335 BCE, 3000 Thebans were sold to the Lakedaemonians to be sacrificed at the trophy on the battlefield.<sup>225</sup> In a way, this is a mnemonic practice that curated the memory of the battle, as the Lakedaemonians sought to punish the city of Thebes and its citizens in order to avenge their defeat at Leuktra.

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<sup>223</sup> Pausanias 9.15.6.

<sup>224</sup> Plutarch *Pelopidas* 25.

<sup>225</sup> Hermogenes *On Issues* 3.15.68.

The commemoration of Leuktra in city spaces took a different form than that of Marathon. This can be explained in several different ways. First, there are the changes that happened over the time span between the two battles. Not only were there countless developments, as well as many other battles commemorated in city spaces, in the nearly 120 years between the battle of Leuktra and Marathon, but there were also changes in the status of the cities, for instance Athens was sacked twice by the Persians in 480 and later besieged by the Peloponnesians during the Peloponnesian War. In addition to time, there is also a difference in the participants. As the Athenians defeated the Persians at Marathon and the Thebans defeated the Spartans at Leuktra, we should expect variations in how the respective battles are remembered in the victorious and defeated spaces. Finally, the surviving evidence, both physical and literary, must play a large role in modern analysis. Athens and Thebes, as well as some cities of ancient Persia and Sparta, have been excavated, but Athens most extensively. Similarly, literary sources favor Athenian perspectives, whether because those are the more abundant extant texts from the fifth and fourth century, or because later authors seem to know more about Athens than most other places.

### **Spatial Considerations: Leuktra at Thebes and Other Cities**

#### *Leuktra at Thebes*

The lone extant physical monument, the Xenokrates inscription, does not provide much information other than that it stood in Thebes, since there is little known about it and its place in the city. The inscription itself refers to the trophy on the field of Leuktra, which speaks out in praise of all Thebans. In this way, the monument connects the battlefield to the city space, as the trophy seems to celebrate Thebans in Thebes itself.

This is similar to the case of the shields of the Lakedaimonians, reported by Pausanias as being displayed in the city. In a sense, as objects from the field the shields would have brought the battlefield into the city. These were supposedly placed in a place of historic significance, in the house of a mythical king of the city. These details were reported to Pausanias, as he himself emphasizes.

### *Space, Time, and Points of View*

The earliest Athenian source, Xenophon, reported dispatches sent from the battlefield to the city spaces of Sparta, Athens, and Pherai. This emphasized the separation of Leuktra from these places. The spatial distance also fits in with temporal distance, as the Spartans apparently delayed reacting to the news and continued their festival, and the Athenians delayed their reaction until they could determine how they should best proceed. This differs from Plutarch's version later, where neither temporal nor spatial distance matter. Instead, the Spartan defeat is immediately felt and shamed, such that Lykourgos must intervene.

## **CHAIRONEIA**

As was the case with sanctuary spaces, there is very little evidence of commemoration of the battle of Chaironeia in city spaces. There is no physical evidence of commemorations in city spaces either of the defeated Athens and Thebes, or the victorious Macedonians. Even literary sources give information only about the spaces of the defeated, with very little interest in Macedonian spaces.

The earliest commemorations of Chaironeia date to soon after the battle. The sources do not stem from the perspective of the victorious Macedonians, however, but rather from one of

the losing participants, the Athenians. There is no contemporary evidence from Thebes, the other losing participant, although there are Athenian thoughts on the fate of Thebes. When the Macedonian view is offered, sources do not exactly focus on how the battle was commemorated, and instead indicate that the Macedonians were able to install several garrisons in Greek cities after their victory at Chaironeia.

### **Stages One and Two: Initial Reactions and Official Commemorations**

The initial repercussions of the battle are presented from the perspective of the defeated, rather than the victor. In Athens, there is evidence of the funerary rites of the dead, including burial and funeral speech, as well as preparations to fortify the city in the event of further attack.

The Athenian evidence begins less than a decade after the battle, with references in speeches of Lykourgos, Aeschines, and Demosthenes. The speeches themselves are part of the stage of curated memory, given that they rehash and argue by means of past events. Nevertheless, they refer to both initial and official reactions following the battle. In general, the memory of Chaironeia from a contemporary Athenian perspective is used either to highlight the dire straits that the Athenians found themselves in after the defeat, or to shame those who could be argued had somehow wronged the city. For example, Hyperides is very critical of those that seek to flatter Philip after the victory, such as in his speech against Philippides.<sup>226</sup>

Lykourgos' speech *Against Leokrates* has the earliest references to Athenian commemoration of the battle. The speech accuses Leokrates of having fled the city after news of Philip's victory at Chaironeia,<sup>227</sup> and whom Lykourgos charges with treason.<sup>228</sup> According to the

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<sup>226</sup> Hyperides 2, especially 2.2 and 2.9-10.

<sup>227</sup> Lykourgos 1.1.

orator, the initial responses of individual Athenians after hearing about the city's defeat were not uniform. There was also a difference in response based on the location of the individual, whether they were in the city and surroundings, or if they were near the battlefield. On the one hand, Lykourgos describes that most Athenians gathered in the city from the nearby countryside after the defeat, and that the assembly voted that everyone be brought inside the walls and that the generals should appoint any residents to defensive positions as they saw fit.<sup>229</sup>

In contrast, Lykourgos claims that Leokrates, who was in Athens, ignored the summons and fled the city late in the evening, heading for the island of Rhodes.<sup>230</sup> Lykourgos contrasts Leokrates' flight with the nobler behavior of surviving citizens on the battlefield, who collected the dead and prepared the funeral rites.<sup>231</sup> In addition to the charges against Leokrates, Lykourgos must have made similar cases against others, as fragments referring to a case against Autolykos<sup>232</sup> may indicate that the prosecution was not unheard of in Athens.

A year or so after Lykourgos' case against Leokrates, there are references to initial responses in a set of dueling speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes.<sup>233</sup> In his speech against Ktesiphon, Aeschines rebukes Demosthenes for daring to eulogize the Athenian dead from the battle.<sup>234</sup> While not an initial commemoration itself, Aeschines' speech indicates that the fallen

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<sup>228</sup> Lykourgos 1.36.

<sup>229</sup> Lykourgos 1.16.

<sup>230</sup> Lykourgos 1.17-19. Moreover, upon landing Leokrates spread lies as to the state of Athens, which prevented Rhodian shipping to come to the city and further damaged Athens.

<sup>231</sup> Lykourgos 1.45.

<sup>232</sup> Lykourgos 9. According to the Suda entry for *μηλόβοτος χώρα*.

<sup>233</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 194-196.

<sup>234</sup> Aeschines 3.152.

had been transported from the field to Athens, and that a eulogy had been performed for their sake. These were two initial reactions to the battle, undertaken according to practices that had been previously established.

Demosthenes responded to Aeschines' accusations in a speech of his own.<sup>235</sup> In the response, Demosthenes also makes reference to the observance of the Athenian custom for the dead that Aeschines described.<sup>236</sup> In addition to the eulogy, while making no explicit reference to the tomb itself, Demosthenes refers to an inscribed public monument that mentions the dead with the demonstrative *οἷδε* ("these men here").<sup>237</sup> This would be an official monument because it was inscribed by the state (*ὁ δημοσία προεἶλεθ' ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι*, "which the city proposed to thus inscribe by public consent").

Lykourgos had also referenced inscriptions related to the battle of Chaironeia, but he presented them differently than did Demosthenes. Instead of highlighting a single inscribed monument, even when there was an opportunity to do so when celebrating the Athenians for honoring their victorious generals and tyrant slayers,<sup>238</sup> Lykourgos likens the honored dead from Chaironeia to wreaths won in athletics.<sup>239</sup> When referencing inscriptions, Lykourgos opts to describe the series of epigrams on monuments along the road into Athens.<sup>240</sup> This has the effect of placing the dead from Chaironeia in the same commemorative sphere of all the honored

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<sup>235</sup> Demosthenes 18.

<sup>236</sup> Demosthenes 18.287-289.

<sup>237</sup> Demosthenes 18.289.

<sup>238</sup> Lykourgos 1.51.

<sup>239</sup> Lykourgos 1.50.

<sup>240</sup> Lykourgos 1.142.



Athenian dead, increasing the amount of shame that Lykourgos believes should be heaped onto Leokrates.

There is no reason to doubt the veracity of these cases. From Lykourgos, we have evidence of two differing initial responses available to Athenian citizens after their defeat: either to band together for the defense of the city and for the treatment of the dead, or to abandon the city. The speech of Aeschines has additional evidence of the treatment of the dead, implying their transport to and deposition in the city, as well as to the funeral speech. Demosthenes' rebuttal to Aeschines gives further evidence of these practices, as well as evidence of an inscribed funerary monument to the dead that was erected in Athens. Demosthenes' approach is slightly different from Lykourgos, who had also mentioned inscribed monuments.

### **Stages Three and Four: Curated and Contested Commemoration, Leading to Lapses**

The three orators mentioned above all use the memory of Chaironeia in some way, indicating the rhetorical usefulness of the battle to Athenians within a decade. In addition to these, the Athenians Hyperides and Deinarchos, and Theopompos from the island of Chios, also refer to effects that the battle had on Athens and wider Greece in the fourth century BCE.

Hyperides' comment comes in a speech against Athenogenes, whom Hyperides accuses of abandoning Athens around the time of the battle of Chaironeia. In the speech itself, Hyperides implies that Athenogenes violated a law for leaving the city prior to the battle, which brings to question if he refers to the same violation that Lykourgos had alleged of Leokrates.<sup>241</sup> It may in fact be the same law, however, if Hyperides is attempting to apply a law retroactively.<sup>242</sup> In a

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<sup>241</sup> Hyperides 3.28.

<sup>242</sup> Burt 1953.

second example, Hyperides defended himself in a case against Aristogeiton, because he had proposed that the slaves and lower classes of Athens be armed in defense of the city.<sup>243</sup> While Hyperides' initial proposal has been lost, his defense represents further evidence that the memory of the battle could be used in such a way as to challenge the wisdom of initial actions following the defeat.

In a speech denouncing Demosthenes from the 320s BCE, Deinarchos accuses Demosthenes of using his political advantages to secure a position that will take him out of Athens, effectively abandoning the city.<sup>244</sup> Deinarchos claims that Demosthenes did nothing for Athens although he had the opportunity after Chaironeia.<sup>245</sup> Additionally, not only did Demosthenes leave Athens at a loss,<sup>246</sup> his actions also led to the ultimate destruction of Thebes.<sup>247</sup>

The fragments of Theopompos that refer to the commemoration of Chaironeia survive in references from Plutarch's *Demosthenes*, which provide the first textual evidence from non-Athenian sources.<sup>248</sup> There is not much that we can ascertain from the reference, however, as Plutarch only cites Theopompos as a source that confirms that Demosthenes performed the eulogy in Athens.

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<sup>243</sup> Hyperides 18. The speech is pieced from fragments of Publius Rutilius Lupus (1.19 and 2.2) and Plutarch (*Life of the 10 Orators* 849A) from the first century CE, from second century CE lexicon entries of Harpocration (entries for *Oivón* and *όσιον*), and 10<sup>th</sup> century CE Suda encyclopedia entries.

<sup>244</sup> Deinarchos 1.12, 1.80.

<sup>245</sup> Deinarchos 1.96.

<sup>246</sup> Deinarchos 1.78.

<sup>247</sup> Deinarchos 1.74.

<sup>248</sup> Plutarch *Demosthenes* 21.

The character of the commemoration changes after the fourth century, partly due to the nature of the extant sources. Several themes arise, such as traditions regarding the fate of Athens and Athenians in general, which was well-covered by the fourth-century Attic orators.

Concerning the burial of the Athenians, discussions of Philip's grace in allowing the Athenians to be buried persisted into the second century BCE in Polybios<sup>249</sup> and the first century BCE in Plutarch,<sup>250</sup> but by the second century CE Pausanias can claim to see evidence of the dead buried in Athens.<sup>251</sup>

There is also the matter of how the Athenian survivors continued after the battle. Hyperides had already been forced to answer for his call to enlist slaves and the lower classes in defense of the city. This story is repeated in later sources, such as Publius Rutilius Lupus<sup>252</sup> and Plutarch<sup>253</sup> from the first century CE, from second century CE lexicon entries of Harpocration<sup>254</sup>, Cassius Longinus of the third century CE,<sup>255</sup> and 10th century CE Suda encyclopedia entries. There is not much to say about these, except that the theme of how Athens and Athenians reacted to the outcome, as well as defended their subsequent actions, persisted for a long time.

Within that theme there are literary traditions focused on famous individuals. In the first century BCE, Dionysios of Halikarnassos relates a story that the famous orator Isokrates dies

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<sup>249</sup> Polybios 5.10 and 22.6.

<sup>250</sup> Plutarch *Lives of the 10 Orators* 9.

<sup>251</sup> Pausanias 1.29.13.

<sup>252</sup> Publius Rutilius Lupus 1.19 and 2.2.

<sup>253</sup> Plutarch *Life of the 10 Orators* 9.

<sup>254</sup> Harpocration, entries for *Οἰνόνη* and *ᾠσιον*.

<sup>255</sup> Longinus 16.3.

soon after hearing news of the battle at the age of 98, choosing to die at the same time as the cities' heroes.<sup>256</sup> Plutarch repeats a version of the story a century later, adding that Isokrates died by starving himself of his own volition.<sup>257</sup>

There are also literary arguments about Demosthenes' role during and after the battle. Aeschines and Deinarchos are the earliest writers of a tradition from an Athenian perspective, and Theopompos the earliest from a non-Athenian view. The tradition continued in the second century BCE by Polybios who blames Demosthenes for an Athenocentric attitude,<sup>258</sup> and Diodorus Siculus<sup>259</sup> and Plutarch<sup>260</sup> assert that Demosthenes riled Philip, causing the latter to gloat at the cowardice of the former in fleeing the battle. By the first century CE, the tradition develops to the point that Roman orators like Quintilian compose declamations under the premise that Demosthenes opposed restoring rites to Athenians who had been captured by Philip but released without ransom.<sup>261</sup> As time progressed, the debate could be presented as an amusing anecdote, such as Aulus Gellius' attribution of a pithy quote to Demosthenes: "the man who runs away will fight again" ("Ἄνθρωπ', " inquit, "ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται").<sup>262</sup> To be fair, there are also sources that celebrate Demosthenes, as indicated by an Athenian decree reported by Plutarch, which proposed the statue for Demosthenes on the basis of many grounds, including his donations after Chaironeia of a talant for public use in Athens and a talant to purchase corn.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Isokrates* 1.47.

<sup>257</sup> Plutarch *Lives of the 10 Orators* 4.

<sup>258</sup> Polybios 18.14.12-15.

<sup>259</sup> Diodorus Siculus 16.87.

<sup>260</sup> Plutarch *Demosthenes* 23.

<sup>261</sup> Quintilian *Declamation* 339.

<sup>262</sup> Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 17.21.31.

In addition, there are literary allusions to two monuments connected to the debate over Demosthenes. The first is the first century CE epigram by Geminus.<sup>264</sup> It is possible that the epigram describes a monument on the battlefield. It is also possible that the epigram would be carved on a monument within Athens, if an exhortation within it that Demosthenes swear by the dead (*ὄμνῃ νῦν νέκρας, Δημόσθενες*) refers to the burial of the Athenian dead within the city. The second monument is a statue of Demosthenes in the Athenian Agora near the Altar of the Twelve Gods, as mentioned in a first century BCE reference from Plutarch. On this statue was inscribed Demosthenes' alleged letter in defense of the charges that he abandoned the city.<sup>265</sup>

A third theme was the fate of Thebes. This was largely ignored by contemporary Attic orators other than Deinarchos, who had blamed Demosthenes for the destruction of Thebes in 335 BCE. A Macedonian garrison in Thebes was alluded to by Theopompos, assuming that he was Plutarch's source throughout his biography of Demosthenes.<sup>266</sup> Later authors give other details to the treatment of Thebes immediately after the battle, providing more evidence that Philip installed a garrison in the city.<sup>267</sup>

There is very little evidence of how the battle was commemorated in Macedonian spaces. A literary reference by Claudius Aelianus from the second or third century CE, however, gives us at least some idea of how later audiences expected Philip to have acted upon his victory. Aelianus claims that Philip ordered a slave to remind him that he was mortal, in order that he not

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<sup>263</sup> Plutarch *Lives of the 10 Orators* 11.

<sup>264</sup> *Palatine Anthology* 9.288. See Chapter 4, pp. 207-208 and 211-216.

<sup>265</sup> Plutarch *Lives of the 10 Orators* 8; Plutarch *Demosthenes* 30.

<sup>266</sup> Plutarch *Demosthenes* 23.

<sup>267</sup> From the first century BCE: Diodorus Siculus 16.87. From the first century CE: Plutarch *Demosthenes* 23. From the second century CE: Pausanias 9.1.8 and 9.6.5; Aelius Aristides 1.331.

become arrogant. The process apparently took some time, as Philip would not go out or receive guests until being told three times: “Philip, you are human” (*Φίλιππε, ἄνθρωπος εἶ*).<sup>268</sup> The story also survives much later in the 12<sup>th</sup> century in an oration by Niketas Choniates.<sup>269</sup>

The best example of lapse comes from Pausanias and the story of Linus the poet. Pausanias describes Thebes in the second century CE and, although he does not describe anything that is an explicit commemoration of Chaironeia, he says that Philip removed the bones of a poet named Linus from the city and brought them to Macedonia, only to return them later. Pausanias claims that most visible traces of this had already faded in his time, and that there were even discrepancies in the story among the Thebans.<sup>270</sup>

## **Spatial considerations**

### *Chaironeia and city spaces outside of Macedon*

Chaironeia is first remembered in Athens, as the battle and the aftermath are discussed by Athenian authors. They discuss the treatment of the Athenian dead, the situation in Athens itself, and the actions of various Athenians. At some points, there is interest in the outcomes in other cities such as Thebes or places that received Macedonian garrisons.

There is no evidence of how the battle was remembered in Macedonian city spaces. The closest thing is the story of the bones of the poet Linus from Pausanias, who claims that the bones were removed from Thebes after the battle and taken to Macedon, only to be later returned. While Thebes is named as the first and final resting spot, there is no named

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<sup>268</sup> Claudius Aelianus *Historia Varia* 8.15.

<sup>269</sup> Choniates *Orations* 9.95.

<sup>270</sup> Pausanias 9.29.8-9.

Macedonian city where the bones were in the interim. Likewise, Claudius Aelianus does not describe any city spaces when he claims that Philip need to be reminded of his mortality before receiving any guests.

## **Conclusion**

Commemorations of Marathon, Leuktra and Chaironeia in the city spaces differed for many reasons. For all three, the perspectives of the available sources are of obvious importance. Because many of the earliest literary sources are Athenian, there is an outsized level of written works that mention commemoration of Marathon. In a related way, there are also more sources that deal with the fallout from Chaironeia, since the Athenians were participants in that battle. In contrast, the Athenian sources do not appear to have spent much time writing about Leuktra, at least as far as the extant sources show.

As time progresses, however, the perspective shifts away from a primarily Athenian audience and to a wider Greek or Roman audience of the Hellenistic or Roman periods in Greece. Athens may still be over-represented in these later sources, whether due to the city's fame in later periods or simply to accident. It probably should not be surprising if Theban monuments are underrepresented in this period, given that the city was sacked by Alexander in 335 BCE, and only reestablished later in the fourth century.

This is also perhaps true when considering the physical evidence. Because Athens is relatively well-excavated, as compared to say Thebes or Pella or any Macedonian city, in combination with the availability of Athenian sources that describe the monuments within the city. Athens is the best excavated city in Greece, as well as one of the most referenced spaces in ancient literature. Corinth and Thebes have also been excavated to different extents, although not

as completely as Athens. Macedonian cities like Pella have also been excavated. All of these spaces have histories that extended much later than antiquity, however, which has obscured much of the secure evidence of the commemoration for these battles.



## Figures

46. *LABOMES*

Figure 6.1: Drawing of Inscribed Fragment of Bronze Helmet. Inscription 46 in Bather 1893, plate VI.

53. *AOENAIAS*  
*M*

Figure 6.2: Drawing of Inscribed Fragment of Bronze Spearhead. Inscription 53 in Bather 1893, plate VII.

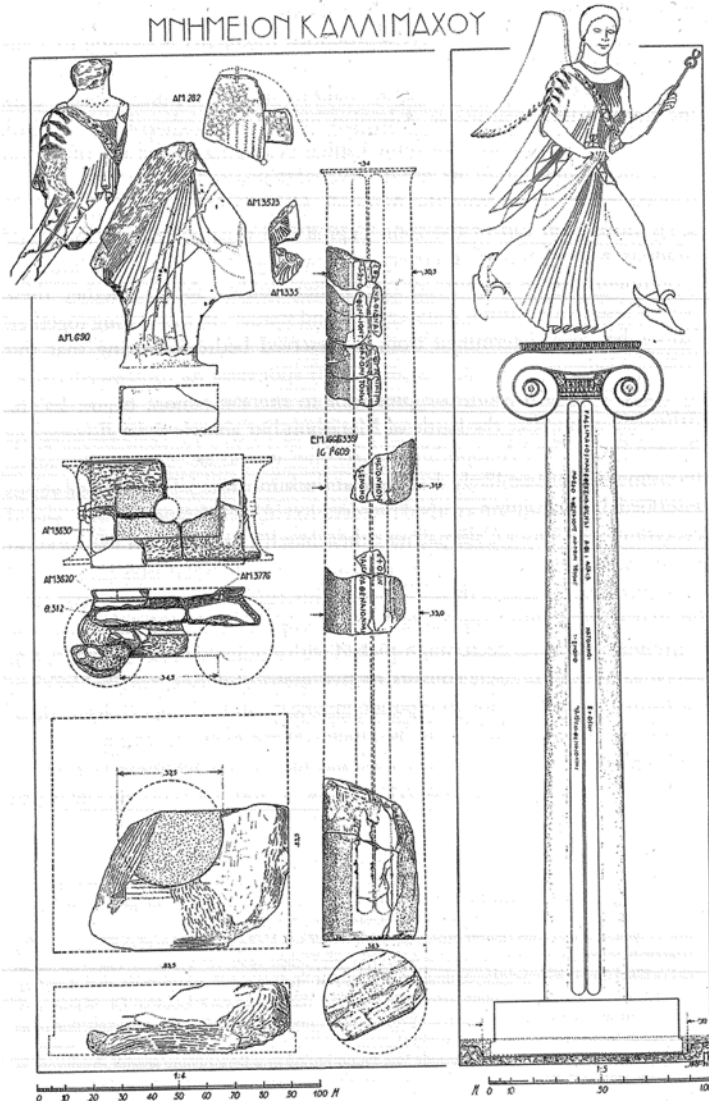


Figure 6.3 (left): Drawing of Fragments of Kallimachos Inscription Monument. From Keesling 2010, after drawing by Korres.

Figure 6.4 (right): Reconstruction of Kallimachos Inscription Monument, Raubitschek 1940, 54

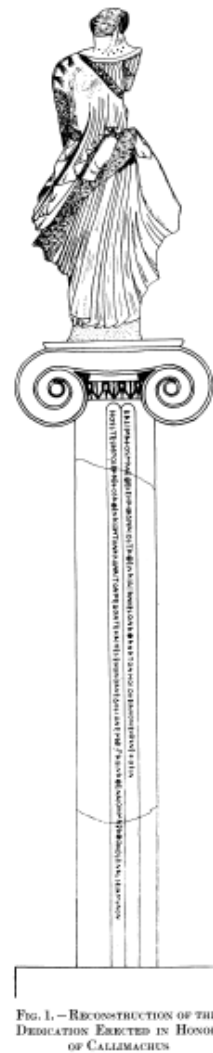


FIG. 1. — RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEDICATION ERRECTED IN HONOR OF KALLIMACHOS

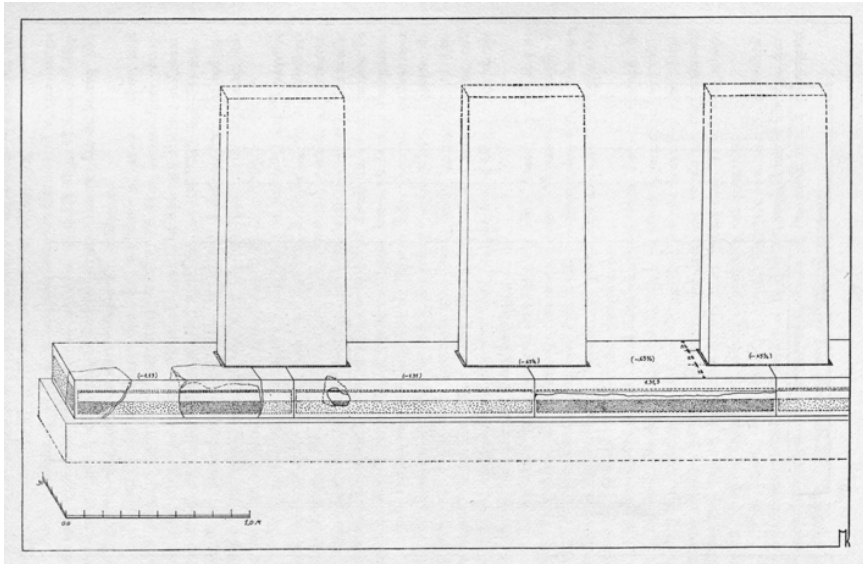


Figure 6.5a: Reconstruction of Marathon Epigram Monument. From Matthaïou 1988, 122.



Figure 6.5b: Marathon Epigram Monument, Stone A. From Oliver 1933, 481.

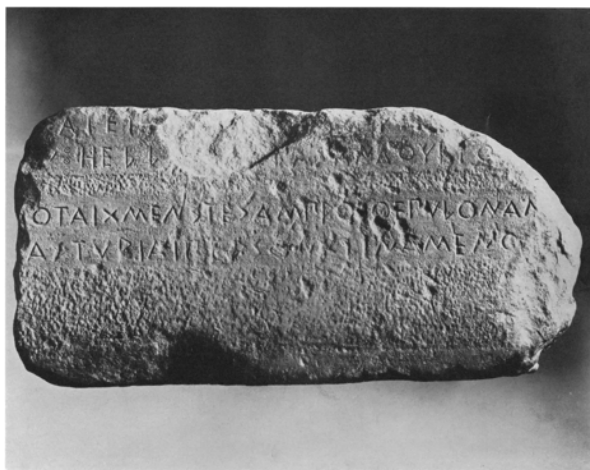


Figure 6.5c: Marathon Epigram Monument, Stone B. From Oliver 1933, 482.



Figure 6.5d: Marathon Epigram Monument, Stone C. From Duffy 2016, 413, after Matthaiou 1988, pl. 17.

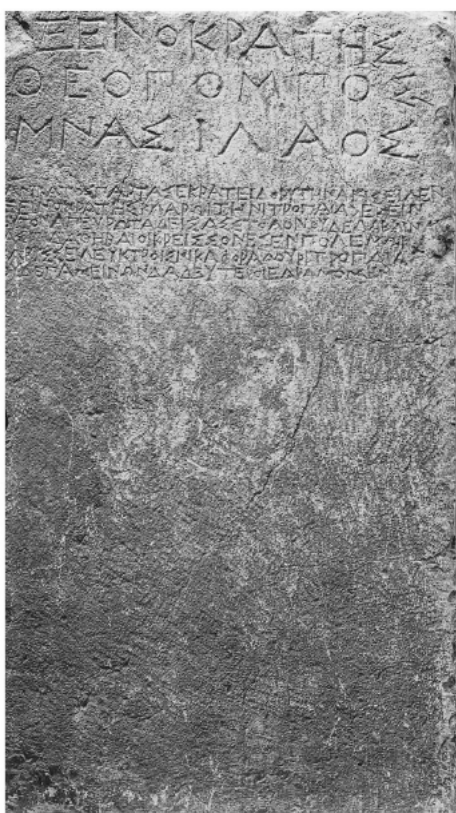


Figure 6.6: Xenokrates inscription, *IG VII* 2462. From Papazarkadas 2016, Figure 8.8.

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

The commemoration of Classical battles can vary due to combinations of spatial, temporal, and administrative factors, which always coincide with social and cultural realities. All of these are intertwined, but I try to lay out a few observations below, before concluding with some possible future directions inspired by the research.

### **Space and Time on the Battlefield**

The space affects what kind of commemorations occur, as battlefields, sanctuaries and city spaces are more fitting for some than they are for others. The space of the battlefield was differentially important, depending on who had won and lost. Marathon was an Athenian (and Plataian) victory on a battlefield in Athenian territory, over an army from the relatively distant kingdom of Persia. As initial commemorations go, every marker on the field was tuned towards a potential Athenian (or perhaps wider Greek) audience that was more likely to visit and understand the milieu, rather than towards the Persians. This is similar to the commemorations on the other battlefields of the Persian Wars such as Thermopylai, Salamis, and Plataia, although none had such a strong “homefield” as the Athenians did with Marathon.<sup>1</sup>

In a slightly different sense, the battle of Leuktra was a Theban victory in Theban/ Boiotian territory over a Lakedaimonian army from the Peloponnese. Of course, any initial commemorations would have had meaning for the local contingents, especially in regard to local traditions (i.e., the actions around the tomb of the daughters of Skedasos).<sup>2</sup> Many commemorations would also have been legible to the defeated party. The Lakedaimonians would

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 3.

have understood the meaning of a battlefield trophy, and all parties would recognize the Theban right to send heralds and grant burial to the fallen. This scenario would be similar to what occurred on many of the battlefields following the middle of the fifth century BCE, such as those from the Peloponnesian War, especially those that featured Greek combatants.

The battlefield of Chaironeia was different from these two. It was a victory of the Macedonians in northern Greece on a battlefield in Theban/Boiotian territory, over an army of Thebans, Athenians, and other southern Greeks. Based on the location of the field, the commemorations on the field could be considered as marking the defeat of the southern Greeks, almost as much as celebrations for the victory of the Macedonians. The initial commemorations appear to match that interpretation, especially with the practices of burials that all Greek parties would have recognized. Apparently, the Macedonians granted the defeated the right to collect and bury their dead according to their own customs, leading to the Thebans burying on the field and the Athenians transporting their own back to Athens. The Macedonians also took the opportunity to honor their own fallen, collecting them for cremation and erecting a mound over their cremains, including with some of their own weaponry. The initial actions at Chaironeia also indicate some of the differences between the commemorations of different places in Greece, because although the Macedonians were in control of the field and thus able to erect a trophy, they apparently elected not to.<sup>3</sup>

The lack of an ephemeral trophy at Marathon in comparison to the trophy at Leuktra highlights the 120 or so years that had passed between the battles, as this particular practice during initial commemorations had developed significantly over time. At some point within that same period, however, the commemorations at Marathon evolved and there was eventually a

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<sup>3</sup> Chapter 4, pp. 217-220.

stone monument that was labelled a “trophy”, in a sense keeping up with the trends within the wider Greek world.<sup>4</sup> The same phenomenon occurred on the battlefields of the rest of the Persian Wars, as the on-field commemorations developed to meet the expectations of the mid-fifth century BCE, with trophies and other monuments on the fields.

Durable stone monuments were also raised on the battlefields of Leuktra and Chaironeia, perhaps decades after the fighting. These were no longer initial commemorations meant to mark the outcome of the battle to the participants, but rather were meant for a larger and longer-term audience. Perhaps for this reason there are not many monuments at Leuktra, if the Thebans were more interested in broadcasting their victory at city sites in the Peloponnese or at the sanctuary of Delphi.<sup>5</sup> These durable monuments also reflected the realities of the contemporary field, especially at Chaironeia where the Macedonian burial remained unmarked, but the lion burial and enclosure probably marked the burial of the Thebans, the losers of the battle!<sup>6</sup>

The eye-to-the-future perspective granted license for ancient authors to discuss, challenge, ignore, or manipulate the meaning of the durable monuments and persistent commemorative practices, sometimes resulting in contradictions and conflicting accounts regarding the memories of the battles. As this continued, the spatiality of the battlefield lost importance, as the new space of commemoration was either literary or imaginary. This can create uncertainty around on-field monuments, such as the burials at Marathon and how the identities of the occupants can be mistaken by Pausanias,<sup>7</sup> or even ambiguities about the monuments on the

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<sup>4</sup> Chapter 2, pp. 73-74.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter 3; Chapter 5, pp. 284-287; Chapter 6, pp. 369-370.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter 4, pp. 191-193.

<sup>7</sup> Chapter 2, pp. 89-90.

field itself, such as the contradictions as to whether there were Macedonian trophies on the field at Chaironeia.<sup>8</sup>

As the literary and imaginary space of the battlefields became more entrenched, the physical spaces and the monuments within them lost importance. It is in this stage that it was possible for monuments or commemorations that had long since been lost to still be mentioned in words, as was the case with the Column Monument at Marathon, which was built into a tower at around the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE, about the same time that the field could still be referred to as “trophy-bearing” (*τροπαιοῦχος*).<sup>9</sup> This is also the stage when there is less consensus about the identifications of various monuments, such that burials could be said to belong to multiple participants, depending on the source: the *soros* at Marathon was at times considered the burial of the Athenians, at other times of the Persians.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the Magoula Baloumenou at Chaironeia was considered the tomb of the Macedonians, even though it was prehistoric.<sup>11</sup>

The many commemorations were loosely known even into the period of modern research on and interest in the battlefields. In early modern times, there began to be concerted efforts to fix definite labels and identifications to features on the field, eventually culminating in excavations that sought confirmation. For the most part, these were still linked strongly to interpretations of ancient literary sources, leading to the occasional misidentification or overly assertive identifications that do not necessarily fit with the existing evidence. This latter instance could describe what happened with the *soros* on the field of Marathon, which had been identified

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<sup>8</sup> Chapter 4, pp. 217-220.

<sup>9</sup> Chapter 2, p. 47 n. 41 and 91.

<sup>10</sup> Chapter 2.

<sup>11</sup> Chapter 4, p. 222.

as a prehistoric burial by Schliemann, which then stirred Staïs to re-excavate it in order to disprove Schliemann and re-assert that the burial covered the Athenian dead from 490 BCE.<sup>12</sup>

The activities in the period of modern research sometimes betray interests outside of the battles themselves. At Chaironeia, this was manifest in the object biography of the lion monument and how the many 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars of different nations vied to rebuild or restore it.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the differing levels of attention to the archaeology of these three battlefields could hint at modern interests, or perhaps on limitations of resources: Marathon was extensively explored, many features have been identified, and there are several marked archaeological sites and a museum; Leuktra has no dedicated museum, and only a solitary stone monument has been identified and re-erected (through anastylosis); Chaironeia has a museum near the lion and the burial it caps, which are clearly marked, but the tumulus supposedly covering the Macedonians is essentially non-visitable.

### **Sanctuaries as Designated Zones of Commemoration**

There are two broad types of non-city sanctuaries that saw commemorations: regional sanctuaries that were either under the control of, or at least sympathetic to, a city, such as the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous in Attika,<sup>14</sup> or the sanctuary of Trophonios at Livadia in Boiotia;<sup>15</sup> and large, interstate sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia, which were still liable to be under the influence of various states, but to a lesser degree. Each of these sanctuaries was long-lived, and so received numerous dedications over long periods of time. That means that every

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<sup>12</sup> Chapter 2, p. 92.

<sup>13</sup> Chapter 4, pp. 232-234.

<sup>14</sup> Chapter 5, pp. 255-256.

<sup>15</sup> Chapter 5, pp. 281-283.



dedication was placed in a very complex commemorative space. On the one hand, this may be less so at the regional sanctuaries, as commemorations of major victories could elevate the status of all dedications from the region. On the other hand, every commemoration at the larger sanctuaries competed with dedications from other interested parties, in a much more complicated arena of interaction.

Marathon and Leuktra were commemorated at Delphi. The Athenian monuments (treasury and set of statues) were placed in an early-fifth century context that had seen relatively recent reorganization of the whole space and the construction of the late-sixth century temple.<sup>16</sup> As commemorations themselves, they followed trends in the sanctuary, thus the Athenian Treasury was comparable to others in the sanctuary such as that of the Siphnians. This said, over time these monuments began to structure the space as well, sometimes reinforcing such as when the Athenians consolidated the space around their treasury with projects such as the Stoa of the Athenians,<sup>17</sup> but also attracting competition, as with the Spartan dedication for Lysander that was placed near the statues set at the southeast entrance.<sup>18</sup>

The Athenian commemorations for Marathon were incorporated into the matrix more than a hundred years before the Thebans sought to commemorate Leuktra. Over that span of time, the popularity of treasury dedications had declined, and new buildings were no longer in vogue in the fourth century BCE. Despite that, the Thebans elected to build a treasury in the sanctuary.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, they chose a conspicuous location at the southwest entrance, and opted for simple architectural decorations that contrasted with its relatively ornate Athenian

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<sup>16</sup> Chapter 5, p. 278.

<sup>17</sup> Chapter 5, pp. 278-280, **Figure 5.11**.

<sup>18</sup> Chapter 5, pp. 277-278.

<sup>19</sup> Chapter 5, pp. 285-287.

counterpart. If the Thebans had wanted to upstage the Athenians, they could hardly have chosen a better spot.

Surprisingly, the battle of Chaironeia was not really celebrated in any sanctuaries.<sup>20</sup> Although there are regional sanctuaries that could be considered Macedonian, such as Dion or Samothrace, there is no evidence that the battle was commemorated there. Likewise, the large sanctuaries saw no commemorations. The Philippeion has been suggested as a commemoration of the battle, but the ancient source that refers to the monument merely says that it was built chronologically after the battle.<sup>21</sup> Other commemorations, such as the statue groups representing Philip's family at Delphi, can only be loosely connected to the battle, and are more likely representative of Philip's general prominence. In a similar vein, an increase in non-Theban Boiotian dedications is the main observable change after 338 BCE, but that could be a product of the Theban defeat, rather than the Macedonian victory.<sup>22</sup>

### **Remembering in Cities**

Marathon was commemorated in multiple cities, from Athens and Plataia in mainland Greece, to Gela in Sicily.<sup>23</sup> Commemoration in Athens and Plataia is unsurprising, given that both cities had participated in the battle. Also unsurprisingly, there were more commemorations in Athens, from helmet dedications and inscribed votive columns, to sanctuary dedications and annual sacrifices. The difference is probably in part due to the fortunes of both cities: Athens was

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<sup>20</sup> Chapter 5, pp. 290-294.

<sup>21</sup> Chapter 5, p. 293, **Figure 5.13**.

<sup>22</sup> Chapter 5.

<sup>23</sup> Chapter 6.

an economic and political heavyweight in the fifth century and later,<sup>24</sup> but Plataia was sacked several times and generally did not fare well during and after the Peloponnesian War.<sup>25</sup> Activity in both cities largely occurred in religious spaces, such as the Athenian Acropolis or the sanctuary of Athena Areia in Plataia but could also occur in secular but more visible and well-trafficked spaces such as the Athenian Agora or the Kerameikos. Aeschylus' burial in Gela, from its accompanying inscription quoted by later authors, is the only commemoration outside of Greece. Because of the geographical distance, the burial was probably not intended as a commemoration of Marathon primarily. In a sense, it was more of a celebration of the famous deeds of Aeschylus, however, that used the fame of Marathon to boost the prestige of the Athenian expatriate playwright and resident of Gela.

The character of Athenian dedications in Athens could be seen as a mixture of what had occurred on the battlefield and in sanctuary spaces. Dedications in Athens mirrored the stages and development on the battlefield, with inscribed helmets dedicated soon after the battle, followed by prominent monuments and projects such as the inscription on the Kallimachos column or the painting in the Stoa Poikile, succeeded by a long period when these commemorations were maintained or reinterpreted. The situation is similar to what occurred in sanctuary spaces as well, especially in the sense that the commemorative network of the spaces in Athens was so complex and dense, rather than reserved for a single battle, allowing later dedications like Alexander's after the battle of the Granicus River to draw meaning from commemorations of Marathon.

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<sup>24</sup> With a penchant for extravagant display: see Thucydides 1.10.2, comparing the appearance of Sparta and Athens.

<sup>25</sup> Chapter 6, pp. 326-327.

One would expect that the situation in Thebes following Leuktra was similar, although there is limited evidence. Archaeologically only the Xenokrates inscription survives, so the majority of the evidence comes from literary sources, but each is a product of its own time and has its own biases or rhetorical goals: for example, Pausanias' account of the shields that were dedicated in the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros is part of his project to describe the monuments of Greece,<sup>26</sup> but the various stories about Epameinondas' imaginary tomb epigram were largely for rhetorical effect.<sup>27</sup> From the literature, we ascertain that the end of the battle was marked by dispatches from the field sent to the cities of Sparta, Athens, and Pherai, and perhaps also by the responses to these in each city.<sup>28</sup> This is different than the case of Marathon, especially because of the response in Sparta, which was the loser of the battle of Leuktra.

Commemorations of Chaironeia in city spaces are similar to how news of Leuktra was received in Sparta, since all of the evidence indicates responses in the cities of the losers of the battle (Thebes and Athens), or in cities that were now at risk following the outcome. The majority of the evidence comes from the Athenian perspective, and these concentrate on how Athens responded to the defeat and the aftermath. When sources mention Thebes, they either blame Demosthenes for the city's destruction, or they tell of the Macedonian garrison that was installed after 338 BCE.<sup>29</sup> The difference between the commemorations in Athens and Thebes may be attributed to the fates of the two cities, however, since Thebes was sacked by Alexander in 335 BCE.

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<sup>26</sup> Chapter 6, pp. 365-366.

<sup>27</sup> Chapter 6, pp. 366-368.

<sup>28</sup> Chapter 6, pp. 364-365.

<sup>29</sup> Chapter 6, p. 379.

## Reflections on the Landscape Biography Method

There are many variables and factors that influence how an ancient battle was remembered. The most important categories are spatial, temporal, and administrative. I think the biography method is most useful when the categories can be simplified, as was the case with battlefields. They are spatially discrete and often administrated by a consistent party, leaving time as the only changing variable. For example, most monuments on the battlefield of Marathon commemorated the battle and were undertaken by Athenians, so variation over time was the most interesting vector. The scenario was slightly different on the field of Leuktra, since it appears the Thebans were not always able to control the space in Boiotia. The situation at Chaironeia was the most different and complex, since the field was not continuously dominated by the Macedonians in the aftermath of the battle, but also sometimes under the sway of Boiotian parties sympathetic to Thebes, if not Thebes herself. Also, the field of Chaironeia was the site of other major battles, which further complicated the commemorative life stages.

The model is more difficult to apply to sanctuary and city spaces. Using the battlefield as a lens or parameter to view the other spaces simplifies the factors. Doing so isolates those commemorations of single battles. For regional sanctuaries, it is generally possible to isolate the factor of administration, under the assumptions that Attic sanctuaries will always be somewhat pro-Athenian and Boiotian sanctuaries somewhat pro-Theban, especially when considering monuments for victories over enemies from afar, such as Persians, Peloponnesians, or Macedonians. Nevertheless, these spaces can be far more complex than the battlefield, since there are other commemorations that are unrelated to the battle or unrelated to warfare at all, and also because the sanctuaries often have much longer periods of use.

The application of the landscape biography becomes much more difficult for large, interstate or panhellenic sanctuaries since it is not really possible to isolate any of the factors. These same limitations affect how the model can be applied to city spaces, which are much more complex. Administration or political power within a city, while broadly supportive of the city itself, are also impacted by factors such as interpersonal grudges between powerful individuals, type of government, and the myriad alignments of various parties. For example, while Athens is generally pro-Athenian, the commemoration of Marathon could be influenced by competitions between prominent families (Miltiades and Kimon were Philiadai, Perikles was an Alkmaionidai). There are literary sources that indicate that the commemoration of Leuktra at Thebes could be influenced by similar political tensions,<sup>30</sup> and it is possible that the battle of Chaironeia inspired no monuments in Macedonian cities because of the relationship between Philip and his son Alexander, who took the throne only two years after the battle. City spaces are also more complex because of the sheer number of commemorations for other events, not all of which were martial victories, and because they are very long lived.

## **Future Directions**

There are potentially many future directions for research on ancient commemorations. One is to analyze additional Classical battles following the same methodology. While other scholars have focused on the battles of the Persian Wars, a biography approach would be extremely interesting for the battlefields of Thermopylai and Salamis. On the one hand, Thermopylai presents a very complex case, as the battlefield contained competing commemorations of the fifth century BCE battle, but also those of later battles, both ancient and

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<sup>30</sup> Chapter 6, p. 368.

modern. On the other hand, the case of Salamis would be an interesting comparison with Marathon. Although both were effectively fought in Athenian territory, Athens could not claim to have fought alone at Salamis. Nevertheless, they strove to incorporate the battle of Salamis into Athenian history, through several commemorations that promoted their view of events. Modern monuments can also be found at Thermopylai and Salamis, and the battlefields still resonate with modern audiences.

Outside of the Persian Wars, the battlefield of Mantinea would be an intriguing candidate because there were several battles within a span of a few hundred years (416 BCE and 362 BCE primarily, in addition to a siege of the city in 385 BCE and short references to third century BCE battles by Pausanias). Other battlefields would also be interesting, but either lack monuments or are rarely mentioned in ancient sources, such as Himera in Sicily or Delion in Boiotia. The time span could also expand to include conflicts in the Hellenistic or Roman periods, such as the battle of Actium.

It would also be useful to apply the landscape biography to different spaces and with a different focus, as a type of diachronic approach. For example, biographies of cities or sanctuaries are possible (it may not be possible, or heuristically useful, to define life stages of these), but also of specific sites and monuments following more closely the concept of object biography. This could lead to better understandings of the full history of spaces and the objects and buildings in them.

Lastly, the late-antique and post-antique reception of monuments is under studied. Once they are re-discovered they are often considered in the terms of how they were used in their lives as monuments, but this obscures the different ways they may have been used over the centuries, and sometimes millennia.

## Epilogue

The Athenians may have thought the battle of Marathon was a significant victory in 490 BCE, the Thebans probably found Leuktra important in 371 BCE, and Philip II and the Macedonians likely considered Chaironeia noteworthy in 338 BCE. Regardless of their initial feelings, the memories of these battles developed through successive monuments, rituals, and literary stories.

Each moment of recall differed depending on the space and audience, as well as time, and the prevalent political reality. Eventually, the actual events lost their individuality in some contexts, such that collections of battles could be collated in order to indicate various things. This is what happened when Cicero described battlefields as “fields of rhetoric”, listing Marathon, Salamis, Plataia, Thermopylai, and Leuktra.<sup>31</sup> In such instances, the actual physical connections to the battles, whether tangible monuments or observable rituals or practices, did not matter. The battles were no longer anchored to the battlefield, and instead could be conceived of in spaces that could be called imaginary, literary, or rhetorical.

In some ways, Cicero’s perspective was a precursor of many modern studies of ancient warfare and battles. While interested in the battlefields and the monuments on them, most scholars privileged ancient literary sources, even when there were contradictions, leading to assertive definitions.

In this study, I hope to have shown that the commemorations of battles are rarely that clear. The meaning of monuments and spaces, and the memories that they evoke, are constantly changing. A durable monument may stand for centuries but will not always mean the same thing, while iterative practices and commemorations can sometimes more consistently evoke particular

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<sup>31</sup> Chapter 1, p.1.



memories. What prompted recall of Marathon to an early modern traveler may not have done so for a fifth century BCE Athenian; just as a runner from Marathon arriving in the center of Athens may have brought news from the battlefield in antiquity, but today would ask how long it had taken to run the race.

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